

THE TWELVE CAESARS



SUETONIUS

A Translation into English by

A. S. KLINE

POETRY IN TRANSLATION

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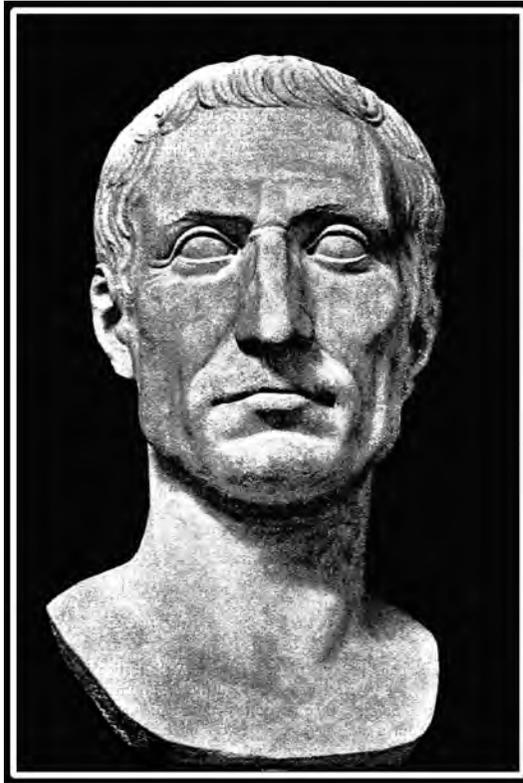
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Book I: Julius Caesar



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Book One: Julius Caesar (Later Deified)



Translator's Note: The introductory paragraphs to the life of Julius Caesar are lost in all manuscripts. The dates and notes in brackets throughout are my insertions, to allow the reader to follow the chronology without using footnotes. Names have been expanded in places to assist identification. Information in the index entries frequently extends that given by Suetonius in the text without, however, attributing sources.

BOOK ONE: I EARLY LIFE

When *Julius* ^[p. 518] Caesar was aged fifteen, his father died (85/84BC). During the next consulship, having previously been nominated to the priesthood of Jupiter (in 86BC, by *Marius* ^[p. 538] and *Cinna* ^[p. 473] the consuls) he broke off his engagement to *Cossutia* ^[p. 476], a rich girl though of only equestrian rank, to whom he had been betrothed while still a boy and before he had assumed the purple-bordered *toga praetexta*, and married the daughter of Lucius Cornelius *Cinna* ^[p. 473] who had been four times consul (87-84BC). This *Cornelia* ^[p. 472] later bore him a daughter, *Julia* ^[p. 514].

He resisted all attempts by *Sulla* [p. 599], the dictator, to make him divorce her. So that, as well as losing the priesthood, his wife's dowry, and his own inheritance, he was treated as a member of the opposition, and was forced into hiding. Though suffering from a virulent bout of quartan fever, he had to find a new hide-out almost every night, and he saved himself from Sulla's spies by bribery. Finally, through the intercession of the *Vestal* [p. 621] Virgins, and his near relatives *Mamercus Aemilius* [p. 408] and *Aurelius Cotta* [p. 436], he won pardon. It is known that after firmly resisting the pleas of Caesar's most devoted and eminent friends, who were obstinate in his cause, Sulla finally gave way and, divinely inspired or with shrewd foresight, cried: 'You win then, take him! But be clear, the man you're so keen to save will prove the ruin, some day, of this party you and I support; there is many a Marius in this fellow, Caesar.'

BOOK ONE: II FIRST CAMPAIGN

His first military campaign was in Asia (81BC), as an aide-de-camp to Marcus *Minucius* [p. 543] Thermus, the governor of the province. Sent to *Bithynia* [p. 440] by Thermus, to raise a fleet, he idled so long at the court of King *Nicomedes* [p. 551] it was rumoured he had prostituted himself to the king. He exacerbated the rumour by travelling back to Bithynia, a few days after his return, ostensibly to collect a debt owed to a freedman, one of his followers. However his reputation improved later in the campaign and, at the storming of *Mytilene* [p. 547] (80BC), Thermus awarded him a civic crown of oak leaves for saving a fellow-campaigner's life.

BOOK ONE: III RETURN TO ROME

He also campaigned in *Cilicia* [p. 461], under *Servilius* [p. 592] Isauricus. Not for long though, for hearing of *Sulla's* [p. 599] death (78BC), and hoping to benefit from a revolt led by Marcus *Lepidus* [p. 407], he hastened swiftly back to Rome. Though he was made highly attractive offers, he chose not to align himself with Lepidus, lacking confidence in the man's abilities, and in the situation which now seemed less promising.

BOOK ONE: IV THE DOLABELLA TRIAL, RHODES AND ASIA

The civil unrest was quelled, and subsequently Caesar brought an extortion case (77BC) against Cornelius *Dolabella* [p. 473], an ex-consul who had once been afforded a triumph. On Dolabella's acquittal, Caesar decided to withdraw to *Rhodes* [p. 582] both to escape the resultant ill-feeling and to rest and have leisure to study oratory under *Apollonius* [p. 426] Molon, the pre-eminent teacher of rhetoric at that time.

During the crossing to Rhodes, at the start of winter, he was captured by pirates (75BC) off the island of *Pharmacussa* [p. 566] and, to his intense aggravation, remained their prisoner for almost forty days, attended only by a physician and two man-servants, since on being taken he had sent the rest of his friends and staff to raise money for a ransom. Set on shore, after fifty talents had been paid, he lost no time in raising a fleet, hunting the fleeing pirates down and, as soon as they were in his power, executing on them the punishment of crucifixion with which he had often smilingly threatened them.

He sailed on to Rhodes (74BC), but then, so as not to remain idle while allies appeared to be in danger, he crossed to Asia Minor where *Mithridates* [p. 543] was ravaging the neighbouring region. He raised a band of auxiliaries there, and drove Mithridates' deputy from the province, so maintaining the allegiance of its faltering and irresolute cities.

BOOK ONE: V MILITARY TRIBUNE IN ROME

Appointed to his first office as military tribune, by popular vote, after his return to Rome, Caesar gave strong support to the assembly leaders in restoring the tribunes' powers, diminished by *Sulla's* [p. 599] dictatorship (70BC). He also spoke in favour of the bill introduced by *Plotius* [p. 570] which brought about the recall from exile of his brother-in-law Lucius *Cornelius* [p. 473] Cinna, and the other members of *Lepidus* [p. 525]' civil insurgency, who had fled to Spain and joined *Sertorius* [p. 591] after Lepidus' death in 77BC.

BOOK ONE: VI FAMILY EULOGIES

As quaestor (69BC) Caesar gave the traditional funeral orations from the Rostra at the deaths of his aunt *Julia* [p. 514], and his wife *Cornelia* [p. 472]. In the eulogy for his aunt he spoke the following words concerning her ancestry and that of the Caesars: 'My paternal aunt Julia was descended on her mother's side from royalty, since the Marcii Reges were founded by the Roman King *Ancus* [p. 418] Marcius; and on her father's side from the immortal gods, since the Julians, of whom we Caesars are a branch, are descended from the goddess *Venus* [p. 619] herself. Our family therefore claims the sanctity of kings, who reign supreme among mortals, and the reverence owed the gods, in whose power are those kings themselves'.

Cornelia's place was assumed by *Pompeia* [p. 571], the daughter of Quintus *Pompeius* [p. 574] Rufus, and grand-daughter of Lucius *Sulla* [p. 599], though Caesar later divorced her (62BC) on suspicion of her adultery with Publius *Clodius* [p. 469] Pulcher who, according to rumour, dressed as a woman and seduced her during a public ceremony, the Festival of *Bona Dea* [p. 440], the Good Goddess. This rumour was so persistent that the Senate ordered a judicial inquiry into the alleged pollution of the sacred rites.

BOOK ONE: VII HIS DESTINY

As quaestor he was appointed to Further Spain where, while conducting a round of assizes at the instigation of the praetor, he reached *Gades* [p. 500], and saw there the statue of *Alexander* [p. 415] the Great in the temple of *Hercules* [p. 507]. He sighed deeply, and as if frustrated by his own lack of achievement in failing to perform anything worthy of note, at an age when Alexander had already subjugated the world, he immediately sought his discharge, to seize the first opening for greater action in Rome. Moreover on the following night, shocked by a dream of raping his mother, he was nevertheless encouraged by the soothsayers whose interpretation filled him with the highest of hopes, that the mother he had conquered was no other than Earth itself, who is deemed to be our universal parent.

BOOK ONE: VIII THE ITALIAN COLONIES

He left therefore, before the end of his term, for the Latin colonies beyond the River Po, which were in a state of unrest, and demanding the same citizenship rights as others, and might have roused them to some rash action if the consuls had not temporarily garrisoned the conscripted legions there that were destined for *Cilicia* [p. 461].

BOOK ONE: IX CONSPIRACY

However, he soon attempted something more ambitious in Rome itself. A few days before taking up his aedileship (65BC) he was suspected of conspiring with Marcus *Licinius* [p. 526] Crassus, the ex-consul, and with *Publius* [p. 600] Cornelius Sulla and Publius *Autronius* [p. 436] Paetus who after election to the consulship had been found guilty of corruption. They planned to attack the Senate in the New Year and kill as many senators as suited them. Crassus would then become Dictator, proclaiming Caesar his Master of Horse, and when the government was organised to their liking, Sulla and Autronius would be handed the consulship.

This conspiracy is mentioned by *Tanusius* [p. 602] Geminus in his *History*, by Marcus *Bibulus* [p. 439] Calpurnius in his *Edicts* and by Gaius Scribonius *Curio* [p. 477] the Elder in his *Orations*. And *Cicero* [p. 614] too seems to refer to it in a letter to *Axius* [p. 437] in which he says that Caesar 'established during his consulship that dominion which he planned as an aedile'. Tanusius adds that Crassus, through ill-conscience or fear, failed to appear on the day set for the massacre, and Caesar therefore chose not to give the agreed signal, which, Curio claims, was to let the toga fall from his shoulder.

With Curio, Marcus *Actorius* [p. 405] Naso claims that Caesar also conspired with Gnaeus *Piso* [p. 451], a young nobleman suspected of intrigue at Rome who had therefore been assigned to the governorship of Spain, in an exceptional and unsolicited appointment. They had agreed that Piso would raise a rebellion abroad while Caesar did so in Rome, at the same time as the *Ambrani* [p. 417] of Liguria and the peoples beyond the River Po revolted, but the death of Piso ended the conspiracy.

BOOK ONE: X WOOING THE MASSES

As aedile, Caesar decorated the Comitium, the *Forum* [p. 497] with its adjacent basilicas, and even the *Capitol* [p. 453] itself, with a display of material for use in his public shows, building temporary colonnades for his selections from the vast mass available. He staged wild-beast combats and plays, independently and with his colleague, Marcus *Bibulus* [p. 439], who openly complained that he had met *Pollux's* [p. 570] fate: 'As the Temple of the Twins in the Forum only bears *Castor's* [p. 458] name, so our joint lavishness is always Caesar's.'

Caesar also mounted gladiatorial contests but with fewer combatants than advertised, as the vast troop collected from all quarters terrified his political opponents to the point that a bill was passed limiting the number of gladiators anyone could maintain in Rome.

BOOK ONE: XI POLITICAL IN-FIGHTING

Having won favour with the masses, Caesar tried, via their tribunes, to take control of *Egypt* [p. 489] by popular vote. The opportunity which he seized for so irregular an appointment arose from the general condemnation of the *Alexandrians* [p. 416] who had repudiated King *Ptolemy* [p. 578] XII, though the Senate had proclaimed him a friend and ally of Rome. Caesar failed because of opposition from the aristocratic party, and wanting to harm their prestige in any way he might, he replaced, as aedile, the monuments, destroyed by *Sulla* [p. 599] years previously, commemorating Gaius *Marius* [p. 538]' victories over *Jugurtha* [p. 514], the *Cimbri* [p. 462], and the *Teutones* [p. 605]. Moreover, as Judge of the Court of Inquiry, he prosecuted as murderers those who had earned public bounties for the heads of Roman citizens outlawed by proscription, though they were exempted according to the *Cornelian* [p. 599] Laws.

BOOK ONE: XII THE TRIAL OF GAIUS RABIRIUS

Caesar also bribed a man (Titus *Labienus* [p. 523]) to bring a charge of high treason against Gaius *Rabirius* [p. 580] (63BC) who had rendered a notable service to the Senate by repressing the seditious activities of the tribune Lucius Appuleius *Saturninus* [p. 588] (in 100BC). Selected by lot to try the accused, Caesar passed sentence in such a zealous manner that when Rabirius subsequently appealed to the people, the most powerful argument in his favour was his judge's acerbity.

BOOK ONE: XIII PONTIFEX MAXIMUS

Renouncing hopes of controlling Egypt, Caesar, by flagrant bribery, pursued the office of Pontifex Maximus (High Priest). It is said that, with the enormous debts he had incurred in mind, he told his mother as she kissed him goodbye on the morning of the poll that he would either return as Pontifex or not at all. In reality he defeated his two weighty rivals, superior to him in age and rank, so decisively that he won more votes from their tribes than they won in the entire poll.

BOOK ONE: XIV THE CATILINE CONSPIRACY

When the *Catiline* [p. 458] conspiracy was exposed (in 63BC), the whole Senate except for Caesar, who was now praetor-elect, demanded the death-penalty for those implicated. He alone proposed their imprisonment, each in a different town, and the confiscation of their estates. Moreover, he created such anxiety in the minds of those who proposed a more severe punishment, by describing the enduring hatred the Commons would feel towards them, that Decimus *Junius* [p. 520] Silanus, consul-elect, did not hesitate to give a milder interpretation to his proposal, which it would have been humiliating to change, as it might have been taken as more severe than was intended. Caesar would have prevailed, since a number of senators, including Quintus *Tullius* [p. 615] Cicero, the consul's brother, had been won to his view, had not Marcus Portius *Cato's* [p. 459] speech kept those who were wavering in line. Nevertheless Caesar continued to delay proceedings, until

the group of armed knights guarding the Senate threatened his life if he continued with such immoderate behaviour. They even drew their swords and waved them at him so vigorously that friends beside him left their seats, while the remainder took pains to shield him with their bodies and the folds of their robes. Clearly deterred, he not only desisted, but kept away from the House for the rest of the year.

BOOK ONE: XV PRAETOR

On the first day of his praetorship (62BC) he demanded that Quintus Lutatius *Catulus* [p. 459] publish an account to the people of the *Capitol* [p. 453] restorations, and proposed the commission be entrusted elsewhere (to *Pompey* [p. 573]). However he withdrew the measure, unequal to the combined opposition of the aristocrats, who were attending the inaugural sacrifice on the Capitol marking the new consuls' commencement of office and, resolved on obstinate resistance, quickly altered their plans and descended en masse.

BOOK ONE: XVI SUPPORT FROM THE COMMONS

Then, when *Caecilius* [p. 445] Metellus, a tribune of the people, brought in some highly inflammatory bills, despite his colleagues' veto, Caesar supported and championed his cause so pugnaciously that he and Metellus were suspended from office by senatorial decree. Nevertheless Caesar was so audacious as to continue to hold court and give rulings. Learning that he was about to be prevented by force, he dismissed the lictors, doffed his formal robes, and quietly went home, deciding to remain in retirement due to circumstances.

In fact, when the populace flocked to his house, spontaneously, the following day, and in a riotous demonstration offered him their help in regaining office, he restrained them. His response being unanticipated, the Senate, which had hastily convened to address the situation, ended by thanking him publicly via a deputation of its leaders, summoning him to the House and, while showering praises on him, revoking their former decree, and re-confirming his praetorship.

BOOK ONE: XVII ACCUSATIONS OF COMPLICITY IN THE CATILINE CONSPIRACY

He was once more in danger when named as one of the *Catiline* [p. 458] conspirators, by Lucius *Vettius* [p. 622] an informer, in front of the special commissioner, *Novius* [p. 552] Niger, and also in the Senate, by Quintus *Curius* [p. 478], who had been voted a reward from public funds for first revealing the plot. Curius claimed his information came directly from Catiline himself, while, Vettius offered to produce a letter to Catiline in Caesar's handwriting.

Caesar, deciding that such claims could in no way be tolerated and by appealing to Cicero's own testimony that he had voluntarily reported certain details of the conspiracy to him, ensured Curius was denied his bounty. As for Vettius, whose surety was declared forfeit and possessions seized, he was nearly torn to pieces by a furious crowd before the Rostra. Caesar had him imprisoned along with Novius Niger, the commissioner, who had allowed a magistrate of higher rank to be indicted by his tribunal.

BOOK ONE: XVIII FURTHER SPAIN

After his praetorship, Caesar was appointed to the province of Further Spain (61BC). He relieved himself of his creditors, who had tried to detain him, by providing sureties for his debts, and was away, contrary to law and custom, even before the necessary funds had been decreed by the Senate. He may have feared impeachment while still a private citizen, or simply wished to respond more swiftly to the pleas for assistance from Rome's Spanish allies. Having pacified the province he departed with equal haste for Rome, without waiting for his successor to arrive, in order to request, in the same breath, a triumph and a consulship. Since the consular election date had already been announced; his candidacy was only acceptable if he entered Rome as a private citizen; and his attempts to gain exemption from the rules met with a general outcry; he was obliged to forgo the triumph to avoid losing the consulship.

BOOK ONE: XIX CONSULSHIP: STRATEGIC ALLIANCES

Faced with two other candidates for the consulship (of 60BC), Lucius *Lucceius* [p. 532] and Marcus *Bibulus* [p. 439], Caesar joined forces with the former, agreeing with him that since Lucceius had more money but less influence, he should issue bribes to the electors on behalf of both of them. Hearing of this, the aristocratic party, fearing there was nothing Caesar would not dare if he were consul with a compliant colleague alongside him, authorized Bibulus to match their bribes. Many aristocrats contributed to the fund, not even *Cato* [p. 459] rejecting bribery, in the circumstances, as a means of achieving public good.

So Caesar and Bibulus were elected as consuls. For the reason given, the aristocrats took steps to ensure that the newly-elected consuls would, at the end of their term of office, be granted governorships of the least important provinces, the role being simply to police the woods and passes. Incensed by the slight, Caesar paid every attention possible to win Gnaeus *Pompey's* [p. 573] goodwill, Pompey being annoyed with the Senate for its slowness in ratifying his actions after his defeat of King *Mithridates* [p. 543]. Caesar also succeeded in reconciling Pompey and Marcus *Crassus* [p. 526], enemies since their joint consulship, which had involved intense disagreement. He forged an alliance with both, whereby nothing should proceed politically that any of the three disliked.

BOOK ONE: XX THE 'CONSULSHIP OF JULIUS AND CAESAR'

Caesar's first act as Consul was to institute the daily recording and publishing of proceedings in the Senate and the People's Court. He also revived the ancient custom whereby an orderly should precede him, during the months when his colleague held the rods of office (the *fasces*), while the lictors followed. He also introduced a new agrarian law, and when *Bibulus* [p. 439] announced the omens were unfavourable so as to delay the bill, he drove him from the Forum by force of arms. When next day, in the Senate, Bibulus complained, and found that no one dared to move a motion of censure, or even to express an opinion about such a scandalous action, though decrees had often been passed regarding much less serious disorder, he was driven to such exasperation with Caesar's conduct that he stayed at

home from then until the end of his term of office, merely issuing further announcements of adverse omens.

From that moment on, Caesar administered all the affairs of State himself according to his own wishes. So that some people, by way of a joke, pretending to sign and seal a testamentary document, instead of writing: 'Executed in the consulship of Bibulus and Caesar', would write 'in the consulship of Julius and Caesar.' And this verse soon went the rounds:

'Not in Bibulus' year but Caesar's, something, recently, got done:
Of Bibulus' year, I can't recall a single act, not one.'

The plain called *Stellas* in Northern Campania, which had of old been devoted to public use, and those Campanian lands farmed on behalf of the government purse, he divided, by a special commission and without casting lots, among the twenty thousand or so citizens who had fathered three or more children. When the tax-farmers asked for relief, he cancelled a third of their obligation, but openly warned them not to bid too recklessly for future contracts. He freely granted anything anyone asked, unopposed, or if there was an objection, by intimidation. *Marcus* ^[p. 459] Cato who attempted a filibuster was dragged from the House by a lictor, on Caesar's orders, and thrown into prison. When *Lucius Lucullus* ^[p. 532] went too far in stating his opposition, Caesar so terrified him with threats of prosecution (for his conduct in the Mithridatic Wars) that Lucullus went down on his knees to beg for pardon. Hearing that *Cicero* ^[p. 614] had made a speech in court deploring the state of things, Caesar granted the orator's enemy, *Publius Clodius* ^[p. 469] Pulcher, a transfer from the patricians to the plebeians (in 59BC), a move that Publius had long wished to achieve, and did so at the ninth hour of the day, three o'clock that is, after the close of session.

Ultimately, in an attack on the whole opposition party, he bribed an informer to appear on the Rostra, claim there that certain aristocrats had urged him to assassinate *Pompey* ^[p. 573], and then in a pre-arranged manner list the guilty. He did indeed name one or two, but to no effect, so strong was the suspicion of underhand dealing, with the result, it is said, that Caesar, having abandoned his over-hasty attempt, had the man poisoned.

BOOK ONE: XXI ALLIANCE WITH POMPEY

Around that time, he married *Calpurnia* [p. 450], the daughter of Lucius *Calpurnius* [p. 451] Piso his successor in the consulship, and betrothed his own daughter *Julia* [p. 514] to *Pompey* [p. 573], ending her previous engagement to *Servilius* [p. 592] Caepio, though Caepio had recently served him well in his efforts against *Bibulus* [p. 439]. Once the new alliance was forged, Caesar would call on Pompey to open debates in the Senate, where previously *Crassus* [p. 526] had taken priority, ignoring the tradition of maintaining the same order of speakers as that established on New Years Day (the Kalends of January).

BOOK ONE: XXII GOVERNOR OF GAUL

Now, with *Piso* [p. 451] as father-in-law, and *Pompey* [p. 573] as son-in-law, Caesar set his eye on Gaul as the province above all most likely to yield him wealth and opportunity for triumphs. He was, it is true, only appointed to Cisalpine Gaul with Illyricum, at first, following a proposal made by Publius *Vatinius* [p. 618], but the Senate soon added Transalpine Gaul, fearing that if they refused the people would overrule them.

Elated by this success, he could not refrain from boasting, a few days later, to a crowded House, that having gained his dearest wish to the sorrow and chagrin of his enemies, he would henceforth give their heads a good bruising, every one of them; and when someone sneered that such would be no easy task for any *woman*, he replied, as if in jest: that in Syria too *Semiramis* [p. 590] had reigned, and a large part of Asia had once been ruled by the *Amazons* [p. 417].

BOOK ONE: XXIII THREAT OF IMPEACHMENT

When, at the end of his consulship, Gaius *Memmius* [p. 540] and Lucius *Domitius* [p. 485] Ahenobarbus demanded an official inquiry into his conduct during the preceding year, Caesar referred the matter to the Senate, and when they failed to proceed after three days of useless argument, he left for his province. His quaestor was immediately arraigned on various charges,

prior to his own impeachment. And Caesar himself was presently indicted by Lucius *Antistius* [p. 419], a tribune of the people, such that it was only by an appeal to the whole college of tribunes that he avoided trial, pleading his absence on public service.

So to render himself secure in future, he took great pains to ensure the magistrates for the year were beholden to him, refusing to support and preventing the election of any candidates unless they promised to defend his cause when absent from Rome. He had no hesitation in demanding, in some cases, that they swear an oath to fulfil this pledge and, in others, a written contract.

BOOK ONE: XXIV POWER BASE IN GAUL

Lucius *Domitius* [p. 485] *Ahenobarbus*, when a candidate for the consulship (of 55BC), openly threatened that if elected he would do what he could not achieve as praetor, and deprive Caesar of military power. Caesar demanded that *Crassus* [p. 526] and *Pompey* [p. 573] meet him (in the spring of 56BC) at *Lucca* [p. 532], just within the boundary of Cisalpine Gaul, where he persuaded them to stand as consuls for a second time (they had been consuls together in 70BC) in order to defeat Domitius. Through their influence he succeeded in extending his governorship of Gaul for a further five years.

Encouraged by his success, Caesar raised legions at his own expense to add to those sanctioned by the state: one actually recruited in Transalpine Gaul, and called the *Alauda*, Gallic for 'the Crested Lark', which he equipped with standard weapons and trained in Roman tactics. Later he made every such legionary a Roman citizen.

He lost no opportunity for waging war, from that time onwards, regardless of how unjust or risk-prone it might be, fomenting disputes with allied tribes as well as hostile and barbarous ones. At one point, the Senate order a commission of inquiry into the condition of the Gallic provinces, and some speakers went so far as to suggest Caesar be handed over to the enemy. But the more his campaigns bore fruit, the more frequently public thanksgivings were approved in his honour, of longer duration than those of any previous general.

BOOK ONE: XXV CAMPAIGNS IN BRITAIN AND BEYOND THE RHINE

This, in brief, is what he achieved in his nine years (58-49BC) of governorship. He reduced to a province the whole of Gaul bounded by the Pyrenees, Cévennes, and Alps, and by the rivers Rhine and Rhone, a border of over 3100 miles, comprising an area of over 250,000 square miles, excluding a few allied states which had rendered him useful aid, and he exacted from it an annual tribute of 400,000 gold pieces (*aurei*).

He was the first Roman to bridge the Rhine and he inflicted heavy losses on the Germans beyond. He also conquered the Britons, a previously unknown people, and exacted wealth and hostages from them. He suffered misfortune on only three occasions, while achieving his success: in invading Britain, where his fleet was all but destroyed by a storm (55BC); on the German frontier, where his generals *Titurius* [p. 612] Sabinus and *Aurunculeius* [p. 436] Cotta were killed in ambush (54BC); and in *Gaul* [p. 502] when one of his legions was routed at *Gergovia* [p. 502] (52BC);

BOOK ONE: XXVI MOUNTING AMBITION

In one year (54BC) during that period, Caesar had lost, in turn, his *mother* [p. 436], *daughter* [p. 514], and infant grandchild. Meanwhile (in 52BC), the assassination of Publius *Clodius* [p. 469] Pulcher caused such widespread consternation that the Senate voted to appoint only a single Consul, and named *Pompey* [p. 573] as their choice. When the Tribunes wanted Caesar to stand as Pompey's colleague, he urged them to persuade the people to approve his standing for consul a second time, without travelling to Rome, when his governorship ended, so as to avoid quitting his province prematurely with its conquest incomplete.

The granting of this concession so fired his ambition, and inspired his hopes, that he spared no expense or show of favour, either in a public or private capacity. He began building a new *Forum* [p. 497] with his spoils from Gaul, the land alone costing more than a million gold pieces. Then he announced an unprecedented event, a gladiatorial show and a public feast in memory of his daughter Julia. In order to create as much excited

anticipation as possible, the banquet was catered for partly by his household, but partly also by the market contractors.

He also issued orders that any famous gladiator who failed to win the approval of the crowd should be forcibly saved from execution, and reserved for his employ. Novices were trained, not by professionals in the gladiatorial schools, but in the private houses of Roman knights and even Senators skilled in arms. His surviving letters reveal his earnest requests to them to pay their recruits individual attention, and direct the training personally.

He also doubled the soldiers' pay, in perpetuity, and whenever there was ample grain, shared it among them lavishly and without restraint, and on occasions granted each man a Gallic slave from among the captives.

BOOK ONE: XXVII BUYING FAVOUR

Moreover, in order to try and retain *Pompey's* [p. 573] friendship, and renew the tie broken by Julia's death, Caesar unsuccessfully offered him the hand of *Octavia* [p. 554], his sister's granddaughter, though she was already married to Gaius Claudius *Marcellus* [p. 536] Minor, asking in return the hand of Pompey's daughter, *Pompeia* [p. 571] Magna, who was betrothed to *Faustus* [p. 599] Cornelius Sulla.

Having placed all Pompey's friends, and a majority of the Senate, under obligation to him, by means of low-rate or interest-free loans, he then lavished gifts on men of less distinction, whether they sought them or not, including slaves and freedmen who were their master's or patron's favourite. In brief, he became the sole reliable source of aid to those in legal difficulties, short of funds, or living over-extravagantly, denying help only to those whose crimes were so great, or debts so heavy, or way of life so lavish, that even he could not rescue them, telling them frankly that their only hope was civil war.

BOOK ONE: XXVIII OPPOSITION FROM MARCUS CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS

He took equal pains to win the support of kings and provincial authorities everywhere, offering some captives by the thousand, and sending auxiliaries to others whenever they asked, without permission from the Senate or Tribunes. He adorned the main cities of Greece and Asia with fine public works, as well as those of Italy, Gaul and Spain. All were still dazed by his actions and puzzled as to their purpose, when the consul *Marcus* [p. 536] *Claudius Marcellus* (51BC) announced that he intended to bring a matter of vital public interest before the Senate, and subsequently proposed that, since the Gallic war had ended, and peace was now established, Caesar be relieved of his governorship before the end of his term, a successor appointed, and the army of conquest disbanded. Further he proposed that Caesar be prohibited from standing for the consulship, unless he appeared at Rome in person, since *Pompey's* [p. 573] actions had not annulled the previous statute. Here he referred to Pompey's bill regulating official privileges, which debarred absentee candidates from office. Pompey had neglected to exclude Caesar's name from his bill, and had not corrected the oversight before the bill was passed and the law, engraved on its bronze tablet, deposited at the Treasury.

Not content with trying to deprive Caesar of his command and the privilege previously voted him, Marcellus also proposed that the colonists Caesar had settled at *Novum* [p. 553] *Comum* (Como) under the *Vatinian* [p. 618] Act should lose their citizenship, on the basis that it had been done to further Caesar's ambitions, and was unauthorised in law.

BOOK ONE: XXIX AN APPEAL TO THE SENATE

Provoked by these measures, Caesar, who had often been heard to remark that, now he was the leading man in Rome, it would be harder to push him down to second place than from second to lowest of all, resisted stubbornly. He persuaded the tribunes of the people to use their vetoes, and also enlisted the aid of *Servius Sulpicius Rufus* [p. 600], Marcellus' co-consul.

In the following year (50BC), when Gaius Claudius Marcellus *Minor* [p. 536] succeeded Marcus Claudius *Marcellus* [p. 536] his cousin as consul, and attempted the same measures, Caesar heavily bribed the other consul, *Aemilius* [p. 408] Paullus, and Gaius *Curio* [p. 478], the most impetuous of the tribunes, to secure their support.

Realizing the relentless nature of the opposition, which even included the new consuls-elect, he made a written appeal to the Senate asking to retain the privilege granted him by the commons, or else for all the other commanders to be required to resign as well. He was confident, it was thought, of mobilising his veterans whenever he wished, more swiftly than *Pompey* [p. 573] his new levies. He finally proposed a compromise, offering to relinquish eight legions and quit Transalpine Gaul, but retain two legions and Cisalpine Gaul, or at a minimum one legion and *Illyricum* [p. 510], until he was elected as consul.

BOOK ONE: XXX THE EVE OF CIVIL WAR

But after the Senate's refusal to intervene on his behalf, and his opponents' declaration that compromise was unacceptable in a matter of such national importance, Caesar crossed into Cisalpine Gaul. He held his regular assizes there, and halted at *Ravenna* [p. 581] (49BC) determined on war if the Senate took drastic action against the tribunes of the people who had used their vetoes on his behalf.

And this indeed became the pretext for civil war, though other motives are suspected. *Pompey* [p. 573] used to say that Caesar desired general turmoil and confusion because he lacked the means to complete the schemes he had planned, or give the people what they expected on his return. Others say that he feared the necessity of accounting for his actions, in which he had disregarded the laws, the auspices, and all vetoes, during his first consulship. Certainly, Marcus Portius *Cato* [p. 459] had often pledged to impeach him, the moment his army was disbanded. And it was repeated, openly, that if he was out of office on his return, he would be tried in a court ringed with armed men, as *Milo* [p. 418] had been (52BC).

Asinius [p. 430] Pollio's comment in his *History* renders this more plausible, where he says that Caesar, at *Pharsalus* [p. 566], watching his enemies

fly or be killed, said in these exact words: 'They chose this; they would have condemned me, Gaius Caesar, despite my victories, if I had not sought the army's help.'

Some claim that the constant exercise of power made him enamoured of it; and that, having weighed his enemies' strength against his own, he grasped this chance of seizing dictatorship, and fulfilling the dreams of his youth. *Cicero* [p. 614], it seems, held that opinion, writing in the third book of his *De officiis* (*On Duty*), that Caesar was forever quoting *Euripides* [p. 491]' lines in his *Phoenissae* (*The Phoenician Women*), which Cicero translates as:

'If force is ever justified, to gain supremacy
By force is right: in all things else, cherish piety.'

BOOK ONE: XXXI ADVANCE TO THE RUBICON

Thus, when word came to him that the tribunes' veto had been disregarded, and that they had fled the city (49BC), he sent a few cohorts on ahead in secret and disarmed suspicion, while concealing his intentions, by appearing at a public show; inspecting the plans for a gladiatorial school he wished to build; and dining as usual surrounded by a crowd of guests. Then, at dusk, he commandeered some mules from a local bakery, harnessed them to a carriage, and set off quietly with a few of his staff. Though the carriage-lights guttered and he lost his way for a time, he found a guide at dawn, and returned to the road on foot through narrow back-lanes.

He then overtook his advanced guard at the River *Rubicon* [p. 583], which formed the boundary between Gaul and Italy. There he paused for a while and, realising the magnitude of the step he was taking, turned to his staff, to remark: 'We could turn back, even now; but once over that little bridge, and it will all come down to a fight.'

BOOK ONE: XXXII THE DIE IS CAST

As he stood there, undecided, he received a sign. A being of marvellous stature and beauty appeared suddenly, seated nearby, and playing on a reed pipe. A knot of shepherds gathered to listen, but when a crowd of his

soldiers, including some of the trumpeters, broke ranks to join them, the apparition snatched a trumpet from one of them, ran to the river, and sounding the call to arms blew a thunderous blast, and crossed to the far side. At this, Caesar exclaimed: 'Let us follow the summons, of the gods' sign and our enemy's injustice. The die is cast.'

BOOK ONE: XXXIII EXHORTING THE TROOPS

And crossing with the army, he welcomed the tribunes of the people, who had fled to him from Rome. Then, in tears, he addressed the troops and, ripping open the breast of his tunic, asked for their loyalty. It is even said that he promised every man there promotion to the Equestrian Order, and the 4000 gold pieces that went with it, but that is a simple misunderstanding. Because, during his speech of exhortation, he kept pointing to his left hand and crying out that he would gladly reward those who helped champion his honour with the very ring from his finger, the soldiers at the fringe of the crowd, who could see more clearly than they could hear, misinterpreted his gesture. So the word went round that he had promised them the right to wear a knight's gold ring, and the estate to support it.

BOOK ONE: XXXIV VICTORY IN SPAIN

An ordered account of his subsequent movements is as follows. He overran *Picenum* [p. 567], *Umbria* [p. 616] and *Etruria* [p. 491]; captured Lucius *Domitius* [p. 485] who had been illegally named his successor in Gaul, and was holding *Corfinium* [p. 471] (Corfinio) for the Senate, and released him; and then marched along the Adriatic coast to *Brundisium* [p. 443] (Brindisi), where *Pompey* [p. 573] and the consuls had taken refuge, as they fled from Rome to Epirus.

When his strenuous efforts to prevent them crossing the straits proved vain, he marched on Rome, where he summoned the Senate to debate the situation. From Rome he set off to confront Pompey's most substantial forces, commanded in Spain by Pompey's three generals, Marcus *Petreibus* [p. 565], Lucius *Afranius* [p. 410], and Marcus *Varro* [p. 604], saying to his friends as he left: 'I go to encounter an army without a leader, I shall return to

encounter a leader without an army.’ And though his advance was slowed by the siege of *Massilia* [p. 539] (Marseilles), which had barred its gates against him, and by a failure of his supply-lines, he still gained a swift and total victory.

BOOK ONE: XXXV IN PURSUIT OF POMPEY

Returning by way of Rome, Caesar crossed the Adriatic, and after blockading *Pompey* [p. 573] for four months behind immense containing works (at *Dyrrhacium* [p. 488] in Epirus, from which he was forced to retreat) he finally routed him at the Battle of *Pharsalus* [p. 566] (in Thessaly, 48BC). He followed Pompey’s flight to *Alexandria* [p. 416], and on learning that Ptolemy *XIII* [p. 578] had murdered his rival, and suspecting that there was a plot against his own life as well, declared war.

It proved a difficult campaign, as regards time and place, fought in winter, and inside the city walls of a well-supplied and devious enemy, while he himself was ill-equipped and lacking supply lines. Nevertheless he conquered, and handed rule in Egypt to *Cleopatra* [p. 468] VII and her younger brother Ptolemy *XIV* [p. 578] (in 47BC), fearing lest, as a Roman province, it might prove a source of rebellion under some headstrong governor.

From Alexandria, he advanced to Syria and from there to *Pontus* [p. 575], driven by the news that *Pharnaces* [p. 566] II, the son of *Mithridates* [p. 543] the Great, had taken advantage of the situation to achieve numerous military successes. But within five days of arriving, and four hours after sighting Pharnaces’ army, Caesar crushed him in battle (at *Zela* [p. 627] in 47BC) afterwards frequently remarking that Pompey had been fortunate in achieving fame by victory over such poor opponents.

Finally he overpowered *Scipio* [p. 588] and *Juba* [p. 513] I in North Africa (at *Thapsus* [p. 606] in 46BC) where the remnants of Pompey’s followers were gathering, followed by victory over Pompey’s two *sons* [p. 572] in Spain (at *Munda* [p. 546] in 45BC).

BOOK ONE: XXXVI VICTORY DESPITE SET-BACKS

Caesar never actually suffered a defeat throughout the Civil War, but among his generals Gaius *Curio* [p. 478] was killed fighting in Africa; Gaius *Antonius* [p. 421] was captured by the enemy off *Illyricum* [p. 510] while Publius *Cornelius* [p. 474] Dolabella lost a fleet there; and Gnaeus *Domitius* [p. 485] Calvinus lost his army, in *Pontus* [p. 575]. He himself was invariably successful, and only on two occasions was the issue ever in doubt: at *Dyrrachium* [p. 488] where *Pompey* [p. 573] forced him to retreat, such that he said of Pompey's failure to press home his advantage that 'he did not know how to conquer'; and again in Spain, in the final battle (at Munda), when all seemed lost, and he even contemplated suicide.

BOOK ONE: XXXVII HIS TRIUMPHS

After defeating *Scipio* [p. 588] (at Thapsus in 46BC), Caesar celebrated four triumphs in a single month, at intervals of a few days, and a fifth after defeating Pompey's *sons* [p. 572] (at Munda in 45BC). The first, the most magnificent, was the Gallic, followed by the Alexandrian, the Pontic, the African, and finally the Spanish, each differing from the next in the display of arms and spoils.

Riding through the *Velabrum* [p. 618], on the day of his Gallic triumph, he was nearly thrown from his ceremonial chariot which broke its axle, but he later ascended the *Capitol* [p. 453] between two lines of elephants to right and left, acting as torchbearers. At his *Pontic* [p. 575] triumph, among the processional wagons, he displayed one with a simple three word inscription, VENI:VIDI:VICI, 'I came, I saw, I conquered', thereby celebrating not scenes from the campaign as the other wagons did, but the speed with which it was executed.

BOOK ONE: XXXVIII HIS GIFTS TO THE SOLDIERS AND PEOPLE

Caesar gave every infantryman of his veteran legions 240 gold pieces as bounty, over and above the 20 paid to them at the start of hostilities. He also granted them land, though to avoid evicting existing owners these farms were scattered about the country.

Every member of the commons received not only ten pecks of grain and a ten pound jar of oil, but also the three gold pieces he had promised at first, as well as another gold piece because of the delay in payment. He also remitted a year's rent to tenants in Rome paying 20 gold pieces rent or less, and to those in the rest of Italy paying up to 5 gold pieces.

He added to all this a public banquet, and a distribution of meat, as well as two mass luncheons to celebrate his Spanish victory: two, because he judged that the liberality of the first failed to do his generosity credit, and so it was followed five days later by another more lavish one.

BOOK ONE: XXXIX HIS PUBLIC ENTERTAINMENTS

He mounted a whole series of diverse public shows, including a gladiatorial contest, stage-plays in every ward in Rome performed in several languages, races in the Circus, athletic competitions, and even a mock naval battle.

At the gladiatorial event in the *Forum* [p. 497], a praetorian, *Furius* [p. 499] Leptinus, fought it out with Quintus *Calpenus* [p. 450], a barrister and former senator. The sons of Asian and *Bithynian* [p. 440] leaders danced a *Pyrrhic* [p. 579] sword dance.

One of the plays was a farce written and acted by a Roman knight, Decimus *Laberius* [p. 523]. After his performance on stage he received five thousand gold pieces then his Equestrian's gold ring was returned to him (as he had forfeited his rank by appearing on stage) so that he could walk from stage to orchestra and take his place among the fourteen rows above reserved for the Order.

The *Circus* [p. 463] Maximus was extended at either end for the races, and a wide ditch dug all round. Young noblemen raced two and four-horse

chariots, or pairs of horses, leaping from back to back. The Troy-game, a mock battle supposedly introduced by *Aeneas* [p. 409], was performed by two troops, one of younger, one of older boys. And wild-beast combats were presented five days running, ending in a battle between two armies, each with five hundred infantry, thirty cavalry, and twenty elephants. The barrier and end-posts were removed to allow for this, so that the two camps could be pitched facing each other.

There were three days of athletics, held in a temporary purpose-built stadium on the *Campus* [p. 452] Martius.

To mount the naval battle, a lake was dug in the Lesser *Codeta* [p. 470]. It was fought between vessels with two, three, and four-banks of oars, allocated from the Tyrian and Egyptian fleets, and heavily manned with warriors.

The throng of spectators, drawn from every quarter of the city, was so vast that many visitors had to sleep in tents pitched in the streets and thoroughfares, while the crush of people was such that many died, including two senators.

BOOK ONE: XL HIS REFORM OF THE CALENDAR

Turning next to public affairs and the ordering of the state, Caesar reformed the calendar, which the College of Priests had allowed through their negligence to fall into disorder, adding days or months as it suited them, such that the festivals for the corn harvest and the grape vintage no longer fell in summer and autumn respectively.

He regulated the calendar year by the sun's course, increasing it from 355 to 365 days and abolishing thereafter the intercalary month that followed February, while adding a leap day every fourth year. Then, to align the next New Year's Day to the seasons correctly, he inserted two months between November and December, for that year (of 46BC) only, so that including the intercalary month, in the old style, it comprised fifteen months.

BOOK ONE: XLI HIS REFORM OF THE ADMINISTRATION AND ELECTORAL SYSTEM

To fill the Senate vacancies he enrolled new patricians, and increased the quota of praetors, aediles quaestors, and minor officials, reinstating those down-graded by the censors or convicted of corruption by a jury. He arranged the elections with the commons on the following basis: that apart from the consuls, half the magistrates should be chosen by the people, while the other half were his personal nominees. He announced his choices in memos to the tribes of voters, in the following manner: 'Caesar the Dictator, to such and such a tribe. I recommend so and so to you, to receive your vote.' And he even admitted to office the sons of men who had been proscribed.

He also restricted jury-service to two orders, the equestrian and the senatorial, disqualifying the treasury tribunes from serving.

Caesar altered the method and location of registering the grain entitlement. Assisted by the city landlords the list was completed street by street, and the number of those entitled to a free allocation of grain was reduced from 320,000 to 150,000. To obviate the need for this exercise in future he allowed the praetors to update their register when anyone died with the name of someone not yet on the list.

BOOK ONE: XLII OTHER REFORMS

Since the city population had been depleted by the allocation of 80,000 citizens to overseas colonies, no citizen between the ages of twenty and forty, unless he was restricted by army service, could now absent himself from Italy, legally, for more than three successive years. And no Senator's son could travel abroad except as a member of a magistrate's household or staff. And at least a third of the cattlemen employed by graziers must be free-born. Caesar also conferred citizenship on all medical practitioners and teachers of liberal arts in Rome, as an inducement to them to continue in residence there, and to others to do the same.

He disappointed those agitators who sought the cancellation of outstanding debts, but did decree that creditors had to accept a valuation of

their debtors' assets at pre-war prices, while deducting from the principal any interest already paid in cash or committed by way of bank guarantees, which had the effect of reducing the debt by about a quarter.

Caesar dissolved all the guilds except the ancient ones. He increased the penalties for crime, and since the rich committed offences with less compunction because they suffered exile but no loss of property, he punished the murderers of freemen by seizing the whole of their property, as *Cicero* [p. 614] records, and others by a loss of half their property.

BOOK ONE: XLIII HIS ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

He administered justice extremely strictly and conscientiously, dismissing senators convicted of extortion from the order. He even annulled the marriage of an ex-praetor whose wife wed him the day after her previous divorce, despite there being no suspicion of adultery.

He imposed import duties on foreign wares. He forbade the use of litters, and the wearing of scarlet robes and pearls except on set days by those of a suitable age and status. And he specifically enforced the law against luxury, by posting inspectors in various parts of the market, to seize and impound delicacies on sale in violation of the law, occasionally sending guards and lictors into dining-areas to remove any dishes served which had escaped their net.

BOOK ONE: XLIV HIS CIVIL PROJECTS

For the embellishment and efficiency of the city and the defence and extension of the Empire, Caesar daily increased the size and number of his projects; most importantly, erecting a Temple of Mars, larger than any previous one, while filling in and levelling the lake where the mock naval battle took place, and building a vast theatre, sloping down from the *Tarpeian* [p. 602] Rock; confining the Civil Code to defined limits, extracting the most essential and effective statutes from the vast and wordy tangle, and reducing them to the least number of volumes; providing public access to the finest libraries of Greek and Latin works, and assigning Marcus *Varro* [p. 604] the task of collecting and classifying them; draining the *Pontine* [p. 575]

marshes and releasing the waters of Lake *Fucinus* [p. 498]; laying a highway from the Adriatic over the heights of the Apennines to the Tiber; cutting a canal through the *Isthmus* [p. 511] of Corinth; pushing back the *Dacian* [p. 479] advances into *Pontus* [p. 575] and Thrace; and attacking the *Parthians* [p. 562] via Lesser Armenia, but without risking battle until he had gauged their qualities.

Death cut short all such plans and enterprises. But before I speak of that, it would not go amiss if I described briefly his appearance, dress, habits and character, as well as his conduct in peace and war.

BOOK ONE: XLV HIS APPEARANCE AND DRESS

Caesar is said to have been tall, with a fair complexion, well-formed limbs, dark eyes and a broad face. His health was sound, apart from the sudden losses of consciousness and nightmares that affected him in his latter days. Twice on campaign he was subject to an epileptic seizure. He was meticulous over the care of his person, always neatly trimmed and shaved, and even some say having other superfluous hair removed from his body. His baldness was an embarrassment that annoyed him greatly, offering a perfect subject for his enemies' gibes. As a result he used to comb the sparse hair forward from the crown of his head, and of all the honours voted him by Senate and People, the one that pleased him most, and the one of which he took most advantage, was the privilege of wearing a laurel wreath at all times.

He was also noted they say, for his manner of dress; his senatorial tunic, with its broad purple stripes, owning fringed sleeves to the wrist. And he wore it too with a loose belt, which prompted *Sulla's* [p. 599] warning to the aristocrats, to watch out for the ill-constrained boy.

BOOK ONE: XLVI HIS RESIDENCES

He occupied at first a modest house in the *Subura* [p. 598] quarter, but later as High Priest took over the official residence on the Sacred Way. Many writers say he enjoyed luxury and elegance; that having spent a fortune building a country mansion at *Nemi* [p. 548], from the foundations up, he had

it razed to the ground because it was lacking in various ways, though he was poor at the time and deep in debt; and that on campaign he took with him tessellated and mosaic flooring.

BOOK ONE: XLVII HIS ACQUISITIVENESS

They say also that the hope of acquiring pearls led to his invasion of *Britain* [p. 442], and that he would weigh them in his palm to value them; that he was an avid collector of gems, carvings, statues and old frescoes; and that he paid such high prices for exceptionally presentable and able slaves that he was ashamed to allow the amounts to be entered in the accounts.

BOOK ONE: XLVIII HIS HOUSEHOLD MANAGEMENT

Also, I find that, when based in the provinces he used to have dinner served in separate rooms, one for his Greek and Roman officers, the other for the use of Roman citizens and the more important provincial notables. He was so severe and punctilious in his household management, in small matters as well as great, that he clapped his baker in irons on one occasion for serving himself and his guests with bread of differing quality; and he had a favourite freedman executed for committing adultery with the wife of a Roman knight, even though no complaint had been made against the man.

BOOK ONE: XLIX HIS RELATIONSHIP WITH KING NICOMEDES

His reputation was only tarnished by accusations of homosexuality in the case of his intimacy with King *Nicomedes* [p. 551], though that was a grave and perennial source of reproach, and exposed him to widespread invective, not least *Licinius* [p. 526] Calvus' notorious lines:

'Whatever *Bithynia* [p. 440]
And Caesar's sodomite possessed.'

Then too there are *Dolabella's* [p. 473] and *Curio* [p. 477] the Elder's indictments of him, Dolabella calling him 'the queen's rival, and intimate

partner of the royal couch', while Curio speaks of 'Nicomedes' brothel and Bithynia's bordello.' There is *Bibulus* [p. 439], too, Caesar's colleague in the consulship, who described him in an edict as 'the Queen of Bithynia...who having loved a king would now be one.'

Marcus *Brutus* [p. 444] claimed that around the same time, in a crowded assembly, *Octavius* [p. 555], a mentally-disturbed individual with too free a tongue, greeted *Pompey* [p. 573] as 'king' and Caesar as 'queen', while Gaius *Memmius* [p. 540] charged Caesar directly with acting as Nicomedes' cup-bearer at a banquet with his wanton friends, adding that Roman merchants whom he names were among the guests.

Cicero [p. 614] was not content merely with writing, in several letters, that Caesar was led by the king's attendants to the royal suite, where, dressed in purple, he lay down on a gilded couch, and that this scion of Venus lost his virginity in Bithynia; but also in the Senate called out, during a speech of Caesar's in defence of Nicomedes' daughter *Nysa* [p. 553] in which Caesar was listing his obligations to the king: 'No more of that, if you please! Everyone knows what he gave you, and you in turn gave him!'

And lastly, his own soldiers, singing the usual ribald songs as they followed his chariot at his Gallic triumph, shouted out these notorious lines:

'By Caesar, Gaul was conquered, Caesar by Nicomedes:
See our Caesar triumph now, that brought Gaul to its knees,
Though he conquered Caesar, no triumph for Nicomedes.'

BOOK ONE: L HIS AFFAIRS WITH ROMAN WOMEN

The general opinion is that he was prone to extravagant affairs, and that he seduced many illustrious women, including Servius *Sulpicius* [p. 600]' wife *Postumia* [p. 577], Aulus *Gabinus* [p. 499]' wife *Lollia* [p. 531], Marcus *Crassus* [p. 526]' wife *Tertulla* [p. 605], and even *Pompey's* [p. 573] wife, *Mucia* [p. 545]. Certainly, Pompey was reproached by, among others, *Curio* [p. 477] the Elder and *Curio* [p. 478] the Younger, for betraying his lust for power, by divorcing *Mucia*, mother of his three children, to marry the daughter of a man whom he had often despairingly called an '*Aegisthus* [p. 405]'.

It was Marcus *Brutus* [p. 444]' mother *Servilia* [p. 592] whom Caesar loved most deeply. In his first consulship he bought her a pearl worth sixty thousand gold pieces, and during the Civil War as well as making her other gifts, he publicly auctioned off great estates to her at knock-down prices. When surprise was expressed at the low values, Cicero showed a neat turn of wit, since it was thought that Servilia was prostituting her daughter *Tertia* [p. 605] to Caesar: 'Ah,' he said, 'it's a better deal than you think, a third (*tertia*) has already been handed over.'

BOOK ONE: LI HIS REPUTATION ELSEWHERE

The evidence that he indulged in affairs in the provinces too, is another ribald verse sung by the soldiers at his Gallic triumph:

'Romans, lock your wives away: the bald seducer's in the rear,
You've squandered on his Gallic vice the gold you lent him
here.'

BOOK ONE: LII HIS ROYAL LOVE AFFAIRS

He had several royal mistresses, including *Eunoe* [p. 491] the Moorish wife of *Bogudes* [p. 440]; he showered splendid gifts on both her and her husband, according to Marcus *Actorius* [p. 405] Naso.

But the greatest of these was *Cleopatra* [p. 468], with whom he often feasted till dawn. They would have sailed through *Egypt* [p. 489] in her state barge almost to the borders of *Ethiopia* [p. 491] if his soldiers had not balked at the prospect. He eventually summoned her to Rome and allowed her to leave only after bestowing high honours and rich presents on her. He also permitted her to name the son she had borne him *Caesarion* [p. 448], after himself, a child whom the Greek writers say was very like him in bearing and appearance. Mark *Antony* [p. 422] told the Senate that Caesar had acknowledged his paternity and that Caesar's friends, including Gaius *Matius* [p. 539] and Gaius *Oppius* [p. 556], knew of this. Gaius Oppius however, seemingly admitting that the assertion needed to be challenged and Caesar's reputation defended, published a book to prove that the child Cleopatra claimed as Caesar's was in fact not his at all.

Helvius [p. 507] Cinna, tribune of the people, said he had drawn up a bill for the commons to pass while Caesar was absent from Rome, that legitimized Caesar marrying whichever woman he wished and as many as he wished 'for the purpose of producing legal heirs.' And to eliminate all doubt as to his vile reputation for unashamed vice and adultery, I may simply add that *Curio* [p. 477] the Elder referred to him in a speech as: 'Every man's woman and every woman's man.'

BOOK ONE: LIII HIS FOOD AND DRINK

Not even his enemies denied that he drank little wine. Marcus *Cato's* [p. 459] comment survives: 'Caesar was the only sober man who ever set out to overturn the state.' *Gaius Oppius* [p. 556] says that he was so indifferent to food, that when as a guest rancid oil was served instead of fresh, and the other guests refused it, Caesar helped himself more freely than usual, so as not to imply his host had been careless or lacking in manners.

BOOK ONE: LIV HIS CUPIDITY

His integrity in financial matters was less than scrupulous, both in the Provinces and at Rome. Various memoirs record that as Governor of Spain he not only begged money from his allies to help pay off his debts, but also that he invested and sacked several *Lusitanian* [p. 534] towns, even though the citizens had accepted his terms and opened the gates to receive him.

He robbed temples and shrines in Gaul of their votive offerings, and sacked towns more for their wealth than any offence they might have caused. As a result he collected a pile of gold, and sold it in Italy and the provinces, at a cut-price rate of three thousand sestertii a pound.

During his first consulship, he stole three thousand pounds of gold from the *Capitol* [p. 453], and replaced it with an equal weight of gilded bronze. And he bartered treaties and thrones, extracting one and a half million gold pieces from *Ptolemy* [p. 578] XII for himself and *Pompey* [p. 573], while later meeting the heavy costs of the Civil wars, his triumphs, and entertainments, by blatant sacrilege and plunder.

BOOK ONE: LV HIS ORATORY

As an orator and general he equalled or surpassed the greatest known. His prosecution of *Dolabella* [p. 473] set him in the first rank of advocates. Indeed *Cicero* [p. 614], discussing oratory in *Brutus*, says that he knows none to whom Caesar should give place, describing his style as brilliant, elegant, great and noble even. And in a letter to *Cornelius* [p. 475] Nepos he writes: 'Well, what specialist in the art of oratory would you rank higher? Who is wittier or displays wit more often? Who is more varied or more tasteful in his choice of words?'

In his youth, Caesar seems to have imitated Caesar *Strabo's* [p. 597] style, actually lifting some passages from his *On Behalf of the Sardinians* [p. 587], to use in a speech of his own, when competing with other advocates for the right to plead a cause. He is said to have delivered his oratory in a high-pitched voice, with impassioned movements and gestures not lacking in grace.

Several of his speeches survive, with others which are claimed as his but on inadequate evidence. Augustus had reason for thinking that the speech *On Behalf Of Quintus Metellus* [p. 445] was not published by Caesar, but in transcripts made by shorthand writers who could not keep pace with his delivery. I find that the title in some copies is *Composed On Behalf Of Metellus*, though it purports to be the speech given by Caesar, in defending Metellus and himself against charges raised by their joint accusers.

Augustus [p. 433] also doubted the authenticity of the address *To His Soldiers in Spain*, each of its two sections purporting to have been delivered prior to their respective battles, even though *Asinius* [p. 430] Pollio says the speed of the enemy attack on the second occasion left no time for a speech.

BOOK ONE: LVI HIS WRITINGS

He left personal memoirs of his actions both in the Gallic War and in the Civil War against Pompey. But the authorship of those concerning the Alexandrian, African and Spanish campaigns is unknown. Some say that *Oppius* [p. 556] wrote them, others *Hirtius* [p. 508] who did provide the last book of *The Gallic War* which Caesar left unfinished. Regarding Caesar's memoirs,

Cicero [p. 614], again in *Brutus*, speaks as follows: 'The memoirs he wrote deserve the highest praise; they are bare, direct and full of charm, stripped of all rhetorical flourishes; and content himself to supply the facts for historians to draw on, he has chanced to attract fools also, who would seek to elaborate on them, while deterring men of sense from adding a word.'

Hirtius states, clearly, of these same memoirs: 'Everyone rates them so highly, that Caesar seems to have denied, rather than granted, other writers an opportunity. Yet our admiration as friends is greater than others, for while they only know how faultlessly well he wrote them, we also know how swiftly and easily they were created.' *Asinius* [p. 430] Pollio however thinks they were composed with scant care and little regard for accuracy, since he was often too ready to believe others' accounts of their actions, and misreported his own, either by design or through forgetfulness, and that he intended to edit and correct them.

Besides two volumes of an essay *On Analogy*, he left two more of *Replies to Cato* and also a poem called *The Journey*. The first he wrote while crossing the Alps, on his way back to the army after holding assizes in Cisalpine Gaul; the second dates from his victory at *Munda* [p. 546]; while he composed the poem during a twenty-four day journey from Rome to Further Spain.

Various letters he sent the Senate are extant, and he seems the first to have reduced such reports to pages, with neat columns, in book-form, rather than scribbling them across single sheets as generals and consuls had previously done.

There are letters to Cicero too, and private letters to friends, the confidential passages written in code, using a rotational substitution cipher to disguise the meaning. Decipherment involves substituting a letter with the one three letters further on in the alphabet, thus D for A, and so on.

Certain writings, claimed to be from his boyhood or early youth, such as *In Praise of Hercules*, *The Tragedy of Oedipus*, and *A Collection of Sayings*, were mentioned in a brief and frank instruction from *Augustus* [p. 433] to *Pompeius* [p. 572] Macer, who was charged with setting his libraries in order, forbidding him from circulating these minor works.

BOOK ONE: LVII HIS PHYSICAL SKILLS AND POWERS OF ENDURANCE

Caesar was an expert soldier and horseman, possessed of incredible stamina. On campaign he led the army, sometimes on foot but more often in the saddle, bareheaded in sun and rain. He travelled long distances incredibly swiftly, taking little luggage, and using a hired gig, covering a hundred miles a day. He swam un-fordable rivers or crossed on inflated skins, and often arrived at his destination before the messengers sent ahead to announce him.

BOOK ONE: LVIII HIS SOUND JUDGEMENT ON CAMPAIGN

It is debatable which was more notable, his caution or his daring on campaign. On the one hand he never exposed his army to ambush, carefully reconnoitring the terrain ahead, refusing to make the crossing to *Britain* [p. 442] until he had enquired into its harbours, the best courses to set, and the likely hazards when approaching the island. Yet on the other hand, hearing the news that his camp in Germany was under siege, he disguised himself as a Gaul to cross the enemy picket lines. He crossed from *Brundisium* [p. 443] to *Dyrrachium* [p. 488] in winter too, running the blockade mounted by Pompey's fleet. And one night, when reinforcements failed to arrive, despite repeated prompting, Caesar muffled his head in a cloak and secretly and incognito, boarded a small boat and forced the helmsman to steer into the teeth of a gale, until the boat was all but wrecked.

BOOK ONE: LIX HIS LACK OF SUPERSTITION

Religious superstition never deterred him for a moment. Though the victim escaped from the formal sacrifice, he still continued his attack on *Scipio* [p. 588] and *Juba* [p. 513]. When he slipped and fell as he disembarked on the African coast, he treated it as a favourable omen, by clasping the earth and crying out: 'Africa, I hold you fast!' And in mockery of the former prophecy that Scipios were destined to be eternally fortunate and victorious in the province, he kept beside him in camp a contemptible fellow from the

Cornelian branch of that family, who had been nicknamed *Salvito* [p. 475] (Hail-fellow-well-met!) in reproach for his way of life.

BOOK ONE: LX HIS BATTLE TACTICS

Sometimes he attacked after careful advance planning, at other times seizing the opportunity to fight, frequently after a swift march, and in adverse weather, when a move was least expected. Later he became more cautious about engaging convinced that he should take less chances after his run of victories, thinking that one defeat might easily outweigh his many successes.

He never broke his enemies without routing them, so as to grant them no respite. And when the issue was in doubt, he would have the horses sent back, his own among the first, to encourage the men to stand their ground, by removing that means of escape.

BOOK ONE: LXI HIS HORSE

This war-horse of his was remarkable, with feet that looked almost human, its hooves cloven to resemble toes. The horse was foaled on his private estate, and since the soothsayers had prophesied that its master would rule the world, he had it reared most carefully, and was the first to break it in, so that afterwards it would tolerate no other rider. Later, he even dedicated a statue of it, in front of the temple of *Venus* [p. 619] Genetrix.

BOOK ONE: LXII HIS RALLYING OF THE TROOPS

If his soldiers gave ground, Caesar often rallied them in person, placing himself in front of the fleeing men, laying hold of them individually, even catching them by the throat, and forcing them to turn and face the enemy; once when they were so panic-stricken that a standard-bearer thrust the point at the butt end of the Eagle's pole at him, as he tried to halt his flight, and again when another left the standard behind in Caesar's hand as he tried to restrain him.

BOOK ONE: LXIII HIS SELF-POSSESSION AFTER PHARSALUS

His self-possession and determination was no less renowned; indeed the examples of it are striking. When he had sent his army ahead into Asia Minor, after *Pharsalus* [p. 566], and was crossing the Hellespont in a small ferry-boat, he encountered ten beaked warships commanded by his enemy Lucius *Cassius* [p. 456]. Making no attempt to escape Caesar had himself rowed towards the flagship, and urged Cassius to surrender. Cassius sought clemency, and was taken on board Caesar's boat.

BOOK ONE: LXIV HIS SELF-POSSESSION AT ALEXANDRIA

Assaulting a bridge at *Alexandria* [p. 416], he was forced to take to a small boat to escape an enemy sortie. So many men followed that he dived into the sea, and swam two hundred yards to the nearest ship, holding his left arm above the waves so as not to wet the documents he had with him, and towing his purple cloak after him, gripped in his teeth, to prevent its capture by the Egyptians.

BOOK ONE: LXV HIS HANDLING OF THE TROOPS

He judged his soldiers by their effectiveness, not by their morals or personal circumstances, and treated them with equal severity, or indulgence, since he did not, in general, restrict their freedom, only insisting on strict discipline in the presence of the enemy. At those times he kept them on the alert, ready to deploy at any time, and never forewarning them of the planned hour for marching or fighting. He often roused them without reason, particularly on holidays or when it rained. Every now and then he would order them to keep a close eye on him, and then would steal away from camp at a moment's notice, day or night, and march further than usual, wearying the stragglers.

BOOK ONE: LXVI HIS EXHORTATIONS TO THE ARMY

If the troops were alarmed by reports of the enemy's strength, Caesar would raise their courage, not by denying rumours or discounting them, but by exaggerating them further. For example, when they were in terror of King *Juba's* [p. 513] advance, he gathered them together and announced: 'I can tell you that the king will be here in a few days time, with ten legions, thirty thousand cavalry, a hundred thousand lightly-armed troops, and three hundred elephants. So you can stop asking and guessing, and listen to the one who knows all the facts. Anyone who won't I'll pack into some clapped-out hulk and ship them wherever the winds may blow them.'

BOOK ONE: LXVII HIS INDULGENCE

He took no notice of much of their misbehaviour, and seldom punished them by rote, but he kept an eye open for deserters and mutineers and punished them severely, turning a blind eye to the rest. Sometimes, after a heavy conflict resulting in victory, he relieved the troops of military duty and gave them licence to indulge themselves indiscriminately, boasting that his men fought just as well when they stank of perfume. Gathered together, he addressed them not as 'soldiers, but more flatteringly as 'comrades', and kept them well-equipped, giving them arms inlaid with silver and gold, to make a show but also to make the men keep a tight hold of them in battle, for fear of losing what was precious to them.

Such was his love for them, that when he heard of *Titurius* [p. 612]' disaster, he refused to have his hair or beard trimmed, not cutting them despite their length until he had exacted vengeance.

BOOK ONE: LXVIII HIS TROOPS LOYALTY AND COURAGE

By these means Caesar ensured the army's entire devotion to him, as well as its supreme courage. At the outbreak of civil war, every centurion in a legion vowed to equip a cavalryman from his savings, and the privates all offered to serve without pay or rations, the wealthy ones providing for those who were less well off. Not one deserted throughout the long

struggle, and on being taken prisoner many of them preferred death to taking up arms against him. They faced starvation and every other hardship with such fortitude, whether besieging or under siege, that when *Pompey* [p. 573] at *Dyrrachium* [p. 488] was shown the bread, found in the siege-works, made from wild plants, that Caesar's troops were eating, he cried out that he was fighting with wild beasts; and he gave orders for it to be hidden swiftly so that none of his men saw it, for fear that this evidence of the enemy's powers of endurance and resolve would break their spirits.

The fighting courage of Caesar's army is witnessed by the fact that defeated, this once, at Dyrrachium, they demanded to be punished, and he felt called upon to console them rather than discipline them. Elsewhere, they easily overcame the enemy hosts, even when outnumbered. A single cohort of the Sixth legion, held a redoubt against four of Pompey's legions for several hours, though almost all were wounded by the hail of arrows fired at them, a hundred and thirty thousand barbs being collected inside the ramparts.

It is less amazing, when the actions of individual soldiers are considered, for example among others those of the centurion Cassius *Scaeva* [p. 458], or Gaius *Acilius* [p. 404] a mere private. Cassius Scaeva, blinded in one eye, wounded in shoulder and thigh, his shield pierced in a hundred and twenty places, still defended his post at the entrance to a redoubt. While, in the naval battle off *Massilia* [p. 539], Gaius Acilius, grabbed hold of the stern of an enemy ship, and still boarded it even though his right hand was lopped off, driving the enemy back, with his shield-boss, in a manner to rival the Athenian hero *Cynegirus* [p. 479], pursuing the Persians after Marathon.

BOOK ONE: LXIX HIS REACTION TO MUTINY AT PLACENTIA

During the Gallic War, Caesar's troops never once mutinied, though there were sporadic incidents during the Civil Wars, where they soon resumed their duties, due to the exercise of his authority rather than to any concessions made, since he always faced them boldly and granted nothing to their insubordination.

At *Placentia* [p. 568], though *Pompey's* [p. 573] army was still unbeaten, he discharged the entire Ninth legion, with ignominy, and only reinstated it, unwillingly, after accepting their abject pleas, and punishing the ringleaders.

BOOK ONE: LXX HIS HANDLING OF THE TENTH LEGION AT ROME

And in Rome, where the Tenth legion called, threateningly, for their discharge and bounty, and posed a serious risk to the city, even though the African War was still raging, Caesar, ignoring the advice of his friends, was prepared to confront them, and dismiss them; but he easily won them over and mollified them with a single word, calling them 'citizens' rather than 'soldiers'. They refuted it, shouting back that they were 'soldiers', and though he refused them, demanding to follow him to Africa. There too he fined the most insubordinate of them, by withholding a third of both their bounty and the land set aside for them.

BOOK ONE: LXXI HIS DEVOTION TO HIS DEPENDENTS

Even as a young man, he showed himself devoted and loyal to his dependents. In Africa, he defended *Masinth* [p. 539], a nobleman's son, from King *Hiempsal* [p. 508] II so spiritedly that during the quarrel he grasped *Juba* [p. 513], the king's son, by the beard. On Masinth being declared the king's vassal, Caesar rescued him from the guards sent to arrest him, and hid him in his own quarters for a while. Embarking for Spain after his praetorship, he spirited the youth away in his own litter, unnoticed by the crowd who had come to see him off, or the lictors bearing their rods of office.

BOOK ONE: LXXII HIS KINDNESS TO HIS FRIENDS

He invariably treated his friends with kindness and indulgence. So much so that when Gaius *Oppius* [p. 556] was travelling with him through a forest, and was taken ill, Caesar relinquished the only available shelter to him, while he slept on the ground outside.

On achieving power, he promoted his friends to the highest office, however humble their birth, and replied brusquely to criticism of his actions by declaring that he would have done the same for anyone who had helped defend his honour, be they cut-throats and brigands.

BOOK ONE: LXXIII HIS RECONCILIATION WITH EX- OPPONENTS

Equally he was never so bitter in his enmities that he was not happy to set them aside when the opportunity arose. Though Gaius *Memmius* [p. 540] made highly barbed speeches against him, to which he replied no less sharply, he still supported Memmius later in his bid for the consulship.

When Gaius *Licinius* [p. 526] Calvus sought reconciliation, through friends, after publishing scurrilous epigrams about him, Caesar took the initiative in writing to him regardless.

And when *Valerius* [p. 617] Catullus who had, as Caesar was first to admit, inflicted lasting damage to his reputation with his libellous verses about *Mamurra* [p. 536], apologised for the slur, Caesar invited Catullus to dinner that very day, and there was no lapse in his friendship with the poet's father.

BOOK ONE: LXXIV HIS CLEMENCY

Even in exacting vengeance, he was by nature merciful. He had sworn to crucify the pirates who once held him to ransom, but when he captured them he ordered their throats to be cut first to grant them a quick death.

He could never find it in himself to punish *Cornelius* [p. 475] Phagites, even though, when ill and hiding from *Sulla's* [p. 599] spies, the man had pursued him night after night, and only by bribing him did Caesar escape being detained.

Discovering that *Philemon* [p. 566], the slave who was his amanuensis, had contracted with his enemies to poison him, he had him executed, but without condemning him to prior torture.

When he was called as a witness against Publius *Clodius* [p. 469], who was accused of adultery with Caesar's wife, *Pompeia* [p. 571], in sacrilegious circumstances, Caesar refused to submit evidence against him, though Caesar's mother, *Aurelia* [p. 436], and his sister, *Julia* [p. 514], had both given the jury a detailed account of the whole business; and when being asked why, in that case, he had divorced Pompeia, he answered: 'Because I consider my family should be above suspicion and beyond accusation.'

BOOK ONE: LXXV HIS ACTS OF MERCY IN WARFARE

During the Civil War, he showed truly admirable restraint and clemency throughout, and at the hour of victory. Whereas *Pompey* [p. 573] declared that those who would not fight for the government were enemies, Caesar treated those who remained neutral and independent of party as friends. All those whom he had confirmed as centurions on Pompey's recommendation he allowed to fight for his rival. At *Ilerda* [p. 510], in Spain, when the conditions of surrender were being negotiated, and the two armies were fraternizing, *Afranius* [p. 410] and *Petreius* [p. 565], in a sudden change of intent, executed every one of Caesar's soldiers who had wandered into their camp. Nevertheless, Caesar resisted retaliating in kind.

At *Pharsalus* [p. 566], he shouted: 'Spare your fellow-Romans!', and after the battle allowed each of his men to grant the life of a combatant of the opposing party whom they chose. It seems that no Pompeians were deliberately killed during the Civil War except during the fighting, other than Afranius, *Faustus* [p. 599] Cornelius Sulla, and the young *Lucius* [p. 447] Caesar, and that even those killings were against his wishes, despite the two former having fought again after being pardoned, while Lucius had not only burned the dictator's slaves and freedmen to death or put them to the sword, but had even butchered the wild beasts intended for the arena.

Later in his career, he allowed the exiles he had not yet pardoned to return to Italy, where they were permitted to become magistrates and occupy positions of command in the army. He even went so far as to reinstate those statues of *Sulla* [p. 599], the dictator, and Pompey which had been smashed by the people. If any hostile plots were subsequently in danger of coming to fruition, or any slanders were ever uttered against him, he chose to suppress them rather than punish them. So, he ignored

conspiratorial meetings and midnight assemblies, merely letting it be known that he was aware of them, while he simply issued a public warning to slanderers and libellers to desist, good-naturedly taking no action against Aulus *Caecina* [p. 445] for his scurrilous publication or *Pitholaus* [p. 568] for his wicked lampoons.

BOOK ONE: LXXVI HIS ABUSE OF POWER

And yet, others of his words and actions weight the scale against him, such that he was judged to have abused power and deserved assassination. Not only did he accept an excessive list of public honours, such as perpetual consulship, dictatorship for life, and the censorship of morals; the title *Imperator* before his name and *Father of the Country* after it; his statue among the ancient kings; and a raised couch in the front row at the theatre; but he should also, as a mere mortal, have refused others which were more than excessive, such as his golden throne in the Senate and the Tribunal; a chariot and litter with his statue in the religious procession round the Circus; temples, altars and statues among those of the gods; a sacred couch; a priest of his own cult; a college of *Luperci* [p. 533]; and the month of July being named after him. There was not a single honour which he was not pleased to receive, or to grant himself, at will.

His third and fourth consulships were so in name only, since the powers of dictatorship conferred on him at that time were more than sufficient. In both years two new consuls substituted for him during the last quarter, while in the meantime only the elections for tribunes and plebeian aediles were held, prefects instead of praetors being appointed to manage the city during his absences.

When one of the consuls died suddenly on New Year's Eve, he granted an applicant's request to assume that office for the remaining few hours. And he flouted law and precedent, in a like manner, by naming magistrates for several years ahead; bestowing consular rank on ten ex-praetors; and admitting foreigners, who had been granted citizenship, to the Senate, including barely-civilised Gauls.

The Mint, and the public finances, he placed in charge of his own slaves. And he sent the son of one of his freedmen, a favourite of his called

Rufio [p. 584], to inspect and take command of three legions still stationed in Alexandria.

BOOK ONE: LXXVII HIS PUBLIC ARROGANCE

His public utterances were no less arrogant, as Titus *Ampius* [p. 418] records: that the State was a nullity, a mere name without body or form; that *Sulla* [p. 599] was a dunce for resigning the dictatorship; that his word was law and men should be careful how they addressed him. On one occasion, when a soothsayer reported that the sacrificial entrails were diseased and no heart visible, Caesar was arrogant enough to say: 'They'll be propitious when I wish it: a sheep lacking heart's hardly a portent.'

BOOK ONE: LXXVIII THE DEFINING MOMENT

But in truth what stirred the bitterest hatred against him was this: that he received the delegation of the whole Senate, who brought signed decrees bestowing high honours on him, at the Temple of *Venus* [p. 619] Genetrix, and did not rise to greet them. According to some, he tried to rise but was prevented from doing so by Cornelius *Balbus* [p. 472]; while others claim that he made no move, and scowled angrily at Gaius *Trebatius* [p. 613] for prompting him.

His action seemed the more intolerable because of his own behaviour when he rode past the benches reserved for the tribunes during one of his triumphs, for so incensed was he by *Pontius* [p. 575] Aquila, a member of the college, who remained seated, that he shouted: 'Come and reclaim the Republic from me, then, Aquila the tribune!' and for several days afterwards whenever he confirmed a request, he added: 'That is, of course, if Pontius Aquila agrees.'

BOOK ONE: LXXIX CAESAR AND THE KINGSHIP

He added an even more insolent act to his contemptuous insult to the Senate. On returning to the city from the Alban Hill, where the *Latin* [p. 524]

Festival had been celebrated, and amidst wild and unprecedented popular acclamation, a member of the crowd set a laurel wreath, tied with the white fillet of royalty, on his statue. When two tribunes of the people, *Epidius* [p. 490] *Marullus* and *Caesetius* [p. 448] *Flavus*, ordered the ribbon to be removed and the man imprisoned, Caesar reprimanded and summarily deposed them, either offended that the suggestion of royalty had been received so unfavourably, or, as he claimed, because the glory of refusing it had been denied him.

However, from that time onwards, he was never free of the suspicion that he aspired to kingship, though when the Commons hailed him as king he answered: 'I am not king, but Caesar.' At the *Lupercalia* [p. 533], when he spoke from the rostra, *Mark Antony* [p. 422], the consul, made several attempts to set a crown on his head, yet he pushed it aside, and finally sent it off to the *Capitol* [p. 453] as an offering to *Jupiter* [p. 521] *Optimus Maximus*.

Moreover, the rumour spread in various quarters that he planned to move to *Troy* [p. 614] or *Alexandria* [p. 416], carrying off the national resources, draining Italy of men by a mass levy, and leaving the city under the command of his friends. At the next meeting of the Senate it was claimed, *Lucius Aurelius Cotta* would declare a ruling of the Fifteen Custodians of the *Sibylline* [p. 593] Books, that since the prophecies stated the *Parthians* [p. 562] would only be overcome by a king, Caesar should be granted that title.

BOOK ONE: LXXX THE CONSPIRACY

It was this ruling that led to the plans which the conspirators had formed being hastily brought forward, to prevent assent being granted to such a proposal.

Groups of two or three disparate plotters united in a wide-reaching conspiracy, the people too being displeased by the state of affairs, deploring Caesar's tyranny both privately and in public, and demanding champions to defend the ancient liberties.

When foreigners were admitted to the Senate, a poster appeared reading: '*Duly approved*: that none shall point out the House to any newly-appointed Senator.' And the following was sung in the streets:

‘Caesar led the Gauls in triumph, to the Senate, through our town;
Gauls, with no breeches, now sport the broad-striped purple gown.’

While when Quintus *Maximus* [p. 540], one of the three-month consuls, entered the theatre, and was announced by his lictor in the usual way, a cry went up: ‘He’s no consul!’ After the two tribunes, *Caesetius* [p. 448] and *Marellus* [p. 490] were deposed by Caesar, several votes were still cast for them at the next consular election. Someone wrote: ‘If only you were alive!’ on the pedestal of *Lucius* [p. 443] Junius Brutus’ statue, and these lines on Caesar’s:

‘Brutus we made consul first, who drove the kings away;
This one drives our consuls out, and plays the king today.’

More than sixty conspirators joined the plot against him, led by Gaius *Cassius* [p. 456], Marcus Junius *Brutus* [p. 444] and *Decimus* [p. 443] Junius Brutus Albinus. They were undecided at first whether to attack him at the election on the Field of *Mars* [p. 452], when he stood on the temporary bridge over which voters went to cast their ballot, some positioned to hurl him from the bridge as he called on the tribes to vote, the others waiting below to finish him off, or whether to assault him on the Sacred Way or at the Theatre entrance. However, when a meeting of the Senate was appointed on the Ides of March in *Pompey’s* [p. 573] Portico, they swiftly made that time and place their first choice.

BOOK ONE: LXXXI WARNINGS AND PORTENTS

Unmistakable portents foretold the approach of Caesar’s assassination. For instance, a few months previously, the veterans sent to colonise *Capua* [p. 455] under the Julian law, started demolishing some ancient tombs to furnish stone for their farmhouses. They were made all the more eager by discovering a hoard of antique vases in one of the tombs, said to be that of *Capys* [p. 455], Capua’s founder, and found a bronze tablet with a Greek inscription which read: ‘If ever Capys’ bones are moved, a son of Troy will be killed by his kin, and then avenged at vast cost to Italy.’ The tale should not be thought a lie or a myth, because *Cornelius* [p. 472] Balbus attests to it, and he was Caesar’s close friend.

Caesar was told, not long before his death, that the free-ranging herd of horses he had dedicated to the river-god, at his crossing of the *Rubicon* [p. 583], stubbornly refused to graze, and were shedding copious tears.

Again, as he offered a sacrifice, *Spurinna* [p. 596] the augur warned him to beware of danger which threatened him before the Ides of March were past. And on the eve of the Ides a little *king-bird* [p. 573] with a sprig of laurel in its beak flew into *Pompey's* [p. 573] Portico, pursued by a swarm of others from a copse near-by, who tore it to pieces there and then.

Indeed, on the very eve of his assassination, Caesar dreamt that he was soaring beyond the clouds, to clasp the right-hand of *Jove* [p. 521], and *Calpurnia* [p. 450] his wife, dreaming that the pediment of their mansion was falling, while her husband lay stabbed in her arms, awoke when the door of her room suddenly flew open of its own accord.

Due to these portents, and a bout of ill-health, Caesar hesitated for a while over whether to defer what he had planned for the Senate, and remain at home. In the end, *Decimus* [p. 443] Brutus convinced him not to disappoint the Senate, which was in plenary session and awaiting him. He set out at about ten, and though a note containing details of the plot was handed to him on the way, he merely added it to the bundle of documents in his left hand, intending to read them later.

After several animals had been sacrificed, and despite the lack of favourable omens, he defied the portents and entered the meeting-hall, mocking *Spurinna* as a false prophet, since the Ides of March had arrived without harm. *Spurinna* answered him, that indeed they had come, but were not yet gone.

BOOK ONE: LXXXII THE ASSASSINATION

As Caesar sat down, the conspirators gathered round him as if to pay their respects. *Tillius Cimber* [p. 611], who had assumed the leading role, came closer as though to make a request. When Caesar made a gesture dismissing his plea to a later time, *Cimber* grasped his toga by the shoulders, and as Caesar cried out: 'This is violence!' one of the *Casca* [p. 455] brothers stabbed him, as he turned away, just below the throat. Caesar, catching *Casca's* arm ran it through with his stylus, and was leaping to his feet when another blow

halted him. Seeing that he was surrounded by naked blades, he threw his robe over his face, and released its folds with his left hand to reach his feet, so he might die more decently with both legs covered.

He was stabbed twenty-three times in this manner, and made no sound after the first blow drew a groan from him, though it has been said that when Marcus *Brutus* [p. 444] attacked him, he reproached him in Greek, saying 'καί σὺ τέκνον. You too, my child!'

All there dispersed, leaving the corpse lying there for some time, until three slave-boys carried him home on a litter, his arm hanging lifelessly by its side. The physician *Antistius* [p. 419] was of the opinion that despite Caesar's many wounds, only the second blow in the chest had proved mortal.

It had been the conspirators' intent to drag the dead man to the Tiber, then seize his property and revoke his decrees, but they were scared off by Mark *Antony* [p. 422], the consul, and *Lepidus* [p. 407], the master of horse.

BOOK ONE: LXXXIII THE WILL

Caesar's will, made six months previously at his villa near *Lavicum* [p. 524], and entrusted to the Chief *Vestal* [p. 621], was opened and read, by request of Lucius Calpurnius *Piso* [p. 451], his father-in-law, at Mark *Antony's* [p. 422] house.

Quintus Aelius *Tubero* [p. 614] claimed that, from his first consulship to the start of the Civil War, he had always named Pompey as his heir, and used to read out the clause to the assembled troops. But in his last will, he named instead his sisters' three grandsons. Gaius *Octavius* [p. 433] was to receive three quarters of the estate, while Lucius *Pinarius* [p. 568] and Quintus *Pedius* [p. 564] shared the rest, and Gaius Octavius, by a final clause, was also adopted into the family and was to take Caesar's name.

Caesar had appointed several of the assassins-to-be to act as guardians if a legitimate son was born to him, while *Decimus* [p. 443] Brutus in particular was even named as an heir of the second degree (inheriting if those of the first degree had died or chose to refuse their legacy).

He left to the city his gardens by the Tiber, for public use, with three gold pieces going to every citizen.

BOOK ONE: LXXXIV THE FUNERAL

With the announcement of the funeral arrangements, a pyre was built on the *Campus* [p. 452] Martius, near the tomb of Caesar's daughter *Julia* [p. 514], while a gilded shrine was erected on the *Rostra* [p. 497] in the Forum, modelled on that of *Venus* [p. 619] Genetrix. It contained the bier, of ivory, clothed in purple and gold, with a pillar at its head on which hung the robe he had been wearing when he was murdered.

Since a single day was clearly not sufficient for all those who offered gifts to file past the shrine, mourners were told to bring them to the Campus by whatever route they wished regardless of any order of precedence.

At the funeral games, pity and indignation at the murder were aroused by the following line from *Pacuvius* [p. 559]' play *The Contest for the Arms of Achilles*:

'What: did I save these men that they might murder me?'

and by a similar quotation from *Atilius's* [p. 432] *Electra*.

Instead of the usual eulogy, the consul Mark *Antony* [p. 422] had a herald recite the Senate decree in which they had voted to grant Caesar all human and divine honours simultaneously, and the oath by which they had all promised to guarantee his personal safety. He then added a few words of his own.

The bier was carried down into the *Forum* [p. 497] from the Rostra by a group of magistrates and ex-magistrates. While a dispute was taking place as to whether the cremation should take place in the Temple of Capitoline *Jupiter* [p. 521], or in *Pompey's* [p. 573] Portico, two divine beings suddenly appeared with blazing torches, swords at their sides, each brandishing a pair of javelins, and set the bier alight. The crowd of spectators swiftly heaped dry branches on top, along with the judges' chairs, the court benches, and whatever else was at hand. The professional mourners and musicians stripped off the robes they had dressed in for the funeral, robes which had been worn at his triumphs, tore them in pieces and flung them into the flames, to which veterans added the arms they had borne, while many noblewomen sacrificed their jewellery together with their children's gold charms and robes.

At the height of the mourning, crowds of foreigners made their laments according to the customs of their various countries, especially the *Jewish* [p. 512] community (to whom Caesar was a benefactor), whose members flocked to the Forum for several nights in succession.

BOOK ONE: LXXXV THE AFTERMATH OF THE FUNERAL

In the immediate aftermath of the funeral, people ran with firebrands to the houses of *Brutus* [p. 444] and *Cassius* [p. 456], from which they were driven back with difficulty. Then they mistook *Helvius* [p. 507] Cinna for *Cornelius* [p. 473] Cinna, whom they were seeking and who had delivered a bitter indictment of Caesar the previous day. Killing the man, they set his head on the point of a spear, and paraded with it through the streets.

Later the populace raised a twenty-foot high pillar of solid Numidian marble, in the *Forum* [p. 497], with the inscription: 'To the Father of the Country.' For years afterward, sacrifices were offered at the foot of this column, vows were made, and disputes settled by the swearing of an oath in Caesar's name.

BOOK ONE: LXXXVI HIS ANTICIPATION OF DEATH

Caesar left the suspicion, in the minds of various friends that, not wishing to prolong his life due to failing health, he had ignored the portents of death, and the warnings of his associates, and laid himself open to assassination. There are those who claim that trusting in the Senate's latest decree, and oaths of loyalty, he even dispensed with the Spanish bodyguards who had previously protected him. Others, on the contrary, think that he deliberately exposed himself once and for all to the constant threat of death, rather than live in a perpetual state of anxiety and precaution.

Also he often claimed, they say, that his life was of more value to the his country than to himself, since he was long since sated with power and glory, while if anything happened to him the State would enjoy no peace, but enter on an even more turbulent civil war.

BOOK ONE: LXXXVII HIS WISH FOR A SWIFT END

Almost all the authorities agree on this, that he all but sought the death he suffered. Once he read in *Xenophon's* [p. 627] *Education of Cyrus*, of the funeral directions *Cyrus* [p. 479] had issued during his last illness, and stated his horror of a lingering death of that nature, and his desire for a swift and sudden end. On the very day before his murder, during a dinner conversation at Marcus *Lepidus* [p. 407]' house, the topic of which was 'the most preferable manner of dying' he had voted for 'that which was unanticipated and quickly over'.

BOOK ONE: LXXXVIII THE COMET

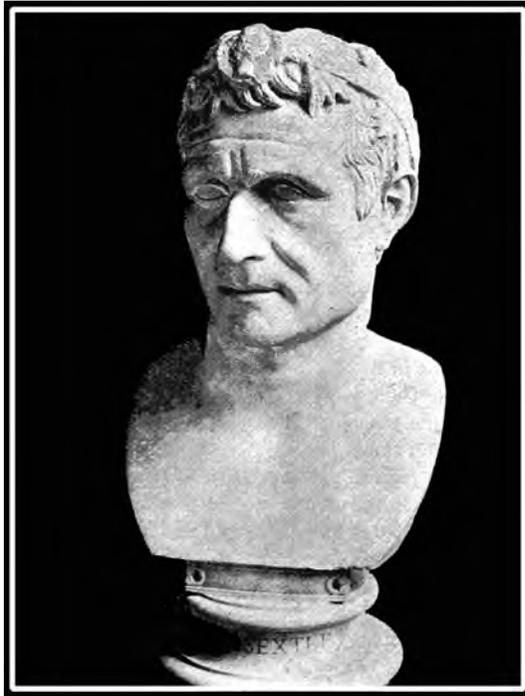
He died at the age of sixty-five, and was immediately deified, not merely by formal decree, but in the belief of the people. For, at the first of the games, which *Augustus* [p. 433], his heir, had decreed, to honour Caesar's apotheosis, a comet rose about an hour before sunset, and was visible for several days. This was held to be Caesar's soul, received in the heavens; which is why the images of him as a god are crowned with a star.

The Senate voted that the assembly hall where he was killed be walled up; that the Ides of March should be called The Day of Parricide; and that no meeting of the Senate should ever be called on that day again.

BOOK ONE: LXXXIX THE FATE OF THE CONSPIRATORS

Few of his assassins outlived him for more than three years, or died a natural death. All were condemned, and perished in a multitude of ways, some by shipwreck, or in battle; others ending their lives with the self-same weapons with which they had murdered Caesar.

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Book Two: Augustus (Later Deified)



BOOK TWO: I THE OCTAVII

By all accounts, the Octavii, of ancient *Velitrae* [p. 618] (Velletri) were a distinguished family. Not only was there an Octavian Street in the busiest part of town, but there was also an altar consecrated to an *Octavius* [p. 555] who led the troops in a war with a neighbouring city. News of an enemy attack reaching him as he was sacrificing to Mars, he snatched the innards from the fire, offered them half-burned, then set out to win the battle. The city records contained a decree that all future offerings should be made in that manner, and the sacrificial carcass granted to the Octavii.

BOOK TWO: II HIS PATERNAL ANCESTORS

The Octavii, among other plebeian families, were first admitted to the Senate by King *Tarquinius* [p. 602] Priscus, and later enrolled among the patricians by *Servius* [p. 593] Tullius, though they returned to the ranks of the plebeians in the course of time, until Julius *Caesar* [p. 518] made them patricians again after a long interval.

Gaius [p. 556] Rufus was the first of the family to be elected to the magistracy by popular vote, being made a quaestor. Separate branches of the family stemmed from his two sons *Gnaeus* [p. 556] and *Gaius* [p. 556], the descendants of Gnaeus holding highest office, while Gaius and his descendants, by choice or accident, remained members of the equestrian order until *Augustus* [p. 433]' *father* [p. 555] became a Senator.

Augustus' great-grandfather, *Gaius* [p. 555], fought as a military tribune under *Aemilius* [p. 408] Papus (in 205BC), serving in Sicily during the Second Punic War, while his grandfather, with a substantial income, was content with municipal office, and lived to a ripe old age.

That is what others claim. Augustus himself, in his *Memoirs*, simply says that he came of an old and wealthy equestrian family, his own father being the first member of the family to enter the Senate. Mark *Antony* [p. 422] poked fun at the great-grandfather, claiming that he was merely a freedman, a rope-maker from the neighbourhood of *Thurii* [p. 607], while the grandfather was a money-changer. This is all I have managed to learn of Augustus' paternal ancestors.

BOOK TWO: III HIS FATHER

His father, *Gaius Octavius* [p. 555], was born to wealth and was a man of repute, so that it is hard to believe claims that he too was a money-changer, employed to distribute bribes, and perform other services during electioneering in the *Campus* [p. 452]. Certainly he was raised in affluence, easily achieved high office, and proved effective in that role.

At the end of his praetorship, he was appointed to Macedonia, and on the way to his province successfully executed a special commission, entrusted to him by the Senate, by eliminating a group of outlawed slaves, from the armies of *Spartacus* [p. 595] and *Catiline* [p. 458], who held the countryside around *Thurii* [p. 607].

As Governor of Macedonia, he was as just as he was brave. As well as routing the *Bessi* [p. 439] with other Thracian tribes in a major battle, his dealings with allies was so effective that *Cicero* [p. 614], in extant letters to his brother *Quintus* [p. 615], who was at that time a less than successful propraetor of Asia, reproaches his brother and urges him to imitate his neighbour Octavius in winning over his allies.

BOOK TWO: IV HIS MATERNAL ANCESTORS

Augustus' father died suddenly, while returning from Macedonia, and was thus prevented by death alone from standing as a candidate for the consulship. He was survived by his three children, Octavia the *Elder* [p. 554], who was his daughter by *Ancharia* [p. 418]; and *Octavia* [p. 554] the Younger and *Augustus* [p. 433], his children by *Atia* [p. 432].

Atia was the daughter of Marcus Atius *Balbus* [p. 432] and Julius Caesar's sister *Julia* [p. 514]. A native of *Aricia* [p. 428], his father's home town, Balbus' ancestral halls boasted images of the many Senators it had provided, while he was closely related to *Pompey* [p. 573] through his mother. After holding office as praetor, he was one of the Commission of Twenty, charged with distributing land in Campania to the public, under the Julian Law.

Mark *Antony* [p. 422] it was again, who tried to belittle Augustus' maternal ancestors, claiming the great-grandfather was born in Africa, and kept a perfumery and then a bakery in Aricia. *Cassius* [p. 457] of Parma, in a letter, likewise taunts Augustus with being the grandson of a baker and a money-changer: 'The dough your mother made you of came from a common bakery in Aricia, and was kneaded into shape by the cash-soiled hands of a money-changer from *Nerulum* [p. 550].'

BOOK TWO: V HIS BIRTH

Augustus was born just before sunrise on the ninth day before the Kalends of October (September 23rd, 63BC), in the year when *Cicero* [p. 614] and Gaius *Antonius* [p. 421] were consuls, at Ox-Heads in the *Palatine* [p. 559] quarter, where a shrine was built shortly after he died. The location was revealed, as Senate records show, by a young patrician, Gaius *Laetorius* [p. 523], who while pleading for a lesser punishment for adultery, on the grounds of his youth and rank, further recommended himself to the Senators as 'the owner and guardian, as it were, of the first place that the god Augustus touched at his birth.' He therefore also begged for pardon in the name of his own special god, and it was subsequently decreed that the designated area of his house be consecrated.

BOOK TWO: VI HIS NURSERY

A small room, like a pantry, in his *grandfather's* [p. 555] country house near *Velitrae* [p. 618] (Velletri), is to this day claimed as Augustus' nursery, while local people are convinced he was also born there. No one dares enter the room except for some essential task, and even then only after a ritual of purification, since there is a long-standing belief that anyone entering casually will be exposed to something monstrous and terrifying. This was recently proven to be true, when a new owner of the villa, deliberately or from ignorance, slept there. Later that night, a mysterious force suddenly hurled him from bed, and he was found lying half-dead by the door, still wrapped in the sheets.

BOOK TWO: VII HIS VARIOUS NAMES

As a child he was surnamed Thurinus, either after his ancestral home, *Thurii* [p. 607], or because his father *Octavius* [p. 555] defeated the outlawed slaves nearby, shortly after Augustus' birth. I can submit certain evidence of the fact, since I once owned a bronze statuette of him as a boy, with that name added in barely legible rusted iron letters. I gave this to my Emperor, *Hadrian* [p. 505], who placed it in his bedroom among the Household-gods.

Moreover Mark *Antony* [p. 422] in his letters often calls him by the name Thurinus, by way of insult, though Augustus merely commented that he was surprised to find his actual former name used in that manner.

Later he adopted the name Gaius Caesar to comply with his great-uncle Julius *Caesar's* [p. 518] will; while the title Augustus was granted him after *Munatius* [p. 545] Plancus introduced a Senate motion to that effect. Though the opinion was expressed that he should take the name *Romulus* [p. 583], as a second founder of the city, Plancus carried the day, arguing that Augustus was a more original and honourable title, because sacred sites and anything consecrated by the augurs are called *augusta*. The custom is derived either from the 'increase', *auctus*, in their holiness, or from the familiar phrase *avium gestus gustusve*, 'the posture and pecking of birds' which this line from *Ennius* [p. 490] supports:

'When with august augury illustrious Rome was born.'

BOOK TWO: VIII A BRIEF SUMMARY OF HIS LIFE

He lost his *father* [p. 555] at the age of five (58BC). At twelve he delivered a funeral oration in honour of his grandmother *Julia* [p. 514], Julius Caesar's sister (51BC). At sixteen, having assumed the toga, he was decorated by *Caesar* [p. 518] during the African triumph (46BC) even though he had been too young to fight. When Caesar went to conquer Pompey's *sons* [p. 572] in Spain (in 46BC), Augustus followed, despite still being weak from severe illness, and despite being shipwrecked on the way, with a minimal escort, over roads menaced by the enemy, so endearing himself greatly to Caesar, who quickly formed a high opinion of Augustus' character, beyond merely his energetic pursuit of the journey.

After recovering the Spanish provinces, Caesar planned an expedition against the *Dacians* [p. 479], to be followed by an attack on *Parthia* [p. 562], and sent Augustus ahead (in 45BC) to *Apollonia* [p. 426] in *Illyria* [p. 510], where he spent his time studying. When news came of Caesar's assassination (in 44BC), and that the will named him as the main heir, Augustus considered seeking protection from the legions quartered there. However he decided it would be rash and premature, and chose to return to Rome, and enter on his inheritance, despite the doubts expressed by his mother, and strong opposition from his stepfather, the ex-consul *Marcus* [p. 537] Philippus.

Augustus went on to levy armies and rule the State; firstly for a twelve-year period (from 43BC to 30BC), initially with Mark *Antony* [p. 422] and *Lepidus* [p. 407] and then (from 33BC) with Antony alone; and later by himself for a further forty-four years (to his death in AD14).

BOOK TWO: IX HIS INVOLVEMENT IN CIVIL WAR

Having given above a brief summary of his life, I will now consider its various phases, though to make the account clearer and more intelligible, I will treat it, as here, by subject matter rather than chronologically.

He fought in five civil conflicts, associated geographically with *Mutina* [p. 546] (43BC), *Philippi* [p. 567] (42BC), *Perusia* [p. 564] (41-40BC), *Sicily* [p. 593] (36BC) and *Actium* [p. 404] (31BC). The first and last of these were against Mark *Antony* [p. 422], the second against *Brutus* [p. 444] and *Cassius* [p. 456], the third

against Lucius *Antonius* [p. 421], Mark Antony's brother, and the fourth against Sextus *Pompeius* [p. 572], Pompey's son.

BOOK TWO: X MUTINA

The motivation for all this warfare was that Augustus considered it his duty to avenge *Caesar's* [p. 518] death, and enforce his decrees. On returning from *Apollonia* [p. 426], he determined to take Brutus and Cassius by surprise, and act against them. When they foresaw the danger and fled, he resorted to law and prosecuted them for murder, in their absence.

Since the officials appointed to oversee Caesar's victory games were afraid of doing so, he gave the games himself, and in order to wield grater authority for his plans, he announced himself as a candidate for a tribuneship of the people, since an incumbent had died, though in theory unqualified, as he was a patrician and not yet a Senator. When Mark *Antony* [p. 422], whom as consul that year he had counted on for support, would not even allow him the common right of transfer except on payment of a heavy bribe, he joined the *optimates*, the senatorial party, aware that they detested Antony, even more so because he was besieging *Decimus* [p. 443] Brutus in *Mutina* [p. 546], and attempting to drive him from the province to which Caesar had appointed him, an appointment ratified by the Senate.

Acting on sundry advice, he hired assassins to murder Antony. Fearing retaliation when the plot was discovered, he spent all he could muster on raising a force of veterans to protect himself and the State. Raised to the rank of *propraetor* by the Senate, and placed in command of this army, he was instructed to join *Hirtius* [p. 508] and *Pansa* [p. 622], the two new consuls, in aiding Decimus Brutus. Augustus completed the military task entrusted to him in three months, fighting two major battles. Antony claimed that Augustus took to flight in the first of these, and did not reappear till the following day, lacking his horse and cloak. But all agree that in the following encounter, Augustus not only led his troops, but played the soldier's part too when, in the midst of the fighting, he shouldered the eagle of the legion, its bearer being wounded, and carried it for some time.

BOOK TWO: XI CLAIMS AGAINST HIM OF TREACHERY

Rumours spread that Augustus had engineered the fate of both *Hirtius* [p. 508], who died fighting, and *Pansa* [p. 622] who died after battle from a wound, in order that, with *Antony* [p. 422] in flight, and the State bereft of its two consuls, he could take control of the victorious armies. The circumstances of Pansa's death, in particular, were so suspicious, that the physician involved, *Glyco* [p. 504], was arrested on a charge of poisoning the wound. *Aquilius* [p. 427] Niger says further that Augustus himself killed Hirtius, the second consul, in the chaos of battle.

BOOK TWO: XII HIS DESERTION OF THE SENATORIAL PARTY

But in fact, when Augustus heard that *Antony* [p. 422] had fled to Marcus *Lepidus* [p. 407] for protection, and that the other generals, supported by their troops, were rallying to their cause, he at once deserted the Senatorial party, giving the excuse that various of them had dismissed him as 'a mere boy' while others had openly suggested that he should be '*dispatched* with honour' to avoid the necessity of rewarding him and his veterans appropriately.

To make his regret at his connection with this former allegiance more evident, he later fined the citizens of *Nursia* [p. 553] heavily, and then exiled them from their city for failing to pay the fine, simply because they had raised a memorial at public expense to those of their number killed in the engagements at *Mutina* [p. 546], with the inscription: 'They died for Freedom!'

BOOK TWO: XIII PHILIPPI

After forming the Second Triumvirate, with Mark *Antony* [p. 422] and *Lepidus* [p. 407], he put an end to their war with Brutus and Cassius, fighting twice at *Philippi* [p. 567], though weakened by illness. He was driven from camp in the first battle, and escaped narrowly by fleeing to Antony's wing of the army. After his victory in the second, he showed no clemency, sending *Brutus* [p. 444]' head to Rome to be flung at the feet of *Caesar's* [p. 518] statue, and ranting at the noblest of his prisoners, with no insult lacking.

When one man begged humbly for right of burial, he is said to have replied: 'The crows will soon settle that!' And when a father and son pleaded for their lives, it is claimed that he told them to cast lots or play *mora* (a finger-game) to decide which should be spared. Augustus watched as both perished. The father was executed, having offered to sacrifice his own life for his son's, whereupon the son committed suicide.

It was because of this that the rest of the captives, including Marcus *Favonius* [p. 492], who famously imitated *Cato* [p. 459] the Younger in everything, saluted Mark Antony respectfully as Emperor, for his victory, as they were led off in chains, but reviled Augustus to his face with the foulest of abuse.

When responsibilities were agreed upon after the victory, Antony undertook to restore peace in the East, while Augustus led the veterans home to Italy, and allocated them municipal land. However he failed to satisfy both veterans and landowners, since the latter complained at being evicted from their farms, while the former claimed they were entitled to more for their services.

BOOK TWO: XIV PERUSIA

When, (in 41BC), Lucius *Antonius* [p. 421], relying on his brother, Mark *Antony's* [p. 422] power and his own position as consul, attempted a revolution, Augustus forced him to take refuge in the city of *Perusia* [p. 564] (Perugia), which he starved into surrender. However Augustus was in considerable personal danger both before and during the campaign.

Prior to the revolt taking place, having ordered the removal of a private soldier who was watching the Games from a seat among the fourteen rows reserved for the equestrian order, Augustus' enemies spread the rumour that subsequently the man had been tortured and killed, such that Augustus almost lost his life at the hands of an angry mob of soldiers, and only escaped when the missing man suddenly re-appeared, safe and sound.

Again, during the siege, while he was sacrificing near the walls of Perusia (in 40BC), a group of gladiators made a sortie from the city, and almost prevented his retreat.

BOOK TWO: XV THE AFTERMATH OF PERUSIA

When *Perusia* [p. 564] fell, he took vengeance on a host of prisoners, answering all who begged for pardon or offered excuses, with the same words: 'You must die!' It is said that three hundred knights and senators were selected from among them, as a human sacrifice at the altar of the God *Julius* [p. 518]. They say, also, that his plan in campaigning was to give his hidden enemies, and those bound to him by fear rather than affection, an opportunity to declare their lack of allegiance by joining *Lucius Antonius* [p. 421], so that after crushing them he might steal their estates to reward his veterans as promised.

BOOK TWO: XVI SICILY

The *Sicilian* [p. 593] War (43-36BC) was one of the first campaigns he undertook, but proved subject to numerous interruptions. For example, when storms wrecked his ships twice, in summer too, and he was forced to rebuild the fleet, and again when the Pompeian blockade prevented grain supplies reaching Rome, and under the threat of famine the people forced him to negotiate an armistice.

While rebuilding the entire fleet, and training twenty thousand freed slaves as oarsmen, he created the Julian harbour at *Baiae* [p. 437] by letting the sea into the Lucrine and Avernan lakes. After exercising his navy there all winter, he defeated *Sextus* [p. 572] Pompeius in an engagement off the Sicilian Coast between *Mylae* [p. 546] and *Naulochus* [p. 548] (36BC), though on the eve of the battle he suddenly fell into a sleep so deep that his staff had to wake him to give the signal for hostilities to commence. It was this that must have occasioned *Mark Antony's* [p. 422] taunt that: 'He was incapable of keeping an eye on the fleet before battle, but lay on his back in a stupor, gazing at the sky, and didn't rise and show himself until *Agrippa* [p. 411] had put the enemy ships to flight.' He was censured for his outburst, too, when the storm wrecked his fleet, shouting: 'I'll have victory in spite of Neptune!', and for his action, in the next Games at the Circus, in ensuring the god's statue was left out of the sacred procession.

The Sicilian Campaign, it is safe to say, was by far his riskiest. When he had landed his advance troops on Sicily, and was on his way back to the rest of his army on the mainland, the Pompeian admirals, *Demochares* [p. 480] and *Apollophanes* [p. 426], suddenly put in an appearance, and he was fortunate to escape with barely a ship.

Again, as he advanced to *Rhegium* [p. 582] (Reggio), via *Locri* [p. 531], he caught sight of a flotilla of Sextus Pompeius' biremes coasting towards shore, and mistaking them for his own ships, went down onto the beach, where he narrowly avoided capture. Then, while completing his escape, by narrow footpaths, an attempt was made on his life. He had, some time before, proscribed the *father* [p. 408] of one of his officers, *Aemilius* [p. 408] Paulus, one of whose slaves now sought an opportunity for revenge.

Lepidus, the third member of the Triumvirate, whom Augustus had summoned from Africa, to support the campaign, with a confidence buoyed by his command of twenty legions, demanded menacingly to be granted overall control, but Augustus deprived him of his troops, and though Lepidus successfully sued for his life, exiled him for the remainder of it (36BC) to *Circei* [p. 462].

BOOK TWO: XVII HIS VICTORY OVER ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA

Eventually Augustus terminated his tenuous and uncertain alliance with Mark *Antony* [p. 422], which had been punctuated by division and reconciliation. In order to show how far short his rival had fallen of the standard of conduct appropriate to a citizen, he had Antony's will, which had been deposited in Rome, and named his children by *Cleopatra* [p. 468] among the heirs, opened, and read aloud in public. Yet, when the Senate outlawed Antony, he allowed his friends and relatives to join him, including Gaius *Sosius* [p. 595] and Gnaeus *Domitius* [p. 484], the consuls. And he excused the city of *Bononia* [p. 440], which had been dependent on the Antonii since ancient times, from rallying with the rest of Italy to his own standard. Not long afterwards he achieved his great naval victory at *Actium* [p. 404] (in 31BC), where the battle raged to so late an hour that he spent the night on board.

After Actium, he went into winter quarters at *Samos* [p. 587], where he heard the troubling news of a mutiny among the troops, hand-picked from every army division, whom he had sent forward to *Brundisium* [p. 443] (Brindisi), and who now demanded a bounty and their discharge. Sailing for Italy, he encountered two fierce gales, one between the headlands of the *Peloponnese* [p. 564] and *Aetolia* [p. 410], the other off the coast below the *Ceraunian* [p. 460] mountain range. In both storms part of his fleet of galleys was sunk, while the flagship's rigging carried away and her rudder was shattered.

He spent only enough time at Brundisium, twenty-seven days, to pacify the soldiers, and then sailed for Egypt, along the coasts of Asia Minor and Syria. Once there, he laid siege to *Alexandria* [p. 416], where Antony had taken refuge with Cleopatra, swiftly capturing the city (in 30BC). In the end, Mark Antony sued for peace, but Augustus drove him to commit suicide, and personally viewed the body. Wishing to preserve Cleopatra's life, so she might adorn his triumph, he had *Psylli* [p. 577] snake-charmers brought, believing her to be dying from the bite of an asp, to suck the poison from her self-inflicted wound.

He allowed both Antony and Cleopatra an honourable burial in the one tomb, and ordered the mausoleum they had begun to be completed. But Marcus *Antonius* [p. 423] the Younger, who was the elder of Antony's two sons by *Fulvia* [p. 498], was torn from the statue of the God *Julius* [p. 518], to which he had fled after futile pleas for mercy, and murdered. Augustus had *Caesarion* [p. 448] killed too, Caesar's son by Cleopatra, who had been captured while fleeing. Nevertheless, he did spare the rest of Cleopatra's children by Antony, and brought them up and maintained them according to their rank, as diligently as if they had been members of his own family.

BOOK TWO: XVIII THE TOMB OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT

At this time he ordered the sarcophagus, containing *Alexander* [p. 415] the Great's mummified body, to be removed from its shrine and, after gazing at the body, placed a golden crown on its brow and strewed it with flowers, as a mark of respect. Asked if he would like to see the Tomb of the *Ptolemies* [p. 578] next, he replied: 'I wished to see a king, not a row of corpses.'

Augustus turned Egypt from a kingdom into a Roman province, and to increase its productivity and make it more useful as a source of grain for Rome he then set his troops to work clearing out the irrigation channels in the Nile Delta, which over time had become silted.

He founded a city, *Nicopolis* [p. 551], opposite *Actium* [p. 404], to augment the glory of his victory and perpetuate its memory. He also established the celebration of Games there every five years, enlarged the temple of *Apollo* [p. 425] at Actium, and adorned the site of his camp there with trophies of the naval victory, consecrating it to *Neptune* [p. 549] and *Mars* [p. 538].

BOOK TWO: XIX REBELLIONS AND CONSPIRACIES

He later suppressed a number of rebellious outbreaks, revolutionary plots and conspiracies, all betrayed before they could pose a serious threat. The leaders of various conspiracies were, in historical order; *Lepidus* [p. 407] the Younger (30BC); next *Varro* [p. 604] Murena and *Fannius* [p. 492] Caepio (23BC); followed by Marcus *Egnatius* [p. 489] (19BC); then by *Plautius* [p. 569] Rufus (6BC); and by Lucius Aemilius *Paulus* [p. 409] (after 1BC), the husband of Augustus' grand-daughter *Julia* [p. 515] the Younger. In addition there was a plot concocted by a feeble old man, who had been indicted for forgery, Lucius *Audasius* [p. 433] (between 2BC-4AD); another by *Asinius* [p. 430] Epicadus, a man of mixed race and *Parthian* [p. 562] descent (after 6AD); and lastly that of a house-slave, *Telephus* [p. 603], a *nomenclator* assigned simply to remind his mistress of the names of those she met, showing that even the lower ranks conspired against him, and threatened his security.

Audacious and Epicadus had forged plots to forcibly rescue, respectively, Augustus' daughter *Julia* [p. 515] the Elder and his grandson *Agrippa* [p. 412] Postumus, from the prison islands where they were confined, and convey them to the army abroad. Telephus, suffering from a delusion that he was fated to become Emperor, intended to attack not only Augustus but the Senate itself. There was even an orderly from the army camp in *Illyria* [p. 510], who eluded the guards, and was apprehended armed with a hunting knife not far from the Emperor's bedroom, though whether the man was mad or merely feigning madness is uncertain, since he refused to speak even under torture.

BOOK TWO: XX HIS IMPERIAL CAMPAIGNING

Augustus commanded in person in only two foreign campaigns: in *Dalmatia* [p. 480] (35-33BC), when he was still a young man and against the *Cantabrians* [p. 453] (26-25BC) after defeating *Antony* [p. 422]. In the former campaign while fighting he was wounded in the right knee by a sling-stone, in the latter both arms and a leg were badly injured by a bridge collapse. His other wars were conducted by his generals, though during the campaigns in *Pannonia* [p. 560] and Germany he visited the front, or was not far behind, travelling from Rome to *Ravenna* [p. 581], *Mediolanum* [p. 540] (Milan), or *Aquileia* [p. 426].

BOOK TWO: XXI HIS CONSOLIDATION OF EMPIRE

Either as commander in the field, or as commander-in-chief of the armies under his auspices, he conquered *Cantabria* [p. 453], *Aquitania* [p. 427], *Pannonia* [p. 560], *Dalmatia* [p. 480], and all *Illyricum* [p. 510], as well as *Raetia* [p. 581] with the Alpine tribes of the *Vindelici* [p. 623] and *Salassi* [p. 584]. He also checked the *Dacian* [p. 479] incursions, inflicting heavy casualties and killing three of their leaders; drove the Germans back across the *Albis* (Elbe) except for the *Suebi* [p. 598] and *Sigambri* [p. 594] who after surrender were resettled in Gaul near the Rhine; and pacified other tribes who were a source of trouble.

However, he never warred against any nation without just and necessary cause, and far from wishing to increase his power or win glory at any cost, he insisted rather that various barbarian leaders swore an oath, in the temple of Mars the Avenger, to keep the peace faithfully that they had sought. Since they disregarded treaties secured by male hostages, he tried to enforce their pledges in a new way by taking female hostages instead, though they were allowed to replace their hostages as they wished.

Even when faced with frequent rebellion or particularly treacherous behaviour, Augustus refrained from a more severe punishment than selling the captives into slavery, on condition they were separated from their own territories, and not freed within thirty years. Such therefore was the reputation he won for exercising power with moderation that even the *Indians* [p. 511] and *Scythians* [p. 589], known to us only by hearsay, freely sent envoys, requesting his friendship and that of the Roman people.

The *Parthians* [p. 562] too readily accepted his claim to *Armenia* [p. 428], and not only returned (in 20BC) the standards they had seized from *Crassus* [p. 526] (in 53BC, at Carrhae) and Mark *Antony* [p. 422] (in 40 and 36BC), but also offered hostages. And once, when there were several rival claimants to the throne, they insisted on accepting only the candidate he chose.

BOOK TWO: XXII PEACE AND TRIUMPHS

As a sign that he had won peace on land and at sea, and in record time, the gates of the temple of *Janus* [p. 512] Quirinus were closed (in 29BC), having previously only been closed twice before his day. He received the lesser triumph of an ovation (40BC) after *Philippi* [p. 567], and again after *Sicily* [p. 593] (36BC), and celebrated three full triumphs (in 29BC), on three successive days for his victories in *Dalmatia* [p. 480], off *Actium* [p. 404], and at *Alexandria* [p. 416].

BOOK TWO: XXIII THE DEFEATS OF LOLLIUS AND VARUS

He suffered only two defeats, both in Germany, each serious and shaming, involving his generals *Lollius* [p. 532] and *Varus* [p. 580]. Of these defeats the former (in 15BC) was humiliating rather than dangerous, but the latter (in 9AD) was highly damaging, three legions being destroyed with the loss of the general, his staff and all the auxiliary forces.

When the news reached Rome, Augustus ordered night patrols throughout the city to prevent disturbances, and extended the terms of provincial governors, so that treaties with Rome's allies might be upheld by experienced officials whom they knew. He also vowed to hold Games in honour of *Jupiter* [p. 521] Optimus Maximus, as soon as the situation returned to normal, a similar vow having been made during the Cimbric (113-101BC) and Marsian (90-88BC) Wars.

They say, indeed, that he was so troubled that he cut neither beard nor hair for several months, and would beat his head against the door, crying: 'Quinctilius Varus, give me back my legions!' And he always observed the anniversary of the disaster as a day of grief and mourning.

BOOK TWO: XXIV HIS USE OF DISCIPLINE

Augustus both introduced a host of changes and innovations in military life, and revived past practices. He was a strict disciplinarian, who only reluctantly allowed his generals home-leave to visit their wives, and then only in winter. He sold a Roman knight into slavery and auctioned off his property, for mutilating his two young sons, by cutting of their thumbs, to render them unfit for military service, though when he realised that a consortium of tax-collectors was bidding for the man, he demoted him to an imperial freedman, on the understanding that he be banished to the country, but be given his liberty.

He discharged the entire Tenth Legion, in disgrace, for insubordination, and disbanded others too, who made insolent demands for their release, without the usual rewards for loyal service. If any cohort broke in battle, he executed every tenth man chosen by lot, and replaced the wheat ration with barley, and if centurions deserted their posts, they were sentenced to death like other ranks. If they committed lesser faults, he exacted various forms of degrading punishment, such as standing before the general's tent all day, sometimes in their tunics and without sword-belts, or carrying, at other times, ten-foot poles or lumps of turf.

BOOK TWO: XXV HIS SOLDIERS

When addressing the troops or issuing edicts, he dropped the use of the word 'comrades' as soon as the Civil Wars were over, and always used the term 'soldiers'. Even those of his sons and stepsons who held military commands followed suit. He thought 'comrades' too flattering a form of address to be good for discipline, appropriate for peace-time, or consonant with his and his family's dignity. He only enlisted freedmen in the army on two occasions, excluding their employment as firemen in Rome, and to prevent riots in times of food shortages: firstly to guard the colonies on the borders of *Illyricum* [p. 510], and secondly to defend the Roman banks of the Rhine. Even these, slaves from wealthy households who were thereupon freed, were segregated from the free-born soldiers in the units they joined, and not allowed the same equipment.

He was far readier to award a silver or gold plaque or collar, as a military decoration, than a mural crown, which was traditionally given for scaling a wall or rampart, since it conferred great honour. He awarded a crown as infrequently as possible, without displaying favouritism, conferring the honour even on ordinary privates.

Marcus *Agrippa* [p. 411] was indeed granted the right to fly a blue ensign after his naval victory off *Sicily* [p. 593], but Augustus considered his subordinates who had celebrated triumphs should be, uniquely, ineligible for decorations, even if they had accompanied him on campaign and contributed to his victories, since they had been awarded the right of bestowing honours themselves on any man they wished.

He thought the greatest failings in an experienced commander were over-eagerness and recklessness, and often quoted the Greek sayings: *More haste less speed*, and *Better safe than sorry*, and the Latin one: *Done well enough is done fast enough*. He used to say that no war or battle should ever be initiated unless the hope of gain was greater than the fear of loss, since he thought taking large risks with the chance of small gain was like fishing with a golden hook, whose value if lost was greater than any catch.

BOOK TWO: XXVI HIS CONSULSHIPS

He received offices and honours himself, some before the usual age, and some newly created and for life. He seized the consulship at nineteen (in 43BC), marching against Rome as the city were his enemy, and sending messengers ahead to demand the appointment be confirmed in the army's name. When the Senators hesitated to obey, *Cornelius* [p. 472], the leader of the deputation and a centurion, parted his military cloak to show the hilt of his sword, and said loudly: 'This will make him consul, if you don't.'

He was consul once more ten years later (33BC) and again after a year's lapse (31BC). He then held the consulship for a further eight-year period (30-23BC), but for a long time declined the opportunities offered, before asking for a twelfth term eighteen years later (5BC) and a thirteenth three years afterwards (2BC) because he wanted to hold the highest office when his adopted sons *Gaius* [p. 446] and *Lucius* [p. 447], respectively, came of age and were introduced to public life.

The sixth to the tenth consulships (28-24BC) he held for the full year's term, while the rest were held for three, four, six or nine months only, while the second (33BC) lasted only a few hours, since after seating himself, early on New Year's Day, on the ivory curule chair in front of the temple of Capitoline *Jupiter* [p. 521], he resigned the office to another.

He was absent from Rome for the start of four of his consulships, beginning the fourth in Asia Minor (30BC), the fifth on *Samos* [p. 587] (29BC), and the eight and ninth (26-25BC) at *Tarraco* [p. 602] (Tarragona).

BOOK TWO: XXVII TRIUMVIR, TRIBUNE, CENSOR

He was a member of the Second Triumvirate for ten years (43-33BC), an arrangement designed to restore order to the State, and while he initially opposed his colleagues plans for proscription, once begun he carried it through more ruthlessly than either of the others. While they were frequently influenced by personal interventions, and pleas for mercy, Augustus alone demanded none be spared. He even added Gaius *Toranius* [p. 613] to the list of proscribed persons, his guardian and his father *Octavius* [p. 555]' colleague as aedile.

Julius *Saterninus* [p. 588] added that when the process of proscription had ended, *Lepidus* [p. 407] addressed the Senate, justifying their actions, and encouraging the hope of greater leniency thereafter, since enough pain had been inflicted. But Augustus declared that, on the contrary, he had consented to ending proscription, only if he were given a free hand in future. Nevertheless, he later exhibited regret for his inflexibility by making Titus *Vinius* [p. 624] Philopoemen a knight, for concealing his patron, who was on the list of the proscribed.

Augustus, as triumvir, was universally detested for many of his actions. Once, while addressing his soldiers, seeing that a crowd of civilians had been admitted to the gathering, and that a knight, *Pinarius* [p. 567], was making notes, he thought him overly inquisitive, took him for a spy, and had him stabbed there and then. Again because *Tedius* [p. 603] Afer, a consul elect, made a spiteful comment about some action of his, he threatened him with such menaces that Afer subsequently leapt to his death. When Quintus *Gallius* [p. 501], a praetor, paid his respects while clutching some folded writing-tablets under his robe, Augustus suspected he was grasping a

concealed weapon. Not daring to search him there and then in case he was wrong, he presently had a squad of officers and soldiers drag him from the tribunal. Though Gallius was tortured as if he were a slave, and though he confessed to nothing, Augustus tore the man's eyes out with his own hands, before ordering his execution. He himself claims, however, that Gallius asked for an audience, only to make a treacherous attack upon him, and that the man was first imprisoned then sent off into exile, later drowning in a shipwreck, or being ambushed by brigands.

Augustus was granted the powers of a tribune for life, and either once or twice chose a colleague to share the five-year periods of office. Though without the title of Censor, he was also tasked by the Senate with the lifelong supervision of public morals and the legal code, and by virtue of this carried out a census on three occasions (28BC, 8BC, and 14AD), the first and third times with a colleague and the second time alone.

BOOK TWO: XXVIII SOLE RULER

Augustus twice considered restoring the Republic: firstly after the death of Mark *Antony* [p. 422], when he recalled his rival's often-repeated charge that the failure to do so was his fault; and again when, exhausted from persistent illness, he summoned the Senators and magistrates to his house, to report to them on the overall state of the empire. On reflecting, however, that both his own life and the security of the State might be jeopardised, if authority were divided, he decided to retain power in his own hands. The results equalled his intention, often stated, and even published in an edict, in which he declares: 'May it be my privilege to establish the State on a firm and secure basis, and harvest, from that, the fruits of my desire; that I may be called the creator of the best of governments, and maintain the hope, in dying, that the traces of the foundations I have laid will yet remain.' He did so establish the State, making every effort to obviate any dissatisfaction with the new regime.

Since Rome's architecture was inadequate to the demands of empire, and the city was vulnerable to fire and flood, he so adorned it that he could rightly boast that what he had found as brick he left as marble. And indeed he secured it for posterity, inasmuch as human foresight can achieve such a thing.

BOOK TWO: XXIX PUBLIC WORKS

He carried out an extensive program of public works, among which the following are of particular note: his Forum with its Temple of *Mars* ^[p. 538] the Avenger (started c20BC, dedicated 2BC); the Palatine Temple of *Apollo* ^[p. 425] (dedicated 28BC), and the Temple of *Jupiter* ^[p. 521] the Thunderer on the Capitol (dedicated 22BC).

His justification for building a new Forum (work began in 42BC) was the inadequacy of the existing two, given the increase in population, and the number of legal actions now brought. That was why he opened it quickly for public use before the Temple of Mars was completed. It was the forum used thereafter for public prosecutions and the casting of lots for jury service. It was during the Philippi campaign, to avenge Caesar, that he made the vow to build the Temple of Mars, and he therefore decreed that it should be used by the Senate to debate potential declarations of war or claims for triumphs to be celebrated; that military commanders leaving for the provinces should be escorted from there on their journey; and that victorious leaders should bear the triumphal tokens of their triumphs to it on their return.

He had the Temple of Apollo erected in a section of his house on the Palatine favoured by the god, so the soothsayers claimed, since it had been struck by lightning. Its colonnades housed Latin and Greek libraries, and in old age he often held Senate meetings there or revised the jury lists.

His dedication of the shrine to Jupiter the Thunderer was prompted by a narrow escape on a night march in *Cantabria* ^[p. 453] (in 26BC), when a lightning bolt scorched his litter and killed a slave with a torch walking in front.

Some public works he named on behalf of relatives: such as the colonnade and basilica of his grandsons *Gaius* ^[p. 446] and *Lucius* ^[p. 447] (dedicated 2BC); the colonnades of his wife *Livia* ^[p. 527] (dedicated 7BC) and sister *Octavia* ^[p. 554] the Younger (dedicated after 27BC); and the theatre of his nephew *Marcellus* ^[p. 537] (inaugurated 12BC). Moreover he urged other leading citizens to embellish the city with new monuments or restore and enrich old ones, according to their means. A great deal of such work was undertaken; for example the Temple of *Hercules* ^[p. 507] and the Muses was restored by *Marcus* ^[p. 537] Philippus (in 29BC); the Temple of *Diana* ^[p. 481]

rebuilt by Lucius *Cornificius* [p. 475]; the Hall of Liberty re-built by *Asinius* [p. 430] Pollio (completed 28BC); the Temple of *Saturn* [p. 587] restored by *Munatius* [p. 545] Plancus (completed c30BC); a theatre built by *Cornelius* [p. 472] Balbus (completed 13BC); an amphitheatre by *Statilius* [p. 597] Taurus (29BC); and a variety of magnificent edifices by Marcus *Agrippa* [p. 411] (including the original Pantheon in 27BC).

BOOK TWO: XXX CIVIC IMPROVEMENTS

Augustus created city districts and wards, with the former under magistrates chosen by lot, and the latter under locally elected supervisors.

He organised a night-watch to guard against fires, located in a series of stations, and to prevent flooding, broadened and dredged the Tiber channel, which had been narrowed by jutting houses and blocked with rubbish.

Furthermore, to improve city access from every direction he reconstructed the Flaminian Way as far as *Ariminum* [p. 428] (Rimini, triumphal arch 27BC), at his own expense, and called on those who had won triumphs to put their prize-money to good use on all the rest.

Many sacred buildings had deteriorated with time or been damaged by fire, and he restored and beautified these and other shrines with magnificent gifts. One of his offerings alone to the Temple of Capitoline *Jupiter* [p. 521] consisted of sixteen thousand pounds of gold, with pearls and gems to the value of half a million gold pieces.

BOOK TWO: XXXI RELIGIOUS REFORMS AND MEMORIALS

Not wishing to deprive *Lepidus* [p. 407] of the Chief Priesthood during his lifetime, despite his exile, Augustus waited until the triumvir's death (in 13BC), to assume the office. After doing so, he gathered together all the Greek and Latin prophecies still in circulation, which were either anonymous or the work of authors devoid of authority, and burned more than two thousand, keeping only the *Sibylline* [p. 593] Books, which he edited and placed in two gilded cases under the pedestal of the statue of Palatine *Apollo* [p. 425] (in 12BC)

He also restored the calendar, reformed by Julius *Caesar* [p. 518] and allowed through negligence to fall into confusion and disorder, and rather than renaming his own birth-month of September, he renamed the month *Sextilis*, August, because in that month he won his first consulship and his most notable victories were celebrated.

He swelled the ranks and dignity of the priesthood, and also their privileges, especially those of the *Vestal* [p. 621] Virgins. Moreover, though many families exerted all their influence to avoid their daughters' names being added to the list, when a Vestal was chosen by lot to replace one who had died, Augustus would declare on oath that if any of his grand-daughters had been of eligible age he would have proposed them.

He also revived various ancient rites which had lapsed with time, such as the augury of the Goddess *Safety* [p. 585], the office of *Flamen* [p. 493] *Dialis*, the festival of the *Lupercalia* [p. 533], the *Secular* [p. 590] Games, and the festival of the *Compitalia* [p. 471]. At the *Lupercalia* youth who had not yet shaved off their first beard were forbidden from running, while at the *Secular Games* young people might only attend night-time performances when chaperoned. He ordained that the *Lares* of the *Crossroads* [p. 471], should be crowned twice a year with wreaths of spring and summer flowers.

He honoured the memory of those notable men who had raised the Roman people from obscurity to greatness only less than the immortal gods. He therefore restored the buildings they had created and their original inscriptions, and dedicated statues of them in triumphal robes, in the twin colonnades of his *Forum* [p. 497], proclaiming by edict: 'I have done this, that the citizens might demand of me, while I live, and of my successors to come, that we attain the standard set by these great men of old.'

He also relocated the statue of *Pompey* [p. 573] from the *Portico* where *Caesar* [p. 518] had been murdered to the summit of a marble arch facing the main entrance to Pompey's Theatre.

BOOK TWO: XXXII SECURITY AND LEGAL REFORMS

Various pernicious practices detrimental to public order had survived, a legacy of Civil War lawlessness, while others had appeared as a product of peacetime. Sword-wielding gangs of thieves, supposedly armed for self-

defence, roamed the countryside, while both freedmen and slaves were kidnapped while travelling and imprisoned by landowners. Illegal guilds too were formed as a cover for crime. To put a stop to all this Augustus stationed armed guards wherever seemed most effective, had the slave-camps inspected, and disbanded all guilds except those which were legitimate and of long-standing.

He burned the list of old treasury debts, the most common source of blackmail, and made over, to their occupants, city sites where the State's title to ownership was dubious. He expunged from the court lists old unresolved cases, the public humiliation of the accused serving no purpose except their enemies' satisfaction, stipulating that anyone might renew the charge if they were prepared to risk statutory punishment for the crime if the defendant was found innocent. And to prevent actions for damages or disputed claims from lapsing or being delayed, he added the thirty days normally given over to the Games, in honour of prominent citizens, to the law-term.

A fourth division of jurors, the *ducenarii*, who each owned only half of a knight's estate, was added to the previous three, to resolve small claims, and Augustus enrolled men over thirty as jurors, reducing the qualifying age by five years. However when there was a general move to avoid jury service, he agreed reluctantly that each division of jurors should gain a year's exemption in turn, and broke with tradition by closing the courts in November and December.

BOOK TWO: XXXIII HIS ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

He was conscientious in administering justice himself, remaining in court till nightfall or, if he was ill, presiding from a litter on the tribunal platform, or even at home from his sick-bed. As judge he was scrupulous but merciful: for example, it is said that he saved a man guilty beyond doubt of parricide from the punishment destined for those who pleaded guilty, of being sewn in a sack and drowned, by asking for the man's plea, in the form: 'Surely you did not kill your father?'

Again, in the case of a forged will, in which all the signatories were jointly liable under the *Cornelian* ^[p. 599] Laws, he handed the jury not only the

tablets signifying conviction or acquittal, but a third to allow pardon for those induced to sign through fraud or ignorance. Every year he referred appeals from citizens to the city praetor, while those from foreigners went to the ex-consuls he had appointed to oversee the affairs of each province.

BOOK TWO: XXXIV REVISION OF THE LAWS

He both revised existing laws and enacted new ones, for example on profligacy, adultery, chastity, bribery and to encourage marriage and procreation among the Senatorial and Equestrian orders. He was unable to bring the last of these, which aroused open rebellion against its overly stringent provisions, into effect until he had removed or softened many of its clauses, and extended the immunities, including the granting of a three year exemption to a widow or widower on the death of their spouse. When the knights still persisted in urging its repeal, during a public show, he sent for his grandchildren, born to *Germanicus* [p. 503] and *Agrippina* [p. 413], and he and Germanicus dandled them on their knees, making it clear by his affectionate looks and gestures that they should all follow the young man's example. Finding that the spirit of the law was being flouted by those who betrothed themselves to immature girls to delay the responsibilities of fatherhood, or frequently divorced and re-married to avoid the same, he shortened the legal period between betrothal and marriage, and limited the number of divorces per individual.

BOOK TWO: XXXV REFORM OF THE SENATE

The Senate, now numbering more than a thousand, a shapeless and ill-disciplined crowd, some of whom, the freedmen of *Orcus*, were unworthy of their position, having been admitted only through favouritism and bribery after *Julius Caesar's* [p. 518] death, Augustus reduced to its former size, and restored to its previous dignity by a two-step method of de-selection. Firstly the Senate selected its own short-list, each Senator being allowed to nominate one other, and then Augustus assisted by *Agrippa* [p. 411] joined the Senate to review their nominations. On the second occasion, he is said to have worn a steel corselet under his tunic and a sword at his side, while presiding, with ten of his closest senatorial friends standing by his chair.

Even then, according to *Cremutius* [p. 477] Cordus, the candidates were only allowed to approach singly, after a search of their robes. He shamed some into resigning, though they too were still permitted to retain their distinctive mode of dress, view the Games from the orchestra seats, and attend the Order's public banquets.

In addition, in order to ensure that those short-listed, and then approved, performed their duties more diligently yet at less inconvenience to themselves, he determined that each member before taking his seat should offer wine and incense at the god's altar in whatever temple they were meeting, but that the Senate should not meet more than twice a month, on the Kalends and Ides, while in September and October only a quorum drawn by lot and sufficient to pass decrees need attend.

He also adopted the idea of a Privy Council, chosen by lot for a six-month term, to enable prior discussion of matters due to be laid before the whole Senate. And during crucial debates, he called on members to give their opinions, not in traditional order of seniority but as he chose, so that everyone had to keep awake, and act as a critic, not merely nod their assent.

BOOK TWO: XXXVI REFORM OF THE ADMINISTRATION

He introduced other administrative changes too, including: a ban on publication of the Senate proceedings; a statutory delay between the end of a magistrate's term of office and his departure for foreign parts; a fixed allowance to be paid to provincial governors for tents and mules, instead of charging these to the State when contracted for; the transfer of Treasury control from the city quaestors to praetors or ex-praetors; and a ruling that the Centumviral Court formerly convoked by ex-quaestors should now be summoned by the Board of Ten.

BOOK TWO: XXXVII EXTENSIONS TO PUBLIC OFFICE

Augustus, wishing to draw more candidates into the administration, created new offices to deal with the maintenance of roads, aqueducts and buildings; the dredging of the Tiber; and the distribution of grain; as well as a City prefecture, a Board of Three for selecting new Senators, and another for inspecting the knights' companies as required.

He also revived the Censors' office, which had long ceased to function, and increased the number of praetors. One request, that when he held the consulship he should be granted two colleagues and not merely one, was not endorsed, there being a general outcry against it, on the grounds that it was already a sufficient detraction from his supreme dignity to accept even a single colleague.

BOOK TWO: XXXVIII MAINTENANCE OF MILITARY CAPABILITY

Military success was honoured by him, with full triumphs granted to more than thirty generals, and triumphal regalia to even more.

His policy of encouraging Senator's sons to gain early experience of public life meant that they were permitted to wear the purple-striped gown as soon as they came of age, and to attend meetings of the House. When they took up their military career, he gave them not merely a tribunate in their legion, but command of a cavalry division too, and to provide headquarters experience always appointed two to each division.

In his frequent inspections of the knights' companies, he revived the tradition of riding in procession which had long been allowed to lapse, but not that of forcing anyone to dismount who was accused of crime by a spectator, as in the past, while allowing the old and infirm to have their horses led in review but attend the summons on foot. He later excused those over thirty-five from publicly surrendering their horses if they did not wish to retain them.

BOOK TWO: XXXIX EXAMINATION OF THE KNIGHTS

Every knight was cross-examined on his personal affairs by Augustus, assisted by ten Senators. Those whose behaviour proved scandalous were sometimes punished or down-graded, but most were simply reprimanded more or less severely. The most lenient form of rebuke was to be handed a pair of tablets containing his words of censure to be read in silence while standing before him. Some he criticised for borrowing money in order to lend at a higher rate of interest.

BOOK TWO: XL ELECTORAL AND CITIZENSHIP REFORM

If there was a shortage of candidates of Senatorial rank standing for election as tribunes, he appointed knights to fill the vacancies, allowing them to remain members of the Equestrian Order or become Senators as they wished after their term of office. Many knights whose wealth had suffered as a result of the Civil Wars were so afraid of being penalised under the laws governing public entertainments that they avoided taking up their seats in the fourteen rows reserved for them, and in consequence Augustus decreed that anyone who had ever been a knight or was a knight's son was exempt.

He revised the district lists of those entitled to public grain distribution, and decided to avoid tradesmen being called away from their occupations to receive their allocation too frequently, by issuing tokens three times a year granting entitlement to four months supply. However, at their urging, he restored the previous tradition of monthly allocations.

He also revived traditional election privileges, while attempting to stamp out bribery by imposing numerous penalties and by distributing ten gold pieces each, on election day, from his own funds, to members of the Fabian tribe, which included the Octavians, and the Scaptian tribe, to which the Julians belonged, to avoid them seeking anything from the candidates.

He was chary of conferring Roman citizenship, thinking it vital to keep the race pure and untainted by foreign or slave blood, and to the latter end setting a limit to manumission. *Tiberius* [p. 608] once requested citizenship for a Greek dependant of his, to which request Augustus wrote in reply that he would not grant it unless the man appeared in person and convinced him there were just grounds for acceding. Similarly, when *Livia* [p. 527] made the same plea for a Gaul from a tributary province, he refused her, offering to free the man from paying tribute while saying that he would rather put up with the loss to the Privy Purse than debase the honour of Roman citizenship. And not satisfied with strictly regulating the number of those manumitted, according to condition and status, thereby making it difficult for slaves to win their freedom, let alone rights of citizenship, he also decreed that no slave who had ever been in irons or subject to torture could acquire citizenship, regardless of the manner of his freedom.

Book II: Augustus

Augustus was keen to revive the ancient Roman mode of dress, and once, on seeing a group of men in dark cloaks amongst the crowd, he quoted *Virgil* [p. 620], in his indignation:

'See the Romans, lords of all, the people of the toga!'

And he told the aediles never again to let anyone appear in the Forum, or near it, without a toga, or with a cloak.

BOOK TWO: XLI HIS FINANCIAL GENEROSITY

He showed his financial generosity on many occasions; for example, in bringing the treasure of the Ptolemies to Rome for his Alexandrian triumph he so increased the amount of credit available that interest rates fell, while real estate values were rapidly inflated. And subsequently, when the estates of those condemned were appropriated, he offered fixed-period interest-free loans to those who could offer security for double the amount.

Though he increased the property qualification for Senators from eight thousand to twelve thousand gold pieces, he himself made up the amount for those who fell short.

He often distributed money to the citizens, varying the amounts, for example from two and a half, to three, or even four gold pieces each, including their sons of eleven years of age and under, too, contrary to previous custom. And in times of food shortage he frequently allocated grain at a cheap rate, sometimes refusing to charge, and doubled the quota of distribution tokens allocated to each man.

BOOK TWO: XLII HIS DISREGARD FOR POPULARITY

Nevertheless, he frequently showed that his main concern was for the public good rather than courting popularity. When citizens complained of the scarcity of wine and its exorbitant price, he reproached them saying: 'No man need go thirsty, while my son-in-law *Agrippa* [p. 411] provides all these aqueducts'. Again, when people demanded that he make good on a promise of gifts, he answered: 'What I say, I do.' But when they asked for what had not been promised them, he issued a proclamation calling them

impudent and shameless, and refusing to grant what he had previously had every intention of giving.

He was equally firm and mindful of his authority in saying, on one occasion, that though he had promised to distribute money to each citizen on the census rolls, manumitted slaves who had been added to the list, and to whom he considered no promise had been made, were entitled to nothing. The total amount allocated had to suffice, and so all received less per man than was originally promised.

When a period of shortages occurred, and there was no apparent way of increasing the supply, he expelled slaves awaiting sale, from the city, as well as the members of gladiatorial schools, all foreigners except doctors and teachers, and even a quota of household slaves. When the grain supply returned to normal he wrote: 'I was tempted to decree the permanent abolition of public allocations of cheap grain, because through reliance on them the bringing of new land into cultivation was discouraged: yet I ultimately saw no point in attempting it, knowing they would be bound to be restored some day in order to curry favour with the electorate.' However, from that time on, he moderated his own practice, taking account of the interests of farmers and grain-merchants as well as the general public.

BOOK TWO: XLIII HIS PUBLIC ENTERTAINMENTS

He went well beyond all his predecessors in the frequency, variety and magnificence of his public shows. He says that he presented four sets of Games in his own name, and twenty-three for other city magistrates who were either absent or could not afford the cost. Sometimes he mounted theatricals throughout the City, on a variety of stages, the plays enacted in various languages. And gladiatorial combats were held not just in the Forum or Amphitheatre, but in the Circus and Enclosure as well: though occasionally he merely presented a fight with wild-beasts.

He held athletic competitions in the *Campus*^[p. 452] Martius, too, erecting tiers of wooden seats; and constructed an artificial lake beside the Tiber, where the Grove of the Caesars now stands, in order to stage a mock naval battle (2BC). On such occasions he posted guards throughout the City to prevent the empty houses being robbed.

In the Circus he held chariot-races; foot-races; and wild beast fights, sometimes involving young noblemen. He also ordered frequent performances of the *Troy* [p. 409] Game, between troops of older and younger boys, considering participation in that ancient and worthy ritual a fine way for the sons of great houses to make their public debut. When *Nonius* [p. 552] Asprenas was lamed by a fall from his horse while taking part, Augustus not only presented him with a gold torque but bestowed on him the hereditary surname of Torquatus. But he discontinued the event after *Asinius* [p. 430] Pollio's grandson *Aeserninus* [p. 466] broke his leg, and the orator took him bitterly to task in an angry speech in the Senate.

He occasionally allowed Roman knights to perform in theatrical and gladiatorial displays, until it was forbidden by Senate decree. After that no one of rank took part in the events, except *Lycius* [p. 534], a young man less than two foot tall and only seventeen pounds in weight, yet possessing a stentorian voice, who was there simply to display his unique qualities. Though he did parade the first *Parthian* [p. 562] hostages ever sent to Rome, at one of the Games, leading them through the Arena and placing them two rows behind his own seat. And if anything rare and curious was brought to Rome, he would exhibit it, by itself, in some convenient location, whenever there were no public shows. For example a rhinoceros was displayed in the Enclosure (*Saepta*); a tiger on the Theatre stage, and an eighty-foot snake in front of the Assembly Hall (*Comitium*).

When he was taken ill, on a day when Games he had vowed to give in the Circus were due to begin, he nevertheless headed the sacred procession lying in a litter; and he opened the Games at the dedication of the Theatre of *Marcellus* [p. 537] even though his chair of state gave way and tipped him on his back; while at the Games for his grandsons, *Gaius* [p. 446] and *Lucius* [p. 447], when the crowd panicked thinking the seating might collapse, and could not be reassured or pacified, he left his own seat and went and sat in the area they thought most suspect.

BOOK TWO: XLIV HIS REGULATION OF SPECTATORS

Annoyed by the disrespect shown to a Senator at some well-attended Games in *Puteoli* [p. 579], where no one offered the man a seat in the crowded theatre, Augustus put an end, by special regulation, to the disorderly and

haphazard nature of the proceedings, and the decree which resulted stated that the first row of seats at any public performance were now to be reserved for Senators.

He also prevented the envoys of independent or allied nations from taking their seats in the Orchestra, having learnt that some of those appointed were merely freedmen. He separated soldiers from the civilians too; allocated a special section for married commoners, and adjoining ones for under-age boys, and their tutors; and banned dark cloaks from the middle tiers of the auditorium.

Women were confined to the upper levels, even at gladiatorial shows where men and women previously sat together in all sections. The *Vestal* [p. 621] Virgins alone had privileged seating facing the praetor's tribunal. And women were strictly excluded from athletic contests. Indeed, when there was clamour for a boxing contest during the Games to honour his appointment as Chief Priest, he allocated it to the following morning, and proclaimed that he did not wish to see women attend the Theatre that day before ten.

BOOK TWO: XLV HIS PRESENCE AT THE GAMES

He himself usually watched the Games from the upper rooms of friends and freedmen which overlooked the Circus, or sometimes from the imperial box, even being accompanied, on occasions, by his wife and children. He used to excuse himself from appearing until the Games had been running for several hours, or days, appointing a presiding officer in his place, but when he was present attended carefully to the performances, out of interest and delight in the spectacle, to which he always frankly confessed, and to avoid the censure that followed *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar, his adoptive father, who would sit there reading and answering letters and petitions.

His enjoyment of the action led him to offer special prizes, and personal gifts funded from the Privy Purse, at Games given by others, and he never attended Greek-style contests without rewarding the competitors according to their merits. He particularly favoured boxers, especially those of Latin birth, not just the professionals whom he matched even with

Greeks, but ordinary untrained amateurs who fought their clumsy bouts in the narrow streets.

In short, he honoured every class of performer who took part, upholding and enhancing the privileges accorded to athletes; banning gladiatorial contests where no quarter was given; and stripping the magistrates of their ancient power to punish actors, except during the Games and at the Theatre.

However he was a strict disciplinarian where wrestling and gladiatorial combats were concerned. And he was particularly severe on actors who exceeded their licence. On hearing that the page-boy who attended on *Stephanio* [p. 597], the Roman actor, was really a married woman with her hair cropped, he had the man beaten with rods through all three Theatres, those of *Pompey* [p. 573], *Cornelius Balbus* [p. 472] and *Marcellus* [p. 537], and then exiled. *Hylas* [p. 509], the pantomimic actor, was openly scourged in the atrium of his own house, because a praetor complained about him; while *Pylades* [p. 579] was not only expelled from the City, but banished from Italy, for directing the whole audience's attention to a spectator who was hissing him, by giving him the finger.

BOOK TWO: XLVI HIS ENCOURAGEMENT OF POPULATION INCREASE

Having brought order to Rome and its administration, Augustus next sought to increase the population of Italy, by personally founding twenty-eight colonies of veterans; providing the towns with public buildings and revenue; and giving them a degree of equality with Rome in terms of their rights and dignity. He did this by devising a system whereby the local senators voted for candidates for administrative office, the votes being sent under seal to Rome and counted on Election Day.

To maintain the number of tribunes and prefects, he allowed the townships to recommend men capable of occupying military posts normally reserved for the Equestrian Order, while to encourage an increase in the wider population of Rome, he distributed bounties of ten gold pieces on his tour of the city wards, for every legitimate child produced by a commoner.

BOOK TWO: XLVII HIS ADMINISTRATION OF THE PROVINCES

Augustus claimed for himself (in 27BC) the command of the more demanding provinces, those which it was difficult or dangerous for an annually-appointed governor to control. The rest were assigned to proconsuls chosen by lot. However, at times, he re-assigned provinces between the two categories, and made visits to many of those in both.

He deprived certain cities, allied to Rome but ruining themselves through indiscipline, of their independence; relieved others of their overwhelming debt; rebuilt cities devastated by earthquakes; and gave Latin Rights of limited citizenship, or even full citizenship, to those with a demonstrable record of service to Rome.

I believe the only provinces he failed to visit were Africa and *Sardinia* [p. 587], and he had been planning to make crossings to both from Sicily after the defeat of *Sextus* [p. 572] Pompeius, but was thwarted by violent gales, and later lacked opportunity or occasion to make the journey.

BOOK TWO: XLVIII HIS CONTROL OF DEFEATED KINGDOMS

Apart from a few instances, he restored the kingdoms he gained through conquest to the dynasties from which he had won them, or combined them with some other. He also fostered mutual ties among allied dynasties, readily favouring and proposing marriages or friendships between them.

He invariably treated them all with consideration, as integral parts of the empire, appointing guardians for heirs who were too young to rule until their coming of age, or for rulers whose mental faculties were disturbed, until they recovered. And he raised and educated many of their children with his own.

BOOK TWO: XLIX HIS MILITARY DISPOSITIONS

He allocated his military forces as follows.

Legions and auxiliaries were assigned to the various provinces; with one fleet stationed at *Misenum* [p. 544] and another at *Ravenna* [p. 581], to command the Western and Eastern Mediterranean respectively.

He deployed the remaining forces in the defence of Rome and as his own personal troops, though not disbanding the company of *Calagurritani* [p. 448] who formed part of his bodyguard until the defeat of Mark *Antony* [p. 422] (30BC) nor the company of Germans he kept by him until disaster overtook *Varus* [p. 580] (9AD). However, he never allowed more than three cohorts of these forces within the City, and never granted them a permanent camp. The remainder were stationed in nearby towns appropriate for winter or summer quarters as required.

All the troops were subject to a fixed scale of pay and allowances, and the periods of service and bounty due on completion were also fixed according to rank, such that none would be tempted to rebel after they were discharged, through possessing means inadequate to their years. He created a treasury for the military, supported by fresh taxation, in order to have funds on hand at all times to maintain the forces and pay what was due them.

He also created a series of relay stations along the military roads, first using runners and later vehicles to allow despatches from the provinces to travel more swiftly, and arrive more promptly. The use of vehicles proved more effective, since the couriers who travelled with the despatch throughout, could also be questioned regarding the situation.

BOOK TWO: L HIS PERSONAL SEAL

On passports, despatches, and private letters, he used, at first, a seal inscribed with a sphinx, then one with a head of *Alexander* [p. 415] the Great, and finally one with his own head, cut by *Dioscurides* [p. 481], which his successors used in their turn. He not only dated his letters, but also added the exact time of day or night when they were written.

BOOK TWO: LI HIS CLEMENCY AND MODERATION

There are numerous instances recorded of his clemency and moderation. Without giving a complete list of the political opponents he not only spared then pardoned, but allowed to hold high office, it is sufficient to mention two plebeians whom he punished with mild sentences. *Junius* [p. 520] Novatus was simply fined for circulating a vicious libel under the name of *Agrippa Postumus* [p. 412], while *Cassius* [p. 457] Patavinus received only a mild form of exile, for boasting at a well-attended dinner party that he had a strong desire and sufficient courage to assassinate Augustus.

Again, when he was hearing the case against *Aemilius* [p. 406] Aelianus of *Corduba* [p. 471] (Cordoba), and the main charge, among various offences, was revealed as the accused man's habit of 'vilifying Caesar', he turned to the prosecutor, with feigned anger, saying: 'Prove that, and I'll show Aelianus I've a tongue too, and give him more of the same', and thereupon dropped all further enquiry. When *Tiberius* [p. 608] complained of the same thing, but more forcibly, in a letter, he wrote back: 'Don't indulge your youthful emotions so, dear Tiberius, don't take it so much to heart if anyone speaks ill of me; indeed it's enough if we can manage to stop them doing us ill.'

BOOK TWO: LII HIS REFUSAL OF HONOURS

Though he knew it was acceptable for temples to be dedicated even to proconsuls, he refused the honour even in the provinces, unless it was in the name of Rome as well as himself. He opposed it emphatically at home, going so far as to melt down silver statues previously erected to him, and dedicating golden tripods to Palatine *Apollo* [p. 425] with the proceeds.

When the people tried their best to force dictatorship upon him, he knelt down, dragged his gown from his shoulders to expose his bare chest, and begged them to desist.

BOOK TWO: LIII HIS PUBLIC MANNER

He was always horrified at being called 'my lord', as though it was a term of abuse or censure. Once, while he was watching a comedy and the audience rose and applauded when the words:

'O just and benign lord!'

were spoken, as if in reference to him, Augustus quelled the indecorous adulation, with a look and a gesture, and the next day issued an edict reprimanding such behaviour. After that he prohibited his children and grandchildren too from calling him by that title even in jest: nor were they allowed to employ such obsequious terms among themselves.

If he could do so he would enter or leave towns and cities in the evening or at night to avoid troubling everyone with a formal ceremony. During his consulship he habitually walked through the streets of Rome quite openly, and only when he was not consul did he go about in a closed litter. Similarly, his morning receptions were open to all, including commoners, and he was affable in dealing with requests, reproving one man jokingly when he presented a petition as nervously 'as if he was offering a penny to an elephant!'

On Senate days, he waited to greet the members in the House, rather than allowing them to pay the customary calls at his home, not allowing them to rise and calling each by name unprompted, and he left the House in the same manner. He exchanged many social calls, and always attended birthday celebrations until he was jostled by the crowd at a betrothal party when he was well on in years.

When Gallus *Cerrinius* [p. 460], a Senator with whom he was only slightly acquainted, suddenly became blind, and resolved to starve to death, Augustus visited to console him and by doing so persuaded him to change his mind.

BOOK TWO: LIV HIS TOLERANCE OF FREE-SPEECH

His speeches in the House were interrupted by remarks such as ‘That makes no sense!’ or ‘I’d disagree, if I had the chance!’ More than once when he swept from the House, exasperated by the immoderate nature of the debates, some Senator would call out: ‘We’ve a right to speak out on affairs of state!’

When the Senate was reformed and every member was allowed to nominate one other, *Antistius* [p. 419] Labeo chose *Lepidus* [p. 407], Augustus’ old enemy, then in exile. Augustus asked whether there were not others more deserving of the honour, and Labeo replied that everyone was entitled to his own opinion.

Despite all this, no one was ever persecuted for speaking freely or even insolently.

BOOK TWO: LV HIS TOLERANCE OF LIBEL

He had no dread of the libels against him distributed in the Senate, but without seeking to discover the authors took great pains to refute their contents. His only proposal on the matter was that anyone caught issuing defamatory prose or verse under another’s name should be prosecuted.

BOOK TWO: LVI HIS RESPECT FOR ESTABLISHED LAW AND CUSTOM

When he was subject to various spiteful or insolent jokes, he replied to them by means of a public proclamation, but vetoed a law that would have suppressed freedom of speech in the text of a will.

When he took part in City elections, he would tour the wards with his candidates and canvass for them in the traditional way. He would also cast a vote himself, among his own tribe, as a man of the people. And when he testified in court, he submitted patiently to questioning, and even to being contradicted.

His new *Forum* [p. 497], too, was narrower than he originally intended, because he did not feel it right to evict the owners of neighbouring houses which were in the way.

He never nominated his adopted sons for office without saying: 'If they are worthy.' When they were still lads, and the entire theatre audience rose to honour and applaud them, he showed his clear disapproval.

He wished his friends too to be prominent and influential in public affairs, but insisted they be subject to the common law, and as equally liable to prosecution as others. When his close friend *Nonius* [p. 552] *Asprenas Torquatus* faced a charge of poisoning, brought by *Cassius* [p. 458] *Severus*, he asked the Senate for their advice, hesitating he said to show his support lest he seemed to be shielding the accused, or of failing to do so and acting falsely while prejudicing the case. With the Senators' approval he was present in court, but merely sat there for several hours in silence on the benches reserved for witnesses and advocates, and refrained from speaking in praise of the defendant.

He did defend some of his dependants, however, for example a former officer of his, *Scutarius* [p. 589], on a charge of slander. But he only succeeded in gaining an acquittal on a single occasion, by making a successful appeal to the plaintiff in the presence of the judges; the accused was *Castricius* [p. 458], through whom he had learned of *Murena's* [p. 604] conspiracy against him.

BOOK TWO: LVII PUBLIC MARKS OF AFFECTION

The affection which such conduct won can readily be gauged. We might well treat various Senate decrees as having been dictated by subservience or expediency. Yet the Equestrian Order freely and unanimously voted to celebrate his birthday over two consecutive days (September 22nd and 23rd) each year, and a host of men, of all ranks and classes, would throw a small coin annually into the *Curtian* [p. 478] Pool in the Forum, in fulfilment of a vow for his well-being, and take a New Year's gift to the *Capitol* [p. 453] even if he was absent from Rome. He employed the money accruing in dedicating expensive statues of the gods in the city wards, such as an *Apollo* [p. 425] of Sandal Street, and a *Jupiter* [p. 521] of the Tragedians.

When the rebuilding of his house on the *Palatine* [p. 559], destroyed by fire (in 3AD), was in hand, the veterans, guilds and tribes, wished to contribute, and even private individuals willingly, according to their means, but he simply took a token silver *denarius* himself from each pile, as a matter of form.

On returning from tours of the provinces, he was always greeted with prayers, good wishes, and songs as well, and it was a custom to defer all punishments on the day he entered the City.

BOOK TWO: LVIII FATHER OF THE COUNTRY

There was a spontaneous initiative by the whole City to confer the title 'Father of the Country' on Augustus, the Commons first sending a deputation to him at *Antium* [p. 420] (Anzio), where he declined the honour, and attempting it again in Rome where a huge crowd, wearing laurel wreaths, met him outside the theatre; then by the Senate, who refrained from a decree or acclamation, but asked Valerius *Messala* [p. 617] to address him. On behalf of the whole House, Messala spoke as follows: 'May good fortune, and the blessing of the gods, shine on you and your family, Caesar Augustus! That is the same, we feel, as praying for our country's enduring happiness, and the State's prosperity. The Senate are in accord with the people of Rome in saluting you as Father of the Country.'

Augustus, with tears in his eyes, replied as follows, and again I quote exactly: 'Fathers of the Senate, having achieved my greatest wish, what more can I ask of the immortal gods, but to retain your unanimous approval to the very end of my days?'

BOOK TWO: LIX OFFERINGS AND COMMEMORATIONS

On his recovering from a dangerous illness (in 23BC), a statue of his physician, *Antonius* [p. 424] Musa, due to whose care he had survived, was erected beside that of *Aesculapius* [p. 410], by public subscription.

Various householders' in their wills stipulated that their heirs should lead sacrificial victims to the *Capitol* [p. 453] and make an offering on their behalf, if Augustus survived them, and should carry a placard to that effect.

And various Italian cities, which had welcomed him, began their official year from the day of his first visit.

Many provinces not only erected temples and altars to him but held Games, at five-yearly intervals, in the majority of their towns and cities.

BOOK TWO: LX TRIBUTES FROM THE KINGDOMS

Allied and friendly kings founded cities called *Caesarea* [p. 448], and also jointly funded an attempt to complete the temple of Olympian *Jupiter* [p. 521] (Zeus), begun centuries before, in Athens, in order to dedicate it to his tutelary divinity.

Kings would forsake their kingdoms to show him the kind of devotion, at Rome or when he travelled through the provinces, usual only in family dependants, forsaking too their emblems of royalty, and dressing only in the toga of honorary citizenship.

BOOK TWO: LXI DOMESTIC AND PRIVATE LIFE: HIS MOTHER AND SISTER

Having shown how Augustus behaved in his military and civil career, and how he ruled a world Empire, in peace and war, I will now describe his domestic and private life, his character and his family concerns, from his youth to his death.

During his first consulship (in 43BC) he lost his mother *Atia* [p. 432], and at the age of fifty-four (9BC) his sister *Octavia* [p. 554] the Younger. He had been a devoted son and brother while they lived, and paid them the highest honours at their death.

BOOK TWO: LXII HIS MARRIAGES

In his youth he was betrothed to *Servilia* [p. 592], the daughter of Publius *Servilius* [p. 592] Vatia Isauricus, but on his reconciliation with Mark *Antony* [p. 422] following their first dispute, the troops begged them to become allied

by some tie of kinship, and he married (in 43BC) *Claudia* [p. 463], Antony's stepdaughter, born to *Fulvia* [p. 498] and *Publius* [p. 469] Clodius Pulcher, even though Claudia was barely of marriageable age. However he quarrelled with Fulvia, and divorced Claudia before the marriage had been consummated.

Not long afterwards (in 40BC), he married *Scribonia* [p. 589], whose previous husbands had been ex-consuls, and to one of whom she had borne a child. He divorced her also 'tired', he wrote, 'of her shrewish ways,' and immediately took *Livia* [p. 527] Drusilla from her husband *Tiberius* [p. 610] Nero though she was pregnant at the time (38BC), loving and esteeming her alone to the end.

BOOK TWO: LXIII HIS DAUGHTER JULIA

Augustus had a daughter *Julia* [p. 515], by *Scribonia* [p. 589], but his marriage with *Livia* [p. 527] was childless apart from a premature birth, though he keenly desired children. He first gave Julia in marriage to *Marcellus* [p. 537] (in 25BC), his sister *Octavia* [p. 554] the Younger's son, who was hardly more than a boy. After Marcellus died, he persuaded Octavia to allow her son-in-law *Agrippa* [p. 411] to wed Julia (in 21BC), Agrippa having married the elder of Marcellus' two sisters (in 28BC), by whom he had children. When, in turn, Agrippa died, Augustus spent some time considering possible alliances, even among the Equestrian Order, before obliging his stepson *Tiberius* [p. 608] to divorce his pregnant wife, with whom he already had children, and marry Julia (in 11BC). Mark *Antony* [p. 422] claims that Julia had been betrothed first to his son *Antyllus* [p. 423], and then to *Cotiso* [p. 476], King of the Getae, Augustus asking the hand of the king's daughter's himself in return.

BOOK TWO: LXIV HIS GRANDCHILDREN

From the marriage of *Julia* [p. 515] to *Agrippa* [p. 411], Augustus had three grandsons, *Gaius* [p. 446] Caesar, *Lucius* [p. 447] Caesar, and *Agrippa* [p. 412] Postumus, and two grand-daughters *Julia* [p. 515] the Younger, and *Agrippina* [p. 413] the Elder.

He married (c5BC) Julia the Younger to Lucius *Aemilius* [p. 409] Paulus, the censor's son, and (between 5 and 1BC) Agrippina to *Germanicus* [p. 503] his

sister *Octavia* [p. 554] the Younger's grandson. Gaius and Lucius he adopted into his House (in 17BC), 'buying' them from Agrippa by means of a token sale, initiating them in public affairs while they were young, and granting them command in the provinces while still only consuls-elect.

He brought up his daughter and grand-daughters strictly, even having them taught spinning and weaving, and forbidding them from doing or saying anything that could not be recorded openly in the imperial day-book. He prevented them from meeting strangers, once writing to Lucius *Vinicius* [p. 623], a young man of good family and character: 'You were intemperate in coming to *Baiae* [p. 437] to see my daughter.'

He taught his grandsons to read and swim, and other skills, for the most part acting as their tutor, and took great pains to have them model their handwriting on his own. Nor would he dine in company without them sitting by him on the lowest couch, or travel unless they rode either side of his carriage or in advance.

BOOK TWO: LXV DEATHS AND SCANDAL

But Fortune deserted him at the very moments when he felt happiest and most confident in his offspring and their upbringing. The two Julias, his *daughter* [p. 515] and *granddaughter* [p. 515], being corrupted by every kind of vice, he banished (in 2BC and c8AD respectively). *Lucius* [p. 447] and *Gaius* [p. 446] he lost within the space of eighteen months, Lucius dying at *Massilia* [p. 539] (Marseilles, in 2AD), and Gaius dying in *Lycia* [p. 534] (in 4AD) leading him to adopt publicly his third grandson Agrippa *Postumus* [p. 412], and *Tiberius* [p. 608], his stepson, by means of a bill, a *lex curiata*, passed in the Forum by the *comitia curiata*. However Augustus disowned Agrippa Postumus not long after, because of his brutish and insolent manner, and despatched him to *Surrentum* [p. 601] (Sorrento, c6AD).

He was able to come to terms with the death of kin more easily than with their misbehaviour. Though his spirit was not broken by the deaths of Lucius and Gaius, he was so ashamed of his daughter's misconduct that he had the Senate informed of it by a letter, read aloud by a quaestor; refused to see anyone for a long while; and even considered having her put to death. Indeed, when a freedwoman, named *Phoebe* [p. 567], who had been in

Julia's confidence, hanged herself, at that time, he cried out: 'If only I were Phoebe's father!'

He denied Julia the Elder wine, and luxuries of any kind, in her exile, and no man, whether enslaved or free, was allowed near her without permission, nor without a note being made of his build, complexion, and even any birthmarks or scars on his body. Only five years later was she moved from her prison island (Pandateria) to the mainland (*Rhegium* [p. 582]) and treated somewhat less harshly. But he could not be persuaded to recall her to Rome, and when the people tried to intercede on her behalf, on several occasions, earnestly promoting her cause in the popular assembly, he called on the gods to curse them with wives and daughters such as her.

He refused to acknowledge or rear his granddaughter Julia the Younger's child, born after her banishment was imposed. And as Agrippa Postumus not only became daily less tractable, but increasingly unhinged, he was transferred to an island (Planasia) also, and held under armed guard. A Senate decree specified he was to be confined there indefinitely, and every mention of him or the two Julias, made him give a deep sigh and cry out:

'*Would I*^[p. 508] I had never married, and childless had died.'

And he never spoke of them except as his 'three tumours' or his 'three running sores'.

BOOK TWO: LXVI HIS FRIENDSHIPS

He was not one to make friends easily, but he cherished his friends with great constancy, not only rewarding them according to their virtue and merit, but even condoning their minor faults. Indeed, it would be hard to name a single one of his many friends who fell from favour, except *Salvidienus* [p. 585] Rufus, whom he had made consul, and *Cornelius* [p. 474] Gallus whom he had granted the prefecture of Egypt, in both cases by raising them from the lowest ranks. Salvidienus he handed over to the Senate court, so they might condemn him to death (in 40BC), for abetting revolution; while Gallus, because of the man's envy and ingratitude, he merely barred from the Imperial house and those provinces governed

directly by himself. When Gallus was later charged with offences, and condemned to death by decree (in 26BC), Augustus commended the Senators' loyalty and their strength of feeling on his account, yet shed tears and bemoaned his position, being unable to treat a dispute with a friend as a private matter. His other friends, despite the occasional coolness, enjoyed wealth and power to the end of their lives, ranking among the leaders of their Orders. *Agrippa* [p. 411], it is true, he found short on patience and *Maecenas* [p. 534] far too indiscreet. The former, feeling a lack of warmth and suspecting favouritism towards *Marcellus* [p. 537], abandoned his post and took himself off to *Mytilene* [p. 547] (in 23BC), while Maecenas betrayed a State secret to his wife *Terentia* [p. 604], the discovery of the *Murena* [p. 604] conspiracy (also in 23BC).

He, in turn, demanded affection from his friends, and as much at their death as in life. For though he was by no means a legacy-hunter, and indeed would never accept bequests from persons unknown, yet he showed himself acutely sensitive in weighing the final utterances of his friends, not hiding his disappointment if the bequest to him was scant, or the will failed to express gratitude, nor his pleasure if he was praised and thanked with affection. Though if legacies or shares in future estates were assigned to him in the wills of high-ranking individuals with children living, he immediately resigned the gifts in favour of the children, or if they were still minors repaid the value with interest when they came of age or married.

BOOK TWO: LXVII HIS SLAVES AND FREEDMEN

Augustus, while kind and merciful to his slaves and his dependants, and showing honour to many of his freedmen, including close intimates such as *Licinus* [p. 527] and *Celadus* [p. 460], was no less strict with those who failed him. Though his slave *Cosmus* [p. 476], who insulted him, was merely put in irons; and his steward *Diomedes* [p. 481], who panicked and hid behind him when they were charged by a wild boar, was merely subjected to ridicule for his cowardice, despite the grave danger, since no evil had been intended; *Polus* [p. 571], a favourite freedman, was forced to commit suicide when convicted of adultery with Roman wives; and *Thallus* [p. 606], Augustus' secretary, had his legs broken for taking a bribe of twenty-five gold pieces to betray the contents of a letter.

And he had the tutors and attendants on his son *Gaius* [p. 446] Caesar, who took advantage of Gaius' illness and death to commit acts of insolence and greed in his province, thrown into a river with weights tied to their necks.

BOOK TWO: LXVIII ACCUSATIONS OF HOMOSEXUALITY AND EFFEMINACY

As a youth he was reproached with various sexual improprieties. *Sextus* [p. 572] Pompey taunted him with the charge of effeminacy, while Mark *Antony* [p. 422] accused him of unnatural relations with Julius Caesar as the price of his adoption; and *Lucius* [p. 421] Antonius claimed that not only was that accusation true, but also that he had submitted to Aulus *Hirtius* [p. 508] in Spain, for three thousand gold pieces, and that he used to soften the hairs on his legs by singing them with red-hot walnut shells.

Furthermore, on one occasion in the theatre, the following line, said of a eunuch priest of *Cybele* [p. 478] striking a tambourine, was loudly applauded, as referring insultingly to Augustus:

'See, how this sodomite's finger rules the orb!'

BOOK TWO: LXIX HIS ADULTERIES

Not even his friends denied he was given to adulterous behaviour, though they justified it as a matter of policy not passion, claiming he discovered his enemy's intentions through their wives and daughters. Mark *Antony* [p. 422] accused him not only of marrying *Livia* [p. 527] with indecent haste (in 38BC), but of manoeuvring an ex-consul's wife from the dining room to the bedroom before the man's eyes, and returning her blushing and with her hair in disorder. He also claimed Augustus divorced *Scribonia* [p. 589] (in 39BC) because she showed resentment of a rival's influence over him too openly; and that friends of his pandered to him, stripping wives and young women of their clothes, in the manner of *Toranius* [p. 613], the slave-dealer, and inspecting them as though they were up for sale.

Mark Antony also wrote familiarly to Augustus, before his quarrels with him: 'Why the change in you? Because I'm rutting with *Cleopatra* [p. 468]? She's my 'wife'. After nine years is it news? Do you rut only with Livia? Be hanged if, by the time you read this, you've not had *Tertulla* or *Terentilla*, or *Rufilla*, or *Salvia Titisenia*, or the whole lot of them together! What matter where or whom you pleasure?'

BOOK TWO: LXX HIS OTHER VICES

Then there was a banquet of his, known as the feast of The Twelve Gods, the subject of scandalous gossip. The guests appeared dressed as deities, with Augustus as *Apollo* [p. 425], or so Mark *Antony* [p. 422] says in a spiteful letter, naming the guests, and not forgetting those notorious, anonymous lines:

'As soon as that banquet found its own financier,
Mallia [p. 535] saw six gods, and six goddesses, appear,
Impious Caesar played Apollo's part mendaciously,
Feasting, surrounded by the gods in fresh adultery:
Then the sacred gods turned their eyes away, as one,
And even *Jupiter* [p. 521] himself forsook his golden throne.'

What made the scandal worse was the famine and hardship gripping the country at that time, and the next day there were people shouting out that the gods had eaten the grain, and that Caesar was Apollo, true, but Apollo the Tormentor, that being one name under which he was worshipped in Rome.

Augustus was reproached too for his love of expensive furniture and *Corinthian* [p. 472] bronzes, as well as his fondness for gambling. At the time of the proscriptions there was already a line scrawled on his statue:

'Father for silver coins; I for Corinthians.'

Since it was believed he had men entered on the list of those proscribed for the sake of their Corinthian vases; and later, during the *Sicilian* [p. 593] campaign, this epigram was current:

'Beaten once he lost his fleet, then lost his ships again,
Now he plays dice all the while, to see if he can win.'

BOOK TWO: LXXI HIS REPUTATION

He easily refuted the accusations, or slanderous claims, however we choose to describe them, of homosexuality, by the chaste nature of his life then and later; and of an invidious love of luxury by the fact that at the taking of *Alexandria* [p. 416] (in 30BC) he appropriated none of the palace contents himself, apart from a single agate cup, but melted down all the gold articles in everyday use.

The charge of lasciviousness, however, he could not shake off, and even as an elderly man they say he still had a passion for deflowering virgin girls, who were brought to him from every quarter, even by his wife.

He never denied his reputation as a gambler, and diced freely and openly out of enjoyment for the pastime, not only in December, when the festival of *Saturnalia* [p. 587] condoned it, but on other holidays and working days too. Any doubt is removed by a letter in his handwriting, which reads: 'I had the same company at dinner, my dear *Tiberius* [p. 608], except that *Vinicius* [p. 623] and the elder *Silius* [p. 594] joined us. As old men do, we gambled throughout the meal, both yesterday and today. Anyone who threw the Dog (all aces) or six, put a silver piece in the pool, one for each dice, and anyone who threw Venus (all different) scooped the lot.' And in another letter he writes: 'We passed the *Quinquatria* [p. 580] very pleasantly, my dear Tiberius, keeping the gaming-table warm all day long. Your brother *Drusus* [p. 487] complained endlessly about his bad luck, but was hardly out of pocket at the end, losing heavily but recouping most of it bit by bit. I lost two hundred gold pieces, but only because I was as generous as ever. If I had insisted on what was owed, and kept what was really mine, I'd have won fifty thousand. Still, it's for the best, my generosity will yield eternal glory!' And to his daughter *Julia* [p. 515] he writes: 'I'm sending you two and a half gold pieces in silver, which is the amount I give my guests in case they want to play dice or 'odd and even' at dinner.'

BOOK TWO: LXXII HIS MODERATE LIFESTYLE

As far as his other habits are concerned, Augustus is generally agreed to have been temperate and unexceptionable. His first house, once the

property of Licinius *Calvus* [p. 526] the orator, was near the *Forum* [p. 497] Romanum at the top of the Ringmakers' Stairs. Later he lived modestly on the *Palatine* [p. 559], in what had been *Hortensius* [p. 509]' house, not noted for its size or elegance, with its low colonnades on columns of Alban *peperino* stone, and its rooms devoid of marble decoration or tessellated floors. He slept in the same room there for forty years, winter and summer, though Rome's climate in winter affected his health.

If he needed privacy, or to avoid interruption, he retreated to a room at the top of the house, that he called his Syracuse or his 'little workshop'. He spent time there, or in one of his freedmen's suburban villas or, if he was ill, would sleep at Maecenas' house. Away from Rome, he mostly visited resorts by the sea, or the islands off Campania, or country towns near the City such as *Lanuvium* [p. 523] (Lanuvio), *Praeneste* [p. 577] (Palestrina) or *Tibur* [p. 611] (Tivoli) where he often administered justice under the colonnades of the Temple of *Hercules* [p. 507].

He had no liking for grand and elaborate country houses, and one that his grand-daughter *Julia* [p. 515] built, on too lavish a scale, he had razed to the ground. His villas were modest affairs, noted not for fine statues and frescoes, but for their trees and terraces, and rare antiquities on display; for example huge bones of sea and land creatures, called 'the bones of the Giants', and weapons of ancient heroes, shown at *Caprae* [p. 454] (Capri).

BOOK TWO: LXXIII HIS SIMPLE CLOTHES AND FURNISHINGS

The simplicity of his furnishings and household possessions can be seen from those still preserved, which are barely fit for a private citizen. It is said that he always slept on a low bed with plain sheets and coverlet.

Other than on special occasions, he wore ordinary clothes made by *Livia* [p. 527], *Octavia* [p. 554], *Julia* [p. 515] or one of his grand-daughters; his togas were neither tight nor full, their purple stripe neither broad nor narrow, and his shoes had thick soles to enhance his height. In case of sudden and unexpected events, he would always have shoes and clothing for public wear laid out in his room.

BOOK TWO: LXXIV HIS DINNER PARTIES

He gave formal dinner parties, at every opportunity, paying close regard to the rank and personality of his guests. Valerius *Messala* [p. 617] writes that he did once invite a freedman *Menas* [p. 541] to dine, but only after he had enrolled the man on the list of free-born citizens for delivering up *Sextus* [p. 572] Pompey's fleet. Though Augustus says that he once entertained one of his ex-bodyguards, to whose villa he used to retreat.

He sometimes came late to his dinner parties and left early, allowing his guests to dine before he arrived, and continue after his departure. He would have a three-course dinner served, or a six-course if he felt lavish, without unnecessary extravagance, but always providing a convivial atmosphere, since he would draw the silent or soft-spoken into the general conversation, and also add music and theatricals to the proceedings, or even Circus performers, and often professional story-tellers.

BOOK TWO: LXXV HIS SENSE OF HUMOUR

As a rule, he celebrated festivals and holidays lavishly, but now and then his gifts were practical jokes. On the Saturnalia, for example, or whenever the mood took him, he might give clothes, or gold or silver plate; or perhaps antique or foreign coins; yet sometimes the gifts would turn out to be only haircloth, sponges, or pokers and tongs, all wrapped up, with misleading labels and enigmatic descriptions.

At dinner parties he would auction tickets for prizes varying wildly in value, such as paintings of which only the back was shown, insisting that all the guests entered a bid and took the risk of loss or gain, letting chance determine whether the result met the purchaser's expectations or disappointed him completely.

BOOK TWO: LXXVI HIS FOOD

Augustus was a light-eater, for I should add even this detail to my description of his domestic life, and usually his food was of the plainest. He especially liked coarse bread, fish of the smaller varieties, moist hand-pressed cheese, and green figs from the second crop, and would eat whenever and wherever he felt hungry, even before dinner. Let me quote from his letters: 'I had a snack of bread and dates in the carriage', and again: 'On the way back from the *Regia* [p. 497], in my litter, I had a morsel of bread and a few firm-skinned grapes from a bunch fit for eating' and: 'My dear *Tiberius* [p. 608], not even the *Jews* [p. 512] refrain as scrupulously from food on their fast days, as I have today; I had nothing till nightfall, at the baths, two mouthfuls of bread before my massage.'

His irregular mealtimes meant that he sometimes ate alone before or after a dinner party, touching nothing while the banquet was in progress.

BOOK TWO: LXXVII HIS DRINK

He was also abstemious by nature in his use of wine. *Cornelius* [p. 475] Nepos writes that, during the siege of *Mutina* [p. 546], he never took more than three glasses at dinner. Later, even when indulging freely, he never drank more than a pint of wine; or if he did deliberately vomited it.

His favourite vintage was *Raetian* [p. 581], but he seldom drank it before dinner. Instead he would moisten his throat with a morsel of bread soaked in cold water, a slice of cucumber, a young lettuce heart, or a sour apple, fresh or dried.

BOOK TWO: LXXVIII HIS SLEEPING HABITS

After lunch he would take a nap, just as he was, without removing his clothes or shoes, or covering his feet, and with his hand over his eyes. After dinner he retired to a couch in his study, where he stayed late, finishing all or virtually all the day's business. Then he went to bed for at most seven hours, not sleeping continuously but waking three or four times. If he

found it hard to get back to sleep, as frequently happened, he would send for readers or story-tellers, and when he finally fell asleep not wake till the sun was up. He hated to lie awake in the dark unless there was someone by his side.

He disliked early rising, though, and if some official or religious duty occasioned it, he would avoid inconvenience to himself by sleeping at some friend's house near the appointed place. Even so, he often suffered from lack of sleep, and would nod off while being carried through the streets, or when his litter was set down because of some delay.

BOOK TWO: LXXIX HIS APPEARANCE

Augustus was exceptionally handsome and attractive at every stage of his life, though careless of his personal appearance. He cared so little about his hair, that he would have two or three barbers racing to finish it together, sometimes clipping his beard sometimes shaving him closely, while he carried on reading or writing. His expression was always so mild and serene, whether silent or in conversation, that a Gallic chieftain, who had used the pretext of seeking an audience to approach him, as he was crossing the Alps, once confessed to his countrymen that his heart had been so softened on seeing Augustus' face that he had abandoned his original intent to push him over the cliff.

His eyes, which he liked people to think possessed divine power, were clear and bright, and it gave him great delight if whoever he gazed at keenly looked down, as if dazzled by the radiant sun. In old age, though, he had only partial vision in his left eye.

His teeth were few, small and discoloured. His hair was yellowish and rather curly, and his eyebrows met. His ears were of moderate size, his nose having a prominent bridge then curving backwards slightly lower down. He had a medium complexion, neither dark nor fair. He was short of stature, though Julius *Marathus* [p. 519], a freedman and his keeper of the Imperial records, states that he was about five feet seven inches tall, and his lack of height was masked by the symmetry of his body and its excellent proportions, and was only evident when a taller person stood beside him.

BOOK TWO: LXXX HIS PHYSICAL BLEMISHES AND WEAKNESSES

His body is said to have been covered by blemishes; with birthmarks on his chest and stomach matching the prominent stars of the Great Bear in their number, pattern and relative sizes; and a number of hard dry patches resembling ringworm, caused by vigorous use of the scraper on an itching skin.

His left leg, thigh, and hip were weak, and he even limped slightly at times, though he strengthened them by walking on sand and reeds. He sometimes found the forefinger of his right hand so stiff and contracted in cold weather that he could hardly write, even with the aid of a finger-brace of horn.

He also suffered from pain in his bladder, which was relieved after passing gravel in his urine.

BOOK TWO: LXXXI HIS MAJOR ILLNESSES

At various times in his life, Augustus battled with severe and life-threatening illness. After the *Cantabrian* ^[p. 453] conquest, in particular, he was in such a desperate state from a liver abscess (in 23BC) that he was obliged to try a risky course of treatment, running counter to medical practice, his physician *Antonius* ^[p. 424] Musa applying hot fomentations, rather than the cold ones which had given him no relief.

He was also subject to annually recurring seasonal disorders; usually falling ill just before his birthday (in September); and in early spring with a tightness of the diaphragm; or with catarrh when the sirocco blew. In this way, his weak constitution made him unable to tolerate heat or cold.

BOOK TWO: LXXXII HIS CARE OF HIS HEALTH

In winter he wore four tunics and a heavy toga for protection, over an undershirt covering a woollen chest protector and wraps for his thighs and shins. In summer he slept with his bedroom doors open or, quite often, in

the open air near a courtyard fountain, with a servant fanning him. But he could not stand even the winter sun, and always wore a broad-brimmed hat when he walked outside, even at home.

He travelled by litter, usually at night, at such an easy pace that it took two days to reach *Praeneste* [p. 577] (Palestrina) or *Tibur* [p. 611] (Tivoli). But he preferred sailing, if he could reach his destination by sea.

By taking great care he countered his many weaknesses, especially by caution in bathing, generally making do with an oil rub or a sweat-bath by a fire, followed by a douche with warm water, or water with the chill taken off after standing a long time in the sun. However, when he eased his rheumatism with a hot brine or *Albulan* [p. 415] sulphur bath, he simply sat on a wooden bath-seat, calling it by the Spanish name *dureta* [p. 415], alternately bathing his hands and feet in the water.

BOOK TWO: LXXXIII HIS EXERCISE AND DIVERSIONS

Once the Civil Wars were over, Augustus gave up his armed riding exercises in the *Campus* [p. 452] Martius, at first playing catch or hand-ball, but after a while contenting himself with riding, or after a walk, wrapped in a cloak or blanket, with sprinting and leaping.

For diversion, he went fishing; or he played at dice, or marbles, or casting nuts with a gang of little boys, and was always on the lookout for those, especially the Syrians and Moors, with attractive faces or pleasing chatter, loathing the dwarfish or disabled, and considering such individuals as freaks of nature and creatures of ill omen.

BOOK TWO: LXXXIV HIS ORATORY

From boyhood, Augustus was an eager and diligent devotee of rhetoric and liberal studies. Despite the pressure of events during the *Mutina* [p. 546] campaign, it is said that he still read, wrote and declaimed every day. Though he had no lack of skill in impromptu oratory, he never addressed the Senate in later life, without a pre-prepared written speech in his hand. And to avoid the time wasted in committing his speeches to memory, or the risk of forgetting what he wished to say, he took to reading them verbatim.

He even drafted the more important of his statements to individuals and even his wife *Livia* [p. 527] in a notebook, then read them aloud, haunted by the fear of saying too much or too little if he spoke extempore.

He had a pleasant and individual manner of speaking, constantly practising guided by a teacher of elocution, but when his throat was affected he addressed the audience through a herald.

BOOK TWO: LXXXV HIS WRITINGS

He wrote numerous works in prose on a variety of topics, some of which he read aloud to a group of close friends, as though in a lecture-hall, for instance his *Reply to Brutus* [p. 444]' *Eulogy of Cato* [p. 459]. On that occasion, however, being quite elderly, he tired before reaching the end, and handed the last roll to *Tiberius* [p. 608] to complete the reading.

He also wrote *Exhortations to Philosophy*, and thirteen books of *An Account of His Life*, though taking the work only as far as the period of the *Cantabrian* [p. 453] War. His efforts at poetry were slight, but one set of hexameters on *Sicily* is extant, and a series of *Epigrams* mostly composed at the Baths.

He did begin a tragedy, with great enthusiasm, but destroyed it, dissatisfied with its defects of style, and when friends asked what had become of *Ajax* [p. 414], he replied that Ajax had 'fallen on his *sponge*' [p. 414].

BOOK TWO: LXXXVI HIS STYLE OF SPEECH

He cultivated a sober but elegant style of speech, avoiding vain sententiousness, rhetorical rhythm, and the 'odour' as he puts it 'of recondite phrases'; making it his main aim to express his thoughts as clearly as possible. And therefore, to prevent his readers halting in confusion at any stage, he had no hesitation in adding prepositions like *to* or *in* to the names of cities, or in repeating conjunctions several times when once might have been neater but might also have created ambiguity.

He was contemptuous of both innovators and archaizers, as equally wrong but in opposite ways, and sometimes poured scorn on them, especially *Maecenas* [p. 534], whose ‘myrrh-besprinkled curlicues’ as he had it, he belaboured and parodied in jest. Even Tiberius was not spared, for his habit of hunting out obscure and obsolete expressions. And he reproaches Mark *Antony* [p. 422] for acting like a madman, in writing so that men might admire him, rather than understand him. He goes on to ridicule Antony’s odd and inconsistent taste in choosing a speaking style, adding: ‘Can you seriously consider imitating *Annius* [p. 418] Cimber or *Veranius* [p. 619] Flaccus, and go using those ancient words *Sallust* [p. 585] gleaned from the Elder *Cato*’s [p. 458] *Origines*? Or perhaps you aim to fill our speech with the verbose and meaningless fluency of Asiatic orators?’ And in a letter praising his granddaughter *Agrippina* [p. 413] the Elder’s accomplishments, he writes: ‘But take great care not to write and talk affectedly.’

BOOK TWO: LXXXVII HIS FAVOURITE WORDS AND PHRASES

In everyday speech, he frequently used notable expressions of his own, as revealed in letters in his own hand, in which for example he says, now and then, of certain individuals that ‘they will pay on the Greek Kalends’ meaning ‘never’. Urging someone to accept things as they are, he writes: ‘Let us be content with *our Cato* [p. 459]; and to express the speed of a hasty action: ‘Quicker than boiled asparagus.’

He liked to employ *baceolus* (pea-brain), for *stultus* (fool); *pulleiaceus* (darkish) for *pullus* (dark); *vacerrosus* (empty-headed) for *cerritus* (mad); *vapide se habere* (feeling flat) for *male se habere* (feeling bad); and *betizare* (like a beetroot) for *languere* (weak) the vulgar equivalent being *lachanizare*. He also used *simus* for *sumus* (we are), and *domos* instead of *domuos* for the genitive singular of *domus* (house), invariably writing these forms lest they be thought errors rather than a custom of his.

I also note this peculiarity in his manner of writing: rather than break a word at the end of a line, and carry over the remaining letters to the next, he writes them below the start of the word and draws a connecting loop round them.

BOOK TWO: LXXXVIII HIS ORTHOGRAPHY AND CIPHER KEY

He does not comply with the strict rules of orthography, the formal system of spelling, that is, laid down by the grammarians, but seems to follow the lead of those who think we should spell as we speak. Of course he made the kinds of error common to us all, frequently transposing or omitting syllables, and I would not have mentioned the fact, except that I was surprised to find it said of him that he forced a consular governor to retire for being as ignorant and uneducated as to write *ixi* for *ipsi* (themselves).

When Augustus wrote in code he used a substitution cipher, replacing each letter with the next in the Latin alphabet, writing AA for the last letter, X.

BOOK TWO: LXXXIX HIS INTEREST IN LITERATURE

He was as interested in Greek works as Latin, and excelled in his studies of both. His tutor was *Apollodorus* [p. 425] of *Pergamon* [p. 564], who accompanied him to *Apollonia* [p. 426] in his youth, though Apollodorus was by then quite aged. Later Augustus extended his knowledge of various fields, studying under the philosopher *Areus* [p. 428] and his sons *Dionysius* [p. 481] and *Nicanor* [p. 551]. However he never wrote or spoke Greek fluently, and if he had to compose anything in that language, he drafted it in Latin, and passed it to a translator. He was far from being ignorant of Greek poetry, though, greatly enjoying the Old Comedy, and frequently staging the plays during his public shows.

When reading works in both languages, he was assiduous in collecting moral precepts and anecdotes, for public or private instruction; he would often transcribe them word for word, and send them to members of his household, or to his generals and provincial governors, or to the city magistrates, whenever they required admonishing. He even read whole texts aloud to the Senate, and often commended them to the people by proclamation, for example the speech of Quintus Caecilius *Metellus* [p. 445] *On Increasing the Population*, and that of *Rutilius* [p. 584] Rufus *'On the Height of Buildings'*, in order to make it clear that these were not simply matters of fresh interest to him, but had aroused the attention of earlier generations.

He fostered the talents of his own age, in every way, listening to their readings of poetry and history, and to speeches and dialogues too, courteously and patiently. But he objected to being written about himself, except by serious and respected authors, often warning the praetors not to allow his name to be mentioned in prize orations.

BOOK TWO: XC HIS SUPERSTITION REGARDING LIGHTNING

Regarding his attitude to religious omens, we are told that he was somewhat nervous of thunder and lightning, and always carried a seal-skin amulet for protection. At the first sign of an approaching storm, he would always take refuge in an underground vault, having once had a fright, as I have mentioned previously, when he narrowly escaped a lightning bolt during a night march.

BOOK TWO: XCI HIS ATTITUDE TO DREAMS

He never ignored his dreams, or those of others that concerned him. At *Philippi* [p. 567], he had decided to keep to his tent because of illness, but was persuaded not to do so, warned by a friend's dream. And most fortunate it proved too, since the enemy took the camp, broke into his tent, and stabbed his bed through and through, thinking at first that he was still lying there, ripping it to pieces.

Every spring he had numerous nightmares, which were empty and without consequence, while at other times of year his dreams were infrequent but less idle.

He dreamed that *Capitoline* [p. 453] *Jupiter* [p. 521] was unhappy about his constant visits to the new temple of Jupiter the Thunderer which he had founded on the hill, because traditional worshippers were being stolen from him, and he had replied in dream that he had placed the Thunderer close by as Capitoline Jupiter's doorkeeper. This prompted him to hang bells from the gable of the new shrine, as if it were a house-door.

Another dream led to his begging alms on a given day each year, holding his open palm out for the passers-by to give him pennies.

BOOK TWO: XCII HIS REGARD FOR CERTAIN OMENS

Certain omens and auspices he considered infallible, for instance if he put his right foot into his left shoe in the morning he took it as a bad sign. He thought a shower of light rain when he was starting on a long land or sea trip, a good omen, indicating a speedy and successful return.

He was particularly influenced by prodigious events. When a palm tree sprang out of a crevice in the pavement in front of his house, he had the shoot transplanted to the inner courtyard close to the household gods, and nurtured its growth. And he was so delighted, when arriving on *Capreae* [p. 454] (Capri), that the branches of an old oak-tree which had drooped and withered were reinvigorated, that he arranged, with *Naples* [p. 547], an exchange of the island for that of *Aenaria* [p. 409] (Ischia, in 6AD).

Certain days were sacrosanct too, and he refused to travel on the day after a market-day, or to carry out any important business on the Nones, though in the latter case, as he wrote to *Tiberius* [p. 608], he merely dreaded the negative sound of the name.

BOOK TWO: XCIII HIS RESPECT FOR CERTAIN FOREIGN RELIGIONS

He showed great respect for foreign rites which were both ancient, and previously known to him, but despised the rest. An example of his attitude to the former occurred after his initiation into the Eleusinian Mysteries at Athens. He was hearing a case in Rome, involving the privileges due to the priests of Demeter, the Attic *Ceres* [p. 460], and when the discussion of certain religious secrets was required, he, cleared the court, dismissed his legal advisors, and resolved the dispute in private. As an example of his attitude to the latter, however, he refused to go out of his way to visit the *Apis* [p. 424] bull during his sojourn in Egypt, and praised his grandson *Gaius* [p. 446] Caesar highly for not offering prayers at the Temple in Jerusalem, when passing by *Judaea* [p. 512].

BOOK TWO: XCIV OMENS OF DESTINY

At this point, it is appropriate to describe the various omens, presaging his future greatness and continuous good fortune, which occurred before his birth, on the very day of his birth, and thereafter.

When, in ancient times, a part of the city wall at *Velitrae* [p. 618] (Velletri) was struck by lightning, it was prophesied that a citizen of the place would one day rule the world. Such was their confidence in the prediction, that the people of Velitrae immediately declared war on the Romans, and fought many subsequent wars against Rome, until they themselves were almost obliterated. Centuries later, events proved the validity of the omen, and that it had foretold the rise of Augustus.

According to *Julius* [p. 519] Marathus, a portent was widely observed in Rome, a few months before Augustus' birth, indicating that Nature was about to produce a king once more for the Roman people. The Senate were so concerned they decreed that no male child born that year should be reared; but a group of Senators with pregnant wives, each hoping for a son to fulfil the prediction, prevented the decree being filed in the Treasury and becoming law.

I have read this tale too, in the *Theologumena*, the *Discourses on the Gods*, of *Asclepiades* [p. 429] of Mendes. Augustus' mother, *Atia* [p. 432], with a group of married women, was attending a solemn midnight service in the Temple of *Apollo* [p. 425] and, once her litter had been set down, she settled to sleep with the rest. Suddenly a serpent appeared, insinuated itself into her, and after a while slithered away. On waking, she purified herself, as if after intimacy with her husband, and at once an indelible mark, like the serpent and with its colouring, showed on her body, such that afterwards she always avoided public bathing. Augustus was born nine months later and regarded as the son of the god, a child of Apollo. Also, *Atia* dreamed before the birth that her innards were borne upwards to the stars and there spread over all the land and sea, while *Octavius* [p. 555], his father, dreamed that the sun rose from *Atia's* womb.

Augustus was born on the day the *Catiline* [p. 458] Conspiracy was debated in the House (23rd September, 63BC), his father Octavius arriving late due to the birth. It was then, as everyone knows, that Publius *Nigidius* [p. 552] Figulus, the astrologer, learning why he was late and the natal hour, declared that a ruler of the world was born. And later, when Octavius, his father, was leading a military expedition in *Thrace* [p. 607], he consulted the priests of the grove of Father *Liber* [p. 525] (Dionysus), and their barbaric rites confirmed the prophecy, since a column of flame rose from the wine poured over the altar, and lifted far above the roof of the shrine, to the highest heavens. Such an omen had only been seen once before, when *Alexander* [p. 415] the Great sacrificed at that very altar. While, that night, Octavius dreamed that his son appeared in superhuman guise, armed with the lightning bolt, ornaments and sceptre of *Jupiter* [p. 521] Optimus Maximus, crowned with a solar diadem, riding a chariot wreathed in laurels, drawn by twelve pure white horses.

Gaius [p. 488] Drusus records that the infant Augustus (Octavius, as he was then) whom his nurse had settled in his cradle on the ground floor one evening, was not there at dawn, and was found only after a long search, lying on the summit of a tower, his face turned towards the rising sun.

When he was learning to talk, he ordered the frogs croaking loudly in a pool on his *grandfather's* [p. 555] estate, to be silent, and they say no frog has ever croaked there since. And later, as he sat eating his lunch, one day, in a copse by the Appian Way's fourth milestone, an eagle swooped down, to his surprise, and snatched the bread from his hand, then after soaring to a great height flew smoothly down again, and returned it to him.

It is said that, a few years after *Quintus Catulus* [p. 459] Capitolinus re-dedicated the Capitol (in 65BC), he had two dreams on successive nights; in the first he dreamed that Jupiter Optimus Maximus called aside one of a group of noblemen's sons who were playing near the altar, and slipped the image of the Goddess Roma he held in his hand into a fold of the boy's gown. On the second night, Catulus dreamed he saw the same lad sitting in the lap of Capitoline Jupiter and that when he ordered him to be removed the god countermanded him, warning him that the boy was being reared to be Rome's saviour, and on the very next day, Catulus was shown the infant Augustus, whom he had never seen before, gazed at him in surprise, and declared he was very like the boy in his dream.

Some give a different account of Catulus' first dream, saying that a throng of noblemen's children asked Jupiter for someone to be their protector, and he pointed to one of them, to whom they should direct their requests, then touched the boy's mouth with his fingers and laid them on his own lips.

One New Year's Day, when *Cicero* [p. 614] was escorting *Julius Caesar* [p. 518], as consul, to the *Capitol* [p. 453], he told his friends of a dream the previous night, in which a boy with noble features was lowered from heaven on a golden chain, stood at the Temple door and was handed a whip by Capitoline Jupiter. At that moment, he caught sight of Augustus, who had been brought to the ceremony by his great-uncle, Caesar, and was still unknown to most there, and declared that this was the very boy from his dream.

At his coming of age ceremony, the seams of Augustus' senatorial toga, which Caesar had allowed him to wear, parted on both sides, and the gown fell at his feet. This was interpreted as an infallible sign that the Senatorial Order itself would one day be subject to him.

While Caesar was clearing a site for his camp at *Munda* [p. 546] (45BC), a palm tree was found in a grove that was being felled, which he took as an omen of victory. The tree was spared and put out a new shoot which a few days later was taller than its parent, overshadowing it. Not only that, but doves began to build a nest there, though the species particularly avoids hard, spiny foliage. This prodigy it was, they say, that led Caesar to decide on his younger sister *Julia's* [p. 514] grandson (Augustus) as his successor.

When he was studying in *Apollonia* [p. 426] (45/44BC) Augustus climbed one day to the astrologer *Theogenes's* [p. 606] observatory. *Agrippa* [p. 411] was with him, and was the first to have his stars read. When a marvellous career was predicted for Agrippa, Augustus lost confidence, fearing that his own chart would prove less auspicious, and he persistently refused to divulge the precise hour of his birth. When he finally agreed, unwillingly, and after much hesitation, Theogenes, having cast the horoscope, rose and threw himself down at Augustus' feet. Thereafter Augustus was so convinced of his destiny, that he made the results public, and had a silver coin struck stamped with the constellation Capricorn, the (lunar) sign under which he was born.

BOOK TWO: XCV OMENS OF IMMINENT POWER

On his return from *Apollonia* [p. 426] (44BC), after *Caesar's* [p. 518] assassination, a halo formed around the sun's disc as he entered the City, even though the sky seemed bright and cloudless, and suddenly a lightning-bolt struck the tomb of *Caesar's* daughter *Julia* [p. 514].

And again, as he was taking the auspices in his first consulship, twelve vultures were seen, the same sign that appeared to Romulus, and the livers of the sacrificial victims were doubled inwards at the lower end, an omen that the soothsayers skilled in such things unanimously proclaimed as the sign of a great and fortunate future.

BOOK TWO: XCVI OMENS OF VICTORY IN WAR

Augustus had presentiments of the outcome of all his campaigns. When the Triumvirs were gathered at *Bononia* [p. 440] (in 43BC), an eagle perched on Augustus' tent, defended itself against two ravens which attacked it from either side, and dashed them to the ground. The whole army concluded that discord would arise between the three leaders, as it in fact did, and also divined its result.

While he was travelling to *Philippi* [p. 567] (in 42BC), a Thessalian stopped him to prophesy his imminent victory, having been so assured by *Caesar's* ghost, which he had encountered on an isolated track.

When he was making an offering before the walls of *Perusia* [p. 564] (41/40BC), and failing to obtain a favourable omen, had sent for more sacrificial victims, the enemy made a sudden sortie and carried off all the religious trappings. The soothsayers prophesied from this that any danger or threat of disaster to Augustus would fall on the heads of those who now possessed the entrails, and so it proved.

On the eve of the naval battle off *Sicily* [p. 593] (in 36BC), as he was walking along the shore, a fish leapt from the sea and fell at his feet.

And at *Actium* [p. 404] (in 31BC), as he was about to board ship and give the signal for battle, he met a man driving an ass, his name being *Eutyclus* [p. 492] (Prosper) and the beast *Nicon* (Victor). To commemorate the victory,

Augustus set up bronze statues of the two, inside the camp site which was dedicated as a sacred enclosure.

BOOK TWO: XCVII OMENS OF DEATH

His death, which I shall speak of next, and his subsequent deification were also presaged by unmistakable omens.

As he was ending the *lustrum* (on May 11, 14AD) in the *Campus* [p. 452] Martius, that being the sacrifice of purification made every five years after a census, and in front of a vast crowd, an eagle flew round him several times and flying to the temple nearby perched above the first letter, 'A', of *Agrippa's* [p. 411] name. Seeing this, Augustus asked *Tiberius* [p. 608], his colleague in the Censorship, to recite the quinquennial vows since, despite having composed them and written them on a tablet, he ought not to take responsibility for vows he could not pay. At about the same time, a lightning bolt melted the initial letter, 'C', of Caesar from an inscription below one of his statues. This was taken to mean that he had only a hundred days to live, C being the Roman numeral signifying a hundred, but that he would be counted among the gods, since the remaining letters 'aesar' meant 'god' in *Etruscan* [p. 491].

Again, detained by litigants pleading case after case, when he was on the point of setting out to accompany Tiberius whom he had ordered to *Illyricum* [p. 510], as far as *Beneventum* [p. 438] (Benevento), he cried out that he would no longer remain in Rome, no matter who delayed him, and this was regarded later as a further omen of his death. Setting off, they reached *Astura* [p. 431] (Torre Astura), where a favourable breeze persuaded him, contrary to his usual custom, to take ship that night, and he caught a chill, diarrhoea being its first symptom.

BOOK TWO: XCVIII HIS LAST DAYS

After sailing south along the shores of Campania, with its coastal islands, he spent the next four days at his villa on *Capreae* [p. 454] (Capri) enjoying a complete rest amidst all kinds of pleasant diversion.

He had sailed there through the Gulf of *Puteoli* [p. 579] (Pozzuoli), where the passengers and crew of an *Alexandrian* [p. 416] ship, which had not long arrived, lauded him highly and lavished good wishes on him. Dressed in white robes, and crowned with garlands, they had burned incense, calling out that they owed him their livelihoods, the freedom of the seas, their very lives.

Delighted by this show of affection, Augustus gave each of his retinue forty gold pieces, making them promise under oath to spend it all on Alexandrian wares. Moreover he distributed presents of various kinds, during his few remaining days on Capreae, including, among his many small gifts, Roman togas and Greek cloaks, and insisting the Romans among his company dressed as Greeks and spoke their language, while the Greeks dressed as Romans and spoke Latin. He spent many hours, too, watching the groups of *ephebi* (youths over eighteen years of age but not yet full citizens) practising their gymnastics, Capraea still nurturing the ancient Greek traditions. And he even gave a banquet for them, at which he presided, where he not only allowed but encouraged their jokes and set them scrambling for tokens he scattered, granting the holder fruit, delicacies and the like. Indeed, he indulged in every kind of enjoyment.

He dubbed an islet off Capreae, *Apragopolis*, the *Land of Idlers*, because some of his staff, who spent time there, were so lazy, and referred to a previous favourite, *Masgaba* [p. 539], who had died there the previous year, as *Ktistes*, meaning its founder. On seeing, from his dining room, a large crowd, carrying torches, visiting Masgaba's tomb, he improvised and declaimed this line of verse:

'The Founder's tomb I see ablaze with fire..'

And then asked *Thrasyllus* [p. 607], *Tiberius* [p. 608]' astrologer, who was reclining opposite him, which poet had written the line. Thrasyllus, who had no idea, hesitated, so Augustus added a second:

'See how, with lights, Magasba's honoured now!'

He asked his opinion of this one too, and when Thrasyllus dared only venture that they were very good, whoever composed them, he burst out laughing, and poked fun at him, gleefully.

Eventually he crossed the bay to *Naples* [p. 547], even though he was still weak from intermittent bowel problems. He first attended an athletic and gymnastic competition, held every five years in his honour, and then went on to *Beneventum* [p. 438], where he parted from Tiberius. But on the return journey his illness grew worse, and at *Nola* [p. 552] he took to his bed, sending messengers to Tiberius forestalling his passage to *Illyricum* [p. 510], and summoning him to return. He spent hours with Tiberius, on his arrival, in private conversation, after which he no longer gave attention to State affairs.

BOOK TWO: XCIX HIS DEATH

On the day of his death, after asking repeatedly whether there were any disturbances in Rome as a result of his illness, he called for a mirror, and had his hair combed, and his slack lower jaw manipulated into place. Then he called in his friends, and asked them whether they felt he had played his part in life's farce well, adding the theatrical tag:

'Please clap your hands, if I have given cause,
And send me from the stage with your applause.'

Then he dismissed them. Though, when visitors arrived, fresh from Rome, he asked about *Drusus* [p. 488] the Younger's daughter, *Julia* [p. 516], who was ill. The last words he spoke were to his wife: '*Livia* [p. 527], keep the memory of our marriage alive, and farewell!' and died the very moment he was kissing her. So he was blessed with an easy death, such as he always desired. For whenever he heard of someone dying swiftly and painlessly, he always prayed for such a *euthanasia* – that was the term he used – for himself and his family, when their turn came.

He had only given one sign, before he died, that his mind was wandering, and that was a sudden cry of terror, calling out that forty youths were carrying him off. But even this was a prophecy rather than a delusion, since that same number of praetorian guards did indeed accompany his body to its lying-in-state.

BOOK TWO: C HIS FUNERAL

He died at about 3pm on August the 19th, 14AD, thirty-five days before his seventy-sixth birthday, during the consulships of Sextus *Pompeius* [p. 572] and Sextus *Appuleius* [p. 426], in the same room as his father *Octavius* [p. 555].

His body was carried all the way from *Nola* [p. 552] to *Bovillae* [p. 441] by senators of the local municipalities and colonies, at night due to the hot weather, setting it down in the town hall or principal temple at each resting place. Members of the Equestrian Order assembled at Bovillae to carry it onwards to Rome, where it was placed in the vestibule of his house.

The Senators vied with one another in their wish to enhance the magnificence of his funeral and honour his memory. Among the suggestions offered was a proposal that his funeral procession should pass through a triumphal gate, preceded by the Statue of Victory from the Senate House, and that the boys and girls of the nobility should sing the dirge. Further, that on the day of his cremation, iron rings should be worn instead of gold, and that his ashes should be collected by the priests of the leading colleges.

One Senator proposed that since Augustus began his life in September, and it ended in August, the name of the latter month should be transferred to the former. Another, that the whole period his life covered, from birth to death, should be called the Augustan Age, and so entered in the Calendar.

Though the honours paid to him were not excessive, two funeral eulogies were delivered, one by *Tiberius* [p. 608] in front of the Temple to the God *Julius* [p. 518], the second by *Drusus* [p. 488] the Younger, Tiberius' son, from the old Rostra. Groups of Senators then carried the body on their shoulders to the *Campus* [p. 452] Martius where it was cremated. One ex-praetor swore under oath that he had seen the Emperor's form soar to the heavens, even though the body had been reduced to ashes.

The leaders of the Equestrian Order, barefoot and in loose tunics, gathered up the remains and placed them in the family Mausoleum. He had initiated the building of this, between the Via Flaminia and the Tiber, during his sixth consulship (in 28BC). At the same time an area of groves and walks around it were opened as a public park.

BOOK TWO: CI HIS WILL

He had made a will on the 3rd of April in the previous year (AD13) when Lucius *Munatius* [p. 546] Plancus and Gaius *Silius* [p. 594] were consuls, a year and four months, that is, before he died. It occupied two note-books written partly in his own hand and partly by *Polybius* [p. 571] and *Hilarion* [p. 508] his freedmen. The *Vestal* [p. 621] Virgins, its custodian, now produced the notebooks and three scrolls, sealed in the same manner. All were opened and read to the House.

Augustus had appointed *Tiberius* [p. 608] and *Livia* [p. 527] heirs to the bulk of his estate; Tiberius to receive two thirds and adopt the name 'Augustus'; Livia to inherit the remaining third and adopt the name 'Augusta'. The heirs in the second degree (who inherited in the event of a main heir's death or their refusal of the legacy) were Tiberius' son, *Drusus* [p. 488] the Younger, who was entitled to a third of the reversion, and *Germanicus* [p. 503] and his three sons, who were jointly entitled to the remainder. Many of his other relatives and his friends were mentioned as heirs in the third degree.

He also left four hundred thousand gold pieces to the Roman people, thirty-five thousand to the two tribes with which he was connected, ten gold pieces to every praetorian guardsman, five to every one of the city cohorts, and three to every legionary. These he requested to be paid at once, out of an amount set aside for the purpose. He left other bequests to various individuals, some as much as two hundred gold pieces; the payment to be deferred for a year because of the limited value of his estate. He declared that his heirs would receive only one and a half million gold pieces, because he had spent not only the fourteen million or so bequeathed to him by friends over the previous twenty years, but all his legacy from his father *Octavius* [p. 555], and his adoptive father *Caesar* [p. 518], for the benefit of the State.

He commanded that his daughter *Julia* [p. 515] the Elder, and his granddaughter, *Julia* [p. 515] the Younger should have no place in his Mausoleum on their death. Of the three sealed scrolls, one gave directions for his funeral; the second was an account of his achievements, to be engraved on bronze and erected at the entrance to the Mausoleum; and the third was a summary of the state of the Empire, giving the number of serving troops, the value of the reserves in the Treasury and Privy Purse, and the revenues due to the State.

Book II: Augustus

He added, as well, the names of his secretaries, freedmen and slaves, from whom the details could be obtained.

Book III: Tiberius



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Book Three: Tiberius



BOOK THREE: I THE CLAUDII

The patrician branch of the Claudians – there being a plebeian branch too, no less influential and distinguished – was originally from *Regillum* [p. 582], a Sabine town. The family moved to Rome, with a large throng of dependants, either shortly after the foundation of the city (in 753BC), at the instigation of Titus *Tatius* [p. 603], who ruled jointly with *Romulus* [p. 583] or, as is more generally accepted, at the instigation of the head of the family, *Atta* [p. 465] Claudius, about six years after the expulsion of the kings (in 504BC).

The Claudians were enrolled among the patricians, and granted land by the State, on the far side of the Anio, for their dependants, and a family burial-ground at the foot of the *Capitoline* [p. 453]. In the course of time they were honoured with twenty-eight consulships, five dictatorships, seven censorships, six triumphs and two ovations.

The family bore various forenames and surnames, though they agreed to drop the forename Lucius, after one Lucius Claudius was convicted of highway robbery, and a second of murder. However they added the surname Nero, meaning ‘strong and vigorous’ in the Sabine tongue.

BOOK THREE: II GOOD AND BAD

Many of the Claudians did the State great service, though many others were guilty of committing great crimes.

To quote a few examples of the former; *Appius* [p. 465] Claudius Caecus, 'the Blind', warned against any alliance with King *Pyrrhus* [p. 579] (in 280BC); while Appius Claudius *Caudex* [p. 466], was first to sail a fleet across the Straits of Messina, and subsequently drove the Cathaginians from *Sicily* [p. 593] (240BC); and *Claudius* [p. 466] Tiberius Nero crushed *Hasdrubal* [p. 505], who had brought an army from Spain, preventing him from reinforcing that of his brother *Hannibal* [p. 505] (207BC).

An example of the latter, however, is Claudius *Crassus* [p. 466] Regillensis, one of the Decemvirs appointed to codify the laws, whose wicked attempt to enslave a freeborn girl, for whom he lusted, caused the second secession of the plebeians from the patricians (in 449BC). Then there was Claudius *Russus* [p. 467], who erected a statue (c268BC) of himself in the town of Forum *Appii* [p. 498], with a crown on its head, and tried with an army of dependants to gain possession of Italy. And Claudius *Pulcher* [p. 467], too, who on taking the auspices before a naval battle off Sicily (Drepana, in 249BC), and finding the sacred chickens refused to feed, defied the omen and threw them into the sea, crying: 'Let them drink, if they won't eat!' He was subsequently defeated. When recalled, and asked by the Senate to appoint a dictator, he nominated *Glycias* [p. 504] his messenger, as if in mockery of the country's dire situation.

The Claudian women too have equally diverse records. There was the famous *Claudia* [p. 464] Quinta who (c204BC) re-floated the boat carrying the sacred image of the Idaean Mother-Goddess, *Cybele* [p. 478], hauling it from the shoal in the Tiber where it was stranded. She had prayed for the goddess to grant success, as proof of her perfect chastity. But there was also the notorious *Claudia* [p. 464] who, in a case without precedent since it involved a woman, was tried for treason by the people (in 246BC). Angered by the slow progress of her carriage through a crowd, she expressed the wish that her brother Claudius *Pulcher* [p. 467] were still alive, to lose another fleet, and thin the population of Rome.

All the Claudii were aristocrats, and notoriously upheld the power and influence of the patrician party, with the sole exception of *Publius* [p. 469]

Clodius, who became the adoptive son of a plebeian younger than himself, in order to oppose *Cicero* [p. 614] and drive him from the City (in 59BC). The Claudians were so wilful and stubborn in their attitude towards the commons that they refused to dress as suppliants or beg for mercy even when on trial for their lives; and in their constant disputes and quarrels with the tribunes even dared to strike them.

There was even the occasion when a Claudian celebrated a triumph (Appius *Claudius* [p. 467] Pulcher, in 143BC) without first seeking the people's permission, and his sister, a *Vestal* [p. 621] Virgin, clambered into his chariot and rode with him all the way to the Capitol, making it an act of sacrilege for the tribunes to exercise their veto and halt the procession.

BOOK THREE: III THE LIVII

Such were the roots of *Tiberius* [p. 608] Caesar, who was of Claudian descent on both sides, on his father's from *Claudius* [p. 466] Tiberius Nero, and on his mother's from Publius *Claudius Pulcher* [p. 467], both being sons of Appius *Claudius Caecus* [p. 465].

Tiberius was also a member of the Livii, into whose family his maternal grandfather (Livius *Drusus* [p. 530]) had been adopted. The Livians were of plebeian origin, but so prominent as to have been honoured with eight consulships, two censorships, and three triumphs, as well as the offices of dictator and master of the horse. The family was particularly famous for four of its most distinguished members, Marcus Livius Salinator, Livius Drusus, Marcus Livius Drusus the Elder, and his son of the same name.

Livius *Salinator* [p. 531] was convicted of malpractice while consul, and fined, yet he was nevertheless re-elected consul by the commons for a second time and appointed censor (in 204BC) whereupon he placed a note (*nota censoria*) against the name of every tribe on the electoral roll, to register their vagaries.

The Livius *Drusus* [p. 530] who first gained the hereditary surname, did so by killing an enemy chieftain, *Drausus* [p. 486], in single combat (c283BC). It is said that when propraetor of Gaul, he brought back the amount in gold paid to the *Senones* [p. 591] as a ransom to lift their siege of Rome (a century

earlier c390BC), which had not in fact, as tradition claimed, been wrested back from them by the dictator *Camillus* [p. 499].

Livius Drusus' great-great-grandson, Marcus Livius Drusus the *Elder* [p. 530], known as 'The Patron of the Senate' for his stubborn opposition (in 122BC) to the *Gracchi* [p. 504] brothers and their reforms, left a son, Marcus Livius Drusus the *Younger* [p. 531], who was treacherously assassinated by the opposing party while actively pursuing comprehensive plans at a time of like dissent (91BC).

BOOK THREE: IV HIS FATHER

Tiberius' father, *Nero* [p. 610], commanded *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar's fleet (48BC), as quaestor, during the *Alexandrian* [p. 416] War and contributed significantly to his eventual victory. For this he was made a priest in place of Publius *Scipio* [p. 588], and sent to establish colonies in Gaul, including those of *Narbo* [p. 547] (Narbonne) and *Arelate* [p. 427] (Arles).

Nevertheless, after Caesar's murder, when the Senate, in order to prevent further violence, voted for an amnesty for the tyrannicides, Tiberius Nero went much further and supported a proposal that they be rewarded. Later a dispute arose between the triumvirs *Antony* [p. 422] and *Lepidus* [p. 407], just as his term as praetor (42BC) was ending, leading him to retain his badge of office beyond the appointed time, and follow Antony's brother, Lucius *Antonius* [p. 421], who was then consul, to *Perusia* [p. 564] (Perugia, in 41BC). When the town fell and others capitulated, he stood by his allegiances, and escaped to *Praeneste* [p. 577] (Palestrina), and then *Naples* [p. 547].

After failing to raise an army of slaves, by promising them freedom, he took refuge in *Sicily* [p. 593]. Offended however at not being given an immediate audience with *Sextus* [p. 572] Pompeius, and at being denied the use of the *fascēs* (his emblems of office), he crossed to Greece and joined Mark Antony, and when peace was concluded, returned with him to Rome (in 40BC). There (in 39BC), he surrendered his wife *Livia* [p. 527] Drusilla, who had borne him a son, and was pregnant with another, to *Augustus* [p. 433], at his request. On his death (in 33BC), he was survived by his sons, Tiberius, and *Drusus* [p. 487] the Elder.

BOOK THREE: V BIRTH

It has been conjectured that Tiberius was born at *Fundi* [p. 498] (Fondi), but with no better evidence than that his maternal grandmother, *Aufidia* [p. 433], was a native of the place, and that a statue of Good Fortune was later erected there by Senate decree. The vast majority of reliable sources place his birth in Rome, on the *Palatine* [p. 559], on the 16th of November 42BC, in the consulships of Marcus *Aemilius* [p. 407] Lepidus, who had been consul previously in 46BC, and Lucius *Munatius* [p. 545] Plancus; and during the Civil War that ended at *Philippi* [p. 567].

So both the calendar and the official gazette state, but some still insist that he was born in the preceding year, in the consulships of *Hirtius* [p. 508] and *Pansa* [p. 622], and others that he was born in the following year, in the consulships of *Servilius* [p. 592] Isauricus and Lucius *Antonius* [p. 421].

BOOK THREE: VI CHILDHOOD AND BOYHOOD

In his childhood and boyhood he experienced hardship and difficulty, his parents (*Nero* [p. 610] and *Livia* [p. 527]) taking him everywhere with them, as they fled (from Augustus). At *Naples* [p. 547], as the enemy burst into the city, they secretly took ship (in 40BC), and the infant all but gave them away twice by his crying, as their companions in danger snatched him from his nurse's breast and then Livia's arms, in their effort to share the burden.

They sailed to *Sicily* [p. 593] and then Greece, where he was entrusted to the public care of the Spartans, dependants of the Claudii, but when Livia fled Sparta too, at night, he almost died when they were encircled by a forest fire, in which her robe and hair were scorched.

The presents that *Pompeia* [p. 571] Magna, *Sextus* [p. 572] Pompey's sister, gave him in Sicily, namely a cloak, a brooch, and some gold charms, were preserved and are exhibited at *Baiae* [p. 437].

On his parents return to Rome (in 40BC), he was adopted as heir according to the will of a Senator, Marcus *Gallius* [p. 501]. Though accepting the inheritance, he later gave up the adopted name, since Gallius had been of the opposite party to *Augustus* [p. 433].

At the age of nine (in 32BC), Tiberius delivered the eulogy from the rostra at his father's funeral, while three years later (in 29BC) he took part in Augustus' (triple) triumph after *Actium* [p. 404], riding the left trace-horse of the triumphal chariot, while *Marcellus* [p. 537], *Octavia* [p. 554] the Younger's son, rode the right. He presided at the City festival as well, and led the cavalry troop of older boys in the *Troy* [p. 409] Game at the Circus.

BOOK THREE: VII MARRIAGE AND FAMILY MATTERS

The principal domestic events between his coming of age and his accession to power are these. On separate occasions he honoured the memory of his father, Tiberius *Nero* [p. 610], and his maternal grandfather, *Livius* [p. 530] Drusus, with a gladiatorial show, the first being given in the *Forum* [p. 497] and the second in the amphitheatre, persuading retired gladiators to appear by a payment per head of a thousand gold pieces. He also gave, but did not attend, theatrical performances. His mother, *Livia* [p. 527], and stepfather, *Augustus* [p. 433], funded this lavish expenditure.

Tiberius first married (after 19BC) *Vipsania* [p. 412] Agrippina, the daughter of *Agrippa* [p. 411], and granddaughter of *Caecilius* [p. 445] Atticus, the Roman knight to whom *Cicero* [p. 614] addressed many of his letters. Though she was a congenial partner, and had borne him a son, *Drusus* [p. 488] (the Younger, in 13BC), he hurriedly divorced her (in 11BC), despite her being again pregnant, to marry *Julia* [p. 515] the Elder, Augustus' daughter. He was greatly distressed, being happy in his marriage to Agrippina, and disapproving of Julia's character, having recognised, as many others did, her illicit passion for him while her former husband (and his own father-in-law), Agrippa, was still alive. Even after the divorce, he bitterly regretted separating from Agrippina, and on the one occasion he saw her again, he gazed after her so intently, and tearfully, that care was taken to prevent him ever seeing her again.

At first, he lived amicably enough with Julia, and returned her love, but he soon grew distant, and eventually, after the severing of the tie between them formed briefly by a child who died in infancy (10BC) at *Aquileia* [p. 426], he ceased to sleep with her.

His brother Drusus the *Elder* [p. 487], died in Germany (in 9BC), and Tiberius brought the body back to Rome, walking before it the whole way.

BOOK THREE: VIII HIS CIVIL CAREER

His civil career began with his advocacy, in separate cases with *Augustus* [p. 433] presiding, on behalf of King *Archelaus* [p. 427] (of Cappadocia); the citizens of *Tralles* [p. 613] (Aydin, in Turkey); and the *Thessalians* [p. 606].

He also appeared before the Senate to support pleas by the inhabitants of *Laodicea* [p. 523], *Thyatira* [p. 607] and *Chios* [p. 461], who requested help after a devastating earthquake on the coast of Asia Minor.

When *Fannius* [p. 492] Caepio conspired with *Varro* [p. 604] Murena against *Augustus* [p. 433], it was Tiberius who arraigned him on charges of high treason, and secured his condemnation (in 23BC).

Meanwhile he had undertaken two special commissions; a re-organisation of the defective grain supply, and an investigation into the slave-farms, in Italy, whose owners had acquired an evil reputation by confining lawful travellers, and also harbouring men who hid there as slaves, out of an aversion to military service.

BOOK THREE: IX HIS MILITARY AND OFFICIAL APPOINTMENTS

His first campaign was as military tribune, against the *Cantabrians* [p. 453] (in 25BC). He then led an army to Asia Minor and restored *Tigranes* [p. 611] III to the throne of *Armenia* [p. 428] (in 20BC), personally investing him as king on the official dais; and also recovered the standards lost to the *Parthians* [p. 562] by Marcus *Crassus* [p. 526].

He became Governor of Transalpine Gaul (*Gallia Comata*) a few years later (in 16BC) and held the post for a year or so, quelling unrest due to barbarian incursions and feuding between the Gallic chieftains.

Later he subdued the *Raeti* [p. 581] and *Vindelici* [p. 623] in the Alps (15BC), the *Breuci* [p. 441] (12BC) and *Dalmatians* [p. 480] (11-9BC), in *Pannonia* [p. 560], and finally captured forty thousand prisoners of war in Germany (8BC) and re-

settled them along the Gallic banks of the Rhine. He was rewarded for these exploits by an ovation (9BC) in Rome, followed by a regular triumph (in 7BC), having previously had the triumphal regalia conferred on him, as a new form of honour.

He held the offices, in turn, of quaestor (23BC), praetor (16BC), and consul (13BC), before the minimum ages normally required, and with scant regard to the prescribed intervals. Later he was again consul (in 6BC), at the same time holding the powers of a tribune for five years.

BOOK THREE: X WITHDRAWAL FROM ROME

Yet, with fortune at the flood, while in the prime of life, and in excellent health, he suddenly decided (in 6BC) to retire, and remove himself as far as possible, from the centre of affairs. Perhaps the motive was his loathing for *Julia* [p. 515], his wife, whom he dare neither bring charges against nor divorce, though he could no longer tolerate her presence; or perhaps, to prevent familiarity breeding contempt among the populace, he sought by his absence to maintain or even enhance his prestige, against the moment when his country might need him.

Some speculate that when *Gaius* [p. 446] and *Lucius* [p. 447], *Augustus* [p. 433]' grandchildren and adopted sons, were both of age, he chose to relinquish his role, and the long-term position he had virtually assumed of second-in-command of the Empire, in much the same way as Marcus Agrippa had. *Agrippa* [p. 411] retired to *Mytilene* [p. 547] (in 23BC), when *Marcellus* [p. 537] began his official career, so as not to overshadow him or diminish him by his presence. And such was indeed the reason Tiberius later gave.

At the time, he simply asked for leave of absence, on the grounds that he was wearied by office and needed to rest. He refused to be swayed by *Livia's* [p. 527] urgent entreaties to stay, or Augustus' open complaint to the Senate that Tiberius was deserting him. On the contrary, when they tried their utmost to detain him, he responded by refusing food for four days.

With freedom to depart at last granted, he set out immediately for *Ostia* [p. 557], leaving his wife, Julia, and his son (by *Agrippina* [p. 412]), *Drusus* [p. 488] the Younger, behind in Rome, granting the odd kiss as he left but barely saying a word to those who saw him off.

BOOK THREE: XI RETIREMENT AT RHODES

As he sailed south from *Ostia* [p. 557], along the Campanian coast, news arrived that *Augustus* [p. 433] was ill, and he anchored for a while. But as rumours spread that Tiberius was delaying in hope of realising a desire for supreme power, he sailed on to *Rhodes* [p. 582], regardless of the opposing winds. He had fond memories of that beautiful and salubrious island after touching there on his return voyage from *Armenia* [p. 428].

Once there, and established in a modest house, and with an equally humble suburban villa, he was content to live in an unassuming manner, often strolling about the gymnasium unaccompanied by lictors or messengers, and trading pleasantries with the Greeks, almost as if they were peers of his.

It chanced on one occasion that, while agreeing his program that morning for the day ahead, he expressed a wish to visit all those in the city suffering from illness. Through a misunderstanding on the part of his staff, orders went out to bring all patients to a public colonnade, where they were grouped according to their ailments. Startled by encountering them, Tiberius was somewhat at a loss, but ended by apologising individually, even to the humblest and least significant, for the inconvenience he had caused.

He only exercised his rights as a tribune publicly once. He used to frequent the philosophy schools and the halls where the professors lectured, and one day when a fierce dispute had arisen among rival sophists, one daring fellow abused him roundly for interfering and taking sides. Tiberius retreated calmly to his house, then suddenly re-appeared with his lictors, and ordered a herald to bring the slanderer before his tribunal, before having him consigned to jail.

Not long afterwards, he learned of his wife *Julia's* [p. 515] banishment (in 2BC) for adultery and immoral behaviour, and that a bill of divorce had been issued in his name, on *Augustus* [p. 433]' authority. Welcome as the news was, he thought it his duty to attempt, in a stream of letters, to try and effect reconciliation between father and daughter. He also asked that, whatever punishment she merited, she be allowed to keep any gifts he himself may have made her.

When the term of his powers as tribune ended, he asked permission to visit his family in Rome, whom he greatly missed, maintaining that the sole reason for his withdrawal from the City had been to avoid any suspicion of rivalry with *Gaius* [p. 446] and *Lucius* [p. 447], and that since they were now adults and had undisputed right of succession, his reason was no longer valid. Augustus however rejected his plea, and he was advised to relinquish all thought of visiting the family he had so readily abandoned.

BOOK THREE: XII UNDER SUSPICION

He therefore remained, unwillingly, in *Rhodes* [p. 582]; securing grudging permission, thanks to *Livia's* [p. 527] help, that while absent from Rome he could assume the title of ambassador for *Augustus* [p. 433], so as to mask his ignominy.

Indeed he now lived a life that was not merely private, but shadowed by danger and fear, deep in the countryside and far from the sea, seeking to avoid the attention of travellers touching at the island, though that was difficult since generals and magistrates on the way to their provinces broke their journey at Rhodes as a matter of routine.

Moreover he had even greater reason for anxiety on finding his stepson *Gaius* [p. 446] Caesar, Governor of the East, whom he visited on *Samos* [p. 587] (c1BC), somewhat cool towards him, due to slanders spread by Marcus *Lollius* [p. 532], who was attached to Gaius' staff as his guardian.

Also, some centurions Tiberius had appointed, on their return to camp from leave, were said to have sent questionable messages to various people, which seemed designed to foment rebellion. Augustus informed him of these claims, prompting Tiberius to demand the presence on Rhodes of someone else of rank who could quell any suspicions regarding his words or actions.

BOOK THREE: XIII RECALL TO ROME

Tiberius gave up all his usual forms of exercise, on horseback or with weapons, and abandoned Roman dress for Greek cloak and slippers. This

was his mode of life for two years or so, during which he grew daily more despised and shunned, to the point where the citizens of *Nemausus* [p. 548] (Nîmes, in his former province in Gaul, *Gallia Comata*) toppled his statues and busts.

Once, at a private dinner party attended by *Gaius* [p. 446] Caesar, a guest rose to his feet when Tiberius's name was mentioned, and offered to sail for *Rhodes* [p. 582], if Gaius would only say the word, and bring back the head of 'the Exile' as he was commonly designated. This incident, specifically, which rendered his position not merely disquieting but downright perilous, drove Tiberius to plead urgently for his recall to Rome, a prayer in which *Livia* [p. 527] joined, and partly due to circumstances, he obtained his request. *Augustus* [p. 433] had resolved to leave the final decision to his elder son, and Gaius now chanced to be on bad terms with Marcus *Lollius* [p. 532], and much more sympathetic towards Augustus' entreaty. With Gaius' consent, Tiberius was recalled, on the strict understanding that he would maintain no further interest or involvement in politics.

BOOK THREE: XIV OMENS OF DESTINY

So, eight years after his withdrawal from Rome, he returned (2AD), still with a strong and unshaken belief in his own destiny, which the omens and prophecies of his childhood had fostered. For instance, *Livia* [p. 527], while pregnant with him, had tried to predict the sex of her child, by taking an egg from a brood hen, which she and her women then warmed in their hands till it hatched, when a male with a fine comb emerged.

In his infancy, *Scribonius* [p. 589], the astrologer, prophesied an illustrious career for him, and that he would be the king of Rome yet wear no crown; and this when the reign of the Emperors had not yet begun.

Again, in his first command, as he led his troops through Macedonia (in 20BC) on his way to Syria, the altars at *Philippi* [p. 567] consecrated decades ago by the victors (in the year of his birth, 42BC) burst spontaneously into flame.

Later, on his way to Illyricum he visited the oracle of *Geryon* [p. 563] near *Patavium* [p. 563] (Padua), and drew a lot which advised him to throw golden dice into the fountain of *Aponus* [p. 563], if he wanted his questions answered.

He made the highest possible cast, and the dice can still be seen beneath the surface.

A few days before he was notified of his recall from *Rhodes* [p. 582], an eagle of a species not seen before on the island, perched on the roof of his house; and on the very eve of notification, the tunic he was donning seemed to glow. His change of fortune convinced Tiberius that *Thrasyllus* [p. 607], the astrologer, attached to his household as a man of learning, did indeed have genuine powers. They had been strolling together on the headland, when Tiberius, thinking all the man's claims false, his predictions being contradicted by the adverse nature of events; and anxious at having rashly confided secrets to him; suddenly resolved to push him from the cliff. At that very instant Thrasyllus, seeing a ship, cried out that it brought good news.

BOOK THREE: XV ADOPTION BY AUGUSTUS

Having introduced his son *Drusus* [p. 488] the Younger to public life, Tiberius, after his recall to Rome, changed his residence on the *Esquiline* [p. 490] Hill, moving from the house of the *Pompeys* [p. 573] on the *Carinae* (the 'Keel' on its south-western slopes) to one in the Gardens of *Maecenas* [p. 534]. There he led a retired life, carrying out no public functions, but simply attending to his personal affairs.

Within three years, however, both *Lucius* [p. 447] Caesar and *Gaius* [p. 446] Caesar were dead (in AD2 and 4 respectively), and Augustus now adopted both their brother *Agrippa Postumus* [p. 412], and Tiberius, who was first required to adopt his nephew *Germanicus* [p. 503] (in 4AD).

Tiberius ceased to act as head of the Claudians, and surrendered all the privileges of that position, making no gifts and freeing no slaves, and only accepting gifts or legacies as an addition to the personal property he held (which was technically owned by Augustus).

From that moment onwards, Augustus did all he could to enhance Tiberius' prestige, especially after the disowning and banishment of Postumus (c6AD) made it obvious that Tiberius was the sole heir to the succession.

BOOK THREE: XVI CAMPAIGNING IN ILLYRICUM

Tiberius was granted another three years of the powers a military tribune wielded, with the task of pacifying Germany (AD4-6), and the *Parthian* [p. 562] envoys, who presented themselves to Augustus in Rome, were commanded to appear before Tiberius in that province.

However, on the news of rebellion in Illyricum, he was transferred there to command the campaign, fighting the most damaging war since those with Carthage. He had control of fifteen legions and an equivalent force of auxiliaries for three years (AD7-9), in arduous conditions, and with grossly inadequate supplies. But though he was frequently summoned to Rome, he never allowed the massed enemy forces to push back the Roman lines, and take the offensive.

As just reward for his perseverance, he conquered the whole of *Illyricum* [p. 510], a stretch of country bounded by Italy, Noricum (Austria/Slovenia), the Danube, Macedonia, Thrace and the Adriatic, and reduced the tribes there to complete submission.

BOOK THREE: XVII RECOGNITION IN ROME

His exploits garnered greater glory from circumstance, since the loss of *Quintilius Varus* [p. 580] and his three legions in Germany (in 9AD), would have allowed the victorious Germans to have made common cause with the *Pannonians* [p. 560], if Illyricum had not already submitted.

In consequence he was voted a triumph and other distinctions. Some proposed he be granted the name 'Pannonicus', others favoured 'Invictus' (Unconquered) or 'Pius' (Devoted), which Augustus vetoed, however, repeating his promise that Tiberius would be content with the name he would receive at Augustus' death.

Tiberius postponed the triumph, himself, given the public mourning over Varus's disaster. Nevertheless he made his entry to the City wreathed with laurel and wearing the purple-bordered toga, and mounting a tribunal platform which had been built in the *Saepta* (Enclosure) took his seat beside *Augustus* [p. 433]. The two consuls seated themselves either side, with

the Senators standing in an arc behind. He then greeted the crowd from his chair, before doing the rounds of the various temples.

BOOK THREE: XVIII RETURN TO GERMANY

The following year (10AD) he returned to Germany. Recognising that *Varus's* ^[p. 580] rashness and carelessness was the cause of his disaster Tiberius did nothing without the approval of his military council, consulting a large body of advisors regarding the course of the campaign, contrary to his previous habits of independence and self-reliance.

He was also more cautious than before. For instance, at the Rhine crossings he set a limit to the amount of baggage each wagon could carry, and refused to start until the wagons had been inspected, to ensure the contents were essential and permissible.

Once beyond the Rhine he behaved as follows: he ate his meals seated on bare turf, and often slept without protection of a tent; he gave all orders in writing, whether the next day's plans or emergency procedures; and he always added a note that anyone in doubt of anything should consult him personally at any hour of the day or night.

BOOK THREE: XIX DISCIPLINE AND CAUTION

Tiberius imposed the strictest discipline on his troops, reviving past methods of punishment and degradation, even down-rating a legionary commander for sending a few of his soldiers over a river to escort his freedman while hunting.

Though he left little to chance, he fought battles more confidently if his lamp suddenly guttered, without being touched, while he was working the previous night, since he trusted in an omen, he would say, that had always brought his ancestors good luck on their campaigns.

And yet, despite his caution, he narrowly escaped death at the hands of a warrior of the *Bructeri* ^[p. 442], who had gained access disguised as a servant. The man was only betrayed by nervousness, but confessed under torture to planning an assassination.

BOOK THREE: XX TRIUMPHANT RETURN TO ROME

After a two-year campaign, he returned to Rome (in AD12), and celebrated his postponed Illyrian triumph, accompanied by his generals for whom he had obtained triumphal regalia. Before climbing to the Capitol, he dismounted from his chariot and knelt at *Augustus* [p. 433]' feet, the latter presiding over the ceremonies.

He showered rich gifts on *Bato* [p. 438], chieftain of the *Pannonians* [p. 560], who had once allowed him to escape when he and his troops were caught on dangerous ground, and settled him at Ravenna.

He also gave a thousand-table public banquet, and three gold pieces to every male guest, and out of the value of his spoils he re-dedicated the Temple of Concord (which he had restored between 7 and 10AD), as well as re-dedicating that of *Pollux* [p. 570] and *Castor* [p. 458] (which he had restored and re-dedicated in 6AD), in the name of his dead brother, *Drusus* [p. 487] the Elder, and himself.

BOOK THREE: XXI THE SUCCESSION

In accordance with the consuls' decree that he should assist *Augustus* [p. 433] with the five-year census, and govern the provinces jointly with him, Tiberius waited for the completion of the lustral rites before setting out once more for *Illyricum* [p. 510] (in 14AD). However Augustus's last illness caused his recall. Finding Augustus still alive at his return, he then spent the entire day in private conversation with him.

I am aware of the widespread belief that when Tiberius finally left the room, Augustus was heard by his attendants to murmur: 'Alas, for the people of Rome, doomed to such slow-grinding jaws!' I know authors too who say that Augustus would freely and openly show his disapproval of Tiberius's dour manner by breaking off his relaxed and easy mode of conversation mid-flow, whenever Tiberius appeared; and that he only decided to adopt Tiberius on his wife's insistence, or because he selfishly foresaw that he might only be the more regretted in contrast with such a successor. Yet I refuse to believe such a prudent and far-sighted Emperor could have acted without due consideration in so vital a matter.

In my opinion, Augustus decided having weighed Tiberius's good and bad points that the good predominated. He did, after all, attest publicly that his adoption of Tiberius was in the national interest, and refers to him in several letters as outstanding in military affairs and the sole defence of the Roman people. To illustrate these points, I give a few extracts from his correspondence:

'...Farewell, dearest Tiberius, and fortune go with you, *as you fight for me and the Muses*. Dearest and bravest of men, as I live, and *most conscientious* of generals, farewell.'

'I must truly praise your summer campaigns, my dear Tiberius. I am certain no one else could have acted more wisely than you did, in the face of so many difficulties and with so weary an army. All who accompanied you agree that this *line* [p. 490] might speak of you: *One vigilant man restored to us what was ours.*'

'If anything arises that calls for careful consideration, or annoys me, I swear by the god of Truth, I long for my dear Tiberius, and *Homer's* [p. 508] verse comes to mind:

What though the fire should rage: if he is with me,
Both will win home, so wise he is and knowing.'

'When I read, or hear, that you are worn down by continual effort, may the gods curse me, if my flesh does not shudder too; and I beg you to take care of yourself, for if we were to hear you were ill, it would kill your mother and I, and any illness in Rome's high command would place the Roman people in danger.'

'It is no matter whether I am well or no, if you are not.'
'I beg the gods, if they hate not the people of Rome, to preserve you to us, and grant you health, now and always.'

BOOK THREE: XXII THE DEATH OF POSTUMUS

Tiberius suppressed the news of *Augustus* [p. 433]' death (in 14AD) until young *Agrippa Postumus* [p. 412] had been executed by the military tribune appointed as his jailor, whose authority to do so was given in writing. Whether

Augustus left the order at his death, as a means of eliminating a future source of trouble, or whether Livia signed it in her husband's name, with or without Tiberius's complicity, is not known. In any event, when the tribune reported that he had done as Tiberius commanded, Tiberius denied that he had so ordered, and that the man must account to the Senate for his actions. It appears that Tiberius was merely trying to avoid immediate unpopularity, and subsequent silence on the matter consigned it to oblivion.

BOOK THREE: XXIII THE READING OF AUGUSTUS' WILL

He then convened the Senate, by virtue of his powers as tribune, and broke the news in a speech, which he had barely begun before he moaned aloud as if overcome by grief, and handed the text to his son *Drusus* [p. 488] the Younger to finish, with the wish that his life, not merely his voice, might leave him.

Augustus' will was brought forward and read by a freedman, the Senators who had witnessed it acknowledging their seals, the non-Senatorial witnesses doing so later outside the House. The will commenced: 'Since cruel fate has carried off my sons *Gaius* [p. 446] and *Lucius* [p. 447], Tiberius Caesar is to be heir to two-thirds of my estate.' The wording strengthened the conviction of those who believed he had named Tiberius as successor not from choice but out of necessity, without which they felt he would not have written such a preamble.

BOOK THREE: XXIV HIS ACCESSION

Though Tiberius assumed and exercised Imperial authority at once and without hesitation, providing himself with a bodyguard as an actual and external sign of sovereign power, he refused the title of Emperor for some long while, reproaching, in an unapologetically farcical manner, the friends who urged him to accept it, saying that they had no idea what a monstrous creature the empire was; and keeping the Senators in suspense, with evasive answers and calculated delay, when they fell at his feet begging him to give way.

Some Senators finally lost patience, and in the confusion one shouted: 'Let him take it or leave it!' Another openly taunted him saying that, while some were slow to do what they agreed to do, he was slow to agree to do what he was already doing.

At last he did accept the title of Emperor, but only as if he were being forced to, and complaining all the while that they were compelling him to live as a miserable overworked slave, and in such a manner as to betray his hope of one day relinquishing the role. His actual words were: 'until the day when you think it right to grant an old man rest.'

BOOK THREE: XXV MUTINY AND CONSPIRACY

His hesitation was caused by fear of the dangers that so threatened him from every side, that he often said he was gripping a wolf by the ears.

Clemens [p. 467], one of *Agrippa Postumus's* [p. 412] slaves, had recruited a not insignificant force to avenge his dead master, while *Lucius Scribonius* [p. 589] Libo, a nobleman, secretly plotted revolution.

Meanwhile soldiers in both *Illyricum* [p. 510] and Germany mutinied (AD14). The two army groups demanded a host of special privileges, the main one being that they should receive a praetorian's pay. In addition the army in Germany was disinclined to support an Emperor not of their making, and begged their commander, *Germanicus* [p. 503], to seize power, despite his clear refusal to do so. It was the fear above all of such a possibility that led Tiberius to ask the Senate to parcel out the administration in any way they wished, since no man could bear the load without a colleague, or even several. He pretended to ill-health too, so that Germanicus might more readily anticipate a swift succession, or at least a share of power.

The mutinies were quelled, and Clemens, trapped by deception, fell into his hands. But it was not till the second full year of his rule (16AD) that Libo was arraigned before the Senate, since Tiberius was afraid to take extreme measures till his power-base was secure, and was content meanwhile to be on his guard. So he had a lead knife substituted for the double-edged steel one, when Libo accompanied the priests in offering sacrifice, and would not grant Libo a private audience except with his son

Drusus [p. 488] the Younger present, even grasping Libo's right arm throughout, as though he needed to lean on him for support, as they walked to and fro.

BOOK THREE: XXVI HIS POLITICAL DISCRETION

Free of these anxieties, Tiberius acted like a traditional citizen, more modestly almost than the average individual. He accepted only a few of the least distinguished honours offered him; it was only with great reluctance that he consented to his birthday being recognised, falling as it did on the day of the Plebeian Games in the Circus, by the addition of a two-horse chariot to the proceedings; and he refused to have temples, and priests dedicated to him, or even the erection of statues and busts, without his permission; which he only gave if they were part of the temple adornments and not among the divine images.

Then again, he refused to allow an oath to be taken by the citizens supporting his actions now and to come; and vetoed the renaming of September as 'Tiberius' and October 'Livius' after his mother *Livia* [p. 527]. He also declined the title 'Imperator' before his name or 'Father of the Country' after it, and the placing of the Civic Crown (conferred on Augustus) over his palace door. He was also reluctant to employ the title 'Augustus' in his letters, though it was his by right of inheritance, except in those addressed to foreign kings and princes.

After becoming Emperor, he held only three consulships (in AD18, 21, and 31), one for a few days, the second for three months, and a third during his absence (on Capri) only until the Ides of May.

BOOK THREE: XXVII HIS DISLIKE OF FLATTERY

He was so averse to flattery that he refused to let Senators approach his litter, whether on business or even simply to pay their respects, and when an ex-consul, apologising for some fault, tried to clasp his knees in supplication, he drew back so sharply he tumbled backwards. Indeed if anyone in a speech or conversation spoke of him in exorbitant terms, he

immediately interrupted, reproached the speaker, and corrected his language there and then.

On one occasion, when addressed as 'My lord and master' he told the man never to insult him in that fashion again. Another spoke of Tiberius's 'sacred' duties which he amended to 'burdensome', and when a second man, appearing before the Senate, claimed he was there 'on the Emperor's authority' Tiberius substituted 'advice' for authority.

BOOK THREE: XXVIII HIS SUPPORT OF FREE SPEECH

Moreover, in the face of abuse, libels or slanders against himself and his family, he remained unperturbed and tolerant, often maintaining that a free country required free thought and speech.

When, on one occasion, the Senate demanded redress for such offences from those guilty of them, he replied: 'We lack the time to involve ourselves in such things; if you open that door every thing else will fly out the window; it will provide the excuse for every petty quarrel to be laid at your feet.'

And in the Senate proceedings we may read this unassuming remark: 'If so-and-so were to take me to task, I would reply with a careful account of my words and deeds; if he persisted, the disapproval would be mutual.'

BOOK THREE: XXIX HIS COURTESY

And this attitude was the more noteworthy because he showed well-nigh excessive courtesy himself when addressing individual Senators, or the Senate as a whole. On one occasion, when disagreeing with Quintus *Haterius* [p. 505], in the House, he said: 'I ask your pardon if, in my role as Senator, I speak too freely against what you say.' Then he addressed the House; 'As I have often said before, honourable members, a well-disposed and right-minded prince, with the great and unconstrained power you have vested in him, must always be a servant of the Senate, and frequently of the people also, and even on occasions of the individual. I do not regret having spoken thus, since I have found you, and still find you, kind, fair and indulgent 'lords and masters.'

BOOK THREE: XXX HIS SUPPORT OF THE SENATE

He even introduced a species of liberty, by maintaining the traditional dignities and powers of the Senate and magistrates. He laid all public and private matters, small or great, before the Senate consulting them over State revenues, monopolies, and the construction and maintenance of public buildings, over the levying and disbanding of troops, the assignment of legions and auxiliaries, the scope of military appointments, and the allocation of campaigns, and even the form and content of his replies to letters from foreign powers.

When, for example, a cavalry commander was accused of robbery with violence, he forced him to plead his case before the Senate.

He always entered the House unattended, except for one occasion when he was ill, and carried in on a litter, when he at once dismissed his bearers.

BOOK THREE: XXXI HIS SUPPORT OF THE CONSULS AND THE RULE OF LAW

He made no issue of the matter when decrees were passed containing views counter to his own. For example, he contended that city magistrates should confine themselves to the City so as to attend personally to their duties, yet the Senate allowed a praetor to travel abroad, with an ambassador's status. Again, there was an occasion when a legacy provided for the building of a new theatre in *Trebia* [p. 613] (Trevi), and despite his recommendation that it be used instead to build a new road, the testator's wishes prevailed. And once, when the Senate divided to vote on a decree, he went over to the minority side and not a soul followed him.

A large amount of business was left solely to the magistrates, and the normal legal process. Meanwhile the Consuls were accorded great importance, such that Tiberius himself rose to his feet in their presence, and made way for them in the street, so that it was no surprise when on one occasion the African envoys complained to the Consuls, face to face, that Caesar, to whom they had been sent, was merely wasting their time.

BOOK THREE: XXXII HIS MODESTY AND RESPECT FOR TRADITION

His respect for the traditions of office is apparent in his reproach of some military governors, themselves ex-consuls, for addressing their despatches to himself and not the Senate, and referring recommendations for military awards to him, as if unaware of their right to grant all such honours themselves. He also congratulated a praetor who, on assuming office, revived the custom of giving a public eulogy of his own ancestors. And he would attend the funerals of distinguished citizens, even witnessing the cremation.

He showed a like modesty and respect for ordinary people and in lesser matters. He summoned the magistrates of *Rhodes* [p. 582] to appear, because their reports on various matters of public interest omitted the usual prayers for his welfare at the end, but neglected to censure them, and merely sent them home with an order not to repeat their error.

Once, on Rhodes, *Diogenes* [p. 481], the grammarian, who used to lecture on the *Sabbath* [p. 512], refused to respond to Tiberius when he arrived on a different day of the week, and sent him a message by a slave telling him to return 'on the seventh day'. When Diogenes appeared in Rome, and waited at the Palace door to pay his respects, Tiberius took his revenge, simply telling Diogenes to return 'in the seventh year'.

His respect for the people is evident in the answer he gave to a number of provincial governors who had recommended a heavy increase in taxation, writing that it was part of a good shepherd's duty to shear his flock, but not skin it.

BOOK THREE: XXXIII HIS REGULATION OF ABUSES

The ruler in him was revealed only gradually, and for a time his conduct, though inconsistent, showed him as benevolent and devoted to the public good. And his early interventions were limited to the elimination of abuse.

For instance, he revoked certain decrees of the Senate, and occasionally would offer the magistrates his services as advisor, sitting

beside them on the tribunal, or at one end of the dais. Also, if he heard rumours that influence was being exerted to gain an acquittal, he would appear without warning, and speak to the jury from the floor or from the judge's tribunal, reminding them of the law and their oath, as well as the nature of the case they were involved in.

In addition, if public morality was threatened by negligence or slipshod habits he undertook to address the situation.

BOOK THREE: XXXIV HIS COST AND PRICE CONTROLS

Tiberius cut the cost of public entertainments by reducing actors' pay and limiting the number of gladiators involved.

Protesting bitterly at the vastly inflated market for *Corinthian* ^[p. 472] bronzes, and a recent sale of a trio of mules at a 100 gold pieces each, he proposed a ceiling on the value of household ornaments, and the annual regulation of market prices by the Senate.

In addition, the aediles were ordered to restrict the luxury foods offered in cook-shops and eating-houses, even banning items of pastry from sale. And to set a personal example of frugality, he often served yesterday's half-eaten leftovers at formal dinners, or half a boar claiming a whole one tasted just the same.

He issued an edict too forbidding the exchange of good luck gifts after the New Year, as well as promiscuous kissing. And though it had been his custom when given a present at that time, to give one back, in person, of four times the value, he discontinued the practice, claiming he was interrupted all January by those denied an audience at New Year.

BOOK THREE: XXXV HIS STRICTURES REGARDING MARRIAGE AND RANK

One ancient Roman custom he revived was the punishment of married women, guilty of impropriety, by decision of a council of their relatives, in the absence of a public prosecutor.

When faced with a Roman knight who had sworn never to divorce his wife, but had found her committing adultery with her son-in-law, he absolved the man of his oath and allowed him to divorce her.

Some married women were notoriously evading the laws on adultery by openly registering as prostitutes and abandoning their rank and privileges. And profligate youths of both the Senatorial and Equestrian orders were voluntarily relinquishing theirs, in order to evade the Senate decree against their appearance on stage or in the arena. Tiberius punished both sets of evaders with exile, as a deterrent to others.

One Senator he downgraded on hearing he had moved to his garden lodge just before the first of July (when terms expired, and rentals were increased), with a view to hiring a house in the City for himself more cheaply later. And he removed another as quaestor, because he had taken a wife before casting lots (to determine his subsequent assignment) but divorced her the day after.

BOOK THREE: XXXVI THE BANNING OF FOREIGN RITES AND SUPERSTITIONS

Tiberius banned foreign rites (19AD), especially those of the *Egyptian* [p. 489] and *Jewish* [p. 512] religions, forcing the adherents of those 'superstitions' to burn their religious dress and trappings. On the pretext of their serving in the army, Jews of military age were assigned to provinces with less healthy climates, while others of that race or with similar beliefs he expelled from the City, threatening them with slavery if they refused.

He banished all the astrologers as well, pardoning only those who begged his indulgence and promised to abandon their art.

BOOK THREE: XXXVII HIS SUPPRESSION OF LAWLESSNESS

Special measures were taken to protect against highway robbery and outbreaks of lawlessness. Tiberius increased the density of military posts throughout Italy, and in Rome he established an army barracks for the praetorian guards who had previously been billeted in a scattering of lodging houses.

He was careful to deter disturbances in the City, and quelled any which did occur, with the utmost severity. On one occasion, when rival factions quarrelled in the theatre he banished their leaders, as well as the actors over whose performances they were fighting, and refused to recall them despite public entreaties.

When the citizens of *Pollentia* [p. 570] (Pollenzo) refused to allow the body of a leading centurion to be removed from the forum until the heirs agreed, under threat of violence, to fund a gladiatorial show, Tiberius engineered some pretext to despatch a cohort from Rome, and summon another from the Alpine kingdom of *Cottius* [p. 476] I. The two forces converged on the city and entered through different gates, then sounded the trumpets and drew their weapons. He condemned a majority of the citizens and the members of the local senate to life imprisonment.

He abolished the traditional right to religious sanctuary throughout the Empire. When the people of *Cyzicus* [p. 479] perpetrated an outrage against Roman citizens, he stripped them of their freedom earned in the *Mithridatic* [p. 543] War.

After his accession he refrained from campaigning himself, reluctantly delegating the quelling of rebellions to his generals, when action was unavoidable. He preferred to employ reprimands and threats, rather than force, against foreign kings suspected of disaffection; or as in the cases of *Marobodus* [p. 538] the German (18AD); *Rhescuporis* [p. 582] of Thrace (19AD); and *Archelaus* [p. 427] of Cappadocia (17AD), he lured them with flattery and promises, and then detained them, in the last instance reducing Cappadocia from a kingdom to a province.

BOOK THREE: XXXVIII HIS DISLIKE OF TRAVEL

For a full two years after his accession as Emperor, Tiberius never once set foot outside the gates of Rome; and only visited neighbouring towns thereafter, the furthest being *Antium* [p. 420] (Anzio), and then only occasionally for a few days at a time.

Yet he frequently promised to visit the provinces and review the troops there, and every year, almost without fail, he chartered transport and ordered the free towns and colonies to be ready with supplies for his

journey. He even went so far as to allow prayers for his safe journey and speedy return, which earned him the ironic nickname ‘*Callipides* [p. 450]’, after the Athenian mime, famous among the Greeks for his imitation of a runner, pounding away furiously, but never moving an inch.

BOOK THREE: XXXIX HIS WITHDRAWAL TO CAMPANIA

However, after the death of his adopted son *Germanicus* [p. 503] in Syria (19AD), and then his son *Drusus* [p. 488] the Younger in Rome (23AD), he finally withdrew to Campania, the public believing, and openly stating, that he was likely to die soon, and so would never return. The prediction was almost fulfilled a few days later, as he narrowly escaped death at *Terracina* [p. 605], where he was dining in a villa called the Grotto, when a rock-hewn ceiling above collapsed killing several guests and servants. Certainly, he never returned to Rome.

BOOK THREE: XL HIS CROSSING TO CAPREAE

Once Tiberius had dedicated the temples of Capitoline *Jupiter* [p. 521] at *Capua* [p. 455] and *Augustus* [p. 433] at *Nola* [p. 552], which was the pretext for his Campanian trip (of AD26), he crossed to *Capreae* [p. 454] (Capri). He was attracted by the island’s limited access, which was confined to one small beach, the rest of its coast consisting of massive cliffs plunging sheer into deep water.

However after a catastrophe at *Fidenae* [p. 493] (27AD), where more than twenty thousand spectators were killed when part of the amphitheatre collapsed during a gladiatorial show, he was entreated to visit the mainland. There he gave audiences to all who asked, the more readily as he was making amends for having given orders on leaving the city that he must not be disturbed on his journey, and having sent away those who had tried to approach him regardless.

BOOK THREE: XLI HIS FINAL RETIREMENT TO CAPREAE

Returning to *Capreae* [p. 454], he abandoned all affairs of state, neither filling vacancies in the Equestrian Order's jury lists, nor appointing military tribunes, prefects, or even provincial governors. Spain and Syria lacked governors of Consular rank for several years, while he allowed the *Parthians* [p. 562] to overrun *Armenia* [p. 428], *Moesia* [p. 544] to be ravaged by the *Dacians* [p. 479] and *Sarmatians* [p. 587], and Gaul by the Germans, threatening the Empire's honour no less than its security.

BOOK THREE: XLII HIS MORAL DECLINE

Furthermore, with the freedom afforded by privacy, hidden as it were from public view, he gave free rein to the vices he had concealed for so long, and of which I shall give a detailed account from their inception.

At the very start of his military career, his excessive liking for wine caused him to be dubbed *Biberius Caldus Mero* ('*Drinker of Hot Neat Wine*') for *Tiberius Claudius Nero*. Then, as Emperor, while busy reforming public morals, he spent two days, and the intervening night, swilling and gorging with *Pomponius* [p. 575] Flaccus and *Lucius Piso* [p. 451], appointing one immediately afterwards Governor of Syria (32AD), and the other City prefect, and describing them in their commissions as the most delightful of friends at all hours.

Again, he invited himself to dinner with *Cestius* [p. 461] Gallus, an extravagant old lecher, whom Augustus had once down-graded and whom he himself had reprimanded a few days before in the Senate, insisting that Cestius arrange everything as he usually did, including the naked girls waiting at table.

And he preferred an obscure candidate as quaestor, over men of noble family, because, when challenged at a banquet, the man successfully drained a huge amphora of wine.

He paid *Asellius* [p. 430] Sabinus two thousand gold pieces for penning a dialogue which included a contest between a mushroom, a warbler, an oyster and a thrush, and established a new Office of Pleasures run by a knight, *Titus Caesonius* [p. 448] Priscus.

BOOK THREE: XLIII HIS LICENTIOUSNESS ON CAPRI

In retirement, on *Capreae* [p. 454] (Capri) he contrived his 'back-room', a place for hidden licentiousness, where girls and young men, selected for their inventiveness in unnatural practices, whom he dubbed *spintriae* (sex-tokens), performed before him in groups of three, to excite his waning passions.

Its many little cubicles were adorned with the most lascivious paintings and sculptures, and equipped with the works of *Elephantis* [p. 489], in the event that any performer required an illustration of a prescribed position.

In the woods and glades, he contrived various places where boys and girls, acting as Pans and Nymphs, prostituted themselves, among the caves and rocky hollows, so that the island was openly, and punningly, called *Caprineum*, 'The Old Goat's Garden'.

BOOK THREE: XLIV HIS GROSS DEPRAVITIES

He indulged in greater and more shameful depravities, things scarcely to be told or heard, let alone credited, such as the little boys he called his 'fry' whom he trained to swim between his thighs to nibble and lick him; or his letting un-weaned healthy babies suck his penis instead of their mother's nipple, he being, by age and nature, fond of such perversions.

When a painting by *Parrhasius* [p. 562] was bequeathed to him, showing *Atalanta* [p. 431] giving head to *Meleager* [p. 540], the art work to be substituted by ten thousand gold pieces instead if he disliked it, he not only kept it but had it attached to his bedroom wall.

There's a story too, that drawn to the incense-bearer's beauty at a sacrifice, and unable to contain himself, he barely allowed the ceremony to end before hurrying the boy and his flute-playing brother off, and abusing them both. When they protested at the rape, Tiberius had their legs broken.

BOOK THREE: XLV HIS ABUSE OF WOMEN

His habit of being pleased by fellatio with even high-born women is highlighted by the death of a certain *Mallonia* [p. 535], who was summoned to

his bed. When she refused vigorously to comply, he turned her over to his informers, and even in court could not refrain from demanding ‘whether she was sorry’. Once home, after the trial, she stabbed herself, after a tirade against the stinking, hairy foul-mouthed old goat. A reference to him in the next *Atellan* [p. 431] farce was greeted with loud applause, and quickly went the rounds: ‘The old he-goat licks the does with his tongue.’

BOOK THREE: XLVI HIS FRUGALITY

Close-fisted and miserly in financial matters, he paid his staff’s keep on campaign and during foreign tours but no salary. Only once did he treat them well, and that was due to *Augustus’s* [p. 433] generosity. On that occasion, Tiberius divided them into three categories, according to rank; giving the first six thousand gold pieces each, the second four thousand, and the third, whom he called his Greeks not his friends, two thousand.

BOOK THREE: XLVII HIS LACK OF PUBLIC GENEROSITY

No fine public works marked his reign, since the only ones he started, namely the Temple of *Augustus* [p. 433] and the restoration of *Pompey’s* [p. 573] Theatre, were still incomplete at his death.

He avoided giving public shows, and hardly ever attended those given by others, for fear some request would be made of him, more so after he was obliged to buy the freedom of a comic actor named *Actius* [p. 405].

After relieving the debts of a few Senators, he ceased such aid later, unless they could prove just cause to the Senate for their financial state. Diffidence and a sense of shame then prevented many from applying, including *Hortalus* [p. 509], the grandson of Quintus *Hortensius* [p. 509] the orator, who though quite poor had fathered four children at *Augustus’s* [p. 433] urging.

BOOK THREE: XLVIII RARE EXCEPTIONS

There were only two occasions on which he showed generosity to the public. He did respond to pressure at a time of great financial distress, by

providing a three-year interest-free loan of a million gold pieces, after a failed attempt to resolve the situation by decree had ordered money-lenders to invest two thirds of their capital, and the debtors to redeem two thirds of their debt, in land. And again, he relieved the great loss and hardship caused to the owners when blocks of houses on the Caelian Mount were destroyed by fire (in AD27), though he made so much of his generosity that he insisted on the Caelian being renamed the 'Augustan' Mount.

The legacies left to the army in *Augustus* [p. 433] will, Tiberius doubled, but thereafter he never handed out gifts to the men, except for ten gold pieces to each praetorian who refused to follow *Sejanus* [p. 406], and awards to the Syrian legions because they chose not to place consecrated images of Sejanus among their standards.

He rarely granted veterans their discharge, reckoning on saving the associated bounty, if they died in service.

And his sole act of generosity towards the provinces was occasioned by the damage caused to various cities in Asia Minor during an earthquake.

BOOK THREE: XLIX HIS RAPACITY

As time went by, he became rapacious: it is well known for example that he hounded the wealthy Gnaeus *Lentulus* [p. 524] Augur into naming him as sole heir, and then by inspiring fear drove the terrified man to suicide (in 25AD). Then there was a noblewoman, Aemilia *Lepida* [p. 525], the divorced wife of Publius *Quirinius* [p. 580], a rich and childless ex-consul. She was tried (in 20AD) and executed solely to gratify Quirinius, who accused her of having tried to poison him twenty years previously.

Again, Tiberius behaved shamelessly, in confiscating the property of leading provincials of Spain, Gaul, Syria and Greece, on trivial charges, some accused of no more than holding suspiciously large amounts of cash. He deprived many individuals and states of their ancient immunities, mineral rights and taxation powers, too. And he treacherously stole the vast treasure that *Vonones* [p. 627], the *Parthian* [p. 562] king, had brought to Antioch, when dethroned by his subjects. Though Vonones believed himself under Rome's protection, Tiberius had him executed regardless.

BOOK THREE: L HIS HATRED OF HIS KIN

His hatred of kin first showed in his disloyalty to his brother, *Drusus* [p. 487] the Elder, when he disclosed the contents of a private letter in which Drusus had suggested forcing *Augustus* [p. 433] to restore the Republic. Later he turned against the rest of his family.

On becoming Emperor, far from showing the courtesy or kindness to his wife *Julia* [p. 515], in her exile, which one might have anticipated, he was more severe than Augustus who had simply confined her to *Rhegium* [p. 582] (Reggio) while Tiberius now refused to allow her to leave her house, or enjoy company. He even deprived her of the income and allowances her father, Augustus, had permitted her to receive, under pretext of applying the common law as Augustus failed to mention them in his will.

As for his mother, *Livia* [p. 527], he claimed she wished to rule equally with himself, and was so annoyed at this that he avoided frequent meetings and long conversations lest he appeared to be receiving her advice, though he did in fact follow it from time to time. The Senate so offended him by their decree adding 'Son of Livia' to 'Son of Augustus' as one of his honorific titles, that he refused to allow her to be called 'Mother of the Country' or receive any other notable public honour. Moreover he warned her, as a mere woman, not to interfere in affairs of state, and emphasised the point after hearing of her attendance at a fire near the Temple of *Vesta* [p. 621], where she had urged the populace and military to greater efforts, just as she would have done if Augustus were still alive.

BOOK THREE: LI HIS LATER ENMITY TOWARDS LIVIA

Later he quarrelled with her openly; and the reason, they say, was as follows. She urged him repeatedly to enter a new citizen as a juror, he saying he would, but only if his action was recorded in the list as down to her. At this, *Livia* [p. 527] lost her temper, and produced a bundle of *Augustus's* [p. 433] letters from her shrine to him, letters written to her, which she read aloud, regarding Tiberius's harsh and stubborn nature.

Tiberius was so disconcerted at her hoarding them so long, and confronting him with them so spitefully, that some consider this as the

prime reason for his retirement (to Capri). In any event, after he left Rome he only saw her once during the remaining three years of her life, and then only on a single day for a few hours. When she fell ill shortly afterwards, he chose not to visit her. Then when she died (in 29AD), he delayed several days, despite a promise to attend, until the corruption and putrefaction of the corpse made an immediate funeral essential, whereupon he prohibited her deification, claiming he was acting on her own instructions.

He went on to annul the provisions of her will, then quickly conspired the downfall of her friends and confidants, not even sparing those to whom, on her deathbed, she had entrusted her funeral arrangements, and actually condemning a knight among them to the treadmill.

BOOK THREE: LII HIS LACK OF AFFECTION FOR DRUSUS THE YOUNGER AND GERMANICUS

He lacked affection not only for his adopted son *Germanicus* [p. 503], but even for his own son *Drusus* [p. 488] the Younger, whose vices were inimical to him, Drusus indeed pursuing loose and immoral ways. So inimical, that Tiberius seemed unaffected by his death (in 23AD), and quickly took up his usual routine after the funeral, cutting short the period of mourning. When a deputation from Troy offered him belated condolences, he smiled as if at a distant memory, and offered them like sympathy for the loss of their famous fellow-citizen *Hector* [p. 506]!

As for Germanicus, Tiberius appreciated him so little, that he dismissed his famous deeds as trivial, and his brilliant victories as ruinous to the Empire. He complained to the Senate when Germanicus left for *Alexandria* [p. 416] (AD19) without consulting him, on the occasion there of a terrible and swift-spreading famine. It was even believed that Tiberius arranged for his poisoning at the hands of Gnaeus Calpurnius *Piso* [p. 451], the Governor of Syria, and that Piso would have revealed the written instructions at his trial, had Tiberius not retrieved them during a private interview, before having Piso put to death. As a result, the words: 'Give us back Germanicus!' were posted on the walls, and shouted at night, all throughout Rome. The suspicion surrounding Germanicus' death (19AD) was deepened by Tiberius's cruel treatment of Germanicus's wife, *Agrippina* [p. 413] the Elder, and their children.

BOOK THREE: LIII HIS TREATMENT OF AGRIPPINA THE ELDER

When *Agrippina* [p. 413], his daughter-in-law, was a little too free with her words after her husband's death, he grasped her hand and quoted the Greek line: 'Think you some wrong is done you, little one, should you not reign?' From then on, he never deigned to speak to her. Indeed, he even ceased to invite her to dinner, after she showed fear of accepting an apple he offered her, on the pretext that she had accused him of poisoning her; whereas he had determined on the whole business beforehand, in the expectation that if he offered the fruit she would refuse it as containing certain death.

Ultimately he charged her with seeking sanctuary in the temple of her grandfather *Augustus* [p. 433], or with the army abroad, and exiled her to *Pandataria* [p. 560] (in 29AD). When she reviled him, he had her flogged by a centurion, causing her to lose an eye. When she resolved to starve herself to death, he had her forcibly fed, and when through pure determination she succeeded in ending her life, he attacked her memory with vile slanders, persuaded the Senate to declare her birthday a day of ill omen, claimed credit for not having had her strangled and her body thrown down the *Stairs* [p. 502] of Mourning, and even permitted a decree to be passed, in recognition of his outstanding clemency, congratulating him, and voting a golden gift for consecration to Capitoline *Jupiter* [p. 521].

BOOK THREE: LIV HIS TREATMENT OF HIS GRANDSONS NERO AND DRUSUS

By his adopted son *Germanicus* [p. 503] he had three grandsons, *Nero* [p. 549] Julius Caesar, *Drusus* [p. 486] Julius Caesar, and Gaius Julius Caesar (*Caligula* [p. 449]), and by his son *Drusus* [p. 488] the Younger one grandson, Tiberius *Gemellus* [p. 609]. Death having bereft him of his son Drusus the Younger (in 23AD), he recommended Nero and Drusus, the eldest sons of Germanicus, to the Senate, and celebrated their coming of age by distributing gifts to the people. But when he found that prayers for their well-being were added to his at the New Year, he referred the issue to the Senate, suggesting that such honours were only suitable for those who were mature and of proven character.

By showing his true dislike for them, he exposed them thereafter to false accusations from all and sundry, and by contriving various ruses to provoke their resentment while ensuring their condemnations of him were betrayed, he was able to file bitter accusations against them. Both were pronounced public enemies, and starved to death; Nero on the island of *Pontia* [p. 575] (30AD) and Drusus (33AD) in a cellar of the Palace.

Some believe that when the executioner, who pretended to be there on Senate authority, showed him the noose and hooks (for dragging away the body), Nero chose to commit suicide, while it is said Drusus was so tormented with hunger that he ate the flock from his mattress, and that their remains were so widely scattered that gathering them, in later years, for burial proved a challenging task.

BOOK THREE: LV HIS TREATMENT OF HIS ADVISORS

In addition to various old friends and intimates, Tiberius had asked the Senate to select a council of twenty senior men to advise him on State affairs. Of all these he spared only two or three, ruining the rest on various pretexts, including *Aelius* [p. 406] Sejanus, whose downfall precipitated that of many others. Sejanus he had granted plenary powers, not out of liking for the man, but because he seemed loyal and cunning enough to compass the destruction of *Germanicus* [p. 503]' sons, and secure the succession for his son *Drusus* [p. 488] the Younger's boy, Tiberius *Gemellus* [p. 609].

BOOK THREE: LVI HIS TREATMENT OF HIS GREEK COMPANIONS

He was no kinder towards his Greek companions, whose society he especially appreciated. One of them, *Xeno* [p. 627], happening to speak in a somewhat affected manner, Tiberius asked what annoying dialect that might be. When *Xeno* replied that it was Doric, Tiberius thinking he was being taunted with his old place of exile *Rhodes* [p. 582], where Doric Greek was spoken, immediately exiled him to *Cinaria* [p. 462] (Kinaros).

It was his habit to pose questions, at the dinner table, suggested by his reading. Hearing that *Seleucus* [p. 590] the grammarian had enquired of the

Imperial attendants what works the Emperor was then reading, so as to be prepared, Tiberius first dismissed him from his company, and later drove him to suicide.

BOOK THREE: LVII HIS INHERENT CRUELTY

Even in boyhood, his cold and cruel temperament was not totally hidden. *Theodorus* [p. 606] of Gadara, his teacher of rhetoric had the wit to recognise it early, and characterised it clearly, calling him, when reproving him, in Greek: 'mud kneaded with blood.' But once he was Emperor, even at the start when he was still behaving temperately and courting popularity, it became more noticeable.

On one occasion, as a cortege was passing by, some joker called to the corpse to let *Augustus* [p. 433] know that his bequests to the people were still unpaid. Tiberius had the man dragged before him, and told him he should have what he was owed, and to go report the truth to Augustus himself; whereupon, he ordered the man's execution.

Not long afterwards, a knight called *Pompeius* [p. 572] vigorously opposed some action of his in the Senate. Tiberius threatened him with prison, declaring he'd make 'a Pompeian of Pompeius', in a cruel pun on the man's name, and the fate of *Pompey's* [p. 573] faction in days gone by.

BOOK THREE: LVIII HIS ABUSE OF LESE-MAJESTY

At about this time, a praetor asked whether the courts should be convened to consider cases of lese-majesty, to which he answered that the law should be enforced, and so it was, rigorously.

One man, who had removed the head from a statue of *Augustus* [p. 433] in order to replace it with someone else's, was tried in the Senate, and because the witnesses' evidence was in conflict they were tortured. He was found guilty, and a spate of accusations followed, such that the following actions became capital crimes: to strike a slave, or change one's clothes, near a statue of Augustus; to be found carrying a ring or coin engraved or stamped with his image in a toilet or brothel; and to criticise anything he had ever said or done.

It culminated in a man being executed simply for letting an honour be voted him, in his home town, on a day when honours had once been voted to Augustus.

BOOK THREE: LIX SATIRES DIRECTED AGAINST HIM

Under the guise of a strict reform of public morals, Tiberius perpetrated so many other cruel and merciless actions merely to gratify his natural temperament that satirists resorted to expressing their hatred of those dark days, and their prophecies of evils to come, in verse:

'Merciless, cruel, want it all spelt out, in a line or two?
I'll be damned if your own mother feels any love for you.'
'You're no knight, and why? You don't own a cent;
No citizen, what's more: *Rhodes*^[p. 582] was your banishment.'
'Caesar, you've transformed *Saturn's*^[p. 587] Golden Age;
Iron the age is; now, that you command the stage.'
'No wine now for one who finds blood just as fine,
He drinks blood eagerly, as he once drank the wine.'
'See *Sulla*^[p. 599] the Fortunate: for himself, my friend, not you;
Or *Marius*^[p. 538], if you like: see here, retaking Rome too;
Or a Mark *Antony*^[p. 422], not just once, rousing civil war,
See, time and time again, his hands deep-dyed in gore;
And cry now: Rome is done! They all reign bloodily,
Who out of exile come to rule, with like authority.

At first, Tiberius wished them thought the work of dissidents, unable to stomach his reforms, voicing their anger and frustration rather than considered judgement, and from time to time would say: 'Let them hate me, as long as they respect me.' But later he himself proved their views only too certain and correct.

BOOK THREE: LX HIS CRUELTY ON CAPREAE

Not long after he retired to *Capreae*^[p. 454] (Capri), he was alone on the cliff-top, when a fisherman who had clambered over the rough and pathless crags at the rear of the island, suddenly intruded on his solitude to offer him a huge mullet he had caught. Startled, Tiberius had his guards scrub the

man's face with the fish. Because in his torment, the simpleton gave thanks for not offering Tiberius the enormous crab he had caught, instead, Tiberius sent for that too, and had the man's skin scraped with its claws as well.

He had a praetorian guardsman executed merely for stealing a peacock from his gardens, and again, when his litter was obstructed by brambles when making a trip, he had the centurion, charged with finding a clear path, pegged on the ground and flogged almost to death.

BOOK THREE: LXI THE INCREASING CRUELTY OF HIS REIGN

He increasingly indulged in every kind of cruelty, never lacking the pretext, and persecuting firstly his *mother's* [p. 527] friends and acquaintances, then those of his grandsons and daughter-in-law, and finally those of *Sejanus* [p. 406]. After *Sejanus'* death he behaved more cruelly than ever, showing that his ex-favourite had not corrupted him but merely provided the opportunities he himself sought. Yet in his brief and sketchy autobiography we find him writing that he punished *Sejanus* for venting his hatred on *Germanicus's* [p. 503] children, when it was he himself in fact who had *Nero* [p. 549] killed while *Sejanus* was newly under suspicion, and then *Drusus* [p. 486] after *Sejanus* had fallen.

A detailed account of his cruelties would make a long story, and it suffices simply to give examples of the barbarous forms they took. There was never a day without an execution, not even sacred days and holidays; for even New Year's Day saw its victims. Many were accused and condemned alongside their children, and even by their children, while the relatives were forbidden from mourning them. The informant's word was law, and special rewards went to the accusers and even the witnesses.

One poet was charged with slandering *Agamemnon* [p. 411] in his tragedy, and a historian with calling *Brutus* [p. 444] and *Cassius* [p. 456] the 'Last of the Romans'. The authors were promptly executed and their works destroyed, though the texts had been read publicly, and with approval, in the presence of Augustus himself some years earlier.

Of those consigned to prison, some were denied not only the consolation of books, but even the ability to converse and exchange

thoughts. Though some of those summoned to present their defence, certain of being convicted, and wishing to avoid the mental pain and humiliation of a trial, slashed their wrists at home, yet, if they were still alive, their wounds were bandaged, and they were dragged to prison still twitching, more dead than alive. Others took poison in open session before the Senate.

The corpses of those executed, as many as twenty a day, and including those of women and children, were thrown down the *Stairs* [p. 502] of Mourning then dragged with hooks to the Tiber. Immature girls, since sacred tradition deemed it impious to strangle virgins, were violated first by the executioner and then strangled.

Victims who longed to die were forced to live, since Tiberius thought death so light a punishment that when he heard that *Carnulus* [p. 455], one of those accused, had evaded execution by suicide, he shouted: 'Carnulus has escaped me.' And when, during a prison inspection, one captive pleaded for early death, he answered: 'No, we are not yet friends.'

One ex-consul recorded in his memoirs that he was at a large dinner-party where Tiberius was suddenly addressed in a loud voice by a dwarf, one of a group of jesters near his table, and asked why *Paconius* [p. 559] was still alive, the man having been charged with treason. Tiberius told him to hold his saucy tongue, but wrote to the Senate a few days later telling them to make a quick decision regarding Paconius's execution.

BOOK THREE: LXII THE EFFECTS OF DRUSUS THE YOUNGER'S DEATH

He extended and intensified his cruelty, exasperated by what he learned of *Drusus* [p. 488] the Younger's death. He assumed at first that his son had died (in 23AD) of illness, brought on by his intemperate way of life, but when he discovered that Drusus' treacherous wife, *Livilla* [p. 529], had poisoned him, in conspiracy with *Sejanus* [p. 406], no one was safe from torture or execution. He became so obsessed with the investigation, and so oblivious to all else, that when in response to his friendly invitation a man, whose guest he had been on Rhodes, arrived in Rome, he mistook him for some vital witness in the case, and promptly had him tortured. Realising his error, he avoided the facts being publicized by having the man put to death.

On *Capraea* [p. 454] (Capri) they still show the place where, after prolonged and intricate torments, his victims were flung from the cliffs at his command, while a party of marines stationed below waited with boat-hooks and oars, to thrash their bodies and break the bones, lest any vestige of life remain. One of the tortures he devised was to lull a victim into drinking large amounts of wine then order a cord tied round his genitals, so as to doubly torment him, through the agony of the stricture and the inability to urinate.

Still more would have died if *Thrasyllus* [p. 607] had not deliberately, they say, prevailed on him to defer certain decisions till later, assuring him of a long life, and had not his own death then forestalled those same decisions. Indeed, he would likely not have spared his other grandsons, since he had suspicions regarding *Gaius* [p. 449] (Caligula) and detested *Gemellus* [p. 609] considering him to be a product of adultery. His intent is lent credibility by his references to *Priam's* [p. 577] happiness in outliving his whole family.

BOOK THREE: LXIII HIS INSECURITY

There are many indications not only of how despised and execrated Tiberius was at this time, but also the extent to which he lived in terror, and was subjected to insult. He refused, for example, to allow soothsayers to be consulted, except in public, with witnesses present. Indeed he would have abolished all oracles in the neighbourhood of Rome, but was deterred by fear of the miraculous powers of the sacred Lots which he had brought, from the Temple of Fortune at *Praeneste* [p. 577] (Palestrina), to Rome in a sealed chest, but which were rendered invisible until the box was returned to the temple.

He detained one or two ex-consuls, whom he dared not lose sight of, in Rome, even though they had been assigned to their provinces, and appointed their successors several years later, they themselves never having left the City. They retained their titles however, in the meantime, and received various commissions from him, which were executed in the provinces by deputies and assistants.

BOOK THREE: LXIV HIS TREATMENT OF AGRIPPINA AND HER SONS

After exiling *Agrippina* [p. 413] the Elder, his daughter-in-law, and her two sons *Nero* [p. 549] and *Drusus* [p. 486] (in 29AD) he had them moved from place to place in closed litters, in irons, with a military escort to prevent any passers-by recognising them, or stopping to gaze at them.

BOOK THREE: LXV THE DOWNFALL OF SEJANUS

Aware that *Sejanus* [p. 406] was plotting to usurp power, that fact being all the more obvious now that the man's birthday was celebrated publicly, and gold statues were being erected to him everywhere. Tiberius was forced to use cunning and deceit rather than his Imperial authority to remove him.

To detach him from his immediate entourage, under the pretext of honouring him, he appointed him as colleague in his fifth consulship (AD31), which he assumed after a ten year interval, while still absent from Rome. Next he gave him false hopes of marrying into the Imperial family, and of winning tribune powers then, when Sejanus least expected it, Tiberius sent a shameful and abject message to the Senate begging them, among other things, to send one of the *suffect* consuls with a military escort to conduct him, a lonely old man, to their presence.

Distrustful, and fearing a revolt, he even gave orders that his grandson *Drusus* [p. 486], who was still imprisoned in Rome, should be freed if necessary and appointed commander-in-chief. A fleet was on standby to transport him to one of the armies in the provinces, while he kept watch from a cliff-top lookout for the distant signals he had ordered to be made, which covered every eventuality, fearing his couriers might be too slow.

Yet even when Sejanus's conspiracy had been crushed, he felt no more confident or secure, but kept to the *Villa Jovis* [p. 521] for the following nine months.

BOOK THREE: LXVI PUBLIC CRITICISM

His mental anxiety was aggravated moreover by reproaches from all quarters, every one of the victims he had condemned either cursing him to his face or in defamatory notices posted among the Senators' theatre seats. The latter method affected him in various ways; sometimes his sense of shame leading to a desire for secrecy and the notices' complete concealment, at other times scorn inducing him to reveal them publicly of his own accord.

Even *Artabanus* ^[p. 429], King of the Parthians, sent him a scathing letter accusing him of murdering his kin among others; charging him with living an idle and dissolute life; and recommending his early suicide as a means of satisfying his citizens, who felt only a deep and justified hatred for him.

BOOK THREE: LXVII HIS ULTIMATE SELF-DISGUST

He all but confessed, with utter self-disgust, his extreme wretchedness, in a letter (of AD32) beginning: 'Fathers of the Senate, may the gods and goddesses above bring me even greater suffering than I feel each day, if I even know what to write to you, or how, or what to leave unsaid...'

Some claim that, through knowledge of the future, he had foreseen the situation, and knew, long before, the hatred and detestation his character would eventually earn, and that is why he refused the title 'Father of the Country' and prevented the Senate swearing to uphold his actions, for fear of the greater shame when he was found to be undeserving of such honours.

This may be deduced from the speeches he made in reply, for example where he says: 'So long as I am of sound mind, I will always be consistent and dependable in my behaviour; but the Senate should beware of setting a precedent and blindly supporting any man's actions, since his character might alter.' Again, he comments: 'If you ever come to doubt my character or my devotion to you, and I hope I die before you reach that opinion, the title Father of the Country will prove no great honour to me, but rather a reproach to you, for your over-hasty action in conferring it on me, or for your being forced later to judge my character otherwise.'

BOOK THREE: LXVIII HIS APPEARANCE AND MANNERISMS

Tiberius was strong and robust, and above average height. His chest and shoulders were broad, and his body symmetrical and well-proportioned from head to foot. His left hand was stronger and more capable than the right, and so powerful that he could bore a hole with his finger through a fresh and sound apple, or crack a boy's skull, or even a young man's, with a flick of his wrist.

He was of fair complexion, and wore his hair long at the back, covering the nape, which seems to have been a family habit of the Claudii. His face was attractive, but subject to sudden pimply rashes. His eyes were unusually large and had the remarkable power of night-vision, allowing him to see clearly in the dark for a short while immediately on waking, before his sight returned to normal.

He had a slightly bowed and stiff-necked stride, and was habitually stern and silent, rarely if ever speaking to his companions, and then with slow deliberation and supple gestures of his fingers. *Augustus* [p. 433] commented on all these characteristics as irritating, and signs of arrogance, and would often try to excuse them to the Senate and people, by claiming they were natural failings and not intentional.

Tiberius had excellent health, which stood him in good stead for almost his whole reign, though after the age of thirty he doctored his own complaints without medical aid or advice.

BOOK THREE: LXIX HIS FEAR OF THUNDER

While neglectful of the gods and religious matters, and addicted to astrology so persuaded that everything was ruled by fate, he was still immoderately afraid of thunder. Whenever the sky was stormy he was never seen without a laurel wreath, since they say the laurel is never struck by lightning.

BOOK THREE: LXX HIS LITERARY INTERESTS

He was deeply devoted to Greek and Latin literature. In Latin oratory he was a follower of *Messala* [p. 617] Corvinus whom he listened to in his youth when Messala was already middle-aged. But Tiberius's style was marred by affectation and pedantry, so much so that his extempore speeches were considered superior to his prepared ones.

He composed an *Elegy On the Death of Lucius* [p. 447] *Caesar* and Greek verses in imitation of his favourite poets, *Euphorion* [p. 491], *Rhianus* [p. 582], and *Parthenius* [p. 562], whose busts he placed in the public libraries among those of the eminent writers of old. As a consequence many scholars competed in publishing commentaries on those men's works, dedicated to Tiberius.

However, his greatest love was for mythology, study of which he carried to foolish and ridiculous extremes, even quizzing the professors, a class of men in whom he showed particular interest, as I have said, asking questions such as: 'Who was *Hecuba's* [p. 506] mother?', 'What name did *Achilles* [p. 403] have, amongst the girls?' or 'What song did the *Sirens* [p. 595] sing?' And on entering the Senate for the first time after *Augustus's* [p. 433] death (in AD14), he satisfied the demands of filial piety and religion by sacrificing in the manner of *Minos* [p. 543], with incense and wine but without a flute-player, as Minos had done long ago, on the death of his son (Androgeus).

BOOK THREE: LXXI HIS USE OF LATIN FOR PUBLIC BUSINESS

Though he spoke Greek readily and fluently he would not employ it everywhere and especially not in the Senate. He once apologized to the House for using the alien term '*monopoly*' derived from the Greek, and again when the Greek word '*emblems*' (for inlaid figures) appeared in a Senate decree, he recommended the substitution of a native word for the foreign one, or several words and a roundabout expression, if a single word did not exist. On other occasion a soldier who had been asked in Greek to give evidence on oath, was told by him to answer in Latin or not at all.

BOOK THREE: LXXII HIS TWO ATTEMPTS TO RE-VISIT ROME

He only attempted to return to Rome twice during the whole period of his retirement. On the first occasion he sailed up the Tiber by trireme as far as the gardens near the artificial *lake* [p. 470], after posting troops along the banks to keep back anyone who came to meet him, but retreated, for some unknown reason, after sighting the City walls in the distance, without approaching them.

On the second occasion he travelled the Appian Way as far as the seventh milestone from Rome, but turned back when alarmed by a portent, the death of a pet snake. He went to feed it from his hand as usual, only to find it half-eaten by ants, and was then warned to beware of the power of the masses.

He hurried back to Campania, falling ill at *Astura* [p. 431] (Torre Astura) but recovered sufficiently to reach *Circeii* [p. 462]. To avoid any impression of illness, he not only attended the military games, but even hurled javelins at a wild boar from his seat above the arena. He immediately felt pain in his side, and sitting in a draught while overheated worsened his condition. Nevertheless he persevered with his journey for some time, travelling as far as *Misenum* [p. 544], and without any change in his routine, not even relinquishing his banquets and other diversions, partly because he no longer countenanced self-denial and partly to hide the state he was in.

When his physician, *Charicles* [p. 461], who was departing on leave, took his hand to kiss it on his way out of the dining-room, Tiberius, thinking he was trying to feel his pulse, insisted he remain and take his seat once more, and then prolonged the meal. At its end he maintained his custom of standing in the midst of the room, his lictor at his side, and saying farewell individually to all the guests.

BOOK THREE: LXXIII HIS DEATH

Having read, in the meantime, the Senate proceedings and found that some defendants he had sent for trial, stating briefly that they had been named by an informer, had been discharged without a hearing, he shouted out that he was being held in contempt, and decided at all costs to return to *Caprae*

[p. 454], his place of refuge, from which alone he felt safe enough to act. He was detained however by bad weather, and the worsening of his illness, and died not long afterwards in the Villa of *Lucullus* [p. 532], at the age of seventy-seven, after reigning nearly twenty-three years, on the 16th of March, AD37, in the consulships of Gnaeus *Acerronius* [p. 403] Proculus, and Gaius *Pontius* [p. 575] Nigrinus.

There are those who believe that *Gaius* [p. 449] (Caligula) had given him a slow and wasting poison, others that food was refused him when he asked for it while convalescing from a bout of fever. Others say that he came to after a fainting fit, and asked for his ring which had been removed, whereupon he was smothered with a pillow. *Seneca* [p. 591] writes that he took off the ring himself, realising the end was near, as if to give it to someone, but clung to it for a while before returning it to his finger and, clenching his left hand, lay there motionless for a long time. Then he suddenly called out for his attendants, and receiving no answer rose from his bed, but collapsed and died nearby.

BOOK THREE: LXXIV PORTENTS OF HIS DEATH

On his last birthday, Tiberius had dreamed that the vast and beautiful statue of *Apollo* [p. 425] of Temenos which he had brought from Syracuse, to erect in the new library of the Temple of *Augustus* [p. 433], appeared before him, declaring that Tiberius would not be the one to complete the dedication.

And a few days before his death the lighthouse at *Capreae* [p. 454] was ruined by an earthquake, while at *Misenum* [p. 544] the cold dead embers, in the brazier used to warm his dining room, suddenly blazed up in the early evening, and continued to glow until late at night.

BOOK THREE: LXXV PUBLIC RESPONSE TO HIS DEATH

The news of his death caused so much joy, that people ran through the streets shouting out: 'Tiberius, to the Tiber!' while others prayed to Mother Earth and the Infernal Gods, requesting that his only home among the dead be with the damned. Still others threatened to drag his body off with a hook, and hurl it down the *Stairs* [p. 502] of Mourning, being embittered by a

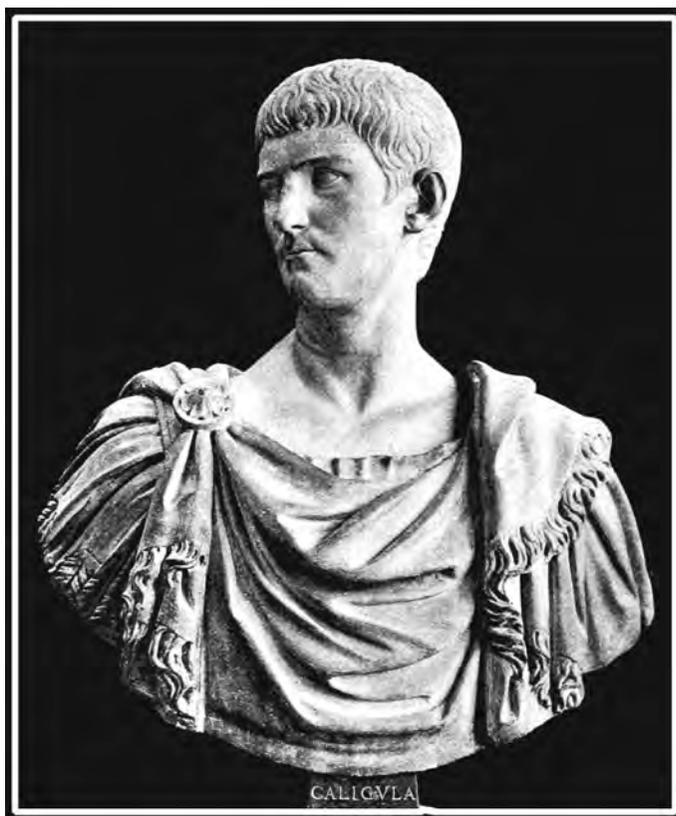
further cruel example to add to the outrages of his reign. A Senate decree had provided for a ten-day stay of execution for those sentenced to death, and the news of Tiberius's own death came on the very day when this period expired for some. They begged for mercy, but since *Gaius* [p. 449] (Caligula) was not in Rome, there was no one to approach with an appeal, so their jailors, fearful of acting illegally, strangled them regardless, and threw their bodies down the Stairs of Mourning. This cruelty visited on them by a tyrant even after death, increased public hatred. When the cortege left *Misenum* [p. 544], the crowd called for the corpse to be taken to *Atella* [p. 431], and half-burned there in the amphitheatre, but the military escort carried it to Rome, where it was cremated with due ceremony.

BOOK THREE: LXXVI HIS WILL

Tiberius had drawn up a will, in his own handwriting, two years before his death, of which a freedman made an identical copy, and both were signed and sealed by quite lowly witnesses. In the will, he named his grandsons, *Gaius* [p. 449] (Caligula) son of *Germanicus* [p. 503], and Tiberius *Gemellus* [p. 609], the son of *Drusus* [p. 488] the Younger, as co-heirs of the estate, each to be sole heir in the event of the other's death.

In addition, Tiberius left several legacies, including one to the *Vestal* [p. 621] Virgins; a bounty for every soldier and commoner of Rome; and separate bequests to the masters of the city wards.

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Book Four: Gaius Caligula



BOOK FOUR: I HIS FATHER, GERMANICUS

Caligula's [p. 449] father, *Germanicus* [p. 503], who was the son of *Drusus* [p. 487] the Elder and *Antonia* [p. 420] the Younger, was adopted (in 4AD) by Germanicus's paternal uncle, *Tiberius* [p. 608]. He served as quaestor (in 7AD) five years before the legal age and became consul (in 12AD) without holding the intermediate offices. On the death of Augustus (in AD14) he was appointed to command the army in Germany, where, his filial piety and determination vying for prominence, he held the legions to their oath, though they stubbornly opposed Tiberius's succession, and wished him to take power for himself.

He followed this with victory in Germany, for which he celebrated a triumph (in 17AD), and was chosen as consul for a second time (18AD) though unable to take office as he was despatched to the East to restore order there. He defeated the forces of the *King* [p. 627] of Armenia, and reduced Cappadocia to provincial status, but then died at Antioch, at the age of only thirty-three (in AD19), after a lingering illness, though there was also suspicion that he had been poisoned. For as well as the livid stains which covered his body, and the foam on his lips, the heart was found entire among the ashes after his cremation, its total resistance to flame being a characteristic of that organ, they say, when it is filled with poison.

BOOK FOUR: II PISO SUSPECTED OF GERMANICUS'S DEATH

The general belief was that *Tiberius* [p. 608] cunningly contrived his death through the agency and with the connivance of *Gnaeus Piso* [p. 451], the then Governor of Syria who, concluding that he had no alternative but to give offence to one of the two, the father or the adopted son, displayed an unrelenting enmity towards *Germanicus* [p. 503], in words and actions, even when Germanicus was dying. As a result Piso narrowly escaped lynching in Rome on his return, and was condemned to death by the Senate.

BOOK FOUR: III THE CHARACTER OF GERMANICUS

All considered *Germanicus* [p. 503] exceptional in body and mind, to a quite outstanding degree. Remarkably brave and handsome; a master of Greek and Latin oratory and learning; singularly benevolent; he was possessed of a powerful desire and vast capacity for winning respect and inspiring affection.

His scrawny legs were less in keeping with the rest of his figure, but he gradually fleshed them out by assiduous exercise on horseback after meals. He often killed enemy warriors in hand-to-hand combat; still pleaded cases in the courts even after receiving his triumph; and left various Greek comedies behind amongst other fruits of his studies.

At home and abroad his manners were unassuming, such that he always entered free or allied towns without his lictors.

Whenever he passed the tombs of famous men, he always offered a sacrifice to their shades. And he was the first to initiate a personal search for the scattered remains of *Varus's* [p. 580] fallen legionaries, and have them gathered together, so as to inter them in a single burial mound.

He showed such mildness and tolerance towards his detractors, whoever they were, regardless of their motives, that he could not even bring himself to break with *Piso* [p. 451], though the man was countermanding his orders, and persecuting his dependants, until he discovered that spells and potions were being employed against him. Even then he simply renounced *Piso's* friendship formally, in the time-honoured way, and instructed his household to avenge him if evil befell him.

BOOK FOUR: IV GERMANICUS'S POPULARITY

Germanicus [p. 503] reaped rich rewards from his virtuous conduct, being so respected and loved by all his kin, not to mention the rest of his associates, that *Augustus* [p. 433], after hesitating for some time as to whether to appoint him his successor, instructed *Tiberius* [p. 608] to adopt him.

He was so popular with the masses, according to many sources, that if he arrived at or left a location, his life was sometimes in danger from the vast crush of people who came to greet him or mark his departure. Indeed, on his return from Germany, after quelling the unrest there, the whole Praetorian Guard turned out to meet him, though only two cohorts had been so ordered, and the entire populace of Rome, regardless of age, sex or rank, thronged the way as far as the twentieth milestone.

BOOK FOUR: V THE GRIEF AT GERMANICUS'S DEATH

In the aftermath of *Germanicus's* [p. 503] death, even greater and more profound expressions of public regard for him were evoked. On the day when his death was announced, crowds stoned the temples, and toppled the divine altars, while others flung their household gods into the street, or abandoned their new-born children. It is said that even barbarians who were at war with Rome, or fighting among themselves, made peace unanimously, as if the whole world had suffered a personal loss. It is claimed that princes had their beards and even their wives' heads shaved, as a sign of deepest grief; while, in *Parthia* [p. 562], the King of Kings himself cancelled his hunting parties and royal banquets, in the manner of public mourning there.

BOOK FOUR: VI PROLONGED MOURNING FOR GERMANICUS

The Roman people, filled with sadness and dismay at the initial reports of his illness, had been awaiting further news, when suddenly one night wild rumours of his recovery had spread, and people had crowded to the Capitol from every quarter, torches in their hands, some leading sacrificial victims. The Temple gates had been all but demolished by them, in their eagerness

to push through and offer their prayers and vows. *Tiberius* [p. 608] himself was roused from sleep by the shouts of rejoicing, and the widespread chant of:

'Rome is well, our country's well: he's well, *Germanicus* [p. 503]!

But when it became known that he had died (his death occurring on October 10th, AD19), neither official expressions of sympathy nor public decrees could restrain the demonstrations of grief, and they continued throughout December's *Saturnalia* [p. 587].

Germanicus's renown and the regret for his loss were accentuated by the terror that followed, since there was a general and well-merited belief that Tiberius's cruelty, which was fully evidenced by his behaviour thereafter, had only been held in check by his respect for and awe of Germanicus.

BOOK FOUR: VII GERMANICUS'S CHILDREN

Germanicus [p. 503] had married *Agrippina* [p. 413] the Elder, daughter of Marcus *Agrippa* [p. 411] and *Julia* [p. 515] the Elder, and she had borne him nine children. Two died in infancy, another in early childhood, a charming boy whose statue, portraying him as Cupid, *Livia* [p. 527] dedicated in the Temple of Capitoline *Venus* [p. 619], while Augustus had a second statue of him in his bedchamber which he used to kiss fondly on entering the room.

The other children survived their father: three girls, *Agrippina* [p. 413] the Younger, *Drusilla* [p. 516] and *Livilla* [p. 517], born in successive years; and three boys, *Nero* [p. 549], *Drusus* [p. 486], and Gaius Caesar (Caligula). Of the sons, Nero and Drusus were accused by *Tiberius* [p. 608] of being public enemies, and subsequently convicted of being so, by the Senate.

BOOK FOUR: VIII THE BIRTH OF GAIUS (CALIGULA)

Gaius Caesar (Caligula) was born on the 31st of August AD12, in the consulship of his father, *Germanicus* [p. 503], and Gaius *Fonteius* [p. 496] Capito. The sources disagree as to his place of birth. Gnaeus *Lentulus* [p. 525] Gaetulicus claims it was *Tibur* [p. 611] (Tivoli), *Pliny* [p. 569] the Elder, says it was among the *Treveri* [p. 613] in the village of Ambitarvium, above *Confluentes* [p. 471]

(the site of Koblenz) at the junction of the Moselle and Rhine. Pliny adds as evidence that altars exist there, inscribed 'IN HONOUR OF *AGRIPPINA'S* [p. 413] *PUERPERIUM*.'

A verse that circulated soon after he became Emperor suggests he was born in the winter-quarters of the legions:

'Born in a barracks, reared among Roman arms,
A sign from the start he was bound to be Emperor.'

I find however that the public records give his birthplace as *Antium* [p. 420] (Anzio). Pliny rejects Gaetulicus's version, and accuses him of telling a lie simply to flatter the boastful young prince and add to his fame by claiming he came from Tibur, a city sacred to *Hercules* [p. 507]. And that he lied with more assurance because Germanicus did have a son, born a year or so earlier, also named Gaius Caesar, and of whose lovable disposition and untimely death I have spoken, who was indeed born at Tibur.

Pliny's chronology is in error, though, since the historians of Augustus' time agree that Germanicus was not sent to Gaul until the end of his consulship, by which time Gaius (Caligula) had already been born. Nor do the altar inscriptions add weight to Pliny's opinion, since Agrippina gave birth in Gaul to two daughters, and the term *puerperium* (childbirth) is used regardless of the child's sex, formerly girls being called *puerae* for *puellae*, just as boys were called *puelli* for *pueri*. Then we have a letter of *Augustus* [p. 433] to Agrippina, his granddaughter, written a few months before his death (in AD14), concerning this Gaius (Caligula), since no other child of that name was alive at the time, which reads: 'Yesterday I made arrangements for *Talarius* [p. 602] and *Asillius* [p. 430] to bring your son Gaius to you on the eighteenth of May, the gods being willing. I am also sending one of my slaves, a physician, with him, whom as I have written to Germanicus he may retain if he wishes. Farwell, my dear Agrippina, and take care that you reach your Germanicus in good health.'

It seems clear enough that Gaius (Caligula) could not have been born in a country to which he was first taken from Rome when nearly two years old! The letter weakens our confidence also in those lines of verse, which in any case are anonymous. We must therefore accept the sole testimony of the public records, especially since he loved Antium as if it were his native place, always preferring it to any other place of relaxation, and when weary

of Rome even thought of making it his seat of power, and housing the government there.

BOOK FOUR: IX THE ARMY'S DEVOTION TO HIM

His surname Caligula ('Little Boot') was bestowed on him affectionately by the troops because he was brought up amongst them, dressed in soldier's gear. The extent of their love and devotion for him, gained by his being reared as one of them, is spectacularly evident from an undeniable incident when they threatened to mutiny after *Augustus's* [p. 433] death, and though launched on the path of madness, were instantly calmed by sight of Caligula. It was only when they realised he was being spirited away to the nearest town for protection from the danger they presented, that they quietened down, and hung on to his carriage, in contrition, pleading to be spared this disgrace.

BOOK FOUR: X HIS CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH

Caligula accompanied his father, *Germanicus* [p. 503], to Syria (in AD19). On his return, he lived with his mother, *Agrippina* [p. 413] the Elder until she was exiled (in 29AD), and then with his great-grandmother *Livia* [p. 527]. When Livia died (in 29AD), he gave her eulogy from the rostra even though he was not of age. He was then cared for by his grandmother *Antonia* [p. 420] the Younger, until at the age of eighteen *Tiberius* [p. 608] summoned him to *Caprae* [p. 454] (Capri, in AD31). On that day he assumed his gown of manhood and shaved off his first beard, but without the ceremony that had attended his brothers' coming of age.

On Capraea, though every trick was tried to lure him, or force him, into making complaints against Tiberius, he ignored all provocation, dismissing the fate of his relatives as if nothing had occurred, affecting a startling indifference to his own ill-treatment, and behaving so obsequiously to his adoptive grandfather, Tiberius, and the entire household, that the *quip* [p. 563] made regarding him was well borne out, that there was never a better slave or a worse master.

BOOK FOUR: XI HIS CRUEL NATURE

Even in those days, his cruel and vicious character was beyond his control, and he was an eager spectator of torture and executions meted out in punishment. At night, disguised in wig and long robe, he abandoned himself to gluttony and adulterous behaviour. He was passionately devoted it seems to the theatrical arts, to dancing and singing, a taste in him which *Tiberius* [p. 608] willingly fostered, in the hope of civilizing his savage propensities. The old man's innate shrewdness clearly recognized the signs, and now and then would remark that Caligula's life would prove the death of him and the ruin of all, and that he was nursing a viper for Rome, and a *Phaethon* [p. 565] for the world.

BOOK FOUR: XII PARRICIDE

Not long afterwards, Caligula married *Junia* [p. 520] Claudilla (in AD33), daughter of the nobleman, Marcus *Silanus* [p. 521]. He was then appointed augur in place of his brother *Drusus* [p. 486], being promoted to the priesthood before he was invested with the former office, on the grounds of his dutiful behaviour and sound character. Since *Sejanus's* [p. 406] execution (in AD31) on suspicion of treason, the Court had become an empty and desolate shell, and this promotion gradually accustomed him to the view that the succession was his. To improve his chances, after *Junia* died in childbirth, he seduced *Ennia* [p. 489] Naevia, the wife of *Macro* [p. 534], commander of the Praetorian Guard, not only promising to marry her if he became Emperor, but guaranteeing it on oath in a written contract, and so through her he wormed his way into Macro's favour.

Some say he then poisoned *Tiberius* [p. 608], ordering the Imperial ring to be removed while *Tiberius* still breathed, and then, suspecting that the Emperor was trying to cling onto it, having him smothered with a pillow, or even throttling him with his own hands, later sentencing a freedman to death by crucifixion, for protesting openly at the crime. The story may well be true, since various sources claim Caligula himself subsequently admitted, if not to actual parricide, at least at some point to contemplation of that crime, by boasting endlessly of his filial piety in showing pity after entering the bedroom of the sleeping *Tiberius*, knife in hand, to avenge his *mother*

[p. 413] and *brothers* [p. 549], but casting the weapon aside, and leaving the room again, an event of which Tiberius had learned, but had hesitated to investigate, or take action on.

BOOK FOUR: XIII HIS JOYOUS RECEPTION BY THE ROMAN PEOPLE

Caligula's accession (in 37AD) gratified the deepest wishes of the Roman people, not to say the whole empire, since he was the ruler most desired by the majority of soldiers and provincials, many of whom were aware of him from infancy, as well as the mass of Roman citizens, not only because of their memories of his father *Germanicus* [p. 503], but also through pity for a family that had been all but wiped out.

So when he set out for Rome, from *Misenum* [p. 544], though he was dressed in mourning and escorting *Tiberius's* [p. 608] body, his progress was marked by the erection of altars, the offering of sacrifices, and the blaze of torches, and he was met by a dense and joyous throng, who shouted out propitious names, calling him their 'star', their 'pet', their 'little one' their 'chick'.

BOOK FOUR: XIV HIS ACCESSION TO POWER

On entering the City (on the 28th of March, AD37) full and absolute power was conferred on him, by unanimous consent of the Senate and the people, a crowd of whom forced their way into the House. The Senate also overruled the terms of *Tiberius's* [p. 608] will, by which he had named his other grandson *Gemellus* [p. 609], who was still a child, joint heir with Caligula.

The public celebrations were so extensive that within the following three months, or less, more than a hundred and sixty thousand sacrificial victims were offered on the altars.

A few days after his entry into the City, when he crossed to the prison islands off Campania, vows were offered for his prompt return, and not even the slightest opportunity was missed of showing anxiety and regard for his safety. When he fell ill (in October) crowds surrounded the palace at

night. People vowed to fight as gladiators, or posted signs offering to die, if their prince's life might be spared. And to this outpouring of love from the citizens of Rome was added the marked devotion of foreigners.

For example, *Artabanus* [p. 429] II, King of the Parthia, always vociferous in his hatred of, and contempt for, Tiberius, willingly sought Caligula's friendship, attended a conference with the consular Governor, and before re-crossing the Euphrates, paid homage to the Roman eagles and standards, and the statues of the Caesars.

BOOK FOUR: XV HIS FILIAL PIETY AND MORATORIUM ON PAST CHARGES

Caligula courted popularity in every way possible, in order to rouse popular devotion towards him. Having delivered a tearful eulogy in honour of *Tiberius* [p. 608], in front of a vast crowd, and giving him a magnificent funeral, he promptly sailed for *Pandataria* [p. 560] and the *Pontian* [p. 575] Islands to recover the ashes of his mother, *Agrippina* [p. 413] the Elder, and his brother *Nero* [p. 549], the tempestuous weather making his display of filial piety even more noteworthy. He treated the ashes with great reverence, placing them in their urns with his own hands. With no less theatre, he transported the urns to *Ostia* [p. 557] aboard a bireme, flag flying, and from there upriver to Rome, where they were carried on twin biers, at midday when the streets were crowded, from the Tiber to the Mausoleum of *Augustus* [p. 433] by the most distinguished knights of the Equestrian Order. He established ceremonial funeral sacrifices, to be offered annually, as well as games in the Circus to honour his mother, her image to be paraded in a carriage during the procession, while in memory of his *father* [p. 503] the month of September was renamed 'Germanicus'.

At a stroke, by a single Senate decree, he awarded his paternal grandmother *Antonia* [p. 420] the Younger every honour that *Livia* [p. 527] Augusta had received in her whole lifetime. Then he appointed his uncle *Claudius* [p. 464], who till then had been simply a Roman knight, his colleague in the consulship, and adopted his paternal cousin Tiberius *Gemellus* [p. 609], when he came of age, granting him the official title 'Prince of the Youths'. His *sisters* [p. 413] were included in all oaths, as follows: '...and I will not count myself or my children dearer to me than Gaius or his sisters', and in the

proposals of the consuls: 'Happiness and good fortune be with Gaius Caesar and his sisters.'

An equally popular action was his recall of those who had been condemned and exiled, and the dismissal of all cases pending from earlier times; and to further reassure any informers and witnesses involved in the charges against his mother and brothers, he had all the related documents brought to the *Forum* [p. 497] and burned, having first called the gods as witness to the fact that he had not touched, let alone read, them.

He refused to read a note passed to him regarding his own safety, on the grounds that nothing he had done gave anyone reason to hate him, and he had no wish to grant informers a hearing.

BOOK FOUR: XVI HIS OTHER INAUGURAL ACTIONS

Caligula banished the sexual perverts known as *spintriae* from the City, and was barely restrained from having them all drowned.

He allowed the works of Titus *Labienu*s [p. 523], *Cremutius* [p. 477] Cordus, and *Cassius* [p. 458] Severus, banned by the Senate, to be hunted out, republished, and read freely, stating that it was in his interest to allow historical records to be handed down to posterity. And he published the Imperial Accounts, reviving a practice of *Augustus's* [p. 433] discontinued by *Tiberius* [p. 608].

He revised the list of Roman knights, strictly and scrupulously, but fairly, publicly denying mounts to those guilty of wicked or scandalous actions, but simply omitting to read out the names of men convicted of lesser offences. And he attempted to restore the electoral system by reviving the custom of voting for magistrates, who were given full authority without recourse to himself. He then reduced the burden on jurors by creating a fifth division to augment the other four.

Despite Tiberius's will having been set aside by the Senate, Caligula paid faithfully, and without demur, all the legacies bequeathed there, as well as those in the will of Julia Augusta (*Livia* [p. 527]) the provisions of which Tiberius had suppressed.

Caligula abolished the half-per-cent tax on sales by auction within Italy. He also paid compensation to those who had sustained losses through fire-damage.

Any royal dynasty he restored to the throne was awarded the arrears of tax and revenue which had accumulated prior to its restoration; for example, *Antiochus* [p. 419] of Commagene received a million gold pieces accrued to the Treasury. And to show that he encouraged noble actions, he awarded a freedwoman eight thousand in gold who though tortured severely had not revealed her patron's guilt.

All this resulted in his being awarded various honours, including a golden shield, to be carried to the Capitol annually, on the appointed day, by members of the priestly colleges, and escorted by the Senate, while the boys and girls of the nobility sang a choral ode in praise of his virtues. It was also decreed that the *Parilia* [p. 561] should be formally appointed as the day he assumed power, as a token of the fact that with his accession Rome had been re-born.

BOOK FOUR: XVII HIS CONSULSHIPS

He held four consulships (in AD37, and 39-41) the earliest from the first of July for two months, the second from the first of January for thirty days, the third up to the thirteenth of January, and the fourth up to the seventh of January, the last three being in sequence. The third he assumed without a colleague, while he was at *Lugdunum* [p. 533], not, as some consider, because of arrogance or disregard for precedent, but because the news of his fellow consul's death just before the New Year had not yet reached him from Rome.

He twice distributed three gold pieces each to the populace, and twice gave a lavish banquet for the Senators and members of the Equestrian Order, together with their wives and children. At the second banquet he made a gift of togas to the men, and red and purple scarves to the women and children. And to make a permanent addition to public rejoicing, he added a day to the *Saturnalia* [p. 587], which he called *Juvenalis*, the Day of Youth.

BOOK FOUR: XVIII HIS PUBLIC ENTERTAINMENTS IN ROME

Caligula held several gladiatorial contests, some in *Statilius* [p. 597] Taurus's amphitheatre others in the Enclosure, which included matched pairs of choice African and Campanian prize-fighters. He sometimes assigned the honour of presiding over the shows to magistrates or friends, rather than attending himself.

He staged many theatrical events, of various kinds and in various locations, sometimes at night, illuminating the whole City. He would scatter tokens about, too, entitling people to gifts as well as the basket of food which each man received. He once sent his own share of food to a Roman knight who was enjoying the banquet with great appetite and relish, and on another occasion a Senator received a commission as praetor, with blatant disregard of the normal process, for the same reason.

He also mounted Games in the *Circus* [p. 463], from morning to evening, filling the intervals between races with panther-baiting or the *Troy* [p. 409] Game. Some of these events were spectacular, the Circus being decorated with red and green, and the charioteers being men of Senatorial rank. Once, he commissioned impromptu games, because a few people on neighbouring balconies called for them, as he was inspecting the preparations in the Circus from the Gelotian House.

BOOK FOUR: XIX HIS BRIDGE AT BAIAE

One novel and unheard of spectacle which he devised, was achieved by bridging the gulf between *Baiæ* [p. 437] (Baia) and the mole at *Puteoli* [p. 579] (Pozzuoli), a distance of about three thousand six hundred paces (over three and a quarter English miles) by gathering merchant ships and mooring them in a double line, then piling earth on them to make a sort of Appian Way.

Caligula rode back and forth over this bridge for two consecutive days. On the first day he was on horseback, resplendent in a crown of oak leaves, with sword, circular shield, and a cloak in cloth of gold, his mount dressed with military insignia. On the second he wore charioteer's costume, and was pulled by a famous pair of horses, with a boy-hostage from Parthia, *Dareus*

[p. 480], beside him, and the entire Praetorian Guard, plus a crowd of his friends in Gallic chariots, behind.

Now I know that many people think Caligula devised the bridge to outdo *Xerxes* [p. 627], who excited widespread admiration by bridging the much narrower Hellespont, while others claim he wanted some immense feat of engineering to inspire fear in *Britain* [p. 442] and Germany, on which he had designs. But when I was a boy, my *grandfather* [p. 598] used to say, in my hearing, that the reason behind it, as divulged by the courtiers in Caligula's confidence, was a comment *Thrasyllus* [p. 607] the astrologer made to *Tiberius* [p. 608], who was concerned about the succession, and inclined to nominate his natural grandson, that Gaius had no more chance of becoming Emperor than of galloping to and fro over the gulf at Baiae.

BOOK FOUR: XX HIS ENTERTAINMENTS IN THE PROVINCES

Caligula gave several entertainments abroad, including Urban Games at *Syracuse* [p. 602] in Sicily, and miscellaneous Games at *Lugdunum* [p. 533] in Gaul. During the latter, he held a contest in Greek and Latin oratory, in which the losers gave the winners prizes, and had to compose speeches in praise of them, while the least successful were commanded to erase their efforts with a sponge, or with their tongue, unless they preferred to be beaten with sticks, and flung in the river nearby.

BOOK FOUR: XXI HIS PUBLIC WORKS

He completed those public projects which had been left half-finished by *Tiberius* [p. 608], namely the Temple of *Augustus* [p. 433] and the Theatre of *Pompey* [p. 573]. He also began construction of an aqueduct near *Tibur* [p. 611] (Tivoli) and an amphitheatre next to the Enclosure: the former being completed by his successor, *Claudius* [p. 464], though work on the latter was discontinued.

He had the city walls of *Syracuse* [p. 602], which had become dilapidated over time, repaired, as well as the city's temples. He also planned to restore *Polycrates* [p. 571]' palace at *Samos* [p. 587]; to complete the Temple of *Apollo* [p. 425] at *Didyma* [p. 481], near Miletus; to build a city high in the Alps; and above all

to cut a canal through the *Isthmus* [p. 511] in Greece, to which end he sent a senior centurion to perform a survey.

BOOK FOUR: XXII HIS PRETENSIONS TO DIVINITY

So much for the Emperor: it remains now to speak of the Monster.

He had already assumed various titles, calling himself 'Pious', 'Child of the Camp', 'Father of the Army' and 'Greatest and Best of Caesars', but when he chanced to hear a dispute among a group of foreign kings, who had travelled to Rome to pay him their respects, concerning their pedigree, he declaimed *Homer's* [p. 508] line:

'One lord, let there be, one King alone.'

And came near to assuming a royal diadem at once, turning the semblance of a principate into an absolute monarchy. Indeed, advised by this that he outranked princes and kings, he began thereafter to claim divine power, sending to Greece for the most sacred or beautiful statues of the gods, including the *Jupiter* [p. 521] of *Olympia* [p. 556], so that the heads could be exchanged for his own.

He then extended the Palace as far as the *Forum* [p. 497], making the Temple of *Castor* [p. 458] and *Pollux* [p. 570] its vestibule, and would often present himself to the populace there, standing between the statues of the divine brothers, to be worshipped by whoever appeared, some hailing him as 'Jupiter Latiaris'.

He also set up a special shrine to himself as god, with priests, the choicest sacrificial victims, and a life-sized golden statue of himself, which was dressed each day in clothes of identical design to those he chose to wear. The richest citizens used all their influence to win priesthoods there, and were forced to bid highly for the honour. The sacrificial victims comprised flamingos, peacocks, black grouse, white-breasted and helmeted guinea fowl, and pheasants, offered, according to species, on separate days.

When the moon was full and bright, he would invite the goddess to his bed and his embrace, while during the day he would have intimate conversations with Capitoline Jupiter, whispering to the statue and then pressing his ear to its mouth, sometimes speaking aloud in anger, and once

threatening [p. 508] the god: 'Raise me from the earth, or I'll raise you.' Finally he announced that the god had won him over by his entreaties and invited him to share his home, so he bridged the Temple of Divine *Augustus* [p. 433] and joined his Palace to the Capitol. Then he laid the foundations of a new house in the precincts of the Capitol itself, in order to be even closer.

BOOK FOUR: XXIII HIS TREATMENT OF HIS RELATIVES

Because of *Agrippa's* [p. 411] humble origins, Caligula hated to be thought of as his grandson, or be addressed as such, and flew into a rage if anyone in speech or song included Agrippa among the ancestors of the Caesars.

He proclaimed that his mother, *Agrippina* [p. 413] the Elder, was a result of *Augustus's* [p. 433] incest with his daughter *Julia* [p. 515] the Elder, (and therefore not Agrippa's daughter), and not content with denigrating Augustus in this way, he refused to allow the annual celebrations of the victories at *Actium* [p. 404] and off *Sicily* [p. 593], on the grounds that they had proved disastrous and ruinous for the people of Rome.

He often called his great-grandmother, *Livia* [p. 527] Augusta, '*Ulysses* [p. 616] in a petticoat', and dared to describe her in a letter to the Senate as base-born, claiming that her maternal grandfather *Aufidius* [p. 433] Lurco had been merely a local senator at *Fundi* [p. 498], though the public records show that he held high office in Rome. And when his grandmother *Antonia* [p. 420] the Younger asked for a private audience, he refused unless *Macro* [p. 534], the Guards Commander, was present, hastening her death with such indignities and irritations, though some say he poisoned her too. And when she was dead, he showed her no respect, merely glancing at her funeral pyre as it burnt, from his dining-room window.

His brother, Tiberius *Gemellus* [p. 609], he had put to death (in AD37/38), sending a military tribune to carry out the order, without warning. And he drove his father-in-law, *Silanus* [p. 521], to commit suicide by cutting his throat with razor. His charge against Gemellus was that he had insulted him by taking an antidote against poison, his breath smelling of it, when it was merely medicine for a chronic and worsening cough. Silanus was accused of failing to follow the Imperial ship when it put to sea in a storm, and of remaining behind in the hope of seizing the City if Caligula perished, whereas he merely wished to avoid the unpleasant symptoms of the

seasickness to which he was prone.

His uncle, *Claudius* [p. 464], he preserved, simply as an object of ridicule.

BOOK FOUR: XXIV HIS INCEST WITH AND PROSTITUTION OF HIS SISTERS

He habitually committed incest with each of his three sisters, seating them in turn below him at large banquets while his wife reclined above. It is believed that he violated *Drusilla's* [p. 516] virginity while a minor, and been caught in bed with her by his grandmother *Antonia* [p. 420], in whose household they were jointly raised. Later, when Drusilla was married to *Lucius Cassius* [p. 457] Longinus, an ex-consul, he took her from him and openly treated her as his lawful married wife. When he fell ill he made her heir to his estate and the throne.

When Drusilla died (in 38AD) he declared a period of public mourning during which it was a capital offence to laugh, or bathe, or to dine with parents, spouse or children. Caligula himself was so overcome with grief that he fled the City in the middle of the night, and travelled through Campania, and on to *Syracuse* [p. 602], returning again with the same degree of haste, and without cutting his hair or shaving. From that time forwards whenever he took an important oath, even in public or in front of the army, he always swore by Drusilla's divinity.

He showed less affection or respect for his other sisters, *Agrippina* [p. 413] the Younger and *Livilla* [p. 517], often prostituting them to his favourites, so that he felt no compunction in condemning them during the trial of *Marcus Aemilius* [p. 407] Lepidus, as adulteresses, as well as conspirators against himself, not only producing their handwritten letters, obtained by fraud and seduction, but also dedicating three swords to *Mars* [p. 538] the Avenger, which the accompanying inscription described as weapons intended to kill him.

BOOK FOUR: XXV HIS MARRIAGES

It would be hard to say which was more shameful, the way he contracted his marriages, the way he dissolved them, or his behaviour as a husband.

He attended one marriage that of Livia *Orestilla* [p. 529] to Gaius Calpurnius *Piso* [p. 450] only to have the bride carried straight from the ceremony to his own house, and then, a few days later, divorced her. Two years later, suspecting that she had returned to her former husband, he banished her. Others say that at the wedding feast, as he reclined opposite *Piso*, he told him: 'No dallying with my wife' and immediately dragged her from the table. He announced the next day that he had taken a wife as *Romulus* [p. 583] and *Augustus* [p. 433] were wont to do.

When he heard someone remark that the grandmother of *Lollia* [p. 531] *Paulina*, who was the wife of Publius *Memmius* [p. 541] *Regulus*, a Governor of consular rank, was once a famous beauty, he suddenly summoned *Lollia* from her province, forced *Memmius* to divorce her then married her himself, but quickly discarded her again, forbidding her ever to sleep with another man.

As for *Caesonia* [p. 448], who was neither young nor beautiful, had three daughters by another man, and was wildly promiscuous and extravagant, he not only loved her more passionately for it, but also more faithfully, taking her out riding, and showing her to the soldiers, dressed in a cloak with helmet and shield: while he exhibited her to his friends stark naked. He did not honour her with the title of wife until she had given him a child, announcing his paternity and the marriage on the very same day.

This child, whom he named *Julia* [p. 517] *Drusilla*, he carried round all the temples of the goddesses, before finally entrusting her to *Minerva's* [p. 543] lap, calling on that goddess to nurture and educate his daughter. Nothing persuaded him more clearly that she was his own issue than her violent temper, which was so savage the infant would tear at the faces and eyes of her little playmates.

BOOK FOUR: XXVI HIS CRUEL TREATMENT OF OTHERS

It would be tedious and pointless to recount in detail his behaviour towards relatives and friends, such as his cousin King *Ptolemy* [p. 578] of *Mauretania* [p. 539], who was the grandson of Mark *Antony* [p. 422] by his daughter Cleopatra *Selene* [p. 468]) or *Macro* [p. 534], the Guards Commander, and his wife *Ennia* [p. 489], who helped Caligula to power. All were rewarded with violent death for their kinship or loyalty.

Nor was he any more respectful or temperate in his dealings with Senators, forcing some of the most senior to run behind his chariot for miles, clad in their togas; or wait on him, dressed in the short linen tunics of slaves, at the head or foot of his dining-couch. He would continue to send for men he had secretly put to death, as though they were alive, waiting days before claiming falsely that they must have committed suicide.

When the consuls forgot to proclaim his birthday, he dismissed them, and left the State bereft of its highest officers for three days. And when one of his quaestors was accused of conspiracy, he had the clothes stripped from him and spread beneath the soldiers' feet to give them a firmer foothold while they flogged him.

He was as cruel and arrogant in his dealings with other ranks of society. Disturbed at night by a noisy crowd queuing to secure free seats in the *Circus* [p. 463], he had them driven away with clubs, and in the panic twenty Roman knights, and as many married women, were crushed to death with a host of others.

At the theatre, he would scatter tickets to the crowd ahead of time, to cause trouble between the knights and the commons, some equestrian seats being allocated twice. And sometimes at gladiatorial shows when the sun was hottest, he would have the canopies drawn back and prevent anyone leaving; or scrap the normal entertainment and pit useless old gladiators against mangy beasts; or hold mock duels between honest householders noted for some obvious disability.

And on occasions too, he would shut the granaries, and let the people starve.

BOOK FOUR: XXVII HIS SAVAGE NATURE

His brutal nature is most clearly revealed by the following events.

When the price of cattle to feed the wild beasts for one of his gladiatorial shows seemed too high, he chose criminals to be devoured instead. He simply stood in the middle of a colonnade and reviewed the line of convicts, without bothering to read the charges against them. He then had them all, 'from one bald head to the other', led away.

He made one man, who had sworn to fight in the arena if the Emperor recovered from illness, fulfil his pledge. Caligula watched the sword-fight and, when the man won, only relented and let him go after many entreaties. A second, who had offered his life on the same condition, but had not yet discharged his vow, he handed to his slaves with instructions to deck the man in sacred wreaths and ribbons, drive him through the streets while calling for him to fulfil his oath, and then toss him from the embankment into the Tiber.

Many men of good rank were branded then, permanently disfigured by the mark of the iron, and were condemned to labour in the mines, or at road-building; or were caged like animals on all fours, or thrown to the wild beasts; or had their bodies sawn apart. And these punishments were often meted out not for serious offences, but merely for criticising the entertainments he gave, or for failing to swear by his divine Genius. And he even compelled fathers to watch their own sons die, sending a litter for one man who claimed to be too ill to travel; forcing another to attend dinner with him immediately afterwards, and putting on a great show of affability while trying to prod the wretched man into smiling and jesting.

The manager of his gladiatorial and wild-beast shows he had beaten with chains in his presence for several days in succession, and had the man kept alive until the stench of suppurating brains became intolerable. And he had the author of some *Atellan* ^{lp. 431]} farces burnt alive in the centre of the amphitheatre's arena, simply because of a line containing a double-entendre that caused public amusement. When a Roman knight, on the verge of being thrown to the wild beasts, shouted out his innocence, Caligula had him brought back and his tongue cut out, and then had the sentence fulfilled.

BOOK FOUR: XXVIII HIS MURDER OF EXILES

He once chose to ask an exile, who had been recalled, how he had passed the time. The man replied, fawningly: 'I prayed constantly to the gods for what has actually happened: that Tiberius might die and you might become Emperor.' The answer had Caligula imagining that all the exiles were now praying similarly for his death, so he had them killed by agents sent from island to island.

Deciding he wished one Senator torn to pieces, he persuaded others to attack the man as a public enemy when he entered the House, stab him with their pens, and throw him to the rest to be dismembered, nor was he satisfied until the man's trunk, limbs, and guts had been dragged through the streets and heaped up at his feet.

BOOK FOUR: XXIX HIS MORBID WIT

Caligula added brutality of language to the enormity of his crimes. He used to say that he approved and admired nothing in his own character more highly than his 'impassivity' in other words his shamelessness.

When his grandmother, *Antonia* [p. 420] the Younger, gave him the benefit of her advice, he not only shut his ears, but replied: 'Remember, I can do whatever I wish to whoever I wish.'

When he was on the verge of murdering his brother, *Gemellus* [p. 609], and thought Gemellus had taken drugs to try and counteract poison, he inquired: 'An antidote, against Caesar?' And on exiling his sisters, *Agrippina* [p. 413] the Younger and *Livilla* [p. 517], he remarked threateningly that he could employ 'swords as well as islands'.

To a spate of requests for an extension of leave from an ex-praetor, who had retired to *Anticyra* [p. 419] for his health, Caligula replied with an order for his execution, adding that since a long course of hellebore had failed (Anticyra being famous for its hellebore), the man badly needed to be bled.

When signing a list of prisoners to be put to death in ten days time he called it 'clearing his accounts'. And having sentenced several Gauls and Greeks to die together, he boasted of having 'subdued Gallograecia'.

BOOK FOUR: XXX ODERINT, DUM METUANT

His preferred method of execution was by the infliction of many slight wounds, and his order, issued as a matter of routine, became notorious: 'Cut him so he knows he is dying.' And when, through an error in the names, someone other than the intended victim was killed, he would say that the victim had deserved the same fate anyway.

He often quoted *Accius's* [p. 403] line:

'Let them hate me, so long as they fear me.'

And he would often abuse the Senators indiscriminately, calling them friends of *Sejanus* [p. 406], and informers against his *mother* [p. 413] and *brothers* [p. 549], thereupon producing the documents he was supposed to have burned, and justifying *Tiberius's* [p. 608] cruelty on the grounds that Tiberius was unable to ignore such a volume of accusations. The Equestrian order he constantly reviled, also, as devotees of the theatre and the arena.

On one occasion, when the crowd applauded a team other than the one he favoured, he shouted in anger: 'I wish the people of Rome had but the one neck!' And on another, when they called out for the brigand *Tetrinius* [p. 605] he described them all as Tetriniuses.

There was the time too when a group of five net-and-trident men, pitted against five sword-and-shield gladiators, gave up without a fight, but when Caligula sentenced them to death, one of them snatched his trident and killed all the victors in turn. Caligula then issued a public proclamation bewailing this 'bloodiest of murders' and execrated those who had been able to endure the sight.

BOOK FOUR: XXXI HIS DESIRE FOR DISASTERS

Caligula openly deplored the state of his times, which had been devoid of public disasters. He used to say that *Augustus's* [p. 433] reign was famous for the massacre of *Varus* [p. 580] and his legions, that of *Tiberius* [p. 608] for the collapse of the amphitheatre at *Fidenae* [p. 493], while his own reign was so fortunate it would be forgotten totally, and he often longed for the loss of an army, a famine, plague, fire, or a large earthquake.

BOOK FOUR: XXXII HIS MORE CASUAL CRUELTIES

His words and actions were just as cruel when he was relaxing, amusing himself or feasting.

Trials by torture were often carried out in his presence, even while he was eating or playing, an expert headsman being retained to decapitate prisoners.

When his bridge at *Puteoli* [p. 579] (Pozzuoli), which I mentioned, was being dedicated, he invited a number of people to cross to him from the shore then had them thrown, suddenly, into the sea, those who tried to cling onto the rudders of the boats being thrust back with boathooks and oars.

There was a public banquet of his in Rome where a slave was promptly handed over to the executioners for stealing some silver-strip from a couch, his hands to be cut off and hung round his neck, after which he was to be led among the guests preceded by a placard describing his crime.

On another occasion, he was fighting a duel with a swordsman from the gladiatorial school, using wooden blades, when his opponent engineered a deliberate fall. At once Caligula ran up and stabbed him with a real dagger, then danced about waving a palm-branch, as victors do.

Again, he was once acting as assistant-priest at a sacrifice, and swung the mallet high as if to fell the victim, but killed the priest holding the knife instead. And at a particularly sumptuous banquet, he suddenly burst into peals of laughter, and when the consuls reclining next to him politely asked

the reason, he answered: 'Only that if I were to give a single nod both your throats would be cut here and now.'

BOOK FOUR: XXXIII HIS CYNICAL HUMOUR

Among other cynical jests, he was once standing with the tragic actor *Apelles* [p. 424] beside a statue of Jupiter and asked him whether the emperor or the god seemed the greater. When *Apelles* hesitated, Caligula ordered him whipped, extolling the music qualities of his voice from time to time, as the groaning actor begged for mercy.

And as he kissed the neck of wife or sweetheart, he never failed to say: 'This lovely thing will be slit whenever I say.' Now and then he even threatened his dear *Caesonia* [p. 448] with torture, if that was the only way of discovering why he was so enamoured of her.

BOOK FOUR: XXXIV HIS HATRED OF FAMOUS MEN

He attacked men of every period, with as much malicious envy as savage intolerance, toppling the statues of the famous in the *Campus* [p. 452] *Martius*, which *Augustus* [p. 433] had once moved there to clear space in the *Capitol* [p. 453] courtyard. Caligula had them shattered so that neither they nor their inscriptions could be restored. He refused to allow the setting up of any further statues of living men without his knowledge and consent.

He even considered destroying all copies of *Homer's* [p. 508] works, questioning why he should not exert Plato's privilege of banning the poet from the state he had envisaged. And he came near moreover to removing the works and busts of *Virgil* [p. 620] and *Livy* [p. 530] from all libraries, denigrating *Virgil* as a man of no talent and little learning, and *Livy* as a verbose and slipshod historian.

As for lawyers, whose profession he seemed to have every intention of dispensing with, he often threatened to see that none of them, by *Hercules* [p. 507], should ever again give advice contrary to his wishes.

BOOK FOUR: XXXV HIS ENVY OF OTHERS

Out of envy, Caligula deprived the noblest Romans of their historic family emblems. *Torquatus* [p. 552] was robbed of his collar; *Cincinnatus* [p. 462] was stripped of his lock of hair; while Gnaeus *Pompeius* [p. 574] lost the surname 'Magnus' belonging to his ancient House.

After extending an invitation to *Ptolemy* [p. 578] of *Mauretania* [p. 539] to visit him in Rome, and greeting him with honour, Caligula suddenly ordered his execution, as I have said; simply because, at a gladiatorial show, he resented the adulation Ptolemy received on entering in a splendid purple cloak. And whenever he came across handsome individuals with fine heads of hair, he had the backs of their heads closely shaved to imitate his own baldness.

A certain *Aesius* [p. 410] Proculus, son of a leading centurion, was so well-built and handsome he was nicknamed Colosseros ('Mighty Eros'). Caligula had him plucked from his seat in the amphitheatre one day, and dragged into the arena, where he pitted him against two heavily-armed gladiators in succession. When Proculus managed to win both contests, Caligula had him dressed in rags, tightly bound, and led through the streets without delay, to be jeered at by the women, and then put to death.

In short, it seems there was none so poor or low but Caligula could find something in him to envy.

Because the Sacred King at *Nemi* [p. 548] had held his priesthood for a long stretch of years, he sent a stronger slave to challenge him.

And when a chariot-fighter called *Porius* [p. 576] drew massive applause during the Games for freeing his slave to mark a victory, Caligula rushed from the amphitheatre in such indignant haste that he trod on the fringe of his robe and fell headlong down the steps. He rose, shouting in rage that this race that ruled the world honoured a gladiator more for a trivial gesture than all their deified emperors, or the one still there among them.

BOOK FOUR: XXXVI HIS SEXUAL IMMORALITY

Caligula had scant regard for chastity himself, nor respected that of others. He was accused of exchanging sexual favours with Marcus *Lepidus* [p. 407],

with *Mnester* [p. 544] the comic actor, and with various foreign hostages. And a young man of consular family, one *Valerius* [p. 617] Catullus, boasted publicly of having had the emperor, and that he had worn himself out in the process.

Besides his incest with his *sisters* [p. 413] and his notorious passion for the concubine *Pyralis* [p. 579], there was scarcely a woman of rank in Rome who did not receive his attentions. He would invite a number of them to dinner with their husbands, and would then have them pass by the foot of his couch while he inspected them slowly and deliberately, as if he were at a slave-auction, even stretching out his hand and lifting the chin of any woman who kept her eyes modestly cast down. Then, whenever he fancied, he would leave the room, send for the one who best pleased him, and returning a little later, flushed with his recent activity, he would openly criticise or commend his partner, enumerating her good and bad points, physically, and commending or otherwise her performance. There were those too, to whom he sent bills of divorce, registering the documents publicly in the names of their absent husbands.

BOOK FOUR: XXXVII HIS EXTRAVAGANCE

His ingenuity for reckless extravagance exceeded all the spendthrifts of the past. He would bathe in perfumed oils, hot or cold, for a novelty; drink costly pearls dissolved in vinegar; and serve up unnatural feasts, with gold used in preparing the bread and meat, asserting that one should either be frugal or be Caesar. And for several days in succession, he scattered a small fortune in coins from the roof of the *Julian* [p. 518] Basilica, for the public to gather.

He built *Liburnian* [p. 525] galleys, but instead of the usual one or two banks of oars these had ten, with gem-studded sterns, multi-coloured sails, vast roomy baths, whole colonnades and banqueting halls, plus a wide variety of vines and fruit-trees. In these ships he would take early-morning cruises along the Campanian coast, reclining at table among dancers and musicians.

He had villas and country-houses built regardless of expense, delighting above all in achieving the seemingly impossible. For that reason

too he had moles built out into deep and stormy waters, tunnels drilled through the hardest rocks, flat ground raised to mountain height and mountains levelled to plains, and all at breakneck speed, with death the punishment for delay.

Suffice it to say, that in less than a year he squandered a vast amount, including the twenty-seven million gold pieces amassed by *Tiberius* [p. 608].

BOOK FOUR: XXXVIII HIS PLUNDER AND EXTORTION

Having impoverished himself in this way, he was forced to turn his attention to extortion through a complex and cleverly designed combination of false rulings, auctions and taxes.

Firstly, he decreed that to claim Roman citizenship, where that status had been obtained by an individual 'for themselves and their descendents', then 'descendents' was to be interpreted as 'sons', and that a remoter degree of kinship was not legally acceptable.

Then, when presented with diplomas (*diplomata*, signifying honourable discharge from service, and entitling the holder to special privileges) issued by the deified *Julius* [p. 518] and *Augustus* [p. 433], Caligula simply waved them aside as out-of-date and invalid.

Further, he impounded estates where any addition to the estate had been made since the census, claiming that the original census return must have been false.

If any leading centurion since the start of *Tiberius's* [p. 608] reign had not named the emperor as an heir, he voided their wills on the grounds of ingratitude, and did likewise with those of any other individuals who had said they intended to, but had not in fact done so. When he had roused such fear by this, that even those who were not close to him told children and friends they had made him their sole heir, he then accused them of mocking him by stubbornly staying alive after doing so, and sent many of them poisoned sweetmeats.

Caligula conducted trials of those charged, in person, declaring in advance the sum of money he intended to garner during the sitting, and not ending it till he had done so. The slightest delay irritated him, and he once

condemned more than forty defendants, charged on various accounts, in a single judgement, boasting to *Caesonia* [p. 448], when she woke from a nap, that he had resolved a heap of business while she was sleeping.

He would auction whatever properties were left over from his entertainments, himself driving the bidding to such heights, that some who were forced to make ruinous bids at exorbitant prices committed suicide by opening their veins. On one notorious occasion, *Aponius* [p. 426] Saturninus fell asleep on a bench, and Caligula warned the auctioneer not to ignore the repeated nods of the said praetorian gentleman, who before the bidding was ended found himself the unwitting owner of thirteen gladiators at a price of ninety thousand gold pieces.

BOOK FOUR: XXXIX HIS AUCTIONS IN GAUL

When he was in Gaul, he sold his condemned *sisters* [p. 413]' jewels, furniture, slaves, and even freedmen there, at such high prices that he decided a similarly profitable venture would be to auction the contents of the Old Palace, and so he sent for them from Rome, commandeering public carriages and even draught animals from the bakeries for the purpose, causing disruption to bread supplies in the City, and the loss of many lawsuits where the litigants were unable to find transport to the courts, and so failed to appear to meet their bail. At the auction which followed, he resorted to every kind of trick and enticement, scolding bidders for their avarice, or their shamelessness in being richer than he was, while pretending sorrow at allowing commoners to buy the property of princes.

Learning that a rich provincial had paid a bribe of two thousand gold pieces to the officials who sent out the Imperial invitations, so as to be added to the list of guests at his dinner-party, Caligula was not in the least displeased, the honour of dining with him having been rated so highly, and when the man appeared at the auction next day, Caligula sent an official over to demand another two thousand in gold for some trifling object, along with a personal invitation to dinner from Caesar himself.

BOOK FOUR: XL HIS NEW METHODS OF TAXATION

He levied new and unprecedented taxes, at first through tax-collectors, and then, because the amounts were so vast, through the centurions and tribunes of the Praetorian Guard. No group of commodities or individuals escaped a levy of some kind. He imposed a fixed and specific tax on all foodstuffs; and a charge of two and a half per cent on the value of any lawsuit or legal transaction, with a penalty for anyone found to have settled out of court or abandoned a case. Porters were required to hand over twelve and a half per cent of their daily wage, while prostitutes were docked their average fee for a client, this latter tax being extended to cover ex-prostitutes and pimps, and even marriage was not exempt.

BOOK FOUR: XLI HIS OTHER NEFARIOUS METHODS OF RAISING MONEY

Many offences were committed in ignorance of the law, since the new taxes were decreed but nothing was published to the public. After urgent representations, Caligula finally had a notice posted, in an awkward spot in tiny letters to make it hard to copy.

To cover every angle for raising money, he even set apart a number of palace rooms as a brothel, and furnished them in style, where married women and freeborn youths were on show. Then he sent pages round the squares and public halls, advertising the place to men of all ages. Its patrons were offered loans at interest, and were registered as contributors to Caesar's revenues.

He was even happy to profit from playing dice, swelling his winnings by cheating and lying. Once, having given up his place to the man behind him and strolled off into the courtyard, he spotted two rich knights passing by, ordered them arrested and their property confiscated, and returned, exultant, boasting that his luck had never been better.

BOOK FOUR: XLII HIS DAUGHTER'S DOWRY

When his daughter, *Julia* [p. 517] Drusilla, was born, he had a further pretext for his complaints of poverty, his expenses as a father not merely a ruler, and so he took up a collection for her maintenance and dowry.

He also proclaimed that New Year's gifts would be welcome, and sat in the Palace entrance on the first of January, grasping handfuls and pocketfuls of coins that people of every rank showered on him.

Ultimately he was driven by a passion for the very touch and feel of money, and would trample barefoot over great heaps of gold pieces poured on the ground, or lie down and roll in them.

BOOK FOUR: XLIII HIS EXPEDITION TO GERMANY

He only experienced war and the business of arms on a single occasion, and that was the result of a sudden impulse. On visiting the sacred grove of the River *Clitumnus* [p. 468] (Clitunno) near *Mevania* [p. 542] (Bevagna), he was warned to supplement the numbers of his *Batavian* [p. 438] bodyguard, which gave the impetus to a German expedition (to the mouths of the Rhine). He promptly gathered legions and auxiliaries from every quarter, held strict levies everywhere, and collected supplies on an unprecedented scale. Then he set out on a march, which was so swift and immediate that the Praetorian Guards were forced to break with tradition, lash their standards to pack mules, and follow. Yet sometimes he was so lazy and self-indulgent that he travelled in a litter carried by eight bearers, and insisted that the inhabitants of towns he passed through swept the roads and sprinkled them to lay the dust.

BOOK FOUR: XLIV THE SURRENDER OF A BRITISH PRINCE

On reaching his headquarters, Caligula decided to show his keenness and severity as a commander by dismissing ignominiously any general who was late in gathering his auxiliaries from wherever. He then reviewed the troops and downgraded many leading centurions, on the grounds of age and

infirmity, though they had years of service, and in some instances only days left to complete their term, He upbraided the rest for their avarice, before halving their bonus on discharge to sixty gold pieces each.

His only achievement in this campaign was to receive the surrender of *Adminius* [p. 405], the son of *Cunobelinus* [p. 477], a British king. Adminius had been banished by his father and had deserted to the Romans with a few followers. Nevertheless Caligula composed a grandiloquent despatch to the Senate, written as if all Britain had surrendered to him, ordering the couriers not to halt their carriage, regardless of their hour of arrival, but to drive straight to the Forum and Senate House, and hand it to no one but the Consuls, in the Temple of *Mars* [p. 538] the Avenger, in front of the entire Senate.

BOOK FOUR: XLV MOCK WARFARE

Finding no ready opportunity for battle, Caligula had a few German guardsmen sent over the Rhine, with orders to hide. Word was then brought, after lunch, with a deal of drama and excitement that the enemy were nearby. He at once galloped into the neighbouring woods with his staff, and a contingent of the Horse Guards, where they cut branches and trimmed them as trophies, then rode back by torchlight, taunting as idle cowards those who had not been of the party. He thereupon decorated his comrades in arms, with a new kind of chaplet, adorned with images of the sun, moon and stars, which he named the Rangers' Crown.

On another day he took hostages from a school for grammarians and sent them on ahead of him in secret. Then he suddenly abandoned his banquet and chased them with the cavalry as if they were fugitives, 'capturing' them once more, and herding them back in chains, in a similar wild show of extravagant nonsense. When the officers were assembled and he was ready to return to the table, he urged them to take their seats as they were, in their coats of mail, and exhorted them in *Virgil's* [p. 620] famous words to: 'Endure, my friends, and preserve yourselves for happier days!'

Meanwhile he despatched a rebuke to the Senate and the Roman people, reprimanding them most severely by edict for indulging themselves in feasts, and idling their time away at the theatre or in pleasant country retreats while Caesar was exposed to all the dangers of war.

BOOK FOUR: XLVI VICTORY OVER THE SEA

Finally, as though bringing the campaign to a close, he lined up the army in battle array, with its catapults and other artillery facing the Channel. The soldiers were standing there, with not the least clue as to his intentions, when he ordered them, suddenly, to start collecting sea-shells, and fill their helmets and the folds of their tunics with what he called ‘the ocean’s spoils, that belong to the Capitol and the Palace.’

As a memorial of this great victory, he had a tall lighthouse built, like the Pharos at *Alexandria* [p. 416], to provide a point of reference for ships at night. Then he promised the soldiers a bounty of four gold pieces each, as if it were an act of unprecedented generosity, saying: ‘Go in happiness, go with riches.’

BOOK FOUR: XLVII PREPARATIONS FOR A TRIUMPH

He was now free to turn his attention to planning a triumph.

He chose the tallest of his *Gauls* [p. 502], and various chieftains, with others he considered ‘worthy of a triumph’, to supplement the few genuine captives and deserters from native tribes in the Roman camp. He reserved all these for his triumphal procession, making them grow their hair long and dye it red, as well as learning German and adopting German names.

Meanwhile he sent his ocean-going triremes on to Rome, having them carted overland for much of the journey, and wrote to his financiers telling them to organise a triumph on a grander scale than ever before, but at the lowest possible cost to himself since everyone’s property was at their disposal.

BOOK FOUR: XLVIII AN ATTEMPT AGAINST THE LEGIONS

Before quitting Gaul, he plotted a cruel act of revenge, planning to massacre the soldiers in those legions which had mutinied years before, after the death of *Augustus* [p. 433], because they had laid siege to his father *Germanicus’s* [p. 503] quarters, while he was there too, a young child. He was

with difficulty persuaded to relent of this madness, but only inasmuch as he schemed instead to decimate their ranks. He therefore ordered them to parade without their arms, including their swords, and flanked them with armed cavalry. But a number of the legionaries, scenting trouble, stole away quietly to fetch their weapons, in case of attack, and realising this Caligula fled the camp in haste and headed for Rome. To distract attention from his own dishonourable behaviour he savaged the Senate, openly threatening the Senators. Amongst other complaints, he claimed to have been cheated of a well-earned triumph, though shortly before he had ordered them to do nothing to honour him, on pain of death.

BOOK FOUR: XLIX HIS INTENTIONS TOWARDS THE SENATE

When met on the way by a group of distinguished Senators begging him to return immediately, he struck repeatedly at the hilt of his sword and shouted: 'I will, and this will be coming with me! Then he issued a proclamation announcing his return but only to those who wanted him back, the knights and the people, since he would never consider himself the Senators fellow-citizen or emperor again. And he refused to allow the Senate to welcome him. Having relinquished or at least postponed his triumph, he entered the City on his birthday (31st August 40AD) and received an ovation.

Within five months he was dead, having committed great crimes in the meantime, and contemplated even worse ones, for example he intended to slaughter the leading senators and knights, and govern first from *Antium* [p. 420] and then *Alexandria* [p. 416]. The proof is conclusive, since two notebooks were found among his private papers, one labelled 'Sword' and the other 'Dagger', listing the names and details of those he had marked out for death. A large chest containing various poisonous materials was also found, which they say *Claudius* [p. 464] disposed of in the sea, the contents killing shoals of fish, which littered the neighbouring beaches.

BOOK FOUR: L HIS APPEARANCE AND HEALTH

Caligula was tall and very pallid, with an ill-formed body, and extremely thin neck and legs. His eyes and temples were sunken, his forehead broad and forbidding, and his hair thin, and absent on top, though his body was hairy. Because of his baldness it was a capital offence to view him from above, or because of his hairiness to mention goats in any context. His face was naturally grim and unpleasant, but he deliberately made himself appear more uncouth by practising a whole range of fearsome and terrifying expressions in front of the mirror.

He was unsound in body and mind. As a boy he suffered from epilepsy, and though he seemed tough enough as a youth, there were times when he could barely stand because of faintness let alone walk, or gather his wits, or even raise his head. He was well aware of his mental illness, and sometimes thought of retiring from Rome to clear his brain. Some think that *Caesonia* [p. 448] his wife administered a love potion that had instead the effect of driving him mad.

He was especially prone to insomnia, and never achieved more than three hours sleep a night, and even then his rest was disturbed by strange visions, among other nightmarish apparitions once dreaming that the spirit of the Ocean spoke to him. Bored by lying awake for the greater part of the night, he would sit upright on his couch, or wander through the endless colonnades, longing for daylight and often calling out for it to come.

BOOK FOUR: LI HIS OVER-CONFIDENCE AND FEARS

I think I can rightly attribute to his mental infirmity two contrasting faults in his personality, on the one hand excessive over-confidence, and on the other extreme fearfulness. Here was a man who despised the gods utterly, but at the slightest approach of thunder and lightning would shut his eyes tight, muffle his hearing, and if the storm came nearer would leap from his bed and hide beneath it.

In Sicily he mocked the miracles supposedly witnessed in various places, but fled *Messana* [p. 542] (Messina) at night, terrified by the roar from *Aetna*'s [p. 410] (Etna) smoking crater.

And despite a spate of threats against the barbarians, a comment from a member of his staff, as they were riding through a narrow gorge in a chariot, that there would be no end of panic if the enemy should appear, caused him to mount a horse there and then and gallop back to the Rhine. Finding the bridges blocked by servants and baggage, he had himself passed from hand to hand over the men's heads in his impatience.

Not long afterwards, hearing of a new uprising in Germany, he readied his fleet to flee the region, comforting himself with the thought of the provinces overseas which would still be his, even if the enemy conquered and took possession of the Alpine passes, as the *Cimbri* [p. 462] had once done, or even of Rome as had the *Senones* [p. 591].

It was this trait of his, I think, that later gave his assassins the idea of deceiving the angry guards with the tale that rumours of a defeat had led him to commit suicide in terror.

BOOK FOUR: LII HIS MODE OF DRESS

Caligula ignored Roman fashion and tradition in clothing, shoes and other elements of dress, even wearing female costumes and imitating the attire of the gods. He often wore cloaks embroidered with precious stones in public, with long-sleeved tunics and bracelets, sometimes dressing in the silken robes only permitted to women. His footwear might be slippers, or platform-soles, or military boots, such as those worn by his bodyguard, or women's sandals.

Then again, he would often appear with a golden beard, grasping a *lightning-bolt* [p. 521], a *trident* [p. 549], or a *caduceus* [p. 542], as an emblem of the god, or robed as *Venus* [p. 619]. And even before his campaign, he frequently wore triumphal dress, sometimes donning *Alexander* [p. 415] the Great's breastplate which he had stolen from the sarcophagus (at *Alexandria* [p. 416]).

BOOK FOUR: LIII HIS ORATORY

Regarding liberal studies, Caligula gave little attention to literature but much to rhetoric, and was as ready and eloquent as you please, especially when prosecuting anyone. When angered, his words and thoughts flowed

spontaneously, he moved about excitedly and his voice carried a great distance.

When beginning a speech, he would warn that he was about 'to draw the sword forged by the light of his midnight lamp', but despised the polished and elegant style so fashionable at that time, saying that the popular *Seneca* [p. 591] composed 'from a text-book' and was 'mere sand without lime.'

He would also pen rebuttals of orators' successful pleas, or compose speeches both for and against important defendants in Senate trials, the facility or otherwise of his pen determining which speech decided the outcome, whether ruin or acquittal, and would invite the knights, by proclamation, to attend and listen.

BOOK FOUR: LIV HIS GLADIATORIAL AND THEATRICAL SKILLS

He was an enthusiastic devotee of a wide variety of arts and skills, making appearances as a heavily-armed gladiator fighting with real weapons, a charioteer in a number of different arenas, or even as a singer and dancer. He was so enraptured by his delight in song and dance that, at public performances, he could not help chanting along with the tragic actor as he delivered his lines, or freely mimicking his gestures, by way of praise or correction.

Indeed, on the very day of his death, it seems, he commanded an all-night performance in order to take advantage of the licence it allowed, and make his first stage appearance. He even danced at night on occasions, and once summoned three senators of consular rank to the Palace at midnight, seating them on a platform when they arrived half-dead with fear, then suddenly bursting forth, clad in a cloak and an ankle-length tunic, in a clatter of clogs, to the din of flutes, danced and sang, and vanished again.

Though with all these varied skills, he still couldn't swim a stroke.

BOOK FOUR: LV HIS FAVOURITES

His partiality towards those he loved bordered on madness. He would kiss *Mnester* [p. 544], the comic actor, even in the theatre, and if anyone made a noise while his favourite was dancing, he had that person dragged from their seat and beat them with his own hands. Once, when a knight created just such a disturbance, he was commanded, via a centurion, to set off for *Ostia* [p. 557] without delay, and carry a message to King *Ptolemy* [p. 578] in *Mauretania* [p. 539]. The message when opened by Ptolemy read: 'Do nothing to this man, either good or bad.'

He gave some swordsmen among the gladiators, whom he liked, command of his German bodyguard, but reduced the protective armour of those he did not. When one of the latter, *Columbus* [p. 470], won a contest, he had the slight wound he had suffered rubbed with poisonous salve, which he dubbed *columbinum*, at least that was one of the names in his list of poisons.

He was such a devotee of the Green faction (the others were the Reds, Whites, and Blues) that he frequently dined in their quarters and spent the night there, and once after carousing with the charioteer *Eutyclus* [p. 492] gave him twenty thousand gold pieces worth of gifts.

He would send out soldiers the day before the Games to order the neighbourhood to be silent, so that his horse *Incitatus* [p. 511] (Swift) was not disturbed by noise. This horse had a marble stall and ivory manger, blankets of royal purple and a gemstone collar, with his own house and furniture, and a full complement of slaves, to provide a fitting environment for guests who were invited to the Games in his name, and they even say that Caligula planned to make him Consul.

BOOK FOUR: LVI THE CONSPIRACIES AGAINST HIM

Caligula's wild and vicious behaviour prompted various conspiracies against his life. After a couple of these plots had been detected, while those still harbouring such thoughts awaited the right opportunity, two men joined forces and put an end to him, thanks to the help of his most powerful freedmen and the Guards commanders. The latter had been accused of

involvement in one of the conspiracies which had been detected. The charge was false, but Caligula hated and feared them none the less. In fact he had exposed them to public odium by calling them out, and declaring, sword in hand, that he would do the deed himself if they thought he deserved death, and had never ceased denouncing them to each other, from that moment on, and creating dissent between them.

Finally, they decided to kill him at the *Palatine* [p. 559] Games, as he left for lunch, at midday. A tribune of one cohort of the Praetorian Guard, *Cassius* [p. 457] Chaerea, a man well on in years, claimed the principal part, because Caligula persistently taunted him, with being weak and effeminate, insulting him in a variety of ways. When Cassius asked for the password Caligula would reply '*Priapus* [p. 577]' or '*Venus* [p. 619]', and when Cassius thanked him for anything he would hold out his hand to kiss, and waggle the fingers obscenely.

BOOK FOUR: LVII PORTENTS OF HIS ASSASSINATION

There were numerous portents of Caligula's imminent murder.

The statue of *Jupiter* [p. 521] (Zeus) at *Olympia* [p. 556], which he had ordered to be disassembled and transported to Rome, uttered such a peal of laughter that the scaffolding collapsed, and the workmen ran for their lives. Immediately afterwards a man named Cassius appeared, saying that he had been ordered in a dream to sacrifice a bull to Jupiter.

The Capitol at *Capua* [p. 455] was struck by lightning on the Ides of March, as was the doorkeeper's lodge of the Palace at Rome, some taking the former to mean another assassination of the kind that had occurred before on that very same day (that of *Caesar* [p. 518]), and the latter to mean that danger threatened the owner at the hands of his own guards. And when Caligula consulted the soothsayer, *Sulla* [p. 599], about his horoscope, he too declared that death was imminent.

The Oracle of Fortune at *Antium* [p. 420] likewise warned him to beware of Cassius, so he ordered the death of Lucius Cassius *Longinus* [p. 457], the proconsul of Asia, neglecting the fact that *Chaerea's* [p. 457] family name was also Cassius.

The day before he was killed, he dreamt he stood beside Jupiter's throne in heaven, and that the god sent him tumbling to earth with a blow from the toe of his right foot. And other things that happened on the morning of his death were later seen as portents. As he was sacrificing a flamingo he was splashed with its blood. *Mnester* ^[p. 544] the actor danced a tragedy (*Cinyras*) which *Neoptolemus* ^[p. 549] had performed years before during the Games where *Philip* ^[p. 567] of Macedon was assassinated. And in a farce entitled *Laureolus the Highwayman*, at the close of which the lead actor had to die while trying to escape, and appear to vomit blood, the understudies were so keen to show their talents that in their imitation of him they covered the stage with gore. Finally, a nocturnal performance also was in rehearsal, set in the Underworld, and acted by Egyptians and Ethiopians.

BOOK FOUR: LVIII HIS DEATH

On the 24th of January, just after midday, Caligula was deciding whether or not to rise and take lunch, since his stomach was still out of order after a heavy banquet the previous day. Eventually his friends persuaded him to do so. In the covered way outside, some boys of noble family who had been summoned from Asia Minor to appear on stage were practising their parts, and he stopped to watch and encourage them, and would have returned and ordered their performance to begin if the leader of the troop had not complained of a chill.

There are two versions of what happened next. Some say that while he was talking to the boys Cassius *Chaerea* ^[p. 457] approached him from behind, and crying 'Do it!' gave him a deep wound in the neck, which was the cue for Cornelius *Sabinus* ^[p. 475], the tribune, his co-conspirator, who was facing Caligula, to stab him in the chest. Other say that Sabinus told the centurions in the plot to clear the crowd, and asked for the password as soldiers do, and that when Caligula replied 'Jupiter' Chaerea shouted from behind him 'Receive his gift!' and split Caligula's jawbone as he turned, with a blow from his sword.

Caligula, writhing on the ground, called out that he was still alive, but the cry went up: 'Strike again!', whereupon he was dealt thirty more wounds, including sword-thrusts through the genitals. At the onset of the disturbance, Caligula's litter-bearers ran to help him, wielding their poles,

followed by his German bodyguards, who killed several of the assassins, as well as some innocent Senators.

BOOK FOUR: LIX HIS CREMATION

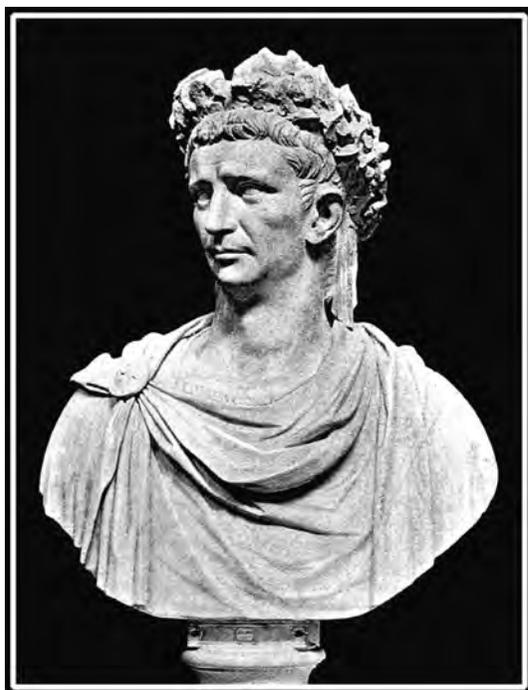
He died at the age of twenty-nine after ruling three years, ten months and eight days. His corpse was carried secretly to the *Lamian* [p. 490] Gardens, where it was part-burned on a hastily erected pyre, then buried under a shallow covering of turf. Later when his sisters returned from exile, the body was disinterred, fully cremated, and the ashes entombed. But it was well known that, before this was done, the gardens were haunted by his ghost, and that fearsome apparitions appeared each night at the scene of the murder until the building was destroyed by fire. *Caesonia* [p. 448] too was murdered, stabbed to death by a centurion's sword, while their daughter *Julia* [p. 517] Drusilla's brains were dashed out against a wall.

BOOK FOUR: LX CONFUSION REIGNS

The state of the times may be gathered from the sequel. Even after news of the murder circulated his death was not immediately accepted, the suspicion arising that Caligula himself had started the rumour to see what men thought of him.

The conspirators had not settled on a successor, and the Senate were unanimously in favour of restoring the Republic, such that their first meeting after the murder was not in the Senate which was named the Julian House, but on the Capitol. Some expressed the view that even the memory of the Caesars should be erased and their temples obliterated. It was noted too, and there was widespread comment to this effect, that all the Caesars named Gaius had died by the sword, beginning with Caesar *Strabo* [p. 447] who was killed in the days of *Cinna* [p. 473].

Book V: Claudius



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Book Five: Claudius (Later Deified)



BOOK FIVE: I HIS FATHER, DRUSUS THE ELDER

D*rusus* [p. 487] the Elder, *Claudius* [p. 464] Caesar's father, who was first named Decimus and later Nero, was born (in 38BC) to *Livia* [p. 527], less than three months after she wedded *Augustus* [p. 433]. Her pregnancy at the time of the marriage led to suspicions that Drusus was the result of his stepfather's adultery with her. The following epigram certainly went the rounds:

'Only three months in the womb, for a child of the blessed.'

Drusus, as quaestor then praetor (11BC), commanded an army against the *Raetians* [p. 581] (15BC) and later the Germans (13-9BC). He was the first Roman general to navigate the North Sea, and employed huge amounts of labour in constructing the major canals which bore his name. After defeating the native tribes in a series of battles, he drove them deep into the wilderness of the interior, and only ended his pursuit on seeing the apparition of a female barbarian of superhuman size, who warned him in Latin not to extend his conquest further.

These exploits earned Drusus an ovation, with triumphal regalia (11BC), and immediately after his praetorship ended he became consul

(9BC), resuming his German campaign. However, he died at his summer headquarters, which were known thereafter as the 'accursed'. His corpse was carried to Rome by a succession of bearers, all leading citizens of the free towns and colonies, where it was received by the guild of clerks, then cremated in the *Campus* [p. 452] Martius.

The army raised a memorial in his honour, round which the soldiers ran ceremonially each year on the appointed day, when the cities of Gaul offered prayers and sacrifices. In addition to many other honours, the Senate voted him an arch of marble on the Appian Way, decorated with trophies, and the surname Germanicus for himself and his descendants.

It was the public belief that he was as devoted to democracy as he was eager for glory. As far as glory was concerned, he longed to win personal trophies, as well as wars, and pursued German chieftains over the battlefields at great risk to himself, while as to forms of government, he made no secret of his wish to revive the past, if he should have the power to do so. This is the reason, I suspect, that some authors set him down as a source of suspicion to Augustus, and say the Emperor recalled him from his province and had him poisoned, when he refused to obey. I mention this, not because I think it true or even credible, but simply to record it, since Augustus in fact loved him so dearly while he lived, as he once stated in the Senate, that he declared him co-heir with *Gaius* [p. 446] and *Lucius* [p. 447]; and when Drusus died Augustus spoke warmly in his praise before the people, praying the gods to make Gaius and Lucius men like him, and grant them as honourable a death when their time came. Not content with the adulatory verses he had composed himself, and had inscribed on the tomb, Augustus also wrote a biography of him in prose.

Drusus had several children by *Antonia* [p. 420] the Younger, but only three survived him, *Germanicus* [p. 503], *Livilla* [p. 529], and Claudius.

BOOK FIVE: II HIS BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD

Claudius was born at *Lugdunum* [p. 533] (Lyon) on the 1st of August 10BC in the consulship of Iullus *Antonius* [p. 423] and *Fabius* [p. 492] Africanus, on the day when the very first altar to *Augustus* [p. 433] was dedicated there, the child being given the name Tiberius Claudius Drusus. When his elder brother

Germanicus [p. 503] was adopted into the Julian family (in 4AD), he added the name Germanicus also.

He lost his father when still an infant (in 9BC), and throughout his childhood and youth was severely afflicted by various stubborn ailments so that his mind and body lacked vigour, and even when he attained his majority he was not considered capable of a public or private career.

He was supervised by a tutor until long after the normal age, which he complains about in his writings, saying the man was 'a barbarian, an ex-transport officer who had been in charge of the mules', put there to punish him severely on any pretext. His weak health was also the reason for his wearing a cloak, against all precedent, when he presided at the gladiatorial games he and his brother gave in honour of their father. And on the day he assumed the robe of manhood, he was carried in a litter to the Capitol at midnight, without the usual procession (of friends and relatives).

BOOK FIVE: III UNCERTAINTY AS TO HIS ABILITIES

Nevertheless, he applied himself to liberal studies from his earliest youth, and often published examples of his proficiency in each area, though even so he was excluded from public office and failed to inspire any brighter hopes for his future.

His mother *Antonia* [p. 420] the Younger often condemned him as an unfinished freak of Nature, and when accusing someone of stupidity would say: 'He's a bigger fool than my son Claudius.' His grandmother *Augusta* [p. 527] (Livia) always treated him with utter contempt, and rarely even spoke to him, admonishing him, when she chose to do so, in brief harsh missives, or via her messengers.

When his sister *Livilla* [p. 529] heard the prophecy that he would be Emperor some day, she prayed openly and loudly that Rome might be spared so cruel and unmerited a fate.

Finally, to show the various opinions his great uncle held of him, extracts from *Augustus's* [p. 433] letters follow:

BOOK FIVE: IV AUGUSTUS'S OPINIONS OF YOUNG CLAUDIUS

'My dear *Livia* [p. 527], I have spoken to *Tiberius* [p. 608] at your request regarding your grandson Claudius, apropos the coming Games in honour of *Mars* [p. 538]. We both agreed that we should decide once and for all what strategy to adopt. If he is *completely sound* in all respects, why should he not progress through the same stages and grades as his brother? But if we consider him *deficient* and *infirm of body or mind*, we should not create opportunity for ridicule, and expose him and ourselves to *public scorn and derision*. We will always be in a state, surely, if we have to consider the matter every time, rather than deciding in advance as to his fitness for public office.

However, regarding this matter on which you seek present advice, I have no objection to his taking charge of the priests' banquet at the Games, if he lets his relative, *Silvanus's* [p. 569] son, advise him, and so avoids appearing conspicuous or foolish. I do not however approve of his watching the Games in the Circus from the Imperial box, since he would be exposed to public view in a conspicuous position fronting the auditorium. I am also opposed to his appearing on the Alban Mount or remaining in Rome, during the *Latin* [p. 524] Festival, since if he assists his brother on the Mount, why should he not be made City prefect too?

There you have my views, my dear Livia, namely that I would like the whole thing decided once and for all, to prevent this constant alternation of hope and despair. You may, if you wish, show this part of my letter to our kinswoman *Antonia* [p. 420] to read.'

Again, Augustus writes to her in a second letter:

'I shall certainly invite young Claudius to eat here each day during your absence, to avoid him having only *Sulpicius* [p. 600] and *Athenodorus* [p. 432] as dinner companions. I do wish that he would be more selective and less *capricious* in his choice of someone on whom to model his gestures, bearing and manner of walking. An *unfortunate* little fellow, since in *important matters*, when his mind is focussed, the *nobility of his character* is visible enough.'

And in a third letter:

'My dear Livia, I'll be damned if your grandson Claudius hasn't surprised and pleased me with his declaiming. How anyone who is so *unintelligible* in conversation can speak so *intelligibly* when he declaims, is beyond me.'

However, it is clear what Augustus later decided, in granting Claudius no office other than as a priest of the College of Augurs, and listing him in his will among those who were practically strangers, as entitled to a sixth of his estate but as an heir of the third degree only. The sole legacy he received was a mere eight thousand gold pieces.

BOOK FIVE: V HIS OBSCURITY UNDER TIBERIUS

His paternal uncle *Tiberius* [p. 608] sent him consular regalia when he asked for office (during his reign), but when he pressed for the actual duties of office also, Tiberius simply replied 'I have sent you forty gold pieces for the *Saturnalia* [p. 587] and *Sigillaria* [p. 587].' After that, Claudius finally abandoned hope of a career, and settled to a life of idleness, living in obscurity in his suburban house and gardens or sometimes at his villa in Campania. His intimacy with the lower orders brought him a reputation for drunkenness and gambling, to add to the perception of his incapacity. Nevertheless, despite this, people paid attention to him, and granted him public respect.

BOOK FIVE: VI MINOR HONOURS UNDER TIBERIUS

He was twice chosen to head a deputation as patron of the Equestrian Order; the first occasion was when they requested the privilege, from the consuls, of carrying *Augustus's* [p. 433] corpse to Rome on their shoulders (14AD), the second when they offered the consuls congratulations after the fall of *Sejanus* [p. 406] (31AD). When he appeared at public entertainments, members of the Order would rise and doff their cloaks.

The Senate, too, voted that he be made a Priest of Augustus, though its members were normally chosen by lot; and later that his house which had been lost in a fire be rebuilt at public expense, as well as his being permitted to address the House as if he were of consular rank. *Tiberius* [p. 608], however, repealed this second decree, promising to defray the cost of rebuilding himself, and claiming that Claudius's disabilities precluded his participation.

When Tiberius died (AD37), Claudius was again among the heirs of third degree, though he did receive a legacy of about twenty thousand gold

pieces, and a commendation, along with the other relatives, to the army, Senate and people of Rome.

BOOK FIVE: VII PROMOTION UNDER CALIGULA

It was only under *Caligula* [p. 449], his nephew, who sought popularity in every conceivable way at the start of his reign that Claudius's official career finally commenced. He held the consulship as Caligula's colleague for two months (in AD37), and when he entered the Forum for the first time with the rods of office, an eagle flew down and chanced to alight on his shoulder. He was also awarded a second consulship, drawing one by lot that would fall four years later.

He presided at the Games in place of Caligula, on several occasions, where he was greeted with shouts of: 'Good luck to the Emperor's uncle!' or 'Good luck to *Germanicus*'s [p. 503] brother!'

BOOK FIVE: VIII MOCKED BY THE COURT

Nevertheless, he was constantly the butt of insults. If he arrived late to a meal he was forced to do the rounds of the dining room to find a place, and if he fell asleep after dinner, as was his wont, he was pelted with olive and date stones, or woken by the jesters with a whip or cane, in mock sport. And they would put slippers on his hands too while he lay there snoring, so that he rubbed his face with them on suddenly waking.

BOOK FIVE: IX EXPOSURE TO DANGER

He was exposed to real danger as well. He was almost deposed from his first consulship, because he took so long to contract for, and erect, statues to *Nero* [p. 549] and *Drusus* [p. 486] the Emperor's brothers.

Then he was continually harassed by diverse allegations brought against him by members of his household, or third parties.

And when he was sent to Germany, with other envoys, by the Senate, to convey their congratulations to the Emperor after the exposure of the

conspiracy led by *Lepidus* [p. 407] and *Gaetulicus* [p. 525] (in AD40), he went in grave danger of his life, since Caligula was so wild with rage that his uncle of all people had been sent, as if to a child needing a guardian, that some say, in his anger, he threw Claudius into the *river* [p. 533], just as he was, fully clothed.

Moreover, from that moment on, Caligula humiliated him, by ensuring that, among those of consular rank, he was called on last when the Senators gave their views. And then a case involving a fraudulent will was brought, despite Claudius being one of the signatories, followed by his having to find a fee of eighty thousand gold pieces to enter Caligula's newly founded College of Priests. Reduced by this to straightened circumstances, he borrowed the sum from the Treasury but, failed to meet the obligation incurred, so that his property had to be advertised for sale in the meantime, by order of the Treasury prefects, in accordance with the law on appropriations.

BOOK FIVE: X ACCESSION TO POWER

Having spent the larger part of his life in such circumstances, he became emperor at the age of fifty (in AD41) by a remarkable stroke of fate. *Caligula's* [p. 449] assassins had dispersed the crowd on the pretext that the Emperor wished for solitude, and Claudius, shut out with the rest, retired to a room called the *Hermaeum*, but shortly afterwards, terrified by news of the murder, crept off to a nearby balcony and hid behind the door-curtains. A Guard, who was wandering about the Palace at random, spotting a pair of feet beneath the curtain where Claudius was cowering, dragged the man out to identify him, and as Claudius fell to the ground in fear, recognised him, and acclaimed him Emperor. He took him off to find his comrades, whom they discovered in a state of confusion and undirected anger. They set Claudius in a litter, and in the absence of his own bearers who had run away, carried him in relays to their Camp. The crowds he met pitied him, thinking him an innocent man being carried off to his execution, while he himself was filled with terror and despair. Once inside the ramparts, he passed the night among the sentries, with even less hope than confidence, since the consuls and city cohorts had occupied Forum and Capitol, determined to restore the Republic and its freedoms.

Summoned to the House by the tribunes of the commons, to give his views on the situation, he replied that 'he was detained by force and necessity.' The Senate however was tardy in effecting its plans, due to the endless bickering between those with opposing opinions, while the crowds surrounding the building demanded a sole leader, and named Claudius, expressly. Eventually therefore he allowed the gathering of armed Guardsmen to swear him allegiance, and promised every man one hundred and fifty gold pieces, which made him the first of the Caesars to secure his troops' loyalty with a bribe.

BOOK FIVE: XI HIS IMMEDIATE ACTIONS

Once his authority was established, he judged it of vital importance to obliterate the memory of those two days when there were thoughts of changing the form of government. He issued a general amnesty covering all actions and statements during that period, pardoning them and condemning them to oblivion, and adhered to it himself apart from executing a number of the tribunes and centurions who had conspired to assassinate *Caligula* [p. 449], to make an example of them, and because they had demanded his own death too.

Turning to matters of family loyalty, he adopted 'By *Augustus* [p. 433]' as his most sacred and frequently used oath, and voted his grandmother *Livia* [p. 527] divine honours, including an elephant-drawn chariot for her image, to match that of Augustus, in the sacred procession round the Circus. He instigated public sacrifices to the shades of his parents and also annual Games in the Circus on his *father's* [p. 487] birthday with a carriage to bear his *mother's* [p. 420] image, also voting her the title of Augusta which she had refused while living. And seizing every opportunity to honour his brother's memory, he produced a Greek comedy of *Germanicus's* [p. 503] in the contest at *Naples* [p. 547], and in accordance with the judges' decision granted it the first prize.

He made sure his grandfather Mark *Antony* [p. 422] was honoured also, and received grateful mention, once declaring in a proclamation that the request for his father Drusus's birthday to be celebrated was the more earnest on his part because it was his grandfather Mark Antony's too.

He completed the arch of marble near *Pompey's* [p. 573] Theatre, which the Senate had voted *Tiberius* [p. 608] some time before, but which had been left unfinished. Even with regard to Caligula, though he annulled all his decrees, he would not allow the day of his own accession to be regarded as a festival, since it was also the day of his predecessor's death.

BOOK FIVE: XII HIS MODESTY AND RESTRAINT

He was modest and unassuming in refusing excessive honours, refraining from assuming the title Emperor, and allowing his daughter's betrothal, and his grandson's birthday to be celebrated quietly, with private ceremonies only. He sought Senate approval before recalling exiles, and requested as favours the privilege of allowing the Guard's commander and military tribunes to accompany him to the House, and of having the judicial acts of his provincial agents' ratified. And he also asked consular permission to hold fairs on his private estates.

He often appeared as one of the advisers during trials in the magistrates' courts, and at the Games would rise with the rest of the audience and show his approval with shouts and applause. And when he sat on the tribunal and the commons' tribunes appeared before him, he would apologise to them that the lack of room meant that he could not hear them unless they were standing.

His behaviour, over a very short space of time, won him so much respect and devotion that a rumour he had been attacked and murdered on a journey to *Ostia* [p. 557], was received with horror, and crowds milled about abusing the soldiers as traitors and the Senators as assassins, until the magistrates brought a couple of witnesses, and later others to the Rostra to swear that Claudius was safe and on his way back to the City.

BOOK FIVE: XIII ACTS OF TREACHERY AGAINST HIM

Nevertheless he experienced various acts of treachery, carried out by individuals, as well as in the form of a conspiracy, and even an attempt at Civil War.

On one occasion a commoner was arrested at night near his bedroom, dagger in hand. And members of the Equestrian Order twice tried to ambush him in public places, one with a sword-cane as he left the theatre, another with a hunting knife as he sacrificed in the Temple of Mars.

The fomenting of Civil War was instigated by *Furius* [p. 499] *Camillus Scribonianus*, governor of *Dalmatia* [p. 480] (in 42AD). However the action was crushed within five days, the rebellious legions involved being overcome by superstitious fear when the eagle emblems could not be dressed correctly nor the standards pulled from the ground when the orders to march were given.

The conspiracy against him was mounted by *Asinius* [p. 430] *Gallus* and *Statilius* [p. 597] *Corvinus* (in 46AD), grandsons of the orators *Pollio* [p. 430] and *Messala* [p. 617] respectively, and also involved a number of his own freedmen and slaves.

BOOK FIVE: XIV HIS CONSULSHIPS

Claudius held four consulships after his initial one, two in successive years (AD42 and 43) and two more at four-yearly intervals (AD47 and 51). The last was for six months, the others for two months each. In an unprecedented step for an Emperor, he took over the third consulship from a consul who had died.

He administered justice conscientiously, both as consul and Emperor, sitting in court even on his own birthday and those of his family, and on occasions even on traditional festival days, and days of ill-omen. He did not always follow the letter of the law, but used his own ideas of justice and fairness to act more or less leniently or severely in specific cases. For example he allowed a re-trial in situations where plaintiffs had lost their cases in lower courts by asking for greater damages than the law allowed, but overruled the lighter penalty prescribed by law when condemning to the wild beasts those convicted of heinous crimes.

BOOK FIVE: XV HIS INCONSISTENCIES AS JUDGE

He showed, however, marked inconsistency in his hearing of individual cases and his judgements on them, sometimes appearing shrewd and precise, at other times hasty and thoughtless, and even on occasions downright foolish and almost crazed.

He disqualified one man from the jury-list who presented himself for service, even though he could claim exemption due to the number of his children, on the grounds that he loved jury-duty too much. Another juror challenged with having a case of his own pending, said that it was before the lower court and not relevant, but Claudius forced him to bring the case before him at once, since how he appeared in his own case would reveal how good a juror he might be in another's. And when a woman refused to admit she was the mother of a party to a case, and there was a conflict of evidence, Claudius ordered her to marry the young man and thereby revealed the truth.

But whenever a party to a suit did not appear, Claudius tended to decide in favour of the one who was present, without caring whether the missing man was at fault, or circumstances had prevented his attendance. And when a defendant was convicted of forgery, and someone called out that his hands should be cut off, Claudius immediately summoned the executioner with knife and block.

And in a citizenship case, when a pointless dispute began among the lawyers as to whether the defendant had the right to appear dressed in a Roman toga or should wear a Greek mantle, the Emperor made him change his clothes several times depending on whether he was being addressed as the accused or as the defendant, so as to demonstrate absolute impartiality! And in one case his decision was written out before the case even started, and read: 'I decide in favour of whoever told the truth!'

He so discredited himself by these vagaries that he aroused widespread public contempt. One lawyer, explaining that a witness Claudius had summoned could not appear, would only give the reason after a lengthy series of questions: 'Well! The fact is he's dead: I trust his excuse is legitimate.' Another thanked the Emperor for allowing him to defend his client, but added: 'Though that is the usual practice.' I have heard older men say myself that plaintiffs took advantage of his good nature and would not

only call on him to return when he left the chamber, but would tug at the hem of his robe, and sometimes his foot, to detain him.

Though it all sounds incredible, I would add that one Greek lawyer, who was of no great status, remarked in Greek in the heat of debate: '*You're an old man, and you're a foolish one.*' And everyone has heard of the knight who was in court on trumped-up charges of abusing women, brought by his unscrupulous enemies, who finding that the witnesses against him were common prostitutes, and that their testimony was deemed acceptable, hurled the tablets and stylus in his hand at Claudius with such force as to cut his cheek deeply, while denouncing aloud his harshness and stupidity.

BOOK FIVE: XVI HIS CENSORSHIP

He re-assumed the office of Censor (in 48AD) which had been discontinued seventy years earlier (in 22BC) after the term of Munatius *Plancus* [p. 545] and Aemilius *Paulus* [p. 408], but even in that office he showed unpredictability, proving inconsistent in both theory and practice. When reviewing the knights, he avoided public censure of a son of dubious character, since the father said he was perfectly happy with him, commenting that the young man had a censor of his own. As for another who was notoriously corrupt, and guilty of adultery, he merely told him to show some restraint in his indulgences, or at any rate to be more circumspect, adding: 'Why should I have to be concerned with what mistress you keep?'

When he yielded to the entreaties of one individual's close friends, and cancelled the censor's mark against his name, he nevertheless added: 'But let the erasure be clearly visible.' One nobleman's name was struck from the jury list because though a prominent Greek citizen he knew no Latin, and Claudius even cancelled his citizenship. Nor would he allow any man to explain who he was except in his own words, as best he could, without the help of a lawyer.

He placed black marks against large numbers of people on the census list, much to the surprise of some who were censured on the novel charge of going abroad without consulting him or asking leave of absence: in one case the man involved had simply escorted a king to his province, Claudius

citing the case of *Rabirius* [p. 581] Postumus, who had been tried for treason (in 54BC) because he followed *Ptolemy* [p. 578] XII to *Alexandria* [p. 416] to recover a loan.

When Claudius moved to mark others down in a similar way, he was ashamed to discover they were most often blameless, owing to his agents' indifference to the evidence, so that the celibate, childless, and poor proved to be married, fathers, and rich. Indeed, one fellow charged with having stabbed himself, stripped off his clothing to show his unblemished body.

Among his other memorable acts as Censor was the purchase of an expensively-worked silver chariot, offered for sale in the *Sigallaria* [p. 587] Quarter, which he had broken to pieces before his eyes. And he issued twenty proclamations in a single day, including: 'It's a fine vintage so coat your wine-jars well with pitch,' and 'Nothing is as sovereign against snake-bite as juice from the yew-tree.'

BOOK FIVE: XVII HIS CAMPAIGN IN BRITAIN

Claudius only fought one campaign, which was of small importance. The Senate had voted him triumphal regalia, but he thought accepting them beneath his dignity, and sought the glory of a legitimate triumph. He decided *Britain* [p. 442] was the optimum place for gaining one, as no one had attempted a conquest since *Caesar's* [p. 518] ventures (55/54BC), and the place was in a state of rebellion because the Romans had refused to return certain deserters.

He sailed from *Ostia* [p. 557] and was nearly shipwrecked by north-westerly gales, firstly off Liguria and then near the *Stoechades* [p. 597] Islands (Hyères Islands). Landing at *Massilia* [p. 539] (Marseilles), therefore, he travelled cross-country to *Gesoriacum* [p. 504] (Boulogne), crossed the Channel from there, and received the submission of part of the island in very few days without battle or bloodshed (AD43). He was back in Rome within six months, and there celebrated a splendid triumph. He summoned the provincial governors to Rome to witness the spectacle, and even certain exiles. To mark his success, he set one of the victory tokens, the naval crown, on a gable of the Palace next to the civic crown, signifying that he had crossed and conquered, so to speak, the Ocean. *Messalina* [p. 616], his wife,

followed his chariot in a carriage, with the generals who had won triumphal regalia in the campaign marching behind in purple-fringed togas, all except Marcus *Licinius* [p. 526] Crassus Frugi, who rode a caparisoned charger and wore a palm-embroidered tunic since he was receiving the honour for the second time.

BOOK FIVE: XVIII THE GRAIN SUPPLY

Claudius paid constant attention to the City's upkeep, and the effectiveness of the grain supply.

When a stubborn fire in the northern Aemiliana district could not be quenched, he stayed in the Election House (the *Diribitorium*) on the *Campus* [p. 452] Martius for two nights in a row, and since a force made up of soldiers and his own slaves proved inadequate to fight the blaze, he had the magistrates summon people from all over the City, and sat there with bags of coins at his side urging them to help, and paying them a bounty there and then for their efforts.

And his experience during a prolonged period of drought leading to grain shortages, when he was surrounded by a crowd in the *Forum* [p. 497] and showered with bits of mouldy bread and abuse, and regained the Palace with difficulty by a side entrance, led him to explore every means of improving the supply to Rome, even in winter months.

BOOK FIVE: XIX HIS INCENTIVES TO SHIP-OWNERS

He assured the merchants a profit by underwriting any losses due to storms at sea, and offered major incentives to those who financed new grain ships, dependent on their situation. If the financier was a Roman citizen he was exempted from the *Papian* [p. 433]-Poppaeian Law against celibacy; if he was Latin he was granted citizenship; and if the finance was raised by a woman she was allowed the varied privileges granted to mothers with four children. All these provisions are still in force.

BOOK FIVE: XX HIS PUBLIC WORKS

He completed only a few public works, though those he undertook were both large and vital. As well as finishing the construction of two aqueducts begun by *Caligula* [p. 449], he initiated the draining of the *Fucine* [p. 498] Lake and the building of a new harbour at *Ostia* [p. 557]. Augustus had turned down the *Marsian's* [p. 538] frequent requests regarding the drainage scheme, while *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar had considered the harbour project more than once, but abandoned the idea because of its difficulty of execution.

He completed the stone-arched Claudia aqueduct to bring the cool and copious waters of the Caerulean, and Curtian or Aludignan, springs to Rome, and also the New Anio aqueduct, distributing the flows via finely-ornamented reservoirs (AD52).

The Fucine Lake project (AD42-53) was undertaken in hopes of profit as well as for glory, the drainage being undertaken at private cost, the financiers receiving reclaimed land in return. The construction of the outlet, three miles in length, involved great difficulties, such as levelling mountain slopes and tunnelling through rock, and took three years with thirty thousand labourers continuously employed.

The harbour at Ostia (started 42AD, completed by Nero in 64) was created by building curved breakwaters at the sides, and a deepwater mole at the entrance, the mole being given a firm foundation by sinking a vessel there, the very ship which had brought Caligula's tall obelisk from *Alexandria* [p. 416] (in 37AD), and securing it by piles. On that foundation a high tower was erected modelled on the *Pharos* [p. 416], to act as a lighthouse for shipping.

BOOK FIVE: XXI HIS PUBLIC ENTERTAINMENTS

Claudius frequently distributed largesse to the people, and gave several splendid entertainments, not merely the customary ones, but novelties, as well as revivals from previous times, mounting them in unusual places.

He opened the Games at the re-dedication of *Pompey's* [p. 573] Theatre, the restoration of which he completed after it had been damaged by fire. He did so from a raised seat in the orchestra, to which he descended through

the tiers of seats, after offering sacrifice at the shrines sited at the top of the auditorium, while the spectators sat in silence.

He also celebrated *Secular* [p. 590] Games (in 47AD), on the basis that *Augustus* [p. 433] had staged them (in 17BC) before they were due, though his own *History* relates that Augustus took great care to have the correct interval and the new date calculated, since they had been long discontinued. The herald's proclamation, which took its traditional form, inviting the public to Games 'which no one present had seen or would see again' was therefore met with laughter, since there were members of the audience who had indeed seem them presented before, and some of the participants had appeared at the prior performance into the bargain.

He often gave Games in the *Vatican* [p. 449] Circus too, with a wild beast show sometimes after every fifth race, and he gave the Great Circus marble starting-compartments (*carceres*) for the chariots instead of ones made of tufa, and gilded metal turning posts (*metae*) to replace the wooden ones. He also reserved seats for the Senators, who had previously sat with the commoners.

In addition to chariot races, he staged the *Troy* [p. 409] Game, and wild panther-hunts involving a squadron of the Guards Cavalry led by their military tribunes and commanded by their prefect, as well as bull fights where *Thessalian* [p. 606] horsemen pursued the creatures round the arena, leaping on their backs when they tired, and wrestling them to the ground by their horns.

Among the many gladiatorial shows he presented in various places was the annual celebration of his accession performed in the Praetorian Guards Camp, without wild beasts or fancy equipment; one of the usual kind in the Enclosure; and a third there, of a brief and irregular nature, lasting a few days, which he dubbed a *sportula* (gift-basket) because he proclaimed on first holding it that he was inviting everyone to an impromptu feast, hastily got together. These were the shows at which he behaved most informally and casually, even thrusting his left hand free of his toga like a commoner, and noisily counting the victors' gold pieces on his fingers. He kept inviting the audience to enjoy themselves, prompting them, and addressing them as 'my lords', and making feeble and outlandish jokes. For example when the spectators called out for *Palumbus* [p. 560] (The Dove) he promised they should have him if he could be netted.

Yet sometimes his responses were well-timed and salutary. After granting the wooden sword to a chariot-fighter, because his four sons had begged for him to be discharged, and noting the loud and generous applause, he immediately issued a proclamation pointing out to the crowd how useful having children could prove, since it brought even a gladiator favour and blessings.

In the *Campus* [p. 452] Martius, presiding dressed in a general's cloak he staged the mock siege and storming of a town, in realistic detail, as well as the surrender of the *British* [p. 442] kings. Even when he was about to inaugurate the draining of the *Fucine* [p. 498] Lake, he first mounted a sham naval battle. Unfortunately, when the combatants gave the customary shout of: 'Hail, Emperor, those who are about to die salute you!' he joked: 'Or not, as the case may be!' so they all refused to fight maintaining that his words amounted to a pardon. He dithered for a while as to whether to have them all massacred in their burning ships, but at last leapt from his throne and hobbling ridiculously up and down the shoreline, in his shambling manner, induced them, by threats and promises combined, to fight. Twelve Sicilian triremes then fought twelve from Rhodes, the signal being given by a mechanical *Triton* [p. 614], made of silver, which emerged from the middle of the lake and blew its horn.

BOOK FIVE: XXII HIS ATTENTION TO RELIGIOUS PROCEDURE

As regards religious ceremony, civil and military procedures, and the conditions of all ranks whether at home or abroad, he corrected abuses, and revived previous customs while establishing some new ones.

He never admitted a priest to any of the various colleges without first taking an oath as to the man's suitability. He scrupulously observed the custom, whenever there was an earthquake that affected the City, of having the praetor call a gathering and proclaim a public holiday. And whenever a bird of ill-omen was seen on the *Capitol* [p. 453], he would offer up a supplication himself, in his capacity as Chief Priest, reciting the customary form of words from the Rostra, after ordering all workmen and slaves to leave.

BOOK FIVE: XXIII HIS ATTENTION TO THE LAW

He abolished the division of the legal year into winter and summer terms, making the proceedings continuous. He delegated jurisdiction in trust cases to the City magistrates, and as an innovation to provincial Governors, on a permanent basis. He annulled *Tiberius's* [p. 608] amendment to the *Papian* [p. 433]-Poppaeian Law which implied that men of sixty or over could not legally beget children; he legislated to allow the consuls to appoint guardians for orphans, contrary to the previous procedure; and he extended the law regarding banishment from a province by its magistrates to also debar the guilty party from Rome and the rest of Italy. He also imposed a new form of sentence which required the offender to stay within three miles of the centre of Rome.

When he was called on to conduct important business in the House, he would take his seat between the two consuls or on the tribunes' bench, and he reserved the right to deal with applications to travel, which had formerly been handled by the Senate.

BOOK FIVE: XXIV HIS ATTENTION TO RANK AND STATUS

He granted consular regalia to the second rank of Imperial administrators, and if anyone refused Senatorial rank he stripped them of their knighthood. Though he had stated at the start of his reign that only someone whose great-great-grandfather had been a Roman citizen could be made a Senator, he waived that for a freedman's son if a Roman knight first adopted him. Fearing criticism, he pointed out that the Censor, *Appius* [p. 465] *Claudius Caecus*, who had founded the Claudian family, had allowed the sons of 'freedmen' to be Senators, not realising that in those days and later the term for freedman used designated not those who were ex-slaves themselves but only the next generation, their freeborn sons.

Claudius relieved the college of quaestors of their duty to pave the roads, but made them give a gladiatorial show instead; and while depriving them of their official duties at *Ostia* [p. 557] and in Gaul, he restored their custodianship of the Public Treasury, housed in the Temple of *Saturn* [p. 587] (in the Forum) which had been held by praetors and ex-praetors, as it is once more in our day.

He gave the triumphal regalia to Lucius Junius *Silanus* [p. 521], his daughter *Octavia's* [p. 554] prospective husband, while still under age, and to elderly men so often and so readily, that the legions circulated a joint petition asking for the emblems to be granted consular governors on appointment, to prevent their seeking pretexts for war in order to win them in battle.

He granted Aulus *Plautius* [p. 569] an ovation, going to greet him on entry to the City, and walking on his left as he ascended and descended the Capitol. And he awarded *Gabinius* [p. 499] Secundus the surname Cauchius after his conquest of the Cauchi, a Germanic tribe.

BOOK FIVE: XXV THE INFLUENCE OF HIS WIVES AND FREEDMEN

But the following acts, not to say the whole conduct of his reign, were dictated not so much by his own judgement as the influence of his wives and freedmen, since he almost always acted in accord with their interests and wishes.

He altered the stages in the knights' military career, assigning them a division of cavalry after an infantry cohort, followed by the tribunate of a legion. He also instituted what he called 'supernumerary' military service, creating virtual posts which could be filled *in absentia*, in name only. And he had the Senate pass a decree forbidding soldiers to enter Senators' houses to pay their respects.

He confiscated the property of any freedman who tried to pass himself off as a knight, and reduced those who showed ingratitude or annoyed their patrons to slavery, telling the lawyers it was not acceptable to be suing one's own freedmen. But when certain individuals exposed their sick and worn-out slaves on the Island of *Aesculapius* [p. 410] (in the Tiber) rather than pay for their treatment, he decreed that the slaves were now free, and no longer obliged to return to their masters if they recovered, and that if anyone killed a sick slave to avoid this, he would be charged with murder.

Claudius decreed that travellers could only journey through the streets of an Italian town on foot, in a sedan-chair, or in a litter. He also stationed troops at *Puteoli* [p. 579] (Pozzuoli) and *Ostia* [p. 557] to deal with any fires that occurred.

Foreigners were forbidden from adopting the names of Roman families, and those who usurped the privileges of Roman citizenship were executed in the *Esquiline* [p. 490] Field.

He restored the provinces of Achaia and Macedonia to Senate control, reversing *Tiberius's* [p. 608] decision (of AD15). He deprived the *Lycians* [p. 534] of their independence (in 43AD) because of their internal feuding, and restored that of the *Rhodians* [p. 582] who had embraced reform. He allowed the *Trojans* [p. 614], as founders of the Roman people, exemption from tribute in perpetuity, and read an ancient letter written in Greek from the Senate and People of Rome to King *Seleucus* [p. 590] of Syria, promising him friendship and alliance if he left Rome's Trojan kin free of taxes.

Because the *Jews* [p. 512] constantly made trouble, which was instigated by *Chrestus* [p. 462], he expelled them from the City.

The German envoys, seeing that the *Parthian* [p. 562] and *Armenian* [p. 428] envoys were seated with the Senators in the orchestra of the theatre, promptly moved from their places among the commoners to join them, claiming their rank and merits were in no way inferior, and Claudius, taken with their naïve self-confidence, endorsed their action.

Augustus [p. 433] had prohibited Roman citizens in Gaul from participating in the savage and inhuman rites of the *Druids* [p. 486], but Claudius now banned the religion completely. However he attempted to transfer the *Eleusinian* [p. 460] rites to Rome from Attica, and restored the Temple of *Venus* [p. 619] Erycina in Sicily which had deteriorated through time, the cost being paid from the treasury. And he concluded treaties with foreign princes in the *Forum* [p. 497], sacrificing a sow, and using the ancient formula of the *Fetial* [p. 530] priests.

BOOK FIVE: XXVI HIS MARRIAGES

He was twice betrothed at an early age; firstly to *Aemilia* [p. 406] Lepida, great-granddaughter of *Augustus* [p. 433], the engagement being broken off (c8AD) because of her *parents* [p. 515]' disgrace, and the offence given to Augustus; and secondly to *Livia* [p. 529] Medullina, surnamed Camilla, descended from the ancient family of *Camillus* [p. 499] the dictator, though she died of illness on the very day that had been assigned for their wedding.

He subsequently married *Plautia* [p. 568] Urgulanilla whose father had been voted a triumph, but divorced her because of her scandalous behaviour, and suspicion of her involvement in murder. His second wife was an ex-consul's daughter, *Aelia* [p. 405] Paetina, whom he also divorced, though on more trivial grounds.

He then married (c38AD) Valeria *Messalina* [p. 616], the daughter of his cousin Valerius *Messala* [p. 617] Barbatus. But on learning that, among other vile and shameful actions, she had bigamously married Gaius *Silius* [p. 595], and a formal contract had been signed in the presence of witnesses, he had her put to death (in 48AD), telling the assembled Praetorian Guard that since his marriages had turned out badly he would remain a widower, and if he failed to keep his word they might kill him!

Nevertheless, he determined to marry again, even considering a re-marriage with Aelia Paetina whom he had divorced, or wedding *Lollia* [p. 531] Paulina, who had been *Caligula's* [p. 449] wife (38AD). But it was *Agrippina* [p. 413] the Younger, his brother *Germanicus's* [p. 503] daughter, who ensnared him, assisted by a niece's privilege of exchanging kisses and endearments. At the next Senate meeting, he primed a group of Senators to propose that he ought to marry Agrippina, as it was in the public interest, and that such marriages between uncle and niece should from then on be regarded as lawful, and no longer incestuous. He married her (AD49) with barely a day's delay, but only one freedman and one leading centurion married their respective nieces, to follow suit. Claudius himself, with Agrippina, attended the centurion's wedding.

BOOK FIVE: XXVII HIS CHILDREN

Claudius had children by three of his four wives.

Urgulanilla [p. 568] bore him *Drusus* [p. 486], and *Claudia* [p. 463]. Drusus died before he came of age, choked by a pear he had thrown in the air, in play, and caught in his mouth. This was only a few days after he had been betrothed to *Sejanus's* [p. 406] daughter, so it puzzles me that some claim Sejanus was involved in his death. Claudia was really the daughter of his freedman, *Boter* [p. 441], and though she was born within five months of Claudius's divorce from her mother, and he had begun to rear her, he disowned her, and had her set down naked at her mother's door.

By *Aelia* [p. 405] Paetina, Claudius had a daughter *Claudia Antonia* [p. 463] whom he gave in marriage to *Gnaeus Pompeius* [p. 574] Magnus, and later to *Faustus* [p. 599] Sulla, both men being of noble birth.

By *Messalina* [p. 616], he had a daughter *Octavia* [p. 554], whom he gave in marriage to his stepson *Nero* [p. 549] (in AD53) after she had previously been betrothed to *Silanus* [p. 521]; and a son Germanicus, later named *Britannicus* [p. 441] who was born on the twenty second day of his reign, in his second consulship. Claudius would often take little Britannicus in his arms, and holding him on his lap or at arm's length, commend him with auspicious gestures, to the troops, or the spectators at the Games, to great acclaim. Of his three sons-in-law, Claudius adopted only Nero. He not only declined to adopt Pompeius and Silanus, but ultimately was responsible for having them put to death.

BOOK FIVE: XXVIII HIS FREEDMEN

Among Claudius's freedmen, he had particular regard for *Posides* [p. 576] the eunuch, whom he awarded the headless spear at his British triumph, alongside those who had fought. He was as fond of *Felix* [p. 493], whom he placed in charge of infantry cohorts and cavalry squadrons, and made Procurator of Judaea. Felix was three times married to royalty. There was *Harpocras* [p. 505], also, who was granted the privilege of riding through the City in a litter, and mounting public entertainments.

Higher still was his regard for *Polybius* [p. 571], his literary researcher, who was often allowed to take his place in procession between the two consuls.

But his greatest devotion was to his secretary *Narcissus* [p. 547], and his treasurer *Pallas* [p. 560], whom he was pleased to honour by Senate decree, not only with immense wealth, but with insignia as quaestors and praestors also. He tolerated their acquisition of riches by fair means and foul, such that on complaining on one occasion about his lack of funds, he received the witty reply that he would have more than enough if only his two freedmen would take him into partnership.

BOOK FIVE: XXIX HIS MALLEABILITY

He was so easily manipulated, as I have said, by these freedmen, and by his wives, that he was more servant than prince, granting honours, army commands, punishments or pardons, according to their aims and wishes, or even simply their whims, for the most part blindly and unknowingly.

Ignoring the less important matters, such as his revoking grants he had made, cancelling decrees, and quietly substituting or openly amending letters he had written, he also served sentence of death on *Appius* [p. 520] Silanus, his father-in-law, and *Julia* [p. 516] Drusi the daughter of *Drusus* [p. 488] the Younger as well as *Julia* [p. 517] Livilla, daughter of his brother *Germanicus* [p. 503], in each case on unsupported charges and without benefit of defence. He also did away with *Gnaeus Pompeius* [p. 574], his elder daughter *Antonia's* [p. 463] husband, and *Lucius Silanus* [p. 521] who was betrothed to the younger, *Octavia* [p. 554]. Pompeius was stabbed to death in the presence of his favourite catamite, while Silanus was forced to relinquish his praetorship four days before the New Year, and take his own life on New Year's Day (AD49), the very same day on which Claudius married *Agrippina* [p. 413] the Younger.

Moreover he put thirty-five Senators to death, and more than three hundred Roman knights, with such a blatant lack of concern, that when a centurion reported the death sentence on an ex-consul as having been carried out, Claudius replied that he had given no such order, yet he approved the action when his freedmen maintained the soldiers had done their duty in hurrying to avenge their emperor, despite having no formal instruction to do so.

The idea however that he signed the marriage contract between *Messalina* [p. 616] and *Silius* [p. 595] her lover with his own hand is rather too much to credit. The claim is that he did so on being persuaded the marriage was really a sham, designed to avert some danger which threatened him, as had been inferred from certain portents, and transfer it elsewhere.

BOOK FIVE: XXX HIS APPEARANCE AND MANNERISMS

Claudius [p. 464] possessed a certain majesty and dignity as Emperor, best appreciated when he was reclining, but also when he stood still, or was seated, since he was tall, well-built, with attractive features, a fine head of white hair, and a firm neck. But he walked erratically, due to weakness in his knees, and had several disagreeable mannerisms, not only when relaxing but in his serious moments also. He had an unpleasant way of laughing, and when angered of slobbering and running at the nose, he stammered as well, and had a nervous tic of the head, at all times but especially when he exerted himself to any degree.

BOOK FIVE: XXXI HIS GENERAL HEALTH

Though his health before becoming Emperor was poor, it was excellent during his reign, except for severe attacks of stomach-ache which, he said, made him feel suicidal.

BOOK FIVE: XXXII HIS BANQUETS

His banquets were many and frequent, and magnificently presented, in large halls where six hundred or more guests could be entertained at a time. He held one on the day the *Fucine* [p. 498] Lake drainage outlet was opened, and so close to it that when the water rushed out the deluge nearly drowned him.

He always invited his children to dine with him, as well as the sons and daughters of distinguished men, seating them according to ancient custom on the pillowed ends of the couches.

On one occasion when a guest was suspected of having stolen a golden bowl the previous day, he invited him again on the following evening, but had an earthenware dish placed before him.

They say that he thought of issuing a decree to make it acceptable to break wind, quietly or even loudly at dinner, after hearing of someone so polite that he endangered his health by his restraint.

BOOK FIVE: XXXIII HIS HABITS

He was always hungry and thirsty, wherever he happened to be. One day, while judging a case in Augustus's *Forum* [p. 497], he smelt a meal being cooked for the priests of the *Salii* [p. 585] in the Temple of *Mars* [p. 538] nearby. He immediately left the tribunal, and joining the priests sat down to dinner.

He hardly ever left the table before his appetite and thirst were fully quenched; then he would lie down straight away, on his back with his mouth open, while a feather was put down his throat to make him vomit.

He slept in brief snatches, and seldom before midnight, sometimes nodding off during the daytime in court, and hard to rouse even though the lawyers raised their voices deliberately to wake him.

He had immoderate desires towards women, but was wholly disinterested in male partners. He was passionate about gambling, even publishing a book on the game of dice, and would play while being driven, on a specially rigged board in his carriage that prevented the dice once thrown being overturned.

BOOK FIVE: XXXIV HIS CRUEL NATURE

That he was cruel and bloodthirsty by nature is shown in matters great and small. Examination by torture, and punishment for parricides, were always carried out in his presence and without delay.

He was once at *Tibur* [p. 611] (Tivoli), and wished to see an execution carried out in the ancient way. The criminals had already been bound to the stake, but no executioner could be found with the necessary skills. He therefore sent for one from the City, and waited for his arrival until nightfall.

At gladiatorial shows, whether his own or staged by others, he decreed that those who fell accidentally should be killed, the net and trident men who were helmet-less in particular, since he enjoyed watching their faces as they died. If a pair of gladiators mortally wounded each other, he had pairs of knives made from their swords for his own use. He so delighted in the wild beast shows, and in matches arranged for midday, that after a morning

in the amphitheatre he would dismiss the audience, keep his seat, and not only watch the pre-arranged fights but would hastily improvise others for trivial reasons, even between carpenters and theatrical assistants and such, as punishment for the failure of any mechanical device or unsatisfactory stage effect. He even forced one of his pages into the arena, to fight just as he was, in his toga.

BOOK FIVE: XXXV HIS TIMIDITY AND INSECURITY

But he was chiefly noted for his timidity and insecurity. Though he made a show of civility early in his reign, as has been said, he never attended a banquet without an escort of lancers, and was waited on by soldiers rather than servants.

He never visited anyone who was ill without having the patient's room searched beforehand and the sheets and pillows turned and shaken. Later those who sought a morning audience were examined thoroughly, without exception. It was the end of his reign before he prevented women and children being handled impolitely in this way, or pen-cases and styluses carried by the caller's attendants and scribes being confiscated.

When *Furius Camillus* [p. 499] Scribonianus initiated his challenge to the status quo, he did so in the belief that Claudius could be frightened into resignation without resorting to conflict, and indeed when he demanded, in an impudent letter full of threats and insults, that Claudius relinquish the throne and retire to private life, Claudius called his advisors together and asked their views on whether he should comply.

BOOK FIVE: XXXVI HIS FEAR OF CONSPIRACY

Claudius was so terror-stricken by unfounded rumours of conspiracy that he attempted to abdicate. After the arrest I have mentioned, when the Emperor was attending a sacrifice, of a man with a knife, Claudius sent heralds to summon the Senate, and complained loudly and bitterly that nowhere was safe for him, and then refused to appear in public for days.

And his passionate love for *Messalina* [p. 616] cooled more through fear of danger than her flagrant and insulting behaviour since he was convinced her lover *Silius* [p. 595] had designs on power. When the crisis came, he fled, in shame and cowardice, to the Praetorian Camp, asking repeatedly if his rule was still secure.

BOOK FIVE: XXXVII THE FALL OF SILANUS

No suspicion was too slight; no author of it too trivial, for him to take precautions or seek revenge, once his mind grew at all uneasy.

On one occasion, one of two parties to a case, making a morning call, took Claudius aside and told him he had dreamed of the Emperor's assassination, and a little later, pointing out his opponent in the lawsuit as he handed in his petition, feigned to recognise the 'murderer'. The man was seized at once, as if caught red-handed, and hustled off to execution.

They say that Appius Junius *Silanus* [p. 520] met his downfall through a similar ruse. For once *Messalina* [p. 616] and *Narcissus* [p. 547] had agreed to destroy him, Narcissus played his part in the scheme by rushing distractedly into Claudius's bedroom before dawn, pretending to have dreamed that Appius had attacked the Emperor. Then Messalina, feigning amazement, claimed that she too had dreamed the same thing for several nights in succession. Appius had been summoned, the day before, to attend the Emperor at this very time, and now was reported to be trying to make his way to the Imperial quarters, a fact which was taken as proof positive of the dream's truth. Claudius immediately accused Appius of attempted murder and sentenced him to death. Next day Claudius told the Senate about the whole business, and thanked Narcissus, his freedman, for being preoccupied, even in his sleep, by his Emperor's safety.

BOOK FIVE: XXXVIII HIS SELF-AWARENESS

He was aware of his tendency to succumb to anger and resentment, and issued an edict seeking to excuse these faults while distinguishing between them, saying that his anger would always be brief and harmless, while his resentment would always possess just cause.

After reprimanding the citizens of *Ostia* [p. 557], for failing to send boats to meet him when he reached the mouth of the Tiber, and in bitter terms, saying they had treated him like some commoner, he suddenly forgave them, and all but apologised. But he banished a quaestor's clerk, unheard, and a Senator of praetorian rank, though both were innocent; the former simply for pleading a case too vigorously, before Claudius became Emperor; the latter because, as aedile, he had fined Claudius's estate tenants for breaking the law against selling cooked food, and whipped the bailiff, who objected. His resentment over this case, also led him to deprive the aediles of their role in regulating the cook-shops.

He spoke publicly, in a few brief speeches, about his own apparent foolishness too, claiming that he had feigned it deliberately under *Caligula* [p. 449], in order to survive and therefore achieve his present position. But no one was convinced, and a book soon appeared entitled 'The Rise of Fools' whose thesis was that no one pretended to be more foolish than they were.

BOOK FIVE: XXXIX HIS MENTAL ABSTRACTION

Among other traits, people were astonished by his *meteorica* and *ablepsia*, to use the Greek terms, that is his mental abstraction and blindness to what he was saying.

Shortly after ordering *Messalina's* [p. 616] execution (in AD48), he asked at the dinner table why she had not yet joined him. He likewise summoned many of those he had condemned to death to come next day and consult, or gamble, with him, and would send messengers to reprimand them for sleeping-in when they failed to appear.

When planning his illicit marriage to *Agrippina* [p. 413] the Younger (in 49AD) he constantly referred to her in speeches as his 'daughter' and 'foster-child' whom he had raised in his arms. And immediately before adopting *Nero* [p. 549] (in 50AD), in addition to the shame of adopting a stepson when he already had an adult son of his own he openly declared, on more than one occasion, that as yet no one had ever been adopted into the Claudian family.

BOOK FIVE: XL HIS INAPPROPRIATE REMARKS

In truth he often showed such inappropriateness in words and actions that it might be thought he neither knew nor cared when, where, with whom, or to whom, he was speaking.

Once during a debate in the Senate regarding butchers and wine-sellers, he called out: 'Now I ask you, who can get by without a snack now and then?' and continued by describing the wealth of taverns where he used to go and sup wine in the old days.

He supported a candidate for the quaestorship on a number of grounds one of which was that the man's father had once given him a drink of cold water when he was ill. And similarly, one day, he commented regarding a witness who came before the Senate that 'This woman was my mother's freedwoman and personal maid, but always regarded me as her patron. I mention this because even now there are those in my household who don't.'

On an occasion when the citizens of *Ostia* [p. 557] petitioned him in public, he lost his temper and shouted from the tribunal that he owed them no obligation, and that surely he was free to do what he wished, if anyone was.

In fact he was constantly making odd remarks, every hour and minute of the day, such as: 'What, do you take me for a *Telegenius* [p. 603]? Or 'Curse me, but keep your hands to yourself!' and the like, which would be inappropriate behaviour for a private citizen, let alone a ruler who was neither uncultured nor lacking in eloquence, but on the contrary had constantly devoted himself to the liberal arts.

BOOK FIVE: XLI HIS LITERARY WORKS

In his youth he began writing history, encouraged by *Livy* [p. 530] and assisted by *Sulpicius* [p. 600] Flavus. But when he gave his first large public reading he had difficulty carrying on with it, after one very fat member of the audience caused a howl of laughter at the start by accidentally breaking a number of benches as he sat down, and Claudius undermined his own performance by giggling continually at the memory even when the disturbance was long over.

As Emperor he continued work on his history, hosting frequent readings but employing instead a professional reader. He began the work with Julius *Caesar's* [p. 518] assassination, but on being taken to task over it by his mother *Antonia* [p. 420] and his grandmother *Octavia* [p. 554], and realising that he would not be allowed to give a true and open account of the period, he made a fresh start with later times and the end of the Civil War. He completed only two books of the earlier work, but forty-one of the latter.

He also wrote an autobiography in eight books, which is more deficient in good taste than in style, as well as a defence of *Cicero* [p. 614] against the writings of *Asinius* [p. 430] Gallus, a work of no little learning.

Claudius added three additional letters of his own invention to the Latin alphabet, maintaining that there was a dire need of them, and having published a work on the subject as a private citizen, was able to initiate their general use as Emperor. These characters can be seen in many books of the period, the official gazette, and inscriptions on public buildings.

BOOK FIVE: XLII HIS GREEK STUDIES

He gave no less attention to Greek studies, professing his regard for the language and claiming its superiority at every opportunity. When a foreigner addressed him in Greek as well as Latin, he commented: 'Since you come armed with both our tongues...', and while commending the province of Achaia to the Senators, he declared that Greece was dear to him because of their mutual devotion to like studies. He would often make his Senate reply to Greek envoys with a prepared speech in their own language. And he often quoted lines from *Homer* [p. 508] when speaking, as well as giving the tribune of the guard this line of verse as password, whenever he had punished a conspirator or a personal enemy:

'...defend with vigour, against whoever attacks first.'

Lastly, he wrote complete works in Greek: twenty volumes of *Etruscan* [p. 491] history, and eight of *Carthaginian* [p. 455]. A new Claudian wing was added, in his name, to the old Museum at *Alexandria* [p. 416], with his Etruscan history read aloud from beginning to end annually in the old, and the Carthaginian in the new, various readers being employed in turn, as is the way with public recitations.

BOOK FIVE: XLIII HIS REGRET AT ADOPTING NERO

Towards the end of his life Claudius clearly appeared to regret his marriage to *Agrippina* [p. 413] the Younger, and his adoption of *Nero* [p. 549]. On one occasion, when his freedmen expressed their approval of a trial the previous day, in which he had condemned a woman for adultery, he said it was his fate also to have found the married always unchaste but never unpunished; and meeting *Britannicus* [p. 441] soon afterwards, he hugged him closely and urged him to grow up quickly when he would receive an explanation of all his father's actions, adding in Greek: 'Who dealt the wound will heal it.' And declaring his intention of granting Britannicus the toga, since he was of a height to wear it, though still young and immature, he added: 'So Rome may at last have a real Caesar.'

BOOK FIVE: XLIV HIS DEATH

Not long afterwards he made his will, and had all the magistrates seal it, as witnesses. But before he could take any further action, he was prevented from doing so by *Agrippina* [p. 413] who now stood accused of many crimes by the testimony of informers, and not merely by that of her own conscience.

It is the common belief that Claudius was poisoned, but when and by whom is the subject of dispute. Some say his official taster, *Halotus* [p. 505] the eunuch, administered the poison, while Claudius was dining with the priests in the *Citadel* [p. 453]; others claim that Agrippina did so herself at a family meal, adding it to a dish of mushrooms of which he was inordinately fond.

Reports also vary as to what ensued. Many say that he lost the power of speech after swallowing the poison, and died just before dawn after a night of excruciating pain. Some maintain however that he first fell into stupor, then vomited up the entire contents of his over-full stomach, and was then poisoned a second time, either in a bowl of gruel, the excuse being that he needed food to revive him after his prostration, or by means of an enema, as if his bowels too needed relieving.

BOOK FIVE: XLV THE AFTERMATH

The fact of his death was concealed until all the arrangements had been made to secure *Nero's* [p. 549] succession. Vows were offered for Claudius's recovery, as if he was still ill, and the farce was maintained by summoning a troop of comic actors, under the pretence that he had requested such entertainment.

He died on the 13th October AD54 during the consulship of *Asinius* [p. 430] *Marcellus* and *Acilius* [p. 404] *Aviola*, in his sixty-fourth year, and the fourteenth of his reign. He was buried in a princely manner and officially deified, an honour which Nero ignored and ultimately annulled, but which was restored to him by *Vespasian* [p. 620].

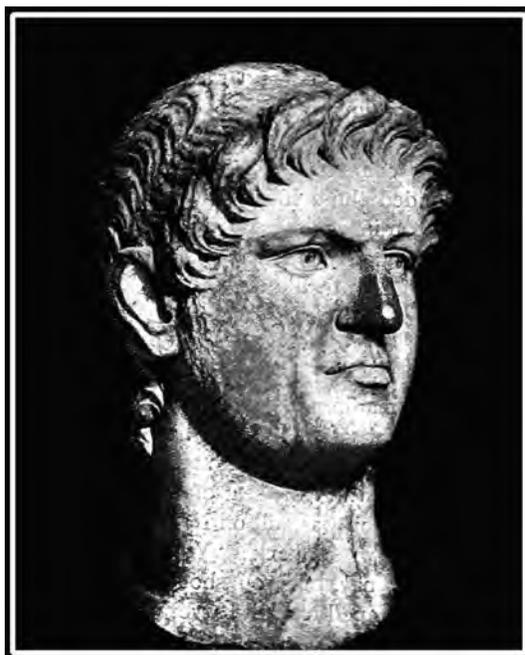
BOOK FIVE: XLVI OMENS OF HIS DEATH

The main omens of Claudius's death were the appearance of a comet with trailing tail; a bolt of lightning which struck his father *Drusus's* [p. 487] tomb; and an unusual mortality rate among the magistrates that year.

There were also signs that he himself was not unaware of imminent death, and made no secret of the fact. When appointing the consuls, he provided for no appointment after the month in which he died, and in his final attendance at the Senate, after exhorting his two sons earnestly to live at peace together, he begged the Senators to watch over both of them during their youth.

On his last tribunal appearance, he declared more than once that he had attained his mortal end, though all who heard him deprecated the thought.

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Book Six: Nero



BOOK SIX: I THE DOMITIAN FAMILY

Of the Domitian family, two branches acquired distinction, namely the Calvini and the Ahenobarbi. The founder of the Ahenobarbi, who first bore their surname, was Lucius *Domitius* ^[p. 484], who was returning from the country one day, so they say, when a pair of youthful godlike *twins* ^[p. 570] appeared and told him to carry tidings of victory (at Lake Regillus, c498BC) to Rome, news that would be welcome in the City. As a sign of their divinity, they are said to have stroked his face and turned his beard from black to the colour of reddish bronze. This sign was inherited by his male descendants, the majority of whom had red beards.

Attaining seven consulships, a triumph and two censorships, and enrolment among the patricians, they continued to employ the same surname, while restricting their forenames to Gnaeus and Lucius, use of which they varied in a particular manner, sometimes conferring the same forename on three members of the family in succession, sometimes varying them in turn. So, we are told that the first three Ahenobarbi were named Lucius, the next three Gnaeus, while those that followed were named Lucius and Gnaeus alternately.

I think it useful to give an account of several notable members of the family, to illustrate more clearly that *Nero* [p. 549] perpetuated their separate vices, as if these were inborn and bequeathed to him, while failing to exhibit their virtues.

BOOK SIX: II NERO'S ANCESTORS

So, beginning quite far back, Gnaeus Domitius, Nero's great-great-grandfather, when tribune of the commons (in 104BC) was angered with the College of Priests and transferred the right to fill vacancies to the people, after the College failed to appoint him as successor to his father, also named *Gnaeus* [p. 483]. His father it was who during his consulship (in 122BC) had defeated the *Allobroges* [p. 417] and the *Arverni* [p. 429], and ridden through the province on an elephant, surrounded by his troops, in a kind of triumphal procession. The orator *Licinius* [p. 526] Crassus said of the son that his bronze beard was hardly surprising considering that he had a face of iron and a heart of lead.

His son in turn, Nero's great-great-grandfather, *Lucius* [p. 485] Domitius Ahenobarbus while praetor (in 58BC), summoned *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar before the Senate at the close of his consulship on suspicion that the auspices and laws had been defied under his administration. Later in his own consulship (54BC) he tried to remove Caesar from his command of the troops in Gaul, and was named successor to Caesar by his own party. At the beginning of the Civil War he was taken prisoner at *Corfinium* [p. 471] (in 49BC). Given his freedom, he heartened the people of *Massilia* [p. 539] (Marseille), who were under heavy siege, by his presence, but abruptly abandoned them, falling a year later at *Pharsalus* [p. 566]. Lucius was irresolute, but with a violent temper. He once tried to poison himself in a fit of despair, but was terrified by the thought of death and vomited the dose, which his physician, knowing his master's disposition, had ensured was not fatal. Lucius gave the man his freedom as a reward. When *Pompey* [p. 573] raised the question of how neutrals should be treated, Lucius was alone in classifying those who had sided with neither party as enemies.

BOOK SIX: III NERO'S GREAT-GRANDFATHER

Lucius [p. 485] left a son *Gnaeus* [p. 484], who was without question the best of the family. Though not one of *Caesar's* [p. 518] assassins, he was implicated in the conspiracy and condemned to death under the *Pedian* [p. 564] Law (in 43BC). He therefore fled to join *Brutus* [p. 444] and *Cassius* [p. 456], his close relatives. After the death of the two leaders, he kept command of the fleet and augmented it, only surrendering it to *Mark* [p. 422] Antony after the rest of his party had been routed, and then of his own free will as if conferring a favour. He was the only person condemned under the Pedian Law who was allowed to return home, successively holding the highest offices.

When the Civil War was renewed (in 32BC), he was appointed one of Antony's commanders, and offered the supreme command by those who found *Cleopatra* [p. 468] an embarrassment, but a sudden illness inhibited him from accepting it, though he never positively refused. He transferred his allegiance to *Augustus* [p. 433], but died a few days later (31BC). His reputation was tarnished further by Antony's declaration that Gnaeus had only changed sides to be with his mistress, *Servilia* [p. 592] Nais.

BOOK SIX: IV NERO'S GRANDFATHER

Gnaeus [p. 484] was the father of that *Lucius* [p. 485] Domitius who later became well-known as *Augustus's* [p. 433] executor, and was named in his will as the (symbolic) purchaser of his household goods and other assets. He was equally famous in his youth as a charioteer and later for winning triumphal insignia in the German campaign. However he was arrogant, extravagant and cruel.

When he was only an aedile, he ordered *Munatius Plancus* [p. 545] the Censor (in 22BC) to make way for him in the street. While holding the offices of praetor and consul (in 16BC) he encouraged Roman knights and married women to act in a farce on stage. The inhuman cruelty exhibited in the bear-baiting shows he staged, both in the Circus and all over the City, and in a gladiatorial show he mounted, led to a private warning from Augustus which was disregarded, and ultimately therefore a restraining order against him.

BOOK SIX: V NERO'S FATHER

Lucius [p. 485] had a son *Gnaeus Domitius* [p. 484] by *Antonia* [p. 420] the Elder. This was Nero's father, a detestable man in every way.

When he served in the East under the young *Gaius* [p. 446] Caesar (in 1BC), he murdered one of his own freedmen simply for refusing to drink as much as he was ordered. Dismissed in consequence from Gaius's staff, he lived no less lawlessly. For example, while driving through a village on the Appian Way he deliberately whipped up his team, ran over a boy, and killed him. And in the Forum he gouged a Roman knight's eye out because he criticised him too freely.

He was dishonest too. He not only cheated some financiers over payment for goods he had purchased, but during his praetorship he defrauded the victorious charioteers of their prizes. When his elder sister *Domitia* [p. 482] made this a subject for scornful mockery of him, and the managers of the chariot teams complained, he issued an (ironic) edict declaring that in future the value of prizes should be paid on the spot.

Shortly before *Tiberius* [p. 608] died, Domitius was charged with treason, adultery and incest with his younger sister *Lepida* [p. 482], but was saved by the transfer of power. He died of oedema at *Pyrgi* [p. 579] (in 40AD), after formally acknowledging his paternity of Nero, his son by *Germanicus's* [p. 503] daughter *Agrippina* [p. 413] the Younger.

BOOK SIX: VI NERO'S BIRTH AND INFANCY

Nero was born nine months after the death of *Tiberius* [p. 608], at *Antium* [p. 420], at sunrise on the 15th of December AD37. The sun's rays therefore touched the child even before he could be set on the ground.

His horoscope occasioned many ominous predictions, and a remembered comment of his father's was also regarded as a prophecy. *Domitius* [p. 484] had said that nothing born of *Agrippina* [p. 413] and himself could be anything but detestable and a public evil. Another clear indication of future misfortune occurred on the day of Nero's purification ceremony. When *Caligula* [p. 449] was asked by his sister to name the child, he glanced at his uncle *Claudius* [p. 464], emperor to be, and in due course Nero's adoptive

father, and said, as a joke, that Claudius was the name he chose. Agrippina scornfully rejected the proposal, Claudius being at that time the butt of the whole Court.

When he was three his father died (in 40AD), leaving him a third of his estate, though he failed to receive this, because Caligula his co-heir seized the whole. His mother was banished, and Nero was raised in his aunt *Lepida's* [p. 482] house, and subject to a degree of personal deprivation, his tutors being a dancer and a barber! But on Claudius becoming Emperor (in AD41), Nero not only found his inheritance restored, but also received a bequest from his stepfather, *Passienus* [p. 563] Crispus.

Now that his mother had been recalled from banishment and reinstated, Nero acquired such prominence due to her influence that it later transpired that *Messalina* [p. 616], Claudius's wife, viewing him as a rival to *Britannicus* [p. 441], had despatched her agents to strangle him while he was taking a midday nap. An elaboration of this piece of gossip is that the would-be assassins were only deterred by a snake which darted from under his pillow. The sole foundation for this tale was simply a snake's sloughed skin found in his bed near the pillow, nevertheless at his mother's prompting he had the skin encased in a gold bracelet, which he wore for a long time on his right arm. Later when everything reminding him of his mother was hateful to him, he threw it away, only to search for it in vain at the end.

BOOK SIX: VII HIS BOYHOOD AND YOUTH

While he was still a young stripling he took part in a successful performance of the *Troy* [p. 409] Game in the Circus, in which he exhibited great self-possession. At the age of twelve or so (sometime in AD50), he was adopted by *Claudius* [p. 464], who appointed Annaeus *Seneca* [p. 591], already a member of the Senate, as his tutor. The following night, it is said, Seneca dreamed that his young charge was really *Caligula* [p. 449], and Nero soon proved the dream prophetic by seizing the first opportunity to reveal his cruel disposition. Simply because his adoptive brother, *Britannicus* [p. 441], continued to address him as 'Ahenobarbus', he tried to convince Claudius that Britannicus was a changeling. And when his aunt *Lepida* [p. 482] was on trial, he gave public testimony against her to please his mother *Agrippina* [p. 413] who was doing everything possible to destroy her.

At his first introduction to the populace in the Forum, he announced the distribution of monetary gifts to the people, with cash bonuses for the army, and headed a ceremonial display by the Praetorian Guard, shield in hand, before giving a speech of thanks to Claudius in the Senate. While Claudius was consul (in AD51) Nero presented two pleas before him, the first delivered in Latin on behalf of the citizens of *Bononia* [p. 440] (Bologna), the second in Greek on behalf of those of *Rhodes* [p. 582] and *Troy* [p. 614].

His first appearance as judge was as City Prefect during the *Latin* [p. 524] Festival, when the most eminent lawyers brought cases of the greatest significance before him, not just the customary batch of trivial ones, despite the fact that Claudius had explicitly forbidden them to do so.

Shortly afterwards, he married Claudia *Octavia* [p. 554] (in AD53) and held Games and a wild-beast show in the Circus, dedicating them to the good-health of his new father-in-law Claudius.

BOOK SIX: VIII HIS ACCESSION TO POWER

After *Claudius's* [p. 464] death (AD54) had been announced publicly, Nero, who was not quite seventeen years old, decided to address the Guards in the late afternoon, since inauspicious omens that day had ruled out an earlier appearance. After being acclaimed Emperor on the Palace steps, he was carried in a litter to the Praetorian Camp where he spoke to the Guards, and then to the House where he stayed until evening. He refused only one of the many honours that were heaped upon him, that of 'Father of the Country', and declined that simply on account of his youth.

BOOK SIX: IX HIS DISPLAY OF FILIAL PIETY

He began his reign with a display of filial piety, giving *Claudius* [p. 464] a lavish funeral, speaking the eulogy, and announcing the deceased Emperor's deification.

He showed the greatest respect for the memory of his natural father *Domitius* [p. 484], while leaving the management of all private and public affairs to his mother *Agrippina* [p. 413]. Indeed on the first day of his reign he gave

the Guard's colonel on duty the password 'Best of Mothers', and subsequently he often rode with her through the streets in her litter.

Nero founded a colony at *Antium* [p. 420], his birthplace, of Praetorian Guard veterans along with the wealthiest of the leading centurions whom he compelled to relocate, and he also built a harbour there at vast expense.

BOOK SIX: X HIS INITIAL BENEVOLENT INTENTIONS

He made his good intentions ever more apparent by announcing that he would rule according to the principles of the Emperor *Augustus* [p. 433], and seized every opportunity to show generosity or compassion, and display his affability.

He eased or abolished the more burdensome taxes; reduced by three-quarters the bounty paid to informers for reporting breaches of the *Papian* [p. 433] law; distributed forty gold pieces to every commoner; granted the most distinguished Senators lacking means an annual stipend, as much as five thousand gold pieces in some cases; and granted the Guards' cohorts a free monthly allowance of grain.

When asked to sign the customary death-warrant for a prisoner condemned to execution, he commented: 'How I wish I had never learnt to write!'

He greeted men of all ranks by name, from memory. When the Senate asked him to accept their thanks he replied: 'When I have deserved them.'

He allowed even commoners to watch his exercises in the *Campus* [p. 452], and often declaimed in public, reading his poetry too, not only at home but in the theatre, prompting a public thanksgiving voted to him for his delightful recital, while the text he had given was inscribed in gold letters and dedicated to Capitoline *Jupiter* [p. 521].

BOOK SIX: XI CHARIOT RACES AND THEATRICALS

He gave many entertainments of varying kinds, including the *Juvenales*, or Coming-of-Age celebrations, in which even old men of consular rank and old ladies took part; chariot races in the Circus; theatricals; and a gladiatorial show.

At the Games in the Circus he reserved special seats for the knights, and raced four-camel chariots. A well-known knight rode down a tight-rope while mounted on an elephant.

At the *Ludi Maximi*, the name he decreed for a series of plays dedicated to 'The Eternity of Empire' men and women of both Orders took part. The actors in a play called 'The Fire' by *Afranius* [p. 410] were allowed to keep the furniture they carried from the burning house. Gifts were granted daily to the audience, including a thousand birds of every species on each occasion, various foodstuffs, as well as tokens and vouchers for clothing, gold and silver, gems and pearls, paintings, slaves, beasts of burden, wild animals that had been trained, and even ships, blocks of apartments, and whole farms. Nero watched these plays from the top of the proscenium.

BOOK SIX: XII SHOWS AND CONTESTS

The gladiatorial show was mounted in a wooden amphitheatre, built inside a year, on the *Campus* [p. 452] Martius (in AD58). None of the participants was put to death, not even the criminals, but four hundred Senators and six hundred knights, some being very wealthy yet of unquestionable virtue, were forced to fight in the arena. And the two Orders also had to participate in the wild beast contests, and perform the necessary tasks in the arena.

He staged a naval battle too, with sea monsters swimming in a lake of saltwater; accompanied by *Pyrrhic* [p. 579] dances. These were executed by Greek youths to whom he gave certificates of Roman citizenship at the end of their performance. The dances represented mythological scenes. In one *Pasiphae* [p. 563], hidden in a heifer made of wood, was mounted by the bull, or at least to many spectators it appeared so. In another, *Icarus* [p. 510] while attempting flight fell close by the Imperial couch, spattering the Emperor with blood. Nero avoided presiding, but would view the Games, while reclining on this same couch, at first through curtained openings, but later with the entire podium uncovered.

He also started (in AD60) a five-yearly festival in the Greek-style, comprising, that is, performances to music, gymnastics and horse-riding. He

called this the *Neronia*. At the same time he opened his baths and gymnasium, and provided free oil for the knights and Senators. He appointed ex-consuls chosen by lot to judge and preside, who occupied the praetors' seats.

He received the prize for Latin oratory and verse, himself, which was unanimously awarded to him by all the contestants, comprising the most renowned orators and poets, descending into the orchestra, among the Senators, to accept it. But on being offered the laurel-wreath for lyre-playing by the judges, he bowed before it and ordered it to be laid at the feet of *Augustus's* [p. 433] statue.

He held the gymnastics contest in the Enclosure (*Saepta*), shaving off his first beard while a splendid sacrifice of bullocks was made, and enclosing the shaved-off hair in a gold box adorned with priceless pearls, later dedicating it on the Capitol. He also invited the *Vestal* [p. 621] Virgins to view the athletic contests since the Priestesses of Demeter-*Ceres* [p. 460] were granted the same privilege at *Olympia* [p. 556].

BOOK SIX: XIII THE ENTRANCE OF TIRIDATES

The entrance of *Tiridates* [p. 612], King of *Armenia* [p. 428], to the City (in AD66) ought rightly to be included in the list of Nero's spectacular events. The king had been lured to Rome with extravagant promises, while poor weather prevented him being shown to the people on the day proclaimed. However at the first decent opportunity, Nero produced him. The Emperor was seated in a curule chair on the Rostra dressed as a triumphant general, and surrounded by military ensigns and standards, the Forum being filled with Praetorian Guards drawn up in full armour in front of the various temples.

Tiridates approached up a sloping ramp, and Nero allowed him first to fall at his feet, then raised him with his right hand and kissed him. As the king made his supplication, and a translator of praetorian rank proclaimed his words in Latin to the crowd, Nero took the turban from the king's head and crowned him with a diadem. Tiridates was then led to Pompey's Theatre, and when he had made further supplication Nero seated him on his right. The people then hailed Nero as 'Imperator', and after dedicating a

triumphal laurel wreath on the Capitol he had the double doors of the Temple of *Janus*^[p. 512] closed, to signify that the Empire was at peace.

BOOK SIX: XIV HIS FIRST FOUR CONSULSHIPS

Of his first four consulships, the initial one was for two months, the second and fourth for six months each, and the third for four months. The second and third were in successive years (in AD57 and 58), while a year intervened between these and the first and last (in AD55 and 60).

BOOK SIX: XV HIS ADMINISTRATION OF AFFAIRS

In matters of justice, he was reluctant to give his decision on the case presented until the following day, and then in writing. Instead of the prosecution and defence presenting their pleas as a whole, he insisted on each point being separately presented by the two sides in turn. And on withdrawing for consultation, he would not discuss the case with his advisors in a body, but made each of them give his opinion in writing. He read the submissions alone in silence, and then delivered his own verdict as if it were the majority view.

For a long while he excluded the sons of freedmen from the Senate, and refused office to those whom his predecessors had admitted. Candidates for whom there was no vacancy won command of a legion as compensation for the postponement and delay.

He usually appointed consuls for a six-month period. When one died just before New Year, he left the post vacant, commenting with disapproval on the old instance of *Caninius* ^[p. 452] Rebilus who was made consul for a day.

He conferred triumphal regalia on men of quaestor rank as well as knights, and occasionally for other than military service. Regarding the speeches he sent to the Senate on various subjects, he usually had them presented by one of the consuls, and not the quaestors whose duty it was to read them.

BOOK SIX: XVI HIS PUBLIC WORKS AND LEGISLATION

Nero introduced a new design for City buildings, with porches added to houses and apartment blocks, from the flat roofs of which fires could be fought. These he had erected at his own cost.

He laid down plans to extend Rome's walls as far as *Ostia* [p. 557], and to excavate a sea-canal from there to the City.

Many abuses were punished severely, or repressed during his reign, under a spate of new laws: limits were set to private expenditure; public banquets were replaced by a simple distribution of food; and the sale of cooked food in wine-shops was limited to vegetables and beans, instead of the wide range of delicacies available previously.

Punishment was meted out to the *Christians* [p. 461] (from AD64), a group of individuals given over to a new and harmful set of superstitions.

Nero ended the licence which the charioteers had enjoyed, ranging the streets and amusing themselves by robbing and swindling the populace, while claiming a long-standing right to immunity. He also expelled the pantomime actors and their like from the City.

BOOK SIX: XVII ACTIONS TO COMBAT FORGERY AND CORRUPTION

During his reign various measures to combat forgery were first devised. Signed tablets had to have holes bored in them, and were thrice threaded with a cord (and sealed, concealing an inner copy). In the case of wills, the first two leaves were to be signed by the witnesses while still displaying no more than the testator's name, and no one writing a will was allowed to include himself among the legatees.

Clients were again allowed to pay lawyers a fixed but reasonable fee for their services, but seats in court were to be provided free of charge by the public Treasury.

And as regards pleas, those to do with the Treasury were to be heard by an arbitration board in the Forum, with any appeal against the verdict to be made to the Senate.

BOOK SIX: XVIII HIS LACK OF IMPERIAL AMBITION

Far from being driven by any desire or expectation of increasing and extending the Empire, he even considered withdrawing the army from *Britain* [p. 442], and changed his mind only because he was ashamed of appearing to belittle his adoptive father *Claudius's* [p. 464] achievement.

He only added the realm of *Pontus* [p. 575] to the list of provinces, on the abdication of *Polemon* [p. 570] II (in AD62) and that of *Cottius* [p. 476] II in the Alps when that chieftain died.

BOOK SIX: XIX HIS PLANNED FOREIGN TOURS AND EXPEDITION

Nero planned two foreign trips.

His trip to *Alexandria* [p. 416] he abandoned on the day he was due to set out, as the result of a threatening portent. While making a farewell round of the temples, he seated himself in the Temple of *Vesta* [p. 621], but on attempting to leave his robe was caught, and then his eyes were filled with darkness so that he could not see.

His trip to Greece (in 67AD) involved an attempt to cut a canal through the *Isthmus* [p. 511]. The Guards were summoned and instructed to begin work after a trumpet call was sounded, at which he would break the ground with a mattock, and carry off the first basketful of soil on his shoulders.

He also prepared an expedition to the *Caspian* [p. 415] Gates, enrolling a new legion of Italian-born recruits, all nearly six foot tall, whom he called 'The Phalanx of *Alexander* [p. 415] the Great'.

I have compiled this description of Nero's actions, some of which merit no criticism, others of which even deserve slight praise, to separate them from his foolish and criminal deeds, of which I shall now give an account.

BOOK SIX: XX HIS MUSICAL EDUCATION AND DEBUT IN NAPLES

Having acquired some grounding in music during his early education, he sent for *Terpnus* [p. 604], on his accession, who was the greatest lyre-player of the day, and after hearing him sing after dinner for many nights in succession till a very late hour, Nero began to practise himself, gradually undertaking all the usual exercises that singers follow to strengthen and develop the voice. He would lie on his back clasping a lead plate to his chest, purge himself by vomiting and enemas, and deny himself fruit and other foods injurious to the voice.

Encouraged by his own progress, though his singing was feeble and hoarse, he soon longed to appear on the stage, and now and then would quote the Greek proverb to close friends: 'Music made secretly wins no respect.'

He made his debut at *Naples* [p. 547], where he sang his piece through to the end despite the theatre being shaken by an earth tremor. He often sang in that city, for several days in succession. Even when he took time out to rest his voice he could not stay out of sight, visiting the theatre after bathing, and dining in the orchestra, where he promised the crowd in Greek that when he had 'oiled his throat' a little he would give them something to make their ears ring.

He was thrilled too by the rhythmic clapping of a group of *Alexandrians* [p. 416], from the fleet which had just put in, and sent to Alexandria for more such supporters. Not content with that, he chose some young men from the Equestrian Order along with five thousand energetic young commoners who were divided into three separate groups, known as the 'Bees', 'Tiles' and 'Bricks', to learn the various styles of Alexandrian acclaim and employ them vigorously whenever he sang. They were easy to recognise by their bushy hair, splendid clothes, and the lack of rings on their left hands. Their leaders were paid four hundred gold pieces apiece.

BOOK SIX: XXI HIS DEBUT IN ROME

Considering it vital to debut in Rome as well, he held the *Neronia* again before the five-year date. A universal plea from the crowd to hear his celestial voice received the reply that if anyone wished to hear him he would perform later in the Palace gardens, but when the Guards on duty added their weight to the appeal, he happily agreed to oblige there and then. He immediately added his name to the list of entrants for the lyre-playing, and cast his lot into the urn with the rest. When his turn came round he appeared, accompanied by the Guards commanders carrying his lyre, and followed by a group of colonels and close friends. After taking his place on stage and giving the usual introduction he announced via the ex-consul *Cluvius* [p. 470] Rufus that he would sing 'Niobe', which he did, until early evening, deferring the prize-giving for the event and postponing the rest of the contest until the following year, to provide another opportunity for singing.

But since that seemed to him too long to wait, he continued to perform in public from time to time. He even considered taking part in the public shows given by magistrates, after receiving an offer of ten thousand gold pieces from a praetor if he would agree to perform opposite the professional singers.

Nero also sang in tragedies, assuming the part of a hero or god, even on occasions of a heroine or goddess, wearing a mask modelled on his own features or, for the female parts, on the features of whatever woman he happened to be enamoured of at the time. Among his *performances* [p. 549] were 'Canace in Childbirth', 'Orestes the Matricide', 'Oedipus Blinded', and 'The Crazy Hercules'. During his performance as Hercules, or so the tale goes, a young recruit guarding the entrance seeing his Emperor in ragged clothes and weighed down with chains as the part demanded, dashed forward to lend him aid.

BOOK SIX: XXII CHARIOT-RACING AND THE TRIP TO GREECE

Nero was interested in horsemanship from an early age, and could not be prevented from chattering endlessly about the races in the Circus. On one occasion when his tutor scolded him for bemoaning, to his fellow pupils, the fate of a charioteer of the Green faction who had been dragged behind his horses, he claimed untruthfully that he had been talking about *Hector* [p. 506].

At the start of his reign he used to play with ivory chariots on a board, and came up from the country to attend the Games, however insignificant they might be, in secret at first and then so openly that everyone knew he would be in Rome that day.

He made his longing for extra races so clear that prizes were added until events lasted so late in the day that the managers of the various factions fielded their teams of drivers in expectation of a full day's racing.

He soon set his heart on driving a chariot himself, and even competing regularly, so that after a trial run in the Palace gardens with an audience of slaves and idlers, he made his public appearance in the Circus, one of his freedmen dropping the napkin to start the race from the seat usually occupied by a magistrate.

Not satisfied with demonstrating his skills in Rome, he took a trip to Greece (in 67AD), as I have said, influenced primarily by the fact that the cities holding music contests had started awarding him all their prizes for lyre-playing. He was delighted by these, and would not only give precedence to the Greek delegates at his audiences, but would also invite them to dine with him in private. They begged him to perform after dinner and greeted his singing with such wild applause that he used to say that the Greeks alone had an ear for music, and were worthy of his efforts.

So he did not hesitate to set sail, and once arrived at *Cassiope* [p. 456] (Kassiopi on Corfu) he made his Greek debut as a singer at the altar of *Jupiter* [p. 521] Cassius, before making a round of the contests held by various cities.

BOOK SIX: XXIII HIS ANXIETY WHEN COMPETING

In order to achieve this he ordered that the various contests, though normally held at different intervals, should all be staged in his presence, even forcing some to be repeated that year. He also introduced a music competition at *Olympia* [p. 556] contrary to normal practice. He refused to be distracted or hindered in any way while preoccupied with these contests, and when his freedman *Helius* [p. 506] reminded him that Imperial affairs required his presence in Rome he answered: 'Advise a swift return if you wish: but better to hope and advise I return having done justice to Nero.'

While he was singing no one could leave the theatre however urgent the need, forcing women to give birth there, or so they say. Many spectators, wearied with listening and applauding, furtively dropped from the wall at the back, since the doors were closed, or pretended to die and have themselves carried off for burial.

His nervousness and anxiety when he took part, his acute competitiveness where rivals were concerned, and his awe of the judges, were scarcely credible. He would treat the other contestants with respect almost as if they were equals, and try to curry favour with them, while abusing them behind their backs, and occasionally to their faces if he encountered them elsewhere, even offering bribes to those who were particularly skilled to encourage them to perform badly.

Before he began his performance he would address the judges with the utmost deference, saying that he had prepared as well as he could, and that the outcome was in the hands of Fortune, but that they were equipped with the knowledge and experience to ignore the effects of chance. When they had reassured him, he would take his place with greater equanimity, but not without a degree of anxiety even then, interpreting the diffidence and taciturnity of some as severity and malevolence, and declaring that he was doubtful of their intentions.

BOOK SIX: XXIV HIS BEHAVIOUR IN COMPETITION

He observed the rules scrupulously while competing, not daring to clear his throat, and wiping sweat from his brow only with his bare arm. Once, while

acting in a tragedy, he dropped his sceptre and quickly recovered it, but was terrified of being disqualified as a result, and his confidence was only restored when his accompanist whispered that the slip had passed unnoticed amidst the delight and acclamation of the audience. He took it upon himself to announce his own victories, and so always took part in the competition to select the heralds.

To erase the record of previous victors in the contest, and suppress their memory, he ordered all their busts and statues to be toppled, dragged away with hooks and thrown into the sewers.

At many events he also raced a chariot, driving a ten-horse team at *Olympia* [p. 556], although he had criticised *Mithridates* [p. 543] in one of his own poems for doing just that, though after being thrown from the chariot and helped back in, he was too shaken to stay the course, though he won the crown just the same. Before his departure, on the day of the *Isthmian* [p. 511] Games, he himself announced, from the midst of the stadium, that he granted the whole province of Achaia the freedom of self-government, and all the judges Roman citizenship plus a large gratuity.

BOOK SIX: XXV RETURN FROM GREECE

Returning to Italy, Nero landed at *Naples* [p. 547], since he had made his first stage appearance there. He had part of the city wall levelled, as is the custom for welcoming back victors in the sacred Games, and rode through behind a team of white horses. He made a similar entry to *Antium* [p. 420] (Anzio), *Albanum* [p. 415] (Albano Laziale), and finally Rome.

At Rome he rode in the same chariot that *Augustus* [p. 433] had used for his triumphs in former times, and wore a purple robe, and a Greek cloak decorated with gold stars. He was crowned with an *Olympic* [p. 556] wreath, and carried a *Pythian* [p. 425] wreath in his right hand, while the other wreaths he had won were borne before him inscribed with details of the various contests and competitors, the titles of the songs he had sung, and the subjects of the plays in which he had acted. His chariot was followed by his band of hired applauders as if they were the escort to a triumphal procession, shouting as they went that they were the companions of Augustus, and his victorious troops. He progressed through the *Circus* [p. 463],

the entrance arch having been demolished, then via the *Velabrum* [p. 618] and *Forum* [p. 497] to the Palatine Temple of *Apollo* [p. 425]. Sacrificial offerings were made all along the route and the streets were sprinkled with fragrances, while song-birds were released, and ribbons and sweetmeats showered on him.

He scattered the sacred wreaths around the couches in his sleeping quarters, and set up statues of himself playing the lyre. He also ordered a coin to be struck bearing the same device. Far from neglecting or moderating his practice of the art thereafter, he would address his troops by letter or have his speeches delivered by someone else, to preserve his voice. And he never carried out anything in the way of business or entertainment without his elocutionist beside him, telling him to spare his vocal chords, and proffering a handkerchief with which to protect his mouth.

He offered his friendship to, or declared his hostility towards, hosts of people depending on how generous or grudging towards him they had shown themselves by their applause.

BOOK SIX: XXVI HIS EVIL NATURE

His initial acts of insolence, lust, extravagance, avarice and cruelty were furtive, increasing in frequency quite gradually, and therefore were condoned as youthful follies, but even then their nature was such they were clearly due to defects of character, and not simply his age.

As soon as darkness fell, he would pull on a cap or wig and make a round of the inns or prowl the streets causing mischief, and these were no harmless pranks either; since he would beat up citizens walking home from a meal, stabbing those who resisted and tumbling them into the sewer. He broke into shops and stole the goods, selling them at auctions he held in the Palace as if in a marketplace, and squandering the proceeds.

In the violence that ensued from his exploits he often ran the risk of losing his sight or even his life, being beaten almost to death by a Senator whose wife he maltreated. This taught him never to venture out after dark without an escort of Guards colonels following him at a distance, unobserved.

In daytime he would have himself carried to the theatre in a sedan chair, and would watch from the top of the proscenium as the pantomime actors brawled, urging them on and joining in, when they came to blows and threw stones and broken benches, by hurling missiles at the crowd, on one occasion fracturing a praetor's skull.

BOOK SIX: XXVII HIS INCREASING WICKEDNESS

Gradually, as the strength of his vices increased, he no longer hid them, or laughed them off, but dropped all disguise, and indulged freely in greater depths of wickedness.

His revels lasted from noon to midnight. If it were winter he restored himself by a warm bath, or in summer plunged into water cooled with snow.

Occasionally he would drain the lake in the *Campus* [p. 452] Martius, and hold a public banquet on its bed, or in the *Circus* [p. 463], waited on by harlots and dancing-girls from all over the City. And whenever he floated down the Tiber to *Ostia* [p. 557], or sailed over the Gulf of *Baiae* [p. 437], temporary eating and drinking houses appeared at intervals along the banks and shores, with married women playing the role of barmaids, peddling their wares, and urging him on, from every side, to land.

He extracted promises of banquets from his friends too; one spending forty thousand gold pieces on a dinner with an Eastern theme; another consuming an even vaster sum on a party themed with roses.

BOOK SIX: XXVIII HIS SEXUAL DEBAUCHERY

Nero not only abused freeborn boys, and seduced married women, but also forced the *Vestal* [p. 621] Virgin *Rubria* [p. 584]. He virtually married the freedwoman *Acte* [p. 404], after bribing some ex-consuls to perjure themselves and swear she was of royal birth.

He tried to turn the boy *Sporus* [p. 596] into a woman by castration, wed him in the usual manner, including bridal veil and dowry, took him off to the Palace attended by a vast crowd, and proceeded to treat him as his wife.

That led to a joke still going the rounds, to the effect that the world would have been a better place if Nero's father *Domitius* [p. 484] had married that sort of wife.

Nero took Sporus, decked out in an Empress's regalia, to all the Greek assizes and markets in his litter, and later through the *Sigillaria* [p. 587] quarter at Rome, kissing him fondly now and then.

He harboured a notorious passion for his own mother, but was prevented from consummating it by the actions of her enemies who feared the proud and headstrong woman would acquire too great an influence. His desire was more apparent after he found a new courtesan who was the very image of *Agrippina* [p. 413], for his harem. Some say his incestuous relations with his mother were proven before then, by the stains on his clothing whenever he had accompanied her in her litter.

BOOK SIX: XXIX HIS EROTIC PRACTICES

He debased himself sexually to the extent that, after exploiting every aspect of his body, he invented an erotic game whereby he was loosed from a cage dressed in a wild animal's pelt, attacked the private parts of men and women bound to stakes, and when excited enough was 'dispatched' by his freedman *Doryphorus* [p. 486]. He even became Doryphorus's bride, as *Sporus* [p. 596] was his, and on the wedding night imitated the moans and tears of a virgin being deflowered.

I have been told, more than once, of his unshakeable belief that no man was physically pure and chaste, but that most concealed their vices and veiled them cunningly. He therefore pardoned every other fault in those who confessed to their perversions.

BOOK SIX: XXX HIS EXTRAVAGANCE

Nero thought a magnificent fortune could only be enjoyed by squandering it, claiming that only tight-fisted miserly people kept a close account of their spending, while truly fine and superior people scattered their wealth extravagantly. Nothing so stirred his admiration and envy of *Caligula* [p. 449],

his uncle, as the way he had run through *Tiberius's* [p. 608] vast legacy in such a short space of time. So he showered gifts on people and poured money away.

He spent eight thousand gold pieces a day on *Tiridates* [p. 612], though it seems barely believable, and made him a gift on parting of more than a million. He presented *Menecrates* [p. 541] the lyre-player and *Spiculus* [p. 596] the gladiator with mansions and property worthy of those who had celebrated triumphs, and gifted the monkey-faced moneylender *Paneros* [p. 560] town-houses and country estates, burying him with well-nigh regal splendour when he died.

Nero never wore the same clothes twice. He placed bets of four thousand gold pieces a point on the winning dice when he played. He fished with a golden net strung with purple and scarlet cord. And he rarely travelled, they say, with less than a thousand carriages, the mules being silver-shod, the drivers' clothes made of wool from *Canusium* [p. 453] (Canosa), escorted by *Mauretanian* [p. 539] cavalry and couriers adorned with bracelets and medallions.

BOOK SIX: XXXI PUBLIC WORKS AND THE GOLDEN HOUSE

There was nothing more ruinously wasteful however than his project to build a palace extending from the *Palatine* [p. 559] to the *Esquiline* [p. 490], which he first called 'The Passageway', but after it had burned down shortly after completion and been re-built, 'The Golden House'. The following details will give a good idea of its size and splendour.

The entrance hall was large enough to contain a huge, hundred-foot high, statue of the Emperor, and covered so much ground the triple colonnade was marked by milestones. There was an enormous lake, too, like a small sea, surrounded by buildings representing cities, also landscaped gardens, with ploughed fields, vineyards, woods and pastures, stocked with wild and domestic creatures.

Inside there was gold everywhere, with gems and mother-of-pearl. There were dining rooms whose ceilings were of fretted ivory, with rotating panels that could rain down flowers, and concealed sprinklers to shower the guests with perfume. The main banqueting hall was circular with a revolving

dome, rotating day and night to mirror the heavens. And there were baths with sea-water and sulphur water on tap.

When the palace, decorated in this lavish style, was complete, Nero dedicated the building, condescending to say by way of approval that he was at last beginning to live like a human being.

He began work on a covered waterway flanked by colonnades, stretching from *Misenum* [p. 544] to Lake Avernus, into which he planned to divert all the various hot springs rising at *Baiæ* [p. 437]. And he also started on a ship-canal connecting Avernus to *Ostia* [p. 557], a distance of a hundred and sixty miles, of a breadth to allow two quinqueremes to pass. To provide labour for the tasks he ordered convicts from all over the Empire to be transported to Italy, making work on these projects the required punishment for all capital crimes.

Nero relied not merely on the Empire's revenues, to fuel his wild extravagance, but was also convinced by the positive assurances of a Roman knight that a vast treasure, taken to Africa long ago by Queen *Dido* [p. 481] on her flight from *Tyre* [p. 616], was concealed in extensive caves there, and could be retrieved with the minimum of effort.

BOOK SIX: XXXII HIS METHODS OF RAISING MONEY

When the tale proved false, he found himself in such desperate straits, so impoverished, that he was forced to defer the soldiers' pay and veteran's benefits, and turn to blackmail and theft.

Firstly, he introduced a law stating that if a freedman died who had taken the name of a family connected to himself, and could not justify why, five-sixths of their estate rather than merely half should be made over to him. Furthermore those who showed ingratitude by leaving him nothing or some paltry amount forfeited their property to the Privy Purse, and the lawyers who had written and dictated such wills were to be punished. Finally, anyone whose words or actions left them open to being charged by an informer was liable under the treason laws.

He recalled the gifts he had made to Greek cities which had awarded him prizes in their contests. After prohibiting the use of amethystine and *Tyrian* [p. 616] purple dyes, he sent an agent to sell them covertly in the

markets, and closed down all the dealers who bought, confiscating their assets. It is even said that on noticing a married woman in the audience at one of his recitals wearing the forbidden colour he pointed her out to his agents who dragged her out and stripped her there and then, not only of her robes but also her property.

Nero would never appoint anyone to office without adding: 'You know my needs! Let's make sure no one has anything left.'

Ultimately he stripped the very temples of their treasures and melted down the gold and silver images, including the Household Gods (*Penates*) of Rome, which *Galba* [p. 500] however recast not long afterwards.

BOOK SIX: XXXIII HIS MURDER OF CLAUDIUS AND BRITANNICUS

He began his parricidal career with the death of *Claudius* [p. 464], for even if he did not instigate that Emperor's murder, he was certainly privy to it, as he freely admitted, and thereafter was wont to praise mushrooms, by means of which his adoptive father was poisoned, as the 'food of the gods' in accord with the Greek proverb.

After Claudius's death, he abused his memory in every way, in both words and actions, accusing him of idiocy or cruelty, it being a favourite joke of his to say that Claudius being dead could no longer 'entertain mortal life' stressing the first syllable of 'entertain'. He set aside many of Claudius's acts and decrees as the work of a feeble-minded old man, and enclosed the place where Claudius was cremated with nothing more than a low makeshift wall.

He tried to do away with *Britannicus* [p. 441] by poisoning him too, no less through envy of his voice, which was more mellifluous than his own, than for fear that his father's memory would win him greater popular approval. He procured the venom from a certain *Lucusta* [p. 533], an expert in such substances, summoning her when the poison's effects proved sluggish, flogging her himself, and claiming she had provided him with medicine not poison. When she explained she had used a small dose to save his action from detection, he replied: 'Do you think I'm afraid of the *Julian* [p. 518] law?' before insisting that she prepare the fastest-acting most certain mixture she

knew, before his eyes, in that very room. He tested it on a kid, but the creature took five hours to die, so he had her make a more concentrated brew and gave it to a pig which died on the spot. He then had it administered to Britannicus with his food. The lad dropped dead after the very first taste, but Nero lied to the guests claiming it as an instance of the epileptic fits to which the boy was liable. The next day he had Britannicus interred, hastily and unceremoniously, during a heavy downpour. Lucusta was rewarded with a free pardon for past offences, and extensive country estates, and Nero also provided her with a stream of willing acolytes.

BOOK SIX: XXXIV HIS MURDER OF HIS MOTHER AND AUNT

His mother *Agrippina* [p. 413] annoyed him deeply, by casting an over-critical eye on his words and actions. Initially he discharged his resentment simply by frequent attempts to damage her popularity, pretending he would be driven to abdicate and flee to *Rhodes* [p. 582]. He progressively deprived her of her honours and power, then of her Roman and German bodyguard, refusing to let her live with him, and expelling her from the Palace. He passed all extremes in his hounding of her, paying people to annoy her with lawsuits while she was in the City, and then after her retirement to the country, sending them by land and sea to haunt the grounds and disturb her peace, with mockery and abuse.

Weary at last of her violent and threatening behaviour, he decided to have her killed, and after three poisoning attempts which she evaded by the use of antidotes, he had a false ceiling created to her bedroom, with a mechanism for dropping the heavy panelling on her as she slept. When those involved chanced to reveal the plot, he next had a collapsible boat designed which would cause her drowning or crush her in her cabin. He then feigned reconciliation and sent her a cordial letter inviting her to *Baiae* [p. 437] to celebrate the Feast of *Minerva* [p. 543] (*Quinquatria*) with him. He instructed one of his naval captains to ensure the galley she arrived in was damaged, as if by accident, while he detained her at a banquet. When she wished to return to *Bauli* [p. 438] (*Bacoli*) he offered his collapsible boat in place of the damaged one, escorting her to the quay in jovial mood, and even kissing her breasts before she boarded. He then passed a deeply anxious and sleepless night, awaiting the outcome of his actions.

Driven to desperation by subsequent news that his plan had failed, and that she had escaped by swimming, he ordered her freedman, Lucius *Agermus* [p. 411], who had joyfully brought the information, arrested and bound, a dagger having been surreptitiously dropped near him, on a charge of attempting to kill his Emperor, and commanded that his mother be executed, giving out meanwhile that she had escaped the consequences of her premeditated crime by committing suicide. Reputable sources add the more gruesome details: that he rushed off to view the corpse, pawing her limbs while criticising or commending their features, and taking a drink to satisfy the thirst that overcome him.

Yet he was unable, then or later, to ignore the pangs of conscience, despite the congratulations by which the soldiers, Senate, and people, tried to reassure him, and he often confessed that his mother's ghost was hounding him and the *Furies* [p. 499] too with their fiery torches and whips. He went to the lengths of having *Magi* [p. 535] perform their rites, in an effort to summon her shade and beg for forgiveness. And on his travels in Greece he dared not participate in the *Eleusinian* [p. 460] mysteries, since before the ceremony the herald warns the impious and wicked to depart.

Having committed matricide, he now compounded his crimes by murdering his aunt, *Domitia* [p. 482]. He found her confined to bed with severe constipation. As old ladies will, she stroked his downy beard (since he was now mature), and murmured fondly: 'When you celebrate your coming-of-age and send me this, I'll die happy.' Nero promptly turned to his companions and joked: 'Then I'll shave it off here and now!' Then he ordered the doctors to give her a fatal purge, and seized her property before she was cold, suppressing the will so nothing escaped him.

BOOK SIX: XXXV MORE FAMILY MURDERS

He married two wives after *Octavia* [p. 554]. The first was *Poppaea* [p. 576] Sabina (from AD62), daughter of an ex-quaestor, married at that time to a Roman knight, and the second was *Statilia* [p. 596] Messalina, great-great-granddaughter of *Statilius* [p. 597] Taurus, who had twice been consul and had been awarded a triumph. In order to wed Statilia (in AD66) he first murdered her husband *Atticus* [p. 519] Vestinus, who was then a consul.

Life with Octavia had soon bored him, and when his friends criticised his attitude, he replied that she should have contented herself with bearing the *name* of wife. He tried to strangle her on several occasions but failed, so divorced her, claiming she was barren. He responded to public disapproval and reproach by banishing her, as well, and finally had her executed on a charge of adultery so ludicrous and insubstantial that after torturing witnesses who merely substantiated her innocence, he was forced to bribe his former tutor *Anicetus* [p. 418¹] to provide a false confession that through her deceit he had lain with her.

Nero doted on Poppaea, whom he married twelve days after divorcing Octavia, yet he caused her death by kicking her when she was pregnant and ill, because she complained of his coming home late from the races. She had borne him a daughter, *Claudia* [p. 464¹] Augusta, who died in infancy.

There was no family relationship which Nero did not brutally violate. When *Antonia* [p. 463¹], *Claudius's* [p. 464¹] daughter refused to marry him after Poppaea's death he had her charged with rebellion and executed (in AD66). That was how he treated all who were connected to him by blood or marriage.

Among them was young *Aulus* [p. 569¹] Plautius whom he indecently assaulted before having him put to death, saying 'Now, Mother can kiss my successor'. Nero openly claimed that the dead *Agrippina* [p. 413¹] had loved Aulus and that this had given him hopes of the succession.

He ordered *Rufrius* [p. 584¹] Crispinus, Poppaea's child by her former husband, to be drowned in the sea by the boy's slaves while fishing, simply because he was said to have acted out the parts of general and emperor in play. He banished his nurse's son Tuscus because as procurator of Egypt he had dared to use the baths newly-built for Nero's visit.

When *Seneca* [p. 591¹], his tutor, begged to be allowed to relinquish his property and retire, Nero swore most solemnly that Seneca was wrong to suspect him of wishing to do him harm, as he would rather die than do such a thing, but he drove him to suicide, regardless.

Nero sent Afranius *Burrus* [p. 444], the Guards commander, poison instead of the throat medicine he had promised him, also poisoning the food and drink of the *two* [p. 486] rich old *freedmen* [p. 560] who had originally aided his adoption by Claudius as his heir, and who had later helped him with their advice.

BOOK SIX: XXXVI THE PISONIAN CONSPIRACY

He attacked those outside his family with the same ruthlessness. Nero was caused great anxiety by the appearance of a comet which was visible for several nights running, an event commonly believed to prophesy the death of some great ruler. His astrologer *Balbillus* [p. 437] told him that princes averted such omens, and diverted the effect onto their noblemen, by contriving the death of one of them, so Nero decide to kill all his most eminent statesmen, and was later convinced to do so all the more, and apparently justified in doing so, by the discovery of two conspiracies against him.

The first and more dangerous was that of Calpurnius *Piso* [p. 450] in Rome (in AD65); the second initiated by *Vinicius* [p. 623] was discovered at *Beneventum* [p. 438] (Benevento). The conspirators were brought to trial triply-chained, some freely admitting guilt, and saying they had sought to do the Emperor a favour, since only his death could aid one so tainted by every kind of crime. The children of those condemned were banished, poisoned, or starved to death. A number of them were massacred together with their tutors and attendants, while at a meal, while others were prevented from earning a living in any way.

BOOK SIX: XXXVII INDISCRIMINATE PERSECUTION

Thereafter Nero dispensed with all moderation, and ruined whoever he wished, indiscriminately and on every imaginable pretext. To give a few instances: *Salvidienus* [p. 585] Orfitus was charged with letting three offices, which were part of his house near the Forum, to certain allied states; *Cassius* [p. 457] Longinus, a blind advocate, with exhibiting a bust of Gaius *Cassius* [p. 456], *Caesar's* [p. 518] assassin, among his family images; and *Paetus* [p. 469] Thrasea with having the face of a sullen schoolteacher.

He never allowed more than a few hours respite to any of those condemned to die, and to hasten the end he had physicians in attendance to 'take care' of any who lingered, his term for opening their veins to finish them off. He was even credited with longing to see living men torn to pieces and devoured by a certain Egyptian ogre who ate raw flesh and anything else he was given.

Elated by his 'achievements' as he called them, he boasted that no previous ruler had ever realised his power to this extent, hinting heavily that he would not spare the remaining Senators, but would wipe out the whole Senate one day and transfer rule of the provinces and control of the army to the knights and his freedmen. He certainly never granted Senators the customary kiss when starting or ending a journey, nor ever returned their greetings. And when formally inaugurating work on the Isthmus canal project, before an assembled crowd, he prayed loudly that the event might benefit 'himself and the Roman people' without mentioning the Senate.

BOOK SIX: XXXVIII THE GREAT FIRE OF ROME

But Nero showed no greater mercy towards the citizens, or even the walls of Rome herself. When in the course of conversation someone *quoted* [p. 491] the line:

'When I am dead, let fire consume the earth.'

he commented 'No, it should rather be – while I yet live...' and acted accordingly, since he had the City set on fire, pretending to be displeased by its ugly old buildings and narrow, winding streets, and had it done so openly that several ex-consuls dared not lay hands on his agents, though they caught them *in situ* equipped with blazing torches and tar. Various granaries which occupied desirable sites near the *Golden* [p. 559] House were partly demolished by siege engines first, as they were built in stone, and then set ablaze.

The conflagration lasted seven nights and the intervening days, driving people to take refuge in hollow monuments and tombs. Not only a vast number of tenement blocks, but mansions built by generals of former times, and still decorated with their victory trophies, were damaged, as well

as temples vowed and dedicated by the kings, or later leaders during the Punic and Gallic wars, in fact every ancient building of note still extant. Nero watched the destruction from the Tower of *Maecenas* [p. 534], and elated by what he called ‘the beauty of the flames’ he donned his tragedian’s costume and sang a composition called *The Fall of Troy* from beginning to end.

He maximised his proceeds from the disaster by preventing any owner approaching their ruined property, while promising to remove the dead and the debris free of charge. The contributions for rebuilding, which he demanded and received, bankrupted individuals and drained the provinces of resources.

BOOK SIX: XXXIX DISASTERS AND ABUSE

Various other misfortunes were added by fate to the disasters and scandals of his reign. A plague resulted in thirty thousand deaths being registered at the shrine of *Venus* [p. 619] Libitina, in a single autumn. There was also the disastrous sack of two major towns in *Britain* [p. 442] (60/61AD), in which a host of citizens and allies were massacred, and a shameful defeat in the East (62AD), where the legions in *Armenia* [p. 428] went beneath the yoke, and Syria was almost lost.

It is strange and certainly worth noting that Nero seemed amazingly tolerant of public abuse and curses, at this time, and was especially lenient towards the perpetrators of jokes and lampoons. Many of these were posted on walls or circulated, in both Greek and Latin. For example, the following:

‘Nero, *Orestes* [p. 557], *Alcmaeon*’s [p. 415] the other, each of them murdered his mother.’

‘Add the letters in Nero’s name, and ‘matricide’ sums the same.’

‘Who can deny that Nero is truly *Aeneas*’s [p. 409] heir?’

Aeneas cared for his father, of his mother the other took care.’

‘As long as our lord twangs his lyre, the *Parthian* [p. 562] t the bow,

We’re still ruled by the *Healer* [p. 425], by the *Far-Darter* [p. 425] our foe.’

‘Rome’s one enormous House, so off to *Veii* [p. 618], my friend,

If only it hasn’t swallowed *Veii* as well, in the end!’

Yet he made no effort to hunt out the authors. Indeed, when an informer reported some of them to the Senate, Nero prevented their being punished with any severity.

Once, as he crossed the street, *Isidorus* [p. 511] the Cynic taunted him loudly with making a good song out of *Nauplius's* [p. 548] ills, but making ill use of his own goods. Again, *Datus* [p. 480], an actor in *Atellan* [p. 431] farce, mimed the actions of drinking and swimming to the song beginning:

'Farewell father, farewell mother...'

since *Claudius* [p. 464] had been poisoned, and *Agrippina* [p. 413] nearly drowned, and at the last line:

'The *Lord* [p. 557] of the Dead directs your steps...'

he gestured towards the Senators present. Nero was either impervious to insult, or avoided showing his annoyance in order to discourage such witticisms, since he was content merely to banish the philosopher and the actor from Rome and the rest of Italy.

BOOK SIX: XL UPRISING IN GAUL

After the world had endured such misrule for fourteen years, it finally rid itself of him. The initiative was taken by the *Gauls* [p. 502] under Julius *Vindex* [p. 519], a provincial governor.

Some astrologers predicted he would be deposed one day, which earned the well-known retort: *a little art will meet our daily needs*, presumably referring to his lyre-playing, an emperor's amusement that would support him as a private citizen. Others promised he would command the East after his deposition, and one or two expressly indicated his ruling from *Jerusalem* [p. 512]. Others claimed former possessions would be restored, and he placed his hope in the fact that Armenia and Britain had both been lost and both regained, which led him to think that he had already suffered the ill fate had in store.

He felt confident after consulting the Delphic Oracle, which warned him to beware the seventieth year, which he took to mean that he would die then, not dreaming it referred to *Galba's* [p. 500] age, and instilled him with

such confidence in a long life, and rare and unbroken good fortune, that when he lost some articles of great value in a shipwreck, he simply told his close friends that the fishes would return them to him.

It was at *Naples* [p. 547], on the anniversary of his mother's murder, that he heard of the Gallic uprising (in 67/68AD), and received the news so calmly and with such indifference that he was suspected of welcoming the chance to pillage those rich provinces as in wartime. He slipped off to the gymnasium where he watched the athletic contests with rapt attention. When a messenger interrupted his dinner with a despatch warning that the situation was growing yet more serious, he confined himself merely to threats of vengeance on the rebels. In fact he made no reply, and wrote no requests or orders for eight days, shrouding the whole business in silence.

BOOK SIX: XLI CONTINUING REBELLION

At last a series of insulting edicts, issued by *Vindex* [p. 519], drove Nero to write to the Senate urging that they exact vengeance on behalf of himself and Rome, while pleading a throat infection as his reason for not appearing in person. He resented above all the taunt that his efforts with the lyre were wretched, and being addressed as *Ahenobarbus* instead of Nero. Yet he told the Senate he would renounce his adopted name and resume this family name which was being mocked. As for his lyre-playing how could he be unskilled in an art which had claimed so much of his attention, and in which he had achieved perfection, always enquiring of various individuals whether they knew of any better a performer, argument enough surely to demonstrate the falsity of the other abusive comments.

A ceaseless flow of urgent despatches finally sent him back to Rome in a panic, though his spirits rose on observing a minor omen on the way: the sight of a monument on which a Roman cavalryman was sculpted dragging a defeated Gallic soldier by the hair. In a transport of joy at the sign, he raised his hands to heaven.

Once in the City he made no personal plea to the Senate or people, but gathered various leading citizens to the Palace for a hasty consultation, after which he spent the day demonstrating some water-powered musical instruments, built to a new design, explaining the various features of these

organs, with a dissertation on the mechanically complex theory of each, and maintaining that he would soon have them installed in the Theatre 'if Vindex will allow it.'

BOOK SIX: XLII GALBA'S INSURRECTION

But when news of *Galba's* ^[p. 500] insurrection in Spain arrived, he fainted away and lay there insensible for a long while, mute and seemingly dead. When he came to, he tore his clothes and beat his forehead, crying that all was over with him. His old nurse tried to comfort him, reminding him that other princes had suffered like evils before, but he shouted out that on the contrary his fate was unparalleled since none had been known to lose supreme power while they still lived.

However he made no attempt thereafter to abandon or even modify his lazy and extravagant ways. Indeed, when tidings from the provinces proved good, he not only gave lavish banquets, but even ridiculed the rebels in verse, later published, which was set to bawdy music accompanied by appropriate gestures. And he stole into the audience room of the Theatre, to convey a message to an actor whose performance was going well, to say that he ought not to take advantage of the emperor's absence on business.

BOOK SIX: XLIII NERO'S REACTION TO THE GALLIC REBELLION

At the first news of the Gallic revolt Nero is thought to have formed a characteristically perverse and wicked plan to depose the army commanders and provincial governors and execute them on charges of conspiracy; to murder all exiles, for fear they might join the rebels, and all the Gallic residents of Rome as sharing in and abetting their countrymen's designs; to allow his armies to ravage the Gallic provinces; to poison the entire Senate at a banquet; and to set the City alight after loosing the wild beasts to prevent the citizens saving themselves.

He was deterred not by any compunction on his part but because he despaired of being able to carry out his plan. Feeling driven to take military action himself, he dismissed the consuls before their term ended, and took

sole office, as if the Gallic provinces were fated only to be subdued by himself as consul. Having assumed the consular insignia, he then declared, as he left the dining room after the banquet, his arms round the shoulders of two friends, that when he reached Gaul he would present himself unarmed and in tears, to the soldiers, and having won them to his side in this way, such that they abandoned their intentions, he would be ready to rejoice next day among his joyful subjects, singing the victory paean which he really ought to be composing at that very moment.

BOOK SIX: XLIV HIS PREPARATIONS FOR A CAMPAIGN

His first thought in preparing for a campaign was allocating the wagons to carry his theatrical props, and since he intended to take his concubines with him, to have their hair trimmed in manly style, and have them issued with *Amazonian* ^[p. 417] axes and shields.

He then called the City tribes to arms, and when no one claimed to be eligible, levied a number of the choicest slaves from each household refusing exemption even to stewards and secretaries. A contribution of part of their incomes was demanded from every house-owning class, and the tenants of private houses and apartments were required to pay their year's rent immediately to the Privy Purse. He insisted rigorously and fastidiously on payment in newly-minted coin, refined silver or pure gold, so that many people refused to contribute, openly and unanimously demanding that he reclaim their fees from his paid informers instead.

BOOK SIX: XLV POPULAR RESENTMENT

Resentment against him intensified because he was known to be profiting from the high cost of grain. And while people were short of food, news arrived of a ship from *Alexandria* ^[p. 416] that instead of a cargo of corn had brought sand for his wrestling arena.

Nero aroused such universal hatred he was spared no form of insult. A trailing lock of hair was stuck to the head of one of his statues, and a note in Greek attached: 'at last here's a real contest for you to lose!' A sack was tied round the neck of another with the words: 'I did all that I could do!' –

'But it's still the sack for you!' People wrote on the columns that he had even roused the Gallic cocks with his crowing. And, at night, they pretended to be quarrelling with their slaves crying out that 'the Avenger' (*Vindex*) was coming.

BOOK SIX: XLVI DREAMS AND OMENS

He was terrified by manifest portents, old as well as new, implied by dreams, auspices and omens. After he murdered his *mother* [p. 413], though he had not been wont to recall his dreams, he seemed in sleep to be steering a ship when the rudder was wrenched from his hands; then he dreamed his wife *Octavia* [p. 554] drew him down into deep shadows; then that he was clothed in a swarm of flying ants; that the statues of the nations dedicated in *Pompey's* [p. 573] Theatre surrounded him and prevented his going further; and that an Asturian horse, a favourite of his, turned into an ape, all except its head, which whinnied tunefully.

As for auspices and omens, the doors of the Mausoleum opened spontaneously and a voice was heard calling out his name. Then on New Year's Day, when the statues of the Household Gods had been decorated, they tumbled to the ground as the sacrifice was being prepared, and while Nero was taking the auspices, *Sporus* [p. 596] gave him a ring whose stone was engraved with the rape of *Proserpine* [p. 577]. When a large crowd gathered to pay their annual vows (for the prosperity of Emperor and State) the keys of the Capitol were found to have been mislaid and were not discovered for some time.

Again, when a speech of his was being read in the Senate, which vilified *Vindex* [p. 519], the words '...and punish the wicked soon, they must meet the end they deserve' was greeted with the unanimous and ambiguous cry of: 'You will do so, Augustus.'

It did not escape notice either that at his last public recital he sang the part of *Oedipus* [p. 556] in Exile, ending with the line:

'They drive me to my death: wife, mother, father.'

BOOK SIX: XLVII PREPARATIONS FOR FLIGHT

He tore to pieces despatches bringing news that the rest of the military were also in rebellion. The messages were handed to him while he was dining, and he overturned the table, sending his two favourite drinking cups flying, those he called '*Homeric* [p. 508]' as they were engraved with scenes from the epics. He then had *Lucusta* [p. 533] supply him with a poisonous substance which he placed in a golden box, and crossed to the Servilian Gardens where he tried to persuade the Guards officers to flee with him, his most loyal freedmen having been sent ahead to *Ostia* [p. 557] to ready the fleet. But some answered evasively and others flatly refused, one even shouting out *Virgil's* [p. 620] line: 'Is it so terrible a thing to die?'

Nero then considered various options, whether for instance to throw himself on the mercy of the *Parthians* [p. 562] or of *Galba* [p. 500]; or to show himself on the Rostra dressed pathetically in black and beg the people to pardon his past sins; or if he could not soften their hearts, at least entreat them to grant him *Egypt* [p. 489] as a prefecture. A speech composed for this latter purpose was discovered later among his papers, but it is thought that he was too scared to deliver it fearing to be torn to pieces before he could reach the *Forum* [p. 497].

He put off any further decision to the following day, but waking at midnight and finding the Guards had deserted him, he leapt from his bed and sent for his friends. Receiving no reply he went to their rooms with a handful of servants, but finding the doors locked and obtaining no answer returned to his own room to find that the caretakers had fled taking with them the box of poison and even the bed linen. He at once shouted for *Spiculus* [p. 596], the gladiator, or someone else skilled in dealing death at whose hands he might perish, and when no one appeared, cried out: 'Have I not one friend or enemy left? He then scurried from the Palace as if intending to throw himself into the Tiber.

BOOK SIX: XLVIII A LAST HIDING-PLACE

But again altering his purpose, he looked for some quiet spot where he could hide, and gather his wits. When *Phaon* [p. 566], his freedman, suggested

his own villa in the north-eastern suburbs, four miles or so distant, between the Via Nomentana and the Via Salaria, Nero mounted a horse, barefoot, his tunic covered by a faded cloak, and holding a handkerchief to his face, rode off with only four attendants including *Sporus* [p. 596].

Immediately there was an earth-tremor and a flash of lightning illuminated him. He could hear the shouts of soldiers from the nearby camp, foretelling his ruin and *Galba's* [p. 500] triumph. One traveller they met cried: 'They're after Nero.' While another asked: 'What news of him in the City?' Then his horse shied at the smell of a corpse by the roadside, causing him to expose his face, at which point he was recognised by a retired Guard who promptly saluted.

When they reached a lane leading to the villa, they abandoned the horses, and followed a track, through brushes, brambles and a reed-bed, leading to the rear wall of the house. The going was difficult, and at places a cloak was thrown down for him to walk on. Phaon begged him to lie low in a sand-pit but he refused, saying he would not go 'down below' before he was dead, and while waiting for a secret entrance to the villa to be constructed, he scooped up water from a nearby pool in his hand, and drank it saying: 'This is Nero's ice-water.'

Then he pulled out the thorns which had pierced his cloak, before crawling on all fours through the tunnel that had been dug as an entry to the villa and in the first room he reached sinking onto a bed, with a rough mattress, over which an old cloak had been flung. Though hungry and again thirsty he refused the coarse bread offered him, but sipped a little lukewarm water.

BOOK SIX: XLIX HIS DEATH

Finally, when his companions urged him, one and all, to escape the impending insults that threatened him, he ordered them to dig a grave, there and then, suitable for a man of his proportions, bring any pieces of marble they could find, and fetch water and wood for washing and burning his corpse, in a little while. While they carried this out, he was in tears, repeatedly murmuring: 'What an artist dies here!'

While he endured the wait, a letter arrived for *Phaon* [p. 566] by courier. Nero snatched it from his hand and read that having been declared a public enemy by the Senate he would be punished in the ancient fashion. Asking what that was he learned that the victim was stripped naked, had his head thrust in a wooden fork, and was then beaten to death with rods. Terrified by the thought, he grasped the two daggers he had brought with him, but after testing their sharpness threw them down again, claiming the final hour had not yet come. He begged *Sporus* [p. 596] to weep and moan for him, begged someone else to commit suicide and show him the way, and belaboured himself for his cowardice, saying: 'To live, is shame and disgrace', and then, in Greek: 'it's unworthy of Nero, unworthy – we should be ever-resolute – rouse yourself!'

By now the cavalry were approaching with orders to take him alive. When he heard them, he quoted *Homer* [p. 508] in a quavering voice:

'Listen, I hear the sound now of galloping horses!'

Then, with the help of *Epaphroditus* [p. 490], his private secretary, he plunged a dagger into his throat, and was already half-dead when a centurion entered, and feigning to have brought aid, staunched the wound with his cloak, Nero gasping: 'Too late: yet, how loyal!' With these words he died, his eyes glazing and starting from their sockets, to the horror of all who saw it.

He had forced his companions to promise that, whatever occurred, no one should sever his head from his body, and to contrive somehow that his corpse be given whole to the pyre. This was granted by *Icelus* [p. 510], *Galba's* [p. 500] freedman, who had just been released from the prison to which he had been committed at news of Galba's revolt.

BOOK SIX: L HIS FUNERAL

Nero was laid on the pyre, dressed in the gold-embroidered white robes he had worn on New Year's Day. The funeral arrangements cost two thousand gold pieces. His old nurses, *Egloge* [p. 489] and *Alexandria* [p. 416], accompanied by *Acte* [p. 404] his mistress, laid his ashes to rest in the family tomb of the Domitii on the summit of the *Pincian* [p. 568] Hill, which can be seen from the

Campus [p. 452] Martius. The sarcophagus, of porphyry, was enclosed by a balustrade of stone from *Thasos* [p. 606], with an altar of marble from *Luna* [p. 533] standing above.

BOOK SIX: LI HIS APPEARANCE, HEALTH AND MODE OF DRESS

Nero was of average height, his skin mottled and his body malodorous. His hair was light blond, his features regular rather than attractive, with blue somewhat weak eyes. He had a thick neck, protruding belly, and spindly legs. His health was sound, and despite indulging in every kind of sensual excess, he was only ill on three occasions during his fourteen-year reign, and even then he did not abstain from drinking wine or from any other habit. He was shameless in personal appearance and dress having his hair set in tiered curls, and during his Greek travels letting it grow long enough to hang down his back. He often appeared in public in a loose tunic, with a scarf about his neck, and slippers on his feet.

BOOK SIX: LII HIS KNOWLEDGE OF THE ARTS

Nero was educated in all the liberal arts, as a boy, except philosophy, his mother *Agrippina* [p. 413] warning him that it was an unsuitable subject for a ruler, while *Seneca* [p. 591] his tutor stopped him reading the early rhetoricians, to prolong his admiration for Seneca's own style. So he turned his hand to poetry, writing verse eagerly and effortlessly. Some claim he published others' work as his own, but I have seen notebooks and papers containing some of his best-known poems in his own handwriting, evidently not copied or transcribed while read aloud, since they show all the processes of creative thought, with plentiful instances of erasure, crossing-out, and superscription. Nero also showed a significant interest in painting and sculpture.

BOOK SIX: LIII HIS DESIRE FOR POPULARITY

Beyond everything else he desired popularity, and was jealous of anyone who captured the attentions of the crowd. It was generally thought that following his stage triumphs he would likely have competed as an athlete at the next Olympiad, since he practised constantly as a wrestler and loved to watch the gymnastic contests, while seated on the ground in the stadium, like one of the judges. If the pair of contestants moved too far out of position he would push them back with his own hand.

Since he was called *Apollo's* [p. 425] equal in singing, and the Sun's as a charioteer, he had plans to emulate *Hercules* [p. 507]' exploits too, since they say a lion had been specially trained so that he could face it naked in the arena, in front of a capacity crowd, and kill it with his club or strangle it in his arms.

BOOK SIX: LIV HIS LAST VOW TO PERFORM AS ACTOR AND MUSICIAN

Near the end of his life, he publicly vowed to celebrate, if he retained power, by playing the water-powered organ, the flute and bagpipes, at a victory Games, where on the last day he would appear as an actor on stage and dance the part of *Turnus* [p. 615] in *Virgil's* [p. 620] *Aeneid*. It is claimed too that he had the actor, *Paris* [p. 561], executed, to remove him as a dangerous rival.

BOOK SIX: LV HIS DESIRE FOR FAME AND IMMORTALITY

Nero longed for fame and immortality, though his longing was ill-advised. It led him to replace the names of numerous things and locations with ones derived from his own name. April, for example, became the month of Neroneus, while he considered designating Rome as Neropolis.

BOOK SIX: LVI HIS SUPERSTITIOUS BELIEFS

He despised all religious cults, except that of the Syrian Goddess (Atagartis), ultimately showing his contempt for her too, by urinating on her sacred image, after becoming captivated by a different superstition, the sole one to which he persisted in clinging, embodied in a statuette of a girl. He had received it as a gift from some anonymous commoner, as a protection against conspiracies. Such a plot immediately came to light, leading him to venerate the image as a powerful divinity, offering three sacrifices a day to her, and encouraging people to believe that she communicated knowledge of the future to him.

Though he attended an augury, they say, a few months before his death, where on inspecting the sacrificial victims he failed to receive a favourable omen.

BOOK SIX: LVII CONFLICTING EMOTIONS AFTER HIS DEATH

He died (on the 9th of June, 68AD) at the age of thirty-one, it being the anniversary of *Octavia's* [p. 554] murder, and such was the joy people felt that they ran through the city wearing caps of liberty.

Yet there were others who, for a long while after, adorned his tomb with spring and summer flowers, placed statues of him on the Rostra wearing the fringed toga, and circulated his edicts, as if he still lived and would soon be back to destroy his enemies. Moreover, *Vologases* [p. 626] I, the Parthian king, sending envoys to the Senate offering to renew the alliance with Rome, also asked that signal honour be paid to Nero's memory.

Twenty years later, too, (in 88AD) when I was still a young man, a *pretender* [p. 550] appeared, a youth of obscure origin, claiming to be Nero, who was so strongly supported by the *Parthians* [p. 562], the name being still much in favour, that it was only with great reluctance that they agreed to surrender him.

Book VII: Galba, Otho, Vitellius



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Book Seven: Galba



BOOK SEVEN: I THE END OF THE CAESARS

The line of Caesars ended with *Nero* [p. 549]: there were many significant portents of this and two in particular.

When *Livia* [p. 527] was returning to her *Veii* [p. 618] estate, just after her marriage to *Augustus* [p. 433] (in 38BC), an eagle flew down and dropped a white hen into her lap, with a sprig of laurel still in its mouth, exactly as it had been snatched up. Livia chose to rear the bird, and plant the laurel-sprig, and the pullet produced such a mass of offspring, the sprig such a dense grove of laurel, that the villa is still known as 'The Hen House', and the grove provided the Caesars with the laurel wreaths for their triumphs. It became their custom also to plant the fresh laurel-branches used there, and it seems that shortly before each Caesar died the laurel he planted withered. But in Nero's final year (68AD) the whole grove shrivelled, roots and all, and the entire flock of hens was lost. Also, not long afterwards, lightning struck the Temple of the Caesars, breaking the heads from all the statues, and dashing the sceptre from the hands of that of Augustus.

BOOK SEVEN: II GALBA'S LINEAGE

Nero was followed by *Galba* [p. 500], who was in no way related to the race of Caesars, though he was decidedly of the nobility, born of an ancient and powerful family, since he always had inscribed on his statues that he was the great-grandson of Quintus *Catulus* [p. 459] Capitolinus. As Emperor, he displayed a family-tree in the Palace, showing his father's descent from *Jupiter* [p. 521], and his mother's from *Pasiphae* [p. 563], the wife of *Minos* [p. 543].

BOOK SEVEN: III HIS ANCESTORS

It would be a lengthy business to detail all his famous ancestors and the honours won by his race, but I will touch on his immediate family. It is unclear how the Sulpicii first acquired the surname Galba, or its source. Some say that after the protracted siege of a Spanish town, the particular member of the family concerned set it ablaze using torches dipped in *galbanum* (Syrian gum-resin); others that he used *galbeum*, a kind of poultice spread on a woollen strip, during a persistent illness; or that he was grossly fat, for which the Gallic word is *galba*; or on the contrary that he had as slender a waist as the *galbae* (gall-wasps), insects that breed in oak trees.

The family became distinguished in the consulship (144BC) of *Servius* [p. 601] Sulpicius Galba, the most eloquent orator of his time. They say he initiated the war with *Viriathus* [p. 624], because of his treacherous massacre of thirty thousand *Lusitanians* [p. 534] while governing Spain. His *grandson* [p. 601], one of *Caesar's* [p. 518] lieutenants in Gaul, angered because Caesar thwarted him in a bid for the consulship (of 59BC), joined the conspiracy of *Brutus* [p. 444] and *Cassius* [p. 456], and as a result was condemned to death under the *Pedian* [p. 564] law.

Galba's grandfather and father were scions of this Servius. The *grandfather* [p. 600], also Servius, was more noted as scholar than statesman, never rising above the rank of praetor but publishing a voluminous and not inconsiderable history. The *father* [p. 601], Gaius, achieved the consulship (in AD22) and though he was short of stature, a hunchback, and only a moderately skilful orator, he was an industrious pleader of law-cases. He married *Mumma* [p. 545] Achaica, grand-daughter of *Catulus* [p. 459], and great-

granddaughter of that Lucius *Mummius* [p. 545] who sacked *Corinth* [p. 472]. Later he married Livia *Ocellina* [p. 529], a wealthy and beautiful woman, whose interest was stirred because of his rank and then confirmed by his openness, when in reply to her frequent advances he stripped to the waist in private and revealed his deformity, to ensure she was under no illusions.

He had two sons by Achaica: Gaius, and Servius the future emperor. The elder brother *Gaius* [p. 601] left Rome after squandering most of his inheritance, and committed suicide when *Tiberius* [p. 608] refused to allow him a province.

BOOK SEVEN: IV BIRTH AND DESTINY

Servius Galba, the future emperor was born on the 24th of December, 3BC, in the consulship of Marcus *Valerius* [p. 617] Messala and Gnaeus *Lentulus* [p. 524], at a hillside mansion near *Terracina* [p. 605], on the left of the road to *Fundi* [p. 498] (Fondi). He was formally adopted by his stepmother *Livia* [p. 529] Ocellina, and took the name Livius and the surname Ocella, also changing his forename to Lucius, until he became Emperor.

It is common knowledge that when calling on *Augustus* [p. 433] to pay his respects, with other boys of his age, the Emperor pinched his cheek, and said in Greek: 'You too will have a taste of power, my child.' And when *Tiberius* [p. 608] heard the prophecy that Galba would be emperor in old age, he commented: 'Well let him be, it's no concern of mine.'

Again when Galba's *grandfather* [p. 600] was sacrificing to avert lightning, an eagle plucked the victim's intestines from his hand and carried them to an oak-tree loaded with acorns: it was taken as a prediction that high honour would accrue to the family, at some later time, at which he joked: 'Likely so, that will be when a mule foals.' So nothing inspired Galba more, at the start of his rebellion, than the foaling of a mule, since he recalled his grandfather's comment during the sacrifice, and thought the event highly propitious though his companions were horrified and thought it an adverse sign.

When he came of age, he dreamt that Fortune visited him, to complain she was tired of standing at the door, and that he must admit her quickly, before she fell prey to the next to arrive. When he woke, on opening the

hall door, he found a two-foot high statue of the goddess near the threshold. He carried it in his arms to *Tusculum* [p. 615], his summer retreat, and consecrated it in a room of the house, honouring it thereafter with a monthly sacrifice and a yearly vigil.

Even as a young man he maintained the national custom, ancient but neglected at the time, and surviving only in his household, of gathering all his freedmen and slaves together twice a day, to greet him in the morning, and wish him goodnight in the evening one by one.

BOOK SEVEN: V MARRIAGE AND OTHER RELATIONSHIPS

Galba applied himself to the law among other liberal studies. He also married, but after losing his wife *Lepida* [p. 525], and despite also losing the two sons he had by her, remained a widower. Even *Agrippina* [p. 413] the Younger failed to interest him in a second marriage, despite her advances to him immediately after her husband Gnaeus *Domitius* [p. 484]' death (in 40AD), and before the death of his wife Lepida; advances which were so shameless that Lepida's mother reprimanded Agrippina, forcefully, in front of a bevy of married women, and even went so far as to slap her.

Galba showed the greatest of respect to *Livia* [p. 527] Augusta, whose favour brought him great influence during her lifetime, and almost became wealthy as a result of her will, by which he was to inherit the largest bequest of half a million. However he failed even to receive the five thousand in gold to which *Tiberius* [p. 608], as her executor, reduced the sum, since it had been designated in figures instead of words (and could therefore be interpreted as *sesterces* and not gold pieces).

BOOK SEVEN: VI HIS CAREER DURING CALIGULA'S REIGN

Galba achieved office before the usual age and as praetor (in 20AD), controlling the games at the *Floralia* [p. 496], he was the first to introduce a display of tightrope-walking elephants. He next governed *Aquitania* [p. 427], for almost a year, and not long afterwards held the consulship for six months (in 33AD). It so happened that his predecessor in the consulship was Gnaeus *Domitius* [p. 484], *Nero's* [p. 549] father, and his successor *Salvius* [p. 586]

Otho, father of the emperor-to-be *Otho* [p. 558], a foreshadowing of what later occurred, his reign as emperor being preceded and followed by the sons of these two.

Caligula [p. 449] appointed Galba governor of Upper Germany (39AD) in place of *Gaetulicus* [p. 525], and the day after taking up his post Galba posted a written order to the legions not to applaud at a religious festival taking place just then, but to keep their hands hidden in their cloaks. The following verse immediately circulated in the camp:

'Soldiers, act as soldiers should; it's Galba not Gaetulicus!'

He was just as severe in refusing requests for leave. Veterans as well as new recruits were toughened by the gruelling demands he made on them, as he swiftly checked the barbarian raids, which had even threatened Gaul. When Caligula arrived on campaign, Galba and his army made so good an impression that none of the assembled troops from the various provinces received a higher commendation or greater reward. Galba distinguished himself in particular, by running for twenty miles at the wheels of the emperor's chariot while directing the manoeuvres, shield in hand.

BOOK SEVEN: VII HIS CAREER DURING CLAUDIUS'S REIGN

When *Caligula* [p. 449] was assassinated (in 41AD), Galba chose neutrality though many urged him to seize the opportunity for power. *Claudius* [p. 464] expressed his gratitude by including him among his intimate friends, and Galba was shown such consideration that the expedition to Britain was delayed to allow him to recover from a sudden but minor indisposition.

Later he was proconsul in Africa for two years (44/45AD), being singled out, and so avoiding the usual lottery, to restore order in the province, which was riven by internecine rivalry and an indigenous revolt. He re-established peace, by the exercise of ruthless discipline, and the display of justice even in the most trifling matters. For example, when supplies were short during a foray and a soldier was charged with selling a peck of wheat from his ration for four gold pieces, Galba ordered that when the man's stores were exhausted no one should share with him, and he was left to starve. And, at a court of enquiry into the ownership of a

transport animal, the unreliable witnesses and a lack of hard evidence making the truth hard to establish, he ordered the creature to be led blindfold to its usual drinking place, ruling that whichever man it returned to freely after it had drunk, was the owner.

BOOK SEVEN: VIII APPOINTMENT TO OFFICE UNDER NERO

For his service in Africa, and his previous achievements in Germany, Galba was awarded the triumphal regalia and a triple priesthood, being elected to the Board of *Fifteen* [p. 593], the Brotherhood of *Titus* [p. 603], and the Priests of *Augustus* [p. 433]. He chose to live almost exclusively in retirement until the middle years of *Nero's* [p. 549] reign, never driving anywhere without a second carriage carrying his emergency fund of ten thousand gold pieces, even when he was not on business.

Then, while living at *Fundi* [p. 498] (Fondi) he was offered the governorship of Nearer Spain (*Hispania Tarraconensis*). Soon after his arrival in the province, he was sacrificing in a temple when the hair of the acolyte carrying the incense-box suddenly turned completely white, and some quickly interpreted this as an omen of regime change, with the old succeeding the young, that is to say Galba succeeding Nero. And not long afterwards lightning struck a lake-shore in *Cantabria* [p. 453] and twelve axes, the common emblems of supreme power, were found there.

BOOK SEVEN: IX GOVERNORSHIP OF HIS SPANISH PROVINCE

He governed the province for eight years, changing his approach radically with time.

He was energetic initially, showing vigour, and dealing harshly with offenders; for example, a moneylender's hands were severed for dishonesty, and nailed to the counter, and a murderer who poisoned his ward in order to inherit his property was crucified. In the latter case the man begged for justice as a Roman citizen, Galba's response being to grant him the honour and consolation of being transferred to a taller cross painted white to lighten his punishment.

Later he became lazy and inactive, in order to avoid giving Nero grounds for jealousy, and because, as he said, no one could be brought to book for doing nothing.

He was holding assizes at *New Carthage* [p. 551] (Cartagena, in AD68) when he received news of the Gallic rebellion, in the form of an urgent request for aid from the governor of *Aquitania* [p. 427]. Then letters arrived from *Vindex* [p. 519] urging him to take on the mantle of leader and liberator of mankind. Having already intercepted despatches, sent by *Nero* [p. 549] to his agents, ordering his assassination, Galba hardly hesitated before agreeing, driven by fear as well as hope.

He was heartened too, not only by favourable omens and auspices, but also by a prophecy made by a young girl of the nobility, the very same prophecy that had been uttered by a girl in a trance two hundred years before, a record of which was found in the inner shrine of his temple by the priest of *Jupiter* [p. 521] at *Clunia* [p. 470], directed to it by a dream. The oracular verses foretold that one day the lord and master of the world would emerge from Spain.

BOOK SEVEN: X LEADER OF THE REBELLION IN SPAIN

So, Galba mounted the tribunal, ostensibly to free various slaves, though its front had been adorned with as many images as could be found of *Nero's* [p. 549] victims. He had by his side a young nobleman who had been summoned for the purpose from exile in the *Balearic* [p. 438] Islands (part of the province), as he deplored the state of the empire. Hailed as emperor, he declared that he was now the sole representative of the Senate and people of Rome. Then, closing the assizes, he began to raise legions and auxiliaries from the local populace to add to his existing legion, his two divisions of cavalry, and his three cohorts.

He established a kind of Senate, comprising the oldest and most experienced noblemen, to whom matters of state could be referred when necessary. He also selected certain young knights to guard his sleeping quarters, in place of his regulars, these ranking as volunteers, though without losing their right to wear the Equestrians' gold ring. He also issued a proclamation throughout the province inviting men individually and

collectively to join his revolt, and aid the common cause in whatever way they could.

At about this time, during the fortification of the town, which he had declared his headquarters, a ring of ancient design was found, its gemstone engraved with Victory lifting a trophy. And immediately afterwards an Alexandrian vessel without helmsman, crew or passengers, but carrying a cargo of weapons, came ashore upriver at *Dertosa* [p. 480] (Tortosa), leaving not a shred of doubt in anyone's mind that this was a just and holy war entered into with the gods' approval.

Then suddenly and unexpectedly the whole plan almost went awry. As Galba was approaching camp, one of his two cavalry divisions, repenting its change of loyalty, attempted to desert, and was only prevented from doing so with difficulty. Then he was nearly murdered on his way to the baths, as he navigated a narrow passageway, by slaves given to him by one of *Nero's* [p. 549] freedmen with just such treachery in mind. They might have succeeded if they had not been overheard urging one another not to lose the opportunity, and when questioned under torture as to the opportunity referred to, confessed.

BOOK SEVEN: XI THE MARCH TO ROME

To these sudden dangers was added news of *Vindex's* [p. 519] death, which caused Galba the greatest alarm, and being now apparently bereft of support, almost precipitated his suicide. But when word from the City arrived that Nero was dead and that the people had sworn allegiance to him, he set aside the title of governor and assumed that of Caesar.

He then began his march to Rome in a general's cloak, with a dagger, hanging from his neck, at his chest, and did not resume the toga until his main rivals had been eliminated, namely the commander of the Praetorian Guard in Rome, *Nymphidius* [p. 553] Sabinus, and the commanders in Germany and Africa, *Fonteius* [p. 496] Capito and *Clodius* [p. 469] Macer.

BOOK SEVEN: XII HIS CRUELTY AND GREED

Galba's reputation for both cruelty and greed had preceded him.

It was said that he had punished the towns in Spain and Gaul that hesitated to side with him, levying additional taxes and in some cases razing their walls, and executing officers and imperial agents, along with their wives and children.

Furthermore, he was claimed to have melted down a gold crown reputed to weigh fifteen pounds, offered to him by the people of *Tarraco* [p. 602] (Tarragona), which belonged to their ancient Temple of *Jupiter* [p. 521], and then demanded the three ounces of gold by which its actual weight fell short.

His reputation was then confirmed or even worsened immediately on his arrival in Rome. He sent a band of marines whom *Nero* [p. 549] had recruited as sailors back to their work at the oars, and when they refused, and stubbornly demanded their eagle and standards, he not only had his cavalry disperse them but had every tenth man killed.

He also disbanded the cohort of German bodyguards who had served previous emperors, and had passed many a critical test of loyalty, repatriating them without bounty, on the grounds that they favoured *Gnaeus Dolabella* [p. 473], their camp being close to his estate.

The following anecdotes, true or false, were also related in mockery of him; that he groaned aloud when an especially lavish dinner was set before him; that he rewarded his chief steward for his effort and care in drawing up his expense accounts with a bowlful of beans; and that he expressed his delight at *Canus* [p. 453]' flute-playing, by giving him just five silver pieces from his own purse.

BOOK SEVEN: XIII HIS LACK OF POPULARITY

His accession therefore was not exactly welcomed, which became more than apparent at the next theatrical performance, an *Atellan* [p. 431] farce, when the actors reached the well-known line:

'Here comes Onesimus from the farm...'

and the whole audience immediately joined in to complete the verse in chorus, singing it over and over again.

BOOK SEVEN: XIV THE INFLUENCE OF HIS 'TUTORS'

His prestige and popularity were thus greater while winning power than wielding it, though he showed evidence of being a more than capable ruler, loved less, unfortunately, for his good qualities than he was hated for his bad ones.

He fell totally under the control of three individuals, nicknamed his 'tutors' because they lived in the Palace and never left his side. These were Titus *Vinius* [p. 624], one of his former lieutenants in Spain, a man of unqualified greed; Cornelius *Laco* [p. 474], who was intolerably proud, and lazy, and had been promoted from judge's assistant to Guards commander; and thirdly his own freedman *Icelus* [p. 510], who had barely been awarded the gold ring and the surname Marcianus before he too began to aspire to that highest office of the Equestrian Order.

Galba abandoned himself so trustfully to these rogues with their various vices, and became their tool to such an extent, that his actions were extreme, one moment more constrained and stingy, another more reckless and extravagant than those of a leader of his advanced years, chosen by the people, had any right to be. He condemned various Senators and knights to death, without benefit of trial, on the least suspicion. He seldom conferred Roman citizenship, and the privileges granted to fathers of three children only occasionally, and only for a limited term. When the panels of jurors recommended a sixth division be added to their numbers, Galba not only refused but even cancelled the privilege *Claudius* [p. 464] had granted them of being excused court duty in winter and early spring.

BOOK SEVEN: XV RESTRICTIONS AND FAVOURITISM

It was believed he was planning to limit the official appointments open to Senators and knights to two year terms, and to offer them only to those

who had no wish for them and would decline them. He revoked all Nero's grants and gifts, allowing the recipients to keep only a tithe of what they had already received, and used a group of fifty knights to enforce repayment of the remainder. He even ruled that if athletes and actors involved had sold any of the gifts they had received, had spent the money and could not repay, then the gift's purchaser must make the sum good.

Yet he allowed his friends and freedmen to give away or sell anything they wished to their favourites, including the right to tax others or exempt them from taxes, and the right to inflict punishment on the innocent, or grant immunity to the guilty. And when the people demanded that *Halotus* [p. 505] and *Tigellinus* [p. 611], the most evil of *Nero's* [p. 549] creatures, be punished, he not only protected them but honoured Halotus with an important post, and issued an edict rebuking the people for their hostility towards Tigellinus.

BOOK SEVEN: XVI MUTINY IN UPPER GERMANY

The result was that he incurred almost universal hatred, being especially loathed by the military, since he not only ignored the promise made by their officers, that they would receive a larger bounty than usual if they swore allegiance to Galba prior to his reaching Rome, but also stated more than once that it was his custom to levy troops not buy them. His attitude caused bitterness among soldiers throughout the empire. Furthermore he caused fear and indignation among the Praetorian Guard by dismissing men, from time to time, who were suspected of championing *Nymphidius* [p. 553].

The loudest mutterings were among the troops in Upper Germany who had been refused their bounty for their actions against *Vindex* [p. 519] and the Gauls. They were the first to mutiny in consequence, refusing to swear allegiance, on New Year's Day, unless the oath was simply of loyalty to the Senate, and agreeing to send a deputation to the Praetorian Guard, charged with declaring that this Emperor, made in Spain, was not for them, and the Guard should choose a candidate acceptable to the military.

BOOK SEVEN: XVII NAMING A SUCCESSOR

When Galba was told of this, he concluded that he was vulnerable, not so much because of his age, but because of his lack of an heir. He therefore called Calpurnius Piso Frugi *Licinianus* [p. 451] from the crowd at his morning audience, a young nobleman of good character, who was a long-standing favourite of his, and designated as heir to his name and estate in his will, and titling him his 'son' took him off to the Praetorian Camp where he formally adopted him in front of the assembled Guards (January 10th, 69AD). However he made no mention of the bounty, so giving *Otho* [p. 558] every opportunity to achieve his overthrow, five days later.

BOOK SEVEN: XVIII OMENS OF HIS DEMISE

A swift series of omens, starting from the very beginning of his reign, prophesied Galba's downfall precisely as it occurred.

On his journey to Rome, sacrifices were offered in every town along the way, and at one point an ox, maddened by the axe-stroke, broke free of its ropes, and charged towards his chariot, rearing up and drenching him with blood. Then as Galba dismounted, a guard, pushed towards him by the pressure of the crowd, nearly wounded him with his lance. Again, there were earth-tremors as he entered the City, and later the Palace, accompanied by a sound like bellowing bulls.

Even clearer were the signs that followed. He had selected a necklace of pearls and gemstones from the treasury to decorate the statue of Fortune at *Tusculum* [p. 615], which on a whim he consecrated to Capitoline *Venus* [p. 619] instead, considering this a more worthy action. The following night Fortune appeared to him in dream, complained of the loss of the intended gift, and threatened to take back what she herself had given. The terrified Galba, arriving hastily at Tusculum to offer a dawn sacrifice in expiation, found that, though he had sent his staff forward to prepare the ceremony properly, there were warm ashes on the altar, nothing more, and beside it an old man clad in black instead of a youth in white, and carrying incense in a glass dish and wine in an earthen cup, instead of in suitable vessels.

His sacrifice on New Year's Day also caused remarks to be made, since the garland fell from his head, and the sacred chickens flew off, as he took the auspices. Again when he was about to address the troops on the day of *Piso's* [p. 451] adoption, his attendants forgot to set up a camp chair on the tribunal, as intended, and his curule chair in the Senate was found to be facing the wrong way.

BOOK SEVEN: XIX HIS DEATH

He was even warned of the danger of imminent assassination, the day before his death, by a soothsayer, as he offered the morning sacrifice.

Shortly afterwards he learnt that *Otho* [p. 558] had secured the Guards camp, and when his staff advised him to carry the day by his presence and prestige, by going there immediately, he opted instead to stay put, but gather a strong bodyguard of legionaries from their billets around the City. He did however don a linen corselet, though saying that frankly it would serve little against so many weapons.

False reports, put about by the conspirators to lure him into appearing in public, deceived a few of his close supporters, who rashly told him the rebellion was over, the plotters overthrown, and that the rest of the troops were on their way to congratulate him and carry out his orders. So he went to meet them, with such confidence, that when a soldier boasted of killing Otho, he snapped out: 'On whose authority?' before hastening on to the Forum.

The cavalrymen who had been ordered to find and kill him, who were spurring through the streets scattering the crowds of civilians, now caught sight of him in the distance and halted an instant before galloping towards him and cutting him down, while his staff ran for their lives.

BOOK SEVEN: XX THE AFTERMATH

In the heat of the moment, they say that Galba called out: 'What are you about, lads? I am yours as you are mine,' and even assured them of the promised bounty. But the common account is that recognising their intent,

he bared his neck, and told them to execute their duty and strike.

It may seem strange that no one tried to aid their emperor, and that the legionaries summoned ignored the call except for a company of Germans whom he had treated sympathetically when they were recently weak with illness. They rushed to his assistance, but in their ignorance of the City took a circuitous route and arrived too late.

He was killed beside the *Curtian* [p. 478] Pool, and his corpse lay there until a private returning from collecting the grain ration, set down his load and decapitated it. Since the head was bald, he wrapped it in his cloak, but ended up hooking the mouth with his thumb and carrying the head to *Otho* [p. 558]. It was handed to a crowd of servants and camp-followers, who thrust it on the end of a lance, and paraded it round the camp, jeering and chanting: 'Galba, Cupid, show your vigour!' The point of their mockery being that when congratulated a few days before on his youthful looks and strength, Galba had quoted *Homer* [p. 508] in reply:

'Still my vigour's unimpaired.'

A freedman of *Patrobius* [p. 564] Neronianus bought the head from them for a hundred gold pieces, so that he could hurl it to the ground at the place where his patron had been executed on Galba's orders. Ultimately Galba's steward *Argivus* [p. 428] reunited it with the trunk, and the ashes were interred in a tomb in Galba's private gardens beside the *Aurelian* [p. 500] Way.

BOOK SEVEN: XXI HIS PERSONAL APPEARANCE

Galba was of average height, quite bald, and with blue eyes and a hooked nose. His feet and hands were so twisted by gout that he could never endure shoes for long, or hold a parchment scroll let alone unroll it. His body was ruptured on the right side too, such that it required a truss for support.

BOOK SEVEN: XXII HIS PERSONAL HABITS

He was said to be a hearty eater and in winter would breakfast before dawn, while at dinner he ate so well that he would have the scraps from his meal,

that were heaped before him, passed to the servants who waited on him, for them to share.

His sexual inclination was for men, whom he preferred strong and mature. They say that in Spain where *Icelus* [p. 510], a long-standing favourite with him, brought him news of Nero's death, he not only welcomed him frankly with the most intimate of kisses, but begged him to prepare for sexual indulgence, and promptly took him aside.

BOOK SEVEN: XXIII REACTION TO HIS DEATH

Galba died at the age of seventy, early in the seventh month of his reign. The Senate voted him a statue as soon as they were allowed to do so, to be erected in the Forum at the spot where he was killed, which portrayed him standing on a column which was decorated with ships' beaks, but *Vespasian* [p. 620] annulled this decree, convinced that Galba had sent agents from Spain to Judaea, with orders to assassinate him.

Book Seven: Otho



Translator's Note. Suetonius' chapter numbers are in brackets after mine

BOOK SEVEN: XXIV (I) OTHO'S ANCESTRY

Otho's [p. 558] ancestors came from the old nobility of *Ferentium* [p. 493] (Ferento), descended from princes of *Etruria* [p. 491]. His grandfather, *Marcus* [p. 586] Salvius Otho, the son of a Roman knight, and a woman of humble birth who may not even have been freeborn, owed his appointment as Senator to *Livia* [p. 527] Augusta, in whose house he was brought up, though he himself never rose beyond the rank of praetor.

Otho's father, *Lucius* [p. 586], was descended from a distinguished family on his mother's side, with many powerful connections, and was such a favourite of *Tiberius* [p. 608], and so similar to him in appearance, that many believed him to be the emperor's son.

Lucius acted with great severity in carrying out various roles in Rome, as proconsul in Africa, and in a number of special military appointments. In *Illyricum* [p. 510] he went so far as to execute a number of soldiers who during *Camillus* [p. 499]' rebellion had killed the officers who had persuaded them to

defect and had acted as ringleaders of the revolt against *Claudius* [p. 464]. Lucius had them executed in his presence in front of his headquarters, even though Claudius had promoted them for their loyalty. He thereby lost favour at Court even though his personal reputation was enhanced.

However he quickly regained ground, through his detection of a conspiracy to kill the emperor, instigated by a Roman knight, and betrayed by the man's slaves. As a result, the Senate granted him exceptional honour by setting up a statue of him in the Palace, while Claudius enrolled him among the patricians and praised him most highly, saying 'I could not hope for greater loyalty even in my own children.'

His wife, *Albia* [p. 415] Terentia, a woman as I have said who came from an illustrious family, bore him two sons, the elder *Lucius* [p. 586] Titianus and the younger Marcus Otho, the future emperor, named after his grandfather. There was also a daughter, who was betrothed to *Germanicus's* [p. 503] son *Drusus* [p. 486], when she was barely of marriageable age.

BOOK SEVEN: XXV (II) FRIEND TO NERO

Otho was born on the 28th of April 32AD, in the consulship of *Furius* [p. 499] Camillus Arruntius and *Domitius* [p. 484] Ahenobarbus, Nero's father. In early youth he was so profligate and insolent that he earned many a beating from his own father. They say he used to roam the City at night seizing on anyone who was drunk or crippled and tossing them in a blanket.

After his father died, he feigned love for an influential freedwoman at Court, though she was old and decrepit, in order to win her favour, and then used her to insinuate himself among the emperor's friends, easily achieving the role of *Nero's* [p. 549] chief favourite, not only because they were of a similar disposition, but also some say because of a sexual relationship. Otho's influence was such that after offering a huge bribe to guarantee a pardon from the Senate for an ex-consul expelled after being found guilty of extortion, he had no hesitation in reintroducing the man to the House, to thank the Senators in anticipation for his reinstatement.

BOOK SEVEN: XXVI (III) GOVERNOR OF LUSITANIA

He was aware of all *Nero's* [p. 549] secrets and schemes, throwing a most elaborate banquet, to avert suspicion, on the day Nero planned to murder his mother.

Again he undertook a form of marriage with *Poppaea* [p. 576] Sabina, till then Nero's mistress, whom Nero had separated from her husband and handed over to Otho for protection, for not content with simply enjoying her Otho became so enamoured of her that he could not bear the thought of having even Nero as a rival. Anyway it is said that he not only refused to admit the messengers Nero sent to retrieve her, but even denied the emperor himself access, leaving him to threaten and plead outside the door, demanding the return of the woman he had entrusted to him. So Nero annulled the marriage, and effectively banished Otho, by appointing him as governor of *Lusitania* [p. 534] (in 58AD), not daring to act more severely for fear of exposing himself to public mockery. Nevertheless the following verse was soon in circulation:

'Why is Otho exiled: his province mere pretence?
Adultery with his wife, it seems, was his sole offence.'

Holding the rank of quaestor, Otho continued to govern the province for ten years, with exceptional moderation and self-control.

BOOK SEVEN: XXVII (IV) HOPES OF ACCESSION

Yet he seized the first opportunity for revenge, by supporting *Galba's* [p. 500] cause, while the issues of the day filled him with hopes of achieving power on his own account. More so, because of a prophecy that he would survive *Nero* [p. 549], made by the astrologer *Seleucus* [p. 590], who appeared unexpectedly and unprompted to deliver a further promise that Otho would soon become emperor too.

Otho was therefore careful to pursue every opportunity for flattering others and showing them attention. When he entertained Galba at dinner, he gave each man of the bodyguard a gold piece, and so ensured that every soldier was obligated to him in some way. When he was asked by a friend to

arbitrate in a legal dispute over land, he bought the whole property and then presented it to the man as a gift.

In consequence, there were few who did not think and freely declare that he alone was the right man to claim the succession.

BOOK SEVEN: XXVIII (V) PREPARATION FOR A COUP

Otho had hoped to be adopted by *Galba* [p. 500] as his successor, and anticipated the announcement daily. But *Piso* [p. 451] was chosen, dashing Otho's hopes, and causing him to resort to force, prompted not only by feelings of resentment but also by his mounting debts. He declared that frankly he would have to declare himself bankrupt, unless he became emperor, and that it would matter little then whether he fell in battle at the hands of the enemy, or in the Forum at those of his creditors.

He had extracted ten thousand gold pieces from one of Galba's slaves in exchange for obtaining a stewardship for the man, a few days before, and this was the entire capital available for his attempt.

Initially he confided in five of his bodyguard, then a further ten, the first five each choosing two allies, and gave all of them a hundred gold pieces each, with a promise of fifty more. These fifteen recruited others, a limited number since Otho was confident of widespread support as soon as he initiated his coup.

BOOK SEVEN: XXIX (VI) SEIZING POWER

His first thought, immediately *Piso's* [p. 451] adoption was declared, was to take over the Guards camp, and attack *Galba* [p. 500] at dinner in the Palace. However his fear of further harming the reputation of the cohort on duty, the cohort which had been present both when *Caligula* [p. 449] was assassinated and when *Nero* [p. 549] was left to his fate, led him reluctantly to drop the idea. Five days delay was then incurred due to adverse omens and the warnings of *Seleucus* [p. 590].

When the moment was finally ripe, Otho called on Galba in the morning as usual, receiving the customary embrace, having ordered his

confederates to wait for him in the Forum, by the gilded pillar next to the Temple of *Saturn* [p. 587]. Otho then joined the emperor in offering sacrifice, and was listening to the priests' interpretation of the omens when a freedman told him the surveyors had arrived, the signal agreed on. Saying that he was off to view a house which was for sale, he quickly left the Palace by a side entrance and headed for the meeting-place, though an alternative version of his excuse is that he pretended to be ill with fever, and asked for that reason to be given if he were missed from the gathering.

Once at the rendezvous, he climbed hastily into a closed sedan-chair, such as women employ, and was carried swiftly to the camp. The bearers' strength flagging, he leapt out again, and set off running, stopping only when his shoe came loose, at which point his friends hoisted him on their shoulders and acclaimed him Emperor. Everyone they met joined the throng, as readily as if they were sworn accomplices and a part of the conspiracy, and that is how Otho arrived at his headquarters, amidst cheering and the brandishing of swords.

He at once sent men to kill Galba and Piso, and his only promise to the gathering of soldiers, made with a view to winning their loyalty, was that he would assume whatever powers, and only those powers, which they would consent to grant him.

BOOK SEVEN: XXX (VII) EXERCISING COMMAND

It was dusk when he made his entrance to the Senate House, and delivered a brief account of events, claiming to have been carried off through the streets and compelled to take command, which, he stated, he would exercise, in accord with the public will. He then went to the Palace. He showed no dissent when, among all the other cries of adulation, flattery and acclaim, the crowd hailed him as *Nero* [p. 549]. In fact, some say, he used that surname from the first, in issuing written orders and in his letters to provincial governors. He certainly allowed the reinstatement of busts and statues of Nero, and reappointed Nero's procurators and freedmen to their posts; his first decree being a grant of half a million gold pieces to allow the completion of the Golden House.

Before the next dawn, he is said to have been troubled by a nightmare, in which *Galba* [p. 500] deposed and ousted him. He gave out loud groans, and was found lying on the ground beside his bed, by the servants who ran to his aid. He tried to propitiate Galba's shade, performing every manner of expiatory rite; but while he was taking the auspices next morning, a storm arose, and he fell heavily, which caused him to mutter from time to time: 'What is a soldier doing trying to play the virtuoso's part?'

BOOK SEVEN: XXXI (VIII) CIVIL WAR AGAINST VITELLIUS

Meanwhile the army in Germany had sworn allegiance to *Vitellius* [p. 624]. When the news reached Otho he persuaded the Senate to send a deputation, advising the soldiers to maintain peace and order, since an emperor had already been chosen. However he also sent envoys with letters and personal messages, offering to share power with Vitellius, and marry his daughter.

With civil war clearly inevitable, on the approach of Vitellius's advance guard, who had marched on Rome led by their generals, Otho was suddenly granted proof of the Praetorian Guard's loyalty to him, by events which almost ended in a massacre of Senators. The marines had been detailed to transport a load of arms aboard ship, but as the weapons were being removed from the Praetorian armoury, some among the guardsmen suspected treachery on the part of the Senate, and began to protest noisily. This ended in a leaderless rush towards the Palace, where they demanded that the Senators be put to death. Having driven off or killed the officers who tried to stop them, they then burst into the banquet hall, covered in blood, demanding to know where the Emperor was, and refusing to disperse until they had seen him.

Otho began his campaign vigorously, and indeed too hastily, without due respect to the omens, and before the sacred shields had been returned to the Temple of *Mars* [p. 538] after the annual procession, traditionally an unlucky time. It was on the very day also (24th March) when the followers of *Cybele* [p. 478], Mother of the Gods, began their ritual lament. The auspices too were distinctly unfavourable since Otho, when making an offering to Father *Dis* [p. 557], found healthy entrails, the reverse of what was hoped for from such a sacrifice.

His departure from Rome was then delayed by the flooding of the Tiber, and at the twentieth milestone he found the road blocked by collapsed buildings.

BOOK SEVEN: XXXII (IX) MILITARY DEFEAT

Though no one doubted that the sensible strategy was to prolong the war, since the rebel troops were constrained by lack of supplies and room for manoeuvre, Otho resolved to decide the issue as soon as possible, affected either by continuing anxiety over the outcome, and hopes that the conflict could be ended before Vitellius's arrival, or by his troops' enthusiasm, since they were clamouring for a fight. However he stayed behind the front, and remained at *Brixellum* [p. 442] (Brescia).

His army won three engagements, but of a minor nature, firstly in the Alps, then near *Placentia* [p. 568], and finally at a place called *Castor's* [p. 458], and were ultimately defeated in a decisive and treacherous encounter at *Betriacum* [p. 439] (on the 14th April). There was the promise of a truce, but when Otho's troops went forward in the belief that peace terms were to be discussed, and as they were greeting the enemy, a battle was unexpectedly forced on them.

After this defeat, Otho resolved to commit suicide, more from feelings of shame, which many have thought justified, and a reluctance to continue the struggle with such high cost to life and property, than from any diffidence or fear of failure shown by his soldiers. He held a substantial force of fresh troops in reserve for a second offensive, with others en route from *Dalmatia* [p. 480], *Pannonia* [p. 560] and *Moesia* [p. 544]. Even without such aid, the men who had met defeat were not so disheartened as to shirk danger, nor did they lack the desire to avenge their disgrace.

BOOK SEVEN: XXXIII (X) PREPARATIONS FOR SUICIDE

My father, *Suetonius* [p. 598] Laetus, served in that war, as an officer of the Equestrian Order with the Thirteenth Legion. He often said, later, that Otho hated civil war and, even as a private citizen, shuddered when the fate of *Brutus* [p. 444] and *Cassius* [p. 456] was mentioned at a banquet; that he would

not have opposed *Galba* [p. 500] if he had not felt certain the matter could be settled bloodlessly; and that the behaviour of a private soldier led him not to cling to life at any cost. This man arrived, bringing news of the army's defeat, but was not believed, and being condemned as liar, coward and deserter, he fell on his sword at the Emperor's feet. My father said that Otho cried out at the sight that he would no longer risk the lives of such brave men, who deserved better.

Embracing his *brother* [p. 586], *nephew* [p. 586] and friends, after advising them separately to seek safety as best they might, he dismissed them with a kiss. Then he found a secluded place and wrote two letters, one to his sister, of consolation, and a second to *Nero's* [p. 549] widow, *Statilia* [p. 596] Messalina, whom he had intended to marry, asking her to attend to his funeral, and preserve his memory. He then burned all his private correspondence lest it fall into Vitellius's hands, in order to avoid causing any risk or harm to others. He also distributed whatever money he had to hand among his servants.

BOOK SEVEN: XXXIV (XI) HIS DEATH

Now resolved to die, and having prepared for suicide, Otho heard a disturbance outside, and learnt that soldiers who tried to leave the camp were being seized, and detained as deserters. He forbade anyone to be forcibly restrained, saying, and I quote: 'Let us have one more night of life.' And he left his bedroom door open till late, granting privilege of access to all who wished to speak to him. After quenching his thirst with a draught of cold water, and placing a dagger, selected for its sharpness from a pair which he had to hand, under his pillow, he closed the door and slept soundly.

On waking at dawn (on the 16th of April, AD69), he promptly dealt himself a single knife-blow in the left side of his chest, and first concealing and then showing the wound to those who rushed in at the sound of his groaning, he breathed his last. His orders that his ashes should be interred promptly were duly carried out. *Otho* [p. 558] was thirty-six years old when he died, on the ninety-second day of his reign.

**BOOK SEVEN: XXXV (XII) APPEARANCE, HABITS, REACTION
TO HIS DEATH**

Neither his bodily form nor appearance suggested great courage. He is said to have been of medium height, bandy-legged and splay-footed, though as fastidious as a woman in personal matters. He had his body-hair plucked, and wore a toupee to cover his scanty locks, so well-made and so close-fitting that its presence was not apparent. They say also that he shaved every morning and since boyhood had smeared his face with moist bread to discourage a beard, and that he would celebrate the rites of *Isis* [p. 511] publicly, wearing the linen garment prescribed by her cult.

In my opinion, it was the contrast between these affectations and the manner of his death that excited wonder. Many of the soldiers present kissed the hands and feet of the corpse, and weeping bitterly called him the bravest of men and the best of emperors, before committing suicide themselves beside his pyre. Many who were not there killed each other in a transport of grief when they heard news of his death.

So the majority of those who hated him most bitterly while he was alive, loaded him with praise as soon as he was dead, and it was commonly believed that he had killed *Galba* [p. 500], not so much for the sake of power, but in order to restore liberty and the Republic.

Book Seven: Vitellius



Translator's Note: Suetonius' chapter numbers are in brackets after mine

BOOK SEVEN: XXXVI (I) THE VITELLI

Widely varying accounts of the Vitelli are given, some writers claiming the family's origins to be ancient and noble, others recent and undistinguished, even humble. I would have judged these claims to originate from the supporters and detractors of the Emperor respectively, were it not that conflicting opinions regarding the family's status were already held at a much earlier date.

There is a work by Quintus *Elogius* [p. 489], addressed to a certain Quintus *Vitellius* [p. 626], who was one of *Augustus's* [p. 433] quaestors, which states that the Vitelli were descended from *Faunus* [p. 492], King of the *Aborigines* [p. 403], and *Vitellia* [p. 624] who was worshipped widely as a goddess, and that they ruled all Latium; that the surviving members of the family moved from Sabine territory to Rome, and were enrolled among the patricians; that their name was given to the Vitellian Way running from the Janiculum to the sea, and also to a colony which they had once asked permission to defend against the *Aequiculi* [p. 409], with troops raised among the family; that later, at the time of the Samnite War, when a force was sent

into Apulia, some of the Vitelli settled at *Nuceria* [p. 553] (c307BC); and that eventually their descendants returned to Rome and took up their place in the Senatorial Order.

On the other hand, several authors have written that the family was founded by a freedman, and Cassius *Severus* [p. 458] is not alone in claiming the man was a shoemaker and his son an informer, who made a considerable fortune from confiscated estates and fathered, by a commoner the daughter of *Antiochus* [p. 419] a baker, a boy who became a Roman knight.

However, this difference in the versions must be left unresolved.

BOOK SEVEN: XXXVII (II) IMMEDIATE ANCESTORS

At all events, *Publius* [p. 626] Vitellius of *Nuceria* [p. 553], whether of ancient nobility or humble origin, was indeed a knight and one of *Augustus's* [p. 433] stewards. He produced four sons who each achieved high rank, named *Aulus* [p. 625], *Quintus* [p. 626], *Publius* [p. 626] and *Lucius* [p. 625].

Aulus was given to extravagance and especially noted for the magnificence of his banquets. He died during the year of his consulship (32AD), having been appointed along with *Domitius* [p. 484] Ahenobarbus, *Nero's* [p. 549] father.

Quintus was expelled from the Senate (in 17AD), at the time when, at *Tiberius's* [p. 608] suggestion, there was a purge of undesirable Senators.

Publius was on *Germanicus's* [p. 503] staff, and was one of those who successfully prosecuted (20AD) Gnaeus Calpurnius *Piso* [p. 451], Germanicus's enemy who had conspired to murder him. Publius held the praetorship, and was arrested as one of *Sejanus's* [p. 590] accomplices (35AD), and handed over to the custody of his own brother. He cut his wrists with a penknife, but though ready to die, gave way to his friends' entreaties, and allowed his wounds to be bandaged. He recuperated but then died a natural death during his subsequent confinement.

Lucius became consul (in 34AD), and was then made Governor of Syria, where his expert diplomacy resulted in a conference with *Artabanus* [p. 429], King of *Parthia* [p. 562], who even made obeisance to the legionary standards. He later held two further consulships (43 and 47AD) under

Claudius [p. 464], and also the censorship (47AD), having been in charge of the Empire while Claudius was campaigning in Britain (in 43AD). Lucius was both honest and active, though involved in a notorious relationship with a freedwoman whom he doted on, going so far as to mix her spittle with honey and rubbing his throat with the lotion, for medicinal purposes, not occasionally in private but every day and in public.

He had a great gift for flattery, and on his return from Syria was the first, to adore *Caligula* [p. 449] as a god, veiling his head whenever he had audience with the Emperor, averting his gaze, and then prostrating himself. Likewise he seized every opportunity of gaining Claudius's favour, cultivating his wives and freedmen, to whom Claudius was a slave. He begged *Messalina* [p. 616] to grant him the highest of favours by allowing him to remove her slippers, carrying the right one about with him after doing so, lodged between tunic and toga, and occasionally bestowing on it a kiss. He also honoured Narcissus and Pallas, the freedmen, by placing their images among his household gods. When Claudius re-celebrated the *Secular* [p. 590] Games (in 47AD), it was Lucius who congratulated the Emperor, with the famous jest: 'May you do this often.'

BOOK SEVEN: XXXVIII (III) BIRTH, CHILDHOOD, YOUTH

Lucius [p. 625] died of a stroke, on the second day after the seizure (51AD), leaving two sons by *Sestilia* [p. 593], an excellent lady of good family, both sons having achieved the consulship in the same year (48AD); the *younger* [p. 625] Lucius succeeding the elder Aulus for the last six months. On his death, the Senate honoured their father with a public funeral, and a statue on the Rostra inscribed: 'Steadfast in his duty to the Emperor.'

Lucius's son Aulus, the future emperor, was born on the 24th of September 15AD, or according to some authorities on the 7th, during the consulship of *Drusus* [p. 488] Caesar and *Norbanus* [p. 552] Flaccus. His parents were so appalled by his horoscope, as revealed by the astrologers, that his father, while he lived, tried to prevent his son winning a province, and when he was sent to command the legions, and subsequently hailed as emperor, his mother lamented and gave him up for lost.

His boyhood and early youth were spent on *Capreae* [p. 454] (Capri) among *Tiberius's* [p. 608] creatures, he himself being marked by the nickname of 'Spintria' (sex-token) throughout his life, and suspected of having secured his father's first promotion to office by surrendering his own chastity.

BOOK SEVEN: XXXIX (IV) A FAVOURITE OF THREE EMPERORS

As he grew older, though contaminated by every kind of vice, Vitellius gained and kept a prominent place at court, winning *Caligula's* [p. 449] friendship by his devotion to chariot-racing and *Claudius's* [p. 464] by his love of dice. With *Nero* [p. 549] he was even closer, not merely because of those passions, but because of one particular incident when he was presiding at the Neronia (in 65AD), the Games held in honour of the Emperor. Nero wanted to compete with the lyre-players, but was reluctant to do so without being invited to participate, despite the clamour for him, and so left the theatre. Vitellius, feigning to be an envoy from the disappointed crowd, provided Nero with the opportunity to concede to their entreaties.

BOOK SEVEN: XL (V) HIGH OFFICE

Honoured, as these emperors' favourite, with high office in the priesthood, as well as political power, he governed Africa (under Nero, in 60/61AD) as proconsul, and was then Curator of Public Works (in 63AD), employing a contrasting approach, and with a contrasting effect on his reputation. In his province he acted with outstanding integrity over two successive years, since he served as deputy also to his *brother* [p. 625] who succeeded him (61/62AD) yet during his administration of the City he was said to have stolen various temple offerings and ornaments, and substituted brass and tin for the gold and silver in others.

BOOK SEVEN: XLI (VI) HIS MARRIAGES

He took to wife *Petronia* [p. 565], the daughter of an ex-consul, and had a son, *Petronianus* [p. 565], by her, who was blind in one eye. In her will this son was named heir, subject to Vitellius renouncing his parental rights, to which he consented. However the general belief is that Vitellius murdered him shortly afterwards, though claiming that Petronianus had intended parricide but, overcome by conscience, had committed suicide, drinking the very poison he had intended to administer.

Vitellius later married *Galeria* [p. 501] Fundana, daughter of an ex-praetor, and had by her a son Vitellius *Germanicus* [p. 625] who stammered so badly that he was tongue-tied and all but mute, as well as a daughter, *Vitellia* [p. 624].

BOOK SEVEN: XLII (VII) POSTING TO LOWER GERMANY

Contrary to all expectations, *Galba* [p. 500] appointed Vitellius to Lower Germany (in 68AD). Some think it was brought about by Titus *Vinius* [p. 624], whose influence was powerful at that time, and whose friendship Vitellius had previously won through their mutual support for the 'Blues' in the Circus. But it is clear to everyone that Galba chose him as an act of contempt rather than favour, commenting that gluttons were among those least to be feared, and Vitellius's endless appetite would now be able to sate itself on a province.

It is well-known that Vitellius was short of money for his initial travelling expenses; that his funds were so low he hired a garret for his wife and children before leaving Rome, and hired out his house for rest of the year; and that he pawned a valuable pearl earring of his mother's to pay for his journey. He shook off the throng of creditors who waylaid him and would have detained him, including representatives of *Sinuessa* [p. 595] and *Formiae* [p. 497], towns whose public revenues he had embezzled, by threatening them with false accusations. He actually brought an action for damages against a freedman over-zealous in his demands, whom he accused of assaulting him, and he refused to settle until he had wrung five hundred gold pieces in damages from the man.

The soldiers in Germany, disaffected towards *Galba* [p. 500], and on the verge of mutiny, received Vitellius with open arms, as a gift from the gods. Here was a man whose father had been three times consul, who was in the prime of life, and of an easy-going and generous disposition. His recent behaviour on the journey had reinforced this good opinion, since he embraced even the ordinary soldiers he met as comrades, and was more than affable to the travellers and mule-drivers at post-houses and inns, asking if they had breakfasted yet and belching companionably to show he had done so himself.

BOOK SEVEN: XLIII (VIII) SUPPORT FROM THE ARMY

From the moment he reached the camp, he set about granting every request made, and on his own initiative cancelled the penalties exacted on men who had been disgraced; the charges against those who awaited trial in the customary mourning garb; and the sentences against those convicted of crimes. So that, before a month had passed, a throng of soldiers, heedless of the late hour, though it was already evening, crowded into his bedroom and carried him off on a tour of the largest villages, casually dressed as he was, while hailing him as emperor. He did the rounds clutching a sword from the shrine of *Mars* [p. 538] that had once been *Caesar's* [p. 518], which had been thrust into his hand at the outset. Before he was returned to headquarters, a stove in the dining hall set the place alight, but his only reaction to the general alarm and concern at the blaze, which seemed an ill omen, were these words addressed to the soldiers: 'Cheer up! It shines on us!'

The army in Upper Germany, which had already transferred allegiance from *Galba* [p. 500] to the Senate, now gave Vitellius their support. He willingly accepted the surname of *Germanicus* [p. 503] which they all insisted on, but deferred acceptance of the title *Augustus* [p. 433], and refused to countenance that of *Caesar*.

BOOK SEVEN: XLIV (IX) OMENS OF WEAKNESS

At the news of *Galba's* [p. 500] assassination, Vitellius made his dispositions, dividing his forces in Germany, retaining one army under his own command. He sent the other against *Otho* [p. 558], and it was at once greeted with a favourable omen, an eagle swooping towards it on the right, wheeling over the standards, and then soaring slowly away, in the direction of the soldiers' advance. Yet when Vitellius began his own march, various equestrian statues erected in his honour collapsed due to a weakness in the construction of the legs, while the laurel wreath he had donned with great ceremony fell into a stream. Later as he was presiding over a court session at *Vienna* [p. 623] (Vienne) a Gallic cockerel perched on his shoulder, and then on the crown of his head.

These omens were confirmed as events unfolded, since he was unable himself to hold the heights to which his generals raised him.

BOOK SEVEN: XLV (X) VICTORY AT BETRIACUM

While still in Gaul, he had news of the victory at *Betriacum* [p. 439], and of *Otho's* [p. 558] suicide. He immediately disbanded the Praetorian Guard, by edict, for setting a dangerous example (by their disloyalty to Galba) and ordered them to be disarmed by their officers. Furthermore, a hundred and twenty of them, who had petitioned Otho, asking to be rewarded for assassinating *Galba* [p. 500], were to be hunted down and punished for their crime.

All this was fine and admirable, and might have raised hopes of his being an outstanding emperor, if the rest of his actions had not been more in keeping with his innate character and former habits than with imperial majesty.

For example, at the start of his advance, he rode through the hearts of cities like a general celebrating a triumph; navigated the rivers in elaborate vessels wreathed in garlands; and banqueted in lavish style, indiscipline rife among his household and the troops, whose excesses and depredations he treated lightly. Not content with dining at public expense, they freed what slaves they pleased, dealing out blows and lashes to owners who complained, repaying them with wounds and sometimes death.

When he reached the plains, and the scene of his generals' victory, where various officers shuddered at the sight and stench of the decomposing corpses, he had the brazenness to rouse them with the comment that the smell of a dead foe was sweet, but that of a fellow Roman still sweeter. Nevertheless he freely knocked back a good draught of neat wine, to better endure the stink, and issued some generally.

Equally tasteless and arrogant was his declaration, after gazing on Otho's simple headstone, that the man deserved no better a memorial, sending the dagger with which Otho committed suicide to the Temple of *Mars* [p. 538], at *Colonia* [p. 470] Agrippinensium (Cologne), as if it were a victory token. He also held an all-night celebration on the slopes of the Apennines.

BOOK SEVEN: XLVI (XI) HIS ACCESSION

He entered Rome to the sound of trumpets, surrounded by standards and banners, wearing a general's cape, sword at his side, his officers in their military cloaks also, and the men with naked blades.

With increasing disregard for the law, human or divine, he then assumed the office of High Priest on the anniversary of the *Allia* [p. 417] (18th July), arranged the elections for the next ten years, and made himself consul for life.

To make his ideal of government absolutely clear to all he made funerary offerings on the *Campus* [p. 452] Martius to the shade of *Nero* [p. 549], attended by a crowd of official priests, and when at the subsequent banquet a flute-player's performance was well-received, he urged him publicly 'to give them something from the *Book of the Master* too', and was the first to leap to his feet and applaud when the flautist rendered one of these songs of Nero's.

BOOK SEVEN: XLVII (XII) HIS FAVOURITES

His reign began in this manner, and he went on to govern the Empire entirely according to the whims and dictates of the lowest types, actors and charioteers, and his freedman *Asiaticus* [p. 430] in particular. In his youth he

had been Vitellius's lover, to their mutual pleasure, but later wearied of his role and fled. Vitellius discovered him selling drink at *Puteoli* [p. 579] (Pozzuoli), and had him clapped in irons, but freed him once more and made him one of his favourites. Then, annoyed by the man's insolent behaviour and his indulgence in petty theft, sold him to an itinerant trainer of gladiators, yet suddenly reclaimed him at the point where he was reserved for the climax of a gladiatorial show.

When Vitellius received the province of Lower Germany he freed Asiaticus, and on his first day as Emperor presented him with the gold ring of knighthood at a banquet, even though that morning he had rejected the clamour for the man to receive the honour, deprecating the idea strongly as representing a stain on the Order.

BOOK SEVEN: XLVIII (XIII) HIS GLUTTONY

Vitellius's worst vices were cruelty and gluttony. He banqueted three or four times a day, starting early and finishing with a drinking bout, and did all his feasts full justice with the use of frequent emetics. He invited himself to different men's houses for each of these meals, every day, the cost per host being at least four thousand gold pieces. The most notorious of these sessions was the dinner given by his brother, *Lucius* [p. 625], to celebrate the imperial entry into Rome, at which they say two thousand dishes of the finest fish and seven thousand birds were served. Yet even this fare was eclipsed by one enormous dish, called by Vitellius 'The Shield of *Minerva* [p. 543], Defence of the City' which he dedicated to the goddess. It contained pike livers, pheasant and peacock brains, flamingo tongues and lamprey milt, extracts of creatures brought by his trading vessels and triremes from the ends of the Empire, Parthia to the Spanish Strait.

Possessing a boundless appetite, and indifferent to decency or the time of day, Vitellius could never restrain himself from stealing the altar cakes and meats, at a sacrifice, out of the very flames themselves, and devouring them on the spot; or while travelling from wolfing down smoking-hot food at the wayside cook-shops, or even picking at the previous day's half-eaten scraps.

BOOK SEVEN: XLIX (XIV) HIS CRUELTY

He was prone to torturing or killing anyone for any reason, including noblemen who had been friends or fellow-students of his, lured to court with various offers falling not far short indeed of a share in ruling the Empire. His treacheries were legion. One man, ill of a fever, who asked for a glass of cold water, received it, with the addition of a little poison, from Vitellius's own hand.

Hardly any of the money-lenders, dealers and tax-collectors, who had ever demanded payment of debts at Rome or of customs-duty on his travels, were spared. When one of these paid a courtesy visit to the Palace one morning, he was bundled off to his death, but the party was immediately recalled. Vitellius quickly quelled any praise of his magnanimity, by stating that he merely wished to witness the execution, and then had the man killed in his presence.

On another occasion two sons who tried to intercede on their father's behalf were put to death alongside him. When a knight being led away called out: 'You are my heir!' he was forced to exhibit the will. When Vitellius found that one of the man's freedmen was down as co-heir, he ordered the freedman executed with the knight. He even had commoners put to death for speaking ill of the Blue faction in public, believing their comments rebellious and directed towards him.

He was particularly hostile to astrologers and lampoonists, putting them to death without trial, on arrest. He had been especially enraged because a placard appeared, following his edict that the astrologers must quit the City and all Italy before the 1st of October, which read: 'Duly approved, by order of the Astrologers, before the appointed date let Vitellius Germanicus cease utterly to exist.'

And at the time of *Sestilia's* [p. 593] death, he was thought to have denied her food when she was ill, because a prophetess of the *Chatti* [p. 461], whom he consulted as if she were the oracle itself, foretold a long and secure reign if he survived his mother. Others claim that she was so weary of the present, and fearful of the future, that she begged her son for a supply of poison which he readily granted.

BOOK SEVEN: L (XV) THE FLAVIAN REVOLT

By the eighth month of his reign (November 69AD) the legions in *Moesia* [p. 544] and *Pannonia* [p. 560] had repudiated Vitellius, and sworn allegiance to *Vespasian* [p. 620] despite his absence, following those of Syria and Judaea who had done so in Vespasian's presence. To retain the goodwill of the remaining troops, Vitellius lavished money on them, publicly and privately, without restraint. He recruited men in Rome, promising volunteers their discharge, after his victory, with the bonuses and privileges usually given to veterans on completion of service.

With his enemies pressing hard on land and sea, he had sent the generals and troops who had fought at *Betriacum* [p. 439] against them, and had sent his *brother* [p. 625] to command the fleet, manned by raw recruits and gladiators. After he had been defeated or betrayed on all fronts, he bargained with *Flavius* [p. 495] Sabinus, Vespasian's brother, for his life and a million gold pieces.

Later, from the Palace steps, he told the assembled soldiers that he proposed to abdicate power, it having been granted him against his will, but at their roar of protest postponed the decision. At dawn the following day, dressed in mourning, he made his way to the Rostra, and tearfully read a declaration of abdication to the crowd. When the citizens and troops again called out, begging him not to lose heart, and competing in shouts of loyalty and vows of support, he found fresh courage. In a sudden and unexpected assault, he drove Sabinus and the other Flavians into the *Capitol* [p. 453], set the Temple of *Jupiter* [p. 521] Optimus Maximus ablaze then feasted in the mansion *Tiberius* [p. 608] had owned, as he watched fire and conflict destroy his enemies.

He soon repented of his actions, and laying the blame on others summoned an assembly, and took an oath, compelling all there to do the same, that he would strive above all for peace. Then drawing the dagger at his side, he offered it to the consul, magistrates and Senators, in turn (as a gesture of abdication), and when all refused set off intending to place it in the Temple of *Concord* [p. 497], but at cries that he himself represented Concord, he returned, saying that he would retain the dagger and adopt the surname Concordia.

BOOK SEVEN: LI (XVI) REFUGE IN THE PALACE

He persuaded the Senate to send envoys, accompanied by the *Vestal* ^[p. 621] Virgins, to sue for peace or at least gain time for consultations. The next day as he awaited a response, news came that the enemy were approaching. He was swiftly carried to his *father's* ^[p. 625] house on the Aventine, by sedan chair, accompanied only by his pastry-cook and chef, intending to flee from there to Campania. Presently however, a faint and doubtful rumour that an armistice had been arranged tempted him back to the Palace. Finding it deserted, he donned a money-belt filled with gold pieces, as his companions began to drift away, and took refuge in the porter's lodge, tethering a dog outside, and piling a couch and mattress against the door.

BOOK SEVEN: LII (XVII) HIS DEATH

The vanguard of *Vespasian's* ^[p. 620] army had now forced its way into the Palace, unopposed, and the soldiers were ransacking the rooms, in their usual manner. They hauled Vitellius, unrecognised, from his hiding place, asked his name and where the Emperor might be. He gave some lying answer, but was soon identified, so he begged for safe custody, even if that meant imprisonment, claiming he had important information for Vespasian regarding his security.

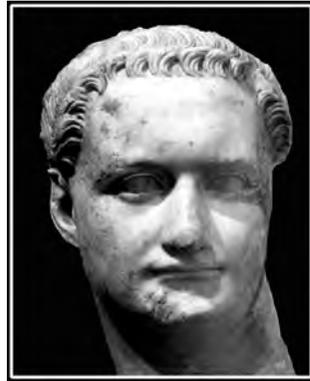
However his arms were bound behind him and a noose flung over his head, and he was dragged along the Sacred Way to the Forum, amid a hail of mockery and abuse, half-naked, with his clothes in tatters. His head was held back by the hair, like a common criminal and, with a sword-point under his chin so that he was forced to look up and reveal his face, he was pelted with filth and dung, denounced as arsonist and glutton, and taunted with his bodily defects by the crowd. For, Vitellius was exceptionally tall, and his face was usually flushed from some drinking bout. He had a huge belly, too, and one thigh crippled by a blow from a four-horse chariot which struck him when he was in attendance on *Caligula* ^[p. 449] who was driving.

At last, after being tormented by a host of cuts from the soldiers' swords, he was killed on the *Gemonian* [p. 502] Stairs, and his body dragged with a hook to the Tiber.

BOOK SEVEN: LIII (XVIII) THE OMEN FULFILLED

Vitellius died at the age of fifty-four, along with his *brother* [p. 625] and *son* [p. 625], fulfilling the interpretation of the omen, previously mentioned, which occurred at *Vienna* [p. 623] (Vienne), that he was destined to fall to some man from Gaul, since he was killed by *Antonius* [p. 424] Primus, Vespasian's general, who was born at *Tolosa* [p. 613] (Toulouse) and whose nickname in childhood had been Becco, as well, which means a rooster's beak.

Book VIII: Vespasian, Titus, Domitian



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Book Eight: Vespasian (Later Deified)



BOOK EIGHT: I THE FLAVIANS

The Flavians seized power, and the Empire, long troubled and adrift, afflicted by the usurpations and deaths of three emperors, at last achieved stability. True they were an obscure family, with no great names to boast of, yet one our country has no need to be ashamed of, even though it is generally thought that *Domitian's* [p. 482] assassination was a just reward for his cruelty and greed.

One Titus *Flavius* [p. 495] Petro, a citizen of *Reate* [p. 582] (Rieti), a centurion or volunteer reservist under *Pompey* [p. 573] during the Civil Wars, made his way home from the battlefield of *Pharsalus* [p. 566], and after securing his pardon and a full discharge, became a debt-collector. His son, surnamed *Sabinus* [p. 495], took no part in military life, despite the fact that some say he was a leading centurion, others that he retired through ill-health after commanding a cohort, but collected customs-duties in Asia Minor, where for some time in various cities statues of him existed, erected in his honour and inscribed: 'To an honest tax-collector.' He later conducted a banking business among the *Helvetii* [p. 506], and died there, leaving a wife, *Vespasia* [p. 620] Polla, and two sons, *Sabinus* [p. 495], the elder, who became City Prefect, and Vespasian, the younger, the future emperor. Vespasia came of good

family, her father *Vespasius* [p. 621] Pollio of *Nursia* [p. 553] (Norcia) being three times a military tribune and also camp prefect, while her brother was a Senator with praetor's rank.

Moreover, on a hilltop, near the sixth milestone on the road from Nursia (Norcia) to *Spoletium* [p. 596] (Spoleto), at a place called *Vespasiae* [p. 553], many monuments to the Vespasii can be seen, testifying to the family's antiquity and renown.

I should add that some writers claim that Petro's father, Vespasian's paternal great-grandfather, came from beyond the River Po, and was a contractor of Umbrian labourers who crossed the river each year to work in the Sabine fields, and that he married and settled in Reate (Rieti). But I have found no evidence of this myself, despite detailed investigation.

BOOK EIGHT: II EARLY LIFE

Vespasian [p. 620] was born in the Sabine country, in the little village of *Falacrinae* [p. 492] just beyond *Reate* [p. 582] (Rieti), on the 17th of November 9AD in the consulship of Quintus *Sulpicius* [p. 600] Camerinus and Gaius *Poppaeus* [p. 576] Sabinus, five years before the death of *Augustus* [p. 433]. He was raised by his paternal grandmother *Tertulla* [p. 605] on her estate at *Cosa* [p. 476] and, as Emperor, would often revisit the villa he had lived in as an infant, the house being left untouched, since he wished it to remain as he had known it. He was so devoted to his grandmother's memory that on feast days and holy days he would drink from a little silver cup that had been hers.

He waited years after his coming of age before attempting to earn the purple stripe of a Senator, already gained by his *brother* [p. 495], and in the end it was his mother who drove him to do so, by sarcasm, rather than parental authority or entreaties, constantly taunting him with acting as his brother's footman and merely clearing the way for him in the street.

Vespasian served in *Thrace* [p. 607] (in 36AD) as a military tribune, and as quaestor was assigned Crete and Cyrenaica by lot. He attained the aedileship (in 38AD) after a previous failed attempt, and then only in sixth place, but achieved the praetorship (in 39AD) at his first time of asking, and in the front rank. As praetor he lost no chance of winning favour with *Caligula*

[p. 449], who was then at odds with the Senate, proposing special Games to celebrate the Emperor's German victory. He also proposed that the conspirators, Aemilius *Lepidus* [p. 407] and Lentulus *Gaeticulus* [p. 525], should be denied public burial.

Invited to dine with the Emperor, he thanked him during a full session of the Senate, for deigning to show him such honour.

BOOK EIGHT: III MARRIAGE

Meanwhile he had married *Flavia* [p. 494] Domitilla, formerly the mistress of *Statilius* [p. 596] Capella, a Roman knight from *Sabrata* [p. 584] in North Africa. She was only of Latin rank, but became a full citizen of Rome after her father *Flavius* [p. 495] Liberalis, a humble quaestor's clerk from *Ferentium* [p. 493] (Ferento), established her claim before a board of arbitration. Vespasian had three children by her, *Titus* [p. 612], *Domitian* [p. 482], and *Domitilla* [p. 494] the Younger. He outlived his wife and daughter, both dying in fact before he became Emperor. After his wife's death, he took up with *Caenis* [p. 446], his former mistress, once more, she being a freedwoman and secretary to *Antonia* [p. 420] the Younger. Even after becoming Emperor, he treated Caenis as his wife in all but name.

BOOK EIGHT: IV MILITARY CAREER AND GOVERNORSHIPS

Under *Claudius* [p. 464], he was sent to Germany (in 41AD) to command a legion, thanks to the influence of *Narcissus* [p. 547]. From there he was posted to *Britain* [p. 442] (in 43AD), where partly under the leadership of Aulus *Plautius* [p. 569] and partly that of Claudius himself, he fought thirty times, subjugating two powerful tribes, more than twenty strongholds, and the offshore island of Vectis (the Isle of Wight). This earned him triumphal regalia, and a little later two priesthoods and the consulship (in 51AD) which he held for the last two months of the year. The period until his proconsular appointment he spent at leisure. in retirement, for fear of *Agrippina* [p. 413] the Younger, who held powerful influence still over her son *Nero* [p. 549], and loathed any friend of Narcissus even after his death.

He won, by lot, the governorship of Africa (in 63AD), ruling it soundly and with considerable dignity, except when he was pelted with turnips during a riot at *Hadrumetum* [p. 505]. It is certain that he gained no great riches there, since his debts were such that he mortgaged his estates to his *brother* [p. 495], and resorted to the mule-trade to finance his position, becoming known as the 'Muleteer'. He is also said to have received a severe reprimand for squeezing a bribe of two thousand gold pieces out of one young man, while gaining him Senatorial rank against his father's wishes.

He toured Greece in *Nero's* [p. 549] retinue, but deeply offended the Emperor by leaving the room frequently while Nero was singing, and falling asleep when he was there. As a result, he was banished from favour and from court, retiring to an obscure township where he lay low, fearful of his life, until he found himself suddenly in charge of a province and in command of an army (in 66AD).

An ancient and well-established belief became widespread in the East that the ruler of the world at this time would arise from *Judaea* [p. 512]. This prophecy as events proved referred to the future Emperor of Rome, but was taken by the Jews to apply to them. They rebelled, killed their governor, and routed the consular ruler of Syria also, when he arrived to restore order, capturing an Eagle. To crush the rebels needed a considerable force under an enterprising leader, who would nevertheless not abuse power. Vespasian was chosen, as a man of proven vigour, from whom little need be feared, since his name and origins were quite obscure.

Two legions with eight divisions of cavalry and ten cohorts of auxiliaries were added to the army in Judaea, and Vespasian took his elder son, *Titus* [p. 612], along as one of his lieutenants. On reaching his province, he impressed even the neighbouring provinces with his reform of army discipline, and his bravery in a couple of battles, including the storming of a fort at which he was wounded in the knee by a sling-stone and took several arrows on his shield.

BOOK EIGHT: V OMENS AND PROPHECIES

After the deaths of *Nero* [p. 549] and *Galba* [p. 500], as *Otho* [p. 558] and *Vitellius* [p. 624] fought for power, Vespasian began to nurture hopes of imperial glory, which had been engendered long before by the following portents.

An ancient oak-tree, sacred to *Mars* [p. 538], that grew on the Flavian's suburban estate, suddenly put out a new shoot from its trunk each time that *Vespasia* [p. 620] Polla was delivered of a child, the fate of the shoot being linked to the child's destiny. The first shoot was frail and soon withered, and so too the child, a daughter who died within a year. The second was vigorous and long indicating great future success. But the third was more like a new tree itself than a branch. *Sabinus* [p. 495], the father, further encouraged, they say, by the favourable entrails after inspecting a sacrifice, told his mother that she now had a grandson who would become Emperor. She merely laughed, thinking, with amazement, that her son showed signs of entering his dotage while she was still of sound mind.

Later, during Vespasian's aedileship *Caligula* [p. 449] was so angered by his dereliction of duty in not keeping the City streets clean that he ordered his guards to plaster Vespasian with mud, which they thrust into the folds of his senatorial gown. But some interpreted this as an omen that he would one day protect and embrace, as it were, his country, abandoned and trampled underfoot in the turmoil of civil war.

On one occasion a stray dog brought in a human hand that it had picked up at the crossroads, and dropped this symbol of power under the table where Vespasian was breakfasting. Again, an ox yoked for ploughing, broke free and burst into the room where he was dining, scattered the servants and, bowing its neck as if suddenly weary, fell at Vespasian's feet. Then there was the cypress tree on his grandfather's farm that was uprooted and levelled, despite there being no storm, yet rose again the next day greener and stronger than before.

In Greece, he dreamed that good fortune would visit him and his family when Nero next lost a tooth, and it was so the following day after the physician showed him, in the Imperial quarters, one of Nero's teeth that he had removed.

In *Judaea* [p. 512], Vespasian consulted the oracle of the god at *Carmel* [p. 455], and was greatly encouraged by the promise that whatever he planned and desired, however ambitious it might seem, would be achieved. A prisoner of his, too, a nobleman named *Josephus* [p. 513], declared that he would be released from his fetters by the very man who had ordered him chained, who would by then be Emperor.

There were omens in Rome too. *Nero* [p. 549] was warned in a dream, shortly before his death, to have the sacred chariot of *Jupiter* [p. 521] Optimus Maximus taken from its shrine to Vespasian's house and then to the Circus. And not long after, *Galba* [p. 500] was on his way to the elections which confirmed his second consulship (69AD) when a statue of Julius *Caesar* [p. 518] turned itself to face east. Moreover, two eagles fought above the field of *Betriacum* [p. 439] before the first battle there, and when one was defeated a third flew out of the rising sun to drive off the victor.

BOOK EIGHT: VI SUPPORT FROM THE ARMY

Yet Vespasian made no move, though his follower were ready and eager, until he was roused to action by the fortuitous support of a group of soldiers unknown to him, and based elsewhere. Two thousand men, of the three legions in *Moesia* [p. 544] reinforcing *Otho's* [p. 558] forces, despite hearing on the march that he had been defeated and had committed suicide, had continued on to *Aquileia* [p. 426], and there taken advantage of the temporary chaos to plunder at will. Fearing that if they returned they would be held to account and punished, they decided to choose and appoint an emperor of their own, on the basis that they were every bit as worthy of doing so as the Spanish legions who had appointed *Galba* [p. 500], or the Praetorian Guard which had elected Otho, or the German army which had chosen *Vitellius* [p. 624].

They went through the list of serving consular governors, rejecting them for one reason or another, until in the end they unanimously adopted Vespasian, who was recommended strongly by some members of the Third Legion, which had been transferred to Moesia from Syria immediately prior to *Nero's* [p. 549] death. They had already inscribed his name on their banners, when they were recalled to their oath, and their initiative checked for a time. Nevertheless their move became known, and *Tiberius* [p. 610] Alexander, the prefect in Egypt, was the first to order his legions to swear allegiance to Vespasian, on July 1st (69AD), later celebrated as the date of Vespasian's accession, while the army in *Judaea* [p. 512] swore allegiance to him in person on the 11th.

Momentum was enhanced by the circulation of a letter from Otho to Vespasian, whether a genuine copy or a forgery is not known, urging

Vespasian to avenge him and come to the aid of the Empire; also by a rumour that Vitellius planned to move the legions' winter quarters, transferring those in Germany to the East, and a softer and safer posting; and finally by promises of support from *Licinius* [p. 527] Mucianus, Governor of Syria, who overcame his previous hostility which had been fuelled by blatant jealousy, and committed the Syrian army to the cause, and the *Parthian* [p. 562] king, *Vologases* [p. 626] I, who offered forty thousand archers.

BOOK EIGHT: VII MIRACULOUS EVENTS IN EGYPT

So, renewing civil war, he sent his generals with their troops on to Italy, while he crossed to *Alexandria* [p. 416] to seize control of Egypt. There, dismissing his entourage, he entered the Temple of *Serapis* [p. 591] alone, to consult the auspices as to the length of his reign. After various propitiatory sacrifices, he turned at length to leave, and was greeted by a vision of his freedman *Basilides* [p. 438], who offered him the customary sacred branches, garlands and loaves; Basilides, who had been crippled for some time by rheumatism, and who could not have been admitted to the Temple since he was far away. Almost immediately, letters arrived bearing the news that *Vitellius's* [p. 624] army had been routed at *Cremona* [p. 477], and the Emperor killed at Rome.

Vespasian, an unheralded and newly-forged emperor, as yet lacked even a modicum of prestige and divine majesty, but this too he acquired. As he sat on the Tribunal, two commoners, one blind the other lame, came to him, begging to be healed. Serapis had promised them in dreams that if Vespasian spat into the eyes of the one, and touched the other's leg with his heel, both would be cured. He was dubious about attempting this, since he had little faith in the outcome, but was prevailed upon by his friends and essayed it successfully before a large crowd.

It was at this same time that, at the prompting of the soothsayers, certain antique vases were excavated from a sacred place at *Tegea* [p. 603] in Arcadia, a portrait with which they were decorated bearing a remarkable likeness to Vespasian.

BOOK EIGHT: VIII STRENGTHENING THE STATE

Returning to Rome (in 70AD) attended by such auspices, having won great renown, and after a triumph awarded for the Jewish War, he added eight consulships (AD70-72, 74-77, 79) to his former one, and assumed the censorship. He first considered it essential to strengthen the State, which was unstable and well nigh fatally weakened, and then to enhance its role further during his reign.

The soldiers, some intoxicated by victory, others resentful and humiliated by defeat, had abandoned themselves to every form of licence and excess. The provinces, free cities, and various client kingdoms too were riven by internal dissent. He therefore gave many of *Vitellius's* [p. 624] men their discharge, and disciplined a host of others. However, rather than showing any special indulgence to those who had helped him secure victory, he was slow to pay them even the amounts to which they were entitled.

He seized every opportunity for improving military discipline. For example when a young man, reeking of perfume, came to thank him for the commission he had received, Vespasian turned away his head in disgust, rebuked him sternly with the words: 'I'd rather my soldiers smelt of garlic,' and revoked the appointment. And when the fire-brigade consisting of marines, who marched between *Ostia* [p. 557], *Puteoli* [p. 579] (Pozzuoli), and Rome to carry out their duties, asked for an allowance to pay for footwear, he not only turned them away, but ordered that they should cover the circuit barefoot in future, which has been the practice ever since.

He abolished the free rights of Achaia (Peloponnesian Greece), *Lycia* [p. 534], *Rhodes* [p. 582], *Byzantium* [p. 444] and *Samos* [p. 587], and reduced them to provincial status, along with the kingdoms of Trachean *Cilicia* [p. 461] and *Commagene* [p. 470]. He also reinforced the legions in *Cappadocia* [p. 454] against barbarian incursions, and appointed a consular governor there instead of a mere knight.

Rome was disfigured by fire-damaged and collapsed buildings, so Vespasian allowed anyone who wished to take over vacant sites and build on them, if the owners failed to do so. He personally inaugurated the restoration of the *Capitol* [p. 453], gathering a basketful of debris and lifting it symbolically to his shoulder. He undertook to restore or replace the three

thousand bronze tablets from the temple which had been damaged or lost, initiating a thorough search for copies of these venerable and beautifully-executed records of government, Senate decrees and acts of the commons, dating back to the city's foundation, dealing with treaties, alliances, and privileges granted to individuals.

BOOK EIGHT: IX PUBLIC WORKS

He also undertook new public works; the Temple of Peace near the *Forum* [p. 497]; the completion (AD75) of a shrine of *Claudius* [p. 464] the God on the Caelian Mount, begun by *Agrippina* [p. 413] but almost dismantled under *Nero* [p. 549]; and an amphitheatre (the Colosseum, completed by Titus in 80AD) at the heart of the City, a project which he knew *Augustus* [p. 433] had cherished.

He reformed the Senatorial and Equestrian Orders, their ranks thinned by a series of deaths, and a long period of neglect. He increased their numbers, reviewing both lists, expelling the unworthy, and enrolling the most distinguished Italians and provincials. To make it clear that the difference between the orders was one of status rather than privilege, he decreed that in any quarrel between a knight and a Senator, the Senator must not be offered abuse, but it was right and proper to respond in kind if insulted.

BOOK EIGHT: X OUTSTANDING LAWSUITS

The list of outstanding lawsuits was excessively long, since former cases had not yet been settled due to the disruption of the legal system, and new ones had been instigated as a result of the chaos. He therefore appointed a Commission, selecting its members by lot, to settle compensation claims and whittle down the list by issuing emergency rulings in the Court of the Hundred, since it was clear that the lifetimes of the litigants would not be sufficient to resolve these matters otherwise.

BOOK EIGHT: XI CIVIL REFORM

Licentiousness and reckless behaviour had become the order of the day, so Vespasian persuaded the Senate to decree that any woman who took up with a slave should lose her own freedom; while those lending money to sons still under their father's legal control should be denied the right to enforce payment, even if the father died.

BOOK EIGHT: XII HIS MODESTY

In other matters he was, from first to last, lenient, and unassuming, never trying to play down his humble origins, but even celebrating them. Indeed, when some tried to identify the origins of the Flavian family with the founders of *Reate*^[p. 582] (Rieti), and with a companion of *Hercules*^[p. 507] whose tomb still exists on the Via Salaria, he mocked their efforts.

He was so indifferent to pomp and outward show, that on the day of his triumph (in June AD75), wearied by the slow and tedious procession, he said openly that it served him right, for foolishly desiring a triumph in his old age, as if his ancestors were somehow owed one, or he himself were satisfying some ambition of his own.

He even delayed claiming a tribune's powers, or adopting the title 'Father of the Country' until late in his reign, and even before the civil war was over he had ended the custom of searching those who attended his morning audiences.

BOOK EIGHT: XIII HIS TOLERANCE

Vespasian tolerated his friends' outspokenness, lawyers' quips, and the impertinence of philosophers with the utmost patience. And he only once criticised *Licinius*^[p. 527] Mucianus, a notoriously lewd individual, who treated him with scant respect and traded on his past services, and then only to a friend in private, adding: 'At least I'm a man!'

He personally commended *Salvius*^[p. 586] Liberalis who while defending a wealthy client dared to ask: 'Why should Caesar care whether *Hipparchus*

[p. 508] is a millionaire?' And when he encountered, on his travels, *Demetrius* [p. 480] the Cynic, who had been banished from Rome (in 71AD), and the philosopher made no effort to rise or salute him, merely barking out some insult, Vespasian simply addressed him as you would a dog.

BOOK EIGHT: XIV HIS LACK OF RESENTMENT

He was disinclined to remember, let alone repay, insults and injuries, and went out of his way to arrange a splendid match for his enemy Vitellius's *daughter* [p. 624], even providing her dowry and trousseau.

When, filled with trepidation, after being dismissed from *Nero's* [p. 549] circle, he had asked an usher involved in ejecting him from the Palace what he should do and where he should go, the man had told him to go to the devil. When the same individual later begged his forgiveness, Vespasian restricted himself to a terse reply, of about the same length and content.

He was so far from inflicting death, through fear or suspicion, that when he was warned by friends to keep an eye on *Mettius* [p. 542] Pompusianus, whose horoscope indicated imperial greatness, he made the man consul, so guaranteeing his future gratitude.

BOOK EIGHT: XV HIS CLEMENCY

There is no evidence of any innocent person being punished during his reign, except during his absences from Rome, and without his knowledge or at least against his wishes and by means of deception.

He was even lenient towards *Helvidius* [p. 506] Priscus, who was alone in calling him by his personal name of Vespasian, on his return from Syria, and who, as praetor (70AD) failed to honour the Emperor in superscriptions to his decrees. Vespasian showed no sign of anger until Helvidius began to undermine his status by flagrant insolence. Even then, after banishing him, and later signing his death warrant, he was still reluctant to have the execution carried out; sending men to countermand the order; and Helvidius would indeed have been saved if the messengers had not been deceived by a false report that the man was already dead.

Vespasian certainly never rejoiced at any man's death, but rather sighed and wept over the sufferings of those who deserved punishment.

BOOK EIGHT: XVI HIS CUPIDITY

The only thing which he was guilty of was a love of money. Not content with re-imposing the taxes that *Galba* [p. 500] had repealed, he added new and heavier ones, increasing, even doubling, the tribute levy on individual provinces, and openly engaging in business dealings which would have disgraced a person of lesser rank, for instance cornering the market in certain commodities in order to offload them again at a higher price. And he thought nothing of selling public offices for cash, or pardons to those charged with offences, regardless of their guilt. He is even said to have promoted the greediest of his procurators, so that they might garner riches, before he condemned them for extortion. In fact people used to say he treated them like sponges, so they might soak up, so to speak, before being squeezed dry.

Some say Vespasian was naturally avaricious, a trait he was taunted with after he became Emperor. When an old herdsman of his begged for his freedom, and was told he must buy it, the man cried out that a fox changes its coat, but not its nature. Others however believe that necessity drove him to rob and despoil, so as to raise money, because of the desperate state of his finances and of the Privy Purse. He himself testified at the start of his reign that forty millions were needed to set the State right. This explanation is the more probable in that he made good use of his wealth, however questionably it was gained.

BOOK EIGHT: XVII HIS GENEROSITY

He was extremely generous to all ranks, subsidising Senators who fell short of the financial requirements for office, and granting impoverished ex-consuls annual pensions of five thousand gold pieces. He also restored and improved cities damaged by fire or earthquake.

BOOK EIGHT: XVIII HIS ENCOURAGEMENT OF THE ARTS AND SCIENCES

Vespasian particularly encouraged men of talent in the arts and sciences. He was the first to pay teachers of Latin and Greek rhetoric a regular annual salary of a thousand gold pieces from the Privy Purse. He also awarded fine prizes and lavish gifts to eminent poets and artists, such as the restorer of the *Venus* [p. 619] of Cos and the Colossus of *Nero* [p. 549].

When an engineer offered a low-cost contrivance enabling the transport of heavy columns to the Capitol, Vespasian paid him handsomely for his invention but declined to use the machine, saying: 'You must allow my poor hauliers to earn their bread.'

BOOK EIGHT: XIX HIS SUPPORT FOR THE THEATRE

At his dedication of the new stage of the Theatre of *Marcellus* [p. 537], he revived the former music concerts, and gave *Apelles* [p. 424], the tragic actor four thousand gold pieces, and *Terpnus* [p. 604] and *Diodorus* [p. 481] the lyre-players two thousand each, while several actors received a thousand, the smallest gifts being four hundred. Numerous gold crowns were also distributed.

He was constantly arranging sumptuous formal dinner parties, to encourage the food and wine merchants. And he gave presents to women at the *Matronalia* [p. 521] on the 1st March and to men at the *Saturnalia* [p. 587] in December.

Nevertheless he found it hard to escape his former reputation for meanness. The *Alexandrians* [p. 416] continued to call him *Cybiosactes* 'the dealer in fish-scrap', after one of their most notoriously stingy kings. And at his death, his funeral-mask was worn by *Favor* [p. 493] a leading mimic, who gave the customary imitation of the deceased's words and gestures in life, and called to the procurators asking how much it would all cost. When they answered a hundred thousand in gold he told them to 'make it a thousand, and throw him in the Tiber'.

BOOK EIGHT: XX HIS APPEARANCE AND HEALTH

Vespasian was well-proportioned with firm compact limbs, but always wore a strained expression on his face, such that when he prompted some wit to make a jest about him, the fellow replied: 'I will, when you've finished relieving yourself.'

His health was excellent, and he took no medication, merely massaging his throat and body regularly at the ball-court, and fasting for a day each month.

BOOK EIGHT: XXI HIS DAILY ROUTINE

This was his daily routine. As Emperor he always arose early, before dawn in fact, read his letters and official reports, admitted his friends and received their greetings, and put on his shoes and dressed himself.

After attending to any public business, he would take a drive and then a nap, sleeping with one of the many concubines he had taken after *Caenis's* [p. 446] death.

Following his siesta he bathed, then went off to dine, at which time they say he was at his most affable and indulgent, so that members of his household would seize the opportunity to ask their favours of him.

BOOK EIGHT: XXII HIS WIT AND HUMOUR

He was mostly good-natured at other times as well, not only at dinner, cracking many a joke, always ready with a quick retort, though often of a low and scurrilous nature, and not without the odd obscenity. And many of his witty remarks are remembered, among them the following.

One day an ex-consul, *Mestrius* [p. 542] Florus, took him to task for pronouncing *plaustra* (wagons) in the peasant manner as *plostra*. So the following day Vespasian greeted him as 'Flaurus'.

Some woman declared herself dying of passion with him, so he took her to bed, giving her four gold pieces, and when his steward asked how the

amount should be entered in the accounts, Vespasian told him to put down: 'for love of Vespasian.'

BOOK EIGHT: XXIII QUOTATIONS AND JESTS

He was very apt with his Greek quotations, recalling *Homer* [p. 508], for example, at the sight of a tall man with a grotesquely long penis:

'Covering the ground with long strides, shaking his long-shadowed spear,'

And when a wealthy freedman *Cerylus* [p. 460], changed his name to Laches and claimed to be freeborn to escape paying death duties to the State, Vespasian commented (in the spirit of *Menander* [p. 541]):

'...O Laches, Laches,
When life's over, once more
You'll be Ceryl us, just as before.'

But most of his wit referred to disreputable means of gaining wealth, trying to make them seem less odious with his banter, and turning them into a jest.

Vespasian once turned down a request from a favourite servant who asked for a stewardship for a man he claimed was his brother then he summoned the man himself, appropriated the commission the applicant had agreed to pay the servant, and appointed him immediately. When the servant raised the matter again, Vespasian advised him: 'Find yourself another brother, the one you thought yours turned out to be mine.'

Suspecting, on a journey, that the muleteer had dismounted and was shoeing a mule to create a delay so a litigant could approach him, Vespasian insisted on knowing how much the muleteer had been paid to shoe the animal and promptly appropriated half.

When *Titus* [p. 612] complained about a new tax Vespasian had imposed on the public urinals, he held a coin from the first payment to his son's nose, and asked if it smelt unpleasantly. When Titus replied in the negative, Vespasian commented; 'Yet it's made from piss!'

Receiving a deputation who reported that a huge statue had been voted him at vast public expense, he demanded to have it erected at once, holding out his palm and quipping that the pedestal was ready and waiting.

Even the nearness of great danger or death failed to stem the flow of his humour. When the Mausoleum of Augustus split open, he declared the portent appertained to *Junia* [p. 520] Calvina, she being of the Julian line, while the streaming tail of the comet that simultaneously appeared indicated the long-haired King of the *Parthians* [p. 562]. On his death-bed he joked: 'Oh dear! I think I'm becoming a god.'

BOOK EIGHT: XXIV HIS DEATH

During his ninth consulship, Vespasian was taken ill in Campania, hurried back to Rome then left for his annual trip to *Cutiliae* [p. 478] and his summer retreat near *Reate* [p. 582] (Rieti). Once there, though his frequent cold baths gave him a stomach chill, worsening his illness, he still carried on his imperial duties, even receiving deputations at his bedside, until a sudden bout of diarrhoea almost caused him to faint. He struggled to get to his feet, saying: 'An Emperor should die standing', but expired in the arms of his attendants as they tried to help him. He died on the 23rd of June AD79, at the age of sixty-nine years, seven months, and seven days.

BOOK EIGHT: XXV THE FLAVIAN DYNASTY

Everyone agrees that he had such faith in his horoscope and in those of his family that, despite a succession of conspiracies against him, he felt confident in telling the Senate no one would succeed him except his sons.

He is also said to have dreamed he saw a level pair of scales at the centre of the Palace vestibule, with *Claudius* [p. 464] and *Nero* [p. 549] standing in one pan, himself and his sons in the other. An accurate prophecy, since the total length of both sets of reigns in years was identical.

Book Eight: Titus (Later Deified)



Translator's Note: Suetonius' chapter numbers are in brackets after mine

BOOK EIGHT: XXVI (I) TITUS'S BIRTH

Titus [p. 612], surnamed *Vespasianus* [p. 620] like his father, possessed such an aptitude, by nature, nurture, or good fortune, for winning affection that he was loved and adored by all the world as Emperor, which was no mean task, since as a private citizen, and later when his father reigned, he had not escaped public censure, even loathing.

He was born on the 30th of December AD41, the very year of *Caligula's* [p. 449] assassination, in a little dingy room of a humble dwelling, near the Septizonium, which is still there and can be viewed.

BOOK EIGHT: XXVII (II) FRIENDSHIP WITH BRITANNICUS

He grew up at court, with *Britannicus* [p. 441], and was taught the same curriculum by the same teachers. They say that when *Narcissus* [p. 547], *Claudius's* [p. 464] freedman, brought in a physiognomist to predict Britannicus's future from his features, he was told that Britannicus would

never become emperor, while Titus, who was standing nearby, surely would. The boys were so close that Titus who was dining with him when Britannicus drained the fatal dose of poison, also tasted it, and suffered from a persistent illness as a result.

Titus never forgot their friendship, and later erected a gold statue of Britannicus in the Palace, dedicating a second equestrian statue of him, in ivory, which is to this day carried in procession in the Circus, and walking ahead of it on the occasion of its first appearance.

BOOK EIGHT: XXVIII (III) HIS APPEARANCE AND TALENTS

Even as a child Titus was noted for his beauty and talent, and more so year by year. He was handsome, graceful, and dignified, and of exceptional strength, though of no great height and rather full-bellied. He had an extraordinary memory, and an aptitude for virtually all the arts of war and peace, being a fine horseman, skilled in the use of weapons, yet penning impromptu verses in Greek and Latin with equal readiness and facility. He had a grasp of music too, singing well and playing the harp pleasantly and with ability.

I have also heard from a number of sources that he could write rapid shorthand, and amused himself by competing with his secretaries for fun, and could also imitate anyone's handwriting, often claiming he might have become a prince of forgers.

BOOK EIGHT: XXIX (IV) MILITARY SERVICE AND MARRIAGE

As military tribune in Germany (c57-59AD) and *Britain* [p. 442] (c60-62), he won an excellent reputation for energy and integrity, as is shown by the large number of inscribed statues and busts of him found in both countries.

After this initial army service, he pleaded as a barrister in the Forum, more for the sake of renown than as a profession. At that time he also married *Arrecina* [p. 429] Tertulla, whose father though only a knight, had commanded the Praetorian Guard (AD38-41). She died, and Titus then married (63AD) *Marcia* [p. 537] Furnilla, a lady of noble family, whom he divorced after acknowledging the *daughter* [p. 494] she bore him.

When his quaestorship ended, he commanded one of his father's legions in *Judaea* [p. 512], capturing the strongholds of *Tarichaeae* [p. 602] and *Gamala* [p. 502] (67AD). His horse was killed under him in battle, but he mounted that of a comrade who fell fighting at his side.

BOOK EIGHT: XXX (V) THE CONQUEST OF JUDAEA

He was later sent to congratulate *Galba* [p. 500] on his accession (69AD), and attracted attention throughout his journey, because of the belief that he had been summoned to Rome prior to his adoption by the Emperor.

However, he turned back after witnessing the general chaos, and consulted the oracle of *Venus* [p. 619] at *Paphos* [p. 561] regarding his voyage, the result of his visit encouraging hopes of power, which were quickly confirmed by *Vespasian's* [p. 620] accession. His father left him to complete the conquest of Judaea, and in the final assault on *Jerusalem* [p. 512] (70AD) Titus killed twelve of the defenders with as many arrows, taking the city on his *daughter's* [p. 494] birthday. The soldiers in their delight, hailed him with devotion as Imperator, and urged him on several occasions, with prayers and even threats, not to leave the province, or at worst to let them accompany him.

Suspicious were thus aroused that he meant to rebel against his father and make himself king in the East, a suspicion reinforced by his wearing a coronet at the consecration of the *Apis* [p. 424] bull at *Memphis* [p. 541], on his way to *Alexandria* [p. 416], wholly in conformance with the ceremony of that ancient religion, but nonetheless capable of an unfavourable interpretation by some.

As a result, Titus sailed on swiftly for Italy, in a naval transport, touching at *Rhegium* [p. 582] (Reggio) and *Puteoli* [p. 579] (Pozzuoli). Hurrying on to Rome, he sought to prove the rumours groundless by greeting his father unexpectedly, saying: 'I am here, father, I am here.'

BOOK EIGHT: XXXI (VI) CO-RULER

From then on, he acted as his father's colleague and even protector. He shared in his Judaeian triumph (of AD71), the censorship (AD73), the exercise of tribunicial power, and in seven of his consulships (AD70, 72, 74-77, 79).

Titus took it upon himself to carry out almost all official duties, issued letters and edicts in his father's name and even executed the quaestor's task of reading imperial speeches in the Senate.

He also assumed command of the Praetorian Guard, a post traditionally entrusted to a Roman knight, in which role he behaved in an arrogant and tyrannical manner. Whenever anyone fell under suspicion, he would send guards in secret to theatre or camp, to demand the man's punishment, taking for granted the consent of all present, and would have him promptly executed.

Among his victims was Aulus *Caecina* [p. 445], an ex-consul, whom he invited to dinner and then had stabbed to death as he left, almost on the very threshold of the dining room, though he was driven to it by the exigency of the moment, having intercepted an autograph copy of an address to the troops which Caecina was preparing to deliver.

Though he secured his future by such conduct, he incurred such hatred at the time that scarcely any man achieved supreme power with so adverse a reputation, or to such little acclaim.

BOOK EIGHT: XXXII (VII) HIS POOR REPUTATION VERSUS THE REALITY

He was accused not only of cruelty, but of a prodigal lifestyle, involving midnight revels with riotous friends; of immorality with his troop of male prostitutes and eunuchs; and of a notorious passion for Queen *Berenice* [p. 439], to whom he allegedly promised marriage. Another charge was that of greed, since it was well-known that he took bribes to influence cases that came to his father for judgement.

In short, it was not only suspected, but openly declared, that he would prove a second *Nero* [p. 549]. Yet his poor reputation served him well, and gave way to the highest praise, when he displayed the greatest of virtues rather than the most obvious of faults.

His dinner parties, far from being extravagant, were modest and pleasant. The friends he chose were men whom his successors retained in office, as indispensable to their service and the State's, and of whom they made vital use. Berenice he packed off to the provinces, a move which contented neither, and he broke with several of his best-loved catamites, though they were skilful enough as dancers to find favour on the stage, and he refused to view their public performances.

He robbed no one, respecting property rights, if ever anyone did so, and indeed refused to accept rightful and traditional gifts. Nor was he inferior to his predecessors in public generosity. When the Colosseum and the hastily-erected Baths nearby were dedicated (in 80AD) he staged a magnificent and costly gladiatorial show. He also funded a mock naval battle on the old artificial lake, and used the basin for gladiatorial contests and a wild-beast show, with five thousand creatures of every species exhibited in a single day.

BOOK EIGHT: XXXIII (VIII) HIS PUBLIC BENEVOLENCE

Titus was naturally kind-hearted, and though, following *Tiberius's* [p. 608] example, no emperor had previously ratified individual favours granted by their predecessors except by re-conferring them individually themselves, Titus did so with a single edict, and unprompted.

Moreover, regarding other requests, he never let any petitioner go away without a degree of hope. Even when his staff warned him he was promising more than could be performed, he said it was wrong for anyone to be disappointed by an audience with their emperor. Recalling, at dinner one evening, that he had granted no favours that day he uttered the laudable and memorable remark: 'My friends, I have wasted a day.'

He always treated the public with great indulgence, and on one occasion declared he would give a gladiatorial show according to the audience's wishes and not his own; and kept his word, urging them to say

what they wanted and granting whatever they asked. Though he openly supported his favourites, the Thracian gladiators, he would indulge in pleasant banter with the crowd, arguing and gesturing, but without sacrificing his dignity, or his sense of fairness. And by way of seeking popular approval, he would use his newly built public baths in company with commoners.

His reign was marked by various catastrophes, such as the eruption of *Vesuvius* [p. 622] in Campania (AD79), and a disastrous fire in Rome (AD80) which burned for three days and nights, accompanied by an unprecedented outbreak of plague. He reacted not merely with an Emperor's concern, but with an overriding paternal affection, extending consolation in published edicts and lending help to the full extent of his means.

He chose a board of commissioners by lot to organise aid relief in Campania, and employed the estates of those without heirs, who lost their lives in the eruption, to the reconstruction of destroyed towns.

His only audible comment on the fire in Rome was that *he* was ruined, and he furnished public buildings and temples with the contents of his villas, and appointed several knights to organise and hasten the repair work.

There was no aid, human or divine which he did not seek to relieve the plague and restrict the spread of epidemic, ensuring the distribution of medicines of every kind, and performing all manner of sacrifice.

Among the evils of the time were the agents and their controllers, who enjoyed long-standing licence. Titus had them whipped with scourges and beaten with sticks, then paraded in the Colosseum arena before being sold at auction or deported to barren islands. To discourage those who thought to engage in similar activities in future, he made it illegal, among other things, for anyone to be tried twice for the same offence on different charges, and limited the time period to a stated number of years during which enquiry could be made into the legal status of any individual.

BOOK EIGHT: XXXIV (IX) HIS CLEMENCY

Having promised that he would accept the office of Pontifex Maximus, in order to keep his hands clean, he kept his word, and thereafter never ordered, or conspired to bring about, any man's death, though he often had

cause for action, swearing that rather than kill he would accept being killed himself.

He was content merely to issue a warning to two patricians with aspirations to power not to attempt anything, declaring that imperial authority was a gift of destiny, and promising them anything else they wished instead. And he sent a messenger in haste to the mother of one of them, she being some distance away, to reassure her of her son's safety, and not only invited them both to dine along with his friends, but at the next day's gladiatorial show seated them near to him, and shared his inspection of the contestants' swords with them. They even say that he examined their horoscopes, and told them that danger threatened, but not from him, and at a later date, which indeed proved the case.

Though his brother, *Domitian* [p. 482], plotted against him endlessly, openly urging the legions to rebel, and contemplating fleeing to them for support, Titus neither banished him, nor ordered his execution, but always held him in great honour. Rather he insisted on declaring, from the first day of his reign and thereafter, that Domitian was his colleague and successor, often begging him in private, amidst tears and prayers, to at least show a willingness to return his affection.

BOOK EIGHT: XXXV (X) HIS LAST ILLNESS

Death however intervened; bringing as great a loss to mankind as to Titus himself. At the close of the Games, he was gloomy, and wept openly in public, because a victim broke free as he was sacrificing, and because it had thundered from a clear sky. He set out for the Sabine territory but was seized by fever at the first halt, and on his way onwards from there by litter they say he drew back the curtains, gazed at the sky, and complained that life was being undeservedly taken from him, as he had no cause to regret any of his actions, but one. What this was he did not say, nor could anyone guess. Some think he was referring to an act of intimacy with his brother's wife, *Domitia* [p. 482], though she solemnly denied the charge, while if it had been at all true she would no doubt have declared so, and even boasted of it, as she was prone to do with all her misdeeds.

BOOK EIGHT: XXXVI (XI) HIS DEATH

He died at the same villa as his father, *Vespasian* ^[p. 620], on the 13th of September AD81, at the age of forty-one, after a reign of two years, two months, and twenty days. The people mourned his loss as if he were a member of their own family. The Senators hastened to the House, without being formally summoned, while the doors were still closed, and began rendering thanks for his life, continuing to do so once the doors were opened, praising him even more lavishly after death than they had done while he was present and alive.

Book Eight: Domitian



Translator's Note: Suetonius' chapter numbers are in brackets after mine

BOOK EIGHT: XXXVII (I) DOMITIAN'S EARLY LIFE

Domitian [p. 482] was born on the 24th of October AD51, a month before his father *Vespasian* [p. 620] took up office as consul, in a house in Pomegranate Street, in the sixth district of Rome, which he afterwards converted into the Temple of the Flavians.

He is said to have spent his boyhood and adolescence in scandalous poverty, without a scrap of silverware on the table. And it is well known that *Clodius* [p. 469] Pollio, an ex-*praetor* who was attacked in *Nero's* [p. 549] satire *The One-Eyed Man*, used to show a letter in Domitian's handwriting, in which the future emperor offered him an assignation. There are those too who say that Domitian was seduced by *Nerva* [p. 551], his successor.

During the war against *Vitellius* [p. 624], he took refuge in the Capitol (69AD) with his paternal uncle *Flavius* [p. 495] Sabinus and part of that general's forces. When the enemy forced an entrance and set the shrine alight, he hid all night with the temple-keeper, and at dawn, disguised as a follower of *Isis* [p. 511], mingled with the priests of that motley superstition,

and crossing the Tiber with a single friend was hidden by the mother of one of his schoolfellows, so effectively that though closely-tracked he remained undiscovered despite a thorough search.

Only after victory was achieved did he appear, and was thereupon hailed as a Caesar, and assumed the office of City praetor with consular powers, though in name only, his colleague conducting all judicial business.

He took advantage of his position to act in a tyrannical manner, so lawlessly indeed that it became clear what his future conduct would be. Suffice it to say, that after seducing many married women, he took to wife *Domitia* [p. 482] Longina (71AD) though she already had a husband, *Aelius* [p. 405] Lamia; while his making more than a score of administrative appointments in the City and provinces, in a single day, prompted Vespasian to comment, more than once, that he was surprised he had not named the next emperor along with all the rest.

BOOK EIGHT: XXXVIII (II) PUBLIC OFFICE AND THE SUCCESSION

He planned a totally unnecessary military campaign in Germany and Gaul, from which his *father's* [p. 620] friends managed to dissuade him, solely in order to appear his *brother's* [p. 612] equal in rank and power. He was reprimanded for it, and was forced to live with his father to emphasise his youth and unimportance. When his father and brother appeared in public, mounted on their official chairs, he followed behind in a litter, and took part in their Judaeian triumph riding the customary white horse. Moreover, of his six consulships, prior to becoming Emperor, he only held one regular one (in 73AD) and then simply because his brother recommended him in place of himself.

He pretended to a remarkably temperate way of life, feigning a particular interest in poetry, an art as alien to him before as it was later despised and rejected by him, and even gave poetry readings in public. Yet when *Vologases* [p. 626] I, King of the *Parthians* [p. 562], asked for one of Vespasian's sons to lead a force of auxiliaries against the *Alani* [p. 415], Domitian tried to make sure that he rather than Titus was appointed, and when the matter came to nothing tried to induce other kings in the East,

with bribery and promises, to make similar requests.

When Vespasian died, Domitian considered granting his soldiers twice the bounty offered by his brother Titus, and had no qualms in claiming that his father's will had been tampered with, since he had been due a half-share of the Empire. From then on, he plotted continually against his brother, openly and in secret. When Titus was gripped by his fatal illness, Domitian ordered him to be left for dead, before he had actually breathed his last. And after Titus's death he failed to honour him, except to approve his deification, frequently slighting his brother's memory by using ambiguous phrases in speeches and edicts.

BOOK EIGHT: XXXIX (III) HIS INCONSISTENCY

At the start of his reign, he spent hours alone each day, doing nothing but catch flies and stab them with a razor-sharp pen. Which prompted a show of wit from *Vibius* [p. 622] Crispus, who when asked if there was anyone with Caesar, replied: 'no, not even a fly'.

Then he awarded his wife *Domitia* [p. 482] the title Augusta. He had a son by her in his second consulship (AD73) whom he lost in the second year (AD 82) after becoming Emperor. He divorced her because of her affair with the actor *Paris* [p. 561], but could not bear separation and soon took her back, claiming it as the people's wish that he do so.

He governed inconsistently, displaying a mixture of virtue and vice, but after some time his virtues too gave way to vice, since he seems to have been made avaricious through lack of funds, and cruel through fear, contrary to his natural disposition.

BOOK EIGHT: XL (IV) HIS PUBLIC ENTERTAINMENTS

Domitian mounted frequent and extravagant shows in the Colosseum, including a mock sea-fight, as well as in the Circus, where he held not only two and four-horse chariot races, but an infantry and a cavalry battle. He also mounted wild-beast hunts and, at night, torch-lit gladiatorial shows, involving fights between women as well as men.

He always attended the games held by quaestors too, games which had been neglected for some time but which he revived, and granted the people without fail the privilege of calling on two pairs of gladiators from his own troop, whom he would bring out last, clad in their court livery.

During the gladiatorial shows, a little boy with an abnormally small head, dressed in scarlet, stood at his feet. He used to chat with him, sometimes in serious tones, being heard to ask him on one occasion if he knew why he had decided to make *Mettius* [p. 542] Rufus prefect of Egypt at the last appointment session.

Having dug a pool by the Tiber and ringed it with seating, he mounted frequent naval battles there which were almost full-scale, and which he would watch even during heavy rain.

He founded a quinquennial contest in honour of *Jupiter* [p. 521] Capitolinus (in 86AD), comprising the triple disciplines of music, riding and gymnastics, awarding far more prizes than nowadays, since there were competitions in Greek and Latin prose declamation as well as poetry; and in addition to competitions in singing to the lyre, there were contests in choral singing, as well as in the unaccompanied instrument; while in the stadium there were even footraces for girls. He presided at the competitions wearing half-boots, and a purple toga in the Greek fashion, a gold crown on his head engraved with images of Jupiter, *Juno* [p. 521] and *Minerva* [p. 543]. By his side sat the priests of Jupiter and of the Deified *Flavians* [p. 620], similarly dressed, but with crowns bearing his likeness also.

He celebrated the *Secular* [p. 590] Games, once more (in 88AD), reckoning the correct interval by *Augustus's* [p. 433] calculation and not according to the year when *Claudius* [p. 464] last held them. And in order to have at least a hundred races contested on a single day in the Circus he reduced the number of laps from seven to five.

And he celebrated the *Quinquatria* [p. 580] in honour of Minerva every year at his Alban villa, and established a college of priests for her, from which men were chosen by lot to hold, and officiate at, wild beast shows and theatrical festivals, and sponsor competitions in rhetoric and poetry.

On three separate occasions he distributed a gift of three gold pieces each to the crowd, and during one annual celebration of the Feast of the Seven Hills he distributed large baskets of food for the Senators and

knights, and smaller ones for the commoners, initiating the banquet himself. On the next day he scattered gifts and tokens to be scrambled for, and as most were thrown among the commoners he had five hundred tickets distributed in the sections reserved for the Senatorial and Equestrian orders.

BOOK EIGHT: XLI (V) HIS PUBLIC WORKS

Domitian restored a number of fine buildings which had been destroyed by fire, among them the Capitol which had once more fallen to the flames (in AD80), though he replaced the original dedicatory inscriptions with his own name. In addition he built a new Temple of *Jupiter* ^[p. 521] the Guardian (*Custos*) on the Capitoline Hill, as well as the forum now called the Forum of *Nerva* ^[p. 551], the Flavian Temple, a stadium, a concert hall, and an artificial lake for mock naval-battles. The stone from this latter project was later used to repair the Circus, both flanks of which had been damaged by fire.

BOOK EIGHT: XLII (VI) HIS CAMPAIGNS

He undertook a number of campaigns, in one case when unprovoked, in other cases from necessity. That against the *Chatti* ^[p. 461] was unjustified (82/83AD). Not so his campaign against the *Sarmatians* ^[p. 587] which was provoked by the massacre of a legion along with its commander. He directed two expeditions (86 and 88AD) against the *Dacians* ^[p. 479] after they had defeated (84AD) *Oppius* ^[p. 557] Sabinus an ex-consul, and then (87AD) *Cornelius* ^[p. 474] Fuscus, prefect of the Praetorian Guard, the commander entrusted with the conduct of the war. After several unsatisfactory battles, he celebrated a double triumph (89AD) over the Chatti and Dacians, his victories over the Sarmatians being commemorated merely by the offering of a laurel crown to Capitoline *Jupiter* ^[p. 521].

Lucius *Antonius* ^[p. 424] Saturninus, the governor of Upper Germany, began a rebellion (89AD) which was quelled in Domitian's absence by a remarkable stroke of luck: on the eve of battle, the Rhine thawed, and prevented Antonius's barbarian allies from crossing the ice to join him. Before the news arrived, Domitian learned of his victory by means of an

omen, since on the day of the battle a magnificent eagle embraced his statue at Rome with its wings, screeching triumphantly. Soon afterwards rumours of Antonius's death were rife, and several people claimed to have seen his head being carried into Rome.

BOOK EIGHT: XLIII (VII) HIS SOCIAL REFORMS

Domitian was responsible for a number of social reforms: he abolished the grain issue, but restored the custom of holding formal dinners. Two factions were added to the chariot teams in the Circus, gold and purple joining the four previous colours (red, white, blue and green). Actors were allowed to perform privately but not on the public stage. He also prohibited the castration of slaves and controlled the price of eunuchs still owned by dealers.

One year, after a heavy vintage but a poor grain harvest, considering that vines were taking precedence over other crops, he issued an edict forbidding their planting in Italy, and ordering that the provinces reduce their vineyards by half. However he did not carry the measure through.

He opened the most important Court positions, restricted to Senators, to freedmen and knights.

After *Saturninus's* [p. 424] rebellion, he banned legions from sharing camps, and any soldier from depositing more than ten gold pieces at headquarters, since the soldier's savings held in the winter quarters of the two Rhine legions had helped fund the rebellion. He also increased the legionaries' pay by a quarter, from nine gold pieces a year to twelve.

BOOK EIGHT: XLIV (VIII) HIS ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

Domitian was diligent and conscientiousness in his administration of justice, often holding special sittings on the tribunal in the Forum. He rescinded decisions of the Hundred made from self-interest; warned the arbiters not to allow fraudulent requests for the granting of freedoms; and penalized jurors found to have accepted bribes, along with all their co-jurors. He also urged the tribunes of the people to charge a corrupt aedile

with extortion, and petition the Senate to appoint a special jury in the case. He was so strict in his control of the city officials and provincial governors that there has never been a greater display of honesty and justice. Since then how many of them have we seen charged with all kinds of offences.

Having undertaken (as Censor) to improve public morals, he put an end to the practice whereby the public occupied seats at the theatre reserved for knights; banned the publication of scurrilous lampoons attacking distinguished people, imposing ignominious punishments on their authors; and expelled an ex-quaestor from the Senate for acting and dancing on the stage.

He stopped prostitutes from using litters, inheriting estates or receiving legacies; erased a knight's name from the jury list because he had divorced his wife on the grounds of adultery then taken her back again; and condemned men of both orders for breaking the *Scantinian* [p. 588] law.

He took a severe view of un-chastity among the *Vestal* [p. 621] Virgins, though it had been condoned even by his father and brother, putting offenders to death, at first in a conventional, but later in the ancient manner. So, he allowed the *Oculata* [p. 556] sisters, and also *Varronilla* [p. 618], to choose the method of their execution (83AD), and exiled their lovers, but later (90AD) sentenced *Cornelia* [p. 472], a head of the order, who had been acquitted but after a long interval re-arraigned and found guilty, to be buried alive, while her lovers were beaten to death with rods in the Comitium, except for an ex-praetor who was banished after admitting his guilt while the trial was in progress, though interrogation of the witnesses under torture had proved inconclusive.

And he had a tomb which one of his freedmen had erected for his son, from stones destined for the Temple of *Jupiter* [p. 521], to be demolished by his soldiers, and the bones and ashes within thrown into the sea, in order to save the gods from being sacrilegiously insulted with impunity.

BOOK EIGHT: XLV (IX) HIS INITIAL MODERATION

During the early part of his reign, he so abhorred the thought of bloodshed that in his father's absence from the City he drafted an edict forbidding the sacrifice of bullocks, prompted by his memory of *Virgil's* [p. 620] line:

‘Before an impious race feasted on slaughtered oxen.’

Again, in his private life, and even for some time after becoming Emperor, he was considered free of greed and avarice; and indeed often showed proof not only of moderation, but of real generosity. He was liberal with his friends, and always urged them above all to avoid meanness in their actions. He refused bequests from men with children, and even annulled a clause in *Rustius* [p. 584] Caepio’s will requiring his heir to pay an annual amount to be distributed among newly-appointed Senators.

Domitian quashed suits against debtors to the Public Treasury which had been pending for more than five years, and only allowed renewal within a year, and then only on condition that if the accuser lost his case he must suffer exile. He also pardoned the past offences of quaestors’ secretaries who customarily transacted business forbidden by the *Clodian* [p. 469] law.

Where parcels of land had been left unoccupied after the distribution of land to veterans, he granted their former owners right of ownership. He also inflicted severe punishments on informants who made false accusations designed, through the confiscation of property, to swell the Privy Purse, and he was quoted as saying: ‘A ruler who fails to punish informers, nurtures them.’

BOOK EIGHT: XLVI (X) HIS DEGENERATION

His moderation and clemency however were not destined to last, his predilection to cruelty appearing somewhat sooner than his avarice.

He had an adolescent pupil of *Paris* [p. 561], the mimic actor, executed, despite the lad being ill at the time, merely because he resembled the actor in appearance and ability. And *Hermogenes* [p. 507] of Tarsus was put to death because of some unfortunate allusions in his *History*, while Domitian had the slaves who had transcribed it crucified.

One householder who happened to remark that a *Thracian* [p. 607] gladiator might be a match for his opponent but not for the patron of the Games, was dragged from his seat and sent out into the arena to be torn to pieces by dogs, with a placard round his neck reading: ‘An impious Thracian.’

Domitian put to death many of the Senate, including several ex-consuls. Three of these, the proconsul of Asia, *Cívica* [p. 463] Cerealis; *Salvidienus* [p. 585] Orfitus; and the exiled *Acilius* [p. 404] Glabrio were charged with plotting rebellion, while the rest were executed on the most trivial of charges.

He had *Aelius* [p. 405] Lamia executed for a few harmless witticisms made long before at his expense. After Domitian had deprived him of his *wife* [p. 482], and someone happened to praise his voice, Lamia replied: 'Abstinence helps!' and when *Titus* [p. 612] urged him to marry again, he quipped; 'What, are you looking for a wife too?'

Domitian disposed of *Salvius* [p. 586] Cocceianus, because he celebrated his paternal uncle *Otho's* [p. 558] birthday; and *Mettius* [p. 542] Pompusianus because his birth was accompanied by portents of imperial power, because he always carried a map of the world with him, drawn on parchment, along with speeches of kings and generals taken from *Livy* [p. 530], and because he named two of his slaves *Mago* [p. 535] and *Hannibal* [p. 505].

Sallustius [p. 585] Lucullus, the Governor of *Britain* [p. 442], was executed for allowing a new type of lance to be named 'Lucullan' after him.

Junius [p. 520] Rusticus died because he published eulogies of Thræsea *Paetus* [p. 469] and *Helvidius* [p. 506] Priscus, praising them for their great virtues, while Domitian used the occasion to banish the philosophers from the City and all Italy.

The younger *Helvidius* [p. 506] Priscus was also done away with, on the pretext that the characters of the faithless *Paris* [p. 561] and his lover Oenone, played on stage in a farce of his composition, could be interpreted as a criticism of Domitian's divorce.

And Domitian executed one of his cousins, *Flavius* [p. 496] Sabinus, too, because a herald inadvertently proclaimed him Emperor on the day of the consular elections, instead of consul.

It is noticeable that Domitian displayed greater cruelty after crushing the rebellion of *Saturninus* [p. 424], inventing a new form of inquisition, toasting the genitals and severing the hands of his prisoners to discover the whereabouts of rebels in hiding. Only two leaders of the revolt were pardoned, a tribune of senatorial rank and a centurion, who boasted that their flagrant immorality meant they could not have influenced their commander or the troops.

BOOK EIGHT: XLVII (XI) HIS CRUELTY

Domitian was not only excessive, but also cunning and sudden in his savagery. The day before crucifying him, he summoned one of his stewards to his bedchamber, made him sit with him on a couch, dismissed him in a secure and happy frame of mind, and even deigned to send him a portion of his dinner!

On the verge of having the ex-consul *Arrecinus* [p. 429] Clemens, his friend and agent, arraigned, Domitian treated him with as much or more favour as previously, and then, catching sight of the man's accuser, as they drove out together, he turned to Arrecinus and asked: 'Shall we listen to that worthless slave tomorrow?'

The abuse he inflicted on his victims' patience was all the more offensive because he always prefaced his most vicious punishments with a speech of clemency, until the most certain sign of a cruel end was the leniency of the preamble. Having brought a group of men to the Senate to answer a charge of treason, he introduced the matter by declaring that it would prove a test that day of how much the House cared for him, and so he had no trouble ensuring the accused were condemned to death by flogging, in the ancient manner. Then, as if appalled at the cruelty of the penalty, he exercised his veto, to lessen the odium that might follow, and said, his exact words being of interest: 'Fathers of the Senate, if you love me, grant me a favour, which I know it will be difficult for you to countenance, and allow the condemned to choose, freely, the manner of their own deaths; thus you will spare your own feelings, while all must perceive that I was present at this meeting.'

BOOK EIGHT: XLVIII (XII) HIS AVARICE

His resources having been exhausted by the cost of his building programme, his entertainments, and the army's pay rise, he tried to reduce his military expenses by reducing troop numbers, then realising the exposure to barbarian incursions implied, yet still pressed to ease his financial difficulties, he barely hesitated before resorting to all manner of theft. Throughout the empire the estates of the living as well as the dead were seized on any pretext and any informant's word. It was sufficient to claim some action or word on the part of the accused against the Emperor's dignity. A single declaration that a deceased individual during his lifetime had dubbed Caesar his heir was enough to guarantee confiscation of their estate, even of those with no known connection to him.

In addition to other taxes, that on the *Jews* [p. 512] was pursued with the greatest rigour, and those who lived as Jews but did not acknowledge their faith in public, as well as those who tried to hide the facts of their birth, were prosecuted if they failed to pay the tribute levied on their people. I remember in my youth being present as a ninety-year old man was examined, in front of the procurator and a densely packed courtroom, to prove whether he had been circumcised.

BOOK EIGHT: XLIX (XIII) HIS ARROGANCE AND PRESUMPTION

From his earliest youth Domitian lacked affability. On the contrary, he was discourteous and highly presumptuous in word and action. When *Caenis* [p. 446], his father's mistress, returned from Istria, and offered him her cheek to kiss as usual, he merely extended his hand. And vexed that the attendants on his *brother* [p. 612] Titus's son-in-law, *Flavius* [p. 496] Sabinus, were dressed in white like his own, he quoted *Homer's* [p. 508] line:

'...a host of leaders is no wise thing.'

On becoming Emperor, he had no qualms about boasting in the Senate that it was he who had conferred power on his father *Vespasian* [p. 620], and his brother *Titus* [p. 612], and that they had now simply returned to him

what was his. Nor about claiming, after taking back his wife following their divorce, that he had 'recalled her to his sacred couch.'

On his feast day, Domitian adored hearing the Colosseum crowd shout: 'Long live our Lord and Lady.' And during the Capitoline competition, when there was a unanimous call for the reinstatement of *Palfurius* [p. 559] Sura, winner of the prize for oratory, who had been expelled from the Senate some time previously, Domitian would not deign to reply, and sent a crier to tell them to be silent.

No less arrogance is evident in the opening of his circular issued in the name of his procurators: 'Our Lord, our God, orders this done.' It was customary thereafter to address him in this way in speech or writing.

Statues set up in his honour in the Capitol had to be of a given weight of gold or silver, and he erected so many vast arcades and arches, decorated with chariots and triumphal emblems, all over the City, that someone scribbled the word *arci* (arches) on one of them but in Greek characters, so that it read, in that language: 'Enough!'

Domitian held the consulship seventeen times (in AD71, 73, 75-77, 79-80, 82-88, 90, 92, and 95) setting a new precedent. A group of seven consulships were in successive years, but all were in name only, and he held few beyond the 13th of January and none beyond the 1st of May.

Having adopted the surname Germanicus after his two triumphs, Domitian renamed September and October, the months of his accession and birth respectively, after himself; calling them 'Germanicus' and 'Domitianus',

BOOK EIGHT: L (XIV) HATED AND AFRAID

In this way he became an object of terror to all, and so hated that he was finally brought down by a conspiracy of his companions and favourite freedmen, which also involved his wife, *Domitia* [p. 482] Longina.

He had been advised long ago of the year, and even the day and hour and manner, of his death. The astrologers had predicted it all in his childhood, and his father once mocked him when he refused a dish of mushrooms at dinner, saying that he would do better given his destiny to

beware of swords. As a result he was always nervous and anxious, and troubled inordinately by the slightest of suspicions. Nothing had more effect in preventing him enforcing his edict restricting the number of vineyards, than these lines that went the rounds:

'Goat, gnaw at my root! But when you stand at the altar
There'll be juice enough yet, to sprinkle over you.'

Because of this same anxiety, though he was always eager for honours, he chose to refuse a new one devised by the Senate when it was offered him, which would have decreed that, whenever he held the consulship, a group of knights chosen by lot, wearing the purple-striped robe (*trabea*) and carrying lances, should join the lictors and attendants preceding him as he walked,

As the critical moment predicted drew near, he grew daily more anxious, even having the walls of the galleries where he walked faced with translucent stone so that he could see in their highly-polished surfaces whatever was going on behind his back. Nor did he grant a hearing to prisoners except alone in private and with their chains grasped tight in his hands.

And he made an example of *Epaphroditus* [p. 490], his confidential secretary, in order to make it plain to his household that killing a master was never justified, condemning the freedman to death on the grounds that he had helped *Nero* [p. 549] kill himself when the rest had deserted him.

BOOK EIGHT: LI (XV) PREMONITIONS OF DEATH

The specific action that finally hastened his own destruction, was the execution of his own second cousin *Flavius* [p. 495] Clemens, just before the end of a consulship, suddenly and on the slightest of suspicions, though Flavius was known as a ridiculously indolent individual, and even though Domitian had publicly named Flavius's small sons as his heirs, and made them adopt the names *Vespasian* [p. 621] and *Domitian* [p. 483].

So many lightning-storms had occurred and been reported to him over a period of eight months that he at last cried out: 'Well, let him strike whom he wishes!' The Temple of Capitoline *Jupiter* [p. 521], the Flavian Temple, the

Palace and even the emperor's own bedroom were struck, and a violent storm tore the inscription plate from the base of a triumphal statue of his, and hurled it into the interior of a neighbouring tomb.

That tree which had blown down, and then revived, while *Vespasian* [p. 620] was still a private citizen, was toppled once more. And though, throughout his reign, he had always received the identical favourable response from the Goddess of Fortune at *Praeneste* [p. 577] (Palestrina) when he commended the following year to her care, she now returned him a dire one, prophesying bloodshed.

Then he dreamed that *Minerva* [p. 543], whom he worshipped with a superstitious reverence, emerged from her shrine to say that she could no longer protect him since Jupiter had disarmed her.

Yet he felt most threatened by the astrologer *Ascleterion's* [p. 429] prediction, and its sequel. When brought before the Emperor, Ascleterion did not deny having spoken of events, which he had foreseen by his art. Asked what his own fate would be, he replied that he would shortly be eaten by dogs. Domitian had him executed at once, and to prove the astrologer's fallibility, ordered the body to be cremated with the greatest of care. But during the funeral, a sudden violent storm toppled the pyre, and the partly-burnt corpse was mangled by dogs. *Latinus* [p. 524] the comic mime who was passing by saw it all, and frightened Domitian by relating the details at dinner, along with all the rest of the day's gossip.

BOOK EIGHT: LII (XVI) THE EVE OF ASSASSINATION

On the eve of his assassination, he was offered some apples, but asked for them to be served the following day, adding: 'If only I am there to eat them.' Then, turning to his companions, he said that next evening a Moon of blood would rise in Aquarius, after an event that men would speak of throughout the world.

At midnight he was so terrified he leapt from his bed, and at dawn tried and then condemned a soothsayer from Germany who had interpreted the successive storms and bursts of lightning as presaging a change of rulers. While vigorously scratching a wart on his forehead he drew blood and commented: 'Let this be all.' Presently he asked the time and, as they

had pre-arranged, his freedmen lied that it was the sixth hour and not the fifth which he feared. Thinking the danger past, Domitian went joyfully to his bath, only to change his mind when his head valet *Parthenius* [p. 562] announced that he had an urgent visitor on some vital matter that could not be deferred. Dismissing his attendants Domitian went instead to his bedroom, where death found him.

BOOK EIGHT: LIII (XVII) HIS DEATH

Regarding the nature of the plot, and his death, the following is all that is known. When the conspirators met to decide when to attack him, and whether it should be while he was bathing or dining, *Stephanus* [p. 597], his niece *Domitilla's* [p. 494] steward, who had been accused of embezzlement, offered them advice and help.

To divert suspicion he feigned an injury to his left arm and, for some days, went round with it wrapped in woollen bandages. Then, concealing a dagger inside the bandages, and demanding an audience in order to give news of a conspiracy, he handed Domitian a paper to read, and while the Emperor stood there shocked by its contents, stabbed him in the groin.

As Domitian tried to resist, he received seven more wounds dealt by *Clodianus* [p. 469] a subaltern, *Maximus* [p. 540] a freedman of *Parthenius* [p. 562], *Satur* [p. 587] a head-chamberlain, and by a gladiator from the Imperial school. A boy who was attending to the shrine of the Household Gods, in the bedroom, and witnessed the assassination, gave further details. Domitian, after the first blow, called to him to bring the dagger under his pillow, and summon the servants, but the boy found only a hilt with no blade, and the doors were locked. Meanwhile Domitian had grappled Stephanus to the floor, where they continued to struggle, Domitian trying to wrest the dagger from his assailant, or to gouge his eyes out with lacerated fingers.

He died at the age of forty-four, on the 18th of September AD96, in the fifteenth year of his reign. His body was placed on a common bier by the public undertakers, as if he were a pauper, and taken to his nurse *Phyllis's* [p. 567] suburban villa on the Via Latina where she cremated the corpse. His ashes she secretly carried to the Flavian Temple and there mingled them with those of his niece *Julia* [p. 494], Titus's daughter whom she had also nurtured.

BOOK EIGHT: LIV (XVIII) HIS APPEARANCE

Domitian was tall, and of a ruddy complexion, with large rather weak eyes, and a modest expression. He was handsome and attractive when young, his whole body well-made except for his feet with their short toes. Later, he lost his hair, and developed a protruding belly, while his legs became thin and spindly after a long illness.

He was well aware that his modest expression worked in his favour and once boasted in a Senate speech: 'Indeed, so far you have approved my intentions and my face.' He was so sensitive however regarding his baldness, that he took any comment about others with the same affliction, whether serious or in jest, as a personal insult. Yet, in a manual entitled *Care of the Hair*, which he published, his dedication to a friend quoted *Homer* [p. 508], by way of mutual consolation,

'Do you not see though, how tall and fine I am?'

And added: 'Yet my hair also is fated to vanish, and I'm resigned to the ageing of my head when young. Know that nothing's more pleasant than physical beauty, and nothing more transient.'

BOOK EIGHT: LV (XIX) HIS LACK OF EXERCISE

He found exercise intolerable, seldom walked when in Rome and while travelling and on campaign rarely rode but used a litter. Weaponry in general held no interest for him, though he was exceptionally keen on archery. There are plenty of witnesses to his killing a hundred wild creatures or more at a time on his Alban estate, bringing them down with successive arrows planted so deftly as to give the effect of horns.

Sometimes he would tell a slave to stand some distance away, and hold out his right hand with the fingers spread, for a mark. He would then fire his arrows between them so accurately the man was unharmed.

BOOK EIGHT: LVI (XX) HIS NEGLECT OF LITERATURE

At the beginning of his reign, he had the libraries, which had been damaged by fire, restored at great expense, instituting a search for copies of lost works, and sending scribes to *Alexandria* [p. 416] to transcribe and edit them. Yet he himself neglected liberal studies, and never bothered to interest himself in history or poetry, or even to acquire a decent writing style. *Tiberius's* [p. 608] notebooks and memoirs were his sole reading matter, while he relied on others for his letters, speeches and edicts.

Nonetheless his conversation was polished, and some of his comments worth recording. For example, he once quipped: 'How I wish I were as good-looking as *Maecius* [p. 535] *thinks* he is.' And again, he compared a friend's red-hair which was turning white to 'snow drenched with honeyed-wine.'

BOOK EIGHT: LVII (XXI) HIS DAILY HABITS

Domitian used to claim that rulers were doomed to an unhappy fate, since no one believed in any conspiracy to kill them unless it succeeded.

Whenever he had spare time, even on working days and in the morning, he amused himself by playing dice.

He would bathe before noon, and eat so well at lunchtime that his dinner was often simply a *Matian* [p. 539] apple and a small amount of wine from the jug. He frequently gave sumptuous banquets though they usually ended early, never continuing after sunset or ending in drinking bouts, and he then strolled by himself in seclusion before retiring to bed.

BOOK EIGHT: LVIII (XXII) HIS SEXUAL APPETITE

His sexual appetite was excessive, and he called intercourse bed-wrestling, as though it were a sport. They say he liked to depilate his concubines himself, and would go swimming with common prostitutes.

He had been offered marriage with his niece, *Julia* [p. 494], *Titus's* [p. 612] daughter, while she was still a young girl, but refused her repeatedly because

of his infatuation with *Domitia* [p. 482] Longina, yet he seduced Julia shortly afterwards, while Titus was still alive, and when she was newly married to *Flavius* [p. 496] Sabinus. After the deaths of her father and husband, he loved her ardently and openly, and indeed caused her death by forcing her to abort a child by him.

BOOK EIGHT: LIX (XXIII) THE AFTERMATH OF HIS DEATH

The news of his death was greeted with public indifference, but it deeply grieved the army, and the soldiers at once titled him 'Domitian the God', and would have had vengeance if they had not lacked leadership. Indeed they achieved it later by their fierce insistence on his murderers being executed.

The Senators however were filled with joy and rushed to the House to denounce the dead Emperor, shouting out bitter insults, and calling for ladders so that his votive shields could be torn down and his statues toppled to the ground before their eyes. Then they decreed that all inscriptions mentioning him should be effaced, and all record of him obliterated.

A few months before his assassination, a raven had perched on the Capitol and croaked what sounded like Greek for: 'All will be well!' an omen interpreted thus by some wit:

The raven that perched there on Capitol Hill,
Couldn't say *is*, but croaked: all *will be well!*

And they say Domitian had dreamed his back sprouted a golden hump, which he interpreted as a sure sign that the Empire would be happier and more prosperous once his reign was over, which was indeed proved true by the wisdom and restraint of those who followed him.

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Aborigines, a term used here for the indigenous population of Latium. They came from the area of Reate, drove the Sakrani or Siculi from Lazio and defeated the Umbrians. Sallust describes them as uncultured, other sources disagree, however, and describe a monarchical organized community. Several kings, many of whom became gods, were: Saturn, Thybris, Faunus, Aventinus, Picus and the alleged namesake of the country of Latium, Latinus. They appear together in Roman mythology and legend with the Trojans as the root-stocks of the Latin people.

BookSevenXXXVI [p. 341] *Faunus* [p. 492] was their king.

Accius (170BC - c. 86BC), or **Lucius Attius**, was a tragedian and literary scholar. The son of a freedman, Accius was born at Pisaurum in Umbria. The year of his death is unknown, but *Cicero* [p. 614] (64 years younger) speaks of having conversed with him on literary matters. About 700 lines from his works survive.

BookFourXXX [p. 213] *Caligula* [p. 449] quotes ‘*Oderint, dum metuant*’.

Acerronius Proculus, Gnaeus, was consul in 37AD, the year in which *Tiberius* [p. 608] died. He was perhaps a descendant of the Gnaeus Acerronius whom *Cicero* [p. 614] mentions in his oration for Tullius, *Pro Tullio*, from 71BC. He may also have been the father of Acerronia Polla, a friend of *Agrippina* [p. 413] the Younger, murdered by the emperor *Nero* [p. 549] in AD59.

BookThreeLXXIII [p. 184] Consul in 37AD.

Achaica, see *Mummia* [p. 545]

Achilles was the greatest warrior among the Greek heroes in *Homer's* [p. 508] *Iliad*. Some post-Homeric sources claim that in order to keep Achilles safe from the Trojan War, he was concealed at the court of Lycomedes, king of Skyros. There, Achilles was disguised as a girl and lived among Lycomedes' daughters, under the name ‘Pyrrha’ (the red-haired).

BookThreeLXX [p. 183] His name among the girls was the subject of one of *Tiberius's* [p. 608] questions to the grammarians.

Acilius, Gaius, was a soldier who distinguished himself in the naval battle off Massilia (Marseilles).

BookOneLXVIII [p. 46] His bravery at *Massilia* [p. 539].

Acilius Aviola, Manius was consul in 54AD.

BookFiveXLV [p. 268] *Claudius* [p. 464] died during his consulship.

Acilius Glabrio, Manius was consul with Trajan in 91AD. He was exiled and then executed by order of *Domitian* [p. 482] probably in AD95. He is claimed as an early Christian convert.

BookEightXLVI [p. 392] Executed for plotting rebellion.

Acte, Claudia, was a freedwoman who became a mistress of the emperor *Nero* [p. 549]. She came from Asia Minor and may have been a slave of the Emperor *Claudius* [p. 464], or of *Octavia* [p. 554], Claudius's daughter.

BookSixXXVIII [p. 291] Nero's mistress.

BookSixL [p. 309] She helped to deposit Nero's ashes in the family tomb.

Actium was the ancient name of a promontory of western Greece in northwestern Acarnania, at the mouth of the Sinus Ambracius (Gulf of Arta) opposite Nicopolis, which was later founded by Augustus on the north side of the strait. On the promontory was an ancient temple of Apollo Actius, which was enlarged by *Augustus* [p. 433] (Octavian) who also renewed the quinquennial games known as Actia or Ludi Actiaci. There was a village, on the promontory also called Actium. The Battle of Actium was fought between the forces of Octavian and the combined forces of Mark *Antony* [p. 422] and *Cleopatra* [p. 468], on 2 September 31BC, in the Ionian Sea nearby. Octavian's fleet was commanded by Marcus Vipsanius *Agrippa* [p. 411], while Antony's fleet was supported by that of Cleopatra VII, Queen of Ptolemaic Egypt. Octavian's victory enabled him to consolidate his power over Rome and its dominions.

BookTwoIX [p. 71] *Augustus* [p. 433] (Octavian) involved in civil war there.

BookTwoXVII [p. 76] Octavian (Augustus) achieved victory there.

BookTwoXVIII [p. 77] Augustus also consecrated the site of his camp.

BookTwoXXII [p. 80] *BookThreeVI* [p. 145] Augustus celebrated his victory at Actium in his triple-triumph of 29BC.

BookTwoXCVI [p. 128] An omen of Augustus' victory there.

BookFourXXIII [p. 207] *Caligula* [p. 449] refused to allow the annual victory celebration.

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Actius, was a comic actor whose freedom was purchased by *Tiberius* [p. 608],

BookThreeXLVII [p. 169] Mentioned.

Actorius Naso, Marcus, a historian.

BookOneIX [p. 16] *BookOneLII* [p. 39] Mentioned.

Adminius, Amminius or **Amminius** was a son of *Cunobelinus* [p. 477], ruler of the Catuvellauni, a tribe of Iron Age Britain. He himself was ruler of the Cantiaci of eastern Kent, and was deposed and exiled by his father c. 40AD. He fled to Europe with a small group of followers and surrendered to the Romans there. Sallustius Lucullus, Roman governor of Britain in the late 1st century may have been a son of this prince.

BookFourXLIV [p. 221] His surrender was received by *Caligula* [p. 449].

Aegisthus, in Greek mythology was the son of Thyestes and of his daughter, Pelopia. While Agamemnon was absent on his expedition against Troy, Aegisthus seduced Clytemnestra, wife of Agamemnon, and impiously offered thanks to the gods for the crime. When Agamemnon returned, Aegisthus treacherously murdered him.

BookOneL [p. 38] *Caesar* [p. 518] described by *Pompey* [p. 573] as an 'Aegisthus'.

Aelia Paetina was the daughter of the consul of 4AD, Sextus Aelius Catus. She was raised by her relative the Praetorian Guard Prefect, Lucius Seius Strabo, her adoptive brother being Lucius Aelius *Sejanus* [p. 406], commander of the Praetorian Guard under *Tiberius* [p. 608]. Aelia Paetina married Claudius in 28AD, as his second wife. Their only child was their daughter *Claudia* [p. 463] Antonia, born in 30AD. Claudius divorced Paetina after October 31, when her adoptive brother fell from power and was murdered.

BookFiveXXVI [p. 256] Second wife of *Claudius* [p. 464].

BookFiveXXVII [p. 257] Her daughter Claudia Antonia.

Aelianus, see *Aemelius* [p. 406]

Aelius Plautius Lamia Aemilianus, Lucius was consul suffectus in 80AD, under *Titus* [p. 612], and the first husband of Domitian's wife *Domitia* [p. 482] Longina.

BookEightXXXVII [p. 385] His wife Domitia Longina married Domitian.

BookEightXLVI [p. 392] Executed by *Domitian* [p. 482].

Aelius Seianus, Lucius, known as **Sejanus** (d. 31AD) was an Equestrian by birth, the son of Lucius Seius Strabo who became Governor of Egypt, and succeeded his father as prefect of the Imperial bodyguard, the Praetorian Guard, which he commanded from 14AD until his death in 31AD. When *Tiberius* [p. 608] withdrew to Capri in 26, Sejanus became *de facto* ruler of the empire. For a time the most influential and feared citizen of Rome, He fell from power in 31AD, the year of his consulship. Amidst suspicion of conspiracy, Sejanus was arrested and executed, along with his followers.

BookThreeXLVIII [p. 169] Tiberius paid a bounty to those Praetorian guards and Syrian legions who did not acknowledge Sejanus.

BookThreeLV [p. 174] *BookThreeLXV* [p. 180] *BookFourXII* [p. 199] *BookFiveVI* [p. 241] Tiberius brought about his downfall.

BookThreeLXI [p. 177] Tiberius's subsequent persecution of Sejanus's friends.

BookThreeLXII [p. 178] His rumoured poisoning of *Drusus* [p. 488] the Younger.

BookFourXXX [p. 213] *Caligula* [p. 449] called the Senate disparagingly 'friends of Sejanus'.

BookFiveXXVII [p. 257] *Claudius* [p. 464]' son *Drusus* [p. 486] was betrothed to Sejanus's daughter Junilla, shortly before Drusus died.

Aemilia Lepida (b. c. 5BC) was the eldest daughter and first born child of *Julia* [p. 515] the Younger (the first granddaughter of the Emperor *Augustus* [p. 433]) and the consul Lucius *Aemilius* [p. 409] Paullus. Lepida married, by 13AD, Appius Junius *Silanus* [p. 426].

BookFiveXXVI [p. 256] Her betrothal to *Claudius* [p. 464] was broken off c. 8AD.

Aemilius Aelianus, a *Cordoban* [p. 471].

BookTwoLI [p. 100] Accused of vilifying *Augustus* [p. 433].

Aemilius Lepidus, Marcus (120BC – 77BC), was the father of the triumvir *Marcus* [p. 407] Aemilius Lepidus and of the consul of 50 BC Lucius Aemilius Lepidus *Paulus* [p. 408]. He was politically allied to *Sulla* [p. 599], but once the dictator had resigned in 79BC, Lepidus attempted to undermine the Sullan constitution. Sent to administer Transalpine Gaul, he ultimately brought his army back to Rome, where he was defeated by Catulus in a pitched battle on the Campus Martius. Forced into exile in Sardinia, he died soon afterwards. His fellow rebel, Marcus Junius Brutus the Elder, the father of Caesar's assassin of the same name, remained at Mutina, in Gaul. *Pompey* [p. 573] marched against him, but Brutus surrendered and was killed.

BookOneIII [p. 12] *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar contemplated joining his faction.

BookOneV [p. 13] Supported by Lucius *Cornelius* [p. 473] Cinna.

Aemilius Lepidus, Marcus (the Triumvir) (b. c. 89BC or 88BC, d. late 13BC or early 12BC) rose to become a member of the Second Triumvirate and *Pontifex Maximus*. His father, Marcus *Aemilius* [p. 406] Lepidus, had been involved in a rebellion against the Republic which led to his death. Lepidus was among *Julius Caesar's* [p. 518] greatest supporters. A praetor in 49BC, he ran Rome while Caesar defeated Pompey in Spain, and was rewarded with the consulship in 46BC after the defeat of the Pompeians in the East. When in February 44BC Caesar was elected dictator for life by the senate, he made Lepidus Master of the Horse, effectively his deputy. After Caesar's assassination, *Octavian* [p. 433], *Antony* [p. 422] and Lepidus ultimately met on an island in a river near Mutina (Modena), and formed the Second Triumvirate. Unlike the First Triumvirate of Caesar, *Pompey* [p. 573], and *Crassus* [p. 477], it was formally constituted, signalling the death of the Republic. He was consul for a second time in 42BC. After the pacification of the east and the the Battle of *Philippi* [p. 567], during which he remained in Rome, Lepidus assumed rule of the western provinces of Hispania and Africa. Subsequently Lepidus was accused of usurping power in Sicily and of attempted rebellion and was forced into exile at Circeii. He was stripped of all his offices except that of *Pontifex Maximus*. He spent the rest of his life in obscurity.

BookOneLXXXII [p. 55] Prevented Caesar's assassins carrying out their plans after the assassination.

BookOneLXXXVII [p. 59] Caesar had dined at his house on the eve of the assassination.

BookTwoVIII [p. 71] *BookTwoXIII* [p. 73] He formed the Second Triumvirate, with Octavian and Antony.

BookTwoXII [p. 73] *BookThreeIV* [p. 144] Antony fled to join him after *Mutina* [p. 546].

BookTwoXXVII [p. 83] His argument to the Senate for clemency regarding future proscriptions.

BookTwoXXXI [p. 86] Lepidus held the office of *Pontifex Maximus*, the Chief Priesthood, from 44BC to his death.

BookThreeV [p. 145] *Tiberius* [p. 608] born during his second consulship in 42BC.

Aemilius Lepidus, Marcus, Lepidus the Younger, (d. 30BC), was the only child of triumvir Marcus Aemilius *Lepidus* [p. 407]. Lepidus' mother was Junia Secunda, a sister to Marcus Junius *Brutus* [p. 444]. Lepidus served as a Roman Senator, and was executed by Octavian (Augustus), as a leader in a conspiracy against him. Lepidus in his younger years was betrothed in 44BC to *Antonia* [p. 420] the Elder, the eldest daughter of Mark *Antony* [p. 420]. However the betrothal was later broken off.

BookTwoXIX [p. 78] He was executed by *Augustus* [p. 433] in 30BC for conspiring against him.

Aemilius Lepidus, Marcus (6AD - 39AD) was the son of consul Lucius *Aemilius* [p. 409] Paullus. He and his sister Aemilia Lepida (d. 36AD) were both married to siblings of the Emperor *Caligula* [p. 449] (Aemilia married Caligula's elder brother *Drusus* [p. 486] Caesar; Lepidus married Caligula's younger sister Julia *Drusilla* [p. 516] in 37AD. Sometime in

39AD, Caligula made public letters by his sisters *Agrippina* [p. 413] the Younger and *Julia Livilla* [p. 517] detailing adulterous affairs with Lepidus and a plot against the emperor. Lepidus was executed and Agrippina and Livilla exiled.

BookFourXXIV [p. 208] His trial.

BookFourXXXVI [p. 216] Caligula was rumoured to have had sexual intercourse with him.

BookFiveIX [p. 242] His involvement in the conspiracy.

BookEightII [p. 362] *Vespasian* [p. 620] proposed he was refused public burial.

Aemilius Mamercus, Lepidus Livianus, Consul 77BC. Brother of Marcus Livius Drusus (tribune) and son of Marcus Livius Drusus (censor), he was adopted into the Aemilii Lepidi. He married Cornelia Sulla, daughter of Lucius Cornelius *Sulla* [p. 599], and may have been (the evidence is inconclusive) *princeps senatus* in the Sullan senate. He was consul in 77BC, the year after Sulla's death.

BookOneI [p. 11] Identification presumed. He interceded on behalf of the young *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar.

Aemilius Papus, Lucius was praetor for Sicily in 205BC. He may be the same as the Lucius Aemilius Papus, *decemvir sacrorum*, who died in 171BC. He may also have been the son of the consul of the same name of 225BC.

BookTwoII [p. 67] Augustus' *great-grandfather* [p. 555] served under him in Sicily in 205.

Aemilius Lepidus Paulus, Lucius was the **brother** of triumvir Marcus *Aemilius* [p. 407] Lepidus and son to an elder Marcus Aemilius Lepidus. He supported *Cicero* [p. 462] during the Catiline Conspiracy. Paulus was Consul in 50BC. During his consulship, Julius Caesar bribed him for his support. Paulus reconstructed the Basilica Aemilia in Rome, with part of his bribery money. Paulus joined Marcus Junius *Brutus* [p. 444] and after Brutus' suicide in 42BC, was pardoned, living out his remaining years at Miletus.

BookOneXXIX [p. 26] Bribed by *Caesar* [p. 518] to elicit his support.

BookTwoXVI [p. 75] Mentioned as having been proscribed by *Octavian* [p. 433].

Aemilius Lepidus Paulus, Lucius (c. 77BC - c. 14BC) was nephew to Marcus Aemilius *Lepidus* [p. 407] the Triumvir, and son of his brother Lucius *Aemilius* [p. 408] Lepidus Paulus. He served as consul in 34BC and censor in 22BC. Paulus married firstly Cornelia Lentula by whom he had two children: the son being another Lucius Aemilius Lepidus *Paulus* [p. 409], executed for conspiracy sometime before 14AD, husband of *Julia* [p. 515] the Younger, grand-daughter of Augustus. Secondly he married Claudia Marcella Minor, daughter of Gaius Claudius Marcellus Minor and *Octavia* [p. 554] Minor, without issue. Augustus (Octavian) was her maternal uncle. Paulus died of unknown causes

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BookTwoXVI [p. 75] Mentioned as being on *Octavian's* [p. 433] staff in Sicily.

BookFiveXVI [p. 249] He was censor in 22BC.

Aemilius Lepidus Paulus, Lucius (c. 37BC - 14AD) was the son of Aemilius Lepidus *Paulus* [p. 408] (suffect consul 34BC and later censor) and Cornelia, the elder daughter of *Scribonia* [p. 589]. He was married to *Vipsania Julia* [p. 515], the eldest granddaughter of the Emperor *Augustus* [p. 433]. His first and only known post is that of consul in 1AD with his brother-in-law, *Gaius* [p. 446] Caesar. He is also known to have been a member of the Arval Brethren, a priestly college. His wife Julia the Younger was exiled in 8AD for having an affair with a senator. Paulus himself was executed as a conspirator in a revolt at some point between 1AD and 14AD, and may have been involved in earlier conspiracies.

BookTwoXIX [p. 78] Mentioned.

BookTwoLXIV [p. 106] *BookFiveXXVI* [p. 256] His marriage to Julia the Younger c. 5BC.

Aenaria, modern **Ischia**, is a volcanic island in the Tyrrhenian Sea, at the northern end of the Gulf of Naples. The roughly trapezoidal island lies about 30 km from Naples. The Romans seized Ischia (and Naples) in 322BC.

BookTwoXCII [p. 123] Augustus exchanged the island for that of *Capri* [p. 454], with Naples, in 6AD.

Aeneas, the mythological Trojan hero, was the son of the mortal Anchises and the goddess *Aphrodite* [p. 619]. His father was also the second cousin of King Priam of Troy. The journey of Aeneas from Troy (with help from Aphrodite), which led to the founding of the city Rome, is recounted in Virgil's *Aeneid*.

BookOneXXXIX [p. 32] *BookTwoXLIII* [p. 94] *BookThreeVI* [p. 145] *BookFourXVIII* [p. 204] *BookFiveXXI* [p. 251] *BookSixVII* [p. 277] Supposedly Aeneas introduced the Troy Game, into Italy and his son Ascanius imparted it to the Alban kings and through them to the Romans. The game, which *Augustus* [p. 433] encouraged, consisted of a processional parade or ritual 'dance', by troops of boys, in which some of the participants appear to have been mounted on horseback. Virgil draws a comparison between the complicated movements of the game and the convolutions of the Cretan Labyrinth in *Aeneid*, V. (lines 585-591) *Caligula* [p. 449] and *Claudius* [p. 464] presented the Troy Game also. *Nero* [p. 549] performed in it as a youth.

BookSixXXXIX [p. 301] Aeneas carried his father on his shoulders from the ruins of Troy.

Aequiculi, **Aequicoli**, or the **Aequi**, were an ancient people of northeast Latium and the central Appennines of Italy who were defeated by the Romans, after which substantial colonies were established. They occupied the upper reaches of the valleys of the Anio, Tolenus and Himella; the last two being mountain streams running northward

to join the Nar.

BookSevenXXXVI [p. 341] A Roman colony, named after the Vitelli, was defended against them by the Vitelli.

Aesculapius was a god of medicine and healing in ancient Greek and Roman religion. In Rome, there was a major temple to the god on Tiber Island, *Isola Tiberina*, located in the southern bend of the Tiber, and associated with the myth of how his worship was introduced to the City. *BookTwoLIX* [p. 104] His statue in Rome.

BookFiveXXV [p. 255] *Claudius* [p. 464] stopped sick slaves being abandoned on the Island.

Aeserninus, see *Claudius* [p. 466]

Aesius Proculus was a leading centurion's son noted for his good looks.

BookFourXXXV [p. 216] *Caligula* [p. 449] had him executed.

Aetna is an active stratovolcano on the east coast of Sicily, close to *Messina* [p. 542] and Catania.

BookFourLI [p. 225] Its eruption scared *Caligula* [p. 449].

Aetolia is a mountainous region of Greece on the north coast of the Gulf of Corinth, forming the eastern part of the modern prefecture of Aetolia-Acarnania.

BookTwoXVII [p. 76] *Augustus* [p. 433] met with a storm at sea between there and the *Peloponnese* [p. 564] in 30BC.

Afer, see *Tedius* [p. 603]

Afranius, Lucius was a comic poet, who lived at the beginning of the 1st century BC. His comedies described Roman scenes and manners (the genre called *comoediae togatae*) and the subjects were mostly taken from the life of the lower classes (*comoediae tabernariae*).

BookSixXI [p. 279] His play 'The Fire' performed for *Nero* [p. 549].

Afranius, Lucius, d. 46BC was a legatus and client of *Pompey* [p. 573]. He served with Pompey during his Iberian campaigns against Sertorius in the late 70's, and remained in his service through to the Civil War. He was killed after the Battle of Thapsus in 46BC.

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BookOneXXXIV [p. 29] Defeated by *Caesar* [p. 518] in Spain.

BookOneLXXV [p. 50] His behaviour at *Ilerda* [p. 510].

Agamemnon was a Greek king, leader of the army at Troy in *Homer's* [p. 508] *Iliad*.

BookThreeLXI [p. 177] Mentioned.

Agermus, or **Agerinus**, was a freedman of *Agrippina* [p. 413] the Younger.

BookSixXXXIV [p. 296] He was arrested on *Nero's* [p. 549] orders.

Agrippa, Marcus Vipsanius (c. 63BC – 12BC) was a close friend, and defence minister of the future emperor *Augustus* [p. 433]. He was responsible for many of his military victories, most notably Actium against the forces of Mark *Antony* [p. 422] and *Cleopatra* [p. 468] VII of Egypt. He was son-in-law to Augustus, maternal grandfather of the Emperor *Caligula* [p. 449], father-in-law of the Emperors *Tiberius* [p. 608] and *Claudius* [p. 464], and maternal great-grandfather of the Emperor *Nero* [p. 549]. He probably served in *Caesar's* [p. 518] campaign of 46/45BC against *Pompey* [p. 573] and Caesar regarded him highly enough to send him with Octavius in 45BC to study at *Apollonia* [p. 426]. From then on Agrippa played a major part in Augustus' career, as military commander and admiral, also undertaking major public works in Rome and elsewhere, and writing works on geography (following his survey of the Empire) and other subjects. His last campaign initiated the conquest of the upper Danube region, which would become the Roman province of Pannonia in 13BC. Augustus had Agrippa's remains placed in his own mausoleum.

BookTwoXVI [p. 75] His victories at *Mylae* [p. 546] and *Naulochus* [p. 548] in 36BC.

BookTwoXXV [p. 81] He was granted the right to fly the blue ensign, off Sicily.

BookTwoXXIX [p. 85] *BookTwoXCVII* [p. 128] He erected many fine buildings in Rome, including the *original* Pantheon on the *Campus* [p. 452] Martius (during his third consulship 27BC).

BookTwoXXXV [p. 89] He assisted Augustus in pruning the Senate.

BookTwoXLII [p. 93] Agrippa became aedile in 33BC in order to work on Augustus' aqueduct projects. He restored the Appia, Anio Vetus, and Marcia, and combined an existing aqueduct, the Tepula, with a new aqueduct, the Julia.

BookTwoLXIII [p. 106] He married Claudia Marcella the Elder, daughter of *Octavia* [p. 554] the Younger in 28BC, and *Julia* [p. 515] the Elder in 21BC.

BookTwoLXIV [p. 106] His five children by Julia the Elder.

BookTwoLXVI [p. 108] *BookThreeX* [p. 148] In 23BC, a year of constitutional crisis, Augustus fell ill and presented his signet ring to Agrippa, who seemed thus to be designated the emperor's successor. Agrippa traveled to Mytilene on Lesbos, from which he

administered affairs in the East. It has been argued that the Senate gave him an *imperium* greater than that of any other provincial governor in the East (*imperium majus*). After Augustus' death Roman historians claimed that Agrippa's journey to Mytilene was a self-imposed exile as a result of Augustus' preference for his own nephew *Marcellus* [p. 537].

BookTwoXCIV [p. 124] He was at *Apollonia* [p. 426] in 45/44BC with Augustus, at which time both of their horoscopes were cast and indicated fortunate lives.

BookThreeVII [p. 146] His daughter *Agrippina* [p. 412] Vipsania the Younger the married *Tiberius* [p. 608].

BookFourVII [p. 196] His daughter *Agrippina* [p. 413] Vipsania the Elder married *Germanicus* [p. 503].

BookFourXXIII [p. 207] *Caligula* [p. 449] despised Agrippa's lowly origins.

Agrippa Postumus, Marcus (12BC – 14AD) also known as Agrippa Postumus, or Postumus Agrippa, was a son of Marcus Vipsanius *Agrippa* [p. 411] and *Julia* [p. 515] the Elder. His maternal grandparents were *Augustus* [p. 433] and his second wife *Scribonia* [p. 589]. Upon his adoption as the emperor's son in 4AD, with Tiberius to guarantee the line of succession, he became Marcus Julius Caesar Vipsanianus Agrippa Postumus. Some time after 6AD, for reasons unknown but possibly conspiracy, Augustus banished Postumus to the small island of Planasia. Tacitus suggests that he was always disliked and shunned by *Livia* [p. 527], as he stood in the way of her son *Tiberius* [p. 608], who probably had Postumus executed on his accession.

BookTwoXIX [p. 78] A plot mentioned to free him from Planasia.

BookTwoLI [p. 100] A plebeian fined for libelling *Augustus* [p. 433] under his name.

BookTwoLXIV [p. 106] Grandson of Augustus.

BookTwoLXV [p. 107] *BookThreeXV* [p. 152] Adopted by Augustus in 4AD, he was exiled by him sometime after 6AD.

BookThreeXXII [p. 156] He was executed at Augustus' death on the written orders of Augustus, possibly signed by *Livia* [p. 527] and with the complicity of Tiberius.

BookThreeXXV [p. 158] His slave *Clemens* [p. 467] pretended to be him after his death, and gained a following, but was trapped and executed by Tiberius.

Agrippina, Vipsania the Younger, (36BC - 20AD) was the daughter of *Agrippa* [p. 411] by his first wife Pomponia Caecilia Attica, and thereby the granddaughter of *Cicero's* [p. 614] friend, the knight *Caecilius* [p. 445] Atticus. Octavian and her father betrothed her to Tiberius before her first birthday, and sometime after 19BC they married. Their son *Drusus* [p. 488] the Younger was born in 13BC. Her father Agrippa died in March, 12BC. He had been married to *Julia* [p. 515] the Elder, daughter of Augustus. Augustus forced Tiberius to divorce Vipsania and marry Julia. After the divorce, in 11BC she married Gaius Asinius Gallus Saloninus, a Senator and son of the orator *Asinius* [p. 430] Pollio.

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They had at least six sons. She died in 20AD, a few days after the ovation of her son Drusus, on 28 May. Tiberius detested Gallus, not least because Gallus claimed that Drusus was his own son. In 30AD, at Tiberius' instigation, the Senate declared Gallus a public enemy (Cassius Dio 58.3). He died in prison in 33AD, of starvation.

BookThreeVII [p. 146] She married Tiberius after 19BC.

BookThreeX [p. 148] Her son by Tiberius, Drusus the Younger.

Agrippina, Vipsania the the Elder (14BC - 33AD) was the wife of *Germanicus* [p. 503], second granddaughter to *Augustus* [p. 433]; sister-in-law, stepdaughter and daughter-in-law to *Tiberius* [p. 608]; mother to *Caligula* [p. 449]; maternal second cousin and sister-in-law to *Claudius* [p. 464] and maternal grandmother to *Nero* [p. 549]. The second daughter and fourth child of *Agrippa* [p. 411] and *Julia* [p. 515] the Elder, Agrippina married her second maternal cousin Germanicus between 5 and 1BC. In 29AD, Agrippina and her sons *Nero* [p. 549] and *Drusus* [p. 486], were arrested on the orders of Tiberius, and she was banished with her sons to the island of *Pandataria* [p. 560] (modern Ventotene) in the Tyrrhenian Sea off the coast of Campania, where it is claimed she ultimately starved herself to death. This was the island where her mother Julia the Elder had been banished. Caligula later retrieved her ashes and honoured her in Rome.

BookTwoXXXIV [p. 89] *BookFourVII* [p. 196] Her children by Germanicus.

BookTwoLXIV [p. 106] Her marriage to Germanicus, between 5BC and 1BC.

BookTwoLXXXVI [p. 119] Augustus praises her accomplishments.

BookThreeLII [p. 172] *BookThreeLIII* [p. 173] *BookThreeLXIV* [p. 180] *BookFourXXX* [p. 213] Tiberius's cruel treatment of her, and her banishment to Pandataria.

BookFourVIII [p. 196] Altars to her child-bearing in Gaul.

BookFourX [p. 198] *Caligula* [p. 449] lived with her until her exile.

BookFourXII [p. 199] Caligula supposedly wished to avenge her death.

BookFourXV [p. 201] *Caligula* [p. 449] recovered her ashes from Pandataria in 37AD.

BookFourXXIII [p. 207] *Caligula* [p. 449] claimed he was the product of her incest with her father Augustus.

Agrippina the Younger, Julia Agrippina, or Agrippinilla (*Little Agrippina*) after 50AD known as Julia Augusta Agrippina (c. 16AD – 59AD) was sister of *Caligula* [p. 449], niece and fourth wife of *Claudius* [p. 464] and the mother of *Nero* [p. 549]. In 28, *Tiberius* [p. 608] arranged for Agrippina to marry her paternal second cousin Gnaeus *Domitius* [p. 484] Ahenobarbus. Their only son was named Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, after Domitius's recently deceased father. This child would become the Emperor Nero. In 39AD, Agrippina and her sister *Livilla* [p. 517], with their maternal cousin, *Drusilla's* [p. 516] widower, Marcus *Aemilius* [p. 407] Lepidus, were involved in a failed plot to murder Caligula, and make Lepidus emperor. Lepidus was executed. Agrippina and Livilla were exiled by their brother to the *Pontine* [p. 575] Islands.

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BookFourVII [p. 196] Mentioned.

BookFourXV [p. 201] *Caligula* [p. 449] included her and her sisters in the wording of formal oaths.

BookFourXXIV [p. 208] *BookFourXXIX* [p. 212] She and her sister Livilla were exiled by Caligula.

BookFourXXXVI [p. 216] Accused of incest with her brother Caligula.

BookFourXXXIX [p. 219] Caligula sold off her and Livilla's property after they were exiled.

BookFiveXXVI [p. 256] *BookFiveXXIX* [p. 259] *BookFiveXXXIX* [p. 264] The fourth wife of *Claudius* [p. 464].

BookFiveXLIII [p. 267] Claudius appeared to repent of having married her.

BookFiveXLIV [p. 267] Agrippina was accused of poisoning Claudius.

BookSixV [p. 276] *BookSixVI* [p. 276] The mother of *Nero* [p. 549].

BookSixVII [p. 277] She attempted to destroy *Domitia* [p. 482] Lepida.

BookSixIX [p. 278] Nero turned over his affairs to her, both public and private, making her the major power in the Empire during his initial reign.

BookSixXXVIII [p. 291] Nero was rumoured to have had incestuous relations with her.

BookSixXXXIV [p. 296] *BookSixXXXIX* [p. 301] *BookSixXLVI* [p. 306] Her execution ordered by Nero.

BookSixXXXV [p. 297] Accused of taking *Aulus* [p. 569] Plautius as her lover.

BookSixLII [p. 310] She warned Nero as a boy not to study philosophy.

BookSevenV [p. 320] She made advances to *Galba* [p. 500] after the death of Domitius.

BookEightIV [p. 363] *Vespasian* [p. 620] was wary of her influence over *Nero* [p. 549] and her animosity towards any friend of *Narcissus* [p. 547].

BookEightIX [p. 369] She began a shrine to *Claudius* [p. 464], completed by Vespasian.

Ahenobarbus, see *Domitius* [p. 484] and *Nero* [p. 549]

Ajax, or strictly **Ajax the Greater**, was a Greek hero of *Homer's* [p. 508] *Iliad*, the strongest soldier in the Greek host.

BookTwoLXXXV [p. 119] He went mad and committed suicide according to myth. Here *Augustus* [p. 433], abandoning writing his tragedy, has his hero fall on his sponge rather than his sword, i.e. fall on the eraser used in writing, or equally on the lavatorial sponge on a stick used by Romans, that is, his unfinished tragedy had gone 'down the drain'.

Alani were a group of Sarmatian tribes, nomadic pastoralists who frequently raided the Parthian empire and the Caucasian provinces of the Roman Empire. In the Vologases inscription, *Vologases* [p. 626] I the Parthian king is recorded, in the 11th year of his reign (c. 62AD), as having battled Kuluk, king of the Alani.

BookEightXXXVIII [p. 386] Mentioned.

Albanum, the modern **Albano Laziale**, is in the Alban Hills, in Latium. It is now a suburb of Rome, which is 25 km distant. Albano is located in the area in which, according to the legend, *Aeneas's* [p. 409] son, Ascanius, founded Alba Longa.

BookSixXXV [p. 289] *Nero* [p. 549] entered the town triumphantly on his return from Greece in 67AD.

Albia Terentia was the emperor *Otho's* [p. 558] mother.

BookSevenXXIV [p. 332] Mentioned.

Albula Waters, the **Albulae Aquae** (The White Water) are a group of springs located 6 km West of *Tivoli* [p. 611]. The water is bluish, strongly impregnated with sulphur and carbonate of lime, and rises at a temperature of about 24 degrees Centigrade. Remains of Roman thermal baths exist near the principal spring, the Lago della Regina and dedicatory inscriptions have been found. The *dureta*, found in Moorish (and Turkish) baths (*hammam*), is a W-shaped couch of wood, called *dureta* from its hardness (or from Celtic/Iberian *dur*, for oak?), the angles of the couch corresponding with the joints of the body when in a re- clining position.

BookTwoLXXXII [p. 117] Augustus took baths in Albula waters, and borrowed the *dureta* from Moorish Spain.

Alcmaeon in Greek mythology was the son of Amphiaraus. Eriphyle, his mother, was bribed to send her husband (and her son Alcmaeon) into battle against Thebes. Alcmaeon killed her to avenge the treachery.

BookSixXXXIX [p. 301] His murder of his mother.

Alexander the Great, Alexander III of Macedon (356BC – 323BC), was a Greek king (basileus) of Macedon. He is the most celebrated member of the Argead Dynasty and created one of the largest empires in ancient history.

BookOneVII [p. 14] His statue in the temple of *Hercules* [p. 507] (Heracles) in Cadiz.

BookTwoXVIII [p. 77] *Augustus* [p. 433] had his sarcophagus opened c. 31BC, and crowned the mummified corpse as a mark of respect.

BookTwoL [p. 99] Augustus' second seal-ring carried a head of Alexander.

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BookTwoXCIV [p. 124] Alexander, and Augustus, sacrificed at an altar to *Liber* [p. 525]-Dionysus in *Thraee* [p. 607], possibly at Perperikon. See the *Liber* entry.

BookFourLII [p. 226] *Caligula* [p. 449] wore his breastplate taken from the sarcophagus at *Alexandria* [p. 416].

BookSixXIX [p. 284] The 'Caspian Gates' originally applied to the narrow region at the southeast corner of the Caspian Sea, through which Alexander marched in pursuit of the Persian, Bessus.

Alexandria was Nero's old nurse.

BookSixL [p. 309] She helped to deposit *Nero's* [p. 549] ashes in the family tomb.

Alexandrians were the inhabitants of Alexandria, the capital of Egypt from its foundation by *Alexander* [p. 415] the Great in 331BC until the Muslim Conquest in 641AD. It was the capital therefore of the Ptolemaic Empire of Egypt.

BookOneXI [p. 16] *BookFiveXVI* [p. 249] Their rejection of *Ptolemy XII* [p. 578], since Ptolemy XI had willed the country to Rome.

BookOneXXXV [p. 30] *BookThreeIV* [p. 144] *Pompey* [p. 573] fled to Alexandria in 48BC after the battle of *Pharsalus* [p. 566], and was murdered there on the orders of Ptolemy *XIII* [p. 578].

BookOneLXIV [p. 45] An incident during *Caesar's* [p. 518] campaign there.

BookOneLXXIX [p. 52] It was rumoured that *Caesar* [p. 518] might remove from Rome to Alexandria.

BookTwoXVII [p. 76] *BookTwoLXXI* [p. 112] *Augustus* [p. 433] captured the city in 30BC.

BookTwoXXII [p. 80] Augustus celebrated his victories in Egypt in his triple-triumph of 29BC.

BookTwoXCVIII [p. 128] Active trade with Rome, with *Puteoli* [p. 579] as a harbour used by Alexandrian ships.

BookThreeLII [p. 172] *Germanicus* [p. 503] there in 19AD.

BookFourXLVI [p. 223] *BookFiveXX* [p. 251] The Pharos was a tower built between 280BC and 247BC on the island of Pharos at Alexandria, to guide sailors into the harbour at night. With a height of 400 feet or so, it was for many centuries among the tallest man-made structures, and one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World.

BookFourXLIX [p. 224] *Caligula* [p. 449] had intentions of ruling from there.

BookFourLII [p. 226] *Caligula* [p. 449] took Alexander's breastplate from the sarcophagus there. The tomb was ultimately lost some time in the 4th century AD.

BookFiveXX [p. 251] Caligula had the obelisk transported from Heliopolis via Alexandria in 37AD. It now stands in front of Saint Peter's. Pliny estimated the vessel's size at a thousand metric tons or so.

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BookFiveXLII [p. 266] The Musaeum, or Mouseion, at Alexandria which included the famous Library was founded by Ptolemy I Soter, or Ptolemy II Philadelphus. A wing was added by *Claudius* [p. 464] in his name.

BookSixXIX [p. 284] *Nero* [p. 549] abandoned his planned tour to Alexandria due to a portent.

BookSixXX [p. 285] The rhythmic clapping of some Alexandrians appealed to Nero.

BookSixXLV [p. 305] A cargo of sand for Nero's wrestlers' arena sent from Alexandria.

BookEightVII [p. 367] *Vespasian* [p. 620] seized Alexandria, the key to Egypt, in 69AD.

BookEightXIX [p. 373] Their mockery of *Vespasian's* [p. 620] stinginess.

BookEightXXX [p. 379] *Titus* [p. 612] on his way to Alexandria 70/71AD.

BookEightLVI [p. 401] The library of Ptolemy II Philadelphus, and the Pergamese library stored in the Temple of *Serapis* [p. 591], may both be intended.

Allia: the Battle of the Allia was fought near the Allia river about 18 kilometres north of Rome, its traditional date being July 18th, 390BC, though 387BC is more plausible. The defeat of the Roman army by the *Senones* [p. 591] under Brennus opened the way for the Gauls to sack Rome.

BookSevenXLVI [p. 348] *Vitellius* [p. 624] assumed the office of High Priest on the anniversary of the battle.

Allobroges were a Celtic tribe of ancient Gaul, located between the Rhône River and the Lake of Geneva.

BookSixII [p. 274] Mentioned.

Amazons were a nation of all-female warriors in Classical mythology. Herodotus placed them in a region bordering *Scythia* [p. 589] in Sarmatia (modern territory of Ukraine). Other historiographers place them in Asia Minor or Libya.

BookOneXXII [p. 22] Mentioned by *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar, as an example of female rule.

BookSixXLIV [p. 305] *Nero* [p. 549] intended to equip his concubines as Amazons for his Gallic campaign.

Ambrani: possibly a Ligurian tribe of the coastal region of north-western Italy around Genoa.

BookOneIX [p. 16] Mentioned.

Ampius Balbus, Titus was first tribune of the plebs then held the praetorship in 59BC. He was proconsul of Asia in 58BC. A supporter of *Pompey* [p. 573], he was banished by *Caesar* [p. 518] after *Pharsalus* [p. 566], but allowed to return to Rome after *Cicero's* [p. 614] intercession in 46BC. He appears to have written biographies of famous men.

BookOneLXXVII [p. 52] He relays some of Caesar's more arrogant statements.

Ancharia, was the first wife of Gaius *Octavius* [p. 555].

BookTwoIV [p. 69] Mentioned.

Ancus Marcius (r. 640BC – 616BC) was the fourth King of Rome. He was the son of Marcius and Pompilia, the daughter of Numa Pompilius the second king. His grandfather, Marcius, had also been a close friend of Numa. According to Festus, Marcius gained the appellation *Ancus* from his *crooked* arm.

BookOneVI [p. 14] He founded *Caesar's* [p. 518] paternal aunt's maternal line, the Marci Reges.

Anicetus was a freedman of *Nero* [p. 549] and formerly his tutor. He commanded the fleet at *Misenum* [p. 544] in 60AD, and was employed by Nero to murder *Agrippina* [p. 413], his mother. He was then used to implicate Nero's wife *Octavia* [p. 554] in adultery, but was subsequently banished and died in *Sardinia* [p. 587].

BookSixXXXV [p. 297] Mentioned.

Annaeus, see *Seneca* [p. 591]

Annius Cimber, Titus was a rhetorician who affected the style of Thucydides.

BookTwoLXXXVI [p. 119] An archaist in language.

Annius Milo Papianus, Titus was a political agitator, the son of Gaius Papius Celsus, but adopted by his maternal grandfather, Titus Annius Luscus. In 52BC he probably murdered Publius *Clodius* [p. 469] Pulcher and was later unsuccessfully defended by his friend *Cicero* [p. 462] in the *Pro Milone* speech. Milo was condemned by 38 votes to 13, and went into exile at Massilia (Marseille), his property being sold by auction. He joined Marcus Caelius Rufus in 48BC in his rising against Caesar, but died at Compsa, near Thurii in Lucania, killed by a stone thrown from the city walls.

BookOneXXX [p. 27] His trial.

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Anticyra, in Phocis, on the bay of Anticyra in the Corinthian gulf, was a town of considerable importance in ancient times, was destroyed by Philip of Macedon, recovered its prosperity; and was captured by Titus Quinctius Flamininus in 198BC. The city was famous for its black hellebore, the herb being regarded as a cure for insanity.

BookFourXXIX [p. 212] *Caligula* [p. 449] plays on the association.

Antiochus was a baker who was claimed as the maternal grandfather of the first of the Vitelli family to become a Roman knight.

BookSevenXXXVI [p. 341] Mentioned.

Antiochus IV of Commagene (before 17AD – after 72AD) was the last king of *Commagene* [p. 470] (a country bordering *Cappadocia* [p. 454], *Cilicia* [p. 461] and Syria), who reigned between 38AD and 72AD as a client king of the Roman Empire. He was the son of Antiochus III who died in 17AD, when *Tiberius* [p. 608] agreed that Commagene become a part of the province of Syria. Between 17AD and 38AD, Antiochus lived in Rome. In 38AD, Antiochus received his paternal dominion from Caligula but was subsequently deposed by him and did not obtain his kingdom again till the accession of *Claudius* [p. 464] in 41AD. In 55AD he received orders from *Nero* [p. 549] to make war against Parthia, and in 61AD obtained parts of Armenia. He supported *Vespasian* [p. 620] as emperor in 70AD, but in 72AD, was accused of conspiring with Parthia. Deprived of his kingdom, he retired to Sparta, then Rome, where he passed the remainder of his life.

BookFourXVI [p. 203] *Caligula* [p. 449] paid him the taxes and revenues accumulated since his father's death.

Antistius, Lucius, was a tribune of the people, and a member of the *gens Antistia* a well-known plebeian family.

BookOneXXIII [p. 22] He attempted to bring *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar to trial.

Antistius was a physician who examined *Caesar's* [p. 518] body after his assassination.

BookOneLXXXII [p. 55] His opinion that only one of the wounds was fatal.

Antistius Labeo, Marcus (d. c. 11AD) was a prominent jurist the son of Quintus Antistius Labeo, also a jurist who died at Philippi. A member of the plebeian nobility, Marcus rose to the praetorship; but his undisguised antipathy to the new regime, and his republican sympathies, what Tacitus calls his *incorrupta libertas*, proved an obstacle to advancement, and his rival, Ateius Capito was promoted by *Augustus* [p. 433] to the consulate, when the appointment should have fallen to Labeo, who later declined the office. His most important literary work was the *Libri posteriores* a systematic exposition of the common law. His *Libri ad Edictum* embraced a commentary, not only on the

edicts of the praetors, but also on that of the curule aediles.

BookTwoLIV [p. 102] His nomination of Augustus' enemy *Lepidus* [p. 407] to the Senate.

Antium, modern **Anzio**, is a city on the coast of the Lazio region of Italy, about 35 miles south of Rome. It was the capital of the Volsci until conquered by the Romans. *Augustus* [p. 433] had a villa there, as did *Maecenas* [p. 534] and both *Caligula* [p. 449] and *Nero* [p. 549] were born there.

BookTwoLVIII [p. 104] Augustus received a delegation from Rome to acclaim him *Pater patriae* (Father of the Country)

BookThreeXXXVIII [p. 165] The furthest from the City that Tiberius travelled during his period in Rome, after his accession.

BookFourVIII [p. 196] The birthplace of *Caligula* [p. 449] according to Suetonius.

BookFourXLIX [p. 224] Caligula had intentions of ruling from there temporarily.

BookFourLVII [p. 229] Fortuna's worship at Antium included a celebrated oracle, only slightly less famous than the oracle of Fortuna Primigenia at *Praeneste* [p. 577].

BookSixVI [p. 276] The birthplace of Nero.

BookSixIX [p. 278] *Nero* [p. 549] founded a new colony there, relocating the wealthiest of the leading centurions, and building a harbour.

BookSixXXV [p. 289] Nero entered the town triumphantly on his return from Greece in 67AD.

Antonia the Elder (b. 39BC) was a daughter of Mark *Antony* [p. 422] and *Octavia* [p. 554] the Younger. c. 25BC, Antonia married Lucius *Domitius* [p. 485] Ahenobarbus (consul 16BC).

BookSixV [p. 276] The mother of Gnaeus *Domitius* [p. 484], *Nero's* [p. 549] father.

Antonia the Younger (36BC - 37AD) was a daughter of Mark *Antony* [p. 422] and *Octavia* [p. 554] the Younger. In 16BC, she married the Roman general and consul Nero Claudius *Drusus* [p. 487] the Elder, the stepson of her uncle *Augustus* [p. 433], second son of *Livia* [p. 527] Drusilla and brother of future Emperor *Tiberius* [p. 608]. They had several children, but only three survived, *Germanicus* [p. 503], *Livilla* [p. 529], and *Claudius* [p. 464]. Antonia was the grandmother of the Emperor *Caligula* [p. 449].

BookFourI [p. 193] The mother of Germanicus.

BookFourX [p. 198] She cared for Caligula until he joined Tiberius on Capri.

BookFourXV [p. 201] *Caligula* [p. 449] awarded her all *Livia's* [p. 527] honours on his accession in 37AD, before her death in October of that year.

BookFourXXIII [p. 207] *Caligula* [p. 449] hastened her death, some say poisoned her.

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BookFourXXIV [p. 208] She caught Caligula and his sister *Drusilla* [p. 516] in an incestuous relationship.

BookFourXXIX [p. 212] Caligula insults her.

BookFiveI [p. 237] *BookFiveIV* [p. 240] The mother of Claudius.

BookFiveIII [p. 239] Her disparaging comments on her son Claudius.

BookFiveXI [p. 244] *Claudius* [p. 464] honoured her with the title Augusta.

BookFiveXLI [p. 265] She warned the young Claudius over the sensitivity of the work on history he was writing.

BookEightIII [p. 363] *Caenis* [p. 446] was a former slave and secretary of hers.

Antonia, see *Claudia* [p. 463] Antonia

Antonius Hybrida, Gaius, was the uncle of the triumvir Mark *Antony* [p. 422]. His military career started as a legate and cavalry commander of *Sulla* [p. 599] during the Mithridatic Wars, and earned his nickname 'half-beast', due to atrocities committed in Greece. In spite of his reputation, however, he was elected tribune in 71BC, praetor in 66BC, and finally consul with *Cicero* [p. 614] in 63BC. He became governor of Macedonia, where he made himself so detested that he was forced to leave the province. In 59BC, he was accused of having taken part in the Catiline conspiracy and of extortion in his province. Despite being defended by Cicero, Hybrida was condemned and went into exile at Kefalonia. He seems to have been recalled by *Caesar* [p. 518], since he was present at a meeting of the Roman Senate in 44BC and was censor in 42BC.

BookTwoV [p. 69] He was consul in the year of *Augustus* [p. 433]' birth, 63BC.

Antonius, Gaius (d. 42BC) was the second son of Marcus Antonius Creticus and Julia Antonia, and thus, younger brother of Mark *Antony* [p. 422], the triumvir and enemy of *Augustus* [p. 433]. During the civil war, Gaius was a legate of *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar (49BC), and entrusted, with Publius Cornelius *Dolabella* [p. 482], with the defence of *Illyricum* [p. 510] against the Pompeians. While Dolabella's fleet was destroyed, Antonius was shut up in the island of Curicta and forced to surrender. After the assassination of Caesar, Gaius (as a Caesarean) was appointed governor to the Roman province of Macedonia. Marcus Junius *Brutus* [p. 444] and the other assassins, however, chose Macedonia as refuge from Octavian and dispossessed Antonius of his governorship. Brutus ultimately ordered his death.

BookOneXXXVI [p. 31] His defeat off Illyricum.

Antonius, Lucius was the younger brother and supporter of Mark Antony. After *Caesar's* [p. 518] murder, he proposed an agrarian law in favor of the people and Caesar's veterans, and took part in the operations at *Mutina* [p. 546] (43BC). In 41BC, he was

consul with Publius *Servilius* [p. 592] *Vatia*. In that year, he raised an eight-legion army to fight against Octavian's unpopular policies, subsequently marching on Rome, driving out *Lepidus* [p. 407], and promising the abolition of the Triumvirate. On the approach of *Octavian* [p. 433], he retired to *Perusia* [p. 564] in Etruria, where he was besieged by three armies, and compelled to surrender (40BC). The city was destroyed but his life was spared, and he was sent by Octavian to Spain as governor. Nothing is known of the circumstances or date of his death.

BookTwoIX [p. 71] *BookTwoXIV* [p. 74] *BookTwoXV* [p. 75] *BookThreeIV* [p. 144] Defeated by the forces of *Augustus* [p. 433] (Octavian) at *Perusia*.

BookTwoLXVII [p. 109] He accused Augustus of homosexuality.

BookThreeV [p. 145] His consulship in 41BC.

Antonius, Marcus (Mark Antony) (83BC – 30BC), was a Roman politician and general. He was an important supporter and the loyal friend of Gaius Julius *Caesar* [p. 518] as a military commander and administrator, being Caesar's second cousin, once removed, by his mother Julia Antonia. After Caesar's assassination, Antony formed an official political alliance with Octavian (*Augustus* [p. 433]) and Marcus Aemilius *Lepidus* [p. 525], called the Second Triumvirate. The triumvirate broke up in 33BC. Disagreement between Octavian and Antony erupted into civil war, the Final War of the Roman Republic, in 31BC. Antony was defeated by Octavian at the naval Battle of Actium, and in a brief land battle at Alexandria. He and his lover *Cleopatra* [p. 468] committed suicide shortly thereafter.

BookOneLII [p. 39] He had attested to *Caesarion* [p. 448] being Caesar's son by Cleopatra.

BookOneLXXIX [p. 52] He attempted to crown Caesar in 44BC.

BookOneLXXXII [p. 55] He prevented Caesar's assassins carrying out their plans after the assassination.

BookOneLXXXIII [p. 56] Caesar's will was read at his house.

BookOneLXXXIV [p. 57] His speech before Caesar's bier in the *Campus* [p. 452] *Martius*.

BookTwoII [p. 67] *BookTwoIV* [p. 69] *BookTwoVI* [p. 70] He poked fun at *Augustus* [p. 433]' ancestry.

BookTwoVIII [p. 71] *BookTwoXIII* [p. 73] He formed the Second Triumvirate, with Octavian and *Lepidus*.

BookTwoIX [p. 71] *BookTwoXI* [p. 73] *BookTwoXX* [p. 79] *BookTwoXLIX* [p. 99] Defeated by *Augustus* (Octavian) at *Mutina* [p. 546] and finally at *Actium* [p. 404].

BookTwoX [p. 72] Blocked Augustus' application for tribuneship, and mocked his contribution to the first battle at *Mutina*.

BookTwoXII [p. 73] *BookThreeIV* [p. 144] He fled to join *Lepidus* [p. 407] after *Mutina*.

BookTwoXIV [p. 74] His brother *Lucius* [p. 421] in alliance with him.

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BookTwoXVI [p. 75] Mark Antony's taunting of Augustus regarding *Naulochus* [p. 548].

BookTwoXVII [p. 76] His will opened, his defeat at *Actium* [p. 404], and his suicide.

BookTwoXXI [p. 79] His standards lost to Parthia by his generals in 40BC and 36BC, were returned in 20BC.

BookTwoXXVIII [p. 84] His charge that Augustus was an obstacle to restoring the Republic.

BookTwoLXII [p. 105] *Augustus* [p. 433] married Antony's step-daughter *Claudia* [p. 463].

BookTwoLXIII [p. 106] His claim that Augustus had betrothed *Julia* [p. 515] to his son *Antyllus* [p. 423].

BookTwoLXVII [p. 109] He accused Augustus of homosexuality.

BookTwoLXIX [p. 110] *BookTwoLXX* [p. 111] He accused Augustus of various adulteries and debaucheries.

BookTwoLXXXVI [p. 119] Augustus ridiculed his elaborate style of speech.

BookThreeLIX [p. 176] *BookSixIII* [p. 275] Mentioned.

BookFourXXVI [p. 210] Grandfather of *Ptolemy* [p. 578] of Mauretania.

BookFiveXI [p. 244] *Claudius* [p. 464] honoured his grandfather Antony's memory.

Antonius, Marcus (Antyllus) (47BC - 30BC) or **Marcus Antonius the Younger**, also known as **Antonius** or **Antyllus**, was the son of Mark *Antony* [p. 422] by *Fulvia* [p. 498]. He was betrothed at one time to Octavian's daughter *Julia* [p. 515] the Elder. After the alliance between his father and Octavian ended, the engagement was terminated. Between 40 and 36, he lived with his father, stepmother, *Octavia* [p. 554] the Younger, and siblings in his father's mansion, in Athens. After 36BC, he lived his remaining years in *Alexandria* [p. 416], at the court of *Cleopatra* [p. 468] VII of Egypt.

BookTwoXVII [p. 76] *Augustus* [p. 433] had him killed.

BookTwoLXIII [p. 106] Antony's claim that Antyllus had been betrothed to Julia.

Antonius, Iullus (43BC - 2BC), was the second son of Mark *Antony* [p. 422] and his third wife *Fulvia* [p. 498]. He is best known for being the lover of *Julia* [p. 515] the Elder. Iullus became praetor in 13BC, consul in 10BC and Asian proconsul in 7BC, and was highly regarded by Augustus. In 2BC, when Augustus acted against his daughter Julia's promiscuity, Antonius was exposed as her lover. He was charged with treason and sentenced to death; subsequently committing suicide.

BookFiveII [p. 238] *Claudius* [p. 464] born during his consulship.

Antonius Musa was a botanist and *Augustus* [p. 433]' physician. In 23BC, when Augustus was seriously ill, Musa cured the illness with cold baths, drinks and compresses, but reputedly failed to save *Marcellus* [p. 537] in his illness. His brother Euphorbus was physician to King *Juba* [p. 514] II of Numidia.

BookTwoLIX [p. 104] Mentioned.

BookTwoLXXXI [p. 117] He treated Augustus after the *Cantabrian* [p. 453] Campaign, possibly for typhoid fever for which cold fomentations are a rational treatment, rather than liver abscess.

Antonius Primus, Marcus (b. before 36AD - d. after 81AD) was born at *Tolosa* [p. 613] (Toulouse) in Gaul. During *Nero's* [p. 549] reign he was banished from Rome after a forgery charge. He was subsequently reinstated by *Galba* [p. 500], and placed in command of a legion in *Pannonia* [p. 560]. During the civil war, Primus supported *Vespasian* [p. 620]. He gained a decisive victory over the Vitellians at *Betriacum* [p. 439] in October 69, and then stormed and set fire to Cremona. He then made his way to Rome. He must have been alive during the reign of *Domitian* [p. 482], since four epigrams of Martial are addressed to him. His childhood nickname was Becco.

BookSevenLIII [p. 353] Mentioned.

Antonius Saturninus, Lucius, was the governor of Germania Superior during the reign of *Domitian* [p. 482] in 89AD. Motivated by a personal grudge he led a rebellion involving the legions Legio XIV Gemina and Legio XXI Rapax, camped in *Moguntiacum* (Mainz). His Germanic allies were prevented from joining him by a sudden thaw of the river Rhine, and the revolt was quickly put down by Domitian's general Trajan, who afterwards burned Saturninus' letters in an attempt to avoid implicating others.

BookEightXLII [p. 389] *BookEightXLIII* [p. 390] *BookEightXLVI* [p. 392] Mentioned.

Antyllus, see *Antonius* [p. 423], Marcus

Apelles of Ascalon was a tragic actor, and a companion of *Caligula* [p. 449].

BookFourXXXIII [p. 215] An incident involving him described.

BookEightXIX [p. 373] Vespasian rewarded him.

Apis or **Hapis**, was a bull-deity symbolic of strength and fertility worshipped in the Memphis region of Egypt. Excavation of the Serapeum at *Memphis* [p. 541] has revealed the tombs of over sixty sacred bulls, the animals dating from the time of Amenophis III. Ptolemy I Soter integrated Apis with aspects of Osiris to create the Egyptian-Hellenistic deity Serapis. In Rome, Serapis was worshipped in the *Iseum Campense*, the sanctuary of the goddess Isis located in the *Campus* [p. 452] Martius and built during the

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Second Triumvirate.

BookTwoXCIII [p. 123] *Augustus* [p. 433] disdained to visit the Apis sanctuary.

BookEightXXX [p. 379] *Titus* [p. 612] attended the Apis bull's consecration ceremony at Memphis.

Apollo, in Greek and Roman mythology, was a god of light and the sun; truth and prophecy; archery; medicine, healing and plague; music, poetry, the arts; and more. Apollo in Greek mythology was the son of Zeus and Leto, and had a twin sister, Artemis.

BookTwoXVIII [p. 77] *Augustus* [p. 433] extended the temple of Apollo at *Actium* [p. 404].

BookTwoXXIX [p. 85] *BookTwoXXXI* [p. 86] *BookTwoLII* [p. 100] *BookSixXXV* [p. 289] The Palatine Temple of Apollo built by *Augustus* [p. 433] in Rome was dedicated in 28BC.

BookTwoLVII [p. 103] Augustus funded and dedicated a statue of Apollo Sandalarius in the shoemakers' ward in Rome.

BookTwoLXX [p. 111] Apollo the Tormentor or Executioner was supposedly a name under which the god was worshipped in Rome.

BookTwoXCIV [p. 124] An omen associated with Augustus' birth. The serpent was associated with Apollo as a symbol after the god rid Delphi of the Python.

BookThreeLXXIV [p. 185] The 'Apollo of Temenos' was presumably from The **Temple of Apollo** on the island of Ortygia in Syracuse, Sicily, a Greek temple dating from the 6th century BC. Temenos simply means sacred space. This is the oldest peripteral (possessing a row of columns on each side) Doric temple in the world.

BookFourXXI [p. 205] *Caligula* [p. 449] planned to restore the Temple of Apollo at Didyma, the modern Didim, Turkey. Next to Delphi, Didyma was the most renowned oracle of the Hellenic world, and is mentioned in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo. Didyma was the largest and most significant sanctuary near the great classical city of Miletus.

BookSixXXV [p. 289] The Pythian Games (*Delphic Games*) were held every four years at the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi.

BookSixXXXIX [p. 301] Paeon, the Healer, was an epithet of Apollo, as was the contrary name of the Far-Darter. The god could ambivalently bring death or healing.

BookSixLIII [p. 311] *Nero* [p. 549] flatteringly acclaimed as his equal in music.

Apollodorus of *Pergamon* [p. 564], was one of the two most prominent teachers of rhetoric in the 1st century BC, the other being Theodorus of Gadara.

BookTwoLXXXIX [p. 121] *Augustus* [p. 433] studied under him.

Apollonia was an Ancient Greek city and colony in northern Epirus, now modern-day Albania, located on the right bank of the Aous River; its ruins are situated in the Fier region, near the village of Pojani. It was founded in 588BC by colonists from Kerkyra (Corfu) and Corinth. Like *Dyrrachium* [p. 488] further north, it was an important port on the *Illyrian* [p. 510] coast as the most convenient link between Brundisium and northern Greece, and as one of the western starting points of the Via Egnatia leading east to Thessaloniki and Byzantium in Thrace. Augustus studied in Apollonia in 45BC - 44BC under the tutelage of Athenodorus of Tarsus; it was there that he received news of *Caesar's* [p. 518] murder.

BookTwoVIII [p. 71] *BookTwoX* [p. 72] *BookTwoLXXXIX* [p. 121] *BookTwoXCIV* [p. 124] *BookTwoXCV* [p. 126] *Augustus* [p. 433] studied there in 45BC - 44BC.

Apollonius Molon was a Greek rhetorician who flourished about 70 BC. He was a native of Alabanda, a pupil of Meneclis, and settled at *Rhodes* [p. 582]. He twice visited Rome as an ambassador from Rhodes, and Marcus Tullius *Cicero* [p. 614] (who visited him during his trip to Greece in 79BC - 77BC) and Gaius *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar both took lessons from him.

BookOneIV [p. 13] Caesar decided to study rhetoric with him.

Apollophanes, one of *Sextus* [p. 573] Pompey's admirals.

BookTwoXVI [p. 75] Mentioned, commanding off *Sicily* [p. 593] c. 36BC.

Aponius Saturninus was a praetor at the time of Caligula.

BookFourXXXVIII [p. 218] *Caligula* [p. 449] knocked down an auction lot to him while he was asleep.

Appius, see *Claudius* [p. 465] and *Junius* [p. 520]

Appuleius, Sextus, was related to *Augustus* [p. 433], and a consul in the year of Augustus' death.

BookTwoC [p. 131] He was consul in 14AD.

Aquileia was a Roman city at the head of the Adriatic at the edge of the lagoons, about 10 km from the sea, on the river Natiso (modern Natisone), the course of which has altered since Roman times. The original Latin colony became a *municipium* c 90BC.

BookTwoXX [p. 79] *Augustus* [p. 433] there 12BC - 10BC.

BookThreeVII [p. 146] *Tiberius* [p. 608]' child by *Julia* [p. 515] died there in 10BC.

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BookEightVI [p. 366] The legions sent to *Moesia* [p. 544] rebelled there in 69AD.

Aquilius Niger, a historian used as a source by Suetonius. Nothing of his work has survived.

BookTwoXI [p. 73] He suggested that *Augustus* [p. 433] murdered *Hirtius* [p. 508] in battle.

Aquitania or **Gallia Aquitania** was a province of the Roman Empire, bordered by the provinces of Gallia Lugdunensis, Gallia Narbonensis, and Hispania Tarraconensis. It lies in present-day southwest France, where it gives its name to the modern region of Aquitaine. Caesar named Aquitania as the triangular territory between the Atlantic, the Pyrenees and the Garonne. He fought and almost completely subdued the tribes in 56BC, though rebellions ensued up to 27BC - 28BC, *Agrippa* [p. 411] gaining a great victory over the Gauls of Aquitania in 38BC. A land extension stretching to the Loire River was added by *Augustus* [p. 433], and Aquitania became an imperial province.

BookTwoXXI [p. 79] Finally subdued by Agrippa.

BookSevenVI [p. 320] *Galba* [p. 500] was governor of Aquitania for almost a year.

BookSevenIX [p. 322] Galba received a request for aid from its governor.

Archelaus IV (d. 17AD) was the last King of Cappadocia. In 36BC, he was made king by triumvir *Mark Antony* [p. 422], whom, however, he deserted after *Actium* [p. 404]. Augustus enlarged his kingdom by adding parts of Cilicia and Lesser Armenia. He was not popular with his subjects, who brought an accusation against him in Rome on which occasion he was defended by the young *Tiberius* [p. 608]. He was the great grandfather of Julius Tigranes, King of Armenia under *Nero* [p. 549]. After 8BC, Archelaus married Queen Pythodorida of Pontus. Subsequently he was accused by the Emperor Tiberius, of endeavouring to stir up revolution, and died in confinement in Rome. Cappadocia was then made a Roman province.

BookThreeVIII [p. 147] *Tiberius* [p. 608] acted as his advocate in Rome.

BookThreeXXXVII [p. 164] Detained by *Tiberius* [p. 608].

Arelate, modern **Arles**, is a city in the south of France, in the former province of Provence. The Romans took the town in 123BC and expanded it into an important city, with a canal link to the Mediterranean in 104BC. However, it struggled to escape the shadow of *Massalia* [p. 539] (Marseille) further along the coast. Massalia however backed *Pompey* [p. 573]; and when *Caesar* [p. 518] emerged victorious, Massalia was stripped of its possessions, which were transferred to Arelate. The town was formally established as a colony for veterans of the Roman legion Legio VI *Ferrata*.

BookThreeIV [p. 144] *Tiberius* [p. 608]' father, Tiberius *Nero* [p. 610], established a colony of *Caesar's* [p. 518] veterans there.

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Areus, of *Alexandria* [p. 416], was a Stoic or Pythagorean philosopher who enjoyed the favour of Augustus and Livia in Rome. His sons were *Dionysius* [p. 481] and *Nicanor* [p. 551].

BookTwoLXXXIX [p. 121] *Augustus* [p. 433] studied under him.

Argivus was *Galba's* [p. 500] steward who saw to the interment of his ashes.

BookSevenXX [p. 329] Mentioned.

Aricia lies in the Alban Hills of the modern Lazio (Latium) region and could now be considered an extension of Rome's southeastern suburbs. Associated with the goddess Diana and the god Virbius, legend also recalls that it served as a temporary burial place of the Greek hero Orestes. Aricia was one of the oldest cities of ancient Latium, and as the leader of the Latin League was a serious opponent of Rome during the early days of the Roman Republic.

BookTwoIV [p. 69] Mentioned.

Ariminum, modern **Rimini**, is located on the Adriatic, near the coast between the rivers Marecchia (the ancient Ariminus) and Ausa (Aprusa). Founded in 268BC Rimini was a road junction connecting central Italy (to Rome along the Via Flaminia) and northern Italy (along the Via Aemilia that led to Piacenza, and the Via Popilia) and it also opened up trade by sea and river.

BookTwoXXX [p. 86] The Via Flaminia to Rimini was rebuilt at *Augustus* [p. 433] personal expense.

Armenia is a landlocked mountainous country in the Caucasus region of Eurasia. Situated at the junction of Western Asia and Eastern Europe, and therefore a gateway to *Parthia* [p. 562], the Kingdom of Armenia, under the Artaxiad Dynasty, was made a Roman protectorate by *Pompey* [p. 573] in 66/65 BC.

BookTwoXXI [p. 79] The Parthians accepted Augustus' claim to *Armenia* [p. 428] (Mark Antony had annexed in it 34BC)

BookThreeIX [p. 147] *BookThreeXI* [p. 149] *Tiberius* [p. 608] there in 20BC.

BookThreeXLI [p. 167] The Parthians allowed to overrun Armenia c. 30AD - 37AD.

BookFiveXXV [p. 255] Armenian envoys at the court of *Claudius* [p. 464].

BookSixXIII [p. 281] *Tiridates* [p. 612] I was King of Armenia from 53AD.

BookSixXXXIX [p. 301] Lucius Caesennius Paetus, governor of Cappadocia suffered a humiliating defeat at the Battle of Rhandeia in 62AD, losing the legions of XII *Fulminata* commanded by Calvisius Sabinus and IIII *Scythica* commanded by Funisulanus Vettonianus.

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Arrecina Tertulla (d. 62/63AD) was the first wife of the Emperor Titus, and daughter of Marcus Arrecinus Clemens, Praetorian Prefect in 38 under *Caligula* [p. 449]. She had a brother, Marcus *Arrecinus* [p. 429] Clemens, who also served as Praetorian Prefect in 70AD under *Vespasian* [p. 620].

BookEightXXIX [p. 378] First wife of *Titus* [p. 612] c. 62AD, dying shortly afterwards.

Arrecinus Clemens, Marcus was brother to *Arrecina* [p. 429] Tertulla, the first wife of the Emperor *Titus* [p. 612]. He served as Prefect of the Praetorian Guard under *Vespasian* [p. 620], from 70AD until 71AD. In June of 71AD he was replaced by *Vespasian's* eldest son Titus. He held two suffect consulships, in 73AD and 85AD, respectively, governing the province of Hispania Tarraconensis in between, and was made city prefect of Rome in 86AD. He appears to have fallen victim to *Domitian* [p. 482].

BookEightXLVII [p. 394] Arraigned by Domitian.

Artabanus II of Parthia ruled the Parthian Empire from about 10AD to 38AD. He was raised to the throne by those Parthians who refused to acknowledge *Vonones* [p. 627] I, whom *Augustus* [p. 433] had sent from Rome (where he lived as hostage) to succeed his father Phraates IV.

BookThreeLXVI [p. 181] His criticism of *Tiberius* [p. 608].

BookFourXIV [p. 200] He courted *Caligula's* [p. 449] favour.

BookSevenXXXVII [p. 342] *Lucius* [p. 625] Vitellius, father of the emperor, induced Artabanus to attend a conference and make obeisance to the standards.

Arverni were a Gallic tribe living in what is now the Auvergne region of France. One of the most powerful tribes in ancient Gaul, their most important stronghold was Gergovia, near the present-day commune of Clermont-Ferrand.

BookSixII [p. 274] Mentioned.

Asclepiades of Mendes, was an Egyptian theologian, and hymnist, who wrote a work on agreement between the various religions, which seems to be the *Theologumena* mentioned by Suetonius; a history of Egypt; and a work on Ogyges the mythical first king of Attica. Mendes was Djedet, the modern Tell El-Ruba.

BookTwoXCIV [p. 124] Referenced regarding an omen associated with *Augustus* [p. 433].

Ascletarion was an astrologer who foretold Domitian's fate.

BookEightLI [p. 397] He was executed by *Domitian* [p. 482].

Asellius Sabinus, an unknown author.

BookThreeXLII [p. 167] *Tiberius* [p. 608] rewarded him extravagantly for penning a dialogue.

Asiaticus was a freedman and catamite of *Vitellius* [p. 624].

BookSevenXLVII [p. 348] Mentioned.

Asillius was a slave or freedman of *Augustus* [p. 433].

BookFourVIII [p. 196] Mentioned.

Asinius Epicadus, a man of mixed race and Parthian descent, conspired against *Augustus* [p. 433], hatching a plot to liberate *Agrippa* [p. 412] Postumus from exile on the island of Planasia.

BookTwoXIX [p. 78] Mentioned.

Asinius Gallus Salonius, Gaius (d. 33AD) was the son of *Pollio* [p. 430], and consul in 8BC, and proconsul of Asia in 6/5BC. He was a friend of *Augustus* [p. 433] and an opponent of *Tiberius* [p. 608], who had him arrested in 30. Tiberius alleged that Asinius had committed adultery with *Agrippina* [p. 413] the Elder, and had his name erased from all public monuments. Gaius died in 33 of starvation. In 11BC he had married Vipsania Agrippina, daughter of Marcus Vipsanius *Agrippa* [p. 411] by his first wife Caecilia Attica, and the former wife of Tiberius. *BookFiveXLI* [p. 265] *Claudius* [p. 464] wrote a book defending *Cicero* [p. 614] from Asinius Gallus's writings.

Asinius Gallus, Lucius was a grandson of *Pollio* [p. 430], and son of Asinius Gallus *Salonius* [p. 430]. He conspired against *Claudius* in 46AD, and was forced to go into exile. He was later consul in 62.

BookFiveXIII [p. 245] His conspiracy against *Claudius* [p. 464].

Asinius Marcellus, Marcus was consul in 54AD. Marcellus was a Senator in *Claudius'* and *Nero's* [p. 549] reigns. In 60, he was involved in a forgery case which discredited him, though he escaped punishment.

BookFiveXLV [p. 268] *Claudius* [p. 464] died during his consulship.

Asinius Pollio, Gaius (75BC – 4AD) was a soldier, politician, orator, poet, playwright, literary critic and historian, whose lost contemporary *History*, provided much of the material for Appian and Plutarch. Pollio was most famously a patron of Virgil and a

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friend of Horace and had poems dedicated to him by both men. He was consul in 40BC.

BookOneXXX [p. 271] *BookOneLV* [p. 41] Quoted.

BookOneLVI [p. 41] Considered *Caesar's* [p. 518] memoirs inaccurate.

BookTwoXXIX [p. 85] From the spoils of war he rebuilt the *Atrium Libertatis* (completed 28BC) headquarters of the censors, located on the saddle which joined the Capitol to the Quirinal, a short distance from the Forum.

BookTwoXLIII [p. 94] His grandson *Aeserninus* [p. 410] was injured in the *Troy* [p. 409] Game, which led Asinius to complain to *Augustus* [p. 433].

BookFiveXIII [p. 245] *Asinius* [p. 430] Gallus was his grandson.

Asprenas, see *Nonius* [p. 552]

Astura, now **Torre Astura**, formerly an island is now a peninsula, and lies on the coast of Latium, at the southeast extremity of the Bay of Antium, on the road to *Circeii* [p. 462].

BookTwoXCVII [p. 128] *Augustus* [p. 433] reached there in 14AD and took ship for Naples, on the way to *Beneventum* [p. 438], but became ill, and diverted to *Capri* [p. 454].

BookThreeLXXII [p. 184] He fell ill at Astura in 37AD before carrying on to *Circeii* and then *Misenum* [p. 544] where he died.

Atalanta, was a huntress in Greek mythology who joined *Meleager* [p. 540] and other heroes in the Calydonian Boar Hunt. Meleager who lusted after her awarded her the boar-skin.

BookThreeXLIV [p. 168] Mentioned.

Atellan farces, also known as the Oscan Plays were a collection of vulgar farces, containing lots of low comedy and rude jokes. Popular in Ancient Rome, the farces were usually played after longer items such as pantomime. Named after Atella, an Oscan town in Campania, where they were invented, they were originally written in Oscan and imported into Rome in 391BC. In later Roman versions, only the comic characters spoke lines in Oscan, while the rest spoke Latin. The stock comic characters may have formed the basis for the characters of the *Commedia dell'arte*, and Punch and Judy.

BookThreeXLV [p. 168] *BookThreeLXXV* [p. 185] *BookFourXXVII* [p. 211] *BookSixXXXIX* [p. 301] Mentioned.

BookSevenXIII [p. 325] Onesimus would be a stock character presumably a Greek slave the name meaning 'useful' in Greek. Possibly the character was a byword for stinginess.

Athenodorus Cananites, or **Athenodorus Calvus**, was a stoic philosopher from Tarsus (his father Sandon came from Cana in Silicia) who accompanied *Octavian* [p. 433] from *Apollonia* [p. 426] to Rome. He became tutor to Claudius. He returned to Tarsus in old age.

BookFiveIV [p. 240] He was tutor to the young *Claudius* [p. 464].

Atia Balba Caesonia (85BC - 43BC), sometimes referred to as Atia Balba Secunda to differentiate her from her two sisters, was the daughter of *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar's sister *Julia* [p. 514] Caesaris, mother of the Emperor *Augustus* [p. 433], step-grandmother of the Emperor *Tiberius* [p. 608], great-great grandmother of the Emperor *Caligula* [p. 449] and Empress *Agrippina* [p. 413] the Younger, great-grandmother of the Emperor *Claudius* [p. 464], and great-great-great-grandmother of the Emperor *Nero* [p. 549]. The name Atia Balba was also borne by the other two daughters of Julia Caesaris and her husband praetor Marcus Atius *Balbus* [p. 432]. Atia married the Roman Macedonian governor and senator Gaius *Octavius* [p. 555]. Their children were *Octavia* [p. 554] Minor and Gaius Octavius Thurinus (later known as Augustus). In 59BC, Gaius Octavius died on his way to Rome to stand for the consulship and Atia married Lucius Marcus Philippus, a consul of 56BC and a supporter of Julius Caesar. He raised Atia's children alongside his own son and daughter from a previous marriage and arranged Octavia's first marriage, to the consul and senator Gaius *Claudius* [p. 536] Marcellus Minor.

BookTwoIV [p. 69] Mother of Augustus.

BookTwoLXI [p. 105] Her death in 43BC.

BookTwoXCIV [p. 124] An omen associated with the birth of *Augustus* [p. 433].

Atilius, Marcus, a poet and playwright of the second century BC, mentioned by *Cicero* [p. 614].

BookOneLXXXIV [p. 57] His *Electra*, a translation of Sophocles' *Electra*, mentioned.

Atius Balbus, Marcus (105BC – 51BC) was the son and heir of an elder Marcus Atius Balbus (148BC – 87BC) and Pompeia. Pompeia was a sister to consul Gnaeus Pompeius Strabo, father of triumvir *Pompey* [p. 573]. Balbus married *Julia* [p. 514] Minor, second eldest sister of Julius *Caesar* [p. 518]. Julia bore Balbus three daughters all named Atia of whom the second was *Atia* [p. 432] Balba Caesonia, mother of *Octavia* [p. 554] Minor (fourth wife of triumvir Mark *Antony* [p. 422]) and of first Emperor *Augustus* [p. 433]. Balbus served as a praetor in 62BC and obtained the government of Sardinia. Under Caesar in 59BC, Balbus was appointed along with Pompey on a board of commissioners under Julian Law to divide estates in Campania among the commoners. Cicero stated that Pompey would joke about Balbus, that he was not a person of any importance.

BookTwoIV [p. 69] Father of Atia.

Atta, see *Claudius* [p. 465]

Atticus Vestinus, Marcus, see *Julius* [p. 519]

Audasius, Lucius, was charged with forgery and conspired against *Augustus* [p. 433].

BookTwoXIX [p. 78] Mentioned as seeking to free *Julia* [p. 515] the Elder from her confinement on the island of Pandateria (between 2BC and 4AD).

Aufidia, was a daughter of the Roman Magistrate Marcus *Aufidius* [p. 433] Lurco Her father originally came from *Fundi* [p. 498] (modern Fondi) She married the future praetor, Marcus *Livius* [p. 530] Drusus Claudianus. They had at least two children: a daughter *Livia* [p. 527] Drusilla and a son Marcus Livius Drusus, who served as a Roman consul. Livia was the first Roman Empress and third wife of *Augustus* [p. 433]. Aufidia was the maternal grandmother of *Tiberius* [p. 608].

BookThreeV [p. 145] Her native place, Fundi.

Aufidius Lurco, Marcus originally came from Fundi (modern Fondi). In 61BC, he was a Tribune of the Plebs. He was the maternal grandfather of *Livia* [p. 527], who was Caligula's maternal grandmother.

BookFourXXIII [p. 207] *Caligula* [p. 449] accused *Livia* [p. 527] of being of low birth.

Augustus, Gaius Julius Caesar (23 September 63BC – 19 August 14AD) was the first ruler of the Roman Empire, from January 27BC until his death. Born Gaius Octavius Thurinus, he was adopted posthumously by his great-uncle Gaius Julius *Caesar* [p. 518] in 44BC, and between then and 31BC was officially named Gaius Julius Caesar. In 27BC the Senate awarded him the honorific *Augustus* ('the revered one'). It is conventional to call him Octavius when referring to events between 63BC and 44BC, Octavian (or *Octavianus*) when referring to events between 44BC and 27BC, and Augustus when referring to events after 27BC. In 43BC, Octavian joined forces with Mark *Antony* [p. 422] and *Lepidus* [p. 525] in the Second Triumvirate, which was eventually torn apart, Lepidus being driven into exile, while Antony committed suicide after his defeat at the Battle of Actium by Octavian's fleet commanded by Agrippa, in 31BC. Octavian restored the outward forms of the Roman Republic, with governmental power vested in the Roman Senate, but in practice retained autocratic power. It took several years to determine the framework of laws under which the former republican state was led by a sole ruler; the result being the Roman Empire.

BookOneLV [p. 41] He doubted the authenticity of some of *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar's extant speeches.

BookOneLVI [p. 41] He forbade the circulation of some of Caesar's minor works.

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BookOneLXXXIII [p. 56] Inherited three quarters of Caesar's estate, and was adopted into Caesar's family under the terms of Caesar's will.

BookOneLXXXVIII [p. 59] He decreed games to celebrate Caesar's deification in 42BC.

BookTwoI [p. 67] Suetonius' life of Augustus follows.

BookThreeIV [p. 144] *BookSevenI* [p. 317] He married *Livia* [p. 527] Drusilla, surrendered to him by *Tiberius* [p. 608] father, *Tiberius Nero* [p. 610] who divorced her at Augustus' request.

BookThreeVII [p. 146] He co-funded the young Tiberius' gladiatorial contests in honour of his father and grandfather.

BookThreeVIII [p. 147] Tiberius acted as advocate with Augustus presiding. The *Murena* [p. 604] conspiracy against Augustus was in 23BC.

BookThreeX [p. 148] He had adopted *Gaius* [p. 446] and *Lucius* [p. 447] in 17BC.

BookThreeXI [p. 149] Augustus was ill in 6BC, delaying *Tiberius* [p. 608]' voyage to Rhodes.

BookThreeXII [p. 150] Tiberius' uneasy relationship with Augustus 6BC to 2AD.

BookThreeXIII [p. 150] Augustus recalled Tiberius in 2AD, with Gaius' agreement.

BookThreeXVII [p. 153] He refused proposals for Tiberius to be granted an honorific surname, in 9AD, but reiterated that Tiberius was his heir.

BookThreeXX [p. 155] Augustus presided over Tiberius' Illyrian triumph in 12AD.

BookThreeXXI [p. 155] Augustus' view of Tiberius as his successor.

BookThreeXXII [p. 156] Tiberius suppressed news of Augustus' death until *Postumus* [p. 412] had been executed.

BookThreeXL [p. 166] *Tiberius* [p. 608] dedicated a Temple of the God Augustus at *Nola* [p. 552] in 26AD.

BookThreeXLVII [p. 169] *BookThreeLXXIV* [p. 185] *BookFourXXI* [p. 205] *BookFourXXII* [p. 206] The Temple of Divus Augustus was built between the Palatine and Capitoline, behind the Basilica Julia, on the site of the house that Augustus had inhabited before he entered public life. Tiberius made his last journey from his villa on Capri with the intention of dedicating the temple. However, he died at *Misenum* [p. 544] before he could set out for Rome. It was not until after Tiberius' death in 37AD that the temple was completed and dedicated by *Caligula* [p. 449], who bridged over it to join the Palace to the Capitol.

BookThreeXLVI [p. 169] His generosity compared with Tiberius.

BookThreeXLVII [p. 169] His support for marriage, and the fathering of children.

BookThreeXLVIII [p. 169] Tiberius doubled the legacies left to the army in Augustus' will.

BookThreeL [p. 171] Tiberius was more severe than Augustus in his treatment of Julia the Elder.

BookThreeLI [p. 171] His comments about Tiberius in letters to Livia.

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- BookThreeLIII* [p. 173] His granddaughter *Agrippina* [p. 413] the Elder.
- BookThreeLVII* [p. 175] His legacies left to the people.
- BookThreeLVIII* [p. 175] Tiberius's abuse of the law of lese-majesty regarding Augustus.
- BookThreeLXVIII* [p. 182] His comments on Tiberius's mannerisms.
- BookThreeLXX* [p. 183] Tiberius made a filial sacrifice in his memory.
- BookFourIV* [p. 195] Augustus had ordered *Tiberius* [p. 608] to adopt *Germanicus* [p. 503].
- BookFourVIII* [p. 196] A letter of his quoted regarding *Caligula* [p. 449].
- BookFourIX* [p. 198] *BookFourXVIII* [p. 204] The troops mutinied at the news of his death and Tiberius's succession.
- BookFourXV* [p. 201] *Caligula* [p. 449] interred the ashes of his mother *Agrippina* [p. 413] the Elder and brother *Nero* [p. 549] in the Mausoleum of Augustus.
- BookFourXVI* [p. 203] *Caligula* [p. 449] re-adopted his practice of publishing the Imperial Accounts.
- BookFourXXIII* [p. 207] *Caligula* [p. 449] claimed that his mother was the product of Augustus's incest with his daughter Julia the Elder.
- BookFourXXV* [p. 209] His habit of seducing other men's wives.
- BookFourXXXI* [p. 214] The loss of *Varus* [p. 580] and his legions was a notable event during his reign.
- BookFourXXXIV* [p. 215] His relocation of statues to the *Campus* [p. 452] Martius.
- BookFourXXXVIII* [p. 218] *Caligula* [p. 449] ignored discharge certificates issued by him.
- BookFiveI* [p. 237] His love for *Drusus* [p. 487] the Elder, and his praise of him after his death.
- BookFiveII* [p. 238] An altar to him dedicated in *Lyon* [p. 533], on 1st of August 10BC.
- BookFiveIII* [p. 239] His opinion of the young *Claudius* [p. 464].
- BookFiveVI* [p. 241] Claudius associated with the Equestrian Order's actions after Augustus' death.
- BookFiveXI* [p. 244] Claudius made 'By Augustus' his most sacred oath.
- BookFiveXIX* [p. 250] *BookFiveXXIII* [p. 254] *BookSixX* [p. 279] The *Lex Papia Poppaea* was a law of 9AD to encourage and strengthen marriage. It included provisions against adultery and celibacy and complemented and supplemented Augustus' *Lex Julia de Maritandis Ordinibus* of 18BC and the *Lex Julia de Adulteris Coercendis* of 17BC. The law was introduced by the suffect consuls of that year, Marcus Papius Mutilus and Quintus Poppaeus Secundus, though they themselves were unmarried.
- BookFiveXXI* [p. 251] *BookEightXL* [p. 387] He had revived the *Secular* [p. 590] Games in 17BC.
- BookFiveXXV* [p. 255] He had prohibited Romans in Gaul from participating in *Druidic* [p. 486] rites.

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BookFiveXXVI [p. 256] *Aemilia* [p. 406] Lepida was his great-grandaughter.

BookSixIII [p. 275] *BookSixIV* [p. 275] *BookSixX* [p. 278] *BookSixXII* [p. 280] *BookSixXXV* [p. 289] Mentioned.

BookSevenIV [p. 319] Associated with an omen of *Galba's* [p. 500] accession to power.

BookSevenVIII [p. 322] Galba was elected to the *Sodales Augustales* an order of priests instituted by *Tiberius* [p. 608] to maintain the cult of Augustus and the Iulii.

BookSevenXXXVI [p. 341] *Vitellius's* [p. 624] paternal great-grandfather was a quaestor under Augustus.

BookSevenXLIII [p. 346] *Vitellius* [p. 624] deferred accepting the title Augustus.

BookEightII [p. 362] *Vespasian* [p. 620] was born five years before Augustus's death.

BookEightIX [p. 369] Vespasian built the Colosseum which Augustus had planned.

Aurelia Cotta (120BC - 54BC) was the mother of *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar. A daughter of Rutilia and Lucius Aurelius Cotta, her father was consul in 119BC and her paternal grandfather of the same name was consul in 144BC. Her mother Rutilia, was a member of the *gens* Rutilius cognominated Rufus. She married a praetor, Gaius Julius Caesar III, the father of the dictator.

BookOneXXVI [p. 24] Her death in 54BC.

BookOneLXXIV [p. 49] She offered evidence at the trial of Publius *Clodius* [p. 469].

Aurelius Cotta, Gaius (c. 124BC - 73BC) was a Roman statesman and orator. He was the uncle to Julius Caesar through Caesar's mother, *Aurelia* [p. 436] Cotta. His brother was **Lucius**.

BookOneI [p. 11] He interceded on behalf of the young *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar.

Aurunculeius Cotta, Lucius, see *Titurius* [p. 612]. One of Caesar's legates during the Gallic Wars, massacred with Titurius Cotta and their troops.

BookOneXXV [p. 24] His death mentioned as an example of a setback for *Caesar* [p. 518].

Autronius Paetas, Publius, (called **Lucius Autronius** by Suetonius) was elected consul for 65BC, with Publius Cornelius *Sulla* [p. 600], but before they could take office both were accused of electoral corruption by Lucius Aurelius Cotta and Lucius Manlius Torquatus. They were found guilty, their election was declared void and their accusers were appointed consuls in their place. Autronius conspired with Catiline to murder the new consuls, but the plot collapsed when Catiline gave the signal before all the conspirators were assembled. Autronius was implicated in Catiline's failed conspiracy to overthrow the government in 66BC. After his old friend Cicero refused to defend him,

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he was convicted and sent into exile in Epeirus.

BookOneIX Conspires with Julius Caesar in 65BC. [p. 16]

Axius, Quintus, a wealthy friend of *Cicero* [p. 462] and Varro.

BookOneIX [p. 16] Mentioned.

Baiae, modern **Baia**, is on the Bay of Naples, and was named after Baius, supposedly buried there. It was a fashionable coastal resort, especially towards the end of the Roman Republic. To counter the frequent raids on Italy and the shipping routes for Rome's grain supply, by *Sextus* [p. 572] Pompeius, *Agrippa* [p. 411] created a safe harbour from which to conduct a naval campaign against him. It was constructed from 37BC - 36BC and named the *Portus Iulius* in honour of *Augustus* [p. 433] who had taken the name Gaius Julius Caesar according to *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar's will. Shortly after the successful conclusion of the war with Sextus, it was abandoned due to the piling up of silt. Nearby Misenum became the naval base for the Western Mediterranean. The port was located at the western end of the gulf of Naples and other than the waters of the bay, itself, consisted of three bodies of water in the area: Lake Lucrino, Lake Averno, and the natural inner and outer harbor behind Cape Misenum. Baiae was sacked by Muslim raiders in the 8th century and deserted due to malaria in 1500. Most of Baiae is now beneath the Bay of Naples, largely due to local volcanic activity.

BookTwoXVI [p. 75] Augustus created the Julian harbour, *Portus Iulius*, there.

BookTwoLXIV [p. 106] Augustus' daughter *Julia* [p. 515] there.

BookThreeVI [p. 147] *BookSixXXXI* [p. 293] *BookSixXXXIV* [p. 296] Mentioned.

BookFourXIX [p. 204] *Caligula* [p. 449] constructed a bridge of boats over the bay to *Puteoli* [p. 579].

BookSixXXVII [p. 291] *Nero* [p. 549] sailed the bay on pleasure cruises.

Balbillus, Tiberius Claudius was a Graeco-Egyptian astrologer and scholar. The son of astrologer Tiberius Claudius *Thrasyllus* [p. 607], also known as Thrasyllus of Mendes and Princess Aka II of Commagene, his sister was *Eunia* [p. 489], who married the Praetorian Prefect Naevius Sutorius *Macro* [p. 534]. He was born and raised in *Alexandria* [p. 416], to which he returned during the reign of *Caligula* [p. 449], returning to Rome under *Claudius* [p. 464], of whom he had been a childhood friend. He accompanied Claudius on his expedition to Britain as an officer in the 20th legion (Legio XX Valeria Victrix) and was awarded a crown of honor. Appointed high priest at the Temple of Hermes in Alexandria and director of the Library, he lived there and in Rome. *Nero* [p. 549], in 56AD appointed him Prefect of Egypt, where he stayed until 59AD. He returned to Rome under Vespasian. When he died, Vespasian dedicated the *Balbillian Games*, in honor of his memory, held at Ephesus from 79AD until well into the 3rd century.

BookSixXXXVI [p. 299] His interpretation of the appearance of a comet, during Nero's

reign.

Balbus, see *Atius* [p. 432] and *Cornelius* [p. 472]

Balearic Islands [the] are an archipelago in the western Mediterranean Sea, near the eastern coast of the Iberian Peninsula. The four largest islands are (from largest to smallest): Majorca, Minorca, Ibiza, and Formentera. The islands belonged, under the Empire, to the conventus of *Carthago* [p. 551] Nova (modern Cartagena), in the province of Hispania Tarraconensis, of which province they formed, the fourth district, under the government of a praefectus pro legato.

BookSevenX [p. 323] Mentioned, as a place of exile.

Basilides was a freedman of *Vespasian* [p. 620] who appeared miraculously to him in the Serapeum of *Alexandria* [p. 415]. Tacitus mentions a priest of the same name on Mount *Carmel* [p. 455].

BookEightVII [p. 367] Mentioned.

Batavians. The Batavi were an ancient Germanic tribe, originally part of the Chatti, who lived around the Rhine delta, in the area of the modern Netherlands. The Batavi provided a contingent for the Emperor's Horse Guard.

BookFourXLIII [p. 221] *Caligula* [p. 449] was warned by an oracle to supplement his Batavian Guards.

Bato, was the name of the leader of the Daesidiates tribe of Southern Pannonians, as well as the name of the leader of the Northern Breucian tribe who were both involved in the *Illyrian* [p. 510] revolt of 6AD. The former eventually executed the latter for treachery, and was himself finally besieged in his last refuge, Andetrium (*Gornji Muc*, a village 25km north of Split in Croatia) and captured.

BookThreeXX [p. 155] Tiberius settled the former leader in Ravenna.

Bauli, the modern **Bacoli**, was a village in Campania, located about 15km west of Naples, where wealthy Romans had their villas.

BookSixXXXIV [p. 296] Mentioned.

Beneventum, modern **Benevento**, is a town in Campania 50 km northeast of Naples. It is situated on a hill 130m above sea-level at the confluence of the Calore Irpino (or Beneventano) and Sabato. Under the Second Triumvirate its territory was portioned out

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by the Triumvirs to their veterans, and subsequently a fresh colony was established there by *Augustus* [p. 433], who greatly enlarged its domain by the addition of the territory of Caudium (modern Montesarchio).

BookTwoXCVII [p. 128] *Augustus* intends to accompany *Tiberius* [p. 608] there in AD14, *Tiberius* being on his way to *Illyricum* [p. 510], but is delayed by illness.

BookTwoXCVIII [p. 128] *Augustus* completes his journey there with *Tiberius* but falls ill again on the return journey.

BookSixXXXVI [p. 299] *Nero* [p. 549] discovers *Vinicius's* [p. 623] conspiracy, organised from there.

Berenice of Cilicia, or **Julia Berenice** (b. 28AD), was a member of the Jewish Herodian Dynasty, who ruled Judaea between 39BC and 92AD. She was the daughter of Herod Agrippa I, and sister of Herod Agrippa II. During the First Jewish-Roman War, she began an affair with the future emperor *Titus* [p. 612]. Her unpopularity in Rome compelled *Titus* to dismiss her on his accession as emperor in 79AD.

BookEightXXXII [p. 380] Mentioned.

Bessians, the Bessi were an independent Thracian tribe in the area ranging from Moesia to Mount Rhodope in southern Thrace, but are often mentioned as dwelling around Haemus, the mountain range that separates Moesia from Thrace, and from Mount Rhodope to the northern part of Hebrus.

BookTwoIII [p. 68] *Augustus' father* [p. 555] fought them in a major battle.

Betriacum, or **Bedriacum**, was a Roman town on the Via Postumia about 35 kilometres east of modern *Cremona* [p. 477].

BookSevenXXXII [p. 338] *BookSevenXLV* [p. 347] *Otho's* [p. 558] army was defeated by *Vitellius's* [p. 624] troops there on the 14th of April 69AD, in the first battle of Betriacum.

BookSevenL [p. 351] *Marcus Antonius Primus*, *Vespasian's* [p. 620] general, encountered the Vitellian army between Betriacum and Cremona on the 24th October 69AD, and drove the Vitellian troops towards Cremona which he subsequently stormed and set ablaze.

BookEightV [p. 364] An omen of *Vespasian's* [p. 620] victory was seen on the battlefield.

Bibulus Calpurnius, Marcus (d. 48BC) was the son in law of Marcus Porcius Cato Uticensis (Cato the Younger) He was elected consul for 60BC, supported by the *optimates*, conservative republicans in the Senate and opponents of *Julius* [p. 518] *Caesar's* triumvirate. In 48BC he allied with *Pompey* [p. 573] against *Caesar*, commanding Pompey's navy in the Adriatic.

BookOneIX [p. 15] His *Edicts* (not extant).

Suetonius, The Twelve Caesars

BookOneX [p. 16] *BookOneXIX* [p. 20] *BookOneXXI* [p. 22] He took second place to Julius Caesar as his co-consul.

BookOneXX [p. 20] So overwhelmed by Caesar that he withdrew from active Consulship.

BookOneXLIX [p. 37] On Caesar's relationship with *Nicomedes* [p. 551].

Bithynia was an ancient region, kingdom and Roman province in the northwest of Asia Minor, adjoining the Propontis, the Thracian Bosphorus and the Euxine (today Black Sea).

BookOneII [p. 12] *BookOneXLIX* [p. 37] *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar on campaign there in 81BC.

BookOneXXXIX [p. 32] The sons of Bithynian princes performed a *Pyrrhic* [p. 579] dance during one of Caesar's entertainments.

Bogudes, or **Bogud**. The Sons of Bocchus I (Sosus), Bocchus and his younger brother Bogud, jointly ruled Mauretania with Bocchus ruling east of the Mulucha River and his brother west. As enemies of the senatorial party, their title was recognized by Julius Caesar [p. 518] (49BC). During the African war they invaded Numidia and conquered Cirta, the capital of the kingdom of Juba. Dio Cassius says that Bocchus sent his sons to support Sextus Pompeius [p. 572] in Spain, while Bogud fought on the side of Caesar. After Caesar's death Bocchus supported Octavian [p. 433], and Bogud Antony [p. 422]. During Bogud's absence in Spain, his brother seized the whole of Numidia, and was confirmed sole ruler by Octavian. After Bocchus' death in 33BC, Numidia was made a Roman province.

BookOneLII [p. 39] Caesar reputedly had an affair with Bogud's wife *Eunoe* [p. 491].

Bona Dea, the Good Goddess, was the goddess associated with virginity and fertility in women. She was also associated with healing. She was regarded with great reverence by lower-class citizens, slaves and women, and was worshipped in her temple on the Aventine, though her secret rites were performed in the home of a prominent Roman magistrate. The rites were held on December 4, and men were excluded.

BookOneVI [p. 14] The festival was alleged to have been desecrated by Publius Clodius [p. 469] Pulcher in 62BC, who, it was claimed, secretly attended the ceremony at the house of the pontifex maximus, Julius [p. 518] Caesar, and there seduced Caesar's wife *Pompeia* [p. 571].

Bononia, modern **Bologna**, is the capital of the Emilia-Romagna region of modern Italy, north of Florence, between the Reno and Savena rivers. It lies at the northern foot of the Apennines, on the ancient Via Aemilia. Originally the Etruscan Felsina, it was occupied by the Gallic Boii in the 4th century BC and became a Roman colony and municipium (Bononia) c. 190BC. In 90BC, it acquired Roman citizenship, and in 43 BC was used as his base of operations against *Decimus* [p. 443] Brutus by Mark Antony [p. 422], who settled colonists there,

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BookTwoXVII [p. 76] Excused from rallying to his cause, by *Augustus* [p. 433].

BookTwoXCVI [p. 128] Octavian (Augustus), *Lepidus* [p. 407] and Antony met at Bologna in October, 43BC, and formed the Second Triumvirate.

BookSixVII [p. 277] *Nero* [p. 549] delivered a plea on behalf of the citizens before *Claudius* [p. 464] in AD51.

Boter was a freedman of *Claudius's* [p. 464], who had an affair with *Claudius's* wife *Plautia* [p. 568] Urgulanilla, and was the father of her daughter *Claudia* [p. 463].

BookFiveXXVII [p. 257] Mentioned.

Bovillae was an ancient town on the Via Appia located c. 18km south-east of Rome. It was a colony of Alba Longa, and appears as one of the thirty cities of the Latin League. After the destruction of Alba Longa in 658BC the *sacra* were supposedly transferred to Bovillae, including the cult of Vesta and that of the gens Iulia. The existence of this hereditary worship led to an increase in its importance when the Julian house rose to power. In 16AD the family shrine was re-dedicated probably by the *Augustales*, an order of Roman priests instituted by *Tiberius* [p. 608] to maintain the cult of Augustus and the Iulii.

BookTwoC [p. 131] *Augustus* [p. 433]⁷ body carried there on its way to Rome.

Breuci, were an ancient people of *Pannonia* [p. 560], of Illyrian origin, who lived along the river Sava. From 14 to 9BC *Agrippa* [p. 411] and then *Tiberius* subjugated all the territory between the Adriatic Sea and the rivers Sava and Drava, bringing the future provinces of Pannonia and Dalmatia under Roman rule.

BookThreeIX [p. 147] Defeated by *Tiberius* [p. 608].

Britannicus, Tiberius Claudius Caesar, (41AD — 55AD) was the son of the Roman emperor *Claudius* [p. 464] and his third wife *Valeria* [p. 616] Messalina. He lived only months into his step-brother *Nero's* [p. 549] reign, murdered just before his 14th birthday.

BookFiveXXVII [p. 257] Mentioned.

BookFiveXLIII [p. 267] *Claudius* apparently promised him recompense for having adopted *Nero* in order to secure the succession.

BookSixVI [p. 276] Messalina rightly saw *Nero* as a rival to her son *Britannicus*.

BookSixVII [p. 277] The young *Nero* tried to discredit him.

BookSixXXXIII [p. 295] His murder by *Nero*.

BookEightXXVII [p. 377] *Titus* [p. 612] was a friend and companion of his.

Britons, the **Brittani** at the time of the Roman invasion, were the Celtic peoples who inhabited Britain from the Iron Age to the Early Middle Ages. They spoke the Insular Celtic language known as British or Brythonic. They lived throughout Britain south of the Firth of Forth; after the 5th century Britons also migrated to continental Europe, where they established the settlements of Brittany in France and Britonia in what is now Galicia, Spain.

BookOneXLVII [p. 37] Britain was supposedly of interest to *Caesar* [p. 518] as a source of pearls.

BookOneLVIII [p. 43] Caesar's caution in crossing to Britain (55/54BC).

BookFourXIX [p. 204] *Caligula* [p. 449] was interested in invading Britain.

BookFiveXVII [p. 249] *Claudius* [p. 464]' brief campaign there in 43AD.

BookFiveXXI [p. 251] Claudius staged the surrender of the British kings.

BookSixXVIII [p. 284] *Nero* [p. 549] considered withdrawing from Britain.

BookSixXXXIX [p. 301] Camulodunum (Colchester) and Verulamium (St. Albans) were destroyed during Boudica's (Boadicea) revolt of 60/61AD.

BookEightIV [p. 363] *Vespasian* [p. 620] participated in crucial early battles on the rivers Medway and Thames in 43AD. He was sent to reduce the south-west, penetrating the modern counties of Hampshire, Wiltshire, Dorset, Somerset, Devon and Cornwall with the probable objectives of securing the south coast harbours along with the tin mines of Cornwall and the silver and lead mines of Somerset. He marched from Noviomagus Reginorum (Chichester) to subdue the hostile Durotriges and Dumnonii tribes, captured twenty *oppida* (towns, or more probably hill forts, including Hod Hill and Maiden Castle in Dorset). He also invaded Vectis (the Isle of Wight), finally setting up a fortress and legionary headquarters at Isca Dumnoniorum (Exeter).

BookEightXXIX [p. 378] *Titus* [p. 612] was a military tribune in Britain c. 60AD - 63AD.

BookEightXLVI [p. 392] *Sallustius* [p. 585] Lucullus was Governor of Britain c. 89AD.

Brixellum, the modern **Brescello**, is located about 80km northwest of *Bologna* [p. 440] and about 25km northwest of Reggio Emilia.

BookSevenXXXII [p. 338] *Otho*'s [p. 558] base during his campaign against *Vitellius*. [p. 624]

Bructeri, were a tribe of northwestern Germany (Soester Börde), between the Lippe and Ems rivers south of the Teutoburg Forest, in present-day North Rhine-Westphalia, identifiable between 100BC and 350AD. They were part of the alliance, under Arminius, that defeated *Varus* [p. 580] and annihilated his three legions at the Battle of Teutoburg Forest in 9AD. Six years later, one of the generals serving under *Germanicus* [p. 503], Lucius Stertinius, defeated them and re-captured the eagle standard of Legio XIX lost at the Teutoburg Forest. Refusing to bow to Roman rule, the Bructeri in 69AD - 70AD participated in the Batavian rebellion, their wise woman Veleda being the spiritual leader of the uprising.

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BookThreeXIX [p. 154] A warrior of the tribe tried to assassinate *Tiberius* [p. 608].

Brundisium, modern **Brindisi**, is a city in the Apulia region of Italy, the capital of the modern province of Brindisi, off the coast of the Adriatic Sea.

BookOneXXXIV [p. 29] *BookOneLVIII* [p. 43] Besieged by *Caesar* [p. 518] in 49BC.

BookTwoXVII [p. 76] *Augustus* [p. 433]⁷ troops mutinied there in 30BC.

Brutus Albinus, Decimus Junius (b. 85BC – 81BC, d. 42BC) was one of Julius *Caesar's* [p. 518] assassins, but is not to be confused with the more famous *Marcus* [p. 444] Brutus. Decimus was a distant cousin of Caesar, His mother was Sempronia Tuditani, wife of the Decimus Junius Brutus who was consul in 77BC. He was adopted by Aulus Postumius Albinus. He was a legate in Caesar's army during the Gallic wars and was given the command of the fleet in the war against the Veneti. When the Civil War broke out, he sided with Caesar, and was entrusted with naval operations, securing the capitulation of Massilia. In 44BC, he was made praetor peregrinus by Caesar and was destined to be the governor of Cisalpine Gaul in the following year. On the Ides of March (March 15), when Caesar decided not to attend the Senate meeting due to the concerns of his wife, he was persuaded to do so by Decimus Brutus, After Caesar was attacked by the first assassin, Decimus and the rest of the conspirators attacked and assassinated him. According to Nicolaus of Damascus, Decimus Brutus was the third to strike Caesar, stabbing him in the side. At the beginning of 43BC, he went to Gallia Cisalpina, the province assigned to him as pro-praetor, and levied his own troops. He then occupied *Mutina* [p. 546], laying in provisions for a protracted siege. After *Octavian's* [p. 433] relief of Mutina he fled to Italy, abandoning his legions. He attempted to reach Macedonia, where Marcus Junius Brutus and Gaius Cassius Longinus had stationed themselves but was executed en route by a Gallic chief loyal to Mark *Antony* [p. 422], becoming the first of Caesar's assassins to be killed.

BookOneLXXX [p. 53] A leader of the conspiracy.

BookOneLXXXI [p. 54] Convinces Caesar to attend the Senate meeting.

BookOneLXXXIII [p. 56] Named as a secondary heir in Caesar's will.

BookTwoX [p. 72] Beseiged in Mutina.

Brutus, Lucius Junius the founder of the Roman Republic and traditionally one of the first consuls in 509BC. Brutus led the revolt that overthrew the last king, Lucius Tarquinius Superbus. The account is from Livy's *Ab urbe condita* and deals with the history of Rome prior to reliable historical records (virtually all prior records were destroyed by the Gauls when they sacked Rome under Brennus c. 390BC. According to Livy, Brutus had a number of grievances against the king amongst them being Tarquin's involvement in the murder of his brother.

BookOneLXXX [p. 53] Invoked by disaffected Romans, under *Caesar's* [p. 518] rule.

Brutus, Marcus Junius, (early June 85BC – late October 42BC), often referred to simply as Brutus, was the son of Marcus Junius Brutus the Elder and *Servilia* [p. 592] Caepionis. His father was killed by *Pompey* [p. 573] the Great in dubious circumstances after he had taken part in the rebellion of Lepidus; his mother was the half-sister of Cato the Younger, and later became Julius *Caesar's* [p. 518] mistress. Some sources refer to the possibility of Caesar being his real father. Brutus' uncle, Quintus Servilius Caepio, adopted him in about 59BC, and Brutus was known officially for a time as Quintus Servilius Caepio Brutus before he reverted to using his birth-name. However, following Caesar's assassination in 44BC, Brutus revived his adoptive name in order to illustrate his links to another famous tyrannicide, Gaius Servilius Ahala, from whom he was descended.

BookOneXXI [p. 22] Possibly engaged for a time to *Julia* [p. 514], Caesar's daughter.

BookOneXLIX [p. 37] His indirect comment on Caesar's relationship with *Nicomedes* [p. 551].

BookOneL [p. 38] His mother was Servilia.

BookOneLXXX [p. 53] *BookSevenIII* [p. 318] A leader of the conspiracy.

BookOneLXXXII [p. 55] Purportedly reproached by Caesar as Brutus attacked him.

BookOneLXXXV [p. 58] The populace tried to burn his house down after the assassination of Caesar.

BookTwoIX [p. 71] *BookSixIII* [p. 275] *BookSevenXXXIII* [p. 338] Defeated by the forces of *Augustus* [p. 433] (Octavian) and Mark *Antony* [p. 422] at *Philippi* [p. 567].

BookTwoXIII [p. 73] Augustus sent Brutus' head to Rome to be flung at the feet of Caesar's statue.

BookTwoLXXXV [p. 119] He wrote a eulogy of *Cato* [p. 459] replied to by Augustus.

BookThreeLXI [p. 177] Described as 'Last of the Romans'.

Burrus, Sextus Afranius (1AD - 62AD), Praetorian prefect, was advisor to *Nero* [p. 549] and, together with *Seneca* [p. 591] the Younger, influential in the early years of Nero's reign. *Agrippina* [p. 413] the Younger chose him as Prefect in 51AD to secure her son Nero's place as emperor after the death of *Claudius* [p. 464]. He acquiesced in Nero's murder of Agrippina but died in 62AD, poisoned by Nero according to Suetonius.

BookSixXXXV [p. 297] Poisoned by Nero.

Byzantium was a city founded by Greek colonists from Megara in 667BC and named after their king Byzas. A trading city due to its strategic location at the Black Sea's only entrance it was later renamed Constantinople (now Istanbul) and briefly became the imperial residence of the classical Roman Empire, and then subsequently the capital of the Byzantine Empire.

BookEightVIII [p. 368] *Vespasian* [p. 620] reduced Byzantium from free to provincial status.

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Caecilius Pomponianus Atticus, Quintus (c. 109BC – c. 32BC) was a philosopher, celebrated editor, banker, and patron of letters with residences in both Rome and Athens. He is best remembered as the close friend of orator and philosopher *Cicero* [p. 614].

BookThreeVII [p. 146] His granddaughter was *Vipsania Agrippina* [p. 412].

Caecilius Metellus (Celer?), Quintus, tribune of the people.

BookOneXVI [p. 18] Mentioned.

BookOneLV [p. 41] *Caesar* [p. 518] wrote a speech for him.

Caecilius Metellus Macedonius, Quintus (c. 210BC – c. 115 BC) was a praetor in 148BC, consul in 143BC, proconsul of Hispania Citerior in 142BC and censor in 131BC. Under Metellus' leadership Macedonia was reduced and became a Roman province. In a speech which he delivered at his appointment as censor, he proposed that matrimony be mandatory for all citizens, a speech which Augustus, a century later, read to the Senate and commended in a proclamation.

BookTwoLXXXIX [p. 121] *Augustus* [p. 433] recommended his speech on increasing the population.

Caecina Severus, Aulus was the son of the Aulus Caecina who was defended by Cicero (69BC) in a speech still extant. He took the side of *Pompey* [p. 573] in the civil wars, and published a violent tirade against Caesar, for which he was banished. He recanted in a work called *Querelae*, and by the intercession of his friends, above all, of *Cicero* [p. 614], obtained pardon from Caesar. Caecina was regarded as an important authority on the Etruscan system of divination (*Etrusca Disciplina*), which he endeavoured to place on a scientific footing by harmonizing its theories with the doctrines of the Stoics.

BookOneLXXV [p. 50] His libel against *Caesar* [p. 518].

Caecina Alienus, Aulus (d. 79AD) was *quaestor* of Hispania Baetica in 68AD. *Galba* [p. 500] appointed him to Upper Germany. Having been prosecuted for embezzling public money, Caecina joined *Vitellius* [p. 624], crossed the Alps, but was defeated near *Cremona* [p. 477] by Suetonius Paulinus, *Otho's* [p. 558] general. Subsequently Caecina defeated Otho at *Bedriacum* [p. 439]. After the overthrow of Vitellius, he supported *Vespasian* [p. 620] but was implicated, along with *Eprius Marcellus*, in a conspiracy against the Emperor, and was put to death by order of *Titus* [p. 612].

BookEightXXXI [p. 380] Executed by Titus.

Caecus, see *Claudius* [p. 465].

Caenis, a freedwoman, the former slave and secretary of *Antonia* [p. 420] Minor (mother of the emperor *Claudius* [p. 464]), was the mistress of *Vespasian*. It is believed that she was born in Istria, in modern Croatia. Caenis was the Emperor's wife in all but name until her death in 74AD.

BookEightIII [p. 363] Mistress and close companion of *Vespasian* [p. 620].

BookEightXXI [p. 374] Her death mentioned.

BookEightXLIX [p. 395] *Domitian's* [p. 482] arrogance towards her.

Caepio, see *Fannius* [p. 492], *Rustius* [p. 584], *Servilius* [p. 592]

Caesar, see *Julius* [p. 518]

Caesar, Gaius Julius (20BC - 4AD), most commonly known as Gaius Caesar was the oldest son of *Agrippa* [p. 411] and *Julia* [p. 515] the Elder. He was given the name Gaius Vipsanius Agrippa at birth, but when adopted by his maternal grandfather *Augustus* [p. 433] in 17BC, his name was changed to Gaius Julius Caesar. In 1BC he was made army commander in the East and made a peace treaty with Phraates V on an island in the river Euphrates. In 1AD, he was made Consul with Lucius *Aemilius* [p. 409] Paullus as his colleague. He married his relative, *Livilla* [p. 529], daughter of *Drusus* [p. 487] the Elder and *Antonia* [p. 420] Minor. Gaius died in Lycia at the age of 24, after being wounded during a campaign in Artagira, Armenia.

BookTwoXXVI [p. 82] *BookThreeX* [p. 148] His coming of age in 5BC.

BookTwoXXIX [p. 85] The Basilica Paulli was fronted by a monumental gallery The Porticus of Gaius and Lucius, between it and the rest of the Forum. It was two stories high and dedicated in 2BC to the grandsons and heirs apparent of Augustus.

BookTwoXLIII [p. 94] Games held to honour Gaius and Lucius.

BookTwoLXIV [p. 106] Adopted by Augustus in 17BC. The symbolic sale involved touching a balance (*libra*) three times with a penny (*as*) in the presence of a praetor.

BookTwoLXV [p. 107] *BookThreeXV* [p. 152] His death took place at Limyra (three or four miles east of the modern Turkish village of Finike) in *Lycia* [p. 534], in 4AD.

BookTwoLXVII [p. 109] The tutors and attendants on him took advantage of his illness and death to behave unacceptably and were punished by Augustus.

BookTwoXCIII [p. 123] He was praised by Augustus, for not offering prayers at the Temple in Jerusalem.

BookThreeXII [p. 150] He was cool towards *Tiberius* [p. 608], when meeting him on *Samos* [p. 587]

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c. 1BC when Gaius was Governor of the East.

BookThreeXIII [p. 150] He eventually approved Tiberius' recall to Rome in 2AD.

BookThreeXXIII [p. 157] *BookFiveI* [p. 237] Mentioned, after his death, in Augustus' will.

BookSixV [p. 276] Nero's father, *Domitius* [p. 484], was on his staff in the East.

Caesar, Lucius Julius (17BC - 2AD), most commonly known as Lucius Caesar, was the second son of *Agrippa* [p. 411] and *Julia* [p. 515] the Elder. He was named Lucius Vipsanius Agrippa at birth, but when he was adopted by his maternal grandfather *Augustus* [p. 433], his name was changed to Lucius Julius Caesar. In the year of his birth, Augustus adopted him and his brother *Gaius* [p. 446] Caesar. Lucius died in Gaul of an illness 18 months before the death of his brother.

BookTwoXXVI [p. 82] *BookThreeX* [p. 148] His coming of age in 2BC.

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BookTwoLXV [p. 107] *BookThreeXV* [p. 152] His death at Marseilles (*Massilia* [p. 539]) on his way to Spain in 2AD.

BookThreeXXIII [p. 157] *BookFiveI* [p. 237] Mentioned, after his death, in Augustus' will.

BookThreeLXX [p. 183] *Tiberius* [p. 608] composed an elegy on his death.

Caesar, Lucius Julius, V, was the son of Lucius Julius Caesar IV. Unlike his father on the outbreak of the civil war he chose to ally himself with the Pompeians against *Caesar* [p. 518]. In the early stages he was employed by both sides as a go-between bearing offers of negotiation which came to nothing. In 49BC he fled to Africa where he served as proquaestor to Cato in 46BC. After the Battle of *Thapsus* [p. 606], he surrendered to Caesar, being killed not long after.

BookOneLXXV [p. 50] Killed, against Caesar's wishes.

Caesar Strabo Vopiscus, Gaius Julius (c. 130BC – 87BC) was pontifex in 99BC; a quaestor in 96BC and an aedile in 90BC. Siding with *Sulla* [p. 599], he was killed with his brother by partisans of *Marius* [p. 538], fighting in the streets at the beginning of the Civil War.

BookFourLX [p. 231] His death by the sword. However Caesar's father *Gaius* [p. 519] died a natural death as did *Gaius* [p. 446] Caesar, grandson of *Augustus* [p. 433].

Caesarea, a large number of colonies and cities were founded in *Augustus* [p. 433]' day bearing this name, for example *Caesarea Maritima*/*Caesarea Palaestina* the Roman provincial capital of Palestine, *Caesarea Philippi* (Banias) in the Golan Heights, *Antiochia Caesaria* (Antioch in Pisidia) in Turkey, Mauretanian *Caesarea* (Cherchell) in Algeria.

BookTwoLX [p. 105] Caesarea mentioned.

Caesarion, (47BC – 30BC) was reputedly the son of Julius *Caesar* [p. 518] by *Cleopatra* [p. 468] of Egypt. As Ptolemy XV Philopator Philometor Caesar, he was the last king of the Ptolemaic dynasty of Egypt, reigning jointly with his mother Cleopatra VII, from September 2, 44BC to August 23, 30BC, when he was killed on the orders of Octavian.

BookOneLII [p. 39] Caesar allowed Cleopatra to name the child after him.

BookTwoXVII [p. 76] He was executed by *Augustus* [p. 433].

Caesetius Flavius, Lucius, a tribune of the people was deposed from office by Caesar in 44BC, after removing a royal emblem from Caesar's statue.

BookOneLXXIX [p. 52] *BookOneLXXX* [p. 53] Mentioned.

Caesonia, Milonia, (d. 41AD) was the fourth and last wife of *Caligula* [p. 449]. Her younger half-brother was the Consul Gnaeus Domitius Corbulo. Her niece, *Domitia* [p. 482] Longina, married *Domitian* [p. 482]. In 41AD, Caligula was assassinated and Caesonia and her daughter Julia *Drusilla* [p. 517] murdered.

BookFourXXV [p. 168] Her marriage to Caligula.

BookFourXXXIII [p. 215] Threatened by Caligula.

BookFourXXXVIII [p. 218] Mentioned.

BookFourL [p. 225] Thought to have given Caligula a love-potion that drove him mad.

BookFourLIX [p. 231] Murdered after Caligula's assassination.

Caesonius Priscus, Titus, was a Roman knight, otherwise unknown.

BookThreeXLII [p. 167] He was appointed by *Tiberius* [p. 608] to run the Office of Pleasures.

Calagurritani, were a people of Hispania Tarraconensis, inhabiting the province of *Calahorra*.

BookTwoXLIX [p. 99] A company of them formed part of Augustus' bodyguard until *Antony's* [p. 422] defeat.

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Caligula, Gaius Julius Caesar Augustus Germanicus (12AD – 41AD), known as Caligula, was the third Roman Emperor, reigning from 16 March 37 until his assassination on 24 January 41AD. The young Gaius earned his nickname Caligula 'little boot', while accompanying his father *Germanicus* [p. 503] on military campaigns in Germany. Caligula was assassinated as the result of a conspiracy involving officers of the Praetorian Guard as well as members of the Senate and imperial court. The conspirators' attempt to restore the Republic was thwarted when the Praetorian Guard declared Caligula's uncle and second cousin once removed, *Claudius* [p. 464], emperor in his place.

BookThreeLIV [p. 173] Mentioned, as a son of Germanicus.

BookThreeLXII [p. 178] *Tiberius* [p. 608] suspected him of conspiracy.

BookThreeLXXIII [p. 184] Suspicions that Caligula murdered Tiberius.

BookThreeLXXV [p. 185] Caligula absent from Rome at the time of Tiberius' death.

BookThreeLXXVI [p. 186] Caligula was named as co-heir in Tiberius' will.

BookFourI [p. 193] Suetonius' life of Caligula follows.

BookFiveVII [p. 242] His promotion of *Claudius* [p. 464].

BookFiveX [p. 243] *BookSevenXXIX* [p. 335] His assassination led to Claudius becoming Emperor.

BookFiveXI [p. 244] Claudius refused to allow his own accession date to be celebrated since it was also that of Caligula's assassination.

BookFiveXX [p. 251] The sources of the Aqua Claudia were at the 38th milestone of the Via Sublacensis, the Anio Novus was taken from the river at the forty-second milestone. Caligula began the aqueducts in 38AD and Claudius completed them in 52AD.

BookFiveXXI [p. 251] Caligula's Circus (completed by *Nero* [p. 549], hence called Nero's Circus) was built on the property of his mother *Agrippina* [p. 413] on the Ager Vaticanus (today's Borgo district) and lies partly under the modern Vatican Piazza.

BookFiveXXVI [p. 256] He had married *Lollia* [p. 531] Paulina in 38AD.

BookFiveXXXVIII [p. 263] *Claudius* [p. 464] claimed to have feigned idiocy to survive Caligula's reign.

BookSixVI [p. 276] Asked to name *Nero* [p. 549] at the purification ceremony.

BookSixVII [p. 277] *Seneca* [p. 591] dreamed that his pupil Nero was really Caligula.

BookSixXXX [p. 292] Nero envied him his extravagance.

BookSevenVI [p. 320] He appointed *Galba* [p. 500] to Upper Germany.

BookSevenVII [p. 321] Mentioned.

BookSevenXXXVII [p. 342] Vitellius's father *Lucius* [p. 625] was the first to treat Caligula as a god.

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BookSevenXXXIX [p. 344] *Vitellius* [p. 624] endeared himself to Caligula through his love of chariot-racing.

BookSevenLII [p. 352] Vitellius had a crippled thigh as a result of a chariot accident when Caligula was driving.

BookEightIII [p. 362] Caligula was in Germany in late 39/40AD.

BookEightV [p. 364] His anger against *Vespasian* [p. 620] during the latter's aedileship.

BookEightXXVI [p. 377] *Titus* [p. 612] was born in the year of Caligula's death.

Callipides of Athens (**Kallippides**) was a celebrated tragic actor of the time of Alcibiades and Agesilaus. He was famous for his imitations of physical action.

BookThreeXXXVIII [p. 165] He was famous for his mime of a long-distance runner, running hard, but never moving.

Calpenus, Quintus, an ex-senator who fought in a gladiatorial contest.

BookOneXXXIX [p. 32] Mentioned.

Calpurnia Pisonis, the daughter of Lucius *Calpurnius* [p. 451] Piso Caesoninus, sister of Lucius Calpurnius Piso 'the Pontifex', was the third and last wife of *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar. Caesar and Calpurnia married in 59BC with no children resulting from the union. Following Caesar's death on the Ides of March (March 15) of 44BC, Calpurnia delivered all Caesar's personal papers, including will and notes, and most precious possessions to Mark *Antony* [p. 422]. She did not remarry.

BookOneXXI [p. 22] Her marriage to Caesar.

BookOneLXXXI [p. 54] Her dream anticipating his assassination.

Calpurnius Piso, Gaius. In 40AD, *Caligula* [p. 449] forced Piso's wife, *Livia Orestilla* [p. 529], to marry him, and accused Piso of adultery with her in order to establish cause for banishment. In 41 *Claudius* [p. 464] recalled Piso to Rome and made him his co-consul. Piso was a powerful senator under *Nero* [p. 549] and in 65AD led a plot to replace Nero that became known as the Pisonian Conspiracy. A freedman, Milichus, betrayed the plot and the conspirators were arrested, nineteen of them being put to death and thirteen exiled. Piso was ordered to commit suicide.

BookFourXXV [p. 209] Made to divorce Orestilla, by Caligula.

BookSixXXXVI [p. 299] His conspiracy against Nero.

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Calpurnius Piso, Gnaeus, Governor of Spain according to Suetonius.

BookOneIX [p. 15] Conspires with *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar.

Calpurnius Piso, Gnaeus (c. 43BC - 20AD) was consul in 7BC; governor of Hispania, and proconsul of Africa. In AD17 *Tiberius* [p. 608] appointed him governor of Syria. Piso and *Germanicus* [p. 503] clashed on several occasions and, in AD19, Piso was driven to leave the province. On the death of Germanicus that year, Piso was suspected of poisoning him. Piso's attempts to re-gain control of Syria immediately afterwards aroused public indignation, and Tiberius was forced to try him in the Senate. Piso was said to have committed suicide, though it was also rumoured that Tiberius, fearing disclosure of his own complicity, had him put to death.

BookThreeLII [p. 172] *BookFourII* [p. 194] Rumoured to have poisoned Germanicus.

BookFourIII [p. 194] Germanicus formally renounced his friendship with him.

BookSevenXXXVII [p. 342] *Publius Vitellius* [p. 626] was one of those who successfully prosecuted him for Germanicus's murder.

Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, Lucius was a statesman and the father-in-law of *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar through his daughter *Calpurnia* [p. 450] Pisonis. He also had a son, Lucius Calpurnius Piso, known as 'the Pontifex', who was Consul in 15BC.

BookOneXXI [p. 22] *BookOneXXII* [p. 22] His daughter's marriage to Caesar.

BookOneLXXXIII [p. 56] Requested the reading of Caesar's will.

Calpurnius Piso, Lucius, was an unidentified member of the most distinguished family of the Calpurnia gens.

BookThreeXLII [p. 167] A drinking companion of *Tiberius* [p. 608], he was rewarded by him with the prefecture of Rome.

Calpurnius Piso, Frugi Licinianus, Lucius (38 - 69AD) was a son of the consul of 27AD Marcus Licinius Crassus Frugi, and Scribonia Crassi. He was Galba's adopted son and heir, from January 10 to January 15, 69AD. He was appointed to strengthen Galba's position when two legions in Germania Superior rebelled against him in support of their commander Aulus *Vitellius* [p. 624]. On Galba's assassination, Licinianus fled to the temple of the *Vestal* [p. 621] Virgins' claiming sanctuary. He was discovered by two soldiers, Staius Murcus of the Praetorian Guard and Sulpicius Florus, a British auxiliary granted Roman citizenship by Galba. They dragged him outside and killed him.

BookSevenXVII [p. 328] *BookSevenXVIII* [p. 328] *BookSevenXXVIII* [p. 335] Adopted by *Galba* [p. 500].

BookSevenXXIX [p. 335] Otho sends soldiers to kill him.

Calvus, see *Licinius* [p. 526]

Camillus, see *Furius* [p. 499]

Campus Martius was a publicly owned area of ancient Rome about 2 square kilometres (490 acres) in extent. Before the founding of Rome the Campus Martius was a low-lying plain enclosed on the west by a bend of the Tiber River near Tiber Island, on the east by the Quirinal Hill, and on the southeast by the Capitoline Hill. It later became the place for *comitia centuriata*, civic meetings with weapons, and for the city's militia. *Pompey* [p. 573] built the first stone theatre there in 55BC. When the Curia Hostilia burnt down in 52BC the theatre was sometimes used as a meeting place for the Senate. It was there that *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar was murdered in 44BC. The area was also used as the meeting ground for elections. Julius Caesar planned that the *Saepta* (enclosures used for elections) be placed there; they were later completed by Augustus. In 33BC Octavian dedicated the Porticus Octaviae, built from spoils of the Dalmatian War.

BookOneXXXIX [p. 32] *BookOneLXXX* [p. 53] *BookOneLXXXIV* [p. 57] *BookTwoIII* [p. 68]

BookTwoXLIII [p. 94] Mentioned.

BookTwoLXXXIII [p. 118] *Octavian* [p. 433] (Augustus) used to exercise there.

BookTwoXCVII [p. 128] Augustus performed the *lustrum*, the sacrificial rite of purification after the census, there, on May 11th AD14.

BookTwoC [p. 131] Augustus was cremated there.

BookFourXXXIV [p. 215] Augustus moved statues of famous men there from the Capitol.

BookFiveI [p. 237] *Drusus* [p. 487] the Elder cremated there.

BookFiveXVIII [p. 250] The Diribitorium was a large building where the election votes were counted.

BookFiveXXI [p. 251] *Claudius* [p. 464] staged a mock siege there.

BookSixX [p. 279] *Nero* [p. 549] exercised there.

BookSixXII [p. 280] Nero built a wooden amphitheatre there in AD58.

BookSixXXVII [p. 291] The Lake had been dug for mock naval battles.

BookSixL [p. 309] Overlooked by the *Pincian* [p. 568] Hill.

BookSevenXLVI [p. 348] *Vitellius* [p. 624] made offerings to the shade of Nero there in 69AD.

Caninius Rebilus, Gaius was one of Julius *Caesar's* [p. 518] legates in Gaul in 52/51BC. In 46BC he served in the *Thapsus* [p. 606] campaign then accompanied Caesar to Spain to fight at *Munda* [p. 546]. On the last day of December 45BC, the consul Quintus Fabius Maximus suddenly died and Caesar made Rebilus *consul suffectus* for the few remaining

hours of the year.

BookSixXV [p. 282] Mentioned.

Cantabrians, Cantabria is a northern Spanish region bordering the Atlantic with Santander as its capital city. It is bordered on the east by the Basque Autonomous Community on the south by Castile and León on the west by the Principality of Asturias, and on the north by the Cantabrian Sea (Atlantic). The Cantabrian Wars (29BC - 19BC) completed the Roman conquest of the provinces of Cantabria, Asturias and León, and were the final stage of the conquest of Hispania.

BookTwoXX [p. 79] *BookTwoXXI* [p. 79] *BookTwoLXXXI* [p. 117] *Augustus* [p. 433] campaigned against them in person 26BC - 25BC establishing his base at Segisama (Burgos).

BookTwoXXIX [p. 85] Augustus vowed to build a temple to Jupiter Tonans following an incident on a night-march in Cantabria.

BookTwoLXXXV [p. 119] Augustus wrote thirteen chapters of an autobiography taking it up to the period of the Cantabrian War.

BookThreeIX [p. 147] *Tiberius* [p. 608] was a military tribune there in 25BC.

BookSevenVIII [p. 322] An omen of *Galba's* [p. 500] rule witnessed there.

Canus was a flute-player during the reign of Galba.

BookSevenXII [p. 325] *Galba* [p. 500] rewarded but very modestly.

Canusium, the modern **Canosa di Puglia**, was an ancient city of Apulia, on the right bank of the Aufidus (Ofanto), about 12 miles from its mouth, and situated upon the Via Traiana, 85 miles east-north-east of *Beneventum* [p. 438]. Its importance was maintained by its trade in agricultural products and in Apulian wool, which was cleaned and dyed there.

BookSixXXX [p. 292] *Nero's* [p. 549] carriage drivers wore clothes of wool from Canusium.

Capitol, the Capitoline Hill between the Forum and the Campus Martius, is one of the Seven Hills of Rome. The hill was the site of a temple for the Capitoline Triad, founded by Rome's fifth king, Tarquin the Elder.

BookOneX [p. 16] *BookFourXXXIV* [p. 215] *BookFiveXXII* [p. 253] Mentioned.

BookOneXXXVII [p. 31] When *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar suffered an accident during his Gallic Triumph, supposedly indicating the wrath of *Jupiter* [p. 521] for his actions in the Civil Wars, he approached the hill and Jupiter's temple on his knees as a way of averting the omen (nevertheless he was murdered six months later, and Brutus and his other assassins took refuge in the temple after the murder.).

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BookOneLIV [p. 40] Caesar replaced gold on the Capitol with gilded bronze.

BookOneLXXIX [p. 52] *BookTwoXCI* [p. 122] *BookSevenL* [p. 351] The Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, also known as the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was the most important temple of Ancient Rome, located on the Capitoline Hill. The first Temple burned down in 83BC, during the civil wars under the dictatorship of *Sulla* [p. 599]. The new temple dedicated in 69BC was built to the same plan on the same foundations. Brutus and the other assassins locked themselves inside it after murdering Caesar. The second building burnt down during the course of fighting on the hill on December 19 in 69AD, when *Vespasian's* [p. 620] troops battled to enter the city in the Year of the Four Emperors, *Domitian* [p. 482] narrowly escaping with his life.

BookTwoLVII [p. 103] New Year's gifts for *Augustus* [p. 433] taken there annually.

BookTwoLIX [p. 104] *BookTwoXCIV* [p. 124] *BookThreeI* [p. 141] Mentioned.

BookFiveXLIV [p. 267] The Citadel was on the northern spur of the Capitoline.

BookEightVIII [p. 368] *Vespasian* [p. 620] restored the Capitol which was damaged in the struggle with *Vitellius* [p. 624].

Cappadocia is a region in central Turkey. It maintained tributary independence from Rome until 17AD, when *Tiberius* [p. 608] reduced Cappadocia to a Roman province.

BookEightVIII [p. 368] *Vespasian* [p. 620] added legions to guard against barbarian incursions.

Capreae, modern **Capri**, is an island in the Tyrrhenian Sea off the Sorrentine Peninsula, on the south side of the Gulf of Naples. It has been a resort since the time of the Roman Republic. *Tiberius* [p. 608] built a series of villas on Capri, the most famous of which is the *Villa Jovis*, one of the best preserved Roman villas in Italy. In 27AD, Tiberius permanently moved to Capri, running the Empire from there until his death in 37AD.

BookTwoLXXII [p. 112] *Augustus* [p. 433] had a villa there.

BookTwoXCII [p. 123] Augustus exchanged *Aenaria* [p. 409] (Ischia) for Capri, with Naples.

BookTwoXCVIII [p. 128] Augustus spent the penultimate days of his life on Capreae.

BookThreeXL [p. 166] *BookThreeXLI* [p. 167] Tiberius moved to Capri in 26AD and permanently in AD27.

BookThreeXLIII [p. 168] *BookSevenXXXVIII* [p. 343] Tiberius's lascivious antics there are described. The name Capreae probably derives from the Greek *kapros*, a wild-boar, rather than the Latin *caper*, a goat.

BookThreeLX [p. 176] *BookThreeLXII* [p. 178] Tiberius's cruelty exhibited there.

BookThreeLXXIII [p. 184] Tiberius was on his way back there when he died in AD37.

BookThreeLXXIV [p. 185] The destruction of the lighthouse there by earthquake was a portent of Tiberius' death.

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BookFourX [p. 198] Tiberius summoned *Caligula* [p. 449] there in AD31.

Capua, the ancient town of Capua was situated where Santa Maria Capua Vetere now stands. The modern town of Capua was founded after the ancient one had been destroyed by the Saracens in 841AD. Julius Caesar as consul in 59BC succeeded in establishing a Roman colony under the name Julia Felix in connection with his agrarian law, and 20,000 Roman citizens were settled in the territory.

BookOneLXXXI [p. 54] A prophecy regarding Caesar's assassination discovered by the colonists.

BookThreeXL [p. 166] *BookFourLVII* [p. 229] *Tiberius* [p. 608] dedicated a Temple of Capitoline *Jupiter* [p. 521] at Capua in 26AD.

Capys, in Greek mythology, was son of Assaracus, and father of Anchises and so grandfather of *Aeneas* [p. 409]. He founded the city of *Capua* [p. 455].

BookOneLXXXI [p. 54] Mentioned, as the founder.

Carmel is a coastal mountain range in northern Israel stretching from the Mediterranean Sea towards the southeast. The city of Haifa is built on its slopes. Elijah, or Elias, the 9th century BC Jewish prophet is associated with sites at the northwestern and highest point of the range, presumed to once include an altar to Yahweh. In the fourth century BC, the neo-Platonic philosopher Iamblicus, in his life of Pythagoras, speaks of Mount Carmel as 'most sacred of mountains access to which is forbidden to the profane'. Tacitus mentions an altar as erected there without temple or image: 'tantum ara et reverentia'. *Josephus* [p. 513] speaks of it as an Essene stronghold.

BookEightV [p. 364] *Vespasian* [p. 620] consulted the 'oracle' there.

Carnulus, was an unknown victim of *Tiberius* [p. 608]' persecutions.

BookThreeLXI [p. 177] Mentioned.

Carthage was a city located on the eastern side of Lake Tunis, Tunisia. According to Roman legend it was founded in 814BC by Phoenician colonists from Tyre under the leadership of Elissa (Queen Dido). It became a major power in the Mediterranean, and resulting rivalry with Syracuse and Rome led to several wars and mutual invasions.

BookFiveXLII [p. 266] *Claudius* [p. 464] wrote an eight-volume Carthaginian history.

Casca Brothers, Publius Servilius Casca (d. c. 42BC) and his brother Gaius Servilius Casca, a close friend of *Caesar* [p. 518], both joined in his assassination. Casca struck the first blow. At the time Publius held the position of Tribune of the people. After the

assassination he fled Rome, and his colleague as tribune, Publius Titius, deprived him of office. Casca joined Marcus Junius *Brutus* [p. 444] and Gaius *Cassius* [p. 456], the leaders of the assassins. He seems to have died, probably by suicide, in the aftermath of their defeat at the Battle of Philippi.

BookOneLXXXII [p. 55] One of the brothers attacks Caesar.

Cassiope, modern **Kassiopi**, was a port on the north east coast of the island of Corfu. The town is said to have been founded during the reign of Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, in the 3rd Century BC, as a supply post during his war with Rome. After their conquest of the island in 230BC, the Romans visited the Temple of Zeus (*Jupiter* [p. 521]) there.

BookSixXXXII [p. 286] Nero arrived there on his Greek trip. The connection of Jupiter with the name Cassius is also referenced in *BookFourLVII* [p. 229].

Cassius Longinus, Gaius (before 85BC – October 42BC) was a Roman senator, a leading instigator of the plot to kill Julius *Caesar* [p. 518] and the brother-in-law of Marcus Junius *Brutus* [p. 444]. He was an ally of the *triumvir*, Marcus Licinius *Crassus* [p. 477]. After *Crassus* was killed fighting the Parthians (53BC), he regrouped the remnants of the defeated Roman army and repelled Parthian attacks on Syria. He was made tribune (49BC) and served as a naval commander of *Pompey's* [p. 573] fleet in the civil war with Caesar. Caesar pardoned him and appointed him legate, with the promise that he would be made governor of Syria in 44BC. Despite this, Cassius organized the conspiracy to assassinate Caesar. Six months later he withdrew to Syria and ousted the former governor, Publius Cornelius Dolabella. He appointed Herod governor of Coele-Syria (Lebanon). To gain much needed revenues for the civil war with Caesar's heirs, Mark *Antony* [p. 422] and *Octavian* [p. 433], he ordered procurators in Syria and Palestine, including Antipater, to collect heavy taxes. He joined forces with *Brutus* at Philippi, Macedonia (42BC), but committed suicide after the defeat.

BookOneLXXX [p. 53] *BookSevenIII* [p. 318] A leader of the conspiracy.

BookOneLXXXV [p. 58] The populace tried to burn his house down after the assassination of Caesar.

BookTwoIX [p. 71] *BookSixIII* [p. 275] *BookSevenXXXIII* [p. 338] Defeated by the forces of *Augustus* [p. 433] (*Octavian*) and Mark *Antony* [p. 422] at *Philippi* [p. 567].

BookThreeLXI [p. 177] Described as 'Last of the Romans'.

Cassius, Lucius. The individual referred to is unclear. It appears from the context that he is not to be confused with *Lucius* [p. 457] Cassius Longinus, the brother of *Gaius* [p. 456] the conspirator, who fought on Caesar's side in the Civil Wars.

BookOneLXIII [p. 45] *Caesar* [p. 518] accepts his surrender.

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Cassius Chaerea, Gaius, was a centurion in the army of *Germanicus* [p. 503] and served in the Praetorian Guard under the emperor *Caligula* [p. 449], whom he assassinated. According to Tacitus, before his service in the Praetorians, he distinguished himself in helping to subdue the mutiny on the German frontier immediately after the death of *Augustus* [p. 433]. Shortly after the murder, he was sentenced to death, one of the few assassins to be actually condemned. Cassius requested to be executed with his own murder weapon.

BookFourLVI [p. 228] His plan to assassinate Caligula.

BookFourLVII [p. 229] Caligula warned against him by the oracle.

BookFourLVIII [p. 230] His murder of Caligula. His shout of 'Do it!' is a translation of '*Hoc age!*' the ritual response to the axe-holder's question at the sacrifice of '*Agone?*' 'Shall it be done'. His shout of 'Accept his gift' is a translation of the ritual formula '*Accipe ratum*' meaning 'Receive the fulfilment (of your omen).'

Cassius Longinus, Gaius the jurist was Governor of Syria in 50AD. Charged by Nero he was banished in 66AD to *Sardinia* [p. 587], but returned under Vespasian. He wrote ten books on civil law. Suetonius says he was blind at the time of his banishment.

BookSixXXXVII [p. 299] Charged by *Nero* [p. 549].

Cassius Longinus, Lucius was the first husband of Caligula's sister Julia *Drusilla* [p. 516], marrying her in 33AD. He was consul in 30AD, and in early 37AD, was appointed by *Tiberius* [p. 608] as a commissioner. He was proconsul in Asia in 40AD. *Caligula* [p. 449] ordered Cassius to divorce Drusilla, so he could live incestuously with her. Caligula subsequently murdered Cassius, before his own assassination in 41AD, on the basis of an oracle indicating that 'Cassius' would assassinate him. Caligula was indeed assassinated by a Cassius, the tribune Cassius *Chaerea* [p. 457].

BookFourXXIV [p. 208] The husband of Drusilla.

BookFourLVII [p. 229] His death ordered by Caligula on the basis of the oracle.

Cassius of Parma, Cassius Parmensis, was a minor poet, author of a *Thyestes*, and verses about *Orpheus*. He is probably not to be confused with one of Julius Caesar's assassins of the same name.

BookTwoIV [p. 69] Sneers at *Augustus* [p. 433]' ancestry.

Cassius Patavinus, a plebeian banished for desiring to kill *Augustus* [p. 433].

BookTwoLI [p. 100] Mentioned.

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Cassius Scaeva, Marcus, was a centurion in *Caesar's* [p. 518] army at the Battle of *Dyrhachium* [p. 488], and later one of Caesar's partisans.

BookOneLXVIII [p. 46] His bravery at Dyrachium.

Cassius Severus, Titus (d. 32AD) was a jurist whose eloquent opposition to the governmental order finally led to his banishment. Tacitus in his *Annals* called him: 'A man of base origin and dubious ways, but a powerful pleader, who brought his exile on himself, by his persistent quarrelsomeness.' He was exiled to Crete by *Augustus* [p. 433] (AD8?), and subsequently to the island of Seriphos by *Tiberius* [p. 608] (24AD). His works were proscribed but later re-published under *Caligula* [p. 449].

BookTwoLVI [p. 102] His case (9BC) against *Nonius* [p. 552] *Asprenas*.

BookFourXVI [p. 203] *Caligula* [p. 449] reinstated his writings.

BookSevenXXXVI [p. 341] Used as a source by Suetonius.

Castor, see *Pollux* [p. 570].

BookOneX [p. 16] *BookThreeXX* [p. 155] *BookFourXXII* [p. 206] *BookSixI* [p. 273] Mentioned.

BookSevenXXXII [p. 338] Castor's place was twelve miles from Cremona according to Tacitus *Histories* 2.24, and was probably the site of a temple to the twins.

Castricius was a dependant of *Augustus* [p. 433], and defended by him in court.

BookTwoLVI [p. 102] Mentioned.

Catilina, Lucius Sergius (108BC – 62BC) is best known for the Catiline (or Catilinarian) conspiracy, an attempt to overthrow the Republic, and in particular the power of the aristocratic Senate. Catiline fled Rome after *Cicero's* [p. 614] denunciation of him, and died leading his rebel army at Pistoria (modern Pistoia).

BookOneXIV [p. 17] The conspiracy exposed.

BookOneXVII [p. 19] *Caesar* [p. 518] falsely indicted as a co-conspirator.

BookTwoIII [p. 68] Mentioned.

BookTwoXCIV [p. 124] *Augustus* [p. 433] was born on the day the conspiracy was debated in the Senate (23rd September, 63BC)

Cato the Elder, Marcus Portius (234BC – 149BC) was statesman and writer, commonly known as Cato the Censor, or the Elder, to distinguish him from his great-grandson, *Cato* [p. 459] the Younger. He successively held the offices of *Cursus Honorum*: Tribune (214BC), Quaestor (204BC), Aedile (199BC), Praetor (198BC), Consul (195BC)

and finally Censor (184BC).

BookTwoLXXXVI [p. 119] Cato's most important work, *Origines*, in seven books, related the history of the Italian towns, with special attention to Rome, from their legendary or historical foundation to his own day. The text as a whole is lost, but substantial fragments survive in quotations by later authors.

Cato Uticensis, Marcus Portius (95BC, Rome – April 46BC, Utica), commonly known as Cato the Younger (*Cato Minor*) to distinguish him from his great-grandfather (Cato the Elder), was a politician and statesman in the late Roman Republic, and a follower of the Stoic philosophy. He is remembered for his legendary stubbornness and tenacity (especially in his lengthy conflict with Gaius *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar), as well as his immunity to bribes, his moral integrity, and his famous distaste for the ubiquitous corruption of the period.

BookOneXIV [p. 17] His speech against the Catiline conspirators in 63BC.

BookOneXIX [p. 20] He accepted bribery as valid to defend the Constitution, according to Suetonius.

BookOneXX [p. 20] Imprisoned by Caesar after Cato's attempt at a filibuster.

BookOneXXX [p. 27] His threats to impeach Caesar.

BookOneLIII [p. 40] His comment on Caesar's sobriety.

BookTwoXIII [p. 73] Marcus *Favonius* [p. 492]' imitation of him in everything.

BookTwoLXXXV [p. 119] *Brutus* [p. 444] wrote a eulogy of Cato replied to by *Augustus* [p. 433].

BookTwoLXXXVII [p. 120] An expression of Augustus referring to this Cato.

Catullus, see *Valerius* [p. 617]

Catulus Lutatius, Quintus (c. 120 – 61BC), sometimes called Capitolinus, was the son of Quintus Lutatius Catulus. He inherited his father's hatred of Marius, and was a consistent though moderate supporter of the aristocracy. In 78 he was consul with Marcus *Aemilius* [p. 407] Lepidus. He consistently opposed *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar, whom he endeavoured to implicate in the Catilinarian conspiracy. Catulus held the office of censor, but soon resigned, being unable to agree with his colleague Crassus.

BookOneXV [p. 18] Caesar accused him of embezzlement during the reconstruction of the temple on the Capitol, and proposed to obliterate his name from the inscription and deprive him of the office of commissioner for its restoration. Catulus' supporters rallied, and Caesar dropped the charge.

BookTwoXCIV [p. 124] An omen relating to *Augustus* [p. 433]. Catulus re-dedicated the Capitoline temple in 65BC, Augustus was born in 63, and Catulus died in 61. So if this Catulus is intended, the story only makes sense if he had the dream some time after 63

and before his death, and that in the infant Octavius he saw a likeness to the older boy of the dream.

BookSevenII [p. 318] *BookSevenIII* [p. 318] *Galba* [p. 500] was his great-grandson, his mother *Mummia* [p. 545] Achaica being the grand-daughter of Catulus.

Celadus, was a freedman of *Augustus* [p. 433].

BookTwoLXVII [p. 109] Mentioned.

Ceraunian Mountains, are a coastal mountain range in southwestern Albania. The range extends approximately 100 km along the coast in a northwesterly direction from the Greek border to the Strait of Otranto. The highest peak is Çika (2012m). In some places the mountains slope down directly to the sea.

BookTwoXVII [p. 76] *Augustus* [p. 433]' met with a storm at sea along the coast in 30BC.

Ceres, was the Roman goddess of harvest, fertility, marriage, sacred law, and the cycle of life and death. She was equivalent to the Greek Demeter, who with her daughter Persephone was a central figure in the Eleusinian Mysteries, celebrated at Eleusis near Athens, which predated the Olympian pantheon.

BookTwoXCIII [p. 123] *Augustus* [p. 433] had been initiated in the Mysteris at Eleusis (after *Actium* [p. 404], and he returned to Greece in 20BC, when he had the rites celebrated out of season).

BookFiveXXV [p. 255] *Claudius* [p. 464] attempted to transfer the Eleusinian rites to Rome.

BookSixXII [p. 280] The priestesses of Demeter viewed the athletics contest at Olympia in Elis.

BookSixXXXIV [p. 296] *Nero* [p. 549] did not dare participate in the rites after his mother's execution.

Cerrinius, Gallus, was a Roman Senator, who went blind and was dissuaded by a visit from *Augustus* [p. 433] from starving himself to death.

BookTwoLIII [p. 101] Mentioned.

Cerylus was a wealthy freedman who changed his name to Laches and claimed to be freeborn in order to avoid death duties.

BookEightXXIII [p. 375] Mocked by *Vespasian* [p. 620].

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Cestius Gallus was an unknown member of the Cestia gens. Possibly he was a relation of Gaius Gallus Camerinus, who was Senator and Consul in 35AD.

BookThreeXLII [p. 167] He was a licentious senator at the time of *Tiberius* [p. 608].

Charicles was a Greek physician. Some of his works may have been known to Galen.

BookThreeLXXII [p. 184] Physician to *Tiberius* [p. 608].

Chatti were an ancient Germanic tribe whose homeland was near the upper Weser. They settled in central and northern Hesse and southern Lower Saxony, along the upper reaches of the Weser River and in the valleys and mountains of the Eder, Fulda and Weser River regions.

BookSevenXLIX [p. 350] *Vitellius* [p. 624] consulted a prophetess of the tribe.

BookEightXLII [p. 389] *Domitian* [p. 482] campaigned against the Chatti in 82/83AD.

Chios is the fifth largest of the Greek islands, situated in the Aegean Sea, five miles off the coast of Asia Minor. The island is separated from Turkey by the Chios Strait. After its Roman re-conquest in 85BC, Chios became part of the province of Asia. The area is earthquake-prone, witness the great quake of 1881AD.

BookThreeVIII [p. 147] *Tiberius* [p. 608] acted as advocate in Rome for the citizens after a devastating earthquake.

Cilicia was the commonly used name of the south coastal region of Asia Minor south of the central Anatolian plateau. It existed as a political entity from Hittite times into the Byzantine Empire. Cilicia extends inland from the southeastern coast of modern Turkey, due north and northeast of the island of Cyprus. Ancient Cilicia was naturally split into Cilicia Trachea (Rugged Cilicia) and Cilicia Pedias to the east, divided by the Lamas Su.

BookOneIII [p. 12] The young *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar campaigned there.

BookOneVIII [p. 15] Legions conscripted for the campaign there, garrisoned in the Latin colonies.

BookEightVIII [p. 368] *Vespasian* [p. 620] reduced Trachean Cilicia from free to provincial status.

Christians were early followers of Jesus of Nazareth, the religion reaching Rome as an obscure offshoot of Judaism.

BookSixXVI [p. 283] *Nero* [p. 549] clamped down on the new superstition of Christianity from AD64.

Chrestus appears to have instigated trouble in Rome, caused by the Jews. This may be a reference to early Christianity

BookFiveXXV [p. 255] Mentioned.

Cicero, see *Tullius* [p. 614]

Cimbri. The Cimbri were a tribe from Northern Europe (possibly Jutland), who, together with the *Teutones* [p. 605] and the Ambrones threatened the Roman Republic in the late 2nd century BC. They were annihilated at the Battle of Vercellae, at the confluence of the Sesia River with the Po River, in 101BC.

BookOneXI [p. 16] Defeated by *Marius* [p. 538].

BookFourLI [p. 225] Their advance into Italy.

Cinaria, **Cinarus**, or **Zinari**, the modern **Kinaros**, is an islet located in the northern part of the Dodecanese, to the east of Kalymnos and Leros and to the west of Amorgos. It is 17 miles from Aigiali on Amorgos, and together with the neighbouring islet Levitha forms the geographical boundary between the island complexes of the Cyclades and the Dodecanese. The islet's name is also that of the globe artichoke (kinara) which may have grown there (see the Greek myth of Cynara).

BookThreeLVI [p. 174] *Xeno* [p. 627], a Greek companion, exiled there by *Tiberius* [p. 608].

Cincinnatus, **Lucius Quinctius** (519BC – 438BC) served as consul in 460BC and dictator in 458BC and 439BC. An invasion caused him to serve Rome as dictator, an office which he immediately resigned after completing his task of defeating the tribes of the Aequians, Sabinians and Volscians. His relinquishment of office at the end of the crisis has often been cited as an example of outstanding civic virtue, and modesty.

BookFourXXXV [p. 216] *Caligula* [p. 449] deprived his descendants of the emblem of the family.

Circeii: **Monte Circeo** or **Cape Circeo** is a mountain promontory that marks the southwestern limit of the former Pontine Marshes, and is associated with an oracular Temple of Circe, the sorceress mentioned in *Homer* [p. 508]. It is located on the southwest coast about 100km south/southeast of Rome, near San Felice Circeo, on the coast between Anzio and Terracina. At the northern end of the Gulf of Gaeta, Circeii was founded as a Roman colony at an early date probably c. 390BC. At the beginning of the imperial period, the city was located on the eastern shores of the Lago di Paola, this did not, however, mean the abandonment of the eastern end of the promontory, on which stand the remains of several villas. A rock inscription near San Felice, speaks of this part of the *promonturium Veneris* ('promontory of Venus'; the only case of the use of this name) as belonging to the city of Circeii. The town only acquired municipal rights after

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the Social War, and was a seaside resort. For its villas *Cicero* [p. 614] compares it with Antium, and probably *Tiberius* [p. 608] and *Domitian* [p. 482] possessed villas there.

BookTwoXVI [p. 75] *Lepidus* [p. 407] was exiled for life there.

BookThreeLXXII [p. 184] Tiberius halted there for a while during his last illness.

Circus Maximus, was the ancient Roman stadium situated in the valley between the Aventine and *Palatine* [p. 559] hills, with a capacity of over a quarter of the city's population (of a million people).

BookOneXXXIX [p. 32] *BookFourXXVI* [p. 210] Mentioned.

BookFourXVIII [p. 204] *Caligula* [p. 449] presented Games there. The Gelotian House was presumably a house previously owned by an unknown Gelotus, or possibly Gelos.

BookSixXXV [p. 289] *Nero's* [p. 549] triumphal procession passed through it on his return from Greece in 67AD.

BookSixXXVII [p. 291] Nero held public banquets there.

Civica Cerealis was governor of Asia under *Domitian* [p. 482].

BookEightXLVI [p. 392] Executed for plotting rebellion shortly before AD90.

Claudia (b. 20AD) was the daughter of *Boter* [p. 441] a freedman of *Claudius* [p. 464], conceived illegitimately while her mother *Urgulanilla* [p. 568] was still married to Claudius.

BookFiveXXVII [p. 257] Claudius repudiated her.

Claudia Antonia (c. 30AD – 66AD) was the daughter of *Claudius* [p. 464] and his second wife *Aelia* [p. 405] Paetina. In 43AD she married Gnaeus *Pompeius* [p. 574] Magnus. She married *Messalina's* [p. 616] half-brother Faustus Cornelius *Sulla* [p. 599] Felix in 47AD. In 58/59AD, Faustus Sulla was exiled, and later murdered in 62AD on the orders of *Nero* [p. 549]. Nero subsequently charged Claudia with conspiracy and executed her.

BookFiveXXVII [p. 257] Mentioned.

BookFiveXXIX [p. 259] Her husband Gnaeus was executed on Claudius's orders.

BookSixXXXV [p. 297] Executed on Nero's orders.

Claudia, or **Clodia Pulchra** (b. c. 56BC) was the daughter of *Fulvia* [p. 498] and her first husband Publius *Clodius* [p. 469] Pulcher. She was the stepdaughter of Mark *Antony* [p. 422], whom Fulvia later married. *Octavian* [p. 433] married Clodia in 43BC, divorcing her to later marry *Scribonia* [p. 589]. His marriage with Clodia was never consummated.

BookTwoLXII [p. 105] Marriage to Octavian.

Claudia Augusta was the daughter of *Nero* [p. 549] by *Poppaea* [p. 576] Sabina. She died at three months old in 63AD.

BookSixXXXV [p. 297] She died in infancy.

Claudia, was one of the five daughters, named Claudia, of Appius Claudius *Caecus* [p. 465], and a sister of Publius Claudius *Pulcher* [p. 467].

BookThreeII [p. 142] Noted as a 'bad' Claudian.

Claudia Quinta was probably the sister of the Appius Claudius Pulcher who was consul in 212BC, and the granddaughter of Appius Claudius *Caecus* [p. 465]. Around 205BC the statue of the Cult of *Cybele* [p. 478] was moved from Pessinus to Rome. Claudia re-floated the boat carrying the sacred image, dragging it from the shoal in the Tiber where it was stranded. The Temple of Cybele was then established on the Palatine.

BookThreeII [p. 142] Mentioned as a 'good' Claudian.

Claudius, Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus (10BC – 54AD) was named Tiberius Claudius Drusus to 4AD, then Tiberius Claudius Nero Germanicus until his accession. He was the fourth Roman Emperor ruling from 41AD to his death. Born in *Lugdunum* [p. 533] in Gaul (modern Lyon) to *Drusus* [p. 487] the Elder and *Antonia* [p. 420] Minor, and brother to *Germanicus* [p. 503], he was the first Roman emperor to be born outside Italy. Claudius proved an able administrator and a great builder of public works. His reign saw an expansion of the empire, including the conquest of Britain.

BookFourXV [p. 201] *Caligula* [p. 449] awarded him joint consulship with himself on Caligula's accession in 37AD.

BookFourXXI [p. 205] He completed the aqueduct near *Tibur* [p. 611] started by Caligula.

BookFourXXIII [p. 207] *Caligula* [p. 449] preserved him as a laughing-stock.

BookFourXLIX [p. 224] Claudius supposedly disposed of a chest of poisonous materials left behind by *Caligula* [p. 449].

BookFiveI [p. 237] Suetonius' life of Claudius follows.

BookFiveXXX [p. 259] The most recently suggested diagnoses of Claudius's disabilities include cerebral palsy, Tourette syndrome, and dyspraxia.

BookSixVI [p. 276] *BookSixVII* [p. 277] Claudius when Emperor adopted *Nero* [p. 549], in AD50, to secure the succession.

BookSixVIII [p. 278] His death and Nero's succession.

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BookSixIX [p. 278] Nero gave his eulogy and announced his deification.

BookSixXVIII [p. 284] *Nero* [p. 549] considered withdrawing from Britain but changed his mind in deference to his adoptive father Claudius's achievement.

BookSixXXXIII [p. 295] *BookSixXXXIX* [p. 301] Nero's involvement in his murder.

BookSixXXXV [p. 297] Nero had his daughter *Claudia Antonia* [p. 463] executed.

BookSevenVII [p. 321] His promotion of *Galba* [p. 500].

BookSevenXIV [p. 326] Galba reversed his decision on the duration of law terms.

BookSevenXXIV [p. 332] *Camillus's* [p. 452] Dalmation revolt against him in 42AD.

BookSevenXXXVII [p. 342] Vitellius's father *Lucius* [p. 625] ran the Empire while Claudius was campaigning in Britain in 43AD. He curried favour with Claudius as well as his wife Messalina and his freedmen.

BookSevenXXXIX [p. 344] *Vitellius* [p. 624] endeared himself to Claudius through his love of dice.

BookEightIV [p. 363] *Vespasian* [p. 620] was appointed to military command under him.

BookEightIX [p. 369] Vespasian completed his shrine on the Caelian Hill.

BookEightXXV [p. 376] The length of Claudius's reign (13 years) plus *Nero's* [p. 549] (14 years) equates to that of Vespasian's (10) plus *Titus's* [p. 612] (2) and *Domitian's* [p. 482] (15), twenty seven years in total.

BookEightXXVII [p. 377] His freedman *Narcissus* [p. 547].

BookEightXL [p. 387] His premature celebration of the *Secular* [p. 590] Games.

Claudius, Atta, otherwise Appius Claudius Sabinus Inregillensis or Regillensis, was the semi-legendary founder of the Claudii. Born in the Sabine territories, he favoured peace with Rome, and moved with a group of followers to the City. Claudius became consul of Rome in 495BC. His harsh enforcement of debt laws forced a secession of the plebs in 494BC - 493BC. His sons were Appius Claudius Sabinus, Consul in 471BC and Gaius Claudius Sabinus, Consul in 460BC.

BookThreeI [p. 141] Head of the Claudians c. 500BC.

Claudius Caecus, Appius (c. 340BC - 273BC) was the son of Gaius Claudius Crassus, dictator in 337BC. He was a censor in 312BC although he had not previously been consul. As censor, he built the Appian Way between Rome and Capua, as well as Rome's first aqueduct the Aqua Appia. He also published the first list of legal procedures and a legal calendar. He cultivated literature and rhetoric, and instituted reforms in Latin orthography. He later served as consul twice, in 307BC and 296BC. In 292BC and 285BC he was Dictator. In 280BC, when blind, he spoke against Cineas, an envoy of King *Pyrrhus* [p. 579] of Epirus, declaring that Rome would never surrender. This is the first recorded political speech in Latin, and the source of the saying 'every man is

the architect of his own fate.' His younger brother was Appius Claudius *Caudex* [p. 466], and his sons included Publius Claudius *Pulcher* [p. 467] and the first Tiberius *Claudius* [p. 466] Nero, thus making him the common ancestor of the Emperor *Tiberius* [p. 608] through the maternal and paternal lines respectively.

BookThreeII [p. 142] A 'good' Claudian.

BookThreeIII [p. 143] Mentioned as the joint ancestor of Tiberius' paternal and maternal lines.

BookFiveXXIV [p. 254] He allowed the grandsons of freedmen to become Senators.

Claudius Caudex, Appius was the brother of Appius Claudius *Caecus* [p. 446], their father being Gaius Claudius Crassus. He served as consul in 264BC, and drew Rome into conflict with Carthage over possession of Sicily. He fought successfully against the Carthaginians and Syracusans for Sicily, defeating both. This dispute was one of the immediate causes of the First Punic War.

BookThreeII [p. 142] A 'good' Claudian.

Claudius Crassus Sabinus Inregillenis, Appius, was a decemvir of the Roman Republic. His father was Appius Claudius Sabinus, Consul in 471BC. Claudius Crassus was involved in the civil war between the decemvirs and the senate, which ended in defeat for the decemvirs, while the consulship and tribunate were reestablished. Appius' decemviral code survived the overthrow of the decemvirs in 449BC. He was claimed to have been murdered or committed suicide as a consequence of his lust for Verginia, the daughter of Lucius Verginius, a respected centurion (the story is told in Livy 3:44-58)

BookThreeII [p. 142] A 'bad' Claudian.

Claudius Marcellus, Marcus, see *Marcellus* [p. 536]

Claudius Marcellus Aeserninus, Marcus was son of the Marcus Claudius Marcellus Aeserninus who was consul in 22BC. He married Asinia, the daughter of Gaius *Asinius* [p. 430] Pollio, who was consul in 40BC. When a boy he broke his leg while acting in the Trojan games before *Augustus* [p. 433], a circumstance of which his grandfather, Asinius Pollio, complained so loudly that the custom was abolished. He was trained by his grandfather in oratory, and in 20AD was one of those whom Gnaeus *Calpurnius* [p. 451] Piso requested to undertake his defence on the charge of having poisoned *Germanicus* [p. 503], but he declined the office

BookTwoXLIII [p. 94] His injury mentioned.

Claudius Nero, Tiberius was the fourth son of Appius Claudius *Caecus* [p. 465], and the **paternal** ancestor of the Emperor *Tiberius* [p. 608].

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BookThreeIII [p. 143] Mentioned as an ancestor of Tiberius.

Claudius (Appius) Pulcher, Publius (d. c. 249BC) was the second son of Appius Claudius *Caecus* [p. 446]. He was the first of the Claudii to be given the cognomen 'Pulcher' (handsome). He was curule aedile in 253 and consul in 249BC, when he commanded a Roman fleet during the First Punic War. He lost the Battle of Drepana against the Carthaginians after ignoring an adverse omen whereby the sacred chickens refused to eat. He was recalled to Rome and ordered to appoint a dictator; his nomination of his subordinate Marcus Claudius *Glycias* [p. 504] was overruled. He was tried for incompetence and impiety, and was fined, dying soon afterwards, possibly by suicide. He was a maternal ancestor of the Emperor *Tiberius* [p. 608].

BookThreeII [p. 142] A 'bad' Claudian.

BookThreeIII [p. 143] Mentioned as an ancestor of Tiberius.

Claudius Pulcher, Appius (d. c. 130BC) was consul in 143BC. He defeated the Salassi, but was refused a triumph by the senate, and triumphed at his own expense. When one of the tribunes attempted to drag him from his chariot, his sister Claudia, one of the sacred Vestal Virgins, accompanied him to the Capitol. He held the censorship, with Quintus Fulvius Nobilior, probably in 136BC. He allied with Tiberius *Gracchus* [p. 504] who married his daughter Claudia. Appius backed Tiberius' land reform bill and in 133BC with Tiberius and Tiberius' brother, Gaius Gracchus, was chosen commissioner for the division of land. He died shortly after Tiberius Gracchus, probably in 130BC. He was one of the Salii, an augur, and princeps senatus, and his wife was named Antistia.

BookThreeII [p. 142] His triumph.

Claudius Russus, Appius, was consul in 268BC, with Publius Sempronius Sophus. They celebrated a triumph for their victory over the Picenians, at Ancona, in Picenum, the region on the Adriatic coastal plain which is now known as the southern Marche.

BookThreeII [p. 142] A 'bad' Claudian.

Claudius Tiberius Nero, Gaius, was praetor in 212BC. In 207BC he was elected consul with Marcus Livius Salinator, and with his colleague he led the army that defeated the Carthaginians at the Battle of the Metaurus River, killing their commander, *Hannibal's* [p. 505] brother *Hasdrubal* [p. 505]. He was censor with Marcus Livius Salinator in 204BC.

BookThreeII [p. 142] A 'good' Claudian.

Clemens was a former slave of Agrippa *Postumus* [p. 412], the grandson of *Augustus* [p. 433], who was executed when *Tiberius* [p. 608] came to power. Clemens pretended to be

Postumus, and gained a significant band of followers, but was captured and executed by Tiberius.

BookThreeXXV [p. 158] Mentioned.

Clemens, see also *Arrecinus* [p. 429] and *Flavius* [p. 495].

Cleopatra VII, (Late 69BC – August 12, 30BC) was the last person to rule Egypt as pharaoh – after her death Egypt became a Roman province. She was a member of the Ptolemaic dynasty, and originally ruled jointly with her father *Ptolemy XII* [p. 578] Auletes and later with her brothers, *Ptolemy XIII* [p. 578] and *Ptolemy XIV* [p. 578], whom she also married, but eventually became sole ruler. As pharaoh, she consummated a liaison with Gaius Julius *Caesar* [p. 518] that solidified her grip on the throne. She later elevated her son with Caesar, *Caesarion* [p. 448], to co-ruler in name. After Caesar's assassination in 44BC, she aligned with Mark *Antony* [p. 422] in opposition to Caesar's legal heir, Gaius Julius Caesar Octavian, (later known as *Augustus* [p. 433]). After losing the Battle of Actium to Octavian's forces, Antony committed suicide. Cleopatra followed suit, according to tradition killing herself by means of an asp bite on August 12, 30BC.

BookOneXXXV [p. 30] *BookOneLII* [p. 39] Her alliance with Caesar.

BookTwoXVII [p. 76] Her children by Antony and Caesar, and her suicide.

BookTwoLXIX [p. 110] She married Mark Antony, according to the Egyptian rite, it was said, the fact supporting his calling her his 'wife'

BookSixIII [p. 275] Mentioned.

Cleopatra Selene II (40BC - 6AD), also known as Cleopatra VIII of Egypt was a Ptolemaic Princess and the only daughter of *Cleopatra* [p. 468] VII of Egypt and the triumvir Mark *Antony* [p. 422]. In late 34BC, she was made ruler of Cyrenaica and Libya. Between 26BC and 20BC, *Augustus* [p. 433] arranged her marriage with King *Juba* [p. 514] II of Numidia in Rome.

BookFourXXVI [p. 210] Mother of *Ptolemy* [p. 578] of Mauretania.

Clitumnus, the River Clitunno, rises from a spring near the Via Flaminia, the road from Rome to *Ariminum* [p. 428] (Rimini), near the town of Campello sul Clitunno, between Spoleto and Trevi: the area was celebrated by the Romans for its beauty. There was originally a pagan shrine with prophetic oracle dedicated to the river god Clitumnus.

BookFourXLIII [p. 221] *Caligula* [p. 449] visited the shrine.

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Clodianus was a subaltern involved in the assassination of *Domitian* [p. 482] in 96AD.

BookEightLIII [p. 399] Mentioned.

Clodius Pulcher, Publius (c. 92BC - 53BC) was born Publius Claudius Pulcher but became known as Publius Clodius after his controversial adoption into the plebeian family of Fonteii in 59BC. He was a politician known for his populist tactics. He passed several significant laws (the *Leges Clodiae*) but is chiefly remembered as a politician for his feuds with Titus Annius *Milo* [p. 543] and Marcus *Tullius* [p. 614] Cicero and for his introduction of the grain dole.

BookOneVI [p. 14] His alleged seduction of *Caesar's* [p. 518] wife *Pompeia* [p. 571] led to their divorce. Caesar supported him politically and Clodius was acquitted of charges of immorality.

BookOneXX [p. 20] Favoured by Caesar as an opponent of Cicero.

BookOneXXVI [p. 24] Assassinated by, or died in a street fight with, *Milo's* [p. 543] supporters in late 53 or early 52BC. The Senate then voted that Caesar (still in Gaul) be removed from power in favor of Pompey, but the Tribunes were able to block the decree.

BookOneLXXIV [p. 49] Caesar submitted no evidence against him on charges of adultery and sacrilege.

BookTwoLXII [p. 105] His daughter *Claudia* [p. 463], by his wife *Fulvia* [p. 498], married *Octavian* [p. 433] in 43BC.

BookThreeII [p. 142] His adoption in 59BC. *Cicero* [p. 614] was driven from the City in 59/58.

BookEightXLV [p. 391] The specific law is not recorded, but may have been one of the *Leges Clodiae*.

Clodius Macer, Lucius, was a *legatus* in Africa under *Nero* [p. 549]. He rebelled in May 68AD, cutting off the food supply to Rome. Although encouraged by Galba, Macer created an additional legion, raising suspicion that he harbored imperial ambitions, and in October of 68 Galba had him killed.

BookSevenXI [p. 324] Mentioned as a rival to *Galba*. [p. 500]

Clodius Pollio was a man of praetorian rank lampooned by *Nero* [p. 549] in a verse entitled *Luscio* (*The One-Eyed Man*).

BookEightXXXVII [p. 385] Mentioned with regard to *Domitian* [p. 482].

Clodius Thrasea Paetus, Publius (d. 66AD) was a stoic philosopher and consul in 56AD, and one of the keepers of the *Sibylline* [p. 593] books. He opposed Nero and was forced to retire from public life in AD63. He was subsequently driven to suicide in AD66. He was a friend and relative of the poet Persius.

Suetonius, The Twelve Caesars

BookSixXXXVII [p. 299] Driven to suicide by *Nero* [p. 549].

BookEightXLVI [p. 392] His eulogy by *Junius* [p. 520] Rusticus.

Clunia, or **Colonia Clunia Sulpicia**, was a Roman city located on Alto de Castro, in the modern province of Burgos in Spain. The city was formally re-founded *ex novo* during the reign of *Tiberius* [p. 608] as part of the Roman plan to pacify the region after the *Cantabrian* [p. 453] Wars. During *Galba's* [p. 500] reign, Clunia was effectively the capital of the Empire.

BookSevenIX [p. 322] The temple of *Jupiter* [p. 521] there.

Cluvius Rufus, Marcus, was consul *suffectus* in 45AD, during the reign of *Claudius* [p. 464]. He had been involved in the conspiracy to assassinate *Caligula* [p. 449]. In 69AD, Cluvius was governor of Hispania. On the death of *Galba* [p. 500], Cluvius first swore allegiance to *Otho* [p. 558], but soon afterwards became a partisan of *Vitellius* [p. 624]. He was an important historian whose writing and testimony, though now lost, were a source for Suetonius and others.

BookSixXXI [p. 285] He introduced *Nero's* [p. 549] singing performance on stage.

Codeta, Lesser. The Codeta was a district on the right bank of the Tiber, so called because of the common horsetail (*equisetum arvense*) which grew there. The Lesser Codeta (Codeta Minor) is mentioned only in Suetonius, as that part of the *Campus* [p. 452] Martius in which *Caesar* [p. 518] constructed a lake for his mock naval battle, used in his triumph in 46BC. It may have been sited opposite the Codeta.

BookOneXXXIX [p. 32] *BookThreeLXXII* [p. 184] Mentioned.

Colonia, Claudia Ara Agrippinensium, modern Cologne, lies on the River Rhine. One of the oldest cities in Germany, having been founded by the Ubii in the year 38BC, it was acknowledged as a colony by the Rome in 50AD.

BookSevenXLV [p. 347] *Vitellius* [p. 624] sent *Otho's* [p. 558] dagger with which he had committed suicide to the Temple of *Mars* [p. 538] at Colonia Agrippinensium.

Columbus was a gladiator, one of the *murmillones*, whom Caligula disliked.

BookFourLV [p. 228] *Caligula* [p. 449] had him poisoned for winning a contest.

Commagene was a small kingdom, located in modern south-central Turkey, with its capital at Samosata (modern Samsat, near the Euphrates). The Kingdom maintained its independence until 17AD, when it was made a Roman province by Tiberius. It reemerged as an independent kingdom when *Antiochus* [p. 419] IV of Commagene was

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reinstated to the throne by order of *Caligula* [p. 449], then deprived by that same Emperor, then restored a couple of years later by *Claudius* [p. 464]. This re-emergent Kingdom lasted until 72AD, when Vespasian finally made it a part of the Roman Empire.

BookEightVIII [p. 368] *Vespasian* [p. 620] reduced Commagene from free to provincial status.

Compitalia, a festival celebrated once a year in honor of the Lares Compitales, household deities of the crossroads to which sacrifices were offered at the places where two or more ways meet. The word comes from the Latin *compitum*, a cross-roads.

BookTwoXXXI [p. 86] Revived by *Augustus* [p. 433]. As Augustus was now the *pater patriae*, the Lares of the emperor became the Lares of the State. Augustus set up Lares or Penates at places where two or more ways met and instituted an order of priests to attend to their worship. These priests were chosen from the *libertini*, people who had been legally freed from slavery, and were called Augustales.

Confluentes, the site of modern **Koblentz**, is at the confluence of the Rhine with the Moselle. In 55BC Roman troops commanded by Julius *Caesar* [p. 518] reached the Rhine and built a bridge between Koblenz and Andernach. About 9 BC, the '*Castellum apud Confluentes*', the fort at the confluence of the rivers, was one of the military posts established by *Drusus* [p. 487] the Elder. Remains of a large bridge built in 49AD by the Romans are still visible. The Romans built two castles as protection for the bridge, one in 9AD and another in the 2nd century, the latter being destroyed by the Franks in 259. The site of the village of Ambivartium (elsewhere Ambiatinus) is not known, but may have been one of the temple sites nearby.

BookFourVIII [p. 196] It was claimed that *Caligula* [p. 449] was born near there.

Corduba, the modern **Córdoba**, is a city in Andalusia southern Spain. Córdoba was conquered by the Romans in 206BC. In 169BC the Roman consul Marcus Claudius Marcellus founded a Latin colony alongside the pre-existing Iberian settlement. At the time of Julius *Caesar* [p. 518], Córdoba was the capital of the Roman province of *Hispania Ulterior Baetica*. *Seneca* [p. 591] the Elder, Seneca the Younger, and Lucan came from there. In the reorganization of the Empire in 14BC, when Hispania was reorganised into three Imperial provinces, Baetica was governed by a proconsul who had formerly been a praetor, and was regarded as highly secure.

BookTwoLI [p. 100] Mentioned.

Cordus, see *Cremutius* [p. 477]

Corfinium was a city in Ancient Italy, on the eastern side of the Apennines, due east of Rome. It was near the modern Corfinio, in the province of L'Aquila (Abruzzo region).

BookOneXXXIV [p. 29] Surrendered to Caesar in 49BC.

BookSixII [p. 274] *Lucius* [p. 485] Domitius Ahenobarbus the consul of 54BC was taken prisoner there and then released.

Corinth was a city-state, on the Isthmus of Corinth, the narrow stretch of land that joins the Peloponnese to the mainland of Greece. To the west lies the Gulf of Corinth, to the east the Saronic Gulf. Corinth is about 48 miles southwest of Athens. The Romans under Lucius Mummius destroyed Corinth following a siege in 146BC. *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar refounded the city as *Colonia laus Iulia Corinthiensis* in 44BC shortly before his assassination. Under the Romans, it became the seat of government for Southern Greece or Achaia. Corinthian bronze, also called Corinthian brass or *æs Corinthiacum*, was a highly valuable metal alloy in classical antiquity, thought to be an alloy of copper with gold or silver (or both), although it has also been contended that it was simply a very high grade of bronze, manufactured in Corinth. Antique bronze items found in the ruins of Corinth were prized by Roman collectors.

BookTwoLXX [p. 111] *Augustus's* [p. 433] love of Corinthian bronzes.

BookThreeXXXIV [p. 163] *Tiberius* [p. 608] seeks to set a ceiling on the price of Corinthian bronzes.

BookSevenIII [p. 318] Sacked by *Mummius* [p. 545] in 146BC.

Cornelia (wife of Caesar, d. c. 69BC) The daughter of Lucius *Cornelius* [p. 473] Cinna, she married *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar, by whom she had a daughter, *Julia* [p. 514].

BookOneI [p. 11] Married to Julius Caesar.

BookOneVI [p. 14] Caesar delivered her funeral eulogy.

Cornelia was a head of the Vestal Virgins who broke her vows under *Domitian* [p. 482] and whom he had executed.

BookEightXLIV [p. 390] Mentioned.

Cornelius, see *Scipio* [p. 588] and *Sulla* [p. 599]

Cornelius, was a centurion in the army of *Octavian* [p. 433] in 43BC, sent to Rome to demand the consulship for their general.

BookTwoXXVI [p. 82] Mentioned.

Cornelius Balbus, Lucius (called Maior *the Elder* to distinguish him from his nephew) was born in *Gades* [p. 500] early in the last century BC. He served in Hispania, and citizenship was conferred on him and his family by *Pompey* [p. 573]. He accompanied

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Pompey on his return to Rome, in 71BC. He also gained the friendship of Julius *Caesar* [p. 518], had much to do with the formation of the First Triumvirate, and was one of Rome's chief financiers. He accompanied Caesar when propraetor to Hispania (61BC), and to Gaul (58BC) as chief engineer (*praefectus fabrum*). With *Oppius* [p. 556], he managed Caesar's affairs at Rome, and became Caesar's private secretary. After Caesar's murder in 44BC, Balbus successfully gained favour with *Octavian* [p. 433]; in 43/42 BC he was praetor, and in 40BC became the first naturalised Roman citizen to attain the consulship. The year of his death is not known. Balbus kept a diary of the chief events in his own and Caesar's life (*Ephemeris*), which has been lost. He ensured that Caesar's Commentaries on the Gallic war were completed; and accordingly the 8th book of the *Commentarii de Bello Gallico* (which was probably written by his friend *Hirtius* [p. 508] at his instigation) is dedicated to him.

BookOneLXXVIII [p. 52] *BookOneLXXXI* [p. 54] Mentioned.

BookTwoXXIX [p. 85] *BookTwoXLV* [p. 96] The Theatre of Balbus in the Campus Martius was built by him and completed in 13BC.

Cornelius Cinna, Lucius (the consul, d. 84 BC) was a four-time consul of the Roman Republic, serving consecutive terms from 87BC to 84BC, and a member of the ancient Roman Cinna family of the Cornelii gens.

BookOneI [p. 11] Father-in-law of *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar who married his daughter *Cornelia* [p. 472].

BookOneV [p. 13] Caesar spoke in favour of his return from exile, following his support for *Lepidus* [p. 525]' civil insurgency.

BookFourLX [p. 231] Mentioned.

Cornelius Cinna, Lucius was the son of the consul of the same name. His sister, *Cornelia* [p. 472] Cinna minor, was the first wife of Julius *Caesar* [p. 518]. In 78BC, he allied himself with Marcus Aemilius *Lepidus* [p. 406], after whose death he went into exile, in Spain. Caesar recalled him and as dictator promoted him to the praetorship. After Caesar's death Cinna did not claim a Roman province to govern to which he was entitled. *Cicero* [p. 614] praised him for this act of self restraint. In 32BC he served as a suffect consul. After 47BC, Cinna married *Pompeia* [p. 571] Magna, the daughter of *Pompey* [p. 573] and his third wife *Mucia* [p. 545] Tertia.

BookOneLXXXV [p. 58] The poet *Helvius* [p. 507] Cinna mistaken for him, and killed.

Cornelius Dolabella, Gnaeus was a consul in 81BC, with Marcus Tullius Decula, during the dictatorship of Sulla; though the consulships of that year were only nominal. He was a praetor in 81BC and proconsul in 80BC.

BookOneIV [p. 13] *BookOneLV* [p. 41] Accused of extortion by *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar in 77BC.

BookOneXLIX [p. 37] On Caesar's relationship with *Nicomedes* [p. 551].

Cornelius Dolabella, Gnaeus is possibly the Dolabella who was related to *Galba* [p. 500] and so confined by *Otho* [p. 558] in 70AD at Aquinum (Aquino, nearCassino). He returned to Rome but was denounced by a close friend Plancus Varus. He had married a former wife of *Vitellius* [p. 624], namely *Petronia* [p. 565]. Partly influenced by Triaria his sister-in-law, Vitellius subsequently had him executed at Interamnium (Terni). (See Tacitus, *Histories*, i.88, ii.63).

BookSevenXII [p. 325] *Galba* [p. 500] treated him as a rival.

Cornelius Dolabella, Publius (70BC - 43BC), came of a plebian family within the patrician *gens Cornelia*. He married *Cicero's* [p. 614] daughter Tullia Ciceronis. In the civil wars he at first took the side of *Pompey* [p. 573], but afterwards went over to *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar, fought in Illyricum, and was present at the Battle of *Pharsalus* [p. 566].

BookOneXXXVI [p. 31] His loss of a fleet off *Illyricum* [p. 510].

Cornelius Fuscus, as procurator of Illyricum, was a supporter of *Vespasian* [p. 620] in 69AD. He was prefect of the Praetorian Guard, under *Domitian* [p. 482], from 81 until his death in 87, when he was ambushed with the fifth legion, *Legio V Alaudae*, during an expedition into Dacia, at the First Battle of Tapae. The legion was annihilated, and Fuscus killed. Tapae, in modern Romania, was an outpost guarding Sarmisegetuza, the main Dacian centre.

BookEightXLII [p. 389] Mentioned.

Cornelius Gallus, Gaius (c. 70BC - 26BC) was poet, orator and politician. In 29BC, he led a campaign to subdue a revolt in Thebes, and subsequently erected a monument in Philae to glorify his accomplishments. Gallus' conduct brought him into disgrace with the *emperor* [p. 433], and a new prefect was appointed. After his recall, Gallus put an end to his life. He wrote four books of elegies chiefly on his mistress Lycoris (a poetical name for Cytheris, a notorious actress), in which he took for his model Euphoriion of Chalcis; he also translated some of this author's works into Latin. In 1978 a papyrus was found at Qasr Ibrim, in Egyptian Nubia, containing nine lines by Gallus, arguably the oldest surviving MS of Latin poetry

BookTwoLXVI [p. 108] A friend who fell out of favour.

Cornelius Laco was prefect of the Praetorian Guard, under *Galba* [p. 500] from 68AD until his death in 69AD. Laco had replaced *Tigellinus* [p. 611] on Galba's accession. When *Otho* [p. 558] was proclaimed emperor, Laco was banished to an island where he was later murdered on Otho's orders.

BookSevenXIV [p. 326] Mentioned.

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Cornelius Nepos (c. 100BC – 24BC) was a Roman biographer. He was born at Hostilia, a village in Cisalpine Gaul not far from Verona. His Gallic origin is attested by Ausonius, and *Pliny* [p. 569] the Elder calls him *Padi accola* ('a dweller on the River Po, (*Natural History* III.22). He was a friend of *Catullus* [p. 459], who dedicates his poems to him (I.3), and *Cicero* [p. 462]. Eusebius places him in the fourth year of the reign of *Augustus* [p. 433], which is supposed to be when he began to attract critical acclaim by his writing. *Pliny* notes he died in the reign of Augustus (*Natural History* IX.39, X.23).

BookOneLV [p. 41] A letter of Cicero's to him.

BookTwoLXXVII [p. 115] Quoted regarding Augustus' abstemiousness.

Cornelius Phagites, pursued *Caesar* [p. 518] and was bribed by him when Caesar was in hiding from *Sulla* [p. 599].

BookOneLXXIV [p. 49] Caesar did not seek retribution.

Cornelius Sabinus, was a military tribune of the praetorian guard and with Cassius Chaerea, a main co-conspirator against Caligula. On the execution of Chaerea by *Claudius* [p. 464], Sabinus voluntarily committed suicide,

BookFourLVIII [p. 230] His part in the murder of *Caligula* [p. 449].

Cornelius Scipio Salvido, Publius, (The nickname *Salvido* means 'Hail', probably interpreted as 'Hail-fellow-well-met' for his ingratiating manner) was a member of the Cornelia gens and a relative of Scipio Africanus, the Roman general who defeated Salvido supposedly married *Pompey's* [p. 573] great-granddaughter *Scribonia* [p. 589] as her second husband, and became an ally of his. During the Civil War between Pompey and *Caesar* [p. 518], Salvido aided Pompey's ally, King *Juba* [p. 513] I of Numidia. After Juba's defeat, Salvido was pardoned and he and his family returned to Rome. In 41/40BC, he was forced to divorce his wife Scribonia so that her uncle *Sextus* [p. 572] Pompeius could ally with the Julian family. Salvido never remarried, he may have been consul in 35BC and died soon afterwards.

BookOneLIX [p. 43] Caesar's mockery of him.

Cornificius, Lucius was the accuser of Marcus Junius *Brutus* [p. 444] in the court which tried the murderers of Julius Caesar. In 38BC *Octavian* [p. 433] gave him the command of a fleet against Sextus *Pompeius* [p. 572] during which he distinguished himself in battle off Sicily. In 36BC he managed to extricate a section of the army from a dangerous situation and unite them with Marcus Vipsanius *Agrippa* [p. 411] at *Mylae* [p. 546]. For these services he was rewarded with the consulship in 35BC.

BookTwoXXIX [p. 85] He restored a Temple of *Diana* [p. 481] on the Aventine near the Baths of Sura, after which it was known as the Temple of Diana Cornificia.

Corvinus, see *Statilius* [p. 597] and *Valerius* [p. 617]

Cosa was founded under Roman influence in southwestern Tuscany in 273BC, perhaps on land confiscated from the Etruscans. Sited 140 kilometres northwest of Rome on the Tyrrhenian Sea coast, on a hill near the modern town of Ansedonia, Cosa seems to have prospered until it was sacked in the 60's BC, perhaps by pirates. This led to a re-foundation under *Augustus* [p. 433]. Cosa appears to have been affected by an earthquake in 51BC, which occasioned the reconstruction of the republican Basilica as an Odeon under the supervision of Lucius Titinius Glaucus Lucretianus, who also worked on the Capitoline temple; however, as early as 80BC, Cosa seems to have been almost deserted.

BookEightIII [p. 362] *Vespasian's* [p. 620] maternal grandmother *Tertulla* [p. 605] had an estate there, on which Vespasian was raised.

Cosmus, was a slave of *Augustus* [p. 433] punished for insulting him.

BookTwoLXVII [p. 109] Mentioned.

Cossutia (dates not known) Of a wealthy equestrian family, she was betrothed to *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar who broke off the engagement to marry *Cornelia* [p. 472].

BookOneI [p. 11] Mentioned.

Cotiso, King of the Getae, was a *Dacian* [p. 479] king who ruled the mountains between Banat and Oltenia (modern-day Romania). Florus wrote that Cotiso and his armies used to mount raids in the south when the Danube froze. He was defeated by Gnaeus Cornelius Lentulus.

BookTwoLXIII [p. 106] Antony's claim that he had been betrothed to Julia.

Cottius I, Marcus Julius Cottius, was king of the Ligurian tribes inhabiting the Cottian Alps. He was the son and successor of King Donnus, who opposed but later made peace with Julius *Caesar* [p. 518]. Cottius initially maintained his independence in the face of *Augustus* [p. 433]' effort to subdue the Alpine tribes, but submitted when Augustus named him prefect of the dozen tribes in his region. Cottius later honored his patron with a triumphal arch in his capital of Segusio (modern Susa, Italy).

BookThreeXXXVII [p. 164] Mentioned, as an ally.

Cottius II, Marcus Julius Cottius, the son of *Cottius* [p. 476] I, was granted the title of king by *Claudius* [p. 464]. On his death, *Nero* [p. 549] annexed his kingdom as the province of *Alpes Cottiae*.

BookSixXVIII [p. 284] Mentioned.

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Crassus, see *Licinius* [p. 526]

Cremona is a city in Lombardy, on the left bank of the Po River in the heart of the *Pianura Padana* (Po Valley). It was on the main road connecting Genoa to Aquileia, the Via Postumia. The city's prosperity continued to increase until 69AD, when it was destroyed in the Second Battle of Betriacum by the troops of *Vespasian* [p. 620].

BookEightVII [p. 367] *Vitellius's* [p. 624] army was routed at *Betriacum* [p. 439], 35 kilometres from Cremona.

Cremutius Cordus, Aulus (d. 25AD) was a Roman historian. He was forced by *Sejanus* [p. 590], praetorian prefect under *Tiberius* [p. 608], to take his life after being accused by Satrius Secundus of having eulogized *Brutus* [p. 444] and spoken of *Cassius* [p. 456] as the last of the Romans, which was considered an offence under the *lex majestatis*, and the Senate thereby ordered the burning of his writings. He starved himself to death, but his daughter Marcia was instrumental in saving his work, published again under *Caligula* [p. 449]. Apart from Suetonius he is mentioned by Tacitus, Quintilian, Seneca and Dio Cassius. The survival of his work prompted Tacitus to deride 'the foolishness of those who believe that the powers-that-be can destroy today's history for tomorrow'

BookTwoXXXV [p. 89] Quoted.

BookFourXVI [p. 203] *Caligula* [p. 449] reinstated his writings.

Cunobelinus (late 1st century BC - c. 40AD) was a king in pre-Roman Britain, known from passing mentions by Suetonius and Dio Cassius, and from inscribed coins. He appears to have controlled a substantial portion of south-eastern England. He had three sons, *Adminius* [p. 405], *Togodumnus* and *Caratacus*, and a brother, *Epaticcus*.

BookFourXLIV [p. 221] The father of Adminius.

Curio, Gaius Scribonius, the Elder (d. 53BC) statesman and orator was nicknamed *Burbulius* (after an actor) for the way he moved his body while speaking. He was consul in 76BC with Gnaeus Octavius. After his consulship, he was Governor of Macedonia and successfully fought the Dardani and the Moesians, for which he won a military triumph. He was the first Roman general to penetrate to the Danube. In 57BC, he was Pontifex Maximus. A friend of *Cicero* [p. 462], he supported him during the Catiline Conspiracy. Curio spoke in favor of Publius *Clodius* [p. 469] Pulcher when he was on trial for violating the rites of Bona Dea. He became an opponent of *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar and wrote a political dialogue against him.

BookOneIX [p. 16] His *Orations*.

BookOneXLIX [p. 37] On Caesar's relationship with *Nicomedes* [p. 551].

BookOneL [p. 38] Reproached *Pompey* [p. 573] for divorcing *Mucia* [p. 545].

BookOneLII [p. 39] Referred to Caesar's reputation for vice.

Curio, Gaius Scribonius the Younger (d. 49BC), was the son of Gaius Scribonius Curio the *Elder* [p. 477]. He was a friend to *Pompey* [p. 573], Julius Caesar, Mark *Antony* [p. 422] and *Cicero* [p. 462]. He was known as a distinguished orator. Curio was praetor in 49BC. While fighting under Caesar, he was sent to Africa to oppose King *Juba* [p. 513] I of Numidia (a supporter of Pompey). Although he won the Battle of Utica (49BC) he was eventually defeated by Juba, with aid from Attius Varus, at the Second Battle of the Bagradas River and fought to his death, with the army, rather than attempting to flee.

BookOneXXIX [p. 26] Bribed by *Caesar* [p. 518] in 50BC to elicit his support.

BookOneXXXVI [p. 31] His death at the Second Battle of the Bagradas River.

BookOneL [p. 38] Reproached *Pompey* [p. 573] for divorcing *Mucia* [p. 545].

Curioso, Quintus, a senator, who would eventually become one of *Cicero's* [p. 614] chief informants, warned Cicero, apparently via Curius' mistress Fulvia, of the threat to his life from the *Catiline* [p. 458] conspirators.

BookOneXVII [p. 19] He was awarded a bounty for first revealing the Catiline conspiracy, which *Caesar* [p. 518] caused to be revoked.

Curtian Pool, the *Lacus Curtius* is a hole in the ground in the Roman *Forum* [p. 497], now more or less paved over, but once a chasm. The associated story appears in *Livy* [p. 530]: vii.6. Rome, faced a danger which an oracle stated would be overcome, if the City hurled into the pool what it held most dear. Marcus Curtius plunged into it in full armour on his horse, the earth closed over him, and Rome was saved.

BookTwoLVII [p. 103] Tributes to *Augustus* [p. 433]' welfare thrown in annually.

BookSevenXX [p. 329] *Galba* [p. 500] was killed beside the pool in 69AD.

Cutiliae, or **Aquae Cutiliae**, is a mineral spring in Italy, near the modern Cittaducale, 9 miles east of Rieti (*Reate* [p. 582]). There are remains of the baths frequented by *Vespasian* [p. 620] and *Titus* [p. 612].

BookEightXXIV [p. 376] Mentioned.

Cybele was the Phrygian deification of the Earth Mother. As with Greek Gaia or her Minoan equivalent, Cybele embodied the fertile Earth, a goddess of caverns and mountains, nature and wild life (especially lions and bees).

BookTwoLXVII [p. 109] Her eunuch priests.

BookThreeII [p. 142] Her worship brought to Rome c. 204BC.

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BookSevenXXXI [p. 337] Her festival in Rome was from March 24th to 30th.

Cynegirus was the son of Euphorion, and brother of Aeschylus the playwright.

BookOneLXVIII [p. 46] His heroics in pursuit of the Persians after Marathon (480BC), where his hand was severed, while boarding a Persian ship.

Cyrus the Great (c. 576BC – 530BC), also known as Cyrus II or Cyrus of Persia, was the first Zoroastrian Persian emperor. He was the founder of the Persian Empire under the Achaemenid dynasty, which embraced all previous civilized states of the ancient Near East, and eventually conquered most of Southwest Asia Minor and much of Central Asia, from Egypt and the Hellespont in the west to the Indus River in the east. He died in battle, fighting the Massagetae along the Syr Darya in December 530BC.

BookOneLXXXVII [p. 59] *Xenophon's* [p. 627] *Cyropaedia* 'The Education of Cyrus' is a partly fictional biography of Cyrus.

Cyzicus was an ancient town of Mysia in Anatolia, on the shoreward side of the present peninsula of Kapu-Dagh (Arctonnesus), which is said to have been originally an island in the Sea of Marmara, and artificially connected with the mainland in historic times. Cyzicus was held for the Romans against *Mithridates* [p. 543] VI of Pontus, and its siege was raised by *Lucullus* [p. 532], the loyalty of the city being rewarded by an extension of territory and other privileges. The Romans favoured it and recognized its municipal independence. Under *Tiberius* [p. 608] it was incorporated with the empire, but remained the capital of Mysia, afterwards of Hellespontus.

BookThreeXXXVII [p. 164] The citizens were stripped of their freedom by Tiberius after an outrage against Roman citizens.

Dacians, an Indo-European people, the ancient inhabitants of Dacia (located in the area in and around the Carpathian mountains and east of there to the Black Sea) The Dacian kingdom reached its maximum extent under king Burebista (r. 82BC - 44BC). The capital of the kingdom was the city of Argedava situated close to the river Danube.

BookOneXLIV [p. 35] *Caesar's* [p. 518] plans to push back their advances into *Pontus* [p. 575].

BookTwoVIII [p. 71] Caesar's incipient campaign of 45BC.

BookTwoXXI [p. 79] Under *Augustus* [p. 433] they often raided over the frozen Danube during the winter, attacking the Roman cities in Moesia.

BookThreeXLI [p. 167] The Dacians and *Sarmatians* [p. 587] allowed to overrun *Moesia* [p. 544] c. 3AD.

BookEightXLII [p. 389] *Domitian* [p. 482] campaigned against the Dacians in 84AD - 86AD.

Dalmatians, [the] were an Illyrian tribe the Dalmatae who lived along the eastern Adriatic coast in the 1st millennium BC. The area was part of the Illyrian Kingdom between the 4th century BC and the Illyrian Wars (220BC, 168BC) when the Roman Republic established its protectorate south of the river Neretva. The name Dalmatia came to define a coastal area of the eastern Adriatic between the Krka and Neretva rivers. The Roman province of *Illyricum* [p. 510] was formally established around 32BC - 27BC. In 9AD the Dalmatians raised the last in a series of revolts together with the *Pannonians* [p. 560], which was finally crushed, and in 10AD Illyricum was split into two provinces, Pannonia and Dalmatia, which covered all of the Dinaric Alps and most of the eastern Adriatic coast.

BookTwoXX [p. 79] *BookTwoXXI* [p. 79] *Augustus* [p. 433] campaigned against them in person 35BC - 33BC.

BookTwoXXII [p. 80] Augustus celebrated his victories in Dalmatia in his triple-triumph of 29BC.

BookThreeIX [p. 147] Legions under *Tiberius* [p. 608] defeated the Dalmatians and secured the border at the Danube (Donau) in his campaigns of 11BC - 9BC.

BookFiveXIII [p. 245] *Furius* [p. 499] Camillus Scribonianus, Dalmatia's governor, attempted civil rebellion in 42AD.

BookSevenXXXII [p. 338] *Otho* [p. 558] drew on troops from Dalmatia in 69AD.

Dareus was a Parthian hostage at the court of Caligula.

BookFourXIX [p. 204] He accompanied *Caligula* [p. 449] to *Baiae* [p. 437].

Datus was an actor in *Atellan* [p. 431] farce, who taunted Nero.

BookSixXXXIX [p. 301] Banished by *Nero* [p. 549].

Demetrius the Cynic was a philosopher from *Corinth* [p. 472], who lived in Rome during the reigns of *Caligula* [p. 449], *Nero* [p. 549] and *Vespasian* [p. 620]. He was an intimate friend of *Seneca* [p. 591].

BookEightXIII [p. 370] Mentioned.

Demochares was one of *Sextus* [p. 573] Pompey's admirals.

BookTwoXVI [p. 75] Mentioned, commanding off *Sicily* [p. 593] c. 36BC.

Dertosa, modern Tortosa, is in the province of Tarragona, in Catalonia, by the Ebre River.

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BookSevenX [p. 323] Mentioned.

Diana was the virgin goddess of wild creatures, the hunt and the moon, equivalent to the Greek Artemis.

BookTwoXXXIX [p. 85] A Temple of Diana on the Aventine near the Baths of Sura, was restored by Lucius Cornificius and thereafter known as the Temple of Diana Cornificia.

Dido, or Elissa, was the legendary Phoenician founder (possibly 8th Century BC) and first Queen of Carthage (in modern-day Tunisia). She fled there from Tyre (in modern Lebanon) on the Mediterranean coast about 50 miles south of modern Beirut. She is a major character in *Virgil's* [p. 620] *Aeneid*.

BookSixXXXI [p. 293] *Nero* [p. 549] was persuaded by tales of a treasure she brought from Tyre to Africa.

Didyma was an ancient Ionian sanctuary, the modern Didim, on the Aegean coast of western Turkey, 76 miles from the city of Aydın, containing a temple and oracle of *Apollo* [p. 425], the *Didymaion*.

BookFourXXI [p. 205] Mentioned.

Diodorus was a famous lyre-player.

BookEightXIX [p. 373] *Vespasian* [p. 620] rewarded him.

Diogenes of Rhodes [p. 582], was a Greek grammarian.

BookThreeXXXII [p. 162] Mentioned.

Diomedes was a steward to *Augustus* [p. 433] mocked for cowardice, though putting Augustus in danger.

BookTwoLXVII [p. 109] Mentioned.

Dionysius, was a son of *Areus* [p. 428] the Alexandrian philosopher.

BookTwoLXXXIX [p. 121] *Augustus* [p. 433] studied under him.

Dioscurides, was a Greek master gem-engraver.

BookTwoL [p. 99] He cut Augustus' later seal-ring, showing the Emperor's head.

Dolabella, see *Cornelius* [p. 473].

Domitia Lepida the Elder (c. 19BC - 59AD), or simply Domitia, was the oldest child of *Antonia* [p. 420] the Elder and Lucius *Domitius* [p. 485] Ahenobarbus (consul 16BC). She married the consul Decimus Haterius Agrippa, who died in 32AD a victim of Tiberius. In 33AD Domitia married the wealthy, and influential Gaius Sallustius Crispus Passienus, adopted grandson and biological great-great nephew of the historian Sallust. In 59AD her nephew *Nero* [p. 549] poisoned her.

BookSixV [p. 276] Mentioned.

BookSixXXXIV [p. 296] *Nero* [p. 549] brought about her murder.

Domitia Lepida the Younger (c. 10BC - 54AD), or simply Lepida, was the younger daughter of *Antonia* [p. 420] the Elder and Lucius *Domitius* [p. 485] Ahenobarbus (consul 16BC). Her first husband was her cousin, the consul Marcus Valerius Messalla *Barbatus* [p. 617]. Lepida married Barbatus probably around 15AD. They had a son Marcus Valerius Messala Corvinus (consul 58AD) and a daughter Valeria *Messalina* [p. 616] who became Empress and third wife to *Claudius* [p. 464]. Lepida's second husband was Faustus Cornelius Sulla. At the beginning of the reign of her son-in-law, Claudius, Lepida was given in marriage to Appius Junius *Silanus* [p. 520]. *Agrippina* [p. 413] the Younger arranged the execution of Lepida sometime before the poisoning of Claudius.

BookSixV [p. 276] Accused of incest with her brother.

BookSixVI [p. 276] Responsible for raising *Nero* [p. 549], her nephew.

BookSixVII [p. 277] Nero testified against her in court.

Domitia Longina (b. 50AD - 55AD, d. 126AD - 130AD), later Domitia Augusta, was the youngest daughter of the general and consul Gnaeus Domitius Corbulo. Domitia divorced her first husband Lucius *Aelius* [p. 405] Lamia in order to marry the future Emperor *Domitian* [p. 482] in 71AD. The marriage produced a son, who died young in 82AD. She became Empress of Rome on Domitian's accession in 81AD, and remained so until his assassination in 96AD.

BookEightXXXV [p. 383] There were rumours of her having been intimate with *Titus* [p. 612].

BookEightXXXVII [p. 385] *BookEightXLVI* [p. 392] *BookEightXLVIII* [p. 395] Her marriage with Domitian.

BookEightXXXIX [p. 387] Her son by Domitian.

BookEightL [p. 396] Her involvement in the conspiracy against Domitian.

Domitian, Titus Flavius Domitianus (24th October 51AD – 18th September 96AD), was Emperor from 81AD to 96AD. Domitian was the third and last emperor of the

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Flavian dynasty. He saw himself as a new *Augustus* [p. 433], an enlightened despot destined to guide the Roman Empire into a new era of brilliance. Religious, military, and cultural propaganda fostered a cult of personality, and by nominating himself perpetual censor, he sought to control public and private morals. As a consequence, Domitian was popular with the people and army but considered a tyrant by members of the Roman Senate. His reign ended in 96AD when he was assassinated by court officials He was succeeded by his advisor *Nerva* [p. 551].

BookEightI [p. 361] His assassination considered justified.

BookEightIII [p. 363] His birth mentioned.

BookEightXXXIV [p. 382] His continuous plotting against his brother *Titus* [p. 612].

BookEightXXXVII [p. 385] Suetonius' life of Domitian follows.

Domitian the Younger was a son of *Flavius* [p. 495] Clemens who had two sons both named Titus Flavius, born c. 88AD and c. 90AD, who were educated by Quintilian. *Domitian* [p. 482] named them as his heirs, changing their former names and calling the one Vespasian and the other Domitian.

BookEightLI [p. 397] Mentioned.

Domitilla, see *Flavia* [p. 494]

Domitius Ahenobarbus, Gnaeus (d. 104BC) was consul in 122BC. He was the son of a Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus who was consul in 162BC, and the father of *Gnaeus* [p. 483] Domitius Ahenobarbus, consul in 96BC. He and Quintus Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus conquered the *Allobroges* [p. 417] and the *Arverni* [p. 429], near Vindalium, at the confluence of the Sulga and Rhone. He travelled on an elephant in procession through the province, and was honored with a triumph in 120BC. As censor in 115BC, he expelled twenty-two senators from the senate. He is most famous for constructing the Via Domitia (c. 118BC), connecting Rome to the provinces in Spain. He was also elected Pontifex.

BookSixII [p. 274] Mentioned.

Domitius Ahenobarbus, Gnaeus (d. 88BC) was tribune of the people in 104BC and Pontifex Maximus in 103BC. He was the son of *Gnaeus* [p. 483] Domitius Ahenobarbus the consul of 122BC. He was the great-great-great-grandfather of the Emperor *Nero* [p. 549]. He was elected consul in 96BC and Censor in 92BC with Lucius *Licinius* [p. 526] Crassus the orator, with whom he was frequently at odds. His son was *Lucius* [p. 485] Domitius Ahenobarbus, consul in 54BC.

BookSixII [p. 274] Mentioned.

Domitius Ahenobarbus, Gnaeus, the great-grandfather of the Emperor *Nero* [p. 549], was captured with his father, *Lucius* [p. 485], at Corfinium in 49BC, and was present at *Pharsalia* [p. 566] in 48BC, but took no further part in the war. He did not return to Italy until 46BC, when he was pardoned by *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar. He followed *Brutus* [p. 444] into Macedonia after Caesar's death, and was condemned by the *Lex Pedia* in 43BC as one of the murderers. After *Philippi* [p. 567] in 42BC, Ahenobarbus conducted the war independently of *Sextus* [p. 572] Pompeius, and with a fleet of seventy ships and two legions plundered the coasts of the Ionian Sea. In 40BC he joined Mark *Antony* [p. 422] and Ahenobarbus accompanied Antony on his ill-fated invasion of *Parthia* [p. 562] in 36BC; and governed *Bithynia* [p. 440], until c. 35BC. Consul in 32BC, with Gaius *Sosius* [p. 595], Ahenobarbus fled from Rome to Antony at Ephesus, where he tried in vain, to diminish *Cleopatra's* [p. 468] influence. The soldiers offered him command; but he defected to Augustus shortly before *Actium* [p. 404] in 31BC, though suffering from a fever, from which he died, without taking part in the battle.

BookTwoXVII [p. 76] Allowed by *Augustus* [p. 433] to join Mark *Antony* [p. 422]. Suetonius calls him Titus Domitius in the text.

BookSixIII [p. 275] His career described.

BookSixIV [p. 275] He was the father of *Lucius* [p. 485] Domitius Ahenobarbus the consul of 16BC.

Domitius Ahenobarbus, Gnaeus (17BC - 40AD) was the only son of *Antonia* [p. 420] the Elder and *Lucius Domitius* [p. 485] Ahenobarbus (consul 16BC). His only siblings were Domitia (aunt of Nero) and Domitia Lepida, mother of the Empress Valeria *Messalina* [p. 542], third wife of the Emperor Claudius. He was the father of the Emperor *Nero* [p. 549]. Domitius was Consul in 32AD and appointed by Tiberius as a commissioner in early 37AD. He died of oedema at *Pyrgi* [p. 579]. In Domitius' will, Nero inherited one third of his estate, but *Caligula* [p. 449], who was also mentioned in the will, took Nero's inheritance for himself. When *Claudius* [p. 464] became Emperor, Nero's inheritance was restored. Domitius' widow *Agrippina* [p. 413] later married her widowed uncle Claudius.

BookSixV [p. 276] His career described.

BookSixVI [p. 276] His comment regarding Nero.

BookSixIX [p. 278] Nero honoured his memory.

BookSixXXVIII [p. 291] *BookSevenV* [p. 320] Mentioned.

BookSevenVI [p. 320] *BookSevenXXXVII* [p. 342] Consul in 32AD the year before *Galba* [p. 500] was consul, along with *Aulus* [p. 625] Vitellius, *Vitellius's* [p. 624] uncle.

BookSevenXXV [p. 332] *Otho* [p. 558] born during his consulate.

Domitius Ahenobarbus, Lucius was the founder of the Ahenobarbi clan. According to legend, *Castor* [p. 458] and *Pollux* [p. 570] announced to one of their ancestors the victory of the Romans over the Latin League at the battle of Lake Regillus (c. 498BC), and, to confirm the truth of what they said, they stroked his black hair and beard, which

immediately became red.

BookSixI [p. 273] Mentioned.

Domitius Ahenobarbus, Lucius consul 54BC, was the son of *Gnaeus* [p. 483] Domitius Ahenobarbus the consul of 96BC. He took an active part in opposing Julius Caesar and initially *Pompey* [p. 573], and in 59BC was accused, at the instigation of Caesar, of being an accomplice to the pretended conspiracy against Pompey's life. He was killed after the Battle of Pharsalus in 48BC, in which he commanded the left wing against Publius Sulla. According to *Cicero's* [p. 462] assertion in the second Philippic, Mark *Antony* [p. 422] himself struck the blow that killed him. Lucan makes Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus a significant character in book seven of the *Pharsalia* (he is there called 'Domitius') as the only known senator who died supporting Pompey at Pharsalus, and thus a symbol of the dying republic. He was *Nero's* [p. 549] great-great-grandfather. He was the father of *Gnaeus* [p. 484] Domitius Ahenobarbus the consul of 32BC.

BookOneXXIII [p. 22] Demanded an official enquiry into *Caesar's* [p. 518] conduct.

BookOneXXIV [p. 23] He failed, 56BC, in his attempt to be made consul for 55BC, being outmanoeuvred by the First Triumvirate, but succeeded in his attempt for 54BC.

BookOneXXXIV [p. 29] Captured and released by Caesar at *Corfinium* [p. 471] in 49BC.

BookSixII [p. 274] His career described.

BookSixIII [p. 275] Mentioned.

Domitius Ahenobarbus, Lucius was the son of the consul of 32BC *Gnaeus Domitius* [p. 484] Ahenobarbus and of *Aemilia Lepida*. His mother was a paternal relative of *Lepidus* [p. 407]. His paternal grandmother was *Porcia Catonis* (sister to *Cato* [p. 459] the Younger). As a young man Lucius was a renowned and devoted charioteer. He was betrothed in 36BC, at the meeting of *Octavian* [p. 433] and Mark *Antony* [p. 422] at Tarentum, to *Antonia* [p. 420] the Elder, the daughter of the latter by *Octavia* [p. 554]. He was aedile in 22BC, and consul in 16BC. After his consulship, he commanded the army in Germany, crossed the Elbe, and set up an altar to Augustus. He also built a walkway, called the *pontes longi*, over the marshes between the Rhine and the Ems. For these achievements he received the insignia of a triumph. He died in 25AD. He was the paternal grandfather of the Emperor *Nero* [p. 549] and the maternal grandfather of *Valeria Messalina* [p. 542], third wife of the Emperor *Claudius* [p. 464].

BookSixIV [p. 275] *BookSixV* [p. 276] His career described.

Domitius Calvinus, Gnaeus, was twice consul (in 53BC and 40BC) and a loyal partisan of *Caesar* [p. 518] and *Octavian* [p. 433]. He fought for Caesar during the Civil War and at *Pharsalus* [p. 566] commanded the centre. He subsequently became Governor of Asia. He tried to oppose the invasion of *Pharnaces* [p. 566], but suffered a crushing defeat at the battle of Nicopolis in Armenia (December 48BC). He was awarded the honor of a second consulship in 40BC and was sent by Octavian as Governor to Hispania, where

he remained for three years (39BC - 36BC), and is known to have been still alive in 20BC.

BookOneXXXVI [p. 31] His defeat at Nicopolis.

Doryphorus was a freedman of *Nero's* [p. 549].

BookSixXXXIX [p. 292] Mentioned.

BookSixXXXV [p. 297] Poisoned by Nero.

Drusus was a chieftain of the *Senones* [p. 591] c. 283BC, killed by *Livius Drusus* [p. 530] in single combat.

BookThreeIII [p. 143] The source of the cognomen Drusus.

Druids were apparently a priestly class in Gaul and other parts of Celtic Western Europe during the Iron Age. Following the invasion of Gaul by the Roman Empire, the druids were suppressed and disappeared from the written record by the 2nd century, although there may have been late survivals in the British Isles. Graeco-Roman accounts of the Druids, imply that they performed human sacrifice, believed in a form of reincarnation, and held a high position in Gaulish society.

BookFiveXXV [p. 255] Their rites banned by *Claudius* [p. 464].

Drusilla, see *Julia* [p. 516], *Livia* [p. 527]

Drusus, see *Livius Drusus* [p. 530], the first of that name.

Drusus, see *Livius Drusus* [p. 530] the grandfather of Tiberius.

Drusus, Claudius, was the son of the Emperor *Claudius* [p. 464] and *Plautia Urgulanilla* [p. 568]. He died in his teens, choked by a pear, shortly after being betrothed to *Sejanus's* [p. 406] daughter, Junilla.

BookFiveXXVII [p. 257] Mentioned.

Drusus Julius Caesar (7AD – 33AD), was a son of *Germanicus* [p. 503] and *Agrippina* [p. 413] the Elder. He was brother to Emperor *Caligula* [p. 449], nephew to Emperor *Claudius* [p. 464]. Drusus married *Aemilia Lepida* [p. 406], daughter of Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, his second cousin. In 36AD, she was charged with adultery with a slave and committed suicide.

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Drusus was later accused of plotting against Tiberius. He was imprisoned in 30AD, a year after his mother Agrippina the Elder and his brother, *Nero* [p. 549] Caesar, were arrested and exiled. He starved to death in prison in 33AD, reduced to chewing the stuffing of his bed

BookThreeLIV [p. 173] *BookThreeLXI* [p. 177] *BookThreeLXIV* [p. 180] *BookFourVII* [p. 196] Persecuted and starved to death by *Tiberius* [p. 608].

BookThreeLXV [p. 180] Tiberius had nevertheless envisioned him becoming commander-in-chief in the event of Sejanus usurping power in 31AD.

BookFourXII [p. 199] Caligula supposedly became augur in his place, and wished to avenge his death.

BookFiveIX [p. 242] *Claudius* [p. 464] was charged with erecting a statue to him and his brother.

BookSevenXXIV [p. 332] He had been betrothed at one time to *Otho's* [p. 558] sister.

Drusus, Nero Claudius Germanicus, (38BC - 9BC), born Decimus Claudius Drusus also called Drusus, Drusus I, Nero Drusus, or Drusus the Elder was the stepson of *Augustus* [p. 433], brother of *Tiberius* [p. 608], paternal grandfather of *Caligula* [p. 449], father of *Claudius* [p. 464], and maternal great-grandfather of *Nero* [p. 549]. He was the youngest son of *Livia* [p. 527] Drusilla from her marriage to *Tiberius* [p. 610] Nero. Drusus married *Antonia* [p. 420] Minor, the daughter of Mark *Antony* [p. 422] and Augustus sister, *Octavia* [p. 554] Minor. Their children were *Germanicus* [p. 503], *Claudius*, and a daughter *Livilla* [p. 529]. After his death, *Antonia* never remarried, though she outlived him by nearly five decades. In 13BC, Drusus was sent to govern Gaul to quell rioting. He was made *praetor urbanus* for 11BC. Thereafter, though briefly at Rome, he campaigned in Germany. He was elected Consul for 9BC. He died on campaign after a fall from a horse, lingering on for a month after the accident, by which point *Tiberius* had joined him. Drusus' body was brought back to Rome, and his ashes deposited in the Mausoleum of Augustus.

BookTwoLXXI [p. 112] Gambles with Augustus and others.

BookThreeIV [p. 144] Brother of *Tiberius* [p. 608], his father being *Tiberius Nero* [p. 610].

BookThreeXX [p. 155] *Tiberius* re-dedicated the Temple of Concord, and the Temple of Castor and Pollux, in both their names.

BookThreeL [p. 171] *Tiberius'* disloyalty to him.

BookFourI [p. 193] The father of *Germanicus*.

BookFiveI [p. 237] The father of *Claudius*. Suetonius gives a brief biography.

BookFiveXI [p. 244] *Claudius* instituted Games in his honour.

BookFiveXLV [p. 268] His tomb was struck by lightning, presaging *Claudius'* death.

Nero Claudius Drusus, later adopted as Drusus Julius Caesar (13BC - 23AD), called Drusus the Younger, was the only child of *Tiberius* [p. 608] and his first wife, Vipsania *Agrippina* [p. 412]. In 14AD, after the death of Augustus, Drusus suppressed a mutiny in Pannonia. In 15AD he became consul. He governed Illyricum from 17AD - 20AD. In 21AD he was again consul, while in 22AD he received *tribunicia potestas* (tribunician power), a distinction reserved solely for the emperor or his immediate successor. Drusus married his paternal cousin *Livilla* [p. 529] in 4AD. Their daughter *Julia* [p. 516] was born shortly after. Their son *Tiberius* [p. 609] Gemellus (his twin brother Germanicus Gemellus died in infancy) was born in 19AD. By 23AD Drusus, who made no secret of his antipathy towards *Sejanus* [p. 590], looked likely to succeed Tiberius as emperor. Sources concur that with Livilla as his accomplice Sejanus poisoned her husband Drusus. Sejanus then (25AD) sought to marry Livilla but Tiberius forbade it. Sejanus fell in 31AD. By the end of the year Livilla too had died, supposedly starved to death by her mother, *Antonia* [p. 420] the Younger.

BookTwoXCIX [p. 130] His daughter *Julia* [p. 516] was ill at the time of *Augustus* [p. 433]' death.

BookTwoC [p. 131] He delivered one of the two eulogies for Augustus at the funeral.

BookTwoCI [p. 132] He was named as an heir of the second degree in Augustus' will.

BookThreeVII [p. 146] *BookThreeX* [p. 148] *BookThreeXV* [p. 152] Son of Tiberius and Agrippina.

BookThreeXXIII [p. 157] He finished reading Augustus' will to the Senate.

BookThreeXXV [p. 158] He actively assisted Tiberius his father as Emperor.

BookThreeXXXIX [p. 166] *BookThreeLXII* [p. 178] His death in 23AD.

BookThreeLIV [p. 173] *BookThreeLV* [p. 174] His son Tiberius Gemellus.

BookThreeLXXVI [p. 186] Gemellus was named as co-heir in Tiberius' will.

BookFiveXXIX [p. 259] His daughter Julia Drusi was executed on *Claudius*'s [p. 464] orders.

BookSevenXXXVIII [p. 343] *Vitellius* [p. 624] was born during his consulship in 15AD.

Drusus, Gaius, unidentified. Possibly the reference is to *Drusus* [p. 488] the Younger, and his eulogy from the Rostra at *Augustus* [p. 433]' funeral.

BookTwoXCIV [p. 124] Referenced.

Dyrrhacium (or **Dyrrhachium**) is the Albanian city of **Dürres** (**Durazzo** in Italian), founded in 625BC as Epidamnus by the Corcyreans, the inhabitants of Corfu. The Romans seized the city in the third century BC and renamed it Dyrrhacium. The city has since then been under Byzantine, Venetian, Ottoman and Italian rule, before becoming an important city in independent Albania. The Battle of Dyrrachium on 10 July 48BC, was a battle during Caesar's civil war near Dyrrachium. It was fought between *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar's veteran legions and the Roman army led by *Gnaeus Pompey* [p. 573] with the backing of the majority of the Senate. Though forced to retreat from Dyrrachium, Caesar subsequently defeated Pompey at *Pharsalus* [p. 566].

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BookOneXXXV [p. 30] *BookOneXXXVI* [p. 31] Caesar's defeat there.

BookOneLVIII [p. 43] Caesar's bravery there.

BookOneLXVIII [p. 46] Pompey amazed at the food eaten by Caesar's troops, and their powers of endurance.

Egloge was Nero's old nurse.

BookSixL [p. 309] She helped to deposit *Nero's* [p. 549] ashes in the family tomb.

Egnatius Rufus, Marcus was a Roman senator and possibly the aedile in 22BC, who created the first fire brigade in Rome. As a result of the popularity gained the aedile was then elected praetor in 21BC. Rufus stood for the consulship of 19BC, but was subsequently accused of conspiracy and executed.

BookTwoXIX [p. 78] He was executed by *Augustus* [p. 433] in 19BC for conspiring against him.

Egyptians. Egypt was part of the Ptolemaic Empire until 30BC when *Augustus* [p. 433] defeated Mark *Antony* [p. 422] and deposed *Cleopatra* [p. 468] VII.

BookOneXI [p. 16] *BookOneLII* [p. 39] Caesar attempted to control Egypt, due to the people's rejection of *Ptolemy XII* [p. 578].

BookThreeXXXVI [p. 164] *Tiberius* [p. 608] banned the Egyptian rites in Rome.

BookSixXLVII [p. 307] *Nero* [p. 549] hoped the people might grant him Egypt as a prefecture if they could not forgive his sins enough to keep him in power.

Elephantis, is the supposed name of a Greek poetess or conceivably a variant of Elephantine, the sacred island in the Upper Nile valley in Egypt.

BookThreeXLIII [p. 168] Erotic works of hers, or from there.

Elogius, Quintus, was an unknown writer during the reign of *Augustus* [p. 433].

BookSevenXXXVI [p. 341] A source used by Suetonius.

Ennia Naevia, or **Eunia**, or **Thrasylla**, was of Greek and Armenian descent. She was the daughter of the Egyptian Greek *Thrasyllus* [p. 607] of Mendes otherwise Tiberius Claudius Thrasyllus, and a Greek Princess, Aka II of Commagene, who was granddaughter or great-granddaughter of Antiochus I Theos of Commagene. Her father was an Alexandrian grammarian, editor of Plato and Democritus, and a noted astrologer, who became a friend to *Tiberius* [p. 608]. Eunia married the Praetorian prefect

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Naevius Sutorius *Macro* [p. 534], appointed to replace *Sejanus* [p. 406] in 31AD. Through Macro's position, Macro and Eunia gained considerable influence. Sometime in 38AD, they fell out of favour with Caligula and both committed suicide.

BookFourXII [p. 199] She was reputedly seduced by *Caligula* [p. 449].

BookFourXXVI [p. 210] Condemned by Caligula.

Ennius, or **Quintus** (c. 239BC - c. 169BC) was a writer during the period of the Roman Republic, and is often considered the father of Roman poetry. He was of Calabrian descent born at Rudiae, a Messapian town near Lecce. Here the Messapian, Greek, Oscan, and Latin languages were in contact with one another. Ennius continued the nascent literary tradition by writing praetextae, tragedies, and palliatae, as well as his most famous work, a historic epic called the *Annales* an epic poem in eighteen books, covering Roman history from the fall of Troy in 1184BC down to the censorship of Cato the Elder in 184BC. It was the first Latin poem to adopt the dactylic hexameter used in Greek poetry, which became a standard metre in Latin. The *Annales* became a school text for Roman schoolchildren, eventually supplanted by Virgil's *Aeneid*. About 600 lines survive.

BookTwoVI [p. 70] A quotation from the *Annales*, 155.

BookThreeXXI [p. 155] Augustus adapts a line, *Annales*, 363, replacing *cunctando* with *vigilando*.

Epaphroditus was a freedman and favourite of the Emperor *Nero* [p. 549], and employed by him as a private secretary.

BookSixXLIX [p. 308] He assisted Nero's suicide.

BookEightL [p. 396] Executed by *Domitian* [p. 482].

Epidius Marullus, Gaius, a tribune of the people was deposed from office by Caesar in 44BC, after removing a royal emblem from Caesar's statue.

BookOneLXXIX [p. 52] *BookOneLXXX* [p. 53] Mentioned.

Esquiline, the Esquiline Hill is one of the Seven Hills of Rome. Its southern-most cusp is the Oppius (Oppian Hill). It was a fashionable residential district.

BookThreeXV [p. 152] Tiberius lived there prior to his accession.

BookFourLIX [p. 231] The Lamian Gardens were located on the summit of the Esquiline, in the area around the present Piazza Vittorio Emanuele. They were originally the gardens of the consul Aelius Lamia, a friend of *Tiberius* [p. 608], and by the time of *Caligula* [p. 449] were imperial property.

BookFiveXXV [p. 255] The Esquiline Field occupied both sides of the Servian Wall, and

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was occupied in part by the Gardens of *Maecenas* [p. 534]. The place of execution was probably outside the Porta Esquilina.

BookSixXXXI [p. 293] *Nero's* [p. 549] Golden House, the *Domus Aurea* complex, covered parts of the slopes of the Palatine, Esquiline and Caelian hills.

Ethiopians are the inhabitants of Ethiopia in the Horn of Africa. The country is bordered by Eritrea to the north, Sudan to the west, Djibouti and Somalia to the east, and Kenya to the south. A monarchy for most of its history, the Ethiopian dynasty traces its roots to the 10th century BC.

BookOneLII [p. 39] The country mentioned.

Etruria was a region of Central Italy, located in an area that covered parts of what now are Tuscany, Latium, Emilia-Romagna and Umbria. Its inhabitants were the Etruscans, whose isolate language Etruscan survives only in a few limited texts and in loan words to other languages. A few hundred individual words are understood with certainty.

BookOneXXXIV [p. 29] Overrun by *Caesar* [p. 518].

BookTwoXCVII [p. 128] The word 'aesar' in Etruscan meant 'god'.

BookFiveXLII [p. 266] *Claudius* [p. 464] wrote a twenty-volume Etruscan history.

BookSevenXXIV [p. 332] *Otho* [p. 558] claimed descent from Etrurian princes.

Eunoe was the Moorish wife of *Bogudes* [p. 440], King of Mauretania, and a mistress of Julius *Caesar* [p. 518]. She may have replaced *Cleopatra* [p. 468] in *Caesar's* affections, when he arrived in North Africa prior to the Battle of *Thapsus* [p. 606] in 46BC.

BookOneLII [p. 39] She reputedly had an affair with Julius *Caesar*.

Euphorion was a Greek poet and grammarian, born at Chalcis in Euboea c. 275BC. He spent much of his life in Athens, where he amassed great wealth. About 221BC he assisted in creating the royal library at Antioch, and was librarian till his death. He wrote mythological epics, amatory elegies, epigrams and a satirical poem in the manner of the *Ibis* of Callimachus. Prose works on antiquities and history are also attributed to him. He was imitated or translated by Cornelius Gallus and also by Tiberius.

BookThreeLXX [p. 183] One of *Tiberius's* [p. 608] favourite poets.

Euripides, (c. 480BC – 406BC) was the last of the three great tragedians of classical Athens (the other two being Aeschylus and Sophocles).

BookOneXXX [p. 27] Quoted by *Caesar* [p. 518].

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BookSixXXXVIII [p. 300] The quotation is believed to be from Euripides' lost play *Bellerephon*.

Eutyclus was a charioteer of the Greens in the arena, who was a favourite of Caligula.

BookFourLV [p. 228] *Caligula* [p. 449] rewarded him with expensive gifts.

Eutyclus was a peasant driving an ass, Nicon, their two names Prosper and Victor being an omen of Augustus' victory at Actium.

BookTwoXCVI [p. 128] *Augustus* [p. 433] set up statues to them to commemorate the prophecy.

Fabius Maximus, Africanus was the younger son of Quintus Fabius Maximus (consul 45BC). He was consul in 10BC and proconsul of Africa in 6/5BC.

BookFiveII [p. 238] *Claudius* [p. 464] was born during his consulship.

Falacrinae has been recently identified with modern Cittareale, 35km northeast of *Rieti* [p. 582], near which an extensive villa has been excavated (2009), possibly Vespasian's summer palace and the place where he died.

BookEightII [p. 362] *Vespasian's* [p. 620] birthplace.

Fannius Caepio was the senatorial leader of a plot against Augustus in 23BC, which failed.

BookTwoXIX [p. 78] He was executed by *Augustus* [p. 433] in 22BC for conspiring against him.

BookThreeVIII [p. 147] *Tiberius* [p. 608] prosecuted him on the treason charge in 23BC.

Faunus was the Roman horned god of nature. He was equated in literature with the Greek god Pan. Faunus was one of the oldest Roman deities, known as the *di indigetes*. According to Virgil, he was a king of the Latins who came with his people from Arcadia. His shade was consulted as a god of prophecy under the name of Fatuus, with oracles in the sacred grove of Tibur, around the well Albunea, and on the Aventine Hill.

BookSevenXXXVI [p. 341] King of the *Aborigines* [p. 403].

Favonius, Marcus (c. 90BC – 42BC) was noted for his imitation of *Cato* [p. 459] the Younger, and his espousal of the Cynic philosophy. With Cato's support he was chosen aedile around 52BC, and was later quaestor and legatus in Sicily. Cassius Dio wrote that

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Favonius 'imitated Cato in everything' while Plutarch wrote that Favonius '...supposed his own petulance and abusive manner of speech a copy of Cato's directness'. Despite opposing *Caesar* [p. 518], Favonius was not invited to participate in the assassination. After Caesar's death Favonius opposed the Second Triumvirate, and was proscribed by them, and imprisoned, and subsequently killed, after *Philippi* [p. 567]. Favonius' slave Sarmentus became a catamite of *Augustus* [p. 433]. Sarmentus was the subject of Quintus Dellius' complaint to *Cleopatra* [p. 468] that while he and other dignitaries were served sour wine by *Antony* [p. 422] in Greece, Augustus' catamite was drinking Falernian in Rome.

BookTwoXIII [p. 73] His imitation of Cato the Younger in everything.

Favor was a leading mimic who wore the death-mask at Vespasian's funeral.

BookEightXIX [p. 373] His mockery of *Vespasian's* [p. 620] stinginess.

Felix, Marcus Antonius, was a freedman of *Claudius* [p. 464], whom Claudius made Procurator of Judaea 52AD - 58AD, in succession to Ventidius Cumanus. He was the younger brother of the Greek freedman Marcus Antonius *Pallas* [p. 560] who served as secretary to the Treasury. Felix married three times. His first wife was princess Drusilla of Mauretania, his second also named Drusilla, was the daughter of the King of Judea, Herod Agrippa I.

BookFiveXXVIII [p. 258] A favourite of Claudius's.

Ferentium was a town in ancient *Etruria* [p. 491]. Later rebuilt by the Romans as Ferento, near Viterbo, it was razed and abandoned in 1172AD.

BookSevenXXIV [p. 332] The home of *Otho's* [p. 558] ancestors.

BookEightIII [p. 363] The home of *Flavius* [p. 495] Liberalis.

Fidenae or **Fidenes**, home of the Fidenates, was an ancient town of Latium, situated about 8km north of Rome on the *Via Salaria*, which ran between it and the Tiber. As the Tiber was the border between Etruria and Latium, the left-bank settlement of Fidenae represented an extension of Etruscan presence into Latium. The site of the ancient town is probably on the hill on which lies the Villa Spada, though no traces of early buildings or defences are to be seen: pre-Roman tombs are to be found in the cliffs to the north. In 27AD, a wooden amphitheatre collapsed in Fidenae resulting in 20,000 dead out of a total probable audience of 50,000.

BookThreeXL [p. 166] *BookFourXXXI* [p. 214] Mentioned.

Flamen Dialis, was the high priest of *Jupiter* [p. 521]. The flamen dialis was one of three flamines maiores (of the fifteen flamines in total) serving the three gods of the Archaic Triad. According to tradition the flamines were forbidden to touch metal, ride a horse,

or see a corpse. The office of flamen dialis, and the offices of the other flamines maiores, were created by Numa Pompilius, who himself performed many of the rites of the flamen dialis

BookTwoXXXI [p. 86] *Augustus* [p. 433] revived the office, possibly in 11BC.

Flavia Domitilla the Younger (c. 45AD – c.66AD) was the only daughter of *Vespasian* [p. 620] and *Flavia* [p. 494] Domitilla the Elder. At the age of fifteen, she was married to Quintus Petillius Cerialis, with whom she had a daughter, the later Christian saint *Flavia* [p. 494] Domitilla. She died before Vespasian became emperor in 69AD. She was Later Deified by her younger brother *Domitian* [p. 482], who also bestowed the honorific title of *Augusta* upon her.

BookEightIII [p. 363] Her birth mentioned.

Flavia Domitilla was daughter of *Domitilla* [p. 494] the Younger by an unknown father, perhaps Quintus Petillius Cerialis. She married her cousin, the consul Titus *Flavius* [p. 495] Clemens, whom *Domitian* [p. 482] had executed. She herself was banished to *Pandataria* [p. 560]. Both apparently converted to Judaism, and Domitilla was subsequently claimed as a saint by the Catholic Church.

BookEightLIII [p. 399] Her steward *Stephanus* [p. 597] was involved in the successful plot to kill Domitian.

Flavia Domitilla, or **Domitilla the Elder** (d. before 69AD, perhaps c. 65AD) was the wife of the Roman Emperor *Vespasian* [p. 620]. She was a daughter of *Flavius* [p. 495] Liberalis, a quaestor's clerk from *Ferentium* [p. 493]. Vespasian married her c. 38AD. She was the mother of *Domitilla* [p. 494] the Younger and of the emperors *Titus* [p. 612] and *Domitian* [p. 482] and died before Vespasian became Emperor.

BookEightIII [p. 363] Mentioned.

Flavia Julia Titi (64AD – 91AD) was the daughter of *Titus* [p. 612] and *Marcia* [p. 537] Furnilla. Titus offered her in marriage to his brother *Domitian* [p. 482], who declined because of his infatuation with *Domitia* [p. 482] Longina. Later Julia married her second paternal cousin Titus *Flavius* [p. 496] Sabinus (consul in 82AD), brother to consul (95AD) Titus *Flavius* [p. 495] Clemens, who married her first cousin Flavia *Domitilla* [p. 494]. When her father and husband died, Domitian lived with her, though reconciled with Domitia. Julia died of what was rumoured to be a forced abortion. She was deified and her ashes later mingled with Domitian's in the Temple of the Flavians, by her former nurse, *Phyllis* [p. 567].

BookEightXXIX [p. 378] *BookEightLIII* [p. 399] *BookEightXLVIII* [p. 395] Mentioned.

BookEightXXX [p. 379] Titus conquered *Jerusalem* [p. 512] on her birthday, according to Suetonius. Traditionally the city was taken and the Second Temple destroyed on the 9th

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of Av in the Jewish Calendar, the 10th of August 70AD.

Flavius, see *Domitian* [p. 482], *Titus* [p. 612], *Vespasian* [p. 620]

Flavius Clemens was the son of Titus *Flavius* [p. 496] Sabinus (consul 69AD), brother to Titus *Flavius* [p. 496] Sabinus (consul 82AD) and a second cousin to Roman Emperors *Titus* [p. 612] and *Domitian* [p. 482]. Clemens married Flavia *Domitilla* [p. 494] (Vespasian's granddaughter). He appears to have converted to Judaism, and is claimed as a saint by the Catholic Church.

BookEightLI [p. 397] He was executed by Domitian. Flavius had two sons both named Titus Flavius, born c. 88AD and c. 90AD, who were educated by Quintilian. Domitian named them as his heirs, changing their former names and calling the one *Vespasian* [p. 621] and the other *Domitian* [p. 483].

Flavius Liberalis was of equestrian rank, from *Ferentium* [p. 493] (Ferento). A quaestor's clerk, his daughter *Flavia* [p. 494] Domitilla married the future Emperor *Vespasian* [p. 620].

BookEightIII [p. 363] Mentioned.

Flavius Petro, Titus was the paternal grandfather of the Emperor *Vespasian* [p. 620]. He married *Tertulla* [p. 605] (c. 40BC – after 9AD) and had a son Titus Flavius *Sabinus* [p. 495].

BookEightI [p. 361] A brief life given.

Flavius Sabinus, Titus (c. 20BC - after 9AD) was the son of Flavius *Petro* [p. 495] and father of *Vespasian* [p. 620] and his brother Titus. With his wife, *Vespasia* [p. 620] Polla, he had two sons, the consul Titus *Flavius* [p. 495] Sabinus and the future emperor Vespasian, and a daughter who died in infancy, Flavia Vespasia.

BookEightI [p. 361] A brief life given.

BookEightV [p. 364] Omens of his son's greatness.

Flavius Sabinus, Titus (8AD - 69AD) was the elder son of Titus Flavius *Sabinus* [p. 495] and *Vespasia* [p. 620] Polla, and brother of the Emperor *Vespasian* [p. 620]. He served as legate in 43AD, during the Roman conquest of Britain under *Claudius* [p. 464]. He was consul suffectus in 47AD, Governor of *Moesia* [p. 544] from c. 53AD to 56AD, and served two terms as Prefect of Rome, 56AD - 60AD and 62AD - 69AD. In 69AD, the Year of the Four Emperors, as Vespasian's forces advanced towards Rome, Sabinus was besieged on the *Capitoline* [p. 453] Hill before being killed.

BookSevenL [p. 351] *Vitellius* [p. 624] bargained for his life with Flavius.

BookEightI [p. 361] His birth.

BookEightII [p. 362] His Senatorial rank.

BookEightIV [p. 363] *Vespasian* [p. 620] mortgaged his estates to him.

BookEightXXXVII [p. 385] *Domitian* [p. 482] took refuge with Flavius in 69AD.

Flavius Sabinus, Titus, was the son of Titus *Flavius* [p. 495] Sabinus (consul suffectus in 47AD). He was suffect consul in May and June 69AD and one of the generals who fought for *Otho* [p. 558] against *Vitellius* [p. 624] during the Year of the Four Emperors, although he submitted to Vitellius once Otho had been defeated. He was besieged with his father in the Capitol, but escaped when it was burnt down. He was a cousin of *Domitian* [p. 482], who later executed him on a pretext.

BookEightXLVI [p. 392] His death.

Flavius Sabinus, Titus, the son of Titus *Flavius* [p. 496] Sabinus (consul 69AD), and brother to Titus *Flavius* [p. 495] Clemens, was consul in 82AD. He married his paternal second cousin Julia *Flavia* [p. 494].

BookEightXLIX [p. 395] Mentioned as causing annoyance to *Domitian* [p. 482].

BookEightXLVIII [p. 395] Domitian seduced his wife Julia.

Floralia. Also known as the **Florifertum**, the Floralia was the ancient festival dedicated to Flora, the goddess of flowers and vegetation. It was held on the IV Calends of May, April 27 to May 3, and symbolized the renewal of the cycle of life, marked with dancing, drinking, and flowers. These days were considered by the prostitutes of Rome to be their own. While flowers decked the temples, Roman citizens wore colorful clothing instead of the usual white, and offerings were made of milk and honey.

BookSevenVI [p. 320] *Galba* [p. 500] ran the Games at the festival in AD20.

Fonteius Capito, Gaius, was the son of the father of the same name, who had been a friend of Mark *Antony* [p. 422]. He was consul in 12AD with *Germanicus* [p. 503] and later proconsul of Asia. In 25AD he was accused by Vibius Serenus of maladministration in Asia but was acquitted.

BookFourVIII [p. 196] Consul in 12AD when *Gaius* [p. 449] (Caligula) was born.

Fonteius Capito, Gaius was consul in 59AD, and possibly in 67AD also. As governor of Lower Germany, he drove Julius Civilis, leader of the Batavians, to rebellion in 69AD. He was replaced by *Vitellius* [p. 624] under Galba.

BookSevenXI [p. 324] Mentioned as a rival to *Galba*. [p. 500]

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Formiae, the modern **Formia**, is located halfway between Rome and *Naples* [p. 547]. *Cicero* [p. 614] was assassinated on the Appian Way outside the town in 43BC, and a tower-tomb traditionally claimed to be his still stands.

BookSevenXLII [p. 345] *Vitellius* [p. 624] embezzled the town's public revenues.

Forum: the Forum was located between the Palatine Hill and the *Capitoline* [p. 453] Hill. Citizens of the ancient city also referred to the location as the 'Forum Magnum'. The oldest and most important structures of the ancient city were located in or near the Forum. The Rostra was an oratorical platform originally in the Comitium adjoining the Forum, and moved by *Caesar* [p. 518] into the Forum when he had the area remodeled.

BookOneX [p. 16] *BookOneXXVI* [p. 24] *BookOneXXXIX* [p. 32] *BookOneLXXXIV* [p. 57] *BookTwoLXXII* [p. 112] Mentioned.

BookOneLXXXV [p. 58] The column of yellow Numidian marble was removed by the anti-Caesararian party almost immediately.

BookTwoXXXI [p. 86] *BookTwoLVI* [p. 102] *BookFiveXXXIII* [p. 261] *Augustus* [p. 433]' Forum was built between c. 20BC and 2BC when it was dedicated.

BookTwoLXXVI [p. 114] The Regia was located in the Forum, and was originally the residence or headquarters of the Kings of Rome and later the office of the Pontifex Maximus, or high priest. It was restored in 36BC, in marble, by Gnaeus *Domitius* [p. 485] Calvinus, on the original foundations.

BookThreeVII [p. 146] *Tiberius* [p. 608] as a young man gave gladiatorial displays there.

BookFourXV [p. 201] *Caligula* [p. 449] burned documents relating to accusations against his mother and brothers burnt there.

BookFourXXII [p. 206] *Caligula* incorporated the Temple of *Castor* [p. 458] and *Pollux* in the Forum into the Palace complex, as its vestibule.

BookFiveXVIII [p. 250] *Claudius* [p. 464] accosted by a crowd there during the grain shortages.

BookFiveXXV [p. 255] *Claudius* concluded treaties there, accompanied by sacrifice of a sow.

BookSixXXV [p. 289] *Nero's* [p. 549] triumphal procession passed through it on his return from Greece in 67AD.

BookSixXLVII [p. 307] *Nero* hoped to deliver a plea for mercy from the Rostra.

BookSevenL [p. 351] The Temple of Concord, dedicated to the Roman goddess *Concordia*, at the western end of the Forum was built in the 4th century BC as a symbol of peace after a period of civil war. It was restored 7AD - 10AD under *Tiberius* [p. 608].

BookEightIX [p. 369] The Forum of *Vespasian* and the Temple of Peace that dominated the complex was vowed by *Vespasian* [p. 620] in 71AD after the capture of *Jerusalem* [p. 512] and dedicated four years later.

Forum Appii is the modern **Foro Appio**, named for Appius Claudius *Caecus* [p. 465] builder of the Via Appia. It was an ancient post station on the Via Appia, 43 miles southeast of Rome.

BookThreeII [p. 142] Mentioned.

Fucinus, the Fucine Lake (*Lago Fucino* or *Lago di Celano*) was a large lake in central Italy, stretching from Avezzano in the North West to Ortuccio in the South East, and touching Trassaco in the South West. It was drained in 1875.

BookOneXLIV [p. 35] *Caesar's* [p. 518] plans to drain the lake.

BookFiveXX [p. 251] *BookFiveXXXII* [p. 260] *Claudius* [p. 464] attempted to drain the lake by digging a tunnel through *Monte Salviano*, with the effect perhaps of halving the size of the original lake.

BookFiveXXI [p. 251] *Claudius* mounted a mock naval battle on the lake.

Fulvia Flacca Bambula (c. 83BC – 40BC), commonly referred to simply as **Fulvia**, was married to three of the best known Romans of her generation, Publius *Clodius* [p. 469] Pulcher, Gaius *Scribonius* [p. 478] Curio the Younger and Mark *Antony* [p. 422]. All three husbands were politically active tribunes, and supported *Julius* [p. 518] *Caesar*. Fulvia's third and final marriage to Mark Antony took place in 47BC or 46BC, a few years after Curio's death, though *Cicero* [p. 614] suggested that Fulvia and Antony had been in a relationship since 58BC. Together with Lucius *Antonius* [p. 421], she raised eight legions in Italy to fight for Antony against *Octavian* [p. 433]. Fulvia died of an unknown illness in exile in Sicyon, near Corinth. Her son Marcus Antonius *Antyllus* [p. 423] was executed by Octavian in Alexandria in 30BC. Her youngest child, Iullus Antonius, was spared by Octavian and raised from 40BC by *Octavia* [p. 554] the Younger.

BookTwoXVII [p. 76] Her son Antyllus' death.

BookTwoLXII [p. 105] Her daughter *Claudia* [p. 463], by Publius Clodius Pulcher married Octavian in 43BC.

Fundi, modern **Fondi**, is a city halfway between Rome and Naples, an important settlement on the Via Appia. In 338BC at the time of the Latin War, its inhabitants (together with those of nearby Formia) gained minor Roman citizenship status (*civitas sine suffragio*). After a failed attempt at revolt led by Vitruvius Vaccus (330BC), Fondi remained a Roman prefecture; later (188BC) it received full citizenship, with a government led by 3 aediles.

BookThreeV [p. 145] *BookFourXXIII* [p. 207] *Tiberius* [p. 608]' maternal grandmother, *Aufidia* [p. 433], came from there.

BookSevenIV [p. 319] Mentioned.

BookSevenVIII [p. 322] *Galba* [p. 500] living there when appointed to Spain.

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Furies. In Greek mythology the three Erinyes or Eumenides (literally the 'Kindly Ones'), equivalent to the Dirae in Roman mythology, were Alecto (unceasing), Megaera (grudging), and Tisiphone (avenging), female chthonic deities of vengeance or supernatural personifications of the anger of the dead.

BookSixXXXIV [p. 296] *Nero* [p. 549] was hounded by them after murdering his mother.

Furius Camillus, Marcus (c. 446BC – 365BC) was a Roman soldier and statesman of patrician descent. According to Livy and Plutarch, Camillus triumphed four times, was five times dictator, and was honoured with the title of *Second Founder of Rome*.

BookThreeIII [p. 143] He drove out the Gauls, under Brennus, who had captured Rome c. 390BC.

BookFiveXXVI [p. 256] *Livia* [p. 529] Medullina Camilla was a descendant of his.

Furius Camillus Scribonianus, Lucius Arruntius, was the adopted son of Marcus Furius Camillus and brother to *Livia* [p. 529] Medullina, the second fiancée of *Claudius* [p. 464]. He was the biological son of Lucius Arruntius (Consul 6AD). Scribonianus became consul in 32AD with Gnaeus *Domitius* [p. 484] Ahenobarbus (father of Nero). He instigated a revolt against Claudius in 42AD while governor of *Dalmatia* [p. 480].

BookFiveXIII [p. 245] *BookFiveXXXV* [p. 262] *BookSevenXXIV* [p. 332] His attempt at revolution.

BookSevenXXV [p. 333] *Otho* [p. 558] born during his consulate.

Furius Leptinus was a praetorian who fought in a gladiatorial contest.

BookOneXXXIX [p. 32] Mentioned.

Gabinus, Aulus, was military tribune under *Sulla* [p. 599] and later his envoy to *Mithradates* [p. 543] VI. As tribune of the people in 67BC, he passed a law against the pirates, intended for *Pompey's* [p. 573] use. He served under Pompey in the east and was made consul for 58BC by the Triumvirate, along with *Calpurnius* [p. 451] Piso Caesoninus. The consuls supported *Clodius* [p. 469] Pulcher against *Cicero* [p. 462], and Gabinus received and exploited the rich province of Syria as his reward. He restored *Ptolemy XII* [p. 578] as king of Egypt and intervened in Judaea. He was prosecuted on his return and finally convicted of extortion, his enemy Cicero being forced by Pompey to defend him. He went into exile (54BC), was recalled by *Caesar* [p. 518] and fought for him in Illyria.

BookOneL [p. 38] Caesar was reputed to have had an affair with his wife, *Lollia* [p. 531].

Gabinus Secundus Cauchius, Publius, was a governor of Germania Inferior, who supposedly recovered the last of the three standards lost in the *Teutoberg* [p. 580] Forest

disaster of 9AD.

BookFiveXXIV [p. 254] Granted the surname Cauchius by Claudius after his conquest of a German tribe, the Cauchi.

Gades, ancient **Gadir**, modern **Cadiz**, in Spain, fell to Rome in 206BC, to forces under Scipio Africanus. Under the Romans, the city's Greek name was modified to Gades and it flourished as a naval base. By the time of Augustus, Cadiz was home to more than five hundred *equites* (members of one of the two upper social classes), a concentration of notable citizens rivalled only by Padua and Rome itself. According to Greek legend, Gadir was traditionally founded by *Hercules* [p. 507] after performing his fabled tenth labor, the slaying of Geryon. One of the city's notable features during antiquity was the temple (later the Heraklion) dedicated to the Phoenician god Melqart, who was associated with Hercules by the Greeks.

BookOneVII [p. 14] *Caesar* [p. 518] saw the statue of *Alexander* [p. 415] the Great in the Heraklion there.

Gaius (Emperor) see *Caligula* [p. 449]

Galba Caesar Augustus, Servius Sulpicius (3BC - 69AD) was Emperor for seven months, from 8 June 68AD until his assassination on 15 January 69AD. He was the first emperor of the Year of the Four Emperors. He came from a noble and wealthy family, but was unconnected either by birth or adoption with the first six Caesars. He became Praetor in 20AD and consul in 33AD; he earned a reputation in the provinces of Gaul, Germania, Africa and Hispania, for military ability, strictness and impartiality. On the death of *Caligula* [p. 449], he refused to make a bid for the empire, and loyally served *Claudius* [p. 464]. For the first half of *Nero's* [p. 549] reign he lived in retirement, until 61AD when Nero granted him the province of Hispania Tarraconensis.

BookSixXXXII [p. 294] Galba recast the images of the Household Gods of Rome which *Nero* [p. 549] had melted down.

BookSixXL [p. 302] Galba, born in December 3BC, did not reach 70 years old (or enter his seventy-first year) until December 68AD, which makes the Latin text, indicating the seventy-third as the year for Nero to beware of, suspect. Either Suetonius miscalculated or there is some other significance to the number.

BookSixXLII [p. 304] *BookEightVI* [p. 366] His insurrection in Spain in 68AD.

BookSixXLVII [p. 307] *Nero* [p. 549] considered throwing himself on Galba's mercy during his last days.

BookSixXLVIII [p. 307] Support for Galba from the army in Rome.

BookSixXLIX [p. 308] His freedman *Icelus* [p. 510].

BookSevenII [p. 318] Suetonius' life of Galba follows.

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BookSevenXX [p. 329] The Aurelian Way left Rome by the Aemilian Bridge and ran north-west to the coastal towns of Etruria. Galba's gardens were somewhere on the right bank of the Tiber.

BookSevenXXVII [p. 334] *BookSevenXXVIII* [p. 335] *Otho* [p. 558] initially supported his cause, and hoped to be adopted by him as his successor.

BookSevenXXIX [p. 335] *BookSevenXXXV* [p. 340] Otho plans to overthrow him, and sends soldiers to kill him.

BookSevenXXX [p. 336] Otho haunted by his shade, tries to propitiate Galba's ghost.

BookSevenXXXIII [p. 338] Otho anticipated a bloodless coup against him.

BookSevenXLII [p. 345] He appointed *Vitellius* [p. 624] to Lower Germany in 68AD. The army there was disaffected towards Galba, and on the verge of mutiny. The army of Upper Germany subsequently gave Vitellius their allegiance also.

BookSevenXLIV [p. 347] *BookEightV* [p. 364] Vitellius sent his army against Otho after the news of Galba's assassination.

BookSevenXLV [p. 347] Vitellius punished the Praetorian Guard for their disloyalty to Galba.

BookEightV [p. 364] Galba was consul for a second time in 69AD.

BookEightXVI [p. 372] *Vespasian* [p. 620] reinstated taxes that Galba had repealed.

BookEightXXX [p. 379] *Titus* [p. 612] was sent to congratulate Galba on his accession but turned back on seeing the chaotic state of the empire.

Galeria Fundana (c. 40AD – after 69AD) was the daughter of an ex-praetor and the second wife (c. 50AD) of *Vitellius* [p. 624]. Her son, Vitellius the Younger, who was renamed Germanicus by his father in 69AD, was killed during the Flavian Revolt, together with Vitellius himself. Galeria's life was spared and *Vespasian* [p. 620] enabled her daughter Vitellia to marry well.

BookSevenXLI [p. 345] Mentioned.

Gallius, Marcus, was a praetor (c. 44BC?) who fought for *Antony* [p. 422] at *Mutina* [p. 546] in 43BC.

BookThreeVI [p. 145] He adopted *Tiberius* [p. 608] as his heir in his will.

Gallius, Quintus was a praetor, imprisoned, tortured and exiled by *Augustus* [p. 433]. Appian (*Civil Wars, 95AD*) says that he was brother to Marcus Gallius, who was serving with *Antony* [p. 422], and that he had asked Augustus for a command in Africa.

BookTwoXXVII [p. 83] Mentioned.

Gamala, or **Gamla**, was situated at the southern part of the Golan on a steep hill shaped like a camel's hump, from which it derives its name. The city was founded as a Seleucid fort during the Syrian Wars (3rd century BC). It was annexed to the Hasmonean state under Alexander Jannaeus c. 81BC. *Josephus* [p. 513] Flavius, Commander of Galilee during the Jewish Revolt of 66AD, fortified Gamla as his main stronghold on the Golan. Josephus gives a description of the Roman siege and conquest of Gamla in 67AD by components of legions X *Fretensis*, XV *Apollinaris* and XV *Macedonica*, under Titus.

BookEightXXXIX [p. 378] Subjugated by *Titus* [p. 612] in 67AD.

Gaul is the Roman name for the region of Western Europe approximating present day France, Luxembourg and Belgium, but also sometimes including the Po Valley, western Switzerland, and the parts of the Netherlands and Germany on the west bank of the Rhine. In English, the word *Gaul* may also refer to an inhabitant of that region although the expression may be used more generally for all ancient speakers of the Gaulish language (an early variety of Celtic).

BookOneXXV [p. 24] Gaul was subdued by *Caesar* [p. 518].

BookFourXLVII [p. 223] *Caligula's* [p. 449] Gallic allies.

BookSixXL [p. 302] The Gallic rebellion of 67/68AD under Julius *Vindex* [p. 623].

Gemonian Stairs. The stairs were steps leading from the *Capitoline* [p. 453] Hill down to the *Forum* [p. 497]. As viewed from the Forum, they were flanked by the Tabularium and Temple of Concord on the left, and the Mamertine Prison on the right, roughly coinciding with the modern Via di San Pietro in Carcere. It is believed the stairs were built some time before the rule of *Tiberius* [p. 608] (14AD – 37AD), as they are not mentioned in prior texts. The condemned were strangled before their bodies were bound and thrown down the stairs. Among those executed there were *Sejanus* [p. 590], and the Emperor *Vitellius* [p. 624].

BookThreeLIII [p. 173] *BookThreeLXI* [p. 177] *BookThreeLXXV* [p. 185] Mentioned.

BookSevenLII [p. 352] Vitellius was killed there in 69AD.

Gergovia, in Gaul, the chief town of the Arverni, is identified with Merdogne, now called Gergovie, a village located on a hill within the township of La Roche-Blanche, near Clermont-Ferrand, in south central France. Some walls and earthworks still survive from the pre-Roman Iron Age. The Battle of Gergovia, won by the *Gauls* [p. 502], took place in 52BC, fought between the Roman Republic's army, led by pro-consul *Julius* [p. 518] *Caesar*, and the Gallic forces led by Vercingetorix. The Gauls won the battle.

BookOneXXV [p. 24] Mentioned as an example of a rare setback for *Caesar*.

Germanicus, Julius Caesar (c. 16BC - 19AD) was born in Lugdunum, Gaul (modern Lyon). At birth he was named either Nero Claudius *Drusus* [p. 487] after his father or Tiberius Claudius Nero after his uncle. He received the agnomen Germanicus, in 9BC, when it was posthumously awarded to his father in honour of his victories in Germania. Germanicus was the grandson-in-law and great-nephew of the Emperor *Augustus* [p. 433], nephew and adoptive son of the Emperor *Tiberius* [p. 608], father of the Emperor *Caligula* [p. 449], brother of the Emperor *Claudius* [p. 464], and the maternal grandfather of the Emperor *Nero* [p. 549]. He married his maternal second cousin *Agrippina* [p. 413] the Elder, a granddaughter of Augustus, between 5BC and 1BC. The couple had nine children. Two died very young; another, Gaius Julius Caesar, died in early childhood. The remaining six were: *Nero* [p. 549] Caesar, *Drusus* [p. 486] Caesar, the Emperor *Caligula* [p. 449], the Empress *Agrippina* [p. 413] the Younger, Julia *Drusilla* [p. 486], and Julia *Livilla* [p. 529]. Augustus compelled Tiberius to adopt Germanicus as a son and name him as his heir. Upon this adoption, Germanicus' name was changed to Germanicus Julius Caesar. He also became the adoptive brother of Tiberius' natural son *Drusus* [p. 488] the Younger. Germanicus held several military commands, campaigning in Pannonia and Dalmatia. After Augustus' death in 14AD, the Senate appointed Germanicus commander of the forces in Germania. After major campaigns which also resulted in the recovery of two of the three eagles lost in 9AD, Germanicus was then sent to Asia, where in 18AD he conquered Cappadocia and Commagene, turning them into Roman provinces. Germanicus died suddenly in Antioch, with Tiberius suspected in some quarters of involvement in his death. In 37AD, when Germanicus' only remaining son, Caligula, became emperor, he renamed September *Germanicus* in honor of his father.

BookTwoXXXIV [p. 89] *BookFourVII* [p. 196] *BookSevenXXIV* [p. 332] His children.

BookTwoLXIV [p. 106] His marriage to Agrippina the Elder. He was the grandson of *Octavia* [p. 554] the Younger (his mother *Antonia* [p. 420] the Younger, was her daughter by Mark Antony)

BookTwoCI [p. 132] He and his sons were named as heirs of the second degree in *Augustus* [p. 433]' will.

BookThreeXV [p. 152] *BookFourIV* [p. 195] *BookFiveII* [p. 238] His adoption by Tiberius in 4AD.

BookThreeXXV [p. 158] *BookFourXVIII* [p. 204] The army in Germany mutinied in 14AD and Germanicus, as commander, quelled the uprising.

BookThreeXXXIX [p. 166] *BookThreeLII* [p. 172] *BookFourII* [p. 194] His death in 19AD.

BookThreeLIV [p. 173] *BookThreeLV* [p. 174] *BookThreeLXI* [p. 177] His sons.

BookThreeLXXVI [p. 186] His son Caligula was named as co-heir in Tiberius' will.

BookFourI [p. 193] Suetonius gives a brief life of Germanicus.

BookFourIII [p. 194] Suetonius gives a character description of Germanicus.

BookFourV [p. 195] *BookFourVI* [p. 195] The grief at Germanicus's death.

BookFourVIII [p. 196] He was consul in 12AD when Gaius (Caligula) his son was born.

BookFourX [p. 198] Caligula accompanied him to Syria in 19AD.

Suetonius, The Twelve Caesars

BookFourXIII [p. 200] His memory was revered in Rome.

BookFourXV [p. 201] *Caligula* [p. 449] renamed September 'Germanicus' after his father.

BookFiveI [p. 237] *BookFiveVII* [p. 242] Brother of Claudius.

BookFiveXI [p. 244] *Claudius* [p. 464] produced a Greek comedy of Germanicus's in his honour.

BookFiveXXVI [p. 256] His daughter *Agrippina* [p. 413] the Younger was the fourth wife of *Claudius* [p. 464].

BookFiveXXIX [p. 259] His daughter Julia Livilla was executed on *Claudius's* [p. 464] orders.

BookSixV [p. 276] His daughter Agrippina the Younger was also married to *Domitius* [p. 484], the father of *Nero* [p. 549] by her.

BookSevenXXXVII [p. 342] *Publius* [p. 626] Vitellius was on his staff and successfully prosecuted *Piso* [p. 451] for his murder.

BookSevenXLIII [p. 346] Aulus *Vitellius* [p. 624] took the surname Germanicus.

Gesoriacum, modern **Boulogne**, probably also to be identified with Portus Itius, was known to the Romans also as *Bononia*, the major port connecting Britain to the Empire. Claudius used it as his base for the invasion of Britain, in AD43, and until 296AD it was the base of the *Classis Britannica*, the Channel Fleet.

BookFiveXVII [p. 249] *Claudius* [p. 464] launched his campaign in Britain from there in 43AD.

Glycias or **Glicia**, **Marcus Claudius**, was a freedman of Publius Claudius *Pulcher* [p. 467], and nominated by him as dictator. The nomination was refused by the Senate.

BookThreeII [p. 142] Mentioned.

Glyco, was the physician who treated Vibius *Pansa's* [p. 622] mortal wound.

BookTwoXI [p. 73] He was arrested on suspicion of poisoning *Pansa*, though *Brutus* [p. 444] refused to believe it and wrote to *Cicero* [p. 614] accordingly.

Gracchi Brothers, **Tiberius** and **Gaius Cracchus** both served as tribunes Tiberius c. 133BC and Gaius c. 123BC. They attempted to pass land reform legislation that would redistribute the major patrician landholdings among the plebeians. After achieving some early success as tribunes, both were soon assassinated.

BookThreeIII [p. 143] Mentioned.

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Hadrian, Publius Aelius Hadrianus (as Emperor, *Imperator Caesar Divi Traiani filius Traianus Hadrianus Augustus*, and *Divus Hadrianus* after his apotheosis,) (76AD – 138AD) was the fourteenth emperor of Rome (from 117AD - 138AD), as well as a Stoic and Epicurean philosopher.

BookTwoVI [p. 70] *Suetonius* [p. 598] gifted him a statuette of *Augustus* [p. 433].

Hadrumetum was a Phoenician colony that pre-dated Carthage and stood on the site of modern-day Sousse, Tunisia. It was one of the most important communities within the Roman territory in North Africa because of its strategic location on the coast of the fertile Sahel region.

BookEightIV [p. 363] *Vespasian* [p. 620] faced a riot there.

Halotus (c. 30AD – c.80AD), a eunuch, served *Claudius* [p. 464] as taster and chief steward, and was a suspect in the murder of the latter by poison. *Nero* [p. 549] retained Halotus as chief steward and taster until his, Nero's, death in 68AD. Shortly after *Galba* [p. 500] became Emperor, he granted Halotus a procuratorship.

BookFiveXLIV [p. 267] Suspected of poisoning Claudius.

BookSevenXV [p. 326] Honoured by *Galba* [p. 500].

Hannibal (248BC – c. 182BC) was the leading Carthaginian commander in the Second Punic War, and one of the most talented military leaders in history. His father Hamilcar Barca had been the leading Carthaginian commander during the First Punic War. *Hasdrubal* [p. 505] was a younger brother.

BookThreeII [p. 142] *BookEightXLVI* [p. 392] Mentioned.

Harpocras was a freedman of *Claudius* [p. 464].

BookFiveXXVIII [p. 258] Claudius granted him special privileges.

Hasdrubal (d. 207BC) was Hamilcar Barca's second son and a Carthaginian general in the Second Punic War. He was a younger brother of *Hannibal* [p. 505].

BookThreeII [p. 142] Defeated by *Claudius* [p. 467] Tiberius Nero at the Metaurus River in 207BC.

Haterius, Quintus (d. 27AD) was father to consul Decimus Haterius Agrippa and grandfather to consul Quintus Haterius Antoninus. He was consul himself in 5BC. In 16AD, in the senate, he denounced the extravagance of senators.

BookThreeXXIX [p. 160] Mentioned.

Hector, was a Trojan hero in *Homer's* [p. 508] *Iliad*. Killed by *Achilles* [p. 403], his body was dragged behind Achille's chariot.

BookThreeLII [p. 172] *Tiberius* [p. 608] jokingly refers to his death.

BookSixXXII [p. 286] The young *Nero* [p. 549] refers to his death.

Hecuba was the wife of Priam in *Homer's* [p. 508] *Iliad*. Hecuba was of Phrygian birth, her father being Dymas, and her mother Eunoë, who was said to be a daughter of Sangarius, god of the Sangarius River, the principal river of ancient Phrygia.

BookThreeLXX [p. 183] The name of her mother was the subject of one of *Tiberius's* [p. 608] questions to the grammarians.

Helius was a freedman of *Nero* [p. 549].

BookSixXXIII [p. 288] Mentioned.

Helvetii were a people of the Swiss plateau, between the Rhine River, the Jura Mountains, Lake Geneva and the Rhone River. They feature prominently in *Caesar's* [p. 518] commentaries on the Gallic War, which describes his conquest of Gaul, beginning with the Helvetii.

BookEightI [p. 361] *Vespasian's* [p. 620] *father* [p. 495] was a banker among the Helvetii.

Helvidius Priscus, Gaius was a Stoic philosopher and statesman, under the emperors from *Nero* [p. 549] to *Vespasian*. Like his father-in-law, *Thrasea* [p. 607] *Paetus*, he was distinguished for his ardent republicanism. During *Nero's* reign he was quaestor of Achaëa (Peloponnese) and tribune of the plebs (56AD); he restored peace in *Armenia* [p. 428] but his declared sympathy with *Brutus* [p. 444] and *Cassius* [p. 456] occasioned his banishment in 66AD. He was recalled to Rome by *Galba* [p. 500] in 68AD. As praetor elect he opposed *Vitellius* [p. 624] in the senate, and as praetor in 70AD opposed *Vespasian*. He was again banished, and afterwards executed. His life, by Herennius Senecio, caused its author's death in the reign of *Domitian* [p. 482].

BookEightXV [p. 371] Exiled and executed under *Vespasian* [p. 620].

BookEightXLVI [p. 392] His eulogy by *Junius* [p. 520] *Rusticus* (Suetonius) or Herennius Senecio (Tacitus, Pliny).

Helvidius Priscus the Younger, the son of *Helvidius* [p. 506] *Priscus* by his first marriage, and a friend of Tacitus and Pliny the Younger, became consul under *Domitian* but was

executed c. 93AD.

BookEightXLVI [p. 392] Executed by order of *Domitian* [p. 482].

Helvius Cinna, Gaius, was a poet of the late Roman Republic, a little older than the generation of *Catullus* [p. 459] and *Licinius* [p. 526] Calvus. His magnum opus *Smyrna* established his literary fame; a mythological epic poem focused on the incestuous love of Smyrna (or Myrrha) for her father Cinyras. Suetonius, Valerius Maximus, Appian and Dio Cassius all state that, at Julius Caesar's funeral in 44BC, a certain Helvius Cinna was killed because he was mistaken for Cornelius Cinna, the conspirator. The last three writers mentioned above add that he was a tribune of the people, while Plutarch, referring to the affair, gives the further information that the Cinna who was killed by the mob was a poet. This suggests the identity of Helvius Cinna the tribune with Helvius Cinna the poet. Shakespeare adopted Plutarch's version of Cinna's death in his *Julius Caesar*.

BookOneLII [p. 39] He was apparently the author of a draft bill to give Caesar the right to marry anyone he chose for the purposes of begetting an heir.

BookOneLXXXV [p. 58] Killed by the mob.

Hercules, the Greek mythological hero (Heracles), had a famous oracular temple, the Heraklion, at Cadiz (*Gades* [p. 500]), on the promontory which is now the island of Sancta Petri. The Roman historian Pomponio Mela claimed that Hercules' remains were buried beneath the temple leading to its fame.

BookOneVII [p. 14] Alexander the Great's statue in Hercules' temple in Cadiz. *Caesar* [p. 518] consulted the oracle there regarding his dream.

BookTwoXXXIX [p. 85] The Temple of Hercules and the Muses in the Circus Flaminius was erected by Marcus Fulvius Nobilior after his capture of Ambracia in 189BC.

BookTwoLXXII [p. 112] *BookFourVIII* [p. 196] The Temple of Hercules Victor at *Tibur* [p. 611] (Tivoli) used by *Augustus* [p. 433].

BookFourXXXIV [p. 215] *Caligula* [p. 449] swears (*mehercule*) by the hero/god, with whom he identified.

BookSixLIII [p. 311] *Nero* [p. 549] aspired to be his equal.

BookEightXII [p. 370] There was an attempt to trace *Vespasian's* [p. 620] origins to a companion of Hercules.

Hermogenes of Tarsus was apparently a historian at the time of Domitian, not to be confused with the later rhetorician who flourished under Marcus Aurelius.

BookEightXLVI [p. 392] Executed by *Domitian* [p. 482].

Hiempsal II was King of Numidia, the son of Gauda, the half-brother of *Jugurtha* [p. 514]. In 81BC Hiempsal was driven from his throne by the Numidians themselves, or by Hiarbas, ruler of part of the kingdom, supported by Gnaeus Domitius *Ahenobarbus* [p. 414], leader of the Marian party in Africa. Soon afterwards *Pompey* [p. 573] was sent to Africa by *Sulla* [p. 599] to reinstate Hiempsal. It is evident from the reference below that Hiempsal was alive in 62BC.

BookOneLXXI [p. 48] *Caesar* [p. 518] protects *Masinthia* [p. 539] from the king.

Hilarion was a freedman secretary of Augustus.

BookTwoCI [p. 132] He helped transcribe *Augustus* [p. 433]' last will in 13AD.

Hipparchus was a wealthy client of the lawyer *Salvius* [p. 586] Liberalis.

BookEightXIII [p. 370] Mentioned.

Hirtius, Aulus (c. 90BC - 43BC) was a legate of Caesar's from 54BC and served as an envoy to *Pompey* [p. 573] in 50BC. During the Civil Wars he served in Spain, and in 47BC was at Antioch. He was a praetor in 46BC and governor of Transalpine Gaul in 45BC. Hirtius and Pansa became consuls in 43BC. Initially a supporter of Mark *Antony* [p. 422], Hirtius was successfully lobbied by *Cicero* [p. 462] (a personal friend) and switched allegiance to the senatorial party. He then attacked Antony who was besieging *Mutina* [p. 546]. In concert with Pansa and Octavian, Hirtius forced Antony to retire but was killed in the fighting. He was honored with a public funeral, along with Pansa who died a few days later. Hirtius added an eighth book to Caesar's *De Bello Gallico* and is probably the author of *De Bello Alexandrino*. The ancients thought he also wrote the *De Bello Africo* and *De Bello Hispaniensi*, but it is now considered more likely that he acted as an editor. Hirtius' correspondence with Cicero was published in nine books, but has not survived.

BookOneLVI [p. 41] His authorship of some of Caesar's memoirs.

BookTwoX [p. 72] His death at Mutina.

BookTwoXI [p. 73] Claims that *Augustus* [p. 433] killed him, during the battle.

BookTwoLXVII [p. 109] Augustus accused of unnatural acts with him.

BookThreeV [p. 145] His consulship in 43BC.

Homer (8th century BC) was an Ionian Greek poet, the presumed author of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

BookTwoLXV [p. 107] The quotation is from *Iliad* 3:40.

BookThreeXXI [p. 155] The quotation is from *Iliad* 10:246.

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BookFourXXII [p. 206] The first quotation is from *Iliad* 2:204. The second, spoken by Ajax to Odysseus in their wrestling match, is from *Iliad* 23:724.

BookFourXXXIV [p. 215] *Caligula* [p. 449] considered banning his works, out of envy and malice.

BookFiveXLII [p. 266] The line is a partial quotation from *Iliad* 24:369, which is identical with *Odyssey* 21:133.

BookSixXLVII [p. 307] *Nero's* [p. 549] favourite crystal drinking cups were engraved with scenes from Homer's verse.

BookSixXLIX [p. 308] The quotation is from *Iliad* 10:535.

BookSevenXX [p. 329] The line is a partial quotation from *Iliad* 5:254 which is identical with *Odyssey* 21:426

BookEightXXIII [p. 375] The quotation is from *Iliad* 7:213.

BookEightXLIX [p. 395] The quotation is from *Iliad* 2:204.

BookEightLIV [p. 400] The quotation is from *Iliad* 21:108.

Hortensius Hortalus, Quintus (114BC - 50BC), was a Roman orator and advocate. Having served during two campaigns (90BC - 89BC) in the Social War, he became *quaestor* in 81BC, *aedile* in 75BC, *praetor* in 72BC, and *consul* in 69BC. After Pompey's return from the East in 61BC, Hortensius withdrew from public life and devoted himself to his profession. In 50BC, the year of his death, he successfully defended Appius *Claudius* [p. 467] Pulcher when accused of treason and corrupt practices by Publius *Cornelius* [p. 474] Dolabella, afterwards *Cicero's* [p. 462] son-in-law.

BookTwoLXXII [p. 112] Augustus acquired Hortensius' house on the *Palatine* [p. 559].

BookThreeXLVII [p. 169] Mentioned.

Hortensius Hortalus, Marcus was the grandson of the *orator* [p. 509]. He was supported in maintaining a Senator's rank by *Augustus* [p. 433].

BookThreeXLVII [p. 169] He was pleading poverty again, under *Tiberius* [p. 608], in 16AD.

Hylas, a pantomimic actor who exceeded the licence allowed his profession and was punished by *Augustus* [p. 433]. Pantomimics wore masks, were silent, and used only gesture and movement in performance. The accompanying story text was sung by a singer, or chorus, or accompanied by a flute.

BookTwoXLV [p. 96] Mentioned.

Icarus, in Greek mythology was the son of Daedalus. His father made wax wings for him, but he attempted to fly too near the sun, fell into the sea, and was drowned.

BookSixXII [p. 280] The myth was enacted at *Nero's* [p. 549] entertainment.

Icelus, Marcianus, was a freedman of *Galba's* [p. 500] arrested by *Nero* [p. 549] on news of Galba's rebellion but then freed. He agreed to the arrangements for Nero's cremation before carrying the news of the Emperor's suicide to Galba in Spain, as well as the news of the Senate and army's endorsement of Galba for the succession. He was rewarded with the rank of knight, and the addition of Marcianus to his name. He supported Cornelius *Laco* [p. 474] and opposed *Otho* [p. 558], who executed him after gaining power.

BookSixXLIX [p. 308] His agreement to *Nero's* [p. 549] cremation.

BookSevenXIV [p. 326] His influence over Galba.

BookSevenXXII [p. 330] A sexual intimate of Galba.

Ilerda is the modern **Lleida**, in western Catalonia. The Battle of Ilerda took place in June 49BC between the forces of Julius Caesar and the Spanish army of Pompey the Great, led by his legates Lucius *Afranius* [p. 410] and Marcus *Petreius* [p. 565]. Unlike many other of the battles of the civil war, this was more a campaign of manoeuvre than actual fighting.

BookOneLXXV [p. 50] Caesar's restrained behaviour there.

Illyricum, the Roman province, comprised most of the ancient Balkan region of Illyria. It stretched from the Drilon River in modern northern Albania to Istria (Croatia) in the west and to the Sava River (Bosnia and Herzegovina) in the north. Salona (near modern Split in Croatia) functioned as its capital. The regions which it included changed through the centuries though a large part of ancient Illyria remained part of Illyricum as a province, while south Illyria became Epirus Nova, part of Roman Macedonia.

BookOneXXIX [p. 26] *BookTwoXXI* [p. 79] Part of Caesar's Governorship and a *provincia* or area of responsibility, rather than a province. The Roman administration did not establish a full province until *Octavian's* [p. 433] wars in Illyricum, 35BC - 33BC.

BookOneXXXVI [p. 31] The defeats of Gaius *Antonius* [p. 421] and *Dolabella* [p. 482] there in 49BC.

BookTwoVIII [p. 71] *Augustus* [p. 433] there in 45BC - 44BC.

BookTwoXIX [p. 78] An orderly from the army stationed there tried to assassinate Augustus.

BookTwoXXV [p. 81] Freedmen used to guard the border colonies.

BookTwoXCVII [p. 128] *BookTwoXCVIII* [p. 128] *BookThreeXXI* [p. 155] *Tiberius* [p. 608], sets off for Illyricum in 14AD, Augustus accompanying him part of the way, but returns due to

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Augustus' last illness.

BookThreeXVI [p. 153] Tiberius' successful campaign there in 7AD - 9AD.

BookThreeXXV [p. 158] The army mutinied there in AD14 and *Drusus* [p. 488] the Younger was sent by Tiberius to quell the uprising.

BookSevenXXIV [p. 332] *Otho's* [p. 558] father *Lucius* [p. 586] helped quell *Camillus's* [p. 452] rebellion in Dalmatia in 42AD.

Incitatus, meaning Speedy or Swift, was Caligula's horse, which he provided with luxurious appointments and a lavish establishment for entertaining guests at the Games.

BookFourLV [p. 228] *Caligula* [p. 449] intended to make his horse Consul.

Indians, are the inhabitants of the Indian sub-continent, who apparently maintained overland and maritime trade relations with Augustan Rome, particularly after the conquest of Egypt.

BookTwoXXI [p. 79] *Augustus* [p. 433] received embassies from Indian kings in 26 and 20BC.

Isidorus the Cynic, was a philosopher who dared to taunt Nero.

BookSixXXXIX [p. 301] Banished by *Nero* [p. 549].

Isis was a goddess in Ancient Egyptian religious belief. She was worshipped as the idealised mother and wife as well as the patroness of nature and magic. Following the conquest of Egypt by *Alexander* [p. 415] the Great her worship spread throughout the Graeco-Roman world. According to Josephus, *Caligula* [p. 449] wore female garb and took part in her mysteries which he endorsed in Rome. *Vespasian* [p. 620] and *Titus* [p. 612] practised incubation in the Roman *Iseum* while *Domitian* [p. 482] built a further *Iseum* and a *Serapeum*.

BookSevenXXXV [p. 340] *Otho* [p. 558] was said to celebrate her rites, publicly.

BookEightXXXVII [p. 385] The young Domitian disguised himself as a follower of Isis in 69AD to escape his enemies.

Isthmus of Corinth, the Isthmus is the narrow land bridge which connects the Peloponnesian peninsula with the mainland of Greece, near the city of *Corinth* [p. 472]. The word 'isthmus' comes from the Ancient Greek word for 'neck' and refers to the narrowness of the land. To the west of the Isthmus is the Gulf of Corinth, to the east the Saronic Gulf. A canal was cut in 1893.

BookOneXLIV [p. 35] *Caesar's* [p. 518] plans to cut a canal through the Isthmus.

BookFourXXI [p. 205] *Caligula* [p. 449] intended to cut a canal through the Isthmus of Corinth, and carry out the project initially planned by Caesar.

BookSixXIX [p. 284] Nero attempted to cut a canal through the Isthmus.

BookSixXXIV [p. 288] The Isthmian Games were one of the Panhellenic Games of Ancient Greece, held on the Isthmus of Corinth.

Janus was the god of gates, doors, doorways, beginnings and endings, and probably related to the Indian god Ganesh. His month of January begins the New Year. He is most often depicted as having two faces or heads, facing in opposite directions, possibly to look both into the future and the past. The main Temple of Janus stood in the Roman *Forum* [p. 497], and the temple doors were closed in times of peace and open in times of war. The closing of the temple was a rare event, said to have taken place for the first time under Numa Pompilius, for the second time under Titus Manlius in 235BC, a third time by *Augustus* [p. 433] in 29BC, a fourth time by *Nero* [p. 549] in 66AD and a fifth time under *Vespasian* [p. 620] in 70AD.

BookTwoXXII [p. 80] The gates closed under Augustus in 29BC.

BookSixXIII [p. 281] The gates closed under Nero in 66AD.

Jerusalem is the ancient city in the Judean Mountains, between the Mediterranean Sea and the northern edge of the Dead Sea. It was the Jewish capital of the Kingdom of David, and is sacred to a number of faiths. In 6AD, the city, and much of the surrounding area came under direct Roman rule as the Province of Judaea.

BookSixXL [p. 302] Astrologers predicted *Nero* [p. 549] would rule the East from Jerusalem after his deposition from the rule of Rome.

BookEightXXX [p. 379] *Titus* [p. 612] took the city, destroying the Second Temple, on the 10th of August 70AD (by tradition, the 9th of Av in the Jewish Calendar)

Jewish People, the Jewish community in the Roman Diaspora dates back to the second century BC and was comparatively large, perhaps fifty thousand upwards in the time of *Augustus* [p. 433].

BookOneLXXXIV [p. 57] The Jewish community in Rome mourned *Caesar* [p. 518] who had not only opposed *Pompey* [p. 573], the subjugator of Judaea in 63BC, but had acted mildly towards them, and was regarded as a benefactor.

BookTwoLXXVI [p. 114] There are seven official fast days in the Jewish calendar, none of which coincide with the Sabbath, contrary to the original text of Augustus' letter.

BookTwoXCIII [p. 123] Augustus praised *Gaius* [p. 446] Caesar for not offering prayers at the Temple in Jerusalem.

BookThreeXXXII [p. 162] The use of the Jewish term Sabbath for Saturday, was widespread in Roman times. The Christian use of Sabbath for Sunday was a later introduction.

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BookThreeXXXVI [p. 164] *Tiberius* [p. 608] banned the Jewish religion from Rome, and expelled the Jews under threat of slavery if they refused to obey.

BookFiveXXV [p. 255] *Claudius* [p. 464] expelled the Jews from Rome, possibly in 41AD or 49AD.

BookEightIV [p. 363] *BookEightV* [p. 364] *Vespasian* [p. 620] was sent to tackle the Jewish rebellion of 66AD in Judaea.

BookEightVI [p. 366] The Judaeans swore allegiance to Vespasian in 69AD.

BookEightXXIX [p. 378] *Titus* [p. 612] commanded a legion in Judaea 66AD - 68AD.

BookEightXLVIII [p. 395] The *Fiscus Judaicus* was an agency instituted to collect the tax of that name imposed on Jews in the Empire after the destruction of the Temple in 70AD, for the upkeep of the Temple of *Jupiter* [p. 521] Capitolinus in Rome. The tax of two denarii was initially imposed by *Vespasian* [p. 620] in place of the levy payable towards the upkeep of the Temple in Jerusalem. *Domitian* [p. 482] expanded its scope to include not only those born Jewish, and all converts to Judaism, but also those who concealed the fact that they were Jews or merely observed Jewish customs.

Josephus (37AD – c. 100AD) born Yosef Ben Matityahu (Joseph son of Matthias) and later taking the name Titus Flavius Josephus, was a first-century Romano-Jewish historian and hagiographer of priestly and royal ancestry. He fought in the First Jewish-Roman War of 66AD – 73AD as a Jewish military leader in Galilee. Prior to this, however, he had been sent to negotiate with *Nero* [p. 549] for the release of Jewish priests. He later returned to Jerusalem and was drafted as a commander of the Galilean forces. He surrendered to the Roman forces led by *Vespasian* [p. 620] and his son *Titus* [p. 612], in July 67AD. In 69AD he was released, and according to his own account, played a role as a negotiator with the defenders during the Siege of Jerusalem in 70AD. In 71AD, he reached Rome in the entourage of Titus, becoming a Roman citizen and client of the ruling Flavian dynasty. His most important works are *The Jewish War* (c. 75AD) and *Antiquities of the Jews* (c. 94AD).

BookEightV [p. 364] His prophecy regarding Vespasian.

Juba I, King of **Numidia** (c. 85BC - 46BC, r. 60BC - 46BC) was the son and successor to Hiempsal II. Later Juba became *Pompey's* [p. 573] ally. At the Battle of *Thapsus* [p. 606] seeing the certain defeat of *Scipio's* [p. 588] army, Juba did not take part in the battle and fled with the Roman general *Petreius* [p. 565]. Finding their retreat cut off, they made a suicide pact, in which Petreius probably killed Juba and then committed suicide with the assistance of a slave.

BookOneXXXV [p. 30] *BookOneLIX* [p. 43] *BookOneLXVI* [p. 46] Defeated by *Caesar* [p. 518] at Thapsus.

BookOneLXXI [p. 48] Mentioned.

Juba II of Numidia (c. 50BC - 23AD) was initially king of Numidia and then later transferred to Mauretania. Augustus restored Juba as king of Numidia between 29BC - 27BC. In 25BC he was allocated Mauretania, and Numidia was divided between Mauretania and Africa Nova. In 21AD, Juba II made his son Ptolemy co-ruler. Juba died in 23AD.

Jugurtha or Jugurthen (c. 160BC – 104BC) was a Libyan King of Numidia, (North Africa), born in Cirta (modern Constantine). He fought against Rome in 112BC, was defeated, and died in prison in Rome.

BookOneXI [p. 16] Defeated by Marius (112BC)

Julia Caesaris (c. 130BC - 69BC) was a daughter of Gaius Julius Caesar II and Marcia (daughter of consul Quintus Marcius Rex). She was a sister of Gaius Julius *Caesar* [p. 519] III (the father of Julius Caesar) and Sextus Julius Caesar III. Around 110 BC she married Gaius *Marius* [p. 538]. They had a son, Gaius Marius the Younger. According to Plutarch, it was through the marriage to her, a patrician, that Marius launched his political career. Her reputation for virtue protected her even after Sulla's persecution of Marius and his allies.

BookOneVI [p. 14] *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar delivered her funeral eulogy.

Julia is the name of two daughters of praetor *Gaius* [p. 519] Julius Caesar and *Aurelia* [p. 436] Cotta, the parents of dictator Gaius *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar. The sisters were born and raised in Rome. The elder of the two sisters is only known from Suetonius' mention (LXXXIII) of her two grandsons, Lucius Pinarius and Quintus Pedius. The second sister (101BC - 51BC) married Marcus Atius *Balbus* [p. 432], a praetor and commissioner who came from a senatorial family of plebs status. Julia bore Balbus three daughters: Balbus died in 52BC and Julia died a year later. Julia's youngest grandchild, her grandson Octavian (later the Emperor *Augustus* [p. 433]) delivered her funeral oration at age 12.

BookOneLXXIV [p. 49] One of the two sisters offered evidence at the trial of Publius *Clodius* [p. 469].

BookTwoIV [p. 69] *BookTwoXCIV* [p. 124] Julia the Younger was the grandmother of Augustus.

BookTwoVIII [p. 71] Augustus delivered Julia the Younger's funeral oration

Julia (Caesar's daughter, d. 54BC) The daughter of Gaius *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar the Roman dictator, by his first wife, *Cornelia* [p. 472] Cinna, and his only child in marriage, Julia became the fourth wife of *Pompey* [p. 573] the Great in 59BC.

BookOneI [p. 11] Mentioned.

BookOneXXI [p. 22] Married to Pompey.

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BookOneXXVI [p. 24] Her death in 54BC. Her newborn infant (sources disagree as to whether it was a boy or a girl) died soon after.

BookOneLXXXIV [p. 57] Her tomb on the *Campus* [p. 452] Martius.

BookTwoXCV [p. 126] Her tomb struck by lightning in 44BC, when *Augustus* [p. 433] returned to Rome.

Julia the Elder (39BC - 14AD), known as **Julia Caesaris filia** or **Julia Augusti filia** was the daughter and only natural child of *Augustus* [p. 433]. Augustus subsequently adopted several male members of his close family as sons. Julia resulted from Augustus' second marriage with Scribonia. In 25BC she married her cousin Marcus Claudius *Marcellus* [p. 537] who died in 23BC. In 21BC Julia married *Agrippa* [p. 411]. The marriage resulted in five children: *Gaius* [p. 446] Caesar, *Julia* [p. 515] the Younger, *Lucius* [p. 447] Caesar, *Vipsania Agrippina* [p. 413] the Elder (mother of *Caligula* [p. 449]), and *Agrippa* [p. 412] Postumus. *Tiberius* [p. 608] then married her in 11BC forced by Augustus to divorce *Vipsania Agrippina* (daughter of a previous marriage of Agrippa's). By 6BC the couple had separated. In 2BC she was arrested for adultery and treason. Reluctant to execute her, Augustus exiled her to the island of Pandateria (modern Ventotene). Five years later, Julia was allowed to return to the mainland, though Augustus never forgave her and ordered her to remain in *Rhegium* [p. 582]. He explicitly gave instructions that she should not be buried in his Mausoleum. When Tiberius became emperor, he ordered that she be confined to one room and deprived of human company. She died from malnutrition some time after Augustus' death in 14AD, but before 15AD.

BookTwoXIX [p. 78] *BookTwoLXXI* [p. 112] Mentioned.

BookTwoLXIII [p. 106] *BookThreeVII* [p. 146] Her marriages.

BookTwoLXIV [p. 106] Her five children by Agrippa.

BookTwoLXV [p. 107] *BookThreeX* [p. 148] *BookThreeXI* [p. 149] Banished in 2BC.

BookTwoLXXIII [p. 113] She made clothes for *Augustus* [p. 433].

BookTwoCI [p. 132] Augustus decreed in his will that she should not be buried in the family Mausoleum after her death.

BookThreeX [p. 148] Tiberius leaves her behind in Rome in 6BC.

BookThreeL [p. 171] Tiberius' severity towards her.

BookFourVII [p. 196] Her daughter *Vipsania Agrippina* [p. 413] the Elder married *Germanicus* [p. 503].

BookFourXXIII [p. 207] *Caligula* [p. 449] claimed his mother Agrippina was the product of incest between Julia and her father Augustus.

Julia the Younger (19BC – c. 29AD) also known as **Julilla (little Julia)**, **Vipsania Julia Agrippina**, and **Julia Caesaris Minor**, was the first daughter and second child of Marcus Vipsanius *Agrippa* [p. 411] and *Julia* [p. 515] the Elder. Along with her sister *Agrippina*

[p. 413] the Elder, Julia was raised and educated by her maternal grandfather *Augustus* [p. 433] and her maternal step-grandmother *Livia* [p. 527] Drusilla. Julia the Younger was the elder granddaughter of the Emperor Augustus, sister-in-law, stepdaughter and daughter-in-law of the Emperor *Tiberius* [p. 608], maternal aunt of the Emperor *Caligula* [p. 449] and Empress *Agrippina* [p. 413] the Younger, second cousin of the Emperor *Claudius* [p. 464], and maternal great-aunt of the Emperor *Nero* [p. 549]. In 8AD Julia was exiled for having an affair with, and possibly secretly marrying, Decimus Junius Silanus, a Roman Senator. She was sent to Trimerus, a small Italian island, where she gave birth to a child. Augustus rejected the infant and ordered its death. Silanus went into voluntary exile, but returned under Tiberius. Sometime between 1AD and 14AD, her husband Aemilius *Paulus* [p. 409] was executed as a conspirator and it may be that Julia's exile was in fact for involvement in the conspiracy. Julia died on the island to which she had been exiled. Due to the accusation of adultery, Augustus stated in his will that she should never be buried in Rome. It may be that Ovid's banishment for a 'book and an error' may be linked to the conspiracy (due to him witnessing the secret marriage?).

BookTwoXIX [p. 78] *BookTwoLXXII* [p. 112] Mentioned.

BookTwoLXIV [p. 106] Her upbringing.

BookTwoLXV [p. 107] *BookFiveXXVI* [p. 256] Banished c. 8AD.

BookTwoCI [p. 132] Augustus decreed in his will that she should not be buried in the family Mausoleum after her death.

Julia, Titus' daughter: see *Flavia* [p. 494] Julia Titi

Julia Augusta, see *Livia Drusilla* [p. 527]

Julia Drusi, Caesaris Filia (5AD - 43AD) was the daughter of *Drusus* [p. 488] the Younger and *Livilla* [p. 529] and granddaughter to the Emperor *Tiberius* [p. 608]. In 20AD, Julia married her cousin *Nero* [p. 549] Caesar (the son of *Germanicus* [p. 503] and *Agrippina* [p. 413] the Elder). Nero was incarcerated on the island of Pontia (Ponza) in 29AD. The following year he was executed or driven to suicide. In 33AD, Julia married Gaius Rubellius Blandus, who was consul suffect in 18AD and later proconsul of Africa. About 43AD, an agent of the Emperor *Claudius* [p. 464]' wife, *Messalina* [p. 542], falsely charged her with incest and immorality. Claudius, her uncle had her executed

BookTwoXCIX [p. 130] She was ill at the time of *Augustus* [p. 433]' death.

BookFiveXXIX [p. 259] Executed on *Claudius* [p. 464] 's orders.

Julia Drusilla (16AD – 38AD) was the second daughter and fifth living child of *Germanicus* [p. 503] and *Agrippina* [p. 413] the Elder. In 33AD, Drusilla was married to Lucius *Cassius* [p. 457] Longinus a friend of *Tiberius* [p. 608]. However, after Caligula became emperor in 37AD, he ordered their divorce and remarried his sister to his friend, Marcus *Aemilius*

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[p. 407] Lepidus. During Caligula's illness in 37AD, he changed his will to name Drusilla his heir, making her the first woman to be named heir in an imperial will, in an attempt to continue the Julio-Claudian line through any children she might have, leaving her husband to rule in the meantime. However, her brother recovered and in 38AD, Drusilla died, at the age of twenty-two. Her brother went on to deify her, consecrating her with the title 'Panthea' and mourning her at her public funeral as though a widower.

BookFourVII [p. 196] Mentioned.

BookFourXV [p. 201] *Caligula* [p. 449] included her and her sisters in the wording of formal oaths.

BookFourXXIV [p. 208] *BookFourXXXVI* [p. 216] Caligula supposedly committed incest with her.

Julia Drusilla (39AD - 41AD) was the only child of *Caligula* [p. 449] and his fourth and last wife *Milonia Caesonia* [p. 448]. She was murdered with her mother after the assassination of Caligula.

BookFourXXV [p. 168] Her birth and character.

BookFourXLII [p. 221] Caligula started a public collection of money to support her maintenance and provide her dowry.

BookFourLIX [p. 231] Murdered after Caligula's assassination.

Julia Livilla (18AD - c. 42AD) was the youngest child of *Germanicus* [p. 503] and *Agrippina* [p. 413] the Elder and the youngest sister of *Caligula* [p. 449]. In 33, she married Marcus Vinicius consul in 30AD and proconsul of Asia in 38/39AD. In 39AD, she was involved in the failed conspiracy to overthrow Caligula and to replace him by his brother-in-law Marcus *Aemilius* [p. 407] Lepidus. Livilla and her sister *Agrippina* [p. 413] the Younger were banished to the *Pontine* [p. 575] Islands. She returned from exile on the orders of her paternal uncle, the Emperor *Claudius* [p. 464]. Later in 41AD, she fell out of favour with *Messalina* [p. 542] and was charged with adultery with *Seneca* [p. 591]. Both were exiled. She was most likely sent to *Pandateria* [p. 560]. In late 41AD or early 42AD, Claudius ordered her execution, apparently by starvation, on unsupported charges. Her remains were later brought back to Rome, probably when Agrippina the Younger became Empress; they were laid to rest in the Mausoleum of Augustus.

BookFourVII [p. 196] Mentioned.

BookFourXV [p. 201] *Caligula* [p. 449] included her and her sisters in the wording of formal oaths.

BookFourXXIV [p. 208] *BookFourXXIX* [p. 212] She and her sister Agrippina the Younger were exiled by Caligula.

BookFourXXXVI [p. 216] Accused of incest with her brother Caligula.

BookFourXXXIX [p. 219] Caligula sold off her and Agrippina's property after they were exiled.

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BookFiveXXIX [p. 259] She was executed on *Claudius's* [p. 464] orders.

Julius Caesar, Gaius (Dictator) (100BC - 44BC) The son of Gaius Julius Caesar, a praetor, and Aurelia his wife. His family had noble, patrician roots, although they were neither rich nor influential at the time. His aunt Julia was the wife of Gaius *Marius* [p. 538], leader of the Popular faction.

BookOneI [p. 11] Suetonius' life of Caesar follows.

BookTwoII [p. 67] He restored the *Octavij* [p. 555] to patrician rank.

BookTwoVI [p. 70] He adopted *Augustus* [p. 433] and made him his heir in his will.

BookTwoVIII [p. 71] He decorated Augustus, during the African triumph of 46BC.

BookTwoX [p. 72] Augustus undertook to avenge his murder.

BookTwoXIII [p. 73] Augustus sent *Brutus* [p. 444]' head to Rome to be flung at the feet of Caesar's statue.

BookTwoXV [p. 75] It was claimed Augustus sacrificed prisoners at Caesar's altar, after the fall of *Perusia* [p. 564].

BookTwoXVII [p. 76] *Caesarion* [p. 448] took refuge at his father's altar in *Alexandria* [p. 416].

BookTwoXXXI [p. 86] He reformed the calendar in 46BC (effective 45BC).

BookTwoXXXI [p. 86] *BookTwoXCIV* [p. 124] *BookTwoXCV* [p. 126] *BookFourLVII* [p. 229] *BookSixIII* [p. 275] *BookSixXXXVII* [p. 299] *BookSevenIII* [p. 318] *BookSevenXLIII* [p. 346] *BookEightV* [p. 364] Mentioned.

BookTwoXXXV [p. 89] The Orcivi or freedmen of Orcus were freed slaves, and Mark *Antony* [p. 422] admitted some of them to the Senate claiming that Caesar had wished it.

BookTwoXLV [p. 96] His habit of dealing with paperwork during the Games.

BookTwoC [p. 131] Tiberius delivered one of the two eulogies for Augustus at the funeral, from the front of the Temple to the God Julius.

BookTwoCI [p. 132] Augustus exhausted his adoptive father's legacy to him on State expenditure.

BookThreeIV [p. 144] Tiberius' father, Tiberius *Nero* [p. 610], commanded Caesar's fleet at Alexandria.

BookFourXXXVII [p. 217] The Julian Basilica replaced the Basilica Sempronia in the Roman Forum. It was started in 54BC by Caesar and finished by *Augustus* [p. 433] before being damaged by fire in 9AD. After rebuilding it was dedicated to *Gaius* [p. 446] and *Lucius* [p. 447] Caesar. The basilica was both a business centre and a court of justice.

BookFourXXXVIII [p. 218] *Caligula* [p. 449] ignored discharge certificates issued by him.

BookFiveXVII [p. 249] His campaigns in Britain 55/54BC.

BookFiveXX [p. 251] His consideration of a new harbour at *Ostia* [p. 557].

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BookFiveXLI [p. 265] *Claudius* [p. 464] began his history with Caesar's murder.

BookSixII [p. 274] He had been summoned before the Senate in 58BC on suspicion of defying the laws and auspices.

BookSixXXXIII [p. 295] The Julian law *De sicariis*, against assignation including poisoning introduced by *Sulla* [p. 599] was renewed by Caesar.

BookSevenXLIII [p. 346] *Vitellius* [p. 624] refused to countenance accepting the title of Caesar.

Julius Caesar, Gaius, III (father of the Dictator c. 140BC – 85BC) A Roman senator, supporter and brother-in-law of Gaius *Marius* [p. 538], and father of Julius Caesar, the later dictator of Rome. Caesar was married to Aurelia Cotta, a member the of Aurelii and Rutilii families, and had two daughters, both named *Julia* [p. 514], and the one son, *Julius* [p. 518]. He was the brother of Sextus Julius Caesar, consul in 91BC.

BookOneI [p. 11] He died when Julius his son was fifteen.

Julius Marathus, a freedman of *Augustus* [p. 433], and his keeper of the records, who wrote a life of his master.

BookTwoLXXIX [p. 116] *BookTwoXCIV* [p. 124] Referenced.

Julius Vestinus Atticus, Marcus was consul in 65AD. His father was prefect of Egypt under *Claudius* [p. 464] from 60AD to 62AD. After the death of Nero's second wife *Poppaea* [p. 576] Sabina, Vestinus was forced to commit suicide in 66AD, in order that *Nero* [p. 549] might marry his wife *Statilia* [p. 596]. He may have been involved in the *Pisonian* [p. 450] conspiracy.

BookSixXXXV [p. 297] Executed by Nero.

Julius Vindex, Gaius, of the Gaulish nobility of Aquitania, was governor of Gallia Lugdunensis. In 67/68AD, he rebelled against the tax policy of Nero. He supported the governor of Hispania Tarraconensis, Servius Sulpicius *Galba* [p. 500], as emperor. Vindex was defeated and killed by the commander of the Germania Superior army, Lucius Verginius Rufus, in a battle near Vesontio (modern Besançon).

BookSixXL [p. 302] *BookSixXLI* [p. 303] *BookSixXLVI* [p. 306] His rebellion against *Nero* [p. 549].

BookSevenIX [p. 322] He urged *Galba* [p. 500] to assume the leadership.

BookSevenXI [p. 324] Galba was shocked by news of his death.

BookSevenXVI [p. 327] Galba denied the army in Germany the bounty due for its actions against the rebellious Vindex.

Junia Calvina (c. 15AD - after 79AD) was the first born daughter of *Aemilia* [p. 406] Lepida and Appius *Junius* [p. 520] Silanus. Through her maternal grandparents *Julia* [p. 515] the Younger and Lucius *Aemilius* [p. 409] Paulus she was a descendant of *Augustus* [p. 433].

BookEightXXIII [p. 375] Mentioned.

Junia Claudilla (d. c. 37AD) also known as Junia Claudia, was the first wife of the Emperor *Caligula* [p. 449] before he came to power. They were married at *Antium* [p. 420] (Anzio) in 33AD. Her father was a distinguished senator named Marcus *Silanus* [p. 521]. She died while giving birth to Caligula's first child, which also did not survive.

BookFourXII [p. 199] Mentioned.

Junius Novatus was a plebeian fined for libelling *Augustus* [p. 433].

BookTwoLI [p. 100] Mentioned.

Junius Arulenus Rusticus, Quintus (c. 35AD - 93AD), was a Stoic and a friend and follower of Thrasea *Paetus* [p. 559]. He was tribune of the plebs in AD66, in the year Thrasea was condemned to death. He was Praetor in the civil wars after the death of *Nero* [p. 549], (69AD) and attained the consulship in 92AD under *Domitian* [p. 482], but in 93AD was condemned to death because of his panegyric on Paetus. Suetonius attributes to him a panegyric on *Helvidius* [p. 506] Priscus; though the latter work was composed by Herennius Senecio, according to Tacitus and Pliny.

BookEightXLVI [p. 392] Executed by order of Domitian.

Junius Silanus, Appius was consul in 28AD, with Publius Silius Nerva. Shortly after the accession of Claudius, in 41AD, when Silanus was governor of Hispania Tarraconensis, he was recalled to Rome and married to *Domitia* [p. 482] Lepida, mother of the empress *Messalina* [p. 616]. Having refused the advances of Messalina herself, he was put to death by Claudius at her instigation. He was the father of *Lucius* [p. 521] Junius Silanus.

BookFiveXXIX [p. 259] *BookFiveXXXVII* [p. 263] Executed on *Claudius*'s [p. 464] orders.

Junius Silanus, Decimus, was a consul in 62BC and possibly the son of Marcus Junius Silanus, consul in 109BC. He was the stepfather of Marcus *Junius* [p. 444] Brutus having married his mother, *Servilia* [p. 592]. He was aedile in 70BC, but lost the election for the consulship of 63BC. He was successful the following year, and so in consequence of his being *consul designatus* was first asked for his opinion by *Cicero* [p. 614] in the debate in the senate on the punishment of the Catilinarian conspirators.

BookOneXIV [p. 17] At first he spoke in favor of the supreme penalty for the conspirators, but when *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar suggested life imprisonment, Silanus insisted that that was

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what he had really meant. As such, it was left to *Cato* [p. 459] to force through the decision to actually execute them.

Junius Silanus, Lucius (d. 49AD) was praetor in 48AD. Claudius betrothed him to his daughter *Claudia Octavia* [p. 554] in 41AD, but this was broken off in 48AD when Empress *Agrippina* [p. 413] the Younger, hoping to secure Octavia as bride for her son *Nero* [p. 549], falsely charged him with open affection toward his sister *Junia* [p. 520] Calvina. Claudius broke off the engagement and forced Silanus to resign from public office. He committed suicide on the day Claudius and Agrippina married.

BookFiveXXIV [p. 254] Claudius granted him the triumphal regalia when under age.

BookFiveXXVII [p. 257] He was betrothed to Octavia.

BookFiveXXIX [p. 259] Forced by *Claudius* [p. 464] to commit suicide.

Junius Silanus Torquatus, Marcus (c. 26BC - 37AD) was a senator who became suffect consul in 19AD. His daughter *Junia* [p. 520] Claudilla was the first wife of the Emperor *Caligula* [p. 449] (33AD). His brother, a senator, Decimus Junius Silanus, was banished for supposedly having an affair with *Vipsania Julia* [p. 515] during the reign of *Augustus* [p. 433]. He was Governor of Africa under Caligula.

BookFourXII [p. 199] Mentioned.

BookFourXXIII [p. 207] *Caligula* [p. 449] supposedly drove him to suicide.

Juno was an ancient Roman goddess, the protector and special counsellor of the state. She was a daughter of *Saturn* [p. 587], sister-wife to *Jupiter* [p. 521], and the mother of *Mars* [p. 538] and Vulcan. Her Greek equivalent was Hera.

BookEightXIX [p. 373] The Matronalia was a festival celebrating Juno Lucina, the goddess of childbirth and motherhood. In the original Roman calendar it was the first day of the year, the first of March, the month of Mars.

BookEightXL [p. 387] Her image on *Domitian's* [p. 482] ceremonial crown.

Jupiter, in Roman mythology Jupiter or Jove was the king of the gods, and the god of the heavens and thunder. He was the equivalent of Zeus in the Greek pantheon, and titled *Iuppiter* (or *Diespiter*) *Optimus Maximus* ('Father of the Gods, the Best and Greatest'). As patron deity of ancient Rome, he ruled over law and the social order. He was the chief god of the Capitoline Triad, consisting of himself, his sister/wife Juno, and Minerva. Jupiter also fathered the god Mars with Juno, and was thus the grandfather of Romulus and Remus, the legendary founders of Rome.

BookOneLXXIX [p. 52] *BookOneLXXXIV* [p. 57] *BookTwoXXVI* [p. 82] *BookTwoXCI* [p. 122] *BookThreeLIII* [p. 173] *BookSevenL* [p. 351] *BookEightV* [p. 364] *BookEightXLII* [p. 389] *BookEightLI* [p. 397] The ancient Capitoline Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus mentioned.

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BookOneLXXXI [p. 54] *Caesar* [p. 518] dreamed of clasping Jove's right hand, indicating his deification after death.

BookTwoXXIX [p. 85] *BookTwoXCI* [p. 122] The new Temple of *Jupiter Tonans*, Jupiter the Thunderer, built by *Augustus* [p. 433], was dedicated in 22BC.

BookTwoXXX [p. 86] Augustus' offerings at the Capitoline Temple.

BookTwoLVII [p. 103] Augustus funded and dedicated a statue of Jupiter Tragoedus in a City ward in Rome.

BookTwoLX [p. 105] The Temple of Olympian Zeus also known as the *Olympieion*, in Athens was begun in the 6th century BC but not completed until the reign of Hadrian in the 2nd century AD. The attempt mentioned in *Augustus* [p. 433]' reign to do so was not carried through.

BookTwoLXX [p. 111] Jupiter synonymous with Augustus.

BookTwoXCIV [p. 124] Various omens of Jupiter referring to Augustus.

BookThreeXL [p. 166] *Tiberius* [p. 608] dedicated a Temple of Capitoline Jupiter at *Capua* [p. 455] in 26AD.

BookThreeLXV [p. 180] Tiberius's *Villa Jovis* on *Capri* [p. 454] was situated in the extreme northeast of the island on *Monte Tiberio*. The largest of the twelve Tiberian villas on Capri mentioned by Tacitus, the entire complex, spanning several terraces and a difference in elevation of about 40 metres, covers some 7,000 square metres.

BookFourXXII [p. 206] *BookFourLVII* [p. 229] The statue of Jupiter from Olympia was the chryselephantine Zeus by Phidias (carved c. 432BC), regarded as one of the seven wonders of the ancient world. Jupiter Latiaris, Jupiter of Latium, was anciently worshipped at Alba Longa.

BookFourLII [p. 226] *Caligula* [p. 449] liked to dress as him, carrying his emblem the lightning-bolt.

BookSixX [p. 279] *Nero's* [p. 549] poems were inscribed in gold and dedicated to Capitoline Jupiter.

BookSixXXII [p. 286] The Temple of Zeus, or Jupiter Cassius, at *Cassiope* [p. 456] on Corfu is mentioned.

BookSevenII [p. 318] *Galba* [p. 500] traced his paternal ancestry back to Jupiter.

BookSevenIX [p. 322] The Temple of Jupiter at *Clunia* [p. 470] in Spain mentioned.

BookSevenXII [p. 325] The Temple of Jupiter in *Tarraco* [p. 602] (Tarragona) Spain mentioned. The cathedral there was subsequently erected on the site of the Temple in 1171AD.

BookEightXL [p. 387] *Domitian* [p. 482] instituted quinquennial games in honour of Jupiter Capitolinus in 86AD.

BookEightXLI [p. 389] *BookEightXLIV* [p. 390] Domitian built a Temple of Jupiter Custos on the Capitoline.

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Laberius, Decimus (c. 105BC - 43BC) was a Roman eques and writer of mimes. In 46BC, *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar ordered him to appear in one of his own mimes in a public contest with the actor Publilius Syrus. Caesar awarded the victory to Publilius, but restored Laberius to his equestrian rank, which he had forfeited by appearing as a mimus.

BookOneXXXIX [p. 32] His appearance before Caesar.

Labienus, Titus (c. 100BC – March 17, 45BC) served as Tribune of the Plebs in 63BC, and is remembered as one of Julius Caesar's lieutenants, mentioned frequently in the accounts of his military campaigns. He was the father of Quintus Labienus who sided with Brutus and Cassius, and fought in Parthia.

BookOneXII [p. 17] At Caesar's instigation, Labienus accused Gaius *Rabirius* [p. 580] of high treason (perduellio) for the murder of the tribune Lucius Appuleius *Saturninus* [p. 588] and of his uncle Titus Labienus in 100BC.

Labienus, Titus, was an orator and historian in the time of *Augustus* [p. 433], nicknamed *Rabienus* for his vigorous style. He may have been the son or grandson of Quintus Labienus. He was a friend of *Cassius* [p. 458] Severus. His writings were ritually burnt by Senate decree, probably in 12AD. Labienus thereafter committed suicide.

BookFourXVI [p. 203] *Caligula* [p. 449] reinstated his writings.

Laetorius, Gaius was a young patrician who identified the site of *Augustus* [p. 433]' birthplace.

BookTwoV [p. 69] Mentioned.

Laetus, see *Suetonius* [p. 598]

Lanuvium, later **Civita Lavinia**, modern **Lanuvio**, is an ancient city of Latium some 32 km southeast of Rome, a little southwest of the Via Appia, situated on an isolated hill projecting south from the main mass of the Alban Hills, and commanding an extensive view over the low country between it and the sea. It was conquered by Rome in 338BC. It was especially famous for its rich and much venerated temple of Juno Sopes, from which Octavian (Augustus) borrowed money in 31BC.

BookTwoLXXII [p. 112] *Augustus* [p. 433] spent time there.

Laodicea on the Lycus, earlier known as Diospolis and Rhoas, was a city on the river Lycus, in Anatolia near the modern village of Eskihisar (Eski Hissar). In 188BC, the city passed to the Kingdom of Pergamon, and after 133BC fell under Roman

control. It suffered greatly during the Mithridatic Wars, but quickly recovered and under the first emperors, was one of the most important and flourishing commercial cities of Asia Minor. The location suffered from frequent earthquakes, especially in the reign of *Nero* [p. 549] (60AD), when it was completely destroyed, and subsequently rebuilt.

BookThreeVIII [p. 147] *Tiberius* [p. 608] acted as advocate in Rome for the citizens after a devastating earthquake.

Latin Festival: the first town established by the Latin people was Alba; around this sprung up other towns, e.g. Lanuvium, Aricia, Tusculum, Tibur, Praeneste, Laurentum, Roma, and Lavinium. The towns, thirty in number, formed the Latin Confederacy, with Alba at its head. An annual festival was celebrated with great solemnity by the magistrates on the Alban Mount, called the Latin Festival, where sacrifice was offered to their god, *Jupiter* [p. 521] (*Latianis*). The Latin Festival lasted 3 to 4 days and had to take place early in the year since it required that the consuls still be in Rome prior to leaving on campaign.

BookOneLXXIX [p. 52] Celebrated by *Caesar* [p. 518].

BookFiveIV [p. 240] Mentioned by *Augustus* [p. 433], when banning the young Claudius from attending.

BookSixVII [p. 277] *Nero* [p. 549] acted as judge at the Festival during Claudius's reign.

Latinus, was an actor in farces, a comic mime, at the time of *Domitian* [p. 482]. He was an informer, and a favourite of the Emperor, and is mentioned by Martial who gives his epithet (ix:29). He often acted as *mimus* with Thymele as *mima*.

BookEightLI [p. 397] Mentioned.

Lavicum, or **Labicum**, or **Labici**, near the modern Colonna, was located about 20 km southeast of Rome, on the Alban Hills.

BookOneLXXXIII [p. 56] *Caesar's* [p. 518] villa there.

Lentulus, Gnaeus Cornelius, was consul in 3BC.

BookSevenIV [p. 319] *Galba* [p. 500] was born during his consulship.

Lentulus Augur, Gnaeus Cornelius (d. 25AD). Circa 1BC, he was proconsul of Asia. After the death of *Augustus* [p. 433], he accompanied *Drusus* [p. 488] to Dalmatia in 14AD. He was a loyal supporter of the imperial house, and a member of the colleges of augurs.

BookThreeXLIX [p. 170] He was supposedly driven to suicide by *Tiberius* [p. 608].

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Lentulus Gaetulicus, Gnaeus Cornelius (d. 39AD) was Consul in 26AD. He later became Legate of Germania Superior, possibly in succession to his brother. He served there from 29AD - 39AD while his father-in-law governed Germania Inferior. He became involved in a conspiracy against Caligula in 39AD, in league with Lepidus, the husband of Caligula's late sister Drusilla. Caligula had Gaetulicus executed. He wrote poetry and other works.

BookFourVIII [p. 196] One of Suetonius's sources.

BookFiveIX [p. 242] His involvement in the conspiracy.

BookSevenVI [p. 320] *Galba* [p. 500] replaced him in Upper Germany.

BookEightII [p. 362] *Vespasian* [p. 620] proposed he was refused public burial.

Lepida, Aemilia, was a daughter of Manius Aemilius Lepidus, consul in 11AD. She is commonly identified with Lepida, wife of the Emperor Galba. She was connected by inter-marriage to some of the Julii-Claudii. She bore Galba two sons. Galba Major the elder was born circa 25AD and is believed to have died c. 48AD. Galba Minor the younger was born before 30AD. He was a quaestor in 58AD, but is not recorded thereafter. His death is believed to have occurred c. 60AD. Lepida died in or after 40AD.

BookSevenV [p. 320] The wife of *Galba* [p. 500].

Lepida, Aemilia, was daughter to *Lepidus* [p. 407] the Younger, and sister to Manius Aemilius Lepidus (consul 11AD). She married the wealthy Roman Governor Publius Sulpicius *Quirinius* [p. 580]. In her younger years, she was engaged to *Lucius* [p. 447] Caesar, and had borne a son to senator Mamercus Aemilius Scaurus.

BookThreeXLIX [p. 170] In 20AD, she was charged with adultery, consulting astrologers, falsely claiming to have borne a son to her ex-husband Quirinius and attempting to poison him. At her trial her brother defended her. She was found guilty and executed.

Lepidus, see *Aemilius* [p. 406]

Liber, Dionysus, or Bacchus was the Greek god of wine, theatre, and fertility. His festival was the Liberalia, celebrated on March 17.

BookTwoXCIV [p. 124] An oracular grove of the god in *Thrace* [p. 607], possibly the sanctuary and oracular shrine at Perperikon (near modern Kardzhali, Bulgaria) dedicated to the god Sabazios (merged with the Greek Dionysus) of the *Bessi* [p. 439] was situated there.

Liburnia was a region along the northeastern Adriatic coast, in modern Croatia. The Liburnians were noted for their seamanship and their fast galleys with one or two banks

of oars. Illyrian and Liburnian pirate activities motivated *Octavian* [p. 433] to organize decisive operations in Illyricum in 35BC, to achieve Roman control. He commandeered Liburnian ships, and Liburnian galleys played a decisive role at the battle of *Actium* [p. 404].

BookFourXXXVII [p. 217] *Caligula's* [p. 449] Liburnian galleys with ten banks of oars were a grotesque misapplication of the design.

Licinius Macer Calvus, Gaius (82BC - c. 47BC) was an orator and poet, the son of Licinius Macer and thus a member of the *gens Licinia*, he was a friend of *Catullus* [p. 459], whose style and subject matter he shared. Calvus' oratorical style opposed the Asian school in favor of a simpler Attic model: he characterized *Cicero* [p. 462] as wordy and artificial. Twenty-one speeches are mentioned, including several against Publius Vatinius. Calvus was apparently rather short in height, since Catullus alludes to him as *salaputium disertum* (the eloquent Lilliputian).

BookOneXLIX [p. 37] On *Caesar's* [p. 518] relationship with *Nicomedes* [p. 551].

BookOneLXXIII [p. 49] His epigrams against Caesar.

BookTwoLXXII [p. 112] His house near the Forum occupied by *Augustus* [p. 433].

Licinius Crassus, Lucius (140BC – 91BC) was consul in 95BC. He was considered the greatest Roman orator of his day, by his pupil *Cicero* [p. 614]. In 92BC he was elected Censor.

BookSixII [p. 274] Mentioned.

Licinius Crassus, Marcus, (c. 115BC – 53BC) Roman general and politician who commanded the left wing of Sulla's army at the Battle of the Colline Gate, suppressed the slave revolt led by Spartacus and entered into the political alliance known as the First Triumvirate, with *Pompey* [p. 573] and *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar. He was consul in 70BC and 55BC. As governor of Syria (54BC) Crassus invaded *Parthia* [p. 562]; and died defeated at the Battle of Carrhae in 53BC. *BookOneIX* [p. 15] Conspires with Julius Caesar in 65BC.

BookOneXIX [p. 20] He was a member of the First Triumvirate with Caesar and Pompey, which was unofficial, and lasted from 60BC until his death in 53BC.

BookOneXXI [p. 22] Caesar gave Pompey precedence over him.

BookOneXXIV [p. 23] The First Triumvirate re-affirmed at *Lucca* [p. 532] in 56BC.

BookOneL [p. 38] Caesar was reputed to have had an affair with his wife, Axia *Tertulla*. [p. 605]

BookTwoXXI [p. 79] *BookThreeIX* [p. 147] His standards lost at Carrhae were recovered in 20BC.

Licinius Crassus Frugi, Marcus, served as a praetor and then later as a consul with Lucius Calpurnius Piso in 27AD. Sometime after 44AD, he served as Roman Governor

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of Mauretania. In the spring of 47AD, Frugi, his wife, and his second son Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus, who had married Claudius' daughter *Claudia* [p. 463], were executed on the orders of *Messalina* [p. 542].

BookFiveXVII [p. 249] His distinction at *Claudius's* [p. 464] British triumph in 43AD

Licinius Mucianus was sent by *Claudius* [p. 464] to *Armenia* [p. 428] with Gnaeus Domitius Corbulo. Under *Nero* [p. 549] he was suffect consul c. 65. At the time of the outbreak of the Jewish revolt in 66AD, he was governor of Syria, a post he still held during the Year of Four Emperors (69AD). He failed to put down the Jewish revolt and Vespasian was sent to replace him. After the death of *Galba* [p. 500] (69AD), both swore allegiance to *Otho* [p. 558], but when civil war broke out Mucianus persuaded Vespasian to take up arms against *Vitellius* [p. 624]. Mucianus marched via Asia Minor and *Thrace* [p. 607] to attack Vitellius who was dead by the time he reached Rome. He was suffect consul in 70AD and 72AD. He published a collection of speeches and letters of Romans of the Republican period, and was the author of a natural history and geography of the East, quoted by Pliny regarding miraculous occurrences.

BookEightVI [p. 366] His support for Vespasian.

BookEightXIII [p. 370] Noted for his insolent and lewd behaviour.

Licinus, Gaius Julius, was a slave and freedman of *Augustus* [p. 433], employed by him as his procurator in Gaul.

BookTwoLXVII [p. 109] Mentioned.

Livia Drusilla, after 14AD called **Julia Augusta** (58BC - 29AD) was the third wife of the Emperor *Augustus* [p. 433] and his adviser. She was the mother of the Emperor *Tiberius* [p. 608], paternal great-grandmother of the Emperor *Caligula* [p. 449], paternal grandmother of the Emperor *Claudius* [p. 464], and maternal great-great grandmother of the Emperor *Nero* [p. 549]. She was Later Deified by Claudius who acknowledged her title of *Augusta*, in 42AD. In 40BC her father had married her to Tiberius Claudius *Nero* [p. 610], her cousin. Livia had two sons by him, the future emperor Tiberius, and Nero Claudius *Drusus* [p. 487] (Drusus the Elder). Octavian divorced *Scribonia* [p. 589] in 39BC to marry Livia who also divorced. Augustus, in his will, left her one third of his property, the other two thirds to Tiberius, and adopted her into the Julian family, granting her the honorific title of *Augusta*. Speaking against her became treason in 20AD, and in 24AD Tiberius granted her a theatre seat among the *Vestal* [p. 621] Virgins.

BookTwoXXIX [p. 85] The Porticus of Livia, begun by Augustus on the site of the house of Vedius Pollio in 15BC, was dedicated to Livia in 7BC. It was situated on the north slope of the Oppius on the south side of the clivus Suburanus, between this street and the later baths of Trajan.

BookTwoXL [p. 92] Mentioned regarding a minor request to *Augustus* [p. 433].

BookTwoLXII [p. 105] *BookTwoLXIX* [p. 110] Her marriage to Octavian (Augustus) in 38BC.

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BookTwoLXIII [p. 106] Her marriage to Augustus was childless.

BookTwoLXXIII [p. 113] She made clothes for *Augustus* [p. 433].

BookTwoLXXXIV [p. 118] Augustus used to draft and read aloud his most important statements to her.

BookTwoXCIX [p. 130] Augustus' dying words to her.

BookTwoCI [p. 132] Augustus appointed her as a main heir, receiving a third of the estate.

BookThreeIV [p. 144] She was divorced by *Tiberius* [p. 608] father, *Tiberius Nero* [p. 610] in favour of Augustus in 39BC.

BookThreeVI [p. 145] Fled with her husband Nero in 40BC, and the infant Tiberius.

BookThreeVII [p. 146] She co-funded the young Tiberius' gladiatorial contests in honour of his father and grandfather.

BookThreeX [p. 148] Her attempts to persuade Tiberius to remain in Rome in 6BC.

BookThreeXII [p. 150] Her interventions to help Tiberius in 'exile' on Rhodes.

BookThreeXIII [p. 150] Her intervention to aid Tiberius' recall from Rhodes in 2AD.

BookThreeXIV [p. 151] Her attempts to identify the sex of her child while pregnant.

BookThreeXXVI [p. 159] Tiberius refused to allow September and October to be renamed 'Tiberius' and 'Livius' (after Livia).

BookThreeL [p. 171] *BookThreeLI* [p. 171] *BookThreeLXI* [p. 177] Tiberius' enmity towards her.

BookFourVII [p. 196] She dedicated a statue of Gaius Julius Caesar, a son of *Germanicus* [p. 503] who died in early childhood.

BookFourXV [p. 201] *Caligula* [p. 449] awarded *Antonia* [p. 420] the Younger, his grandmother, all Livia's honours in 37AD.

BookFourXVI [p. 203] *Caligula* [p. 449] paid the bequests specified in her will, which Tiberius had suppressed.

BookFourXXIII [p. 207] *Caligula* [p. 449] described her insultingly.

BookFiveI [p. 237] The mother of Drusus the Elder, and grandmother of Claudius.

BookFiveIII [p. 239] Her contemptuous treatment of the young Claudius.

BookFiveIV [p. 240] Augustus writes to her regarding Claudius.

BookFiveXI [p. 244] *Claudius* [p. 464] voted her divine honours.

BookSevenI [p. 317] A portent associated with her regarding the line of Caesars.

BookSevenV [p. 320] She showed *Galba* [p. 500] great favour and left him a substantial legacy which *Tiberius* [p. 608] appropriated.

BookSevenXXIV [p. 332] *Otho's* [p. 558] grandfather *Marcus* [p. 586] owed his Senate position to her.

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Livia Medullina Camilla was the second fiancée of the Emperor Claudius. She was the daughter of Marcus Furius Camillus, the consul of 8AD, who was a close friend of the Emperor *Tiberius* [p. 608]. Medullina unexpectedly fell ill and died on the day assigned for her wedding to Claudius. *Furius* [p. 499] Camillus Scribonianus was her adoptive brother.

BookFiveXXVI [p. 256] She was betrothed to *Claudius* [p. 464], but died before the marriage could take place.

Livia Ocellina was the second wife of *Galba's* [p. 500] father, *Gaius* [p. 601]. Galba was raised by her and took the name Lucius Livius Ocella (rather than his birth name of Servius Sulpicius Galba) prior to his assuming power.

BookSevenIII [p. 318] Mentioned.

BookSevenIV [p. 319] She formally adopted *Galba* [p. 500].

Livia Orestilla, or **Cornelia Orestilla**, was the second wife of *Caligula* [p. 449], 37AD/38AD. She was originally married to Gaius *Calpurnius* [p. 450] Piso who was forced to annul the marriage so that Caligula could marry her. According to both Dio and Suetonius, this occurred during the wedding celebrations.

BookFourXXV [p. 209] Caligula forcibly married her.

Livilla, see *Julia Livilla* [p. 517]

Livilla, (Claudia) Livia Julia known as **Livilla** (*little Livia*) (c. 13BC – 31AD), was the only daughter of *Drusus* [p. 487] the Elder and *Antonia* [p. 420] Minor. She was married twice, first in 2BC to *Gaius* [p. 446] Caesar, who died in 4AD, and then to her cousin *Drusus* [p. 488] the Younger, son of *Tiberius* [p. 608]. Her daughter *Julia* [p. 516] was born shortly after this second wedding. In 19AD she gave birth to twin sons of whom only Tiberius *Gemellus* [p. 609] survived infancy. At this time it appears she was seduced by *Sejanus* [p. 590], Ancient sources (Tacitus, Suetonius, Cassius Dio) concur that with Livilla as his accomplice he poisoned her husband. In 31AD Tiberius received evidence from his sister-in-law Antonia Minor that Sejanus planned to overthrow him and had him put to death. Sejanus' former wife Apicata committed suicide, but not before addressing a letter to Tiberius claiming that Drusus had been poisoned, with the complicity of Livilla. Livilla was then executed or committed suicide.

BookThreeLXII [p. 178] The poisoning of her husband.

BookFiveI [p. 237] Sister of *Claudius* [p. 464] and *Germanicus* [p. 503].

BookFiveIII [p. 239] Her reaction to prophecies of Claudius becoming Emperor.

Livius, Titus (c. 59BC – c. 17AD), known as Livy was a historian who wrote a monumental history of Rome and the Roman people, *Ab Urbe Condita Libri* 'From the Foundation of the City' covering the earliest legends of Rome and the traditional foundation in 753BC through to the reign of *Augustus*^[p. 433] and Livy's own time.

BookFourXXXIV [p. 215] *Caligula* [p. 449] considered banning his works, out of envy and malice.

BookFiveXXV [p. 255] See Livy I:24 for the Fetial priests, the *fetiales*, an order of twenty priests drawn from the nobility who were involved in declarations of war and concluding treaties.

BookFiveXLI [p. 265] He encouraged the young *Claudius* [p. 464] to write a history.

BookEightXLVI [p. 392] His works mentioned.

Livius Drusus Claudianus, Marcus, was born Appius Claudius Pulcher, but adopted into the Livii by Marcus Livius Drusus, tribune in 91BC. He was a direct descendant of the consul and censor Appius Claudius *Caecus* [p. 465]. He was praetor in 50BC, and in 42BC married his daughter Livia to *Tiberius* [p. 610] Nero, the father of the Emperor *Tiberius* [p. 608]. He fought at *Philippi* [p. 567] also in 42BC and committed suicide to avoid capture.

BookThreeIII [p. 143] The maternal grandfather of the Emperor Tiberius.

BookThreeVII [p. 146] Tiberius honoured him with a gladiatorial contest.

Livius Drusus, the first of that surname, was granted it for killing a Gallic chieftain, *Drausus* [p. 486], in personal combat. Livius was propraetor in Gallia Cisalpina, and was said to have brought back the gold paid to the *Senones* [p. 591] as a bribe to remove their army from Rome in 390BC. The story dates Drusus, and Drausus, to the consulship of Publius Cornelius Dolabella in 283BC, when the Senones were defeated and scattered, for the most part vacating northern Italy.

BookThreeIII [p. 143] Mentioned as the first of that surname.

Livius Drusus, Marcus the Elder (d. 108BC) was set up as tribune by the Senate in 121BC to undermine Gaius *Gracchus* [p. 504] land reform bills. To do this, he proposed creating colonies and relieving rent on property distributed since 133BC. He also proposed Latin allies should not be mistreated by Roman generals, which was the counter offer to Gaius' offer of full citizenship. Drusus was consul in 112BC and fought in Macedonia. In 109BC he was elected censor with the elder Marcus Aemilius Scaurus, but died the next year.

BookThreeIII [p. 143] Mentioned as a famous member of the Livii.

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Livius Drusus, Marcus the Younger son of Marcus Livius Drusus the *Elder*^[p. 530], was tribune of the plebeians in 91BC. He set out with comprehensive plans to strengthen senatorial rule. He was assassinated and the Italian allies revolted, starting the Social War of 91BC – 88BC. His adopted son was Marcus Livius *Drusus*^[p. 530] Claudianus the maternal grandfather of *Tiberius*^[p. 608].

BookThreeIII^[p. 143] Mentioned as a famous member of the Livii.

Livius Salinator, Marcus, (254BC - c. 204BC) was elected consul with Lucius Aemilius Paulus shortly before the Second Illyrian War in 219BC. After leading a successful campaign against Illyrians, he was charged with malfeasance concerning war spoils during a mission to Carthage and was tried and found guilty upon his return to Rome. He retired from public life for several years, until 210. In 207 during the Second Punic War he was again elected consul with Gaius Claudius Nero. In the spring of 207BC, Livius, reinforced by Nero, defeated the Carthaginians in the decisive Battle of the Metaurus. He and Nero were awarded a triumph in 206BC. Livius remained as proconsul, defending Etruria between 206BC - 205BC and later Cisalpine Gaul from 204BC until the end of the war. He was elected censor again with Gaius Claudius Nero in 204BC. This was marred by constant quarreling with Nero, particularly concerning a salt tax (inspiring his cognomen *Salinator*), as well as by the vendetta against those responsible for his trial, continuing until his death.

BookThreeIII^[p. 143] Mentioned as a famous member of the Livii.

Locri is a town in the province of *Reggio*^[p. 582] Calabria, southern Italy. The name derives from the ancient Greek region Locris, home of the Locrians, The Italian city, Epizephyrian Locris (from Greek *epi-Zephyros*, 'under the West Wind' was founded by them c. 680BC on the Italian shore of the Ionian Sea, near modern Capo Zefirio, and was one of the cities of *Magna Graecia*. The city was abandoned in the fifth century AD. The remaining town was finally destroyed by the Saracens in 915.

BookTwoXVI^[p. 75] *Augustus*^[p. 433] (Octavian) there in c. 36BC.

Lollia, the wife of Aulus *Gabinius*^[p. 499], was perhaps a daughter of Marcus Lollius Palicanus, *tribunus plebis* in 71BC.

BookOneL^[p. 38] *Caesar*^[p. 518] was reputed to have had an affair with her.

Lollia Paulina (d. 49AD) was for six months in 38AD the third wife of the Emperor *Caligula*^[p. 449]. Her first husband Publius *Memmius*^[p. 541] Regulus was suffect consul in 31AD and a Roman Governor. Later on, Paulina became a rival to Caligula's sister *Agrippina*^[p. 413] the Younger and was considered a choice for fourth wife of *Claudius*^[p. 464], following the death of Valeria *Messalina*^[p. 542]. In 49AD, Agrippina, now the wife of Claudius, had Paulina charged with sorcery. Her property was confiscated and she was sent into exile. Tacitus claims she was forced to commit suicide on Agrippina's orders.

BookFourXXV [p. 209] Forcibly married to Caligula.

BookFiveXXVI [p. 256] *Claudius* [p. 464] considered marrying her.

Lollius Paulinus, Marcus, was the first governor of Galatia (25BC) and served as consul in 21BC. In 16BC, when governor of Gaul he was defeated by the *Sicambri* [p. 594], Tencteri and Usipetes, German tribes who had crossed the Rhine. He was subsequently (2BC) tutor and adviser to *Gaius* [p. 446] Caesar, who accused him of extortion and treachery to the state, and denounced him to *Augustus* [p. 433]. To avoid punishment he is said to have taken poison.

BookTwoXXIII [p. 80] His defeat in Germany.

BookThreeXII [p. 150] His slanders against *Tiberius* [p. 608] c. 1BC, when he was guardian to Gaius, Governor of the East.

BookThreeXIII [p. 150] His falling out with Gaius c. 2AD.

Longinus, see *Cassius* [p. 457]

Lucca, Roman Luca, a city in Tuscany, central Italy, is situated on the river Serchio in a fertile plain near the Ligurian Sea. It became a Roman colony in 180BC, and lay just within the borders of Cisalpine Gaul.

BookOneXXIV [p. 23] The First Triumvirate, *Caesar* [p. 518], *Crassus* [p. 526] and *Pompey* [p. 573] met and re-affirmed their mutual pact, at Lucca, in 56BC.

Lucceius, Lucius, orator and historian, was friend and correspondent of *Cicero* [p. 614]. He failed to become consul in 60BC, retired from public life, and devoted his time to writing a history of the Social and Civil Wars. In the civil war between *Caesar* [p. 518] and *Pompey* [p. 573], he took the side of Pompey; but, having been pardoned by Caesar, returned to Rome, where he lived in retirement until his death.

BookOneXIX [p. 20] A candidate for the consulship of 60BC.

Lucullus, Lucius Licinius (c. 118BC - 57BC), was closely connected with *Sulla* [p. 599]. Over twenty years of almost continuous military and government service, he became the main conqueror of the eastern kingdoms in the course of the Third *Mithridatic* [p. 543] War, exhibiting extraordinary generalship abilities in diverse situations, most famously during the siege of Cyzicus, 73BC - 2BC, and at the battle of Tigranocerta in Armenian Arzanene, 69BC.

BookOneXX [p. 20] Threatened with prosecution by *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar.

BookThreeLXXIII [p. 184] *Marius* [p. 538] had a villa at *Misenum* [p. 544] on the promontory that *Sulla's* [p. 599] daughter Cornelia bought when Marius was proscribed. She sold it a little

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later 76/75BC to Lucullus. The emperor *Tiberius* [p. 608] supposedly died there in 37AD. Castel dell'Ovo on the island of Megaride at Naples is also said however to be the site of the 'Villa of Lucullus'.

Lucusta, (or **Locusta**, *Tacitus*) was an expert in the concoction of poisonous substances, employed by *Nero* [p. 549].

BookSixXXXIII [p. 295] *BookSixXLVII* [p. 307] Mentioned.

Lugdunum, modern **Lyon** (or **Lyons**), is a city in east-central France. Lyon was founded on the Fourvière hill as a Roman colony in 43BC by *Munatius* [p. 545] Plancus, on the site of a Gaulish hill-fort. The Celtic god Lug was equated by the Romans with Mercury. *Agrippa* [p. 411] recognized its location as a natural communications hub, and made it the focal point of the principal Roman roads through Gaul. It subsequently became the capital. Two emperors were born in the city, namely *Claudius* [p. 464] and Caracalla.

BookFourXVII [p. 203] *Caligula* [p. 449] there in 40AD.

BookFourXX [p. 205] *Caligula* [p. 449] gave entertainments there.

BookFiveII [p. 238] *Claudius* was born there in 10BC, on 1st August when an altar to *Augustus* [p. 433] was dedicated.

BookFiveIX [p. 242] The meeting between *Caligula* and *Claudius* probably took place there. The 'river' would therefore be the confluence of the Rhone and Saone.

Luna, modern **Luni**, was an ancient city of Etruria, 4 miles southeast of modern Sarzana. It was the frontier town of Etruria, on the left bank of the river Macra (now Magra), the boundary in imperial times between Etruria and Liguria. It was renowned for the marble from the neighboring mountains of Carrara.

BookSixL [p. 309] *Nero's* [p. 549] tomb adorned with an altar of Luna marble.

Luperci were Roman priests who officiated at the festival of Lupercalia on February 15th. Tradition ties the formation of the *Luperci* to Romulus and Remus at which time the gens permitted to become *Luperci* were limited to the Fabii or Fabiani (whose name became that of a Roman tribe) and the Quinctilii or Quinctiliani. (The most famous member of the Quinctilia gens being the commander of the Roman forces at the disastrous battle of the Teutoberg Forest, Publius Quinctilius Varus.) *Caesar* [p. 518] added the college of Julii or Juliani. The *Luperci* were not appointed for life, but could hold the position repeatedly.

BookOneLXXVI [p. 51] *Caesar's* creation of his own college of *Luperci*.

BookOneLXXIX [p. 52] *BookTwoXXXI* [p. 86] The Lupercalia mentioned. Revived by *Augustus* [p. 433].

Lusitanians, an Indo-European people, the inhabitants of Lusitania, the Roman province including approximately all of modern Portugal south of the Douro river and part of modern Spain (the present autonomous community of Extremadura and a small part of the province of Salamanca). Its capital was *Emerita Augusta* (currently Mérida, Spain), and it was initially part of the Republican province of Hispania Ulterior, before becoming a province of its own under the Empire.

BookOneLIV [p. 40] *Caesar* [p. 518] attacked their townships.

BookSevenIII [p. 318] Massacred in 151BC by *Servius* [p. 601] Sulpicius Galba.

BookSevenXXVI [p. 334] *Otho* [p. 558] was governor of the province from 58AD - 68AD.

Lycians were inhabitants of a region on the southern coast of Turkey. The Lycian League was an early federation of ancient cities in the region, which later became a province of the Roman Empire in 43AD.

BookTwoLXV [p. 107] Gaius Caesar died in Lycia in 4AD.

BookFiveXXV [p. 255] *Claudius* [p. 464] deprived the Lycians of their independence in 43AD.

BookEightVIII [p. 368] *Vespasian* [p. 620] reduced Lycia from free to provincial status.

Lycius, a dwarf presented at the Games, in *Augustus* [p. 433]' day, as a curiosity.

BookTwoXLIII [p. 94] Mentioned.

Macer, see *Clodius* [p. 469] and *Pompeius* [p. 572]

Macro, Quintus Naevius Cordus Sutorius (21BC - 38AD) was prefect of the Praetorian Guard, from 31AD until 38AD, serving under the Emperors *Tiberius* [p. 608] and *Caligula* [p. 449]. Macro was appointed Praetorian prefect by Tiberius after the arrest of *Sejanus* [p. 406]. He furthered his ambitions by befriending Caligula and turning a blind eye to his wife *Ennia's* [p. 489] affair with Caligula c. 34AD. He was promised the governorship of Egypt but arrested in 38AD. Macro and Ennia both committed suicide.

BookFourXII [p. 199] *BookFourXXIII* [p. 207] Mentioned.

BookFourXXVI [p. 210] Condemned by Caligula.

Maecenas, Gaius Cilnius, (70BC – 8BC) was a confidant and political advisor to Octavian (*Augustus* [p. 433]) and an important patron of Augustan poets. Maecenas served as a quasi-culture minister to the Emperor. His name has become a byword for enlightened patronage of the arts. He prided himself on his ancient Etruscan lineage, and first appears in 40BC, when he was employed by Octavian in arranging his marriage

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with *Scribonia* [p. 589], and afterwards in assisting to negotiate the treaty of *Brundisium* [p. 443] and the reconciliation with Mark *Antony* [p. 422]. He was vicegerent of Octavian during the campaign that led to the battle of *Actium* [p. 404], when, he crushed the conspiracy of Lepidus the Younger; during the subsequent absences of his leader in the provinces he again held the same position. Maecenas died leaving Augustus as his sole heir.

BookTwoLXXVI [p. 108] He was said to have leaked news of the *Murena* [p. 618] conspiracy to his wife *Terentia* [p. 604].

BookTwoLXXXVI [p. 119] Augustus ridiculed his elaborate style of speech.

BookThreeXV [p. 152] The Gardens of Maecenas were the first in Rome to be built in the Hellenistic-Persian garden style. Maecenas sited them on the *Esquiline* [p. 490] Hill, on the summit of the Servian Wall and its adjoining necropolis, near the gardens of Lamia. They became imperial property after Maecenas' death, and *Tiberius* [p. 608] lived there prior to his accession.

BookSixXXXVIII [p. 300] The Tower of Maecenas was probably attached to the Gardens and connected to the Palatine by way of the Golden House.

Maecius was an unknown friend of *Domitian* [p. 482] who had a high self-opinion of his looks.

BookEightLVI [p. 401] Mentioned.

Magi were followers of Zoroaster, or rather, a follower of what the Hellenistic world associated Zoroaster with, which was – in the main – the ability to read the stars, and manipulate the fate that the stars foretold. They were probably a sect of Persian origin but were found throughout Asia Minor, North Africa and the Mediterranean world.

BookSixXXXIV [p. 296] *Nero* [p. 549] had them perform their rites to summon the dead.

Mago (243BC – 203BC), played an important role for Carthage in the Second Punic War, fighting in Hispania, Gallia Cisalpina and Italy. Mago was the third son of Hamilcar Barca, brother to *Hannibal* [p. 505] and Hasdrubal Barca.

BookEightXLVI [p. 392] Mentioned.

Mallia, possibly a person but equally it may be a location.

BookTwoLXX [p. 111] Mentioned.

Mallonia, an unknown woman sexually abused by *Tiberius* [p. 608].

BookThreeXLV [p. 168] Mentioned.

Mamurra, was a military officer who served under Julius *Caesar* [p. 518], an equestrian who came from Formiae. His family must have been prominent there, as Horace calls it 'the city of the Mamurrae'. He served as *praefectus fabrum* (prefect of engineers) under Caesar in Gaul, and a poem by *Catullus* [p. 617] also refers to his service in Britain as well as in Pontus and Hispania suggesting he also served during the civil war. Among the engineering feats achieved by Caesar's army during this time, include the rapid construction of a bridge over the Rhine in 55BC, the designing and building of a new kind of ship for the second expedition to Britain in 54BC, and the double circumvallation of Alesia in 52BC. Catullus attacked his profligacy, womanising and scandalous lifestyle, accusing him of a homosexual relationship with Caesar.

BookOneLXXIII [p. 49] Libelled by Catullus.

Marcellus Minor, Gaius Claudius (88BC – May 40BC) was a friend to *Cicero* [p. 462], and an early opponent of Julius Caesar. Caius Claudius Marcellus Maior was his cousin. In 54BC, his wife *Octavia's* [p. 554] great-uncle *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar was said to be anxious for Octavia to divorce Marcellus and marry *Pompey* [p. 573]. However, Pompey declined the proposal and Marcellus continued to oppose Caesar, culminating in the crucial year of his consulship in 50BC when he tried to recall Julius Caesar from his ten-year governorship in Gaul two years early, without his army, in an attempt to save the Republic. Failing this, he called unsuccessfully upon Caesar to resign. He also obstructed Caesar from standing for a second consulship *in absentia*, insisting that he should return to Rome to stand, thereby forgoing the protection of his armies in Gaul. When Caesar finally invaded Italy in 49BC, Marcellus did not take up arms against him. Caesar subsequently pardoned him. The Roman general Publius Quinctilius Varus and his two sisters were grandchildren from his first marriage.

BookOneXXVII [p. 25] Married to Octavia.

BookOneXXIX [p. 26] His opposition to Caesar when consul in 50BC.

Marcellus, Marcus Claudius was the brother of Gaius Claudius Marcellus Maior, consul in 49BC and the cousin of Gaius Claudius Marcellus *Minor* [p. 536], consul in 50BC. He married *Octavia* [p. 554] the Younger. He was elected curule aedile in 56BC, and in 52BC was elected consul, together with Servius Sulpicius Rufus, for the following year 51BC. During his consulship Marcellus proved a zealous partisan of Pompey and the *optimates*, and urged the senate to extreme measures against Julius Caesar, managing to procure a resolution of the senate, that the whole subject of abrogating Caesar's Gallic command be discussed on the 1st of March the following year. After the battle of Pharsalus, Marcellus abandoned opposition to Caesar, and withdrew to Mytilene. His cousin Gaius Claudius Marcellus Minor petitioned the dictator for clemency on his behalf, and on it being granted he started out for Rome but was assassinated en route by one of his own attendants, Publius Magius Chilo.

BookOneXXVIII [p. 26] *BookOneXXIX* [p. 26] His opposition to *Caesar* [p. 518] in the Senate.

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Marcellus, Marcus Claudius (42BC - 23BC) was the eldest son of *Octavia* [p. 554] Minor, sister of Augustus and, a former consul Gaius Claudius *Marcellus* [p. 536] Minor. In 25BC, Marcellus married Augustus' only daughter, *Julia* [p. 515] the Elder, with *Agrippa* [p. 411] officiating in Augustus' absence. Augustus began to encourage Marcellus' political career, grooming him for the succession, in 23BC gaining him the right to be a senator among the ex-praetors, to stand for the consulship ten years earlier than was customary, and his election as aedile that year. Marcellus became ill in the year of his aedileship, and died in *Baiae* [p. 437].

BookTwoXXIX [p. 85] *BookTwoXLIII* [p. 94] *BookTwoXLV* [p. 96] *BookEightXIX* [p. 373] Augustus built the Theatre of Marcellus, located in the modern district of Sant'Angelo, which was inaugurated in 12BC. *Vespasian* [p. 620] built and dedicated a new stage for the theatre.

BookTwoLXIII [p. 106] His marriage to Julia.

BookTwoLXVI [p. 108] Agrippa suspected Augustus of favouritism towards Marcellus.

BookThreeVI [p. 145] He took part in *Augustus* [p. 433]' triple-triumph of 29BC.

Marcia Furnilla was a daughter of the Senator Quintus Marcius Barea Sura and Antonia Furnilla. Her sister was Marcia, the mother of Ulpia Marciana and of the Emperor Trajan. She married Titus, widowed from his first marriage, in 63AD. In 64AD, Furnilla bore him a daughter, Flavia Julia Titi or Julia Flavia. In 65AD after the failure of the *Pisonian* [p. 450] conspiracy, Furnilla's family fell out of favour with *Nero* [p. 549], and Titus and Furnilla divorced, Titus raising their daughter.

BookEightXXIX [p. 378] The second wife of *Titus* [p. 612].

Marcus, Ancus, see *Ancus* [p. 418]

Marcus Philippus, Lucius was a descendant of Roman King Ancus Marcius and the son of the consul and censor Lucius Marcius Philippus. He was a praetor in 60BC, and propraetor of Syria in 59BC. That same year he married *Atia* [p. 432] Balba Caesonia, niece of Julius Caesar. Philippus had a son and a daughter Marcia (later the wife of Cato the Younger) from a previous marriage which had ended with his wife's death. Atia's previous husband, Gaius *Octavius* [p. 555], had died on his return to Rome, leaving her with two children: *Octavia* [p. 554] Minor and Gaius Octavius (the future Emperor *Augustus* [p. 433]). He was consul of 56BC with Gnaeus Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus. He appears to have been a cautious and moderate politician. Atia died during August/September 43BC and according to Ovid, Philippus later married one of Atia's sisters. He lived to old age and Augustus rewarded him for his continued loyalty with spoils from foreign victories, with which he restored the temple 'Hercules of the Muses'.

BookTwoVIII [p. 71] Step-father to Augustus, he opposed Augustus' return to Rome in 44BC, as too risky.

BookTwoXXIX [p. 85] He restored the Temple of *Hercules* [p. 507] and the Muses in the Circus Flaminius in 29BC.

Marius, Gaius, (157BC – January 13, 86BC) general and politician he was elected consul an unprecedented seven times (107BC, 104BC - 100BC, 86BC). He was also noted for his dramatic reforms of the Roman army.

BookOneI [p. 111] He nominated *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar as priest of *Jupiter* [p. 521] (*flamen Dialis*).

BookOneXI [p. 161] Julius Caesar restored the monuments to his defeats of *Jugurtha* [p. 514] (105BC) the *Cimbri* [p. 462] (101BC) and the *Teutones* [p. 605] (102BC) which Sulla had destroyed.

BookThreeLIX [p. 176] Mentioned.

Maroboduus (c. 30BC - 37AD), was king of the Marcomanni, and ruled a Germanic confederation in the area of Bohemia. In 17AD, war broke out between Arminius the Cheruscan leader and Maroboduus, and after an indecisive battle Maroboduus withdrew. In the next year Catualda, a nobleman, who had been exiled by Maroboduus, returned – perhaps with Roman connivance – and defeated Maroboduus who fled to Italy where *Tiberius* [p. 608] detained him for 18 years in Ravenna where Maroboduus died.

BookThreeXXXVII [p. 164] Detained by Tiberius.

Mars, was the Roman god of war, the equivalent of the Greek Ares.

BookTwoXVIII [p. 77] *Augustus* [p. 433] consecrated the site of his camp at *Actium* [p. 404] to the god.

BookTwoXXIX [p. 85] *BookFourXLIV* [p. 221] *BookFiveXXXIII* [p. 261] The Temple of *Mars Ultor*, Mars the Avenger, in Augustus' new Forum was eventually dedicated in 2BC, after a building program of forty years.

BookFourXXIV [p. 208] *Caligula* [p. 449] dedicated three swords, supposedly to be used to kill him, to Mars Ultor.

BookFiveIV [p. 240] Possibly the games of 12AD in honour of Mars Ultor.

BookSevenXXXI [p. 337] It was considered unlucky to begin any enterprise during the period when the sacred shields were out of the temple. See Ovid, *Fasti* iii.393

BookSevenXLIII [p. 346] The shrine of Mars at *Vitellius's* [p. 624] military headquarters in Germany.

BookSevenXLV [p. 347] Vitellius sent *Otho's* [p. 558] dagger with which he had committed suicide to the Temple of Mars at *Colonia* [p. 470] Agrippinensium (Cologne).

BookEightV [p. 364] An oak tree on the Flavian estate was sacred to Mars.

Marsians. The Marsi were a people of ancient Italy, whose chief centre was Marruvium, on the eastern shore of Lake *Fucinus* [p. 498].

BookFiveXX [p. 251] Their requests for the draining of the lake.

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Masgaba was a favourite of *Augustus* [p. 433], who died on *Capri* [p. 454]. Probably, from the form of his name, he was Numidian.

BookTwoXCVIII [p. 128] His tomb mentioned.

Masinth was a Numidian prince defended by *Caesar* [p. 518].

BookOneLXXI [p. 48] Mentioned.

Massilia, modern **Marseilles**, was of Greek foundation (600BC), and maintained its independence until the rise of Julius Caesar, when it joined the losing side (Pompey and the optimates) in the civil war, losing its independence in 49BC.

BookOneXXXIV [p. 29] *BookSixII* [p. 274] The city was besieged (April to September 49BC) by *Caesar's* [p. 518] forces. Again, as at *Corfinium* [p. 471], *Caesar's* forces encountered *Lucius* [p. 485] Domitius, who was again allowed to depart, this time to Thessaly.

BookOneLXVIII [p. 46] After the siege had begun, Ahenobarbus arrived in Massilia to defend it against the Caesarian forces. In late June, *Caesar's* ships were victorious in the ensuing naval battle.

BookTwoLXV [p. 107] *Lucius* [p. 447] *Caesar* died there in 2AD, on his way to Spain.

BookFiveXVII [p. 249] *Claudius* [p. 464] landed there in 43AD on his way to Britain.

Matius, Gaius belonged to *Caesar's* faction, and helped *Cicero* [p. 614] in his relationship with *Caesar* in 49BC/48BC. After the murder of *Caesar*, he warned of potential for grave repercussions including possible rebellions in Gaul or among *Caesar's* legions. When *Octavian* [p. 433] returned to Rome, *Matius* became one of his close associates. *Matius* and *Octavian* managed the July 44 games honoring the recently-assassinated dictator. An exchange of letters between *Cicero* and *Matius* later in 44BC has been preserved

BookOneLII [p. 39] Supposedly knew of *Caesarion's* [p. 448] paternity.

BookEightLVII [p. 401] The same *Matius* may be the friend and assistant of *Augustus*, an *equus* who wrote three volumes on gastronomy. *Columella* credits him with pork mincemeat à la *Matius*, *minutal Matianum*, which includes *Matian* apples, and he was said by *Pliny the Elder* to have invented the clipping of shrubbery. *Matian* apples were said to come from the mountains north of *Aquileia* in north-eastern Italy, and to have been named for *Matius*.

Mauretania is on the Mediterranean coast of North Africa, and named after the *Mauri* tribe, from whom the term 'Moors' is derived. It corresponds to modern western Algeria, northern Morocco and Spanish North Africa. *Claudius* [p. 464] annexed *Mauretania* directly as a Roman province in 44AD.

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BookFourXXVI [p. 210] *BookFourXXXV* [p. 216] *BookFourLV* [p. 228] King *Ptolemy* [p. 578] of Mauretania mentioned.

BookSixXXX [p. 292] *Nero's* [p. 549] escort comprised cavalry of the Mazaces, a Mauretanian tribe.

Maximus was a freedman of *Parthenius's* [p. 562] involved in the assassination of *Domitian* [p. 482] in 96AD.

BookEightLIII [p. 399] Mentioned.

Maximus, Quintus Fabius, (d. 45BC) was Legate (general) to Julius *Caesar* [p. 518] in the campaigns in Gaul and in the Civil War, where Caesar chose him to be commander in chief of his advance guard in the conquest of Spain. After the Battle of *Munda* [p. 546], Caesar awarded him a triumph and, together with Gaius Trebonius, the suffect consulship of that year on Caesar's abdication of his sole consulship in September. He died on December 31, the last day of his consulship, and was replaced for the remaining hours of the year by Gaius Caninius Rebilus.

BookOneLXXX [p. 53] Jeered at in the Theatre as not being a true consul.

Mediolanum, modern **Milan**, is a city in northern Italy, the capital of the Lombardy. Founded under the name of *Medhlan* by the Insubres, a Celtic people it was captured by the Romans in 222BC, became a permanent Latin colony in 89BC, and by 42BC Rome had exerted its hold over Cisalpine Gaul sufficiently to make the city part of its Italian territories. In his reorganisation of Italy in 15BC, Augustus made Milan the capital of the Transpadania region, including the towns of Como, Bergamo, Pavia and Lodi and extending as far west as Turin.

BookTwoXX [p. 79] *Augustus* [p. 433] there 12BC - 10BC.

Meleager was a Greek mythical hero venerated at Calydon in Aetolia. He was famous as the leader of the Calydonian boar hunt.

BookThreeXLIV [p. 168] Mentioned.

Memmius, Gaius, orator and poet, was tribune of the people (66BC), patron of Lucretius the poet and an acquaintance of Catullus. At first a strong supporter of *Pompey* [p. 573], he went over to Caesar, whom he had previously attacked. In 54BC, as candidate for the consulship, he lost Caesar's support by revealing a scandalous transaction in which he and his fellow candidate had been implicated. Being subsequently condemned for illegal practices at the election, he withdrew to Athens, and afterwards, to Mytilene. He died about the year 49BC. He is remembered chiefly because it was to him that Lucretius addressed the *De rerum natura*, perhaps with the idea of converting him to the doctrines of Epicurus.

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BookOneXXIII [p. 22] Demanded an official enquiry into *Caesar's* [p. 518] conduct.

BookOneXLIX [p. 37] On *Caesar's* relationship with *Nicomedes* [p. 551].

BookOneLXXIII [p. 49] His reconciliation with *Caesar* who initially supported his bid for the consulship.

Memmius Regulus, Publius was consul *suffectus* in 31AD. His magistracy saw the downfall of *Sejanus* [p. 406], whom *Regulus* personally conducted to prison. *Regulus* was later prefect of Macedonia and Achaea when *Caligula* [p. 449] ordered him to send the *Jupiter* [p. 521] of *Phidias* from Olympia, to Rome. The emperor compelled him to divorce his wife, *Lollia* [p. 531] *Paullina*. She became *Caligula's* third wife in 38AD, but he divorced her and sent her into exile after six months. *Regulus* died c. 63AD. He was probably the father of *Gaius Memmius Regulus*, consul in that year.

BookFourXXV [p. 209] *Caligula* forced his divorce.

Memphis was the capital of Egypt during the Old Kingdom, its ruins lying 12 miles south of Cairo, on the west bank of the Nile. The ruins of the Temple of *Apis* [p. 424] there have not yet been located.

BookEightXXX [p. 379] *Titus* [p. 612] attended the *Apis* bull's consecration ceremony at Memphis.

Menander (c. 342BC – 291BC), the Greek dramatist, is the best-known representative of Athenian New Comedy, and the author of more than a hundred comedies.

BookEightXXIII [p. 375] Fragment 223 (Koch) gives an idea of metempsychosis parodied perhaps here by *Vespasian* [p. 620].

Menas, also known as **Menodorus**, was a freedman of *Pompey* [p. 573] the Great. When *Pompey's* son, *Sextus* [p. 572], appointed himself ruler of Sicily *Menas* became one of his leading admirals. He captured *Sardinia* [p. 587] in 40BC for *Sextus*, driving out *Octavian's* governor *Marcus Lurius*. In 38BC he surrendered *Sardinia* to *Octavian* and received equestrian rank as a reward. He fought for *Octavian* under *Calvisius Sabinus* in the naval battle off *Cumae*. In 36BC he returned to *Sextus Pompey*, but again changed sides. He was killed in the *Illyrian* campaign of 35BC.

BookTwoLXXIV [p. 114] *Augustus* [p. 433] made him a fre-born knight.

Menecrates was a famous lyre-player under *Nero*.

BookSixXXX [p. 292] *Nero* [p. 549] lavished money on him.

Mercury was the messenger of the Gods in Roman mythology, equating to Hermes in the Greek myths. He was also the god of trade, thieves, literature and sports. His emblem was the caduceus, a short staff entwined by twin serpents in the form of a double helix, and sometimes surmounted by wings.

BookFourLII [p. 226] *Caligula* [p. 449] liked to dress as him.

Messala, see *Valerius* [p. 617]

Messalina, see *Statilia* [p. 596] and *Valeria* [p. 616]

Messana is a city located near the northeast corner of Sicily, on the Strait of Messina, opposite Villa San Giovanni on the mainland of Italy.

BookFourLI [p. 225] *Aetna*'s [p. 410] eruption, seen from there, scared *Caligula* [p. 449].

Mestrius Florus, Lucius was proconsul in Asia Minor (c. 88AD/89AD) and a friend and patron of Plutarch.

BookEightXXII [p. 374] Mocked by *Vespasian* [p. 620].

Mettius Pompusianus was a senator during Vespasian's reign. He was later exiled to Corsica before being executed under *Domitian* [p. 482].

BookEightXIV [p. 371] *Vespasian* [p. 620] made him consul, according to Suetonius, though he does not appear in the consular lists.

BookEightXLVI [p. 392] He was executed by Domitian for revealing imperial pretensions.

Mettius Rufus, Marcus (b. c. 50AD) was prefect of Egypt in 89AD - 91AD, then prefect for the grain supply at Rome, before falling into disgrace.

BookEightXL [p. 387] Mentioned.

Mevania (modern **Bevagna**), was an ancient Roman town of Umbria, on the western branch of the Via Flaminia. In 69AD Vitellius awaited Vespasian's advancing army there. Pastures near the Tinia River and the white oxen of the *Clitumnus* [p. 468] (*Clitunno*) River are mentioned by Propertius, whose family was from the area (from Assisium, Hispellum, or Mevania itself).

BookFourXLIII [p. 221] *Caligula* [p. 449] visited the town.

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Milo, see *Annius* [p. 418]

Minerva was the Roman goddess equivalent to the Greek Athena. She was a virgin goddess of poetry, medicine, wisdom, commerce, weaving, crafts, magic, and the inventor of the flute

BookFourXXV [p. 168] *Caligula* [p. 449] considered that the goddess was entrusted with bringing up his daughter *Julia* [p. 517] Drusilla.

BookSixXXXIV [p. 296] The Quinquatria or Quinquatrus was a festival sacred to Minerva, celebrated on the 19th March. It was so called according to Varro because it was held on the fifth day after the Ides, though Ovid says that it was so named because it was celebrated for five days.

BookSevenXLVIII [p. 349] Minerva was equated to the Greek Athena, the Defender of Athens. *Vitellius* [p. 624] dedicated a huge dish to her.

BookEightXL [p. 387] Her image was on *Domitian's* [p. 482] ceremonial crown. Domitian also celebrated her festival the *Quinquatria* [p. 580] every year.

BookEightLI [p. 397] Domitian's veneration for her, and his dream of her.

Minos was a Cretan king of mythological status (his name being given to the Minoan civilisation), the son of Zeus and Europa. After his death, Minos became a judge of the dead in Hades. Aegeus, King of Athens, killed Minos's son Androgeus because he won every prize during a feast. As punishment, the Athenians were obliged to send several youths every nine years to be devoured by the Minotaur, who was eventually killed by Theseus.

BookThreeLXX [p. 183] His sacrifice on the death of his son Androgeus.

BookSevenII [p. 318] His wife was *Pasiphae* [p. 563].

Minucius Thermus, Marcus. A praetor in 81BC, and propraeor of the Roman province of Asia the following year, succeeding Murena. The capture of Mytilene occurred during his governorship; Mytilene had been in revolt against Rome and was suspected of actively or tacitly aiding so-called pirates in the region. Suetonius credits Thermus with the victory, but the siege may have been conducted by or in coordination with Lucius Licinius Lucullus.

BookOneII [p. 12] *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar acts as his aide-de-camp, and he awards Julius a civic crown at the storming of Mytilene.

Mithridates, the Great, Mithradates VI (134BC - 63BC), also known as Eupator Dionysius, was king of Pontus and Armenia Minor in northern Anatolia (now part of Turkey) from about 119BC to 63BC. Of Persian origin, he claimed descent from Darius the Great, and is remembered as one of Rome's most formidable and successful

enemies, who engaged three of the most prominent generals of the late Republic in the Mithridatic Wars: *Sulla* [p. 599], *Lucullus* [p. 532], and *Pompey* [p. 573].

BookOneIV [p. 13] *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar campaigned against his deputy in Asia Minor.

BookOneXIX [p. 20] He was defeated by Pompey (between 65BC and 63BC) in the Third Mithridatic War.

BookOneXXXV [p. 30] Father of *Pharnaces II* [p. 566].

BookSixXXIV [p. 288] *Nero*'s [p. 549] criticism of him.

Misenum is the site of an ancient port in Campania, in southern Italy, located on a cape on the northwest end of the Bay of Naples, at modern Miseno. Misenum was the largest base of the Roman navy, since its port (*Portus Julius*) was the base of the *Classis Misenensis*, the most important Roman fleet. It was first established as a naval base in 27BC by Marcus *Agrippa* [p. 411], and was later adorned with luxury villas. *Pliny* [p. 569] the Elder was the *praefect* in charge of the naval fleet at Misenum in 79AD, at the time of the eruption of Vesuvius. Pliny left for a closer view and to attempt a possible rescue, and was killed by the eruption. The account of his death is given by his nephew Pliny the Younger, who was also resident in Misenum at the time.

BookTwoXLIX [p. 99] Location of one of the two Mediterranean fleets.

BookThreeLXXII [p. 184] *BookThreeLXXV* [p. 185] *Tiberius* [p. 608] died at or near there in 37AD at the 'Villa of *Lucullus* [p. 532]'.
BookThreeLXXIV [p. 185] A portent of *Tiberius*' death there.

BookFourXIII [p. 200] *Caligula* [p. 449] escorted *Tiberius*'s body to Rome from there.

BookSixXXXI [p. 293] *Nero*'s [p. 549] project to connect Lake Avernus, Lago d'Averno, a lake located in the Avernus crater about 2.5 miles northwest of Pozzuoli, to Misenum.

Mnester was a celebrated comic actor in the reigns of *Caligula* [p. 449] and *Claudius* [p. 464].

BookFourXXXVI [p. 216] *Caligula* was rumoured to have had sexual intercourse with him.

BookFourLV [p. 228] A favourite of *Caligula*.

BookFourLVII [p. 229] *Mnester* ominously danced the tragedy *Cinyras* on the day of *Caligula*'s assassination, which had been played at the death of *Philip* [p. 567] of Macedon.

Moesia was an ancient region, later a Roman province (c. 6AD), situated in the Balkans, along the south bank of the Danube.

BookThreeXLI [p. 167] The *Dacians* [p. 479] and *Sarmatians* [p. 587] allowed to overrun Moesia c. 34AD.

BookSevenXXXII [p. 338] *Otho* [p. 558] drew on troops from Moesia in 69AD.

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BookSevenL [p. 351] *BookEightVI* [p. 366] The legions in Moesia swore allegiance to *Vespasian* [p. 620] in 69AD, prompted by members of the Third legion.

Mucia, the third wife of *Pompey* [p. 573], was the daughter of Quintus Mucius Scaevola, the *pontifex maximus*, consul in 95BC. Her mother was a Licinia who divorced her father to marry Quintus Caecilius Metellus Nepos, in a scandal mentioned by several sources. Mucia's first husband was the short-lived and unlucky Gaius Marius the Younger. After his death at the hands of Sulla, the dictator needed to secure Pompey's loyalty and arranged his marriage to Mucia c. 79BC. This marriage resulted in three children: Gnaeus Pompeius (Pompey the Younger), a daughter Pompeia Magna (married to Faustus Cornelius Sulla) and *Sextus* [p. 572] Pompey. She outlived all three children. On his return to Rome, in 61BC, Pompey divorced her. According to *Cicero* [p. 462], the motive was adultery (it is said that she was one of Julius Caesar's many affairs). Mucia then married Marcus Aemilius Scaurus, a stepson of Sulla. In 39BC, Mucia, at the request of the Roman people, went to Sicily to mediate between her son Sextus Pompey and *Augustus* [p. 433]. She was living at the time of the battle of Actium, 31BC and Augustus treated her with great respect.

BookOneL [p. 38] *Caesar* [p. 518] was reputed to have had an affair with her.

Mummia Achaica was the mother of the Roman Emperor *Galba* [p. 500] and his elder brother *Gaius* [p. 601]. She was the granddaughter of *Catulus* [p. 459] and great-granddaughter of the general Lucius *Mummius* [p. 545] Achaicus. She died shortly after Galba's birth.

BookSevenIII [p. 318] Mentioned.

Mummius Achaicus, Lucius was appointed to take command of the Achaean War, in 146BC, and having obtained an easy victory over Diaeus, entered *Corinth* [p. 472]. The men of Corinth were put to the sword, the women and children sold into slavery, and the works of art seized and shipped to Rome. Corinth was then razed. In 142BC Mummius was censor with Scipio Aemilianus Africanus.

BookSevenIII [p. 318] Mentioned.

Munatius Plancus, Lucius (87BC - 15BC) was a Roman senator, consul in 42BC and censor in 22BC with Aemilius Lepidus *Paulus* [p. 408]. He was Julius *Caesar's* [p. 518] officer during the conquest of Gaul and the civil war. His funerary inscription attests that he founded the cities of Augusta Raurica (44BC) and Lyon (43BC) When Caesar was assassinated Plancus was Proconsul of Gallia Comata. But he turned to Mark *Antony* [p. 422], and held the consulship with Marcus Aemilius Lepidus in 42BC. He became proconsul of Asia in about 40BC. During Mark Antony's expedition to Armenia and Parthia, to avenge *Crassus* [p. 477]' death, he was proconsul of Syria. But when Antony's campaign against the Parthians failed, he chose to leave him and join Octavian. The Mausoleum of Plancus, a massive cylinder tomb now much restored is in Gaeta, on a hill overlooking the sea.

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BookTwoVI [p. 70] He suggested Octavian adopt the title *Augustus* [p. 433].

BookTwoXXIX [p. 85] He restored the the Temple of *Saturn* [p. 587] at the west end of the Forum at the foot of the Capitoline Hill between 43BC and 30BC.

BookThreeV [p. 145] *Tiberius* [p. 608] born during his consulship.

BookFiveXVI [p. 249] He was censor in 22BC.

BookSixIV [p. 275] Mentioned.

Munatius Plancus, Lucius (c. 45BC - after 14AD) was consul in 13AD and Legate in 14AD. He married Aemilia Paula, daughter of *Aemilius* [p. 408] Lepidus Paulus and Cornelia Lentula.

BookTwoCI [p. 132] He was consul in 13AD when *Augustus* [p. 433] made his last will.

Munda, Campus Mundensis, was probably near La Lantejuela, Andalusia, in southern Spain. The Battle of Munda took place on March 17, 45BC in the plain of Munda. This was the last battle of *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar's civil war against the republican armies of the Optimate leaders. After this victory, and the deaths of Titus Labienus and Gnaeus Pompeius (Pompey's elder son), Caesar returned to Rome as *dictator*.

BookOneXXXV [p. 30] *BookOneLVI* [p. 41] *BookTwoXCIV* [p. 124] Caesar's victory there.

Mutina, the Battle of Mutina was fought on April 21, 43BC between the forces of Mark *Antony* [p. 422] and those of Gaius Vibius *Pansa* [p. 561] Caetronianus and Aulus *Hirtius* [p. 508], who were providing aid to one of Caesar's assassins, *Decimus* [p. 443] Junius Brutus Albinus. Pansa had been mortally wounded in an earlier battle where Antony's forces were beaten off. Octavian's forces now joined the remaining consul Hirtius. Antony was again defeated, but Hirtius himself was killed. Soon after the battle, a truce was formed between Antony and Octavian at Bologna leading eventually to the Second Triumvirate of Marcus Aemilius *Lepidus* [p. 407], Octavian and Mark Antony.

BookTwoIX [p. 71] *BookTwoX* [p. 72] *BookTwoXII* [p. 73] *BookTwoLXXVII* [p. 115] *BookTwoLXXXIV* [p. 118] *Augustus* [p. 433] (Octavian) involved in civil war there.

Mylae, the modern **Milazzo**, is a town on the northern coast of Sicily 40 km from Messina, north of the road to Palermo. It is located on a peninsula, Capo di Milazzo. In 36BC a naval battle was fought offshore between the fleet of *Octavian* [p. 433], commanded by Marcus *Agrippa* [p. 411], and that of *Sextus* [p. 572] Pompey. While the battle ended in stalemate, Sextus could not replace his losses, and was thus weaker at the following battle of *Naulochus* [p. 548], where he was defeated.

BookTwoXVI [p. 75] The naval battle.

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Mytilene is the capital city of Lesbos, the Greek island in the Aegean Sea, on the southeast coast of the island.

BookOneII [p. 12] Successfully besieged by Rome in 80BC, *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar being awarded a civic crown for saving a comrade during the siege.

BookTwoLXVI [p. 108] *BookThreeX* [p. 148] *Agrippa* [p. 411] used it as his power-base in the east in 23BC.

Naples, the Roman **Neapolis**, is the main city of Campania on the Bay of Naples. Originally a Greek colony, the city was respected by the Romans as a place of Hellenistic culture, the people maintaining their Greek language and customs.

BookTwoXCII [p. 123] *Augustus* [p. 433] exchanged the island of Aenaria with that of *Capri* [p. 454], by agreement with Naples, in 6AD.

BookTwoXCVIII [p. 128] Augustus was there immediately before his death.

BookThreeIV [p. 144] *BookThreeVI* [p. 145] *Tiberius* [p. 608] father, *Tiberius Nero* [p. 610], took refuge there.

BookFiveXI [p. 244] *Claudius* [p. 464] produced a Greek comedy of *Germanicus's* [p. 503] in his honour, at the musical and theatrical contest there.

BookSixXX [p. 285] *Nero* [p. 549] made his debut as a singer and musician there.

BookSixXXV [p. 289] Nero landed there on his return from Greece in 67AD.

BookSixXL [p. 302] Nero heard of the Gallic uprising while staying there.

Narbo, modern **Narbonne**, is a city in southern France in the Languedoc-Roussillon region. Once a prosperous port, it is now located about 15km from the shore of the Mediterranean. Narbonne was established in Gaul in 118BC, as *Colonia Narbo Martius*. It was located on the *Via Domitia*, the first Roman road in Gaul, connecting Italy to Spain. Politically, Narbonne gained importance as a competitor to *Massalia* [p. 539] (Marseille). *Julius Caesar* [p. 518] settled veterans from his tenth legion there, *Legio X Equestris*, and attempted to develop its port. It was noted in Roman times for its rosemary-flower honey.

BookThreeIV [p. 144] *Tiberius* [p. 608]' father, *Tiberius Nero* [p. 610], established a colony of *Caesar's* [p. 518] veterans there.

Narcissus, **Tiberius Claudius**, was a freedman of *Claudius's*. It was through his influence that the future emperor *Vespasian* [p. 620] was appointed legate of the *Legio II Augusta* in Germania. When *Messalina* [p. 616] married *Gaius Silius* [p. 595] in 48AD, it was *Narcissus* who betrayed her to *Claudius*. He was charged with overseeing the draining of the *Fucine* [p. 498] Lake, but *Agrippina* [p. 413] the Younger, *Claudius's* fourth wife, accused him of embezzling funds from the project, and she subsequently ordered his execution within weeks of *Claudius's* death in October, 54AD.

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BookFiveXXVIII [p. 258] A favourite of Claudius's, awarded special status.

BookFiveXXXVII [p. 263] His part in the downfall of Appius *Silanus* [p. 520].

BookEightIV [p. 363] *Vespasian* [p. 620] benefited from his influence.

BookEightXXVII [p. 377] Involved with the education of *Britannicus* [p. 441] and *Titus* [p. 612].

Naulochus, **Naulochos**, or **Naulocha** was an ancient roadstead, precise location unknown, on the north coast of Sicily, between *Mylae* [p. 546] (modern Milazzo) and Cape Pelorus. It is known primarily from the naval encounter in which *Sextus* [p. 572] Pompeius was defeated by Marcus Vipsanius *Agrippa* [p. 411], in 36BC, offshore between Mylae and Naulochus.

BookTwoXVI [p. 75] The naval battle.

Nauplius, King of Nauplia in Greek Mythology, had a son Palamedes who died at Troy as a result of the intrigues of *Odysseus* [p. 616] and *Agamemnon* [p. 411]. Nauplius swore revenge against the Greek leaders, and lit false beacon fires along the dangerous coastline of Euboea, causing the wreck of the Greek fleet. He also convinced the wives of Greek commanders to betray their husbands.

BookSixXXXIX [p. 301] *Nero* [p. 549] sang his misfortunes.

Nemausus, modern **Nîmes**, in southern France, became a Roman colony sometime before 28BC. The name derived from a spring, possibly sacred to a local divinity Nemausus. Veterans of Caesar's Nile legions, settled there. Augustus made the city the capital of Narbonne province, fortified the city, which had an estimated population of 60,000, and commissioned the Forum, and an aqueduct to the north. It crossed the River Gard between Uzes and Remoulins as the spectacular Pont du Gard.

BookThreeXIII [p. 150] The citizens disapproved of *Tiberius* [p. 608], (who had been Governor of their province of Gallica Comata) during his *Rhodes* [p. 582] 'exile'.

Nemi, the *nemus Aricinum*, or 'grove of Aricia' was the site of the Roman cult and temple of Diana Nemorensis, a study of which served as the starting point for Sir James Frazer's seminal work on the anthropology of religion, *The Golden Bough*. It lies in the Alban Hills overlooking Lake Nemi, a volcanic crater-lake, 4 miles north-west of Velletri and about 18 miles south-east of Rome. The 'King of Nemi', priest of the sacred grove, was by tradition a fugitive slave, who obtained his office by killing his predecessor.

BookOneXLVI [p. 36] *Caesar* [p. 518] built a country mansion there which he subsequently had razed.

BookFourXXXV [p. 216] *Caligula* [p. 449] had the priest deposed by a stronger challenger.

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Neoptolemus was a tragic actor who played *Cinyras* on the day Philip II of Macedon was assassinated.

BookFourLVII [p. 229] *Mnester* [p. 544] ominously danced the tragedy *Cinyras* on the day of *Caligula's* [p. 449] assassination, which had been played at the death of *Philip* [p. 567] of Macedon.

Nepos, see *Cornelius* [p. 475].

Neptune, was the Roman god of the sea, equivalent to the Greek Poseidon.

BookTwoXVIII [p. 77] *Augustus* [p. 433] consecrated the site of his camp at *Actium* [p. 404] to the god.

BookFourLII [p. 226] *Caligula* [p. 449] liked to dress as him, carrying his emblem the trident.

Nero Julius Caesar Germanicus (c. 6AD – 30AD) was the son of *Germanicus* [p. 503] and *Agrippina* [p. 413] the Elder. In 20AD, he married *Julia* [p. 516], the daughter of *Drusus* [p. 488] the Younger. However, Nero was accused of treason, as was his mother, in 29AD. He was exiled to the island of *Pontia* [p. 575] (Ponza) where in 30AD he was either starved to death or induced to commit suicide.

BookThreeLIV [p. 173] *BookThreeLXI* [p. 177] *BookThreeLXIV* [p. 180] *BookFourVII* [p. 196] *BookFourXXX* [p. 213] Persecuted and driven to suicide by *Tiberius* [p. 608].

BookFourXII [p. 199] *Caligula* supposedly wished to avenge his death.

BookFourXV [p. 201] *Caligula* [p. 449] recovered his ashes from *Pontia* in 37AD.

BookFiveIX [p. 242] *Claudius* [p. 464] was charged with erecting a statue to him and his brother.

Nero, Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus (37AD – 68AD), born Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, also called Nero Claudius Caesar Drusus Germanicus, was Emperor from 54AD to 68AD, and was the last of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. In 68AD, the rebellion of *Vindex* [p. 623] in Gaul and later the acclamation of *Galba* [p. 500] in Hispania drove Nero from the throne. Facing assassination, he committed suicide.

BookFiveXXVII [p. 257] Nero married *Claudius's* [p. 464] daughter *Octavia* [p. 554] in 53AD.

BookFiveXXXIX [p. 264] Adopted by *Claudius* in 50AD.

BookFiveXLIII [p. 267] *Claudius* appeared to repent of having adopted him.

BookFiveXLV [p. 268] *Claudius's* death was concealed until Nero's succession was secured. Nero later ignored *Claudius's* deification.

BookSixI [p. 273] Suetonius's life of Nero follows.

BookSixXXI [p. 285] The references to tragedies sung by Nero would indicate his preoccupation with incest (Canace and Oedipus), matricide (Orestes), and madness (Hercules).

BookSevenI [p. 317] Nero was the last of the Caesars.

BookSevenVI [p. 320] *BookSevenVIII* [p. 322] *BookSevenX* [p. 323] *BookSevenXII* [p. 325] *BookSevenXV* [p. 326] *BookSevenXXVII* [p. 334] *BookSevenXXIX* [p. 335] *BookSevenXXXIII* [p. 338] *BookSevenXXXVII* [p. 342] *BookEightIV* [p. 363] *BookEightV* [p. 364] *BookEightV* [p. 364] *BookEightVI* [p. 366] *BookEightIX* [p. 369] *BookEightXIV* [p. 371] *BookEightXXV* [p. 376] *BookEightXXXII* [p. 380] *BookEightXXXVII* [p. 385] *BookEightL* [p. 396] Mentioned.

BookSevenIX [p. 322] *BookSevenX* [p. 323] Nero twice tried to have *Galba* [p. 500] assassinated, in 68AD.

BookSevenXXV [p. 332] *BookSevenXXVI* [p. 334] *Otho* [p. 558] was Nero's chief favourite, and privy to all his secrets.

BookSevenXXX [p. 336] Otho used Nero's name, and continued to recognise his reign, including granting money for completion of the Golden House.

BookSevenXXXIX [p. 344] *Vitellius* [p. 624] presided at the Neronia, the Games held in honour of Nero.

BookSevenXLVI [p. 348] Vitellius made offerings to Nero's shade in 69AD.

BookEightIV [p. 363] *BookEightV* [p. 364] *Vespasian* [p. 620] toured Greece in Nero's retinue.

BookEightXVIII [p. 373] The Colossus of Nero was the bronze statue of himself that Nero erected in the vestibule of the Golden House. Zenodorus created the statue between 64AD and 68AD. According to Pliny the Elder, it was 106.5 Roman Feet tall (30.3 metres). After Nero's death, Vespasian added a sun-ray crown and renamed it *Colossus Solis*, after the Roman sun god Sol Invictus. Circa 128AD *Hadrian* [p. 505] ordered the statue moved from the Golden House to just northwest of the Colosseum in order to create space for the Temple of Venus and Roma.

Nero the Pretender: a claimant, or Pseudo-Nero, appeared in 68AD/69AD in Greece, pretending to be Nero re-born, and was hunted down by *Galba's* [p. 500] troops (see Tacitus, *Histories* 2.8/9), while a second claimant, Terentius Maximus, apparently appeared in the reign of *Titus* [p. 612] c. 80AD, sought Parthian aid, was exposed and executed (see Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, LXVI.19.3). Yet a third claimant, mentioned here by Suetonius, appeared c. 88AD during *Domitian's* [p. 482] reign.

BookSixLVII [p. 312] Mentioned.

Nerulum was an ancient town in the interior of Lucania, mentioned by Livy during the wars of the Romans in that country, and was taken by assault by the consul Aemilius Barbula, 317BC (Liv. ix. 20). The only other notice of it is found in the Itineraries, suggesting it was situated on the high-road from Capua to Rhegium (modern Reggio di Calabria).

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BookTwoIV^[p. 69] A sneer that *Augustus*^[p. 433]' paternal grandfather came from there.

Nerva, Marcus Cocceius (30AD – 98AD), Roman Emperor from 96AD to 98AD, becoming emperor at the age of sixty-five, after a lifetime of imperial service under Nero and the Flavian dynasty. Under *Nero*^[p. 549], he was a member of the imperial entourage and played a vital part in exposing the *Pisonian*^[p. 450] conspiracy of 65AD. Later, as a loyalist to the Flavians, he attained consulships in 71 and 90 during the reigns of *Vespasian*^[p. 620] and *Domitian*^[p. 482] respectively.

BookEightXXXVII^[p. 385] Claims that he seduced the young Domitian.

BookEightXLI^[p. 389] The Forum of Nerva planned by Domitian was dedicated by Nerva in 97AD. Between the Forums of Julius and Augustus and the Temple of Peace, it enclosed a portion of the Argiletum, the thoroughfare that joined the Forum Romanum and the Subura district, and so was also known as the Forum Transitorium.

New Carthage, the Roman **Carthago Nova**, and modern Cartagena, is located in the southeastern region of Spain in the Murcia region. The town was originally named Mastia. With one of the best harbours in the Western Mediterranean, it was re-founded (c. 45BC - after 14AD) was consul in 13AD and Legate in 14AD. He married Aemilia Paula, daughter of *Aemilius*^[p. 408] Lepidus Paulus and Cornelia Lentula.

BookTwoCI^[p. 132] He was consul in 13AD when *Augustus*^[p. 433] made his last will.

Nicanor was a son of *Areus*^[p. 428] the Alexandrian philosopher.

BookTwoLXXXIX^[p. 121] *Augustus*^[p. 433] studied under him.

Nicomedes IV Philopator, King of *Bithynia*^[p. 440] from c. 94BC to 75/4BC. He was the son and successor of Nicomedes III. Deposed by *Mithridates*^[p. 543] the Great, he was re-instated by Rome in 84BC. As one of his last acts as king of Bithynia, in 74BC, Nicomedes bequeathed the kingdom of Bithynia to Rome. The Senate voted it as a new province. But this was disputed by Mithridates which led directly to the Third Mithridatic War.

BookOneII^[p. 12] *BookOneXLIX*^[p. 37] Caesar dallied so long at his court that a rumor of a homosexual relationship surfaced, leading to the disparaging title, 'the Queen of Bithynia', an allegation made much of by Caesar's political enemies later.

Nicopolis or **Actia Nicopolis** was an ancient city of Epirus about 4 miles north of modern Préveza, in northwestern Greece, opposite *Actium*^[p. 404] (now Áktion) at the mouth of the Ambracian Gulf (now Amvrakikós Gulf). It was founded in 31BC by *Octavian*^[p. 433] in memory of his victory at Actium. The colony, composed of settlers from towns of the neighboring countries proved highly successful, and the city was considered the capital of southern Epirus and Acarnania,

BookTwoXVIII [p. 77] Founded by Augustus.

Nigidius Figulus, Publius (c. 98BC – 45BC) was a friend of *Cicero* [p. 462], to whom he gave his support at the time of the *Catiline* [p. 458] conspiracy. Nigidius sided with *Pompey* [p. 573] in the Civil Wars and subsequently died in exile without receiving a pardon. Among his contemporaries, Nigidius's reputation for learning was second only to that of *Varro* [p. 604]. Even in his own time, his works were regarded as abstruse, containing esoteric Pythagoreanism, into which Nigidius incorporated Stoic elements. His vast works survive only in fragments preserved by other authors. By 63BC, Nigidius had been admitted to the Senate. He may have been aedile in 60BC, was praetor in 58BC, and a legate 52BC – 51BC in Asia.

BookTwoXCIV [p. 124] His prophecy concerning *Augustus* [p. 433].

Nola is a city of Campania, in the province of Naples, situated in the plain between Mount Vesuvius and the Apennines. It was one of the oldest cities of Campania, said to have been founded by the Ausones. It became a Roman colony under Augustus, who died there in 14AD.

BookTwoXCVIII [p. 128] *BookTwoC* [p. 131] *Augustus* [p. 433] died there, as did his father *Octavius* [p. 555].

BookThreeXL [p. 166] *Tiberius* [p. 608] dedicated a Temple of the God Augustus at Nola in 26AD.

Nonius Asprenas Torquatus, Gaius, was granted the surname Torquatus a revival of the name given originally to Titus Manlius.

BookTwoXLIII [p. 94] He was lamed by a fall during the *Troy* [p. 409] Game, and given a consolation prize of a gold torque and the surname by *Augustus* [p. 433].

BookTwoLVI [p. 102] He was charged with poisoning guests at a banquet, by *Cassius* [p. 458] Severus in 9BC, and acquitted. *Asinius* [p. 430] Pollio conducted the defence.

BookFourXXXV [p. 216] *Caligula* [p. 449] deprived his descendants of the emblem of the family.

Norbanus Flaccus, Gaius was the grandson of Gaius, the consul for 38BC a friend of *Augustus* [p. 433], and the son of Gaius the consul for 24BC with Augustus, and proconsul of Asia. The grandson was praetor in 11AD and consul in 15AD.

BookSevenXXXVIII [p. 343] *Vitellius* [p. 624] was born during his consulship in 15AD.

Novius Niger, a quaesitor or special commissioner appointed to conduct an investigation (quaestio) into the *Catiline* [p. 458] conspiracy.

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BookOneXVII [p. 19] He was imprisoned by *Caesar* [p. 518] for allowing the indictment of a superior (Caesar himself) to be presented in his investigative court.

Novum Comum, is **Como** the city in Lombardy, 28 miles north of Milan, and situated at the southern tip of the south-west arm of Lake Como. The town was situated on the nearby hills, but was moved to its current location by order of *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar, who had the swamp near the southern tip of the lake drained and laid the plan of the walled city in the typical Roman grid of perpendicular streets. The newly founded town was named Novum Comum and had the status of *municipium*.

BookOneXXVIII [p. 26] Caesar settled the town.

Nuceria, the modern **Nocera Inferiore**, is a town in Campania, at the foot of Monte Albino, 20 kilometres east-south-east of *Naples* [p. 547]. In 309BC it joined the Samnite revolt, but in 307BC it was besieged and surrendered. It obtained favourable terms, and subsequently remained loyal to Rome.

BookSevenXXXVI [p. 341] Members of the Vitelli settled there.

Nursia, modern **Norcia**, is a town in the province of Perugia in southeastern Umbria, located in a plain abutting Monti Sibillini, a subrange of the Apennines, near the Sordo River, that flows into the Nera. The town is associated with the Valnerina (the valley of that river). Settled by the Sabines in the 5th century BC, it became an ally of Rome in 205BC, during the Second Punic War, when it was known in Latin as **Nursia**.

BookTwoXII [p. 73] *Augustus* [p. 433] imposed a fine on the citizens for expressing Republican sentiments.

BookEightI [p. 361] *Vespasian's* [p. 620] maternal *grandfather* [p. 621] came from there. Vespia, a hilltop placename near the hamlet of Piandoli, south-west of Nursia may be the site of the Vespasii monuments mentioned.

Nymphidius Sabinus, Gaius (c. 35AD – 68AD) was a prefect of the imperial bodyguard, the Praetorian Guard, during the reign of *Nero* [p. 549], from 65AD until his death in 68AD. After Nero's death, he tried to assume power, claiming to be the illegitimate son of the former emperor *Caligula* [p. 449]. The Praetorians recognized Galba instead, and killed Nymphidius before Galba arrived in Rome.

BookSevenXI [p. 324] *BookSevenXVI* [p. 327] Mentioned as a rival to *Galba* [p. 500].

Nysa was the daughter of *Nicomedes IV* [p. 551].

BookOneXLIX [p. 37] Her interests were defended by *Caesar* [p. 518] in the Senate.

Octavia the Younger (69BC – c. 9BC), also known as **Octavia Minor** or simply Octavia, was the sister of the first Roman Emperor, *Augustus* [p. 433] (known also as Octavian), half-sister of *Octavia* [p. 554] the Elder, and fourth wife of Mark *Antony* [p. 422]. She was also the mother-in-law of the Emperor *Tiberius* [p. 608], great-grandmother of the Emperor *Caligula* [p. 449] and Empress *Agrippina* [p. 413] the Younger, maternal grandmother of the Emperor *Claudius* [p. 464], and paternal great-grandmother and maternal great-great grandmother of the Emperor *Nero* [p. 549]. Before 54BC her stepfather arranged her marriage to Gaius *Claudius Marcellus* [p. 536] Minor, consul in 50BC.

BookOneXXVII [p. 25] In 54BC, her great-uncle *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar is said to have been anxious for her to divorce her husband so that she could marry *Pompey* [p. 573] who had just lost his wife *Julia* [p. 514] (Julius Caesar's daughter, and thus Octavia's cousin once removed). However, Pompey declined the proposal marrying *Cornelia Metella*. Her husband Gaius *Marcellus* continued to oppose Julius Caesar particularly during the crucial year of his consulship 50BC.

BookTwoIV [p. 69] Mentioned, as sister of Augustus.

BookTwoXXIX [p. 85] The Porticus Octaviae built by Augustus some time after 27BC in place of the Porticus Metelli, enclosed within its colonnaded walks the temples of Jupiter Stator and Juno Regina, next to the Theatre of *Marcellus* [p. 536].

BookTwoLXI [p. 105] Her death, variously dated to 11BC - 9BC.

BookTwoLXIII [p. 106] *BookThreeVI* [p. 145] Her son *Marcellus* [p. 537] who married *Julia* [p. 515], and daughter *Claudia Marcella the Elder* who married *Agrippa* [p. 411].

BookTwoLXIV [p. 106] *Germanicus* [p. 503] was her grandson (son of her daughter by Mark Antony, *Antonia the Younger*).

BookTwoLXXIII [p. 113] She made clothes for *Augustus* [p. 433].

BookFiveXLI [p. 265] She warned the young *Claudius* [p. 464] over the sensitivity of the work on history he was writing.

Octavia the Elder also known as **Octavia Major** was the daughter of the Roman governor and senator Gaius *Octavius* [p. 555] by his first wife, *Ancharia* [p. 418]. She was also an elder half-sister to *Octavia* [p. 554] the Younger and the Emperor *Augustus* [p. 433].

BookTwoIV [p. 69] Mentioned.

Octavia, Claudia, (c. 40AD - 62AD) was a daughter of *Claudius* [p. 464] by his third marriage to *Valeria* [p. 616] Messalina. *Claudius* adopted *Agrippina* [p. 413] the Younger's son *Nero* [p. 549] as his son and heir and arranged for Octavia and Nero to marry in 53AD. Nero subsequently banished Octavia to the island of *Pandateria* [p. 560] on a false charge of adultery, and finally had her executed.

BookFiveXXIV [p. 254] Her prospective husband was Lucius *Junius* [p. 521] Silanus, but the engagement was ended through *Agrippina's* machinations.

BookFiveXXVII [p. 257] Mentioned.

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BookFiveXXIX [p. 259] Her fiancée Lucius Silanus was executed on Claudius's orders.

BookSixVII [p. 277] Her marriage with Nero

BookSixXXXV [p. 297] *BookSixXLVI* [p. 306] Her persecution by Nero ending in her execution.

BookSixLVII [p. 312] Nero died on the anniversary of her murder (9th June).

Octavius was a mentally disturbed individual

BookOneXLIX [p. 37] His abuse of *Caesar* [p. 518], derived from the relationship with *Nicomedes* [p. 551].

Octavius, of *Velitrae* [p. 618], was a military leader, of the Octavii family.

BookTwoI [p. 67] Mentioned.

Octavius, Gaius, the father of *Augustus* [p. 433], was praetor in 61BC. Subsequently proconsul of Macedonia, he defeated several Thracian tribes, and was saluted *imperator* by his troops. He died suddenly at *Nola* [p. 552] in 58BC.

BookTwoI [p. 67] Mentioned as the first of his family to enter the Senate.

BookTwoIII [p. 68] His career described.

BookTwoVI [p. 70] He defeated outlawed slaves near *Thurii* [p. 607].

BookTwoVIII [p. 71] He died when Augustus was five years old.

BookTwoXXVII [p. 83] His colleague as aedile was Gaius *Toranius* [p. 613].

BookTwoXCIV [p. 124] His prescient dream of Augustus' future power.

BookTwoC [p. 131] Augustus died in the same room at Nola as his father.

BookTwoCI [p. 132] Augustus exhausted his father's legacy to him on State expenditure.

Octavius, Gaius was the paternal great-grandfather of *Augustus* [p. 433], a *tribunus militum* in 216BC, during the Second Punic War. He survived the Battle of Cannae, and in 205BC served in Sicily under the praetor Lucius *Aemilius* [p. 408] Pappus.

BookTwoII [p. 67] Mentioned.

Octavius, Gaius was the paternal grandfather of Augustus, possessed considerable property, and lived quietly in his villa at *Velitrae* [p. 618]. He probably augmented his income by money-lending, for both Mark *Antony* [p. 422] and Cassius Parmensis called Augustus the grandson of a money-lender

Suetonius, The Twelve Caesars

BookTwoII [p. 67] *BookTwoVI* [p. 70] *BookTwoXCIV* [p. 124] Mentioned.

Octavius, Gnaeus and Gaius were the two sons of Octavius *Rufus* [p. 556]. The elder held high office while the younger remained a simple equestrian.

BookTwoII [p. 67] Mentioned.

Octavius, see *Augustus* [p. 433]

Octavius Rufus, Gaius (properly Gnaeus) quaestor c. 230BC, was the paternal ancestor of *Augustus* [p. 433].

BookTwoII [p. 67] Mentioned.

Oculata. The Oculata sisters were Vestal Virgins who broke their vows under *Domitian* [p. 482] and whom he had executed.

BookEightXLIV [p. 390] Mentioned.

Oedipus was the prince of Thebes who unknowingly killed his father, Laius, King of Thebes, taking his place and marrying his own mother Jocasta.

BookSixXLVI [p. 306] *Nero* [p. 549] sang the part of 'Oedipus in Exile'.

Olympia was an extensive sanctuary complex of ancient Greece in Elis, and the site of the Olympic Games, which were held every four years, starting in 776BC according to tradition.

BookFourXXII [p. 206] *BookFourLVII* [p. 229] The Statue of Zeus (Jupiter) at Olympia was made by the Greek sculptor Phidias, circa 432BC at the site where it was erected in the Temple of Zeus. Caligula ordered its disassembly and transport to Rome.

BookSixXII [p. 280] The Priestesses of *Demeter* [p. 460] were allowed to view the athletics contests there.

BookSixXXIII [p. 288] *BookSixXXV* [p. 289] *Nero* [p. 549] initiated a music competition as part of the Games in 67AD.

BookSixXXIV [p. 288] *Nero* drove a ten-horse chariot in the Games there.

Oppius, Gaius, was an intimate friend of Julius *Caesar* [p. 518]. He managed the dictator's private affairs during his absence from Rome, and, together with Lucius Cornelius Balbus, exercised considerable influence in the city. According to Suetonius many

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authorities considered Oppius to have written the histories of the Spanish, African and Alexandrian wars which are printed among the works of Caesar. It is now generally held that he may possibly be the author only of the last. He also wrote a life of Caesar and the elder Scipio.

BookOneLII [p. 39] Supposedly knew of *Caesarion's* [p. 448] paternity.

BookOneLIII [p. 40] His comment on Caesar's indifference to food.

BookOneLVI [p. 41] His possible authorship of some of Caesar's memoirs.

BookOneLXXII [p. 48] Caesar's kindness to him.

Oppius Sabinus, Gaius, was consul in 84AD, and Governor of *Moesia* [p. 544] in 85AD. In that year, he fought the *Dacians* [p. 479] near Novae. His force was destroyed and Sabinus decapitated.

BookEightXLII [p. 389] Mentioned.

Orcus was a god of the underworld in Roman mythology, more equivalent to the Roman Pluto than the Greek Hades. Orcus was by extension a name for the Underworld

BookSixXXXIX [p. 301] *Nero* [p. 549] is identified ironically as a 'Lord of the Dead'.

BookSevenXXXI [p. 337] *Otho* [p. 558] was sacrificing to Dis, originally a chthonic god of riches, fertile agricultural land, and underground mineral wealth, later commonly equated with the Roman deities Pluto and Orcus, becoming an underworld deity.

Orestes, in Greek mythology, was the son of *Agamemnon* [p. 411], murdered by his wife, Clytemnestra, in retribution for the sacrifice of their daughter Iphigeneia in order to obtain favorable winds for the Greek voyage to Troy. Orestes avenged his father's death by slaying his mother and her lover Aegisthus.

BookSixXXXIX [p. 301] His murder of his mother.

Ostia, the modern archaeological site known as **Ostia Antica**, was the main port for ancient Rome (19 miles northeast) and close to the modern town of Ostia. Once at the mouth (*ostia*) of the Tiber, due to silting and a drop in sea level, the site now lies 2 miles from the sea. The site is noted for the excellent preservation of its buildings, frescoes and mosaics. In 68BC, the town was sacked by pirates and destroyed. A walled town was re-built, by *Cicero* [p. 614]. The town was further developed under the influence of Tiberius, who commissioned its first Forum. A new harbor was excavated by *Claudius* [p. 464]. This harbour silted up, and another was built by Trajan and completed in 113AD. Ostia contained the earliest synagogue yet identified in Europe.

BookThreeX [p. 148] *BookThreeXI* [p. 149] *Tiberius* [p. 608] departed for *Rhodes* [p. 582] from Ostia in

6BC.

BookFourXV [p. 201] *Caligula* [p. 449] brought the ashes of his mother and brother Nero there.

BookFourLV [p. 228] Mentioned as a point of departure for North Africa.

BookFiveXII [p. 245] *Claudius* [p. 464] on a journey there.

BookFiveXVII [p. 249] Claudius sailed to Britain from there, but landed at Marseilles in 43AD.

BookFiveXX [p. 251] The Claudian harbour was started in 42AD and completed by *Nero* [p. 549] in 64AD.

BookFiveXXIV [p. 254] Claudius deprived the quaestors of their duties at Ostia.

BookFiveXXV [p. 255] *BookEightVIII* [p. 368] *Claudius* [p. 464] stationed troops there as firefighters.

BookFiveXXXVIII [p. 263] Claudius reprimanded its citizens for failing to meet him with boats when he reached the mouth of the Tiber.

BookFiveXL [p. 265] Claudius reacted angrily to a petition of the citizens.

BookSixXXVI [p. 283] *Nero* [p. 549] planned to extend Rome's walls to Ostia and build a sea-canal from there to the City.

BookSixXXXVII [p. 291] Nero sailed the Tiber to Ostia on pleasure cruises.

BookSixXXXI [p. 293] *Nero's* [p. 549] project to connect Ostia and *Misenum* [p. 544].

BookSixXLVII [p. 307] Nero thought of fleeing to Ostia during his last days.

Otho, Marcus Salvius (28th April 32AD – 69AD), also called Marcus Salvius Otho Caesar Augustus, was Emperor for three months, from 15 January to 16 April 69AD. He was the second emperor of the Year of the Four Emperors. Suetonius appears to miscalculate his age, 36, at death/interment, and also the length of his reign, ninety-two days, which agrees with Cassius Dio's ninety if the day Otho seized power and the day of his death are excluded from the reign.

BookSevenVI [p. 320] His reign foreshadowed.

BookSevenXVII [p. 328] The mutiny in Germany, and Galba's error, opened the way to his accession.

BookSevenXIX [p. 329] His coup against Galba.

BookSevenXX [p. 329] Galba's severed head delivered to him.

BookSevenXXIV [p. 332] Suetonius' life of Otho follows.

BookSevenXLIV [p. 347] *BookEightV* [p. 364] *BookEightVI* [p. 366] *Vitellius* [p. 624] attacked him after he heard news of *Galba's* [p. 500] assassination.

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BookSevenXLV [p. 347] Vitellius received news of Otho's death while still in Gaul.

BookEightXLVI [p. 392] Mentioned.

Paconius, Marcus, was a legatus of Gaius Junius Silanus (consul in 10AD, and proconsul of Asia), and one of his accusers in 22AD (prior to Silanus' banishment by Tiberius to the island of Cynthus). He was the father of Paconius Agrippinus the stoic philosopher.

BookThreeLXI [p. 177] He was executed by *Tiberius* [p. 608] for treason.

Pacuvius, Marcus (220BC - 130BC) was the greatest of the tragic poets of ancient Rome prior to Lucius *Accius* [p. 403]. He was the nephew and pupil of *Ennius* [p. 490].

BookOneLXXXIV [p. 57] A quotation from his play *Armorum Judicium*.

Paetus, Publius Clodius Thrasea, see *Clodius* [p. 469]

Palatine Hill, the hill is the most central of the Seven Hills of Rome and one of the most ancient parts of the city. It stands 40 metres above the *Forum* [p. 497] Romanum, looking down on it on one side, and on the *Circus* [p. 463] Maximus on the other. Many affluent Romans of the Republican period had their residences there. During the Empire several emperors resided there; in fact, the ruins of the palaces of *Augustus* [p. 433], *Tiberius* [p. 608], and *Domitian* [p. 482] can still be seen. Augustus also built a temple to *Apollo* [p. 425] there, beside his own palace. The Palatine Hill was also the site of the festival of the *Lupercalia* [p. 533].

BookTwoV [p. 69] Augustus born there in the Ox-Heads quarter.

BookTwoLVII [p. 103] *BookTwoLXXII* [p. 112] Augustus' house there destroyed by fire in 3AD, and rebuilt.

BookThreeV [p. 145] *Tiberius* [p. 608] born on the Palatine.

BookFourLVI [p. 228] The Palatine Games mentioned were held in honour of Augustus. Caligula was assassinated on the last day, the fourth, January 24th 41AD.

BookSixXXXI [p. 293] *BookSixXXXVIII* [p. 300] *Nero's* [p. 549] Golden House, the *Domus Aurea* complex, covered parts of the slopes of the Palatine, Esquiline and Caelian hills.

Palfurius Sura, was a courtier under *Nero* [p. 549], expelled from the Senate by *Vespasian* [p. 620] and re-instated by *Domitian* [p. 482] under whom he acted as an informer. He was a Stoic, and orator of some note. He was tried and executed under Trajan.

BookEightXLIX [p. 395] A public call for his re-instatement in the Senate.

Pallas, Marcus Antonius, (c. 1AD – 63AD) was a prominent Greek freedman and secretary during the reigns of the Emperors *Claudius* [p. 464] and *Nero* [p. 549]. His younger brother was Marcus Antonius *Felix* [p. 493], procurator of Iudaea. Pallas was originally a slave of *Antonia* [p. 420] the Younger, Claudius's mother. He served as secretary to the Treasury under Claudius and amassed great wealth. He was dismissed by Nero in 55AD and killed in 63AD.

BookFiveXXVIII [p. 258] A favourite of Claudius.

BookSixXXXV [p. 297] Poisoned by Nero.

Palumbus, meaning **the Dove**, was a gladiator, whose name *Claudius* [p. 464] made a joke on.

BookFiveXXI [p. 251] Mentioned.

Pandataria, or **Pandateria**, the modern **Ventotene**, is an island in the Tyrrhenian Sea, 25 nautical miles off the coast of Gaeta at the border between Lazio and Campania. It is the remains of an ancient volcano, and part of the Pontine Islands. The island has a length of 3 kilometres and a maximum width of about 800 metres. It is the island to which *Augustus* [p. 433] banished his daughter *Julia* [p. 515] the Elder in 2BC, and *Tiberius* [p. 608] banished his grandniece *Agrippina* [p. 413] the Elder in 29AD. It was also where Agrippina's youngest daughter, Julia *Livilla* [p. 517] was exiled twice; by her brother *Caligula* [p. 449] for plotting to depose him, and by her uncle, *Claudius* [p. 464], at the instigation of his wife, *Messalina* [p. 542], in 41AD. Claudia Octavia, the first wife of Nero, was banished to Pandateria in 62AD and executed on the orders of her husband.

BookThreeLIII [p. 173] Agrippina's banishment there.

BookFourXV [p. 201] Caligula recovered Agrippina's ashes from there in 37AD.

Paneros, was a noted moneylender under Nero.

BookSixXXX [p. 292] *Nero* [p. 549] lavished gifts and money on him.

Pannonians were the Illyrian inhabitants of Pannonia the Roman province, bounded north and east by the Danube, coterminous westward with Noricum and upper Italy, and southward with Dalmatia and upper Moesia. In 35BC as allies of the *Dalmatians* [p. 480] they were attacked by Augustus, who conquered and occupied Siscia (Sisak). The country was not, however subdued until 9BC, when it was incorporated into *Illyricum* [p. 510], the frontier of which was thus extended as far as the Danube. In 6AD, the Pannonians, with the Dalmatians and other Illyrian tribes, revolted, and were overcome by Tiberius and *Germanicus* [p. 503], after a three year campaign. Later Illyricum was dissolved, its lands divided between two new provinces of Pannonia in the north and Dalmatia in the south.

BookTwoXX [p. 79] *BookTwoXXI* [p. 79] *Augustus* [p. 433]' generals campaigned there.

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BookThreeXVII [p. 153] *Tiberius* [p. 608]' successful campaign there in 6AD - 9AD.

BookThreeXX [p. 155] *Bato* [p. 438] was a chieftain of the Pannonians.

BookSevenXXXII [p. 338] *Otho* [p. 558] drew on troops from Pannonia in 69AD.

BookSevenL [p. 351] The legions in Pannonia swore allegiance to *Vespasian* [p. 620] in 69AD.

Pansa, see *Vibius* [p. 622]

Paphos, old **Paphos**, modern **Kouklia**, on Cyprus, was not far distant from the Zephyrium promontory and the mouth of the River Bocarus, about 16 kilometres from new Paphos, the modern city. The temple of Venus-Aphrodite there was rebuilt by Vespasian after an earthquake.

BookEightXXX [p. 379] *Titus* [p. 612] consulted the oracle of *Venus* [p. 619]-Aphrodite there.

Parilia, or **Palilia**, was the festival celebrated at Rome every year on the 21st of April, in honour of Pales, the tutelary divinity of shepherds. This was also the day of the year on which Romulus supposedly commenced the building of the city, so that the festival was at the same time solemnized as the birthday of Rome itself.

BookFourXVI [p. 203] *Caligula's* [p. 449] accession was presumably dated by the Senate decree as taking place on the Parilia. He had entered Rome on the 28th March 37AD, after *Tiberius's* [p. 608] death on the 16th.

Paris, Lucius Domitius, was an actor in the Roman theatre of *Nero's* [p. 549] time. He was a slave of Domitia *Lepida* [p. 482] who became wealthy enough to buy his freedom, adding her praenomen and cognomen to his own name. Nero later declared him freeborn, despite his involvement in Lepida's plotting.

BookSixLIV [p. 311] It was claimed he was executed by Nero (in 67AD), out of jealousy.

Paris was the prince of Troy who abducted and married Helen of Sparta, thereby initiating the Trojan War, according to *Homer's* [p. 508] *Iliad*.

BookEightXLVI [p. 392] Oenone was a mountain nymph, Paris's first wife, whom he abandoned for Helen.

Paris was an actor in the Roman theatre of *Domitian's* [p. 482] time. According to Suetonius he had an affair with Domitian's wife *Domitia* [p. 482] Augusta.

BookEightXXXIX [p. 387] Mentioned.

BookEightXLVI [p. 392] Perhaps this implies that he had Paris executed also.

Parrhasius of Ephesus was the son of Evenor. He settled in Athens, and was distinguished as a painter before 399BC. His picture of Theseus adorned the Capitol in Rome. His other works, besides the obscene subjects with which he is said to have amused his leisure, are chiefly mythological groups.

BookThreeXLIV [p. 168] An erotic painting by him.

Parthenius of Nicaea, or **Myrlea** in Bithynia, was a Greek grammarian and poet. He was taken prisoner by Cinna during the Mithridatic Wars and brought to Rome in 72BC. He subsequently visited Neapolis, where he taught Greek to Virgil, according to Macrobius. He is said to have lived until the accession of Tiberius in 14AD. He was a writer of elegies, especially dirges, and of short epic poems, and was sometimes called 'the last of the Alexandrians'.

BookThreeLXX [p. 183] One of *Tiberius's* [p. 608] favourite poets.

Parthenius was *Domitian's* [p. 482] Head Valet, who took part in the conspiracy to assassinate the Emperor in 96AD. He persuaded *Nerva* [p. 551] to take power but was killed shortly afterwards by soldiers, along with the other conspirators.

BookEightLII [p. 398] *BookEightLIII* [p. 399] His involvement in the plot.

Parthians, Parthia is a region of north-eastern Iran, best known for having been the political and cultural base of the Arsacid dynasty, rulers of the Parthian Empire. The Romans and Parthians fought a series of wars beginning with Crassus' invasion in 52BC - 53BC and ending with Macrinus' ignominious defeat and retreat in 217AD. During this time it became clear to both sides that a natural boundary existed in northern Mesopotamia beyond which it was difficult, if not impossible, for either side to maintain a permanent foothold.

BookOneXLIV [p. 35] *BookTwoVIII* [p. 71] *Caesar's* [p. 518] plans to attack them in 45BC.

BookOneLXXIX [p. 52] It was prophesied that only a king would conquer them.

BookTwoXIX [p. 78] *Asinius* [p. 430] Epicadus a mixed-race conspirator of Parthian descent.

BookTwoXXI [p. 79] They accepted Augustus' claim to *Armenia* [p. 428] (Mark Antony had annexed in it 34BC)

BookTwoXLIII [p. 94] *Augustus* [p. 433] paraded Parthian hostages at the Games.

BookThreeIX [p. 147] *Crassus* [p. 526] lost the standards there, and was killed, in 53BC.

BookThreeXVI [p. 153] They send envoys to Augustus (c. 4AD).

BookThreeXLI [p. 167] Allowed to overrun *Armenia* [p. 428] c. 30AD - 37AD.

BookThreeXLIX [p. 170] *Vonones* [p. 627] I was king of Parthia and later Armenia.

BookFourV [p. 195] Tokens of mourning in the Parthian court at *Germanicus's* [p. 503] death.

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BookFiveXXV [p. 255] Their envoys at the court of *Claudius* [p. 464].

BookSixXXXIX [p. 301] The Parthians were noted archers, firing from horseback.

BookSixXLVII [p. 307] *Nero* [p. 549] considered throwing himself on their mercy during his last days.

BookSixLVII [p. 312] Their support mentioned for the Pseudo-Neros, who claimed to be reincarnations of Nero (c. 80AD and 88AD).

BookSevenXXXVII [p. 342] *Artabanus* [p. 429] II their king (c. 10AD - 38AD).

BookEightVI [p. 366] *BookEightXXXVIII* [p. 386] *Vologases* [p. 626] 1 was their king (c. 51AD - 78AD)

BookEightXXIII [p. 375] Their king referred to, possibly the accession of Vologases II, or Pacorus II his uncle who deposed him c. 79AD.

Pasiphae, the wife of *Minos* [p. 543] of Crete in Greek mythology, was impregnated by a bull from the sea.

BookSixXII [p. 280] The myth was enacted at *Nero's* [p. 549] entertainment.

BookSevenII [p. 318] *Galba* [p. 500] traced his maternal ancestry back to Pasiphae.

Passienus Crispus, Gaius Sallustius (d. 47AD) was the adopted grandson and biological great, great nephew of the historian *Sallust* [p. 585]. He was consul in 27AD and 44AD. His first marriage was to Augustus' great niece *Domitia* [p. 482] in 33AD. Passienus married *Agrippina* [p. 413] the Younger in 41AD. His stepson was Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, who would later become the Roman Emperor Nero. Passienus died in 47AD, possibly poisoned by his wife.

BookSixVI [p. 276] He bequeathed an inheritance to his stepson *Nero* [p. 549].

Patavium, the modern **Padua**, is on the Bacchiglione River, 40 km west of Venice and 29 km southeast of Vicenza. The Brenta River, which once ran through the city, still touches the northern districts. To the city's south west lie the Euganean Hills. Padua claims to be the oldest city in northern Italy. According to tradition it was founded in 1183BC by the Trojan prince Antenor. The city was a Roman *municipium* from 45BC. The hot springs at Abano Terme, 10km southwest, were known to the Romans as *Aponi fons* (the springs of Aponus, or perhaps Maponus the Celtic god equated with Apollo, and celebrated as Apollo Aponus at Ribchester). An oracle of Geryon (whose myth is connected to Heracles, the sun-hero, and whose island lay in the far west, and who is perhaps therefore a mask of Apollo) was situated nearby, and the *sortes Praenestinae*, small inscribed bronze cylinders found there in the 16th century, may have been the oracular lots.

BookThreeXIV [p. 151] *Tiberius* [p. 608] consulted the oracle nearby.

Patrobius Neronianus was a favourite freedman of *Nero's* [p. 549] put to death by Galba in 68AD after being paraded in chains through Rome.

BookSevenXX [p. 329] His freedman avenged him, by purchasing *Galba's* [p. 500] severed head in order to throw it down on the spot where his patron was killed.

Paulus, see *Aemilius* [p. 408]

Pedius, Quintus (d. 43BC) was the great nephew of Julius *Caesar* [p. 518]. In 57BC he served as general during Caesar's conquest of Gaul. During the Civil War in 49BC, he allied himself with Caesar. In 48BC, he was promoted to the praetorship in Rome and in that year killed Titus Annius *Milo* [p. 543]. In early 45BC, he served as a legatus against Sextus *Pompeius* [p. 572] in Spain. Pedius claimed victory and Caesar honored him with a triumph and the title of proconsul. In Caesar's will, Pedius was named as an heir, but renounced his inheritance in favor of the main heir, his cousin Octavian (*Augustus* [p. 433]). In August 43BC, Octavian and Pedius were elected as consuls after marching on Rome with an army. During the consulship, Pedius created a law called the *Lex Pedia* which sentenced the murderers of Caesar or those who called for Caesar's death. Pedius controlled Rome, while Octavian left for Northern Italy to join Mark Antony and Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, in forming the Second Triumvirate.

BookOneLXXXIII [p. 56] He inherited an eighth of Caesar's estate.

BookSixIII [p. 275] *Gnaeus* [p. 484] Domitius was condemned under the *Lex Pedia*.

BookSevenIII [p. 318] *Galba's* [p. 500] *great-grandfather* [p. 601] condemned under the *Lex Pedia*.

Peloponnese, is the large peninsula and region in southern Greece, forming the part of the country south of the Gulf of Corinth. During the late Middle Ages and the Ottoman era, the peninsula was known as the Morea a name still in colloquial use.

BookTwoXVII [p. 76] *Augustus* [p. 433] met with a storm at sea between there and *Aetolia* [p. 410] in 30BC.

Pergamon, Pergamum or **Pérgamo** was an ancient Greek city in modern-day Turkey, in Mysia, today located 16 miles (26 km) from the Aegean on a promontory on the north side of the river Caicus (modern Bakırçay), and was the capital of the Kingdom of Pergamon during the Hellenistic period, under the Attalid dynasty, 281BC – 133BC. The main sites of ancient Pergamon are to the north and west of the modern city of Bergama.

BookTwoLXXXIX [p. 121] *Augustus* [p. 433] studied under *Apollodorus* [p. 425] of Pergamon.

Perusia, modern **Perugia**, first appears as one of the 12 confederate cities of Etruria. It is first mentioned in the account of the war of 310/309BC between the Etruscans and

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the Romans. In 216BC and 205BC it assisted Rome in the Hannibalic war, but afterward it is not mentioned until 41BC - 40BC, when Lucius *Antonius* [p. 421] took refuge there and the city was reduced by Octavian after a long siege.

BookTwoIX [p. 71] *BookTwoXIV* [p. 74] *BookTwoXV* [p. 75] *Augustus* [p. 433] (Octavian) involved in civil war there.

BookTwoXCVI [p. 128] A prophecy of Augustus' victory there.

BookThreeIV [p. 144] *Tiberius* [p. 608] father, *Tiberius Nero* [p. 610], fought there.

Petreius, Marcus (110BC – April 46BC) was a politician and general. He cornered and killed the notorious rebel *Catiline* [p. 458] at Pistoria. From 55BC, he and Lucius *Afranius* [p. 410] administered the Spanish provinces as Legates, while the official governor *Pompey* [p. 573] remained in Rome. After the outbreak of the Civil War in 49BC, Petreius and Afranius marched against Caesar, who wished to secure Spain before moving against Pompey in Greece. The two Legates were forced to capitulate and disband their army on August 2 at Ilerda. Caesar allowed Petreius and Afranius their freedom, and the two traveled to Greece to join Pompey. After Pompey's defeat at *Pharsalus* [p. 566], they fled from the Peloponnese to North Africa, where Petreius continued to serve as Legate. Together with Titus *Labienus* [p. 523], Petreius again achieved several successes against Caesar. After the defeat of the Pompeians at Thapsus, Petreius fled with the Numidian King, *Juba* [p. 513]. As they realized the hopelessness of their situation, Petreius and Juba took their lives on an estate near Zama: Petreius and Juba decided upon a duel, in which Petreius killed Juba. Petreius then took his own life with the help of a slave.

BookOneXXXIV [p. 29] Defeated by *Caesar* [p. 518] in Spain.

BookOneLXXV [p. 50] His behaviour at *Ilerda* [p. 510].

Petronia was the first wife (before 40AD) of the emperor *Vitellius* [p. 624] and the daughter of Petronius Pontius Nigrinus. She and Vitellius had a son Aulus Vitellius *Petronianus* [p. 565]. She subsequently married Cornelius *Dolabella* [p. 474] who was executed on Vitellius's accession in 69AD.

BookSevenXLI [p. 345] Mentioned.

Petronianus was the son of *Vitellius* [p. 624] and *Petronia* [p. 565]. He was blind in one eye.

BookSevenXLI [p. 345] Murdered by his father.

Phaethon, in Greek mythology, was the son of the Sun-god, Helios, who borrowed his father's chariot and was unable to control the horses of the sun, thereby scorching the earth and falling from the chariot to his death.

BookFourXI [p. 199] *Caligula* [p. 449] likened to him.

Phaon was a freedman of the Emperor *Nero* [p. 549].

BookSixXLVIII [p. 307] *BookSixXLIX* [p. 308] He offered his villa in the north-eastern suburbs as a hiding place for Nero. The Via Nomentana ran from Rome to Nomentum (Mentana), it merged beyond Nomentum with the Via Salaria which ran from Rome to Castrum Truentinum (Porto d'Ascoli) on the Adriatic coast.

Pharmacussa, modern **Pharmakonisi (Farmakonisi)**, is an island between the Dodecanese islands to the west, and the coast of Asia Minor (Turkey) to the east. To the north is the island of Agathonissi, to the west the islands of Lipsi, Patmos and Leros, and to the south the islands of Kalymnos and Pserimos. It is two square miles in area, and known traditionally for its rich flora, hence the name.

BookOneIV [p. 13] *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar was captured by pirates off the island.

Pharnaces II, (d. 47BC) was the son of *Mithridates* [p. 543] VI, an enemy of the Roman Republic. In 49BC, civil war broke out between Julius Caesar and Pompey, and Pharnaces made himself ruler of Colchis and Lesser Armenia. Deiotarus, the king of Lesser and the Romans fought Pharnaces at Nicopolis in Anatolia. Pharnaces defeated the small Roman army and overran Pontus. Caesar subsequently brought him to battle near Zela (modern Zile in Turkey), where Pharnaces was routed and escaped with a small detachment of cavalry. The historian Appian states that he died in battle; Cassius Dio says he was captured and killed.

BookOneXXXV [p. 30] *Caesar's* [p. 518] victory at *Zela* [p. 627].

Pharsalus, now Farsala, is a city in southern Thessaly, in Greece, located in the southern part of Larissa Prefecture. A decisive battle of *Caesar's* [p. 518] Civil War was fought there, on 9 August 48BC when Caesar and his allies defeated *Pompey* [p. 573].

BookOneXXX [p. 27] Mentioned.

BookOneXXXV [p. 30] Pompey defeated there.

BookOneLXIII [p. 45] An incident after the battle, when Caesar crossed the Hellespont.

BookOneLXXV [p. 50] Caesar's clemency there.

BookSixII [p. 274] *Lucius Domitius* [p. 485] Ahenobarbus, the consul of 54BC, died there.

BookEightI [p. 361] *Vespasian's* [p. 620] paternal grandfather fought there.

Philemon was a slave who acted as *Caesar's* [p. 518] amanuensis.

BookOneLXXIV [p. 49] He conspired to poison Caesar, the plot failed, and was executed, but Caesar showed clemency in not having him tortured.

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Philip II (382BC – 336BC) was king of Macedon from 359BC until his assassination in 336BC. He was the father of *Alexander* [p. 415] the Great. He was reputedly killed by one of his bodyguards, Pausanias of Orestis.

BookFourLVII [p. 229] *Mnester* [p. 544] ominously danced the tragedy *Cinyras* on the day of *Caligula's* [p. 449] assassination, which had been played at the death of Philip.

Philippi was the final battle in the Wars of the Second Triumvirate between the forces of Mark *Antony* [p. 422] and Octavian and those of Julius *Caesar's* [p. 518] assassins Marcus Junius *Brutus* [p. 444] and Gaius *Cassius* [p. 456] Longinus. It took place in 42BC, at Philippi in Macedonia. Cassius was defeated by Antony, and committed suicide after hearing a false report that Brutus had also failed. A second encounter defeated Brutus' forces, and he committed suicide in turn, leaving the Triumvirate in control of the Roman Republic.

BookTwoIX [p. 71] *BookTwoXIII* [p. 73] *Augustus* [p. 433] (Octavian) involved in civil war there.

BookTwoXXII [p. 80] Augustus received an ovation or minor triumph after Philippi in 40BC.

BookTwoXCI [p. 122] A warning in a friend's dream that saved Augustus' life there.

BookTwoXCVI [p. 128] A prophecy of Augustus' victory there.

BookThreeV [p. 145] *Tiberius* [p. 608] born during the Civil War that ended there.

BookThreeXIV [p. 151] The altars there burst into flame when Tiberius passed by in 20BC.

Phoebe, was a freedwoman in *Julia* [p. 515] the Elder's confidence who committed suicide.

BookTwoLXV [p. 107] Mentioned.

Phyllis was nurse to *Domitian* [p. 482]. She cremated his body and mingled the ashes with those of *Flavia* [p. 494] Julia Titi, who had also been one of her charges.

BookEightLIII [p. 399] Mentioned.

Picenum, a region of ancient Italy, was the birthplace of *Pompey* [p. 573] and his father Pompeius Strabo. It was situated in what is now the region of Marche in modern Italy.

BookOneXXXIV [p. 29] Overrun by *Caesar* [p. 518].

Pinarius, a knight suspected of being a spy by *Augustus* [p. 433].

BookTwoXXVII [p. 83] Mentioned.

Pinarius Scarpus, Lucius was a great nephew of the dictator Gaius Julius *Caesar* [p. 518] through one of his sisters (*sorum nepotes*). His cousins were the consul Quintus *Pedius* [p. 564], Octavia Minor (the fourth wife of Triumvir Mark *Antony* [p. 422]) and Octavian (*Augustus* [p. 433]).

BookOneLXXXIII [p. 56] He inherited an eighth of Caesar's estate.

Pincian Hill: the hill lies to the north of the Quirinal, overlooking the *Campus* [p. 452] Martius. Several important families in Ancient Rome had villas and gardens (*horti*) on the south-facing slopes in the late Roman Republic, including the Horti Lucullani (created by Lucullus), the Horti Sallustiani (created by the historian Sallust), the Horti Pompeiani, and the Horti Aciliorum. The hill came to be known in Roman times as *Collis Hortulorum* (the Hill of Gardens). Its current name comes from the Pincii, one of the families that occupied it in the 4th century AD.

BookSixL [p. 309] The site of the family tomb of the Domitii.

Piso, see *Calpurnius* [p. 451]

Pitholaus, Lucius or Marcus, Voltacilius, was an orator and historian. From 81BC onwards he taught rhetoric in Rome, and his students included *Pompey* [p. 573] whose biography he wrote. He also produced a history of Rome (Suetonius *De illustribus Grammaticis*, 27). The Pitholeon mentioned in Horace's Satires (1, 10, 22), has been claimed as the same person.

BookOneLXXV [p. 50] Lamponed *Caesar* [p. 518] but was not prosecuted.

Placentia, the modern **Piacenza**, is a city in the Emilia-Romagna region of northern Italy. It lies at the confluence of the Trebbia, which drains the northern Apennines, and the River Po. Piacenza (like Cremona) was founded as a Roman military colony in May of 218BC.

BookOneLXIX [p. 47] In 47BC, Caesar faced a mutiny of his veteran Gallic legions billeted in Placentia, who refused to cross to Africa to fight Pompey. He disbanded the Ninth before re-instating it, while the Tenth marched to Rome demanding their discharges, back-pay and bonuses.

BookSevenXXXII [p. 338] *Otho's* [p. 558] army won a minor engagement there in 69AD.

Plancus, see *Munatius* [p. 546]

Plautia Urgulanilla was the first wife of Claudius. Claudius divorced her c. 24AD, on grounds of adultery and his suspicion of her involvement in the murder of her sister-in-

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law Apronia. Her father was Marcus *Plautius* [p. 569] *Silvanus*, consul for the year 2BC. She gave birth to a son, Claudius *Drusus* [p. 486] (who died young), and a daughter, *Claudia* [p. 463], who was born five months after the divorce. As Claudia was widely assumed to be the illegitimate daughter of the freedman *Boter* [p. 441], Claudius repudiated the child.

BookFiveXXVI [p. 256] First wife of *Claudius* [p. 464].

BookFiveXXVII [p. 257] Her children Drusus and Claudia.

Plautius, Aulus was suffect consul for the second half of 29AD, and held a provincial governorship, probably of Pannonia, in the early years of Claudius's reign. He led the Roman conquest of Britain in 43AD, and became the first governor of the new province, serving from 43AD to 47AD.

BookFiveXXIV [p. 254] Awarded an ovation by *Claudius* [p. 464].

BookEightIV [p. 363] *Vespasian* [p. 620] fought under him in Britain.

Plautius, Aulus was possibly the son of the Aulus *Plautius* [p. 569] who conquered Britain. He was allegedly the lover of *Agrippina* [p. 413] the Younger, and was murdered by *Nero* [p. 549].

BookSixXXXV [p. 297] His murder.

Plautius, Rufus, was convicted of conspiring against *Augustus* [p. 433] possibly in 6BC.

BookTwoXIX [p. 78] Mentioned.

Plautius Silvanus, Marcus, was consul in 2BC and proconsul of Asia in 4AD - 5AD. He also served in Pannonia in 9AD, and Dalmatia and Illyricum in the time of the Great Illyrian Revolt. He had a son of the same name who was praetor in 24AD, and a daughter *Plautia Urgulanilla* [p. 568] who married *Claudius* [p. 464] c. 9AD.

BookFiveIV [p. 240] His son mentioned.

Plinius Secundus, Gaius (23AD – 79AD), known as Pliny the Elder, was an author, naturalist, and natural philosopher, as well as naval and army commander of the early Roman Empire, and personal friend of the emperor *Vespasian* [p. 620]. He wrote an encyclopedic work, *Naturalis Historia*. He died on August 25, 79AD, while attempting a rescue by ship from the eruption of Mount *Vesuvius* [p. 622] which destroyed Pompeii and Herculaneum.

BookFourVIII [p. 196] One of Suetonius's sources.

Plotius, unknown sponsor of a bill to recall Lucius Cornelius *Cinna* [p. 473] and others from exile.

BookOneV [p. 13] Mentioned.

Polemon Pythodorus, Marcus Antonius, Polemon II of Pontus (c. 11BC - 74AD) was a Roman client king. Through his maternal grandmother he was a direct descendant of Mark *Antony* [p. 422]. In 38AD, he succeeded his mother as the sole ruler of Pontus, Colchis and Cilicia. In 62, Nero induced Polemon to abdicate the Pontian throne, and Pontus, including Colchis, became a Roman province. From then until his death, Polemon only ruled Cilicia.

BookSixXVIII [p. 284] Pontus was changed from a client kingdom to a province by *Nero* [p. 549] in 62AD.

Polla, see *Vespasia* [p. 620]

Pollentia, modern **Pollenzo**, is a city the left bank of the Tanaroin the Province of Cuneo, Piedmont. In antiquity Pollentia was in the territory of the Ligurian Statielli, with Augusta Bagiennorum (modern Roncaglia) 16 km to its south. Its position on the road from Augusta Taurinorum (modern Turin) to the coast at Vada Sabatia (modern Vado Ligure, near Savona), at the point of divergence of a road to Hasta (modern Asti) gave it military importance. *Decimus* [p. 443] Brutus managed to occupy it an hour before Mark *Antony* [p. 422] in 43BC.

BookThreeXXXVII [p. 164] Punished by *Tiberius* [p. 608].

Pollio, see *Asinius* [p. 430], *Clodius* [p. 469], *Vespasius* [p. 621]

Pollux, or **Polydeuces**, and Castor were twin brothers in Greek and Roman mythology, the Dioscuri or Gemini. They were the sons of Leda by Tyndareus and Zeus respectively. Their role as divine horsemen made them particularly attractive to the Roman *equites* and cavalry. Each year on July 15, the feast day of the Dioskouroi, the 1,800 equestrians would parade through the streets of Rome in an elaborate spectacle. The construction of the Temple of Castor and Pollux, in the Roman Forum was undertaken to fulfil a vow sworn by Aulus Postumius Albus Regillensis in gratitude for the Roman victory at the Battle of Lake Regillus c. 498BC. According to legend, the twins fought at the head of the Roman army and subsequently brought news of the victory back to Rome.

BookOneX [p. 16] Mentioned.

BookThreeXX [p. 155] *BookFourXXII* [p. 206] The archaic temple was completely reconstructed and enlarged in 117BC by Lucius Cecilius Metellus Dalmaticus after his victory over the Dalmatians. Gaius Verres again restored this second temple in 73BC.

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Tiberius [p. 608] rebuilt and restored the Temple, destroyed by fire in 14BC, and rededicated it in 6AD. The remains visible today are from the temple of Tiberius, except the podium, which is from the time of Metellus. *Caligula* [p. 449] incorporated the Temple into the Palace complex, as its vestibule.

BookSixI [p. 273] The twins' presence at the battle of Lake Regillus. They sent Lucius *Domitius* [p. 484] to carry the news of the victory to Rome.

Polus was a freedman of *Augustus* [p. 433] forced to take his own life for adultery with Roman wives.

BookTwoLXVII [p. 109] Mentioned.

Polybius, was a freedman secretary of Augustus.

BookTwoCI [p. 132] He helped transcribe *Augustus* [p. 433]' last will in 13AD.

Polybius, Gaius Iulius, was a freedman of *Claudius's* [p. 464] who assisted Claudius as a researcher and took up an official role in the imperial bureaucracy, with the title 'a studiis'. He was executed for crimes against the state.

BookFiveXXVIII [p. 258] Granted special privileges.

Polycrates, son of Aeaces, was the 'enlightened' tyrant of *Samos* [p. 587] from c. 538BC to 522BC. He plundered the islands of the Aegean and the cities on the Ionian coast of Asia Minor, defeating the navies of Lesbos and Miletus. On Samos he built an aqueduct, a temple of Hera (the Heraion) and a palace.

BookFourXXI [p. 205] *Caligula* [p. 449] planned to restore his palace on Samos, mentioned by Herodotus (*History of the Persian Wars*, Book III:42). Its site was at Pythagorion.

Pompeia, daughter of Quintus *Pompeius* [p. 574] Rufus, a son of a former consul, and Cornelia, the daughter of the Roman dictator Lucius Cornelius *Sulla* [p. 599], was the second wife of *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar.

BookOneVI [p. 14] Marriage and divorce.

BookOneLXXIV [p. 49] Accused of adultery with *Publius* [p. 469] Clodius.

Pompeia Magna, daughter of *Pompey* [p. 573], (b. 80/75BC – d. before 35BC) was the only daughter and second child born of Pompey from his third marriage, to Mucia Tertia. Her eldest brother was Gnaeus Pompeius and her younger brother was *Sextus* [p. 572] Pompey. Pompeia was betrothed to Quintus Servilius Caepio, but married *Faustus* [p. 599] Cornelius Sulla, a politician who was the son of the dictator Lucius Cornelius *Sulla*

[p. 599] by his wife Caecilia Metella. In about 47BC, Faustus died in the African War against Julius Caesar. Her two sons fell into Caesar's hands however he dismissed and pardoned them. After 46BC, Pompeia married politician Lucius Cornelius Cinna, who was brother of Julius Caesar's first wife Cornelia Cinna minor and the maternal uncle of Caesar's late daughter with Cornelia, Julia Caesaris.

BookOneXXVII [p. 25] *Caesar* [p. 518] asked unsuccessfully for her hand as part of a political arrangement with Pompey.

BookThreeVI [p. 145] Her gifts to the infant *Tiberius* [p. 608] in 40BC.

Pompeius, was an unknown Equestrian who annoyed *Tiberius* [p. 608] in the Senate.

BookThreeLVII [p. 175] Mentioned.

Pompeius, Sextus, was consul in the year of *Augustus* [p. 433]' death. He was a descendant of *Pompey* [p. 573] the Great, was related to Augustus, was a friend of *Germanicus* [p. 503], and became proconsul of Asia.

BookTwoC [p. 131] He was consul in 14AD.

Pompeius Magnus Pius, Sextus (67BC - 35BC), or Sextus Pompey, was the youngest son of *Pompey* [p. 573] the Great (Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus) by his third wife, Mucia Tertia. His elder brother was Gnaeus Pompeius. In 45BC, Caesar managed to defeat the Pompeius brothers at the battle of *Munda* [p. 546], in Hispania (the Iberian Peninsula, comprising modern Spain and Portugal). Gnaeus Pompeius was executed, but Sextus escaped to Sicily. Following concerted opposition to Mark *Antony* [p. 422] he was captured in Miletus in 35BC and executed without trial (an illegal act since Sextus was a Roman citizen).

BookOneXXXV [p. 30] *BookOneXXXVI* [p. 31] *BookTwoVIII* [p. 71] *BookTwoIX* [p. 71] Defeated by the forces of *Augustus* [p. 433] (Octavian) at Munda in 45BC.

BookTwoXVI [p. 75] *BookTwoXLVII* [p. 98] Defeated in the naval battles at *Mylae* [p. 546] and *Naulochus* [p. 548] in 36BC.

BookTwoLXVII [p. 109] He accused Augustus of homosexuality.

BookTwoLXXIV [p. 114] His admiral *Menas* [p. 541] betrayed him.

BookThreeIV [p. 144] He offended *Tiberius* [p. 608] father, *Tiberius Nero* [p. 610].

BookThreeVI [p. 145] His sister *Pompeia* [p. 571] Magna.

Pompeius Macer, Gnaeus, a praetor in Tiberius' reign, he had been appointed by Augustus to oversee the setting in order of his libraries.

BookOneLVI [p. 41] Forbidden by *Augustus* [p. 433] to circulate some of Caesar's minor

works.

Pompeius Magnus, Gnaeus (Pompey) (106BC – 48BC) He came from a wealthy Italian provincial background, and established himself in the ranks of the nobility by successful leadership in several campaigns. Sulla addressed him by the cognomen *Magnus* (the Great) and he was awarded three *triumphs*. He joined his rival Marcus Licinius *Crassus* [p. 477] and his ally and father-in-law *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar in the military-political alliance known as the First Triumvirate. After the deaths of Crassus and *Julia* [p. 514], Pompey's wife and Caesar's daughter, Pompey and Caesar contended the leadership of the Roman state in a civil war. Pompey sided with the *optimates*, the conservative and aristocratic majority of the Roman Senate. When Caesar defeated him at the battle of Pharsalus he sought refuge in Egypt, where he was assassinated.

BookOneXV [p. 18] Caesar proposed Pompey take over the Capitol restorations.

BookOneXIX [p. 20] He was a member of the First Triumvirate with Caesar and Crassus, which was unofficial, and lasted from 60BC until Crassus' death in 53BC.

BookOneXX [p. 20] Caesar fabricated the tale of a plot against Pompey's life, for political purposes.

BookOneXXI [p. 22] *BookOneXXII* [p. 22] His marriage to Caesar's daughter, Julia.

BookOneXXIV [p. 23] The First Triumvirate re-affirmed at *Lucca* [p. 532] in 56BC.

BookOneXXVI [p. 24] Nominated as sole consul for 52BC.

BookOneXXVIII [p. 26] His Senate bill regulating official privileges.

BookOneXXIX [p. 26] Caesar believed his veterans were superior to Pompey's newly levied troops in 50BC.

BookOneXXX [p. 27] Quoted regarding Caesar's need for public turmoil.

BookOneXXXIV [p. 29] He fled to Epirus via *Brundisium* [p. 443] in 49BC.

BookOneXXXV [p. 30] *BookThreeLVII* [p. 175] His defeat at *Pharsalus* [p. 566] in 48BC.

BookOneXXXVI [p. 31] *BookOneLXVIII* [p. 46] His incomplete victory over Caesar at *Dyrrachium* [p. 488] in 48BC where Caesar was forced to retreat, but Pompey failed to pursue the advantage.

BookOneXLIX [p. 37] *BookOneLXIX* [p. 47] *BookSixII* [p. 274] Mentioned.

BookOneL [p. 38] Caesar was reputed to have had an affair with his wife, *Mucia* [p. 545].

BookOneLIV [p. 40] *Caesar* [p. 518] extorted tribute from *Ptolemy* [p. 578] XII for himself and Pompey.

BookOneLXXV [p. 50] He treated political neutrals as enemies.

BookOneLXXX [p. 53] *BookOneLXXXIV* [p. 57] *BookTwoXXXI* [p. 86] *BookTwoXLV* [p. 96] *BookThreeXLVII* [p. 169] *BookFourXXI* [p. 205] *BookFiveXI* [p. 244] *BookFiveXXI* [p. 251] *BookSixXLVI* [p. 306] The Portico of Pompey was in his Theatre complex, on the edge of

the *Campus* [p. 452] Martius, and was dedicated early in 55BC. The theatre was one of the first permanent (non-wooden) theatres in Rome and was considered the world's largest theatre for centuries. The East Portico was the probable place of Julius Caesar's assassination. *Augustus* [p. 433] relocated Pompey's statue there. It was damaged by fire in 21AD, after which *Tiberius* [p. 608] undertook to restore it, though the restoration was not completed until after his death, by *Caligula* [p. 449] and *Claudius* [p. 464]. An arch dedicated to Tiberius was built nearby. The temple of Venus Victrix was sited at the top of the theatre with the auditorium setas forming a tiered approach to it, along with shrines of Honos, Virtus and Felicitas. The theatre was also decorated with statues of the fourteen nations Pompey had subdued, sculpted by Coponius, and placed at the entrance to the porticoes, which gave the entrance hall its name of the *Porticus ad Nationes*: it was later restored by Augustus.

BookOneLXXXI [p. 54] The king-bird, *avis regaliolus*, seen in the Portico, suggests, based on various myths and legends, the wren, or one of the crested kinglets (firecrest, goldcrest etc).

BookTwoIV [p. 69] *Atius Balbus* [p. 432] related to him through Balbus' mother Pompeia.

BookThreeXV [p. 152] Pompey's house on the Esquiline was on the modern Via di Grotta Pinta, in the Carinae district, near the temple of Tellus. The house was ornamented with a rostra, the beak-like prow of a captured pirate ship, and therefore called *Domus Rostrata*. After Pompey's death the house, was granted to Antony by Julius Caesar. The house later became the property of Tiberius, and the Imperial family.

BookEightI [p. 361] *Vespasian's* [p. 620] grandfather fought for Pompey.

Pompeius Magnus, Gnaeus (d. 47AD) was a son of the consul of the year 27AD, Marcus Licinius *Crassus* [p. 526] Frugi. He married *Claudia* [p. 463] Antonia, *Claudius* [p. 464]' daughter in 43AD.

BookFourXXXV [p. 216] *Caligula* [p. 449] deprived him and his descendants of the surname Magnus 'Great'.

BookFiveXXVII [p. 257] Mentioned as the first husband of Claudia Antonia.

BookFiveXXIX [p. 259] Executed on Claudius's orders.

Pompeius Rufus, Quintus (d. 87BC), was the son of Quintus Pompeius Rufus, consul in 88BC, by an unnamed woman. He married Cornelia Sulla, the first daughter of the dictator Lucius Cornelius *Sulla* [p. 599]. Cornelia and Pompeius had two children a son Quintus Pompeius Rufus and a daughter Pompeia, who married the future dictator Gaius Julius Caesar as his second wife. He was murdered in the Roman Forum in 88BC, by the supporters of Gaius Marius.

BookOneVI [p. 14] His daughter *Pompeia* [p. 571] married *Caesar* [p. 518].

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Pomponius Flaccus, Lucius, the brother of Ovid's friend Graecinus, served in Moesia c. 12AD and again as governor in 18AD or 19AD. He was subsequently Governor of Syria in 32AD (Tacitus *Annales* 6.27). He was an energetic soldier, close to Tiberius.

BookThreeXLII [p. 167] A drinking companion of Tiberius, he was rewarded by him with the Governorship of Syria.

Pomptine, the Pontine Marshes, termed Pomptinus Ager by Livy, Pomptina Palus (singular) and Pomptinae Paludes (plural) by Pliny the Elder, today the Agro Pontino, is an approximately quadrangular area of former marshland in the Lazio Region of Central Italy. Sparsely inhabited throughout much of their history, the Pontine Marshes were the subject of extensive land reclamation work performed periodically.

BookOneXLIV [p. 35] *Caesar's* [p. 518] plans to further drain the marshes.

Pontia or **Pontiae**, the modern **Ponza**, is an island in the Tyrrhenian Sea, opposite the Circeian promontory. It is the most considerable of a group of three small volcanic islands and is about 5 miles long, but in places only a few hundred yards across. The two minor islands of the group, Palmaruola and Zannone, are at the present day uninhabited. It was here that *Nero* [p. 549], the eldest son of *Germanicus* [p. 503], was put to death by order of *Tiberius* [p. 608].

BookThreeLIV [p. 173] Nero, the son of Germanicus, killed there.

BookFourXV [p. 201] *Caligula* [p. 449], his brother, recovered Nero's ashes from there in 37AD.

Pontius Aquila (d. 43BC) was a tribune of the plebs, probably in the year 45BC. A staunch Republican, Pontius was one of *Caesar's* [p. 518] assassins. After the Ides of March, he served Decimus Junius *Brutus* [p. 443] Albinus as a legate in Cisalpine Gaul. He defeated T. Munatius Plancus, and drove him out of Pollentia. However, he fell at the Battle of Mutina, in which Aulus *Hirtius* [p. 508] decisively defeated Mark *Antony* [p. 422].

BookOneLXXVIII [p. 52] Offended Caesar, by not rising as a mark of respect.

Pontius Nigrinus, Gaius Petronius was consul in 37AD the year of *Tiberius's* [p. 608] death.

BookThreeLXXIII [p. 184] Consul in 37AD.

Pontus, the Greek designation for a region on the southern coast of the Black Sea, located in modern-day northeastern Turkey. The name was derived from the Greek name for the Black Sea: *Pontos Euxeinos* ('Hospitable Sea'), or simply *Pontos*. With the subjection of the kingdom by *Pompey* [p. 573] in 64BC, part was now annexed to the

Roman Empire, being united with Bithynia in a double province called Pontus and Bithynia: this part included only the seaboard between Heraclea (Ereğli) and Amisus (Samsun), the *ora Pontica*.

BookOneXXXV [p. 30] *Caesar's* [p. 518] campaign there in 47BC.

BookOneXXXVI [p. 31] Gnaeus *Domitius* [p. 485] Calvinus crushed by *Pharnaces* [p. 566] there at Nicopolis in Armenia in 48BC.

BookOneXXXVII [p. 31] Regarding the speed of his Pontic Campaign Caesar coined the phrase: *Veni, Vidi, Vici*, 'I came, I saw, I conquered.'

BookOneXLIV [p. 35] *Caesar's* [p. 518] plans to push back the *Dacian* [p. 479] incursions there.

BookSixXVIII [p. 284] The eastern half of Pontus was changed from a client kingdom to a province by *Nero* [p. 549] in 62AD.

Poppaea Sabina (30AD - 65AD) after 63AD known as Poppaea Augusta Sabina and sometimes referred to as Poppaea Sabina the Younger to differentiate her from her mother of the same name, was the second wife of the Emperor Nero from 62AD. Prior to this she was the wife of the future Emperor *Otho* [p. 558].

BookSixXXXV [p. 297] Her marriage to *Nero* [p. 549], and his treatment of her leading to her death, as well as the death of her son *Rufius* [p. 584] Crispinus mentioned.

BookSevenXXVI [p. 334] Her relationship with Otho mentioned.

Poppaeus Sabinus, Gaius (d. 35AD), consul in 9AD, was governor of *Moesia* [p. 544] under *Augustus* [p. 433], and in 15AD *Tiberius* [p. 608] confirmed his governorship and added Achaia and Macedonia. He governed till his death. He was granted triumphal ornaments in 26AD for action against the Thracians. He was the maternal grandfather of *Poppaea* [p. 576] Sabina, *Nero's* [p. 549] wife.

BookEightIII [p. 362] *Vespasian* [p. 620] was born in his consulship.

Porius was a gladiator, an *essedarius* who fought from a British chariot, who set a slave free to celebrate a victory.

BookFourXXXV [p. 216] *Caligula* [p. 449] envied him the adulation he received from the crowd.

Posides was a freedman of *Claudius* [p. 464], and a eunuch.

BookFiveXXVIII [p. 258] Claudius awarded him a military prize.

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Postumia, the wife of Servius *Sulpicius* [p. 600].

BookOneL [p. 38] *Caesar* [p. 518] was reputed to have had an affair with her.

Praeneste, modern **Palestrina**, is a city, c. 35 km east of Rome, and connected to it by the Via Prenestina. Its citizens were offered Roman citizenship in 90BC during the Social War. Later the city was removed from the hillside to the lower ground at the Madonna dell Aquila, and the sanctuary and temple of Fortune was enlarged so as to include much of the space occupied by the ancient city. Under the Empire it was a favorite summer resort of wealthy Romans. Horace ranked 'cool Praeneste' with *Tibur* [p. 611] and *Baiae* [p. 437] as favored resorts.

BookTwoLXXII [p. 112] *BookTwoLXXXII* [p. 117] *Augustus* [p. 433] spent time there.

BookThreeIV [p. 144] *Tiberius* [p. 608] father, *Tiberius Nero* [p. 610], took refuge there.

BookThreeLXIII [p. 179] *BookEightLI* [p. 397] The Temple of Fortuna Primigenia was connected with the oracle known as the Praenestine lots (*sortes praenestinae*). The temple was redeveloped after 82BC on four levels, linked by monumental stairs and ramps. The oracle continued to be consulted, until Constantine the Great, and later Theodosius I, forbade the practice.

Priam, was the King of Troy in *Homer's* [p. 508] *Iliad*.

BookThreeLXII [p. 178] He saw his whole family destroyed by the Greeks.

Priapus was a minor rustic fertility god, protector of livestock, fruit plants, and gardens, and associated for fertility reasons with the male genitalia.

BookFourLVI [p. 228] His name used as a mock password by *Caligula* [p. 449].

Priscus, see *Caesonius* [p. 448], *Helvidius* [p. 506], *Tarquinius* [p. 602]

Proserpine, the Greek Persephone, was abducted and raped by Pluto, the Greek Dis, King of the Underworld, and forced to remain with him for six months of each year, as Queen of the Dead.

BookSixXLVI [p. 306] Mentioned.

Psylli, were members of an ancient North African tribe or ethnic group. It is claimed that they employed tests in order to find out if their offspring was genuine and their wives faithful. Infant Psylli were subjected to snake-bites. If the infant died of the snakebite, illegitimacy was supposed to be implied.

BookTwoXVII [p. 76] *Augustus* [p. 433] supposedly summoned them to try and save *Cleopatra's* [p. 468] life.

Ptolemy XII (Auletes) (117BC – 51BC) was a Hellenistic ruler of Egypt of Macedonian descent. He is assumed to have been an illegitimate son of Ptolemy IX Soter since it can not be confirmed if he was the son of Cleopatra IV of Egypt. His reign as king was interrupted by a general rebellion that resulted in his exile from 58BC – 55BC. Thus, Ptolemy XII ruled Egypt from 80BC – 58BC and from 55BC until his death in 51BC.

BookOneXI [p. 16] Rejected as an illegitimate ruler by the *Alexandrians* [p. 416].

BookOneLIV [p. 40] *Caesar* [p. 518] extorted tribute from him for himself and *Pompey* [p. 573].

BookTwoXVIII [p. 77] The Tomb of the Ptolemies mentioned.

BookFiveXVI [p. 249] His refusal to repay a loan mentioned.

Ptolemy XIII, Theos Philopator (62/61BC – 47BC, reigned from 51BC) was one of the last members of the Ptolemaic dynasty (305BC – 30BC) of Egypt. After opposing *Caesar* [p. 518] who allied himself with *Cleopatra* [p. 468] VII, Ptolemy was driven from Alexandria and supposedly died crossing the Nile in flight.

BookOneXXXV [p. 30] *Pompey* [p. 573] was murdered on his orders.

Ptolemy XIV (60/59BC – 44BC, r. 47BC – 44BC), was a son of Ptolemy XII of Egypt and one of the last members of the Ptolemaic dynasty of Egypt. Following the death of his older brother Ptolemy XIII of Egypt in 47BC, he was proclaimed Pharaoh and co-ruler by their older sister and remaining Pharaoh, *Cleopatra* [p. 468] VII of Egypt. Cleopatra married her new co-ruler but continued to ally herself with *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar. Ptolemy is considered to have reigned in name only. An inscription mentioning him as alive was dated at July 26, 44BC. It has been assumed but remains uncertain that Cleopatra poisoned her co-ruler, after Caesar's death, to replace him with Ptolemy XV Caesarion, her son by Caesar who was proclaimed co-ruler on September 2, 44BC and whom his mother intended to support as successor of his father.

BookOneXXXV [p. 30] Co-ruler of Egypt with his sister/wife Cleopatra.

Ptolemy of Mauretania was the son of King *Juba* [p. 514] II and Cleopatra *Selene* [p. 590] II of Mauretania. He was brought up in Rome, and inherited the throne of Mauretania from his father in 23AD. The Kingdom of Mauretania was one of the wealthiest Roman Client Kingdoms and Ptolemy continued to reign without interruption. In late 40, Caligula invited Ptolemy to Rome and welcomed him with appropriate honours. He then ordered Ptolemy's assassination for reasons unknown.

BookFourXXVI [p. 210] *BookFourXXXV* [p. 216] Assassinated in Rome on *Caligula's* [p. 449] orders.

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BookFourLV [p. 228] Mentioned.

Puteoli, modern **Pozzuoli**, is a city in the province of Naples, in Campania, and the main city of the Phlegrean peninsula. It was a main port for the *Alexandrian* [p. 416] grain ships, and other vessels from the Roman world, and an export hub for Campanian goods including blown glass, mosaics, wrought iron, and marble. The largest Roman naval base was at nearby Misenum. It was also the site of the Roman Dictator *Sulla*'s [p. 599] country villa and the place where he died in 78BC.

BookTwoXLIV [p. 95] *BookTwoXCVIII* [p. 128] *BookSevenXLVII* [p. 348] Mentioned.

BookFourXIX [p. 204] *BookFourXXXII* [p. 214] *Caligula* [p. 449] constructed a bridge of boats over the gulf to *Baiae* [p. 437].

BookFiveXXV [p. 255] *BookEightVIII* [p. 368] *Claudius* [p. 464] stationed troops there as firefighters.

BookEightXXX [p. 379] *Titus* [p. 612] there in 70/71AD.

Pylades was a pantomimic actor who exceeded the licence allowed his profession and was punished by *Augustus* [p. 433]. Pantomimics wore masks, were silent, and used only gesture and movement in performance. The accompanying story text was sung by a singer, or chorus, or accompanied by a flute. Pylades (Palates of Cilicia) was a freedman of Augustus,

BookTwoXLV [p. 96] Augustus temporarily exiled him in 18BC.

Pyrallis was a concubine for whom *Caligula* [p. 449] had a passion.

BookFourXXXVI [p. 216] Mentioned.

Pyrgi was an ancient Etruscan port in Latium, central Italy, to the north-west of Caere. Its location is now occupied by Santa Severa, a small sea resort on the Via Aurelia, c. 8 km south of Santa Marinella and 50 km north of Rome.

BookSixV [p. 276] Neros' father, *Domitius* [p. 484], died there in 40AD.

Pyrrhus, (319BC - 272BC) was a Greek general of the Hellenistic era. He was king of the Greek tribe of Molossians, of the royal Aeacid house (from c. 297BC), and later became King of Epirus (306BC - 302BC, 297BC - 272BC) and Macedon (288BC - 284BC, 273BC - 272BC). He was one of the strongest opponents of earlyRome. Some of his battles, though successful, cost him heavy losses, from which the term 'Pyrrhic victory' was coined. He is the subject of one of Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*.

BookOneXXXIX [p. 32] *BookSixXII* [p. 280] The Pyrrhic sword dance is unrelated, and appears to have been a dance with weapons and armour, miming warfare. The name is

possibly derived from the mythological Pyrrhus (Neoptolemus) the son of Achilles.

BookThreeII [p. 142] Appius Claudius *Caecus* [p. 465] warned against any alliance with him.

Quinctilius Varus, Publius, (46BC – 9AD) was a politician and general under Augustus, remembered for having lost three Roman legions and his own life when attacked by Germanic leader Arminius in the Battle of the Teutoburg Forest. About 14BC he married Vipsania Marcella, the daughter of *Agrippa* [p. 411] and became a personal friend of both Agrippa and Augustus. In 13AD, he was elected consul as junior partner to *Tiberius* [p. 608]. Between 9BC and 8BC, following his consulship, Varus was governor of Africa. After this, he went to govern Syria, where he acted ruthlessly against the Jewish population in Judaea. In 7AD he was appointed to govern Germania. In the Battle of the Teutoburg Forest in September 9AD (east of modern Osnabrück), the Germans overwhelmed the Romans at Kalkriese Hill. Varus himself, upon seeing all hope was lost, committed suicide. The Romans later recovered the lost legions eagles, two of them in 15/16AD, the third in 42AD.

BookTwoXXIII [p. 80] *BookTwoXLIX* [p. 99] *BookFourXXXI* [p. 214] *Augustus* [p. 433] mourned the loss of his legions.

BookThreeXVII [p. 153] The disaster accentuated the value of *Tiberius's* [p. 608] successful campaign in Illyricum.

BookThreeXVIII [p. 154] Tiberius learnt lessons from Varus' rashness and carelessness.

BookFourIII [p. 194] Germanicus gathered the scattered remains of Varus's' legionaries.

Quinquatria or the Quinquatrus was a festival sacred to *Minerva* [p. 543], celebrated on the 19 March. It was so called, according to Varro, because it was held on the fifth day after the Ides.

BookTwoLXXI [p. 112] Mentioned.

BookEightXL [p. 387] Celebrated every year by *Domitian* [p. 482] at his Alban villa.

Quirinius, Publius Sulpicius, (c. 51BC - 21AD) was Governor of Syria, and carried out the census of 6/7AD in Judea. He led a campaign in Galatia and Cilicia, around c. 5BC - 3BC, probably as legate of Galatia and was awarded a triumph. He served as Governor of Syria until 12AD, when he returned to Rome as a close associate of Tiberius.

BookThreeXLIX [p. 170] His charges against his ex-wife *Lepida* [p. 525].

Rabirius, Gaius was a senator involved in the death of Lucius Appuleius Saturninus. Titus Labienus (whose uncle had lost his life among the followers of Saturninus on that occasion) at Julius Caesar's instigation, accused Rabirius of having been implicated in the murder. The obsolete accusation of *perduellio* was revived, and the case was heard

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before Caesar and his cousin Lucius Julius Caesar as commissioners specially appointed (*duoviri perduellionis*). Rabirius was condemned, and the people, to whom the accused had exercised the right of appeal, were on the point of ratifying the decision, when Quintus Caecilius Metellus Celer pulled down the military flag from the Janiculum, which was equivalent to the dissolution of the assembly. Caesar's objective having been achieved the matter was allowed to drop. The defense was taken by Marcus Tullius Cicero, consul at the time; the speech is extant: *Pro Rabirio reo perduellionis*.

Rabirius Postumus, Gaius, was defended by *Cicero* [p. 614] (in 54BC, in the extant speech *Pro Rabirio Postumo*) when charged with extortion in Egypt and complicity with *Aulus Gabinius* [p. 499]. Rabirius was a member of the equites order who lent a large sum of money to *Ptolemy* [p. 578] Auletes (Ptolemy XII), king of Egypt, who refused to pay and had Rabirius imprisoned. When Auletes threatened Rabirius' life, the latter escaped to Rome, where he was accused by the Senate. He was defended by Cicero and acquitted.

BookFiveXVI [p. 249] *Claudius* [p. 464] mentioned his case as an example, fallaciously since Rabirius was acquitted.

Raetians were the inhabitants of Raetia, the Alpine province of the Roman Empire bounded on the west by the country of the Helvetii, on the east by Noricum, on the north by Vindelicia, and on the south by Cisalpine Gaul. The northern border of Raetia during the times of Augustus and Tiberius was the Danube. Later the northern boundary was formed by the Limes Germanicus, stretching for 166 km north of the Danube. Raetia was linked to Italy across the Alpine Reschen Pass by the Via Claudia Augusta.

BookTwoXXI [p. 79] *BookThreeIX* [p. 147] *BookFiveI* [p. 237] They retained their independence until their subjugation in 15BC, under *Augustus* [p. 433], by *Tiberius* [p. 608] and *Drusus* [p. 487] the Elder.

BookTwoLXXVII [p. 115] Augustus liked Raetian wine.

Ravenna is a city in the Emilia-Romagna region of Italy. The city is inland, but connected to the Adriatic Sea by canal. Ravenna was the capital of the Western Roman Empire from 402AD till 476AD. The Romans had accepted it into the Roman Republic as a federated town in 89BC. In 49BC, it was the location where *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar gathered his forces before crossing the *Rubicon* [p. 583]. Under *Augustus* it became a major naval base (27BC, Classis, modern Classe) in the northern Adriatic.

BookOneXXX [p. 27] Caesar halted there, prior to the opening of the Civil War.

BookTwoXX [p. 79] *Augustus* [p. 433] there 12BC - 10BC.

BookTwoXLIX [p. 99] Location of one of the two Mediterranean fleets.

Reate, modern **Rieti**, is a town in Lazio. Originally a Sabine village, in the late 3rd century BC it became a strategic point on the Via Salaria linking Rome to the Adriatic Sea through the Apennines.

BookEightI [p. 361] *BookEightII* [p. 362] *BookEightXII* [p. 370] *Vespasian's* [p. 620] paternal *grandfather* [p. 495] came from there.

BookEightXXIV [p. 376] Vespasian died at his summer retreat near there, possibly the recently-excavated villa at *Falacrinae* [p. 492], in AD79.

Regillum, or **Regilli**, was a Sabine town, possibly on the site of modern Moricone in the Tiber valley, about 42km from Rome.

BookThreeI [p. 141] The Claudian family originated from there.

Rhescuporis or **Rhescuporis II** was king of half of the Odrysian kingdom of Thrace from 12AD to 18AD, and treacherously tried to seize the other half from Cotys VIII his nephew. Tiberius opened an investigation into Cotys' death, putting Rhescuporis on trial in the Senate. Rhescuporis was found guilty, and Tiberius exiled him to *Alexandria* [p. 416]. En route, Rhescuporis tried to escape and was killed by Roman soldiers.

BookThreeXXXVII [p. 164] Detained by *Tiberius* [p. 608].

Rhegium, modern **Reggio di Calabria**, **Reggio Calabria**, or simply **Reggio**, is a city in Calabria in southern Italy, located on the 'toe' of the Italian peninsula and separated by the Strait of Messina from Sicily. Founded in 720BC by the Greeks as *Rhegion* the settlement was part of *Magna Graecia*. Later it became a Roman ally and part of the Roman Republic.

BookTwoXVI [p. 75] *Augustus* [p. 433] (Octavian) there in c. 36BC.

BookTwoLXV [p. 107] *BookThreeL* [p. 171] *Julia* [p. 515] the Elder exiled there.

BookEightXXX [p. 379] *Titus* [p. 612] there 70/71AD.

Rhianus was a Greek poet and grammarian of the third century BC, a native of Crete, and a friend and contemporary of Eratosthenes. He was chiefly known as a writer of epics (mythological and ethnographical), the most celebrated of which was the *Messeniacae*.

BookThreeLXX [p. 183] One of *Tiberius's* [p. 608] favourite poets.

Rhodes is a Greek island approximately 18 kilometres (11 miles) southwest of Turkey in the eastern Aegean. It is the largest of the Dodecanese islands. In 164BC, Rhodes signed a treaty with Rome. It became an educational centre for the Roman nobility, and was especially noted for its teachers of rhetoric.

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BookOneIV [p. 13] Julius Caesar sailed there to study rhetoric.

BookThreeXI [p. 149] *BookThreeXII* [p. 150] *BookThreeXIII* [p. 150] *BookThreeLIX* [p. 176] *Tiberius* [p. 608] retired there in 6BC, and was not recalled to Rome until 2AD.

BookThreeXIV [p. 151] Various omens associated with Tiberius' recall from Rhodes are mentioned. Bonelli's eagle is native to Rhodes, so the eagle involved must have been of another species.

BookThreeXXXII [p. 162] *BookThreeLVI* [p. 174] *BookSixXXXIV* [p. 296] Mentioned.

BookFiveXXV [p. 255] *Claudius* [p. 464] reinstated Rhodian independence in 51AD.

BookSixVII [p. 277] *Nero* [p. 549] delivered a plea on behalf of the citizens before Claudius in AD51.

BookEightVIII [p. 368] *Vespasian* [p. 620] reduced Rhodes from free to provincial status.

Romulus and Remus are Rome's twin mythical founders, descendants of the Trojan prince *Aeneas* [p. 409], and fathered by the god *Mars* [p. 538] or the demi-god *Hercules* [p. 507] on a royal *Vestal* [p. 621] Virgin, Rhea Silvia, whose uncle exposes them to die in the wild. They are found by a she-wolf who suckles and cares for them. The twins are eventually restored to their birthright, acquire followers and decide to found a city. Romulus wishes to build the new city on the Palatine Hill; Remus prefers the Aventine. In the disputes that follow, Remus is killed. Romulus names the new city Rome, after himself, and goes on to create the Legions and Senate. He adds citizens by abducting the women of the Sabine tribes. Rome rapidly expands to become a dominant force, due to divine favour and the inspired administrative, military and political leadership of Romulus. In later life Romulus becomes increasingly autocratic, disappears in mysterious circumstances and is deified as the god Quirinus, the divine persona of the Roman people.

BookTwoVI [p. 70] It was suggested *Octavian* [p. 433] take the title 'Romulus', which was rejected in favour of 'Augustus'.

BookThreeI [p. 141] Mentioned.

BookFourXXV [p. 209] A reference to the rape of the Sabine women.

Rubicon, the River Rubicone is a 29km long river in northern Italy, flowing from the Apennines to the Adriatic through the southern Emilia-Romagna region, between the towns of Rimini and Cesena. 'Crossing the Rubicon' is a popular idiom meaning to pass a point of no return, and references *Caesar's* [p. 518] 49BC crossing of the river, which was considered an act of war. Because its course has frequently changed since then, it is impossible to confirm exactly where Caesar crossed.

BookOneXXXI [p. 28] Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon.

BookOneLXXXI [p. 54] A herd of horses left to roam by Caesar, dedicated to the river-god of the Rubicon.

Rubria was a *Vestal*^[p. 621] Virgin.

BookSixXXVIII^[p. 291] She was raped by *Nero*^[p. 549].

Rufio was the son of a freedman of Julius Caesar^[p. 518].

BookOneLXXVI^[p. 51] Sent as legate to *Alexandria*^[p. 416], by Caesar, to command three legions stationed there.

Rufrius Crispinus was the son of *Poppaea*^[p. 576] Sabina by her first marriage to his father of the same name, who was the commander of the Praetorian Guard under *Claudius*^[p. 464], but banished and like his son executed on Nero's orders.

BookSixXXXV^[p. 297] Killed on *Nero's*^[p. 549] orders.

Rustius (or *Ruscus*) *Caepio* was a contemporary of *Domitian*^[p. 482]. The name *Rustius* appears on coins and is therefore a valid Roman name.

BookEightXLV^[p. 391] Mentioned.

Rutilius Rufus, Publius (158BC – after 78BC) was a statesman, orator and historian as well as great-uncle of Gaius Julius Caesar. In 105BC he was elected to the consulship. In 92BC he was convicted (probably wrongly) of extortion, and retired to Mytilene, and later Smyrna, where he wrote his autobiography and a history of Rome in Greek, part of which is known to have been devoted to the Numantine War. He wrote treatises on law, some fragments of which are quoted in the *Digests*.

BookTwoLXXXIX^[p. 121] *Augustus*^[p. 433] recommended his work *On the Height of Buildings* delivered between 116 and 11BC.

Sabrata, in the northwestern corner of modern Libya, was the westernmost of the three cities of Tripolis. It was part of the Roman province of Africa.

BookEightIII^[p. 363] *Statilius*^[p. 596] *Capella* derived from there.

Salassians, or the **Salassi**, were an Alpine tribe whose lands lay on the Italian side of the Little St Bernard Pass across the Graian Alps to Lyons, and the Great St Bernard Pass over the Pennine Alps. They were finally defeated and many enslaved in 25BC by the Romans, who founded the city of *Augusta Praetoria Salassorum*, modern Aosta, in their territory.

BookTwoXXI^[p. 79] They were finally subjugated in 25BC, under *Augustus*^[p. 433], by *Terentius*^[p. 604] *Varro Murena*.

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Salii were the 'leaping priests' of *Mars* [p. 538] introduced by King Numa Pompilius. Twelve youths, selected from the Patrician families, dressed in outfits worn by archaic warriors, and each year in March the Salii processed round the city, dancing, and singing the *Carmen Saliare*.

BookFiveXXXIII [p. 261] Mentioned.

Sallustius Crispus, Gaius known as Sallust, (86BC - 34BC), won election as Quaestor in 55BC and as one of the tribunes of the people in 52BC. In 46BC he served as a praetor and accompanied *Caesar* [p. 518] on his African campaign. As a reward Sallust became governor of the province of Africa Nova. On his return to Rome he purchased and began laying out the famous gardens on the Quirinal known as the *Horti Sallustiani* which later belonged to the emperors. He subsequently retired from public life and devoted himself to historical literature, and his Gardens of Sallust, upon which he spent much of his accumulated wealth. His history of the *Cataline Conspiracy* is extant.

BookTwoLXXXVI [p. 119] Mentioned for his interest in ancient and rare words as used in *Cato* [p. 458] the Elder's work.

Sallustius Lucullus was a governor of Roman Britain, holding office sometime after Gnaeus Julius Agricola.

BookEightXLVI [p. 392] Executed by order of *Domitian* [p. 482].

Salus was the Roman Goddess of Safety.

BookTwoXXXI [p. 86] In peacetime, the augury could be taken to see whether prayers might be offered for the safety of the State.

Salvidienus Orfitus, Servius Cornelius Scipio, was consul in 51AD, and a victim of Nero's random persecutions.

BookSixXXXVII [p. 299] Charged by *Nero* [p. 549].

Salvidienus Orfitus, Servius Cornelius Scipio was the son of the *consul* [p. 585] of 51AD, and himself a suffect consul before 82AD. He was exiled and executed by *Domitian* [p. 482] for conspiracy.

BookEightXLVI [p. 392] Executed for plotting rebellion.

Salvidienus Rufus, Quintus was a Roman general and one of the closest advisors to *Octavian* [p. 433] during the early years of his political activity. After the end of the Peruvian War, Octavian sent Salvidienus to Gaul as governor, with eleven legions. He was designated as consul for 39BC, though he had not reached senatorial rank. Despite this,

Salvidienus offered to desert to Antony with his legions. *Antony* [p. 422] revealed the treachery and Salvidienus was accused of high treason in the senate and condemned to death in the autumn of 40BC.

BookTwoLXVI [p. 108] A treacherous friend.

Salvito, Cornelius, see *Cornelius* [p. 475]

Salvius Cocceianus was the son of *Salvius* [p. 586] Titianus, *Otho's* [p. 558] brother.

BookEightXLVI [p. 392] He was executed by *Domitian* [p. 482] for celebrating Otho's birthday.

Salvius Liberalis was a lawyer, mentioned by Pliny the Younger, who was tried under *Domitian* [p. 482], and who pleaded opposite Pliny during Trajan's reign.

BookEightXIII [p. 370] Commended by *Vespasian* [p. 620].

Salvius Otho, Lucius was father of the Roman emperor *Otho* [p. 558]. His close friendship with *Tiberius* [p. 608], and physical similarity to him, led to rumours that he was the emperor's son. He was renowned for severity in his positions at Rome, as proconsul of Africa, and in his military commands. He was consul in 34AD. He built his reputation at *Claudius's* [p. 464] court by forcing the slaves of an unnamed knight to betray their master's plot to kill the emperor. As a result, the senate set up his statue in the palace, and Claudius enrolled him among the patricians. He married *Albia* [p. 415] Terentia.

BookSevenVI [p. 320] Consul in 34AD, the year after *Galba* [p. 500] was consul.

BookSevenXXIV [p. 332] Suetonius gives a brief life of Lucius.

Salvius Otho, Marcus was *Otho's* [p. 558] grandfather. He became a Senator through *Livia's* [p. 527] influence but did not advance beyond the rank of praetor.

BookSevenXXIV [p. 332] Mentioned.

Salvius Titianus, Lucius was *Otho's* [p. 558] elder brother. He was consul in 52AD. He married Cocceia, sister of the future Roman Emperor Marcus Cocceius Nerva (r. 96AD – 98AD). His son, Otho's nephew, was Lucius Salvius Otho *Cocceianus* [p. 586], who was later executed by *Domitian* [p. 482], for having observed his uncle Otho's birthday

BookSevenXXIV [p. 332] *BookSevenXXXIII* [p. 338] Mentioned.

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Samos is the Greek island in the North Aegean Sea, south of Chios, north of Patmos and the Dodecanese, and off the coast of Asia Minor, from which it is separated by the Mycale Strait. Augustus granted the islanders the right to become Roman citizens.

BookTwoXVII [p. 76] *BookTwoXXVI* [p. 82] *Augustus* [p. 433] went into winter quarters there after *Actium* [p. 404] in 30BC.

BookThreeXII [p. 150] *Gaius* [p. 446] Caesar was cool towards *Tiberius* [p. 608], when meeting him there c. 1BC when Gaius was Governor of the East.

BookFourXXI [p. 205] *Caligula* [p. 449] planned to rebuild the palace of *Polycrates* [p. 571] there.

BookEightVIII [p. 368] *Vespasian* [p. 620] reduced Samos from free to provincial status.

Sardinians are inhabitants of the island of Sardinia in the western Mediterranean.

BookOneLV [p. 41] Titus Albius the propraetorian Governor of Sardinia in 104BC was condemned in 103BC for extortion (*repetundae*) during his command there, and Julius Caesar *Strabo* [p. 597] conducted the prosecution.

BookTwoXLVII [p. 98] A province not visited by *Augustus* [p. 433].

Sarmatians were an Iranian people, whose territory, Sarmatia, corresponded to the western part of greater Scythia (Southern Russia, Ukraine, and the eastern Balkans). At their greatest extent, around 100BC, these tribes ranged from the Vistula River to the mouth of the Danube and eastward to the Volga, bordering the shores of the Black and Caspian seas as well as the Caucasus to the south.

BookThreeXLI [p. 167] The *Dacians* [p. 479] and Sarmatians allowed to overrun *Moesia* [p. 544] c. 34AD.

BookEightXLII [p. 389] *Domitian* [p. 482] campaigned against the Sarmatians, possibly in 86AD after a defeat incurred under Cornelius Nigirinus, the commander in Moesia.

Satur was a head chamberlain involved in the assassination of *Domitian* [p. 482] in 96AD.

BookEightLIII [p. 399] Mentioned.

Saturn, or **Saturnus**, was an ancient Roman god of agriculture and the harvest, equated to the Greek Cronos.

BookTwoXXIX [p. 85] *Munatius* [p. 545] Plancus restored the the Temple of *Saturn* [p. 587] at the west end of the Forum at the foot of the Capitoline Hill between 43BC and 30BC.

BookTwoLXXI [p. 112] *BookFourVI* [p. 195] *BookFourXVII* [p. 203] *BookFiveV* [p. 241] *BookFiveXVI* [p. 249] *BookSixXXVIII* [p. 291] *BookEightXIX* [p. 373] Saturnus was honored with a festival, the *Saturnalia* celebrated on December 17, (XVI Kal. Jan.), which lasted seven days in *Augustus* [p. 433]' time: from December 17-23. Augustus attempted, unsuccessfully, to limit

the holiday to three days. *Caligula* [p. 449] added a day called the *Iuvenalis*. The *Sigillaria* was the day or days when it was customary to give presents of little images, *sigilla*. The Sigillaria quarter in Rome was where *sigilla* were made and sold. Its location is unknown.

BookThreeLIX [p. 176] The Greeks regarded the age of Kronos (Saturn) as a golden age of plenty and liberty.

BookFiveXXIV [p. 254] The Treasury was housed in the Temple of Saturn in the Forum. The temple was originally built by Tarquinius Superbus in 501BC and was sited on the south side, west of the Basilica Julia.

BookSevenXXIX [p. 335] The gilded pillar by the Temple, in the Forum, was erected by *Augustus* [p. 433] in 20BC, and showed the distances of the principal cities of the empire from Rome. In principle, the roads converged on the point, though distances were actually measured from the gates of Rome.

Saturninus, Julius, an unknown source referred to by Suetonius.

BookTwoXXVII [p. 83] Mentioned.

Saturninus, Lucius Appuleius (d. December, 100BC) was a popularist and tribune; he was a political ally of Gaius *Marius* [p. 538], and his downfall caused great political embarrassment to Marius, who absented himself from public life until he returned to take up a command in the Social War of 91BC to 88BC.

BookOneXII [p. 17] Prosecuted for high treason, in 63BC, with *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar as presiding judge.

Scantinian, or **Scatinian law**, refers to an obscure law, probably enacted after 227BC and mentioned by Cicero, and Juvenal among others, as well as here. The details of the law are unknown. Based on a possible reference in Quintilian the law may have allowed civil proceedings against men who seduced freeborn boys. Juvenal indicates that the law was dormant, while homosexuality between consenting males was openly tolerated in Rome.

BookEightXLIV [p. 390] *Domitian* [p. 482] revived the law as regards the Senatorial and Equestrian orders.

Scipio Nasica, Quintus Caecilius Metellus Pius (born **Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica**, b. c. 100/98BC, d. 46BC), a consul and military commander in the late Republic. During the civil war between Julius Caesar and Pompey, he remained a staunch optimate. He led troops against Caesar's forces, mainly in the battles of *Pharsalus* [p. 566] (48BC) and Thapsus (46BC), where he was defeated. He subsequently committed suicide.

BookOneXXXV [p. 30] *BookOneXXXVI* [p. 31] Defeated by *Caesar* [p. 518] at *Thapsus* [p. 606]. The reference may equally be to Publius *Cornelius* [p. 475] Scipio Salvito, consul in 35BC, who

also fought against Caesar at Thapsus and was later pardoned. The relationship between the two Scipios is unclear.

BookOneLIX [p. 43] *BookThreeIV* [p. 144] Mentioned.

Scribonia (68BC - c. 16AD) was the second wife of *Augustus* [p. 433] and the mother of his only natural child, *Julia* [p. 515] the Elder. She was the mother-in-law of the Emperor *Tiberius* [p. 608], great-grandmother of the Emperor *Caligula* [p. 449] and Empress *Agrippina* [p. 413] the Younger, grandmother-in-law of the Emperor *Claudius* [p. 464], and great-great grandmother of the Emperor *Nero* [p. 549]. In 40BC Scribonia was forced to divorce her husband and marry Octavian (Augustus), who was younger than her by several years. Octavian in turn divorced his wife *Clodia* [p. 463] Pulchra, marrying Scribonia to cement a political alliance with *Sextus* [p. 572] Pompey. Their daughter Julia the Elder was born in 39BC, probably in October, and on the very same day Octavian divorced her. She never remarried.

BookTwoLXII [p. 105] Marriage to Octavian in 40BC.

BookTwoLXIII [p. 106] Her daughter Julia.

BookTwoLXIX [p. 110] Divorce from Octavian in 39BC.

Scribonianus, see *Furius* [p. 499]

Scribonius, the astrologer, may have been a freedman or connection of the Scribonii.

BookThreeXIV [p. 151] He predicted an illustrious future for *Tiberius* [p. 608].

Scribonius Libo Drusus, Lucius (d. 16AD) was consul in 16AD. He planned a rebellion against Tiberius and was tried in the Senatorial Court, later committing suicide.

BookThreeXXV [p. 158] Mentioned.

Scutarius, a former officer of *Augustus* [p. 433], and defended by him on a charge of slander.

BookTwoLVI [p. 102] Mentioned.

Scythians, were an Ancient people of horse-riding nomadic pastoralists who dominated the Pontic-Caspian steppe, known at the time as Scythia. By Late Antiquity the closely-related Sarmatians came to dominate the Scythians in this area. Much of the surviving information about the Scythians comes from the Greek historian Herodotus (c. 440BC) in his *Histories* and Ovid in his poems of exile.

BookTwoXXI [p. 79] The Scythians sent envoys to *Augustus* [p. 433].

Secular Games were a religious celebration, involving sacrifices and theatrical performances, held in ancient Rome for three days and nights to mark the end of a *saeculum* and the beginning of the next. A *saeculum*, originally the longest possible length of a human life, was considered in the time of Augustus as 100 to 110 years in length.

BookTwoXXXI [p. 86] Revived by *Augustus* [p. 433] in 17BC, to celebrate the fifth *saeculum* of Rome.

BookFiveXXI [p. 251] *BookSevenXXXVII* [p. 342] Celebrated by *Claudius* [p. 464] again, prematurely, in 47AD. *Lucius* [p. 625] Vitellius, father of the future emperor, jestingly congratulated Claudius with the words "May you do this often."

BookEightXL [p. 387] Celebrated by *Domitian* [p. 482] in 88AD.

Sejanus, see *Aelius* [p. 406]

Selene, see *Cleopatra* [p. 468] Selene

Seleucus I, Nicator (c. 358BC – 281BC) was a Macedonian officer of *Alexander* [p. 415] the Great and one of the Diadochi. In the Wars of the Diadochi, after Alexander's death, Seleucus established the Seleucid dynasty and the Seleucid Empire.

BookFiveXXV [p. 255] *Claudius* [p. 464] quoted a historical letter from the Romans to him.

Seleucus was an astrologer who prophesied *Otho's* [p. 558] accession. Tacitus and Plutarch call the astrologer Ptolemaeus.

BookSevenXXVII [p. 334] *BookSevenXXIX* [p. 335] Mentioned.

Seleucus, probably Seleucus of Alexandria, was a grammarian, and commentator on Homer, and a companion of *Tiberius* [p. 608].

BookThreeLVI [p. 174] Banished from his company, and driven to suicide by Tiberius.

Semiramis, Queen. For the Greeks and Romans a legendary Assyrian queen, sometimes identified with the Shammuramat (in Greek, Semiramis), the Assyrian wife of Shamshi-Adad V (ruled 811BC – 808BC), King of Assyria

BookOneXXII [p. 22] Mentioned by *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar, as an example of female rule.

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Seneca, Lucius Annaeus, known simply as Seneca, or Seneca the Younger (c. 3BC – 65AD) was a Stoic philosopher, statesman, dramatist, and in one work humorist, of the Silver Age of Latin literature. He was tutor and later advisor to *Nero* [p. 549]. He was forced to commit suicide for alleged complicity in the *Pisonian* [p. 450] conspiracy to assassinate Nero. His father was Seneca the Elder.

BookThreeLXXIII [p. 184] Possibly this refers to his father Seneca the Elder.

BookFourLIII [p. 226] *Caligula* [p. 449] disliked his fashionable oratorical style.

BookSixVII [p. 277] *BookSixLII* [p. 310] *Claudius* [p. 464] appointed him as tutor to the young *Nero* [p. 549].

BookSixXXXV [p. 297] Driven to suicide by Nero.

Senonians, the Senones, were a people of Gallia Celtica, of whom a branch in about 400BC made their way over the Alps and, having driven out the Umbrians settled on the east coast of Italy from Forlì to Ancona, in the so-called *ager Gallicus*, and founded the town of Sena Gallica (Sinigaglia), which became their capital. In 391BC they invaded Etruria and besieged Clusium. The Clusines appealed to Rome, whose intervention led to the defeat of the Romans at the Allia (c 390BC) and the capture of Rome. They were finally subdued (283BC) by Publius Cornelius Dolabella.

BookThreeIII [p. 143] The value of the ransom paid for them to leave Rome was levied on the tribe in Gaul by Livius Drusus (c. 283BC).

BookFourLI [p. 225] Their taking of Rome.

Serapis was a syncretic Hellenistic-Egyptian god (a fusion of Osiris and Apis). His most renowned temple was the Serapeum of *Alexandria* [p. 416]. In Rome, Serapis was worshiped in the Iseum Campense, the sanctuary of the goddess *Isis* [p. 511] located on the *Campus* [p. 452] Martius and built during the Second Triumvirate. The Roman cults of Isis and Serapis gained in popularity late in the first century thanks to the miracles Vespaian experienced in Alexandria, prior to his return to Rome as emperor in 70AD.

BookEightVII [p. 367] Vespaian took the auspices at the Serapeum.

Sertorius, Quintus (b. c. 126BC, Nursia, Sabini — died 73BC) statesman and military commander, he commanded an army in the Social War (90BC - 89BC), and helped *Marius* [p. 538] take Rome (87BC – 86BC) in his struggle against Sulla. As praetor in 83BC he was sent to Spain; he fled to Mauretania when Sulla pursued him but later overthrew Sulla's governor in Farther Spain and by 77BC was ruler of most of Spain. When Pompey the Great and Metellus Pius finally arrived to put down the rebellion, he skillfully kept them at bay until the tide turned in his favour. When troop morale sank, he was murdered by a conspiracy of officers.

BookOneV [p. 13] Lucius *Cornelius* [p. 473] Cinna and others had joined him in Spain.

Servilia (c. 107BC - d. after 42BC) was the mistress of Julius *Caesar* [p. 518], mother of one of Caesar's assassins, *Brutus* [p. 444], mother-in-law of another *Cassius* [p. 456], and half-sister of *Cato* [p. 459] the Younger. She was the eldest child of Livia Drusa and Quintus Servilius Caepio the Younger. Prior to 85BC, she was married to Marcus Junius Brutus the Elder, who became tribune of the plebs in 83BC, and was founder of the colony in Capua. He was killed by *Pompey* [p. 573] after the surrender of *Mutina* [p. 546]. Servilia's second marriage was with Decimus *Junius* [p. 520] Silanus. Before 64BC she became the mistress of Julius Caesar, and remained so until his death in 44BC.

BookOneL [p. 38] Caesar's mistress.

Servilia, the daughter of Publius *Servilius* [p. 592] Vatia Isauricus was betrothed to the young Augustus, at a tender age, but the betrothal was broken off.

BookTwoLXII [p. 105] Mentioned.

Servilia Nais was the mistress of Gnaeus *Domitius* [p. 484] Ahenobarbus, consul of 32BC.

BookSixIII [p. 275] Mentioned.

Servilius Caepio, see *Brutus* [p. 444]

BookOneXXI [p. 22] *Caesar's* [p. 518] daughter *Julia* [p. 514] was engaged to him prior to her marriage to *Pompey* [p. 573]. The engagement may have been to Marcus Junius Brutus the Younger, who was adopted as Quintus Servilius Caepio Brutus, and used that name for a time.

Servilius Vatia Isauricus, Publius was elected consul in 48BC with Gaius *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar. He is generally regarded as a puppet of Caesar. He was the son of Publius *Servilius* [p. 592] Vatia Isauricus, consul in 79BC. Along with Gaius Trebonius, Vatia Isauricus was responsible for weakening the Roman economy and was an opponent of the populist leader and magistrate Marcus Caelius Rufus who led a mob against the regime in 48BC. After *Octavian* [p. 433] ended his betrothal to Vatia's daughter, *Servilia* [p. 592], Vatia was made consul in 41BC with Lucius Antonius as his colleague.

BookTwoLXII [p. 105] The betrothal mentioned.

BookThreeV [p. 145] His consulship in 41BC.

Servilius Vatia, Isauricus, Publius (b. c. 134BC - 44BC), son of Gaius Servilius Vatia, was a Praetor in 84BC and a Consul, appointed by Sulla, for 79BC. He was the father of the consul of 48BC and 41BC, also Publius *Servilius* [p. 592] Vatia Isauricus. After his consulship he was sent as proconsular governor to Cilicia, where he fought a campaign against pirates and the Isauri. On his return to Rome he celebrated a triumph in 74BC and was given the agnomen *Isauricus* from one of his victories. Vatia served as one of

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the judges in the trial of Gaius Verres and he supported the effort to give Pompey command of the war against the pirates. In 63BC he was a candidate for *pontifex maximus*, but was defeated by Julius Caesar. In 55BC he was elected censor. He took no part in the civil wars.

BookOneIII [p. 12] Julius Caesar served under him in Cilicia.

Servius Tullius was the sixth king of Rome, and the second king of the Etruscan dynasty, reigned 578BC - 535BC. Roman and Greek sources describe his lowly origins and later marriage to a daughter of Lucius *Tarquinius* [p. 602] Priscus, Rome's first Etruscan King, assassinated in 579BC. He was said to be the first Roman king to accede without being elected by the Senate, having gained the throne by the contrivance of his mother-in-law.

BookTwoII [p. 67] He enrolled the *Octavii* [p. 555] among the patrician order.

Sestilia, or Sextilia, (c. 5AD - 69AD) was the mother of *Aulus* [p. 624] Vitellius, the future emperor, and his younger brother, Lucius Vitellius the Younger, by the successful politician and friend of the emperor *Claudius* [p. 464], Lucius *Vitellius* [p. 625]. Sestilia died shortly before both her sons were killed in December 69AD.

BookSevenXXXVIII [p. 343] *BookSevenXLIX* [p. 350] Mentioned.

Sibyl, the word sibyl probably comes (via Latin) from the Greek word *sibylla*, meaning prophetess. The earliest oracular seeresses known as the sibyls of antiquity prophesied at certain holy sites, under the divine influence of a deity, originally, at Delphi and Pessinos, one of the chthonic earth-goddesses.

BookOneLXXIX [p. 52] *BookTwoXXXI* [p. 86] The Sibylline Books or *Libri Sibyllini* were a collection of oracular utterances, set out in Greek hexameters, purchased from a sibyl by the last king of Rome, Tarquinius Superbus. The Roman Senate later entrusted their care to two patricians; after 367BC ten custodians were appointed, five patricians and five plebeians, who were called the *decemviri sacris faciundis*; subsequently (probably in the time of Sulla) their number was increased to fifteen, the *quindecimviri sacris faciundis*. These officials consulted the *Sibylline Books* in order to ascertain rites of expiation. The books were kept in the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitol, and were thus lost when the temple burned in 83BC. A new Greek Sibylline collection was deposited in the restored temple, together with similar sayings of native origin, e.g. those of the Sibyl at Tibur. From the Capitol, they were transferred by Augustus as *pontifex maximus* in 12BC, to the temple of *Apollo Patrus* on the Palatine, after they had been examined and copied; there they remained until c. 405AD.

BookSevenVIII [p. 322] *Galba* [p. 500] elected to the Board of Fifteen.

Sicily is the largest island in the Mediterranean Sea and was a highly regarded part of *Magna Graecia*, *Cicero* [p. 614] describing Siracusa (Syracuse) as the greatest and most

beautiful city of Ancient Greece. In July 36BC the fleets of Octavian (with Marcus *Agrippa* [p. 411] as his admiral), and Mark *Antony* [p. 422], sailed from Italy, while a third fleet, under *Lepidus* [p. 407], sailed from Africa, to attack *Sextus* [p. 572]' Pompeius stronghold in Sicily. Agrippa was finally able to defeat Sextus in a naval battle near *Mylae* [p. 546] (modern Milazzo); though Octavian was defeated and seriously wounded in a battle near Taormina. At *Naulochus* [p. 548], Agrippa met Sextus' fleet, and succeeded in defeating his enemy. Agrippa lost three ships, while 28 ships of Sextus were sunk, 17 fled, and the others were burnt or captured.

BookTwoIX [p. 71] *BookTwoXVI* [p. 75] *BookTwoXXV* [p. 81] *Augustus* [p. 433] (Octavian) involved in civil war there.

BookTwoXXII [p. 80] Augustus received an ovation or minor triumph after his campaign in 36BC.

BookTwoLXX [p. 111] Augustus experienced two naval defeats off Sicily in 36BC.

BookTwoXCVI [p. 128] An omen of Augustus' final naval victory there.

BookThreeII [p. 142] *Claudius Caudex* [p. 466] defeated the Carthaginians there in 264BC.

BookThreeIV [p. 144] *BookThreeVI* [p. 145] *Tiberius* [p. 608]' father, *Tiberius Nero* [p. 610], sought to join Sextus Pompey there.

BookFourXXIII [p. 207] *Caligula* [p. 449] refused to allow the annual victory celebration.

Sigambrians, or the **Sicambri**, were a western Germanic people living in what is now the Netherlands at the turn of the first millennium.

BookTwoXXI [p. 79] The Sigambri were attacked beyond the Rhine and defeated by the consul Nero *Claudius Drusus* [p. 487] (Drusus the Elder) in 10BC. In 9BC Drusus again crossed the Rhine and proceeded against the Germans, starting with the Chatti in the west. He traversed country 'as far as that of the Suebi' in the east and then attacked the Cherusci to the north of the Suebi. He reached the Elbe.

Silanus, see *Junius* [p. 521]

Silius, Gaius the Elder was consul in 13AD. Under *Germanicus* [p. 503], Silius was an army commander in Germania Inferior in 14AD, and won an honorary triumph in 15AD. *Tiberius* [p. 608] appointed him as a taxation auditor in Gaul in 16AD, and he later became governor of Germania Inferior in 21AD. Tacitus described him then as 'aged and infirm'. Silius married *Sosia Galla*. The couple became friends with Tiberius' daughter-in-law *Agrippina* [p. 413] the Elder. Due to their friendship with Agrippina they became victims of *Sejanus* [p. 590]' treason trials. Silius committed suicide in 24AD, while Galla was exiled and later died.

BookTwoLXXI [p. 112] He dines with *Augustus* [p. 433].

BookTwoCI [p. 132] He was consul in 13AD when *Augustus* [p. 433] made his last will.

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Silius, Gaius the Younger (d. 48AD), son of Gaius *Silius* [p. 594] the Elder, was senator in 47AD and consul in 48AD. *Valeria* [p. 616] Messalina committed bigamy with him, and when their plotting was discovered, was executed by Claudius.

BookFiveXXVI [p. 256] Executed on the orders of *Claudius* [p. 464].

BookFiveXXIX [p. 259] *BookFiveXXXVI* [p. 262] His affair with Messalina.

Silvanus, Marcus Plautius, see *Plautius* [p. 569]

Sinuessa was a town in Latium, situated on the Tyrrhenian Sea, about 10 kilometres north of the mouth of the Volturno River (the ancient *Vulturnus*). It was on the route of the Via Appia.

BookSevenXLII [p. 345] *Vitellius* [p. 624] embezzled the town's public revenues.

Sirens were bird-women, seductresses who lured sailors with their enchanting music and voices to shipwreck on the rocky coast of their island. Roman poets placed them on an island called Sirenum scopuli. In some later, rationalized traditions the geography of their 'flowery' island of Anthemoessa, or Anthemusa, is fixed sometimes on Cape Pelorum and at others among the islands known as the Sirenuse, near Paestum, or on *Caprae* [p. 454]. Ovid makes their song a lament for Persephone. *Homer* [p. 508] hints that they sing the knowledge of all things that come to pass on Earth. (*Odyssey* 12:189-191)

BookThreeLXX [p. 183] The nature of their song was the subject of one of *Tiberius's* [p. 608] questions to the grammarians.

Sosius, Gaius, was quaestor in 66BC and praetor in 49BC. In the civil war he joined the optimates but on the flight of *Pompey* [p. 573] to Greece, Sosius returned to Rome and submitted to *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar. After the assassination of Caesar, Sosius joined Mark *Antony* [p. 422], and in 38BC was governor of Syria and Cilicia. As governor, Sosius was commanded by Antony to support Herod I, the Great, against Antigonos the Hasmonean, who held Jerusalem. In 37BC Sosius took Jerusalem and placed Herod on the throne. He was awarded a triumph in 34BC, and was consul with Gnaeus *Domitius* [p. 484] Ahenobarbus in 32BC. Sosius then sided with Antony. In 31BC, at *Actium* [p. 404], Sosius commanded the left wing of the fleet. After the battle, he was captured but pardoned. He returned to Rome and completed his building project on the temple of Apollo Medicus (begun in 34BC), dedicating it in Octavian's name. He seems to have still been alive in 17BC.

BookTwoXVII [p. 76] Allowed by *Augustus* [p. 433] to join Mark *Antony* [p. 422].

Spartacus (c. 109BC – 71BC) was the most notable leader of the slaves in the Third Slave War, a major uprising against the Roman Republic.

BookTwoIII [p. 68] Mentioned.

Spiculus was a famous gladiator under Nero.

BookSixXXX [p. 292] *Nero* [p. 549] lavished money on him.

BookSixXLVII [p. 307] Nero called for him to help end his life.

Spoletium, modern Spoleto, is an ancient city in east central Umbria in a foothill of the Apennines. Spoleto was situated on the eastern branch of the Via Flaminia, which forked into two roads at Narni and rejoined at *Forum Flaminii*, near Foligno. An ancient road also ran east to *Nursia* [p. 553] (Norcia), 42 kilometres distant.

BookEightI [p. 361] *Vespia*, a hilltop placename near the hamlet of Piandoli, south-west of Nursia may be the site of the *Vespasii* monuments mentioned.

Sporus was a Greek catamite of *Nero's* [p. 549].

BookSixXXVIII [p. 291] *BookSixXXIX* [p. 292] Nero's debaucheries with him.

BookSixXLVI [p. 306] The implication is that Sporus was represented by *Persephone* [p. 577] (Proserpine) and Nero by Pluto (Orcus), King of the Underworld, implying an inauspicious connection with the realm of the dead.

BookSixXLVIII [p. 307] *BookSixXLIX* [p. 308] He accompanied Nero during his final days.

Spurinna, Titus Vestricius, was an Etruscan haruspex (a diviner or prophet) famous for warning Julius *Caesar* [p. 518] to beware the Ides of March (March 15th) some time before his assassination.

BookOneLXXXI [p. 54] His repeated warning.

Statilia Messalina (c. 35AD - after 68AD) was third wife to Nero (from 66AD - 68AD). She may have been the daughter of Titus Statilius Taurus who was consul in 44AD and who was forced to commit suicide in 53AD.

BookSixXXXV [p. 297] Her marriage to *Nero* [p. 549].

BookSevenXXXIII [p. 338] *Otho* [p. 558] intended to marry her and wrote his last letter to her.

Statilius Capella, was an equestrian from *Sabrata* [p. 584] in North Africa. *Flavia* [p. 494] Domitilla, wife to *Vespasian* [p. 620], had previously been his mistress.

BookEightIII [p. 363] Mentioned.

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Statilius Taurus Corvinus, Titus was consul in 45AD, and a grandson of *Messala* [p. 617] Corvinus. In 45AD, he was involved in a conspiracy against Claudius.

BookFiveXIII [p. 245] His conspiracy against *Claudius* [p. 464].

Statilius Taurus, Titus, was a self-made man, a general under *Augustus* [p. 433], fighting in many of his major campaigns. He was made *consul ordinarius* in 26BC alongside Augustus. In 16BC, when Augustus left Italy for Gaul, he left Taurus in Rome as *praefectus urbi*. Until the second consulship of Tiberius in 7BC, Statilius Taurus was the last man to hold multiple consulships.

BookTwoXXIX [p. 85] His amphitheatre, the first stone amphitheatre in Rome, on the Campus Martius, was built in 29BC.

BookFourXVIII [p. 204] *Caligula* [p. 449] presented gladiatorial contests in his amphitheatre.

BookSixXXXV [p. 297] His great-great-granddaughter's [p. 596] marriage to *Nero* [p. 549].

Stephanio was an actor who exceeded the licence allowed his profession and was punished by *Augustus* [p. 433].

BookTwoXLV [p. 96] Mentioned.

Stephanus was the steward to *Flavia* [p. 494] Domitilla, and was the first to stab *Domitian* [p. 482] during the assassination in 96AD.

BookEightLIII [p. 399] Mentioned.

Stoechades Islands, The modern **Hyères Islands**, or **Golden Isles** (*Iles d'Or*), are three islands off the coast of the Var department of France, east of Toulon. Porquerolles is the largest of the three the others being Port-Cros and Levant.

BookFiveXVII [p. 249] Claudius nearly shipwrecked there in 43AD.

Strabo Vopiscus, Gaius Julius Caesar (c. 130BC – 87BC) was younger son to Lucius Julius Caesar II and his wife Poppilia and younger brother to Lucius Julius Caesar III. Strabo became a pontifex in 99BC; a quaestor in 96BC and an aedile in 90BC. With his brother he was killed, fighting in the streets at the beginning of the Civil War, by partisans of Marius. He wrote at least three tragedies with Greek themes, *Adrastus*, *Tecmesa* and *Teutras*. Only fragments survive. According to *Cicero* [p. 614], he was an orator known for his wit and humour.

BookOneLV [p. 41] *Julius Caesar* [p. 518] imitated his oratorical style.

Subura was a lower class area of Rome also notorious as a red-light district. It lay in the dip between the southern end of the Viminal Hill and the western end of the Esquiline.

BookOneXLVI [p. 36] *Caesar's* [p. 518] family had a house there in which he grew up.

Suebians, or **Suebi**, were a group of eastern Germanic peoples who were first mentioned by *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar in connection with his defeat of their leader Ariovistus c. 58BC.

BookTwoXXI [p. 79] In 9BC, the consul Nero Claudius *Drusus* [p. 487] (Drusus the Elder) crossed the Rhine and proceeded against the Germans, starting with the Chatti in the west. He traversed country 'as far as that of the Suebi' in the east and then attacked the Cherusci to the north of the Suebi. He reached the Elbe.

Suetonius Laetus, the father of Suetonius *Tranquillus* [p. 598], the author, probably came from Hippo Regius (Annaba, Algeria). He was an equestrian who served and took part in the first Battle of *Bedriacum* [p. 439] for the Emperor *Otho* [p. 558] against the future Emperor *Vitellius* [p. 624] in 69AD.

BookSevenXXXIII [p. 338] His view of Otho's character.

Suetonius Tranquillus, Gaius (c. 69/75AD – after 130AD), was a historian, the son of Suetonius *Laetus* [p. 598], whose most important surviving work is this set of biographies of twelve successive Roman rulers, from *Julius Caesar* [p. 518] to *Domitian* [p. 482], entitled *De Vita Caesarum*. Other works by Suetonius concern the daily life of Rome, politics, oratory, and the lives of famous writers, including poets, historians, and grammarians. Suetonius was born the son of Suetonius Laetus, who probably came from Hippo Regius (Annaba, Algeria). Laetus was an equestrian who served and took part in the first Battle of Bedriacum fighting for the Emperor *Otho* [p. 558] against the future Emperor *Vitellius* [p. 624] in 69AD. Suetonius was a close friend of Pliny the Younger. Pliny describes him as 'quiet and studious, a man dedicated to writing.' Pliny helped him buy a property in Italy and interceded with Trajan to grant Suetonius immunities usually granted to a father of three, the *ius trium liberorum*, though his marriage was childless. Through Pliny, Suetonius gained favour with Trajan and *Hadrian* [p. 505]. Suetonius may have served on Pliny's staff when Pliny was Proconsul of *Bithynia* [p. 440] Pontus (northern Asia Minor) between 110AD and 112AD. Under Trajan he served as secretary of and director of Imperial archives. Under Hadrian, he became the Emperor's secretary. But, In 119AD, Hadrian dismissed Suetonius for an affair with Empress Vibia Sabina. Suetonius may have later regained imperial favor under Hadrian and returned to his position. This hypothesis is based on the suggestion that *Offices of State* was one of his last works, and that the subject was chosen to reflect Hadrian's administrative reforms; however, there is no certain evidence for a public career after 120AD.

BookTwoVI [p. 70] Suetonius gifted the Emperor Hadrian a statuette of *Augustus* [p. 433].

BookFourXIX [p. 204] Suetonius' grandfather is unknown.

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Sulla was a soothsayer at the time of Caligula.

BookFourLVII [p. 229] He predicted *Caligula's* [p. 449] imminent death.

Sulla Felix, Faustus Cornelius (22AD – 62AD) was the son of Faustus Cornelius Sulla the suffect consul of 31AD. He was also the half brother of the empress *Valeria* [p. 616] Messalina. In 47AD *Claudius* [p. 464] arranged for Faustus to marry his daughter, *Claudia* [p. 463] Antonia. Faustus was exiled in 59AD, subsequently being executed in 62AD on *Nero's* [p. 549] orders.

BookFiveXXVII [p. 257] Claudia Antonia's second husband.

Sulla, Faustus Cornelius, (81BC - 46BC) was the eldest surviving son of the dictator Lucius Cornelius *Sulla* [p. 599] and Cecilia Metella. He accompanied Pompey into Asia, and became the first to climb over the walls of the Temple of Jerusalem in 63BC. He was quaestor in 54BC. The senate commissioned him to rebuild the Curia Hostilia in 52BC which had been burned down after the riots which followed the murder of Clodius. After that the Curia was known as the Curia Cornelia. Faustus was at the Battle of Pharsalus in 48BC, joining the leaders of his party in Africa subsequently. His career as an advocate was cut short, however, by the civil war between Pompey and Caesar. As Lucullus' ward and Pompey's son-in-law, he sided with Pompey. After the Battle of Thapsus, he was captured and subsequently killed in a minor skirmish with Caesar's troops.

BookOneXXVII [p. 25] He married *Pompeia* [p. 571] Magna, Pompey's daughter.

BookOneLXXV [p. 50] Killed against Caesar's wishes.

Sulla Felix, Lucius Cornelius (the dictator) (c. 138BC – 78BC), known simply as Sulla, was general and politician, having the rare distinction of holding the office of consul twice as well as the dictatorship. Sulla used his armies to march on Rome twice, and after the second event revived the office of dictator. He used his power to enact a series of reforms to the Roman constitution. He ultimately resigned the dictatorship, restoring normal constitutional government, and after his second Consulship, retired to private life.

BookOneI [p. 11] *BookOneLXXIV* [p. 49] His persecution of the young *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar.

BookOneIII [p. 12] His death in 78BC encouraged Julius Caesar's return to Rome.

BookOneV [p. 13] He had curtailed the powers of the popular tribunes.

BookOneXI [p. 16] *BookTwoXXXIII* [p. 88] He had destroyed *Marius* [p. 538]' monuments. The Cornelian Laws were various edicts passed during Sulla's dictatorship many of which remained on the statute book.

BookOneXLV [p. 36] His warning regarding the young Caesar.

BookOneLXXV [p. 50] His statue re-instated by Caesar.

Suetonius, The Twelve Caesars

BookOneLXXVII [p. 52] Caesar's reputedly low opinion of him for renouncing the dictatorship.

BookThreeLIX [p. 176] Mentioned as Sulla Felix, Sulla the Fortunate.

Sulla, Publius Cornelius (d. 45BC) was the nephew (there is dispute over the degree of relatedness) of Lucius Cornelius *Sulla* [p. 599] Felix. He was elected consul in 66BC (to assume office in 65BC) together with Publius *Autronius* [p. 436], but both were discovered to have committed bribery and were disqualified from office. He was soon after implicated in the Catiline conspiracy, but was not convicted. He is remembered most notably for having commanded the right wing of Julius Caesar's army at the battle of Pharsalus.

BookOneIX [p. 16] Conspires with *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar in 65BC.

Sulpicius, was an unknown companion of the young *Claudius* [p. 464].

BookFiveIV [p. 240] Mentioned.

Sulpicius Rufus, Servius (c. 106BC - 43BC), surnamed Lemonia from the tribe to which he belonged, was a Roman orator and jurist. In 63BC he was a candidate for the consulship, but was defeated by Lucius Licinius Murena, whom he subsequently accused of bribery. In 52BC he was elected consul for 51BC. In the Civil War, after considerable hesitation, he threw in his lot with *Caesar* [p. 518], who made him proconsul of Achaea in 46BC. He died while on a mission from the senate to Mark *Antony* [p. 422] at Mutina. He was accorded a public funeral, and a statue was erected to his memory in front of the Rostra.

BookOneXXIX [p. 26] Caesar elicited his support in 51BC.

BookOneL [p. 38] Caesar was reputed to have had an affair with his wife, *Postumia* [p. 577].

Sulpicius Camerinus, Quintus was consul in 9AD.

BookEightII [p. 362] *Vespasian* [p. 620] was born in his consulship.

Sulpicius Flavius was an otherwise unknown companion of the Emperor Claudius.

BookFiveXLI [p. 265] He assisted the young *Claudius* [p. 464] in writing a history.

Sulpicius Galba was the grandfather of the Emperor *Galba* [p. 500]. He was devoted to literary interests, and wrote a multi-volume history. He only achieved the rank of praetor.

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BookSevenIII [p. 318] Mentioned.

BookSevenIV [p. 319] Associated with an omen of *Galba's* [p. 500] accession to power.

Sulpicius Galba, Gaius, was the father of the Emperor *Galba* [p. 500]. He was consul in 22AD with Decimus Haterius Agrippa. He was hump-backed and a minor orator. He married *Mummia* [p. 545] Achaica, mother of Galba and his brother *Gaius* [p. 601], and after her death married *Livia* [p. 529] Ocellina.

BookSevenIII [p. 318] Mentioned.

Sulpicius Galba, Gaius was *Galba's* [p. 500] elder brother. Suetonius suggests he committed suicide when *Tiberius* [p. 608] refused to allow him a province after consulship, but as his name is not registered as a consul, he may have been confused with their *father* [p. 601], also Gaius.

BookSevenIII [p. 318] Mentioned.

Sulpicius Galba, Servius, served as tribune of the soldiers in the second legion in Macedonia, was praetor in 151BC, and received Hispania as his province. In the spring of 150BC, he ravaged Lusitania leading to a prolonged war between the Roman troops and those of the Lusitanian leader *Viriathus* [p. 624] (d. 139BC). Servius was afterwards made consul for 144BC, with Lucius Aurelius Cotta.

BookSevenIII [p. 318] Mentioned.

Sulpicius Galba, Servius, was the grandson of *Servius* [p. 601] Sulpicius Galba, the Governor of Spain in 151BC. He fought under *Caesar* [p. 518] in Gaul in 58BC, was praetor in 54BC and a candidate for the consulship in 59BC. He was a friend of *Decimus* [p. 443] Brutus and *Cicero* [p. 614], and fought at *Mutina* [p. 546]. According to Suetonius he was one of the conspirators against Caesar.

BookSevenIII [p. 318] Mentioned.

Sulpicius Galba, Servius (the Emperor Galba)

Surrentum, modern **Sorrento**, is a small town in Campania overlooking the Bay of Naples on the Sorrentine Peninsula.

BookTwoLXV [p. 107] Agrippa *Postumus* [p. 412] sent there c. 6AD.

Syracuse is a city in the south-east angle of the island of Sicily, on the Gulf of Syracuse. The city was founded c. 733BC by Greek Corinthians and was allied with Sparta and Corinth, exerting influence over the entire *Magna Graecia* area of which it was the leading city. The ancient Greek theatre was modified by the Romans to suit the nature of their entertainments. There was also a Roman amphitheatre.

BookFourXX [p. 205] *Caligula* [p. 449] gave entertainments there.

BookFourXXI [p. 205] Caligula repaired the city walls and temples.

BookFourXXIV [p. 208] Caligula fled there distraught at the death of *Drusilla* [p. 516] in 38AD.

Talarius was a slave or freedman of *Augustus* [p. 433].

BookFourVIII [p. 196] Mentioned.

Tanusius Geminus. Little is known of this historian, who may possibly be identified with the Volusius ridiculed by *Catullus* [p. 459]. He was considered long-winded and boring by Seneca.

BookOneIX [p. 16] Author of the *Annales* or History.

Tarichaeae was possibly **Magdala**, modern **Migdal**, near Tiberias, known as Magdala Nunayya or Magdala of the Fishes, located on the Sea of Galilee.

BookEightXXIX [p. 378] Subjugated by *Titus* [p. 612] in 67AD.

Tarpeian Rock, (**rupes Tarpeia**) was a steep cliff on the southern summit of the Capitoline Hill, overlooking the Roman Forum. It was used during the Roman Republic as an execution site. Murderers, traitors, perjurers, and larcenous slaves, if convicted by the *quaestores parricidii*, were flung from the cliff to their deaths.

BookOneXLIV [p. 35] Mentioned.

Tarquinius Priscus, Lucius, also called Tarquin the Elder or Tarquin I, was the fifth King of Rome from 616BC to 579BC. His wife was Tanaquil.

BookTwoII [p. 67] He admitted the *Octavii* [p. 555] to the Senate.

Tarraco, modern **Tarragon**, is a city located in southern Catalonia in the north-east of Spain, on the Mediterranean. In Roman times, the city was the capital of the province of Hispania Tarraconensis (after being capital of Hispania Citerior in the Republican era). Augustus wintered at Tarraco after his Cantabrian campaign, and bestowed many

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marks of honor on the city, among which were its honorary titles of Colonia Victrix Togata and Colonia Julia Victrix Tarraconensis.

BookTwoXXVI [p. 82] Augustus there in 26BC - 25BC.

BookSevenXII [p. 325] *Galba* [p. 500] melted down a gold crown belonging to its Temple of *Jupiter* [p. 521].

Tatius, Titus (d. 748BC) was the Sabine king of Cures, who, after the rape of the Sabine women, attacked Rome. Tatius and the Roman king, Romulus, were reconciled and ruled jointly over the Romans and Sabines. Rome retained its name and each citizen was a Roman, but as a community they were called Quirites. Five years later Tatius was killed by the inhabitants of Lavinium, leaving Romulus to rule alone, and Tatius is thus not counted as one of the traditional 'Seven Kings of Rome'. He had one daughter Tatia, who married Numa Pompilius (Romulus's successor), and one son, who was the ancestor of the noble family of Tatii.

BookThreeI [p. 141] Mentioned.

BookSevenVIII [p. 322] *Galba* [p. 500] was elected to the *Titii sodales*, a college of priests supposed to have been established either by Titus Tatius himself, to superintend and preserve the Titienses one of the three original 'tribes'; or by *Romulus* [p. 583] to honour the deified Titus. Under the Empire, their functions were changed to conduct the worship of an emperor, like those of the *Sodales Augustales* [p. 433].

Tedius Afer, was a consul-elect driven by *Augustus* [p. 433] to commit suicide after being suspected of planning to attack him.

BookTwoXXVII [p. 83] Mentioned.

Tegea an ancient city in Arcadia was an important religious center of ancient Greece, containing the Temple of Athena Alea. The statue of the goddess from Scopas's Doric temple there, made by Endoeus, of ivory, was subsequently carried to Rome by *Augustus* [p. 433] to adorn the Forum of Augustus.

BookEightVII [p. 367] Vases bearing likenesses of *Vespasian* [p. 620] unearthed there.

Telegenius. The reference is unknown. Possibly it is to a well-known fool.

BookFiveXL [p. 265] A saying of Claudius's refers.

Telephus, was a deluded slave who conspired against *Augustus* [p. 433].

BookTwoXIX [p. 78] Mentioned.

Terentia, also known as **Terentilla**, was the wife of *Maecenas* [p. 534]. Varro Murena was her brother by adoption.

BookTwoLXVI [p. 108] *Maecenas* supposedly leaked news to her that the Murena conspiracy had been exposed.

Terentia, see also *Albia* [p. 415]

Terentius Varro, Marcus (116BC – 27BC) also known as Varro Reatinus to distinguish him from his younger contemporary Varro Atacinus, was a scholar and writer. Politically, he supported *Pompey* [p. 573], reaching the office of praetor, after having been tribune of the people, *quaestor* and *curule aedile*. He was a member of the commission of twenty who carried out the great agrarian scheme of Caesar for the resettlement of Capua and Campania (59BC). During the civil war he commanded one of Pompey's armies in the Ilerda campaign. He received two pardons granted by Julius Caesar, before and after the Battle of *Pharsalus* [p. 566]. Caesar later appointed him to oversee the public library of Rome in 47BC, but following Caesar's death Mark *Antony* [p. 422] proscribed him, resulting in the loss of much of his property, including his library. Varro later gained the favour of *Augustus* [p. 433].

BookOneXXXIV [p. 29] Defeated by *Caesar* [p. 518] in Spain.

BookOneXLIV [p. 35] Appointed by Caesar to execute his plans for a public library, he was also the author of a treatise on libraries, *De bibliothecis* (which has not survived). Caesar was assassinated before the plans were completed.

Terentius Varro Murena, Aulus was elected consul, with Augustus, for the year 23BC, but fell out of favour and a suffect consul, Gnaeus Calpurnius Piso, was appointed to replace him. In 22BC, Murena defended Marcus Primus, governor of Macedonia, against charges of waging an unprovoked war on the Odrysian kingdom of Thrace, whose king was a Roman ally. During this case, Murena reportedly offended Augustus, who testified at the trial. Subsequently, Murena was suspected of participating in a conspiracy (23BC) against Augustus led by *Fannius* [p. 492] Caepio and was put to death without trial.

BookTwoXIX [p. 78] *BookThreeVIII* [p. 147] He was executed in 22BC by *Augustus* [p. 433] for conspiring against him.

BookTwoLVI [p. 102] Augustus learnt of the conspiracy through a dependent of his, *Castricius* [p. 458].

BookTwoLXVI [p. 108] *Maecenas* [p. 534] accused of leaking news that the conspiracy had been detected to his wife *Terentia* [p. 604], Murena being her brother by adoption.

Terpnus was a famous lyre-player.

BookSixXX [p. 285] He was employed by *Nero* [p. 549] to improve that Emperor's singing.

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BookEightXIX [p. 373] *Vespasian* [p. 620] rewarded him.

Terracina, the **Volscian Anxur**, lies on the coast 76km south-east of Rome, near the Circeo peninsula. Rome finally secured the town by the establishment of a colony of Roman citizens in 329BC. The construction of the Via Appia in 312BC added to its importance. Its climate and scenery made it an attractive spot later for seaside villas.

BookThreeXXXIX [p. 166] *Tiberius* [p. 608] was nearly killed by a rock-fall there.

BookSevenIV [p. 319] *Galba* [p. 500] was born near Terracina, on the left of the road to Fundi, i.e. north of the Via Appia.

Tertia, Junia (c. 60BC - 22AD) was the third daughter of *Servilia* [p. 592] Caepionis and her second husband Decimus *Junius* [p. 520] Silanus. She was the half-sister of Marcus Junius *Brutus* [p. 444], and wife of Gaius *Cassius* [p. 457] Longinus.

BookOneL [p. 38] Reputed to have had an affair with *Caesar* [p. 518], her mother being his mistress.

Tertulla, Axia, the wife (89BC) of Marcus *Crassus* [p. 526], and widow of his elder brother.

BookOneL [p. 38] *Caesar* [p. 518] was reputed to have had an affair with her.

Tertulla (c. 40BC – after 9AD) was the paternal grandmother of *Vespasian* [p. 620] and the wife of Titus *Flavius* [p. 495] Petro.

BookEightII [p. 362] *Vespasian* was raised by her at her estate at *Cosa* [p. 476].

Tetrinius was a brigand, at the time of *Caligula* [p. 449], whom the crowd in the *Circus* [p. 463] wished to see fight, or be punished.

BookFourXXX [p. 213] Mentioned.

Teutones. During the late second century BC, the Teutones and Cimbri are recorded as passing west through Gaul and attacking Roman Italy. After several victories for the invading armies, the Teutones and Cimbri divided forces and were then defeated separately by Gaius Marius in 102BC, and 101BC respectively. The Teutones were annihilated at the Battle of Aquae Sextiae (in present-day Aix-en-Provence). Their king, Teutobod, was captured.

BookOneXI [p. 16] Defeated by *Marius* [p. 538].

Thallus was a secretary to *Augustus* [p. 433] punished for taking bribes to reveal the contents of a letter.

BookTwoLXVII [p. 109] Mentioned.

Thapsus was a city in what is modern day Tunisia. Its ruins exist at Ras Dimas near Bekalta, approximately 200 km southeast of Carthage. Originally founded by Phoenicians, it served as a marketplace on the coast of the province Byzacena in Africa Propria. In 46BC, *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar defeated Metellus *Scipio* [p. 588] and the Numidian King *Juba* [p. 513] I near Thapsus. Their defeat marked the end of opposition to Caesar in Africa and Thapsus then became a Roman colony.

BookOneXXXV [p. 30] Caesar's victory there.

Thasos is the Greek island in the northern Aegean Sea, close to the coast of Thrace and the plain of the river Nestos but geographically part of Macedonia. It is the northernmost Greek island. White Thassos is a pure white marble with the brilliant crystalline color of refined sugar, quarried on the island since ancient times.

BookSixL [p. 309] *Nero's* [p. 549] tomb adorned with a balustrade of stone from Thasos.

Theodorus of Gadara was a Greek rhetorician, one of the two most famous rhetoric teachers of the time, the other being Apollodorus of Pergamon. Theodorus taught *Tiberius* [p. 608] rhetoric, his other well-known pupil being the Greek rhetorician Hermagoras of Temnos who later taught oratory in Rome. The town of Umm Qais in north-west Jordan is located on the site of the Hellenistic-Roman city of Gadara. The town was also called Antiochia, Antiochia Semiramis, or Seleucia, and was a semi-autonomous city of the Roman Decapolis.

BookThreeLVII [p. 175] He perceived *Tiberius'* innate temperament.

Theogenes, was a Greek mathematician and astrologer, whom *Augustus* [p. 433] and *Agrippa* [p. 411] visited in *Apollonia* [p. 426], in 45/44BC.

BookTwoXCIV [p. 124] *Augustus'* sun sign was Libra (23rd September, 63BC), but *Manilius* and *Suetonius*, and surviving coins, suggest that *Augustus'* key birth sign, according to the relevant system of astrology, that is the sign in which the Moon was situated, was Capricorn, while that of *Tiberius* was Libra. (*Manilius* 2.507, 4.548, 4.763 which clearly refers to *Tiberius*, 4.773, and 3.574 which may refer to *Augustus'* life-span) Both Moon signs are astronomically correct, subject to various issues regarding the calendar.

Thessalians were the inhabitants of Thessaly (the ancient Aeolia) in north-eastern Greece. It officially became part of the Roman Empire in 148BC, as part of the province of Macedonia.

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BookThreeVIII [p. 147] *Tiberius* [p. 608] acted as advocate in Rome for them.

BookFiveXXI [p. 251] Thessalian bull-fighters performed in the Circus arena under *Claudius* [p. 464].

Thrace was the ancient region bounded by the Balkan Mountains on the north, Rhodope Mountains and the Aegean Sea on the south, and by the Black Sea and the Sea of Marmara on the east.

BookTwoXCIV [p. 124] Associated with the worship of *Liber* [p. 525]-Dionysus.

BookEightII [p. 362] *Vespasian* [p. 620] served there as a military tribune.

BookEightXLVI [p. 392] *Domitian* [p. 482] was being accused of favouring the Thracian's opponent, the *murmillo*.

Thrasea Paetus, Publius Clodius, see *Clodius* [p. 469]

Thrasylus, Tiberius Claudius (d. 36AD) was an Egyptian Greek from Mendes (Djedet, modern Tell El-Ruba), though he is often mentioned in secondary sources as coming from *Alexandria* [p. 416]. Although Thrasylus was a grammarian and editor of Plato and Democritus, he is best known as the astrologer of the Roman Emperor *Tiberius* [p. 608].

BookTwoXCVIII [p. 128] Mentioned as being with Tiberius on *Capri* [p. 454].

BookThreeXIV [p. 151] He was with Tiberius on *Rhodes* [p. 582] in 2AD.

BookThreeLXII [p. 178] He deterred Tiberius from certain destructive actions.

BookFourXIX [p. 204] His comment on *Caligula* [p. 449].

Thurii, called by some Latin writers and by Ptolemy, **Thurium**, also *Copia* and *Copiae*, and sometimes written as *Turios*, Italian: *Thurio*, was a city of Magna Graecia, situated on the Tarentine gulf, within a short distance of the site of Sybaris, which it may be considered to have replaced.

BookTwoII [p. 67] A possible native place of Augustus' *great-grandfather* [p. 555].

BookTwoIII [p. 68] Augustus' *father* [p. 555] dispersed a group of outlawed slaves there.

BookTwoVI [p. 70] Augustus' childhood name Thurinus derived from Thurii.

Thyatira, or Thyateira, is the modern Turkish city of Akhisar. It lies in the west of Turkey, south of Istanbul and almost due east of Athens. It is about 50 miles from the Mediterranean. In classical times, Thyatira stood on the border between Lydia and Mysia. It was famous for its dyeing and was a center of the indigo trade.

BookThreeVIII [p. 147] *Tiberius* [p. 608] acted as advocate in Rome for the citizens after a devastating earthquake.

Tiberius, Julius Caesar Augustus, born **Tiberius Claudius Nero** (42BC – 37AD), was the second Roman Emperor, from the death of Augustus in 14AD until his own death in 37AD. Tiberius was by birth a Claudian, son of Tiberius *Claudius* [p. 610] Nero and *Livia* [p. 527] Drusilla. His mother divorced and married Augustus in 39BC, making him Tiberius' step-father. Tiberius would later marry Augustus' daughter *Julia* [p. 515] the Elder (from his marriage to *Scribonia* [p. 589]) and later be adopted by Augustus, by which act he officially became a Julian, bearing the name Tiberius Julius Caesar. Tiberius was the stepson of the Emperor Augustus, great-uncle of the Emperor *Caligula* [p. 449], paternal uncle of the Emperor *Claudius* [p. 464], and great-great uncle of the Emperor *Nero* [p. 549].

BookTwoXL [p. 92] Mentioned regarding a minor request to *Augustus* [p. 433].

BookTwoLI [p. 100] *BookTwoLXXI* [p. 112] *BookTwoLXXVI* [p. 114] *BookTwoXCII* [p. 123] *BookFiveIV* [p. 240] Mentioned regarding letters to and from Augustus.

BookTwoLXIII [p. 106] Married Julia in 11BC, after divorcing Vipsania Agrippina, daughter of *Agrippa* [p. 411].

BookTwoLXV [p. 107] Adopted by Augustus in 4AD.

BookTwoLXXXV [p. 119] Completes a reading on Augustus' behalf.

BookTwoXCVII [p. 128] Performs the *lustrum* rites in May 14AD, with Augustus. Sets off later that summer for *Illyricum* [p. 510], Augustus accompanying him part of the way, but his journey is ultimately aborted due to Augustus' last illness.

BookTwoXCVIII [p. 128] Recalled by Augustus, and with him at his death, Augustus effectively handing all State business to him before dying.

BookTwoC [p. 131] He delivered one of the two eulogies for Augustus at the funeral.

BookTwoCI [p. 132] Augustus appointed him as his main heir, receiving two thirds of the estate.

BookThreeI [p. 141] Suetonius' life of Tiberius follows.

BookFourI [p. 193] *BookFourIV* [p. 195] He adopted *Germanicus* [p. 503] in 4AD.

BookFourII [p. 194] He was suspected of contriving Germanicus's death.

BookFourVI [p. 195] He was held in check by respect for and awe of Germanicus.

BookFourVII [p. 196] *BookFourXXX* [p. 213] His persecution of *Nero* [p. 549] and *Drusus* [p. 486], the sons of Germanicus.

BookFourX [p. 198] He summoned *Caligula* [p. 449] to Capri in AD31.

BookFourXI [p. 199] He recognised Caligula's vicious propensities.

BookFourXII [p. 199] It was claimed Caligula poisoned him and then had him strangled.

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BookFourXIII [p. 200] Caligula escorted his body back to Rome.

BookFourXIV [p. 200] The terms of Tiberius's will were disregarded by the Senate.

BookFourXV [p. 201] Caligula gave his funeral eulogy.

BookFourXVI [p. 203] *Caligula* [p. 449] re-adopted the practice Tiberius had suppressed, of publishing the Imperial Accounts.

BookFourXIX [p. 204] His consideration of *Caligula* [p. 449] for the succession.

BookFourXXI [p. 205] Caligula completed Tiberius' work on the Temple of *Augustus* [p. 433] and the Theatre of *Pompey* [p. 573].

BookFourXXXI [p. 214] The collapse of the amphitheatre at *Fidenae* [p. 493] was a notable event during his reign.

BookFourXXXVII [p. 217] *BookSixXXX* [p. 292] Caligula spent Tiberius's legacy of twenty-seven million gold pieces in a single year.

BookFourXXXVIII [p. 218] *Caligula* [p. 449] exploited estates where legacies had not been willed to Tiberius or himself.

BookFiveV [p. 241] *BookFiveVI* [p. 241] His neglect of *Claudius* [p. 464].

BookFiveXI [p. 244] *Claudius* [p. 464] completed an arch dedicated to him, near *Pompey's* [p. 573] Theatre.

BookFiveXXIII [p. 254] His amendment to Augustus' laws on celibacy.

BookFiveXXV [p. 255] *Claudius* [p. 464] reversed his decision to take control of the provinces of Achaia and Macedonia from the Senate in AD15.

BookSixV [p. 276] *BookSixVI* [p. 276] *BookSevenIII* [p. 318] Mentioned.

BookSevenIV [p. 319] Associated with an omen of *Galba's* [p. 500] accession to power.

BookSevenV [p. 320] He appropriated the legacy left to Galba in Livia's will.

BookSevenXXIV [p. 332] *Otho's* [p. 558] father *Lucius* [p. 586] was a favourite of his.

BookSevenXXXVII [p. 342] His purge of the Senate in 17AD.

BookSevenXXXVIII [p. 343] *Vitellius* [p. 624] was one of his *spintriae* on *Capreae* [p. 454].

BookSevenL [p. 351] *Vitellius* banqueted in Tiberius's mansion on the *Palatine* [p. 559] while watching the battle on the *Capitol* [p. 453] in 69AD.

BookEightXXXIII [p. 381] *Titus* [p. 612] broke with Tiberius's practice of not ratifying his predecessors favours and grants, unless by personal concession.

BookEightLVI [p. 401] His writings were *Domitian's* [p. 482] sole reading matter.

Tiberius Gemellus, Julius Caesar Nero Gemellus (19AD – 37/38AD) was the son of *Drusus* [p. 488] the Younger and *Livilla* [p. 529], and was the grandson of *Tiberius* [p. 608], and

cousin of *Caligula* [p. 449]. His twin brother Germanicus Gemellus died young. After Tiberius died in 37AD, Caligula adopted him as his son, but ordered him killed in late 37AD or early 38AD for allegedly plotting against him.

BookThreeLIV [p. 173] *BookThreeLV* [p. 174] Mentioned.

BookThreeLXII [p. 178] Tiberius detested him, suspecting him of being a product of adultery.

BookThreeLXXVI [p. 186] *BookFourXIV* [p. 200] Gemellus was named as co-heir in Tiberius' will, but disinherited by Caligula.

BookFourXV [p. 201] *Caligula* [p. 449] formally adopted Gemellus in 37AD.

BookFourXXIII [p. 207] *BookFourXXIX* [p. 212] *Caligula* [p. 449] had him executed.

Tiberius Julius Alexander was born into a wealthy Jewish family of Alexandria, but abandoning or neglecting the Jewish religion, he rose to become procurator of *Judaea* [p. 512] (c. 46AD – 48AD) under *Claudius* [p. 464]. While Prefect of Egypt (66AD – 69AD), he employed his legions against the *Alexandrians* [p. 416], and was instrumental in *Vespasian's* [p. 620] rise to power. In 70AD, he participated in the Siege of *Jerusalem* [p. 512] as *Titus's* [p. 612] second-in-command. Marcus Julius Alexander his brother was the first husband of the Herodian Princess *Berenice* [p. 439].

BookEightVI [p. 366] He swore allegiance to Vespasian in 69AD.

Tiberius Claudius Nero (c. 85BC - 33BC) was a descendant of Appius Claudius Caecus the censor. His father *Drusus* [p. 486] Claudius Nero served under *Pompey* [p. 573] in 67BC. He was the father of the Emperor *Tiberius* [p. 608] and *Drusus* [p. 487] the Elder, father-in-law to *Antonia* [p. 420] the Elder and *Antonia* [p. 420] the Younger, grandfather to the Emperor *Claudius* [p. 464], *Germanicus* [p. 503], and *Livilla* [p. 529], great-grandfather to the Emperor *Caligula* [p. 449] and Empress *Agrippina* [p. 413] the Younger, and great-great-grandfather to the Emperor *Nero* [p. 549]. He served as quaestor to *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar in 48BC, commanding his fleet in the Alexandrian War. He was elected praetor in 42BC. Around this time, he married his relative *Livia* [p. 527] Drusilla. Tiberius Nero joined Mark *Antony* [p. 422] but in 40BC when *Octavian* [p. 433] (Augustus) and Mark Antony reconciled, returned to Rome. When Livia was six months pregnant, Tiberius Nero was persuaded or forced by Octavian to divorce her. Tiberius Nero raised and educated his sons. When he died in 33BC, the young Tiberius delivered his funeral eulogy.

BookTwoLXII [p. 105] Divorced Livia to allow her to marry Augustus.

BookThreeIV [p. 144] Suetonius gives a brief life.

BookThreeVI [p. 147] Fled to join Antony in 40BC, with the infant Tiberius. Tiberius later delivered his funeral eulogy.

BookThreeVII [p. 146] Tiberius honoured him with a gladiatorial contest.

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Tibur, modern **Tivoli**, is a town 30km from Rome, at the falls of the Aniene River, where it exits the Sabine hills. There are spectacular views out over the Roman Campagna. From Etruscan times Tibur, a Sabine city, was the seat of the Tiburtine Sibyl. The city acquired Roman citizenship in 90BC and became a resort famed for its beauty and excellent waters, and was enriched by many villas, the most famous of which is the ruined *Villa Adriana* (Hadrian's Villa). *Maecenas* [p. 534] and Augustus had villas there, as did the poet Horace.

BookTwoLXXII [p. 112] *BookTwoLXXXII* [p. 117] *Augustus* [p. 433] spent time there. The immense structure of the Temple of Hercules Victor at Tibur was built between the second half of the 2nd century BC and the Empire, with extensive colonnades on three sides of its rectangular enclosed layout.

BookFourVIII [p. 196] Claimed as a birthplace of *Caligula* [p. 449]. Associated with Hercules.

BookFourXXI [p. 205] The Aqua Claudia and the Aqua Anio Novus aqueducts, were begun by Caligula in 38AD and completed by *Claudius* [p. 464] in 52AD. The main sources were near Subiaco (25 miles from Tibur).

BookFiveXXXIV [p. 261] Claudius attended an execution there.

Tigellinus, Gaius Ofonius, also known as Ophonius Tigellinus and Sophonius Tigellinus, (c. 10AD – 69AD) was prefect of the Praetorian Guard, from 62AD until 68AD, under *Nero* [p. 549]. Tigellinus gained favour through his acquaintance with Nero's mother *Agrippina* [p. 413] the Younger, and was appointed prefect on the death of his predecessor Sextus Afranius Burrus, a position Tigellinus held first with Faenius Rufus and then *Nymphidius* [p. 553] Sabinus. He gained a reputation for cruelty and licentiousness. Tigellinus shifted his allegiance to Galba, but *Otho* [p. 558] later ordered his execution and he committed suicide.

BookSevenXV [p. 326] Honoured by *Galba* [p. 500].

Tigranes III was king of Armenia from 20BC until 8BC. He was the son of Artavasdes II. In 20BC, the Armenians informed *Augustus* [p. 433] that they no longer wanted Artaxias II as their king, and asked that his brother Tigranes (then in Roman custody in *Alexandria* [p. 416]) be installed in his place. Augustus sent a large army under *Tiberius* [p. 608] to depose Artaxias, who was assassinated, and the Romans put Tigranes on the throne unopposed.

BookThreeIX [p. 147] Installed as king by Tiberius.

Tillius Cimber, Lucius (d. 42BC) was a senator, one of the assassins of Julius *Caesar* [p. 518] who gave the signal for the attack on him. He was initially one of Caesar's strongest supporters. Caesar granted Cimber governorship of the provinces of Bithynia and Pontus in 44BC. He may also have been Praetor in the same year. His role was to initiate the attack, by petitioning Caesar to recall his exiled brother. After Caesar's death Cimber went to *Bithynia* [p. 440] to raise a fleet in support of the leaders of the assassins, Marcus *Brutus* [p. 444] and Gaius *Cassius* [p. 456]. He is supposed to have defeated Publius

Cornelius *Dolabella* [p. 482], and provided naval support to Brutus and Cassius's invasion of Macedonia. He is last heard of shortly before the Battle of *Philippi* [p. 567] and is assumed to have been killed during the campaign.

BookOneLXXXII [p. 55] Attacks Caesar.

Tiridates I was King of *Armenia* [p. 428] from 53AD and the founder of the Arshakuni Dynasty. By agreement with the *Parthians* [p. 562], he was confirmed as king of Armenia by *Nero* [p. 549] in 66AD; the king was to be a Parthian prince in future, with Roman approval of the candidate required. Though Armenia was thus a client kingdom, various contemporary Roman sources considered that Nero had effectively ceded Armenia to the Parthian Empire.

BookSixXIII [p. 281] His visit to Rome in AD66.

BookSixXXX [p. 292] *Nero* [p. 549] lavished money on him.

Titurius Sabinus, Quintus, one of Caesar's legates during the Gallic Wars. In 54BC he and Lucius *Aurunculeius* [p. 436] Cotta were stationed for the winter in the territory of the Eburones with a legion and five cohorts. They had not been more than fifteen days in the country before they were attacked by Ambiorix and Catiolucus. Sabinus, showing less resolve than Cotta and trusting himself under Ambiorix's flag of truce, was massacred along with Cotta and all their troops.

BookOneXXV [p. 24] Mentioned as an example of a setback for *Caesar* [p. 518].

BookOneLXVII [p. 46] Caesar's refusal to cut his hair till they were avenged.

Titus, Flavius Vespasianus (39AD – 81AD), was Emperor from 79AD to 81AD. A member of the Flavian dynasty, Titus succeeded his father *Vespasian* [p. 620] having served under him in Judaea during the First Jewish-Roman War. In 70AD, with his father as Emperor, he had laid siege to and destroyed the city and Temple of *Jerusalem* [p. 512]. For this he was awarded a triumph; the Arch of Titus commemorating his victory. As emperor, he is best known for completing the Colosseum and for relieving the suffering caused by the Mount Vesuvius eruption of 79AD and a fire in Rome in 80AD. Titus died of a fever and was deified by the Roman Senate and succeeded by his younger brother *Domitian* [p. 482].

BookEightIII [p. 363] His birth mentioned.

BookEightIV [p. 363] He accompanied his father *Vespasian* [p. 620] to Judaea in 66AD.

BookEightXXIII [p. 375] *BookEightXXXVIII* [p. 386] *BookEightXLVI* [p. 392] *BookEightXLIX* [p. 395] *BookEightXLVIII* [p. 395] Mentioned.

BookEightXXVI [p. 377] Suetonius's life of Titus follows.

BookEightXLIX [p. 395] *Domitian* [p. 482] boasted of having conferred power on his brother.

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Tolosa, modern **Toulouse**, is a city in southwest France on the River Garonne, 366 miles from Paris, half-way between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. A new Roman city was founded on the eastern bank of the river around 10AD – 30AD, and the previous settlement abandoned. A native of Tolosa, Marcus Antonius Primus led the army of *Vespasian* [p. 620] into Italy and entered Rome in 69AD, establishing the Flavian dynasty. *Domitian* [p. 482], son of Vespasian and personal friend of Antonius Primus, granted Tolosa the honorific status of Roman colony.

BookSevenLIII [p. 353] *Antonius* [p. 424] Primus was born there.

Toranius, called **Flaccus by Macrobius**, was a slave-dealer at the time of *Augustus* [p. 433].

BookTwoLXIX [p. 110] Mentioned.

Toranius, Gaius was guardian to *Octavian* [p. 433] (Augustus) and a colleague, as aedile, of his father *Octavius* [p. 555].

BookTwoXXVII [p. 83] Proscribed by Augustus.

Tralles, modern **Aydin**, also called **Güzelhisar** in the Middle Ages, is a city in Turkey's Aegean Region, located in the lower valley of Büyük Menderes River (the ancient Meander River) Tralles suffered greatly from an earthquake in 26BC and Augustus provided funds for its reconstruction after which the city thanked him by renaming itself Caesarea.

BookThreeVIII [p. 147] *Tiberius* [p. 608] acted as advocate in Rome for the citizens.

Trebatius Testa, Gaius was a jurist who originated from Elea. He was a protege of *Cicero* [p. 614] who dedicated his *Topica* to him, and recommended Trebatius as a legal advisor to Julius *Caesar* [p. 518]. Trebatius enjoyed Caesar's favor, and later that of *Augustus* [p. 433] as well. Trebatius' writings included a *de religionibus* and *de iure civili*, but nothing of these survives. He was, however, frequently cited by later jurists, and also had a high reputation as the teacher of the famous jurist Marcus Antistius Labeo.

BookOneLXXVIII [p. 52] Mentioned.

Trebia, or **Trebiae**, modern **Trevi**, is an ancient town in Umbria, on the lower flank of Monte Serano overlooking the plain of the Clitunno River.

BookThreeXXXI [p. 161] Mentioned.

Treveri, or **Treviri** were a tribe of Gauls who inhabited the lower valley of the Moselle from c. 150BC, until their eventual absorption into the Frankish tribes. The Romans

subdued the Treveri in the 1st century BC and established *Augusta Treverorum*, the modern Trier, in 30BC. The city later became the capital of the Roman province of Gallia Belgica, as well as of the Roman prefecture of Gaul.

BookFourVIII [p. 196] It was claimed that *Caligula* [p. 449] was born in their region.

Triton was a mythological Greek god, the messenger of the sea. He was the son of Poseidon (*Neptune* [p. 549]), god of the sea, and Amphitrite. He is usually represented as a merman, carrying a trident. However, Triton's special attribute is a twisted conch shell, on which he blows like a trumpet to calm or raise the waves.

BookFiveXXI [p. 251] A mechanical silver Triton used as a starting signal for *Claudius's* [p. 464] mock naval battle on the *Fucine* [p. 498] Lake.

Trojans were the inhabitants of the ancient city of Troy in northern Asia Minor, around whose site the Trojan War was fought.

BookOneLXXIX [p. 52] It was rumoured that *Caesar* [p. 518] might remove from Rome to Troy.

BookFiveXXV [p. 255] *Claudius* [p. 464] exempted the Trojans from tribute.

BookSixVII [p. 277] *Nero* [p. 549] delivered a plea on behalf of the citizens before *Claudius* in AD51.

Tubero, Quintus Aelius (b. c. 74BC), was a jurist, and author of law books and a history. He married a daughter of *Servius Sulpicius*. He may have been the *Tubero* who was a consul under *Augustus* in 11BC.

BookOneLXXXIII [p. 56] Claimed *Caesar* [p. 518] had named *Pompey* [p. 573] as his heir until the Civil war.

Tullius Cicero, Marcus (106BC, Arpinum, Latium — Dec. 7, 43BC, Formiae) Roman statesman, lawyer, scholar, and writer. Born to a wealthy family, he quickly established a brilliant career in law and plunged into politics. Cicero was elected consul in 63BC. Of his speeches, perhaps the best known are those he made against *Catiline*, whose uprising he foiled. He vainly tried to uphold republican principles in the civil wars that destroyed the Roman Republic. After the death of *Julius Caesar* [p. 518], he delivered his 14 Philippic orations against *Mark Antony* [p. 422]. When the triumvirate of *Antony*, *Octavian* (later *Augustus* [p. 433]), and *Marcus Lepidus* [p. 525] was formed, he was executed.

BookOneIX [p. 16] Refers to *Caesar's* ambitions in a letter to *Axius* [p. 437].

BookOneXX [p. 20] *Caesar* treated him as an enemy.

BookOneXXX [p. 27] Quoted regarding *Caesar*.

BookOneXLII [p. 34] Mentioned regarding the penalties for crimes.

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BookOneXLIX [p. 37] On Caesar's relationship with *Nicomedes* [p. 551].

BookOneLV [p. 41] Praises Caesar's oratorical skills. Cicero's *Brutus, or a History of Famous Orators* is mentioned.

BookOneLVI [p. 41] Praises Caesar's style in the memoirs.

BookTwoIII [p. 68] Admonishes his brother in *Ad Quint. Frat* 1.1.21.

BookTwoV [p. 69] He was consul in the year of Augustus' birth, 63BC.

BookTwoXCIV [p. 124] A dream of his relating to Augustus.

BookThreeII [p. 142] He was driven into exile in 59/58BC.

BookThreeVII [p. 146] His close friend *Atticus* [p. 445].

BookFiveXLI [p. 265] Claudius wrote a defence of Cicero against the writings of *Asinius* [p. 430] Gallus.

Tullius Cicero, Quintus (102BC – 43BC) was the younger brother of the orator Marcus *Tullius* [p. 614] Cicero. He was aedile in 66BC, praetor in 62BC, and propraetor of the Province of Asia for three years 61BC - 59BC. Legatus under *Caesar* [p. 518] during the Gallic Wars from 54BC to 52BC (accompanying Caesar on his second expedition to Britain in 54BC and surviving a Nervian siege of his camp during Ambiorix's revolt), and under his brother in Cilicia in 51BC. During the civil wars he supported the Pompeian faction, obtaining the pardon of Caesar later. During the period, when the Second Triumvirate made the Roman Republic again a scene of Civil War, he, his brother, and his son, were all proscribed, and were killed in 43BC.

BookOneXIV [p. 17] His denunciation of the Catiline conspirators.

BookTwoIII [p. 68] Admonished by his brother in *Ad Quint. Frat* 1.1.21.

Turnus, in *Virgil's* [p. 620] *Aeneid* is the King of the Rutuli, and the chief antagonist of the hero *Aeneas* [p. 409].

BookSixLIV [p. 311] *Nero* [p. 549] proposed to dance the part of Turnus in a performance of scenes from the *Aeneid*.

Tusculum. The town's ruins are located on Tuscolo hill, more specifically on the northern edge of the outer crater ring of the Alban volcano. The volcano is located in the Alban Hills, 4 miles north-east of the modern town of Frascati. It was connected to Rome by the Via Latina, and *Cicero* [p. 614] had a villa there.

BookSevenIV [p. 319] *Galba's* [p. 500] summer retreat was there.

BookSevenXVIII [p. 328] The Temple of Fortune there.

Tyre is located about 50 miles south of modern Beirut, in the Lebanon. The name of the city means 'rock' after the rocky formation on which the town was originally built. An ancient Phoenician city, it is the legendary birthplace of Europa and Elissa (Dido). Tyre was particularly known for the production of a rare and extraordinarily expensive purple dye, produced from the murex shellfish, known as Tyrian purple. This color was, in many cultures, reserved for the use of royalty, or nobility.

BookSixXXXI [p. 293] *Dido* [p. 481] fled to North Africa from there, according to legend.

BookSixXXXII [p. 294] The use of Tyrian purple dyes.

Ulysses, or **Odysseus**, was the Greek hero of *Homer's* [p. 508] *Odyssey* and a Greek leader in the *Iliad*.

BookFourXXIII [p. 207] *Caligula* [p. 449] described *Livia* [p. 527] as 'Ulysses in a petticoat'.

Umbria, is a region of central Italy. Its capital is now Perugia. The Umbria of Roman times however extended through most of what is now the northern Marche, to Ravenna, but excluded the west bank of the Tiber. And Perugia was thus in Etruria at that time.

BookOneXXXIV [p. 29] Overrun by *Caesar* [p. 518].

Valeria Messalina (c. 17/20AD – 48AD) was the third wife of the Emperor *Claudius* [p. 464] (from 37/38AD). She was the first daughter and second child of *Domitia* [p. 482] Lepida the Younger and her first cousin Marcus Valerius Messalla Barbatus. Messalina bore Claudius two children: a daughter *Claudia Octavia* [p. 554] (b. 39AD or 40AD), who was first wife to the emperor *Nero* [p. 549]; and a son, *Britannicus* [p. 441] (born 41AD). Messalina had an affair with the Senator Gaius *Silius* [p. 595] in 47AD, and conspired with him to overthrow Claudius, who ordered their deaths in 48AD.

BookFiveXVII [p. 249] She participated in Claudius's British triumph of 43AD.

BookFiveXXVI [p. 256] Third wife of *Claudius* [p. 464].

BookFiveXXVII [p. 257] Her children *Claudia* and *Britannicus*.

BookFiveXXIX [p. 259] *BookFiveXXXVI* [p. 262] Her affair with Gaius *Silius*.

BookFiveXXXVII [p. 263] Her part in the downfall of *Appius Silanus* [p. 520].

BookFiveXXXIX [p. 264] Executed on *Claudius's* orders.

BookSixVI [p. 276] She attempted to have *Nero* [p. 549] strangled.

BookSevenXXXVII [p. 342] *Lucius* [p. 625] *Vitellius*, father of the emperor, sought to curry favour with her.

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Valerius Catullus, Gaius (c. 84BC – c. 54BC) was a poet of the Republican period. His poetry was influenced by the innovative poetry of the Hellenistic Age, and especially by Callimachus and the Alexandrian school, who deliberately turned away from the classical epic. His poems were widely appreciated by other poets, but *Cicero* [p. 614] despised them for their supposed amorality. Catullus was never considered one of the canonical school authors. Nevertheless, he greatly influenced poets such as Ovid, Horace, and Virgil.

BookOneLXXXIII [p. 49] His libels concerning *Mamurra* [p. 536] (Catullus 29 and 57)

Valerius Catullus, was an unknown young man of consular family who boasted of his relationship with *Caligula* [p. 449].

BookFourXXXVI [p. 216] Caligula was rumoured to have had sexual intercourse with Caligula.

Valerius Messala Messalinus, Marcus was the son of Messala *Corvinus* [p. 617], and consul in 3BC and 3AD. He was governor of *Illyricum* [p. 510] during the Pannonian uprising. He married *Augustus's* [p. 433] niece Claudia Marcella Minor, as her second husband. Their son was Marcus Valerius Messala *Barbatus* [p. 617].

BookSevenIV [p. 319] *Galba* [p. 500] was born during his consulship.

Valerius Messala Barbatus, Marcus (11BC - c. 21AD) was consul in 20AD. He was the father of *Valeria* [p. 616] Messalina. His son was the Marcus Valerius Messala Corvinus who became consul in 58AD.

BookFiveXXVI [p. 256] Cousin of *Claudius* [p. 464].

Valerius Messala Corvinus, Marcus (64BC - 8AD) was a general, author and patron of literature and art. He was the son of politician Marcus Valerius Messalla Niger (consul 61BC). In 43BC, he was proscribed but managed to escape to the camp of *Brutus* [p. 444] and *Cassius* [p. 457]. After *Philippi* [p. 567] he went over to *Antony* [p. 422], but subsequently transferred his support to *Octavian* [p. 433]. In 31BC Messalla was appointed consul in place of Antony, and took part in the battle of *Actium* [p. 404]. He subsequently held commands in the East, and suppressed a revolt of the Aquitanians; for this he celebrated a triumph in 27BC. He resigned the appointment of Prefect of the City after a six-day term of office in 25BC, as contrary to his ideas of constitutionalism. He was a patron of Horace and Tibullus, and Ovid expressed his gratitude to him as the first to notice and encourage his work

BookTwoLVIII [p. 104] He addresses Augustus on behalf of the Senate as *Pater patriae* (Father of the Country).

BookTwoLXXIV [p. 114] Quoted regarding Augustus' dinner parties.

BookThreeLXX [p. 183] Tiberius was a follower of his oratorical style.

Suetonius, The Twelve Caesars

BookFiveXIII [p. 245] He was the maternal grandfather of *Statilius* [p. 597] Corvinus.

Varro, Marcus Terentius, see *Terentius* [p. 604]

Varro Murena, Aulus Terentius, see *Terentius* [p. 604]

Varronilla was a Vestal Virgin who broke her vows under *Domitian* [p. 482] and whom he had executed.

BookEightXLIV [p. 390] Mentioned.

Vatinius, Publius, was quaestor in 63BC, and tribune of the plebs in 59BC. He was Consul in 47BC, and fought in the Civil Wars, surrendering his defecting army to *Brutus* [p. 444], but celebrating a triumph in 43BC.

BookOneXXII [p. 22] *BookOneXXVIII* [p. 26] A strong partisan of Julius *Caesar* [p. 518], he brought forward a bill proposing Caesar for the Governorship of Cisalpine Gaul with Illyria, for five years, in 59BC.

Veii was an important Etrurian city ten miles north-west of Rome. Its site lies in modern Isola Farnese, a village in the Rome commune.

BookSixXXXIX [p. 301] Mentioned as a not-too-near neighbour of Rome.

BookSevenI [p. 317] *Livia's* [p. 527] villa there, built during the 1st century BC near Prima Porta

Velabrum: the low valley in the city of Rome that connects the Forum with the Forum Boarium, and the Capitoline Hill with the western slope of the Palatine Hill. Before the construction of the Cloaca Maxima the area was a swamp. Legend claimed that the roots of a fig tree growing in this swamp caught and held the basket carrying Romulus and Remus as it floated along the Tiber. Even after the Cloaca was built, the area was still prone to flooding from the Tiber, until the ground level was raised after the Neronian fire.

BookOneXXXVII [p. 31] Mentioned.

BookSixXXV [p. 289] *Nero's* [p. 549] triumphal procession passed through it on his return from Greece in 67AD.

Velitrae, modern **Velletri**, on the Alban hills in Lazio, was an ancient city of the Volsci tribe, and its status was influential enough, in the time of King Ancus Marcius, to place it on a par with Rome. It lay on the Appian Way.

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BookTwoI [p. 67] *Octavian* [p. 433] (Augustus)'s family, the Octavii originated there.

BookTwoVI [p. 70] Augustus' grandfather's villa there.

BookTwoXCIV [p. 124] An omen associated with *Augustus* [p. 433] recorded there.

Venus was the Roman goddess of Love (equivalent to the Greek Aphrodite).

BookOneVI [p. 14] The Julians claimed descent from her, through Iulus her grandson, the son of *Aeneas* [p. 409], who was in turn her son by the mortal Anchises.

BookOneLXI [p. 44] *BookOneLXXVIII* [p. 52] *BookOneLXXXIV* [p. 57] Caesar originally planned to build a temple to *Venus Victrix*, but the Battle of Pharsalus in 48BC postponed the construction. He decided instead to dedicate a temple to *Venus Genetrix* as the mother of Aeneas, considered the ancestor of the *gens Julia* to which Caesar belonged. The temple was built in 46BC in the new Forum of Caesar. It was placed at the end of a long enclosure by the Forum, a practice that was borrowed by the Romans from the Etruscans and which later became a standard architectural feature throughout the Roman Empire. The area was damaged by the fire in 80AD. Later the temple was rebuilt by *Domitian* [p. 482] and was restored by Trajan in 113AD. The three columns now visible belong to this later reconstruction.

BookFourVII [p. 196] A Temple of Venus Erycina was dedicated in 215BC, on the Capitoline Hill, vowed by the dictator Quintus Fabius Maximus following the Roman defeat at the Battle of Lake Trasimene in 217BC, and after consultation of the Sybilline Books.

BookFourLII [p. 226] *Caligula* [p. 449] liked to dress as Venus.

BookFourLVI [p. 228] Her name used as a mock password by *Caligula* [p. 449].

BookFiveXXV [p. 255] *BookSevenXVIII* [p. 328] *Claudius* [p. 464] restored the temple of Venus Erycina on the western tip of *Sicily* [p. 593]. Temples were erected to Venus of Eryx on the Capitoline and outside the Porta Collina.

BookSixXXXIX [p. 301] The Shrine of Venus Libitina, possibly on the *Esquiline* [p. 490], was dedicated to Venus as an underworld goddess of funerals: the undertakers had offices on the site, and deaths were registered there.

BookEightXVIII [p. 373] The draped Venus of Cos was sculpted by Praxiteles. A Venus, possibly a copy of this, or conceivably the restored original, was consecrated by *Vespasian* [p. 620] in the Temple of Peace.

BookEightXXX [p. 379] *Titus* [p. 612] consulted her oracle at *Paphos* [p. 561].

Veranius Flaccus, an unknown writer, presumably an archaizer. The suggestion has been made that the reference is to Marcus Verrius Flaccus, the freedman selected by *Augustus* [p. 433], as preceptor to his grandsons, mentioned in Suetonius' *On Grammarians* 17.

BookTwoLXXXVI [p. 119] Mentioned.

Vergilius Maro, Publius (Virgil, 70BC – 19BC) was a classical Roman poet, best known for three major works, the *Eclogues*, the *Georgics*, and the *Aeneid*, though several minor poems are also attributed to him. The son of a farmer, Virgil came to be regarded as one of Rome's greatest poets. His *Aeneid* may be considered the Roman national epic.

BookTwoXL [p. 92] The quotation is from *Aeneid* Book1:282.

BookFourXXXIV [p. 215] *Caligula* [p. 449] considered banning his works, out of envy and malice.

BookFourXLV [p. 222] The quotation is from *Aeneid* Book1:207.

BookSixXLVII [p. 307] The quotation is from *Aeneid* Book XII:646.

BookSixLIV [p. 311] Mentioned.

BookEightXLV [p. 391] The quotation is from *Georgics* Book 2:537.

Vespasia Polla, also known as **Vespasia Pollia** (b. c. 15BC) was the mother of *Vespasian* [p. 620], grandmother to Emperors *Titus* [p. 612] and *Domitian* [p. 482]. Polla came from an equestrian family at *Nursia* [p. 553]. She married *Flavius* [p. 495] Sabinus, producing two sons, *Sabinus* [p. 495] and Vespasian, and a daughter Flavia Vespasia who died in infancy.

BookEightI [p. 361] Her background.

BookEightV [p. 364] Omens concerning the fates of her children.

Vespasian, Titus Flavius Vespasianus (9AD – 79AD), was Roman Emperor from 69AD to 79AD, and founder of the Flavian dynasty. Vespasian was descended from a family of equestrians which rose to senatorial rank under the emperors of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. Consul in 51AD, Vespasian was a successful military commander, having participated in the Roman invasion of Britain in 43AD, and subjugating Judaea during the Jewish rebellion of 66AD. On his death in 79AD, he was succeeded by his eldest son *Titus* [p. 612].

BookFiveXLV [p. 268] He reinstated *Claudius's* [p. 464] deification.

BookSevenXXIII [p. 331] He cancelled the statue to *Galba* [p. 500], convinced that Galba had tried to have him assassinated in Judaea.

BookSevenL [p. 351] The legions in Moesia, Pannonia, Syria and Judaea swore allegiance to him in 69AD.

BookSevenLII [p. 352] *BookEightXXX* [p. 379] His army entered Rome in December 69AD.

BookEightII [p. 362] Suetonius's life of Vespasian follows.

BookEightXXVI [p. 377] Succeeded by his son Titus.

BookEightXXXVI [p. 384] His death at his summer villa near *Reate* [p. 582].

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BookEightXXXVII [p. 385] His son *Domitian* [p. 482] was born a month before Vespasian took up office as consul in November 51AD. He was consul for the remaining two months of the year.

BookEightXXXVIII [p. 386] *BookEightLI* [p. 397] Mentioned.

BookEightXL [p. 387] A College of priests was established for the worship of the deified Flavian Emperors after the manner of the Augustales.

BookEightXLIX [p. 395] Domitian boasted of having conferred power on his father.

Vespasian was a son of *Flavius* [p. 495] Clemens who had two sons both named Titus Flavius, born c. 88AD and c. 90AD, who were educated by Quintilian. *Domitian* [p. 482] named them as his heirs, changing their former names and calling the one Vespasian and the other Domitian.

BookEightLI [p. 397] Mentioned.

Vespasius Pollio, of *Nursia* [p. 553], was a soldier and maternal grandfather of *Vespasian* [p. 620].

BookEightI [p. 361] Mentioned.

Vesta, was the goddess of the hearth. The *Vestal* [p. 621] Virgins were her priestesses.

BookThreeL [p. 171] *BookSixXIX* [p. 284] The circular Temple of Vesta was located in the Forum between the Temple of *Castor* [p. 458] and *Pollux*, the Temple of *Caesar* [p. 518], the *Regia* [p. 497] and the House of the *Vestal* [p. 621] Virgins. It originally dated to the 7th century BC when Numa Pompilius was said to have built it along with the original *Regia* and the House of the *Vestal* Virgins. The surviving ruins are of later restorations.

Vestal Virgins were the female priestesses, (established by Numa, second king of Rome, disbanded AD394), of Vesta, the goddess of the hearth. Their primary task was to maintain the sacred fire. The vestal duty brought honour and privilege to women who served in that role. They were the only female priests within the Roman religious system.

BookOneI [p. 11] They interceded on behalf of the young *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar.

BookOneLXXXIII [p. 56] Caesar's will was entrusted to the Vestals.

BookTwoXXXI [p. 86] *Augustus* [p. 433] increased their privileges.

BookTwoXLIV [p. 95] Augustus granted them special seats at the Games.

BookTwoCI [p. 132] They were the custodians of Augustus' will.

BookThreeII [p. 142] Claudia, the sister (or daughter, *Cicero*) of *Appius Claudius* [p. 467] *Pulcher*

was a Vestal who abused her sacred privilege.

BookThreeLXXVI [p. 186] *Tiberius* [p. 608] left them a bequest in his will.

BookSixXII [p. 280] *Nero* [p. 549] invited them to view the athletics contest.

BookSixXXVIII [p. 291] Nero raped the Vestal Virgin Rubria.

BookSevenLI [p. 352] *Vitellius* [p. 624] sent the Vestal Virgins with envoys to sue for peace.

BookEightXLIV [p. 390] As daughters of the State, sexual relationship with a citizen was considered incestuous and an act of treason. The ancient punishment for violating the oath of celibacy, devised by Tarquinius Priscus as a refinement of the previous method, was to be 'buried alive' in the Campus Sceleratus or Field of Wickedness, by being sealed in an underground chamber near the Colline Gate, with a limited supply of food and water.

Vestinus Atticus, Marcus Julius, see *Julius* [p. 519]

Vesuvius is a stratovolcano on the Bay of Naples, about 5.6 miles east of Naples itself, and a short distance from the shore. Its eruption in 79AD led to the destruction of the Roman cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum and the death of *Pliny* [p. 569] the Elder. The cities were never rebuilt, although surviving townspeople and probably looters did undertake extensive salvage work after the destructions.

BookEightXXXIII [p. 381] Its eruption took place during *Titus* [p. 612]' reign.

Vettius, Lucius, an informer who falsely accused *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar of involvement in the *Catiline* [p. 458] conspiracy.

BookOneXVII [p. 19] He was subsequently imprisoned by Caesar.

Vibius Crispus, Lucius Junius Quintus, served as a Legatus in Hispania Citerior and was three times suffect consul during the reigns of *Nero* [p. 549] *Vespasian* [p. 620] and *Domitian* [p. 482].

BookEightXXXIX [p. 387] His wit.

Vibius Pansa Caetronianus, Gaius (d. 43BC) was tribune in 51BC. During the civil war between Julius Caesar and Pompey, he joined the cause of the Caesarians. After Caesar's assassination, however, he became one of the leading proponents for the return of the Republic, and was elected consul in 43BC, with Aulus *Hirtius* [p. 508]. The two marched north to engage Mark *Antony* [p. 422], on the orders of the Senate. On April 14, 43BC, the two forces met in the Battle of Forum Gallorum, near *Mutina* [p. 546]. Although the Senate's forces proved victorious, Pansa was wounded, and died a few days later. A doctor was later arrested, suspected of poisoning him.

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BookTwoX [p. 72] His death at Mutina.

BookTwoXI [p. 73] Claims that *Augustus* [p. 433] had him poisoned.

BookThreeV [p. 145] His consulship in 43BC.

Vienna, the modern Vienne, is a city located 20 miles south of *Lyon* [p. 533], on the Rhône. The capital city of the *Allobroges* [p. 417], it was transformed into a Roman colony in 47BC under *Julius* [p. 518] Caesar.

BookSevenXLIV [p. 347] *BookSevenLIII* [p. 353] *Vitellius* [p. 624] there in 69AD.

Vindelicians, or the **Vindelici**, were the inhabitants of a region bounded on the north by the Danube and (later) Hadrian's Limes Germanicus, on the east by the *Oenus* (Inn), on the south by *Raetia* [p. 581] and on the west by the territory of the Helvetii.

BookTwoXXI [p. 79] *BookThreeIX* [p. 147] They retained their independence until their subjugation in 15BC, under *Augustus* [p. 433], by *Tiberius* [p. 608]. The Augustan inscription of 12BC mentions four tribes of the Vindelici among the defeated.

Vindex, see *Julius* [p. 519]

Vinicius was the leader of a minor conspiracy against *Nero* [p. 549] organised from *Beneventum* [p. 438].

BookSixXXXVI [p. 299] Mentioned.

Vinicius, Marcus was grandfather to the Marcus Vinicius (consul 30AD) who married *Germanicus's* [p. 503] daughter *Julia* [p. 517] Livilla. Born to an equestrian family at Cales in Campania, Vinicius distinguished himself as *legatus Augusti pro praetore* in 25BC when he led a victorious campaign into Germania. At some point, he may also have served as governor of the Roman province of Achaëa. He was made suffect consul in 19BC. Around 13BC, he served as legate in Illyricum where he was in charge of the early stages of the Pannonian War (*Bellum Pannonicum*) until *Tiberius* [p. 608], assumed command. Between 1AD and 4AD, Vinicius commanded the five legions stationed in Germany, and won the *ornamenta triumphalia*.

BookTwoLXXI [p. 112] He dines with *Augustus* [p. 433].

Vinicius, Lucius, a young man of good family.

BookTwoLXIV [p. 106] *Augustus* [p. 433] warned him about seeing his daughter *Julia* [p. 515].

Vinius, Titus (12AD – 69AD) was a Roman general during the reign of the Emperor *Galba* [p. 500]. He was proconsul of Gallia Narbonensis and later commander of a legion in Spain under Galba as governor. When Galba was proclaimed emperor in 68AD, Vinius accompanied him to Rome. In early 69AD Galba was faced with the need to designate an heir. Titus Vinius supported *Otho* [p. 558], having already secretly agreed that Otho should marry his daughter. He was however killed by the Praetorian Guard when Otho achieved power.

BookSevenXIV [p. 326] Mentioned.

BookSevenXLII [p. 345] He may have been responsible for *Vitellius's* [p. 624] appointment to Lower Germany in 68AD.

Vinius Philopoemen, Titus was made a knight by *Augustus* [p. 433] for hiding his proscribed patron. Cassius Dio has the patroness Tanusia hiding her husband Titus Vinius at the house of Philopoemon.

BookTwoXXVII [p. 83] Mentioned.

Viriathus, or **Viriato** (d. c. 139BC) was a leader of the *Lusitanians* [p. 534] who resisted Roman expansion into the regions of Western Hispania. He achieved several victories over the Romans between 147BC and 139BC when he was betrayed and killed.

BookSevenIII [p. 318] Mentioned.

Vitellia, or **Vitula**, was an indigenous goddess of the Latins, presiding over joy and victory, and celebrated at the Vitulatio (5th-6th July)

BookSevenXXXVI [p. 341] Consort of *Faunus* [p. 492]. The name Vitellia may have been a corruption of Vitula influenced by the rise of the Vitelli family.

Vitellia (b. c. 55AD) was the daughter of the emperor *Vitellius* [p. 624] and his second wife *Galeria* [p. 501] Fundana. She survived her father's downfall and was enabled to marry well, by *Vespasian* [p. 620]. She may have married Libo Rupilius Frugi.

BookSevenXLI [p. 345] *BookEightXIV* [p. 371] Mentioned.

Vitellius, Aulus (15AD - 69AD), later **Aulus Vitellius Germanicus**, was Emperor for eight months, from 16 April to 22 December 69AD. He succeeded *Galba* [p. 500] and *Otho* [p. 558], in the Year of the Four Emperors. He added the honorific cognomen *Germanicus* to his name instead of *Caesar* upon his accession; the latter name having fallen into disrepute. His claim was soon challenged by legions in the eastern provinces, who proclaimed their commander *Vespasian* [p. 620] emperor instead. Civil war led to a crushing defeat for Vitellius at the Second Battle of *Betriacum* [p. 439] in northern Italy. Once he realised support was wavering, Vitellius prepared to abdicate in favour of Vespasian, but was executed in Rome by Vespasian's soldiers on December 22nd 69AD.

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BookSevenXXXI [p. 337] Otho suggested sharing power with him, and marrying his daughter.

BookSevenXXXVI [p. 341] Suetonius's life of Vitellius follows.

BookEightV [p. 364] *BookEightVI* [p. 366] *BookEightVII* [p. 367] *BookEightXXXVII* [p. 385] Mentioned.

BookEightVIII [p. 368] *Vespasian* [p. 620] gave many of Vitellius's soldiers their discharge.

Vitellius, Aulus was one of the four sons of quaestor *Publius* [p. 626] Vitellius. He was uncle to the Emperor *Vitellius* [p. 624], and consul suffectus in 32AD, the year of his death, along with Nero's *father*. [p. 484]

BookSevenXXXVII [p. 342] Mentioned.

Vitellius Germanicus was the son of the emperor Vitellius by *Galeria* [p. 501] Fundana, his second wife. He was killed in AD69 with his father.

BookSevenXLI [p. 345] Mentioned.

BookSevenLIII [p. 353] Executed along with Vitellius.

Vitellius, Lucius the Elder (before 5BC – 51AD), the father of the Emperor *Vitellius* [p. 624], was the youngest of four sons of quaestor *Publius* [p. 626] Vitellius. Under *Tiberius* [p. 608], he was Consul in 34AD and Governor of Syria in 35AD. He deposed Pontius Pilate in 36AD after complaints from the Samaritans. He supported *Caligula* [p. 449], and was a favorite of *Claudius* [p. 464]' wife *Messalina* [p. 542]. During *Claudius'* reign, he was Consul twice in 43 and 47AD, and governed Rome during the Campaign in Britain. In 48AD or 49AD, Vitellius served as Censor. He died of paralysis in 51AD. Lucius married *Sestilia* [p. 593], from a distinguished family. She gave birth to two sons, Aulus Vitellius Germanicus (Emperor in 69AD) and Lucius the Younger.

BookSevenXXXVII [p. 342] Suetonius gives a brief life.

BookSevenXXXVIII [p. 343] His death in 51AD.

BookSevenLI [p. 352] Vitellius fled to his father's house on the Aventine in 69AD, occupied, according to Tacitus, by his wife, presumably *Galeria* [p. 501] Fundana.

Vitellius, Lucius the Younger (c. 16AD - 69AD) was the second son of *Lucius* [p. 625] Vitellius the Elder and *Sestilia* [p. 593] and younger brother of emperor *Aulus* [p. 624] Vitellius. He served a six-month Suffect consulship in 48AD. His first wife in 46AD or 47AD was Junia Calvina, a descendant of *Augustus* [p. 433], but they divorced before 49AD. His second wife was Triaria. He had no issue. Lucius became Governor of Africa, with his brother as deputy, in 61/62AD. He was executed with his brother and *nephew* [p. 625] in December 69AD.

BookSevenXXXVIII [p. 343] *BookSevenXL* [p. 344] Mentioned.

BookSevenXLVIII [p. 349] His banquet staged on Vitellius's arrival in Rome.

BookSevenL [p. 351] A commander during Vitellius's reign.

BookSevenLIII [p. 353] Executed along with Vitellius.

Vitellius, Publius the Elder was the son of *Quintus* [p. 626] Vitellius, who served as a quaestor under *Augustus* [p. 433]. Publius himself was a Roman knight, who served as a quaestor and steward of Augustus. He was paternal grandfather to the emperor *Vitellius* [p. 624].

BookSevenXXXVII [p. 342] Mentioned.

Vitellius, Publius the Younger (d. 32AD) was the son of *Publius* [p. 626] Vitellius the Elder and uncle of the future emperor *Vitellius* [p. 624]. In 15AD he accompanied *Germanicus* [p. 503] on his second campaign in Germania. On Germanicus's suspicious death in 19AD, Vitellius was one of the most eloquent prosecutors of *Gnaeus Calpurnius* [p. 451] Piso. Vitellius was later among the supporters of *Sejanus* [p. 406] and on Sejanus execution on charges of high treason in 31AD, Vitellius was also indicted for complicity, having been *praefectus* of the treasury under him.

BookSevenXXXVII [p. 342] He attempted suicide, but died of natural causes.

Vitellius, Quintus was one of the four sons of quaestor *Publius* [p. 626] Vitellius. He was uncle to the Emperor *Vitellius* [p. 624], and a senator who was among those expelled by *Tiberius* [p. 608] from the Senate in 17AD, due to their scandalous lives and wild extravagance.

BookSevenXXXVII [p. 342] Mentioned.

Vitellius, Quintus was the paternal great-grandfather of the emperor, *Vitellius* [p. 624], and a quaestor under *Augustus* [p. 433].

BookSevenXXXVI [p. 341] Mentioned.

Vologases, or Vologeses, I ruled the Parthian Empire from c. 51AD - 78AD. He was the son of Vonones II. He gave the kingdom of Media Atropatene to his brother Pacorus II, and occupied Armenia for another brother, *Tiridates* [p. 612]. This led to a long war with Rome (54AD – 63AD). In the resulting peace Tiridates was acknowledged king of Armenia, as a vassal of the Romans.

BookSixLVII [p. 312] He asked for *Nero's* [p. 549] memory to be honoured.

BookEightVI [p. 366] His support for *Vespasian* [p. 620].

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BookEightXXXVIII [p. 386] Mentioned.

Vonones I of Parthia, ruled the Parthian Empire c. 8AD - 12AD. He was deposed by the nobility, and fled to Armenia as king there. *Artabanus* [p. 429] II his successor demanded his deposition, and as *Augustus* [p. 433] did not want war with Parthia he exiled Vonones to Syria, where he was kept in princely custody. Later he was moved to Cilicia, and in about 19AD killed, ostensibly trying to escape.

BookThreeXLIX [p. 170] Robbed and treacherously executed by *Tiberius* [p. 608].

BookFourI [p. 193] The situation in Armenia was complicated 16AD - 18AD. Vonones had claimed the throne but was in exile. *Germanicus* [p. 503] concluded a treaty with Artabanus II, in which he was recognized as king and friend of the Romans. Armenia was given in AD18 to Zeno, the son of the king of Pontus.

Xeno, was a Greek companion of *Tiberius* [p. 608].

BookThreeLVI [p. 174] Exiled by Tiberius to *Cinaria* [p. 462] (Kinaros).

Xenophon (c. 430BC – 354BC), son of Gryllus, of the deme Erchia of Athens, also known as Xenophon of Athens, was a Greek historian, soldier, mercenary, and a contemporary and admirer of Socrates. He is known for his writings on the history of his own times, the 4th century BC, preserving the sayings of Socrates, and the life of ancient Greece.

BookOneLXXXVII [p. 59] His *Cyropaedia* ‘*The Education of Cyrus*’ is a partly fictional biography of *Cyrus* [p. 479] the Great.

Xerxes I of Persia, also known as **Xerxes the Great** (519BC - 465BC), was the fourth Zoroastrian king of kings of the Achaemenid Empire. He bridged the Hellespont when unsuccessfully invading Greece c. 480BC.

BookFourXIX [p. 204] *Caligula* [p. 449] wished to outdo him, with his bridge of boats at *Baiae* [p. 437].

Zela, modern **Zile**, is now a small hilltop town in the Tokat province of northern Turkey. Zile lies south of Amasya and west of Tokat. The Battle of Zela was fought in 47BC between Julius Caesar and *Pharnaces* [p. 566] II King of Pontus.

BookOneXXXV [p. 30] *Caesar's* [p. 518] victory there

About the Author

Suetonius (Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus) was born c. 69AD, probably in Hippo Regius in North Africa, (modern Annaba, in north-eastern Algeria), and died sometime after 122AD. His father, Suetonius Laetus, was a tribune of equestrian rank in the Thirteenth Legion Gemina. From the letters of Suetonius' close friend Pliny the Younger, consul in 100AD, we know that he briefly practised law. Pliny helped him buy a small property and find favour with the Emperor Trajan. Suetonius later became general secretary to the Emperor Hadrian (117-138AD), and occupied a number of other important offices. He was however one of several Palace officials, including the Guards Commander, whom Hadrian later dismissed, apparently for complex reasons to do with Hadrian's relationship with his Empress Vibia Sabina. In addition to fragments of Illustrious Writers, which include short biographies of Virgil, Horace, and Lucan, his main work extant is *The Twelve Caesars*.

About the Translator

Anthony Kline lives in England. He graduated in Mathematics from the University of Manchester, and was Chief Information Officer (Systems Director) of a large UK Company, before dedicating himself to his literary work and interests. He was born in 1947. His work consists of translations of poetry; critical works, biographical history with poetry as a central theme; and his own original poetry. He has translated into English from Latin, Ancient Greek, Classical Chinese and the European languages. He also maintains a deep interest in developments in Mathematics and the Sciences.

He continues to write predominantly for the Internet, making all works available in download format, with an added focus on the rapidly developing area of electronic books. His most extensive works are complete translations of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Dante's *Divine Comedy*.