C. Suetoni Tranquilli

Divus Augustus
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DIVUS AUGUSTUS

EDITED

WITH HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION, COMMENTARY,
APPENDICES AND INDICES

BY

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

I feel, on looking back on my work, that I may at times have sacrificed to this object of historical illustration some critical discussions on text or language, such as might justly have been expected. For Suetonius, like all good writers, has a strongly marked individuality of style, and his own peculiar method of manipulating word-forms and constructions. It is not safe criticism to class all such as accounted for by the usage of the 'silver age,' that is, after all, a usage other than that of Caesar and Cicero. Suetonius differs as much in style from such writers as Velleius, Florus, Pliny,
as he does from either Caesar or Cicero. Idiosyncrasy has as much to do with it as date. It is easy to exaggerate the difference itself. Caesar's vocabulary, writing as he does on a narrow range of subject, is a singularly limited one. Cicero, except in his more private letters, aimed at a literary purism which must have been remote from the common practice of the day either in colloquial or written language. The admission into literature of words in common use constitutes a large part of the difference, such, for instance, as the fondness for the frequentative forms like *pensare* (c. 25), *pensitare* (c. 66), *grassare* (c. 67), *taxare* (cc. 4, 41), and of such irregularly formed compounds as *inobservantia* (c. 76) and *praecipitium* (c. 79). Again, of the long list drawn out by P. Bagge of words used by Suetonius which are not used by Cicero and Caesar, or only in a slightly different sense, a considerable number can be shewn by the practice of Vergil, Horace, Nepos and Livy to have been current at and soon after the end of the Republic. Such are *appellatio* c. 100, *austrinus* c. 81, *avis* c. 96, *cerritus* c. 87, *cessare* c. 42, *conflare* c. 52, *sedile* c. 43, *subtexere* c. 68, *titulus* c. 31, and others.

In another class of words Suetonius has gone back to the colloquialisms of an earlier age, as is shewn by the usage of Plautus and Terence. Such as *adapertus* c. 53, *condormire* c. 98, *aquilus* c. 79, *invitare se* c. 77. Some new words or usages are naturally the result of new things, or a new view of things. Such as *actus* c. 78, *contubernium* c. 89, *exauctorare* c. 24, *extemporalis* c. 84, *ieunum servare* c. 76, *missilia* c. 98, *notare* c. 64, *prae cognoscere* c. 97, *publicare* cc. 29, 100, *missio* cc. 17, 45, *recensus* c. 49, *breviarium* cc. 28, 101, *prosa* (*prorsa oratio*) c. 85.

In constructions he is fond of using the present and perfect subjunctive (for vividness) instead of the imperfect or pluperfect, as in *edant* c. 55, *exigant* c. 49, *observata sit* c. 94, *fugatae sint* c. 16; and after verbs of exhorting or commanding he prefers the construction without *ut*, as *monet imitetur* c. 3; and usually puts a subjunctive after *ante*...
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quam, prius...quam, though the clause is not in any way oblique, see cc. 4, 101; so pridie quam...committeret c. 96. He omits the preposition in with words conveying a well-understood locative sense, such as continenti c. 16, regione (followed by genitive) cc. 7, 41, municipalibus agris c. 13. For quippe qui he often uses ut qui cc. 30, 66, 72; for an non he has an c. 94; for an sometimes anna c. 69; for illico he uses coram c. 27; for ex adverso he uses contra cc. 44, 94; citra has the sense of ante ox sine cc. 24, 43, 66. He is fond of the conjunctions sed et cc. 38, 45, 57, 70, 89, 93; and of sed or sed quidem for καί ταῦτα, cc. 16, 29, 68, 92, 98; tanguam and quasi with subjunctive express the ground of an action without necessarily any suggestion of unreality, cc. 6, 7, 10, 14.

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

These hints may serve as indications as to what to observe in reading Suetonius. He is not a great artist in language; but he is a considerable grammarian, and his peculiarities are not the result of carelessness, but rather of scholastic precision.
The earliest Editions of Suetonius appeared in Rome (1470) and Venice (1471). The principal Editions since are those of Erasmus (1518), I. Casaubon (Geneva 1595, Paris 1610), J. G. Graevius (Utrecht 1672, 1691, 1703), S. Pitiscus (Utrecht 1690, Louvain 1714), P. Burman (Amsterdam 1730), J. H. Bremi (Zurich 1820), C. G. Baumgarten-Crusius (Leipzig 1816), C. H. Hase (Paris 1828). The text in this volume is mainly that of C. L. Roth (Leipzig 1890). I have found the edition of Pitiscus, which contains the notes of the older editions, very useful, especially in regard to the legal writers. The standard edition is still that of Baumgarten-Crusius; and nothing, as far as I am aware, has been done for Suetonius in England.

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

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

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

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

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

For the life of Augustus:

J. C. Dietrich Historia Augusti, Greisen 1666.

L. de Tillemont Histoire des Empereurs, Venice 1732.


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

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

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

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

Merrivale History of the Romans under the Empire, London, 1865.
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G. Wilmanns *Exempla Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin 1873.

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

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

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April, 1896.
ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

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

p. 8, left-hand column, 3 l. from bottom, for halting read halting-place.

p. 16, " " 13 l. " " Gnomatici read Gromatici.

p. 60, " " 4 l. " " ἐνεψαλὸν read ἐνεψαλόν.

p. 61, right-hand 6 l. " " B.C. 29 read 28.

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

p. 51, margin, for Lollias read Lollius.


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

§ 1. Augustus.

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

1 Auguste, sa famille et ses amis, Paris, 1867–8. The evident reference to the régime in France at the time perhaps gave a peculiar zest to the denunciation of Augustus and his crimes in M. Beulé’s very brilliant and interesting, but scarcely trustworthy, essay.
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In a sense indeed there was a singular unity in his character and career. Without his great-uncle’s brilliant qualities (especially as a general) he avoided many of his mistakes. He was able to retain the services and fidelity of men best suited to carry out the measures demanded by the time; and he had learnt the statesman’s secret of effecting his objects without fatally embittering opponents or alienating friends. These qualities had shown themselves in the young man: they accompanied him and secured his success through nearly half a century of a vast and difficult government. When we consider the distracted state of Rome during the last thirty years of the Republic and the scandalous abuses in the provinces; and when we farther consider the frightful misuse of the autocracy by many of his successors: it is difficult to withhold admiration from the man who remedied the evils at home by a carefully veiled monarchy, grafted with consummate skill upon the institutions of the republic; who removed the worst evils in the provinces by strenuous and honest administration; who gained the respect of neighbouring rulers; who organised and kept in check the army; placed the finances on a sound footing; adorned and beautified the city; and left the vast Empire, not indeed entirely free from danger, but on the whole peaceful, prosperous and strong.

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

2 Dion Cassius Cocceianus, b. about A.D. 155, d. after A.D. 230.
ance of the public life of Augustus, and the literary activity of the period, there seem to have been remarkably few connected accounts of it either contemporary or immediately subsequent. Such as there were have for the most part perished. His youth indeed is described with some charm in a fragment of Nicolas of Damascus, which ends however with the death of Iulius, and is perhaps too declamatory and eulogistic to be accepted without considerable caution. Appian has much to tell us of his civil wars, but ends with the death of Sextus Pompeius (B.C. 35). This may be in part supplemented by Plutarch’s lives of Antony and the Epitomes of Livy’s later books, ending with the death of Drusus (B.C. 9), remain to show us how great our misfortune is in having lost them. Paternctus is rhetorical and partial, though he occasionally tells us something of value; and the *Annals* of Tacitus only begin with the death of Augustus. Of later writers Eutropius and Aurelius Victor (4th cent.) are mere epitomists; Zonaras (12th cent.) a rechauffé of Dio; and Orosius (4th and 5th cent.), though now and then producing something of interest, is confused in chronology, and labours under the disadvantage of writing with a special thesis, to be proved at all hazards. The panegyrics of courtly poets seldom add much that is substantial to our knowledge; yet, apart from Vergil, Propertius, and above all Horace, the Augustan period itself would have added little to our acquaintance with Augustus, had it not been for the preservation of that remarkable document on the wall of an Asiatic temple, known as the *Monumentum An- 

*Augustus.*

Nicolas of Damascus.

Appian.

Brutus;

Plutarch.

Livy.

Velleius Paternctus.

Tacitus, Aurelius Victor, Zonaras, Orosius.

Horace, Vergil, Propertius.

The Monumentum Anycramum.

3 Nicolas was secretary to Herod the Great. Josephus attacks his accuracy and accuses him of suppressing and misrepresenting facts in order to please Herod [Ant. 16, 7, 1]. He visited Rome, and his favour with Augustus is mentioned by Athenaeus 14, 623 a, and Plutarch Symp. 8, 4.

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

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

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

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

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

7 Bellorum enim civilium hi semper exitus sunt, ut non ea solum sint quae velit victor, sed etiam ut iiis mos gerendus sit, quibus adiutoribus sit parta victoria. Cicero fam. 12, 18.
which had befallen the opposition at Pharsalus, Thapsus, and Munda, there were still enough nobles left with the will and the power to thwart and murder him. But Octavian belonged to a new generation. A mere boy when he first engaged in politics, he had no party ties to shackle him, or long-standing enmities to embarrass him. Such friends as he had were personally attached. They did not, like confederates in a conspiracy, demand a share of the spoils; and, with rare exceptions, proved effective and remained loyal. Nor did the events of the civil war ruin his credit with the citizens. The cruelties of the proscription were by many attributed more to his colleagues than to himself. And if his severities at Philippi and Perusia have left a stain on his memory, they did not seem so horrible to contemporaries accustomed to a stern code of military law, and rendered callous by twenty years of bloody party strife and civil war.

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

*hinc movet Euphrates, movet hinc Germania bellum*.

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

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8 Dio 47, 7; Vell. 2, 66; Plut. *Ant*. 21.
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Sextus Pompeius was crushed in B.C. 36; the movements in Northern and Southern Gaul were checked by Agrippa in B.C. 38–710; the Illyrians, Dalmatians, Iapydes and Pannonians were subdued by successive expeditions under Pollio in B.C. 39, under Augustus himself in B.C. 35–6, under Agrippa and himself in B.C. 3411; the Salassi who blocked the Val d’Aosta were crushed in B.C. 34 by Valerius Messala12; and Statilius Taurus had in B.C. 36–5, after the degradation of Lepidus, secured the loyalty of Africa and Sicily without striking a blow13. These achievements gave safety and peace to Italy, and the poet only expressed the aspiration of the citizens generally in his prayer to the gods,

\[
hunc saltem everso invenem succurrere saeclo ne prohibete.14
\]

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

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

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

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

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

10 ο μὲν Δομήτιος οδήγον φανερῶν, ἵνα καὶ συμφόρον τολλῶν πεπερασμένον, ἔνθε-χωσθείη, Dio 50, 3.
11 Dio 45, §1; Plut. Ant. 16; Suet. c. 10.
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The final defeat of Sextus Pompeius. Besides the ovation and other honours decreed to Octavian on that occasion, a residence on the Palatine was assigned to him, and his person was declared to be under the protection of the same *leges sacrae* as those of the Tribunes, with whom he was to share the official bench in the Senate. Whether this was a spontaneous idea of the Senate, or came from a suggestion of his own, it is at any rate the first use of the Tribunate as a means of giving him a special position, and the first indication of the principle that the difficulty of his being ineligible to the Tribunate might be got over by the possession of the power without the office.

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

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

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17 τὴν τε οὖσαν αὐτῷ ἑφορίαν καὶ τὸ μῆτε λόγον τὶ ἔφράβεσθαι· εἰ δὲ μὴ, τοῖς αὐτῶι τῶν τοιούτων θεμαστών ἐνέχεσθαι ὅσπερ ἐπὶ τῷ δημάρχῳ έπίκτατο. καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν βλέπον συγκαθέσθατο σφαῖραν θαλάττων. Dio 49, 15.

18 Dio 51, 19. τὴν τε ἐξουσίαν τὴν τῶν δημάρχων διὰ βίων ἐχειν καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβωμάτους αὐτῶν καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ πυρηνίου καὶ ξαι μέχρι οἴχημα ὑμεταβάλλειν ἄμωνίας, καὶ μηδεὶς ὑπὸ δημαρχοῦντα ἔχειν, ἐξεκλέγετο τὸ δικάζειν καὶ σφαῖρον τινα αὐτῶν ἐν πάσι τοῖς δικαστήριοις ὅσπερ ἁθρόος φέρεται. This last rather dubious expression seems to imply some sort of appellate jurisdiction, at any rate in cases of doubt.
In the provinces it might place him in an equivocal position in regard to the proconsul. In B.C. 23 therefore a great change was made, which in fact recognised the new constitution that had come into existence. Augustus resigned the consulship, which he did not hold again till B.C. 5, and in exchange received the proconsulare imperium, which was not to be laid down upon his entering the pomoerium, and was to be superior (maius) to the imperium of the proconsul or praetor in every province. He was also to have perpetually the consular privilege of bringing any business before the Senate which he chose. He had already in B.C. 27 received special powers in those provinces in which there were legions, but this new proconsulare imperium made him in theory as well as in fact supreme in all alike. Still in this new constitution he clung to the shadow of popular choice and republican position, and the tribunicia potestas, now confirmed again to him for life, was openly treated as his most important function: the years of his tenure of it starting from B.C. 23 are used as the ordinary mode of dating events on coins and inscriptions.

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

\[\text{Dio 53. 42.}\]
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he possessed without question as to precedence or rights of colleagues, and in all parts of the Empire alike. It was not, as were his other powers, founded on any shadow of republican magistracy, and was perhaps never exactly defined; but as it placed Augustus in rank and dignity before all other magistrates, so it gave him the right not only of exercising those powers, uncontrolled by colleagues, but also of doing everything else not included under them. Eventually it came to be treated as the reality which it was, and Augustus could speak of events me principe, or ante me principem, just as he might have said me consule or ante me consulum

Like other powers of the new régime, however, it was arrived at gradually. At first it seems to have been conferred (without the name perhaps) in connexion with the imperial provinces at the division of B.C. 27.

In them Augustus was to exercise for 10 years a power unlike any that had been recognised before. When this ἀρχή is renewed in B.C. 19–18 the rule in the provinces had been secured by the perpetual proconsulare imperium, and this novel power was not needed. From henceforth at each renewal this ἱγμονία or προστασία has ceased to have any special connexion with the provinces, and applies equally to the whole Empire, and is, as Dio [53, 16] says, a real ‘monarchy’.

It was this title and office which expressed

20 M. A. cc. 30 and 32. I accept Prof. Pelham’s proof that princeps was not a development of princeps senatus [Journal of Phil. viii. 16, p. 321], though I think that the title of princeps iuventutis (i.e. equitum, or all below the Senate) given afterwards to Galus and Lucius shows that in one aspect of it there was a feeling in men’s minds that the two were in some senses connected; and I also venture to think that ‘leader of the Roman Nobility’ and ‘elect of the Roman people’ do not adequately express the ideas ever attaching to the Princeps.

21 This account of the origin of the principatus, in some degree (I think) new, requires to be supported. It seems to follow from Dio. In 53, 13, when describing the division of the provinces, he says that Caesar wishing to avoid the imputation of ‘monarchy’ accepted the government (ἀρχή) of them for 10 years only. In summing up the results of his administration of the provinces, however, he declares it to have been a real monarchy, which the periodical renewal [ἂνά τὴν πέντε, ἐνα πέντε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο δέκα καὶ ἑκατέρα ἀδύν δέκα πεντάκοις ἀδύν ἐφισταμοί] made practically life-long. But when he tells of the various renewals, he has a new name for the office (which yet can only be the renewal of the first); in B.C. 19 he calls it προστασία [44, 18], in B.C. 8 ἱγμονία [55, 3]; in A.D. 3 προστασία [55, 12]; in A.D. 13 προστασία [56, 98]. These are his words, for the Latin principatus,
the unity of the Empire in the face of the world of foreign nations, and the coordination of all powers and offices under the supreme control of one, who yet had adopted a title so little arrogant that it might be interpreted as merely giving a first place in dignity, and a right to take the lead on all occasions of ceremony. Other titles suggested departmental functions, this an imperial and universal supremacy. Other titles might be and were (at any rate in name) shared with others, this could be applied to one alone.

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

which therefore he considers (so far as it was a definite office) to have grown out of the original 49 of the Imperial provinces. It may be worth while to observe that of the two passages in which Augustus speaks of himself as princeps in the Mem. An. [cc. 30 and 31], in the former he is referring to an extension of the frontier, in the latter to his relations with foreign powers. He was indeed princeps civitatis to the citizens, but above all he was princeps as representing the Empire to the outside world.

22 Dio 43, 44. The vote in the Senate in B.C. 44 confirmed by the Senate on the 16th of April [Ov. F. 4, 673]. An inscription of B.C. 39 [Wilm. 875] gives us the title in both senses: SENATVS • POPULVS • QUE • ROMANVS • IMP • CAESARI • D • IVLI • F • COS • QUINT • COS • DESIGN • SEXT • IMP • SEPT • REPVBICA • CONSERVATA. Cp. also Fliny N. H. 3 § 136 (the inscription at Turbia) IMPERATORI • CAESARI • DIVI • F • AVG • PONTIFICI • MAXVMO • IMP • X • TRIBVNICIAR • POTESTATIS • XVII. The title by acclamation could only be given once in the same war, Dio 70, 21.

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

There were certain other functions, originally inherent in the consuls, but which since B.C. 443 had devolved upon the periodically appointed Censors.

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

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

\textsuperscript{24} Dio 52, 41. Perhaps Augustus may have claimed the title as early as B.C. 43 in consequence of the vote bestowing it on Iulius and his children: τοῖς παῖδας των τε ἐγγόνων αὐτοῦ οὖν καλεῖται θησαυρός Dio 43, 44.

\textsuperscript{25} Dio indeed speaks of him as τοιμικός σύν Ἄρμιον in B.C. 29. But Augustus himself enumerates this census among his consular acts with his colleague Agrippa [M. A. 8].

\textsuperscript{26} Iulius had held the same office [Dio 43, 14; 44, 5]. What Augustus asserts that he refused [M. A. 6 δια ἐπιμελητὴς τῶν τε νόμων καὶ τῶν τρόπων ἐκ τῆς μεγίστης ἐξουσίας χειροτονηθῆ] seems to have been a life-censorship. Dio [54, 10, 30] asserts that he was twice elected ἐπιμελητὴς τῶν τρόπων for five years each time, i.e. B.C. 19 and 13, see c. 27.

\textsuperscript{27} See p. 60, M. A. 8.
The word 'monarchy' was so odious to the Romans that they never called their Emperors dictators or kings or anything of that sort. Yet, as the ultimate power in the State lies with them, they do in effect reign. The various constitutional offices (except the censorship) do indeed subsist to this day: but the Emperor for the time being manages and directs everything exactly as he chooses. That they may seem, however, to possess these powers in accordance with law and not by force, the Emperors assume the several offices, which, when there was a free democracy, carried with them the highest powers, with the one exception of the dictatorship. Thus for instance they frequently take the consulship; on quitting the pomoerium they are always styled proconsuls; instead of king or dictator they take the name of Imperator, and not merely those who have won victories, but all alike, as a symbol of irresponsible power. Dictators or kings indeed they do not style themselves, since those offices have been once for all abolished, but all their actual powers they have secured by this appellation of Imperator.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

28 Dio 53, 32; Suet. Aug. 33; Dig. 1, 49, 41, 27, 47, 1; Tac. Ann. 4, 6.
vinces in B.C. 27, the theory of the Principate enabled Augustus to initiate, if he did not carry out immediately, a series of reforms. In the Imperial provinces this was comparatively easy. It followed from the fact that the legati Augusti pro praetore were appointed immediately by him, held their office during pleasure, and were answerable to him; while the finances of the province were under the care of a procurator, who was as dependent on his orders, and as responsible to him, as the steward of a private individual. But in the Senatorial provinces also his power could and did intervene with almost equal decisiveness. The beneficial changes introduced were mainly these:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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29 Dio 53, 44; Tac. Ann. 6, 27, 42.
32 Dio 53, 18, Marquardt 9, p. 382.
33 Dio 52, 23; 59, 151 Tac. Agric. 47.
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its own number as advocate for the complaining province. The injured provincials no longer depended on the services of a *patronus* or on the verdict of a jury.\(^{34}\)

(7) The postal service (in connexion with which must be considered the improved roads) greatly facilitated rapid and frequent references to the Emperor himself on details of administration.\(^{36}\)

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

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

§ 2. **SUETONIUS, HIS LIFE AND WRITINGS.**

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

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\(^{34}\) Tac. *Ann.* 3, 68; Suet. *Dom.* 8; Pliny *Ep.* 3, 9.


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

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

\(^{39}\) *Aug.* c. 7; *Cal.* 19; *Obi.* 10; *Ner.* 57; *Domit.* 12; *de Gramm.* 4; *vita Lucani.*
is the only contemporary who throws any light upon his life. From him we learn that he practised in the law courts; that he taught rhetoric; that in A.D. 100 he was to have a military tribunanship (probably to qualify for office), but begged Pliny to use his influence to have it transferred to another; that his works were much liked and expected with some eagerness; that he resided for a time at least in Pliny’s house, who declares that the closer his view of him the greater his affection for him became; that though he was married he had no children or had lost them; and that Trajan accordingly granted him the ius trium liberorum. The biographer Vopiscus testifies to his honesty; and Aelius Spartanus, in his life of Hadrian, tells us that he was secretary (epistularum magister) to that Emperor, but was with others displaced about A.D. 121 for paying too much court to the Empress Sabina. That is really all that we know of him. The fact seems to be that he avoided public life. He was a grammaticus, a teacher and scholar, half philologist, half antiquarian; and the kind of literature to which he devoted himself was not that which made a man conspicuous or generally popular. He wrote no epigrams or panegyrics, no declamations or plays. Nor was his birth high enough to make him a personage in society. His father was a tribunus legionis angusticlavus [Oth. 10]; and his connexion with Pliny was after all that of an inferior to a patron, in whose letters there is always, in spite of their warmth, a certain tone of superiority. Of his works (besides the treatise de Rhetoribus and the fragment de grammaticis which we possess) Suidas gives us the following list:

(1) On Greek Games, one book.
(2) On Spectacles and Games at Rome, two books.

40 Pliny Epist. 1, 18, 24; 3, 8; 5, 10; 9, 34; ad Traj. 94, 95 Suetonius Tranqullium, probissimum honestissimum eruditissimum virum, et mores eius secutus et studia iam pridem, domine, in contubernium adsumpi tantoque magis diligere coepit quanta hunc proprius inspexi.
42 Vopisc. vit. Pirmi i § 1 emendatissimus et candidissimus scriptor.
43 Ael. Spart. vit. Hadr. 11 § 3.
44 Eustathius ad Hom. Odys. 1, 107: Ioh. Tzetzes Chil. 6, 874.
46 Liber Indicae Historiae, Tertull. de spect. 6, Aul. Gell. 9, 7, 3.

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(3) On the Roman year, one book.¹⁰
(4) de notis (περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς βιβλίοις σημείων), one book.¹⁰
(6) On proper names, dress, and shoes.¹⁷
(7) On words of ill-omen and their origin.⁴⁸
(8) de institutis et moribus Romae, two books.⁴⁸
(9) Stemma Caesarum; et vitae eorum a Iulio ad Domitianum, eight books.
(10) Stemma virorum illustrium Romanorum.⁵⁰

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

¹⁰ Censorinus 20, 2. ⁴⁸ Amm. Marcell. 22, 16, 16.
¹⁷ Servius ad Verg. Aen. 2, 683; 7, 612. ⁴⁹ Eustathius ad Hom. II. 8, 488.
⁴⁸ Aul. Gell. 15, 4, 4. ⁵⁰ Hieronymus ad Dextrum 2, 821.
⁵¹ Oros. Hist. adv. Paganos 6, 7, 3 hanc historiam Suetonius Tranquillus ple
missime explicuit, which could by no possibility refer to the single chapter in the life of Iulius.
⁵² Servius ad Verg. Ecl. 3, 8; Aen. 7, 627.
⁵³ Ioh. Lydus de Magistratibus 3, 64 Τρέχειος...ἐν τῷ περὶ ἐπωκήματος τοιχῶν.
⁵⁴ Priscian 6, 8, 41.
⁵⁵ Priscian 8, 4, 21; 18, 19, 4; Isidorus de Natura rerum 38, 1.
⁵⁶ That is, apparently, foreign kings, Ausonius Epist. 19.
§ 3. The Authorities of Suetonius for the Life of Augustus.

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

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

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27 He quotes them in cc. 3, 7, 27, 28, 42, 63, 74, 85, 86; de Grammat. c. 16.
They are also quoted by Appian B. civ. 4, 110; 5, 47; Illyr. 14; Dio 48, 44;
Isidorus de natura Rerum 444; Plutarch Comp. Cic. et Dem. 3; Pliny N. H. 2 §§ 24, 94.
28 Quoted in cc. 40, 50, 51, 54, 71, 76, 86, 87, 93; also in Titi. 31, 51; Claud. 4;
Caige. 8; vita Hor.; Seneca de brev. vit. § 8; dial. 10, 4 § 3; Macrobi. Sat. 3, 4, 12; Pliny N. H. 18 §§ 94, 189; 21 § 9; Priscian 10, 9; Aul. Gell. 10, 11, 52, 10;
24, 21, 15, 7, 3; Isidor. Hispan. 1, 24 § 2. There was also a collection of correspondence between him and Cicero in three books, frequently quoted by Nonius.
Their books contained some of his letters is evident from one of these fragments cum iter facerem ad Hirtium Claternam spucississima tempestate, ep. Cic. ad Att. 16, 91, 16, 11.
29 He quotes the exact words cc. 58, 84. Dio probably had published copies of them, see 53, 3—10; 54, 55; 56, 2—9; 60, 10; Cic. ad Att. 15, 2 §§ 31; 14, 21 § 4;
31 C. 34, 36.
32 Cal. 33.
33 e. 28, cp. Cal. 16; Nerv. 10.
34 cc. 28, 37, 47, 44, 53; cp. Nerv. 4.
35 His grandmother Julia [c. 8]; Octavia [Dio 54, 35]; Agrippa [Dio 59, 28];
Drusus [Suet. Claud. 1; Dio 55, 3].
36 Suet. Claud. 1.
and finally the index rerum gestarum, which constituted a kind
of 'apologia pro vita sua'.

Next among Suetonius' sources we must reckon numerous
public documents, the acta diurna which were pre-
served, senatus consulta et acta, the plebiscita
which bestowed honours on Augustus, as well as
local records, as at Velitrae.

Thirdly, there were writings of various sorts by friends and
foes. Among the former it seems we must reckon
Mæcenas and Agrippa, though it is uncertain
whether the writings referred to were formal com-
positions or mere letters. Of his enemies there were speeches
of M. Brutus; letters of Sext. Pompeius, Marcus and
Lucius Antonius, Cassius of Parma, Iunius Novatus,
besides popular pasquinades and epigrams.

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

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60 c. 101: Tac. Ann. 1, 8; Dio 56, 23.
61 Plin. N. H. 7, 60 in actis temporum divi Augusti invento &c.
62 cc. 5, 58, 65.
63 cc. 57—8.
64 c. 1.
65 Plin. N. H. 7, 148 Philippenn praetio morbiti fuga et triduo in palatii aeg-
ratati et ut fatenter Agrippa et Mæcenas) aqua subter eum fusa turgidi latetora...Horace Odys 2, 13, 8 tuque palaestribus dices historis prodià Caesaris, Mæcenas,
meius ductaque per vias regum colla minacium. Servius ad Verg. G. 2, 42 con-
stat Mæcenatem fuisse literarum jurtum, et pluram composuere carmina; nam eiam
Augusti Caesaris gesta descripsit, quod testatur Horatius. Philargyrius ad Verg.
Georg. 3, 16, 2 Agrido in secundo vitae suas dicti, etc. See also Plin. N. H. 9 § 24
pigeret referre in res Mæcenatis et Fabiani et Flavii Alphi multorumque eis literis
mandata. None of these passages really prove that Mæcenas, and much less that
Agrippa, wrote on Augustus; but Agrippa could hardly write his own life without
66 Tac. Ann. 4, 34.
67 c. 4.
68 His letters are referred to by Plin. N. H. 31 § 11.
69 c. 51.
70 Augustus disliked inferior writers undertaking to write of him, see c. 89, cp.
Hor. Od. 1, 6, 10.
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name. Among them perhaps the most important was Cre-mutius Cordus, who wrote a history of Augustus (περὶ τῶν τῶν Λυκούστρω τραχθείτων), and appears to have taken so unfavourable a view at any rate of the earlier part of his career, that his books were burnt or excluded from Rome during the reign of Tiberius. Aquilius Niger, of whom nothing else is known, also attacked him, accusing him of causing the death of Hirrius. In like manner Iunius Saturninus (equally unknown) assailed his conduct in the proscription. Among other writings M. Valerius Messala Corvinus (b.c. 64) composed a work on the civil wars after the death of Iulius. He died about 9 years before Augustus, and as he deserted Antony for Augustus soon after Philippi, and was the mouthpiece of the Senate when offering the title of pater patriae, his account may be presumed to have been more favourable to Augustus. Cornelius Nepos, one of the older generation like Messala, does not appear to have written a formal history of the time, but in his Chronica or de viris illustribus may have retailed some anecdotes of Augustus. Iulius Marathus, who was his freedman and secretary, seems to have written some account of his personal appearance as well as of the prodigies that accompanied his birth. On this last subject anecdotes were also preserved by Asclepiades of Egypt and P. Nigidius Figulus, Pythagorean philosopher and mystic. This class of writer no doubt helped Suetonius in the composition of his 94th chapter, but could not add materially to the chief parts of the work. That there was plentiful material, however, either in literature or tradition, is also shown by the number of anecdotes (about 80) recorded of Augustus in Pliny's Natural History.

80 c. 35 p. 80 note. 81 c. 11. 82 c. 27.
83 cc. 44; 45; 74. He had been devoted to Cassius Tac. Ann. 4, 34; when put on the proscription list he had fled to Brutus [App. B. civ. 4, 38], and after Philippi made terms with Antony [ib. c. 136; 5, 112—3]. See also Dio 49, 16, 38; 50, 10. His history is quoted by Plutarch Brut. cc. 40, 41, 43, 45.
84 c. 77 p. 143 note. 85 cc. 79; 94.
86 p. 162 notes.
87 It may be observed that Pliny is the only writer who records one important work of Augustus, the division for administrative purposes of Italy into eleven regiones [3 §§ 46—128]. They were I. Campania (including Latium south of the Anio). II. Apulia and Calabria including the Hirpini. III. Lucania and Bruttium.
§ 4. The Text.

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

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

c. 17, p. 38, l. 4. **Cn. Domitius.** I have admitted *Cn.* into the text in spite of all MSS., which have *T*, as there seems no doubt whatever that the praenomen of Domitius was *Gnaeus*.

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

IV. Samnium (embracing the Frentani, Marrucini, Marsi, Peligni, Aequiculi, Vestini, Sabini). V. Picenum. VI. Umbria (including the territory of the Senones). VII. Etruria. VIII. Gallia Cispadana. IX. Liguria to the Var. X. Venetia (including Carni, Istri, Cenomani). XI. Gallia Transpadana. The division seems to have taken into account both the natural features of the country and the distribution of races: but though Suetonius is careful to note his divisions of the city and his police arrangements for the protection of the country (cc. 31, 39), it is only in a passing allusion to his visitation of them that he mentions the *regiones* of Italy (c. 46).
c. 25, p. 55, l. 5. **Sicilia** is evidently right for the *Cilicia* of most mss. The same error occurs in Livy *Ep.* 58.

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

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

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

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

" " l. 13. **posthac**. Camb.¹, Camb.² *posthac*.

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

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

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

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

C. 70, p. 133, l. 3. **istorum**. Camb.¹ *iustum*.

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

C. 94, p. 164, l. 13. **in eius sinum signum reipublicae**. Roth reads *in eius sinum rempublicam*. But Dio, who is translating from Suetonius, has *ἐκ δέ τινα τῆς Ρώμης [45, 2]*, and it seems somewhat forced to use *republica* as = signum reipublicae. The Codex Memm. has *in eius signum reipublicae*, but *sinum* would be likely to drop out before a word so similar as *signum*. The two Camb. mss.
INTRODUCTION.

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B.C.</th>
<th>CONSULS</th>
<th>PRINCIPAL EVENTS</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>D. Junius Silanus, L. Licinius Murena.</td>
<td>C. Julius Caesar praetor. Fall of Catiline in the winter. Return of Pompey to Italy from the East.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>L. Afranius, Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer.</td>
<td>After victories in Spain Iulius returns to Rome to stand for the Consulship. Formation of the so-called triumvirate—Pompey, Caesar and Crassus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Cn. Pompeius Magnus II., M. Licinius Crassus II.</td>
<td>Iulius defeats the Germans on the Meuse and crosses the Rhine, and first goes to Britain. Pompey marries Iulia, daughter of Iulius Caesar. Death of the poet Lucretius.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### INTRODUCTION.

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<thead>
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<th>B.C.</th>
<th>Consuls</th>
<th>Principal Events</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Cn. Domitius Calvinus, M. Valerius Messala.</td>
<td>Iulius Caesar subdues the Nervii. At Rome frequent riots between the followers of Clodius and Milo prevent the Consular elections. Crassus defeated and killed at Carrhae by the Parthians.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Ser. Sulpicius Rufus, M. Claudius Marcellus.</td>
<td>Infirmity of Pompey. Further attempts to recall Iulius Caesar. Curio (tribune) vetoes the proposal to name a day for Iulius to give up his province, and on the 10th Dec. joins Caesar at Ravenna.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>L. Aemilius Paulus, C. Claudius Marcellus.</td>
<td>Caesar sends an ultimatum to the Senate,—he will surrender his province and army if Pompey will do the same. Expulsion of the tribunes Antony and Caesar from the Senate. Caesar crosses the Rubicon (Jan.) and advances towards Brundisium. Pompey collects his forces at Brundisium and thence crosses to Greece (March). Siege of Marseillees. Defeat of the Pompeian legates at Ilerda in Spain (Augst).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>C. Claudius Marcellus, L. Cornelius Lentulus Cras. Dict. s. eq. m. consil. hab. et fer. Lat. c., C. Iulius Caesar.</td>
<td>Defeat of Pompey at Pharsalus (9 August = 29 June). Pompey murdered in Egypt. Octavius (Augustus) assumes the toga virilis (18 Oct.), and is elected into the college of pontifices in the room of Domitius Ahenobarbus. He acts as praefectus urb. during the fereiae Latiinae [Nic. Dam. 7]. Caesar engaged in the Alexandrine war.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>C. Iulius Caesar II., P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus.</td>
<td>Conclusion of the Alexandrine war (18 March = January). Defeat of Pharnaces of Pontus and return of Caesar (as Dictator) to Rome (Septem, = July). Thence goes to Africa to attack Cato and the remains of the Pompeians. Octavius (Augustus) prevented by his mother owing to weak health from accompanying him [Nic. Dam. 6].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Dictator r. p. c. c., C. Iulius Caesar. Mag. eq., M. Antonius. Q. Fufius Calenus, cox., P. Vatinius, cox.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>B.C.</td>
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<td>Principal Events</td>
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<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>C. Iulius Caesar III., M. Aemilius Lepidus.</td>
<td>Battle of Thapsus (7 April), and suicide of Cato at Utica. Reformation of the Calendar by insertion of 90 days. The young Octavius in high favour with Iulius, which he used to obtain pardon for the brother of his friend Agrippa [Nic. Dam. 7]. Caesar's triple triumph over Gaul, Egypt, Pontus. Octavius takes part in it. Caesar (Dictator for 10 years) goes to Spain in December.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Dictator r. p. c. c., C. Iulius Caesar III.</td>
<td>War with Gnaeus and Sextius Pompeius in Spain. Battle of Munda (17 March). Octavius, left behind from sickness, joins Caesar soon after the battle of Munda, with him visits Carthage [Nic. Dam. 11], and returns to Rome in September. Iulius appointed perpetual Dictator with right of being consul for 10 years. Octavius treated as his uncle's heir.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Caesar IV. Mag. et., M. Aemilius Lepidus II.</td>
<td>Murder of Iulius (16 March). Octavius, who was at Apollonia in Epirus, returned at once to Italy (April). By will of Iulius he is adopted as his son and made heir to three-fourths of his estate. He accepts the inheritance and is henceforth known as C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus. When his relations with Antony became strained he enrolled a legion of veterans, and was joined by two other legions which Antony had brought over from Macedonia. With these he marches to Mutina where Antony was besieging Dec. Brutus (December). The Senate votes him authority (1) as pro praetore, and (2) as pro consule.</td>
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<tr>
<td>B.C.</td>
<td>CONSULS</td>
<td>PRINCIPAL EVENTS</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>III. scrib. cons. cent.</td>
<td>Two indecisive sea-battles off (1) Camae, (2) Rhegium. Disasters to Caesar’s fleet off the Scyllaean promontory [Dio 48, 46–8].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Caesar Octavianus II.</td>
<td>Victory of Ventidius over the Parthians [Dio 49, 19–40]. Sosives conquers the Jews and takes Jerusalem. First period of the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M. Agrippa cur., L. Caninius Gallus cons. abd. T. Statilius Taurus.</td>
<td>Triumvirate expires (31 December). Caesar causes a new fleet to be built under the direction of Agrippa (recalled from Gaul), who also constructs the portus Iulius between Misenum and Puteoli. Antony comes to Tarentum and agrees with Caesar for a 5 years’ renewal of the Triumvirate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
<td>Breach between Caesar and Antony becomes complete, c. 17. Antony divorces Octavia. Caesar makes known the contents of Antony’s will. War proclaimed nominally against Cleopatra. Dio [56, 6] gives the two sides. For Caesar were Italy, Gaul, Spain, Roman Africa, Sardinia, Sicily and other islands on the coast of these: for Antony the provinces and client states of Asia and Thrace, Greece, Macedon, Egypt, Cyrene and islands adjoining; and nearly all kings and dynasts in the vicinity of these places.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.C.</td>
<td>Consuls</td>
<td>Principal Events</td>
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<td>B.C.</td>
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<td>Principal Events</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>M. Claudius Marcellus Aeserninus, L. Arruntius.</td>
<td>and proconsulare imperium, both inside and outside the pomerium, superior (maius) to that of any governor in any province. From this year the years of his tribunicia potestate are henceforth reckoned, beginning v. Kal. Jul. (57 June), Dio 53, 32. Death of the young Marcellus. Return of the standards from Parthia agreed upon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>M. Lollia, Q. Aemilius Lepidus.</td>
<td>Agrippa, recalled to Rome, marries Iulia, daughter of Augustus. Augustus returns to Sicily and thence goes to Greece, and winters at Samos. The standards and prisoners are returned from Parthia. Birth of Gaius Caesar, son of Iulia and Agrippa. Augustus regulates the affairs of the East [Dio 54, 9]. He again winters at Samos. Mission of Tiberius to Armenia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>C. Sentius Saturninus, Q. Lucretius Vespillo.</td>
<td>Second reform of the Senate. The lex de marizonatis ordinibus. First renewal of the Principatus [two periods of five years, Dio 53, 10; 54, 11].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>T. Claudius Nero, P. Quintilius Varus.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

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<th>PRINCIPAL EVENTS</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>12</strong></td>
<td>M. Valerius Messala Barba-</td>
<td>Agrippa dies in March. Augustus becomes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tus mort. est. P. Sulpicius</td>
<td>Pontifex Maximus (6 March); and is ap-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Quirinus add. C. Valgius Rufus</td>
<td>pointed praefectus moribus for another 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>abd. C. Caninius Rebilus mort. est.</td>
<td>years.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>L. Volusius Saturninus. Q. Aelius</td>
<td>Campaign of Drusus in Germany and of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tubero, Paul. Fab-</td>
<td>Tiberius in Dalmatia. Death of Octavia,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ius Maximus.</td>
<td>c. 61. Fourth reform of the Senate. Clo-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>11</strong></td>
<td>Iulus Antoninus, Q. Fab-</td>
<td>sing of the temple of Janus prevented by</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ius Maximus Africanus.</td>
<td>the Daci crossing the Danube. They are de-</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>10</strong></td>
<td>Nero Claudius Drusus Ger-</td>
<td>feated by Tiberius in this and the next year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>manicus mort. est. T. Quintius Crispi-</td>
<td>Augustus resides most of this year at Lug-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nus.</td>
<td>durnum. Birth of Claudius (afterwards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>9</strong></td>
<td>C. Marcus Censorinus, C. As-</td>
<td>Emperor) at Lugdunum, son of Drusus and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nius Gallus.</td>
<td>Antonia, niece of Augustus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>8</strong></td>
<td>Ti. Claudius Nero II., Cn. Cal-</td>
<td>Drusus attacks the Chatti and Suevi. He dies</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>purnius Piso.</td>
<td>from an accident. Farther reforms in the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>7</strong></td>
<td>D. Lælius Balbus, C. Antio-</td>
<td>Senate [Dio 55, 3]. Augustus returns to Rome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tius Vetus.</td>
<td>and again takes the government of the prov-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>5</strong></td>
<td>Imp. Caesar Augustus XII.,</td>
<td>inces for 10 years [Dio 55, 3]. Tiberius crosses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>L. Cornelius Sulla.</td>
<td>the Rhine to attack the rebellious Sigambri. The various</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4</strong></td>
<td>C. Calvisius Sabinus, L. Passien-</td>
<td>tribes submit. Death of Horace and Mac-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>us Rufus.</td>
<td>cenas. The name of the month Sextilis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3</strong></td>
<td>L. Cornelius Lentulus, M. Valer-</td>
<td>changed to August. Augustus holds a census.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ius Messalinus.</td>
<td>Third period of the <em>Principatus</em>.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>2</strong></td>
<td>Imp. Caesar Augustus XIII.</td>
<td>Triumph of Tiberius (1 Jan.). Renewed dis-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>add., M. Plancius Silva-</td>
<td>turbances in Germany recall him thither.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nus add. Q. Fabricius, L. Canin-</td>
<td>Rome divided into 14 regiones. Tiberius re-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ius Gallus.</td>
<td>ceives the Tribunician power for 5 years.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1</strong></td>
<td>Cossus Cornelius Lentulus,</td>
<td>Gaius Caesar consul designate for the sixth</td>
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<td></td>
<td>L. Calpurnius Piso.</td>
<td>year after this (i.e. a whole quinquennium is</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>to intervene). Tiberius retires to Rhodes for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>A.D.</strong></td>
<td>C. Caesar, L. Aemilius Pa-</td>
<td>7 years.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2</strong></td>
<td>P. Vincius, P. Affinius Varus.</td>
<td>Death of Tiro, the freedman of Cicero and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*Ex UL. Jul. P. Corneli-</td>
<td>editor of his letters. (?The Nativity of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>us Lentulus Scipio, T. Quin-</td>
<td>Christ.)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ce[ius Crispinus Valerianus.</td>
<td>Death of Herod.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Birth of Galba (afterwards Emperor). Alarms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>in Parthia and Germany.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>L. Caesar takes the <em>toga virilis</em>. Augustus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>receives the title of <em>pater patriae</em>, c. 68.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Julia divorced by Tiberius (in B.C. 11) and ban-</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ished by her father, c. 65.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>C. Caesar sent to the East to prevent the</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Parthian invasion of Armenia.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A dangerous rising in Germany against M. Vin-</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cius. Tiberius returns to Rome from Rhodes. Death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>of Lucius Caesar at Massilia (August). C. Caesar</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>meets Phraates on the Ephratae, at which meeting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Velleius Paterculus was present [3, 101]. The house of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Augustus on the Palatine burnt.</td>
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</table>
### INTRODUCTION.

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<th>Consuls</th>
<th>Principal Events</th>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>L. Aelius Lamia, M. Servilius,</td>
<td>Fourth period of principatus [Dio 55, 13].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Ex Kal. Iul.</em> P. Silius, L. Volusius Saturninus.</td>
<td>Death of Gaius Caesar at Zipyra in Lycia (23 Feb.). Tiberius and Agrippa Postumus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sext. Aelius Catus, C. Sentius Saturninus,</td>
<td>adopted by Augustus (17 June). Tiberius receives urbis pot. for 10 years and goes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Ex Kal. Iul.</em> C. Clodius Licinius, Cn. Sentius Saturninus.</td>
<td>to Germany, the campaign lasting till December. Treason of Gnaeus Cornelius.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>M. Aemilius Lepidus, L. Aruntius abd. L. Nonius Asprenas.</td>
<td>Third campaign of Tiberius in Germany. Revolt in Pannonia and Dalmatia. The aerarium militare established. Dedication of the arch at Turia, commemorating the pacification of the Alpine tribes. Germanicus (son of Drusus) sent to Pannonia. Tiberius undertakes the Ilyrian war (A.D. 7–9). The Pannonians submit, but there is still fighting in Dalmatia.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
C. SUETONI TRANQUILLI

DE VITA CAESARUM

LIBER II.

DIVUS AUGUSTUS.

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

1. Velitris. It seems doubtful whether Velitri was originally a Latin or Volscan town. It long maintained independence of Rome. Twice at least (B.C. 493 and 404) it was occupied by Roman coloni. Yet the original inhabitants absorbed or overcame these coloni and maintained the traditional hostility to Rome. At the end of the Latin War (B.C. 340–338) its senators were removed beyond the Tiber, its walls dismantled, and new settlers were sent to occupy the lands of the banished senators. Still it retained a form of municipal government [Livy 8, 14] and shared in the Roman civitas under the Lex Iulia of B.C. 90. The members of the gens Octavia however who were settled there were already Roman citizens.

præcipuam, ‘distinguished.’ Tac. 

A. 13, 40 præcipuam scientia rei milit.
taris. As applied to living persons in this sense it seems chiefly praef-classical and of the silver age.

celeberrima, ‘most frequented.’ Cato R. R. 1 § 3 recommends that there should be near the farm a via bona cele-
brique; cp. infr. c. 48 ludi celeberrimi.

oppidi as opposed to urbs (Rome), cp. 

Tib. 11; Otho 1, though the two words are often interchanged.

ara Octavio consecrata, ‘an altar consecrated by an Octavius’; cf. Jul. 20 campum Stellatem maioribus consecrati

tum...divitiis. Some however explain it as dative ‘dedicated to,’ i.e. for the use of Octavius and his family. The builder of such an altar consecrated it to the use of himself and his family, see for instance Willmanns’ Exempl. Inscr. 

2514 C • Clodius • C • L • Evphi-

mus • negotiator • fenoris • et • 
viniorem • de • Velabro • A • IIII •
incursione, semicruda exta rapta foco prosecuit, atque ita proelium ingressus victor rexit. Decretum etiam publicum exstatbat, quo cavebatur ut in posterum quoque similis modo exta Marti redderentur, reliquaque ad Octavios referrentur.

2 Sae gens a Tarquinio Prisco rege inter minores gentis adlecta est in senatum, mox a Servio Tullio in patricias transita, pro- cedente tempore ad plebem se contulit, ac rursus magno prole.

SCEARIS • ARAM • POSVIT • SIBI • CON- SECRATIT • DEDICAVIT • QVE • SVMS • POSTERIO • EORVM. Such an altar served at once as a ren- dervous of the family and a memorial of some great event. Thus the e sequacis columnae (Cic. 1 Phil. 15) set up by the pseudo-Marius where Caesar’s body was burnt is called by Dio Cassius a paeans [44, 51] and an ara by Brutus [ad fam. 12, 3]. Even when such memorials in the streets took the form of statues, incense was offered on them as altars. Cicero de Off. 3, § 80 (of Marius Grattianus) et ea res, si quaeritis, et magno honori sit. Omnibus vivis statuae, ad eas tuis, ceret.

prosecuit is a ritual word, and was applied to formal cutting or slicing of the entrails, as in the flesh, in preparation for the altar. Cato R. R. 134 uti exa proiecta erat, lata straeam essero undatoque item sit prius obnoverant. Varro L. L. 110 insistit ab eo quod insecta caro, ut in cernine Sali- orum est, quod in extis dictur nunc prosectum. Livy 5, 21 vocem haruspices dicitis ‘gut tus hortus eas prosectuit et victoriam davi’ exaudirem. See also Lucan 6, 709; Ovid P. F. 6, 163.

reddentur is also a ritual word applied to the action of placing the exta on the altar. Carmen Arv. C. L. 38 deinde reversus ad aram extas reddidit. Vergil G. 3, 194 lancellos et pandis faman tartis reddidit exta. Stat. Thb. 4, 466 simecas fibras et adhuc viridamina reddixit viscerum. This was also expressed by exta pericore.

reliquiae, referentur, that is, the parts not burnt were to be taken to the house of the Octavii. Cp. Plant. Poem. 2, 43 age omnis inter, illum exta refer- entur. Ovid Met. 12, 153 extas ut imposuit prosecta calentibus oris...sacra tuitera quam, pars est data cetera mensis.

2. AEC gens, senatum. The addition of 100 to the Senate by Tarquiniius Priscus is recorded by Livy 1, 35; Dionysius 3, 67. Cicero de Re P. 2, 20 says that he doubled the number. The gentes from whom they were taken were called gentes minores. The process was called adductio [Suet. Jul. 80, proceru- legem Plut. Rom. 20], or sublectio [Livy ep. 70, Tac. Ann. 11, 25]. But neither of this nor of the subsequent traductio byServius Tullius have we any knowledge. It seems to have been a later invention. The Octavius known to us in Livy [38, 36; 29, 13, 36; 30, 2, 24, 36; 31, 3, 11; 34, 46; 35, 25; 36, 16] are a Plebeian gens, of which the first to hold curule office was Cn. Octavius, praetor in 205. For the term traductio see Cicero pro Sest. § 15 traductio ad plebem foribus hominis; ad Att. 2, 9 hic Hiero- marius traductor ad plebem.

per Divum Iulium...redit. The ele- vation of Octavius to the patriciate seems to have taken place soon after the battle of Pharsalus (August B.C. 48). On the 18th of October following [C. J. L. 10, 875] Octavius took the inga vincta, and in describing the ceremony Dio [45, 1] says que ad vix ab hostibus restauros a Caesare inmetp...totis eorum reipublicae...totis eorum populi...totis eorum legi- tatis eorum populi. At the same time he was elected into the college of Pontifices in the place of Aenobarbus, who had fallen in the battle [Nicolas Dam. 4]. But as Caesar did not return to Rome till the autumn of 47, the actual traductio may not have taken place till later; perhaps in 46 or 45, when in virtue of a lex Caesar [Tac. Ann. 11, 35] Caesar endeavoured to recruit the diminishing patrician gentes, which had sunk to fourteen or fifteen, by new creations, Dio 43, 47 pollovis diei et eorum e duos legati totis eorum civitatis...totis eorum populi. Augustus continued the practice,—patriciorum numerum auis consul quantum (B.C. 39) iussu populi et senatus, M. A. 1, 8, cp. Dio 53, 42; Tacitus l.c. Subsequent emperors did it on their own authority.

**primus ex hoc.** The stemma referred to is as follows:

C. Octavius Rufus
Praetor B.C. 205

Cn. Octavius
Praetor B.C. 165
Cos. B.C. 126

M. Octavius
Tr. Pl. 133

L. Octavius
Cos. B.C. 76

M. Octavius
Aedilis B.C. 50

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

aevum municipalis magistertius, municipal office. Magisterium properly the office of a magister, as Cicero prov. cons. § 46 describes the office of censor as magisterium morum. Cp. magisterium equitum Tib. 33; magisteria sacerdotii Cal. 22; magisterium collegii [Minervae] Dom. 4; and the later office of pedestre magisterium, Aurel. Vict. Casares 43. It is not classical as a technical word for the office of a magistratus, and Suetonius here uses it as opposed to the imperial magistratus. The offices in a municipium varied in different towns. The prevailing ones were those of Senate or Council (duumviri, centumviri, curiales or curia); officers yearly elected, —and popular election went on in these towns more than 100 years after it ceased in Rome,—as rawumviri iuri dicundo, consules, two quaestores, two aediles. In some—called praefecturae—a praefectus iuri dicundo was yearly appointed by the Praetor at Rome. In others—coloniae—there were quaestores, centuriae, and curiales. Though after the Social War and the lex Iulia (B.C. 90) the civil status of these towns was assimilated, the interior constitution varied as before. As regarded Rome they were all municipia and possessed the franchise, but with respect to their internal administration they were still to be classed as municipia, coloniae, praefecturae, concilabilia. See W. T. Arnold, Roman Provincial Administration, p. 275.

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3 C. Octavius pater a principio aetatis et re et existimatione magna fuit, ut equidem mirer hunc quoque a non nullis argentarum atque etiam inter diviores operisque campestris proditum; amplis enim inuntritus

sed haec alii. No doubt many flat-

ers or enemies were found to search the annals of the Octavii. Suetonius quotes as writers on the life of Augustus, Iulius Marathus (cc. 79, 94); C. Drusus (c. 94); Julius Saturninus (c. 27); Aquilius Niger (c. 11); M. Valerius Messala Corvinus (c. 74). C. Asinius Pollio, who wrote on the Civil War [Jul. c. 55—6], does not seem to have brought his history down to the reign of Augustus. The only considerable fragment of such a work which we possess is that of Nicolas of Damascus, friend and secretary of Herod, and in high favour with Augustus himself. On this point however he merely says that his father was a Senator (τῷ ἐν τῆς αὐτοῦ

ae), and his ancestors κατὰ τὰ πλοῦτου,e περισσοτέρους.

ipse Augustus. Besides the Res

gestae left by Augustus to be inscribed in various parts of the empire and pres-

erved for us in the Monumentum An-

cyranum, he wrote a history of his own life and times. See cc. 25, 27, 42, 74, 85—6; Claud. 3; de Gramm. 10. This work was used by Flutarch in the lives of Cicero (45), Brutus (27), Antony (32, 68); and by Apian [B. cir. 42], Dio Cassius [45, 44], and by other later writers. Augustus also caused the honours of his grandfather and father to be in-

scribed on marble slabs adorning some chapel in his palace. That of his grand-

father (if it is his) is too much broken to be of interest. That of his father is entire.

[C. L. L. Vol. 1, p. 778.]

C. OCTAVIUS: C. F. C. N. C.
PRON: PATER: AUGUSTI: TR. MIL.
BIS: Q. AED: FL. CUM: C. TORA-
NIO: IVDEX: Quaestionum: PR.

Pro • C. • Imperator • Afellatus • Ex • Provincia • Macedonia.

M. Antonius. The slanders of An-

tony were apparently conveyed to letters principally written in the two or

three years previous to the battle of Actium, which his friends or his ene-

mies published.

a pago Thurino. The term pagus as applied to the munici-

pium properly indicates a village or other unit of inhabit-

ants in the country as opposed to the vicus in the town; but Suetonius seems to

be using it loosely for aegor Thurinus (c. 3) or regio Thurina (c. 7). In R.C.

52 a 'Latin' colony was settled at Thrui-consisting of 3000 veterans of the

infantry and 300 from the cavalry; but its territory was so large that these

were not considered sufficient, and a third of the land was retained for future

allotments [Livy 35, 9 memoris exiguis pro copia aegor]. The name was changed to

Copia, but this seems not to have lasted, and the old appellation prevailed.

argentarius, 'money-changer' or 'bank-

er,' Nero 5. Cicero Caelestin § 16. Whether the Octavi did possess a roowell at

 Thrui and a bank at Thrui or Veltrae is quite unknown. They were certainly

wealthy.

3. diviores operaque campe-

stria. Cicero [Harus. resp. § 42]

speaks of the quaestus campestri as being of the most profitable kind (maxi-

me facundus). It was of various sorts. Friendly supporters (suffragatores) dis-

tributed passes for theatres and festivals [Cic. Mar. § 72]; election agents (se-

questres) held sums of money which the diviores distributed; and the heads of

political clubs or insitulites brought
DIVUS AUGUSTUS.

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

bands of artizans (operae) to encourage or overawe the voters (see on c. 33). But though such things were forbidden by many laws, it seems that a certain amount of money distributed at least among a man's own tribe was looked upon as almost a matter of course. See inf. c. 40 and Jul. 19. Cic. ad Att. 1. 18 est autem C. Herennius quidam fr. Pl., quem fortassene nosti quidem,—tamen potes nosse: tribulis enim iussus est, et Sextus pater eius naves sibi dividere solerat. For the discreditable nature of the employment see Cicero Verres 3, § 161, non in hominis luxuriosis sed tantum in furis atque diuitori disciplina educatus.

ex praetura Macedoniam sortitus, 'after his praetorship the chance of the lot gave him Macedonia.' His praetorship was in 61. In 60 (March) he went as procurator to Macedonia, succeeding the extortionate and unsuccessful Gaius Antonius, the colleague of Cicero in his consulship (63). He distinguished himself in his province not only in war against encroaching barbarians, in the course of which he was acclaimed by his soldiers 'imperator' [Val. 4, 69], but also by his conciliatory manners, strict integrity, and justice [Cic. ad Q. Fr. 1. 1 § 21]. Macedonia was looked upon as a profitable province and had suffered much at the hands of various governors. It was generally governed by a praetorius, not a consularis, but the practice varied according to the military necessities. The Senate decided from year to year which provinces were to be praetorian which consular; but some, as Sicily and Sardinia, seem always to have been praetorian. See Arnold, p. 44.

residuum Spartaci. In B.C. 72 Spartacus, the leader of the revolted gladiators, seized Thurii and held it as base of operations for plundering expeditions. It shows how difficult an effective police in S. Italy was to maintain, that twelve years after this there should still be remains of his followers who held out in the mountains near Thurii. For the war of Spartacus B.C. 73—71 see Livy ep. 92—97; Appian B. civ. 1, 116—130; Plutarch Crass. 8—11. Catiline was conquered in Etruria near Pistoria (Pistia), but some of his men doubtless escaped and made their way south. Or they may be some of the slaves dismissed from the camp at Fasces, who had taken refuge, as a last resource, with the surviving gladiators at Thurii.

tenentis in app. to manum, cp. Liv. 26, 55 ingens turba circumfusa fremebat. extra ordinem, 'beyond his regular sphere of duty,' which was in Macedonia.

Beissas ac Thracibus, 'with the Bessi and other Thracians.' The Bessi were a large mountain tribe extending at various periods from the R. Nestus and the Rhodope Mts. (Despot Dagh) to the Strymon or at times to the Axios. They were the most constant source of trouble to a governor of Macedonia, whose object was to keep them on the other side of Rhodope and make his N.W. frontier secure. Even before the Roman occupation the Macedonian kings had had to fight them [Polyb. 23, 8; Livy 39, 53]. The victory of Octavius seems to have dismayed them for a time, for we find them offering Piso, proconsul in Maced. B.C. 47—46, reinforcements [Cic. in Pis. § 84]. But Piso alienated them again by his treatment of their agent; and in 43 Brutus had to go on an expedition against them [Dio 47, 55]. They are mentioned by Herodotus [7, 111] as a branch of the Saturae, the one Thracian tribe that had never been conquered, and as having charge of an oracle of Dionysus, whence probably the term Bessarius used by Horace [Od. 1, 18, 11] for the Thracian Bacchus, though this is derived by others from Bessarion, 'a fox skin,' Her. 4, 192. They were infamous even among other predatory tribes for their robberies. Strabo 7, 5, 12 Bessel θεός άι δαρε πολέων των θεών κατα τών ληστών άρητα, ποσαγορεύοντα, cp. id. 7, fr. 47.
epistolae M. Ciceronis extent quibus Quintum fratrem, codem tempore parum secunda fama proconsulatum Asiae administratorem, hortatur et monet, imitetur in promerendis sociis vicinum suum Octavium. Decedens Macedonia, prius quam profiteri se candidatum consulatus posset, mortem his mother and sisters.

proconsulatum Asiae. Quintus Tullius Cicer was Praetor in B.C. 62 and governor of Asia from 61 to 58. That Suetonius should indicate the govern- ment of a praetorius by the term proconsulatus may be the result of the later division of the provinces into Imperial and Senatorial, the former being govern- ed by a legatus, the latter by a proconsul, titles which the governors held without regard to the magistracies they had previously administered. Asia had al- ways since its establishment (B.C. 129) been governed by a praetorius, who however even in republican times was sometimes called pro-consul. The pro- vince started with the dominions of Attalus of Pergamus bequeathed to Rome in B.C. 133; and in Cicero’s time included Phrygia, Mysia, Caria, and Lydia [pro Plac. c. 37]. The ad- ministration of Quintus seems to have been marred by ill temper (ad Q. Fr. 1, 1 adiungendo enim facilitas et in audiendo, in satisfaciendo ac disputando diligentia. His robur super C. Octavius iucundissimum fuit) and a too credulous confidence in his freedman Status (ad. 1, 2). Asia was a province however in which an honest governor was pretty sure to give offence; for it was the chosen hunting ground of the publicani, until Cæsar abolished the system in 48 [App. B. c. 5, 4; Dio Cass. 42, 6].

4. decedens Macedonia, on quitting his province of Macedonia. The technical word for a governor giving up his province: Jul. 18 ad trium- phum simpi consulatumque decedit; generally however with ex [more rarely with a]; but in Cic. pr. Afr. 1, 2 decedens provincia; and absolutely in Cio. fam. 3, 6 et ante quam exi success- sum eis decesserat eis. Sall. 9, 36 Albinius Romam decedit.

profiteri se candidatum. The pro- fessio would have to be made at Rome at least 17 days [triumum mundimum, Cicero ad fam. 16, 12] before the date of election. When the regulation requiring a per- sonal professio was made is not known. Cicer, speaking in 59, says that it was not required by any lex [contr. Rutil. 2 § 24]. It may nevertheless have been a custom which could not be neglected. In B.C. 66 Catiline was prevented by an accusation of repetundae from standing for the consulship,—quod intra legitimas dies profiteri requisit [Sall. Cat. 18]. In B.C. 60 Caesar had to choose between giving up his triumph and entering Rome to make his professio, Cænoos de antclæis aut, nolite melius docendi, ob novam o Cænoa turgoribus tum comitiacium tum consilio, Appian B. c. 3, 8. Instances of election without such personal professio are not uncommon earlier, Marius for instance having been more than once elected in his absence; and in B.C. 160 Q. Fulvius Flaccus, in circumstances very like Caesar’s, for he was waiting outside the walls for a triumph from Spain, was elected consul [Liv. 40, 43]. Still the law of Pompey in 55 or 54, which is the first we know of as actually legislating the regulation, must have been only an enforcement of a custom generally observed, though perhaps liable to evasion [Jul. 48].

Octavia maior, quam ex Ancharia. According to Plutarch [Anton. 31] there was only one Octavia, daughter of Ancharia and half sister to Augustus; and we certainly hear nowhere else of an elder Octavia. But that Octavia was connected with the Julian gens is shown by her body being laid out in the Horsem Iulium [Dio 54, 37]. Her character is conspicuous for magnanimity and purity, in spite of the way in which both her uncle and brother (who was devotedly attached to her) used her hand to secure political objects. She was married to C. Claudius Marcellus (consul in B.C. 50), yet Julius offered to transfer her to Pompey in 53, on the death of Iulia [Suet.
Augusto, quos ex Atia tulerat. Atia M. Atio Balbo et Iulia, sorore Caesaris, genita est. Balbus, paterna stirpe Aricinus, multis in familia senatoris imaginibus, a mater Magnum Pompeium artissimo contingebat gradu functusque honore praeturae inter vigintivos agrum Campanam plebi Iulia legi

Caes. 27]: and when she was left a widow at the end of 41, though pregnant by her former husband, she consented to be married to Antony in order to cement a reconciliation between him and her brother, the Senate suspending the law which required a ten months' widowhood [App. B. c. 5, 64; Plut. Ant. 31; Dio 48, 51]. For two or three years she resided with Antony at Athens, where she was much beloved, and succeeded in retaining his affection and intervening more than once to prevent a quarrel between her husband and brother [App. B. c. 5, 95; Plut. Ant. 32, 38; Dio 48, 54]. But in B.C. 37—when the last reconciliation took place—she was left behind at Rome and Antony again fell under the influence of Cleopatra. When she went in B.C. 35 to Greece to take troops and money to Antony in Egypt, he forbade her to come nearer to him than Athens, though he accepted the presents [App. 5, 138; Dio 49, 33]. But though she returned to Rome in B.C. 34 she refused to obey her brother when he ordered her to quit Antony's house. She lived there as his wife, carefully bringing up both the three children which she had borne him and his own children by Fulvia [Plut. 54; Dio 41, 151]; and though Antony divorced her in B.C. 32 [Dio 56, 31; Plut. 57] she adopted and brought up his children by Cleopatra [Plut. 87]. The death of her son Marcellus in B.C. 23 was a severe blow to her, and she seems to have lived in retirement after that till her death in B.C. 11, when her laudatio was delivered by Augustus and her son-in-law Drusus [Dio 5, 33]. Augustus was glad to accept honours voted to her by the Senate in B.C. 35, and dedicated many of his public buildings to her. The aedicularia Octaviae included a porticus (with a school), a curia, and a library [Pliny N. H. 34, 31; 35, 114; 36, 52, 44, 34–5, 43–2].

Iulia, see infr. c. 9.

Aricinus. Aricia (la Ricia) was the first halting on the via Appia [Horace Sat. 1, 1, 1], 16 miles from Rome. It obtained the most favourable terms at the end of the Great Latin War (B.C. 338) and practically enjoyed the rights of citizenship ever since [Livy 8, 14]. Cicero [Phil. 4, 13] speaks of it as a municipium, substituta antiquitatem, iure fidei et paenae suis munificiis, splendidum municipium honestissimum.

senatoris imaginibus. The ius imaginum belonged not to Senators, as such, but to Curule Magistrates. See Cicero Verres 3 § 36 nunc cum designatus sedilitis...ab aequum rerum laborum et sollicitudinius fructus illus datis...antiquorum in senatu sententiae dicentibus locum, tegam praestatam, solam curalem, ius imaginis ad memoriam posteritatem prodendam. But as the curule magistracies gave a seat in the Senate, they are loosely spoken of as senatoriae: though since the time of Sulla the Quaestorship gave the entre to the Senate, and therefore there would be Senators who had not the ius imaginum, as in fact had always been the case with those Senators who had been from time to time put on the roll by the Censors without having held curule offices. Pliny [N. H. 35, §§ 4–8] complains that the old waxen portraits had in his time been superseded by bronze shields with conventional figures, or statues on which often different heads were substituted. The old fashion was to keep expressi cerae vulus (real portraits) in their several shelves or niches, so that likenesses of all the known members of a family were sometimes carried at a man's funeral. They were joined by long scrolls (stemmata); and near them were cases of family records (tabulina) relating the events in the years of office held by them. The earliest mention of these imaginae at funerals is in Polybius [6, 51] who thought it a custom admirably calculated to inspire emulation in virtue.

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

praeturae. M. Atius Balbus was
divisit. Verum idem Antonius, despiciens etiam maternam Augusti originem, proavum eius Afri generisuisse et modo unguentariam tabernam modo pistrum Ariciae exercuisse obicit. Cassius quidem Parmensis quodam epistola non

praetor in B.C. 62 and served in Sar-
dinia. He was one of the consuls for
dividing the Campanian land, as was
Pompey, whom Cicero therefore calls
Attis collegam [ad Att. 3, 10].

Julia leges. The law passed in his
first consulship (B.C. 54) for the division
of the Campanian lands and the Stellati-
urn plain among 20,000 citizens. The
lands immediately round Capua were
reserved, as the best, for the fathers
of three children, and dispossessed
owners were compensated by means of
the funds brought by Pompey from the
East. It was vehemently resisted by
the Optimates headed by Bibulus,
and was only carried by the forcible
expulsion of Bibulus from the Forum.

Jul. 20 leges autem agraria promul-
gata obruiturem collegam armis foro
exspectat. The opposition to it in the
Senate caused Caesar to neglect
that body and hardly ever summon
it during the rest of his year [Ap-
pian B. civ. 2, 10; Dio 38, 1—3].

Cicero seems to have hesitated as to
what position to take up, ad Att. 3, 3
est magis consili. Nam forte visirestendum legi agrariae; in quo est
quadam dicitari, sed plena laudi:
aut quiescendum. He afterwards speaks
with disapproval of it as depriving
the state of a large revenue [c Phil. § 101,
cp. ad Att. 2, 16], and refused to serve
on the commission [ad Att. 3, 19, 3].

Candidates for office for the next year
had to take an oath not to disturb ar-
rangements made under it, ad Att. 3, 16
habet eum Campana lex exerrucionem
candidatorum, in circito si mentionem
fecerint quo aliter ager possidatur atque
ut ex ilius legibus. For three chapters
of the law preserved in Scriptores Gra-
aticanici, see Bruns Fontes Iuris R. p. 94.

despidentem, 'by way of lowering,' the
feeling of contempt is put for the ex-
pression of it. Cicero [c Phil. § 15]
answering an edict of Antony's in which
these attacks on the birth of Augustus
were continued, says, videt quam despis-
ciamur omnes qui sumus et municipiis,
idi et, omnes plane.

exercuisse, 'carried on,' so Vitell. 2

Antochi cuindam furnariam exercen-
tis. de Gramm. 23 cum et officinas pro-
mercatorum vestrum exerceret. Vesp. 16
negotiationes quoque vel privata poten-
das propalam exercuit.

Cassius Parmensis. The identity
of this Cassius of Parma has been a sub-
ject of much dispute. The earliest trace
of him is a letter to Cicero [ad fam. 13,
13] in the year 43, dated from Cyprus
on the 11th of June. If this is really
the man, it appears that he was in com-
mand of a fleet on the coast of Asia,
and, in conjunction with his namesake
C. Cassius Longinus, was attacking
Dolabella when endeavouring to take
possession of the province of Syria. He
probably was then Questor or pro-qus-
tor. But Porphyrio on Horace [Ep. 1,
4, 3] says that he was tribunus militum
with Horace. He had been one of the
assassins of Caesar, and after the
failure and death of Brutus and Cassius
at Philippi (Nov. B.C. 49) he made his
way from Asia, where they had left
him, to the Ionian Sea with more than
30 ships and joined first Domitius Ahe-
nobarbus and then Sextus Pompeius
in Sicily. After the death of the latter
he attached himself to Antony. And
it was while with him at Alexandria
(B.C. 35—31), between the death of
Sextus and the battle of Actium, that
this letter would be written. After
Actium Cassius fled to Athens, and
was executed by order of Octavian, the
last of the assassins to perish [App. B.
civ. 5, 2; Vell. Pat. 2, 87; Valer. Max.
1, 7, 7]. Porphyrio on the passage of
Horace already cited says that he wrote
muitas tragedias. And another gram-
marian Acro says: Epiciereus fuit poeta,
...satiras scriptis...aliquot generis sic-
tum exercuit: inter quae opus elegia
et epigrammata ejus laudantur. Ano-
ther Cassius, an inferior poet called
Cassius Etruscus, is mentioned by
Horace [Sat. 1, 10, 59 sq.] and has
been by some confounded with Cas-
sius of Parma. Two lines of Cassius
are quoted by Quint. 5, 11, 44; and
Varro L. L. 6, 71, 72. A poem on
Orpheus was attributed to him, which
however has been shown to have been
composed in the 16th century A.D.
5.7. DIVUS AUGUSTUS.

tantum ut pistoris, sed etiam ut nummulari nēpotem sic tacat Augustum: *Materna tibi farinast ex crudissimo Ariciæ pistorino: hanc finxit manibus collybo decoloratis Nerulonensis mensarius.*

5

Natus est Augustus M. Tullio Cicerone C. Antonio conss. 5

VIII. Kal. Octob., paulo ante solis exortum, regione Palati, ad Capita bubula, ubi nunc sacrarium habet, aliquanto post quam exessit constitutum. Nam ut senatus actis continetur, cum C. Laetorius, adolescens

nummulari. The *nummularius* was a 'money changer;' his office or counter was a *menis* (hence *mensarius*). Mart. 13, 57, 8

*Hinc obvius sorodium quasit mensam Neroniana nummularius massa.*

Galb. 9 nummulario non ex fide versanti pecunias manus amputavit mensaque eius adexit.

*taxat* [a frequentative form of *tangere*], 'attacks;' *inveighs against.' It means (1) 'to take cognisance of;' (2) 'to estimate,' (3) in a bad sense, as here, 'to stigmatize.' Cp. *Deim. 10 Occidit et Heteidiun filiun, quasi sacriem exercitio sub persona Farulis et Omonis divortium suum cum xere teaxisse.* So *retaxare,* cf. *Vesp. 13 Liciniun Macianum...numquam nisi clam et hæterus retaxare sustinuit, ut apud communes aliumque amicum querns adderet clausulam:* 'Ego tamem vir sum.'

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

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

collybo, *exchange,* 'agio.' Cic. *ad Att.* 13, 6 sed certe in collubio est detrimenti salis, cp. 2 *Verr.* 3, § 181. Hence the word familiar to us in the N. T. [Matt. xii. 21 etc.] *koluvsthy,* cp. *Arist. Pol. 1106 οδέ ολλουμ 'a small coin.' [Pollex p. 72 s. v. & kal *koluvsthy* λειτυ πε νομαραθαι]. But *koluvsthy* is *koluvsthy* [Pollex 7, 170]. The word is not Latin or Greek, but of Semitic or Phoenician origin. Hebrew רֵשׁ and Rabbinic יְשָׁבָא.

5. VIII. Kal. Oct., i.e. 23 September [C. I. L. 1, p. 326]. A birthday was reckoned from midnight to midnight [Varro ap. Macrob. *Sat.* 3, 5]. It is a question whether the date is by the reformed Julian calendar, which came into operation on 1 January 45, or by the old calendar which would make the date 31 August. But even if we admit that the old calendar is that referred to, it is still extremely doubtful how far any one particular year was wrong. It was the custom about this time to intercalate 27 days at the end of February every other year in order to bring the civil year into harmony with the solar year. But this was wholly in the hands of the Pontiffs, and they seem to have been often influenced by political motives (such as wishing to prolong or curtail a tenure of some magistrate's office) and therefore it is not certain in any particular year what the true state of things was. In the year 63 however, Cicero speaking on the *VT Id. Novemb.* [2 Cat. 23] says—*Quem ad medium illis [multiculis] carere poterunt, his præsertim iam noctibus quo autem pacto illis Apernimum aequo illas praemisses ad nivei preferunt?* This suits the time of year, and looks as if the civil calendar was not far wrong in 63. In c. 94 the father of Augustus is said to have come late to a meeting of the Senate when a discussion on Catiline was to take place, owing to the birth of his son. And though we do not know elsewhere of such a debate as early as 23 September: yet Catiline's proceedings had been causing much trouble for some months. The *Comitia* had been twice postponed; and it is not surprising that he should have formed a subject of debate on that day. Dio [48, 1] relates the lateness of Octavian at the Senate, but does not mention the subject of debate. Augustus himself in B.C. 8 selected Sextilius as the month to be called by his name, as that in which he had first been consul and had won certain victories, though many friends suggested *September* as his birth month, Dio 55, 6. The large error in 46 is
partly accounted for by the suspension of the usual biennial intercalation owing to the absence of Caesar (Pont. Max.) and many of the pontiffs from the beginning of 49.

regiones Palatii. Of the original four 'regions' of Rome (the Suburan, the Esquiline, the Viminal or Colline, and the Palatine) the regio Palatina included the Palatine hill, the Germanus and the Velia. Varro L. L. 5 §§ 41—54. There a lane leading from the valley in which the Colosseum now stands up the slope of the Palatine was called ad capitam bubula; it led to the spot now occupied by the Church and Convent of S. Bonaventura, Lanciani's Rome p. 106. In the late division of Augustus it would fall into the 10th region. Others explain it as the name of the house, comparing Dom. 4 natum est ad Malum Punicum. But the expression is more usually descriptive of a district or street: so a spot in the Tyrol was called ad Pirunum, Mart. 1, 117, 6.

sacrarum. A chapel or shrine, which in the larger houses of Rome not only included the Lararium, but served also as the repository of objects of reverence or heirlooms of the family, and works of art. From Cicero [ad fam. 13, 2] it would sometimes seem to have been used as a studio for sculptor or artist,—Ateano Evandro, qui habitat in suo sacrario, nullum utor. The obligation to maintain such a shrine would pass in many cases with the ownership of the house, like the trophies and triumphal ornaments [Pliny N. H. 35 § 6]. For its place in the house, see Becker's Gallus, p. 252. Ulpian dig. 1, 8, 9 § 2 suer locus est locus consecratur: sacrarium est locus in quo sacra repromuntur: quod etiam in privato aestimatio esse poteat.

senatus acta. Julius Caesar in his first consulship, B.C. 59, caused these acta to be kept and published as well as the acta diurna [see Suet. Jul. 80 into honore primus omnium instituit ut tam senatus quam populi diurna acta conferrent et publicarent]; and they were included in a commentarium urbis urbanae sent to the provinces.

Thus Caecilius says to Cicero then in Cilicia [ad fam. 8, 11] in B.C. 51,—quam quique sententiam discerit in commentariis est rerum urbanae, ex quo tu quae digna sunt seleas; multis transi; cp. Th. 15, 23. Augustus stopped the publication of the acta senatus (c. 73). But Tiberius seems to have allowed them to be published, Th. 73. Dio 57, 23 says that in causing the condemnation of his libellers in the Senate he really published them....διενοθετησεν δὲ τας δια της διακοσμησεως θρονοθεσία. He complains that the suppression of the acta not only made the writing of history difficult, but caused endless false and groundless rumours [53, 19].

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

graviore poena. The punishment of adultery by the lex Julia (b.c. 17) was for the man a fine of half his goods and relegatio, for the woman the loss of half of her dowry and a third of her whole estate and relegatio. The law did not inflict death, though it allowed the father or the injured husband to inflict it in certain cases and with certain restrictions. Tacitus [Ann. 524] remarks that in punishing the paramours of his daughter and granddaughter with death Augustus annulatam maiorum nuptias fuerat lex. His action in this case was grounded on the principle that these men were guilty of maiestas also: cp. the case of Appuleia Varilla [Tac. Ann. 2, 20] where Tiberius, when she had been acquitted of maiestas,—adulterii graviorem poenam depreratus, ut exemplo maiorum propriis sui ultra ducentesimam lapidem renoveretur sui. In B.C. 75 however Tiberius inflicted exilium on Aquilia and her paramour, instead of the relegatio of the lex Julia [Tac. Ann. 4, 42].

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

aedilium, 'temple-guardian.' There were two classes of aedilium; the aedilitius magister had the general superintendence of a temple, though he did not live in it. Thus Domitian, when the
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Divus Augustus nascens attigisset, peteretque donari quasi proprio suo ac peculiari deo, decretum est uet ea pars domus consecraretur. Nutrimentorum eius ostenditur adhuc locus in avito suburbano iuxta Velitarum permodicus et cellae penuarioe instar, tenetque vicinitatem opinio tamquam et natus ibi sit. Huc introire nisi necessario et caste religio est, conceptrae opinione veteri, quasi temere adeuntibus horror quidam et metus obiciatur, sed et mox confirma. Nam cum possessor villae novus seu forte seu temptandi causa cubitum se eo contulisset, evenit ut post paucissimas noctis horas exurbatus inde subita vi et incerta paene semimimis cum strato simul ante fores inveniretur.

Infanti cognomen Thurino inditum est, in memoriam 7 temple on the Capitol was set on fire, apud audituum etiam permutavit [Dom. 1]; the actual care of the temple was in the hands of an auditus minister, or auditus a sacrario [Marquardt 12, p. 259].

attigisset. For a new born child was placed on the ground—partly that the auspices might be taken, partly that the father might decide whether he would rear it. Ov. H. 2, 221 Qui simul impurae matris prolatus ad alve [Cinnyphae faute corpero proclit humum. Macrob. Sat. 1, 12 quod infantes partu editi non prius vocem edam quam attigerint humum.

donari, 'to be pardoned as a concession to.' So Sulla according to Florus [5, 10] spared the Athenians... in honorem mortuum sacrat sui famaque donavit. Seneca de ira 2. 22 causae sua et prioribus factis et bonis in futurum promissis donatur. Cicero uses condonare in this sense [ad fam. 13, 70] pote ut eum filiam qui in tua potestate sunt, misk potissimum condone. Livy also dux, 7, 50 Caere... hostriae statum cultique dies darent.

6. avito suburbano: cp. c. 94.


tamquam et natus ibi sit, 'that he was born as well as nursed there.' The use of tamquam with opinio tenet is like that after words of accusing and suspecting: Juv. 3, 22 et merito tam spectab tamquam ipse suas incenderit aediles. Tac. A. 11, 4 specta alteri oblecta tamquam vidiisit Claudium spicae corona ovinum. Plin. Ep. 3, 9. 29 reum postulavit tamquam in causa Castor praetoriam, where Mayor says that in Silver Latin tamquam is used like we without expressing any doubt. See infra c. 94 prohibitum nonest dei tamquam is ad tuteam rei publicae educare.

castre, after ceremonial purification. Cic. de legg. 2, 8 ad deos advenito caste.

gell. 4, 9 tempora... religiosa sunt quae non valent et temere, sed cum censebite ceremoniae adeuntes.

relegio est: non audient, Liv. 2, 62.

sed et, 'and what is more,' and that too, kai rastra. In Silver Latin sed is often not disjunctive but cumulative, lat. c. 9 idem Curio sed et M. Actioris actores sunt. Mart. 1, 117, 7 et scilis habito tribus sed alti.

id. 2, 5, 5 hsec sunt quae regentes me solobus... raptae e scribere sed Velleitius. id. 7, 71, 4 uluere turpis... nec rigidus fessor sed nec erator egest.

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

strato, 'bedding,' Cal. 55 prorsum se e strato sub lectumque condere solobat. Lactet. 4, 849 mollis strata lecti.

7. Thurino. Suetonius apparently means that this was name was given to the boy by his parents in commemoration of the affair at Thurii, see c. 3. It took place in B.C. 60 when he was two
maiorum originis, vel quod regione Thurina recens eo nato pa-

ther Octavius adversus fugitivos rem prospere ges-

rait. Thurinum cognominatum satis certa probatone

tradi derim, nactus puerilem imagunulam eius aeream

veterem, ferres et paene iam exolescentibus litteris hoc nomine

inscriptam, quae dono a me principi data inter cubiculi Lares

colitur. Sed et a M. Antonio in epistolis per contumeli-

am saeppe Thurinus appellatur, et ipse nihil amplius quam mirari

se rescrisit, pro obprobrio sibi prius nomen obici. Postea

and a half years old, and his father may

have thought the achievement suffi-
ciently important to commemorate in

this way, as Drusus afterwards called

his son Germanicus. Another name
given him by Dio [44, 1].—Caepio, is

less explicable, and has been thought

to be a corruption of Caesar. It is

not mentioned by anyone else except


ferreis litteris. Iron letters let into

bronze by a process called 'empaste' (ἐμπάστωσιν τῆς χερσ 

Dio 44, 7 τό δό-

ματα τοῖς ταυτάς γραφής καὶ ἣν 

στήθα ἄρματα χρυσάνθρωπόν τοῖς

γραφάς. Seneca Ep. 1, 5; 3 non

habentur argumentum in quod solvi auri 

caditurus secundus est. Petron. Sat. 32

habebat etiam in minimo digito sinistrae

manus anulum grandem subauratum, 

extreme vero articulo sequentis minorem, 

ut nihil videatur, tum aurum sed 

plane ferres veluti stellis formumin-

tum. These letters or ornaments of a

different metal seem to have been let in,

not fastened on. So that even

if some of the iron letters had come

out, Suetonius would be able to make

out the inscription by the matrices of

the original letters. For similar com-

binations of two metals Cæsarchron quotes

Dionysius 11, 406 οὕτω δὲ εὐκλε-

ρθείσα τοῖς οἴκοις θλοῦν τῷ ἄργυρῳ 

ἐκπομπάς κατὰ τὸν ἔπιστατην ἐρχομένον 

τῷ. See Eustath. on Hom. II. 11, 

653 ἡθοῦ ...ξυνόμενος διὰ τινος ὑπεπάλληλον, 

principi, 'to the Emperor Hadrian.'

Suetonius was one of his secretaries.

inter cubiculi lares. The 'Lares of

the bed-chamber' were a marked fea-

ture of the Palace, cp. Dom. 17 pri-

qui arae Lorum cubici ex consuetudine 

assistit interfuit caesi. Family busts 

particularly valued were frequently 

placed among the images. In Cal. 7 

we hear of an infant of Germanicus 

cuius effigiem...in cubiculo suo postum

[dedicavit] quotiesque introiet ex seclusa 

habitation. Nero (c. 25) also seems to have 

put there his artistic crowns,—sacras 

coronas in cubiculis sibi circum lecto posuit. 

Antiques were placed there, Mart. 9,

44, 11 of a statue of Hercules omenus 

torése tumidos terroribus aureae. Privatae 

gaudia unde habitatione Lores. Lamp. 

rid. Alex. Sev. 29 matutini horis in 

lavorio suo, in quod et divos principes sed 

epitome electos et animas sanctiores, in quiis 

Apollonium dict. Christum Abra-

ham et Orfeum et huicsemodi ceteros 

habebat ac maiorum effigies, rem divinam 

facciabant. It was therefore a chapel 

attached to the cubiculum. Marcus 

Antonius placed there the statues of his 

teachers, Inl. Capit. 3 tantum autem 

honoris magistris sui delineavit ut imagines 

corum aureas in lavario habebat.

postea Gaius Caesar et deinque Au-

gusti. The name Gaius Caesar was 
taken in consequence of his great-

uncle's will. Immediately on his return 
to Italy after the assassination of Julius 

he took the name of Caesar, but at first 
his mother and stepfather were strongly 
opposed to his accepting the dangerous 
inheritance. On the 20th of April 8 B.C.

44 Cicero entertained him at dinner in 
his villa at Puteoli (before he had gone 
to Rome) and noticing that his step-

father Philippus avoided calling him 

Caesar, though his other friends did 
so, Cicero himself did not address him 
by that name [ad Att. 14, 19]. He 
acted however immediately as his 
uncle's heir,—he was ex dolvente 
(θα) and in ima cera Gaium Octav-

ium etiam in familiae nomenque 
adoptavit, Inl. 83.—But though a will 
could give a man a right to bear the 
testerator's name, it was necessary for a 
legal transfer to the gens and familia of 
one who was suo iure to have a lex 
curiata passed. This was not done 
until after the victory of Mutina and his
Gai Caesarius et deinde Augusti cognomen assumptit, alterum testamento maioris avunculi, alterum Munati Planci sententia, cum, quibusdam censentibus Romulum appellari oportere quasi et ipsum conditorem urbis, praevaluisse, ut Augustus potius vocaretur,

election to the Consulship in August, B.C. 43. See Dio 45, 47 et 47 tum
Caesarem genos cruat temporeque diis qui sunt
ipsos, necis suo reigregius
Caesare,

et in Augusto nomine dictus avus.

Names of

adoption

and honour.

DIVUS AUGUSTUS.

Names of adoption and honour.

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

Augusto augurio postquam inditā conditā Roma est.

8 Quadrīmus patrem amīsit. Duodecim annum agens aviam Iuliam defunctam pro contione laudavit. Quadrīnio post virilli toga sumpta, militaris donis triumpho Caesaris Africano donatus est, quamquam expers bellii propter aetatem. Profectum mox avunculum in Hispanicis adversus CN. Pompei liberos,

gestu gustuve referring to the motions and feeding of the sacred chickens. But the last part of the word, whatever be the first syllable, is doubtless an adjectival termination, cp. angustus. Festus, augustus locus sanctus, ab avium gestu, id est, quia ab avibus significātus est, hic dicit: ut ab avium gustu, quia aves pastae id retinuerunt. The passage of Ennius is quoted by Varro R. R. 3, 1, 1. Septimīnī sunt paulo plus aut minus amīi. Augusto augurio postquam inditā conditā Roma est.

8. quadrīmus. The father of Augustus died on his way home from Macedonia in B.C. 50 to make his profension for the consulship. In ordinary years the comitia were in July, in which case he must have died before his son’s fourth birthday. But in B.C. 50 the comitia were put off by Bibulus till the middle of October [Cicero ad Att. 2, 10 and 21] and therefore Octavius may have died after September 33. 

duodecim...agens, ‘in his twelfth year,’ i.e. before 23 September B.C. 51. Quintilian however [13, 6, 1] makes him twelve:—Cæsar Augustus duodecim natus annis avium pro rostrī laudavit. Nicolas (c. 3) seems to put it still earlier, if he is referring to this,—ὅτι Καῖσαρ πρὸ τοῦ ἤλθα ἐπὶ μάλιστα γεγονὼς ἀκυμάκαμον διότι ὁ μύχαν παῖσα μυῖας ὁμοιά τω ἀκρωτή της. The custom of funeral laudationes was of great antiquity. [Polyb. 6, 53], and as they dealt with the achievements of the whole family they not only gave rise to imaginary pedigrees (see Iul. 6), where Caesar in a laudatio of his son traces his family up to Ancus Marcus and Venus), but to serious falsifications of history: see Cicero Brut. 16 his laudationes historiae rerum nostrarum est facta mendax. Originally the honour was confined to men. Cicero [de orat. 3 § 44] says that the first woman so honoured was Popilia the mother of Caetulus (about B.C. 130); yet Livy [5, 60] asserts that the privilege was granted Roman women owing to their liberality in contributing to ransom paid to the Gauls in B.C. 389.—Matronis gratiae actae honosque additis ut eorum sicut vivorum post mortem solemnis laudatio esset. For instances of these laudationes in Suetonius, see Jul. 7, 84; Tib. 6; Catil. 10, 15; Claud. 11; Ner. 9.

pro contione, ‘in public meeting,’ equivalent to the pro rostris of Iul. 7. 

quadrīnio post. It was in the fourth year after this; since, as we have seen (p. 1), he took the toga virilis in October B.C. 48, and was at the same time elected into the college of Pontifices in the place of L. Domitius Ahnobarbus killed at Pharsalus in August, Nicolas § 4 καὶ ἐπιστράφη εἰς τὴν ίεραισχυν εἰς τὸν Ἀδριανόν πατρὸν τετελεσμένως... καὶ μὲν ἔμε τῇ μετάλαβῃ τῆς κτήσεως καὶ τῇ ἐκλήσει τὴν ἱερείαν ὐπὲρ κοίτος τῶν. Vel. Pat. 2, 59 pontificatibus sacrae sacerdotum honoravit. Accordingly Cicero in 43 speaks of him as pontifex; 5 Phil. § 47. The African triumph was in September B.C. 46, the battle of Thapsus having been fought in the previous April. Suetonius therefore cannot mean to place the assumption of the toga praetexta and the triumph together; we must take the clause quadrīnio...
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Vixdum firmus a gravi valitudine, per infestas hostibus vias paucissimis comitibus naufragio etiam facto subsecutus, mag- nopere demeruit, approbata cito etiam morum indole super itineris industriae.

Caesare post receptas Hispanias expeditionem in Dacos et inde in Parthos destinante, praemissus Apollonia b.c. 45—studis vacavit. Utque primum occisum eum here- demque se comperit, diu cunctatus an proximas Apollonia.

sumpta, 'having taken the toga virilis four years after (the laudatio of his grandmother),' militarius dona. See c. 25; Th. 32. The young Octavius was allowed to join his uncle's triumphal procession as though he had been on the campaign, though, owing to his weak health, and his mother's anxiety, he had given up his ardent wish to do so [Nicolas 6]. The militaris dona seem to have been the dress and ornaments of a commander [Nic. 5]. et in hon. Kaisara, ideo de metempsichos, ideo de tempore vita, etque de denariis atque de temporibus, koso- mos autem stigmatiis erat, dein autem sive eum in periculum usque.

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

vixdum firmus a gravi valitudine. This was the first of the many serious illnesses of Augustus, in consequence of which his life was more than once despaired of. They seem to have arisen from a feeble liver and a tendency to high fever. The present attack 'had been brought on by a sudden chill during the summer heat of the administration of the 'Greek' theatre, which his uncle had put under his charge. The anxiety of Julius for his restoration is graphically related by Nicolas c. 9: 'et tunc discedens frater eis ideo eis eis etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam etiam 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legiones imploraret, id quidem consilium ut praeceps inmaturumque omisit, ceterum urbe repetita hereditatem adiit.

Octavius seems to have brought his teachers with him, see c. 29 and note. Apollonia was a joint colony of Corinth and Corycia founded during the tyranny of Periander (b.c. 666—598), and consequently seems to have been important till the Roman occupation, when it became the starting point of the via Egnatia [Herod. 9, 92—4; Thucyd. 1, 56; Strabo 7, 5, 8; Plutarch Sol. Num. Vitr. c. 7]. According to Nicolas (16) at Apollonia Octavius was ἵπποι παραδέχεται ἐκ τῶν Ἰταλίων καὶ βαμβακίων, ἤμαυρα πληθυνομένοι δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἥρων, ἐπενεκρόμενοι δὲ ἐκ τῶν πατρότων.

studiles vacavit. Cyp. c. 54 quod inter spectandum libellis legendis rescribere vacaret. Vesp. c. 21 gestationis et invida privationem. The phrase does not exactly occur in Cicero, but a usage very near it is in de div. 11 12 et non quaeram philosophiae. Quinque, semper, vaca.

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

Suetoni...dauidente. Octavius landed considerably south of Brundisium, near Lupiae (Lecce), where he met with some who had been at Caesar's funeral and had heard the will and could tell him that he was heir to three-fourths of his uncle's property—ex dottures [see Livy ep. 81, 16, says to one-half ex dimidio parte]. He then went to Brundisium where he found letters from his mother and stepfather. Atia begged him to come at once to her protection. Philip- pa urged him to renounce the inheritance,—ὡς δὲ Καίσαρ ἔμενεν μὲν ἐν τῷ ἐσώτερον τῶν ταυτών παραμένοντα ἐξέστη δὲ ἁρ- νήσει, Nicolas c. 18. Philippus had taken neither side in the civil war, and wished his stepson to abstain from the party struggles.
8.] **DIVUS AUGUSTUS.**

17
dubitate matre, vitrico vero Marcio Philippo consulari multum dissuadente. Atque ab eo tempore exercitibus comparatis primum cum M. Antonio M. que Lepido deinde tantum cum Antonio per duodecim sere annos, novissime per quattuor et quadruginta solus rem publicam tenuit.

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

**vitrico.** There seems no reason to doubt that L. Maelius Philippus was stepfather to Augustus. Yet Dio [45, 1] calls him his mother's brother, *στέφανον μονοπάρα τῆς μητέρας καὶ παρὰ τῷ* *φίλῳ αὐτῆς Λέοντι μάρτυρ.* And Ovid. F. 8, 89 says that he married Octavian's aunt, *...major fuerat quondam matrerno Caesaris illi.* It seems impossible that the courtier Ovid should have made a mistake on such a subject; and the only explanation possible seems to be that he married the two sisters in succession. Velleius [2, 59 and 60] calls him *vitricus*; Apian. B. civ. 3, 10 ἡ μητέρα καὶ *φίλιτον* ἐν εἴδει ἀδερφον, Plutarch. Cicero 44 *φίλιτον ὁ* *ταῖς μητέρας τῷ νεότατος Καλαβρού ἕκατον.* Cicero 3 Phil. 17 L. Philippus quin habet Arisnam amorem, C. Marcellus, qui Arismas filiam. Ca. ad Att. xiv. 12. See infr. c. 20. He was consul in b.c. 46.

atque ab eo tempore exercitibus comparatis...tenuit. This exceedingly brief summary of Augustus' career includes I. the levying of an army against Antony at Mutina in the autumn of 44. M. A. is annus undeviginti natus exercitum privato consilio et privata impensa comparavit. Cic. ad Att. 10, 8 (Nov. 44). Kal. vespri literas misit ab Octaviano. Magna miltiur. Veteranos qui sunt Casilium et Calahae perduxit ad suam seniorem. Nec mirum: quingenas denerios dat: cognitam religiosis obire. Plane hoc spectat ut se duce heli cum Antonio geratur. Cicero hesitated to trust him, *ego quidem aequo* *nuo, non confido aetate. Ignoror quae animo, id. 9. He however is soon convinced that Octavius is important, *i* *tamen ego saepe strenue et sagittis. Roman veniet cum manœ magna,* sed est plene puer. Pualat senatum statim. Quis veniet? si venerit, quis incertis rebus effundet Augustum? Kal. Ian. erit fortasse praedictio, aut quidem ante defegatur. Puero municipia mire faciunt....

ad Att. 10, 11. To the troops thus raised from the veterans were added the legio Martia and quastra, which broke off on the march from Brundisium and came to Alba Fucens, and put themselves at the disposal of Octavius (November), Cicero 3 Phil. 8 391 13 § 19. II. The first tenure of the Triumvirate. It was established by a lex passed on 27 of November 43 in consequence of an agreement come to between Antony, Lepidus and Augustus at their meeting earlier in the month. They were to form a board to settle the constitution *rei publicae constituen* *dae,* with full powers as to the *designating* magistrates and carrying on government for 5 years, from the following 1st January to 31st December 38. It was also arranged that there should be three great provinces, Caesar was to take both the Africa, Sicily and Sardinia; Lepidus the Spain and Gallia Narbonensis; Antony the rest of Gaul, with legions and legates. Lepidus was to be consul for 43 and take charge of Italy while Caesar and Antony went to attack Brutus and Cassius [Dio 46, 54]. After the battle of Philippi these arrangements were modified. The triumviral imperium remained unchanged; but Antony was to take general charge of all east of the Adriatic, Caesar of all west of it; and Lepidus was to be allowed to hold Africa as his province,—Italy was to be common to all [Dio 46, 1]. The triumvirate was renewed for another 5 years from 1 January 37 to 31 Dec. 33; but in b.c. 36 Lepidus was deprived of his share of the provinces and forced to abdicate his imperium as triumvir. III. Neither Caesar nor Antony reigned his imperium at the end of 33; but the battle of Actium (31) followed by the death of Antony (30) left Caesar with the sole imperium. This completes the twelve years of Suetonius' three first periods. IV. The 4th period of 44 years is that which may be properly called Caesar's reign from b.c. 30 to A.D. 14,—from the death of Antony to his own. S.
9 Proposita vitae eius velut summa, partes singillatim neque per tempora sed per species exsequar, quo distinctius demonstrari cognoscique possint.

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

9. neque per tempora sed per species, 'not however following the chronological order, but taking each subject by itself.' Suetonius generally follows this plan more or less, giving separate accounts of an Emperor’s wars, legislation, friendships, methods of government, honours, enjoyed, pleasures and the like. But in most of the lives the chronological sketch is more prominent than in that of Augustus. He divides his subject in the present instance thus: (I) Civil wars, 9–19. (II) Foreign wars, 20–31. (III) Triumphs celebrated, 22–24. (IV) Military discipline, 24–25. (V) Offices, 26–27. (VI) General policy and administration, public buildings, etc., social reforms, administration of justice, legislation, 28–34. His dealing with the Senate, the magistrates, the Equites, and the citizenship, 34–40. His financial measures, 41–42. His arrangement of the games and theatres, 43–46. (VII) His administration of the provinces and foreign affairs, 48–50. (VIII) Miscellaneous characteristics and anecdotes, 51–56. (IX) His family life, wives, children and adopted sons, friendships, servants, personal morality and amusements, appearance and health, 61–82. (X) His literary accomplishments, 84–86. His peculiar expressions and tricks of writing, his instructors, and Greek studies, and patronage of learning, 87–89. (XI) His views and practices as to religion, 90–92. (XII) The various omens and other divine indications accompanying his birth, and the great crises of his life, 94–96. (XIII) His last days, his death, and will, 97–101.

bella civilia. I. Mutinense: Octavius started for Mutina before 1 January 43. The decisive engagements which compelled Antony to withdraw from Mutina took place on the 15th of April [Cic. ad fam. 16, 30–33; 14 Phil.; Dio 46, 37] on the via Aemilia, and the next day or next day but one close to Antony’s camp at Mutina [App. B. C. 3, 71–1]. II. Philippense: Brutus and Cassius on their march through N. Macedonia (42) found the road near Philippi blocked by 8 legions sent by Antony under Caius Norbanus and Decidius Saxus. The two armies confronted each other for some weeks until towards the end of September Antony arrived with reinforcements followed a little later by Octavian (who had been detained by sickness). There were two battles with a fortnight’s interval towards the end of October and the beginning of November. In the first Brutus stormed Octavian’s camp, and all but captured him, but Cassius was defeated and committed suicide under the false impression that Brutus had failed. In the second Brutus was defeated and killed himself [Plutarch, lives of Antony and Brutus, Dio 47, 32–49; App. B. C. 4, 105–13; Liv. 1, 79–71]. III. Perusinum: On the 1 January 44 Lucius Antonius (brother of Marcus) became Consul. Marcus Antonius in accordance with the agreement made after Philippi was in the East; but his wife Fulvia was in Rome and she combined with Lucius (who as symbol of his devotion to his brother’s interest had taken the cognomen of Pietas) to support the interests of Marcus and his veterans against those of Caesar. It was Fulvia who was the ruling spirit of the two, and she used the circumstances of the time, especially the task Caesar had to perform of distributing lands to the veterans, for stirring up quarrels. Caesar showed his sense of the situation by divorcing Fulvia’s daughter Cloelia, to whom he had been contracted though he had not as yet cohabited with her. These disagreements led to a real civil war which centred itself at Perusia where Caesar besieged
Lucius Antonius from the autumn of 41 to March 40 (Dio 48, 5–16; Vell. Paterc. 7, 74–76; App. B. Civ. 5, 19–45). IV. 

10. **DIVUS AUGUSTUS.**

Omnium bellorum initium et causam hinc sumpsit: nihil convenientius ducens quam necem avunculi vindicare tuerique acta, confestim ut Apollonia redit, Brutum Cassiumque et vi necopinantis et (quia provisum s periculum subterfugerant) legibus adgredi reosque caedis less the proclamation of war was against Cleopatra [τη μὴν αὖ Κλεοπάτρα διὰ ταύτα τὸν πόλεμον ἐγκρίνατο, τῷ δ’ Ἀστωνίῳ οὖσα δίδυμος τοιοῦτον ἐπῆργον...Dio 50, 6]. It was quite enough for Antony’s enemies that he should appear before the people as fighting on the side of a battle. The war may be counted as lasting from the autumn of 32 (some desultory movements occurring in the winter) to the death of Antony in the first half of B.C. 30 (Dio 50, 10–11, 10; Vell. Paterc. 2, 85, 8; Plut. Ant. 6, 37 sq.).

10. **neecm...vindicare.** Augustus himself puts the vengeance for the assassination of Julius as his first public achievement after his successful campaign at Mutina. See M. A. 2 qui parentem meum interceruum, eos in exilium expulit iudiciis legitimis ulter corum facinus, et postea bellum infereat ut publico vici his acta. But though the legal condemnation of the assassins here spoken of seems formally to have been confined to a sentence of interdictio aequa et iustum, it is observed by Suetonius (Jul. 89) that within three years nearly all had perished by various forms of violent death. For exceptions see Appendix B.

**confestim ut Apollonia redit.** It does not appear that Octavian took any steps against the assassins immediately after his return from Apollonia. He was very reserved, and Cicero, though with some doubt, declared that he was well disposed to his party: ad Att. 14, 12 (written early in June B.C. 44). It was not till he came to Rome with an army in August 43 B.C. to claim the consulship that he began the vengeance. The *acta* of Caesar had been confirmed by a decree of the Senate in March, but Antony is accused by Cicero of playing fast and loose with them [2 Phil. § 100].

10. **subterfugerant.** Brutus and Cassius, though Praetors, had to leave Rome immediately after Caesar’s funeral, owing to the popular feeling against them, and never ventured to return to
absentis deferre statuit. Ludos autem victoriae Caesaris, non audentibus facere quibus optigerat id munus, ipse edidit. Et quo constantius cetera quoque exequetur, in locum TR. PL. forte demortui candidatum se ostendit, quanquam patricius necdum senator. Sed adversante conatis suis M. Antonio:

the city again. They stayed in Italy till towards the end of August, at first at Lanuvium [Cic. ad fam. 11. 2], then at Antium [ad Att. 15. 11. 12], and finally, after collecting ships and men, at Velia and at Naples [ad Att. 16. 7]. The scene at the theatre in which C. Antonius presided in the place of Brutus at the games of Apollo in July, though Cicero afterwards declared it to be extraordinarily favourable to Brutus [Phil. § 31 incredibili honor], was really far from encouraging [ad Att. 16. 5; cp. App. B. civ. 3. 24 ἐπειδῆς ὡς τómoν ἀνεκαργῶς κατακλὺν ἔδωκεν τῇ Κάλλικρα τῇ λαοῖν αὐτοῦ θεάτρων διαθησαμαχητέον ἔν τῇ θέσι, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ (Octavian's partisans) καὶ τῇ θεσίν ἐνέπρον μέχρι τῆς δόξης αὐτῶν οἰκίᾳ].

legibus. See passage of the Monumentum quoted above. The law for the trial of the conspirators was brought in by Octavian's cousin and colleague in the consulship, Q. Pedius [c. 83], who had served with his uncle in Gaul, and was a joint heir by his will. Vell. Patr. 2. 69 et leg[e] Ped[a] (quem C[orcul] Pedius collega Caesaris tulerat, omnibus qui Caesarum patrum intercessant aqua ignique damnatis interdixit omnibus). Cp. Appian B. civ. 3. 95; Dio 46. 48. This took place in August B.C. 43; but the subsequent proscriptions of the triumvirs in November caused Pedius so much distress and excitement that he died [App. B. civ. 4. 6].

ludos victorius Caesaris. These games had been intended to be exhibited on the Pallia (21 April) in celebration of Caesar's Spanish victory, and were to accompany the dedication of the completed temple of Venus Victrix vowed at Pharsalus in B.C. 49 [App. 3. 107; Dio 43. 7; 45. 6]. After his death they were not proceeded with; but Octavian on coming to Rome at once took measures for their celebration in May, securing the services of Matius Calvinus [ad Att. 15. 2; ad Fam. 11. 27—38] and Postumius, two warm friends of the Dictator [ad fam. 6. 12] as praetores. For the comet mentioned by Suetonius [Jul. 88] as having appeared during these games, which the people believed to be the soul of Caesar being received among the gods, see Pliny N. H. 3 § 93—94 Comites in uno totius orbis loco colliter in templo Romae, admodum funestus. Dio Augusti indicatius ab ipsi, qui inscripsit e. ad parasit tuto quod factae fuit Veneri Gene- trici non multo post obitum patris Caesaris in collegio ab eo instituto. Dio 45. 7.

in locum Tribuni Plebeii. The vacancy seems to have been caused by the death of Helvius Cinna, who was killed by the mob in mistake for L. Cornelius Cinna, one of the assassins [Plut. Cat. 68; Brutus 20; Dio 45. 5]. Antony prevented Octavian's candidature by an edict, in virtue of his consular power of exercitus, App. B. civ. 3. 31 òρατοῖς ἐν τῇ Κάλλικρᾳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῳ δόρῳ, ἐκθέμῃ προστάτων φυλακῶν ἀντίθετων. Plut. Ant. 16 δη- μαρχίας τῇ ἐνεκτῇ μεγάλῃ καὶ δόμων χρημάτων τῷ νόμῳ, ὅπερ εὖβαθμία, πολύτιμος ἕπελευσεν εἰς φυλάκην ἀντίθετον. The constitutional grounds on which the opposition rested seem to have been L. the patriciate conferred on Octavian by Iulius; II. his age; III. his not having been aquestor and so a senator (nato al memoria). This last involved a breach of custom though not of law [Williams le Siatn 1. p. 212], and Antony found that he would be elected, and consequently stopped the comitia [cave...ἀπελέγετ νῷς τῶν χρηματίστην τῶν ὄργανων ἀρχηγοῦν, App. 1. 1.].

adversante Antonio. The first point in which Antony opposed Octavian was in regard to a large sum of money (about 1500000) left by Caesar in the temple of Ops. Of this as Caesar's heir Octavian demanded an account, which Antony refused on the grounds that it was public money, and did not come to Caesar's heir, who had no public position in virtue of the will, for Caesar had of course no power to leave
DIVUS AUGUSTUS.

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

Postumius mihi procuratores non placet,...ib. 15, 2 (18 May). Still his resentment against the murderers of his uncle was for the present carefully concealed, and this gave Cicero hopes of retaining him, though his doubts were not set at rest,...Octavian, ut perspexi, satis ingenii, satis animi: videbaturque erga nostras horas ita fore ut nos vellemus animatus. Sed quid aetati credendum sit, quid nominem, quid hereditati, quid carissimes, magni consili est: vivit eum quidem nihil consuebat, quem Augustae vidimus. Sed tamen alendus est; et, ut nihil alius, ab Antonio seiuscogendus, ib. 12 (10 June). It was not however till the latter part of October that the alienation from Antony was complete; when, on the latter leaving Rome to meet the legions at Brundisium from Epirus, Octavian enrolled soldiers from the veterans at Casilinus and Calata in the plea that Antony was about to march upon Rome. Though he had no authority for doing this, the Optimate party hastened to recognize him, in their hatred of Antony, though Cicero doubted as to giving him direct countenance [eo autem factum, ad Att. 16, 9], and Varro and some others disapproved. It was not until the 19th of December that thanks were voted in the Senate to Octavian, thus implicitly recognizing him [2 Phil. § 39]; and it was only on the 1st Jan. B.C. 43 that imperium was accorded to him, with the rank of pro-praetor and a seat in the Senate [2 Phil. § 46]. It is certain, however, that he was playing a part, and meant only to use the Optimates to give him the power of making terms with Antony on a footing of equality. He himself asserts that he used the troops to destroy the narrow claque then enslaving the country, by which he means the party of Optimates [per quern rem publicam dominiones factionis oppressum in libertatem vindicavit M. A. 1 § 1, words apparently founded on those of Julius himself, see B.civ. 1, 22 ut se et Populum Romanum factiones pacorum oppressum in libertatem vindicaret].

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

publicum...et tralaticium ius 'a right open to every one,' 'of an ordinary description.' Cp. Verg. tralaticia potestates formal motions in a court, ib. 33 tralaticia funere, 'common,' 'ordinary funeral.' On his arrival in Rome early in May 44, Octavian at once gave notice before the praetor C. Antonius, that he accepted the inheritance of Caesar, and found himself immediately not only involved in a money controversy with M. Antonius, as were his co-heirs Pedius and Pinarius, but had also to defend himself in many actions brought by those who professed to have been wrongfully dispossessed by Caesar; and in these actions he was frequently worsted by Antony's influence [App. Bell. civ. 3, 22 παρακαλεῖ τὰ πολλὰ ὀψαλαὶ ἐν Καίσαρ ἐς χάριν Ἀπολλων ἤγαν], Antony's secret influence was exercised also in the other points,—the tribune-ship, the celebration of the games, and the formal lex curiata for his adoption [ἀπὸ μὲν ἐνεργεία ἄνδρα ἐνεργείαν, δα μὲν ἐνεργήμαι τινα ἐνεργήματο, Dio 45, 5].

ad optimates se contulit. Cicero had from the first hoped to get Octavian on his side as against Antony. He anticipated with pleasure the quarrel that would arise between them,—sed, ut scribis, non iam magnum cum Antonio, ad Att. 14, 10 (19 Apr. B.C. 43), and believed that he had secured him on his arrival,...modo venit Octavianus, et quidem in proximam vellam Philippi,...mihi totus deditis, ib. 11 (18 April)...nobiscum hic perhorumfice et amice Octavianus, ib. 12 (21 April)...These confident expectations were dashed by the speech delivered by him in May, when introduced on the Rostra by L. Antonius, and by his celebration of the games in the Dictator's honour, de Octavii contione idem sentio quod tu; ludorumque eius apparatus et Mutius ac
maxime quod D. Brutum obsessum Mutinae provincia a Caesare data et per senatum confirmata expellere armis niteretur. Hortantibus itaque nonnullis persecussores ei subornavit, ac fraude deprehensa periculum in vicem metuens veteranos simul in suum ac rei publicae auxilium quanta potuit largitione contraxit; iussuque comparato exercitu pro praetore praesesse et cum Hirtio ac Pansa, qui consulatum susceperant, D. Bruto opem ferre, demandatum bellum tertio

quod D. Brutum niteretur. The assigndation of Gallia Cis-Alpina to Decimus Brutus was among the arrangements made by Julius preliminary to his starting on the Parthian expedition [App. B. civ. 3; 1] Antony had carried a lex transferring it to himself in June, B.C.44 (cum legem de presentium permisione per suum tuisser Liv. ep. 107) — though he appears to have obtained a vote of the Senate on the 1st of that month in his favour [Cic. ad Att. 14; 15; 16; 4; 1 Phil. § 6; Dio 45. 9]. Decimus Brutus after some hesitation resolved to resist; threw himself into Mutina with his troops, and sent an edict, published in Rome on the 19th of December, declaring that he was in lawful possession of his province, and forbidding any one with imperium to enter it [Cic. ad fam. 11. 6—7]. Antony was by that time on his way to besiege him; and Octavian with his newly levied legion, and with the Martia and 4th legion, which had left Antony and joined him at Alba Fucens, had also started to the seat of war.

perussores el subornavit. Whether this attempt to assassinate Antony was really countenanced by Caesar was a matter of dispute at the time. Appian [B. civ. 3; 39] says that most people believed that it was so, but that the few clearer-sighted ones perceived that it was not to his interest to get rid of Antony, as he would immediately find himself confronted by the enmity of the Optimates, who only supported him from fear of Antony. On the other hand, Cicero says that though the common people believed it to be a report got up by Antony himself to discredit Caesar, the Optimates both believed and approved of it... Rerum urbanarum acta fuit mihi certo sclo. Quodvni ita putarem ipsa perscribere. In primisque Caesaris Octaviani conatum; de quo multitudini factum ab Antonio crimen

videtur, ut in pecuniam adolescentis imperium facerit. Prudentes autem et boni viri et cum duce factum et probant. ad fam. 12; 43 (written to Cornificius about the 6th October), cp. Seneca de Clem. t. 9. t. Plutarch [Ant. 16] seems to disbelieve it; and Caesar's own version of the affair is probably that given by Nicollas [c. 30], who asserts that Antony deliberately invented both the plot and the report inciting Caesar, who, as soon as the story reached him, at once visited the consul's house and offered to act as one of his body guard.

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

iussum...susceperant. The decree, of which notice had been given on the 19 December, 44, was passed at the meeting of the Senate on the 1 January 43, when Hirtius and Pansa came into office. It is given in Cicero 5 Phil. § 48 quod C. Caesar, C. f., pontifex, pro praetore servus rei publicae tempore militis veteranos ad libertatem F. R. cohorsius sit esas compose scriptur:...senatus placet C. Caesarum C. f. pontifex pro praetore sententiam esse sententiamque loco praetorio dicere. He was at the same time invested with imperium (ch. 45 demus itinar imperium Caesar, cp. 11 Phil. § 30 imperium C. Caesari belii necessitas, fasces senatus dedill). Dio (46. 29) says that he was first inter quattuoritas (in rotis veraquebus), but this seems a mistake. There was, however, a second decree giving him an honorary consulship (ornamenta con-
mense confecti duobus proelii. Priore Antonius fugisse eum scribit ac sine paludamento quoque post biduum condemnum appariisse, sequenti satis constat non modo ductus, sed etiam militum functum munere atque in media dimicatione, aquilifero legionis sua graviter saucio, aquilam umeris subisse diuque portasse. Hoc bello cum Hirius 11 in acie, Pansa paulo post ex vulnere perisset, rumor increbruit ambos opera eius occisos, ut Antonio fugato, re publica consultibus orbata, solus victores exercitus occuparet. Pansa

...suloria), and therefore in the M. A. 1 he says ob suae senatus decretis honorificis in ordine suum me allegit. C. Pansa A. Hirio Cust., consularum locum simul dans sententias ferenda et imperium mihi datit. C. P. Livy ep. 116 pro praetoris imperium a senatu datum est cum consularibus ornamentis. This 2nd decree Dio [46, 41] places after the battles at Mutina, but wrongly as it appears, for Pansa and Hirius were then dead. C. P. App. 3, 51...τοῦ ἴσης καὶ Ἀδριατοῦ συνταγματίου...καὶ ἱστορών καὶ συμμάχων τοῦ ἴσης καὶ συμμάχων τοῦ ἴσης καὶ συμμάχων τοῦ ἴσης καὶ συμμάχων τοῦ ἴσης καὶ συμμάχων. Speaking, indeed, on 30 March, 43, Cicero [13 Phil. 35] still calls him pro praetore in the army, but that would not prevent his having consular rank in the Senate.

terto mense...duobus proelii. See note on c. 8. The battles near Mutina took place on the 15th of April, and the next day but one. In the first, at Forum Gallorum, it does not appear that Octavian was himself personally engaged [exsto ἔνδρον πολέμου Dio 46, 38], though his cohors praetoria was stationed on the via Aemilia and suffered severely, losing its commander, D. Carrafinus. Octavian seems to have remained to guard his camp, and though in the dispatch which Hirius sent off immediately after the engagement he commends him for holding it and fighting a secondum proelium [14 Phil. 29], nothing is said of it in the letter of Sec. Servilius Gallus (great-grandfather of the emperor) who was himself engaged, see Cic. ad fam. 10, 30. Appian B. civ. 3, 66—70. In the fighting on the next day or next day but one, however, Caesar was actively employed. Antony had retreated to his camp near Mutina, and Hirius and Caesar, after defeating his troops outside the camp, forced their way in. Hirius fell in the camp, but Caesar managed to bring off his body [Appian B. civ. 3, 71].

paludamento, his military dress as emperor. Thus Pompey fled from the camp at Pharsalus, detractis insignibus imperatoris, Caes. B. civ. 3, 96. When Julia had to escape by swimming at Alexandria he is said to have done so paludamentum mordicus trahens ne spoli poteret hostis, Jul. c. 64.

Hirius...Pansa. Hirius had been at the seat of war since the beginning of the year. Pansa arrived with a reinforcement on the 14th of April. In the engagement of the 15th Pansa received two severe wounds, duobus periculis vulneribus acceptis, Cic. 14 Phil. 26; and was carried off the field to the camp of Hirius at Bononia. Hirius fell in the attempt to storm Antony's camp on the 17th; but Pansa lingered for some days. The rumour which ascribed his death to the intrigue of Augustus with his physician Glycon was persistent. See Tac. Ann. 1, 10. Glycon was arrested by Pansa's quaeator, L. Manlius Torquatus. M. Brutus (writing on the 16th of May) begs Cicero to secure his release, and declares his belief in his innocence,...nil minus credendum est: quis enim maiorum calamitatem morte Pansa accepti? [Ep. ad Br. 1, 6]. According to Appian [B. civ. 2, 72—75] Pansa on his deathbed was particularly friendly to Octavian, and warned him of the designs of the Optimates. Octavian performed the last rites over both, and sent their ashes to Rome with all honour.

victores exercitus. Cp. victor currus Ov. Tr. 4, 3, 47, victores legiones Plaut. Amph. 1, 1, 33. On the death of the consuls, the Senate ordered the Martia and Quarta leges to join Dec. Brutus in pursuit of Antony; but both refused to quit Octavian [Cic. ad fam. 11, 14, 19, 20; ad Brut. 1, 2, 14].
SUETONI

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

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

Aquilius Neger. Nothing seems to be known of this writer, and his statement is hardly worth considering. It seems founded on the fact that Octavian was near Hirtius when he fell: see Appian B. civ. 5, 71 ἵππος δὲ καὶ έτο τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀρμενίου καὶ περὶ τήν στρατηγοῦν κακώσεως ήπειρη' καὶ αὐτῶ τῇ σώμα ὡς Κύλλιαρ ἕθεομοι ἀνέχετο καὶ τῷ στρατηγοῦν κατέχετο. 12. vi. receptum. M. Aemilius Lepidus was Magister Equitum at the time of Caesar's assassination, and soon afterwards (having meanwhile been elected Pontifex Maximus) went to his province of Gallia Narbonensis and Hispania Citerior, which had been assigned to him by Caesar. He was at first acting with Antony, and secured the temporary adhesion of Sextus Pompeius. Upon Antony's breach with the Senate he seems to have played a double part. He kept up a correspondence with Cicero, full of professions of loyalty, and asserting his intention of opposing Antony's retreat into his province of Narbonensis. He advanced to the River Argenteus (Argens) about the 20th of May, Antony being in the neighbourhood of Forum Iulii (Fréjus) at its mouth, and from it reported that Antony's men were deserting him and promised to oppose him in the interests of the state [ad fam. 10, 34]. But he was venustissimus [ib. 11, 9], and had already alarmed the Optimates by proposing earlier in the year that terms should be made with Antony [ib. 10, 6; 10, 47]; and even after Antony's retreat from Mutina had written despatches which Cicero regarded as 'cold and shuffling' [frigidae et inconstantias, ib. 10, 16], while Plancus privately in-formed Cicero that he could not induce him to act with any energy against Antony [ib. 10, 34]. He had in fact resolved to join Antony. On the 3rd of May he wrote to Cicero [ad fam. 10, 34] still professing loyalty, and asserting that he had superseded his two legati, Silanus and Culleo, who, being sent forward to guard the pass into Narbonensis, had joined Antony [see App. B. civ. 3, 83], but on the 29th of May he had himself joined forces with him, and addressed a despatch to the Senate declaring that his soldiers refused to fight against their countrymen, and ending with a veiled menace of warning as to the need of their making terms with Antony [ad fam. 10, 35]. The Senate answered by declaring Lepidus and all his followers hostis (31 June), allowing, however, his followers the opportunity of returning to their allegiance before the 1st of September [ad fam. 11, 10].

ceterosque duces et exercitus. Antony had been joined by Ventidius Bassus towards the end of May [Cic. ad fam. 11, 20]; before the end of August he was also joined by L. Munatius Plancus, governor of farther Gaul. About the middle of July, Dec. Brutus had formed a junction with Plancus near Grenoble [ad fam. 10, 24]; but a third army was on its way under C. Asinius Pollio from Baetica [ad fam. 10, 20], and before the end of August Pollio had persuaded Plancus to abandon Dec. Brutus and to join him in giving in their adhesion to Antony [Appian B. civ. 3, 57]. Livy ep. 120 Cum M. Antonio vire Atusini quoque Pollio et M. Munatius Plancus cum exercitibus suis ad Antonem ampliissi. The Senate, which had voted the command against Antony to Dec. Brutus, had no force to look to except two legions sent from Africa by Q. Cornificius, which arrived the day before Octavian entered Rome [ad fam. 11, 14; Appian B. civ. 5, 91].
alii se puerum, alii ornandum tollendumque iactassent, ne aut sibi aut veteranis par gratia referretur. Et quod magis paenitentiam prioris sectae approbaret, Nursinos grandi pecunia et quam pendere nequirent multatos extorses oppido egit, quod

Mutinensi acie interemptorum civium tumulo publice extracto ascripserat, pro libertate eos occubuisse.

Inita cum Antonio et Lepido societate, Philippense quoque 18 bellum, quamquam invalidus atque aeger, duplici Tri-

proelio transegit, quorum prior castris exutus vix

ad Antoni cornu fuga evaserat. Nec successum victoriae moderatus est, sed capite Bruti Romam B.C. 43—3.

pro partibus, 'were coming to terms in the interests of the party,' i.e. the opposite party, cp. conturand' pro partibus suis, c. 17.
dicta factaque...cumnumus 'having alleged as a pretext.' Columnarii (1) absol. of bringing vexatious actions

c. 23, and alleging pretended reasons, Tib. 33; (2) followed by cognate accusative or accusative of the person,
or both, see Cic. ad fam. 9, 7 nam, quod ante te cumnumus sum, indica
capo multum nunc; (3) 'to suggest objections,' Cic. ad fam. 9, 2 und cumnum

niubar ipse: putabam qui obivam mihi

venisset...usurcaturum aut dicturum
e.e. praetextum n. is not classical.

quasi...iactassent. For quasi see

note on c. 10. For the epigram see

the letter of Dec. Brutus to Cicero [ad fam. 11, 22] nostissime Labo Segu-

lius homo cumulative narrat nihii

aetur Cesarum te fuisse multumque

sermonem de te habuisset. Ipsum

Cesarum nihil sane de te quaeram nisi

quod diceret te dissies, laudandum adolescentem, ornandum, tollendum; te non esse

commisserum ut toller posset. On which

Cicero comments [ad fam. 11, 31] Di isti

Segulio male faciant, homini nequisissimo

omnium, qui sunt, qui fuerunt, qui fu-

turi sunt! Quid? Illum tamen illum

aut cum Cesar? Qui seminon prae-

niserit quisumque poetae scribit, cui non

eadem itea dixerit? Paternus, 6, 2d,

explains that Cicero intended toll-

dendum to convey a double meaning.

He had been proud of the Witticism before it got him into trouble with

Octavian,—Mirabiliter, mi Brute, laudor

mea consilia mesae sententias a te

probatis de virtute de ornando adolescentem [ad fam. 11, 14]. He had spoken

of him often as a puer, but generally with complimentary meaning. See ad

fam. 10, 25 puer egGregius.

sectae. Used of political as well as

philosophical principles and party; cp. Rhet. § 4 obiectentibus tibi quod in re-

publica administranda potissimum Iaur-

rici consultarius sectam sequatur, "mal-

tale" respondit "Iaurici esse disciplum

quam Epidi cumnumus." Pliny

Paneg. 45 § 4 qua tibi secta vixerat,
quod hominum genus placebat. Iuv. 14, 1

123 sidem incumbere sectae.

Nursinos...egit. According to Dio

this took place during the war with L. Antonius in B.C. 41. The people of

Nursia repulsed Octavian from their walls, but made terms when Salvidie-

nus Rufus had taken Sentinum. They

were punished,—etem moXum tov ãv ãv

m6Xauv tÅv evOv KaIIOv EAe dv EAOvN

pevåvåv d£agvåv épkagvav tov mnu-

meiva tÅv ãvnt tov ãvnavin é legali,

nepéndev ñev navuåv ñev navuåv tÀv

tov ãvnavin ãvnavin é pevåv åvnavin

[48, 13]. Nursia, a Sabine town on the

Nar, was a municipium. It was

at the foot of the Apennines, strongly fortified, and celebrated for its cool-

ness, frigida Nursia [Verg. Aen. 7, 716; 

neon habita primitus Nursia [Sil.

It. 8, 410].

13. initia...societate. The agreement
to form the triumvirate (très viri ret pub-

licae constitutum) was made by Octa-
vian, Antony and Lepidus on a small

island in the R. Lavinus (a tributary

of the Po) near Bononia.—et in quibus

tuo ita potuisti tuo paXo tÅv Bonavias

parapòvovos [Dio 46, 54].

suntēpax

amphi Moniavno kÅv ãv evonavta tÅv Dab-

niavno potuavno brachia tÅv ãv eivnai.
The conference lasted three days, **sumul abstantes** αἱ τρεῖς εἰς γενίστα στειρὰς πιστευομέναι ἐστὶ τριῶν στίχων συνήθεις κανένας


**quamquam invalidus atque aeger.**

Octavian had been attacked by illness as soon as the troops crossed to Epirus on the way to Philippi [Dio 47, 37]; and he does not seem to have recovered when the fighting began near Philippi, for his physician had the night before the first battle caused him to be removed from the camp. This in fact saved his life; for Brutus stormed and plundered the camp. Augustus himself said that he had been warned by a dream to leave the camp. Kalendae atriou dē αἰτοῦντο ἅμα ὅλα ἕλειον τῆς ἡμερᾶς, ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὑπὸ τοῦ **ὑποστήρικτος Ἕρωας.** Appian B. civ. 4, 110; cp. Dio 47, 41—40. Plutarch, Anton. 22 ώστε ἄνθρωπος τοῦ **ὑποστήρικτος γέρανος,** τῶν φιλῶν τοῦ ὀμοίως ἄνθρωπος ἔφεραν τὸν τὴν ἔρχεται. id. Brut. 41.

**ad Antonii cornu.** that is, to the right wing, nearest the sea. Cp. Livy ep. 124 vario eventu... **παρακαταστέτι,** id est ut utrique ducta cornua tōn Crescent, et castra inimique utrinque ut iti qui vicem radat expansa sunt.

**moderator est.** The bulk of the armies of Brutus and Cassius after the battle made terms with the conquerors and obtained an amnesty. Dio 47, 40 τὸ μὲν πλῆθος τῶν στρατων ἁπλά παρελθέντες μετά τῆς τῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων τῶν ὀργῆς τινας ὑπάκειν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν σφαγῶν τῆς τῆς ἐπικεκρίσεως ἃ ἀξιόν ἦν πάντως καὶ παρακτικόν μετά τοῦ τῆς κρίσεως διδυμον καὶ μετά τοῦ τῆς Ζέδια προσθεθέντο. Dio therefore seems to reduce the number of executions to small proportions, cp. Appian B. civ. 4, 135. Thus we know of M. Valerius Messala Corvinus and L. Bibulus with a large following, who escaped to Thasos and made honourable terms with Antony [App. 4, 136]. There were however some executions, and the foundation of Suetonius' story of the

insulting words to Augustus seems to be the case of Favonius. Another execution was that of Q. Hortensius (son of the orator) who was put to death on the tomb of C. Antonius by order of M. Antonius, as being principally guilty of the former's death [Plut. Ant. 23]. Augustus himself asserts that he spared all citizens, see M. A. 3 **Bella terrae et mari civilia extremaque tuto in orbe terrarum suscipi victorique omnibus superstitibus cœtibus pœperi.** But as the assassins had been condemned under the Lex Pedia, they, in common with others in the Proscription lists, were no longer civis.

**successum...moderator est,** 'used with moderation,' cp. Claud. 14 **duritiam levitatentique multorum ex hono et aequo...moderatus est.** Dom. 7 prefat moderationis est. But the nearest parallel to the meaning of moderator is in Livy 37, 35, where it takes the dative, ... _ad manus rerum humanarum, et sua fœtiones moderaventur, et alienam ne surgeant._

**capite... Romanam missio.** According to Dio 47, 49 the body was burnt with honour by Antony, and the head sent to Rome, but lost at sea. Plut. Ant. 22 _Brutus_ δὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ φωσίαν πολλάχρονα χρησάμενα ἄλλως οὖν ἔτρεψαν καὶ τῶν ἀπελευθησάτων τοίς τῶν ἐαυτῷ παρεδωκάτο τῆς ταφῆς ἐμφάνισαι. τούτων οὐκ οἴδαμεν οὐδὲ ἐμπνεύσκεται τὴν φωσίαν την κορυφή καὶ πολλά τῆς τούτων δακτυλίου φυσικῶς ἀπέκτεναν. Cp. id. Brut. 53; App. B. civ. 4, 132.

**sepulcrum.** Augustus in his memoirs asserted that he had always observed the rule of giving the bodies of those executed to their relations for burial, Ulpian Dig. 48, 14, 1 _Corpora orum qui capitae damnatentur cognos- ti separum neganda non sunt._ Et id se observavisse dixit Augustus libro decimo vitae sua scribit. Vespasian [Veep. 2] _poenae curae orum adden- dum certum ut insinuati procicerent._

_aeolos, patrem et filium, misere._ This seems to refer to the two Aquilii Flori; but the affair is placed by Dio after Actium, 51, 3 τῶν δὲ κολασθέντων
concederetur, ac spectas extumutque orientem, cum patre, quia se optulerat, occiso filius quoque voluntarium occubuisset necem. Quare ceteri, in his M. Favorinio ille Catonis aemulus, cum catenati producerentur, imperatore Antonio honorifice salutato, hunc foedissimo convitio coram proscolerunt.

'ακολούθως τέ Φλάβιος...θυμιά μικά μοι γέγον...δι' τον ἔτος τον λαοῦτα κελευθα-ντος αὐτῶν ἐφόρον ἄμφοτεροι ἔφησαν' ἥπα μὲν παρ' τ' εὖ καὶ τ' αὖ, ὥς δὲ ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπος ἀντιλλη τόν ἐφόρον ἐκείνον παρ' τῷ εὐθείᾳ καὶ ἀπατηθέντος ἀπ' ἐκείνου. Νο- thing more seems known of these Flori, but other members of the family appear from coins to have held office under Augustus, as triumvirs of the mint, and in the East to have been employed in connexion with the return of the standards by the Parthians, in B.C. 20. See C. I. L. 2, p. 551, Wilmanns, 1112, 
micare, sc. digitis, is to shoot out the fingers. Verg. Aen. 15, 956 simili- meaque micant digitis femurque re- 
tractant. It then indicated a game of chance played by two persons throwing up their hands and shooting out their fingers, guessing correctly the number shot out deciding the winner, as in the modern Mora. Cic. de Divin. 38 § 84 quid enim vor est illum prope- medium quod micare, quod talos iacere, quod tesseras. Calpurn. Ecl. 3, 25 et 
nunc altere magi ut distinguere can- tus Positi, tetro quique manus iactae 
micant. As the number of fingers shot out might be declared falsely, it became a proverb for an honest man that 'you might play the finger game with him in the dark.' Cic. de off. 3 
§ 78 centurium est tumultuatus proferunt: cum enim fidelis alicuius bona laudant, 'dictum esse dicent 'quicun in tenetris micat,' Petron. Sat. § 44 
cum qua audacter possit in tenetris mi- care. August. de Trib. 8, 5.

M. Favorinus ille Catonis aemulus, 
'the well-known imitator of Cato;' i.e. 
Cato Uticensis. 

zygme Kauvs Plut. 
Caes. 515 ετερεία τόσον id. Brut. 12. 
M. Favorinus was an irrecusable 
Optimate, opposed, like Cato, to 
Pompey and Caesar alike. He first 
appears as denouncing Clodius in B.C. 
61 [Cic. ad Att. 1, 45; pro Mil. §§ 30 
and 44]. In 50 he prosecuted Pompey's 
future father-in-law, P. Scipio Nasica 
(Metellus Pius), on a charge of ambitus 
[ad Att. 3, 1 § 7]. In B.C. 59 he alone 
of the Senators declined to swear to 
observe Caesar's agrarian law [Plut. 
Caet. 51; Dio 38, 7]. In 57 he led the 
position to Pompey's extraordinary 
powers as praefectus annonae [ad Att. 
4, 1], and denounced Ptolemy Auletes for 
the murder of the ambassadors [Dio 39, 
14]; in B.C. 56 opposed the motion for 
seeding Pompey to Egypt [Cic. 
ad Q. P. 3, 3 § 3], and his election to the 
consulship of 55 with Crassus, with the 
reversion of Spain and Syria [Dio 39, 
34—3]. When, however, the civil war 
was begun by Caesar's crossing the 
Rubicon, he, like his model Cato, took 
the side of Pompey, though even then 
he did not refrain from bitter sarcasm 
on the latter. Φλάβιος τος, αὐτή τέλλα 
micaret etiam o amicis, adeoque idem et eum 
pulsaque τον Κάουνος οὕμοις ἀνώμα- 
λευθρά ταιριασαν, μεθενεν τὸν Πομπη-
υαν τὸν χαίρειν τὸν γὰρ ἐν ἑαυτοῦ 
ἀνωθενοῦντα Plat. Pom. 60; 
cp. id. Cae. 33. Still he followed 
Pompey in his flight from Pharsalus, and 
waited on him with great devotion [ib. 
73; Vell. 2, 53]. For his execu-
tion after Philippus see Dio 47, 49. Like 
Cato he failed to gain the highest office. 
He was rejected for the Aedileship for 
B.C. 59 [ad Att. P., 1 § 7], but was elected 
for B.C. 52 [Plut. Cato 46]. He failed 
for the Praetorship of B.C. 50 [ad fam. 
8, 9], but apparently was elected next 
year, for Velleius [3, 53] calls him 
prætorianus in B.C. 48.

imperator...proconsul, 'though 
they saluted Antony respectfully 
by the title of Imperator, they addressed 
Caesar to his face in terms of the utmost 
contumely.' That is, they refused to 
give him any official title, and inveighed 
against him besides. To address an 
imperator by his name and without his 
title was disrespectful. See Seneca de 
Cons. 18 Gaius Caligula iratus fuit 
Herennio Macro, quod illum Gaian 
salutaverat: nec impune eis primiti-
pilari quod Caligula dominerat. 
Cp. 
Vell. Pat. 2, 84 vir clarissimus Ca. 
Domitianus, qui solus Antoniniarum 
partium nunc quern reginam nisi nomine 
salutavit. Cp. Vesp. 15 Helvidio Pris-
co, qui et reversum te ex Syria solus 
privato nomine Vespasianum salutaverat.
Partitis post victoriam officiis, cum Antonius Orientem ordinandum, ipse veteranos in Italian reducendum et municipibus agris conlocandos receptisset, neque veteranorum neque possessorum gratiam tenuit, alteris pelli se, alteris non pro spe meritorum tractari.

14 querentibus. Quo tempore L. Antonium fiducia consulatus, quem gerebat, ac fraternae potentiae res novas militem confugere Perusiam coegit et ad deditonem fane compulit,

et in prouta omnibus aetatis sine honore ac mentione ultra transmiserat, non ante succussit quam alterationibus inolementiis fasse in ordinem redactus.

So Timarchis, deosque adoravimus ut basilea munus aedificum, deos basileon ut medicum 

\[\text{proscinderet.}\]


14. potestiae, "illegal power": Cic. pro Mil. 134; 2 Phil. 256.

15. compulit. L. Antonius in Persia on being stopped in his march along the via Flaminia by the occupation of Sestum and Nursia, towards the end of B.C. 41. He was reduced to surrender in March B.C. 40. Livy ep. 136 C. Caesar, cum esset annorum viginti trium, obsediit necips Perusias. L. Antonium constantiique aliquote crample et repulsis fane coegit a deditonem centum. The besieged were reduced to feed on grass and leaves, and the Perusia fames (Luc. 1, 4, 41) was long remembered. The town had not been properly provisioned for a siege, tempori

wife of M. Antonius, who made use of the discontent caused by the confiscations and assignation of lands, 

...in partes suas papulis quorum agri veteranis assignavit erant. It was in these confiscations that the poet Vergil suffered... Impius haece tam culta nonnulla miles habebit? [Ed. 1, 7, 1]. The difficulties which Caesar had to encounter are described by Appian. B. civ. 5, 13 

—16. The soldiers were dissatisfied as to the locality of their farms, or seized more than was allotted to them, selecting the best pieces of land; the dispossessed owners could not get compensation, and caused commotion in the city by appearing with their wives and children to complain of their hard case, 

...et deorum divinitate, ut tarn amat operam et aliam sibi 

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DIVUS AUGUSTUS.

non tamen sine magnis suis et ante bellum et in bello discriminis. Nam cum spectaculo ludorum gregarium militem in quattuordecim ordinibus sedentem excitari per apparitorem iussisset, rumore ab obtructatoribus dilato quasi eundem mox et discruciatur necasset, minimum auit, quin periret concursu et indignatione turbae militiae. Saluti fuit, quod qui desiderabat repente comparuit incolum fide sine iniuria. Circa Perusinum autem murum sacrificans paene interceptus est a manu gladiatorum, quae oppido erupserat. Perusia capta in plurimos animadvertit, orare veniam vel excusare se conantibus una voce occurrentes, moriendium esse. Scribunt quidam, being a certain Aemilius, who had served in the court which condemned the assassins of Caesar [App. B. civ. 5. 48]. Appian also tells us that the town was given up to plunder, though Velleius Paterculus [2. 74] attributes such massacre as there was to the anger of the soldiers, who could not be restrained, in Perusinum magis ira militum quam voluntate savings ducis. The burning of the town began with the action of one Centius Macedonius, who set fire to his house and threw himself into the flames. The destruction was apparently pretty complete.—τῶν δὲ Περούσιων καὶ τῶν ἰδίων τὸν θάλαντα ψέφιν τοῦ Περούσιων τὸ τῆς Ἰερών ἱππότων κατεπείθοντα [Dio 48, 14]. It was afterwards restored by Augustus under the title of Perusia Augusta. The motive of the severity seems to have been the wish to put a final end to the old Optimate party; thus Tib. Catinius and Claudius Bithynicus were mentioned among those executed; the former of whom had favoured Octavian as long as he was opposed to M. Antonius; but had declared against the triumvirate, and had been in the lists of the proscribed [App. B. l. c.].

moriendium esse. Marius answered those who pleaded for Lucius Catulus, ἀρχικῶν ψέφιν τὸν Περούσιον κατασχεσιν [Livy 25, 34. 12]. Scribunt quidam, maiortatos. The statement is repeated by Dio [48, 14] with the same qualification λόγοι, γαρ ἦξεν τόν τοῦ Περούσιου τῆς προτέρας ψέφιν τοῦτον ἱπποτὲν τῆς τρισκελείας καὶ Βιονερακτικοῦ, ἐνθέφεσα. And that the report had some vogue is shown by Seneca de Clem. 1. 1 § 3 fuerit moderatus et clemens Augustus,
nempe post Perusianas armas. Nevertheless, as both Suetonius and Dio make the statement with reserve, and as there is no further confirmation, we may be allowed to doubt the story. See Merivale, Romans under the Empire, vol. 3, p. 244.

hostiarum more, i.e. with an axe (secutis). Cp. Flor. 2, 5, 3 legatos nostrum nec gladio quidem, sed ut victimas secum percussent. Verg. Aen. 2, 274 fugit cum saecuto arma | taurum et incertam auxilium servavit.

Divo Iulio. The deification of Iulius was partly completed during his life-time. The several steps according to Dio were (I) After Thapsus in B.C. 46 the senate voted among other honours arma ei adiutori in qua Caspicola Antoni praebuit; and even as late as B.C. 44 it is said in the same speech that the Senate voted to give him the name of consul. The title however he himself afterwards caused to be erased, id. 21. (II) When the news of Munda (B.C. 45) reached Rome farther honours were voted to him before his return; his statue was placed in the temple of Quirinus, on the Quirinal, with the inscription Deo Invicto: Αἰγὸς τε ταύτα εἶναι οὐ τοῦ Καρπάθων ψυχῆς ἀναπήγαγεν ἀντιπόθετον καὶ Αἰγὸς εἶναι τοῦ Κασπίων παρὰ τῶν Βασιλεωσίων ποτα ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης κατέχουσαν [Dio 43, 43], and Cic. ad Att. 13, 24, (written June 44) De Caesaris vicinum scripturam ad te quia cognoscam ex tuis litteris. Eum quoniam Quirinus malo quam Salutii. ib. 47, 48 unus cum suis spectabat omnem vicinum vicino Caesare (Atticus lived on the Quirinal). (III) Later on additional votes were passed,—a gilded chair was to be carried in the procession of the gods at the Circensian games, which was actually done in August B.C. 45,—cpr. Dio 44, 6 olim ait ἐν τῷ θατρῷ τοῦ τῆς θρόνου αὐτῶν τῶν ἑπώφορος καὶ τῶν στέφανων τῶν διάκων καὶ διάκων ἐν οἴκῳ τῶν τῶν βασιλεύσεως, with Cic. ad Att. 13, 44; supra tuis litteris! est acerba poma. Veruntamen sicre omnia non acerbum est, vel de Cotta. Populum vero praetoriam, quod propter

mulum vicinum ne Vicipiae quidem plaudit. From which it appears that the figure of Caesar came next to that of Victory in the procession. Soet. Iul. 76 ampliora humano fastigio decerni siti passus est, sedem avorum in urbe et pro tribunali, tenet et servum cirensis Pompei. At first, continues Dio, Λία αὐτῶν ἄγων ἱδίως προσφέροντα καὶ ἵνα ἀποθεοῦ οὐκετείρι ἀποθεοῦσαν ἑρωικῶν, ἵναι σφεῖ τῶν Ἀπόλλω στρεφε τινά διάδοξα λατρευόμενον. Ant- ony however seems not to have been formally initiated in this priesthood [Cic. 3 Phil. § 110 quid ipsur censas? cur non inauguratur?]; and when Octavian essayed to have the gilded chair carried with the other gods into the theatre in May B.C. 44, he was prevented by the tribunes [Cic. ad Att. 15, 3 de sella Caesaris hunc tribunum], who were probably acting at the instigation of M. Antonius [App. B. civ. 3, 18; Plut. Ant. 16], for his brother Lucius was tribune at the time. At any rate Antony seems to have opposed at first the full apotheosis. (IV) It was not till the 1st of September B.C. 44 that he proposed in the Senate that, whenever a supplication was voted for a victory, there should be an additional day in Caesar's honour [Cic. 3 Phil. § 110 un supplicationes adiiciendo diei contaminari passus est] though Dio, 43, 44, seems to put this immediately after Munda, while he appears to have neglected a lex brought in by himself adding a day to the Ludi Romani to be specially devoted to Cae- sar's worship [Cic. id. quaeque deinceps num hodiernus dies qui sit ignotus? nesciis huius quartum in circu ludorum Romanorum fuisset te autem ipsum ad populum tuum esse qui quisque praeterea dies Caesaris tribueretur? cur non sumus praetextati? cur honorum Caesaris tua legi datum servi patitur?]. (V) It was Octavian's policy however to have the deification fully acknowledged; a glans picked up at Perugia has the words Divum Iulium (C. I. R. 1, 655) and it was one of the concessions made by Antony at the reconciliation at Brundisium (B.C. 39) that he should be in-
praebita, detegere turgent devastisque et confiscatis, promissa veterani praemia persolverentur.

Siculium bellum incohavit in primis, sed diu traxit inter missum saepius, modo reparandarum classiam causa, quam tempestatibus duplici naufragio et quidem per aestatem amiserat, modo pace facta, flagitante populo ob interclusos conmeatus fanemque ingravescentem; 36.

auguratum as a filum Iulii [Plut. Ant. 33 xeros uti Kalaph χαλαφανε ποιητησεν Kalaphoi]; and under the influence of Augustus altars, statues and temples to the 'divine Iulius' sprang up in various places. The basis of one of the earliest of such statues in Rome is preserved, C. I. L. 1, 566 DIUS IULIO • FICEU • POPULI • ROMANI • STATUTUM • SED • REGIS • RUPREX.

Rufenus was in the army of Lepidus [Cic. ad fam. 10, 21] and probably brought in his lex shortly after the formation of the triumvirate. See Sertorius ad Verg. Eid. 9, 47.

macrato. Whatever its derivation (whether connected with mactus, or no), mactare is a ritual word: Verg. Aen. 1, 293 sollemnes taurum ingenios mactat ad aras. Liv. 10, 38 hostium legiones Titurri ac dia Manibus mactandis debo. Horace, Odes 1, 19, 16 mactata veniet lenior hostia. Yet the poets sometimes use the word simply of murder. See Ovid Her. 10, 73 and 101.

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

facultate..praebita. 'when the chance of having L. Antonius as a leader was afforded them.' The construction of facultas with a personal word is rare, cf. Plancus ap. Cic. fam. 10, 4, 2 faculta dis ecceus estet.

confiscatis. Used of persons in Tib. 49 principes confiscatos. Cod. 41 duo equites Romanos..confisciari iussit. Of money contained in the Emperor's fiscus as opposed to the aerarium publicum, see infr. 101. At the date here alluded to no such distinction existed. Fiscus was properly a 'basket' used in Sicily for holding money. Cicero, Verres Act. 1 § 32 fiscos complures cum pecunia Siciliana a quadam senatore ad equitum Romanorum esse translatos. 2 Verr. § 197 uixerat...in cistam transferam de fisco, ib. 183 viator aut Venerius qui fiscum sustulit. Like nummus therefore fiscus found its way from Sicily into the nomenclature of Roman finance. Ascocius in Cicero, 3 Verr. 52 Fisci, fiscumae, fiscellosparsae sunt usitatae ad maturis summae pecuniae coniunctae: unde quia maior summae cist pecuniae publicae quam privatae, ut pro emus privato loculos et arcam et sacello dicimus, sic pro publico thesaurio dicitur fiscus.

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

16. Siculium bellum..intermissum saepius. The war against Sextus Pompeius was all along assigned to Octavian, and lasted with intervals from b.c. 43 to 32. I. Immediately after the formation of the triumvirate in the winter of 43–42, Sextus Pompeius had successfully held his own in Spain against C. Cassius and Asinius Pollio. After Caesar's death Lepidus had been commissioned to make terms with him, and he had agreed to submit to the government in return for a restitutio in integram and a restoration of his father's wealth. On their breach with Antony, the Senate had endeavoured to secure his loyalty; passed a vote of thanks to him for his answer to their commissioners at Marsiellae; and finally nominated him commander of the fleet [Cic. 13 Phil. §§ 13 and 50; App. B. civ. 4, 83–4; Dio 48, 17]. Being condemned under the lex Polia, and placed in the proscription lists by the Triumvirs, he sailed to Sicily and was there joined by many fugitive Optimates. He besieged the praetor of Sicily, Aul. Pompeius Bithynicus, in Messana, whom he put to death after persuading him to admit him into the town [Dio Lc.; App. Ap. 4, 84]. Accordingly Octavian sent Q. Salvidinius with a huge fleet to attack Pompeius, proceeding himself to Rhegium by land. Salvidinius was defeated, and Octavian was shortly afterwards obliged to sail to Brundisium to help Antony [Liv. ep. 193; Appian 4, 85; Dio 48, 19]. II. From b.c. 42 to b.c. 39. After the ruin of the Pompeians
donec navibus ex integro fabricatis ac viginti servorum milibus manumissis et ad remum datis, portum Iulium apud Baías,

at Philippis, Sextus was joined by L. Status Mucrus with a fleet and many more fugitives. He infested the Italian shores, stopping the supplies of corn, while Octavian was in Gaul; and while Vipsanius Agrippa, to whom Octavian had entrusted the war, was in Rome, celebrating the games of Apollo in July. Sextus was joined for a time by Antony, instigated by Fulvia and his mother Julia to make war on Caesar. On the death of Fulvia, however, a peace was negotiated between the triumvirs at Brundisium. Antony married Octavia, and Sext. Pompeius was compelled to retire to Sicily. But as he held that island with Corsica and Sardinia, he was still able to intercept the corn supplies...‘Pompeius 6ō ἐπὶ λαμψὶ ἐπίπαθε, ὥσπερ τῶν ὕδων ὕπτομοι ἐπιστελέον-

ταίς Ἡεμποροῦν καὶ Σελεοῖας, ὥσπερ τῶν ἐκ δύσαν διὰ Σαρῆν καὶ Κύρην ἐκμυγμένων ὑπὸ τῶν Ποσείων ὅπλων ἤτο τῇ πελάτη

Διόδοσι διὸ τούτον ἐκπερατωσαίρονς κα-

ναιρούοντας’ [App. B. civ. 5, 67]. The triumvirs were compelled to make terms with him, and by the peace of Misenum, B. C. 39, he undertook to cease harassing Italy and stopping the corn, on condition of full restitution and having the government of Sicily, Sar-

dinia, Corsica and Achaea [App. L. p. 90; Dio, 48, 37, 28, 36, 37, 38. Livy, 127; Plut. Ant. 32]. III. B. C. 38—
B. C. 35. The peace did not last long. Sextus complained that Antony had cheated him in regard to Achaea, and began his piracies again. Caesar was obliged to recommence the war. In B. C. 38 he lost half his fleet in the straits of Messene [App. B. civ. 5, 83]. B. C. 37 was spent in the preparation of a new fleet, which was put under the command of Agrippa; and in B. C. 36 Sextus was finally conquered and fled to Asia, where in 35 he was put to death [App. B. civ. 5, 97—127; Liv. ep. 129. adversus Sex. Pompeium vario

eventu navalius certaminibus pugnatum est: ita ut ex duabus Caesaris classibus altera cum Agrippa praebat victoriam, altera quam Caesar duuxerat delecta, exposti in terram milites in magnō peri-

culo essent. Victus denique Pompeius in Siciliam proflugi...ep. 131. Sex. Pom-

peius cum in fidem M. Antonii venturé, bellum in Asia adversus eum molemur oppressus a legatis eius occisus est].

duplicit naufragio. The first ship-

wreck followed the defeat of Calvisius and Menodorus as well as of the squadron which Caesar brought to their relief at the northern entrance of the strait of Messene, in the early part of B. C. 38 [App. B. civ. 5, 88; Dio, 48, 47]. The second occurred on the fol-

lowing day, in which the fleet of Augustus and Sabinius suffered still more severely [App. 5, 89—94], Kai-

sari 80 018 ἐν ξένων τῶν πένθος καὶ

ταύτα σφόδρα πέτομεν. Ορ. Dio, 48, 48.

et quidem per aequatem, ‘and that too though it was summer.’ Appian [5, 89] attributes the disaster partly to the mistake of the sailors, who thought the storm would not last at that time of the year. ‘Observa tunc tō pēriērum

etōpōν ἐν ἑαυτῷ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκμυγμένων

ἀγγείων ἐκ τῆς τῶν πόλεων καὶ ἅπατη τῆς

γῆς διεκράτου καὶ κόσμος ἡξεθοῦν ἀν’

ἀλλήλων. per aequatem, ‘in the sum-

mer time,’ as per noctem, ‘by night.’ ‘in the night time,’ Pliny N. H. 2 § 48. Aetas is represented by Appian’s fēra, indicating in military or naval language the two-fold division of the year into sailing and non-sailing seasons, —as Thucyldides divides the year. et quidem, ‘when peace had but recently been made,’ that is, the peace of Misenum in the previous autumn [39].

siagiantate populo. The people had been eager that the triumvirs should make peace with Sext. Pompeius, because of the suffering and commercial disaster caused by his stoppage of com-

merce. App. B. civ. 5, 89 καὶ μακρὸν ὃ

δῆμου ἡμῖν ἐθήραζε καὶ παρένεβαν ὅποι

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

portum Iulium effecit. Dio, 48, 50 ἐν τῇ Καλλίτῃ ἡ μακραίνε ἡμέρα τὴν με-

ταχύν Μισσυρόν καὶ Παυσέλλων ὑψαῖν

ἐπηθοῦ ἰδρεὶ τῆ γὰρ σχοινίας καὶ θάλατ-

πῶν ἄρχουν περιβάλλεται, καὶ ἀθάνατον.
inmisso in Lucrinum et Avernum lacum mari, efficit. In quo cum hieme tota copias exerciisset, Pompeium inter Mylas et Naúlochum superavit, sub horam pugnae tam arto repente somno devinctus, ut ad dandum signum ab amicis excitaretur.

Unde praebatam Antonio materiam putem exprobrandi, ne rectis quidem oculis eum aspiciere potuisse instructam aciem, verum supinum, caelum intuentem, stupidum cubuisse, nec prius

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peius fought in the autumn of B.C. 36. The first was to the west of Mylae (G. of Patri), where Agrippa sailing from the island Hiera attacked Pompey’s fleet while Augustus was still in Italy [App. 5, 188–91; Dio 49, 1–4]. The second was some weeks later to the east of Mylae (Bay of Milazzo) in which Pompey was finally defeated, losing all but 17 of his ships [App. 5, 110–112; Dio 49, 8–11]. Augustus had in the interval suffered a considerable reverse in a descent upon Tauro-

menium [App. 5, 110–112; Dio 49, 5; Paterc. 2, 79], and does not appear to have been on board ship during either of the battles at Mylae. During the second he was with the land force, which he had brought from Italy, now increased by the junction with Lepidus. But the engagement was in full sight of land where his men were stationed, and it is possible that he may have had to give the order for blowing the signal-trumpet. However, such grounds as Antony had for his malignant remark were more likely to have been given in the disaster at Tauromenium, where he was in great danger, esti dé paraolégeta tā stratagméa sēmía ὤν ἐν κατάν θαλάσσῃ ἵνα ἀνέθετο [App. 5, 111].

rectis oculis, ‘boldly,’ looking without fear or shame. Cp. Cic. pro Rab. Post. 1. 48 hic vos audiat nihil ovat nisi ut rectis oculis haec urbem invenerit... licet! So Iuvenal 10, 187 recto sellae; 6, 401 recto facie. Horace’s sicis oculis [Od. 1, 3, 18] is a farther variety in the phrase.

supinas, ‘on his back,’ ‘lolling idly.’ Cp. Luc. 9, 889 nulla vehitur cervice supinas. See Mayor on Iuv. 1, 66. Iahn on Pers. 1, 199. The notion of Casaubon that it indicates an attitude of superstition terror (quoting Horace’s manusius supinas) is far-fetched. Antony pictures Caesar as lying on his back staring up into the sky because he shrank from looking out to sea and seeing the battle which was in full
surrexisse ac militibus in conspectum venisse quam a M. Agrippa fugatae sint hostium naves. Alli dictum factumque eius criminatur, quasi classibus tempestate perditis exclamaverit, etiam invito Neptuno victoriam se adepturum, ac die circumsium proximo sollemni pompeae simulacrum dei detruxerit. Nec temere plura ac maiora pericula ullo alio bello adiit. Traiecto

view. Dio 49, 9 η τε γάρ θιάσασα η ἔκει μάρα τῶν νεῶν ἐπετήλησα...καὶ η χώρα η μὲν ἐγγύς αὐτής ὡς τῶν ἀπελθομένων...ἀπελθήσασα...δύο πέρι καὶ η ἄγνων ἔδρα τῶν τινων καταλαχθέντων διὰ τῆς ἀποκήλης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐγκέφαλο...κακωθείς...πρῶτο γάρ τῆς τῶν ἀποκήλης δόμων καὶ αὐτοῦ τριτον τοῦ ἐξορθοφθέντος.

a M. Agrippa. M. Vipsanius Agrippa, born in the same year as Augustus, had been closely associated with him from the first (in tauto τε παλαισθείς καὶ τυπα ἐξων ὑπερβαλλεὶς ἑτεραλα. Nic. 7). He had been with him at Apollonia in B.C. 44 (Vell. 7, 50), had served with him in the war of Perusia [Dio 48, 20] in B.C. 41, in which year he was Praetor, and in the following year occupied Sipontum, which had been taken by M. Antonius [ib. 28]. In B.C. 38 he carried on a successful campaign in Gaul, crossing the Rhine into Germany, and subsequently suppressing a revolt of the Aquitanii, for which he was offered but refused a triumph [ib. 49]. After the disaster to the fleet in B.C. 38 and the desertion of Menodorus in the early part of B.C. 37, Octavian became dissatisfied with the management of Calpurnius Salminus, and entrusted the task of constructing and commanding a new fleet to Agrippa, causing him also to be elected consul for the latter half of B.C. 37 [App. B. civ. 5, 96]. It was then that he formed the docks in the lake Avernus. The chief credit of the final defeat of Sext. Pompeius in B.C. 36 was his,—Liv. Ep. 129 M. Agrippa navalis corona a Caesare donata est; qui honos nemini ante eum habitus est.

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

invito Neptuno. If Augustus did say this, he was, it seems, referring to the fact that Sext. Pompeius had shown his exaltation at the disasters which befell the fleets of his enemy in B.C. 38-7 by adopting the title of 'Son of Neptune,' and wearing sea-green robes. Dio 48, 48 [cp. c. 19] and App. B. civ. 5, 100 ο δὲ Μαρισιοτ...δὲν μὴν θαλάσσαν καὶ Ποσειδώνια καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ φήσκην καταλήθαμα, ποιήσαμεν αὐτὸν θεοῦ διὸ οὕτω τέραν παίρνει τότε τοῖς συνεχείς. οὐκ γὰρ αὐτὸν...τὴν αὐτήν τὸς αὐτοκράτορα χαλάζα τε φωνήτη τε καὶ της καταλαβα. Cp. Neptunius dux de Horace, Epode 9, 7.

quaed. See on c. 11.

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

t. 2 nec temere, 'and scarcely.' Cp. cc. 53, 66, 73, 77. T. 6 ita ad praetens plures inam non temere quis aduersus...transii ad principatum, de Rhet. 1 illustres rhetores...non temere recessiur quam de quis se tradam. T. 73 non temere quicquam nisi ex tuo assuris. Col. 50 non temere in quemquam nisi crebris et miris sibi animadverti passus sit. Ver. 15 non temere quis punctum invisi recessiur. With this meaning temere (in facile) is always with negative.

traiecto...effugit. This refers to the expedition between the two battles at Mylae in the autumn of B.C. 36. Thinking that Sextus would be wholly occupied with defending himself against Agrippa, Caesar transported his troops from Leucopetra and landed near Tauro-
in Siciliam exercitu, cum partem reliquam copiarum continentii repeteret, oppressus ex improviso a Demochare et Apollonide praefectis Pompei, uno demum navigio aegerrime effugit. Iterum cum praeter Locros Region pedibus iret et prospectis biremibus Pompeianis terram legentibus, suas ratus, descendisset ad litus, paene exceptus est. Tunc etiam per devios tramites refugientem servus Aemili Pauli comitibus eius, dolens proscriptum olim ab eo patrem Paulum et quasi occasione ultiones oblata, interfecerat conatus est.

Post Pompei fugam collegarum alterum M. Lepidum, quem ex Africa in auxilium evocarat, superbiensem viginti legionum fiducia summasque sibi partes terre et minis vindicandem spoliavit exercitu supplicemque concessa vita Circieos in perpetuum relegavit.

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

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

**M. Lepidum relegavit.** In virtue of the rearrangement of the provinces after Philippi (42) M. Lepidus was to have Africa, if it turned out that he had not been guilty of reasonable negotiations with Sex. Pompeius. He had not been allowed to go there till after the taking of Pergamum (40). The province had been secured to him again at the renewal of the triumvirate in 37 at Tarentum [App. B. c. 5, 94—97]; but he was restless under the subordinate position which he in fact occupied,
M. Antonii societatem semper dubiam et incertam reconciliacionibusque variis male facilitatem abrumpit tandem, et quo magis degenerasse eum a civili more approbaret, testamentum, quod est Romae, etiam de Cleopatra liberis inter heredes nuncupatis, reliquerat, 3

while nominally on a par with his colleagues; and though he obeyed the summons to start for Sicily with twelve legions on the 1st of July B.C. 36 [App. 5, 97], he acted there independently; took Lilybaeum [App. 5, 48]; and then went across the island to besiege the Pompeians in Messene. After the victory of Agrippa between Mylae and Naulochus, the Pompeian Plenius occupied Messene and opened negotiations with Lepidus, who made terms with him and took over his eight legions. Having thus a force of about 20 legions, he sacked Messene, and resolved to claim the whole of Sicily as his province. But when Caesar appeared the army of Lepidus declined to engage in another civil war, and went over to his colleague. Lepidus was constrained to fall at Caesar’s feet and sue for pardon. His life was spared, but he was deprived of imperium and of all office except that of Pontifex Maximus, as to which there were religious difficulties in a deposition, which Augustus declined to break through [see c. 31; Appian B. civ. 5, 122–125; Dio 49, 11].

The victory of Augustus was celebrated on the 3rd of September, see the Fasti Avitierrini [C. I. L. 1, p. 358] Portae et supplicationes apost omnia paulinoria quod sic Caesar divi f. vicit in Sicilia. But whether this was the day of the naval victory, or of the surrender of the army of Lepidus, is left uncertain by the inscription of Cunae [C. I. L. 10, 873; Rushforth, p. 51], the date in the entry being unfortunately lost [111 non • September, eo die exercitutus Lepidi tradidit se Caesaris • supplianti•C. Atius].

The two additional legions according to him [c. 104] were the survivors of four fresh legions from Africa that were shipwrecked off Lilybaeum.

Ciceros in perpetuum relegavit.

Lepidus however was not allowed to remain unmolested at Circii. In B.C. 18, after the plot of the younger Lepidus, he was compelled to come to Rome, and treated by Augustus with marked indignity, ...καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρου Παύσιкоν, τὸν δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκτείνει τῶν ὀπατρείων ἐκκίνησε. Dio 54. 15; cp. infr. c. 54.

17. reconciliacionibus ... facilitatem. The occasions on which reconciliations between Augustus and Antony had taken place were (1) in 43, in November following the battle near Mutina [App. B. civ. 4, 3; Dio 46, 54]. (2) in B.C. 40 after Perusia, at Brundisium [Dio 47, 59–60; App. B. civ. 5, 56–65]. (3) in B.C. 37 at Tarentum, on the intervention of Octavia, when the revival of the triumvirate was settled [App. B. civ. 5, 93; Dio 48, 54].

facilitatem, ‘kept alive,’ ‘kept flickering.’ It is a word of the silver age, and is used by Pliny of persons, i.e. puller diobus aequor facilitatus...decussat. Ep. 3, 14, 4; cp. ib. 16, 12. ‘Metaphorically by Seneca Ep. 13 § 14 pudet me ed mi sic tonum laque et tam lernus et remediam facillare. A deponent faciliter ’to cherish’ is quoted from Varro by Nonius [cp. fo.um, fac-cum].

males, ‘with difficulty,’ ‘imperfectly.’

Cp. Tib. 43 vitia males diei dissimulata tandem profudit.

abruptum tandem. The breach between Antonius and Caesar was renders inevitable by the events of 33–32 B.C. The death of Sextus Pompeius (35), the successful expeditions against the Ilyrian Iapyges, the Pannonians, the Dalmatians, and the Saulosi [Dio 49, 36–38] had assured and established Caesar’s position in the eyes of the people of Rome as their best security for peace and plenty. Meanwhile the conquest of Armenia (B.C. 34), and the temporary check
aperiundum recitandumque pro contione curavit. Remisit tamen hosti indicato necessituides amicoque omnes, atque


given to the Parthians by his subordinates, left Antony free to enter upon his scheme of an Eastern Empire, in which kingdoms were to be carved out for his children by Cleopatra. But the gravest offence to Augustus was the recognition of Caesarian as a legitimate son of Caesar and Cleopatra, as though the offspring of a real marriage,... to the proctor of Caesar's wife. His name was Syrian, i.e. the Syrian. He had witnessed the death and told Caesar of its contents and where it was to be found. He did not hesitate to possess himself of it and make its contents known: to each of the two sons


C. Sosius Caesarianus was the son of Caesarian and Cleopatra. Cleopatra married her son to Iuba II, king of Numidia, and afterwards of Mauretania. They were all three brought up by the magnanimous Octavia, but of the subsequent fate of the two sons nothing seems to be known [Plut. Ant. 87; Dio 51, 13]. In the lifetime of Antonius Putey by his own will of Syrip, and Alexander with that of Armenia [Dio 49, 41]. But these arrangements of course fell to the ground with his defeat and death. In his will he had (1) declared Caesarion to be a real son of Julius, (2) left enormous legacies to his own children by Cleopatra, (3) ordered his own body to be buried with that of Cleopatra in Alexandria. The effect of the publication of the will is described by Dio [50, 3] thus: "He left a mighty estate to his sons and daughters, and to the people of Egypt and to the people of Cleopatra, who, in his will, had been named Cleopatra. In the testament the family priest dedicated a hostis auctor indicatus. According to Dio [50, 3], Antony was not declared a hostis in B.C. 32. War was declared against Cleopatra, but though it was well understood to be against him, Antony's name was not mentioned. App. B. c. 4, 39 however says that Messala was elected consul in his place for B.C. 31 in order to end the war.
inter alios C. Sosium et Cn. Domitium tunc adhuc consules. Bononiensisibus quoque publice, quod in Antoniorum clientela antiquius erant, gratiam fecit coniurandi cum tota Italia pro partibus suis. Nec multo post navali proelio apud Actium, in serum dimicatione protracta, ut in nave victor victum, pernoctaverit. Ab Actio cum Samum in hiberna se recepisset, turbatus nuntius de seditione praemia et Caesar gave out that they had gone with his free consent, and that others might go if they pleased, Dio 50, 2 μαθὼν δὲ τινές τοις Καισάρι ἀνέπαφος εὐφυέστατος ψήφος ἐνίωτος ἐν τῷ μή καὶ ὠθεῖν τῷ εὐφυεϊστῷ ἀνδρὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκείσοντος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἅγιου ἱεροῦ πρὸς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων μετ’ ἅγιου ἱεροῦ.

C. Sosius was praetor in B.C. 49 [Cic. ad Att. 8, 6], and had been legatus to Antony and governor of Cilicia and Syria, where he had done good service, having taken Jerusalem and restored Herod B.C. 37 [Plut. Ant. 34; Joseph. Ant. 14, 161; B. Jud. 1, 17]. For this he celebrated a triumph in B.C. 34 and is called proconsul in the Fasti, ...C. Sosius pro cons. ex Indiae a. d. CCCLXXIII. Novem September, etc, and is hereby termed triumphalis in the epitaph of a great-grandson [see Wilmanns 1134].

L. NONIUS • QUINTILIANUS • L. F. • SEX. • N. • C. • SOI • COS • TRIUMPHAL • PRO • NEP • AUGUR • SALIUS • PALAT • VIX • ANN • XXIII. After Actium he was left unmolested by Caesar [Dio 51, 2].

Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus was the son of L. Domitius, killed at Pharsalus, by Porcia, sister of Catullus. He had been in the proscription list of 43 —2, but held out against the triumvirs until B.C. 40, having the command of 90 ships in the Ionian sea, with which he molested Antony when crossing to Greece in B.C. 41, and won a victory over his lieutenant Domitius Calvinius about the same time as the first battle at Philippi [App. B. civ. 4, 115]. In B.C. 40, however, he was reconciled to Antony by the influence of Asinius Pollio [Vell. Pat. 2, 76], and was accordingly included in the pacification with Caesar at Brundisium in B.C. 37 [App. 4, 66], and served under Antony against the Parthians [Plut. Ant. 40]. As to his having been one of the assassins of Julius, see Appendix B. The MSS. have T. Domitium; but the praenomen Gaicus is attested by the Fasti and by Cic. 2 Phil. § 27 and all other writers.

gratio...suis, 'excused them from joining in the general agreement of all Italy on his side,' pro partibus, cp. c. 12. For the (unusual) sense of gratia with gen.' dispensation from,' cp. Tit. 25, 69. Romano turris turandi gratiam fest. in serum...pernoctaverit. The resistance of the Antonian fleet did not cease with the flight of Cleopatra or Antony at Actium (4 September, B.C. 31). Many of the captains would not or could not follow their leaders, and the struggle continued till late in the afternoon [ο χρόνον...διήλθη δια την βραδινήν, Plut. Ant. 68. illius elorum detracto copiae in longum fortissime pagandi duravit constantia, Vel. 2, 42, ab hora quintae usque in horam septinianam incerta vincendi sive gravissimae utrique caedes actae: reliquum diei cum subsequente note in victoriam Caesaris declinante, Oros. 6, 19]. Augustus is said finally to have conquered by using fire to burn the hostile vessels, which he avoided as long as possible, because he wished to secure them [Dio 50, 34]. He asserted in his memoirs that 300 ships fell into his hands [Plut. L. c.]. For serus by itself for a 'late hour of the day,' cp. Ner. 22 spectaculum... in serum prostrabat. Obo 11 in serum usque patente cubiculo. In Livy 7, 81, 33. 48 it generally has a defining genitive, such as diei or noctis.
missionem poscentium, quos ex omni numero confecta victoria Brundisium praemiserat, repetita Italia, tempestate in triaetu-

bis conflictatus (primo inter promuntoria Peloponnesi atque Aetoliae, rursus circa montes Ceraunios, utrubiique parte
liburnicarum demersa, simul eius, in qua vehabatur, fusis
armamentis et gubernaculo diffracto) nec amplius quam septem
t et viginti dies, donec desideria militum ordicarentur, Brundisii
commoratus, Asiae Syriacaque circuitu Aegyptum petit ob-
sessaque Alexandria, quo Antonius cum Cleopatra

sembling, brief potitus est. Et Antonium quidem, Alex-

andria, September

B.c. 30.

cum samum... poscentium. Augustus spent the winter of B.c. 31—30 in Greece

and Asia. When recalled to Italy by the disturbances here mentioned, he

went no farther than Brundisium, where he

remained 30 days, being visited by

nearly all the magistrates, Senators, and

chief equites. Dio 51, 4. The visit was

after the 1st of January B.C. 30, for it was

in his 4th consulship with M. Crassus.

Dio 51, 4; Oros. 6, 19, 14. The effect

of his presence on the subordinate

soldiers is referred to by Germanicus

[Tac. Ann. 1, 41] divus Augustus vultu

ei aspectu Actinacis legiones externis

Ceraunios. The dangerous nature of

the headland was well known,—infamis

scopulis, Acroceranium [Hor. Od. 1, 3,

19].

liburnicarum. The name liburnica

was applied to a vessel of less draught

than the great warships of the Romans,

and it was apparently of such ships that

the fleet of Caesar at Actium had chiefly

consisted. The name of course came

from the pirate vessels of the Illyrian

Liburni, which were constructed for the

shallow waters of the Illyrian coast, and

is applied to vessels of various sizes,

from a ship of war to a yacht. See

Calig. 33 fabricavit et decorit Liburnicas

gemmatae pappis. Nore 34; and in the

fr. about Piny’s death, he is said to

have perished cum... flagrante Vesuvio

ad explorandas proprius causas liburnica

pretendisset. Cp. Hor. Epode 1, 1 ło ńis

Liburnis inter alta navium... prope

navem... Adiuvataque ferox 'Illium, e i t a

'ınunov kai tás nýchov elptovov raunov

¡kexojv te kai koţfjv, ódhen e tnon

'ònouıa t á kófjv kai ódha diápetà Ay-

b Formulae kai kai, Vég. 4, 33.


1, 19 non per seditionem et turbas

desideria militum ad Caesarem ferenda.

Asiae Syriacaque circuitu, ‘by a cir-
cuous route through Asia and Syria,’

like the orbis iter of Ovid. Cp. Seneca

Ep. 75, 1 circumitus Sicilicis tutius.

brevi potitus est. Suetonius gives an

very compressed account. Caesar did

not enter Alexandria till the first of

August, B.C. 30 [C. I. L. 1, pp. 374,

328]. Antony had in the previous

winter made a vain attempt to gain

over the troops in Africa, and on his

return to Alexandria had opened nego-
ciations with Augustus, offering to live

as a privatus at Athens [Dio 51, 5—7;

Plut. Ant. 73]. In the spring of B.C.

30 Cornelius Gallus, taking over the

command of the troops in Africa, ad-

vanced to Paraetonium, where he secured

the remainder of Antony’s fleet. Mean-

while Caesar, with the secret connivance

of Cleopatra, landed at Pelusium and

advanced towards Alexandria, decisively

defeating Antony, who had hurriedly re-

turned from Paraetonium. The Egyptian

fleet, again it is said on the secret order

of Cleopatra, deserted, thus preventing

Antony’s scheme of escape to Asia; and

thereupon—being told also that Cleo-

pata had shut herself up in the μυητών

and was dead—he stabbed himself and

ordered his attendants to carry him to

the μυητών, where he died in the

queen’s arms [Dio 51, 10; Plut. Ant.

77—8]. The ad mortem adegit is

only therefore indirectly true.

vidique mortuum. According to

Dio [51, 11] the body of Antony was

embalmed under the direction of Cleo-

patra. Cp. Plutarch Ant. 83 ebărre

εβαρέω
vatam triumpho magnopere cupiebat, etiam psyllos admovit, qui venenum ac virus exu'erent, quod perisse morsu aspidis putabatur. Ambobus communem sepulturae honorem tribuit ac tumulum ab ipsis inochatum perfici iussit. Antonium iuvenem, maiorem de duobus Fulvia genitis, simulacro Divi triones ēripit, utā te tā thēmia kathēsantos amblyounos kai kelosos. Pausin. 9, 38, 1, of the people near M. Helicon, where the snakes are comparatively innocuous, oùte dialeugontos tā polē kai ἐκχειρεῖτε ἰθανάτω πέτρας τῶν Ψυλλῶν kai ἄλλωσ περιφρονοῦντας τοὺς φαρμακκοὺς. quod perisse morsu aspidis putabatur. Suetonius puts this doubtfully, as do most other authorities. το τε ἄλλος oδηγεῖ αὕτη Plut. Ant. 86. τὸ μὲν σαφῶς oδηγεῖ αὐτὸν ἦν τρέχων διαφόρον. Dio 51, 14. Livy Ep. 133 only says voluntaria morte dedita. Velleius (2, 87) expresses no doubt, Cleopatra frustratus curtidilus initala aspida morsu sane eius express multibus metus spiritum reddidit. Horace (Od. 1, 37, 27) seems to have accepted the same story, fortis et aequus | tractare serpentes ut atrorem corporis consibiorem venenum. communem sepulturae honorem, Plut. Ant. 86. Καίσαρ...τοῦ σῶμα τινα ἀντωνίηλ λαμψια kai βασιλειαν ἐκλέκων. But the burial of Antony had apparently been the work of Cleopatra herself. Dio 51, 11; Zonar. 10, 3; Plut. Ant. 81. Antonium iuvenem...Caesariem. The fate of Caesarion was no doubt due to the claim openly made for him by Antony that he was the offspring of a lawful union between Julius and Cleopatra. Such an assertion was of course offensive to Augustus, and might have been used by his enemies to weaken his position as his uncle's heir. It appears that the paternity of Caesarion had been denied by Julius himself, and that one of his friends, Gaius Oppius, published a pamphlet to disprove it. Antony asserted in the Senate, however, that Caesar had acknowledged the boy; and Cicero [ad Att. 14, 19] speaks of him as ille Caesar. Plutarch [Caes. 49] says that the name arose from the common talk of the Alexandrians, and Suet. [Jul. 52] says that Caesar allowed Cleopatra to call the boy by the name as a favour. As Cleopatra had only a nominal husband in a child-brother, the suspicion was natural,
Iuli, ad quod post multas et irritas preces confugerat, abreptum interemit. Item Caesarianem, quem ex Caesare Cleopatra concepsisse praedicabat, retractum e fuga supplicio adiectit. Reliquos Antonii reginaeque communes libros non secus ac necessitudine junctos sibi et conservavit et mox pro conditione cuiusque sustinuit ac fovit. Per idem tempus conditorium et 18 corpus Magni Alexandri, cum prolatum e penetrali subiecisset and the fact may be considered as fairly established. At any rate Antony’s will, read in Rome in 32, contained the assertion [Dio 50, 3]; and as he had been already declared ‘king of kings’ and heir of Egypt and Cyprus [Dio 49, 4] there could have been little doubt that he was to be got rid of. He attempted to fly to Aethiopia, but was betrayed by his paedagogue [Dio 49, 5; Plut. Ant. 81]. He was about 17 years old.

The young Antony, whom Dio and Plutarch call ‘Aurellan’ [Dio 49, 5; Plut. Ant. 81], must have been much younger, for Antony was not married to Fulvia till e.c. 45 or 44, see Cic., 3 Philipp., §§ 57, 59 [from which the divorce of Antony would seem to have been e.c. 45]; but after Actium Antony had given him the toga virilis, in order that he might have authority to represent him at Alexandria, and had sent him with offers of submission to Augustus [Dio 51, 5 and 6]. He was therefore in a somewhat different position to that of the other children, and like Caesarion was betrayed by his paedagogue Theodorus [Plut. Arch.].

simulacrum Divi Iuli. The worship of the ‘Divine Julius’ had apparently been early introduced in Alexandria, where it was probably the natural sequence to the delusion of the Ptolemies. There were various busts and statues of Julius in the Palace, and no doubt in other places. See Dio 51, 12.—Cleopatra receives Augustus πολλὰ εἰκόνα τοῦ ἀρχέων αὐτῶν καὶ παραδίδει παραδίδει. How this delusion was continued in Egypt, see C. I. G. 4973. In the great temple at Philae was discovered an epigram in praise of Augustus (of about 26 B.C.) beginning Καὶ παραδίδετε καὶ ἀπέριφρα κράνωτε. Heeri, τῷ ἐν Ἁπίου ἀρχέων, Ἀλεξάνδρε. For the use of the statues of kings and emperors as an asylum for fugitives, see Tiber. 53 novissime calumniatus modo ad statum Augusti modo ad exercitus confugisse volle, Pandectarism relegavit. Ulpian, Dict. 21, 1, 17 § 18 Ergo nullus non esse cum fugitivum, qui id factum, quod publice facere licere arbitrator, ne cum quidem qui ad statum Caesarii fugiitivum arbitrator. This too seems to have come from Egypt, see Livy 23, 10, where the Campanian Magius escaping from Hannibal’s ship, which had been blown ashore at Cyrene, ibi cum ad statum Ptolemaei regular confugisset deportatus a custodiis Alexandriam... vinculis liberavit.

18. conditorium et corpus Magni Alexandri, ‘the coffin and body of Alexander the Great.’ On his death-bed Alexander desired that his body should be taken to the temple of Ammon [Iustin. 12, 15, 7]. How this command was carried out is told by Diodorus [18, 26–30]. A splendid funeral car was constructed by Arridaeus [or Arrhidæus, see Hicks G. I. p. 235] and in Syria was met by Ptolemy son of Lagus, who instead of taking it to the temple of Ammon conducted it to Alexandria, where κατανεκρίνεται τόμον κατὰ τὸ μέγαν καὶ κατὰ τὴν κατανεκρίνεται τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου δόξαν δίκαια, ἐν ὑμηθεῖσα αὐτῶν καὶ θυσίας ἱερακίας καὶ ἱεραπό ταῖς μεγαλοπρέπεις τευχηθέν τοῖς πατρί ἔχοντος μόνων ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς θεῶν καὶ ἓνομα πνεύμαπτα ἔθλεος. Pausanias however says [1, 6, 3; 1, 7, 1] that Ptolemy I buried Alexander at Memphis, and that Ptolemy II. transferred the body to Alexandria. Strabo [17, 1, 7] gives a somewhat different account. According to him the body was brought by Ptolemy from Babylon on his Egyptian expedition in 321, and taken from him by Ptolemy,—τὸ δέ σῶμα τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου κυμάτων ἐπεδέχετο τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρε, ὅπως ἥν ἦν κατα. At any rate the worship of Alexander was joined with that of the Ptolemies, as is shown in the priestly decrees, C. I. G. 4677 (Kosseta stone), 4876: and his body was preserved in the tomb of the Ptolemies,...
oculus, corona aurea imposita ac floribus aspersis veneratus est, consultusque, num et Ptolemaeu[m] inspicere vellet, regem se voluisse ait videre, non mortuos. Aegyptum in provinciae formam redactam ut feraciorem habilioremque annonae urbicæae

tων βασιλείων ἐτη καὶ τοῦ καλοkepton τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρων [Strabo l.c.]. Augustus was able to see it because the gold coffin made by Archibæus had been removed by Ptolemy Notus (about B.C. 118) and a glass one substituted [Strabo l.c.]. The arms laid upon the coffin were also now or afterwards taken away, for Caligula possessed his thorax [Suet. Cal. 23]. The Ptolemaus with the coffin of Alexander has long disappeared, though in the 4th century Achilles Tatius in the romance of Leucippus and Cleophaen [§ 3] in describing Alexandria mentions coming εἰς τὸν ἅπαρθαν Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸν. According to Dio [51, 16] Augustus not only saw the body but touched it and broke off a piece of the nose.

Ptolemaus, ac. 'tomb of the Ptolemies.' The form of the word is supported by Diodor. 30, 100, who calls the Stoa at Rhodes a Πτολεμαῖος; and Cicero de Fin. 5, 1, i in gymnasio quod Ptolemaes tovōræ. But Stephanos Byz. s.v. Πτολεμαῖος has Πτολεμαῖον, and Propert. 3, 11, 30 has the adjective Ptolemaeaeus.

Aegyptum in provinciae formam redactam. Egypt was made a province, but with several remarkable peculiarities as to its administration. It was from the first wholly in the hands of the emperor, who received both the revenues from the royal domains of the Ptolemies and the taxes from the country as his private property. Though the distinction between Senatorial and Imperial provinces was not yet made, Caesar boldly initiated a new departure. It was governed not by a proconsul or legatus, but by a praefectus, nominated by the emperor and subject to recall at pleasure [infr. c. 66; Ner. 47; Domit. 4; Tac. Hist. 2, 74; C. I. C. 492; Plin. N. H. 6, 181; 19, 2 and 111, 20, 69]. The emperor had besides a praecurato, generally one of his freedmen [Ner. 35], and now or later another officer, also nominated by the emperor, iuridicus Aegypti [C. i. L. 10, 2, 1250; Wilmans, 1250], to preside over the courts at Alexandria.

The province differed from others also in not consisting of a number of states existing side by side with local autonomy. It was divided into three great districts or ἐπαρχίαις, each district into names (νομοί), each nome into a certain number of hamlets (κοιναί) which were presided over by a regular gradation of officials, who administered their separate offices, but were all answerable to the Praefectus at Alexandria. This organization had existed under the Ptolemies, but at any rate under the later kings had become corrupt and inefficient. Caesar therefore followed the lines of the old constitution, only infusing reality and efficiency into it. The Praefectus performed the ceremonial functions of the kings [Plin. N. H. 5, 57; Sen. N. Q. 4, 2, 8], and during the reign of Augustus had three legions, afterwards reduced to two. But the population of Alexandria was so sedulous τῶν νομοποιών αὐτῶν κατέχοντο, Dio[6] that they were not permitted to have an elected Senate, or to share in the advantages of the lex Suetia (B.C. 39) which allowed provincials under certain circumstances to obtain the civitas and serve offices admitting to the Roman Senate. But perhaps the regulation which confined the praefectura to equites (forbidding Senators and even illustres equites entering Egypt,—see Tac. Ann. 2, 59; H. 1, 11; 3, 8, 11; Suet. Tib. 52; Arrian 3, 5, 10; Dio 51, 17 οὗτως ὀλοκληρωται οὐχ ὡς ἐν τιμίοις αὐτῶν ἐκλέγοντο αὐτῶν ὀλοκληρωται ἀλλ' ἐπαρχίαις αὐτῆς ἐξοικείως)—was in part a concession to the feelings of the Alexandrians; for though Roman soldiers had been there since the time of Gabinius (B.C. 53), the mob were easily enraged at the sight of the fasces, which seemed an open declaration of their slavery [Caesar B. civ. 3, 106]. Though thus made a kind of appanage of the emperor, Augustus always affected to regard Egypt as subject like the other provinces to the Roman people. M. A. 27 Aegyptum imperio Ptolemaei Romani adiuit. And on the obelisk placed in B.C. 10 in the Campus and Circus was engraved [C. I. L. 6, 701]: IMP · CAESAR · DII · P · AUGUSTUS · FOI-
DIVUS AUGUSTUS.


TIFEX • MAXIMUS • IMP • X • COS • XI • TRIB • POT • X • AEGYPTO • IN • POTESTATEM • POPULI • ROMANI • REDACTA • SOLI • DONUM • DEDIT. The principal passages on this subject are Strabo 17; Dio 51, 16-17. See the authorities quoted by Marquardt vol. 9 [with the additional authorities given by the French translators, Organisation de l'Empire d'Egypte].

feraerorem habiliorenaque annoneae. Tac. II, 11. 11 speaks of Egypt as a provincia aditum difficilem annoneae ferundam. Pliny, Panegyr. 31, 2 fereratur antiquius urbem transitu nisi opibus Aegypti aliis sustentaturique non possit. Aurel. Vict. 6, 6 haec Augusti tempore ex Aegypto annum ducentiens centena millia frumenti inferabantur. Strabo [17, 1, 13] tells us of the enormous increase in the commerce and importance of Alexandria under the sway of Augustus, though the corn trade of Egypt had long been familiar to the Greeks in the 3rd century; see Bacchides apud Athen. 3, 39 f. πυρόφορον δὲ κατ' αληθείαν ἐνε γανέον ἄν Αλεξάνδρος μέγιστον πλουτού.

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

fossas oblimatas, 'choked with mud.' Cp. Cic. N. D. 2, 130 Aegyptum Nilus irrigat et eam tota acie obturat op- plethamque tensuit, tum reddidit multitudine et oblimatos ad serendum agro relinquit. By the fossae, Pliny, Nicopolis does not seem to mean the great canals, such as that to the Red Sea mentioned by Herodotus [3, 158; 4, 30]; but the smaller ditches made to carry off the flood waters, which Strabo [17, 1, 10] says it was the special duty of good princes of Egypt to see were kept clear.—ὡς δὲ ἐκεῖνα αὐτοῦ τὴν μὲν τολμὴ παρεχθῶν ἐμφανίζει κεφάλαιον, τὴν δὲ πληρωμήν ὧν ἦν χρήσις ἔτοιμα τοιούτων ἀνακαθήρουσι τῶν διοργάνων καὶ ἑξαρκεῖται τῶν στεγάτων.

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

Nicopolim apud Actium. Nicopolis on the promontory at the entrance of the Ambrian gulf, opposite to that of Actium, was built on the site of Caesar’s camp, 3 miles N. of the modern Prōseis. Dio 50, 12 κατέλαβε τὸ χωρόν τούτο ὑπὸ τὸν Ἡρακλείδαν. Id. 51, 1 ποιὼν γαμὸν τῆς τῶν προσωτευτῶν τάφων...συνέκαθε, Ῥωσίων αὐτῇ ὡμοίω διτέ. Inhabitants were found for it by removing the people from Aelia [Paus. 7, 18, 8; 16, 38, 4], Amauroth and Anactorium [id. 5, 23, 3], and Cassopeia [Strabo 7, 7, 6], and the remaining bishoprics of Lycania were made hamlets of it [Strab. 10, 2, 1].

apud Actium, ‘in the neighbourhood of Actium.’

ludos quinquennales. Dio 51, 1 ἀγά- να τὸ τούτῳ καὶ μονοκέρι καὶ γυμνάκι ἐκτομορροίης τε πεντετετεχῶν ἱερῶ...καθ- θείας. Similar quinquennial games were also established near Alexandria at a place also called Nicopolis, where he conquered Antony [Strabo 17, 1, 10; C. I. G. 1804].

ampliatam...consecravit. According to Strabo [7, 7, 6] the naval trophy was near the temple of Actian Apollo, on the promontory of Actium (mod. la Punta), opposite to Nicopolis, Ýμανήν τὸ μὲν ἐν δεξίῳ ἐσπεύδασα τῶν Ἐλλήνων Ἀκαδημίας καὶ ἱερῶ τοῦ Ἀττικῶν Ἀστυλων ἐντατολῆς ἐκεῖ πλαγίας τοῦ στόματος, λόφοι τις, ὡς ὦ νικός, καὶ ὡς αὐτῷ πέτων ἄλοχον ἔχων καὶ νικάμα, ἐν τι ἀνήρ- θηκε Καλαμὺς τὴν δεκακάδα ἀκρόπολιν, ἄνω μονοκέριτον μέχρι δεκάτου. But Dio mentions a temple of Apollo open to the sky in Nicopolis itself, or rather on the hill above it, on the spot on which Caesar’s tent had stood, also adorned with beaks of ships. [21, 1] τὸ δὲ χωρίον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἑσπερίου. Λόγος τετρα- πεδοῦ ἐκκεντήθη καὶ τῶν ἀνθίσεων ἐκφέ- λος ἐυσφαίρεσε, ἐδόθη τι ἐν αὐτῇ τοῦ Ἀστιλων ἔπαιλθην ἰδρυμένος. No
Tumultus posthac et rerum novarum initia coniuracionesque complures, prius quam invalescerent indicio detectas, expressit alias alio tempore: Lepidus iuvenis, deinde Varronis Murenae et Fanni Caepionis, mox M. Caesar imponit manus, et describes Lepidas as iuvenis forma quam mente metier. The plot was said to be to assassinate Augustus on his return from Egypt. See also Dio 54, 15; Seneca de Clem. 1, 9, 6; Dialog. 10, 4, 5.

(2) Varronis Murenae et Fanni Caepionis. Of this conspiracy again we hardly know anything. A. Licinius Murena, called, after his adoption by Terentius Varro, A. Terentius Varro Murena [Wilmanns 1712], was the brother of Terentia, the wife of Mace- cenas, and of the Proculeius celebrated by Horace [Od. 1, 2, 6], who had shared his property with him when reduced to poverty by some means during the civil war. In B.C. 25 he had led a successful expedition against the Salassae and founded the town Augusta, mod. Aosta [Dio 53, 25; Strabo 4, 6, 7]. He was also a member of the College of Augurs [Hor. Od. 3, 19, 15], perhaps as a reward. His conspiracy with Caepio, for which he was executed in B.C. 23, seems probably connected with the more autocratic form of the Empire established in B.C. 23, in which he was Consul. Velleius Paterc. 2, 91 erat tamen qui hanc felicitatem datum adissent; quippe L. Murena et Fannius Caepio diversis moribus (nam Murena sine hoc factuere potuit eideri bonus, Caepio et ane hoc erat paenitens) cum insinuaverit Caesaris consilia, oppressi auctoritate publica, quod vi facere veluerunt tueri passum. Perhaps Murena’s complicity was much in the way of rash talk, for hoc &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. eaque prae bella passum. As to which Horace is supposed to give him a gentle hint in the Ode addressed to him [2, 10]. It was also perhaps accentuated by physical causes, for he was gibberous, Suet. de Gramm. 9. One consequence of the affair was a coolness between Augustus and Mace- cenas, the latter being believed to have communicated some secrets to his wife Terentia in the matter of her brother. See infr. c. 66; cp. Dio 54, 19. Of Caepio we know nothing more than what Velleius tells us. He was accused by Tiberius, see Suet. Tib. 8 Finium Caepionem qui cum Varrone Murena...
Egnati, exin Plauti Rufi Lucique Pauli progeneri suii, ac praeter has L. Audasi, falsarum tabularum rei ac neque
acetae neque corpore integri, item Asini Epicadi ex gente Parthina ibridae, ad extremum Telephi, mulieris servi nomen-
sulatoris. Nam ne ultimae quidem sortis hominum con-
in Augustum conspiraverunt quum maior-
ita sua non induxerit fiuil et condemnati. (g) M. Egnati. M. Egnatius Rufus
was Aedile in B.C. 20, and distinguished
his year of office by liberality to the
citizens who had suffered from the fires
so frequent in Rome, and did so to the
tea honesta to the deity and the virtues
that were called Parthenium. When the
Aedile went to the temple of the gods,
he called the gods, and thus we might
say that he had performed his duty.
Augustus snubbed this boastful edict by remarking
that it was the duty of the Aedile rather to perform
and Velleius. 3, 92—3 says that he soon after the fall of
Murena, having had the praetorship in
the year following his aedilship, and
being a candidate for the consulship in
the next year, with equal illegality, a-
dregatus simulismus ibi interiners Caesar-
rem statuit, ut quisque autem esset non
poterat, ex sublae manum. The consul
for B.C. 19, C. Sentius Saturninus, refused
to receive his name as a candidate, and it
was then that he entered into the plot.
Velleius, 3, 92 says that the crime of
Egnatius was three years after that of
Murena, and that is the order of events
in Seneca de Clem., 9, 6. But Dio seems
to place it in B.C. 26.
(4) Plauti Ruf. This seems to be the
same person as the Publius Rufus
whom Dio [55, 27] mentions as being
accused of abetting disturbances and
destructive libels in A.D. 6. There had
been great distress in Rome from a
failure in the corn supply, intensified
by several disastrous fires, and the
popular discontent showed itself in many
ways, with the result of a great
Neronian earthquake. In consequence of
this, the Roman Senate passed a
laws, known as the "Laws of Nero".
He lived at this time, and was
himself a fervent supporter of the
emperor and of his policies. He is
not known elsewhere,
but some coins bear the name of
Plotius Rufus as a triumvir of the mint.

(g) Lucret. Pauli progeneri sui, 'Lucius
Aemilius Paulus, the husband of his
granddaughter'; see c. 10. The hus-
bond of the younger Julia, daughter of
Agrippa and Caesar's daughter Julia.
He was the son of the Paulus Aemilius
Lepidus, censor in B.C. 22, and by his
wife Julia had two children, M. Aemilius
Lepidus [Suet. Cal. 24; Dio 59, 11],
and Aemilia, wife of the emperor
Claudius [Suet. Claud. 26]. He was
consul in A.D. 1. What was the nature
of his treason and when it took place
we do not know. It may have been
connected with his wife's banishment for
adultery in A.D. 9.
(5) L. Audasi. Asini Epicadi. Tele-
lephi. Nothing is known of these per-
sons. Julia was in the island of Pan-
chester off the coast of Campania from
B.C. 2 to A.D. 3 [Tac. An. 1, 2]. Agrippa
Postumus (son of Agrippa and the elder
Julia) in the island of Planasia, mod.
Planasia, near Elba from A.D. 7 [Tac.
An. 1, 3; Dio 55, 31]. A similar at-
tempt to carry off Agrippa Postumus to
the legions in Germany took place im-
mediately after Augustus' death, but he
had been already put to death by order
probably of Livia [Tac. An. 2, 39—40].
falseau tabularum, 'of forgery,' coming
under the lex Cornelia de juliti.
gente Parthina, of the Ilyrian Par-
thinia, conquered by C. Asininius Folio
in B.C. 39, of whom this man therefore
was evidently a freedman.
nonemculator. The functions of the
nomenclator of Republican times
had been generally connected with
the candidates for office, see Cic. de
petit. 25, 35; pro Murm. 77; ad Att.
4, 11; ad Q. Fr. 1, 2. In later times
his office was chiefly social, to prevent
the great from giving offence—Isuv.
1, 93; Sen. Ep. 19 and 27; Benet. 6,
32 § 4; Pliny N.H. 39 § 19. For the
form of the word cp. Matt. 16, 20, 23
nomenclator nigulis eiuitum nomencl.
Suet. Cal. 41: Claud. 34.
ultimae sortis. Cp. Cal. 35 nullus
denique tam abidentur condienses tam
extremae sortis fuit, cuinis etc. Suetonius
has omitted among the conspirators Cn.
spiratione et periculo caruit. Audasius atque Epicadus Tulliam filiam et Agrippam nepotem ex insulis, quibus continebantur, rapere ad exercitus, Telephus quasi debita sibi fato dominatione et ipsum et senatum adgredi destinant. Quin etiam quodam iuxta cubicum eius iuxa quidam ex Illyrico exercitu, Ianitoribus decepsit, noctu deprehensionis est cultro venatorio cunctus, imposse mentis an simulata dementia, incertum; nihil enim exprimi quaestione potuit.

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

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

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

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

20. Dalmaticum. The Dalmatian campaigns extended over parts of two years, b.c. 35 and 34. But Augustus was only personally engaged in the former year. The expedition began with an attack upon the Tpodes (Tpaudes) who were fœderati, apparently on the pretext of pecunia and the non-payment of tribute.

Their capital Metulum (mod. Mitling) offered a stout resistance, but other tribes seem to have been more easily subdued. Augustus then extended his campaign by an attack upon the Pannonians, who had given no provocation, in order to exercise his troops and accustom them to live on plunder.

Their capital Siscia was taken and Augustus returned victorious to Rome, having accomplished his purpose of drawing a contrast between his own activity in extending and defending the Empire and the inactivity or failure of Antony in the East. The Pannonians revolted next year but were again subdued by the troops left behind under Fufius Geminus (or Vibius, according to Florus 4, 12, 5). See Dio 49. 35—36; Appian Illyr. 16 and 25; Strabo 4, 6, 10; 7, 5, 2. The Dalmatians had as a rule sided with Brutus and Cassius and had before this been subdued by Asinius Pollio in b.c. 39.

Antonio devicto Cantabricum, 'the Cantabrian war which took place after the final defeat of Antony.' The Cantabri and Astures in Northern Spain were nominally in the Roman province of Hispania Tarraconensis; but they were wild and savage highlanders and their submission was merely nominal,—Cantabrum induxit ipsis foris nostris, Hor. Od. 2, 6, 2. Their offence was as usual the making raids on tribes allied with Rome, and Augustus went in person against them in b.c. 25 but after some time had to retire to Tarraco from ill-health, brought on by anxiety and fatigue. The campaign was continued with somewhat greater success by his legates Gaius Antistius and Titus Carisius, so that at the end of the year there was apparent peace and the temple of Janus was closed; but the Cantabri soon broke out again and were not subdued by Agrippa till b.c. 19 [Dio 35, 25—6; Strabo 3, 4, 3].

consauciatus, 'badly wounded.' per legatos. These were (1) in the war against the Dacae and Bastarnae (b.c. 30), Marcus Crassus; (2) against the Salassi (b.c. 25), Terentius Varro Murena; (3) against transalpine Gauls in b.c. 25, M. Volumnius; (4) against the Cantabri in b.c. 23, Gaius Fannius, and in b.c. 20—19, M. Vipsanius Agrippa; (5) the invasion of Arabia (b.c. 24), Aelius Gallus; (6) against Queen Can-
DIVUS AUGUSTUS.

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

dace of Aethiopia in B.C. 22, Gaius Petronius; (7) against Alpine tribes and Pannonians in B.C. 17—18, P. Silius; against the Bessi, Marcus Lollius; against the Sarmatians, L. Gaius; against the German tribes on the Rhine, M. Lollius; (8) in B.C. 15—13 Augustus' stepsibs Tibertus and Drusus against the Rhaetii; in B.C. 12 Tiberius subdued the Pannonians, Drusus the Sicambri, Frisii and Chatti; and in B.C. 11—10 Drusus continued his invasion of Germany, Tiberius his campaign in Dalma
tia and Pannonia (B.C. 11); and Lucius Piso chastised the Bessi. In B.C. 8 Tiberius was again engaged in Germany. (9) A.D. 2—3, Gaius Caesar was engaged in the East as legatus of Syria. (10) P. Quintilius Varus was defeated at the Saltus Teutoburgi

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

21. partim ductu partim auspicis suis. The distinction is between those expeditions which Augustus commanded in person and those which, though commanded by others, were under his auspicis as head of the army, to whom it pertains to take the auspices before it started. Thus in the M. A. c. 26 of the armies sent to Aethiopia and Arabia he says meus auspicis profigatus est. And in c. 4 he draws the same distinction ob rei a me aut per legatos

nus auspicis meus terra marisque prosper gestis etc.

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

Aquitanis. The Aquitanians in the valley of the Garonne and the Landes, including roughly the departments of the Hautes and Basses Pyrénées, had been they appeared defeated by Agrrippa in B.C. 38 [App. B. civ. 5, 52; Dio 48, 49], before he was recalled to assist his master against Sext. Pompeius, but were not finally subdued until B.C. 36 when M. Valerius Messala Corvinus was granted a triumph for his victory over them when governor of Aquitania. Fast. Capit. vii K. Oct. Tibull. 1, 7, 8 hunc ferre Aquitanus posset qui fundere gentes, quem tremuerit fortis milite victus Atar. Cp. id. 3, 5, 115 sq.

Salassos. The Salassae inhabiting the Val d'Aosta had been first defeated in B.C. 143 by Appius Claudius, but they had continued to harass Roman armies and convoys, though in B.C. 100 Epir
dia was established to keep them in check. In the time of Augustus there were three struggles with them: (1) in B.C. 39 when Antistius Vetus failed to subdue them; (2) in B.C. 34 when Messala reduced them to temporary submission; (3) in B.C. 35 when Teren
tius Varro Murrea conquered them and sold 30,000 into slavery [Dio 49, 34, 38; 53, 25; Livy Ep. 135]. A Roman colony was then settled called Praetoria Augusta (Aosta).

Dacorum incursiones. The Daci or Getae lived on both sides of the Danube, but it seems that the incursions com
plained of were of the tribes on the left bank who harried Pannonia. The movement among these barbarians had attracted attention at Rome for some time. Julius Caesar had meant to attack them before going against the Parthians [see c. 8; Iul. 44]; Appian B. civ. 2,
magnā copia caesis, Germanosque ultra Albim fluvium summovit, ex quibus Suebos et Sigambros dedentis se traduxit in Galliam atque in proximis Rheno agris conlocavit. Alias item nationes male quietas ad obsequium redegit. Nec ulli genti sine iustis et necessarīs causās.
DIVUS AUGUSTUS.

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

dea thes expedition of 35 B.C. against Pannonia to have been unprovoked, "γεγονότα μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν ἐπιφάνειαν, οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἔδειξεν ὑπ' αὐτῶν, κ.τ.λ." quoquo modo, 'in any and every way, i.e. without distinction.' See Roby L. C. 2289; Livy 41, 8.

imperium...augendi. In his posthumous memoir Augustus advised his successors not to extend the Empire, —τούτοις τα παραδείγματα ἀκεφαλήν καί μεθανίαν ἐτεί πλεῖόν τινύ ἵνα μὴν ἑπαναληφθήσεται διαφθορά τοίς γὰρ αὐτῷ ἑπάνω, Dion 56, 33, who adds τούτο γάρ καί αὐτός ἀργός δὲι τότε ἀλά τὸ λόγον μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔργον ἐτόχεισθαι παρὰ γὰρ γοῦν αὐτῷ πάλιν ἐν τῷ βαθμῷ προετοιμασθήσεται οὐκ ἠλάθησαι. Tac. Ann. 1, 11 adderat consortium coeundi intra terminos imperii.

barbarorum principes. The various chiefmen who came to Augustus for aid or protection are enumerated in the Monumentum, c. 30—33.

Martis Ulloris: see c. 30.

feminas. This refers to the Germans, of whom Tacitus ( Germ. 6) says quam capitulis longe impietitias feminarum suarum nomine timent, adeo ut efficacius obligetur animi civitatu quisquis inter obiisse possint maiores nobiles imponantur.

sub lege...liberarentur. A condition of this sort was imposed by Terentius Varro on the captive Salassi sold in B.C. 35 censu solvibile te tibi et filiis caeli et moenia aedem et eorum eum ejusdemae, Dio 53, 36. A clause in the contract for the sale of slaves prohibiting their manumission was known to Roman law: Paul. Dig. 11, 1, 9—12.

Indos...petendam. M. A. 31 Ad me ex India regum legationes saepe missae sunt, numquam antes visae aperit quemquam Romanorum ducem. Nostram amicitiam peterunt per legates Bastarnae Scytheaque et Sarmatarum qui sunt circa flumen Tanain et ultra regem, Aibanorlumque rex et Hiborerum et Medorum. Horace makes much of this in the Carmen Saeculare, 55 (B.C. 17), iam Scytheae responsum petunt superbi superbi super loci. Cep. Od. 1, 12, 56; Verg. Georg. 2, 170. Dio 54, 9) says that these Indians brought tigers for the first time to Rome: Florus 4, 12, 63, that they brought elephants, pearls, and other jewels. Cep. Strabo 15, 1, 4 and other authorities in Mommsen, Her. 5, p. 133. For the Scytheae, the barbarians between the Danube and the Borythones (Diniger), see Victor Ep. 3 ad hunc Indi, Scytheae, Garamantes, Aethiopes legates miserunt; Flor. 4, 12, 63 et Scytheae misericordias et Sarmatae amicitiam petentis.

Armenian...cesserunt. Armenia, the district of the upper Euphrates to the Caspian, was reduced to the state of a
sidesque insuper optulerunt, denique, pluribus quondam de regno concertantibus, nonnisi ab ipso electum probaverunt.

22 IANUM QUIRINUM, semel atque iterum a condita urbe ante memoriam suam clausum, in multo breviore tempore spatio terra marique pace parta ter clusiit. Bis ovans ingressus est urbem, post Philippense et rursus post Siculum bellum. Curulis triumphos tris egit, Delciuent kingdom by Antony's victory over Artabazos in B.C. 34. Joseph. 15. 4. 3. About B.C. 20 its king Artaxes was murdered, and Augustus says that he might then have made it a province, but preferred to follow precedent by establishing Tigranes, another son of Artabazos, on the throne. M. A. c. 27; Dio 44. 93; Tac. Ann. 3. 31; Vell. Pat. 2. 94. 127. Tiberius was sent to effect this, see Sueton. Tib. 9 regnum Armenie Tigran restituit ac pro tribunalibus diecensa imposuit.

Siga...optulerunt. The standards were those lost at Carrhae by Crassus (51); and on two occasions during Antony's operations in the East, (1) when Decidius Saxa, Antony's legatus in Syria, was defeated in B.C. 40 by Pacorus, son of Orodos [Dio 48. 75]; (2) in B.C. 36, when the Medes and Parthians cut to pieces two legions under Oppius Statianus who were in charge of Antony's baggage [Dio 49. 55; Plut. Ant. 58]. The standards taken by the Medes were afterwards returned to Antony [B.C. 33], but not those taken by the Parthians [Dio 49. 44]. It is to this double disaster that Horace refers in Od. 3. 6, 10 iam bis Monasae et Pacori manum non auspices contendor inegit ut audivisse praecon torquibus exiguis renitit. And it is thus that Augustus in the M. A. c. 29 speaks of them as trium exercituum Romanorum spolia et sigla. Their recovery by Augustus was a triumph of diplomacy rather than of arms. The kingdom of Parthia came into the hands of Phraates (s. of Orodos) in B.C. 37; his cruelties raised up a pretender against him in Tirdates, who appears to have been successful for a time. After Actium Phraates was driven to take refuge in Syria, and was so much afraid that Augustus (who granted Tirdates safe harbourage in Syria) should take advantage of this disorder to attack him, that he sent legates to him in B.C. 26 (while he was in Asia) and gave him a son as hostage [Dio 49. 53. 51, 18]. In B.C. 25 however, Tirdates (after apparently farther attempts in Parthia) fled to Rome carrying with him a son of Phraates. Augustus allowed Tirdates to remain in safety; but opened negotiations again with Phraates, sending him back the son who had been living as a hostage at Rome, but on condition of receiving back captives and standards [Dio 53. 33]. Still Phraates did not fulfil the bargain until Augustus came again personally to the East, spending the winter of B.C. 21-20 in Samos, καὶ τῶν μετὰ περατάρια φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ἐνποταταγωγὸς έτει, τὰ τε σημεῖα αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ λόγον...ἀπέβαλεν [Dio 54. 7-8]. The Roman poets constantly refer to the restitution as part of the warlike triumphs of Augustus: Verg. Aen. 7. 605; Hor. Od. 4. 5. 16; 4. 15, 4-9; Ep. 1. 18, 56; Propert. 3. 10, 13; 4. 16; 4. 5, 481. 4. 13, 31; 5. 6, 791; Liv. Ep. 141 pax cum Parthis facta est, sigils a regis eorum, quae sub Crazsi et postea sub Antonio captis erant, redditis. Cp. Iustin. 42. 4. 5. 11.

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

SILVIA QUIRINUM...ter clusiit. The form cluda, clusi, is late, and is not always used by Suetonius; cp. Ner. 47. The two previous occasions of closing Janus were in the reign of Numa and in B.C. 235 after the 1st Punic War [Liv. 1. 10]. Of the three occasions of its closing under Augustus, two are recorded by Dio; (1) in B.C. 29, among the honours voted to him by the Senate after the fall of Antony [Dio 51. 29; cp. Vell. 2. 38; Plut. de fort. Rom. 9; Oros. 6. 90. 8]; (2) in B.C. 25, after the campaign against the Astures and
maticum, Actiacum, Alexandrinum, continuo triduo omnes. Graves ignominias cladesque duas omnino nec alibi quam in 23 Germania accepit, Lollianam et Varianam, sed Lollianam maioris infamiae quam detrimenti, Varianam paene eexitabilem, tribus legionibus cum duce legatisque et auxiliis omnibus caesis. Hac nuntiata

Cantabri [Dio 53, 37; Oros. 6, 21, 1]. The third time is not recorded except by Orosius who puts it in b.c. 2 [6, 21, 1]. The Senate voted for its closure in b.c. 10, but the closing was prevented by the Dacian rebellion [Dio 54, 36]. Mommsen (Rei 5, p. 50) is inclined to put it between the end of the German wars of Drusus and Tiberius, b.c. 8, and the outbreak in Armenia in b.c. 1. The term Iunus Quirinus is used also in the Monum. c. 13, and represented in the Greek by Πέλαγος Βεργλιος, 'gate of Enyo' or 'Bellona.' It was otherwise called Iunus Genius and Iunus Bifrons. See Hor. Od. 4, 13, 9 Iunum Quirini; Verg. Aen. 7, 657 geminiae bellis portas. The condition of its closure is cum per totam imperiwm populi Romani terra instat porta victoris pac (M. A. l. c.).

bis. omnes. M. A. 4 et is ovans triumphanti, tris et quia curulis triumphant. Δια (xάρλημον ηθομίσεια), τούτω δέμαρον. The two ovations were in b.c. 40, after a reconciliation with Antony [Dio 48, 31], and in b.c. 36, after the defeat of Sextus Pompeius [Dio 49, 13]. See C. I. L. 1, p. 461, Acta Triumph.

714 IMP. + CAESAR + DIVI + P + V + C + F + III + VIR + R + P + C + OVANS + AN + DCCXIII + QVOD + PACEM + CVM + M + ANTONIO + FECIT.

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

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

Of the three triumphs two were celebrated on the 13th and 14th of August, b.c. 29 DE DALMATIS + EID + SEX + ... AUGEPTO + XIX + SEPTEPT. [C. I. L. vol. 1, p. 478]. The third, on account of the victory of Actium, was probably on the 12th or the intervening 14th. All authorities agree in the number three. Liv. Ep. 133: Macrobi. Sat. 1, 12, 39; Verg. Aen. 8, 714, where Servius says primo die triumphanti exercitus qui Antonium viciss navali belli. Secundo qui Dalmatias victor, tertio ipse cum Alexandrinis et ingressus triumphus. Dio 51, 21 however puts the order (1) Dalmatian, (2) Actian, (3) Egyptian, as Suetonius does. For the distinction between the ovatio and triumphus see Gellius, 5, 6.

23. Lollianam... Varianam. The first disaster was in b.c. 16, when the Sigambri, Usipetes, and Tenceteri crossed the Rhine into Roman Germany and Gaul and inflicted a defeat on the Roman cavalry under M. Lollius, the legatus in Gaul, in which affair the Eagle of the 5th legion was lost, Dio 54, 20; Tac. Ann. 1, 10. Of Lollius, see Vellei. 2, 97 homine in omnia pecuniae quam recte faciendis cupit, eore, though Horace (Od. 4, 9, 33—40) says the reverse. It was this disaster that led to Augustus spending nearly three years in or near Gaul [Hor. Od. 4, 5].

The clades Varian was much more serious. P. Quintilius Varus was appointed legatus of the army in Germany in A.D. 7, and seems to have regarded the district between the Rhine and the Elbe as completely reduced to form a part of the Roman province. He was ingenio mitis moribus quietus and more fitted for the Court than the camp. His character in regard to money was bad; he had been governor of Syria—quam fangor decem ingressus dixit puerum reliquit; and it seems to have been his severe measures in levying taxes that raised up the national movement under Arminius. In the Salus Teutoburgensis (Lippische Wald) he was caught, and he and his three legions were cut to pieces. A.D. 9 [Dio 56, 18—21; Vell. 2, 117—120; Tac. Ann. 1, 60, 61, 71; Flor. 4, 11, 26—39]. The victories of Tiberius in Pannonia prevented for the present serious consequences to the Empire beyond the loss of Germany between the Rhine and the Elbe, see Suet. Tib. 16—17.
exubias per urbem indixit, ne quis tumultus existeret, et praesidibus provinciarum propagavit imperium, ut a peritis et assuetis socii continenterent. Vovit et magnos ludos Iovi Optimo Maximo, si res p. in meliore statum vertisset: quod factum Cimbrico Marsicoque bello erat. Adeo denique consternatum ferunt, ut per continuos menses barba capilloque summisso caput interdum foribus illideret, vociferans: Quintili Vare, legiones rede! diemque cladis quot annis maestum habuerit ac lugubrelin. In re militari et commutavit multa et instituit, atque etiam ad antiquum morem nonnulla revocavit.

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

exubias. Serv. ad Verg. Aen. 9, 159 exubiae diurnae sunt, vigiliae nocturnae.

propagavit imperium, 'prolonged their command,' that there might be no change in the legati of the provinces while there was danger of a panic.

propagare is used for the more common praerogare in Livy [23, 25 C. Terentius consuli propagari in annum imperium] in very similar circumstances.

a peritis et assuet. Men who had had experience of their subjects, and to whom their subjects had grown accustomed. Tiberius made this a regular part of his policy; see Suet. Tiber. 41; and Augustus from the first limited the holding a province not by time, but according to his pleasure, so Y. Suet. Aug. 27, Dio 53, 13.

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

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

barba capilloque summisso. Cp. Jul. 67 milites...dimidians quoque usque ados se, aedita clade Titirosena, barbam capillamique summisso nec ante dempserit quam vindicasset.

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

quod duobus filiis adolescentibus causa detectandi sacra-
menti pollices amputasset, ipsum bonaque subiecit hastae;
quem tamen, quod inominem emptiones publicanos videbat,
liberto suo addixit, ut relegatum in agros pro libero esse
sineret. Decimam legiorem contumaciis parentem cum
ignominia totam dimisit, item alias inmodo est missionem
postulantes cita commoda emeritum praemiorum exactu-
roravit. Cohortes, si quae cessisset loco, decimatás hordeo
pavít. Centuriones statione deserta, itidem ut manipulares,
capitali animadversione puniti, pro ceterò delictorum genere
variis ignominias adfecti, ut stare per totum diem iubebat ante
praetorium, interdum tunicatos discinctosque, nonnumquam

detectandi sacramenti. Since B.C. 80, a term of military service had ceased
to be a condition for obtaining office. But the old obligation of service when
an imperator held a levy remained [Dio 50, 12]. But as the legions came to be
more and more recruited in the prov-
inces a levy in Italy became rare. Moreover, as a rule, enough men were
found willing to volunteer.

hastae: the full phrase auctio hastae
in Jul. 50.

in agros: the mildest form of rele-
gatio, whereby a man was not bound to
leave Italy. Livia in her speech to
Augustus indicates the various degrees
of relegatio, ή γαρ θεος ἀδελφετει τινος
το ἀνθρώπων ή και εν ἄγρο πάλιν
τέ τρι; Dio 55, 20.

decimam legiorem. The tenth legion
formed part of the army in the province
of Syria in A.D. 18 [Tac. A. 1, 57]. It
was therefore either forgiven, or a fresh
legion enrolled with the same number.
It is called Decima Pretiosa, which
Mommssen [Kes 5, p. 69, note 5] sup-
poses to have arisen from its once serving
under Sextus Pompeius in the Straits.

cum ignominia opp. to homesta missio.
citra...exauctoravit, 'discharged from
full service without the good-service
money due to men who had served their
full time.' The exauctoratio might be
honourable or the reverse; in either
case it was not a full missio [Tac. An.
1, 17 quod vicodium tendentes also voca-
bulo asdem labores perfierent], and the
exauctorati were not necessarily entitled
to the vicena stipendia occurring after
See Tac. A. 1, 36 igitur voluntatis
inferre ex rationibus placuit ut epistola
nomine principis scriberentur; missio-

tem dari vicena stipendia meritis, ex-
auctorari qui sens denua facissent. Cp.
Tib. 30; Nero 32; Vitell. 10; Vesp. 8; Tac.
H. 1, 20. For commoda praemorum, 'the
bonny,' at the mithral, see c. 49. Cal. 44
commoda emeritum militiae ad DC miliu
summae recipit. Bruttus et Cassius ad
Cic. fam. 11. 2 § 3 quad de commodis
veteranorum latus est. Augustus
fixed it at 3000 denarii at the end of
16 years' service for the Praetorians;
and 3000 denarii at the end of 20 years'
service in the legions, Dio 55, 23.
citra in silver Latin = 'without.' See
Jul. 28; infr. c. 43; Roby L. Gr. 1876.
decimatas hordeo pavit. 'He had
every tenth man executed and served
out rations of barley (instead of wheat)
to the rest.' A very ancient military
punishment; Livy 27, 13 Marcellus...
cohortibus quae signa amiserant hordeum
dari iussit. For the decimatio see Polyb.
6, 38; Suet. Galb. 12; and its rarity
Tac. An. 3, 31; it was specially inflicted
for loss of a standard, Livy 2, 59.
statione deserta. Any dereliction in
the matter of keeping guard was pun-
ished by the fastiusarium. A Tribunus
touched the offender with a rod and
then he had to run the gauntlet of the
whole army, Polyb. 6, 37. Livy 5, 6
fastiusarium meritur qui signa reliquit
et praecidit decedit.

stustutos discinctosque, 'without
the sagum or the sword belt.' Livy
27, 13 centuriones manipulorum, qua-
rum signa amissa fuerant, dextrae
gladiis discinctos detinit. As a sign
of mourning see infr. c. 106. See the
opposite, Vitell. 11 urbem...introsit pa-
lulatus ferroque succinus,...surgulati
cum decempedis, vel etiam cespite portantes. Neque post bella civilia aut in contione aut per edictum ullos militum commilitones appellabat, sed milites, ac ne a filiis quidem aut privignis suis imperio praeditis alter appellari passus est, ambitiosus id existimans, quam aut ratio militaris aut temporum quies aut sua domusque suae maiestas postularet. Libertino milite, praeterquam Romae incendiorum causa et si tumultus in graviore annona metuetur, bis usus est: semel ad praesidium coloniarum Illyricum contingentium, iterum ad tutelam ripae Rheni fluminis; eosque, servos adhuc viris feminisque pecuniiosioribus indirectis ac sine mora manumissos, sub priore vexillo habuit, neque aut commixtos cum ingenuis aut eodem modo armatos.

comitibus ac detectis commilitonibus gladiis.

25. neque...commilitones appellabat. Contrary to the habit of Iulius; see Juv. 67 nec milites ec pro contione sed blandiore nomine commilitones appellabat. So Galba to the soldiers attacking him, Quid agitis, commilitones? Galb. 20. And Pompey while being rowed on shore in Egypt attempted to conciliate Septimius by saying o δυ πατερε τε φιληχος αυτοτριαζην ημων άμφοτερων; Plut. Pompe. 79.

libertino...bis usus est, 'he employed freedmen in the army (other than the urbanae cohortes on special occasions) only twice.' The old rule of course confined service in the army to citizens. Yet in times of stress freedmen or slaves manumitted for the occasion had been several times enrolled. See for examples Livy 32, 37, 33, 32, 34, 14; 26, 30; 57, 38. During the civil wars both sides had availed themselves of the practice. Thus Marius formed a corps from slaves to whom he gave liberty (Plut. Sull. 9; Mar. 41; Pompey [Caes. B. civ. 1, 22], Labienus [B. Afr. 10]. Cn. Pompeius [App. B. civ. 2, 102], Brutus [Plut. Brut. 43], Sext. Pompeius [App. B. civ. 5, 131], all did the like. Augustus had shown his sentiments on the subject by returning some of the slaves in the army of Sext. Pompeius to their masters. The two occasions of his employing libertini here mentioned are:

(1) At the Pannonian rising, A.D. 6, see Dio 55, 31 πρεσβύτερον τον Καμάρακον και έν τον ταμιεύσας στρατιώτας οι έκδικοι είσανθον μόνον και ελευθερίαν δόσιν.

(2) After the fall of Varus, A.D. 9, see Dio 55, 23 αποκληρώσας δὲ εκ τούτων και εκ τῶν εκλευθερών δωσα νομίμην κατέλειτ. Cp. Tac. A. 1, 31.


indictes. He levied [cp. indicibus multam] a certain number of slaves from the richer families. That is, these persons had to supply a certain number of slaves for the army, who were at once manumitted. Cp. Ner. 44 non tribus urbana ad sacramentum citasti, ac nullo idoneo respondente certum dominus servorum numerum indicaret. The immense number of slaves kept by rich Romans at this time offered a ready recruiting ground in an emergency, especially when families of gladiators were trained. As to the number of slaves kept see Plin. N. H. 33, 1 mancipiorum legiones et in domo turba externa ac servorum quoque causa nomenclator adhibendus. Senec. de Tranq. 8. In 40 B.C. Domitius Ahenobarbus was able to man seven naves actuaritas colonis suis [Caes. B. civ. 1, 34].

servos adhuc, 'before manumission,' sub priore vexillo, 'he kept them in separate cohorts, in which they had been originally enrolled.' Such cohorts were called voluntarii. Cp. Macrobi. Sat. 1, 11, 33 Caesar Augustus in Germania et Illyrica cohortes libertinorum complures legit, quas voluntariis appellavit. Cp. Liv. 23, 53 prius scisciantes villenae militare (whereas citizens had

then no choice). vexillum = cohors. Cp. Tac. A. D. 21 vexillum veteranorum non ancillius quingenti numerum. eodem modo armatos, like other "auxilia" such cohors would be leased [Tac. Ann. i. 41]. They were armed with the spatha (long sword) and the hasta instead of the gladius and pilum. Marq. xi. p. 192.

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

vallares ac murales. The former to the man who first mounted the vallum of a camp, the latter to him who first mounted a city wall. [Polyb. L. c.; Gellius 5. 6; Valer. Max. 1. 8; 6; Livy 26. 48.] These rewards are all mentioned in an inscription in honour of a soldier of the 11th legion, L. Aconio... AB IMP TRAIANO AUG GER M OB BELLUM DACIC TORQH ARMI L PHALERIS CORONA VALLAR DONATO.

Wilmans 189. Cp. ib. 1598, 1607. In id. 1615 a certain M. Vergilius Lasius is said to have been DONATUS HASTIS PURIS DUABUS ET CORONIS AURIS AB DIVO AUGUSTO ET TIB CAESARE. Cp. id. 1626. sine ambitione, 'without respect of persons,' 'without any design of winning favour.' caligatis 'common soldiers.' Viti. 7; Inv. 3. 372; 16. 24.

M. Agrippam in Sicilia. See on c. 16. caeruleo vexillo, 'sea blue' as a sign of a naval victory. Velleius [2. 81] says that he gave him a corona classicia insignis quo nemo numerat Romanorum donatus est. And Dio [49. 14] describes it as a strophos χρυσόν ἐμβαθείαν ἡφαῖστον, and a special decree was passed authorising him to wear it whenever triumphal ornaments were worn. The blue flag according to Dio was given after Actium [51, 21 σημείο εμφανείᾳ παρεμπεμφοῦ γράμματος]. For the presentation of a vexillum, see Wilmans 1620; T. Pontius... DONATUS... A DIVO TRAIANO HASTA PURA VEXILLO CORONA MURALI. Cp. 1625. strophos βραδεῦς, festina lente, 'more haste less speed.' Aul. Gell. 10. 11. ἀφσαλῆς... στρατηγάτης, Eurip. Phoenix. 502.

auro hamo piscantibus. The Em-
26 Magistratus atque honores et ante tempus et quosdam novi generis perpetuusque cepit. Consulatum vice-
sumo aetatis anno invasit, admotis hostiliter ad urbem
 legionibus, missisque qui sibi nomine exercitus de-
 poscerent; cum quidem cunctante senatu Cornelius
 centurio, princeps legationis, reiecto sagulo ostendens gladii
capulum, non dubitasset in curia dicere: *Hic facie, si vos
non feceritis.* Secundum consulatum post novem annos,

peror Mauricius in his *stropheus* 8, 1
ei tautou othei diaphorei tois xeraph
velaxem. A corresponding proverb
is in Thucyd. 5, 16. § 4000h et aliae
ελάδυσε foretelling a dearth.

pensari, used in the silver age for
companiari.

26. magistratus...cepit. The con-
sulship in August b.c. 43 when he was
in his 20th year, having already by two
Senatus Consulta been invested first
with pro-praetorial rank and then the
consularia ornamenta and imperium
[C. I. L. 10, 975, VII Idus Ian. 20 die
Caesar primum fasces suffulit]. In
December of the same year he became
triumviris r. p. c. It is however doub-
tful whether the law as regards the age
for holding magistrates applied to ex-
traordinary commissions of this sort.
His election into the College of Ponti-
ces soon after the battle of Pharsalus,
when he was perhaps still practicatus,
or immediately after taking the tiga
viritas, was not against precedent. See
Livye 40, 43: 47, 48. Mommsen
[Staatr. vol. II] has shown that the
condition as to age for the magistrates
depended upon and was consequential to
the age at which the Quaestorship
could be held. A power of suspending
the rules had always been held to be-
longing to the Senate, and had been exer-
cised in several cases as in that of
Scipio [Polyb. 10, 4] and Pompey in
b.c. 70 [Cic. de imp. Pomp. § 63]; and
therefore Augustus may have justified
on constitutional grounds his eleven con-
sulships between 43—23 b.c., all of
which were while he was under the
consular age, by the *Stium* proposed by
Cicero on the 1st of January 43, *eius
rationem, quasquaque magistratum
dei, tui habere, ut haberi liceret, si
anno superiore quaeuer fuerit*. Cic. 5
Phil. § 47. After b.c. 30 the rules seem
to have been altered, and the ages for
office to have been settled on, for the

Quaestorship 25th year, Aedileship or
Tribunate 27th year, Praetorship 30th
year, Consulship 33rd year. But dis-
penations were frequent.

novi...generis...perpetuusque. Au-
gustus in the M. A. 5 says that the
consulship annum et perpetuus was
offered him [apparently in b.c. 22] but
that he refused it. The offices of a
newknight may refer to the *praeconsu-
larum imperium*, the potestas tribunicia,
morum praefectura, and the principatus.
These may perhaps come under hono-
res; but Augustus always held that he
was only first in rank, in power was on
a par with his colleagues, M. A. c. 31
*ξυμόρησυ πάντων δύναμιν εξοικεια τι
οδόν τι ηλίων ήθεον των αναξιόκοιτων σελ.

admotis hostiliter, i.e. after the
battle of Mutina and the refusal of the
consulship by the influence of the party
of assassins. App. B. civ. 3, 85, 86.

hic faciet... feceritis. The same
story is told of the emissaries of Iulius
in b.c. 50 by Flutarch [Pomp. 58].
Dioc [40, 43] gives it rather differently
...et in aequum ezyolh te kai to boulie-
unhion kai to èrra laubh (δωσες γην
ενελκύσω) ήματο τη αυτή και ελευ
την αν αυτή την ἵπτοι τον δώσε. ‘If that’s your
method of persuasion,’ said Cicero, ‘he
will get it.’ Appian [B. civ. 3, 83]
says nothing of the threat but repre-
sents the application as part of an intrige
with Cicero, who supported it with the
idea of being the young man’s colleague
himself.

secundum...tertium. Augustus was
Consuil for the second time in b.c. 35,
for the third time b.c. 31. As the trium-
virate legally terminated Dec. 31 b.c.
33 there was an interval of a year in
which he would naturally not have had
imperium. But this he never laid down,
and still kept up the right of seating
himself between the two consuls as
though sharing with them the supreme
tertium anno interiecto gessit, sequentis usque ad decimum continuavit, multisque mox, cum deferrentur, recusatis duodecim magno, id est septemdecim annorum, intervallo et in usus tertium decimum biennio post ultro pediti, ut C. et Lucium filios amplissimo praedictus magistratu suo quemque tirocinio deduceret in forum. Quisque medios consulatus a sexto ad decimum annuos gessit, ceteros aut novem aut sex aut quattuor aut tribus mensibus, secundum vero paucissimis horis. Nam die Kal. Ian. cum mane pro aede Capitolini Iouis paullum curuli sella praese disset, honore abii suffecto alio in locum suum. Nec omnes Romae, sed quattuor consulatum in Asia, taken up quinimum in insula Samo, octavum et nonum Tarra cone init.

Triumviratum rei p. constituendae per decem annos

27. DIVUS AUGUSTUS.

power [Dio 50, 2 εν μήκε των όπλων ονίμων διηρθον αρχαίον ίδρυσεν. Cr. 54, 10].

sequentis...continuavit. He was consul every year from B.C. 29 to B.C. 33; but in the first and last of these only for the first four or six months of the year.

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

tirocinium...forum. For the importance attached to the deducit in forum or tirocinium fori of the youths about to assume the ages virilitis in the imperial families, see Tib. 15 and 54; Calig. 10; Nero 75; Claud. 2; M. A. 14 ex eo die quo deduci sunt in forum ut interesser publicis consiliis decrevit senatus... For the sacrifices on the Capitol, Valer. Max. 5, 4, 4.

annus, throughout the year, annum noni tempus des, Nep. Thm. 9.

From B.C. 28-24 he was consul all through the year.

secundum...paucissimis horis, Dio 49, 43 à θ' οίς Καίσαρ την ὑπαίτιαν (πρὸς ἄριστα Αὐγουστοῦ τοῦ Τιτᾶνου διάκειν) τῆς πρώτης ἑορτῆς ἡμέρα κατὰ τοῦ Ἀγριππίνου ἀσθενείας. Antony had done the same in the previous year [id. 49, 39]. The reason seems to have been that their common position as triumvirs made the holding of the consulship by one or the other a source of difficulty, and neither was as yet prepared for an open breach.

allo, P. Antonius Pius, B.C. 33.


quinquum in Samo, B.C. 29. After the fall of Antony (30) Augustus did not return to Italy till the Summer of B.C. 29, his triumphs taking place in September of that year. He wintered at Samos, τῷ δὲ θέρμω εἰς τῷ Ἑλλάδα ἐκεῖ ἐστὶ τῷ Ἐλλάδω ὁ Καίσαρ ἐνναύοιον, Dio 51, 21.

octavum et nonum Tarracone, B.C. 26 and 25. Augustus was engaged in these years in the Cantabrian war, see c. 30. In B.C. 27 he was in Gaul intending to cross to Britain, but was detained by disturbances among the Gauls...κατεβαίνει ἐν τῇ τῆς Ἡρακλείδος ἀφέκτο καὶ καταστράφητο καὶ ἔσθη [Dio 53, 12]. He must therefore have arrived at Tarraco before 1 January B.C. 26. Suetonius remarks on his entering upon his consulship away from Rome, as it was unusual; yet there had been several precedents, as Flamininus in B.C. 217 (Liv. 21, 63) and Marius on more than one occasion.

27. triumviratum...administravit. The triumvirate upon which Antony, Octavian, and Lepidus entered 27 November B.C. 43 by the lex Titia expired on 31 December B.C. 38 [see Fasti Colotani C. I. L. 1, p. 466 M. Aemilius M. Antonius Imp. Caesar III VIK. • P. • C. • EX. • A. • D. • V. KAL. • DEC. • AD. • PR. • S. • IAN. • SEXT.]. But when that term
administravit; in quo restitit quidem aliquandiu collegis
ne qua fieret prospicium, sed inceptam utroque
acerbius exercuit. Namque illis in multorum saep
personam per gratiam et preces exorabilibus, solus
magnopere contendit ne cui parceretur, proscriptisque
etiam C. Toraniunm tutorem suum, eundem collegam
patris sui Octavi in aedilitate.

Iunius Saturninus hoc amplius tradit, cum peracta proscriptione M. Lepidus in senatu excu-

arrived they did not lay down their office and in the Spring of B.C. 37 agreed to keep it for five years more, apparently without a lex. See App. B. civ. 5, 95 [of the negotiations at Tarentum] εξετέ δὲ ε ὁ λαός αὐτός θερε τῇ ἄρχο
η τῷ τραίν ἐπίρρασω αὐτράσω, ἔπεραν ἐκατο ἀρμόν πανταχια, ἀλλά ἐπὶ τῷ δήμῳ διεβόλησεν. Dio 48, 34 δικαίως δὲ τῷ ἐγκαίνιω τῶν ἄλλα ἔπεσεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ πρὸ τοῦ ἔξοδος, ἔπεραν. It

will be observed that when this arrange-

ment was made, whether in the Winter

according to Dio or the Spring according
to Appian, the triumvirate had already expired. The triumvirate simply did not lay down their imperium, and agreed entirely between themselves upon a further term of holding it. It is an

illustration of the Roman constitutional practice that for an office to become vacant the actual holder must formally lay it down. It is true that in the

ordinary annual magistracies the term was so strictly fixed that no one could venture to refuse to perform the act of abdicatio, but in extraordinary offices, such as the decemvirate, or this trium-

virate, the case was less clear; and at any rate the triumvirs availed themselves of the doubt, and even when the second term arrived [31 Dec. B.C. 33] appear not to have abdicated. Au-
gustus, however, does not own to this second extension. M. A. c. 7 τριῶν ἀρχῶν ἐγκαίνιω δημοσίως πραγμάτων κατορθητή συνεχέων ἔτειν δέκα. See

Mommsen "Staat" vol. IV. p. 431.

SuetoDiC.

in quo...exercitui. The first list contained only seventeen names [App. B. civ. 4, 6] and the consul Pedius assured the terrified nobles that the list was definitive. But when the triumvirs arrived and the law was passed for their legal establishment [Nov. 27], on the next morning a fresh edict was fixed up in the Forum announcing the resolution of the triumvirs of putting to death those who had joined in the murder of

Iulius or approved it or continued their opposition to themselves [App. I. c. 4, 8—11]. The number of the names proscribed is spoken of by Livy Ep. 150 as cxxx senatores et plures coequites. Appian says about 300 senators and 2000 equites. Livy may be referring to the number that actually perished, for many escaped to Brutus and Cassius or Sext. Pompeius. See Appendix D. As to the part taken by Augustus it was inevitable that a writer like Velleius [5, 66] should minimise it and lay the blame on Antony...grumante Caesaris frus-

Civ.

tra adversariis duo. But Plutarch [Ant.

31] also says that most blame was thought to attach to Antony...πρεσβύτε-

ρος δὲ Καίσαρος Λεπίδου δὲ δυνατοτέρως

while Dio [47, 7] declares that the

chiefl fault lay with Antony or Lepidus,

and makes the weighty remark that

Augustus was too young to have incurred

or conceived numerous enmities; and he
goes on to relate instances in which he

preserved certain of the proscribed.

Appian, however, makes no distinction in the guilt of the three.

C. Toranium tutorem suum. The

action of Augustus in regard to this man may perhaps be explained by the

assertion of Nicolaus Dam. c. 3 that his
guardians had plundered his property, to which he submitted at the time with-

tout taking legal action...οἱ αὐτὸν πρό-

γονα...διαφοροὶ ὁμοί οἰκείο τὰ ἡμέρα

καταστασὶς δ᾽ ἐπίστημα ταύτα διεβόλησαν...ἀ δὲ τῶν πρῶτ ἀρχῶν δικαίων ἀντικτό τοῖς περιμεθέριοι ἡμεῖς. C. Tho-

ranius or Toranius [megymos ὕπο

των ἑττοσιων Καίσαρος App. 4, 12]

was a proctorius and was betrayed by

his son, who got him put on the list by

Antony [ib. c. 18; Valer. Max. 9, 11, 5]. It may be therefore that Augustus

only acquiesced. C. Toranius was in

exile in Ciceria in B.C. 45. See Cic.

fam. 6, 20, 21.

In senatu, probably in the usual ad-

dress on the 1st of January B.C. 45 when
sasset praeterita et spem clementiae in posterrum fecisset, 
quoniam satis poenarum exactum esset, hunc e diverso professum, ita modum se proscribendi statuisse, ut omnia 
sibi reiherit liber. In cuius tamen pertinacia in the 
proscriptions.

5 paenitentiam postea T. Vinium Philopoemenem, quod 
patronum suum proscipsum celeste olim dicetur, 
equestri dignitate honoravit. In eadem hac potestate multi-
pli flagravit invidia. Nam et Pinarius equitem R. cum, 
contioante se admissa turba paganorum, apud milites sub-
scribere quaedam animadvertisset, curiosum ac speculate 
ramus, coram confodi imperavit; et Tedian Afrum consulem 
designatum, quia factum quoddam suum maligno sermone 
carpsisset, tantis conterruit minis, ut is se praecipitaverit; et 
Quintum Gallium praetorem, in officio salutationis tabellas 

duplces veste tectas tenetem, suspicatus gladium occulere, 
nec quidquam statim, ne alium inveniretur, ausus inquirere,

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

Ita. libera, though he assented to 
put a stop to the proscription he 
reserved complete freedom to himself 
for the future. Octavian had no inten-
tion of sparing the assassins of Iulius, 
and as many of them were still at large, 
he would not bind himself not to exer-
cise his powers upon them.

T. Vinium. The story is told by Dio 
[47, 7]. He was concealed by his wife 
in a chest at the house of a freedman, 
and afterwards produced under the pro-
tection of Octavia when Caesar was 
apart from his colleagues. Wife and 
freedman had incurred death by the 
concealment according to the edict 
[App. B. civ. 4, 11 et av. οὐς ἔς ἐς 
ἐπηκουρήθηκεν ἢ ἐπανειδίαν φαγη]; Dio 
asserts that Augustus saved many in 
a similar way, but gives no other instances. 
Perhaps Ovid refers to some stories of 
the sort when he says of Augustus...
cepit dedere adversus ei tam laudavit su 
armis, Tr. 1, 5, 39.

Pinarius...Tedian...Q. Gallium. Of 
the two former we have no certain infor-
mation. Pinarius may be T. Pinarius or 
his brother, both of whom were intimate 
with Cicero.[Cic. ad Q. Fr. 3, 1, 23]. Some 
of the Pinarii were connected with the 
Caesars [Suet. Jul. 83]. Tedian Afer 
may be connected with a friend of 
Augustus mentioned by Tacitus [Ann. 
1, 10]. Q. Gallium was a son of a 
Q. Gallium once defended by Cicero on 
a charge of ambitus [Cic. Brut. 177; 
de pet. cons., § 19], and a brother of the 
M. Gallius who adopted Tiberius [Suet. 
Tib. 6]. Appian’s account of the affair 
of Gallius agrees substantially with that 
of Augustus in his memoir, B. civ. 5, 95. 
The aulis eius ausu manu effossis 
seems incredible. A similar story was 
told of Sulla [Val. Max. 3, 3, 5].

paganorum, ‘civilians’ opposed to 
militier, Iuv. 16, 33; Flin. Ep. 10, 86 b; 
7, 25 b; Digest 29, 1, 9 § 2.

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

In officio salutatores, when waiting 
on him in the morning. The morning 
salutatio is sufficiently known from 
Martial and Juvenal. For officium 
in this connexion see Iuv. 3, 125.
tabellas duplices, ‘folded tablets,’ 
either a letter or petition. See Ovid.
servilem in modum. Free citizens were exempt from examination by torture, *Dig. 48*, 8, 5; except (in later times) on charges of *maiestas*; *ib. 48*, 18, 10.

**tribunician ... recept.** (1) Tribunician privileges were first conferred on Augustus in B.C. 36, after the defeat of Sextus Pompeius [*Dio 45*, 15; *µέτρα ἄκρη μηνὶ λάγῳ ἐξηγερθήσατε*] ἐν δὲ μη, ταῖς αὐτοῖς τῶν τοιαύτη διάστασιν ἐνέχεσθαι ὁπερ ἐν τῷ δημοκράτειν ἐπέτυχον*. Arianian [*B. civ. 4*, 132] and Orosius [6, 18, 34] say that he now accepted the *tribunicia potestas* for life—wrongly, as it seems; and Mommsen holds that its extension recorded by Dio in *B.C. 30* [*51, 18*] only applied to its extension outside the pomerium [*Res g. p. 44*]. (2) The final step in making the *tribunicia potestas* the chief feature in the prerogative of the Princeps was taken in B.C. 23 when Augustus laid down his 11th Consulship on the 1st July [*C. I. L. 1*, p. 427]. The Senate then voted [Dio 53, 32] ὡς πάντως τε ἀνθρώπων ἐίσαι δεῖ, ἐκ τούτων ἐκ τούτων δεῖ ἐκείνους καὶ ἐκείνων τότε ἐξαιρεῖν πρὸς τὴν ἑκάστην καθιστικὴν. Thus Augustus himself calculates the years of his *tribunicia potestas* from this. *M. A. c. 4*, cp. 10. *Mommsen’s Staatsr. ii.*, p. 836. These privileges were embodied in the laws conferring their powers on subsequent emperors. See *C. I. L. 6*, 930, Rushworth, p. 82.

**semel atque iterum...collega.** (1) Augustus took Agrippa as his colleague for five years in B.C. 18; *Dio 54*, 12.

(2) In B.C. 6 Tiberius was admitted for a term of five years also; *Dio 55*, 9; *Suet. Tib. 9*, 11; and again in A.D. 4 for ten years, after the death of Gaïus and Lucius; *Suet. Tib. 16*; *Dio 55*, 13.

**recept et morum legumque regimen.** From the testimony of the Monumentum [*in this passage supplied by the copy at Apollonia*] it appears that Augustus was offered a perpetual *potestas censoris*, but declined it. The actual work however he undertook in right of his *potestas tribunicia*. *M. c. 6* Ἐκ τοῦ ποιηθέντος ὡς ἔργον τῶν καλῶν καὶ τῶν τρόπων ἐτε ἡ μεγίστη ἐξουσία μὸνον χειροκρότῳ, ἀρχὴν οὐκέτι παρὰ τά πάρμα θὰ διδομένη ἀνέθετον. ἐν δὲ τότε δὲ ἐποίησεν ἐν καταλήψει ἐπικαιρής αὐτόν ἡ δημοκρατία ἡ ζωτικής ἐν ζωή. The two occasions of his undertaking this were in B.C. 19 [Dio 54, 10] and B.C. 13 [Dio 54, 30]. But Suetonius says that this office was perpetual, *Dio*; that in both cases it was for five years; Augustus in the *Mon.* says that it was offered him three times in B.C. 20—19 [M. Vinicius, who is named in the latter of these years, began office on 1 July], and again B.C. 11. The allusions to this function of Augustus in the poets are numerous; see *Hor. Od. 4*, 5, 22; 15, 91; *Epist. 2*, 1, 1; *Ovid Met. 15*, 833; *Tr. 2*, 233; *Momms. Staatsr. ii.*, p. 686.
De reddenda re publica bis cogitavit: primum post oppressum statim Antonium, memori obiectum sibi ab eo saepius, quasi per ipsum staret ne redderetur; ac rursus taedio diurnaei valuit, cum etiam magistratibus ac senatu domum accitis rationarium imperii tradidit. Sed reputans, et se privatum non

App. loc. cit. [A.D. 14]. Dio however gives a different account: (1) B.C. 29 [53, 47], (3) B.C. 19 [54, 10], (3) B.C. 12 [54, 35], (4) A.D. 3 [55, 12]. But the second and third of these seem to be confused with the rogimenorum ascribed to him by Dio. The first census was held by Augustus and Agrippa in virtute of a censoria potestas [C. I. L. 9, 472 imp. C. Asinius Plancus M. Agrippa M. I. c. cit. idem censoria potest. lastrum fecerunt], the other two in virtue of his consularis potestas; and it must be remembered that this was strictly constitutional. The census had always been in the hands of the consul. The consuls were appointed to take this burden off them, but there being no censor the consular prerogative revived. Therefore Suetonius is wrong in describing the census as held by a ius derived from a perpetual censoria potestas.

28. de reddenda...bis. I. In B.C. 28—27 in consulatu sexto et septimo...rem publicam ex mea potestate in senatus populi Romani arbitrium transtuli. M. A. c. 34. This is the first great constitutional experiment of Augustus, and is mentioned by such writers as Ovid [III. iv. 489] and Velleius [3, 89] in the sense in which Augustus desired it to be regarded. It was also commemorated on coins (e.g. Eckhel 6, 83 imp. Caes. divi F. cae. vi. libertatis p. R. vincit); and in the Fasti (e.g. Fasti Praen. ad Jan. 13. C. I. L. 1, p. 384 corona querna uti super fastes imp. Caesari Augusti generetor sensatas decrevit qual rem publicam p. R. restituit). And yet both Strabo [17, 2, 25] and Dio [53, 11; 53, 12] saw and expressed the truth that from that time Augustus was practically supreme. The real fact seems to be that in the course of 28—27 Augustus (1) laid down the extraordinary powers which he had exercised as triumvir; (2) abolished in an edict the aids of the triumvirate [Tac. Ann. 3, 38; Dio 53, 12]; (3) while holding the consulsiphip each year kept up the custom of handing over the fasces in alternate months to his colleague [Dio 53, 13]; (4) restored to the Senate the control of some of the provinces and its right of allotting provincial governors; (5) allowed censors to be elected in the ordinary way in B.C. 22. What in spite of these things maintained the autocracy of Augustus was (1) that he retained the potestas tribuniciicia with its ius relations, and other powers defensive and obstructive; (2) that he retained or accepted a perpetual imperium proconsulare by reserving to himself the command of certain of the provinces in which the presence of a considerable armed force was necessary [Dio 53, 12]. This led, among other things, to the separation of the public treasury (aerarium), on which fell almost exclusively the local expenses in Italy, from the fictus or imperial treasury, out of which the expenses of the provinces and army were defrayed and which was wholly under the control of the Emperor. (3) Though the titles of Augustus and Princeps gave him no definite constitutional powers, they gave him precedence everywhere and a certain sanctity which disarmed opposition. These powers Augustus did not think of laying down, as Suetonius says; what he did elaborate was the restitution of the forms of the republic so far as was consistent with his own supremacy.

II. The second occasion referred to was in B.C. 23 when he was attacked by what seemed a fatal illness, from which he was recovered by the skill of Antonius Musa, in a certain potion he had given him praeos ex tumourum et tum ipsium destruxisse, de ibi auctio per tum tumorum praeosatum tum omne febris tamen tum tumours et tum praeosatum ex tumours et tum ipsius destruxisse, de ibi auctio per tum tumorum praeosatum tum omne febris tamen tum tumours et tum

By thus refraining from appointing a successor Augustus acknowledged that the ultimate authority lay with Senate and people. But after his recovery, by resigning the consulsiphip and resting on his tribuniciicia potestas and proconsulare imperium he made a still more dis-
sine periculo fore et illam plurium arbitrio temere committi, in retinenda perseveravit, dubium, eventum meliore an voluntate. Quam voluntatem, cum prae se identidem ferret, quodam etiam edicto his verbis testatus est: "Ita mihi salvum ac sospitem rem publicam sistere in sua sede licet, atque eius rei fructum percipere, quem pote, ut optimi status aucto dicar, et moriens ut feram mecum spem, mansura in vestigio suo fundamenta rei publicae quae ieceris." Recipitque ipse se componem voti, visus omni modo, ne quem novi status paenitere.

Urbem, neque pro maiestate imperii ornatum et inundationibus incendiisque obnoxiam, excoluit adeo, ut iure sit glorius, marmoream se relinquare, quam latericium acceptisset. Tutam veò, quantum provideri humana ratione potuit, etiam in posterum praestitit.

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

tinct departure from old constitutional theories.

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

inundationibus incendisque. The frequent floods in Rome are familiar to readers of Livy [1, 4; 24, 9; 25, 21; 30, 38; 38, 28; cp. Hor. Od. 1, 3]. Pliny N. H. 3, 5, 55 remarks on the liability of the Tiber to sudden rises. Fires were scarcely less frequent, less the passages quoted by Mr Mayor, liv. 3, 6. The crime of arson was included under several laws [see Ramsay R. Ant. p. 348] and was, it is supposed from Dig. 43, 9, 9, punishable by burning alive.

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

29. forum cum aede Martis Ultoris. The Forum Augusti was on the S.E. of the Forum Iulia, and was a rectangular space surrounded by a wall nearly 100 feet high (with the temple in the centre), lined on the inside with polished marble. Augustus bought the land necessary for the building, M. A. 21 in privato solo Martis Ultoris templum forumque Augustum ex manubulis fact. See Middleton, Remains of Ancient Rome, vol. 11, p. 6 sqq. There was in it also a quadrigae dedicated by Augustus, M. A. c. 35. The temple of Mars Ultor was vowed by Augustus at Philippi [c. 29, cp. Ov. P. 5, 569] and dedicated in B.C. 2, see Vell. 2, 100 et Callo Caninius consulibus. But as early as B.C. 20 it seems to have been sufficiently advanced to receive the standards recovered from the Parthians [Dio 54, 8]. Three Corinthian columns of it are still standing. Its treasury is alluded to in Juvenal 14, 261. See also Callig. 24.

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

inde tenore pari gradibus sublimia cela ducor ad intonsi candida templi del.
in Palatio, aedem Tonantis Iovis in Capitolio. Fori extruendi causa fuit hominem et iudiciorum multitudine, quae videbatur non sufficientibus duobus etiam tertio indigere; itaque festinatus necum perfecta Martis aede publicatum est, cautumque ut separatim in eo publica iudicia et sortitiones iudicium fierent. Aedem Martis bello Philippensi, pro ultione paterna suscepto, voverat; sanxit ergo, ut de bellis triumphiisque hic consultetur senatus, provincias cum imperio petitur, hinc deducantur, quique victores redissent, huc insignia triumphorum conferant. Templum Apollinis in ea parte Palatinae domus excitavit. Quam fulmine itam desiderari a deo haruspices signa peregrinis ubi sunt alterna columna.

Belides et stricto barbarus esse pater, quaeque viri docto veteres coepere novique pectore, lecturis inspicienda patent. According to the commentarii divini [C. I. L. 1, p. 402] it was dedicated October 9, in B.C. 38 [Dio 53, 12] το τέ άπωλην νό μεν το τό Παλατίνο ν και το τέμενος το τό άπωλην μεν τό βαλην εξεπρέπε και καθέων.] It was vowed or promised in B.C. 36 after the victory over Sextus Pompeius [Vell. 2, 81]. C. Hor. Od. 1, 31.

Aedem Tonantis, a small temple near the great temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, see C. 91. It was of solid blocks of marble [Plin. N. H. 36, 59]. It was dedicated in B.C. 32 [Dio 54, 4] on the 1 September [C. I. L. 1, p. 400].

publicatum, 'opened for public use.' Cp. Iul. 4484; Bibliotheca Graecas Latinae...publicae. It is not used in this sense by Cicero.

separatum, i.e. separately from the iudicia privata, which were still to be held in the old forum or basilicae. For sortitiones iudicium Ascon. on Cic. Verres Act. 1, 6; Cic. pro Cluent. 27; pro Flacc. 1; ed G. Pr. 3, 4; in Fl. 40. publica iudicia are trials for crimes under laws establishing quassiones perpetuae, such as lex Julia maiestatis, de sacrarum etc. Digg 47, 1, 1.

pro ultione paterna, see on c. 10.

eio, instead of in the Campus, as before [Liv. 3, 63] or later in the temple of Bellona outside the pomerium, because the claimant could not come inside without forfeiting his imperium. See the case of Africanus, Livy 28, 38; cp. 26, 21; 28, 91; 31, 47; 41, 6.

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

fulmine itam. The consecration of a place struck by lightning was general. It was part of the Etruscan discipline, and therefore was referred to the Etruscan haruspices. See Festus s.v. oculum; Pliny N. H. 3, 145; Pers. Sat. 3, 17. Augustus seems to have bought up a number of houses on the Palatine near his own with the view of enlargement, and then to have determined on devoting a part of it to the temple of Apollo and its adjoining colonnades and libraries. Dio 49, 15 το τόν τόν και το το το Παλατίνο και το ο άπωλην νόμον, άπωλην και το τόν άπωλην νόμον, επέλευσεν και τον αξιον και τον αξιον επέλευσεν. Vell. 3, 81 contrastas emptiibas complices domos pro procuratoriis, quo laetor fieret iouis, publicis se usibus destinare professas est, templum Apollinis et circa partes factorum promissa, quod ab eo singulari extractum munificentia est. For the splendidus of the temple, see Propert. 5, 6. Middleton's Remains of Ancient Rome, vol. 1, p. 186.
pronuntiarius; addidit porticus cum bibliotheca Latina Graecaque, quo loco iam senior saepe etiam senatum habuit decuriasque iudicum recognovit. Tonanti lovī aedem consecravit liberatus periculo, cum expeditione Cantabrice per nocturnum iter; lecticam eius fulgur praestrixisset servumque praecunctem examinasset. Quaedam etiam opera sub nomine alieno, nec potum scilicet et uxoris sororisque, felet, ut porticum basilicamque Gai et Lucii, item porticus Liviae et Octaviae theatrumque Marcelli. Sed et ceteros principes viros saepe hortatus est, ut pro facultate quisque monimentis vel novis vel refectis et excultis urbem adornarent. Multaque a multis tunc extrae sunt, sicut a Marcio Philippo aedes Herculis Musarum, decuriaeiae recognovit. For the decuriae iudicum see on c. 32. As they were nominated for life by the Emperor periodical recognitiores would be necessary for filling up vacancies. For recognoscoere see cc. 32 and 38; Cal. 16 esquers recognovit.

expeditioe Cantabrice, see c. 20.

praebentem, ‘carrying a torch before him.’ Stat. Sib. 1, 2, 89 natantii praeculxi. Iuv. 3, 283–4, where Mayor quotes the name of the slave thus carrying it (lamphadarion) from inscriptions. See Orelli 1845, 1939. C. I. L. 6, 8867–69; lanternarius, Cic. in Pis. 9, 20; C. I. L. 10, 3970; Val. Max. 6, 8, 1 lanternam praelatam.

quaedam etiam Marcelli. M. A. c. 21 Thaetrum ad aedem Apollinis in solo magna ex parte a privatis empo fer, quod sub nomine M. Marcelli generi mei esset. The theatrum Marcelli had been projected by Tullius, see Jul. 44 theatrum summam magnitudinis Turpeo moniti accubant. Dio 43. 49 θεατρόν τι κατὰ τὸν Πολυῆν οἰκοδομήν ἠθελώσας προερχεῖσθαι μὲν ὡκ ἑπεφέρει μέ. Augustus completed it and dedicated it either in B.C. 11 [Plin. H. N. 8, 63] or in B.C. 13 [Dio 54, 36] in honour of the young Marcellus, son of Octavia and adopted by himself, who died in B.C. 43.

basilica. The Basilica Julia was dedicated by Tullius in B.C. 46, having been begun in B.C. 54. If Cicero [ad Att. 4, 16, 14] is referring to it. It seems, though dedicated, not to have been entirely finished off till Augustus put the finishing touches to it. It was then destroyed by fire, and restored by Augustus A.D. 12 and dedicated to the memory of Gaius and Lucius [Dio 65, 27]. M. A. 20 Forum Iulium et basilicam, quo fuit inter aedem Castoris et aedem Saturni, coepit prefiguransque opera a patre meo, perfici: et eadem basilicam consumptam incidere, ampliato eius solo, sub titulo nominis filiorum meorum incubavi, et, si vixus non perfeciisse, perfici heredibus iussi.

porticus Liviae et Octaviae. The porticus Liviae was on the Esquiline on the site of a large building said by tradition to have been the palace of Servius Tullius; near it was a temple of Concord also built by Livia, see Ovid Fast. 637–640 discus tamen, veniens aetas, ubi Livia nunc est | porticus, summam teota suisse domus. The porticus Octaviae (to be distinguished from the Porticus Octavia, Livy 45, 6 and 43), built on the site of an older porticus Metelli, was a quadrangular cloister enclosing the temples of Jupiter Stator and Juno Regina. It was built after the Dalmatian war [B.C. 33] and dedicated in the name of his sister with the other opera Octaviae. Mommsen, R. g. p. 80: Middleton, Remains, vol. ii. p. 300. See fragments of the Capitoline Plan in Burn’s Rome, p. 300.

ceteros...hortatus est. See Dio 54, 18 τέλος τοῦ τυχεόντος πέμποντος ἐγραφεν ἐκ τῶν καθότων ἐκ τῶν πρῶτων μάρτυρων τοῦτο προστατέαν.

Marcio...Musarum. This temple was originally built by M. Fulvius Nobilior
a L. Cornificio aedae Dianae, ab Asinio Polione atrium Libertatis, a Munatius Placo aedae Saturni, a Cornelio Balbo theatrum, a Statili Oauro amphitheatrum, a M. vero Agrippa complura et egregia.

in B.C. 186, and filled with the spoils of Ambracia, especially terra-cotta statues of the Muses by Zeuxis [Plin. N. H. 35: 66]. Ovid [Fast. 6: 799 sq.] seems to say that Marcus Philippus at his restoration of the temple joined the worship of Hercules to it. All this, however, is not certain [see note on p. 17]. He appears not only to have rebuilt the temple but to have surrounded it with a porticus, as is said to have been the case with Venus [Pompeius, see Stream's Rome, p. 200]. It appears to have been used as a place for the examination of slaves by torture [Cic. pro Mil. § 59]; and it had a library attached to it [Ov. Fast. 3: 1: 71]. It was dedicated to Venus [Pudicitia] in 301 B.C. (f1: 175; 36: 10).

aedae Saturni. The very ancient temple of Saturn was said to have been built by Tiberius Gracchus on the Aventine [Burn's Rome, p. 200]. It appears to have been used as a place for the examination of slaves by torture [Cic. pro Mil. § 59]; and it had a library attached to it [Ov. Fast. 3: 1: 71]. Politian of Constantinople, for its restoration by Munatius Plancus see Wilmann, 1112

L. = MVNATVS = L. = F. = L. = N. = L. = PRON = PLANCVS = COS = CENS = IMP = TERT = VII = VIB = EUPLOS = TRIMPH = EX = RAEVS = AEDEM = SATVRNI = PECCIT = DE = MANI = BIS.

This attributes the restoration of the aedae Saturni to the proceeds of his spoils in the war with the Raeti. His triumph is given in the Fast. Cap. under 29 Dec. 71 (f1: 29), as ex Gallia, for he was governor of Gaul.

The theatrum of Cornelius Balbus was dedicated in B.C. 13 [Dio 54: 25]. L. Cornelius Balbus, like his uncle, the friend and agent of Julius Caesar, was a native of Gades, and had obtained the Roman citizenship about B.C. 72 with his relations. He was with Pollio in Spain B.C. 44—3, and was proconsul in Africa in B.C. 20, being allowed a triumph over the Garamantes in B.C. 19,—ex Africa vi Koi, Apr. [C. I. L. 1: 461]. The splendid版权 his theatre, which was not far from the theatrum Marcelli, is mentioned by Pliny N. H. 36: 56. It was however so near the Tiber that when the river was flooded it was inaccessible [Dio 1: 3, 4].

amphitheatrum Tauri. The amphitheatre at Rome, which was an adaptation of the Greek theatres for the purposes of the arena, had always been temporary wooden structures in the forum and elsewhere. T. Statilius Taurus was another triumphs [C. I. L. 1: 461] ex Africa, which he had secured for Octavian after serving against Sext. Pompeius (B.C. 34). He was consul in B.C. 37 and again in B.C. 26 [Wilmanns 1111 T = STATILIUS TAVRUS = IMP • III • COS • II • PATRONO], after a successful campaign in Spain, and again in B.C. 16. Dio [51: 23] assigns the erection of the amphitheatre to B.C. 29. It was completed on the Campus Martius, and is said to have been destroyed in A.D. 64 in the great fire [Dio 63: 1, 6]. It did not at once supersede wooden structures, either temporary or permanent, like that of Carus [Plin. N. H. 36: 116], for Augustus speaks of exhibitions in an amphitheater [M. A. c. 32].

a M. Agrippa...egregia. Besides great works in Italy such as the portus Taurin at Baiae (see pp. 32—33), Agrippa's contributions to the splendour of the city and the entertainment of the citizens were very numerous, both at his own cost or as administering public funds. Besides the Pantheon (which, dedicated in B.C. 27, still stands as a monument of the greatness of his ideas [Dio 53: 27; 63: 37; 66: 24]), we hear of Thermae opened in B.C. 21 [Dio 54: 29]; numerous other smaller baths [Dio 54: 113]; a bridge over the Tiber [Middleton's Rome, 2: 2: 2, p. 268]; the completion of the Septa in the Campus [Dio 53: 23]; a portus Neptuni [Dio
City districts: precautions against

30 Spatium urbis in regiones viscousque dividit instituque, ut illas annui magistratus sortito tuerentur, hos magistris e plebe cuiusque viciniae lecti. Adversus incendia excubias nocturnas vigilesque commentus est; ad

53, 27; 66, 24; Mart. 66, 24;] gardens with a stagnum, and euripus [Dio 54, 29; Ovid Pont. 1, 8, 38;] two Aquae Luciae.—Aqua Italia and Aqua Virgo, begun in B.C. 35 [Front. de aquaed. 85; Dio 54, 11; Plin. N. H. 31, 43] and when curator aquarum in B.C. 33, he is also said to have caused to be constructed 700 basins or pools and 500 fountains [Plin. N. H. 36, 121].

[Lanciani, in Ramsay’s Antiquities, p. 83, maintains that the present Pantheon is not that of Agrippa, but a reconstruction of Hadrian. See however Middleton’s Rome, 2, p. 137-]

30 spatium...divinis. The date of this measure (B.C. 7) is proved by an entry in the Fasti [Hensen, 6145] recording the completion of a list of 107 vicarii magistrati Imp. Caes. Nero. Trajan. III Sex. Int. Frontin. III Cass., i.e. A.D. 100. The list of fourteen regiones into which Rome, both within and without the Servian walls, was divided is given by Pfeiler, Regionen der Stadt Rom, by Nardini, Roma Ant., by Prof. Middleton, Remains of Ancient Rome, vol. 1, pp. 380-4, by Ramsay, Ant. p. 13, ed. 1894. The regiones contained a varying number of smaller divisions or parishes (vici) amounting in all to 265, each of which had its sedica Larium or compulsata, chapel of the Lares worshipped at the central compitum, see Plin. N. H. 3, 66 regiones xiv, compita Larium color. The worship of the genius Augusti seems afterwards to have been united with that of the Lores, see C. I. L. 6, 454 Lariev AVG. VICI. MAG. P. Q. M. VENITIVS. SELNF M. M. VENITIVS. IRENARIS. M. V. LVVIVS. AGATHOVIVS. T. VIBIVS. HERMES. Cp. Ov. Fast. 5, 145 mile Laris Geminus duce, quis tradidit illam, urbis habet et vici numima trina colunt. See Mommens reg. p. 81. For the employment of the vicus as an administrative unit, see cc. 40, 43; Tiber. 76; Claud. 18. The division into regiones was of course ancient [Dionys. Hal. 4, 14], but the number (14 instead of 4) and the space included were new, the latter extending perhaps to about the line of the subsequent Aurelian walls.

ut illas...lecti. The management of the regiones was assigned by lot to the prae tor, sediles, and tribunes [tribunes in C. I. L. 6, 440, 450, 452, praetors ibd. 451, 453], see Dio 55, 8, 4 ton os agro- nymos kai tis demokratias tis to stathv- gav tis polis, dekatolosis midh neumav stois, klarmo proo tis thea. Under them were curatores and denuntiatores. See Wilmanns 1714 erg. 13. CVR. CURTIVS. Q. L. SYVNDVS. P. HELLIVVS. P. L. HERMES. These were generally freedmen, as in this case. Cp. Rushforth 45.

magistri. Four vicarii magistri were elected annually by the inhabitants of the vicus, and at the celebration of the religious rites on the 1st of May [Ov. F. 5, 129], and the 1st of August, when they entered upon their office [C. I. L. 6, 446; Wilmanns 1716 Dianae AVG. VEST. SACRVM. Q. AVILVS. ADAEVES. MAGISTER. VICI. QVIB. K. AVGVSTVS. PRIMVS. MINISTERIVM. INT. Cp. ib. 1717], wore the ioga praetexta, and were escorted by Lictors. Dio 55, 8 4 o to sunesth epiamphalismovn twn kouv tis tis polis, olos kai sunesth kathos kalwv kai souv kai tis oevotis tis argyv kai koedochtov olos kai aivtovs tis chorion wv an argyv, soudenv tis chrematouv dudh. They too were generally freedmen, see C. I. L. 6, 448, 975, Rush. 45.

adversus incendia...commentus, see on c. 28. The sediles were specially charged with this duty, see Dio 54, 3. But as they proved inadequate, seven corps of nocturni vigiles were organised in A.D. 6 under a praefectus to manage the business. Dio 55, 26 ev evan...tov tis polis ev evan dierdhthvthv tis exekluthv tis exekluthv tis sunesth kathos kalwv argyv proo tis. See also supr. c. 25; Dic. 1, 15, 3, 4 4; Mayo on Intro. 3, 199. These vigiles were distinct from the cohortes urbanae which were in the city to the number of 6000 men [Dio 55, 24 4 o tis polis 6omv exekluthv kai tis sunesth kai tegon kai enekluthv kai enekluthv. Cp. Tac. Ann. 4, 51.]
30.]

DIVUS AUGUSTUS.

67

coeordandas inundationes alveum Tiberis laxavit ac ac flood
repurgavit complementum olim ruderibus et aedificiorum flood.
prolationibus coartatum. Quo autem facilius undique urbs flood
adiretur, desumpta sibi Flamina via Ariminus tenus munienda,
reliquas triumphalibus viris ex manubiali pecunia
sternendas distribuit.

The Viae.

alveum Tiberis laxavit. For laxare 'to enlarge' see Cic. Att. 4, 15 ut forum laxaremus et usque ad arium Libertatis explicaremus. This was apparently the terminatio of the Tiber bank made in B.C. 8, see C. I. L. 1225 f. Rushf. pp. 26—29, Wilmanns 846 c. MARCVS L. F. L. N. CENSORIVS C. C. ASINIVS C. F. GALLVS C. EX. S. C. TERMIN. E. B. (primo rigore) PROXIN. CIPVD. P. D. XLII. CVRATORI. RIPA. RY. *QV* FVREVRVT. EX. S. C. RE- SISTI. EVRVT. That is, the first board of curatores [A.D. 13, see on c. 37] restored the work of the consuls Censorinus and Asinius (A.D. 8). This had been the duty of the Censors, see C. I. L. 1, 609 p. SERVILIVS C. F. ISAVIVS C. M. VALERIVS C. F. NV. N. MESSAL. CENS. EX. S. C. TERMIN. (B.C. 55—54). For the frequency of inundations see on c. 28. The terminatio alluded to in the last inscription was in consequence of one, see Dio 39, 61. Two specially severe floods are recorded in B.C. 27 [Dio 53, 20] and B.C. 23 [id. 33].

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

prolacionibus, *extensions*, cp. Livy 31, 5 finium prolatio. Such encroachments on the river may be among those referred to by Horace, Odor 1, 32.

desumpta sibi Flamina. This arrangement was made in B.C. 27; M. A. c. 20 Consul septimum viam Flaminium ubi urbem Ariminum fecit et pontes ovates prater Multium et Minucium: Dio 53, 22 et mun turri prope summam terrae daeum ad oculos hominum loquitur. Eodem modo dicitur ut curiosus qui semper erat in ingenti monte (v. supra) Petro. Dicitur quod Flaminio aequatur ex posthuma pecunia, et

σημαντος δε αυτης ημιλεως, έκμετά- ληψις. The via Flaminia, the most important of the three great roads to the North [tres ergo viae: a supero mari Flaminia, ab infero Aurelia, media Cassia, Cic. Tusc. Phil. § 32], ended at Ariminum where it was joined by the via Aemilia leading westward through the valley of the Po. The inscription on the triumphal marble arch still standing at Ariminum confirms the fact and the date, C. I. L. 11, 365. The via Flaminia was first made fit for military use by Gaius Flaminius, in his censorship B.C. 221 [Liv. Ep. 20]. Augustus, though taking the via Flaminia under his special care, repaired or supplied money for repairing other roads also, Middleton, Remains of Ancient Rome, 4, p. 357.

reliquas...distribuit. Of these vires triumphales we know from inscriptions of C. Calvisius Sabinius who triumphed from Spain in B.C. 18 and repaired the via Latina [C. I. L. 1, p. 478; 689; Mommsen res p. 87]. The importance of the curatio viarum extra urbem is shown by the rank of the men appointed curatores, who were almost always of the ars senatoriae [Wilmanns 2, p. 79]. Julius Caesar made almost his first bid for popularity as curator viae Appia [Plut. Cat. 5], and Cicero in 64 regards the repair of the via Flaminia as rendering a man a formidable rival for the consulship [Att. 1, 1, 2].

ex manubialis pecunia. This does not seem to occur elsewhere. The usual expression is ex manubilibis, for manubiae is not spoils, but money obtained from sale of spoils. Ann. Gell. 13, 25, 26 nam praedae diutius corpora ipso venae quae capti sunt, manubiae nero appelatae sunt pecunia a quaestore ex venditione praedae redacta. Of the three parts into which this money was divided one went to the treasury, one to the soldiers, one to the general. This last was frequently spent wholly or in part upon public works. See Livy 10, 46; Cicero in Verr. 3, 3 § 186;
Aedes sacras vetustate conlaptas aut incendio absumptas refecit casque et ceteras opulentissimis donis adoravit, ut qui in cellam Capitolini Iovis sedecim milia pondo auri gemmasque ac margaritas quingentes 31 sestertii una donatione contulerit. Postquam vero pontificis...
tum maximum, quem numquam vivo Lepido huferre sustinuerat, mortuo demum suscepit, quidquid fatidicorum librorum Graeci Latinique generis nullis vel parum idoneis autoriis vulgo ferrebatur, supra duo milia (contracta) undique cremavit ac solos retinuit. Sibyllinos, hos quoque dilectu habito; condiditque duobus forulis auratis sub Palatini Apollinis basi. Annum a Divo Iulio ordinatum, sed postea neglegentia conturbatum atque confusum, rursus ad pristinam rationem redigit; in cuius ordinacione Sextiliem mense e suo cognomine nuncupavit, magis quam Septembris quo erat natus, quod hoc sibi et primus consulatus et insignes victoriae.

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

\[\text{Sextilium...optigissent.} \] Dio 55, 6 f. 18. The victories alluded to cannot include those in the civil war, either at Mutina, Philippi, Perusia, or Actium, for they were all in other months [see notes pp. 9, 36]. But Augustus entered Alexandria in August [p. 39], and Drusus conquered the Brauni about the same time in the year [Hor. Od. 4, 14, 34 quo dicit Fortis Alexandrea supplex Ei vacans patrestit autem, Fortuna lustrum prospera terris Belli sequens rededit exitus ...]. The victory over Sextus Pompeius may also have been at the end of August, see note p. 36. It is noteworthy that though the name of July, in spite of the protests of the Optimate party [see Cic.
optigisset. Sacerdotum et numerum et dignitatem sed et
commoda auxit, praecipue Vestalium virginum.

The Vestals.

Cumque in demortuas locum aliam capi oportet,
ambirentque multi ne filias in sortem darent, adjuravit,
si cuiusquam neptium suarum competeter actas, oblaturum
se fuisset eam. Nonnulla etiam ex antiquis caerimonis paulatin

Att. 16, 1 and 4), and the name of August, without any protest at all, pre-
vailed, similar attempts by other Em-
perors to name months in their own
honour failed [Suet. Nero 55; Dom.
13; Dio 57, 4; Ael. Comm. 8, 8].

sacerdotum...auxit. It was part of
Augustus' plan of political reconstruction
to revive and give importance to the
various sacred colleges. One method
of doing this was by becoming a mem-
ber of them himself. Accordingly we
learn from the M. A. 7, that he was
pontifex, augur, quindecimvir s.f., sep-
temvir epulonum, frater arvalis, sodalis
Titius, futilis. And he was not only
an honorary member, he attempted to
keep alive their ancient ceremonies.
His voting among the Arval brethren is
recorded in the Acta [Henzel pp. xxix,
xxx], and as a futil he proclaimed war
against Cleopatra [Dio 60, 4]. It was
these colleges too, with that of the Titii
sodales, which Augustus seems to have
specialy revived both by entering them
himself and causing members of his
family to do so: hence we find Nero
Caesar, son of Germanicus, called flam
Augustalis, sodalis Augustalis, sodalis
Titius, frater arvalis, futilis, quaeuer
Mommsen res g. p. 34; C. I. L. 6, 913.

commoda, ‘allowances.’ This must
be held to include both ‘endowments’
and special exemptions. The priests
were exempt from military service, im-
posts, and public services (monera).
Dionys. 4, 63; 715 s. 11; Livy 4, 54;
Gell. 10, 15; Phü. Num. 14; Cíc.
Acad. pr. 2, 38; Brüt. § 117. But the
claim of the augures and sacerdotes to
such exemption was once at least dis-
puted [Livy 33, 42]. The cost of sacri-
fices, banquetts etc., was provided for
by certain charges on some of the aget
publica [Cíc. Phil. 13, 15; Oros. 5,
18; Festus 245], and the collegia had
probably other landed estates. Fresh
grants were made from time to time.
Thus Aurelian decretit etiam emolumenta
sartis testis et ministris (Vopisc. 33).
Augustus is said to have given lands at

Lanuvium to the Vestals [Frontin. de
colonis 106], and his special favour to
them is alluded to by Ovid. F. 6, 425
nunc bene lucetis sacris sub Castrum
flammæ. Besides such grants to the
College, individual Vestals were richly
dowered [Tac. Ann. 4, 16].
cumque...fuisset eam. The number
of the Vestals was always six, though
at some period before the final closing
of the College by Gratian it had been
raised to seven [Symmachus Ep. 10, 61;
Ambros. Ep. 15]. The conditions were
that the girl should be between six and
ten, the daughter of parents living (pa-
trimo et matrimo), who were not freed-
men nor engaged in any mechanical
trade, and that she should be bound to
 chastity and the service of the goddess
for thirty years, after which she might
retire and marry. In case of a vacancy
the Pontifex Maximus named twenty
girls one of whom was chosen by lot,
though as a rule this was rendered un-
necessary by the voluntary offer of some
parent [Gell. 1, 13, 10]. But about
this time there seems to have been a
falling off of such volunteers, so that
Augustus relaxed the rule as to the
daughters of freedmen, Dio 57, 22 ἤπε
όδοι διότι ηὲ πᾶν εὐγενέως τὰς γυνα-
ίας εἰ τῇ τῷ Ἱππίῳ λεπτάς εὐχαλ-
δόνων, εὐμυθεὶς καὶ εἰς ἀκαλλάθων
γεγονουμένως λεπτάς—and, as we have
seen, a large dowry from the treasury
was offered to induce parents to present
their girls [Tac. Ann. 4, 16; 11, 85].
competent, ‘were eligible,’ ‘were
within the legal limit,’ generally fol-
lowed by the abl. of the thing constitut-
ing the competence [Tac. Z. 2, 45] or
ad with the accus. of that for which
one is competent [Livy 22, 5]. This
absolute use is late. Of Augustus’
grand-daughters at the time of the
measure mentioned by Dio (A.D. 4)
there were only Iulia and Agrippina, both
of whom were born before B.C. 15 and
so would be too old. His great-grand-
daughter by Agrippina was not yet
born.
aboluta restituit, ut Salutis aurgium, Diale flaminiunm, sacrum Lupercali, ludos saeculares et compitaliciis. Lupercalibus

Salutis aurgium. The new consuls on coming into office offered a prayer to Salus for the health and prosperity of the people, but before doing so the auspices had to be taken to ascertain whether such a prayer might be offered; and the whole ceremony was called Augurium Salutis, Dio 37, 24, διότι το οἴνομα το της ζητελατ δια τέκτων τοιού τοιούτου (in B.C. 63 after Pompey’s victories). οὕτω δὲ μαρτείλει της τρόπου εξαιτίας, πιστω τι της εχον δὲ ἐπιβεβαιωθήκε σοφόν θεία ζητελατ αἰτήσεως, δὲ οὕτω δέκυο δὲ οὐδέν αἰτήσεως αἰτήσει προς συνηχειάθηκε γενόμενα. One condition was that there should be peace; and Augustus took great pleasure in renewing the ceremony in B.C. 39 in connection with the closing of the temple of Janus, Dio 51, 20 τά τε πόλεως τού Ἰανου ὧν καὶ πάντων σοφῶν τοῦ λαοῦ παραμονής διακόσια καὶ το οἴνομα το τῆς ζητελατ αἰτήσεως. See Marquardt 14, p. 77, note (7). The name of the Emperor was joined in the solemn vota urorum municipiorum along with that of the Salus Publica, which took place usually on 3 January, see Wilmanns 2676, 2678. For the worship of Salus, begun in B.C. 180, see Livy 40, 37, Wilmanns 13, 64 a. 102.

Diale flaminiunm. According to Festus (s.v. maximse dignitatis) there were thirteen flamens attached to the worship of different gods; but there were flamines maiors (Dialis, Marius, Quirinius). The flamens diaisis occupied a position of great dignity, had a seat in the Senate, the sella curulis, and was preceded by a lictor; but he was subject to the most minute and tiresome rules as to duties and residence. Every day was festus to him, he might not sleep a night out of Rome, or mount a horse, or take an oath. The last was held to exclude him also from all magistracies, though this was at times got over by his colleague taking it for him [Livy 31, 50; 39, 39, 56]. It was no wonder therefore that it was found difficult to get men of high rank to serve [Livy 27, 8], and when L. Cornelius Merula died in B.C. 87 the office remained vacant for 75 years, till Augustus secured an appointment in B.C. 11 [Tac. Ann. 3, 58; Dio Cass. 54, 36]. For the position of the flamens diaisis and rules affecting him and his wife (flaminici), see generally Awl. Gell. 10, 15, Plut. C. R. 14, 50; Romans 47; Tac. Ann. 14, 15; Festus xv. Flaminici and opin; Servius ad Vergil. Ann. 4, 265; Wilmanns 259.

Sacrum Lupercali. The restoration of the Lupercali is mentioned among the works of Augustus in the M. A. C. 4. The site of the sacred cave is uncertain. The festival celebrated on the 15 February was probably connected with beating the bounds of the ancient Palatine city. The circumstance of its celebration in B.C. 44, when Antony offered to the Senate to withdraw the college of Lupercali to the Senate to withdraw the college of Lupercali to the Senate, were granted them by Caesar [Cic. 13 Phil. 31 vestigia Ianuana Lupercis admissit], and apparently to put a stop to the festival. It continued to be celebrated thenceforth till A.D. 494, when Pope Gelasius substituted for it the feast of the Purification of the Virgin.


These games were the special function of the xv viri (who had also charge of the Sibyline books), see Tac. Ann. 11, 11. On what calculation Augustus selected the year for them is uncertain, though it appears to have rested on some passage of the Sibyline books [Hor. C. C. 53]. Dio 54, 18 says they were the 5th held since the foundation of the city. The preceding celebrations are [Censorinus 17, 8] to have been in 449, 348, 249, 149 [though Livy Ep. 49 only notices the two last]. The fifth should therefore have been in B.C. 40 or 48. The Civil War prevented that, and Augustus and his colleagues may have arrived at the year 17, by deducting 33 years as the number accumulated in advance by the last three saecula being reckoned as 100 years, whereas the right length of all the saeculum was said to be 110 years [Hor. Carm. Soc. 21 certus unius decem per annos orbis ut cuncti referantque ludos...] as being the maximum length of a man’s life. The Emperor Claudius in A.D. 47 however neglected this calculation, taking the 800th year of the city according to the Varronian epoch. But Domitian
vetuit currere inberbes, item saecularibus ludis iuvenes utriusque sexus prohibuit ullam nocturnum spectaculum frequentare nisi cum aliquo maiore natu propinquorum. Compitales Lares ornari bis anno instituit, vernis floribus et aestivis.

Proximum a dis immortalibus honorem memoriae ducum praestitit, qui imperium Populi Romani ex minimo maximum reddidissent. Itaque et operis cuiuscumque manentibus titulis restituit et statuas omnium triumphalique effigie in utraque fori sui portico dedicavit, professus edicto commentum id se, ut ad illorum vetus exemplar et ipse, dum vivisset, et insequentium aestatium principes egressurus a civibus. Pompei quoque statuam contra theatri eius region

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

**comptalices.** The Compitales, which dated from the regal period, were properly ludi conceptivi, but were so generally fixed on or about the 3rd and 4th of January, soon after the Saturnalia, that they became equivalent to ludi stani [Mommsen, C. I. L. 1, p. 382]. They were under the charge of the officers of the vicus as magistri collegiorum comptaliciorum [Liv. 34, 71; C. I. L. 6, 1334]. But these colleges having been abolished by a Senatus Consultum in B.C. 64 as dangerous, restored by Cadius in B.C. 58, and again abolished by Caesar [Ascon. in Pat. p. 6; Suet. Iul. 47], the celebrations seem to have fallen into desuetude. The restoration of Augustus was connected with the reorganization of the vicus mentioned in c. 31. It is alluded to by Vergil, in Aen. 8, 717

ludique vinea placuque frementi. The celebrations of the Compitales in the city [Cat. R. 8 and 57] were perhaps not interrupted, see C. d. Att. 7, 7, § 3.

**compitales aestivis.** That is, probably on the 1st May and 1st of August, the latter being the day on which the new vicorum magistri entered on their office. Ovid, F. 5, 159 praestitibus Maiae Laribus videre Kalendas aram conscribui ... 147 Quo feror? Augustus mensis mithi carminis huic ius habet. But it is nowhere precisely stated that these were the two days, see Marquardt 12, p. 248; Mommsen in C. I. L. 1, p. 393.

**status. triumphalis effigie.** Statues with triumphal ornaments. The series of statues in niches in the colonnades round the forum Augusti began with Aeneas and came down to the time of Augustus. Ovid, F. 5, 553 hinc videt Aeneas operam ponderes caro E t juxta nobilitatis aves. See also the list in Vergil, Aen. vi. Gelius 9, 11 mentions Valerius Corvinus among them. See Iuv. 1, 129 in vine raftique foras Apollo aliquos triumphales. Dio says they were of bronze (ταλαιποι), 55, 137, but Lepidus of marble [Alex. Sev. 7, 6 exemite Augustus quis summorum vicorum statuas in foro suo et marmore collocavit additis gestit]. There were not it seems equestrian statues, i.e. in chariots, as was the fashion in other places [Iuv. 8, 31; 7, 125; Plin. N. H. unde et nostri currus nati in is qui trium&squ;ant. Seren bene, et in his non nisi a dico Augusto seigneur]. The car set up in the middle of the forum seems to have been meant as a triumphal emblem for all alike. M.A. c. 55. For the inscriptions see Vell. Pat. 7, 39 Deus Augustus praeter Hispanias aliisque gentes, quarum titulus forum una praesidet etc. For text specimenes see C. I. L. 1, pp. 281-292.

**Pompeii... statuam.** This was the statue in the Curia Pompei, at the foot of which Julius Caesar fell. It was saved from the fire by which the Curia was destroyed after the murder. Suet. Caes. 88; App. B. c. 3, 147. It has been supposed to be the same marble statue which was found in 1553, and is now in the Palazzo Spada. But this is not proved, and the more general opinion is that the statue in the Curia was of bronze.

**regiam ac porticum, c. 76.** The porticus Pompeiana was outside the
DIVUS AUGUSTUS.

marmoreo Iano superposuit, translatam e curia, in qua C. Caesar fuerat occisis. · Pleraque cessimis exempli in pernicem publicam aut ex consuetudine licentiaque bellorum civilium duraret aut per pacem etiam exercent; nam et grassatorum plurimorum palam se ferabant succincti ferro, quasi tuendi sui causa, et rapti per agros viatores sine discrimine liberi servique ergastulis possessorum suppressionem et plurimae factiones titulo collegii novi ad nullius non facinoris societatem coabassae. Igitur grassaturas dispositis per opportuna loca stationibus inhibuit, ergastula recognovit, collegia prater antiqua et legitima dissolvit. Tabulas veterum aerari debitorum, theatre. It was a large court, surrounded by a cloister supported by rows of columns. It was also called the Heoctostylon, and is so named on the marble Plan. The court was adorned with rows of sycamore trees, fountains, and statues...Pompée dona nemusque duplex, Mart. 2, 14, 10. in modo Pompeia lentus spatiosae sub umbros, Or. A. A. 1, 67; cp. Cic. de Fin. c. 4. marmoreo Iano, 'a marble arch' or rather double arch with four ways...Ianus quadriporticus. 32. grassatorum, 'foot-pads,' are thus defined in the Dig. 48, 19, 28, § 15 grassatores qui praeclara causa ad faciunt proximis laticribus calentur. Cp. c. 43. succincti ferro. This was additional aggravation, Dig. 1. c. et si cum ferro agredit insitutum, capite puncturatum. ergastula...suprimebantur, 'were kept shut up in the slave prisons.' The ergastula were primarily prisons for refractory slaves, who worked in the fields in chains and were shut up during the night in separate cells, often underground, Livy 3, 23; 7, 4; Columella 1, 6 § 3. The abuse here mentioned, of confining free men in these places, caused Tiberius later on to hold a visitation of ergastuli throughout Italy, Tib. 8 gvo- rum domini in insidiam venerant quasi exceptos suppressorem non solum visitatores sed et quos sacramento metus ad eum muti laticribus conquisisset. Cp. Colum. 1, 8 and 16 ut ergastuli mancipia recognoscant, ut expolient...nun villicus atollabor, quanquam domino ne scirent aut revinserint. But the scandal went on till Hadrian abolished them altogether, Sparr. Hdr. 18 ergastula servorum et liberorum tulli. For the enormous number of these plantations of slaves (often criminal or treated as criminal) throughout Italy, see Lactan 7, 401; Tacit. Ann. 4, 27; Inv. 8, 180; 14, 24; Seneca de Tr. 3, 32; Pliny H. N. 18, §§ 21 and 50; Plutarch Tib. Gr. 8; Appian B. c. c. 1, 7; Florus 2, 7, 3. Mommsen [6, H. 3, p. 79, E. T. Fesser ed.] regards the system of slave plantations as having been brought by the Carthaginians into Sicily; and, connecting the word ergastulum with paragabon, considers that its mongrel formation shows that it originated somewhere where Greek influence was felt but Greek civilisation was imperfect. suprimere conveys the notion of 'putting out of the way,' causing to disappear, Dig. 48, 8, 3, § 4 qui non agitur ergastularum per opportuna loca. Cp. Tib. 37 in primitius tuenda facit a grassatari et laticribis edilitioneque licentia curam habuit. Stations mixtum solito frequentiores dispositi. Thus Iuvenal [3, 307] speaks of the Pompeian marshes and the Gallinaria pinus being so guarded. Cp. id. 16, 22. Augustus had begun these precautions as early as B.c. 36, see App. B. civ. 5, 133. collegia...dissolvit. Dio § 4, 3 θεσσαλία το συνέστως το μὲν παντικήτωρ καθές τα δὲ πρὸς το εὐφράητον συνεπεσθαν (B.C. 22). The law by which this was done (lex Iulia de collegiis) was not otherwise mentioned in any extant document until the discovery of an inscrip-
vel praecipuum calumniandi materiam, exuisset; loca in urbe publica iuris ambigui possessoribus adivicavit; diurnorum reorum et ex quorum sordibus nihil alius quam voluptas inimicus quaeretur nomina abolevit, condicione proposita, ut si quem quis repetere velit, 

The State debtors.

tion by Mommsen in 1847. C. I. L. 6, 3193. Wilmanns 1346 dis-Manibus • collegio • symphoniacorum • Qvi • sa- cris • publícis • praebent • ven • Qvi- nus • senatus • C • C • (coire convocati consig) • permitt • F • leges • iulia • ex • avctoritate • D • AVG • lydorvm • caysa. The collegia were very numero- us, embracing almost every branch of industry or art, but those which were considered dangerous were the collegia episcoporum and the collegia sodalicia, organised for political purposes at elections. The difficulty no doubt was to dis- tinguish between the innocent and the mischievous. The SCum of R.C. 64 attempted to distinguish between those who were lawful and those that were not, ascon. ad Cic. in Pison. p. 6 L. Iulio C. Marcio Cass. SCto collegia sublata sunt quae adversus rem publicam videbantur esse. But Clodius in R.C. 58 apparently overrode this SCum by a lex, and new collegia immediately came into existence [Cic. pro Sert. § 55]. Iulius again at- tempted the same distinction [Jul. 43], summa collegia, praebent antiquitas constitu- dixtis dixtis: and the lex Iulii of Augustus seems to have effected the object by requiring every collegium to have a license from the Senate or the Emperor,—thus the clause often appear- ing in Roman inscriptions ex c.c. coire licent [see e.g. Wilmanns, 1737], but the rule does not seem to have applied to other towns in Italy or the provinces. The ‘ancient colleges’ may be those mentioned by Plutarch as having been established by Numa [Num. 17]. There is a considerable literature on the subject, Mommsen de Collegis (1843), Dr Cohn zum römischen Vereinsrecht (1873), Dr H. Maeder v. a. (1887), W. Liebermann zur Geschichte und Organisation des römischen Vereinswesens (1860), with Mr E. G. Hardy’s review [Clás. Rec. 19, p. 420]. Marquardt 17, 167; Bruns, Fontes, pp. 315–317. Legitima does not seem to refer to any law naming certain colleges, but to their object, those whose objects were con- nected with foreign religions. Tabulae. debitoris. Dio 32: 3 [13, l. 28] eai τής ἐγγίζει τής προς το θεόν τον το ἐν τῇ το αἰτίας μέχρις γιαγόντας, προ τον ἐνταλματικος ἐνθάδε, τά τε πάνω συμβλέπα τών τώ κοινώ τώ θεολόγων ἐκκεν. The debts might be from multiae or confiscations, or even from state loans [see c. 44]. 

vel praecipuum...materiam, 'far the most frequent excuse for vexatious ac- tions.' praecipuum is qualified by vel as though it were a superlative adjective. Cf. Jul. 43 cuius vel praecipuum opus... Bihlo- tum impugnaverat. For such calumnii in favour of the treasury, see Nero 35; Domit. 9.

iuris ambigui, i.e. when it could not be clearly proved whether they were public or private property, the presup- position was allowed to go in favour of the actual holder. There were regular com- missions, holding office for two years, to decide such questions ('exchequers'), called curatores locorum publicorum, see Wilmanns 854 t. qvinctv... c cal- petanvs... ctyratores... locor... publeric... indicans... ex... caysa... cognita... ex... privato... in... publeric... restituer. Cp. id. 1341. 
sordibus, 'miserly,' with a general reference, however, to the custom of a 


nomina abolevit, had their names removed from the public tabulake of accused persons. The tabulae publicae in such revenue cases hung up in the treasury, Domit. 9 reos, qui ante quinquennium maximum apud aequitatem dependissent universos discrimine liberavi, nec repeti- nis intra annum eaque conditiones permisit, ut accusatores qui causam non tenerent exilium poena esset. 

repere... subire. See passage quoted above. For the technical mean- 
ing of repetere, of a renewal of a charge, see also Dom. 8 Cornelius... absolutam olim, dein longo intervallo repetitam atque convictam defodi imperavit. 

The
par periculum poenae subiret. Ne quod autem maleficium negotiumve inpuitate vel mora elaberetur, triginta amplius dies, qui honoraris ludis occupabantur, actui rerum accommodavit. Ad tris judicium decurias quartam addidit. ex inferiore censu, quae deceniarorum vocari tu dicarentque de leviobus summis. Judices a vicemino [quinto] aetatis anno adiecit, id est quinquennio maturius quam right however was usually confined to those cases where the accuser had died or for some reason had been prevented from proceeding; and moreover the new accusation must be within 90 days. Diga. 38, 3, 3, § 4. par... poenae. The calumniator risked incurring the same punishment as the accused would incur if cast in his suit. Cod. 9, 46. quisque crimen intendit non impuniter fore novit licentiam mentiri: cum calumniatoris ad vindicandum posset stimulato supplici; just as in an action for property the adverteri risked a fine of a third of its value if convicted of calumnia, Gaius Inscs. 4. 173.

maleficium negotiumve, 'action for damages or on a disputed claim.' This answers to the two great divisions of actions of Inscsian [Inst. 4, 6], those in personam and in rem. The former would include (among other things) maleficium, where some wrong or fraud was alleged and a remedy sought; the latter would coincide with negotium, all questions between two or more litigants who were at issue as to some right or liability. For negotium in the sense of lawsuit cp. Cod. 40 si quis compositisse vel donasse negotium convinceretur. elaberetur, 'should be allowed to fall through,' 'should escape the hands of the law.' Cpt. 29, 33 et s quam reiunum inlchi grata rumor esset, subitus aderat. triginta... accommodavit, that is he allowed actions to be brought on thirty additional days, which had before been feriae. In the Diga. 38, 2, 3, § 4 it is laid down ubique triginta dies utiles observarant sunt. Now days on which ludus were held were not utiles. Augustus did not interfere with the regular feriae, on which ludis imi or conceptivi were held; but the days closed to law business had a constant tendency to increase, and he here withdraws from them 30 days taken up by ludii honorarii, i.e. games given as an extra indulgence by magistrates to the people, Marquardt 12, p. 340. actui rerum, 'for the prosecution of legal business,' 'term-time,' Pliny Ep. 9, 25, 3 nunc me rerum actus modice sed tamen distingui. Claud. 15, Nero 17, ad tris judicium decurias. The judges up to B.C. 122 had all been Senators, from B.C. 122 to 88 they were equites. In that year a law of Sulla reinstated the Senators. It was the reaction after the death of Sulla that introduced the three decuriae. By the lex Aurelia (B.C. 70) the jury was to be composed of three decuriae, Senatores, equites and tribuni aerarii. The lex Julia of B.C. 46 did away with the decuriae of the tribuni aerarii [Jul. 45, Dio 43, 35]. Antony in B.C. 44 made a third decuria of those who had served as centurions, or in the cavalry or in the legio Alauda in any rank [Cic. 1 Phil. 52, 3, § 123, 13, § 3]. The lex Aurelia had, it appears, not barred centurions as long as they had a certain census (raised perhaps by the lex Pompeia in B.C. 185), but Antony's law abolished this qualification. What exactly Augustus did is somewhat obscure. Mommsen [Stoater. 3, p. 325, no. 2] holds that he composed the three decuriae of equites exclusively, adding a 4th decuria of men of a lower census. But the point of view as to the titulatio was changed. It was no longer an object for one order or the other to serve on them. The measure of Augustus was a relief to the Senators, and his reform seems to have been a leveling up, as by some means the majority of those on the album indicum had come to be of a census lower than the equestrian. Pliny N. H. 30, 134, § 30 divo Augusto ordinante decurias maior pars indicum in foro annulo juit, sive non equites sed judices vocabantur. deceniarorum, men whose census reached HS 300,000 but was below the equestrian (HS 400,000). See Claud. 24 procuratores decenarii. a vicemino [quinto]. The MSS. have trigentime. But the lex Servilia
solebant. Ac plerisque iudicandi munus detractantisibus, vix concessit ut singulis decuribus per vices annua vacatio esset, et ut solitae agi Novembris ac Decembri mense res omitterentur. \textit{Ipse ius dixit} assidue et in noctem nonnumquam, si parum corpore \textit{valert}, lectica pro tribunali collocata vel etiam domi cubans. \textit{Dixit} autem ius non diligentia modo summa sed et lenitate, siquidem manifesti parricidii reum, ne culleo \textit{insuecutur}, quod nonnisi confessi \textit{adfectiitur} hac poena, ita \textit{fertur} interrogasse: \textit{certe patrem tuum non occidisti? Et cum de falso testamento...}
ageretur omnesque signatores lege Cornelia tenerentur, non tantum duas tabellas, damnatoriam et absolutoriam, simul cognoscentibus dedit, sed tertiam quoque, qua ignosceretur Isis, quos fraude ad signandum vel errore inductos constitisset.

Appellationes quo annis urbanorum quidem litigatorum praetori delegabat urbano, ac provincialium consularibus viris, quos singulos ciusque provinciae negotiis praeposuerat.

senator ut etiam parricida confessus in insula dea viris poneretur, quia sivee illi naturae legibus non licebat.

signatores...tenerentur. Lex Cornelia de falsis vel testamentariorum Cornelius Sulla related to all kinds of frauds connected with wills. The witnesses of a forged will (of which seven were required) were liable to the same penalty as the actual forger—the presumption being that all engaged were acting in concert. Justin. Inst. 4, 18, 7 item lex Cornelia de falsis, quae etiam testamentaria vocatur, poenam irrogat et, qui testamentum vel alius instrumentum scripsisset, signaverit, revocaverit, subieterit, quia signum aduleriuni semper, scrupulis, expresserit scirens deb melo. Dig. 48, 10, 2. What Augustus seems to have done is to give a generous interpretation to the saving clause scirens deb melo, enabling a witness to prove that he had not been aware of the nature of the deed when he signed it. The presumption would still be against him till he had proved this.

ignosceretur, ‘the jury,’ but also of magistrates hearing a case, Iul. 38; Claud. 15 and 33; Nero 15. tertiam quoque. This is not the tablet with N.I. on it, the custom of giving a non liquet verdict having fallen into desuetude [see Cicero pro Cluent. § 70]; it appears to have been a tablet specially prepared for this occasion, but how marked we do not know.

appellationes. Though the exact judicial foundation of the appellate jurisdiction of Augustus is not clear, it grew naturally from his tribunicia potestas, as well as from his proconsulare imperium in the provinces. Among the powers voted to Augustus in B.C. 30—29 [Dio 51, 19] were that ἐκλάθη τε [sc. δεσμ., cap. 52, 21] διέκρισα καὶ φήμα των πρώτων τὸν ἄλλον ἀνδρὸς φόρον. For some time however there seems to have been a variety of practice. Caligula [c. 16] magistratibus liberum jurisdictionem et sine sui appellatone conscient. Nero gave an appeal from the judges to the Senate [Ner. 17 ut omnes appellatones a iudices ad senatum fieri]. But this seems either only to refer to private suits, Tac. Ann. 14, 38, or not to exclude the appeal to the Emperor which still existed side by side with it. Again by a constitution of Hadrian there was no appeal from the Senate to the Emperor. But these arrangements appear to have only applied to Rome or Italy; not to the provinces, from which the appeals to the Emperor continued to be made. This appellatio was a natural result of the old provocatio ad populum, which ceased to be practically used when trials were before quaestiones as committees of the people. The last recorded case was that of Rabinius in B.C. 63,—but the provocatio in that case was not against the verdict of iudices, but against the sentence of duoviri capitales on a charge of perduellio, an antiquated procedure which had been practically superseded by a quaestio de matrestate. Against an irresponsible sentence of duoviri there was of course still a right of provocatio [Jul. 11]. Now that the comitia had lost all significance, the appellatio to the Princeps naturally took the place of the old provocatio ad populum. delegabat. In later times this became a regular system. The Emperor either judged an appeal himself or referred it to a index datas or index delegatus, who as representing him gave a decision which, like his own, might be without appeal if so stated in his commission. Cod. Th. 11, 30, 16; Willems, Droit public, pp. 429, 428; Dig. 49, 2, 1, § 4.

consularibus viris...praeposuerat. Officials called iudicii iuridicii, or simply iuridici, are found in the provinces in the next century [Marquardt 9, p. 575; Mommsen Staats. 1, p. 262]: whether they are to be connected with this arrangement of Augustus is uncertain.
Leges retractavit et quasdam ex integro sanxit, ut sumptuariam et de adulteris et de pudicitia, de ambitu, de maritandis ordinibus. Hanc cum aliquanto se veriusquam ceteras emendasset, prae tumultu recusans perferre non potuit, nisi adempta demum lenitave partes poenarum et vacatioe (qui ad partim data auctisque praemissis) sic quoque aboli-<ref>ionem eius publico spectaculo pertinaciter postulantem equite, accitos Germanici liberos receptosque partim ad se partim in patriis gremium ostentavit, manu vultuque significans ne gravarentur imitari iuvenis exemplum. Cumque</ref>
etiam immaturitate sponarum et matrimoniorum crebra
mutatione vim legis eludi sentiret, tempus sponas habendi
coartavit, divortii modum imposuit.

Senatorum affluentem numerum deformi et incondita turba 35
(serant enim super mille, et quidam indignissimi et
post necem Caesaris per gratiam et praemium adlecti,
quos orcinos vulgus vocabat) ad modum pristinum
et splendorem redigiti duabus lectionibus: prima ipsorum

[Dio 55, 31]. The date of his marriage with Agrippina (b. n.c. 13), daughter of
Agrippa and Julia, is not known, but
she seems already to have had several of
the nine children which she eventually
bore to her husband [Cal. 7].

Immaturitate sponarum, i.e. by
contracting a nominal marriage or be-
trothal with a child, in order to evade the
law. Such betrothals were not other-
wise uncommon: Augustus himself was
married to a daughter of Fulvia, while
she was quite a child, and never lived with
her, and he caused Tiberius to betroth
himself to Vipsania, daughter of Agrippa,
when she was only a year old, Nepos
Att. 19. But as a mode of evading the law
Augustus attempted to suppress it by the
regulation that no sponsa was to be
taken account of that were not followed
by marriage in two years... C. 43. 47. 2
insulae. [Suet. Caes. 43 senatum sub-
plevit. id. 50 peregrinis in senatum adlecti
libellus proponit est: hominem factum.
ne quis senatores curiam monstrare
seelicet.] It was done by a lex Cassia,
Tac. Ann. 11, 25. At his death the
members seem to have reached 900,
Dio 43, 47. 48. 3. 42. 47. 54. 47. 48.
laesiones. [Suet. 24, 2 who directo testamento liber esse incipit,
ipseis testamentis sit libertus, qui etiam
vestrum appelletur.

divortiis...imposuit, principally by
the regulation that the doi was to be for-
feited by the party in fault. This was no
new principle, see Cic. Top. § 19 si
virum culpo factum est divorcium et
mulier non iam remissit, tarnen pro
libertas

norma nihil oportet. But Augustus seems
to have increased the stringency of the
regulation in regard to capricious di-
vorces where no distinct crime was
chargeable on either side. Moreover the
observance of certain forms of divorce
was enforced. [Dio 38, 11, 1 § 1 Lex
Julia de adulterinis, nisi certa modo dior-
tium factum sit, pro infecto sit. See
Marquardt 14, pp. 91—96.

35. Senatorum...numerum. The
normal number of the Senate up to the
time of Sulla was 300 [Livy 7b. 50],
though that number was not strictly
adhered to, being sometimes in excess
[1 Maccabees, 8, 15], and sometimes
somewhat short [App. B. civ. 1, 35].
Sulla raised it to about 600, though this
number does not appear to have been ad-
hered to strictly [Willems De Statut 1, p.
402]; and the actual attendance of 300
members was looked upon as fairly satis-
factory in Cicero's time [ad Q. fr. 2, 1,
1]. Julius Caesar largely recruited its
ranks, not it would seem from any re-
gard to its dignity, rather the reverse,—
putting men of all sorts into it, even
peregrini. [Suet. Caes. 43 senatum sup-
pletit. id. 50 peregrinis in senatum adlecti
libellus proponit est: hominem factum:
ne quis senatores curiam monstrare
seelicet.] It was done by a lex Cassia,
Tac. Ann. 11, 25. At his death the
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Dio 43, 47. 48. 3. 42. 47. 54. 47. 48.
laesiones. [Suet. 24, 2 who directo testamento liber esse incipit,
ipseis testamentis sit libertus, qui etiam
vestrum appelletur.

duabus lectionibus. In the Monumen-
tum, c. 8, Augustus says Senatum ter
legi. The occasions were (1) In n.c. 29,
when, finding the number had risen to
1000, he induced 50 to resign, and expelled
140 others, acting with Agrippa [Dio 53,
4]. (2) In n.c. 18, when he tried an
elaborate system of selection by nomi-
nating a certain number, who were to
name others, who again were to name
more, up to about 300; but the system
breaking down he made up the list him-
tself to 600 [Dio 54, 13]. Suetonius,
however, seems to reverse the order of
these lectiones. (3) In n.c. 11 [Dio 54,
arbitratus, quo vir virum legit, secunda suo et Agrippae; quo tempore existimation loricam sub veste munitus ferroque cinctus praesedisse, decem valentissimis senatorii ordinis amicus sellam suam circumstantibus. Cordus Cremutius scribit, ne admissum quidem tunc quemquam senatorum nisi solum et praetemptato sinu. Quodam ad excusandi se verecundiam compulit servavitiique etiam excusatis insigne vestis et spectandia in orchestra epulandique publice ius. Quo autem lecti probatique et religiosius et minore molestia senatoria munera fungerentur, sanxit, ut prius quam consideret quisque ture ac mero supplicaret apud aram eius dei, in cuius templo coiretur, et ne plus quam bis in mense legitimus senatus agertur, kal. et Idibus, neve Septembris Octobrive mense ullos adesse.

35. Dio also mentions a fourth, in A.D. 3, but that was done through commissioners (tres eire), see c. 37 [Dio 55, 13]. Mommsen, vest g. p. 35, rejects the third of them.

Ilorica sub veste, 'under his tunic,' as in the case of Cicero, Plut. Cic. 14 το δε θηρακης ιτιγης ιππαρθαι ται παρακιων εκ των διομον των χιτωνων... Dio [54, 12] refers to the wearing of the loricam by Augustus, as owing to the disturbed state of the times, in B.C. 19—18 των θηρακης δε ηπι τη στολη πολλαις και αυτα το σχεδευοι ειναι ωριον.

Cordus Cremutius [for similar inversion of names see Sall. Jug. 77; Tac. Agric. 2]. Cremutius Cordus offended Sejanus by saying of the decree for putting up his statue in the restored theatre of Pompey, tunc vix theatrum pervire, Seneca ad Marciam (d. of Cre- mutius) 23, 4. The pretext for his prosecution was that in his history of the civil war and the life and times of Augustus (ηπι των των Αγριευον πραγματων) he had praised Brutus and Cassius and spoken of them as 'the last of the Romans.' He ended his life by starvation. Dio 55, 21; Tac. Ann. 34, 35; Suet. Tib. 61. According to Suetonius and Tacitus this compliment referred to Cassius alone, and is attributed by Plutarch to Antony [Plut. Brut. 44]. The Senate ordered his works to be destroyed, but they were nevertheless secretly circulated, and were subsequently licensed again by Caligula [Suet. Cal. 16].

praetemptato sinu, lest a dagger should be concealed under the folds of the toga. Cpl. Seneca de Clem. 1, 9, 1 (of Augustus' plot against Antony) cum haec autem esset quod in nunc est... iam pugetיקר in sumum amicorum abscondere.

ad excusandi se verecundiam i.e. 'to resign.' In the letter of B.C. 20 he induced certain senators to resign, and for those who did so he reserved certain honorary senatorial distinctions, Dio 35, 42 το μυ προστατησαι των θανατου εκτηθαι το συσθρον... και αυτων θη- μωρ ημων μον οδηγον.


in cuius templo, Aul. Gell. 14, 7, 7 (Varro) confirmavi, nisi in loco per augures constituta, quod templum ap- pelaretur, senatus consultum factum esse, tuitum id nonuisse. Proptera? et in Caro Hostilia et in Pompeia et post in Julia, cum profana as loca facti- sent, templo esse per augures constituta, ut in iis senatus consultu more majorum insita fuerit iussu.

Kal. et Idibus. Suetonius does not mean that a meeting of the Senate could only be held on these days, but that on these days alone were meetings to be positively required by law.—legitimus senatus [for this meaning of legitimus cp. Cicero Ferr. 2, 2, 128 nullus legiti- minus (ad conitia habendus)]. It was to secure a minimum, not to limit the number of meetings. This had become necessary because the tendency to shirk
alius necesse esset quam sorte ductos, per quorum numerum decreta confici possent; sibique instituit, consilia sortiri semestria, cum quibus de negotiis ad frequentem senatum referendaris ante tractaret. Sententias de maiore negotio non
more atque ordine sed prout libuisset perrogabat, ut perinde
public duties was growing. Dio 55, 3
τὰ τοῦ γεγονότος ἑδραὶ τὸ ἡμερήθρα γίγαθὴ εἰκόνα,—ἐνδεικνύοντο ὁδὸν πρὸς ἀνακύκλωσιν τῶν κόσμων ἠλευθεροῦ καὶ τοιαύτα πλατάναις ἀντίφασον δύο
βουδά καθά μία στάσεις ἀνέπλειον, διότι ἐν αὐτά ταν ἐπάνωγεται, οὐ γε καὶ τὸ νόμος ἐκλεῖς, ἐγγυοφανές. [See also for the
slack attendance Cic. Q. Fr. 2, 12; 3, 2; ad Att. 12, 40.] The regulation
was maintained with some slight variation as to the days in some of the
months to the 4th century, see Mommsen, C. I. L. 1, 371. Originally it
seems that the Senate often met daily
or on any day on which the chief
magistrate desired to consult it, with no
regard to the distinction of dies fasti and
nfasti. Gradually, however, certain
days became closed to it,—such as days
of public mourning or days devoted to
consular business (though all dies consi-
tiales were not so excluded).—and these
days seem first to have been formally
defined by the lex Papia (B.C. 71)
and the lex Galbina (B.C. 67), See
Cas. B. civ. 1, 5; Aul. Gell. 14, 7;
Willems, le Sénat, 2, pp. 149—151.
Septembri Octobere. The unwholesome
summer, when the deadly auster prevailed, no doubt made it difficult to
secure the presence of Senators. Horace,
Epist. 1, 7, 5; 16, 6; Sat. 2, 6, 18;
Iuv. 4, 55; 6, 517; 14, 150. October
also, as the time of vintage, was incon-
venient.
per quorum...possent. The lex Italia
(B.C. 9) named the minimum number of
Senators necessary for passing senatus consulta of various kinds. Dio 55, 3
τὸ τε ἐκτὸς τῆς ἡ τοῦ κόσμως τῶν
dομάτων ἀναγκάζων καθ' ἑαυτὸν εἴλος
αὐτῶν...κατοικῶντας. The earliest in-
dication of such a minimum which we
have is in the Scutum de Bucchanaibus
(B.C. 108) where 100 members are
named as necessary for a decree of dis-
pensation. In B.C. 172 the number
required for a Scutum on the games
vowed to Jupiter is mentioned as 150
[Livy 42, 58]. In B.C. 67 (or 70) a
plesisium of Cornelius required the
presence of 200 senators for a Scutum
dispensing any one from the laws [As-
conius in Cic. Corn. p. 58]. These
numbers represent roughly a third of
the whole. It seems also from many
passages in Cicero's letters that a de-
finite number were required for a Scutum
for the designation of provinces [Att.
5, 2; 5, 4; fam. 8, 5; 8, 8; 8, 9], and
in other matters, though the number re-
quired in all cases is not known, a
member might at any time demand a
count (might say numero). See Cic.
fam. 7, 1, 8, 11; Att. 5, 4. Festus,...
numerum senatum ait qui quis senator
consulit cum impedimento vult esse quo-
minus factum senatus consultum...Si tot
non sint quo numero licet prescribit sena-
tus consultum. If no such motion were
made it seems that the smallness of the
number did not hinder the passing of a
Scutum. [Willems, le Sénat, 2, p. 167—9.]
consilia sortiri semestria. This
'privity council' or 'cabinet' was no part of
the constitution, but was a measure of
convenience adopted only by Augustus
and Tiberius. It was first established
B.C. 27, consisting of the two consuls,
one praetor, aedile, tribune and quaesitor
and 15 other senators, Dio 53, 21. In
A.D. 13, when the Emperor's age made
attendance in the Curia painful, a similar
council representing the Senate was em-
powered to meet at his house, consisting
of 20 Senators, with Tiberius, the consuls
of the year, the Emperor's sons or grand-
sons by nature or adoption, and such
others as he might himself select. Dio
55, 28.
sententiae...perrogabat, 'on busi-
ness of greater importance he passed
the question round, not according to
precedent and in order of seniority, but
as he pleased.' The old order had been
(1) consulares; (2) praetorii; (3) aedilicii,
(4) tribunicii; (5) quaestorii. Of the
consulares those who had been dictators
or censors took precedence of all except
the princeps Senatus, and the consuls
designate (when there) came before all
other consulares [Cic. 5 Phil. § 35].
But in the last century several innova-
tions had crept in. In the first place
the precedence of the consulii seems
quisque animum interdeterc ac si censendum magis quam adsentendum esse.

36 Auctor et aliarum rerum fuit, in quis: ne acta senatus publicarentur, ne magistratus deposito honore statim in provinciae mitteretur, ut proconsulis ad mules et tabernacula quae publice locari solebant certa pecunia constitueretur, ut cura aerarii a quasestoribus urbanis ad praetorios praetoresve transiret, ut centumvirailem hastam quam quae esturam functi consuerant cogerent decemviri coeherent.

not to have been preserved, for Cicero is asked for his vote before Catius [ad Att. 1, 13]; and the praetor magistrate showed his preference or dislike by calling on the consules (provided always that he began with them) in what order he pleased, Gell. 14, 7, 9 novum motum institutum referre (Varro) per ambitionem gratiamque suam primum regere, quern regare velit, dum est tamen ex proconsulari esse. Thus Augustus in order to put a slight on Lepidus called on him last of the consules [servandos aequos deorum] Dio 54, 15), but not after the other orders. See Willem, Le Sat. 2, p. 180 sqq. For perrogare, see Pliny Ep. 6, 18 perrogari et die sentimentum non putere.

ad sentendum, to assent, that is, to his seniors.

36. ne acta...publicarentur, reversing the measure of Iulius, see on c. 6, p. 10.

ne magistratus...mitteretur. This was part of the arrangements made for the provinces in B.C. 27, Dio 53, 14 κατα τὴν τειχίσματος τιθεμένης μηδὲν πρὸς πέντε άτόμον μείζον κατὰ τὸν καθαρὸν λόγον. It was a restoration of the rule laid down in Pompey's lex de iure magisterium [B.C. 53, Dio 46, 97], which had been either repealed or ignored by Iulius.

ad mules...constituieretur. Dio 53, 15 τὸν μὲν γὰρ πάλαι θρόνον θρόνον τετράγωνον δεδιδόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ θρόνου πάντα σφίξα τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀρχήν φύσεως τρισδυναμωτέρου ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν Καλλονής πάνω αὐτοῦ κυρίων ταύτας ἱεράς ἡγησάμενος. Thus we hear of Ventidius Bassus (afterwards consul suffectus for B.C. 43) vicitum sese agere quasestorique enique urbside impressisse comparandis multis ubi vehilium quae magistrato, qui sortitis provinciis ferebant, publice conducisset, Att. Gell. 15, 4. This business however brought Bassus into the notice of Caesar, and must have been lucrative. The mules and vehicles formed part of the proconsul's praetorium in the arma provincia, see Suet. Cat. 18; Cic. de leg. agr. 2, § 32 in Pis. § 86.

ad praetorios praetores. The management of the aerarium Saturni was first transferred by Augustus to praetorians with the title of praefecti in B.C. 38 [Dio 53, 3 Dio vtr. ide ex τῶν θεραπευτῶν αἱρέθη θεῖες, Tac. Ann. 13, 29 Augustus senatus permittit deliger prēfectō]. In B.C. 25 two of the praetors of the year were assigned by lot to this office [Dio 53, 29; Tac. L. c.]. Claudius gave it back to the praetors [Suet. Claud. 14; Tac. Ann. 13, 28]; but Nero once more appointed praetorian praefectus [Tac. L. c.]. Hence in an inscription of about B.C. 15 we hear of praetor aerarī [Wilmanns 1124], but in the reign of Domitian and onwards, of praefectus aerarī Saturni [Wilmanns 1150, 1152–3, 1162 etc.].

quaestores urbani. The two quaestors who remained in Rome. As managers of the aerarium they would give out contracts for buildings in Rome, Wilmanns 60 P. servilis L. Antonius (B.C. 41) A. D. III K. Sextus Loca- vit Q. Fediae Q. Verus M. Nervae Iulianae. centumviralem hastam, 'the centumviral court,' Mart. 7, 63, 7 hunc virum adhibeat centum gravissima judicium. Caes. Instit. 4, 16 festum autem ut ubi est hasco loco, sigmo quoadam tueri domini, quod maxime sua esse crediens, quae ex hostibus captant; unde in centumviralibus indicis tauta praepositorum, quaesturam functi, for this construction see on c. 35, p. 82.

decemviri, sc. tribus indiciis, Dio 54, 36 ac dekka ai òtei tōn dekastrion tōn ἔτους tōi evdete ōvina ἐπικροφωτοῦν ἀνοικτονικοῦν. This arrangement was
DIVUS AUGUSTUS.

Quoque plures partem administrandae rei publicae caperent, nova officia excogitavit; curam operum publicorum, viarum, aquarum, alvei Tiberis, frumenti populo dividendi, praefecturam urbis, triumviratum legendi senatus, et alterum recog-

made in B.C. 15. Later on the Praetor summoned and presided over the court [Pliny Ep. 5, 9], and their numbers were increased to 180, who sat in three or four divisions [ib. 6, 33]. A list of the chief cases coming before the centumviri is given by Cicero de Or. 1, § 173. 37. curam...alvei Tiberis. These things had been formerly the business of the Censors, Cic. de Leg. 3, § 7 censoris urbis tempus visis aquis acquiratur vectigalia tuento. The roads were first restored by rich Senators, Augustus himself undertaking the Flaminia [Dio 53, 22]. Regular curatores however were afterwards appointed. The cura is a res ab imperatore delegata [Frontin. de aqua init.]. The new curatores here mentioned, established in virtue of Augustus’ censorial powers, were:

1. The curatores operum publicorum. He first appears in existing inscriptions as curatores operum publicorum [id. 1124]. The first known praefectus operum publicorum [id. 1139], and afterwards under various modifications curatores operum publicorum [id. 1139, 1140].

2. viarum [id. 1124].

3. aquarum. The first measures of restoration or extension of the water supply of Rome were those of Agrippa, who erected the Aqua Iulia in B.C. 33 and the Virgo in B.C. 19. But in B.C. 15 a Senator Consultum was passed for further restoration of vias, opus, fornice...aquis Augustus Caesar se refectionem invenisse senatus publicus esse frater. In this year the permanent cura aquarum was established, which often occurs in later inscriptions [see Wilm. 1218, 1220, 1230 c].

4. alvei Tiberis, see on c. 36. Augustus carried out the terminatio of B.C. 8 himself, which had been begun by the consul of that year [C. I. L. 6, 1125 L. Rusti. pp. 26—29]. The regular appointment of curatores seems however to date from A.D. 15 after a great flood. Dio 57, 14 εἰς τοὺς διὸς διαληγό-

The office of curatores alvei et riparum Tiberis continued to be of great importance and is frequently found among the honours of consuls in inscriptions [Wilm. 848, 1147], and mostly with the addition of curatores urbanae, as in the inscription in honour of the younger Pliny [Wilm. 1116, see also id. 850, 1165, 1175].

5. frumenti dividendi. The office of curatores frumenti is found in an inscription in honour of C. Memmius, son of the consul for B.C. 34 [Wilm. 1113]. The usual title in the succeeding period is praefectus frumenti dandi ex i. c. [Wilm. 1123, 1125, 1129 etc.].

Dio 54, 1 (B.C. 23) ἔλευθεν δύο ἀρραβών τῶν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Ἠρώδη τηρηθέντων πρὸς τὴν τοῦ οὗτος διανομήν κατ᾽ ἑτος αἰλείνθος. Augustus at a season of dearth himself undertook the curatio annonae, M. A. 5 (B.C. 22), which was a wider office than that of merely distributing corn (frumentia), which he also did in B.C. 23, M. A. 15.

praefecturae urbanae. Another instance of the use of old names in the new scheme of government. We hear of a praefectus urbis from regal times and in the early republic, appointed to perform the urban duties of king or consul in his absence—holding elections [Livy 1, 60] but vid. Dionys. 4, 64], summoning the Senate [Livy 3, 28; cp. Gell. 14, 7, 4], administering justice [Livy 3, 23]. With the appointment of a praetor, who stayed at Rome (B.C. 367) this became unnecessary, yet it was still kept up in the almost honorary appointment of some pontifex or young noble while the consuls were holding the Forias Latinae [see Nicol. Dam. vid. Aug. 51; Suet. Nor. 7; Dio 45, 44; 49, 42]. The essential feature was that the imperium of the praefectus was equal to that of the magistrature of whom he was a deputy. Augustus appointed several [Suet. Cæs. 76 praefecti pro praetoribus, Momms. Staator, 3, p. 381 sq.]. Augustus, in virtue of his consular
noscendi turmas equitum, quotiensque opus esset. Censores creari desitos longo intervallo creavit. Numerum praetorum auxit. Exegit etiam, ut quotiens consulatus sibi daretur, binos pro singulis collegas habere, nec optimi, reclamantibus cunctis satis maiestatem eius, imminui, quod honorem eum non solus sed cum altero gereret.

or other imperium availed himself of the new antiquated custom at irregular intervals: (1) Maecenas, whether formally holding the title or not, performed the duties in B.C. 36–35 [Dio 51, 16; cp. 53, 11]. (1) M. Valerius Messala Corvinus was appointed (in B.C. 25 according to Eusebius Chron.), but only held it for 6 days [cp. Tac. Ann. 6, 11]. (3) in B.C. 21 Agrippa for a time performed the duties of the office if he did not take the title [Dio 54, 6, 11]. (4) in B.C. 16 Statilius Taurus was appointed (Maecenas being out of favour, and Agrippa in Syria, Dio 54, 19). But it was not apparently till the reign of Tiberius that a permanent arrangement was made.—L. Calpurnius Piso holding the office from A.D. 17 to A.D. 22 [Suet. Tib. 42; Tac. Ann. 6, 10–11]. The office thus established remained at any rate till the 4th century [Wilms. 641; 1233].

**triumviratum...equitum.** (1) For the special revisions of the Senate, see c. 35. From B.C. 9 it seems that the list was annually revised and put up on an alium [Dio 55, 3], but in A.D. 4 at a lection extraordinaria Augustus was assisted by a board of three Senators selected by lot from 10 whom he named. Dio 55, 13 δέκα βουλευτές οί δέκα θέσεις παραδόθησαν τέσσαρας ἀνδρίσις ὁ δὲ κλάμψις ἐλευθ. cp. id. 53, 7. See Mommsen, RE 4, p. 355. (2) The equites, divided for political purposes into 18 centuries, were for ceremonial occasions organised in six squadrons or turmae, Tac. Ann. 2, 83; Pliny, N. H. 13, § 19. The triumviri employed by Augustus in the recognitio equitum [see below, c. 38, p. 86] are not mentioned elsewhere, and Suetonius seems to mean that they were not employed except on special occasions (gestitque opus aequitum).

censores...creavit. From the dictatorship of Iulius there had been only one appointment of Censors (B.C. 43) and they had not acted [C. I. L. 1, p. 466]. Under Augustus the various censorial functions, the lectio senatus, the recognitio equitum, recognitio et terminatio locorum publicorum, were exercised either by himself, now as consul, now as having consular imperium, or by the consuls. This might be defended on constitutional grounds by the fact that the censorial powers had originally belonged to the consuls; if no Censors were appointed the old powers of the consuls revived. Augustus refused to accept a life-censorship, and even allowed two Censors to be elected in B.C. 22, who however did not exercise their functions [Dio 53, 1 καὶ τότε ὃ ἦν ἄπειρον, καὶ τῇ ἕξῳ παλαιοὶ πρὸς θάλας, πολλὰ τῶν ὄνειρόν άποκρύψατο τε καὶ ἑαυτόν]. These were the last private citizens to hold even nominally the office; Claudius and Vitellius both took the title and exercised the office [Suet. Claud. 16; Tac. Ann. 11, 48; 12, 4] as also did Vespasian and Titus [Suet. Vesp. 8; Tit. 6]; but Domitian adopted the title of censor perpetuus, and from that time the office, with its complete control over the Senate, became part of the imperial power [Dio 67, 4].

**numerus praetorum.** The regular number of praetors up to the time of Iulius had been eight; he raised them to ten, fourteen, and sixteen [Dio 43, 51; 43, 47; 49, 51]. Augustus apparently, finding the normal number eight, raised it to ten, but would not go beyond that. Dio 53, 32 στρατηγὸν ἐκείνη ὁ δὲ ἐκείνη ἐν τῷ καλών τὸν ἑαυτῷ τοῖς καλών τῷ καλών, cp. Vell. 2, 89. As the legati of the provinces were pro praetore by virtue of their appointment a large number of praetors were no longer needed. The two additional praetors were appointed to preside over the treasury. See on c. 36. He however afterwards raised the number, or allowed it to be raised for once, to sixteen [Dio 56, 45; Iul. 1, 2 § 32].

**binos.** This would in fact have been to lower the consuls; for he would have wielded the real power, his colleagues would have been ornamental.
DIVUS AUGUSTUS.

Nec parcior in bellica virtute honoranda, super triginta ducibus iustos triumphos et aliquanto pluribus triumphalia ornamenta decernenda curavit.

Liberis senatorum, quo celerius rei publicae assuecerent, protinus a virili toga latum clavum induere et curiae interesse permisit, militiamque auspicianibus non tribunatum modo legionum, sed et praefecturas alarum dedit; ac ne qui expers castrorum esset, binos plerumque laticlavius praeposuit singulis alis.

38. iustos triumphos ... curavit. This account is not consistent with what Suetonius himself says of the habits of Augustus as to military rewards [c. 25], nor with his statement that the ornamenta triumphalia were first granted to Tiberius for his German victories b.c. 15—9 [Suet. Tib. 9]. Nor again are anything like thirty triumphs recorded in the Fasti, even if all are counted after the death of Iulius. After b.c. 30 in fact only seven triumphs are there recorded: M. Licinius Crassus ex Thracis et Getis (b.c. 58); M. Valerius Messala Corvinus ex Gallia (b.c. 27); Sex. Appuleius ex Hispania (b.c. 16); L. Sempronius Atratinus ex Afris (b.c. 21); L. Cornelius Balbus ex Afris (b.c. 19); and two of Tiberius ex Germania (b.c. 7; A.D. 13). To these may be added the triumph of C. Cassius de Moribus [Dio 51, 21]. In fact Augustus seems to have been very chary of this honour, and interfered with triumphs voted to Tiberius in b.c. 13 [Dio 54, 31] and Drusus in b.c. 11 [Dio 54, 35]; and Agrippa, who knew his master’s sentiments, persistently declined to accept a triumph or even the ornamenta triumphalia [Dio 54, 11, 24]. But others were less scrupulous, and this last honour was somewhat easily bestowed. ... aetatem aeternam praeceperunt; animum praeposuerunt. 

38. liberis senatorum. The tradition that Senators brought their sons with them into the curia is ridiculed by Polybius 3, 30: referring it seems to the story of Papsirius Fratextatus, said to have been narrated by the elder Cato [Gell. 1, 93; Macrobr. 1, 6, 18]. It appears, however, that they accompanied their parents, but remained at the open doors as the plebeian tribunes had originally done [Valer. Max. 2, 1, 9; Willems, le Stat. 7, p. 163]. It is to be observed in regard to this privilege granted by Augustus to the sons of Senators that, though they were not Senators, they now belonged (as far as the 3rd degree) to the ordo senatorius: diffic. 1, 9, 10 liberis senatorum accipere dehens non tantum senatorum filios, verum omnes qui geniti ex iisis esse libere rorem dicanter. Thus we bear henceforth of inuentus usque ordinis [Suet. Tib. 35] of a man senatoris ordinis qui nondum honorem capessisset [Tac. Ann. 13, 23], whereas in the mouth of Cicero hic ordo [5 Phil. § 2] is only another expression for the Senate, and ordo senatorius [pro Flacc. § 43] is the “rank of Senator.”

a virili toga, see on c. 8.

latum clavum, alis. According to this arrangement of Augustus there were two courses open to a man wishing to arrive at the Quaestorship and so to Senatorial rank. (1) Civil,—by serving one of the offices included in the vigintivirate, i.e. iusituri capitales, iurati studibus iudicati, iulani munera, iuriis viis in urbe processi [Dio 54, 26; Tac. Ann. 11, 29; Ovid, Tr. 4, 10, 29—30]. (2) Military,—in which the steps were (1) praefectus alae or tribunus cohors, (2) praefectus alae or tribunus legions [Suet. Claud. 25]. But a member of the senatorius ordo began where the eques left off, i.e. as tribunus legiones laticlavus. This was what Suetonius means by militiam auspicianibus, “serving in the army for the first time,” with a view to obtaining Notice and admission to the Senate: cp. Seneca Ep. 47 § 10 Varians inae multos splendidissimi natos, senatorium per militiam
Equitum turmas frequenter recognovit, post longam intercapedinem reducto more travectiosis. Sed neque detrahi quemquam in travehendo ab accusatore passus est, quod fieri solebat, et senio vel aliqua corporis labe insignibus permitit, praemissio in ordine equo, ad respon
dendum quotiens citarentur pedibus venire; mox reddendi equi gratiam fecit eis, qui maiores annorum quinque et triginta retinere curn nollet; impetratisque a senatu decem adiu-
vinciantur gradum, fortuna depressit; Dio 67; 11.13. Cicero, Calidu
cas, orator 1.2. Some confusion however is caused by these laticlavius being spoken of loosely as equites until they had attained the Senate, which was not their official designation, see Dio 55, 2 ino των ενθών των της ημέρας δήμος τοιαύτα ἐπεφέρων καὶ των ἐν τοιούτωι γένους θετω. [For the laticlavius tri
buni, see Suet. Dom. 16; Wilmanns 1176, 1181, 1186 etc.—from which it appears that the laticlavius usually served the civil as well as the military office before attaining the Ques
torship, as according to Dio [54, 25] was obligatory on equites from B.C. 13. The opposite of laticlavius was angusticlavus, Suet. 
Oth. 10.]
equum...travectiosis. There were two ceremonies connected with the equites in ancient times: (1) the tra
vectio, held annually on the Ides of July [Liv. 9, 46; Valer. Max. 2, 2, 91; Dionys. 6, 12]; (2) the recognito 
equum, held periodically by the Cens
ors [Liv. 58, 28; 39, 44]. The latter had fallen into neglect with the decay of the Censorship, and Augustus in reviving it combined it with the travectio, establishing an annual probatio equum 
[later Dio 55, 31]. This applied, not to all who possessed the census equites, but to those of that order who had the opus publicum, granted now and henceforth by the Emperor in virtue of his censorial powers. See Ovid, Tr. 7, 9, 89 (ep. 241)
At memini vitamque meas moreque 
probabas
illo, quem dederas, propter virtutis equo.
But though the Emperors retained this right [Dio 55, 17], their exercise of it was fallow and intermittent, see Suet. 
Tit. 41; Claud. 16; Calig. 16; Lamp. 6.
Alex. Sec. 15. These equites quo publico, still divided into 18 centuries for political duties, were for ceremonial purposes organised in six turmas, commanded by senari [Tac. Ann. 3, 85; Wilmanns 1230, 1619 etc.].
ab accusatore, as in the old cens
orial reviews.
et senio...permitit. In the republi
can reviews each knight passed the censor leading his horse by the bridle [Plut. Pomp. 23; Valer. Max. 4, 1, 10]; but in these imperial reviews the knights apparently rode past, and it was therefore a special act of grace to allow one incapable of riding from age or corpulence to approach on foot, whilst send
ing his horse on by some attendant. Such a man had formerly been allowed to give up his horse, which, though properly a relief and not an ignominia [Ant. Gell. 6, 22], was yet at times treated as such, as for example by Cato 
[Festus a.v. state].
mx reddendi...nollet 'later on to those who, being over 35 years of age, did not wish to retain their horse, he 
ganted a dispensation from formali
ly surrendering it', i.e. he allowed them to remain equites, without appearing at the ceremonial procession, and without apparently being liable to be elected into the Senate if they had the requisite senatorial census. The mea
sure seems to be that referred to by Dio 54, 26 των υπέρ πέντε και τριακό
τα έτη γεγονότος ούκ ἐπαναστάσισθαι, τόδε δέ άνευ των έτων των άρτι δέν λα
τρεῖ τι πάντων μακράς καθόδειας, χαίρει η εί τυ σάρκοις ἡ (in the year B.C. 13), ep. id. c. 30. It was diffi
cult to get enough men willing to serve in the Senate, and equites rather than do so would abjure their equestrian rank (opus reddi
). Accordingly Augustus granted an exemption after 35, but compelled those under that age to be ready to serve as senators (if properly qualified), and, as it seems, to appear in the yearly procession as a sign of their eligibility. It is apparently this dis
pensation of which Ovid availed himself.
toribus, unum quemque equitum rationem vitae reddere coegit 39 atque ex inprobatis alios poenae, alios ignominiis notavit, plures
admonitione, sed varia. Lenissimum genus admonitionis fuit
traditio coram pugillarium, quos taciti et ibidem statim legentes;
notavitque aliiquis, quod pecunias leviobus usuris
mutuati graviore foenore collocassent. Ac comitii
tribunicis si decessent candidati senatores, ex equitis
R. creavit, ita ut potestate transacta, in utro yellent ordine
manerent. Cum autem plerique equitum attrito bellis civilibus
patrimonio spectaret ludos e quattuordecim non auderent metu
poenae theatrales, prontuavit non teneri ea, quibus ipsis
parentibus equester census umquam fisset.

to avoid the Senate [Tr. 4, 10, 35 curia
restabat; clavi mensura cocta est; matius erat nostris viribus illud onus].
But Claudius [c. 24] senatoriam dig-
nitatem resumebat equestrem quoque ademite. For 
facere gratiam see on ch. 17.
Mommsen [S. l. p. 17 note (1)] points out that it must mean 'exempt'
and not 'permit,' and that therefore 
nullent must be changed to mallent, or
reinare be taken to refer only to the
retaining of the horse in the procession,
not to the equestrian rank.

39. rationem vitae reddere. The
investigation by these senatorial xvirini preceded the procession. The public
stigma of rejection at the review was
thus avoided except in special cases.
See C. 15 palam ademitque quibus 
antum ut pluris postos distraharet. For

collocare of investing money cp. 
Tr. 48 cum sanxisset ut pueritiores duas
 partes patrimonii in solo collocent.
Tac. Ann. 6, 23.

40. si decessent...senatores. See on
ch. 10, p. 20. Ita ut...manerent, 'with
the privilege of remaining either senator
or eques at the expiration of their office.'
If a man was not already a Senator,
the Tribuneship made him a life-
member. But for various reasons men
avoided such membership. Dio 54, 26 
onces...votis...antevoluit...se...boulev-
ruos...dixit...ul...lambri...lunam...tota est
rem...amenum...factam; then to allow
those of senatorial fortune who took it
not to remain in the Senate [ed. 54, 30],
and finally to allow all equites to hold
it without previous office [id. 56, 27].

e quattuordecim. The lex Iulia theatrale 
[6. c. 68, Livy cp. 99; Hor. 
Ep. 1, 1, 62; Iuv. 3, 155] had a special
clause referring to those equites who
had become bankrupt [Cic. 2 Phil. 
44]. The lex Iulia theatrale [Plin. 
N.H. 33, 8 32], while defining apparently
more strictly the qualification admitting
to the seats, abolished the clause as to
bankrupts. Dotomitian, finding the law
evaded, made still more stringent regu-
lations on the subject. See Suet. 
Dom. 8; Martial 5, 8, 14, 24; 8, 5.

ipsa parentibus. Under Tiberius
\"\n\n\"\nPopuli recensum vicatim egit, ac ne plebs frumentationum causa frequentius ab negotiis avocaretur, ter in annum quaternum mensum tesseras dare destinavit; sed desideranti consuetudinem veterem concessit rursus, ut sui cuiusque mensis acciparet. Comitiorum quoque pristinum ius reduxit ac multiplices poena coercito ambitu, Fabianus et Scaptiensibius tribulibus suis die in A.D. 21 the ius annuli (the distinctive mark of the ordo eques) was confined to one qui ingeniosus iussit, patre, avo paterno multis esse et lege Julia theatrali in XIX ordinibus se dissiset, Pliny l.c., a tightening up of the regulation in the opposite direction to the measure of Augustus. tenet ea, ac poena, ep. Cic. Q. F. 2, 3. 5 ut ea poena quae est de vi teneretur.

populii recensum ... egit, he drew up a revised list of the people by vici, or perhaps 'street by street.' This was for the purpose of making out a list of the citizens actually residing in Rome entitled to share in the frumenta, and must not be confused with the census of all citizens (see c. 27). Cp. Suet. Jul. 41 recensum populii nec more nec loco soluto, sed vicarium per dominos insulansurum egit atque ex viginti trecentisque militibus accipientium frumentum e publico ad centum quinquagenaria retroxii. Yet, if we may trust his epistolare, Livy seems to have confused this review of Iulius with a regular census (97. 113), though the number given (150,000) is manifestly absurd, as referring to all males at that time. The word populus in this connexion has its old meaning of the 'people of Rome' strictly speaking, cp. p. 54. The lex Julia municipalis imposed a penalty on the giving of corn to any whose names were on the property-returns lists. See Bruns, fontes, p. 102.

tesserae, the tickets or tallies entitling the holders to their portion of the corn. Pers. 5. 72 libertate autem est non hoc qua, ut quisque Ventina Publicis emergit, scabium tesserula far posse. The tally was apparently sometimes transferred to another for a price (Iuv. 7, 174), which was possible because the tessera bore no name of recipient, but only a number, see specimen in Orelli 1565 Ant. Aug. Lib. 11 (on one side), Frrn. N. LXI (on the other), i.e. Antoninii Aug. liberalitas II, Frumentum numero LXI.

comitiorum, pristinum ius. The restoration of the regular forms of the comitia refers to innovations introduced by Iulius, who nominated the consuls and half the other magistrates himself, Jul. 41, though the form of election seems to have been gone through, the dictator issuing recommendatory notices ...Cæsar dictator illi tribui. Commento vobis illum et illum, ut vestro suffragio suam dignitatem tenant. But though Augustus professed to leave the comitia free, and really did so in some cases, his nominations were still all-powerful. Dio 53, 21 θε δήμων ἐκ τὰ ἀρχαία, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἀδ ἀνελεγητο, o θάνατοι καὶ αὐτῶν τι δὲ μὲν καὶ δυσαίως ἰσχυροί. τότε γὰρ ἀρχαία τοὺς μὲν ἀνθρώπους ἐκ τριάδιας, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἑπτὰ τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς ἑκτειναμένης κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαία ποιημένοις ἐπιμελεῖτο ἡμῖν μὲν ἀνθρώπους μὴ ἐκ παρακλησίων ἢ δικαστοῦ ἀνακελοῦντα. One of the first acts of Tiberius was to put an end to the farce and transfer the elections to the Senate. Tac. Ann. 1, 15 tum primum e campo comitia ad patres translata sunt; nam ad eam diem, etiam potissimum arbitrrio principis, quodam tamen studiis tribunum fiant. Caligula made a vain attempt to restore them [Cal. 16].

coercito ambitu. Penalities for bribery were already enforced by numerous laws. The lex Julia (b.c. 18) seems to have really been less severe, for it only excluded the guilty party from office for five years. Dio 54, 16 ὁ Δημητριακὸς διὰ τοῦ ἐντολοθρήτου καὶ τοῦ δημαρχείου τότε ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἐστὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀρχαίας τῆς τις ἀρχαίας. Augustus avoided prosecutions for bribery, but in b.c. 8 made a regulation whereby candidates for office deposited a sum of money, to be forfeited in case they were found guilty of ambitus. Dio 55, 5 tributius. In spite of all laws a certain payment to the members of a man's own tribe seems to have been a matter of course. See Jul. 19. For other favours to tribesmen more or less
comitiorum, ne quid a quoquam candidato desideraret, singula mília numnum a se dividebat.

Magni praeterea existimans sincerum atque ab omni colluvione peregri ac servilis sanguinis incorruptum servare populum, et civitatem Romanam parcissime dedit, et manumittendi modum terminavit. Tiberio pro cliente Graeco petenti rescrisit, non aliter se daturum, quam si præsens sibi persuassisset, quam iustas petendi causas haberet; et Liviae pro quodam tributario Gallo roganti civitatem negavit, immunitatem optulit affirman, facilius se passurum fisco detrahi aliquid, quam civitatis Romanæ vulgari honorem. Servos non contentus multis difficultatibus a libertate et multo pluribus a libertate iusta

within the law, see Horace Ep. 1, 13, 15; Cicero pro Planc. 8 47; pro Mun. 8 73.

Fabianis et Scapienatus. Augustus belonged to the Fabian tribe as an adopted member of the gens Julia. The tribus Fasia was one of the 17 most ancient rural tribes, and named, as all the earliest were, from some man or hero, not from a locality [Hor. Ep. 1, 6, 52; C. I. L. 3, 4029, 4511]. The tribus Scapta (to which Augustus had apparently belonged as an Octavian) was added in B.C. 332, and named from a Latin town of uncertain site [Liv. 8, 147; Pliny N. H. 3 68; Dionys. Hal. 5, 4].

numnum, c. 46 in, 98 = de suo, Int. 5, 19, 5 homines non modo non rescuare sed etiam hoc dicere, se a me solum, sed etiam praetor dare consensire, quoniam ego non accipiam, se a me quodam modo dare. So a me dei Plaut. Tr. 2, 1, 45; sed de suo offerebat c. 45; de nostro eiste Plaut. Truc. 5, 61; de mea pecunia id. Mem. 2, 2, 17; de suo datur Sen. Ben. 7, 4, 1.

ab incorruptum. For ab, indicating that from which a thing is preserved or protected, cp. Cic. fam. 13, 50 Curium ab omni incummodo detrimento molestia sincerum integramque conscribisse. The foreign elements in Rome are frequently commented on; cp. Luc. 7, 404 nulloque frequenter cive sue Romam, sed mundi fave replebam. Inv. 3, 61—3. Augustus in restricting the extension of the civilis was reversing the policy of his uncle, who granted it to the whole legion Alauda [Suet. Inv. 24], to all medical men and professors of fine arts [ib. 42], as well as to many individual Gaes [ib. 76]. Antony appears to have carried on the policy still more liberally [Cic. 2 Phil. 8 92], nor did Augustus himself refuse the extension of the civilis in certain cases [ib. 47]. He however became alarmed at the mixed state of the population, and left it among the posthuminous charges to his successor to be sparing in such grants. Dio 56, 33, μηδὲν αὐτὸ ἐν τῷ πολιτείᾳ αὐτοῦ ἐγκαταιστηθεῖν, ἦν πολὺ τὸ δάνειον αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ Αἴγινον ἡγομένον.

fisco. Suetonius here uses the word to mean the Emperor's treasury as opposed to the avarium, though it seems probable that the word was not used in that sense as early as the time of Augustus. The distinction however was begun in practice, and into the fiscus went the tributum from imperial provinces, and it accordingly suffered by a provincial becoming a civilis, and thereby escaping the tributum. The two treasuries were both practically under the control of the Emperor (though the avarium nominally under the Senate), and Dio professes that he is unable to distinguish clearly between them, see 56, 10 λογίῳ μὲν τὸ τῷ ἔλεγον αὐτὸν δὲ τῷ ἐκείνου ἄνθρωπῳ, ἔχωμι δὲ τὰ ταῦτα πρὸς τὴν γοβίμων αὐτοῦ ἀνθρώπῳ, cp. ib. 22. See p. 31.

servos adipsorextr. The regulations of Augustus as to manumission were contained in the lex Aelia Senta, a.d. 4; and the lex Pavia Caninia a.d. 8. By the first, among other things, if the manumittor was under 20 or the
removisse, cum et de numero et de conditione ac differentia eorum qui manumitteretur curiosae causaret, hoc quoque adiectit, ne vinctus unquam tortusse quis ullo libertatis genere civitatem adipisceretur.

Etiam habitum vestitumque pristinum reducere studuit, ac visa quondam pro contione pullorum turba, indignabundus et clamitans: En Romanos, rerum dominos, gentemque togatam! negotium aedilibus dedit, ne quem posthac paterentur in foro circove nisi positis lacernis togatum consistere.

Liberalitatem omnibus ordinibus per occasiones frequenter

manumitted under 30, or if the slave had been punished for a crime, full rights (libertas iusta) could not be obtained. By the second a testator was prevented from manumitting by will more than a fixed proportion of his slaves. See Dio 25, 13; Gaius Inst. 1, 6, 18; 7, 37. *vinctus tortuus.* Such men occupied the position of the perlegri de-dicii, i.e. *pistoria libertas eorum...nulla legi aut senatus consulto illis ad Romanam civitatem datur* Iust. Inst. 1, 5, 3. The difference between any libertas and a iusta libertas generally arose from the mode of manumission. The regular method was that per vindicatum before the praetor; less formal were inter amicos, per mensam, per epistolam, and in these cases the position of the emancipated was dubious, and his patronus had at least a lien on his earnings.

*pullatorum,* i.e. wearing the *lacerca* (or *pallium*) which was dark, infra. c. 445; cp. Mart. 4, 2, 11: *spectabat modo solus inter omnes Niger munus Horatius lacernis,* cum plebs et minor ordo maximusque sancto cum duce candidi sedebat: *toto mix cecidit repente coele,* albis spectat Horatius lacernis.

The knights, as a mark of respect to Claudius in the theatre, *lacernas deponent,* Suet. Claud. 6. To wear the *toga* in a law court marked the *civis* from the *perlegri,* td. Claud. 15; Plin. Ep. 4, 11. And to appear in public places without the *toga* had long been thought indecorous for a man of rank. Thus it was objected to Africannus in Sicily, *cum pallio crepidisque in gymnasio inambulaverat* [Livy 29, 19]; and to Antony by Cicero that he went through the coloniae of Gallia Cisalpina *cum Gallicis et lacernis* [Livy Phil. 5, 76]. Augustus looked on the habit of shirking the *toga* as a sign of the decadence of Roman feeling and dignity. But the tendency was too strong for him. We constantly hear of its disuse.—Liv. 1, 119, 3, 172; 11, 204; Martial 1, 49, 31; 12, 18, 17; and Hadrian had to renew the same order, Suet. Hadr. 22 senatores et equites semper in publico togatos esse insitum, nisi si cena reverterentur.

Romanos...togatam. Verg. Aen. 1, 286.

in foro circove...consistere, "to stand about in forum or circus." The prohibition apparently did not apply to those who passed through either one or the other elsewhere. But they were not to appear there for business or to lounge about with the *lacerna.* Cp. Hor. S. 1, 6, 113 *lactis circum vexeritunumque pererit Ulpia toga forum.* For *consistentur* cp. Sen. de tel. nat. 214 in qua spectantur, ad quae consistitur. Roth formerly read *circave,* but restored *circove* (which has good ms. authority) from Lydus de mag. R. 1, 12 *librae erat frons ad sumum quam tum Rhaetiam et unde eorum est capiendum.*

41. *liberalitatem...exhibit.* The author of the appendix to the *Monumentum* reckons the benefactions of Augustus as in round numbers Hs 3,400,000,000, about equivalent to twenty millions sterling. In cc. 15—17 of the *Monumentum Augustus* gives the details, but as he also states only the minimum number of recipients in some cases, we only get a rough total after all. They were:
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exhibuit. Nam et inventa urbi Alexandrinno triumpho regia
gaza tantam copiam nummariarum expeitis, ut foenore
deminuto plurimum agrorum pretiosis accesserit, et
postea quoties ex damnatorum bonus pecunias super-
fluerit, sumus eius gratuitum iis qui caveas in duplum passent
ad certum tempus indulsit. Senatorum censum ampliavit ac
pro octingentorum millium summa duodecies HS taxavit.

(1) Distributed to at least 250,000 citi-
zens:
(a) B.C. 45, ex testamento
patris, 500 HS apiece ... 75,000,000
(b) B.C. 39, ex manubis,
400 HS apiece ............100,000,000
(c) B.C. 24, congiarium,
400 HS apiece ............100,000,000
(d) B.C. 12, congiarium,
400 HS apiece ............100,000,000
(e) B.C. 5 to 330,000 citi-
zens, 240 HS apiece ... 75,000,000
(f) B.C. 2 to 200,000 citi-
zens, 240 HS apiece ... 45,000,000
(g) B.C. 33 to military colo-
nies, ex manubis ...........120,000,000
(h) B.C. 30 and 15 to Ital-
ians for lands for soldiers 600,000,000
(i) B.C. 30 and 15 to Pro-
vincials for lands for
soldiers ....................200,000,000
(j) allowances to disbanded
soldiers, B.C. 7-3 .........400,000,000
(k) four subventions to the
agricolum publicum .......150,000,000
(l) to the agricolum milli-
are ..........................175,000,000

2,109,000,000

The first four items give a minimum. Besides this he provided in B.C. 23 for
the 12 monthly distributions of corn (frumentationis); and after B.C. 18 he
different times gave relief to numbers of provincials (sometimes 100,000, some-
times more), by distributing tescerae, entitling them to corn or exemption
from tribute in times of distress, the value of which tescerae he made good to the
treasury: M.A. 17 (this passage of the
Monumentum is defective, especially in
the Latin). For instance in B.C. 12
the province of Asia was visited by
serious earthquakes, and Dio [34, 30]
says that he paid the whole yearly's tri-
butate into the treasury, which is reckoned
at 90,000,000 HS (400 talents).

The immediate effect of this enormous influx
of gold is described by Dio [51, 21].

... θάνατον α' τε άνθρωπον των άνθρωπων και
α' άκραν επάνων α'τι νόμισμαν...
κοινήν γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν χρυσίων διὰ
θάνατον άνθρωπον τήν πόλειν ἐχόμεθα ὡμεν
τὰ μὲν κυβερνίαν άνεισιμῆνας, τὰ δὲ
διαλείμφατα άναπτήντων έτι δραχμὴν
τυρίτερον άττα τότε ενί τῷ τριεσ-
τέρω τεταρτῳ γενόσθαι. Money was
so plentiful that prices went up and
interest sank from 12 to 4 per cent.
in duplum. The usual terms on
which a gratuitous State loan was made,
see Tac. Ann. 6, 33 donea tulli aem
Cassar...facta mutandis opus sine u-
suris per triennium, si dehitis populo in
duplum praetiosi causaret. The nexus of
succession of money, like that of prop-
erty, is opposed to ownership.

senatorum censum...taxavit. Wil-
lens [le Senat, 1, 189—192] has satis-
factorily shown that there was hitherto
no legal Senatorial census, although in
the later period of the Republic, a certain
amount of property was looked upon as
necessary for a Senator [Cic. ad fam. 13,
5 2]. Augustus first made a certain
census legally necessary for eligibility
to office, and therefore to the Senate. Su-
tonius here puts the minimum at 500,000
sterculiae, i.e. double the ordinary equest-
rian census, and says that he afterwards
 raised it to 1,200,000, or the census of
three knights. This is perhaps partly
confirmed by Iv. 14, 376 sume duo quines,
fac tertia quinuaginta. But Dio
says that the first arrangement was
an equestrian census, 400,000, after-
wards raised to 1,000,000. See 34, 17
τὰ τε ἄρης ἢ άρης ταὐτά ἢ χρυσάδων
πάλιν ἔχουσι καὶ ἄρης καὶ τῶν νόμων
dυνάμεως ἐπιγγέλλειν ἐκπρεπέν. τοι-
αύτον γὰρ τὸ μοναστικά τόμα τὴν
πράξειν εἶναι έταναι, εἴπαι καὶ ἔτερα
cι έκεῖ ἢ χρυσάδων προῆγαγε, cp. id. 56.
(The money in Dio is reckoned in de-
narii, and must be multiplied by 4 to
state it in sesteria.) Mommsen [Steiner.
supplevitque non habentibus. Congiaria populo frequenter dedit, sed diversae fere summae: modo quadringenos, modo trecentos, nonnumquam ducentos quinquagenosque nummos; ac ne minores quidem pueros praeteriit, quamvis nonnisi ab undecimo aetatis anno accipere consueissent. Frumentum quoque in annonae difficitatibus saepè levissimo, interdum nullo pretio viritim ad mensum est tesserasque nummarii

42 duplicavit. Sed ut salubrem magis quam ambitiosum principem scires, querenstem de inopia et caritate vini populum severissima coercuit voce, satis pro vincum a genere suo Agrippa perductis pluribus aquis, ne homines stipient. Eidem populo promissionem quidem congiamium reposcenti, bona se fidei esse respondit; non promissionem autem flagitanti turpitudinem et impudentiam edicto exprobravit affirmavitque, non daturum

2, p. 148] prefers the statement of Dio, (1) because of another passage [54, 30] in which he says that tribunes were elected from equites with senatorial census [καὶ τῶν ἐπταρχῶν τῶν μη οικονομῶν διὰ τῶν πολέων καὶ διὸς μυράδος κεκούσθεν], (2) because of the frequent instances of imperial donations of 1,000,000 HS to enable a man to be a Senator, see Tac. Ann. i, 75; Mart. i, 103; (3) because of the custom of fixing the dowers of ladies of high rank at the same sum, with a view of securing the husband the Senatorial census, Tac. Ann. ii, 37; Iuv. 6, 137; 10, 335; Mart. 3, 65; Seneca Consol. 12, 6. Still we must note that as a minumum only had to be made up, and as these persons were not likely to have nothing of their own, this last argument is not decisive.

duodecim HS. The reading sestertio is probably a wrong representation of the symbol HS. It often occurs in classical texts to suit the construction, as Nep. Att. 14 in centes sestertio. It is more probable that we ought to write sestertium in all cases, the whole expression standing as an indeclinable substantive. See Ramsay R.A. p. 472.

suppelvet. See Suet. Nero 105; Var. 17; Spart. Hadr. 7 Senatoribus qui non visir suo deexorant, patrimonium pro liberorum modo Senatoriae possessionis esplivit.

coniaria...nummos. See note above on liberalitatem.

nummos, sc. sestertios: when nummos stands for any other coin it has some qualifying adjective, Ramsay R.A. p. 468.

minores puerus. This was meant as a means of providing for and encouraging large families, but was not a special provision for boys and girls like the benefactions of Trajan and Hadrian [Plin. paneg. 26; Spart. Hadr. 7].

frumentum. See note above. Besides his benefaction of corn in B.C. 13 there mentioned, we have other indications of the care bestowed on this matter. See Dio 53, 2 (B.C. 28) τὸ πλῆθος τετραε-

δακτυλίων τὸν οίκο τίμημε. Vell. Pat. 3, 94 (B.C. 23) Ti. Claudius Nero quaestor maximum difficultatem annonas ac rei frumentariae inopiam Otiiae atque in terbe mandatis etrici moderatus est. In B.C. 24 the people begged him to undertake the census annona on the same terms as Pompey, καὶ ὁ τάξις μὲν ἀναγ-

κατωθισθεὶς καὶ ἐπέλεγον διὸ Ἀνθρακὸς τῶν πτακτῶν που δεί τῶν ἐκτακτικῶν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ οἴκου διακατομῇ καὶ τοὺς αἰρέσθη, Dio 54, 1.

tesserae...duplicavit. Dio 55, 26 (A.D. 8) ἐνδιαθέτου ἡγοῦ καὶ ἔργα ἀπὸ Ἀγρί-

στος τῶν αὐτοδομεύσεων τοῦ οίκου ἐπέρεψε δούλων καὶ ἑορτασμοῦν. Tesserae num-

marii appear to have been given when corn was sold cheap, when it was distributed gratis tesserae frumentariae were given.

42. Agrippa...aquis. See c. 29, fn. pp. 62—6.

coniarii (conia), the 8th of an amphora) was properly applied to donations of wine or oil, but came to mean
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se quamvis dare destinaret. Nec minore gravitate atque constantia, cum proposito congiario multos manumissos insertosque civium numero comperisset, negavit manu-accepturos quibus promissum non esset, ceterisque minus quam promiserat dedit, ut destinata summa sufficeret. Magna vero quondam sterilitate ac difficili remedio, cum venalicias et lanistarum familias peregrinosque omnes, exceptis medicis et praeceptoribus, partimque servitiorum urbe expulisset; ut tandem annona convaluit, impetum se cepisse scribit, frumentationes publicas in perpetuum abolendi, quod earum fiducia cultura agrorum cessaret: neque tamen perseverasse, quia certum haberet post se per ambitionem quandoque restituit. Atque ita posthac rem temperavit, ut non minorem aratorum ac negotiantium quam populi rationem deduceret.

any public donative whether in kind or money.

multos manumissos. This transaction, fraudulent because the recipients bargained to carry the presents to their emancipators, is enumerated a-mong the abuses of emancipation by Dionys. H. 41, 24 oi (οι την έλευθεριαν φέροντα) δια της φορολογιας δισάριων αυτον λαμβάνοντες κατα μήλα και ε την άλλη παρά των εξομίσκοντων χρυσωκοι της οίκου των πωλόντων φεύγοντα σύμφωνο τοις δε-δομοί την έλευθεριαν. Cpr. Pers. 5, 72.

quibus promissum non esset, because when the promise was made they were not citizens and therefore had no claim. Cp. Flin. paneg. 25 datum est qui quis post editum tamen in locum erasorum subditus fuerat; aequitate sunt ceteris illi eiam quibus non esset promissum.

magna...expulisset, in a.D. 6 μεγάλα...απεβρακτικα (απεκτησα), διενεργούσα τις τα

manumissiones et ad aedificia quae eis fuit

mortemque et ad vivum eos sedes et domus

exstituerunt et eis (εκ της θεραπευσης και των

έργων και των άλλων του πόλεως ανεξεργασθησαν...Διος 52, 26.

lanistarum familias. Cfr. pro Sulla § 54; Suet. Julius 26 Thrones neque in hude neque per lanistas sed in domibus per equites Romanos...eruerebatur. For familias see C. I. L. 4, 1189 a; SVETTI • CERTI • ADELII • FAMILIA • GLADIATORIA • PIAGNA • PROMPRIS • PR • K • IVNIA • VENATI • ET • VELA • ERVNT.

medici et praeceptoribus. These were generally Greeks, but were naturally regarded as occupying a special position, and Iulius indeed had given them the civitas; Suet. Jul. 42. But that measure must have only applied to the existing professors, as they are now reckoned among peregrini, whom it was always possible to expel from Rome though they were generally excepted. Flin. N.H. 79, § 16; App. B. c. 1, 33; Cfr. de offic. 3, § 47; Plut. C. Gracch. 13.

servitiorum...servorum, Jul. 47.

quod earum fiducia...cessaret. The mischief of these interferences in the corn market had been long understood, see Cfr. pro Sest. § 103 fragmentarium legem C. Gracchus ferbat. Incunda rei plebi Romanae: victus enim suppeditabantur sine labore. Repraebant hanc, quod et ab industria plebs ad desertas sedes ad putabatur ad aerarium excubatur videbat. App. B. c. 3, 120 τо της συλλογής, του πόλου, χορο-γομοιον την μακρο Ρώμη, την αγορά και πυροσβεστία και παραγωγή της Ιταλίας λαο.trans ή την Ρώμη επάνω. Livy 6, 121 alludes to the desertion of districts in Italy in his day, loca quae nunc, vicia seminaria exiguo militum relictio, servitia Romana ad solitudinem vindicant.

certum haberet...restituit, 'because he felt certain about its being restored,' or 'he held its restoration certain.' For the present infinitive used as the object of a verb of saying or thinking, even when the action is in the future, cp. Plautus Aul. 108 dividere argenti numerique dixit in vitro, 'he spoke about dividing,' 'he said he was going to divide.' Rody L. G. 1346.

atque...deduceret, 'and accordingly he thenceforth so arranged the
Spectaculum et assiduitate et varietate et magnificentia
omnes antecessit. Fecisse se ludos ait suo nomine quater, pro aliis magistratibus, qui aut absentem aut non sufficientem, ter et vicies. Fecitque nonnullum vicatim ac pluribus scaenis per omnium linguarum histriones

business as to take account of the interests of farmers and merchants no less than those of the city populace.' rationem ducere aliquid is fairly common in Cicero, see pro Rero. Am. 128; pro Sest. 23; Pro v. 1, 126 etc. It probably in the first instance belongs to calculation or accounts, Pro v. 1, 129 qui non tam cavi quam casati argentii rationem ducere. But deducere seems to mean (1) 'to sum up,' 'to arrive at a total,' Manil. 3, 34 it evit ad summum ratio deducta priorum; (2) 'to bring into the account,' Justin. instit. 4, 6, § 23 in qua actione earum etiam verum, que fugendo verum obtinet, aequum deductor.

aratorum, 'farmers,' or, in a more restricted sense, the cultivators of public lands for a 1/20th of the produce [decima]. There were none such in Italy now, and aratores in its technical sense seems to have been confined to the holders of public lands in Sicily, or those who farmed the titles from it. [Marquardt, 10, p. 238. Cic. v. v. 2, §§ 52, 63, 147 etc.]
apuli, of the urban populace, cp. c. 40, p. 88.

43. sedisse, ait, in the M. A. c. 22 from which these words are quoted. The first games were in B. C. 44 (Sept. 24) in celebration of the victories of Julius, which the Dictator had intended to celebrate himself on the completion of the temple of Venus Genetrix. Appian B. civ. 3, 58; Dio 45, 6; Cic. fam. 11, 27, 28; C. L. L. 1, p. 397. Another occasion was that of the Iuli martiales in B. C. 2, see M. A. l. c. The other two are not recorded. Ovid alludes to his exhibitions as splendid, Tr. 3, 409 inspice ludorum sumptus, Auguste, tuorum. The exhibiting magistrate is said ludos facere, see Cic. Brut. § 78 hoc praetore ludos Apollini faciente.

qui absentem. If the praetor, or other magistrate to whom it fell to exhibit the games, was for any reason away from Rome, they were still held in his name: see the case of M. Brutus, Cic. 2 Phil. § 31.

fectisque. histriones, cp. Jul. 29 ludus etiam regionatim urbe sola et qui dem per omnium linguarum histriones. The substitution of vicatim for regionatim follows the new arrangement of vici mentioned in c. 30, cp. c. 40. For histrion see Livy 7, 2 Vernaculis artificibus, quia hister Tusco verbo ludo vocatur, nonem histrionibus indicatur. pluribus scaenis, 'in several theatres,' that is, in which tragedies, comedies or satiric dramas were exhibited. Vitruv. 5, 8. The question of the meaning of omnium linguarum is difficult. If we are to believe Strabo [5, 3, 6] τῶν ἀλατογιαμάπτων ἢ δίδαστοι μὲν παρὰ τῶν Πομηνῶν, δεσι καὶ σηκουάσθαν αναφορικῶς κατὰ τὸν ἀγιστρόν καὶ μυστηρίων, we might interpret it to mean Greek, Latin and Etruscan, comparing Cicero [fam. 7, 1] who, congratulating a friend on his absence from Rome during the games, says—non enim te puto Gracca aut Osca ludos desideratas, praesertim cum Osca vel in Senatu vestro spectare positis. And though it is generally held to be untrue that Atellanes or Mini were produced in Rome in Osca or in Central Italy. See however Mommens R. H. 3, p. 455 note. After histriones something is lost, referring to gladiatorial exhibitions. M. A. c. 22 ter gladiatorium deo nomine et quingentiis filiorum morum aut nepotum nomine; quisque numeribus deponentem corum citer aler demilita. And later on in recording his sensations he says that they were in ciro aut in foro aut in amphitheatris, omitting the Septa, in which they at this time took place. Dio 55, 10 οἱ θεατηρὶς καὶ θρησκοῦν ἐν τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ ἑρμῆνευσε, ἐν διανόμει τοῦ τοῦ πάντως, cp. Suet. Claud. 21. Accordingly Perizonius proposed to read [muniara] non in foro etc. Both would insert circenses gladiatoriumque numeribus frequenti-
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... non in foro modo, nec in amphitheatro, sed et in circo et in Septis, et aliquando nihil praeter venationem edidit; athletas quoque, excerptis in campo Martio sedilibus ligneis; item navale proelium, circa Tiberim cavato solo, in quo nunc Caesarius nemus est. Quibus diebus custodes in urbe dispositi, ne raritate remanentium grassatoribus obnoxia esset. In circo aurigas cursoresque et confectores ferarum, et nonnumquam ex nobilissima iuventute, produxit. Sed et Troiae lusum edidit frequentissime maiorum minorumque puerorum, prisci decorisque moris existimans, claras stirpis indolem sic notescere.

In hoc ludico Nonium Asprenatis interiect plerunque bestiarum Africanaurum venationes, et hoc approved by Mommsen, 76, p. 94. amphitheatro, of Statilius Taurus, see c. 29. Dio 51, 23 theatro r. τι κατηγορεῖν.

venationes. We have the records of several of these wild-beast slaughters.
(1) In b.c. 13, at the dedication of the theatre of Marcellus, 600 African beasts were killed, and a tiger for the first time exhibited [Dio 54, 46; Plin. N. H. 17, 63].
(2) In b.c. 2 there were killed 260 lions and 36 crocodiles [Dio 55, 10].
(3) In a.d. 11, in games presided over by Germanicus, 200 lions perished [Dio 56, 27].
(4) Pliny [N. H. 8, 61] says that on one occasion Augustus exhibited 450 wild animals from Africa, but does not mention the year. For what Cicero thought of such butcheries, see ad fam. 7, 1.

athletas. For the athletic contests in the ludi Circusae, see Festus s. v. Quinquennier. But though such exercises were constantly practised on the Campus Martius [Hor. Od. 1, 8; Ovid Tr. 3, 12, 19–24] the shows of athletes in the Campus, with specially erected wooden seats, were probably rarer, and as the name indicates, were Greek rather than Roman, Iul. 39. In b.c. 188 M. Fulvius gave games to celebrate his Etruscan victory: multi artifices ex Graecia venerant honoris eius causa. Attestamur quoque certaminum tum primo Romaniis spectaculo suis, et venatio data leonum et pantherarum, Livy 39, 22.

navale proelium. M. A. 25 navalis proelium spectrae populo delini Tiberiim, in quo loco nunc nemus est Caesarum, cavato in longitudinem mille et octingentes poleis; in latitudinem mille et ducentos. Iulius [c. 39] had a naval battle with Tyrian and Ægyptian ships. In the Spectacle of Augustus (b.c. 2) the combat of the Athenians and Persians was represented. Dio 54, 10. τοι και Ραμαξια in τη το αχαρων η ετη και τοι η σημεια των δεκαυρων ην' Αθηναων ἐν ώνοιν. Cp. Claud. 21; Ner. 12, 27; Tit. 1; Domit. 5; Mart. de Spect. 38. The pond was called naxmachia as well as the show. Some traces of it have been recently discovered.

The nemus Caesarum was in the transtiberine region, Tac. Ann. 13, 56, at quaedam Augusti structura trans Tiberim stagnos. It is called by Dio [56, 25] το δειος το Γαλο το τε Λουκων. The place seems before to have been called Caudeta (caudex). The term nemus Caesarum was subsequent to the death of Lucius (a.d. 2) and Galus (a.d. 4), therefore in the Monumentum he says in quo loco nonus nemus est Caesarum, words which Suetonius has copied.

rareitate remanetium. On the vast numbers attending the games, see Mayor on Inv. 11, 197; Suet. Iul. 39 fn.
ex nobilissima iuventute. Dio 48, 23 in se fui by home ην ην (b.c. 41) θηρίον τω των άτλαντών ποταπων άθροισά ἐν τῇ τοτε ημερα καθάπετος καθάπετος. For similar conduct on the part of Iulius and Caligula, see Suet. Iul. 39; Cal. 27.

Troiae lusum. The game of Troy has been described by Vergil [Aen. 5, 574 sqq.]. One occasion on which it was held was at the dedication of the theatre Marcelli (b.c. 13), Dio 54, 26. See also Claud. 21. Of the two divisions of minores and maiores, see Iul. 39; Tib. 6.

Nonium Asprenate. c. 56. The Nonii Asprenates are often mentioned as a
natem lapsu debilitatum aureo torque donavit passusque est ipsum posterosque Torquati ferre cognomin. Mox finem fecit. talia edendi, Asinio Pollione oratore graviter invidioso que in curia queste Ascernini nepotis sui casum, qui et ipse cruciferat.

Ad scenicas quoque et gladiatorias operas et equitibus
Romanis aliquando usus est, verum prius quam senatus consulto interdiceretur. Postea nihil sane praeterquam adulescentulum L. Icium honeste natum exhibit, tantum ut ostenderet; quod erat bipedali minor, librarum septemdecim ac vocis immensa. Quodam autem muneris die Parthorum obsides, tunc primum missos, per mediam arenam ad spectaculum induxit superque se sub sellio secundo collocavit. Solebat etiam citra spectactorum dies, si quando quid in visitatum dignumque cognitum ad vectum esset, id extra ordinem quolibet loco publicare: ut rhinocerotem apud Septa, tigrin in scena, anguem quinquaginta cubitorum pro comito.

consular family under the early empire. See Dio 56, 27; Velleius Pater. 2, 190; Tac. Ann. 1, 59.
torque, generally a military reward, see c. 27. But it was also given in games. See Capitolin. Maximin. 2 and 3.

Asinio Pollione. See c. 29.
ad scenicas...interdiceretur. (1) at the games celebrated by Marcellus as sedile, b.c. 23. (2) c. 23. (3) c. 23. (4) L. b. 11, tois ivposoi, tois avtismos en tois, monarkev evnteleia. Id. 56, 27. He goes on to explain that these spectacles preferred the risk of the arena to the certainty of a punishment which they had incurred. (5) The SCum seems to have been made at his own suggestion in b.c. 23.

Parthorum obsides. In b.c. 39 Phraates sent his son as a hostage to Rome, "he took to him the child to whom he had given, and placed him on a throne and made him king," Dio 51, 18. Strabo 16, 1, 28 says that there were four sons so sent.

ad spectaculum (= ut spectaculum); 'for a show,' 'by way of affording a show.' Cp. ad ludibrium regem eum consularis invit, Livy 36, 14. Raby L. G. § 1938.
citra...dies, 'though not during the days fixed for a spectacle.' For crita see c. 24. Raby § 1875.
publicare, 'to throw open to the public,' c. 29, p. 63.
tigrin, In b.c. 20 ciel l'Inde prekhranevovme proroto philo tivn egalepist, dora perebrates an tois avtis. That the tiger was first seen there by Romans or Greeks is probably true of the Indian tiger. The tiger so often mentioned in the poets [e.g. Verg. Ecli. 5, 29; G. 2, 51, etc.] was some variety of panther, which had before been brought to Rome for spectacles, see Livy 30, 22; Cic. fam. 8, 2; 8, 4. This
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Accidit votivis Circensibus, ut correptus valitudine lecista cubás tensas dederet; rursus commissione ludorum, quibus theatrum Marcelli dedicat, evenit ut laxatis sellae curulis compagibus cadere supinus. Nepotum quoque suorum munere cum consternatum ruinae metu populum retinere et confirmare nullo modo posset, transit e loco suo atque in ea parte consedit, quae suspecta maxime crat,

Spectandì confusíssimum ac solutissimum morem correxit ordinavitque, motus injuria senatoris, quem Puteolìs per celeberrimos ludos consessu frequenti nemo reciperat. Facto igitur decreto patrum ut, quotiens quid spectaculi usquam publice ederetur, primus subselliorum ordo vacaret senatoribus, Romae legatos liberarum sociorumque gentium vetuit in orchestra sedere, cum quosdam etiam libertini generis mitti deprendisset.

is perhaps true also of the ‘tiger’ said to have been sent to Athens by Seleucus [Athenae. 13, 590 a, 3, though his envoy, the historian Megasthenes, had seen a head of the Bengal tiger, Strabo 15, 1, 37 (circa B.C. 288) kal týrōn b' en τοῦ Πρασιάτος φρόνησα & Μεγασθῆνας μεγόστον γέροντας σχέδεια δὲ τί καὶ διδακτόν λεγόντων κ.τ.λ.]

tenas deduceret, ‘he was conducting the sacred cars,’ i.e. in the procession of the gods into the circus, with which the ludi circenses were opened. See Jos. 76. Among the honours decreed to Julius were tennes et fronsam circensis pompa. Dio 43, 45 καὶ ἑσσα ἐν τοῖς ἱππόδρομοις μετὰ τῶν θείων ἀγαλ-μάτων πλήκτρων ἔγονοι. Vide, s. municipebat...Neronem dedisset ultima memoriam per quidem, ut tennes Iovi O. M. e sacrario in domum Vestpantium et inde in circulum datiuscerit. Cp. Cic. ad Att. 13, 44; Dionys. Hal. 7, 73.

commissione ludorum, ‘at the opening of the games,’ Cic. Att. 13, 26 ab ipso commissione ad me...omnia reliquorum in dies singulos perspexerat. The word committere properly applies to gladiators or other combatants, see infr. c. 45; Jul. 49 de Gramm. 17; but also to the formal opening of any games, see Claud. 21.

quibus theatrum Marcelli. See on c. 29, p. 64.

neptum. Germanicus son of the elder Drusus, and Drusus son of Tiberius, M. A. 22 ter manus gladiatorum dedit me nomine et quisquis filiorum meorum aut nepotum nomine.

Puteoles (Pussofti) being near Baiae, and the villas of so many nobles and of the Emperor, was naturally a place in which games attracted more attention than in other country towns. Thus Nero gave an exhibition of gladiators there, Dio 63, 3.

primus...senatoribus. There seems to have been a doubt whether the lex Rœsia was applicable outside Rome. Dio 53, 35 καὶ συνέβη τοὺς βολεραίς ἐν πάγη τῆς ἄρχη αὐτοῦ ἐν πάντα τῇ θεάτρῳ θέσῃ (B.C. 56). This regulation applied to exhibitions away from Rome. But the privilege enjoyed by Senators in the theatre since B.C. 194 had not extended to the circus even at Rome. This was regulated first in A.D. 5. Dio 55, 22 καὶ τῇ αὐτῷ τόπῳ ἦτα...τὰς ἑπερδρόμιας χαρίς μὲν οἱ βολεραίς χαρίς δὲ οἱ ἱπποῖς ἐν τῷ λαότῳ πλήκτρον ἐλθὼν, καὶ τὸν γέρο- 

pernav. In the circus however the regulation of Augustus seems to have been neglected and required renewing. See Suet. Claud 21 circa...exculto, propria senatoribus constitut loca, primum spectare solitum. Nero 11 circensibus loca equiti secreta a ceteris tribuit.

legatos...gentium. As, for instance, the envoys of Marseilles [Justin. 42, 5, 20]. To Hyrcanus, his children, and envoys was accorded μετὰ τῶν συγγελ- 

τικῶν θεωρεί [Ios. Antiq. 14, 17]. The practice was afterwards renewed as a

militem secravit. In A.D. 35 Iunius Gallio proposed farther that praetorians who had served their time should be admitted to the XIV ordines, but was rebuked by Tiberius, who said that he reperitis prorsus quod dieus Augustus non providit. Tac. Ann. 6, 9.

maritini, 'married men.' This privilege (apparently from the lex Julia de mariti ordine) is referred to in Mart. 4, 41, 8: it applied to theatre and circus alike, Dio 64, 30. e plebe: Suetonius uses plebs of citizens below the equestrian census, cp. Hor. Ep. 1, 1, 58 quadringenti sex septem milia desunt, Plebs erat.

praetextatis. For the praetexta by boynood see Cic. 2 Phil. 441 Inv. 1, 78; 3, 140; 11, 155; Suet. Cal. 24; Sen. de brut. vit. 6 § 2 pupilllas adhibe et praetextatibus. The pupilli accompanied their charges to all public places, such as lecture rooms [Hor. S. 1, 6, 81], but especially to the theatres, as amongst the Greeks, Theophr. Char. 9. In later times it was thought best for prae- textata not to go at all. Iulian's paedagogus would not take him [Migne. 351 B.]

pullorum, see c. 40. It would include all peregrini, who were forbidden to wear the toga. media cavea. The whole auditorium is called the cavea, divided by praecinctiones into blocks. The lowest (nearest the stage) called ima or prima cavea, the next highest media cavea, the next summa or ultima cavea. Cic. de Sen. 54 ut Turpione Ambros magis delectatur qui in prima cavea, delectatur tamen qui in ultima. Suet. Claud. 21, Claudius descends from the shrine of Venus at the top into the orchestra per medio cavea.

ne gladiatores quidem. In the case of the theatre and other shows in the amphitheatre and circus the women's places had been in the high seats, cp. Ov. am. 2, 73 sive ego marmorei resque summae theatris, eligis e multis unde do- lere vols. Prop. 5, 8, 77 sola cavea infestis ad summum oblonga theatris. But at gladiatorial shows the women and men sat together, Plinarch Sull. c. 35. It was this exception that Augustus abolished. For the reason of separating men and women see Ovid A. A. 1, 89; Tr. 2, 51 sq.: R. A. 751. Cp. Inv. 11, 202; 6, 60—81, 25—356.

vestalibus, see c. 31. sedes vestalium Tac. Ann. 4, 16. They had a special place assigned them also at gladiatorial shows, Cic. pro Mur. § 73, contra praetorius tribunal. The praetor as iudex ludio occupied a seat of honour on the left of the scene, and it was still called by that name though some other magistrate was iudex, Suet. Ner. 13. The other magistrates who were not iudices also had their fixed places [Dio 44, 43; 53, 77; Tac. Ann. 16, 12], Mart. 13, p. 217.

athletarum. Because the athletes were practically naked, Gymnarium, thermae, stadiun est hoc parte: recede. Easimum: uulvas parce videre viros, Mart. 3, 68. Nero however invited the Vestals, quia Olympiae quoque Cereris sacrabilibus spectaculis concedit [Nero 12]. Livio said of nudi oedi, ώνδορκαν ταῖς σφυροφόρους οἴ οὐκοίδον ἀποτάν τε ρηθείρας, Dio 58, 2. muliere secus omnes, 'all of feminine sex.' The accus. of reference, which seems the almost constant construction of this word. The nom. is rare, Tac. Ann. 4, 53; Roby § 704. Roth however reads omnes. Old editors multi- erum secum omnes.

pontificalis ludus. Casaubon supposed that these were games given on his becoming Pontifex Maximus (B.C. 12). There is no other trace of them, or of such games being given elsewhere,
45.]  

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pugilum par postulatum distulerit in insequentis diei matutinum tempus, edixeritque, mulieres ante horam quintam venire in theatrum, non placere. Ipse circenses ex amicorum fere libertorumque cenaulis spectabant, interdum ex pulvinari, et quidem cum coniuge ac liberris sedens. Spectaculo plurimas horas, aliquando toto dies aberat, petita venia commendatisque qui suam vicem praesidendo fungerentur. Verum quotiens adset, nihil praeterea agebat, seu vitandi rumoris causa, quo patrem Caesarem vulgo reprehensum commemorabat, quod inter spectandum epistolam libellisque legendis aut rescribendis vacaret, seu studio spectandi ac voluptate, qua teneri se neque dissimulavit umquam et saepe ingenue professus est. Itaque corollaria et praemia in alienis quoque munerbis ac judis et crebra et grandia de suo offerebat, nullique Graeco certaminis interfuit, quo non pro merito quemque certaminum except Plin. op. 7, 24, 6 proximus sacerdotalibus ludis.

matutinum...ante horam quintam. The senationes took place early in the morning. See Ovid Met. 11, 25 struetoque utrinque theatris Cru matutina circus porterus area Praedia canum est. Hence the school in which bestiaris were trained was called ludus matutinus. Wilmanns 1723, 1741, 361. There was a break for the prandium in all games etc. about this hour, Claud. 34 bestiaris moriamisque adi delectabatur, ut at prima lucis ad spectaculum descendere, et multis disimulacio ad prandium populo, pergradaret. Marq. 13, p. 288—9 note.

45. cenaulis, 'from the upper part of the house' [so-called according to Varro L. L. § 162 from the habit of having the dining-room upstairs]. Cf. Dio 57, 12 of Tibertius, eis toti te tum aterficio evxii et alios sal adretus tui antelxvov evxii pallei xipho. Though some have explained cenaula to mean 'boxes' in the circus.

pulvinari. The imperial box in the circus erected by Augustus. The exact position of it is uncertain, but it was in full view of the spectators, Claud. 4, venia: because the absence of the Emperor was unpopular, Tac. Ann. 1, 74.

vicem...fungere. see note c. 35, p. 80. Claudius [Clad. 7] prae- sedit nonnumquam spectaculis in Gall vicem. It may be said that vicem with gen. forms an adverbial expression which was constructively treated as an indeclinable noun. Cf. Ter. Haen. 149, Menademi vicem miseret me.

libellis, 'petitions,' c. 53. s. libellum insidiam indicem, ad obviam quaem, postrectum, libellis eletis, quos sinistra manus tenet, quam max lecturis, commiscuit. rescribendis, 'in answering.' These 'scripts' in after times, when dealing with questions of jurisprudence, came gradually to form part of a body of law ex constitutionibus prinsipum.

vacaret. See on c. 4, p. 10.

corollaria [corollarius formed from diminutive corollis] like the Greek erw-fivos meant a prize or additional present of money. Cic. Ferr. 3. § 115 ut esset anda Arpnoao ad illos fructus arationum hos corollarium numerum adderetur, ib. § 184 de scenicorum corol- larizis. de suo. See on c. 40, p. 89.

Graeco certaminis, games on the Greek model, including athletics, chariot racing, and musical contests. They were not as popular as the Roman games, apparently. Cic. Atti. 16, 5 sed tamen rumorim nescio quid adversarior com- missione Graecorum frequentiam non fusse, quod quidem ne minime fetellit. Sibi enim quid ego de Graecis judicis existimem.
honorat. Spectavit autem studioissime pugiles et maxime Latinos, non legimos atque ordinarios modò, quos etiam committere cum Graecis solebat, sed et catervios oppida-
nos, inter angustias vicorum pugnantis temere ac sine arte.
Universum denique genus operas aliquas publico spectaculo
praebentium etiam cura sua dignatus est: athletis
et conservavit privilegia et ampliavit; gladiatores
sine missione ed prohibuit; coercitionem in histrion-
emagistratibus, omni tempore et loco lege vetere
permissa, ademit praeterquam ludis et scena. Nec tamen
eo minus aut xysticorum certationes aut gladiatorum pugnas

honorari, 'bestowed a present upon.'
Vell. 3, 129 populum consiliaris hono-
ravit. Macrobi. Sat. 2, 3, 10 Liberius
in fine ludorum anulo aureo honoratus
a Caesare.

legitimos atque ordinarios, 'recogn-
ised and classed as such,' of whom,
apparently, a regular list was kept,
marking them off as professionals. This
was so in Greece, see Polyb. 6, 47, 8
καὶ τὸ ὕποτέτοιο τῶν τεχνίτων ἢ τῶν
ἀθλητῶν τοῖς γε μὴ νεοφημισμένοι ἢ σεισμο-
μαχηθέντες νομίζομεν αὐτόν τὸν ἀθλητικὸν
ἀγώνα, οὕτω κ.τ.λ. Thus we hear of
an album of professional musicians,
Nov. 11.
catervios, ordinary and inferior,
men selected at hazard and untrained.
Cp. gregation, 'in an inferior manner,"
Cat. 30.
opera praebentium. Such as the
 designatores [Plaut. Pomp. prol. 19] who
showed people to their places. See
Wilmanns 986. Mar. 5, 8, 14; 5, 23;
27. Other persons employed in theatres
and circus are enumerated in Dgg. 3, 2, 4
thyrsalici, xystici, agitatores, qui aequam
opusque iurgiunt, ceteraque eorum mini-
steria qui certaminibus sacrati deservi-
unt.

privilegia, sc. ceciliatum munera
vacationem, Codex 19, 53 and also free-
dom from the infamia, which attached
to actors and gladiators. Marq. 13, p.
349.
sine missione, i.e. without the right
of appealing to the editor (or, as be-
came the custom, to the people), to be
allowed to leave the arena alive if con-
quered. Domitian limited the number
of such permissions; Mart. Spectac. 19,
3 Missio sapga viris magna clamore
petita est; sed Caesar legis permutavit
ipse

sitae; id. 12, 39, 7 nuper cum Myrrino
petetur missio latio.

coercitionem...soena. But Tacitus
does not confine the immunity from
flogging to the outside of the theatre.
Ann. 1, 77 dixit Augustus immunes
veterum histriens quandam respondi-
crat. Marquardt [13, p. 318] prefers the
statement of Suetonius. omni tempore
et loco. Cp. Plaut. Cistell. epill. 4
qui deliquit variabit; id. Amph. pro-
11—5. Lucian Pisc. 33 ac θαλαθαιρι
μαρτυρομεν εὔδαιμον ἵνα τα ἐπεμφητη
ἀθλητῶν...μαστοδούλων μὴ καλὰ ἱσοχο-
νοτον μὴ ς百' ἡδινα τῶν θεών. id.
Apol. 5 τοῖς τραγῳδοῖς ἐσπορακεῖ εὐδα-
ιμον ςι̣ Ἡθρὸ...Πιθαν...δ' ἀρκετάθημα...
γλυφονται...καὶ μαστογυροῖον τῶν αὐτ-
τῶν ὀ ὁ ἐν τῷ θέατρῳ δοκῇ.
ludis, 'at the games,' abl. of time.
So gladiatoribus, Cic. Att. 3, 19. 3;
ludis et gladiatoribus ib. 1, 16.
xysticorum. The xystus was a porti-
cus, in which athletes practised during
winter. Galb. 13 ii quid aut xystici
donatum aliam vendissent; Tertull.
Spect. 30 tunc xystici contemplandi
non in gynnasio sed in omne taculati, id. 20
atrociatarias arenas vanitas xysti; Virun.
5, 11 Παντὸς Ἑράκλεως καταβαλλόμενος εἰς
porticus ampla latitundine in qua adstat
hieros temporas exerceretur. Per
xysti in private houses and gardens see
infr. c. 72.
pugnas...exagit. Gladiators who
showed timidity or seemed to avoid
fighting were urged on by blows and hot
irons. See Quint. Declam. 9, 6 frenebant
adhibicentia adhorantium, hic forum
aciebat, ille incendebat ignibus laminas,
huic virginas, inde flagellis adferrentur;
Sen. Ep. 7, 5 occide, verbera, ure! quare
tam timide incurrit in forum? quare
severissime semper exigit. Nam histrionom licentiam adeo compescuit, ut Stephanionem togatarium, cui in puerilem habitum circumtonsum matronam ministrasse competerat, per trina theatra virgis caesum relegaverit, Hylan pantomimum, querente praetore, in atri domus suae nemine excluso flagellis verberari, et Pyladen urbe atque Italia summoverit, quod spectatorum, a quo exsibilabatur, demonstrastet digito conspicuumque fecisset.

Ad hunc modum urbe urbanisque rebus administratis, 46

Italiam duodetriginta coloniarum numero, deducarum ab se, frequentavit operibusque ac vectigali- 

bus publicis plurifariam instruixit, etiam iure ac

parum audaxce occidit? quare parum li- 

benter maritus? plagis agitur in volnera. 

histrionom licentiam." Cep. Tib. 37; 

Ner. 16; Dom. 7.

togatariam, 'an actor in a fabula 

togata.' See Neron 11; Pliny, N. H. 7 
§ 49; Iuv. 1, 3. The word does not 
appear to be elsewhere used, and some 
editors have proposed togatariam.

in puerili habitum circumton-

sam, 'with the hair cut short to look 

like a boy.' Plutarch, de inst. naturalis, 
tells a story of Aristodemus, tyrant of 
Cumae, qui tunc menses saepe tari et 

indulgerat et sine quodam 

patriarchate et dominio. The offence of this actor was of produc-

ing (ministras, Tibull. 2, 1, 17) a ma-

trona,—a Roman married lady.

per trina theatra. The theatres of 
Pompey, Balbus, and Marcellus. Ovid 

A.A. 3, 394 visite conspicuis terna 
theatra locis. See c. 29.

Hylan pantomimum. According to 
Suidas (s.v. δραμα) Augustus first in-

duced this form of dramatic repre-

sentation, which consisted in some 
dramatic scene presented by one actor 
with the help of dances and gestures. 
See Lucian Salt. § 57 ove ἀναδοκός δὲ 
kai o Ἰταλικαί τοί διδαχῆ σωμάτων 

καθαρών ἀντὶ τῶν ἀμφιθεατῶν.

The first pantomimi were Pyladen and 
Bathylius [Dio 54, 17]. Hylas was the 
pupil of Pyladen, and Macrobius records 
that when he had to represent the words 
τῶν μέγαν Ἀθηναίων he stretched 
himself to look his part, but Pyladen 
exclaimed τὸ χαράρη τὸ μέγαν πάντως 
[Sat. 2, 7, 13]; Marq. 13, p. 330.

exsibilabatur. Cep. Cic. Paral. 3 § 

26 histrio si factum se novit extra 

numerus aut si versus pronunciatur 

syllaba una brevis aut longior exsibil- 

atur et exploditur. Pyladen was after-

wards recalled, Dio 54, 17 Ποιήσθε 

τοί διδαχῆ τῷ Ἀττικῷ καθαρῷ 

καθαρῇ. He was a Cilcian, see 

Suidas.

digitto, 'the middle finger,' insanus 

digitus, Pers. 5, 33; mediumque extende-

ret usuum Iuv. 10, 53; Mart. 2, 78; 

6, 70. It implied a charge of obscenity, 

see Cat. 56. Other ways of expressing 
contempt were to bend the fingers in 
shape of a stork's bill, or to hold them 
up to look like long ears. Pers. 1, 38 

Ο λαός, a tergo quem salis clausa 

pennis, seu manus auriculae tabularis 

mobilis alas.

46. duodetriginta coloniarum. M.A. 

28 Italia autem [XXVIII] coloniae, quae 

vivo me colloquentes et frequentissimae 

fuerunt, meis auxiliis deductas habet. 

For a list of these coloniae, see Momm-

sen res g. p. 123. What was now meant 

by 'colonies' was different from what 

the word had meant in former times. It 
was now practically the settlement of so 
many veterans, and often where a colony 
had already been settled, the illegality 
involved in this being got over by re-

arding the new settlers as a supple-

mentation [Cic. 2 Phil. §§ 100—102]. 

Thus, of the twenty-nine Julian colonies 
in Mommsen's list, thirteen were old 
colonies—Ariminum, Beneventum, Bo-

nonia, Capua, Castrum Novum, Dertona, 

Minturnae, Parma, Fismus, Pisaurum, Sora, 

Suesa, Stratium. Since 8 c. 69 there was 

no question of political status involved, 

as all had the civitas, but there was still, 

it appears, some difference of internal 

government between a colonia and other
dignatione urbi quodam modo pro parte aliqua adaequavit, excogitato genere suffragiorum, quae de magistratibus urbicis decuriones colonici in sua quisque colonia ferrent et sub die comitiorni obsignata Romam mitterent. Ac necubi aut honestorum deficeret copia aut multitudinis suboles, equestrem 5 militiam petentis etiam ex commendatione publica cuisque oppidi ordinabat; at iis, qui e plebe regiones sibi revisenti filios filiasve approbarent, singula nummorum milia pro singularis dividebat.

47 Provincias validiores et quas annuis magistratuum im-
perissi regi nec facile nec tumum erat, ipse suscepit, ceteras proconsulibus sortito permisset; et tamen nonnullas commutavit interdum atque ex utroque genere plerasque saepius adiit. Urbium quasdam, foederatas sed ad exitium licentia praecepites, libertate privavit, alias aut aure alieno laborantis levavit, aut terrae motu subversas denuo condidit, aut merita erga populum Romanum adlegantes Latinitate vel civitate donavit. Nec est, ut opinor, provincia, excepta dumnaxat Africa et Sardinia, quam non adierit.

Division of the Provinces. Cittates foederatae.

Consulares and praetorii drew lots for their year of office, as in the republic, the law of B.C. 59, enacting a five years' interval between the consulship or praetorship and the provincial government, being maintained: but even in these the Emperor intervened in case of maladministration, invitabatque illum non tolleret in masse. exAdministration, kleroumenos hup tis theses eis ona eis the tôn tôn klerous, kleroumenos kleroumenos [Dio 53, 14]. In the Imperial provinces the legis pro praetore held office during pleasure [Dio 52, 76. 2; 66. 9. 1; 67. 5]. Among the Senatorial provinces Africa and Asia were to have consules as governors, the rest praetorii, but in the provinces themselves both alike have proconsules imperium and are therefore often called proconsuls.

Foederatae. A comparatively small number of States in the provinces which, though debarred from making foreign alliances or wars, enjoyed internal autonomy, could coin money and receive exiles. The terms on which they held this freedom varied according to the particular foedus, one copy of which was kept at Rome, the others in the State concerned. Marq. 7, 100-104.

Libertate privatis. Instances recorded are Cyzicus, Tyre, and Sidon. Dio 54, 7. τὸ τε Κυζίκου τοῦ Ρωμαίων, τὸ τε στάτα μαστιγάσαντες κατέκαθον ἡπείροντο καὶ τοῖς τοῦ Ρώματος τὸ τε Δούκουν διὰ τὸ στάτων ἐνεφάνεντο, τὸ τοῦ Σοφίου γενέσιον (B.C. 20). The decree concerning Cyzicus was revoked in B.C. 15 (Dio 54, 23), and therefore Strabo (12, 8, 11) speaks of it as free; but Tiberius inflicted the same punishment on it in A.D. 25 obiitias publicas Cyzicis incursa carceremiam in divitias creditoris, additis violentiae criminibus adversum civites Romanas, et aminseris libertatem quam bello Mithridatico mercurant. Cp. Suett. Tith. 57. It therefore seems that they had not forgiven the memory of Augustus. The freedom of Tyre and Sidon had been reserved by Antony, when he handed over Phocis to Cleopatra [Ios. Ant. 15, 4, 1].

Latinitate. The imperfect citizenship thus designated derived its name and much of its nature from the old status of the Latin cities. Since the civil war (B.C. 90) it had ceased to apply to any cities in Italy south of the Po, and since B.C. 49 to those north of the Po; but it still existed in colonies and certain states in the provinces; and the Emperor had the power of indefinitely extending it; Vespasian, for instance, gave Latinitas to all Spain. Pliny, N.H. 3 § 90. Later on there was a distinction laid down between major et minor Latinum: in virtue of the former all decuriones and office-holders in their states obtained full civitas, in the latter only magistrates [Gaius 1, 95-96].

Excepta...Africa. If we may believe Nicolaus Dam. 11-12, Augustus visited Africa with his uncle Julius in B.C. 45. After the defeat of Sextus (B.C. 36) Lepidus, who had come from Africa to Sicily nominally to help Augustus but had raised an opposition to him, was deprived of his province, and Augustus might have thought it necessary to go there. He, however, contented himself with appointing a new governor, with a division of his troops [App. B. civ. 5, 199].

Sardinia. Corsica and Sardinia were long held by Sextus Pompeius, but his ships and forces there were betrayed to Augustus by his freedman Menodorus in B.C. 38. App. B. civ. 5, 78-80. For the storms after the defeat of Sextus, see Dio 49, 34 ἔσθη ἢ τε ζήτουσκε
In has fugato Sex. Pompeio traiere ex Sicilia apparantem continuae et immodicae tempestates inhibuerunt, nec mox occasio aut causa traiciendi fuit.

Regnorum quibus belli iure potitus est, praeter pauca, aut idem quibus ademerat reddidit, aut alienigenis contribuit. Reges socios etiam inter semet ipsos necessitadinibus mutuis iunxit, promptissimis affinitatis cuiusque atque amici et continuavit et fuit; nec alter universos quam membra partisque imperii curae habuit, rectorem quoque solitus apudrerit parvis aut mente lapis, donec adolescere aut resipserent; ac plurimum liberos et educavit simul cum suis et instituit.

Ex militibus copios legiones et auxilia provinciam inductos. Ita Caesar legionem ad Damascum, inclytum gregem, redit in regnum Artaxerxese, et resipserit se cum eo. Quae regni, qui erant in regno generae Armoriorn reiurn, in id regnum missi. Other instances are Herod in Judea [Jos. B. Ind. 15, 10]; Iuba in Mauretania [Dio 53, 16]. Augustus in the Monumcium c. 33 says also that he made Votences king of the Parthians, and Ariobarzanes king of the Medes, on the request or with the consent of the chief men of those nations. Contribut. A word technically used of bringing a people into political connection with another or under a ruler. Abraciae...sum contributer se Aetate, Livy 38, 33; Sisiniorn genem... Susianaarm Susaiopae contribuit Curt. 5, 3, 16. Necessitadinibus...affinitatis. Examples are again found in the dealings of Augustus and Livia with the Herods [Jos. Ant. 16, 7, 8; 17, 1, 2-3]. He was said even to have offered his own daughter Iulia to Cotiso king of the Getae, see c. 66. Universos. It is difficult to see the point of the antithesis, or what substantive is to be understood with universos. Perhaps it is safest to understand socius or populos. Augustus 'took as much thought for the general interests of the empire as for individual members of it.' But the words which follow do not seem to illustrate his remark very aptly. Rectorem...resipserent. On the analogy of the tutela of Roman law in the case of minors and insane or imbecile persons, see Cicero de Sen. § 22; Hor. Sat. 2, 3, 318 ad sanos aut tutela propriusque. id. Ep. 1, 1, 104 curatoris egere a prato docto. Inst. Init. 1, 23 furio et prodigi, licet maiore xxi annis sint, lamen in curatione agnovitorum sint ex lege xit tutularam. Liberos...educavit. So Iuba was θραβις in ιραλία, Dio 51, 15; and so Agrrippa, son of Aristobulus was brought up at Rome with Drusus, son of Tiberius [Jos. Ant. 18, 6, 1]. Compare a similar policy of Agricola in Britain, Tac. Agr. 21. Auxilia. Under the republic auxilia meant all non-citizen troops levied in provinces or furnished by kings or allied nations. In the military system as reformed by Augustus it meant all bodies of troops in the provinces other than the legionaries, however composed. Marq. 11, 153. Of what such auxilia consisted will be seen in Vell. 2, 115 contractis in una castra X legionibus, LXX amphi cohortibus, XIV alii, et pluribus decem veteranorum milibus, ad hoc magno voluntarium numero, frequentique ajuste regio... provinciatis. At the time of the
DISTRIBUTIUM, CLASSEM MISENI ET ALTERAM RAVENNAE AD TUTELAM SUPERI ET INFERI MARIS CONLOCAVIT, CETERUM NUMERUM LEGIONUM IN URBS PARTIM IN SUI CUSTODIAM ADELEGIT.

Battle of Actium there were at least 50 legions enrolled, all of which passed under the power of Augustus, who, making it a chief point in his policy to reduce the strength and expense of the army, partly by disbanding and partly by draughting off veterans to colonies, brought down the number to 18 or 25. [For the question between these two numbers, see Mommsen Res 58, pp. 67—69; Marq. 11, 125—126; E. G. Hardy, Journal of Philology 23, 145 p. 39 and the authorities there quoted.] Whatever the original number may have been it seems that after the Pannonian rising and the fall of Varus, the number was 23 or 25 [Dio 55, 26 Ράκα δε δή τὸν καὶ εἶχεν εὐπορίαν ἐπίκους καὶ ἐκείνος πλεκότας, ἣ ἐν σφέτεροι λέγειστα], and Tacitus [Ann. 4, 2] tells us of their distribution in A.D. 23, which seems not to have been changed since the death of Augustus—-the Gauls and Germany 8; Spain 3; Africa 2; Egypt 2; Syria 4; Pannonia 2; Moesia 2; Dalmatia 2. Thus they were all in frontier provinces, the rest being provinciae inermes, in which the governor had only a detachment as body guard and police, or depended on local militia [Marq. 11, 272 sq.]. The telling off of certain legions for permanent service in particular provinces proved afterwards a fertile source of disruption.

CLASSEM RAVENNAE. The war fleet of Rome had never been continuously maintained in efficiency since the Panic and Macedonian wars. Pompey, in B.C. 67, caused a large fleet of 500 vessels to be built for the war with the pirates, which he maintained also during the civil war. After the death of Caesar, the command of the fleet was transferred to Sext. Pompeius [p. 3], and with it he maintained himself till B.C. 36. To combat him Augustus commissioned Agrippa to build a fleet in B.C. 35 [p. 32]. The fall of Sextus Pompeius put Augustus in possession of a large number of vessels, which he employed at Actium, where his victory added still more. He then organised the fleet on the same principle as the army, i.e. by fixing on two or more places as permanent stations—-Ravenna, Misenum, Forum Iuli (Prœ- jul). Tac. Ann. 4, 5; Misenum aquis et RAVENNAE PROXIMUM GALLIAE ITIUS ROSTRATAE NASVS PRÆSIDIABANT, QUAS ACTIACÆ VICTORIAE CAPIAS IN OPTIDUM FORVMVITÆNSE MISERAT NULLIO CUM REMIGI. The station at Forum Iuli seems not to have been maintained long after the time of Augustus [Strab. 4, 1, 9]; but those at Ravenna and Misenum existed up to the 5th century; the fleets are called in inscriptions classis praetoria Misenumis—-Ravennae [C. I. L. 10, 697—700]. Ravenna, like the modern Venice, was built amidst tidal lagoons, three miles from the sea. Augustus not only constructed a port (Classis) connected by a causeway with the old city, but also a canal (fossa Augusta) from the Po to this port [Pline N. H. 3 § 29]. By the middle of the 6th century this harbour was already silted up [Jordan. Col. 29], and the lagoons of the ancient city have long shared the same fate. Suetonius joins the fleet with his mention of the army, for those serving on board were reckoned as soldiers and shared in the privileges of soldiers; see the diploma granting civitas to those remiges who had served their time in the fleet [C. I. L. 5, p. 844 41; Wilmanns 1882—2]. The importance of the naval stations of Misenum and Ravenna will be seen by reference to Tacitus Ann. 14, 61; 15, 51; Hist. 2, 9, 100; 3, 6, 40, 50, 56, 60; Pline Ep. 6, 6 and 102; Plut. Ant. 32; Dio 48, 36; Vell, 2, 77; Mommsen Inschr. Renn. Napol. pp. 145—154.

CETERUM NUMERUM: that is, all men under arms other than those in the legions, auxiliaries or fleet.

PARTIM IN URBS ADELEGIT. Tac. Ann. 4, 1 QUAM QVAM QUÆSITUR ARMS PROPRIOS MILES, IRES URBANAE, NOVEM PROVINCITARUM COHORTES. The number of cohortes urbanæ was however subsequently raised to four [Tac. Hist. 2, 93; C. I. L. 3, 283 (a diploma of Vespasian) TIVM MILITVM QUIN IN COHORTIBVS NOVEM PROVINCIALS ET QUATTUOR URBANÆ MILITIVMVERUM]. As to the strength of the cohortes also there is variation of testimony, Tacitus i. e. says that each had a thousand men, Dio 55, 14 says 1500,—οὶ δὲ τῶν φόντων φρεσκάδων τε άτες καὶ τετερακχοί πολίερων. See for a new discussion on the question
dimissa Calagurritanorum manu, quam usque ad advectum Antonium item Germanorum, quam usque ad cladem Vari- nam inter armigeros circa se habuerat. Neque tamen umquam plures quam tres cohortes in urbe esse passus est casque sine castris, reliquis in hiberna et aestiva circa finitima oppida dimittere assuerat. Quidquid autem ubique militem esset, ad certam stipendiorum praemiorumque formulam addixit, definitis pro gradu cuiusque et temporibus militiae et commodis missionem, ne aut aetate aut inopia post missionem sollicitari ad res novas possessent. Utque perpetuo ac sine difficultate sumptus ad tuendos eos prosequebantque suppeteret, aerarium militare cum vectigalibus novis constituit.


partim in sui. The ten cohortes praeda- riae [Dio l. c. οצר τα γαρ παραθεθαι σωβαν ῥοσι καὶ θρωκοβαντον] were an extension of the cohortes praeda of republican times attending each commander-in-chief [Polyb. 6, 40]. As Augustus was commander-in-chief of the whole Roman army, and had his principal residence at Rome, the praetorian guard naturally had its headquarters there also. But it was not until the administration of Sejanus that they were all stationed in a permanent camp near the forum Scaurium [Tib. 3; Dio 57, 19; Tac. Ann. 4, 2].

Calagurritanorum. Calagurris Nasicae or Julia (Calahorra) in Hispania Tarraconensis was a municipium enjoying the Roman civitas [Plin. N. H. 3 § 4]. Germanorum. These appear to have been Batavians, Dio 55, 24 ἕνω Προ τε θρωκοβαν ἀνδρὸς τοῦ Βαταβίου αὐτὸ τοῦ Βαταβίου τῆς ἐν τῇ Ρήγας ἡμερᾳ ἡμων, ὅτι δὲ κρατερὸς οἰκεῖος ἡμῖν, καὶ. The Batavian body-guard was also employed by Nero, Wilhams 1518 nobilitis · miles · imperia · neronis · avo · corp · cynt · dec · raptiti · nat · satavas · milit · an · ii · vix · an · xx · r · s · e. A body-guard of foreigners had been employed before, as the Ilyrians by Antony, Cic. 2 Phil. §§ 19 and 112.

Varianam, see on c. 23.

plures quam tres... sine castris. This refers to the praetorian cohorts, for the urban cohorts had already barracks in Rome near the forum Scaurium. The three praetorian cohorts thus billeted in Rome in turn performed the duties of guard at the imperial palace, Tac. Ann. 1, 7; 9, 34. After the praetorian camp was formed one cohort at a time mounted guard at the palace, Tac. Ann. 12, 69; Hist. 1, 24, and wore the toga, id. Hist. 1, 38 nec una cohortes tuto defendit nunc Galbae sed detinet. Mart. 6, 76

ille sacri lateris custos Martisque togati. ad eorum... addixit, 'he confined strictly to a fixed scale of service-time and allowances.' Dio 54, 25 (B.C. 13) καὶ δεῖξαξ τα ἢη δεικτα διὸ πάλαι στρα- νόμον καὶ τὸ χρήστα διὸ παρουσιά- ναι τῆς στρατείας, ἀντὶ τῆς χώρας ἐμὲ ἀντὶ πολεμοῦ, ἐλάχιστο. He goes on to say that the time of service fixed was 12 years for praetorians and 16 for others. But either this was again altered or this number of years’ service did not entitle a man to his retiring allowance, for it is stated in 45, 23 (A.D. 6) to be 16 for praetorians and 20 for the legionsaries, cp. Tac. Ann. 1, 17 and 78; M. A. c. 17. Mommsen thinks the change accounted for by the costly wars in Pannonia and Germany B.C. 12—8. There was a further variation in other branches of the service. The cohortes urbanus served 20, the auxilia 25, the classicis 26 years. Marq. 11, p. 222. Commodis missionem. See c. 24 note, p. 52.

aerarium militare. M. A. c. 17 M. Lepido et L. Auruntio cos. (A.D. 6) in aerarium militare, quod ex consilio meo constitutum est, ex quo praemia darentur militibus, qui viserat aut plura emeru-
DIVUS AUGUSTUS.

Et quo celerius ac sub manum adnuntiari cognoscique posset, quid in provincia quaque gereretur, iuvenes Postum service. primo modicis intervallis per militarias vias, dehinc vehicula dispositum. Commodus id visum est, ut qui a loco perferunt litteras, interrogari quoque, si quid res exigat, possint. In diplomatibus libellisque et epistulis signandis initio sphinge usu est, mox imagine.

issent HIS millius et septingentiens ex patrimonio suo debuit. Dio 55, 35, 35. οὐδὲν μαθεῖς πόσα ἐξῆκεν τοὺς σώματι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόσα πάντα δὲ καὶ οὕτω οὕτω μεταβοῦντο, ἔσφυγον ὁ Δήμαρχος χρήματα καὶ ἐπὶ πάντα καὶ ὡς τιμήρια τὸ σφιγγόν, ἤ καὶ στρατηγοῦν ἕποθησαν. The establishment of this military exchequer was therefore connected with the change and settlement as to the years of service and retiring allowances. It was replenished from time to time by his own contributions [see c. 41], by voluntary subventions from subject or allied princes and towns, and by a death duty of 5 p.c. on estates and legacies [Dio l.c. τὸ δὲ εὐρετέρω τὲ κληρωματικόν καὶ τῶν δομοί, ἐν ᾧ οἱ τελευτησάμοι τοὺς πληθὺς πάντα εὐφυσαν ἡ καὶ ποτής κατατέθεται καταφύγεται], and the 1 p.c. excise on τέτοια venumia seems also to have been paid to this account, Tac. Ann. 1, 78. Two praetoria were put in charge of it.

vocalitas nova. The legacy duties he maintained to be only a revival of an old tax, Dio l.c. sub manum, 'promptly' [τῷ χεῖρι Arist. Meteor. 2, 9, 13], cp. Seneca. Ep. 71 § 1 τὸυς nostrae seruuntur, immo volueruntur; ergo constatium nisi suī dignum dedit: et hoc quaque mīnis tardum est; sub manum, quod aequum, maturum, Plancius ap. Cic. fam. 10, 23 § 3 aduersus... Vocemitt sub manum ut essent, 'at hand,' 'handy': but Caes. B. Afr. 30 sub manum [with v. l. manu].

iuvenes...vehicula. Along the great military roads of Italy and the provinces there seem to have been for some time posting houses where relays of horses and carriages could be obtained [Cic. pro Ros. Amm. 7; Suet. Jul. 57; Mart. 10, 108]; but there was no provision for postal service. Rich men kept tabellarii for the transmission of letters [see Mayor on Plin. Ep. 3, 17 § 27]; the magistrates sent statores [Cic. ad fam. 3, 17, 1]; and the companies of publicani had their regular couriers [Cic. ad Att. 5, 15, 3; de Prov. § 15]. For the public post now organised by Augustus, see Marci. 9, pp. 587—592 who gives a long list of the literature of the subject. The Emperor had a certain number of spectatores attached to his staff for this service [c. 74].

vehicula, the light carriages or cisis used in the postal service, cp. Cat. 44 magnifica literae Romam missi, moniti spectatores, ut vehicula ad forum usuus et curiosum convenirent.

50. diplomatibus, documents issued by the Emperor or provincial governor conferring privileges, immunities or the like. Cal. 38; Nor. 12. The term is also applied to bronze diplycha, such as the diplomata fixing the privilegia militum. See Wilmanns 2891; C. I. L. 3, p. 2431 libellus, 'petitions.' The Emperor is said signare pellobus when he answers them, Pliny Ep. 1, 10, 9 iecis pro tribunali, subito libellis.

epistula. Gaius Inst. 1, 5 constitutio principis est se immunem imperator decreto vel edicto vel epistula constituat. Though this definition was hardly recognised in the time of Augustus.

intro sphinge...sua. Pliny [N. H. 37 § 10] says that Augustus found two rings of his mother's with sphinxes that were exactly alike, and that while he used one he lent the other to his agents during the civil war [i.e. to Macenas, see Dio 51, 3]. The three seals, whether designed or not, seem to have a reference to three stages in his life,—to the self-suppression and dark policy of his early manhood; the world-wide empire gained after 31 B.C.; and finally to the originality of the policy in his later years in which he represented in his own person all the popular powers which he pretended to maintain. The emblem of the sphinx seems to have given rise to unfavourable remark, postea ad evitanda convicta sphinges Alexandri Magni imaginem signavit Plin. I. 5. The Sphinx is found on coins of...
Magni Alexandri, novissime sua, Dioscuridis manu sculpta,
qua signare inscuti quoque principes perseverant. Ad
epistulas omnis horarum quoque momenta nec diei modo sed
et noctis, quibus datae significarentur, adebat.

Clementiae civilissimisque eius multa et magna documenta sunt. Ne enumerem, quot et quos diversarum partium venia et incolumitate donatos principem etiam in civitate locum tenere passus sit: Iunium Novatum et Cassium Patavinum e plebe homines alterum pe-
cunia, alterum levii exilio punire satis habuit, cum ille Agrippae 10
iunvis nomine asperrimam de se epistulam in vulgus edidisset, hic convivio pleno proclamasset, neque votum sibi neque ani
num deesse confodiendi eum. Quadam vero cognitione,
cum Aemilio Aelianio Cordubensi inter cetera crimina vel maxime obiceretur quod male opinari de Caesare soleret, conversus ad accusatorum commotique similis Velini, inquit, hoc mihi probes; faciam sciat Aelianus et me linguam habere, s pluram enim de eo loquar; nec quicquam ultra aut postea inquisit. Tiberio quoque de eadem re, sed violentius, apud se per epistulam conquerenti ita rescrisit: Aetati tuae, mi Tiberi, noli in hac re indulgere et nimium indignari quemquam esse qui de me male loquatur; satis est enim, si hoc habes, ne quis nobis male facere possit.

Templa, quamvis sciret etiam proconsulibus decerni solere, in nulla tamen provincia nisi communi suo Romanaeque nomine recepit (nam in urbe quidem to himself. pertinacissime abstinuit hoc honore) atque etiam argentera statuas olim sibi positas confuit omnis exque iis aureas cortinas Apollini Palatino dedicavit.

Cordubensi. Corduba was the seat of one of the four conventus juridici of Hispania Baetica, and was a Roman colony (8 c. 123), in which it is said an unusual number of patricians had settled, of whom Aemilius Aelianus seems from his name to have been one.

male opinari de, 'to express a bad opinion of,' 'to abuse,' see c. 67; Col. 27 male de manere suo opinatus; Justin. 12, 5, 8 in unam cohortem ess qui de rege devorci opinari fuerunt contribuist. So male existimare, Macrobi. Sat. 4, 18 Strabone male existimante de periculosa Cotenei.

actat...indulgere, 'to give way to the impulses of our youth' (Horace's calida incusta). Claud. 16 actatulae indulgere: Tac. Germ. 19 mulier, non forma non actata marium invenerit. So indulgere animo, Ovid. Met. 13, 598. 52. etiam proconsulibus, as to Flamininas at Chalcis [Plut. 7: Flam. 16; see also Cic. ad Q. fr. 1, i. 9], nisi...suos Romanae nomine. Temples to Rome had been known before, as at Smyrna [Tac. Ann. 4, 56. See Rushforth, p. 47—8]. The joining the names of the Emperor with that of Rome was therefore a natural step, which Augustus himself had already taken in dedicating the Julian heroum τῇ τῷ Ῥώμῃ καὶ τῷ φάραγκῷ τῇ Καλέκᾳ. Dio 51, 20. For instances see C. J. G. 3544 (a Eolic inscription near Cymo) ἔτει ἔτεος τὰς Ρώμας καὶ αὐτοκράτορος, θεῷ νόμι, θεῷ Ἑβάστῳ, ἀρχηγοῖς μεγάλοις, καὶ πάτρᾳ τὰ πάτριδον, Πολύμαων τῷ Ἀλυσίου Δαρδανέαν. That is, 'when Polemo, son of Zenos of Laodicea, was priest of Rome and of the Emperor Augustus etc.' Cp. ib. 3567; Tac. Ann. 4, 57.

in urbe. As also in Italy, Dio 51, 20 τὰς δὲ δὲ δεῖ ζονιν ἔσων ἡμῶν τῶν...τρεμείσαι ἑπετέργων...πέρ χάρ τοι τῇ δάσῃ αὐτῷ τῇ τῇ δόλῳ θαλόσος οὐκ οὐκότα...τῶν ἐνθ' ὑποστοί λογίων...τῶν ἐνθ' ἀποκεφάλισθαν...τῶν νόμων ναοῖς. Yet that such worship did exist in Italy in his lifetime is proved by inscriptions at Pompeii, see Rushforth, pp. 54—57. After his death such shrines were dedicated in Rome and all over the empire. See c. 5; Tac. Ann. 1, 10; Pliny N. H. 13 § 94.

argenterae statuas. Plin. N. H. 33 § 151 argenti usum in statuas primum divi Augusti tempore adulationum transisse fuisse existimatur, tum enim triumpho Magni Pompeii repertum traditum Pharnassi qui primus regnavit in Ponto argentera statuas, item Mithridati, et currus aureas argenteas. Dio 53, 22 o ήδ τὴν δύναμιν διακρινεται...τὸ μὲ...λιμπνοέται καὶ ἀναθέτεται τινὲς ἐντοῦ ἀργυροῦ πρὸς τὰς δόξας καὶ πρὸς δόμων των...τὰς...τῶν κατακόψεις. He had himself forbidden silver statues of men, Dio 54, 7.

exque līs, 'and with the money coined from them.'

Apollini Palatino. See c. 29. cortinas, Plin. N. H. 35 § 14 ex aere facti-
Dicituram magna vi offerente populo, genu nixus deicta
ab umeris toga nudo pectore deprecatus est. Domini
appellationem ut maledictum et obprobrium semper
exhorruit. Cum spectante eo ludos, prouniatiump
esset in mimo: O dominum aequum et bonum! et universi quasi
de ipso dictum exultantes comprobassent, et statim manu
vultuque indecoras adulationes repressit et inse-
quenti die gravissimo corripuit edicto; dominumque
se posthac appellari ne a liberis quidem aut nepotibus
suis vel serio vel ioco passus est, atque eius modi blanditas
etiam inter ipsos prohibuit. Non temere urbe oppidove ullo
gressus aut quoquam ingressus est nisi vespera aut noctu,
ne quem officii causa inquietaret. In consulatu pedibus fere,
extra consulatum saepe adaperta sella per publicum incessit.
Promiscuis salutationibus admittebat et plebe, tanta
comitatu aduentum desideria excipiens, ut quendam
ioco corripuerit, quod sic sibi libellum porrigere dubitaret,
quasi elephanto stipem. Die senatus numquam patres nisi
in curia salutavit et quidem sedentis, ac nominatim singulos

non temere, see on c. 16, p. 34.
nisi vespera...inquietaret. The fashion
of meeting magistrates and commanders
on their return to Rome by a procession
was an old one, see Livy 25, 61; Cic. ad
Att. 7, 5; 2 Phil. § 106. Among the
honours voted to Augustus in B.C. 30
was ex t empto liberati actu, tis ac te
Leiostas tis adepturumos kai tis boukhn
ri tis deinos mete tis tis gynaikei kai
mete tis tinos anasthenos [Dio 51, 19].
When, however, a complimentary
procession was voted to him on his re-
turn from Gaul in B.C. 13 he avoided it, tis
anasthenos tis deinos kai tis e
eswtoyn kivnois gar kai tis tis deinos enex-
plathos deyn kai deis eis eis... whore.
Ina this wely deyn oukhein eis [id. 54, 25].
As to eswtoyn for attentions of this cha-
acter, see Liv. 3, 156 and Mayor's note.
inquietaret, only in Latin of silver
age, see Ner. 34; Quint. 11, 3, 80;

adaperta sella. Roth for adaperta. To
ride with the curtains of the lectica closed
was a sign of pride. Cp. Cic. 2 Phil.
§ 106 notum ei processit. magna sine
multitudo. At tis onto lectica latus
per opfaltum est ut mortuius. Hence the
joke of the peasant at Venusia which
cost him so dear, Gell. 10, 2, 3.
Mart. 11, 98, 12 nec vindicaret (from trouble-
some basiatertos) sella satispace clausa.
In the sella the rider sat, in the lectica re-
dined. For a distinction between them
see Suet. Claud. 25; Domit. 2; Seneca
de brev. vit. 13, 6; Mart. 10, 10; 11, 98.

per publicum (subst. 'public place')
Ner. 9 lectica per publicum vehi.

promiscua', open to all' as opposed
to the practice of some subsequent
Emperors, as Domitian, Pliny paneg.
48, §§ 4-5 observantur foribus [Domit-
ianus] horror et minus et per meas ad-
missi et exclusi...non adest quidem
non alioqui audet tenebras secretissime
capitatem.

salutationibus. The early morning
salutatio is profusely illustrated in all
literature of the imperial period. Mart.
4, 8 prims salutantes atque altera con-
tinuit hora. See the passages quoted by
Mayor on Liv. 1, 128; 3, 127; 5, 19.
sel...dubitaret. Macrobr. Sat. 2, 4, 3
Idem Augustus cum ei quidam libellum
offert et modo proferret manum modo
retraheret 'patas' inquit 'assem ele-
phantam dare?' Quint. 6, 3, 59; Gal.
ae nar. part. 17 ο δεφας εντω τη ραφω
παρεξηθησεται. Αχιν των φωςο-
των φωματων. Of elephants trained
to beg, see Mart. Spect. 17 gnud prins
et supplex elphas te, Caesar, adorat.
in curia. To cause the Senate
to wait on him at the palace would be
looked on as treating it disrespectfully.
Thus on his return in B.C. 13 he greeted
the people ι της αράτω but summoned
the Senate to the Curia [Dio 54, 25];
and in his last act the Tiberius said of him
[Dio 56, 41] τω τεται ῥαται και των
δωματων ὑπερτητι και την θρόνων οραν
απετη και της χαλεπώςς λατά δοματων.
nullo submonente; etiam discedens eodem modo sedentibus velare dicebat. Officia cum multis mutuo exercuit, nec prius dies cuiusque sollemnis frequentare desit, quam grandi iam natu et in turba quandam spon-salorum die vexatus. Gallum Terriniun senatorem minus sibi familiarem, sed captum repente oculis et ob id inedia mori destinan tem praesens consolando revocavit ad vitam.

54 in senatu verba faciendi dictum est: Non intellexi, et ab aliio: Contradicerem tibi, si locum haberem. Inter-dum ob inmodicas disccerptantium alterationes e curia per iram se proripiente quidam ingesserunt, licere oportere senatoribus de re publica loqui. Antistius Labeo senatus lectione, cum virum legeret, M. Lepidum hostem et quidem sedentis ‘without their rising,’ whereas Iulius had received the Senate without rising himself, Suet. Jul. 78, though the Senators were accustomed to stand up when he entered, Plut. Caes. 66 etlibros el Klaerus quo quoque uoune impresa tuouevoara. nullo submonente, without any nomenclator. Macr. Sat. 2, 15 nomen- culatori me, de cuiss sua oblitione guerreta- tur, dicenti ‘numquid ad forum man- dat?’ ‘accepit’ inquit ‘commendatio- quia ille neminem notit.’

offida, ‘social attentions,’ ‘visits,’ Nep. Att. 4 § 3 nihil minus amicit urbs sua officia praestitit. grandi iam natu, for the more com-mon grandis natu, see c. 89; Ner. 34. sponsalorum [for orum see Seneca de Benef. 1, 91]. The ‘betrothal’ sometimes preceded the actual marriage by several years, see Aul. Gell. 4, 4, Marquart 14, p. 50. For the entertain-ment given at the betrothal, cp. Pliny Ep. 1, 9 nom si quem interroges ‘hodie quid evitasti?’ respondat ‘officio tuoque virili interfuit, sponsalia aut nuptias frequentavit.’ Seneca de Benef. 4, 39, 3 sursum ad idem addidit quia promissus quaeem non conciserim; sed non si febrilitas. It was accompanied by a banquet, Pliny N. H. 9 § 11 Lolliam Paulum...medicorum etiam sponsalium cona vivi smaragdis margaritique oporum, Cic. ad Q. Fr. 2, 5 (6) a. d. iv Idus Apr. sponsalia Crassipedi pres-itus; lucret convivio fuerunt optimus Quintus...default.

minus...familiarum. To a man who entertained him with a shabby dinner Augustus said non putabam me tibi tam familiaris, Macr. Sat. 2, 4, 13. 54 in senatu. Macrobius [Sat. 3, 4, 19–25] gives instances of Augustus’ tolerance of repartee to himself.

at locum haberem. Cassiuson explains si tu omnia in republica loca non occupas, cp. Livy 4, 57 omnibus locis obtinu-ere ne cui plebeio aditus esset. But it may have a more general meaning of ‘ground to stand on,’ ‘opportunity,’ as in Cic. Att. 1, 18 nactus locum res- canvandus libidinis.

de re publica, ‘on the interests of the state.’ Suet. Jul. 28 M. Claudius Marcellus edito praefateto de summa republica acta rem retulit ad senatum. Antistius Labeo. (There is a doubt whether his praenomen was Marcus or Quintus.) Aul. Gell. 13, 12 in quodam epistula Atei Caeciliani scriptum legimus, Laberum Antistium legum aliquum morum populi Romani iurisque civitis dictum ad primo Jutus. Tac. Ann. 1, 75 Labo incursus libertate. He wrote a commentary on the laws of the xii tablets [Aul. Gell. 20, 1 § 13]; a work on the Vestal Virgins [id. 1, 17]; and other legal treatises [id. 4, 2], as well as works on grammar and philology [id. 13, 10]. See also Pompon in Dig. 1, 2, 2, 57. Horace is supposed to refer to him in Sat. 1, 3, 82 Labone inmerior, but this has with some reason been doubted. See Palmer’s note.

cum virum, see on c. 35, p. 79 (note).

M. Lepidum, see on c. 16, p. 35. exulantem; in c. 16 he used the more accurate word religavit. But exultum
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olum eius et tunc exulantenem legit, interrogatusque ab eo an essent aliis digniores, suum quemque iudicium habere respondit. Nec ideo libertas aut contumacia fraudi cuiquam fuit. Etiam sparsos de se in curia famous libellos nec expavit et magna cura redarguit ac ne requisitis quidem auctoris, id modo censuit, cognoscendum posthac de iis, qui libellos aut carmina ad infamiam cuiusquam sub alieno nomine edant.

Iocis quoque quorumdam invidiosus aut petulantibus lacesitus, contradixit edicto. Et tamen ne de inhibenda testamentorum licentia quicquam constitueretur, intercessit.

was often used loosely to include the minor punishment of relegatio: thus Ovid often speaks of himself as exul [e.g. Tr. 3, 1, 1], but when he wishes to be more accurate he says of the edict [Tr. 2, 135]

qui pro rei causa legati sunt ad quodam factum non adversus se.

Lepidus' relegatio at Circeii also seems to have been varied by summonses to Rome [Dio 54, 13].

suam...habere. Dio [54, 13] gives the answer somewhat differently eti deum pro se ius habuit in quodam factum.

55. famous libellos, see on c. 51.

Cp. Dio 52, 31 (advice of Macenas to Augustus) tò 'hìdò óu òlòkòmató sòtò kai wòs òlòkòmató se.

But later on Aelius Saturninus was executed for libellous verses on Tiberius in B.C. 23 [Dio 57, 21].

For a list of men punished by other Emperors for similar crimes, see Maytor on fav. 1, 152.

nec...et...ac, 'he not only did not shrink from them but took great pains to refute them and, without searching for the authors, merely made the following regulation.' If the reading stands, et in magna cura must mean that he condescended to argument rather than repression; but nec has been proposed for et, in which case it would mean that 'he neither feared them nor took any pains to refute them.' However, for nec followed by affirmative see Varro ap. A. Gell. 1, 22 in consilio legi nec omnia dedit et ad iudicis quae simul sint absque elocentem. Cic. 2 Cat. § 28. Roby L. G. 2200 and 2241. Madvig L. G. § 468.

cognoscendum......edant. Tacitus [Ann. 1, 72] says that Augustus first established a cognitio de famosis libellis.

But Suetonius here adds the qualification of anonymity,—sub alio nomine. Dio 56, 27 (A.D. 13) eti ab hoc procul ab iis, quos vere miserebat, sed in nuce et....

Iudicature eti ad sumptum alio content eum. The crime was one known to the law as far back as the XII tables, see Gic. de Rep. 4, 10 si quis oceantissimae iuris iudicium ex animo condidisset quod infamiam faceret flagitium aut auctem. Cp. Hor. Sat. 2, 1, 82 ilia maluit considerat in quern quis carmini, iniit est iudicium.

56. iudicato...edicto. Macrobius Sat. 2, 4, 19 solo in Augusto magis mirari quis detur tuto iucum ipsa quis procul. He then gives several instances.

To publish an edictum in answer to lampoons is curious; but Augustus used the edictum as a means of familiar communication with the citizens on all sorts of subjects, some quite personal, see cc. 31 and 89. Claudius was the Emperor who carried this practice to the extreme length of absurdity, issuing as many as 30 in one day, and among them ut uberi vinearum proventu bene delis piae montis, dicibusque factis ad olim praesides, quam tanti autis terrae, Suet. Claud. 16. See others ib. 32 and 38. Also Cat. 45.

testamentorum licentia, 'the freedom of speech in wills.' Thus Fulvius Trio, driven to commit suicide by informers, supremis tabulis multa et atrocia in Macronem ac praecipsum libertorum Caes. tarii compositis, Tac. Ann. 6, 44: cp. Dio 58, 25. See Lucian Nig. 69 ibi plus quam alio alio miserebat eum qui filium coiorn tus, hic in tabe caphex aligmos. For Nero's dealing with the testamenta inquiratorum, see Suet. Ner. 32.
Quotiens magistratum comitiis interesset, tribus cum candidatis suis circuibaet supplicabatque more sollemni. Ferebat et ipse suffragium in tribu, ut unus e populo. Testem se in iudiciis et interrogari et refelli, aequissimo animo patiebatur. Forum angustius fecit, non ausus ex torquere possessoribus proximas domos. Namque filios suos populo commendavit ut non adiceret: si merebuntur. Eisdem praetextatis adhuc assurrectum ab universis in theatrum et a stantibus plausum, gravissime questus est. Amicos ita magnos et potentes in civitate esse voluit, ut tamen pari iure essent quo ceteri legibusque iudiciarii aequo tenerentur. Cum Asprenas Nonius artius ei iunctus causam veneficii, accusante Cassio Severo,
DIOCLETIANUS

The image contains a text in Latin, discussing historical events, particularly regarding the conduct of a senator in a court case. The text references specific legal terms and historical figures, providing context for the events described. The document appears to be a segment of a larger work, possibly a legal or historical treatise, discussing the actions of a senator named Murenae. The text includes references to legal procedures and the role of a senator in such matters.

The transcription of the text is as follows:

57] DIVUS AUGUSTUS.

MURENAE COGNOSCO. 1

Pro quibus meritis quantopere dilectus sit, facile est 57 aestimare. Omitto senatus consulta, quia possunt his videri vel necessitare expressa vel veleredundia. Equi— popularity. 1

millemiliae objecta similitudo est. His litter libels at length caused him to be banished to Crete, and finally he was punished (as he continued libelling) by deportatio to Seriphus and deprivation of property (Tac. Ann. 1, 72; 4, 21), and his works were proscribed, though readmitted by Caligula (Suet. Cal. 16).

consultum senatum. Dio 55, 1. 4 floris de tui diefta fletuoum senvxateth no pro-

superest, technically used for one who appeared to support another in a law-court. Gallius [1, 22] demurs to the use of the word as applied to an advocate, yet he owns that it is in general use non in compiti tantum ne-
que in plebe vniqina, sed in foro, in comito, aput tribunalia. The more common expression for an advocate however was adepte; see below, and Cic. 2 Phil. 55 semper auctius Deistorio ab-
seitis. The word superest probably at first referred to that form of 'maintenance' whereby powerful men appeared by the side of accused persons to deliver laudationes, which Pompey endeavoured to suppress in b.c. 54, Plat. Pomn. 55

praedamnare, not used by Cicero or Caesar, and rarely by Livy [4, 41].

sublellis, movable seats ranged be-

tribunal for all engaged in any way in the case, advocates, witnesses, etc. Cic. pro Flacco. § 23 states una sedent, ex accuseratorum sublellis sur-
ganti. id. 2 Porr. 2, 73 Minucius (the advocate for defence) simul a sublellis

auctius cogit.

auctius...clientibus. Dio 54, 3 et 11 de eis

totis 3LXXY Aemilia, usque cat phlos

tum 4LXXVIIA senvxateth phrephephvsi.

evocato...mno. The evocati (soldiers

who had served their time but remained under the standards as volunteers) had long been known in the Roman army

[Polyc. 6, 31 § 2]. But under the Empire there was a special class of these called evoci Augusti [Marq. 11, 88 sq.] who with the rank of centurion were employed on special services [e.g. in surveying frontiers, Wilmanns 895 evoci Augusti memorii] or were promoted to the rank of praefectus. They were usually taken from the praecons [Wilmanns 1567 DIS * MANIVS * L * NAELVI...AVG * EVOC * MILITAVIT * IN * COH * FR...EQUES * OPTIO * EQVITVM * CORNICVLM * TRIBVNT * MILITAVIT * IN * CALIGIA * ANN * XVI * EVOCATVS * PVIT * ANN * III]; but also from the cohortes urbanae [Wilmanns 1584 M * GARANTVS...COH * VRANAE...ITEM MINVCI RVFV...AVG * EVOCATVS].

iniuriam. In legal language iniuria is one of four ways of incurring obligatio ex delicto [Gaius Inst. 3, 192 si quis furtum fecit, bona rapucret, damnun dederit, iniuriam commissit]. An iniuria might be committed by personal violence, by libellous words or writings, or other wrong doing [id. 3, 220]. Remedies for these (chiefly by talio) had been given in the xii tables. But at this time the actio iniuriam was under the lex Cornelia de iniuritis.

MURENAE, see on c. 19, P. 44.

57. senatus consulta. Such as those in (a) b.c. 30, Dio 51, 19; (b) b.c. 27,
tes Romani natalem eius sponte atque consensus biduo semper celebrarunt. Omnes ordines in lacum Curti quot annis ex voto pro salute eius stipem iaciebant, item Kal. Ian. strenam in Capitolio, etiam absenti, ex qua summa pretiosissima deorum simulacra mercatus, vicatim dedicat, ut Apollinem et Sandaliarum et Iovem Tragoedum aliciae. In restitutionem

Dio 53, 16; (e) B.C. 23, Dio 53, 32; (d) B.C. 32, Dio 54, 11; (e) B.C. 13, Dio 54, 25 and others; which gave or offered him the various honours or titles which gradually built up the principate.

natalem eius. Dio 54, 34 kal τά γενέθλια τά τοῦ Ἀγάστου καὶ εἰς τῷ ἱστορίμα καὶ εἰς τῷ ἅλθη ἁπλες παλαιόχος ἀνθρώπων ἐφαρμόζαν εὐθείας. Ιθ. 35, 6 ἐσάρμεν τὰ γενέθλια ἱστορίμα καθώς καὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. But Suetonius is the only authority for representing this as the special action of the equites. Another such instance of the equites taking corporate action is mentioned in the Monumentum [c. 14], when they named Gaius and Lucius successively principem iuventutis. biduo, that is, ix • et • viii • k • octob. Wilmanns 884.

in lacum Curti, stipem. It is not known precisely what was the form of the monument existing at this time to mark the marsh in the forum called the lacus Curtius [Livy 7, 6, where the people are said to have thrown doma et frages on Curtius; Dionys. 2, 41; Plut. Rom. 18; Varro L. L. 5, 140]. Middleton supposes it to have been an enclosure with an altar, quoting Ovid F. 6, 425 Curtius ille lacus iuctus qui sustinet aras [Reminiscit Antiquum Rome, vol. 1, p. 233]; but it seems likely that there was also some well or fountain into which the small coins (stiphe) were cast,—a custom not unknown at Rome to this day, and illustrated from other places: as at Oropus, Pausanias 1, 34, 3 πόσιν ἐς δεσμεύσην ἁρμακτῶν γεωμέτρων καθητοὺς ἄρρητον ἀφήναν καὶ χρυσῆς ἐκτάσεως ἐν τῇ πηγής. Casaubon also quotes Sozom. 2, 3 (of the well dug by the oak of Maure) προὶ δὲ τῶν εἰδών τῆς παντόργου ὁδοὺς ἄρρητον ἀφήναν τῷ θεῷ Ἐλληνικῷ εἰς μὲν λόχον χρυσῆς ἐνθαίδες θριαμβοῦν, οὐ δὲ ἄφεσιν ἀκειχον, τῷ πόσιν ἐξέστησαν, ἄλλῳ δὲ νεκροῖς. So cups were thrown into a hot spring at Vicarello by grateful invalids, Middleton, Remains, 2, p. 250. See Tib. 14; Hermann's Gottesdienstliche Alterthümer, ed. Stark, § 25, 3; E. J. Guthrie, Old Scottish Customs, p. 222.

Kal. Ian. strenam. 'a luck-penny on New Year's day.' Strenae (from which the French have taken sténe) is properly something with a good omen, cp. Vlast. Stich. 3, 2, 8 mutēta marem aquis intus accissit wirdi. The piece of money was for luck, see Ov. F. 1, 189—191; and therefore the Emperors accepted it, see Dio 59, 24 kal ήτι καὶ ἄφθονον καὶ τῷ καὶ τῷ Ἀγάστου θοῦ ἐγξίσατο, ίσω καὶ ἀγάθω ἐκείνω δόθησε καθέτην. But the gift of strenae became so much of a tax that Tiberius limited them to the day [Tib. 34]. Caligula stood openly in the vestibule of his palace to receive them [Cic. 43], cp. Aug. 91. The origin of the word is uncertain; the ancients apparently connected it with a goddess Strenia [strenaeum fascinab, August. cix. d. 4, 11]; others with the fact that the original offering was a consecrated bough from a lucus Strenaeae. Symm. Eph. 10, 35. In later times it became a regular source of revenue. Cod. Theod. 7, 24, 1; Marq. 14, 296. It was perhaps the non-Latin word which Tiberius used in an edict refusing such presents when Marcellus said 29, Ἀίρεσις ἡ ἄρρητως μὲν πολεμίων Ρωμαίων δόμακα θαύμα ρύμως ἔδω. Dio 57, 17, ex qua dedicabit. See C. I. L. 6, 456 laetus publicis sacrum imp. Caesar Augustus pontifex Maximus tribunic. potest. XVIII ex stiphe quam duxit et consueto b. ianuarii, apud et C. Calpurnia Sabino L. Passieno. [B.C. 4).

vicatim, cc. 40 and 43.

Apollinem Sandaliarum. So called it appears from the name of a vicus in Rome [Aul. Gell. 18, 4; in Sandalario forte aedibus fuisse], or, as others think, the sandalled statue gave the name to the vicus in the 4th region. Casaubon quotes Galen Prognost. 14 κατάδει καὶ τὸ Καπνάκα, διαρρήκτον μὲ κατά τός ὄροις. From C. I. L. 6, 361 [Wil- manns 17, 18] the vicus is shown to belong to the 4th region. CN • POMPEIVS • CN • L • NICKPHORYS • MAG • VICI • SANDA-
Palatinae domus incendio absumptae veterani, decuriae, tribus, atque etiam singillatim e cetero genere hominum libertes ac pro facultate quisque pecunias contulerunt, delibante tantum modo eo summaram acerovs neque ex quom plus denario auferent. Revertentem ex provincia non solum faustis ominibus, sed et modulatis carminibus prosequabantur. Observatum etiam est, ne quotiens introiret urbem, supplevium de quoquam sumeretur. Patris patriae faustis ominibus, 'congratulations,' 'blessings.' Claud. 27 Britannicum... porvolum manibus suis gestans plebi commendat faustisque ominibus cum adclamantium turbis prosequeretur.

modulatis carminibus. Such haps as Hor. Od. 1, 37 nunc est bibenda, nunc pede liberis pulsanda telus. Suet. Nero 50 captus modulatis Alcidemorum laudationibus. id. Cal. 16 nobilibus pueros ac puellas carmina modulata laudes victoriam eius cantitavit. Hor. Od. 4, 6, 35 Lactium servare pedem minque Pollicis ictum, ne...supplendum...auremur. In B.C. 30 the senate voted that he should be met by a procession among whom were to be the Vestal Virgins [Dio 54, 19]. As a man being led to punishment was saved if he met a Vestal, this regulation may have seemed a natural arrangement. Farther, the day of his entry was to be sacred and given up to public sacrifices—την τε θυσίαν ἐν ἀγέλο ἐν τῶν ἔσχον θυσίαις τε παρτένων ἐγέλθη τινί. [Dio 51, 20]; and in B.C. 13 the Senate voted among other honours τον τε γενέσθαι αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ πολεμῷ ὅτα ἀδελφὸς ἑαυτοῦ [Dio 54, 23].

58. Patris patriae. M. A. 35 terrium decimum consulatum cum gerundum (B.C. 2), senatus et equester ordo populosque Romanos universos appellavit me pater patriae. Fast. Praenest. [C. I. L. 1, p. 314, 386; 2, 2107] non...Feriae...Ex...S...C...Qvod...EO...DIE...IMPERATOR...CAESAR...AVGVSTVS...PONT...MAX...TRIB...POTEST...XXI...COS...XIII...A...SENAVY...POPULOQUE...ROMANO...PATRES...PATRIAE...APPELLATVS. This (4 Feb. B.C. 2) was the first official recognition of the title, which however had been commonly given him before. Dio 55, 10 καὶ ἡ οἰκεία ἡ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ ἑθῆς, πρότερον γὰρ ἄλλως ἄλοι αὐτῷ ὕψιστορ ἐνέφημεν. The giving of this title by popular ac-
cognomen universi repentino maximoque consensu detulerunt ei: prima plebs, legatione Antium missa; dein, quia non recipiebat, ineunti Romae spectacula frequentis et laurata; mox in curia senatus, neque decreto neque adclamatione, sed per Valerium Messalam. Is mandantibus cunctis, Quod s bonum, inquit, faustunque sit tibi domuique tuae, Caesar Auguste! sic enim nos perpetuam felicitatem rei publicae et laeta huic urbi precari existimamus: senatus te consentiens cum populo Romano consalutat patriae patrem. Cui laicitans respondit Augustus hic verbiis (ipsa enim, sicut Messala, p. 100 posuit): Compos factus votorum meorum, Patres Conscripiti, quid habeo aliud deos immortales precari, quam ut hunc consensum vestrum ad ultimum finem vitae mihi perferre liceat?

59 Medico Antonio Musae, cujus opera ex ancipiti morbo convaluerat, statuam aere conlatu iuxta signum testamento caverunt, ut ab hereditibus suis praebito dedit: hoc deditus nos tibi nomen aegus. quid habeo...precari. Cic. fam. 1, 5 de Alexandrina re causaque regia tantum habeo polliceri.

Aesculapi. Pliny N. H. 34, § 90 mentions a statue of Aesculapius in the temple of Concord; and another by Cephisodotus in the temple of Juno [30, § 34]. There were other statues however, and in 180 a travertine pedestal was found in the excavations for the Tiber embankment, with the inscrip-
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titulo victimae in Capitolium ducentur votumque pro se solvere tur, quod superstitem Augustum reliquisissent. Quaeradam Italiae civitates diem, quo primum ad se venisset, initium anni fecerunt. Provinciarum pleraeque super templum et aras ludos quoque quinquennales paene oppidatim constituenterunt. Reges amici atque socii et singuli in suo quique regno Caesareas urbes considerant et cuncti simul aedem Iovis Olympii Athenis, antiquitus incohatus, perficere communi sumpto destinaverunt Genioque eius dedicarent; ac saepe regnis relictis, non Romae modo sed

honours paid to him abroad.

Dio [31, 20] mentions Pergamus, and Nicomedia in Bithynia, as places in which temples were consecrated to Augustus. From C. I. G. 3864, we learn that there were games in his honour "Dioecet et aetematem apud cosmos inique theos et inique genetrixem deoq antrose Kαιρην θεος θεία, δύο Σαραβος ανυγμόνος προευδεχηθηκεν κχρηστης και εφθασε πιστις αυτωμενος. Traces of such festivals will be found in inscriptions also at Athens C. I. G. 3831, at Arcadia in Galatia C. I. G. 4241, 4259; in Cilicia C. I. G. 4244; at Lugdunum, see Livy Ep. 137, ep. Mayor on Inv. 1, 44. At Alexandria [Strab. 27, 1, 9] and Panaceas [Ios. Ant. 15, 10, 3] there were temples to Augustus, and at other places. For the extension of this worship in the provinces, see Marquardt 13, p. 273 sqq.

Genio. See note on p. 66. For the worship of the Genus Augusti see Wilmanus 884, 1. 15 et ut natilius Aug. et T. Caesarum praecum ad vesendum decuriones tret, thure et vinio genii eorum ad epulandum ara numinis Augusti insinuaverunt; Marq. 13, p. 288. A SCtin had in B.C. 30 made it an object of reverence, Dio 51, 19 και εν αυτοις ους δη τοις κοροις αλλα και τοις θεσ πάντως αυτος εκείς εδείπον. Cp. Hor. Od. 4, 5, 31 hinc ad vina redit laetus et alterius Te meminisse nobi se tempus. The Genius of Augustus takes the place of that of the State. See a coin C. I. L. 1. 1143 P. R. Genio; id. 1555 genio opidis. So too the gods, id. 623 Genio levis.
et provincias peragranti cotidiana officia togati ac sine regio insigni, more clientium praestiterunt.

Quoniam, quals in imperis ac magistratibus regendaque per terrarum orbem pace belloque re publica fuerit, exposui: referam nunc interiorem ac familiarem eius vitam, quibusque moribus atque fortuna domi et inter suos egerit a iuventa usque ad supremum vitae diem. Matrem amisit in primo consulatu, sororem Octaviam quinquagenimum et quartum agens aetatis annum.

Death of Atia, B.C. 43.

Utrique cum praecipua officia vivae praestitisset, etiam defunctae honores maximos tribuit.

cotidiana officia, c. 27, p. 60.
togati ac...insigni. Étrop. 7, 5 multis autem regis ex regnis suis venirent, et habitu Romano, togati scilicet, ad vehiculum vel equum ipsius curreverunt. M. A. 32 ad me supplices conjurerunt reges Parthorum Tiridates et postea Phraates, regis Phraatis filius; Medorum Artavasades; Adiabenorvm Artaxares; Britannorum Dumnoniannus. To wear the toga was to acknowledge themselves Romans and subjects. Thus long before (B.C. 175—164) Antiochus Epiphanes wore the toga and imitated the Roman magistrates [Polyb. 26], and about B.C. 167 King Prusias dressed himself as a Roman libertus to meet the Roman envoys [Polyb. 30, 19].

matrem. Atia died soon after she arrived in Rome from Mutina, in August B.C. 43. She had been concealed for safety by the Vestals during his absence [App. B. civ. 3, 92]. His first consularship extended from 19 August in that year to the formation of the triumvirate in November. Her death and public funeral about this time are mentioned by Dio 47, 17.

Octaviam. See c. 4, pp. 6—7.

utrique...tribuit. The relations of Augustus with his mother and sister are the most pleasing part of his history. The influence of the former is dwelt on by Nicolas repeatedly. It was fear for their safety which hastened his march to Rome in B.C. 43 [App. B. civ. 3, 92]. His sister’s influence twice prevented a breach between him and Antony [p. 7], and he commemorated her by some of his most splendid public works [see pp. 6, 7, 64]. Atia was honoured by a public funeral [Dio 47, 17], and over Octavia (who died in B.C. 11) he himself pronounced the funeral oration [Dio 54, 36]. See Plat. Ant. 31 εσκερον δ’ ουκ ομοθήτω την ἅδελφην χρήσα
θερματίν, ὥς λέγεται, γενομένην γενομένον.
Sponsam habuerat adulescens P. Servili Isaurici filiam, sed reconciliatus post primam discordiam Antonio, expostulantibus utiusque militibus ut et necessitudo aliqua iungentur, privigam eius Claudiam s. Fulviae ex P. Clodio filiam, duxit uxorem vixdum nobilum, ac simulata cum Fulviae soror orta dimissit intactam adhuc et virginem. Mox Scriboniam in matrimoniis acceptit, nuptam ante duobus consularibus, ex altero etiam matrem. Cum hac quoque divor- 
tium fecit, pertaesus, ut scribit, morum perversitatem eius,
ac statim Liviam Drusillum matronio Tiberi Neronis et quidem praegnantem abduxit, dilexitque et probavit unice ac perseveranter.

His daughter Iulia.

Octaviae sororis suae filio tantum quod pueritiam egresso, deinde, ut in obiit, M. Agrippae nuptum dedit, exorata sorore, ut sibi genero cederet; nam tunc Agrippa alteram Marcellarum habebat et ex ea liberos. Hoc quoque defuncto, multis ac dieu, etiam ex equestri ordine, circum-

Liviam Drusillum. Livia d. of Livius

Drusus Claudianus was descended from Appius Claudius Caecus, her father having been adopted by a Livius. Besides this illustrious descent she was beautiful and young. Dio [38, 2] says that she was 36 at her death in A.D. 29; she was therefore born in B.C. 52–53 (38th September), and was only fifteen or sixteen when her son Tiberius was born (16th Nov. B.C. 42). It is therefore evident that Pliny [N. H. 14, 8] can hardly be right in reducing her age to 82. Her father had killed himself after the battle of Philippi where he had fought against the triumvirs. In B.C. 40, she had fled with her husband Tiberii Claudii Nero, who had taken part with L. Antonius [Dio 48, 15], and did not return to Rome till after the peace of Misenum early in B.C. 39 [Tac. Ann. 5, 1]. Though she was within three months of the birth of her second son Drusus she was divorced by her husband, apparently by mutual consent [before 16 Nov. B.C. 38, for Tiberius was tritus at the time of the marriage, Vell. Pat. 2, 94]. and he acted as a father in giving her to Augustus [Dio 48, 44 ἔθεσεν τῇ αὐτῷ εἰς αὐτῆς ἐν τῆς τάξις τῆς καὶ τῷ ἱππεῖ], and the latter of which c. CLAVDIVS MARCELLAE MINORIS L. shows that there were two. See also Eckel 6, 160. On being divorced from Agrippa, upon Octavia’s own suggestion, Marcella was married to Antonius, son of M. Antonius and Fulvia. Plut. Ant. 87. The other sister is supposed by Drumann [11, 457] to have been married to Sex. Apuleius consul in A.D. 14.

equestri ordine. Tac. Ann. 4, 39 Augustum in conlocanda filia non nihil etiam de equitibus Romanis consultavit.

conditionibus, see Iul. 27 Octaviam... conditionem ei detulit. Cis. a Phil. 89 filiam eius dedit et alia conditione quaesita.
DIVUS AUGUSTUS.

spectis condicionibus, Tiberium privignum suum elegit co-
egitque praegnantem uxorem, et ex qua iam pater erat, dimittere. M. Antonius scribit, primum eum Antonio filio suo despondisse Iuliam, dein Cotisoni Getarum regi, quo tempor

Nepotes ex Agrippa et Iulia tres habuit C. et L. et Agrippam, neptes duas Iuliam et Agrippinam. Iuliam L. Paulo censoris filio, Agrippinam Ger-
manico sororis suae nepoti collocavit. Gaium et L. ad

Tiberium...coegit. Dio 54, 31 et

Cicerone, quibus cum a patre ad

empts a patre ‘bought from.’

Cicero would have written de patre,

teneros...ad curam...admodum M.A.

c. 14 illos meos, quot iuvenes mibi cri-
puit Fortuna; Gaium et Lucium Caesarum
honoris mei causa senatus populi Romani

Iuliam L. Paulo censoris f. The last censors were in B.C. 22, L. Munatius Plancus and Paulus Aemilius Lepidus (nephew of the triumvir). This Paulus was married to Cornelia d. of

Scipioni bya former husband. Propert.

Gaius was consul designate in B.C. 5 [Dio 55, 9 puts it in B.C. 6, but Zonar. 25, 35 in A.‘s 12th consuls,

Gaius was born in B.C. 20 [Dio 54, 8], Lucius in B.C. 17 [ib. 54, 18].

See c. 36. Gaius was consul designate in B.C. 3 to consul designate in B.C. 2, and to be consul A.D. 4, but died 20 August A.D. 1. Each was also named by

per assem et libram. In adopting

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Scipioni bya former husband. Propert.

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tutus. M. A. i.e., Tac. Ann. 1, 3. Gaius

ceased to have this title when by holding the consulship he became a senator. Thus in the conspecta Pisana [Wil-
manns 833], Gaius after his consulship is not called by this title, though he is said to be princeps designatus, but Lucius

is consul designatus augur...princeps in-
vventutus, whereas in the titulus Serranus

quoted by Mommsen res gr. p. 53] Gaius

is cos. • design. • princip. • invent.

while Lucius is only avg. There could

be only one princeps of either sort at a

time, and as Augustus was princeps se-
natus and therefore first citizen, so one

admodum M.A.

c. 14 filios meos, quot iuvenes mibi cri-
puit Fortuna, Gaium et Lucium Caesarum
honoris mei causa senatus populi Romani

autem cum a parente in cius potestate

sunt, tertia mancipatione in iure coloni-

vor, atque ab eo qui adoptat, apud eum

apud quem legit utio eti vindicat tur.

empts a patre ‘bought from.’

Cicero would have written de patre,

see Att. 13, 31 et CC ingera de M. Filio

cemis, cp. Plaut. Curc. 2, 3, 64 de silo

emis virginem: but Rudens prol. 59

qui puellam ab eo emergat.

empts a patre ‘bought from.’

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emis virginem: but Rudens prol. 59

qui puellam ab eo emergat.
consules designatos circum provincias exercitusque dimisit. Filiam et neptes ita instituit, ut etiam lanificio asseuefaceret, vetaretque loqui aut agere quicquam nisi propalam et quod in diurnos commentarios referret; extraneorum quidem coetu adeo prohibuit, ut L. Vinicio, claro decoroque iuveni, scripsisset quodam, parum modeste fecisse eum, quod filiam suam Baias salutatum venisset. Nepotes et litteras et notae aliae rudimenta per se plerumque docuit ac nihil aequae elaboravit quam ut imitarentur chirographum suum; neque caenavit una, nisi ut in imo lecto assiderent, neque iter fecit.

65 nisi ut vehiculo anteient aut circa adequantur. Sed laetum eum atque fidentem et subole et disciplina domus Fortuna destituit. Iulias, filiam et neptem, omnibus probris contaminatas relegavit; C. et L. in duo-

His family losses.

of the young Caesars was princeps of the next ordo, the equestrian.

circum provincias exercitusque.

Gaia went with Tiberius against the Sigambri in B.C. 8, and was in Asia from B.C. 1 to his death A.D. 4. Lucius died at Marseilles on his way to Spain.

in diurnos commentarios, 'nothing that might not be entered in the house-
hold register.' Thus we find a servus a commentariis, C. I. L. 6, 8623.

L. Vinicio, see c. 71. The name Vinicius occurs on coins [Eckhel 5, p. 343] and a L. Vinicius appears as Consul suffectus for B.C. 53, and Trib. Pl. in B.C. 51, Cic. fam. 8, 8, 6. We have also the form Vinicianus attesting Vinicius [Cic. fam. 8, 4 § 3; Wilmanns 205], whereas Vicinius (the MS. reading) seems an unknown name unless in Orelli 3309.

notare, 'to write in shorthand' or 'in cypher,' cp. c. 88 quotiones per notas scribit. Iulias c. 56 si qua occultissima perverenda erant per notas scriptae.

The use of shorthand was introduced by Ennius and later by Cicero's freed-
man Tiro, see Commentarii Not. Tiron. Schmitz p. 10; or by Maecenas [Dio 52, 7] πρῶτος σημεῖα τῶν γραμμάτων πρὸς τάχισσιν ἑβρῖσε καὶ αὐτὸ δι' Ἀκέλου ἀφελεῖαν ἐποίησεν ἐξεκλινάντων. Es-
pecially used for taking down from a lecture or dictation, Quint. 1 proem. § 7 alterum (sermonem) pluribus sane allibus, quantum notando consequi potue-
rant, interceptum; cp. id. 1, 1, 28; 10, 3, 19. Martial [10, 61] mentions among the prizewinners in a school the notarii tules; cp. id. 5, 51; 14, 928; Plin. Ech. 9, 36. [Some read with the MSS. naturae, cp. Iul. 53; Plut. Cato mag. 20.]

per se, instead of by a tutor, usually a slave or freedman, Plut. Cat. I. c.

chirographum suum, see on c. 88.

neque...asiderent, 'whenever they dined with him they sat at table on the
imus lectus.' Children sat instead of reclining at table, and sometimes at a
separate table; Tac. Ann. 13, 16 nos habebatur principum liberorum cum ceteris
idem aequalis sedentes servis in aspectu praebendorum propria et pares exterim.

Suet. Claud. 53 adhibebat omni Cena et liberorum suos cum puere polilissuque nobili-
bus, qui more ceteri ad futura lectorum sedentes vocaturum. But in the case of
these young princes they sit on the imus, i.e. the couch on the right looking down, the
Emperor reclining summus in ima, at the right hand corner, the regular
place for the host. nisi ut, p. 59.

circa adequantur, 'riding close by on either side of him.' Cat. 25 invidia adequamentem...ostenderit.

65 Iulias...relegavit. The elder Iulia b. B.C. 40 was married at 15 to her
cousin Marcellus [Dio 53, 27]. On his
death (late in B.C. 23) after a year of
widowhood she was transferred to
Agrippa (B.C. 21) who was of the same
age as her father, and who divorced her
cousin Marcella to take her. Agrippa
died in B.C. 13, leaving her with two sons
and two daughters, and on the point of
producing another son. In the course of
the next year she was forced upon the
unwilling Tiberius, whom she re-
garded as below her in rank, and who

deviginti ... mensum. Lucius died at Marseilles 20 August A.D. 4, Gaius on 21 February A.D. 4 at Limyra in Lycia [see the Cenotaphia Pisana, Wilms. 883].

Agrippa. Agrippa Postumus, son of Iulia and Agrippa, born after his father's death in B.C. 13. See c. 19. Tacitus (Ann. 1, 3) regards him as a victim to Livia's jealousy on behalf of Tiberius, who procured his exile though he was innocent of all crime (A.D. 7). Augustus seems always to have felt a certain compunction and have been inclined to recall him (Tac. Ann. 1, 3). Pliny enumerates among the infelicities of Augustus abdicatio Postumi Agrippae post adoptionem, desiderium post relegationem (N. H. 7 § 148). The panegyrist of Tiberius, Velleius, of course decries him mira pravitate animi atque ingenii ... mox crescentibus in dibus vitis dignum furoris sui habuit exitum [2, 114]. Dio [55, 31] however takes somewhat the same view, calling him δεινοπρέπους ... αυτὶ θέωτα ζηλευτὸν ... τὴν τιμὴν τάξιν ἐξαγωνίζεται, and says that he annoyed Augustus by demanding his father's property. He was banished to Pianaia, between Coscira and Elba. His murder immediately after the death of Augustus according to Tacitus was primum factus novi imperi (Ann. 1, 5), but Tiberius disclaimed any share in it (Suet. Tib. 21).

simul ... adoptavit, Vell. Pat. 2, 104 adoptatus olim die etiam M. Agrrippa, quem post mortem Agrippae Iulia extra statu, cp. Suet. Tib. 15. This took place on the 26th of June A.D. 4 (see Fasti Ameri., C. F. L. 1, p. 373). Agrippa not assuming the lupa curiata until the next year [Dio 55, 32]. The change in the case of Tiberius is marked in inscriptions, see Wilmanns 882 (between B.C. 3 and A.D. 3) F. CLAVDIVS F. NERO; but in the list of the Imperial family at Pavia (A.D. 7) we have F. CAESARIS AUGVSTI F. DUVL NEROT F. [id. 882; Rush. 24]. For the addition of Caesar to the name of Agrippa Postumus, see Wilmanns 880.

lupa curiata. As both Agrippa and Tiberius were sui iuris the regular form of adoption necessary was adrogatio. A meeting of the old comitia curiata in...
curiata; ex quibus Agrippam brevi ob ingenium sordidum ac ferox abdicavit seposuitque Surrentum.

Aliquantus autem patientius mortem quam dedecora suorum tuit. Nam C. Lucique casu non adeo fructus, de filia absens ac libello per quaestorem recitato notum senatui fecit, abstinuitque congressu hominum diu praec pudore, etiam delenecanda deliberavit. Certe cum sub idem tempus una ex consciis liberta Phoebus suspendor vita finisset, maluisse se ait Phoebes patrem fuisse. Relegatas usum vini omneque delicatorem cultum admevit quoeque adiri a quopiam libero servovae, nisi se consulto, permisit, et ita ut certior fieret, qua est aetate, qua statua, quo colore esset, etiam quibus corporis notis vel cicatricibus.

the forum (represented by 30 lictores) was held by a pontifex and a formal rogatio proposed, for the wording of which see Gellius 5, 19. It was generally held that a puer could not be adopted by this ceremony, and Dio may be wrong in putting Agrippa's deducito in forum in the next year; still there seems to have been a variety of practice in this respect. Gaius 1, 101 item impulerem apud populum adhiberet aliquando perhibitum est, aliquando permiscum est. abdicavit (ἀδεικτόν), 'disheathed,' a formal undoing of the adoption. See Pliny N. H. 7 § 148; Suet. Tib. 15 Agrippa abdicato et seposito. The word is not used in earlier Latin, perhaps because the thing was not known: aedilidare [Cic. 4 Phil. § 41] was to 'disenherit' by will as was necessary in the case of a sui heres, but did not mean any legal process in the testator's lifetime; whereas in the case of the abdicatus it was a question whether he might not be restored by his father's will [Quint. 3, 6, 96].

Surrentum. This is previous to the deportatio to Pannonia; but the abdicatio seems to have been at the time of the first measure, as his name is not on the Pavian list. seposuit, a less formal word than relegavit. cop. Oth. 3 seposuit per causum legititione in Luciliam.

notum senatui fecit. Sen. de Benef. 6, 32 Divus Augustus...flagitia priuiparum domus in publicum emisit...inquit vindicanda quam succunda, quia quorumdam verum turpitudine etiam ad vindicandum velit, parum potens itae publicaverat. per quaestorem. The quaestor seems to have regularly been the Emperor's mouthpiece in the Senate. See Dio 54, 25 rep. BolNrop αρχα τα τιμωρεικα την. Cp. 60, 2. Suet. N. 15 orationes ad senatum missas, propter in quaestorium officio per consulum plerumque recitation. Cp. id. Tit. 6; Tac. Ann. 16, 27; Spart. Hadr. 3. As a quaestor was attached to the consul, so one or more were quaestores Caesaris. Wilmannus 1132 L. Aquillius...quaestor...imperium Caesaris Avg. Cp. Plin. Ep. 7, 16 similis quaestor Caesaris fuisserit. Mommsen Senator. iv. p. 277 note, p. 272 sq.

Phoebi, Dio 55, 10 ἔ δε θυσία βέβαιον ἕκαστον τρῖν θεοὺς καὶ οὐρανός οὐκ ἀπανθαγόν κοινωνία. usum vini. The notion of the wine leading to unchastity in women is referred to in Euripides Bacch. 760 γυναιγ χάρ | ὅσον βύθοις ἐν δαιρὶ γίγνεται γάλας οἷος γένουσι σοι ἐν τῷ λέον τῶν ἄργων. There was also a tradition that it was an ancient custom in Latium for women to drink none but light raisin wine, passium: see Athenae. 10, 440 Ρ.; Polyb. 6, 21; Aul. Gell. 10, 13. Marcus Cato non tamen existimatas sed et mul- tatias quae a iudice referri non minus, si vinum in 10, quam si probrum et adul- terium admisisset. As one of the charges against Iulia was that of nocturnae con- missiones, Augustus perhaps regarded this as a proper occasion for going back, as he was fond of doing, to ancient customs.

et ita ut...fieret, 'and not without being informed,' see p. 59.
Post quinquennium demum ex insula in continentem lenioribusque paulo condicionibus transstulit eam. Nam ut omnino revocaret, exorari nullo modo potuit, deprecanti saepe Populo Romano et pertinaciis instanti tales filias talesque coniuges pro contione inprecatus. Ex nepte Iulia post damnationem editum infantem adgnosci aliqua vetuit. Agrippam nihil tractabilioirem, immo in dies amentiorem, in insulam transportavit sepsitque insuper custodia militum. Cavat etiam Senatus consulto ut eodem loci in perpetuum contineretur, atque ad omnem et eius et Iuliam mentionem ingemiscens, proclamare etiam solebat:

Αὐτῷ ὁ δῆλον ἀγαμὸς τ’ ἔμεναι ἄγονός τ’ ἀπολέσθαι!
nec aliter eos appellare, quam tris vomicas ac tria carcio-

noma sua.

Amicitias neque facile admisit et constantissime retinuit, non tantum virtutes ac merita cuiusque digne pro-

secutus, sed vitia quoque et delicta, dum taxat

modica, perpressus. Neque enim temere ex omni

numero in amicitia eius afflicti reperiretur praeter

Salvidienum Rufum, quem ad consulatum usque, et

in continentem, to Rhegium, see note above.

deprecanti saepe, Dio 55, 13 (A.D. 33)

tou ὁ δῆλον ἀγαμὸς τ’ ἔμεναι ἄγονός τ’ ἀπολέσθαι!

in insulam, Planasia. custodia militum, it was a centurio of this guard that

killed him [Tac. Ann. 1, 6].

Ἄρτεμις, II. 3, 40.

vomicas...carcino mata, *boils and

cancers* Cic. de N. D. 3 § 79 gladio

vomicam eius opemuit quem sanare

carni non potuerunt. Plin. N. H. 20

§ 81 carcino mata quae nullis aliiis medi-
camentis sanari possint.

66. temere. See e. 16, p. 44.

Salvidienum Rufum. Salvidienus

was one of the early and most devoted

friends of Augustus [Cic. cf. ad Br. 1, 17, 3]. He had been with him at

Apollonia during the winter preceding

his uncle’s murder [see p. 46; Velleius

Pat. 2, 59]; had commanded at Rhe-

gium against Sextus Pompeius in B.C.
Cornelium Gallum, quem ad praefecturam Aegypti, ex infima Gallus, utrumque fortuna provexerat. Quorum alterum res novas molientem damnamundam senatui tradidit; alteri ob ingratum et malivolum animum domo et provincias suis interdixit. Sed Gallo quoque et accusatorum denun-
tiationibus et senatus consultis ad necem conpulso, laudavit quidem pietatem tautopere pro se indignantium, ceterum et inaltrivavit et vicem suam conquestus est, quod sibi soli
sided with Octavian against Antony, for which personal reasons may perhaps help to account, if the scandal be true that makes him and Antony rivals for the favours of Cytheris Volumnia [Cic. 2 Phil. §§ 58, 69, 71; Servius ad Verg. 1. c.]. He was at Actium and followed the defeated fleet to Egypt. There he took Paractium and next spring (b.c. 30) thwarted Antony's attempt upon it [Dio 31, 91], and was employed with Proculus to endeavour to take Cleopatra [Plut. Ant. 70]. On the subsequent settlement of Egypt he was made its first praefectus [Dio 51, 17]. In that office he had successfully put down an insurrection at Hernoopolis (between the Delta and the Red Sea) and in the Thebaid [Strabo 17, 1]. His offences there seem to have been mainly due to ostentation and incautious talk, the Em-peror, as has been remarked [p. 42], being extremely jealous in regard to Egypt. Ov. Tr. 2, 445

*Non sibi officio celebrasse Lycorea Galli.*

tum rectam infra diem innum. quadragesimo tertio aetatis suae annos proprios sui manu interficit (b.c. 48). He was therefore born in b.c. 68 or 69. He is the Gallus of Vergil Ecl. 10 (though Servius there says that his name was C. Asinius Gallus and that he was son of Follio), and his rank as an elegiac poet is recorded by Ovid [Tr. 4, 10, 53]. But hardly a line remains that is certainly his. When he came from Fréjus to Rome we do not know, but he seems to have early

42 and 43 [App. B. civ. 4, 82; 5, 27; Dio 48, 18]. At the end of 42 b.c. or beginning of 43 he was sent to secure Gaul and Spain, but was recalled on the outbreak of the war of Perusia, and had assisted at the sieges of Sentinum and Perusia [Dio 48, 13; App. 5, 33, 35]. After the fall of Perusia (spring of b.c. 40) he accompanied Augustus to take over Gaul and Spain and the army lately commanded by L. An-
tonius [App. 5, 51] and, on Augustus' return to Rome, was left there in com-
mand, besides being designated consul [Dio apodexth.]. He was never con-
sul. Dio and Velleius are both very vague as to the nature of his treason; but when Antony came to Italy in the autumn of b.c. 40 and made terms with Augustus at Brundisium, he seems to have betrayed the fact that Salvinius had written to him proposing to cause the Gauls to revolt from Augustus and return to him. Augustus at once sent for Salvinius on some other pretext, brought him before the Senate and got him condemned for maiestas, that obse-
quious body even passing the SCtum Ultimum, videns Iffoeri ne quis res publica detrimenti capita, thus enabling him to treat Salvinius as a hostis [App. 5, 66; Dio 48, 33; Vell. Pat. 5, 64].

tum rectam infra diem innum. quadragesimo tertio aetatis suae annos proprios sui manu interficit (b.c. 48). He was therefore born in b.c. 68 or 69. He is the Gallus of Vergil Ecl. 10 (though Servius there says that his name was C. Asinius Gallus and that he was son of Follio), and his rank as an elegiac poet is recorded by Ovid [Tr. 4, 10, 53]. But hardly a line remains that is certainly his. When he came from Fréjus to Rome we do not know, but he seems to have early
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non, licet amicis, quatenus vellet, irasci. Reliqui potentia atque opibus ad finem vitae sui quisque ordinis principes fluerunt, quamquam et offensis intervenientibus. Desideravit enim nonnullum, ne de pluribus referam, et M. Agrippae patientiam et Maccenatis taciturnitatem, cum ille ex levi frigoris suspitione et quod Marcellus sibi anteferretur, Mytilenas se relictis omnibus contulisset, hic secretum de comperta Murenae conjuratione uxori Terentiae prodidisset.

Exegit et ipse in vicem ab amicis benivolentiam mutuam, tam a defunctis quam a vivis. Nam quamvis minime apperet hereditates, ut qui nunquam ex ignoti testamento capere quicquam sustinuerit, amicorum tamen suprema iudicia morosissime pensi-

-His custom as to legacies.

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desideravit 'missed' what he was used to find in them. When he had rashly made public the crimes of his daughter and repented of his haste, he said hortum nihil nihil accidisset si aut Agrippa aut Macceas vixisset [Sen. de benef. 6, 31].

frigoris 'coldness' on the part of Augustus. Seneca Ep. 132 § 11 Montanus Iulius...amicitia Tiberis notas et frigores. Vell. Pat. 2, 83; Plancus...refrigeratus ab Antonio. [The MSS. have frigoris.]

Mytilenas...contulisset. Agrippa was sent to be governor of Syria in B.C. 23 after the recovery of Augustus from his illness, during which he had given his signet ring to him, thus causing jealousy to Marcellus. The death of Marcellus followed at the end of the year, and Agrippa returned in B.C. 31. Dio 42, 32 om. cetero et de Sibylla auctum add. et de mulierum mortuorum auctoribi non initum postmodum quiemiu, aitn de eo Libero dixiago. Agrippa was sent on another mission to Ionia and Syria in B.C. 17, when he was accompanied by Iulia, and did not return till B.C. 13 [Dio 54, 19; Joseph. Ant. 2, 2; Nic. Dam. de sa vita § 3].


For Mytilenas see p. 44. Perhaps the scandal as to Terentia was malevolent gossip. The absence of Agrippa naturally followed the adoption of Galus and Lucius B.C. 17, as it had the open favour of Marcellus in B.C. 23. The loss of favour of Macceas may have had connexion with the change of policy in the direction of absolutism in B.C. 32. Tac. Ann. 3, 20.

a defunctis. For the length to which this was carried, see Nero 32 deinde ut ingratiorum in principem (i.e. who did not name him in their wills) testamentum ad faction portentum, cp. Tac. Ann. 3, 76 testamentum eius multis apud vulgum rumore fuit; quis in magnis opibus, cum ferme certain proceri cum honore nominavit, Caesarem omni. The motive of leaving the Emperor heir was often no doubt the hope of obtaining better treatment for a man's family, Tac. Ann. 16, 11 nec defuere qui multum magna ex parte heredem Caesarem nuncupare atque ilia nepotibus de reliquo consilium. Id. Agr. 42 tam caeca et corrupta mens ordinis adulationum curat, ut nescire soli patris non scribi heredem nis vulum principem.

ut qui. Roby L. C. 1714. Ignorit, see Cic. 2 Phil. 40—1 me nemo nisi amicus fecit heredom...te is quern vidisti nunquam, 5חַד, 'expression of approval.' Pompey was much hurt by not being named in Sulla's will [Plut. Rom. 15]. Cicero expresses disgust at being omitted by one Calva, ad Att. 15, 3.

morosissime. morosis (connected with muros 'wall') from the meaning of captious morosi sens. Cic. de Sen. 65) came to mean 'over-careful,' 'particular.' Int.
tavit, neque dolore dissimulato, si parcius aut citra honorem verborum, neque gudio, si grata pieque quis se prosecutus fuisse. Legata vel partes hereditatium, a quibuscumque parentibus relictæ sibi, aut statim liberis eorum concedere, aut si pupillari ætate essent, die virillis togae vel nuptiarum cum incremento restituere consuerat.

Patronus dominusque non minus severus quam facilis et clemens, multos libertorum in honore et usu maximo habuit, ut Licinum et Celadum aliosque. Cosmum servum gravissimæ de se opinantem non ultra quam 10 compeditibus coercuit. Diomeden dispensatorem, a quo simul ambulante incurrere repente fero apro per metum objectus est, maluit timiditatis arguere quam noxae, remque non minimi periculi, quia tamen frons aberat, in iocum vertit. Idem Polum ex acceptissimis libertis mori coegit compertum 15 adulterare matronas; Thallo a manu, quod pro epistola prodita denarios quingentos accepisset, crura ei freget; paedagogum ministroque C. fili, per occasionem valuit ninesis mortisque eius superbe avareque in provincia grassatos, oneratos gravi pondere cervicibus præcipitatit in flumen.

45 circa corporis curam moravos, ut nem solum tenderetur sed velletur, Tib. 70, omissit et moravit similis obscurobat titum.

citra, see p. 53.

prosecutus, 'mentioned,' with a general notion of paying honour or respect.
Cp. Nero 54 matrem hilaro persecutus. So of giving presents, Dom. 9 omnes circa se largissime persecutus.

legata vel partes hereditatium. Legacies of definite sums given with the formula do lex; An hereditas was the being constituted a heres either of the whole or part, ex triste, ex deuce, with the formula haeres Titus esse (primum, secundum, tertium). In the latter case the heir had to accept the inheritance within a fixed time with all its encumbrances (credito), see Galat Inst. 2, 153—208.

67. opinantem, see c. 51, p. 109.

dispensator, 'steward,' 'holder of the private purse,' see Ner. 444; Verg. 22; Galb. 12.

a manu, 'secretary,' 'amanuensis,' Liv. 74; also ad manum [C. I. L. 6, 4449]; a commentariis [ib. 8923]; librarius a manu [ib. 6314]; librarius ad

manum [ib. 9523].

ei freget, al. efragit, cp. c. 94 prandenti aqua panem ei et manu rapasti.

grassatos, 'conducted themselves,' Livy 45, 23 asseriendo grassati. Tac. B. 4, 10 dolo grassati.

praecipitavit in flumen, 'he ordered them to be flung into a river,' i.e. in the province. Dead bodies of malefactors were thrown into the Tiber; but this form of execution does not appear to have been common at Rome. Yet Vettius Pollio ordered his slave who had broken a valuable cup to be dipped into the river, Dio 54, 23. In the East it was perhaps more common, see Q. Curiius 10, 4 sigae rurum (Alexander)...merci in annem sicut incerti erant ijiri. Cp. S. Matt. 18, 6 συνάφεια...δε ἀρχιμαμῆι μοι ἐπί τὸ τόκον αὐτοῦ καὶ καταπαθηθῆ; and in mythology the king of Arcadia punishes his wife Auge...ταύτην παρέδειξε Ναυλίνθῳ φίλῳ καθεκαθή καὶ προστάτη καταπαθή, Diodor. Sic. 4, 33. So pirates treated their victims, Lysias 14 § 27. Cp. also the mode of execution attributed to the Turks, by drowning in the Bosphorus.
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Prima iuventa variorum dedecorum infamiam subiit. Sextus Pompeius ut effeminatum insectatus est; M. Antonius adoptio nem avunculi stupro meritum; Scandalous stories.
item L. Marci frater quasi pudicitiam, delibatam a
Caesare, Aulo etiam Hirtio in Hispania trecentis milibus nummum substraverit, solitusque sit crura subure re nuce
denti, quo mollior pilus surgert. Sed et populus quondam
universus ludorum die et acceptit in contumelia eius et
adsensu maximo comprobavit versum in scena pronuntiatum
dec talio Matris deum tympanizantem: Vide,s, ut cinaedus
orbem digito temperet? Adulteria quidem exercuisse ne
amici quidem negant, excusantes sane non libidine, sed ra-
tione comissa, quo facilis consilia adversariorum per
cuiusque mulieres exquireret. M. Antonius super festinas
Liviae nuptias obiecit et feminam consularem e triclinio viro
coram in cubiculum abductam, rursus in conubium rubentibus
auriculis incomptiore capillo reductam; dimissam Scriboniam,
quia liberius dolusisset nimiam potentiam pelices; conditions

68. prima iuventa. If we may believe Nicolas of Damascus, the youth of Augustus was particularly well guarded and pure. That these in-
credible scandals emanate from his bitter enemies Marcus and Lucius An-
toni us is enough to stamp them. They are the measure of Roman coarseness and unscrupulous inventive rather than desiring of serious notice. We hap-
pen to know, for instance, that Hirtius was not with Caesar when Octavius
joined him in Spain [Cic. Att. 12, 37 § 4]. The invention of such lies makes
one glad that Antony had himself felt the lash of the 2nd Philippic. See Cicero's
defence of him 3 Phil. § 19 in Caesarem
madalica congesit deprempta ex recollec-
tione impudicitiae et stuprorum suorum.
suburere... pilus surgert, Liv. 9,
aut fraticante filo neglecta et squalida
cura. See also ib. 95 pumice laenis;
Mart. 2, 36; 5, 61; Pers. 4, 39; Sueet.
Jul. 45.
acceptit...elius, 'interpreted it as a
reflection on him.' They took it as a
double entendre.

gallus, priest of Cybeles. Polyb. 21,
6 (at Sestos), id. 21, 37 (at Pessinus). For
the origin of the name see Ovid, Fast. 4,
56. The Megalesia in honour of the
'Great Mother' were introduced in
b.c. 204 [Livy 29, 11–13]. For plays
acted at it, see inscription to Terence,
Hautont.

tympanizante. See Appoll. Rhod.
Argon. 1, 1139 ἴσης καὶ πολύν πέραν
πρώτης διδεομενος. Plaut. Pseud. 2, 6,
38 Cur non adhibuisti tympanum? Nam
caesatum esse arbitror. "Verg. Aen. 9,
619 Tympanum nos nuximus vocat Beren-
124 μηναθήναι κόλλαμα τόδε...Kαρ-
διατος εἰρων...ματρός τε Πρέας εἰς χέρα
θέαν. Catull. 65 21 néi sympholion
ενοίκασα της, néi ἔμενα τον θεόν.

orbem, with a play on the meanings of the 'round drum' and the 'world.'
digitus, Catull. 39 to quattuorque hong

teneris causis digitos—

69. quo facilius...exquireret, as he
was supposed to have done in the case
of the wife of Macconia.

festinates-nuptias. ἡσαυρισμοὶ ἡν
τοῦ Καλάπαρου καὶ πιθυμέου τῶν ποιη-
θέων αἱ δύο τοῦ γαμείρη γύρων αὐτῶν
φαγηθέντι, ὅτι ἐν οὐκ πρώτω ὁμοφώνῳ
ἵνα καὶ ἐξῆλθαν τῶν γάμων ἑρμῆν,
ὡρολογομανόντω δὲ αὐτῶν
αὐτῶν καλλίες ἔχει αὐτῶν ἄγεθα.
Dio
48. 44.

rubentibus auriculis, Liv. 11, 189.
coram, Hor. Od. 3, 6, 75–71.

9—2
quae sitas per amicos, qui matres familias et adultas aetate virgines denudarent atque perspicerent, tamquam Thoranio mangone vendente. Scribit etiam ad ipsum haec, familiariter adhuc necundum plane inimicus aut hostis: Quid te mutavit, quod reginam ineo? uxor mea est. Nunc coepi, an abhinc 5 annos novem? Tu deinde solam Drusillam inis? ita valeas, uti tu, haec epistolam cum leges, non inieris Tertullam aut Terentillum aut Rufillum aut Salviam Titisianum aut omnes. An refert, ubi et in qua arrigas?

70 Cena quoque eius secretor in fabulis fuit, quae vulgo "boecadhos" vocabatur; in qua decorum dearumque habitu discubuisse convivas et ipsum pro Apollo ornatum, non Antoni modo epistolae singularum mangone, 'slave-dealer,' Mart. 1, 59; 9, 7, 7, 80. Sen. Ep. 89 § 9 mangonos quiquid est quod dicitur aliquo homo cinio abscindunt; itaque eminitus ornamento ipsa spectata sunt; sine crus adigitum sine brachio adipiscere, nudari tubercis et ipsam tibi corpus ostendi.

abhinc annos novem. Antony first fell under the influence of Cleopatra at the end of B.C. 47. He could hardly call her iure till he had divorced Octavia in B.C. 32 ( Dio 50, 5), which will explain the abhinc annos novem. The marriage of a Roman citizen with a foreigner could not hold good in Roman law: Iustas autem nuptias inter se eis Romani contrahebat, Inst. Inst. 1, 10. For the disputat with which such unions were regarded, see Hor. Od. 3, 5, 4 millesimae Cassius consueae barbarae turpis maritus misit etc. See p. 123.

Tertullam. Antony adopts the diminutives of these names, in sarcastic imitation of loverlike language. Tertua, Eusta, Terentia etc. Tertulia is the wife of Maceenas; it is hardly worth while to attempt identification of the rest.


boecadhos. The worship of the 'twelve gods' was Greek. At Athens there was an altar to them in the Agora (Her. 6, 108; Thucyd. 5, 54, 6; Plut. Ni. 13), and a picture in a Stoa (Pausan. 1, 3, 3). The Argonauts founded an altar to them in Bithynia (Apoll. Rhod. Argo. 2, 53). In Italy they were known among the Sabines ( Festus s. v. Mammertinus) and the Etruscans (Seneca N. Q. 2, 41, 1). When the Greek theology was assimilated to Rome twelve Dei consentes were acknowledged and are enumerated by Ennius (Ann. 1 fr.):

Iuno, Vesta, Minerva, Ceres, Diana, Venus; Mars, Mercurius, Iovis, Neptunus, Volcanus, Apollo.

Varro (L. R. 1) gives a somewhat different list of twelve gods worshipped in the country, but speaks of duodecim deos consentes...urbanos, quorum imagine ad forum auratur sunt, sex males et feminae totidem. In another work he reckoned sixteen (August. de civ. d. 6, 2). As it was the figures of these twelve gods that were placed in couples on lecti in a lect sternium on occasions of national importance (Liv. 22, 10), this buffoonery, if it did take place, would have shocked religious feelings at Rome somewhat in the same way as the private performance of the mysteries by Aeliusades did those of the Athenians (Thucyd. 6, 28; Plut. Alc. 19). See Marq. 12, pp. 30 and 59. A plant held to be a panacea was called doceandius by the physicians, omnium deorum maiestatem commendantis Plin. N. H. 25 § 28.

pro Apolline. The worship of Apollo
nomina amarissime enumerantis exprobrant, sed et sine auctore notissimi versus:

Cum primum istorum condusit mensa choragum,
sexque deos vidit Mallia sexque deas;
impia sum Phoebi Caesar mendacia ludit,
dum nova divorum cœnas adulteria:
onnia se a terris tunc numina declararunt,
fugit et auratos Iupifer ipse thronos.

Auxit cœnae rumorem summa tunc in civitate penuria ac fames, adclamatumque est postridie, omne frumentum deos comedisse et Cæsarem esse plane Apollinem, sed Tortorem: quo cognomine is deus quadem in parte urbis celebatur. Notatus est et ut preiosis supellectilis Corinthiorumque was first introduced among the Latins, and though there was a temple to him at Rome since B.C. 413, it did not become important there till the establishment of the ludi Apollinaris in B.C. 314. Augustus made the god an object of special honour. His victory at Actium was commemorated by a temple of Apollo on the spot and quinquennial games [p. 43]. The palatine temple of Apollo was among the most splendid at Rome [p. 61]; and at the celebration of the ludi seculares Apollo and Diana were the objects of special reverence. He became in a manner the patron god of the Emperors, and Julian, who in trying to restore the old religion looked back to Augustus for imperial traditions, paid special devotion to him as the Sun God, calling him his 'Master' [Jul. Conviv. 314 A], and the leader of Rome [Arx Cæsaris p. 179 in Jul. Orat. 4. 153 D].

Cum primum...sexque deas. The difficulty of these two lines caused Graevius to propose cum minum his-
torum condusit mensa chorag. 'when the table of the choragus (Augustus) had collected a company of actors:' while Ernesti explained condusit mensa choragum as a hypallage for condusit mensam choragii, 'when the choragus had hired a table.' Perhaps the simplest explanation is that of Bremi, who takes mensa istorum to mean 'the company of those persons,' like our 'board,' and explains it to mean 'when that company had got a choragus' (Augustus). The objection is perhaps the meaning of conducere 'to hire,' which could hardly by any stretch of satire apply to Augustus. Lastly, some have regarded choragum as a contraction of choragium, 'the equipment of a chorus,' or 'equipment' generally, Pliny N. H. 36 § 115. Of Mallia no satisfactory explanation has been given. It perhaps is the name of the house where the banquet was said to have taken place. An old explanation was that it meant the Ares, from Marsius the defender of the Capitol, and so the Florentine translator Rosso took it, e che nella rocca Capitolina set laddì et alret-
tantes Dee si rappresentarono: but there is no likelihood of that being the scene of the banquet. Casaubon thought that it might be the name of the wife of the choragus, whoever he was.

Cœnas adulteria, 'represents novel debaucheries in his banquet.' The accus. with cœnare is common in poetry and post-Augustan prose; but this is a bold extension of meaning; cœnās hōde māgnum mālum [Plaut. Asin. 5. 2. 86] quoted in illustration is hardly parallel.


Tortor, cp. Apollo Sandaliarius in c. 57. The statue of Apollo Tortor is not mentioned elsewhere. It seems likely that the epithet was given to it, not, as some say, with any reference to Marsyas, but as being near either the place of examining slave witnesses, or the quarter where tortores lived. To this perhaps Seneca refers [Ep. 81 § 4] quemadmodum inter tortores habileare notis, sic ne inter popinas quidem. Such men usually lived in Rome, see Suet. Claud. 34.

Corinthiorum. Seneca de brev. vit.
praecipitus, et aleae indulgens. Nam et proscriptionis tempore ad statuam eius ascriptum est:

\[\text{pater argentarius, ego Corinthiarius, cum existimare tu quosdam propter vasa Corinthia inter proscriptos curasse referendos; et deinde bello Sicilensi epigramma vulgatum est:}\]

\[\text{postquam bis classe victus naves perdiderit, aliquando ut vincat, ludit assidue aelem.}\]

71 Ex quibus sive criminibus sive maledictis infamiam impudicitiae facillime refutavit et praezentis et posterae vitae castitate; item lautitiam invidiam, cum et Alexandria captae nihil sibi praeter unum murrinum calicem ex instrumento regio retinuerit, et max vasa aurea asiduissemini usus conflaverit omnia. Circa libidines haesit; postea quoque, ut ferunt, ad vitandae virgines promptior, 13

\[\text{12 § 2 illum tu otiosum vocas qui Corinthia, pascorum furore praeceps, ansia curiositatem concepserat. pl. de transq. 9 § 6 impensas in Corinthia pictasque tabulas effundere, Pliny Ep. 3, 6, 4 neque enim ulimum adhuc Corinthium domi habeo. 16: § 9 sunt in omn Corinthia qui sub delectatur nec adjectur. This passion for Corinthian bronze had long been the vogue, see Cicero Verr. 4 § 1 megis in Sicilia tuta...ulimum Corinthium aut Deliacum fuisse...quin conquiserit et abiturerit. The particular fusion of copper, gold, and silver which was known by this name seems to have been a lost art. Various accounts of its origin were given, from the accidental fusion of those metals at the burning of Corinth in B.C. 146 [Pliny N. H. 34, 6], or from the discovery of an individual [Plutarch de Orac. Pyth. c. 2].} \]

\[\text{pater argentarius, see c. 2, p. 4. Corinthians, 'a keeper of the vases.' Slaves in charge of the Corinthia were called Corinthici. C. I. L. 10, 692, 6638; or Corinthiaci C. I. L. 6, 8756.} \]

\[\text{inter proscriptiones. This seems to have been the case with Verres, but it was Antony not Octavian who did it. Pliny I. c. quiisque cum tradatur non alia de causa Verrem, quem M. Cicero damnasset, proscriptum cum eo ab Antonio, quoniam Corinthiaci esserunt se ei negavisset. See p. 28.} \]

\[\text{bis classe. See c. 16, pp. 31—3, note on Siciulum bilium; Iuvenal 1, 31 talks of the procella of the dice.}\]

71. lautitiam. Cp. Cic. de phil. § 66 of Pompey's furniture, multa et lauta superbes, non tilsa quidem insignioribus humanis sed tamen abundantis.

\[\text{murrinum calicem. For this precious agate so much sought after at Rome, see the passages quoted by Mayor on Iuv. 7, 135 empturas sueros, argenteum, murrina, villas. It was first brought to Rome by Pompey in B.C. 61 from the spoils of Mithridates, and dedicated to Jupiter Capitolinus [Pliny N. H. 37 § 18]. The stone seems to have been hardened by being baked in dung, whence Propert. 5, 5, 26 murrina corta. It was imitated in glass [Plin. N. H. 36 § 198]. See Marq. 15, p. 430 sq. King's History of Precious Stones, p. 239.} \]

\[\text{ex instrumento regio, from the spoils of the palace at Alexandria, cp. c. 41. Cic. pro dom. § 62 instrumentum ac ornamentum villae.} \]

\[\text{libidines, 'intrigues with women,'—opposed to the impudicitia above. The same distinction in Jul. 49 and 50.} \]

\[\text{haesit, 'he could not refute them' as easily as the other scandals. haerere, 'to be in a difficulty.' Cic. de phil. § 74 haeret habebat: quia se verteret non habebat. So especially of accusations that cannot be refuted, Pliny Ep. 3, 9, 20 Classici filia quae et ipsa inter nos erat, ne suspicientus quidem haeret. Tac. Ann. 4, 19 nec dubia repetundarum crim-}

\[\text{minibus haeret.} \]
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71.]

quae sibi undique etiam ab uxore conquiritur. Aleae rumorem nullo modo expavit, lusitque simpliciter et palam oblectamentum causa etiam senex, ac, praeterquam Decembris mense, alius quoque festis et profesti dies. Nec id dubium est. Autographa quadam epistula Cenavi, ait, mi Tiberi, cum isdem; accessorum convivae Vinicius et Silius pater. Inter cenam lusimus geronticos et heri et hodie, talis enim iactatis, ut quisque canem aut seniorem miserat, in singulis talibus singulos

ab uxore. Tac. Ann. 5, 1 uxor facili. Dio 58, 2 πυθαγόρας δὲ ταῦτα πάντα καὶ τα πολλὰ αὐτὸς τοῦ λόγου τοῦ πάντας εικονίζων, ἀκολουθοῦν τινὶ πρὸς τῆς δύνασθαι εἰρημένα...καὶ τὰ πρᾶγματα αὐτῶν ἐκθέματε μὴ μὲν διδοῦσιν μὴ διηννεύσατε προσωπικά.

palam. For the discredit of open gambling see Cic. a Phil. § 57 hominem omnium nequissum qui non dubitaret rei in foro aula ludebat, ego, quae est de aula, condamnamus,... Yet the tabulae Iustiorum, still remaining scratched on the marble pavement of the Basilica Iulia, show how common it was [Middelton in Encyclop. Brit. 29, p. 817]. The emperors Claudius [C. C. 33] and Domitian [Dom. c. 31] were inveterate gamblers, the former having even written a treatise on dice.

praeterquam Decembris. The law forbidding gambling is not known, but it was older than the time of Plautus, see Mil. Glor. 2, 2, 9 atque adeo, ut ne legi fraudem faciant alienae, as caritur, ut sine talis domi agitant consuevim. See Cic. In. In the Digest 11, 5 an edict of the praetor and a SCium are quoted, but no lex. The aediles enforced the regulation in tavernas, Mart. 5, 84 et blandæ male proditæ frivilitæ, arcanæ modo raptus e popina; aedilem rogat usque die duæ. | Saturnalia transierunt tota. Març. 15, p. 514. The exception during the Saturnalia (17—23 December) was perhaps rather one of custom than law, but it was universally taken advantage of. Mart. 4, 14 dum blandæ vagus alia Decembris inscrîtis sonat hinc et hinc frivilitæ. id. 16 usus est alius diebus, regnator quirites imperat frivilitæ. The Saturnalia as a religious festival belonged only to the 17 Dec. But the holiday had long lasted the seven days, and Augustus seems to have added three days of suspension of legal business not hitherto formally

recognised, see Macr. Sat. 1, 10, §§ 4, 23. festis et profesti. Macrobi. Sat. 1, 6, 2, a festis dicati sunt, profesti hominem ob administrandum rem privatae publicamque concessi, interius deorum hominumque communes sunt. accessorum were added to the usual family party. For Silius see c. 101. For Vinicius see on c. 64. geronticos (παρατάσσων). Dice and other games were regarded as peculiarly an old man's amusement. Cic. de Sen. § 58 nobis semitas ex lusitibús multis talibus relliguisante et tesseras. Inv. 14, 4 si damnuma irem ineunt aula, ludis et heris.

tallis. For fuller details of dice-playing see Marq. 15, p. 511 sqq.; Becker's Gallus, p. 499 sqq.; Ramsay, R. Ant. p. 497 sqq. To explain the game as played by Augustus, it will be necessary first to notice that he plays with tali (καρνιτόνα), i.e. dice with four sides smooth and marked with the numbers I, VI, III, IV, the other two sides being rounded so that the dice would not rest on them (tesserae ὀφεῖσαν had six numbers like our own). Secondly it is to be noticed that there were two opposite principles (with variations in detail) in reckoning the winning throw: (1) when the highest numbers, i.e. sixes, were the best, θεραπωθέων, cp. Pers. 3, 48 quid dexter Sinu ferret Siere erat in voce; damnuma canica quantum Rudder. (2) When the highest throw (Punet) consisted in the dice presenting all different numbers, the lowest (Canis) in all coming up aces. Mart. 14, 14 (tali eberet) Cum siterit nullus nullus nullus tibi tali solus aedem. Nunera me dices magna delisse tibi. Details seem to have varied according to agreement. In the game here described by Augustus there were four tali, and if a player turned up sixes or aces (Canis) he paid a dearius for each of the dice into the pool.
denarios in medium conferebat, quos tollebat universos, qui Venerem icerat. Et rursus aliis litteris: Nos, mi Tiberi, Quinquatus suis incunde egimus; lusimus enim per omnis dies forumque aleatorium calceius. Frater tuis magnis clamoribus rem gessit; ad summam tamen perdidit non multis, sed ex magnis detrimentis praeter spem paulatim retractus est. Ego peridid viginti milia numnum meo nomine, sed cun effuse in lusu liberalis suissem, ut soleo plerumque. Nam si quis manus remisi cuique exegisse, aut retinuissem quod cuique donavi, vicissim vel quiinquaginta milia. Sed hoc malo; vix benignitas enim mea me ad caelestem gloriam efferet. Scribit ad filiam: Misi tibi denarios ducentos quiinquaginta, quos singulis convivis dedaram, si vellent inter se inter cenas vel talis vel par impar ludere.

In this case sixes was as bad a throw as aces. The pool thus formed was swept by the first player who threw a Venus, i.e. all different. Apparently if a player threw four threes or fours, or any other of the thirty-five possible combinations, nothing happened, he neither gained anything nor paid anything into the pool.

Quinquatus. Originally a feast of Mars on the 19th March (5th day from Ides), but afterwards extended to the 13th, and including the feast of the dedication of the temple of Minerva Capta [Ov. Fast. 3, 81]. It was wrongly derived from the five days, as by Ovid Fast. 3, 809—830. It was a universal holiday, especially for schools. See Mayor on Inv. 10, 115; Marq. 13, pp. 167 sqq., 361.

forum aleatorium calceius, 'I kept the gaming table well alive,' or 'holy at work.' The forum is explained to mean some tabula laeviora, but it is not found elsewhere in that sense, the usual terms being tabula [Inv. 1, 90] or abasus [Suet. Claud. 22], and I am inclined to believe that Augustus wrote forum aleatorium (n.) in a sort of playful allusion to other fora, such as the forum altorium, piscatorium, boarium, etc. This was practically Cásabon's view. calceius. So the forum is said tofrigescere when business is over, Cic. Att. 1, 1 cum Romae a indicibus forum refrexisset. Cælius in Cic. fam. 8, 7 § 4 si Parthi vor nihil calceiunt, nos hic frigere rigescimus.

manus, 'stakes;' forfeited by a bad throw, as B. Crusius explains better than Bremi, who thinks it means the throw itself. It seems to refer to a different game from that described in the first letter, one in which the players threw for money on each cast. The meaning of manus is preserved in the French and English main as a term in dice. Shakespeare, Henry IV. 4, 1, 47. To set so rich a main on the nice hazard of one doubtful hour.

ad caelestem gloriam. Cic. Att. 4, 6 Caesar in caelum fortun. fam. 4, 14, 1 te summis laudibus ad caelum extulit.

par impar. The game was played with nuts, and consisted it seems in guessing whether the number held in the hand was odd or even. Mart. 5, 50, 7 commodius nis forte tibi potuisse videtur Saturnalia: pedere, varo, nuces. id. 4, 66, 13 supposita est blandus numquam tibi tesseras talo. Alia sed parvae sola fueru nuciss. Ovid. Nuc. 85 est etiam par siit numerus qui dicit, an impar. Vt divinatas asserat Augur opes. It is classed among childish amusements by Horace S. 3, 3, 148; whence nuces relicis for giving up childish things, Mart. 5, 85; Cat. 61, 117. The Greek term was ἄρτηδρον, see Arist. Plut. 816 στατήρας δ' οἱ ἄρτηδροι ἄρτηδρον ἄρτηδρον χρεσάων. Also with astragali, Paus. 9, 11, 9 ἄρτηδρον ἄρτηδρον ἐν ἄρτηδρον ἄρτηδρον ἐκεῖνον ἰδρύειν ἀπὸ τῶν χερος μαντείας ἐκεῖνοι τῶν ἀρτηδρών ἄρτηδρον. Cp. Plato Leg. 499 B ἄρτηδρον ἀστραγάλου πακελλίου.
72. supra scalas anularias. Middleton identifies these scalae (though somewhat dubiously) with a flight of steps from the nuxia via on the Palatine to the Forum. But in that case could the house of Calvis be both nuxia forum and supra scalas? It seems to me more probable that the house had along the front some ‘jewellers’ shops.’ Such shops seem often to have been attached to town houses [Cic. Att. 14, 9; Marq. 14, p. 291]. They were called scalae from having an outside staircase which could be closed. Cic. Pro Mil. § 40 in scalarum tenebrae, id. 2 Phil. § 21 in scalas tabernae librarine, cp. Hor. Ep. 2, 5, 14. Sometimes the upper part of the house was approached by these scalae, Livy 39, 13 censaculum super aequum datum est, scalis ferentibus in publicum obserenisti, addito in nede verso.

Calvi. C. Licinius Calvis, the eminent orator, b. B.C. 82; ob. B.C. 47. See Pliny N. H. 34 § 166; Cic. Brut. § 283: id. fam. 15, 21. Of his influence with iudices, see Seneca Controv. 3, 19.

In Palatium. Dio. 53, 16 καλοτιν δε τα βελτίων παλιάνων, οὑς οὐ καί ήθους ποντε διούσι αὐτά δουλάζοντα, διὰ οὑς καὶ τε τω Παλατίων ο Καλώρο διέκει καὶ έκεὶ τέ στρατήγους ἔχει...καὶ κατά τού Συγγυμνασβον ή κατασκευήν αὐτοῦ ισχύει. This house was assigned him by a vote of the Senate in B.C. 25, when he had already purchased a site for building one. Thereon he dedicated his purchase to the public, building the temple of Apollo etc. on it [Dio 49, 13], and refused any other afterwards [Id. 24, 27]. After the fire in B.C. 2 the whole building was made public property [Id. 25, 13]. ‘It stood in a noble position near the edge of the cliff towards the Vallis Murcia and the Circus Maximus, with a fine view of the Aventine opposite’ (Middleton). Of its laurelled door-posts and gilded shield and the inscription de aequum cines, see Ov. Tr. 3, 1, 33—48, M. A. c. 34.

Hortensius. Q. Hortensius, the great orator, friend and rival of Cicero, died in B.C. 50 [Cic.-fam. 8, 13]. The splendor of his vila was notorious, but the town house does not seem to have been unusually large or magnificent. The Palace of Augustus, at any rate after the rebuilding, included the contiguous house of Catiline. Suet. d. Gramm. 17.

Albanarum columnarum. A volcanic stone from the quarries of the Alban hills, a conglomerate of ashes, gravel, and stone fragments; ‘harder than the hardest kinds of tufa’ (Middleton); yet Vitrivius [11, 7] classes it among the molers. Its nearness to the city made it cheap.

insigni pavimento. The floors, whether tessellated or made up of various slabs, were often of the richest marbles [pavimentum superius Hor. Od. 2, 14, 27]. See Hor. Ep. 1, 10, 19 Librii lapilli. Lacapeanum oribvs inv. 11, 173; Sen. Ep. 86 ex deliciarum venenis ut nisi geminam calcis noxiam. See Becker’s Callus p. 270 sqq. Marquardt 15, p. 274 sqq.

conclavias, a room or suite of rooms locked with a key; a bed-room, Ter. Haut. 902; a dining-room, Hor. Sat. 2, 6, 113.

dieum...hieme et aestate. The luxurious had cubicula aeterna and biberna, as Lucullus [Plut. Luc. c. 39]. So also dining-rooms (triclinia), see Varro L. L. 7, 13 inapn et biberna triclinia et aeterna lacins, id. R. R. 1, 13 ut spectet ina aeternae tricliniarum ad frigus orientis, biberna ad sollem occidentem. See Pliny Ep. 2, 17 § 10 cubiculum
aestate mansit, quamvis parum salubrem valitudinæ suae urbem hieme expeririatur assidueque in urbe hiemaret. Si quando quid secreto aut sine interpellatione agere proposisset, erat illi locus in edito singularis, quem Syracusas et τεχνὸν vocabat: hic transibat, aut in alculius libertorum suburbanum: aeger autem in domo Maecenatis cubabat.\textsuperscript{7} Ex secessibus præcipue frequentavit maritima insulasque Campaniae, aut proxima urbi oppida, Lanuvium, Praeneste, Tibur, ubi etiam in porticibus Herculis templi persaepe ius dixit. Ampla et operosa praetoria gravabatur. Et neptis quidem suae Iulæe, profuse ab ea extructa, etiam diruit ad solum, sua vero quamvis ornamenta modica non tam statuarum tabularumque picturarum

\textit{cum procerône altitudinis auctiorum, munimentis hibernum. asidueque...hiemaret.} As these words stand they can only be explained as depending on \textit{quamvis}, 'though he found the city far from suit- ing his health in winter, and though he persistently wintered in town,'—in view of which one would have expected him to try a change of bedchamber. Gae- rius took \textit{hiemaret} as impersonal, 'although it was bad weather'; Erasmus explained 'though he suffered from the winter.' Baung–Crusius proposes \textit{assidue in urbe hiemavit (hiemabant). For} \textit{expeririatur} cp. Horace \textit{Odes} 4.4.3 ex- periens fidelem. \textit{in edito}, 'at the top of the house'; \textit{in conclusa edito Corn.} Nep. \textit{Dion 9. singularias}, 'to himself,' separate.' Syracusae. No satisfactory explanation has been given of why Augustus called his lofty study 'Syracuse.' He was at Syracuse in B.C. 21, which was then ruinous and deserted [Cal. 21], and he may have found it so quiet and retired (perhaps too living on the high ground of Achradina) as to sug- gest a suitable name. Such fanciful names were often given to parts of a house, so Αμαθῶν of a room or gym- nasium in the house of Atticus, Cic. \textit{Att.} 15.16.

\textit{τεχνὸν} [al. τεχνῷ] dim. of τέχνῃ, cp. τεχνὸν Suidas, and Plato \textit{Rep.} 475 ε, 'work-shop' or 'study.' \textit{in domo Maecenatis}, on the Esquiline, which was regarded as healthy, Hor. \textit{Sat.} 1.18.4 Esquiliae salubritas, cp. 2.6.33. Suet. \textit{Tib.} 15 statio e Carinis ac Pompeiana domo in hortos Maecenatas transmis gravavit totumque se ad quidem contulit. Nevertheless Maecenas himself is said never to have slept for a whole hour in the last three years of his life, Plin. \textit{N. H.} 7.172. Maecenas left Augustus his heir at his death in B.C. 8 [Dio 54.7].


\textit{insulae Campaniae: Capreas [taken by Augustus in exchange for Aenaria Dio 55.43].} Aenaria, Præca, Pan- dallaria, Megara and Lenotera: c. 92.

\textit{Lanuvium, Praeneste, Strabo} 5, 3, 11 et duo eis, et τέκτων τῶι πόλεωι Τίβερι- τε καὶ Πραινεστῶι, Τίβερια μέλλῃ 70 Ποντίοι. The two towns are classed together as places for coolness and retirement by Horace, \textit{Od.} 3, 4, 23 seu moli frigidum Praeneste seu Tibur supinum, \textit{Sec.} 8. The towns were classed together as places for coolness and healthiness, Flor. 1, 11, 7 Tibur nunc suburba nam et aestium Praenestae deliciae. Praeneste recovered from a serious ill- ness there [Aul. \textit{Gell.} 16.13.5].

\textit{Herculis, Mart.} 1, 12, 1 situs ad Her- culas gelidi qui Tibaris aequos Canaque sulphureos Albanam famam aqua. \textit{praetoria}, 'palaces in the country,' luv. 1, 75 criminiibus debent hortos praetoria mensae. \textit{Stat.} \textit{Silv.} 1, 3, 15 alternas servare praetoria ripam.
ornatu, quam xystis et nemoribus excolluit rebus- of his
que vetustate ac raritate notabilibus: qualia sunt
Capreis-immanium beluarum ferarumque membra praegrandia, quae dicuntur Gigantium ossa et arma Heroum.

Instrumenti eius et supellectilis parsimonia apparet etiam 73
nunc residuis lectis atque mensis, quorum pleraque viri
privatae elegantiae sint. Ne toto quidem cubuisse aiunt nisi
humili et modice instrato. Veste non temere alia quam
domestica usus est, ab sorore et uxorue et filia neptibusque
confecta; togis neque restrictis neque fusis, clavo nec lato
nec angusto, calciamentis altusculis, ut procercior quam erat

**xystis,** 'terrace' or 'open walks,'
Pliny *Ep.* 2. 17, 7 ante cryptoporlicum
xystus vidit odoratus. *id.* 5. 6, 16
ante porticum xystus in plurimas species
distinctus consciosoque buso. See p. 100.

**nemoribus.** The nemora may be
either plantations in the gardens or
within the courtyard of the house. Hor.
Od. 3. 10, 5 Audis quo stipulam lanae,
quae nemus inter pulvere situm tecta
tumcietat.

**beluarum,** 'whales' or 'sharks.'
Bones of whales might have been brought
to Italy from the coasts of the
North Sea; Hor. Od. 4. 14, 47 belauus
qui remotis Oebriti Oceanus Britanniae.
Inv. 16. 14 quanto delphini ballanae
Britannica maior; but there is also
evidence that one or the other of these
sea-monsters was known in the Medi-
terranean, as at Tyre [Q. Curt. 4. 4],
off Mt. Athos [Herod. 6. 44], on the
coast of Attica [Schol. on Aeschines in
Cles. 152; Plut. Phoc. 28]. See also
Pliny *N.H.* 9 § 13 ballanac et in nostra
maria penetratet.

**73. instrumenti...supellectilis.** The
former refers rather to all things needed
for daily household use, such as plate,
vexes stragulae, and utensils of all sorts,
the latter to the furniture of the rooms.

**23. instrumenti...Supellectilis.**
\(\text{Lacon instrumentum et supellectilem distrubire cogimur.}\)

**non temere.** See c. 16. p. 34.

**veste...domestica.** 'common clothes
for the house,' as opposed to the toga,
the military, or the dinner dress, cp. Suet.
*Vit.* 8 at idem nequeor, subito a militibus e
cubiculo raptus, ita ut erat, in veste do-

**ab sorore...confecta.** See c. 64. filiam
et suos ibi instituit ut eiam lauiet.

**assuefaret.* The commonest indoor
dress was the *tunica,* see Becker's
*Gallia,* p. 470 sq. Of the consularia or
*synthesis,* the 'dinner dress,' see Mart.
10. 87, 13; 14, 135. *Sextilia syn-
51 circa cultum habetique adeo pudendo
ut plerumque synthesin inducit
ligato circulo collum nudari proderit
in publicum sine cincto et discalcatu.

**restrictis...fusis,** 'neither wrapped
closely round his body, nor allowed to
hang loose.' Hor. *Ep.* 1. 1, 96 si toga
dissedet impar. *Id.* Sat. 1. 3, 31 ruder
possit ost quod Rusticius tonio toga defuit.
The wearing the toga closely wrapped
was a sign of modesty in youth, Cic.
pro Cael. § 1 nobis quidem est annus
erat unus ad cohendum brachium toga
costitutus.

**clavo...angusto.** The broad purple
stripe down the front of the *tunica,*
won by Senators and certain of the
equites [p. 86], was either woven in
the material [Plin. *N.H.* 8 § 193 amm
*tunica* lati clavi in modum gauasae
taxt nunc primum inspeere], or sewed on
[Dig. 34. 2. 23 xvagrique qui vestitum
insuecur].
The ostentatious wore it
as broad as possible, Lucian *Demon.*
§ 41 idem be tauri idem exarcheis or tær
*omana* rei *prophylae* meha *gauasae.*

On the other hand some affected almost
to conceal it, Spart. *Sever.* 19 § 7 hic
*tunica* eius aliquid purpurae habentet.

**Lamprim.* Lex. 33 purpurae non
magra ad iumus reslurrit suum.
Marquart [13. p. 190] holds that the *clava*
consisted of two stripes in front of the
*tunica,* which perhaps also went down
the back.

**calciamentis** here=calcis. *Calcis-*
Convivabatur assidue nec umquam nisi recta, non sinea
magno ordinum hominumque dilectu. Valerius Messa-
sala tradit, neminem umquam libertinorum adhibi-
tum ab eo caenae excepto Mena, sed assepto in
ingenuitatem post provitam Sexti Pompei classem.
Ipse scritit, invitasse se quendam, in cuius villa maneret, qui
speculator suus olim fuisset. Convivia nonnumquam et serius
inibat et maturius relinquebat, cum convivae et cenare in-
mentum is properly any covering to the
foot, even including slippers and sandals.
Cic. Tusc. 599 mihi amicitus est Syria-
icum tegmen, calcamentum solorum calum, cubile terra. altiusculis. Xen.
Cypr. 8, 1 § 41 καὶ γὰρ τα ἐποιήματα του-
πούτα ἔστω ὡς τὰ μέλης λαβὸν ὅτι καὶ ὑποθέσομεν τι ὑπέρδον μέδοις ἔδω ἦμεν. Augustus was short, see
43. For the form (from comparativa aliter, -ius) not in prose before
Pliny, see Roby L. G. 384.
forensis, opposed to the domestica
above. The loco (with perhaps the
pensula and lacerna) worn out of doors
in the forum or city. Caligula made
presents of forensis to men [Cat. 17].
Alexander Severus [Lamp. c. 42]
among the outfit of a provincial frater
had return forensis binnas.
calceos. In the house salae, slippers,
would be worn; though they were
taken off by the slaves when the guests
reclined at tables [Horace Sat. 2, 8, 75;
Ep. 1, 13, 15; Pliny Ep. 9, 17; Mart.
3, 50, 3] ad subtilos oculos. While
Julius was lying at table and the
desperate state of the young Octavian was
announced to him, he indignati
unides vox et vox unius vox. Aug. 9;
cp. Dio 43, 22 τινικζ ἐκ τοῦ διδοῦνο
ἐγνω με το με τινών διδού τι
ἐν αὐτοῖς εὐθύς. While
43. convivabatur, 'he dined in
company,' 'he gave dinner parties.' Cp.
Suet. Claud. 32 conviviolis agitavit et
amplia et asidua ac fuerat potentissimis
locis ut plurimum securi simul discum-
bentur. nisi recta, 'at a regular cena,'
at which the guests lay at the tables,
opposed to the sportula, Suet. Domit. 7
sportulae publicae suscitavit, revocata rec-
orum consuetudine: a reversal of Nero's arrangement, under whom
publicae cenae ad sportulas redactae
[Suet. Nrv. 16]; Mart. 8, 50, 10 promissa
est nobis sportula, recta data est. It was
also applied to private parties [Mart. 4,
69, 7, 7, 20, 7] as opposed to one at
which refreshments were served round, a
cena ambulanti [Mart. 7, 52, 3].
Valerius Messala. M. Valerius
Messala, c. 58. Besides his work on the
civil war, Pliny refers to de Romanis
familiae, N. H. 34 § 171; 35 § 8.
Mena. Menas whom Appian always
calls Μενᾶς, but Dio, Μένας, a
freedman of Pompey the Great [App.
B. civ. 5, 70], served under Sextus
Pompeius. In B.C. 38, being in com-
mand of the fleet at Corisca and at
Sardinia, he deserted to Augustus [Dio
48, 45; App. B. civ. 5, 78]. In B.C.
36 he went back to Sext. Pompeius, but
later in the same year deserted once
more to Augustus [Dio 49, 4, 49; 1
Καίσαρ ἐν προσήκατο µὲν αὐτόν καὶ τὸν
ἀρχηγότατον, τὸν µέντοι καὶ τὸν τούτος τι
ἐν αὐτῷ. App. B. civ. 5, 96, 100—
101]. He fell in B.C. 35 in the Pannonic
expedition [Dio 49, 37].
43sed assepto in ingenuitatem.
App. B. civ. 5, 50 Μενᾶς τῷ εὐθύς
ἀκούσαν ἀκούσαν ἀκούσαν ἀκούσαν.
He declared him freeborn, not
merely a freedman. Justin. inst. i ltt. 4
non officit illi in servitute fruist. id.
novell. 75, 1 ex hac lege, qui libertatem
accepit, habetur subsessus max et
aurorum annorum et regenerantis
ius.
Ipse scritit, in his 'memoir, see c.
speculator, see c. 27, p. 591 and
for the speculator of the cohorte praet-
oriae see Wilmanns, 2866 nomina spec-
ulatorum qui in praetorio suo militave-
runt (Veapianus).
ciperent prius quam ille discumeret, et permanerent digresso eo. Cenam ternis ferculis, aut cum abundantissime senis praebebat, ut non nimio sumptu, ita summa comitate. Nam et ad communionem sermonis tacentis vel summissim fabulantis provocabat, et aut acroamata et histriones aut etiam triviales ex circo ludios interponebat ac frequentius aretalogos.

Festos et sollemnes dies profusissime, nonnumquam tandem ioculariter celebrabat. Saturnalibus, et si His keep-

vestem et aurum et argentum, modo nummos om-

nis notae, etiam veteres regios ac peregrinos, interdum nihil

ternis ferculis... senis, 'courses' (lit. 'waiters' or 'trays' for rets). Iuv. 1, 94

Quis totidem erexit viollas, quis fercula septem Secreto convivum avus? For the courses in order see Hor. Sat. 2, 8; and passages quoted by Mayor on Iuv. 1c.
The three courses were (1) the gustatio, (2) cena, (3) seconda mensa (dessert). When there were to be six or more courses this was secured by multiplying (2) as prima, altera, tertia cena, and so on [Marq. 14, p. 578 sq.]

acroama. The practice of having a reader (anagnostes) at meals is fully illustrated by Mayor on Iuv. 11, 180. See especially Nepos Att. 14 nemo in convivio eius nihil acroama audiret quam anagnosten; quod nos quidem incetissimum arbitravmur; nequeunquam sine aliqua lectione audiret cum cenatum est. Pliny Ep. 6, 31 additaeamur quotidie cenae; erat modica et principem cogit; interdum apollo maris aut molimur, interdum incetissimis vermonibus nos ducemur. Other acroamata were the strains of tibicines and other musicians; see Macrobi. 2, 4, 28 (of Augustus) delectatus inter cenam symphonicius Tiberii Flacci manegim. Marq. 14, p. 394 sq.

histriones. Plutarch [Sympos. 7, 4] speaks of μύσα at banquets. Their introduction was not always liked, Pliny Ep. 9, 17 quam multi, cum lector aut lyristes aut comœs clasinductus est, calooc poscunt, aut non minore cum tardo recubanti, quam in ista prodigia persennex et triviales ex circo ludios, 'street performers from the circus.'
The circus was the haunt of idlers, mountebanks and jugglers, astrologers and the like. Horace [Sat. 1, 6, 113] speaks of the fallacem circum. Cic. de Div. 1 § 133 de circa astrologus. Among ludos may be included dancers, C. A. A. 1, 115 ludus aquatam ter festa pulsat humum. Macrolus [Sat. 2, 1, 9] speaks of iucutia et docta coltulat viæ m plani-
pedis et subulonis impulcit et praedictati verba tacentis at supper.

aretalogos, 'disputers,' inferior followers of Stoic and Cynic philosophy, who made a kind of profession of conducting arguments on virtue or the like. Iuv. [15, 16] speaks contemptuously of the mendax aretalogus. C. Acro

on Hor. S. 1, 1, 130 philosophi cuinid-
dam loquacissimi nomen qui aeterallogos
dicit est.

75. Saturnalibus, see on c. 71. 

mumera: for the presents given at the Saturnalia see see Marq. 5, 18

Quod temp Decembris mensis, quo volant mappe

grandiosque liquore cereique chartae-

e et acuta semibus testa cum Damas-
cenis,

praeter libellus formulas nihil misit,

fortasse avarus vidit aut inul-


manus.

Tiberius sent Claudius at the Saturnalia quadraginta ausus in Saturnalia et Sigillaria [Suet. Claud. 5]. Vespasian

dabat sic ut Saturnalibus virtus apostophoret, ita per Kat. Mort. feminis [Suet. Vesp. 19]. Iulius Basus, charged with taking bribes, affirmed solita se minusculas dum-
taxat natali suo aut Saturnalibus accepisse et plerique mississe [Pliny Ep. 4, 9, 87].

regiones. Servius Tullius was credited with the introduction of coined money, and the earliest coins were said to have
praeter cilia eet spongias eet rutabula eet forpices atque alia
id genus, titulis obscursis et ambiguis. Solebat et inaequa-
liminarum rerum sortes et aversas tabularum pic-
turas in convivio venditare incertoque caspam
mercantium vel frustrari vel explere, ita ut per s
singulos lectos licitatio fieret et seu iactura seu lucrum com-
municaretur. \ Cibi (nam ne haec quidem omiserim) minimi
erat atque vulgaris fere. Secundarium panem et pisciculos
minutos et caseum bubulum manu pressum et ficos virides
biferas maxime appetebat; vescebaturate et ante cenam quocumque tempore et loco, quo stomachus desiderasset.
Verba ipsius ex epistolis sunt: Nos in essedo panem et pal-

had the figure of an ox, sheep or swine impressed on them [Plat. Pytlic. 11; Quaest. R. 41]. If any such existed in the time of Augustus they would be reckoned as belonging to the regal period. The earliest as of the republic has the prow of a ship on the reverse, and the head of a god on the other side. Ramsay Rom. Ant. p. 465.

"cilica", rough cloth or tenting, made of goat's hair [Verg. G. 3, 311]. Pliny N. H. 6 § 143 Chaldaorum Scientiae. a tabernaculis cognominati quae cicitis metantur. For its use in the camp see Livy 38, 7, the Ambracians block up the mine nunc cicitis gradiantur nunc foribus exstrom um obiectis. Veget. 4, 6 saga cicitique tenduntur quae impetum excitant sagittarum.

spongias, used for cleaning the tables, Mart. 14, 144, haec tibi forte datur tergidia spongia mensis. See also c. 84.

"rutabula" et "forpices" (forfix) "pokers and tongs." Commentators perceive an obscene meaning in all these presents: see Festus a.v. rutabulum.

"inaequalisimunum ... sortes" a lottery at which the guests bid without knowing what they were buying. Lamprid. Heiogob. 25 sortes sive convivales scriptas in cocleaibus habitas tales ut aliquus exterit "decem cameos, alias "decem musicas," alias "decem libras auris," alias "decem plumbi," alias "decem struthiones," alias "decem ovae pullinae," ut vere sortes essent et falsa templamentur.


silicis et pane secundo. Iuv. 5, 70 sed
tenet et nivosum mollique siliceum faciunt servatus domino. Such inferior bread was called panis cibarium [Cic. Tusq. 5 § 97]; sordidus [Suet. Ner. 48]; Plant. Ai. 142]; rusticus [Flin. N. H. 19 § 188]. Marq. 15, p. 41.

"pisciculos minutus". Ter. Andr. 369
hakera et pisciculos minutus ferre ovo in cenam seni. Small and common fish in opposition to the costly fish which were so much the rage at Rome, see Marq. 15, p. 56 sq.

caseum bubulum ... pressum" Colum. 7, 12 illa vero notissima est ratio faciendae, quem diutius manu pressum. Namque is caseum galesi in multa dunt et tepfactus, resculanter, et fer-
vante aqua perfixus vel manu figuratus vel buceis formis expropriatur. Verg. Ecl. 1, 81 pressi copia lactis. It appears to mean fresh cream cheese as opposed to cheese brought e.g. from the Italian Alps [Plineus, Plin. N. H. 11 § 240] or the smoked cheese casus famosus, Mart. 13, 32. It was eaten at the tentaculum, Mart. 13, 31 si sine carne voles tentaculum sumere frugi, Haec tibi Vestina de grege massa senis.

bifera, "fresh late figs," or "figs of the second crop." Flin. N. H. 16 § 113 ficus et prococes habet quas Athenis pro-
dromos vocant. In Lacedo genere maxumi sunt et biferae in lidoen.

"quacumque". Claud. 33 cibi vinique quocumque et tempore et loco appetentis-simus.

essedo. The essedum, originally a Gaulish war chariot (esseed Bieldica Verg. G. 3, 204), was the name for a travelling carriage, especially of officials,
DIVUS AUGUSTUS.

mulas gustavimus. Et iterum: Dum lecta ex regia
domum redeo, panis unciam cum paucis acinis uvaec
duracinae comedii. Et rursus: Ne Iudaens quidem, mi
Tiberi, tam diligenter sabbatis ieiunium servat quam ego hodie
servavi, qui in balneo demum post horam primam noctis duas
buceas manducae prius quam ungui inciperem. Ex hac in-
observantia nonnumquam vel ante initu vel post
His dimissum convivium solus cenitabat, cum pleno
abstemi-
convivio nihil tangeret. Vini quoque natura par-
ousness. 77
cissimus erat. Non amplius ter bibere eum solitum super
acen in castris apud Mutinam, Cornelius Nepos tradit.

while the roda was a large coach or
brake for baggage and family. Cic.
3 Phil. § 8 elevatur in euida tribunus
plebis etc. id. Att. 6, i § 25 hic Vedius
venit mihi obviis cum dioebi esset et
roda equis tunc et lectio et familia
magno.

ex regia. See c. 31, p. 70.
cum....actinis uvaec duracinae, ‘with
a few dried raisins’ (‘berries of hard-
berried grape’). Mart. 13, 22 non
habilit cyathis et insutilis ulla Lynoe,
Sid non potantis me tibi nector oro.
Cato R. E. § 3 quas suspendas durac-
inas...pro passis eae veste servaturn.
Augustus was taking his ientaculum,
cp. Vopisc. lsc. 11 parum niti siccum
nuumquam copulat.
sabbatis ieiunium. The mistaken
notion of the Jewish sabbath as a fast
is referred to. See Schurer History of
fr. 57 Judaens...exemptus populo Creto-
migravit ad urbem. Et non uenia sabbato
lege tremet. Justin. 36, 2, 14 Moysei...
septimum diem movinge gentis Sabarth
appellatum in omne uesum ieiunium sacratit.
It was supposed that, as all business
was omitted on the seventh day [Hor.
S. 1, 9, 69; Iuv. 14, 106], it was observed
also as a fast; or, as the Jews were
known to keep certain fasts, sabbata
was applied to them and to festivals
indifferently, as the word most familiar
in connexion with Jews. Thus ruitatis
sabbatae [Pers. 5, 184] stands for the
whole Jewish superstition. servat. Iuv.
14, 101 Iudaeicum aduantur et servanti
et memuant ius, where see Mayor’s
note.

post horam...noctis, ‘after six in the
evening.’ The usual hour for the
bath was the 8th or 9th (1 to 3 p.m.). Pliny
Ep. 3, 1, 8 ubi hora balnei munianta
est—est autem ibi mea uacae annata
frater. Cic. ad Att. 13, 52 inde ambu-
avit in littore. Post horam viii in
balneum. Spart. Hadr. 23 ante octavum
horam in publico nomenem niti acerum
lavori passus est. But from noon to
evening many went at various hours.
Vitr. 5, 10, 1 maxime tempus lavandi
a meridiano ad vestperam est constitutum.
Cp. Iuv. 11, 204, iam nunc in balnea
salsae Fronte licet vadis, quamquam
salsae hora superit Ad sextam. Buxy
people would go late, Mart. 3, 36 laucus
ut in thermas decima vel serius hora
Te sequar. Cp. 10, 70, 13. To go to
the bath after the iena, in search of a
second appetite, was considered an excess
and unhealthy. Iuv. 1, 143; Persias
3, 97 sq.; Cic. pro Dei. § 31; Petronius
72 quare non visumus...conviviam non
in balneum.
buceas. ‘mouthfuls,’ seems to be a
word coined by Augustus.

ungui. The unciotorium was a regular
adjunct to the bath [Pliny Ep. 2, 17, 11
abduct unciatorium, hypocaustum...],
and a slave as wector is often mentioned.
C.I. L. 6, 4335, 4479 etc. see Marq.
14, p. 171. The unciatorium was also
sometimes a place of exercise or pa-
laestra. The anointing preceded the
hot bath [Hor. S. 1, 6, 123].

inobservantia, ‘carelessness’ about
his food. It is not in pre-Augustan
prose. Cp. Quint. 4, 2, 10 quae ne
fessisse inobservantia quadam videantur...
in Fastitiolum praeclara.

77. Cornelius Nepos tradit. To
which of the writings of Nepos he refers
does not appear. We hear of Chronica
[Ausonius Epist. 16; Catull. 1, 5—7];
Exempla [Cell. 6, 18, 11]; de virtu it.
Postea quotiens largissime se invitaret, senos sextantes non exessit, aut si exessisset, reiciebat. Et maxime delectatus est Raeticus, neque iemere interdiu bibit. Pro potione sumebat perfusum aqua frigida panem, aut cucumeris frustum vel lactu-
culae thyrum, aut recens aridumve pomum suci vinosioris.

Post cibum meridiano, uta vestitus calciatusque erat, retectis pedibus paulisper conquiescebat, opposita ad oculos manu. A cena in lectulam se lucu-
bratoriam recipiebat; ibi, donec residua diurni actus

Iustaxis [Gell. 11, 8, 1]; and besides the biographies which we possess, lives of M. Cato [Nep. Cat. 3, 5]; of Cicero [Gell. 12, 28, 1]; a work on geography [Plin. N. H. 2 § 165]; poems [Plin. Ep. 5, 3, 6] de historiae latini [Nep. Dion, 2]. He was a friend of Cicero [Cic. Att. 16, 14; Suet. Int. 55] and was an auditor of one at least of his speeches [i.e. pro
Corneio; Hieron. c. Ioan. Hiero-
solym. c. 13]. He died during the reign of Augustus [Plin. N. H. 9 § 136].

Se invitatet, ‘indulged himself.’
Plantus Amph. 1, 1, 127 invitat(is) plus-
vorsi postero die multa, quae proporptament
desumrunt in castis nativ., cum se ibi
cibo vineoque latis invitarent.

Senos sextantes. The sextarius (about a pint) was divided like the as into 12 unciae or cynoth. Therefore the sextans = 3 cynoth. and six of these would amount to one pint.

Reiciebat, ‘he used to throw up,’ i.e. he took an emetic, a practice commonly recommended by physicians of the time; Celsus 2, 3. See Munro on Catullus, p. 92. Cic. Att. 13, 55; pro Deiot. § 21 (where Caesar’s vomiting after the cena is mentioned as a natural thing); 2 Phil. § 75; Mart. 2, 89, 5. The consuetudo reviviscendi enabled Vitellius [c. 13] to indulge in repeated banquets and pot-
tations, but this was the abuse of the practice, see Pliny N. H. 39, 27, who numbers it among the things which per-
didere imperi morat.

Raeticum, wine from the vineyards near Verona. Pliny N. H. 14 § 67 in Veronensie item Raetica Falerni tan-
tum pastiata a Vergilio. Verg. G. 2, 98 et qua te carmine dicam, Raetica? nec cellis idea contenda Palatinus. Ac-
cording to Pliny [N. H. 14 § 61] the favourite wine of Augustus was Setum (from vineyards near Forum Apollii);

but this seems to have been on medici-
nal grounds. His habit, when dining with strangers, was to drink whatever was provided without making any ob-
servation, ib. § 72.

Interdiu, that is, apparently, before the cena.

Thyres, ‘the stalk’ (i.e. not the outer leaves). Servius ad Verg. Ann. 12, 413 cuminum autem medium fruticeae qui vulgo thyros dicitur. Plin. N. H. 13, 71 (of the papyrus) in praeclatam festitatem thyrii modo cum incensum inclusi. id. 19, 129 Thyrii vel folia lactuarum; id. § 146 (asparagus) viret thyro primum emicante.

Post cibum meridiano, after the prandium or lunch; the proper hour for which was the sixth, Mart. 4, 8 
sexuta quis lascis. Cp. Suet. Claud. 34 meridiis dimissis ad prandium populus. It was usually a light meal. Seneca Ep. 8 panis deinde siccus et sine mensa pran-
dium, post quod non sunt lavanda manus. Cf. Hor. S. 1, 6, 137; but dissipated persons drank freely at it. So Tacitus [Ann. 14, 2] says of Nero molio
die cum id tempore per vinum et quas incidessevi. And some began even earlier; Cicero says of Antony (2 Phil. § 104) in hora tertia bibebatur, cp. in 
Pz. § 18; Horace on his journey stops at the fourth hour for prandium [Sat. 1, 5, 23]. Marq. 14, p. 314.

Lectula, properly a small sedan (laxitatis, is here the day couch used in the study, as opposed to the ‘bed’ lectus below. The usual word however is lectus [Ov. Tr. 1, 11, 37; Hor. Sat. 
1, 4, 133].

Lucubratoriam, for study by candle-
light. Pliny Ep. 3, 5, 8 lucubrare Vul-
canilatis incipitatem. Cic. por. proem. 5 opusculum lucubratum his tam con-
tractius nubicus. id. fam. 9, 2 perire lucubrationem meam nolui. But the ad-
jective does not seem to occur elsewhere.
aut omnia aut ex maxima parte conficeret, ad multam noc-
tem permanebat. In lectum inde transgressus, non amplius
 cum plurimum quam septem horas dormiebat, ac ne eas
 quidem continuas, sed ut in illo temporis spatio ter aut
 quater expersciceretur. Si interruptum somnum recipere,
ut evenit, non posset, lectoribus aut fabulatoribus arcensisit
 resumebat, producebatque ultra primam saepe lucem. Nec
 in tenebris vigilavit unquam nisi assidente aliquo. Matutina
 vigilia offendebat; ac si vel officii vel sacri causa ma-
turius evigilandum esset, ne id contra commodium faceret,
in proximo ciuscumque domesticorum cenaculo manebat.
Sic quoque saepe indigens somni, et dum per vicos deper-
taretur et deposita lectica inter aliquas moras condormiebat.

residua diurni actus, 'what remained
over of the business of the day,' speci-
ally of a legal nature, see c. 32. con-
fi ceret, 'put together.' He refers, it
seems, to making notes or memoranda,
—such business as could be done in the
study without the presence of parties con-
cerned; or to keeping up the rationarium
impori mentioned in c. 28. For the
word cp. Jul. 20 institutii ut tam senatus
quam populi diurna acta conferrent. For
donee in secondary clause with imp.
subj. cp. cc. 17, 48. In purely histori-
cal sense with indic. c. 16.

fabulatoribus, 'story-tellers,' such as
Sir W. Temple tells of in Ireland; 'when
'the was abroad in the mountains, and
'lay very ill a-night so as he could not
'real sleep, they would bring him one
'of their Tale-tellers, that when he lay
'down would begin a story...and con-
tinue all night long in such an even
'tone that you heard it going on when-
'ever you waked, and he believed no-
'thing any physicians could give could
'have so good and so innocent effect to
'make men sleep.' In a non-professional
sense of a graceful detailer of anecdotes,
see Sen. Ep. 122 Pelonem Albinoevanum
narrantem audieramus, erat autem fabu-
lator elegantissimus etc.

offici. Some public men began the
business of the day before daylight.
Thus Vespasian gave audiences and
made business arrangements at that
time. Pliny Ep. 3. 5 § 9 ante lucem
batus sed Vespasianum imperatorem, nam
ille quoque noctibus utebatur, inde ad
delegatum officium. Cp. ib. 12 § 2
officia antelucana.

sacri. Not only were nocturnal visits
to the temples necessary in certain cases
[see c. 94, Nic. Dam. 5], but auspices
were taken immediately after midnight
by the magistrate who was to preside at
elections, or on the day that any public
business was to be begun, Gell. 3. 2. 10.

[Sacra sunt enim Romana partim
diurna, alia nocturna, Macrob. 1. 3. 6.]
condormiebat, 'used to fall fast
asleep.' Tuv. 3, 24: atque obider leget,
aut scribet, vel dormiel intus; Namque
facil somnum clausa lectica fenestra.
The word is rare, cp. Capit. Verus 4
§ 8 in toro conviviali coronatis ista ut
levatus cum stremitibus in cubiculum
perferretur. Plautus has condormies,
Circe. 2, 3, 81, with perl. condormies,
Most. 2, 7, 55.
Forma fuit eximia et per omnes aetatis gradus venustissima; quamquam et omnis lenocini negotiens et in capite comendo tam incuriosus, ut raptim compluribus simul torsoribus operam daret, ac modo tenderet modo raderet barbam, eoque ipso tempore aut legeret alicquid aut etiam scriberet. Vultu erat vel in sermone vel tacitus adeo tranquillo serenoque, ut quidam e primoribus Galliarum confessus sit inter suos, eo se inhibitum ac remollium, quo minus, ut destinarat, in transitu Alpium per simulationem conloquii propius admissus in praeceptum propelleret.  

His bright eyes.

Vulgo habuit claros ac nitidos, quibus etiam existimari volebat inesse quiddam divini vigoris, gaudebatque, si qui sibi acrius contuenti quasi ad fulgorem solis vultum summitteret; sed in senecta sinistro minus vidit; dentes raros et exiguos et scabros; capillum leviter inflexum et subflavum; supercilia coniuncta; mediocres aures; nasum at this vanity of Augustus, Conviv. Ccat. 309. He, however, says,  'it is a simple man of the gods who lives in the shade of the temple of Apollo, and a man of the gods he is.' Perhaps Vergil meant to convey a compliment to Augustus on the same point [{Am.} 1, 59] nonque ipsa deorum Caesaris nato genetrix, lumenque inventas Purpuras, et laudes oculis adflatum honores. See Servius on Am. 8, 689. Pliny gives a less complimentary motive for his being anxious that people should not look into his eyes. {N.H.} 11, § 143 dixit Augustus equorum modo glauci fuere (oculi) superque hominem albo caninis magnitudinis: quam ob causam diligenter spectat eos trancende ferrebat. See also Aurel. Victor Epist. 1. scabros, 'decayed;' or 'covered with tartar,' Ovid Met. 8, 502 scabri rubigine dentes (al. faucis).
et a summo eminentiorem et ab imo deductiorem; colorem inter aquilum candidumque; staturam brevem (quam tamen Iulius Marathus, libertus et a memoria eius, quinque pedum et dodransis fuisse tradit), sed quae commoditate et aequitate membrorum occulteretur, ut non-nisi ex comparatione astantis alicuius procerioris intellegi posset. Corpore traditur maculoso, dispersis per pectus atque alvum genetivis notis in modum et ordinem ac numerum stellarum caelestis ursae, sed et callis quibusdam, ex prurigine corporis adsiduoque et vehementi strigilis usu plurifariam concretis ad impetiginis formam. Coxendice et femore et crure sinistro non perinde valebat, ut saepe etiam inclaudicaret; sed remedio harenarum atque harundinum confirmabatur. Dextrae quoque manus digitum salutarem tam imbecillum interum sentiebat, ut torpenti contractumque frigore vix cornei circuli supplemento scripturae admovearet.


Iulius Marathus, c. 94. Probably a Greek-speaking Syrius. a memoria, 'secretary,' 'keeper of records,' like a manus, a commentarius, a studis, etc. Augustus composed in honour of Drusus violes memoriam proia oratione [Suet. Claud. 1]; Marathus may have served him in this. [et a memoria is the emendation of Lpsius for etiam memoriam.]

quinque pedum et dodransis, 5 ft. 9 inches. But as the Roman foot was slightly less than the English (97 ft. Eng.) Augustus would be rather under five feet seven inches (5 ft. 6 9/16 in. Eng.).

80. strigilis. The slave accompanied his master to the bath with a cista containing strigilis, ampulla (of oil), alabastrum (box of unguents), and other necessaries of the toilet. The curved strigil (stringo) made of metal, bone or wood, was used for scraping the body after the bath. Iuv. 3, 263. Many have been preserved, see Rich, Compan. to Dict. of Ant.

non perinde, 'not as well as with the right,' or 'not very well' (the idea of comparison almost vanishing). Cp. Suet. Tib. 53: tagnue ne mortuosque perinde adeptus est, sed tantum... quae adventus eius non perinde gratus

Salve.
Questus est et de vesica, cuius dolore calculis demum per urinam eictis levabatur.

Graves et periculosas valitudines per omnem vitam aliquot expertus est; praecipue Cantabria domita, cum etiam distillationibus iocinere vitiati ad desperationem redactus contrariam et ancipitem rationem medendi necessario subiit: quia calida fomenta non proderant, frigidis curari coactus auctore Antonio Musa.

Quasdam et anniversarias ac tempore certo recurrentes exerpiabatur; nam sub natalem suum plerumque languebat; et initio veris praecordiorum inflatione temptabatur, austrinis autem tempestatibus gravevit. Quare quassato corpore,

Dress et modum travelling:

valitudines. The illnesses of Augustus have been already noticed. See pp. 15, 20, 26, 61. For Antonius Musa and his treatment see c. 29. cum subiit, 'the occasion on which he submitted to.' The perf. ind. with cum referring to a particular time, cp. c. 28 cum rationarium imperi traditis.

sub natalem suum, 23 September. See p. 99.

praecordiorum. Pliny N. H. 11 § 197 exta hominis ab inferiori viscerum parte separantur membrana, quam praecordia appellabant, quia cordi prostenatur, quod Graeci appellauerunt phoros, 'midriff.'

gravide, 'a cold,' 'a catarrh.' Caull. 44, 13 hic me gravide frigida et frequentem suis quassavit.

pingui toga, 'thick and coarse.' Mart. 6, 11, 7 me pinguis Gallia vestit.


et thorace lano. This is the emendation of Beroaldus for subuculae thorace lano. The thorax as a separate article of dress is mentioned in luv. 5, 148.

feminalibus et tibialibus, woolen wrappers (fasciae) for the thighs and legs, generally only worn by invalids. Hor. Sat. 1, 2, 254 poras insignia morbi, fasciolas, cubitalis, focialis. Petron. 46 fascias cruralibus alligatus. Cic. Att. 2, 3 (of Pompey) calligae et fasciae crelatiniae non placabant. Val. Max. 6, 3, 7 (Pompeio) candida fascia crus alligatum habebat. Quint. 11, 3 palliolum sicut fascias quibus cura vestimentur... sola excusare potest valetudo.

in peristylo (collat. form with peristylo). The bedrooms would open into the peristyleum, saliente aqua, a fountain in the garden of the aedium. Cp. Staurus Silo. 1, 3, 36 an picturata incensia marmora venus Mirer, an emmisas per cuncta cubilia lymphas? Val. 1, 5, 154 exclusum radiis sitiis demissa vetustis Frigora, perspicui vivunt in marmore fonte.

ventilante. The use of fans was ancient, though usually confined to women. Ter. Enn. 595 capite frigida et ventulum hue sic facio dum lavamur. Mart. 3, 83, 10 et actuantes tenue ventilat frigus Supina prosino concubina fabello. Propert. 3, 18, 11 pavonis caudae fabellae superbi. Anthol. 11, 101
hiberni quidem patiens, domi quoque nonnisi petasatus sub
divo spatia batur. Itinerae lectica et noctibus fere, eaque lena
ac minuta faciebat, ut Praeneste vel Tibur biduo procederet;
ac si quo pervenire mari posset, potius navigabat. Verum
s tantam infirmitatem magna cura tuebatur, in primis lavandi
raritate (unguebatur enim saepius). Aut sudabat ad flam-
ham, deinde perfundebatur ereldia aqua vel sole multo
tepefacta; aut quotiens nervorum causa marinis albulisque
calidis utendum esset, contentus huc erat ut insidens ligneo
solio, quod ipse Hispanico verbo duretam vocabat, manus
ac pedes alternis iactaret. /

<Exercitationes campestres equorum et armorum statim 83

praebet in omnibus domo vellum 'Argemularem' vel
leptanum, et corpore robusto.

petasatus, 'wearing a broad-brimmed hat.' Plaut. Amph. profl. 143—53; 1, 1,
390. It was used generally in travelling.
The young man in Plautus [Pentr. 2, 4,
43] who has to dress up to represent a
new arrival says, etiam opus itiamyle
et machaera et petasos. Cicero [Fam. 15,
17] says of the tabellarii, who come to
him ready to start, petasati veniunt.

minuta, 'in short stages.' Praeneste
vel Tibur. See c. 72. Tibur is about
8 miles, Praeneste about 45 miles from
Rome.

lavandi raritate. The constant use
of hot baths was reckoned bad for the
health, especially to those subject to
fever, and after eating, Pers. 3, 90—102.
Vopisc. Tusc. 11 habetque rursus est
atque validior fuerit in senectute.

unguebatur. See c. 76.

sudabat ad flamham, that is, ap-
parently, he did not go into the ca-
darium, but heated himself at an open
fire, or stove in the tepidarium or else-
where. The sudatorium on the other
hand was heated by air, Sen. Ep. 51 § 6
quid cum sudatorium, in quae incolae vapor
corpora exsuscitari invidiae? erelida,
'lukeWarm.' Catull. 46, 1 iam ver elegi-
dos refert tegores. In the 16th aven or
tepidarium even the oil was to be warm
[weld pum eftto xlytem Galen Math.
Med. 724.

albulis calidis, 'warm sulphur baths,'
at the sulphur springs (Albulae aquae)
between Rome and Tibur. Mart. 1, 12
Haur ad Herculea gelidi quis Tiburis
arcti, Cunctaque sulphuris Albulas fumant
aquis. Strabo [5, 3, 11] talks of the
waters as 'cold,' ka "Alebula kaloh-

mena beis elea psyrma [xlytem] et pollon
pyllon pyllon pollon pollon pollon pollon
ka "Elebula gelidi; but in fact they are
lukeWarm, Pliny N. H. 3 § 10
instito Romam Albulae aquae volenter
molestutur erelidae. Thermac were built
on them, and the waters are still used
for medical purposes in the same way.
The sulphurous lakes drain into the
Anio by a small stream which is some-
times called Albulus, see Stat. Silv. 1,
3, 75 illic sulphuros capit Albulus merg
ere crines.

sola, 'a bathing tub,' see Strabo L. c.
'sulphureus.' Pliny [N. H. 33 § 153]
speaks of sola argentois among the
luxuries of some women. Festus s. v.
sola: alvei quoque lavandi gratia insti-
tutis, qua singuli descendunt, sola dicun
tur, qua e solendo potius dicta videntur,
quam a sola.

alternis, 'alternately.' Common in
poetry (especially Lucretius), and in
prose from Livy onwards, but not so
used in Cicero.

83. exercitationes campestres. The
exercises on the Campus Martius de-
tailed by Horace Odes 1, 8. Cp. Ovid
Tr. 3, 12, 19

uisus usque nunc est, levibus nunc ludis
atur armis,
nunc pila, nunc celeri volviunt orbe
trochus;
nunc, ubi persusa est oleo labente,
tenuitas
desatis artus Virgo tinxit aqua.
Strabo 5, 3, 8 et iber to megatho to
pylos athenais aum aum kai iber roumato-
phous kai to xlytem. In sthenous
ofhros to toea kai hyle xo mela kai
kreyt kai poliogora gynemagontos.
post civilia bella omisit et ad pilam primo folliculumque
transit, mox nihil aliud quam vectabatur et deambulabat, ita ut in extremis spatii subsultim decurseret, segestria vel lodicula involutus. Animi laxandi causa modo piscabatur hamo, modo talis aut ocellatis nuclei busque ludebat cum pueris minutis, quos facie et garrulitate amabilis undique conquirebat, praecipe Mauros et Syros. Nam pumilos atque distortos et omnis generis eiusdem, ut ludibria naturae malique ominis abhorrebat.

Eloquentiam studiabat liberalia ab aetate prima et cupide et laboriosissime exercuit. Mutinensi bello in tanta molestia et legisse et scrississe et declamasse cotidie traditam. Nam deinceps neque in senatu

pilam...follliculum. Mart. 14. 45—47. Becker’s Gallus, p. 308 sq. The large inflated ball (follis) is said to have been introduced by a gymnast for Pompey, see Athenaeus 14 v. The word pilis includes all sorts of balls, and the games were played either (1) by simply throwing and catching the balls under various conditions; or (2) by throwing the ball against a wall and striking it back like our Fives [expulsus ludere, Noninis p. 104]. The game of folli was like football, only that the hand is used instead of the foot, see Rich. Comp. x. v. Marq. 15. p. 516.

deambulabat, ‘he took walks.’ The compound verb is generally used when the notion is not merely of walking as opposed to sitting, running etc., but of walking for exercise. See Terence, Hest. 88 abs deambulabat. Cic. de leg. v. 14 cum satis deambulatum erit quiescens, cp. de Or. 3. 2 256. But Piny. Ep. 3. 1 § 4 mane lectulo continet, hora secunda calcose poscit, ambulat mitis passuum tria.

segestria, a carriage rug. Varro L.L. 5 § 166 qui lectiam involvesset, quod foro stramenta evertat, segestriam appellabant. lodicula is much the same. It was made of wool [Mart. 14, 152] and was used as a coverlet for a bed [Idv. 6, 195; 7, 60], or as a rug to lie upon [Petron. 20].

talis, see on c. 71. ocellatis seem to be some sort of marbles of variegated stone or agate. Varro ap. Nom. 2. v. margaritam: altera exorat patrem libram ocelatorum...altera virum semidiam margaritarum. Some shells

picked up by Caligula on the shore were called nympharum lumina, from similar marks I suppose, Aurel. Vict. Caes. 3.

nuclibusque. Some of the games played by children with nuts are described in [Ov.] Nux 73—86, such as splitting them with a blow of the hand, guessing odd or even number, rolling them down a sloping board into their proper receptacles, and others. Thus nuclus relictus is an expression for giving up childish things, Mart. 5, 81; Pers. 1. 10. See p. 136.

Syros. On the number of Syrians in Rome, see Idv. 3, 65 tam pridem Syrus in Tiberim deficiit orenter.

pumilos, see on c. 42. p. 96. distortos, often artificially. Longia. de suab. 44 § 5 10 νύκτις ὁδή...τὰ γλωσσάκια ἐν οὐκ ὃν τούτο, καλλίστα χρή νἀς ἑκάρηται, αὐτὸ μόνον καθεὶς τὰς ἔγκεκλημένας τὰς πρόπορες, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνεργὸς διὰ τὸν προσκεκιμένον ται ἐνέπαυ αὐτὸν...quoted by Mayor on Idv. 8, 32. For the form pumilus see Stat. Silv. 1. 6, 64 casuare que vagis gravis rapinis Mirandum pumilos forisciores.

eloquentiam...exercuit, cp. Suet. de Khat. 1 declamandi consuetudinem... Augustus ne Mutinensi guidom bello omisit. See also p. 16 notes. Augustus is recorded to have delivered declamations on his grandmother Julia in B.C. 51 [c. 8]; on Marcellus B.C. 23 [Dio 53, 30]; on Agrippa B.C. 12 [Dio 54, 28]; on Octavia B.C. 11 [c. 61]; on Drusus B.C. 8 [Suet. Claud. 1].

Mutinensi bello, c. 9, p. 18.
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neque apud populum neque apud milites locutus est unquam nisi meditata et composita oratione, quamvis non defeceretur ad subitas extemporali facultate. Ac ne periculum memoriae adiret aut in ediscendo tempus absumeret, instituit recitare omnia. Sermones quoque cum singulis atque etiam cum Livia sua graviores nonnisi scriptos et e libello habebat, ne plus minusve loqueretur ex tempore. Pronuntiabat dulci et proprio quodam oris sono, dabatque assidue phonasco operam; sed nonnumquam, infirmatis fauces, praesignis voce ad populum concionatus est.

Multa variis generis prosa oratione compositi, ex quibus nonnulla in coetu familiarium velut in auditorio recitavit, sicut Rescripta Bruto de Catone, quae volumina cum iam senior ex magna parte legisset, fatigatus Tiberio tradidit perlegenda; item Hortationes ad

non dixerat...facultate, 'he was at no loss for ability.' For the meaning of this passive or middle, cp. Cic. Cluent. § 164, mulier absconsat studia, consilio et ratione deficerit. Ovid, Heroid. 5. 150 deficior prudens artis ab arte mae; id. F. 3. 873 quod sibi defecit silis tali set opem. Of the style of Augustus, Tac. Ann. 13. 3 Augusto prompta et profundaque quaeque disceriptae principem incepuntia fuit.

sermones, 'discourses,' important discourses. Hence Dio may probably have had some written authority both for the elaborate report of his conversations with Livia on the proper treatment of conspirators [55. 15—21], as well as for the discourses of Agrippa and Maecenas, which probably were presented in the form of state papers [lib. 53].

Tac. Ann. 4. 39 Seiunus...composit ad Caesarem castellam; moris gregis tum erat quamquam praestantem scripto adire, phonasco, 'teacher of declamation,' 'trainer of the voice.' Suet. Ner. 25 neque quicquam servis lacone egere, nisi adstante phonasco qui merenter parceret arteriis ac sudarium ad os applicaret. Quint. 11. 3 § 12 communit et pho

nascit et orationibus necessaria exercitatio.

infirmatis fauces, 'from weakness of the throat.' Cic. 3 Phil. 8 63 in suis fauces obscuravit. Dio 54. 25 σωματικῶ...τὰ βουλευθήραν αὖτω εἶδον ὅτι ἀνάφηκαν...praesignis voce. So Nero to preserve his voice neque milites unquam nisi aequò aut aliis verba pronuntiante appellaret [Suet. Ner. 24].

85. In coetu familiarium, Hor. S. 1. 4. 73 non rectō cuiqueam nisi amici, idque coactus. auditorio, a room built or hired for recitations, Tac. Or. 9 domum mutuatur et auditorium extrait et subtilia conduct et libellis dispersit. Iuv. 1. 12; 7. 40. Though more public places were also used. See Mayor on Iuv. 3. 9.

Rescripta Bruto de Catone. Though Cato Uticensis never exercised a practical influence equal to that of other leaders at the end of the republic, his character for probity and consistency was so high that the Caesarean party were exceedingly anxious to prove him to have been politically wrong and impracticable. A paper war therefore had long gone on over him. Cicero composed a laudatio of him, which Iulius Caesar with the assistance of Hirtius answered [Cic. Att. 12. 42; 12. 40; 12. 44—5; 13. 50—1; Topic. 95. 94; Pliney, Ep. 3. 15; Galli. 3. 161; 13. 16; Plut. Cic. 39; Caes. 39, 54]. Another laudatio was composed by M. Fadius Gallus, Cos. in B.C. 45 [Cic. ad fam. 7. 24], and another by Munatius [Plut. Cat. 37]. M. Brutus, who was his nephew, published his in B.C. 45, which Cicero criticizes as giving an inexact account of the debate in the Senate as to the Catilinarian conspirators [ad Att. 12. 21; cp. 13. 46].
philosophiam, et aliqua De vita sua, quam tredecim libros Cantabriico tenus bello nec ultra exposuit. Poetica summaritam attigit. Unus liber extat, scriptus ab eo hexametris versibus, cuius et argumentum et titulus est Sicilia; extat alter aeque modicus Epigrammatum, quae fere temporis balinei meditabatur. Nam tragodiae magni impetu exorsus, non succedenti stilo, abolevit quaerentibusque amicis, quidnam Aiax ageret, respondit, Aiacem suum in spongiam incubuisse.

86

Genus eloquenti secutus est elegans et temperatus. Style of oratory.

de vita sua. These unfinished memoirs are quoted by Suetonius frequently, see Jul. 55; Aug. cc. 3, 27, 43, 63, 74, 86; de Gramm. 16; Plutarch, Bruttus 27, 41; compar. Domost. et Cic. 3 of the ex turpe, 'nr jinco amnor-

Sonia Digest 49, 24, 1 (see p. 52). Suidas 6. v. 'n. demostrotos Oikizei*; Eroux pant t.t. u. in blu. kai tov praveXo bvbda ei/ kai txeXovon Aivain va kai AicXOV. Collections of his letters also once existed. See Suet. vita Horatii; Macro. Sat. 2, 4, 12; Seneca, Dialog. 10, 4 § 31; Quintil. 1, 6, 10; supra cc. 7, 69, 71, 76, 86; Claud. 4; Tac. dial. 13; Servius ad Verg. Aen. 8, 530. Tiberius [c. 61], Claudius [c. 41], Hadrian [Spart. 16] and Severus [Spart. 18] all wrote memoirs of their lives; and this had been prevalent in a previous generation. Q. Catulus, Sulla, P. Rutinus Rufus had done so, and Tacitus [Agric. 1] says: 'At praeque suam ipse vitam narravit sed causam putius morum, quam avunculorum arbitrati sunt.' Cantabriico tenus bello, see c. 20, p. 46.

poetica summaritam, 'slightly,' 'superficially.' Tib. 61 commentarias, quem de vita sua summaritam brevi terque composuit. One epigram is preserved by Martian. 11, 20.

tragodiae. Suidas 1. c. mentions two tragedies, Ajax and Achilles. succedenti, cp. Cal. 53 colosc...accusatores defensionisque mediandi et, praeut stilus ceterar, etc.

quaerentibus amicis. Macrobius [Sat. 2, 4, 2] gives the name of the friend, L. Varsiis, himself an author of tragedies.

in spongiam, cp. Mart. 4, 10 curre sed instructes: constituere Punicum librum Spong: numeribus convenit illa mei. Non possunt nostros multa, Faustinus, literas Emendatur icos: una litera potest. 86. incipient...reconditorum. Of the affections of language and style which were coming into fashion, see Sen. Ep. 114 § 10 cum desideret animus fastidium quae ex more sunt et illi pro verditi solita sunt, etiam in oratione quod novum est quasit et modo antiqua verba et exoda revocat ac profert, modo fugit et ignota ac defletit, modo, id quod numer incredibil, pro cultu habetur auctor translatio et frequens. See also Pemius 1, 80-106. Quintil. 3, 9 § 20 sermo rectus et secundum naturam medium est nihil habere ex ingenio inductum; illa vero, quae ubiquique deflexa sunt, tantumque exquisitiora mirarum. Cp. Pliny, Ep. 3, 18, 10.

sententiis incipientis atque concinnitate, a hendiadys for s. incipiens concinnitate, 'the vanity of an artificial style' (arrangement). Cicero uses concinnitae (1) of words in a good sense, Orat. § 137 forma ipsa concinnitissique verborum conicit in cinerum. (2) § 81 coloscata verba haec aut ornatum, si aliquid concinnitatis efficac et verba mutatis non maneat manente sententia. In a bad sense of affectation, Brutt. § 417 at quid est tam fraterm tam minusum, tam in ipsa, quam tamen consequitur, concinnitate puertu? id. Orat. § 84 illa quidem fugienda sunt... parum peribas relata et similibi conclusion et uterque adantia et immutatio literae quasi quantitate veniunt, ne elaborata concinnitae et goodtani exsensus detecta
tions manifesto deprehensione apparet. (2) Of sententiae, Brutt. § 325 sententias non tam gravos et severos quam concinns et venistas. de Clar. Or. § 371
86.] *DIVUS AUGUSTUS.*

nitate et *reconditorum verborum*, ut ipse dicit, *fetoribus*; praecipuamque curam duxit, sensum animi quam apertissime exprimere. Quod quo facilius efficeret aut necubi lectorem vel auditorem obturbaret ac moraretur, neque praepositiones ursibus addere neque coniunctiones saepius iterare dubitavit, quae detractae afferunt aliquid obscuritatis, etsi gratiam augent. Cacozeios et antiquarios, ut diverso genere vitiosos, pari fastidio sprevit, exagitabantque nonnumquam; in primis Maecenatem suum, cuius *myrobrechis*, ut ait, *cincinnoes* usque quaque persequitur et imitando per iucum irritet. Sed nec Tiberio parcit et exoletas interdum et reconditas voces acupanti. M. quidem Antonium ut insanum increpat, quasi ea scribentem, quae arentur potius homines quam intelle-gant; deinde judens malum et inconstans in eligendo genere dicendi ingenium eius, addit haec: *Tuque dubitas, Cimberne Annius an Veranisi Flaccus imitandi sint tibi, ita ut verbis,  

concinnas acutissime sententiae. It may refer therefore to (1) artificial arrangement, (2) elaborate selection of words, (3) a sententious style.

*reconditorum verborum fetoribus*, "the affectation of using far-fetched words." This metaphorical usage of *fetor* is not elsewhere found. Augustus meant to use a strong term of the style elsewhere indicated by the words *putidum* and *putidus*.

*praecepium...duxit*, "made it his chief care," cp. c. 41 rationem duxit.

*praepositiones ursibus*. Cicero [ad Att. 6, 9 § 1] wrote in Piraeum cum exis-

*sem*. He was blamed for this, and acknowledged that he should have written Piraeum, but maintained that in was correct, non enim hoc ut oppido praep-

ponuit sed ut docet [ad Att. 10].

*caecozeios*, "pedants," "affected writers," Quint. 8, 3 § 38 *caecum vero est quod  
dicitur aliter quam se natural habitat et quam  
opertet et quam sat est."

*antiquarios*, "fond of archaic forms," Quintilian [ii. c. §§ 24—30] approves of this to a certain extent, sed intemem modo, nec ex ultimis tenere repetenda. Sallust was the chief offender in this respect [§ 29].

*exagitabat*, "violently attacked." Caes-

*ar, B. civ. 1, 2* i. homines convicis consultis  
corrupti exagitabantur. Of criticism, Cic.  
Orat. § 37 cum eliam Demosthenes ex-  

agitetur ut putidum.

*Maecenatem...myrobrechis* (μυροβρέ-

χείς) *cincinnoes*. The luxurious and effe-

minate habits of Maecenas were no-

tious. See Juv. 1, 66 (with Mayor’s note);  
12, 39: Vell. Pat. 2, 88 § 2 *ut ac mollis-

lus pacem ultra feminam fluens*. The  
scented curls" are used as an emblem  
of his affected style, cp. Tac. Orat. 26  
malem hercule Gai Gracchi impetum aut  
Luci Crassi maturitatem quam calamitas-

tes Maecenatis aut inanimus Gallienis.  
imitando. See Macr. Sat. 2, 4, 12  
Augustus quia Maecenatem suum no-

verat stilum que molti et dissoluto talem  
se in epistulis quas ad eum scribent sae-

pius exhibebat...  
‘vale mi eburnum Me-

dullias, ebor ex Etruria, iaurer Arve-

tinum, adamas Superius, Tiberinum  
margaritum, Cliniorum smaragdo,  
iapii Ignornorum, herulre Perscorae,  
Carbuncule Hadrieae.’

*Antonium...intelligent*. Cicero fre-

quently laughs at Antony’s style. See  
2 Phil. 3 § 95: 3 § 95: 3 §§ 21—2: 13  
§ 43: Plat. *Ath. 3* *χρισμόν ἐν τῷ καλλι-

στῶ χρᾶν τῶν Μέγαρων, ἀπο-

θύται μελατά καὶ ἔκλεισι τοῦ χρῶνος,  
ἀλλ’ ἐκ τούτων ὁμοῦτως πρὸς τῶν μικ-

ρῶν αὐτοῦ κομφόρας καὶ φρυγανίας υποτ., καὶ  
κεράν ἱμακωστος καὶ φλοιωτιας ἀνω-

μάκην μεστὸς.* See p. 124.

*Cimberne Annius*. C. Annius Cimmerius was a partisan of Antony’s in B.C. 44—
quae Crispus Sallustius excerpit ex Originibus Catonis, utaris?

an potius Asiaticorum oratorum inani sententiae verborum volubilias in nostrum sermonem transferenda?

Et quadam epistola Agrippinæ neptis ingenium conlaudans, Sed opus est, inquit, dare te operam, ne moleste scribas et loquaris.

Cotidiano sermone quaedam frequentius et notabiliter usurpasse eum, litterae ipsius autographae ostentant,
in quibus identidem, cum aliquos numquam solu-

3, and as such is attacked by Cicero and accused of having murdered his brother [Phil. 11 § 14 C. Annium Citrum Lycidic filium, Lycidicum ipsum Graeco verba, quoniam omnia iura dissolvit: nisi forte iure Germanum Cimber acci-
dit. Cf. id. 13 § 30; ad Att. 5, 13]. Quintilian [8, 3, 38] quotes an epigram

of Vergil, referring to this charge, and his inflated style of oratory:

Corinthis incitam velle verbis Thucydides Britannis, Atticæ fereb, Tum Gallicum, min, al, spinæ male illi, ita omnia in verba miscuit fratri.

Cimber hic fuit, a quo fratrem necatum haec Ciceronis dicte notatum est, 'Germanum Cimber accidit.'

Crispus Sallustius... ex Originibus.

Seutonius [de Gram. 10] quotes Pollio as saying that Aetius antiquus verba et

figuras solutum esse colligere Sallustio... videisque maxime obscuritatem Sallustii et audaciam in translationibus. Ib. 15

Lenaeus calls Sallust priscorum Catonisque

verborum ineruditionem furem. Quintil. [8, 3, 20] quotes an epigram:

Et verba antiqui multum furatos Carri,

Crisp., Jugurthinae conditor historiæ.

Fronto calls him frequentem iatatorum Catonis. Seneca Ep. 114 § 17 Sallustii vigente amplitudine senitentiae et verba ante expectationem cadentia et obscura brevitasque pateant. For an able dis-
cussion of Sallust's archaisms, sometimes perhaps derived from colloquial Latin surviving from ancient writers, see Intro-
duction to Sallust Cat. by A. M. Cook. For the Origins of Cato see Fragments

erved neglect of Cato's Originæ, but


fisica; ob quam rem omnes Origines visualis appellasse. In quarto aliquem belicum Panion em primam, in quinto secondum...relipque bella partii modo perseveratius unque ad prætractam Serii Galbae (8-C. 151—150).

Asiaticorum. Of the distinction in

point of style between the Attici and

Asiati (orators in the Greek cities of Asia Minor), see Quint. 12, 10 §§ 1, 16—20.

Attici limani quidam et emuncti nihil inane aut redundans forensant, Asiana gens tumidior alioqui atque instancior viniore etiam dicenti gloria infasta est.

A kind of intermediate style was that of the Rhodian School. Id. § 18. Cicero himself was accused by some of the failus of the Asiatic School, id. § 13; and had attended Rhetors both in Asia and Rhodes, see Plut. Cic. 41 while Antony adopted this style openly, see p. 153. Cicero distinguishes two genera

Asiaticæ dictiæ, quorum unum sunt sententiosum et argutum...; the other had

admirabilis orationis cursus, orantia sententiarum concinnitias non erat, Brut. § 335. But it had lost omne illam suabiliatem Atticæ dictioiæ. Hinc

Asiatici oratones non contemnendi quidem nec celebritate nec copia, sed parum presti et nimis redundantes. Id. § 51. They also pitched their voices too high, id. Brut. § 35 cum vero inclinata altemae tique voce maius asiatico canere coepisset, quis euem forret? See Mayor on fav. 3, 73-

molestæ, so as to offend against good
taste, 'with affectation.' Catull. 43, 8 minimo et molestae ridentem, 'with a studied and affected smile.'

Agrippinae neptis, daughter of Julia

and Agrippa, and wife of Germanicus.

c. 64.

autographæ, autographs of Au-

gustus may well have been preserved.
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87. [AD Kal. Graecas soluturos ait; et cum hortatur ferenda esse praessentia, qualiamque sint, contenti simus hoc Catone; et ad exprimendam festinatae rei velocitatem, celerius quam asparagi cocturis; ponit assidue et pro stulto bacchum, et pro pullo pulleiaecum, et pro cerrito vacerrosum, et vapido se habere pro male, et betizare pro languere, quod vulgo lachanizare dicitur; item simus pro sumus, et domos genitivo casu singulari pro domus. Nec umquam alter haec duo, ne quis mendam magis quam con-

Notavi et in chirographo eius illa praecipue: non dividit verba nec ab extrema parte versuum abundantis litteras in alterum transfert, sed ibidem statim ship.

in the Library of the Palatine, but Quintilian [1, 7, § 22] is more cautious, in epistula Augusti, quas sua manus scriptis aut emendavit.

ad Kal. Graecas. This expression for 'never,' though it has survived in common language, does not appear to occur elsewhere. Interest was due on the tristes Kalendars. [Hor. Sat. 1, 3, 8.]

praesentia...Catone. In his graver years Augustus naturally came to look on loyalty to the existing state of things as the mark of a good citizen. Maccob. Sat. 2, 4, 18 Strabone in adulationem Caesaris male existinante de pericicia Catonis, ait, 'siquis praesentem statum civitatis commissarii non voluit et civis et vir bonus est.' But here the point of the emperor's phrase seems to be 'don't expect too much,'—using Cato as the synonym for the best attainable, as Vater. Max. 2, 10, 8 quae guidem effect ad quibus sanctum et egregium cives significare voluit, sub nomine Catonis desinit. See Iuv. 2, 40.

bacchus seems connected with παχύς, which Hesychius explains by παχύς, cf. Suidas παχύς παχύς. Others have suggested bacchum from βάκχος 'stupid' or 'lazy,' Plato Gorg. 488 b. But cp. the Italian bacchelone and baciccio 'dolt.'

et pro pullo pulleiaecum, 'and for dark he wrote darkish(?).' No satisfactory explanation of the last word can be given. It looks like some local dialect form. The MSS. mostly have bacchum apud pulium pulleiaecum; but the change is not great between &p [= et pro] and ap [= apud].

cerrito, 'insane,' Hor. S. 3, 3, 78.

The word is generally derived from cerebrum as though it were cerebritus. But it seems better to take it from Ceres, comparing νυμφάδας, as though contracted from Cерритус.

vacerrosum from vaceramma stipes 'a stock,' 'a dolt,' Liv. Andr. fr. 7 [Ribbeck] recorde et malefica vacerra. See Festus s. v.

vapido, cp. Pers. 5, 117 vapido sub pectore, 'in your disordered breast.' It is a metaphor from flat stale wine, id. 6, 117 et signum in vapido nascet est. lagena. Both betizare [bēta 'a vegetable'] and lachanizare [laχαννα[verb] 'to gather vegetables'] are unknown to literature. We may assume from this passage that they were used colloquially.

simus pro sumus. Other purists such as Messala, Brutus, Agrippa, used the same form. Mar. Victor. 9, 5k.

C. I. L. 9, 3473: 14. Priscian 1, 6 et a quando mediae sunt inter se zonis videntur confundere, cp. el-πι, el-η si-em, Ital. siamo. See Lindsay’s Latin Language p. 29.

domos for domi may perhaps have arisen from the ancient genitive in -uos [cp. senatus, Scutum de Bacch., Bruns p. 151]. There was an old controversy as to the genitive and dative of the fourth declension, see Aul. Gell. 4, 16, Ramsay, Latin Language pp. 380 and 384.

versus, of a 'line' in writing, Cic. Att. 4, 16 primus versus episstatilis, id. de Or. r 36 Deesthenes multos versus uno spiritu pronunciabat. Plin. Ep. 3, 5 decem amplius versus hac tua interpretatione perdidiimus.
88 subicit circumductique. Orthographiam, id est formulam rationemque scribendi a grammaticis institutam, non adeo custodit ac videtur eorum potius sequi opinionem, qui perinde scribendum ac loquamur existimant. Nam quod saepe non litteras modo sed syllabas aut permutat aut praeterit, communis hominum error est. Nec ego id notarem, nisi mihi mirum videretur tradidisse ali-quos, legato eum consulari successorem dedisse ut rudi et indocto, cuius manu īxī pro īpsi scriptum animadverterit. Quotiens autem per notas scribit, B pro A, C pro B ac deinceps eadem ratione sequentis litteras ponit; pro X autem duplex A.

89 Ne Graecarum quidem disciplinarum leviore studio tenebatur. In quibus et īpsi praestabat largiter, magistra dicendi usus Apollodoro Pergameno, quem iam grandem natu Apolloniām quoque secum ab urbe iuvenis adhuc eduxerat, deinde eruditione etiam varia repletus per Arei philosophi filiorumque eius Dionysi et Nicanoris contubernium; non tamen ut aut loqueter expedire aut componere aliquod auderet; nam et

circumduct, ‘draw a loop round.’

88. per notas, ‘in cypher,’ Jul. 56, cp. Aut. Gell. 17, 9 §§ 1—5 libri sunt epistularum C. Caesari ad C. Oppium et Balbum Cornelium, qui rébus eius absens curabant. In his epistulis quiuadam in locis inventuntur literae singulares sine congruibus syllabaris, quas tu potes positis inconditae, nam verba ex his litteris confici nulla possint. Erau autem convenit urbi clandestinum de commutando situ literarum, ut in scripto quidem alias alias locum et nomen teneat, sed in legendo locum cuique suis et postest recessurus. Dio 51, 3, ἠπετελεῖ δὲ καὶ εἰκόνας τοῦ ἄλλου φίλου, ὡς ὁ τοῦ δεότω ἀποφθέγματι φίλος ἔργωσα, τὸ δεότην δὲ στοιχεῖον τοῦ τῆς μάθησις προφανείαν ἄριστον ἀναγγέλλω. Εἰς τοῦ βιβλίου ζωήν τον. This should be distinguished from Stenography in which certain notae were used for words. Cíc. Att. 13, 32; Flut. Cat. Min. 3; supr. c. 64. Weichert, August. fr. pp. 146—7.

89. Apollodoro Pergameno. Apollodorus of Pergamum was the author of a system of rhetoric and founder of a sect or school called after his name, opposed to that of Theodorus Gadareus, Strabo 13, 4, 3 μᾶλλον δὲ ἐξῆκε τῶν Ἀπολλόλων ὁ τοῦ Καῖσαρος φίλος τοῦ Ζεύπατος, διάδοχου τῶν λόγων γεγονός. Quint. 3, 1, 17 Apollodorus Pergamensis qui praeccepit Apolloniām Caesari Augusti fuit... Sed Apollodori praecipua magis ex discipulis cognosce... nam īxīus solus videntur Ars sīda ad Matiliam, quia ceteras missa ad Domitiām epistulā non agnoscit, cp. id. 2, 11 § 2; Tacit. de Orat. 19 calls the books of Hermogoras and Apollodoros Aristoteis. Apolloniam, see c. 8, p. 16.

Arei. For Areus of Alexandria see Dio 51, 16. Augustus spares the Alexandrians partly on account of Areus τῶν τοῦ πολίτην ὃ τοῦ φιλοσοφεῖτι τε καὶ σωθήστι οἱ καθηκοτοί. It was he who advised against sparing Caesarion [Plut. Ant. 81]. He is mentioned by Quintilian with approval [1, 15, 36; 3, 1, 15]; and his grandson Catullus, s. of Nicanor, is identified by some with the author of the epigram in praise of the Caesars, C. I. G. 4923. He wrote a consolatio to Livia on the death of Drusus [Senec. Dial. 6, 4—6]. Nicolas mentions also another teacher of Augustus, Alexander of Pergamus [c. 17]. Zonaras [10, 38] mentions Athenodorus of Tarsus.
si quid res exigeret, Latine formabat vertendumque alii dabat. Sed plane poematum quoque non imperitus, delectabatur etiam comedia veteri et saepe cam exhibuit spectaculis publicis. In evolvendis utriusque linguae auctoribus nihil aequi sectabatur, quam praecepta et exempla publice vel privatis salubria, eaque ad verbum excerpta aut ad domesticos aut ad exercitium provinciarum rectores aut ad urbis magistratus plerumque mittebat, prout quique monitio indigenter. Etiam libros totos et senatui recitavit et populo notos per editum saepe fecit, ut orationes Q. Metelli de prope augenda et Rutuli de modo aedificiorum, quo magis persuaderet utramque rem non ab se primo animadversam, sed antiquis iam tunc curae fuisse.

Ingenia saeculi sui omnibus modis fovit; recitantis et

vertendumque, ‘to be translated into Greek.’ Yet Dio [21, 16] represents him as addressing the Alexandrians ὄφελος ἰδίων ὀνοματερῆς ἀνέλυσε. poema, i.e. Greek poetry. comedia veteri, Hor. S. 1, 4. 1 Eupolos atque Cratinius Aristophanesque poetae. We do not hear elsewhere of the representations of the old Greek Comedy in the time of Augustus. But the representation of Graeci tibi occasionally took place, Cicero ad Att. 16, 5; fam. 7, 1, 3. excerpta. Making selections from books was a common practice. Plin. Ep. 3, 9 § 10 ille legabant, adnotationem excerptopatique; nihil enim legit quod non excerptur. Pliny himself did the same, e.g. with Livy, passo librum Titi Livii et quaeque per omnia lego atque etiam, ut coeperamus, excerpto, Ep. 6, 20, 5. Thus Brutus the night before the battle of Pharsalia was engaged in his tent sordine et libellone; Brut. 4. To this habit we owe the collections of Photius and Porphyrogenitus.

orationes Q. Metelli. Livy Ep. 59 Q. Metelli censore consulto egerentur omnes duces suares liberorum crassorum causa. Exstat oratio eius, quam Augustus, cum de mortuolis ordinibus apererat, velut in haece tempora scriptam in Senatu recitavit. According to Aulus Gellius [1, 6, 1—2] this was Metellus Numidicus, Cos. b.c. 109, Censor 102. But according to Livy it was Q. Catullus Metellus Macedonicus, Cos. b.c. 143, Censor b.c. 131. Gellius preserves a few sentences of the speech...

Rutuli de modo aedificiorum. P. Rutulius Rufus was Cons. in b.c. 105, when this speech was probably delivered. He was a man of great integrity, but was ruined by a conspiracy of the equestrian publicani, because as legatus in Asia (b.c. 95) he had resisted the extortions of the tax-gatherers [Livy Ep. 70; Vell. 2, 13]. For his style of oratory, which was painstaking but not brilliant, see Cicero Brut. § 110 (Scaulus et Rutulus) etiamis maximis ingenii non esent, probabilès tamen industria. He left a biography of himself (Tac. Agric. 1). The measure seems to have concerned the height of the houses, which was dangerous. See Liv. 3, 269; Cic. de leg. agr. 2 § 96 Romam...censulis substantam et inspexam non optimis viis, angustissimis semitis, and other passages quoted by Mayor. The regulation of Augustus was that houses were not to exceed 70 feet, Strabo 5, 3, 7 πάντα δὲ τὰ συνεπώ...τα τὰ γῆς τῶν κατοικοδομίων καθότως, καὶ ενδοχείως εἰσόμενοι ἐξοικεῖσθαι τὰ πάντα τις οὗτος τίς δυνατος. Nero repeated the regulation [Tac. Ann. 15, 43]. ingenia, for men of genius cp. Veep. 17 ingenia et artes vel maxime forti. Tac. Agr. 2 monumenta clarissimorum ingeniorum. Suetonius no doubt means
benigne et patienter auduit, nec tantum carmina et historias, sed et orationes et dialogos. Componi tamen aliquid de se nisi et serio et a praestantissimis, offendebat admonentatque praetores, ne paterentur nomen suum commissionibus obsoleferi.

90 Circa religiones talem accepimus. Tonitra et fulgura paulo infirmius expavescet, ut semper et ubique pellem vituli marini circumferret pro remedio, atque ad omnem maioris tempestatis suspicione in ad- ditionem et concamaratum locum se recipere, consternatus olim per nocturnum iter transcurru fulgurus, ut praedaiximus.

91 Somnia neque sua neque aliena de se neglegetab. Philippensi acie quamvis statuisset non egredi tabernaculo propter valitudinem, egressus est tamen amici somnio
to compare the practice of Augustus with that of Nero and Domitian.

redactas. Of this practice the fullest illustration is given in Mayor's monumental note to Iuv. 3, 9. All the various kinds of recitation here mentioned,—orations, history, dramatic and lyric poetry,—are enumerated by Pliny, Ep. 7, 17.

nisi...a praestantissimus. Hence no doubt Horace's attention from giving possible offence [Od. 1, 6, 10] mellissi-que lyre Musa potens vetae Laudes egregii Caesaris et tuas Culpae detere ingenii.

commisionibus, 'displays,' 'speeches for prizes' (fr. 894, 3). Caligula said of Seneca [c. 53] commisiones moras com- penderet. The term, drawn from the contests in the games, was applied to declamations made for display or for prizes, and not for a practical object, like the Greek λόγος πανογραμμος. Cfr. Suet. vit. Iuv. Enim. Et tamen dis ne medico quidem auditorio guidque committere est suus. Pliny Panegyr. 54 cum laudes Imperato- rum ludis etiam et commisionibus celebravertur, saltarentur, et in omne ludibrium effeminati sociis, modis, gentibus fran- gendarunt. 'For such contests of oratory see the accounts of those at Lugdunum, Calig. 20, Iuv. 1, 44. obsoletari, 'to be discredited.' Cic.

2 Phil. § 105 in homine turpissimo obsoletabant insignia dignitatis.

90 circa: for this post-Augustan use see Roby L. G. § 1867, religiones, 'superstitious feelings.'

tonitra. This was perhaps physical fear as well as superstition. Tiberius (though holding the Epicurean view of the gods) tonitra tamen supra modum expavescet, et turbatioce caele nuncutam non corviam lauream capite gestavit, quod fulmine afflari negatur id genus frondis [c. 69]. Caligula [c. 51] is said ad mi- nima tonitra et fulgura convers, caput obsoletum, ad vero maiora prorsum se e orto sub lectumque condere.


in abdittum, recipere. Seneca Nat. Q. 6, 2 § 6 quid enim dementius quam ad tonitra succidere et sub terram cor- repere fulminum metu?

praediximus, c. 19. This is a curious use of praece, and some MSS. give a variant supra diximus.

91 Philippensi, c. 13. p. 36 n. Velleius [7, 70] says that it was his physician Artorius who urged him to leave the camp. See also Orsonis 6, 18, 15. An inscription at Verona records the respect of his fellow-countrymen of Smyrna for Artorius. C. I. G. 3285, Μέρκος Ἀρτόρων Ἀρκανδρίδα, θεο
monitus; cessitque res prospere, quando captis castris lecta
eius, quasi ibi cubans remansisset, concursus hostium con-
fossa atque lacerata est. Ipsa per omne ver plurima et
formidulosissima et vana et irrita videbat, reliquo tempore
rariora et minus vana. Cum dedicatam in Capitolio aedem
Tonanti Iovi assidue frequenter, somniavit, quiri Capito-
linum Iovem cultores sibi abduxi, sequi respondisse, Tonan-
tem pro ianitore ei appositum; ideoque mox tintinnabulis
fastigium aedis redimit, quod ea fere ianuis dependebant.
Ex nocturno visu etiam stipem quod annis die certo emendi-
cabat a populo, cavam manum asses porrigitentibus praebens.
Auspicia et omnia quaedam pro certissimis observabat: si
mane sibi calceus perperam ac sinister pro dextro Auspices
induceretur, ut dirum; si terra marive ingredi ente
se longinquam profectem forte rorasset, ut laetum maturi-
que et prosperi reditus. Sed et ostentis praecipue movebatur.
Enam inter iuncturas lapidum ante domum suam palmam
in compluvium deorum Penatium transcultit, utque coalesceret
magnopere curavit. Apud insulam Capreas veterimae
illicos demissos iam ad terram languentisque Ramos con-
valuisse adventu suo, adeo laetatus est, ut eas cum re publica

A confusion with the habit of Caligula,
ooxie et strenae incessante anno se
recepturam statique in vestibulo adeum
K. Ian. ad captandas stipas [Cal. 42].
It is very unlike the usual dignity and
respect of Augustus. cavam manum,
bent to receive the coins, cp. Arist.
Equit. 1083 buxale kólhy.
92. calceus perperam. See Pliny
N. H. 3 § 34 divus Augustus prodidit lae-
vom sibi calceum prae postore inductum
que die solitum militari prope officina
cest.
rorasset, ’drizzled.’ Varro L. L. 7,
58 rovaris dicti ab tore, qui bellum
committebant ante, ideo quod ante rorat
quam pluit.
palma, an omen of victory. Pliny
N. H. 17 § 244 simili modo Trajibus
palma in bini Caesaris dictatoris circa
bulla civilia eius: nec nam a Romanis in
Capitolio in capitale Iovis bello Persei
enata palm victoriis triumphantisque
Capreas, see c. 22.
permutaverit. Strabo 4, 5, 9 Neu-
tori a Sc et cauca (Capreas) karóchon,
Neapolitanorum permutaverit, Aenaria data. Observabat et dies quosdam, ne aut postridie nundinas quoquam proficisceretur, aut Nonis quadragesimae die inchoaret; nihil in hoc quidem aliud devitant, ut ad Tiberium scribit, quam ónômàtia nominis.

93 Peregrinarum caerimoniarum sicut veteres ac praecipue reverentissime coluit, ita ceteras contemptui habuit.

Foreign religions. Namque Athenis initiatum, cum postea Romae pro tribunali de privilegio sacerdotum Atticae Cereris cognosceret et quaedam secretiora proponeretur, dimissio consilio et corona circumstantium solus audit disceptantes. At contra non modo in peragranda Aegypto paulo deflectere ad visendum Apin supersedit, sed et Gaum nepotem, quod Iudaem praetervehens apud Hierosolyma non supplicasset, conlaudavit.

94 Et quoniam ad haec ventum est, non ab re fuerit subtextere, quae ei prius quam nasceretur et

Dio. 3 § 84. And the unlucky Hostilius Mancinus who, on embarking for Spain, heard a voice calling mane, mane, Mancine [Valer. 1, 6, 7]. So Laodamus is afraid to say anything as his husband starts [Or. Ep. 13, 86], substitit auspicii lingua timore mali.

93 Athenis initiatum, i.e. at Eleusis, in B.C. 31. Dio 51, 4 τά τε ἐν τῇ Ἐλευθερίᾳ καὶ τῶν τῶν διόλων ματαιὰς μετελάβει. For Augustus at Athens see C. I. C. 475.

ad visendum Apin. Dio 51, 16 καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης αἰετίας ὁδὸν τῷ Ἀπελλατίνῳ ἢδεινος λέγει θεὸς ἄλλο οὕτως ἐπὶ προσωπικοῖς εἰκόνασι. For the sacred bull kept to represent the god, see Herod. 2, 38, 152; 3, 28—39. Pliny N. H. 8, 184 Iovi in Aegypto etiam nōminis vice colitur: Apin vocant...non est fas eum certis vitis excedere annos, morumque in sacrandis fonte sancto, quaestur luctu alium quem substituant, et donec invenerint maerent dierais etiam capitulis. But see Rawlinson's note, Herod. vol. 2, p. 356, as to the burial-place of the Apis.

t supersedit, with infin., cp. Tit. 7 spectare omnino in publico cecis superadd. The conduct of Gaius may have been dictated by respect for the well-known feelings of the Jews as to the entrance of Gentiles into the Temple. Orosius [17, 3, 5] attributes it to contempt.
ipso natali die ac deinceps evenerint, quibus futura
magnitudo eius et perpetua felicitas sperari animad-
vertique posset.

Velitrise antiquitatis tacta de caelo parte muri, responsum est
eius oppidi civem quandoque rerum potiturum; qua fiducia
Veliterni et tunc statim et postea saepius paene ad exitium sui
cum populo Romano belligeraverant; sero tandem documentis
apparuit, ostentum illud Augusti potentialm portendisse.

Auctor est Iulius Marathus, ante paucos quam nascetur
mensibus prodigium Romae factum publice, quo de-
nuntiabatur, regem Populo Romano naturam par-
turire; senatum exterritum censuisse, ne quis illo
anno genitus educaretur; eos qui gravidas uxoribus haberent,
quod ad se quisque spem traheret, curasse ne senatus con-
sultum ad aerarium deferretur.

94. Velitris. See c. 1.

tacta...responsum est. An appeal
to an aruspex would be the natural
sequel to such a disaster, Obsequens
c. 118 Piram Sullam cum oppugnaret
unus mile eius aegerem ferens exani-
matus fulmine, aruspex respondit... For
the various prophesies founded on acci-
dents by lightning, see Seneca N. Q. 1,
49. Among other names given to fulgurum
is regalia, cum forum tangitur vel
continium aut principia urbis liberae
loci, quorum significatione regem Civitatis
ministrum. Iohann. Lyd. de Ostentis 51
dram di scortifigena... vel exolam
etiam deusque terrae et mores.

saepius...cum P. R. belligeraverunt.
The rebellions of the Veliterni are re-
corded by Livy, in B.C. 364 when they
assisted the Volscians [6, 13]; in B.C.
382 when they were joined by the
Praenestines [6, 22], the city being
stormed in B.C. 379 [6, 26]. But in
B.C. 375 we find them taking the
offensive, invading the Roman ager [6,
36], assaulting Tusculum, and in conse-
quence being again besieged by the
Romans [6, 37-8, 42]. In B.C. 358
another incursion into Roman territory
is recorded [7, 15], till at last in B.C.
337 by the Scimus de Latinita they were
severely dealt with, their walls thrown
down, their senators forced under penal-
ties to live beyond the Tiber, and fresh
colonists sent to occupy the lands of
which their Senators had been deprived,
quibus adscriptis speciem antiquae fre-
guentiae Velitriae recuperant [8, 14].

Iulius Marathus. See c. 79.

regem...parturire. That various
prophecies as to a king at Rome were
current seems certain. They had pre-
ceded the birth of Iulius according to
Suetonius [Serv. ad Verg. Aen. 6, 799].
They do not however seem to have
made much stir as early as B.C. 63. In
B.C. 45 it was reported that L. Aule-
rius Cotta (Cos. 66) intended to
propose that the title should be given
to Iulius [Cic. ad Att. 13, 44; de divin.
2 § 54]. But as this was grounded on
a real or supposed Sibylline verse, it
may have been common talk before.
It has been of course connected with
the Messianic hopes of the Jews, and
there is reason to believe that the
writings of the Septuagint were known
to some at least of those who composed
or circulated such verses at Rome. But
how far this or the 4th Elegy of
Vergil can be thus connected is an un-
solved problem.

ne...ad aerarium deferetur. The
Senatus-consultus were from early times
in the custody of the Consuls. In B.C.
446 Livy says these were ordered to be
deposited by the Aechiles in the temple
of Ceres [Liv. 5, 55]. Subsequently
however they were deposited in the
aerarium Saturni, and at some time (it
is not ascertained exactly when) this
formality became necessary for their
validity. Livy 39. 4; Cicero 5 Phil.
In Asclepiadis Mendetis Θεολογομανόν libris lego, Atiam, cum ad sollemne Apollinis sacrum media nocte venisset, posita in templu lectica, dum ceterae matronae dormirent, obdormisse; draconem repente irrepisse ad eam pauloque post egressum; illum expegerfactam quasi a concubitu mariti in purificasse se; et statim in corpore eius exutisse maculam velut picti draconis, nec potuisse unquam exigi, adeo ut mox publicis balineis perpetuo abstineri; Augustum natum mense decimo et ob hoc Apollinis filium existimatum. Eadem Atia prius quam pareret somniavit, intestina sua ferri ad sidera to explicarique per omnem terrarum et caeli ambitum. Somniavit et pater Octavius, utero Atiae iubari solis exortum.

Quo natus est die, cum de Catilinae coniuratione ageretur in curia et Octavius ob uxoris puerperium serius affluisset, nota ac vulgata res est P. Nigidium, comperta morae causa, 15

§ 12; 13 Phil. § 12; 13 Phil. § 19; Cat. § 4; Io. Ant. 14, 10 § 10 τοῦ θεολογομανοῦ συγκλητοῦ Τάδει Καλίφαρ ἐπὶ Καλίφαρ ἑκάτερα καὶ εἰς τοῦ παντὸς οὐκ ἔφθασεν ἀναγέφθηνα. Willems, in Stat. 11, p. 316.

Asclepiadis...Θεολογομανόν. Asclepiades of Mendes in Egypt is quoted by Athenaeus [3, 83 c] as the author of Λύσιον, a history of Egypt. Suidas, s.v. Βαρκαντως, says that he also wrote Ημεταρτος and a regular treatise (ψευδωτεια) ὡς δυσμενες γράφοιν περιλεξιστών τῶν θεολογικών ἀνασών τῶν γυμνώσων. The plan of this work, "a harmony of all religions" would account for his quoting supposed marvels in Italy.

For Mendes, "of Mendes," the capital of a nom of the Delta, see Herod. 2, 42, 61; Strabo 17, 1, 18 ἄνω τῶν Πέλα γε τῶν τούμαυς καὶ τῶν ἐκατέρων. The regular adjectival form would be Mendæaus (St. R. Med.) Suetonius has followed the analogy of such words as Μάγια (Μάγος).

Atiam. See c. 4. Dio [45, 1] attributes the story to Atia herself...ἀνάμνης ἁρπαγῆς ἐκ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιου σαύρων κακολέγομεν ὡς καταδραμένη κ.τ.λ. A similar story was current as to the birth of Scipio Africanus (Gell. 7, 6, 1).

media nocte. See on c. 78. But this night visit of the matrons to the temple would seem (if it did take place) rather connected with the healing powers of Apollo, like the visits to the temple of Asclepius described in Aristophanes

Plutus [653—734], and as still practised in various shrines in the Greek islands. quo natus... de Catilinae. We have no record of a debate on the Catiline conspiracy on the 23rd of September; but there had been many rumours concerning Catiline’s designs throughout the summer, and if, as there is some reason to think (in spite of much that has been said to the contrary), the elections were put off till about this time, there would be good reason for meetings of the Senate. The first of the well-known meetings (at which Cicero delivered the first Catilinarian speech) was not till the 7th of November. Dio (45, 1) telling the story does not mention the occasion of the meeting.

P. Nigidium. P. Nigidius Figulus was, according to Aulus Gellius [4, 9], the most learned Roman next to Varro, with whom he classes him as chief prop of learning of the age, though the obscurity of his subjects or style had caused him to fall into neglect [18, 14]. Gellius repeatedly quotes his works, the titles of some of which have come down to us, de animalibus [Metr. Sat. 3, 16, 7], de dis [id. 3, 4, 6], de cirtu [Gell. 16, 6], commentarii grammatici [id. 19, 14], de auguriis [id. 7, 6 § 10] and others. His titonique survives in a Greek version by Ioannes Lydus, and the fragments of his works have been collected by J. Ruijters. He was a Senator in B.C. 63, and one of those selected by Cicero to take the confessions of the
ut horam quoque partus acceperit, affirmasse dominum terrarum orbi natum. Octavio postea, cum per secreta Thraciae exercitum duceret, in Liberi patris luco barbara caerimonia de filio consulenti, idem affirmatum est a sacerdotibus, quod infuso super altaria mero tantum flammeae emicuisset, ut supergressa fastigium templi ad caelum usque ferretur, unique omnino Magno Alexandro apud easdem aras sacrificanti simile provenisset ostentum. Atque etiam sequenti statim nocte videre visus est filium mortali specie ampliorem, cum fulmine et sceptro exuvissque Iovis Optimi Maximi ac radiata corona, super laureatum currum, bis senis equis candore eximio trahentibus. Infans adhuc, ut scriptum apud C. Drusum extat, repositus vespere in cunas a nutricula

Catilinarum conspiratorum [Cic. pro Sull. § 42; Plut. Cie. 20]. He was praetor in B.C. 49, and afterwards a legatus in Asia Minor [Cic. Tusc. 1]. His adherence to the aristocratic party procured his banishment, and though Cicero in writing a consolatory letter to him [Am. 4. 13] gave him reason to think that Caesar would soon be induced to recall him, he died shortly afterwards in exile; Hier. Chron. 4. 709, 710 (B.C. 45—44) Nicellius Figulus Pythagorici et magus in exilio mortuus.

horam. So as to cast his horoscope, founded on the natalis hora [Hor. Od. 2. 17. 19].

per secreta Thraciae ‘through remote parts of Thrace.’ As governor of Macedonia he had been engaged in war with the Thracian Bessi. See c. 3. p. 3.

in Liberi patris luco. Herodotus tells us of a temple and oracle of Dionysos on Rhodope which, though in the country of the Satrae, was under the management of the Bessi, where the answers were given by a girl as at Delphi [7. 111]. Macrobius Sat. 1. 18, 11 describes the round temple of Liber or Sabazius. Some equivalent of Liber Pater seems to have been common in the East as far as India, Q. Curt. 8. 10.

tantum...emiciusset, a favorable omen, Verg. G. 4. 385; Ell. 8. 105, where Servius says hoc axordi Ciceronis dictor contigisse; cum praece sacrificio libare vellet in cinerem ex ipso cinere flammea surrexit, quae fiamma adem anno consulem futurum ostendit eius maritum, sicut in suo testator pomate.

Magno Alexandro. Alexander passed through this district on his way to Asia, but his visit to the oracle is not recorded by Arrian.

exuvia Iovis O. M. The sceptre, tunica picta, and palmata, taken from the Capitol for the use of magistrates (consul or praetor) celebrating a triumph. See Livy 10. 38. Livy 10. 7 Iovis optimi ornatu decoratus, currum aurato per urbem vectus in Capitolium ascendit. Lamprid. Alex. Sev. 40 praedictum et pictam tegam munquam nisi consul acceptis, et cum quidem quam de Iovi templo sumptam aliquote accipientem et praetores et consules.

radiata corona. See coin in p. 145; cp. Verg. Aen. 12. 161 ingenti mole Latium: quadringua velitum currum, cui tempora circum aurati bis sex radii fulgenter cingunt. The laurelled chariot and the white horses are also prognostics of a triumph, although some difficulty has been made as to this decoration of the triumphal chariot, which is usually confined to the hands and heads of the victors, the fasces of the licctors, or the despatch announcing the victory. Statius indeed [Theb. 8. 158] has interea evisis laureaque insignis opima Carrae, of the chariot of Amphiaras; and it seems probable that the chariots were so decorated, even though it is not otherwise mentioned.

apud C. Drusum. No writer of this name is known. Some have supposed the reference to be to the laudatio of Drusus, son of Tiberius, at the funeral of Augustus. See c. 100. But the praenomen of Gaius is nowhere else given.
loco plano, postera luce non comparuit, duique quasitus tandem in altissima turri repertus est, iacens contra solis exortum.

Cum primum fari coepisset, in avito suburbano obstrepentis forte ranas silere iussit, atque ex eo negatur sibi ranae coxare. Ad quartum lapidem Campanae viae in nemore prandenti ex improviso aquila panem ei e manu rapuit, et cum altissime evolasset, rursus ex improviso leniter delapsa reddidit.

Q. Catulus post dedicatum Capitolium duabus noctibus somniavit: prima, Iovem Optimum Maximum e praetextatis compluribus circum aram ludentibus unum secrevisse, atque in eius sinum signum rei publicae quam manu gestaret reposuisse; at insequenti, animadvertisse se in gremio Capitolini Iovis eundem puerum, quem cum detrahi iussisset, prohibitum monitu dei, tanquam is ad tutelam rei publicae educaretur; ac die proximo obvium sibi Augustum, cum incognitum alias haberet, non sine admiratione contuitus, simillimum dixit puero, de quo somniasset. Quidam prius somnium Catuli aliter exponunt, quasi Iuppiter compluribus praetextatis tutorem a se poscentibus, unum ex eis demonstrasset ad quem omnia desideria sua referrent, eiusque osculum delibatum digitis ad os suum retulisset.

hym, and therefore it has been proposed to read Caesarem for C. There is no means of deciding the question. The story itself may be compared with the fanciful tale of Horace's childhood [Od. 3, 4, 9—20], and with such as that told of Sir Thomas More [see Life by his great-grandson, p. 6].

coxare, onomatopoeia from koa. Spars. Gota 5 § 5 elephanti barrianti, ranas coxant, eui hinniant, etc.

Campanae viae seems to be another name for the via Appia, for it led by the temple of Ferons on the border of the Pompeian marshes [Hor. S. 1, 5, 23]. The name does not occur except in an inscription, C.I.L. 1, 1591 [Wilman].

IN • HOCE • DELIBRVM • FERONIAI • EX • HOCE • LOCO • IN • VIA • POPLICAM • CAMPAVAM • QVA • PROXIMVM • EST • P OECX.

Q. Catulus post dedicatum. The temple of Capitoline Jove was burnt on the 6th of July B.C. 83. Quintus Lutatius Catulus (Cos. B.C. 78) was at the head of the commission for its restoration, an office of which Iulius Caesar as Praetor in B.C. 63 in vain tried to deprive him, Suet. Cal. 15. He had formally dedicated it in B.C. 68, but was still engaged in the interior decoration [Cic. Verr. 4 §§ 69, 81]. He died in B.C. 62 [pro Cons. § 59], when Augustus was not three years old. The story therefore does not hang together.

rei publicae...gestaret. That is a statue of Rome. Dio [45, 2], who translates the account of these marvels from Suetonius, gives elebrem rudis deum. Such figures representing cities must have been common, just as the conventional figures on coins. At Rhodes we hear of a colossal statue of the Roman people [Polyb. 21, 13].

osculum = at, delibatum digitis, lightly touched by his fingers.
M. Cicero C. Caesarem in Capitolium prosecutus, somnium pristinae noctis familiaribus forte narrabat: puerrum facie liberali, demissum e caelo catena aurea, ad fores Capitoli constitisse eique Iovem flagellum tradisse;

15 deinde repente Augusto viso, quem ignotum plerisque adhuc avunculus Caesar ad sacrificandum acciperat, affirmavit ipsum esse, cuius imago secundum quietem sibi obversata sit.

Sumenti virilem togam tunica lati clavi, resuta ex utraque parte, ad pedes decidunt. Fuerunt qui interpretarentur, non alius significare, quam ut is ordo cuius insigne id esset quandoque ei subiceretur.

Apud Mundum Divus Iulius, castris locum capiens cum silvam caederet, arborem palmae repertam conservari ut omen victoriam fuisse; ex ea continuo enata suboles adeo in pauci diebus adolevit, ut non aequiperaret modo matricem, verum et obtegeter frequentareturque columbarum nidis, quamvis id avium genus durum et asperam frondem maxime vitet. Illo et praecipue ostento motum Caesarem ferunt, ne quem alium sibi succedere quam sororis nepotem vellet.

In secessu Apolloniae Theogenis mathematici pergulam comite Agrippa ascenderat; cum Agrippae, qui prior con-

M. Cicero... prosecutus, that is, when Julius celebrated his triumphs in B.C. 46, in which the young Octavius shared [see c. 8; Nic. Dam. 8].

flagellum, cp. Iuv. 10, 109 ad sua qui demini dedicuis flages Quirites, symbol of slavery, as citizens might not be flogged.

sumenti virilem togam, see c. 8.

tunica lati clavi, see c. 73. The wearing of this must have been granted by special favour, as it was ordinarily reserved for Senators; but certain aequites were latilini, as has been shown p. 85.

resuta. Dio 45, 2 6 χρῶν περιμένη ἐκατέρωθεν. It may have been a slit tunic such as that figured in Rich, Dict. of K. Antig. p. 697.

is ordo, i.e. the Senate.

apud Mundam, c. 8, p. 14. Dio 43, 41 καὶ ἐν τῷ ὀδῷ ὦν...καὶ προσαγαλαὶ διὰ τὰ τέλλα καὶ πάντα δειτα. ἦν ἤγερτο πι τι πεῖνος ποι ἀκα τεῖνον ἐν τῷ τῆς μάξης χῶραν δυτικά εἰς τῇ τῇ ἑλευθερία. καὶ ἂν ἄλις μὲν ἢ ἄλλο ἁμα τὸ τῆς θελησθοῦντος τοῦ ᾠτακίσσιον. arbores palmae, a genitive in apposition, as vox libertatis etc.

in secessu Apolloniae, c. 8.

Theogenis... pergulan, the studio of Theogenes the astrologer. pergula (perg) is (1) anything jutting out from a house, as a balcony or verandah, (2) a booth or studio, see Mayor on Iuv. 10, 137, (3) a school, Iuv. l.c. sed nec structur erit, cui sedere debat omnis pergula. Here it seems some loft at the top of the house used by the astrologer for taking observations of the stars, such as used to be called a 'garret.' For mathematici casting the horoscope, see Iuv. 14, 248 nota mathematicis genetis tua. Cp. id. 3, 43; 7, 200; 9, 31. Elsewhere called Chalcean [Cato, K. R. 5 § 4], and astrologi [Cic. divin. 1 § 13]. See also Suet. Tib. 14 de infante mathematicus praefecto stuporulii. For the number and influence of the astrologers in Rome during the Early Empire, see passages quoted by Mayor on Iuv. 14, 248.

Agrippa. Octavian was accompanied to Apollonia by Maccenas, Agrippa, Q. Iunius and others, Nic. Dam. c. 31.
sulebat, magna et paene incredibilia praedicentur, reticere
ipse genituram suam nec velle edere perseverabat, metu
ac pudore, ne minor inveniretur. Qua tamen post multas
adhortationes vix et cunctanter edita, exilivit Theogenes
adoravitque eum. Tantam mox fiduciam fati Augustus
habuit, ut tema suum vulgaverit nummumque argenteum
nota sideris Capricorni, quo natus est, percusserit.

95 Post necem Caesaris reverso ab Apollonia et ingrediente
eo urbem, repente liquido ac puro sereno circulus
ad speciem caelestis arcus orbem solis ambit, ac
subinde Iuliae Caesaris filiae monumentum fulmine
ictum est. Primo autem consulatu et augurium capienti
duodecim se voletures ut Romulo ostenderunt, et immolanti
omnia victimarum iocinera replicata intrinsecus ab ima fibra
paruerunt, nemine peritorum aliter colectante quam laeta per
haec et magna portendi.

96 Quin et bellorum omnium eventus ante praesensit. Con-
tractis ad Bononianum triumvorum copis, aquila tentorio eius
genituram. The hour and time of
his birth, by which Theogenes could
form his horoscope.

thema, technically used for a ‘horos-
cope,’ the map or plan of the stars at
any given moment. Pliny quotes
Sidonius, Epist. 8, 11 quos (ut verba
matheseos utar) climacteris isset habi-
turum, ut patet quibus themate oblate quasi
sanguinaristic genus horarum schema formasset.
Augustus neglected his own rule as to
the astrologers quod eum praeposita has
nummum... Capricorni. Hor. Od. 2,
17, 17 seu me Scarpianus acspicit Formido-
lesus, pars-violentior Nautas horat, seu
ironius Hieronii Capricornus unius.
For coins of Augustus with the sign of
Capricornus, see Eckhel pt. II nos. 134,
196—9, 203. The sun enters Capri-
cornus on the 21st December, and there-
fore it is impossible to reconcile this
statement with the birth of Augustus,
without allowing for the full error of 90
days in the old Calendar, which does not
seen to have been the case in B.C. 63,
see p. 9. Yet Manilian [2, 497] also says
contra Capricornus in iucum
convertit vivos, quid enim mirabitur ille
matus, in Augusti felix qui fuluerit
ortum?

96. ingrediente eo urbem, at the
beginning of May B.C. 44, see Cic. ad
Att. 14, 30.

Iuliae. Iulia the wife of Pompey
the Great who died in B.C. 54. Her
tomb was in the Campus Martius, see
Suet. Jul. 84.

augurium capienti, see on c. 78.
duodecim voletures, Livy 1, 7; repli-
cata, ‘double.’ Dio relates this of the
war of Mutina, [46, 35] οἵτινες τε καὶ
ὅτε βούλοις αὐτῷ οἵτις τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὴν
κυβερνὴν τοῦ στρατηγὰ δελθείς, διὰ τὰ
φαντά ἐν πάντα τῶν ισχίων δειλαὶ ὄντων
εὐθεῖα. Pliny [N. H. 11 § 190] places
the occurrence at Spoleitum, and adds,
responsumque duplicatatur infra an-
um imperium. The absence of one
lobe of the liver was a bad sign, Cic.
div. 2 cc. 15—17, while a lobe of un-
usual size was a good one, Valer. Max.
1, 6, 9 quae prima hostia ante focium
decidit, eius tecur sine capite inventum
est; proxima caput iocinoris duplex
habuit. Quibus inscriptis arsique tristi
vultus non placere sibi exta, quia prima
tam tristia, secunda nimis laeta appa-
rerunt. paruerunt for apparuerunt
not used by Cicero.

96. contractis ad Bononianum. In
November of B.C. 43 when the tri-
umvirate was formed, which took place
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supersedens duos corvos hinc et inde infestantis afflixit et ad terram dedit; notante omni exercitu, futurum quandoque inter collegas discordiam tales quali secuta est, et exitum praesagiente. Philippis Thessalus quidam de futura victoria nuntiavit suctore Divo Caesare, cuius sibi species itineri avio occurrisset.

Circa Perusiam, sacrificio non itanti cum augeri hostias imperasset, ac subita eruptione hostes omnem rei divinae apparatum abstulissent, constitit inter haruspices, quae periculosa et adversa sacrificant iunamenti essent, cuncta in ipsos recasura qui exita haberent; neque aliter evenit. Prudie quam Siciliensem pugnam classe committeret, deambulanti in litore piscis e mari exilivit et ad pedes iacuit. Apud Actium descendenti in aciem asellus cum asinario occurririt, homini Eutychus, bestiae Nicon erat nomen; utriusque simulacrum senem victor posuit in templo, in quo castrorum suorum locum vertit.

Mors quoque eius, de qua hinc dicam, divinitasque post mortem evidentissimis ostentis praecognita est. Cum lustrum in campo Martio magna populi frequentia conderet, aquila eum saepius circumvolavit transgressaque in vicinam aedem super nomen Agrrippae ad primam litteram sedit; quo animadverso vota, quae in proximum lustrum suscipi mos est, collegam suum Tiberium nuncupare iussit: nam se, quamquam conscriptis paratisque

\* in narrat ut de pontem passum in pede tui

\* omnis Ponte Dion. 46, 54. The same tale of the eagle is told by Dion. 47, 1.

\* cuius sibi species. See Dion. 47, 41.

\* non itanti, dat. 'not getting a favourable omen,' 

\* litare, to get a favourable omen from a sacrifice, is used (a) of the sacrificer, Plaut. Pomp. 5, 41 ut speraverit sacrificium nec umquam sitem, cp. Ovum 8 victima Dii patrei casa litavit, cum tali sacrificio contraria exspecta sunt, (b) of the victim itself, Matt. 10, 73, 6.

\* in Greek the distinction is marked by the active and middle voices: the victims are said καλλιφθεῖν [Herod. 6, 76], the sacrificer καλλιφθεῖσθαι ib. 82.

\* subita eruptione. For the danger of Augustus at Perusia see c. 14 ad fin.

\* prudie quam. Dio 49, 5, who says that it occurred after the defeat near Messane, cp. Fl. 3, 65.

\* exitivit for exilivit, a recurrence it seems to an ancient form. Fest. 206 M.1.;

\* cp. sallies Verg. G. 5, 384.

\* asellus. The same story is told by Plutarch, Anton. 65.

\* templo, see c. 18.

\* 97. in vicinam aedem...Agrrippae. The Pantheon, see p. 65.

\* collegam, that is in the censorship office for holding the census (though not as censors but with imperio consulari). M. A. c. 8 tertium consulari cum imperio collega Tiberio Caesare filio (A.D. 14). See p. 65.

\* vota...nuncupare...soluturus. Cp. Val. Max. 1, 1 Ext. 8 illo voto pro incolumitate exercitus ab ipso nuncupata. Cic. 2 Phil. § 11 neglectis sacrificis seminibus ante lucem vota ex quibus nuncupavit. Livy 31, 9 ipse in eadem verbis Consul procens in maxime pontifice, gibus atque quinquennalia vota suscepta solita erant. nuncupare (nomen capere) is 'to put into express words,' 'to solemnly name.'
iam tabulis, negavit suiceptorum quae non esset soluturus. Sub idem tempus icu fulminis ex inscriptione statuae eius prima nominis littera effluxit; responsum est, centum solos dies posthac victurum, quem numerum C littera notaret, futurumque ut inter deos referretur, quod aesar, id est reliqua pars e Caesari nomine, Etrusca lingua deus vocaretur.

Tiberium igitur in Illyricum dimissurus et Beneventuni usque prosecuturus, cum interpellatores alii atque alii causis in iure dicendo detinerent, exclamavit, quod et ipsum mox inter omina relatum est, non, si o omnia moraretur, amplius se posthac Romae futurum; atque itinerare incolato Asturam perrexit, et inde, praefer consuetudinem de nocte, ad occasionem aurae evectus, causam validitatis contraxit ex profugio alvi. Tunc Campaniae proximisque insulis circius, Capræarum quoque secessui quin quadriduum impendit, remississimo ad otium et ad omnem comitatem animo.

Forte Puteolanum sinum praetervenienti vectores nautaeque de navi Alexandrina, quae tantum quod appulerat, candidati coronatique et tura libantes fausta omen et eximias laudes se congruerant, per illum se vivere, per illum navigare, libertate pacifice one ad formam pacem quam bellum subegerat. Tiburtiam sub eo Dalmatia in a.d. 9, and celebrated a triumph over it in A.D. 12 [Dio 55, 39–32; 56, 11–17; Vell. 2, 110–115].

**Astorum.** Augustus goes by sea and rests at Astura, a small islet between Antium and Circeii, on which he, as many others, seems to have had a villa, cp. Tib. 72 redens ergo propere Campaniam Asturiae in langueam incidit, quo fasum levatus Circeius pertendit. de nocte, ‘before daybreak,’ for the sake of coolness (it was late July or early August). *Vespas. 31 in principatus maturius semper ac de nocte excidibus. Cic. Att. 4, 3 in comitium Milo de nocte venit, Metellus cum prima luce in campum eversit.

98 **Capræarum**, see c. 92. **Campaniae ora**, a favourite yachting voyage, see *Aen. c. 77.*

**tanium quod,** ‘only just,’ see c. 65. per illum navigare, Hor. Od. 4, 5-19 pacatum volitant per mare navitae. Prop. 3, 9, 71 At tu sicet petes portus seu navis lingues Caesari in tota its
alique fortunis per illum frui. Quae re admodum exhilaratis, quadragesim aureos comitibus divisit iusque iurandum et cautionem exigit a singulis, non alio datam summam quam in emptionem Alexandrinarum mercium absumpturos. Sed et ceteros continuos dies inter varia minuensula togas insuper ac pallia distribuit, lege proposita ut Romani Graeco, Graeci Romano habitu et sermone uterentur. Spectavit assidue exercentes ephebos, quorum aliqua adhuc copia ex veteres instituto Capreis erat; isdem etiam epulum in conspicuo suo praebuit, permissa, immo exacta iocandi licentia diripendiendique pomorum et obsioniorum rerumque missilia. Nullo denique genere hilaritatis abstinuit.

Vicinam Capreis insulam Apragopolim appellabat, a de-

memor Ionio. M. A. c. 35 mare pacavi a praestantibus.

auros. The denarius aureus, said to have been introduced by Iulius in B.c. 48, was equal to 25 silver denarii or 100 sestertes (about § of £1).

Alexandrinarum mercium. The commerce of Egypt had greatly revived under the Imperial government. There was a large trade with Italy in corn and salt fish, but also in articles of luxury. Aurel. Vict. Epit. 1 § 2 hisus tempore ex Aegypto usque annua ducentes centena missilia fragmenti inpositurum. Puteoli was the regular port for the ships from Alexandria. Seneca [Ep. 77 §§ 1—3] speaks of the tabellariae, ‘despatch boats,’ that regularly preceded the arrival of the Alexandrine fleet. Augustus laid up in the docks at Puteoli the ship that had brought the Egyptian obelisks [Plut. N. H. 36 § 70]; nine days’ sail from Alexandria to Puteoli was an extraordinarily good voyage, id. 19 § 3.

togas...pallia, the distinctive Roman and Greek dresses, see c. 40.

sermones. For the wide knowledge and use of the Greek language by educated Romans, see passages quoted by Mayor on Inv. 15, 10; cp. asp. c. 80.

ephebos...veteres instituto. Capreac, had, till its interchange with Augustus, been a part of the domain of Neapolis [c. 91], where Greek customs survived longer than anywhere in Magna Graecia. Strabo 2, 4, 7 νομίσα τα ἐν Ελληνικῇ ἀγωγῇ ἕνανθα αὐτῶν, γινόμας τα καὶ ἐφηρεῖα καὶ ψυχράν kai ὀφθαλμὸν Ἐλληνικά.... The Greek ephebi were youths between the end of boyhood (18) and the age of full citizenship, a period expressed in Athens by ὑπὸ δικαιομένου Pollux 8, 105, part of which was regularly devoted to physical training in gymnastics. 'Αθην. τοῦτο ἔστω καὶ περίπεται ἁγίου τοῦ καὶ διαφόρου τοῦ ἐπολύμφορου καὶ ράχεον καὶ ἀκοήν τούτου καὶ κρατοῦντος ἀφθονίαν διδάσκαλουs. missilia. Nero 31 sparsa e missilia omnium rerum per omnes dies. Macrob. Sat. 2, 4 § 23 Curtius aequos Romanus deliciis diffusus, cum mercium turbam sumptissimam in convivial Cassarii, interrogavit an 'mittere licet,' Responderat princeps 'quidque licet,' ille per finem trium missit. The scenes in which this strange custom of throwing things at table sometimes ended are described by Inv. 5, 25 69. Cp. Horace Odes 1, 37.

vincinam Capreis insulam, 'the neighbouring island Capreac,' lit. 'at Capreac.' Cassianus seems right in regarding Capreis as a locative; there is no island near Capreac.' Cp. Cassius in epíde Antiochiae Csic. ad Att. 5, 18. Ablae constiterunt in urbem opportune a Phil. § 6. It may be compared to the manner of naming towns and islands in later Greek by adding την ('in') before the name, thus ἐς την Κάθε became Sthno, ἐς την πόλιν Sthmoul. The expression here used shows the writer to be regarding Augustus at Naples, from which the members of his family slip off for a holiday at Capreac. An old commentator on Inv. 10, 93 read Caprestis; but
Sidia secedentium illuc e comitatu suo. Sed ex dilictis unum, Masgaban nomine, quasi conditorem insulae 510
vocare consuerat. Huius Masgabae ante annum defuncti
tumulum cum e triclino animadvertisset magna turba multis-
quae luminibus frequentari, versum compositum ex tempore clare pronuntiavit:

Κριστέον δὲ τύμβον εἰσορὸν τυριόμενον;
conversusque ad Thrasylum Tiberi comitem, contra accu-
bantem et ignarum rei, interrogavit cuiusnam poetae putaret
esse; quo haesitante, subiecit alium:

Ὄρας φάσσις Μασγάβαν τυριόμενον;
ac de hoc quoque consuluit. Cum ille nihil alius responderet
quam, cuiuscumque essent optimos esse, cachinnum sustulit
atque in iocos effusus est. Mox Neapolim traiect, quamquam
etiam tum infirmis intestinis morbo variante; tamen

Tiberius sent for.
et quinquennale certamen gymnicum honor su
institutum perspectavit et cum Tiberio ad destinat
atum locum contendit. Sed in reducto adgravata valuitune,
tandem Nolae succubuit revocatumque ex inisre Tiberiun
diu secreto sermone detinuit, neque post utili maiori negotio
animum accommodavit.

Supremo die identidem exquirens, an iam de se tumultus
foris esset, petito speculo, capillum sibi comi ac
malas labantes corrigi praecepet, et admisso amicos

an xith century catalogue of Papal
estates has insulam Capris cum Me-
navia S. Stephani. Chronicorum H. of
Eome in the Middle Ages II. p. 247
(Engl. Tr.).

Masgaban, probably a freedman of
African race employed by Augustus to
superintend the improvements on the
island. He calls him ‘founder’ in jest:
there was no ‘colony’ in the technical
sense on Capri.

frequentari, apparently on the anni-
versary of his death. For the custom
of these torches in commemorating the
death see Ov. F. 3, 561.

Thrasylus was one of Tiberius’
favourite mathematici, see Suet. Tib.
ce. 14, 613; Cal. 19.

consultat...responderet: the words
show that Augustus was making a play-
ful trial of the prophetic powers of
Thrasylus.

quinquennale...gymnicum. Strabo
5, 4, 561 διε πποντηράδις ιερᾶς θυσίων
χυταίπην παρ' αὐτοῖς, μουσικά τε καὶ
γραμμάτων ἱππολόν Ἰμαράν ἔνακτος
τῶν ἐνωάσκοντος τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἐλ-
λάκα. honoris quo, see on c. 55, Vell.
Pat. 2, 123 interstitutus certamin in-
dico, quod eius honoris sacratum a
Neapolitanis est.

ad destinatum locum, ‘to the place
where he had resolved to accompany
him,’ i.e. to Beneventum, on his way to
Brundisium to embark for Illyricum.
Vell. Pat. 2, 123 tamen obstante pro-
ssecutus filium digressusque ab eo Bene-
venti ipso Nolam petit, et ingrascente
in dicta veste, cum scire, quin vo-
lenti omnia post se salva remaindere
accensus fori, festinaber revocavit
filium. See also Tib. 21. Velleius l.c.
100]  DIVUS AUGUSTUS.  171

percontatus, eeguid iis videtur minum vitae commode trans-
egisse, adiecit et clausulam:

el de ti

ευκαλῶς τὸ παιγνίον, κρότον δοτὲ
καὶ πάντες ἡμᾶς μετὰ χαρᾶς προτέμψατε.

Omnibus deinde dimissis, dum adventientes ab urbe de Drusi
filia aegra interrogat, repente in osculis Liviae et in hac
voce deecit: Livia, nostri coniugi memor vive, ac vale!
sortitus exitum facilem et qualem semper optaverat. Nam
fere quotiens audisset cito ac nullo cruciati defunctum
quempiam, sibi et suis eībāvāsiāv similem (hoc enim et
verbo uti solebat) precabatur. Unum omnino ante efflatam
animam signum alienatae mentis ostendit, quod subito pave-
factus a quadraginta se iuvenibus abripi questus est. Id
quoque magis praesagium quam mentis deminuito fuit, siqui-
dem totidem milites praetoriani extulerunt eum in publicum.

also affirms that Tiberius arrived in time
to be with him at his death. Tacitus,
[Ann. 1, 5] says that there was a doubt
on the subject, nonae satiis comperium
spirationem adhibuit Augustum apud urbern
Noeiam. ad eunimem repercitat. And
Dio [56, 30] says that Livia was su-
pected of hastening his end by means
of a poisoned fig; a slander repeated

99. mmum. The mime or farce had
been long known at Rome, but had not
perhaps taken its place as literature till
the end of the Republic. See
to a drama is a common one, see Cic.
So nec enim ullo efficacissimr
his humanae vitae minibus, qui nobis
partes habet quasi male agnitus assignat.
It may have some pathetic appropriate-
ness to the career of Augustus, but it
can hardly have been meant cynically
by him, as Dio supposes, [56, 30] kρότον
de δῆ τοι ταράνθι διόσκως τῷ γελα-
τονοσίῳ ὡς καὶ ἔτη μᾶκε τὸν τελευτὴ
ἀνδρὸς καὶ πάλαιν πάντα τῶν τῶν
ανδρώνοις διώκοντα
clausulam, the usual appeal at the
end of the play for applause. Cic. de
Sen. § 20 non enim hibi rīmen ut plau-
serenda fabula est...nec sapienti us-
que ad "plaudite" veniendum est. Hor.
A. P. 128 domi cantor "vos plaudite"
dicat. The word clausula (claudo) was
the technical expression for it. Cic.
Cael. § 75 in quo mimo cum clausula
non inventiur.

100. de ti. The restoration of these
Greek lines is due to Roth.

Drusi filia, Livilla, daughter of
Drusus and Antonia, and sister of
Germanicus and Claudius, see Suet. Cf. 1 fin.
She afterwards married Drusus, son of
Tiberius. For her tragic fate see Dio
[58, 11]; Tac. Ann. 5, 43; 84: 4, 40; 65, 3.
defectis, "died," Quint. 9: 105, 75: defect
omne quod nascitur.

memor vive ac vale. Cf. Iav. 3,
318 vale nostri memori. Hor. Od. 3,
27, 14 et memori nostri, Galatea, vivas.
eebavasiav. Cic. ad Att. 10, 7 §§ 3
illud admirari saius non putat, quod
scitistur his verbis: 'veni tigitur tu, qui
eebavasiav. veni. relinques patriam?'
The word is rare and late (see L. and
Sc.). Polybius (5, 30) uses eebavasiav of
a noble death. A sudden and painless
deed was desired by Iulius, Plut. Cæs.
63 lexentor λόγοι νοοὶ ἢ τὸν θανα-
τον ἄρετον, άπαντας φθάσων θηράνερ ἄκο

praetoriani, see pp. 92, 106. quo
pater Octavius. Tac. Ann. 1, 9 mul-
tibus hinc iussi de Augusto sermo...quo
Nolae in domo et cubicula, in quo pater
eius Octavius, vitam finivisset.
Obiit in cubiculo eodem, quo pater Octavius, duobus Sextis, Pompeio et Appuleio, cons. XIII. Kal. Septemb. hora diei nona, septuagesimo et sexto aetatis anno, diebus V. et XXX. minus.

Corpus decuriones municipiorum et coloniarum a Nola Bovillae usque deportarunt, noctibus propter anni tempus, cum interdiu in basilica cuiusque oppidi vel in aedium sacrarum maxima reponeretur. A Bovillae equester ordo suscepit, urbiqve intuits atque in vestibulo domus conlocavit. Senatus et in funere ornando et in memoria honoranda eo studio certatim progressus est, ut inter alia complura censuertint quidam, funus triumphali porta descendens, praecedente Victoria quae est in curia, canentibus neniae principum liberis urtiusque sexus; aliisque exequiarum die ponendos anulos aureos ferreosque sumendos; nonnulli, ossa legenda per sacerdotes summorum collegiorum. Fuit et

100. duobus Sexto...cons. A.D. 14. Dio 56, 55; Tac. Ann. 1, 7, XIII. Kal. Sept. 19 August. The calculation as to the length of Augustus' life is based on the supposition that his birthday (23 September) was according to the rectified Julian Calendar, A. W. Zumpt Commentaria Chronologica de Imp. Aug. die Natalis, p. 547. decurationes, sec. c. 2, p. 3.

a Bovilla equester ordo. The equites demanded this as a privilege from the consuls, commissioning the future Emperor Claudius to make the request (Suet. Caes. 6). Bovillae was 12 miles down the via Appia. Dio 56, 55 πός σῶμα τοῦ πρῶτου οὐκ οὔτε μὲν τῶν μάνων οὐκ οὔτε τῶν πρῶτων καὶ οὐκ οὔτε τῶν κατ᾽ θνησκόν τῶν ἐξ ἱστορίαν ἱστορεμένων πρῶτο γένοις τοῖς πάντωσιν πάντας ναυτός ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνων.

triumpali porta. The funeral procession was to leave by the gate through which triumphal processions entered. Its exact position is uncertain. Prof. Lanciani (Kamase’s Antig. p. 16) says that it spanned the modern via della bocca della Verità, which, running between the Palatine and the river, enters the Campus near the Theatrum Marcelli. This would suit Josephus’ description of the triumph of Vespasian who entered from the Campus, first riding dea τῶν θεάτων (B. Jud. 7, 5, 4). See also Suet. Ner. 25 (Nero entered through the Velabrum and Forum on his way to the Palatine). Tac. Ann. 1, 8. The pora triumphalis is mentioned by Cicero in Fisc. 55.

Victoria quae est in curia. The statue which Augustus had himself placed in the curia Julia. Dio 51, 22 τῆς βουλήσεως τῆς Ἰουλίας...καθ’ ἑκάστην ὑπότατον, τῷ τῆς καθάρσεως τοῦ καί κατὰ τῆς νυκτὸς τοῦ καὶ κατὰ τοῦ.

ponendos...auro. This would amount to a pretty general mourning. The gold ring was not a special mark of the Senators. Originally it was given at the public expense to those Senators who were going on a foreign mission [Isid. orig. 19, 32 annuit de publico dabantur]. It was then adopted by all the nobilitas, but was not obligatory, for Marius retained the ferreus till his 2nd consulship [Pliny N. H. 33 §§ 11 —12]. Before the 3rd Punic war it had become the special mark of the ordo equester, and later on under the Empire was allowed to all ingenui. Willems, le Sénat, 1, p. 147. For the laying aside of annui aurei in public mourning see Livy 9, 7 lati clavi, annui aurei posit. Op. ib. c. 47.

ossa legenda. That is, from the funeral pyre, the office generally of near relatives, and in most cases of women, Tib. 3, 2, 16.

cinctae nigrae candida vestis legant.
DIVUS AUGUSTUS.

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qui suaderet, appellacionem mensis Augusti in Septembrem transferendam, quod hoc genus Augustus, illo defunctus esset; alius, ut omne tempus a primo die natali ad exitum eius saeculum Augustum appellaretur et ita in fastos referretur. Verum adhibito honoribus modo, bifarum laudatus est: pro aede Divi Iuli a Tiberio et pro rostris Laudationes a Druso Tiberi filio, ac senatorum umeris delatus in Campus crematusaque. Nec defuit vir praetorius,

decemviri. Dio 53. 1 et abset enim
(παράγομεν) διὰ τὸν ἐξ ἀκόμην τοῦ
εὐγένετο τὰς τέσσαρας ιεροσύνας ἵνα περι-
τροπή μελοῦντα: λέγω δὲ τοὺς τονι-
φάσις καὶ τοὺς δικαστής, τοὺς τὸν
καὶ τοὺς ποτηραίους κυρίας καλο-
μένους. M. A. 9 epithetus amplissima
 collegia,

mensis Augusti. See c. 31.

adhibito...modo, i.e. by Tiberius,
who refused extravagant funeral honours,
see Tac. Ann. 8. Thus Tiberius' pane-
gyrist Velleius[3, 124] says post rodiunum
caelo patrem, et corpus eius humanis
honoribus, nomen divinis honoratum.

bifarium laudatus. The laudatio
preceded the burning. The cortège
was stopped opposite the place at
which the oration was to be delivered, the
wax figures of the ancestors carried in
it were arrayed on curule seats round,
and then some relation of the deceased
mounted the rostra to deliver the speech.
Polyb. 6. 53. 9. In case of public
funerals the duty of delivering the
speech was frequently entrusted by the
Senate to some magistrate [Quint. 3. 7
§ 2]. It was in fact a contina, an address
to the citizens at large, Cic. de leg. 2 §
61 reliqua sunt in more; forum ut indicat,
...Amortatorum virorum laudes in
contiones memorantur. Originally it was
an honour reserved for magistrates for
some special services, and even when
the patriciate at large assumed the right
for each of its members, it seems to
have required some authorisation of the
Senate or the Emperor. Marq. 14, p.
420, see Tac. Ann. 3. 76.

pro rostris veteribus. The Rostra
standing between the Forum and the
Comitium had been removed by Julius
when he was restoring the Curia [L. c.
44]. Dio 43. 19 ὅτι βίων τὸν πόλεων
τὴν ἀλήθεια ὅπως ἄκυρον ὑπέ
Middleton [Remains of Ancient Rome, vol. 1, p. 258]
holds that the Rostra thus rebuilt were
still called rostra as opposed to the
Rostra Iulia, a podium of the Herma
Iulium, built by Augustus, to which
were affixed the beaks of the ships taken
at Actium [Dio 51. 19 τὴν τε κρατειν
τὰ Ἱουλιουλήν ὄρατο τῶν ἀχλακο-
τόνων όσων κομμηθεὶ...ἀργυρῷ].
The rostra as made by Caesar were not quite
a reproduction of the older rostra, for
some of the statues were removed. See
Cic. 9 Phil. § 4. (An old emendation
was a Tiberio pro rostris; sub veteribus
a Druso. The expression sub veteribus,
s. tabernis, was the designation of a
street along one side of the Forum.)

in Campus, as being outside the
pompeium, Cic. de leg. 2 § 58 hominem
mortuum in urbe ne sepultus neve uie
uita. The burning of the bodies of Clodius
and Julius Caesar in the forum was
illegal and done in a popular riot. The
exceptions were the Vestal virgins and
certain families (vestitis causis) such as
the Valerii and Fabricii, who however
soon ceased to avail themselves of
the privilege. Even on the Campus it was
only allowed on special occasions.
Again, to have a monument on the
Campus or elsewhere in the city was an
honour rarely granted and required a
SCum or a lex. See C. I. L. 1. p. 186.

C. POPLICIO • L. • F. • BIBVLO • AED • FL.
HONORIS • VIRTUTISQUE CAYSA • SENATVS • IVSTVS • LOCVS • MONVMNTO • QVDO • IPSA PESTERIOVE • EIVS • IN.
FERENTVR • PUBLICE • DATVS • BST.
Cic. 9 Phil. § 4 maiores nostri statuin multis deceruerunt, sequula pascit.
ib. § 17 utique locum sequerco in campo
Esquiline C. Pansa cui, seu quo in loco
ubicius itercet pedes xxx quoque versus al-
ignavit, quo S. Justinus inferretur, quo
sequitur sequitos liberorum posteri-
orumque eius estat, ut quod optimo inre
publico sequeretur datum estat. The
reason was that 'public' land could not
be alienated without a law. The Ves-
tals and the Emperors however were
qui se effigiem tremati euntem in caelum vidisse iuraret. Reliquias legerunt primores equestris ordinis, tunicati et
discincti pedibusque nudis, ac Mausoleo condide-
runt. Id opus inter Flaminiam viam ripamque
Tiberis sexto suo consulatu extruxerat circumiectasque 5
silvas et ambulationes in usum populi iam tum publicarat.

101 Testamentum, L. Plano C. Silio cons. III. Non. Aprilis,
ante annum et quattuor menses quam decederet,
factum ab eo ac duobus codicibus, partim ipsius
partim libertorum Polybi et Hilarionis manu, scrip-
tum depositumque apud se virgines Vestales cum
tribus signatis aequo voluminibus protulerunt. Quae omnia
in senatu aperta atque recitata sunt. Here.des instituit primos:
Tiberio ex parte dimidia et sextante, Liviam ex parte tertia,

above the law, Servius ad Verg. Aen. 11, 566 Imperatores et virgines Vestae,
qui legibus non lenientur, in civitate habent sequiur. Marq. 14, p. 432.

vir praetorius, Numerius Atticus; see Dio 46, 46, who says that Livia
presented him with 35000 denarii for his report. Cp. Seneca, de Mort. Claud. 8 2 Appiae eius curator est qui se et
dicent Augustum et Tiberium Caesarum ad deum iux. Cp. Dio 56, 42 atque at
in et uobis (vobis) adeo etiam ad mortuos ut
et de uisce autem et in compendio
religiosas legerunt. Dio Lc. 46 atque
Appia catu chorum perte iuvenes metu
ps praelio iuxta meliora ut te orta
autem eumque vero et

virgilio: 6, 677 reliquias uino
tibalami lavare festiam Oianque media
cado testic Corymenus aene. Cp. c. 57.

uinculam...nudis, 'without their saga-
ungirt, and with bare feet.' These
seem special marks of mourning on the
part of soldiers, see c. 24. They are
not mentioned elsewhere as ordinarily
used at funerals.

Mausoleo. The Mausoleum Augusti
was a great mound of earth [tumulus
Verg. Aen. 6, 874: Tac. Ann. 3, 9] on
a base of white marble 720 feet in
diameter, surmounted with a colossal
bronze statue of Augustus. Strabo 5,
8. It now forms the Teatro Correo,
used as a kind of circus. Suectonio
Cal. 15; Nero 46; Vign. 23. It was
filled by the time of Hadrian’s death,
Dio 69, 23 (A.D. 138). For Mausoleus,
the Carian Prince, whose monument
erected by his wife Artemisia supplied
this word, see Dem. de lib. Rhod. 191.
Diodor. 13, 36. He died in B.C. 333.
Plin. N. H. 36 § 47.
sexto suo consulatu. B.C. 28.
publicatum, see on c. 29, p. 63.

101. L. Plano, C. Silio cons., i.e.
B.C. 13.

virgines Vestales, who frequently
were intrusted with wills. See Iul.
83; Tac. Ann. 1, 8; Plut. Anton. 58.
So also with other important documents,
see Dio 46, 12 (the agreement between
B. Civ. 5, 48 (the treaty of Misenum in

in senatu, Tac. Ann. 1, 8 nihil primo
senatus die agi possus est nisi de supremis
Augusti, cuius testamentum inlatum per
Virgines Vestae Tiberium et Liviam
heredes habere. The Senate had been
summoned by Tiberius iure tribuniciae
potestatis, Tib. c. 23.

recitata, per librum, see Tib. Lc.
Dio [56, 37] says that the freedman
Polybius read it, that being an office
looked on as unbecoming a Senator.

atque. The two rolls were signed
and sealed in the same formal manner
as the will.

Tiberium. In the life of Tiberius Lc.
he quotes the opening sentence Quumiam
atrox fortiunatu Galium et Lucium filium
mihi eripuit, Tiberius Cesar mihi ex
parte dimidia et sextante heras esto.

primos...secundos. The primis are
the real heirs. The secundis only suc-
cceed in case the primis (a) refuse the
inheritance, or (b) die before coming of
quos et ferre nomen suum iussit, secundos: Drusum Tiberi
filium ex triente, ex partibus reliquis Germanicum liberosque
eius tres sexus virilis, tertio gradu: propinquos amicosque
compluris. Legavit populo Romano quadringentes, tribubus
5 tricioes quinquies sestertium, praetorianis militibus. Publico
singula milia nummorum, cohortibus urbanis quint
legacies. Genos, legionaris trecenos nummos: quam summam reprae-
sentari iussit, nam et confiscatam semper repositamque
habuerat. Reliqua legata varie dedit produxitque quaedam
ad vices sestertium, quibus solvendis annuum diem finit, ex-
cusata rei familiaris mediocritate, nec plus perventurum ad
heredes suos quam milies et quingenies professus, quamvis
viginti proximis annis quaterdecies milies ex testamentis
amicorum percepisset, quod paene omne cum duobus paternis
15 patrimonii ceterisque hereditatibus in rem publicam absu-
sisset. Iulias filiam neptemque, si quid is accidisset, vetuit

age. The being entered as secundi or tertii was therefore often merely com-
plimentary, with the off chance of being valuable. In this case the secundi are
the natural successors of the primi. Hor. S. a. 5, 47 leniter in opem Adrign
officius ut et scribare secundum Hoares. Cic. fam. 13, 61 qui me cum tutorem
rum etiam secundum haecdem constitu.

The heredes took the residue in the assigned proportions when the
heritages had been paid. Tiberius §
§ §, Livia §. A woman could take
a legacy up to a half, but was still pre-
vented by the Voonian plebscitum
(b.c. 169) from being an heres [Gaius
3, 274; Plin. pont. gr. 42], but Gallius
[20, § 83] says that the law was obsolete
and neglected. It had always been
evaded by means of trusts or legacies.
Augustus is said to have asked for a
special exemption for Livia, Dio 56, 32
pari tēs boulēs episkatos tov πατών tēs
kai πατί tēs katalav tēn ἄδικαν

TI • CAESARIS • DIVI • AVG • F
AVGVSTI • FONTIFICIS • MAXIMI
TRIB • POT • XXXIX • IMP • VIII
COE • V • The will made no difference
to him in this respect, and Tacitus only
refers to Livia, [Ann. 1, 8] Liciam in
familiam Iuliam nomenque Augustum
adsumbat. Henceforth she is Iulia
Augusta, whereas before she was Livia
Drus. f. a nec Caesaris (compare Wil-
manns 88 b and 906).

Drusus. Drusus the son of Tiberius
died in A.D. 23. The three sons of
Germanicus were Nero, Drusus and
Gaius (Caligula).

tribubus. For the two tribes with
which Augustus had been connected, cp.
c. 40, p. 89. See also Kubitschek de
trib. Roman. origine, p. 118. Tacitus
[Ann. 1, 8] seems to mean these tribus
by the term pilts: populo et pilts quad-
ringentes tricios quinquems.

praetorianus. See pp. 53, 106.
cohortibus urbanis, p. 105.
confiscatum, kept under the head of
his private property. See c. 15,
p. 31.

cum duobus paternis hereditatibus,
one from his father Octavius, which
had been badly or dishonestly managed
by his guardian [see p. 58]; and that of
his adoptive father Iulius, who left him
83, supr. c. 7.

Iulias. See on c. 64. si quid is
sepulcro suo inferri. Tribus voluminibus, uno mandata de funere suo complexus est, altero indicem rerum a se gestarum, quem vellet incidii in aeneis tabulis, quae ante Augusti. Mausoleum statuerunt, tertio breviariiototius imperii, quantum militum sub signis ubique esset, quantum pecuniae in aerario et fiscis et vectigaliorum residuis. Ad liecit et libertorum servorumque nomina, a quibus ratio exigi posset.

acidisset. 'On their death,' a common euphemism, see Cic. Tusc. 1 § 104.

tribus voluminibus. Dio [56, 33] adds a fourth, containing certain maxims and principles of state which Augustus thought it important to be observed, τὸ τέταρτον ἑσφος καὶ ἐποπήθη γίγνεται τῷ Τίτλῳ καὶ τῷ κοίτῃ, δια λέγεται καὶ ἤθετο μὴ ἀπελεύθερωσθὲν τολμῆν, γιὰ μὴ παραδοταὶ ἐχὸν τὴν τῶν ἀληθών μὴ αἱ συνεχῶς ἐγγράφασιν ἔνα μᾶλλον τὸ διαφόρον αὐτὸς πρὸ τοῦ ἐπιθέτου. τὰ τε κοινὰ πάντα τοῖς δυνάμεσι καὶ ἐθάνατο καὶ πράξεων ἐπιτέθησαν καὶ ἐν μνήμα θυμῶν αὑτὰ παρὴμνήσαι σφαῖρας, ὡσι μὴν τυραννίδως τῇ ἐπιθυμήσει μὴν αὐτῷ ἄκυρόν τοῦ τὸ δημόσιον σφαῖρας γενόμενος τοῖς ἀναστάσις τοῦ τε πολεοδόμων ἀρχηγίῳ καὶ μνήμαις ἐπὶ πλείον τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπανεῖσχθην εὐθέλησαν διοικητικῆς τε γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐνέπνευσε καὶ καθευδόσθηκεν εἰς τὸν καὶ τὸ ὅτι ἄσπολον ἄρχησα.

index rerum, that which, with its official Greek translation, has been preserved for us in the temple at Anicya, and to a small extent at Apolloeis. See Appendix A.

breviariwm.Tacitus [Ann. 1, 11] seems not to distinguish clearly between the two rolls any more than Suetonius; opos publicae continuum, quantum civium sociorumque in armis, quod classes, regna, provinciae, tributa aut vectigalia et necessitates ac largitiones, quae cuncta sua manu prescriptam Augustus, addideratque consilium coacervendi intra terminos imperii, incertum metu an per invictum. Seneca Ep. 69 objects to the word breviarium, saying that the true Latin word is sumnarium. For breviarium for an abstract of accounts see Galb. 13.

vectigaliorum residuis, 'arrears of taxes,' 'balances still in the hands of the receivers,' as is shown by the definition in the Dig. 48, 13, 2 (L and Sh.) legi Iulii de residuis tentarum qui publicam pecuniam delegatum in usu alium retinuit nunc in eum consumptum. For the form vectigalieron cf. c. 53 sponsalorum. See Macrobi. Sat. 1, 4 § 12 Asinius Pollio vectigaliorum frequenter usurpavit, quod vectigal non minus dicatur quam vectigalia, by which Macrobius seems to mean that vectigal (a shortened form for vectigala) follows the rule of such adjectives used substantively, many of which have the gen. plur. in -orum, e.g. baccanum, complura etc. Roby L. G. § 475.
APPENDIX A.

I. MONUMENTUM ANCYRANUM.

Of the three volumina left by Augustus the second was an index rerum a se gestarum (c. 101; Dio 56, 33) which he wished to be engraved on bronze tablets to be affixed to the front of the Mausoleum. This was no doubt done, but these tablets have long disappeared. Fortunately a copy was also it seems commonly engraved on temples of 'Augustus and Rome' in the provinces with a Greek version as the κοινὴ διαλέκτος. Of these copies one remains fairly complete on the walls of a temple at Ancyra in Galatia [Angora], and some fragments at Apollonia in Pisidia. The first partial copy of the Latin version was made by a Dutchman, Augerius Busbequius, when on a mission to Soliman in 1555, and was printed by Andrew Schott in an edition of Aurelius Victor (1577). This however was a mere fragment of the whole; and since that time various attempts have been made to obtain a complete copy, as by Daniel Cosson, Dutch Vice-consul at Smyrna (in the 17th century), and the Frenchman Paul Lucas by the order of Louis XIV. At length in 1861 Napoleon III. obtained a complete transcript by the exertions of G. Perrot and E. Guillaume. Finally, in 1882, C. Humann obtained a plaster cast of the whole, both Greek and Latin, in a series of plates which were safely deposited in the Museum at Berlin. This is the foundation of the text as restored and revised by Mommsen in 1883.
Rērum gestārum dīvi Augusti, quibus orbem terrārum imperio populi Rom. subjīcit, et impensarum, quas in rem publicam populumque Ro[m]num fecit, incisarum in duabus ahēñis pilis, quae su[r]t Romae positae, exemplar sub[e]ctum.


Μεθημπρευμέναι ὑπεγράφησαν πράξεις τε καὶ δωρεῖ τοὺς Σαβατοῦς θεοῦ, ἵνα ἀνέληπτεν ἐπὶ Ρώμης ἔννομαφρομένας χιλικαὶ στῆλαι δυναί.
APPENDIX A.

a[m] haec, [et agebam se]p[ tinum et trigensimum annum tribu]-
niciae potestatis.

B.C. 22
[Dictatura]m et a[nsent]i et praesenti mihi datam . . . . . a populo et 5
senatu M. Marci]lio e[r] L. Ar[runtio] consulibus non acep[i]. Non
recusavi in summa frumenti p]enur[a] c]uratio[nem an]nonae,
qu'am ita a[]d]ministravi, ut . . . . . paucis diebus] metu et per[sr]c[lo]
quo erat populi]m univ[ersum meis impensis liberarem]. Con-
sulatum tum dat]um anuum e[i] perpetuum non acep[i].

B.C. 19
[Consulibus M. Vinicio et Q. Lucretio et postea P.] et Cn. L[entulio et 6
tertium Paullo Fabio Maximo et Q. Tuberone senatu populo]a[e
Romano consentientibus] . . . . . . .

B.C. 11
. . . . . . . . . .

(Memor
regimem)

. . . . [Princeps senatus fui usque ad eum diem, quo scrips]-
eram [haec, per annos quadraginta. Pontifex maximus, augur,
quindecinvoirum]m sacris [faciundis, septemvoirum epulonum, frater
arvalis, sodalis Titius, femid[s] ful.

B.C. 29
Patriciorum numerum auxil consul quintum iussit populi et senatus. 8
Senatum ter l[egi]. Et in consulatu sexto censum populi conleg[ad]
M. Agrrippa egi. Lustrum post annum alterum et quadra-
gensimum fec[i]. Quo lustro civium Romanorum censu sunt
capita quadragiens centum millia et sexag[ra]nta tria millia.

B.C. 28
[Iberu]m consulari cum imperio lustrum [r]ulius feci C. Censorio[en
et C.] Asinio cos. Quo lustro censu sunt civium Romanor]m cap[:]
quadragni centum millia et ducenta triginta tria mil[i][a].

Tertius]m consulari cum imperio lustrum conlega Tib. Cae[sare
sunt civium Ro]manorum capitum quadragiens centum millia et
nongenta triginta et septem millia. Legibus novis latis
complura e]xempla maiorum exolescentia iam ex nost[r] ro usu
reduxi et ipse] multarum rerum exc]mpla imitanda pos[t e]
tradi].

[Vota pro valetudine mea suscipi per cons][ulés et sacerdotes qu[into]
I. MONUMENTUM ANCYRANUM. 181.


6 Ὅπως Μάρκου Ὀλυμπιοῦ καὶ Κοιντοῦ Λ[ουκ]ρ[α]τι καὶ μετά τα[έ]τια Ποπλως καὶ Νάουρ Δέντλος καὶ τρίτον Παύλλο Φίλιππος Μαξίμῳ καὶ Κούρτο τοῦ Τουβέρου τῆς [τῆς συνελθήσεως τοῦ] δήμου τοῦ Ρωμαίο[ν οἰκοδομήσας]ν, ὡς ἐπειτελήσαν τοῖς τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν πρῶτων εἰς τῇ μεγίστῃ τῆς συνελθήσεως χειροτονηθεὶς, ἀρχηγὸς ὅθεν τιμήσεις αὐτῶν παράκοιτων τῇ διδαμένη ἐξουσίας. Ὅπως τότε διὸ ἦν καὶ ὅπως ὑπάρχεις παρατηρήσας ἐξεξίμηκεν τῆς δημαρχίας ἐξεξίμηκεν ὅτι ἐδίδοθαι. Ὅπως τοῖς αὐτοῖς τῆς ἁγιασμοῦ· ἐξορεύσας τοῦ συνελθήσεως ἐξεξίμηκεν αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς συνελθήσεως αὐτ南海网s
qu[ero anno senatus decrevit. Ex ipsis votis [ae]pe fecerunt vivo
me ludus aliquotiens sacerdotum quattuor amplissima collégia, aliquotiens consules. Privatis etiam et municipatis univer[i]
cives sacrificaverunt semp[ex] apud omnia pulvinaria pró vale[tudine
mea].

Nomen meum senatus consultum incum est in saliáre carmen et
sacrosanctus ut esset . . . . . . . ut qu[ae]vórum [ae]x viverem, tribúnia
potestás mihi [esse, lege sanctum est. Pontifex] ex maximus ne
fierem in vívó [senatus]locum, populo id sace[ditium] deferente
mihi, quod pater meus habitum recusavi. Cepi id] sacerdotium
aliquot post annós eó mortuo qui civilis motus o[cassione
occupauerat, cuncta ex Italia [ad comitia mea . . . tanta
mu]litudine, quanta Romae nunc [ae]um [antea fuisse fertur, coeunt]
P. Sulpicio C. Valgió consultibus[s].

Ararum Fortunae reducti iuxta simulat aeris Honoris et Virtutis ad portam
Çapenam pro reditu meo se[natus] consacravit, in qua ponti fis[e et
virgines Vestales annul]sárium sacrificium facere [iussit, dixi quo
consilium Q. Lucrétio et M. Vinició] in urbem ex [Syria re[e et

Senatus consultum eodem tempore par[e] praetori et tribunorum [plébis
cum consule Q. Lucrétio et princi[pibus] [viris ob]viam mihi
misc[iam in Campani]a[m, qui] honos [ad hoc tempus] nemini
praeter [me] est decretus. Cum ex H[ispâniá] Gallíisque, rebus
in his p[rovincias] prosp[cere [esse]]s, Romam redire Ti. Ne[r]one
P. Qui[nili consulibus]s, aram [Pacis A[u]s s[ae senatus pro]
redire]s mió [consecrare censuit] ad cam[pu]rum Martium, in qua
[m]istratus et sac[erdotes et virgines] V[est[is]s anniversarium
sacri]culum facer[e iussit].

[Anam] Quirini[m, quem clausis ess[e maiores nostri voluerunt],
[cam per totum imperium populi Romani] ni terra marique es]set
parta vic[tòriis] s[ax, cum pr[ius, quam] náscerar, [a condita] ut[ra]
bis omnino clausum [fuiisse prodatur m[emoriae], ter me
princ[ipe senatu]s claudendum esse censu[i].

Filílios meos, quòs iuv[eris mihi]eripuit forf[juna], Gaium et Lucium
Caesares honoris mei causá senatus populosque Romanus annum
quintum et decimal agents consulés designavit, ut [ae]um magis
trátum inrept post quinquennium. Et ex eó die, quó deducti
[s]unt in forum, ut interesset consiliis publicís decrevit sena[tus].

Equites [ae]tem Románi universi principem juventútis utrumque
córum para[més] et hastís argenteis donátum appelláverunt.
I. MONUMENTUM ANCYRANUM.

καθ' ἐκάστην πεντετερίδα ἐφφόβαστο ἡ σύνκλητος. ἐκ τούτων τῶν ἐγχών πλευστάκις ἐγένοντο θέα, τοτὲ μὲν ἐκ τῆς συναρχικάς τῶν τεσσάρων ἱερῶν, τοτὲ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπάτων. Καὶ καθ' ἰδίας δὲ καὶ κατὰ πάλιν ὑπάντας οἱ πολεῖται ὑμοθυμάδ[ι]ν συνεχῶς θύειαν ὑπέρ τῆς ἔμας σω[φ]ρίας.

10 Ὁ δὲ ὁμοίως μου συνεκλητος ὁμώρατοι ὑμονίμοι ἔλιπον. καὶ ἐν οἷο τῇ βίοι τῆς ἀνθρώπου, τῇ δὴ ταύτῃ ἡμῶν ἐκεῖνω, τῆς δὲ ἡμῶν ἐκείνη, τοῦ δόμου μου καταφέρωντο εἰς τὸν τοῦ ζώοντος τόσον, οὐ προσέβαλλειν, ὅτι δὲ ἡμῶν καταφέρωντο πλῆθος συνελεύσαντον ὑπέρ τῆς ἐκείνης συνεκλητού.

11 Νωμον Τύχῃς σωτήριον ὑπέρ τῆς ἔμας ἐπανόδου πρὸς τῇ Κατηρή πήλιθ 

12 Δόγματι σὺν κλήρου οἱ τὰς μεγάλας ἀρχὰς ἀρετῶν στοιχυρωμε 

13 Πάλαι Ἄνδαλος, ὃν ἐκκλήσατο οἱ πατρεῖς ἡμῶν ἠθέλησαν ἐφφόβαστον τῆς Ἐμαῖς ἐπανόδου 

14 Νωμον Μάχασκος, οἰς νιάναις ἀνήρτασα τῇ τούχῃ, εἰς τὴν ἔμας τεμπόλης η ἦτος σύνκλητος καὶ δήμοις τῶν Ῥωμιοῖς πετέκακακεῖς διόταν ὑπό τούτοις ἀνέδειξεν. ἦν μετὰ πάντες ἐτὰ εἰς τὴν ἐπανόδου ἐφφόβαστον καὶ ἀνθρώπων τῶν Ἐμαῖς ἐκείνης τῆς συνεκλητοῦ ἐφφόβαστο.
Plebei Românae virîm hâs treccenos numeravi ex testamento patris 15
meâ, et nomine meâ hâs quadringenos ex bellórüm manibís
consul quintum dedi; iterum autem in consulátum decimo ex [ðra]-
trimoni meâ hâs quadringenos congiárii virîm pernume[ð]v[i] et
consul undecimum duodecim frumentátiónes frúmentum pr[e]vati
cómpto emensum sum, et tribuniciá potestáte duodecimum
quadringenós nummós tertium virîm dedi. Quae mea congiária
p[e]rvenérunt ad [homi]num millia nunquam minus quinquáinta
et ducenta. Tribù[nic]ae potestáte duodevicensimum consul
xii trecentís et vigint[i] millibus plebís urbánæex sexagenós
denáríos virîm dedi. In colon[i]s militum meórum consul
quintum ex manibís virîm millia nummum singula dedi; acceperunt id triumphale congiárii in colo[n]s hòmis hominum
circiter centum et viginti millia. Consul tertium dec[i]num
sexagenós denáríos plebêi, quae tum frúmentum publicum accipie-
ba[ð] dedi; ea millia hòmis in paúlo plúra quam ducenta
fuerunt.

Pecuniam [pro] agrís, quós in consulátu meó quarto et postea con-
16 sulibus M. Cr[asso et] Cn. Lentulo augure adsignávi militibus,
(solví) münicipís. Ea [s]umma sex] certium circiter sexens miñi
fuit, quam [ðro] Italici prae[ð]s numeravi, et ci[ð]citer bis
mill[i]s et sexentesí, quod pro agris próvin[ç]ibus solvi.

Id primus et [s]alus omnium, qui [ð]edíxerunt colonias
militum in Italì aut in provinciâ, ad memori[ð]am et áetatis meae
feci. Et postea Ti. Nerone et Cn. Písone consulibus, iten[ç]ue
C. Antistio et D. Laelio cos., et C. Calvisio et L. Pasíeno con-
sulibus, et L. Lentulo et M. Mæsalla consulibus, et L. Cænínio
et Q. Fabricio co[ñ] militibus, quos òmeréteis stipendii in sua
municipiâ [à remisi], praemi[à] numerato persolví, quam in rém

Quater [pe]cuniá mea iúvi aerírion, ita ut sestertium milli[n] et 17
quinque[ien]s ad eos qui praerant aerírion detulérum. Et M.
consilio meà eo co[nstitut]um est, ex [ç]uo praemia darentur
militibus, qui vicena [aut plu]ca sti[pendi]a emeréissent, hâs

[Inde ab eo anno, ç]uo Cn. et P. Lentuli consules fuerunt, cum 18
d[ç]icerent [vecti]g[alla, tum] centum millibus h[omi]num tu[m
et pat[riminio] m[ç]o [opem tuli].

16 Χρήστῳ ἐν ὑπατείᾳ τετάρτῃ ἐμῆ κατ’ ἄνδρα τριάκοντα ἑδωκα Μάρκῳ Κράσσῳ καὶ Ναιῤ Λεόντῳ ἀναγραφεῖ ταῖς πόλεις ἐμῆς ἴριθμῆς ὑπάρχουσαν, οὐς ἐμῆς τοῖς στρατιωταῖς. Κεφαλαίῳ ἐγένοντο ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ μὲν μύρια πεντάκοοι ἐξ [λαία μυρίας, τῶν] ἐπαρχεισι κτισμα ἐξ [καὶ πεντήκοντα] των ταύτων ὑπατων τῶν [καταγεγραμμένων]. Τυποτῶν, πρῶτος καὶ μέγιστος ἐπεσάνω τῶν ταὐτών διακοσιάς ἐμῆς ἡλικίας καὶ μετέπειτα Τιτλεύρῳ, Νέρωνι καὶ Ναιῤ Πείνωνι, ὑπατοῖς καὶ παλίν Θαγήν, Αὐγίτω, Δικτυμ, Λαλίῳ, Γαύρι, Καλωσύρῳ, Λεοκνῆς, Πασσίρῳ, Δέντρω, Μάρκω, Μεστάμ[..] ὑπατοῖς καὶ Ιωκῆς Καννίβαλ[ς], καὶ [Κ] ἱοῖνος Φαί[μελ]. καὶ καὶ ὑπάτοις στρατιωταῖς ἀπολογομένους, οὐς κατηγοροῦν εἰς τὰς ἡδονὰς πώλεις, φιλανθρόπου ἄνδρα ζήσας μυρίῳ [μυρίῳ].

Cútriam et continens efl chalcidicum, templumque Apollinis in Palatio cum porticus, aedem divi Iulii, Lupercai, porticum ad circum Flaminium, quam sum appellandi passus ex nómine eius qui primum edem in solo fecerat Octaviam, pulvinar ad circum maximum, aedés in Capitolio Iovis feretrum et Iovis tonantis, aedem Quirini, aedés Minervae et Iúnonis reginae et Iovis Libertatis in Áventino, aedem Larum in summá sacrá via, aedem deum Penáti in Velia, aedem Iuventátis, aedem Mátris Magnae in Palátió féci.

Capitolium et Pompeiæ theatrum utrunque opus impensá grandi réfeci sine ullá inscriptione nominis méi. Rivos aquarum complúribus locis vetustáte labentés réfeci, et aquam quae Márcia appellátur duplicavi fonte novo in rívum eius inmisso.


I. MONUMENTUM ANCYRANUM.

19 Βουλευτήριον καὶ τὸ πλησίον αὐτοῦ χαλκικόν, ναὸν τε Απόλλωνος ἐν Παλατίνῳ στὸν στολάς, ναὸν θεοῦ [Ἰ]ουλίῳ, Πανός ἱερὸν, στοὰν πρὸς ἑπιδορίμα τῷ προσαγωγομένῳ Φλαμίνῳ, ἣν έστω προσαγωγομένου εἰς ὁμοίωσις ἕκκου Ὀκταπώλος, διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὴν ἀνάγχησαν, ναὸν πρὸς τὸ μεγάλα ἑπιδορίμα, ναὸν ἐν Καπιτώλῃ Δώρῳ ὀσπισκόφῳ καὶ Δόρῳ βραχτηρίον, ναὸν Κερεύ[ὁ], ναὸς Ἀδηνᾶς καὶ Ἡρᾶς βασιλείως καὶ Δώρῳ Ἐλευθερίου ἐν Αὐστηνίῳ, ἑρώων πρὸς τῇ ἱερᾷ ὄψιν, θων κατοικίας ἐν Οδηγίᾳ, ναὸν Νεότητος, ναοὶ ἅμα μυχρὸς θεῶν ἐν Παλατίνῳ ἑπόρφη.


21 Ἐν ἰδιωτικῇ ἑδάφει Ἀρεώς Ἀμιστορος ἁγοραῖος τῇ Σεβαστῆν ἐν λακόφιοι ἑπόρφην ἐπόρφην. Θάρτρων πρὸς τῷ Απόλλωνος ναὸν ἐπὶ ἑδάφος ἐν πλεῖστην μέρους ἀγορασθέντος ἀνέγερα ἔπει ὁμοίωσις Μαρκέλλου τοῦ γαμβροῦ μου. Ἀνακεκομαί ἐν λακόφιοι ἐν Καπιτώλῃ καὶ ναοὶ Ἰουλίῳ καὶ ναοὶ Απόλλωνος καὶ Σταύρεια καὶ Ἀρεώς ἀκρόπολις, ᾖ ἐμοὶ κατάλληλον ἐνυφώσανος δι[σ]χοῖ(ε)ί(ω)υ(ν) πεπέτυ(σιν). Εἰς χρισούς στέφανον λειτουργίαν τρισ[μερίων] πεπεμβατέοις καταφρονο- σαις τοῖς ἐν Ἰππαλλόπολεῖ θείοις καὶ ἀποκλειεῖ συγκεχρήσας τῇ τῇ περίπλοκος ὁπατείων, καὶ ὡστορόν ὀπάσκες αὐτοκράτωρ προσεχρητικήν, τὰς ἐν τὸν στέφανον ἐπαγγελίαν ὁδόν ἤθανν ψυχικῶν τῶν ποιητῶν καὶ ἀποκλείον μετὰ τῆς αὐτῆς προδόθηκας, καθαρίζειν ἐφηφάσασται προφετηρικῶν.

quater , aliorum autem m[agis]ràtu[m] vicem ter et vicie[ns] 
. [Pr]o conlegio xv virorum magis[ter conl]e[ge]i colleg[a] 
i]d tempus dince[pser]a ins[aquis] i[bus ann]iis . . . . . . . . . [fuerunt 
nominé aut filio[ru]m meórum et nepotum in ci[rco] aut [i]n foro 
aut in amphitheatris populi d'edi sexiens et viciens, quibus 
confecta sunt bestiarum circiter tria m[ill]ia et quingentae.

Navalis proelii spectaculum populo de[di tr]ans Tiberim, in quo loco 23
nunc nemus est Caesarum, cavato [sole] in longitudinem mille 
and octingentos pedes, in latitudinem mille e[ct]i ducenti. In quo 
triginta rostratae naves triremes a[ut hirem]és, plures autem 
mn奧res inter se confluxerunt. Q[uibus in] classibus pugnaverunt 
praeter rémigés millia ho[minum tr]ia circiter.

In templis omnium civitátum pr[ovinca]e Asiae victor ornamenta 24
reposui, que spoliátis tem[plis is] cum quò bellum gesseram 
privátim possedére. Statuae [mae]re pedestres et equestres et 
in quadrigeis argenteae steterunt in urbe xxc circiter, quas ipse 
sustuli exque ea pecuniá dona aurea in áede Apollinis meó 
nomine et illórum, qui mihi statuárum honórem habuerunt, 
posuì.

Mare pacávi á praedonib[u]s. Éó bello servórum, qui fugerant á 25 
dominis suis et arma contrá rem publicam céperant, triginta fere 
millia capta dominis ad supplicium sumendum tradidí. Iura-
vit in mea verba tótá Italia spine suá et me be[lli], quò vici ad 
Actium, ducem depoposcit. Iravérunt in eadem ver[b]a 
provis]ciae Galliae Hispaniae Africa Sicilia Sardiniae. Qui sub 
signis meis tum ] militaverint, fuerunt senátóres plúres quam dccc, 
in 1[is qui vel antea vel post]eás consules facti sunt ad eum diem 
quò scripta su[n]t haec, LXXXIII, sacerdo[tés ci[r]iter CLXX.

Omnium pròv[inciarum populi Romaní], quibus finitimae fuerunt 26 
gentés quae n[on parrent imperio nos]tro, fines auxi. Gallias et 
Hispaniás provinciá[s et Germaniánam qua inclu]dit óceanus a Gádi-
bus ad óstium Albi flú[m]ins pacávi. Alpes a re[gión]e ea, quae 
proxima est Hadriánó mari, [ad Tuscum pacari feci] nullí genti 
bello per initíáram inlátó. Clá[siis mea per Oceanum] ab óstio 
Rhénì ad sólis orientis regionem usque ad f[nes Cimborum]m
navigavit, quo neque terra neque mari quisquam Romanus


Aegyptum imperio populi [Re]mani adieci. Armeniam maiorem 27

interfecto rége eius Artaxé c[u]m posses facer principiam, máului maiórum nostrórum exemplo regn[u]m id Tigrani regis


Colonias in Afri[c]a Sicilia M]acedóniá utráque Hispánia Achai[ae]


Signa militaria complur[a per] aliís d[u]cés ámi[saa] devictis hostibus 29


Pannoniorum gentes, quas a[nte] me principem populi Romani 30

exercitus nunquam ad[r], devictas per Ti. [Né]ronem, qui tum erat privignus et legátor meus, imperio populi Romani s[ubie]rc protilique finés Illyrici ad r[i]am flúmis Danii[u]. Cité[au]


Ad me ex In[dia regum legationes saepe missae sunt, nunquam antea 31

I. MONUMENTUM ANCYRANUM.

κατὰ γένος οὖν κατά δόλῳ παρεδόθην τοις τούτοις τοῖς χρόνοις προσπήλθησαι καὶ Κιμβροῖς καὶ Χάλεβις καὶ Σάμου λαὶ ταῦτα πολλὰ ἔθην Ερμαίων διὰ προσβεβίων τὴν ἔμην φιλάνθρωπον καὶ τὴν δήμον Ἐρμαίων ἑττηθαντικώς. Ἡμι ἐπιτηγαγὴ καὶ οἰκονομᾶς ἀιτίας δύο συντεχνάμενα ἐπεξήγη Αἴθυστῃ καὶ Ἀραβίᾳ τῇ ἐσταυρωμένη καλομηνείᾳ μεγάλαις τὰ τῶν πολεμίων δυνάμεις κατέκεφαν ἐν παρατάξει καὶ πλείονας πόλεις δορυφορίας ἐλαβεῖν καὶ προσβάλειν τοῖς Ἀθηναῖοι μέχρι πόλεως Νεάκτης, ἣς εἶτε ἐν αὐτῇ Νερόπῃ, ἐν Ἀραβίᾳ δὲ μέχρι πόλεως Ναρβαίας.

27 Άγιετον δῆμον Ἐρμαίων ἐγγυμονώμεθα προσθέθηκε, Ἀρμενιὰν τὴν μ[ε]ξονά διορθώτας τοῦ βασιλέως δυνάμεως ἐπαρχείαν ποίησα μᾶλλον ἐξουσίαν κατὰ τὰ πάρα ἡμῶν ἔθνη βασιλείαν Τριγάνης Ἀρταμώνου νῷ, νῷ λειψᾷ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν βασιλείων διὸ Ἀρτέμιου Ἀρτεμίδος καὶ τῶν ἔρχοντα ἢ καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐν οὗ ἀδικατόμου καὶ ἀναπολεμανῶν διακριθείσάν ὑπὸ τῶν τῶν ἕκενοις ἔστεν τῷ νῷ αὐτοῦ Ἀρταμώνου ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ ἧπορχηθείσῃ, ἐν ἑνὶ ἔκενε φάσην Ἀρμενίου βασιλείας, εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν ἐτέμῳ. Εἰπαρχεὶς ἄσπασας, δοῦ καὶ ἐρείμονες ἐκ τῶν ἐνοίκων κάποιοι διατέκεισαν πρὸς αὐτοῖς, καὶ Κυρήνην ἐν μεσίζονοι μέρους ὑπὸ βασιλείων κατασχημαναὶ καὶ ἐμπροσθεῖν Σκυλίλιαν καὶ Ἀμπρᾶ διοικημένους πολέμου βουλευτή ἀνελάβουσα.

28 Ἀποκειάσας ἐν Διμήθη Σκυλίλιαν Ἀκεδώνας ἐν ἑκάτερα τὰ Ἰστανία Ἀχαϊα Ἀσια Συρίας Γαλατίας τῇ περὶ Νάρββωνα Πιστίδας στρατηγῶν κατήγαγον. Ἰταλία δὲ εἶκος ἕκενοις ἐξεῖ ἕκενοι κατακρεῖσας, αἱ ἐκεῖνοι περὶςδότας πληθύνοντες ἐπίτηδεν καταπληκτικά.

29 Στημεῖος στρατηγικῶν πολείων ὑπὸ ἄλλων ἐγγυμονῶν ἀποφθέγμασις [μισοῦ τοῦ] τοιαύτης ἀνελάβοντο ἐξ Ἰστανίας καὶ Γαλατίας καὶ παρὰ Δαλματίων διὰ ἐν τοῖς τριῳ στρατηγικοῖς Ἐρμαίων σχεδόν καὶ σημεῖα ἐποδύναμεν ὑμοὶ ἐκεῖνοι κατὰ τὸν τοῖς Ρωμαίοις ἐξεῖσαι ἡγέσασαν, τοίοτας δὲ τὸς σημεῖος ἐν τῷ Ἀρείῳ τοῦ Αμαλότορος νοοὶ ἀδίκω ἀπεθέλησαν.

30 Παναπονίζοντας ἔθη, οἷς πρὸ ἐκεῖνοι θεομαθεῖον στρατέματα Ἐρμαίων ὑπὸ ἡγούμενος, ἡγοῦμενον ἐν τῷ Τιβερίῳ καὶ Νέρων, ἐν τῇ ἔκενῳ ἔνα προφανεῖς καὶ συντεχναίος ἡγούμενος Ἐρμαίων ὑπετάξα τὰ τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ ὄρῳ μέχρι Ἰστανίου ποταμοῦ προφάγον ὑπὸ ἐπιτεῖς δὲ Δάκων διαβάζοντο πολλὰς δύναμες ἐμοὶ ἀδικῶς κατέφθασαν καὶ ἐπτείμωνες τὸ ἔκενον στρατεύματα σφάλλων Ἰστανίου τὰ Δάκων ἔθη προστάταμας ἔδωκαν Ἐρμαίων ὑπομονῶν ἡγέσασιν.

31 Πρὸς ἐκεῖ Ἐνδια βασιλέωσι προσβεβίαι πολλάς ἀπετάλλαξεν, ἔδωκεν πρὸ τοῦ τούτου χρόνου ἐφθασεῖν παρὰ Ἐρμαίων ἐγγυμονῶν. Τὴν ἡμερί
 APPENDIX A.


Ad me supplices config[urunt] reges Parthorum T[e]rida[tes et postea] 32
Phrat[es] regis Phrat[i]s filius; Medorum [Artavasdes, Adiab-]
benorum A[r]taxares; Britann[i]rum Dumnobellau[n]us et Tim
........; [Sugambrorum] Maelio; Mar[c]omanorum Sueba[rum]
........ rurs. [Ad me rex] Parthorum Phrates Oro[s] filius
filios suos nepot[es omnes misit] in Italiam, non bello supera-
tu[r]; sed amicitiam nostram per [liberorum] suorum pignora
petens. Plurimaque alia gentes exper[ie sunt p. R.] fidem
me principe, quibus ante cum populo Romano nullum exter-
ter legationum et amicitiae [c]ommercium.

Á me gentés Parthórum et Méđórum[m per legatos] principes eárum 33
gentium regés pet[r]íros accéperunt Par[the] Venedem regis Phr[ates]
filium, régis Oródis nepotem; Médd Ar[iobarzanem] regis Arta-
vadis filium, regis Ariobarzanis nepotem.

In consuláti sexto et septimo, b[ella urbi civit]ia extinixeram per 34
consénsum universiónem [potitus rerum omnis], rem publicam ex
mea potestáte in senátus populique Romanó a[tribütrium trans-
tulit. Quo pro merito méc]senatu[s consulto Aug. ap]pendi[latus sum
et lauris postés acdium meárum et potitus publice coronascole civica
super iussünam meam fixa est [clupeusque aurium in [clu]
diá Iúlió
positus, quem mihi senatum [populumque Romanum]n dare virtutis
clem[entia] justitia[e pietatis causa testatum] est pe[r c]us clúpe[i
[inscriptionem. Post id temp]us praestitit omnibus dignitáte,
potestatis au[tem n]ihilo amplius [e habui quam qui fuerunt n]ihis
quoque in magni[i]tra[ta] conlegáe.

Tertium decem consulátum[m cum gerebam, senatus et e]ster ordó 35
populus[ui] Románus uníversus [appellavit me patrem patriæ]
idique in vestibulum ediórum inscriptum dum esse et in curia
[i]n foro Aug. sub quadríng[ulis], quae mihi [ex] s. c. postitae sunt,
decrevit. Cum sc[ri]psi haec, annum agebam septuages[üm sextum].

Summary added after the death of Augustus.

Summá pecún[i]ae, quam dec[imus in aerarium vel plebei Romanae vel 36
di[missis militiae] denarius se[x]e[m]m illiensi.

Opera fecit nova aedem Martis, [Iovis tonantis et feretri, Apollinis,]
dív[í Iúlii, Quirini, Minervae, [Iunonis reginae, Iovis Libertatis,]
, Σα[ν]ᾶρ[ῶν] [Μ]αλλων, Μαρκομά[νων Σο[σί]βων]
, ρος. [Πρὸς] ἐμας βασιλεῖς Πάρθων Φρα[άτης


35 Τρισκακαίδεκαν ἑπτακτεὶ ἐρχομος μου τι κῦκλητος καὶ τὸ ἐπικοί κεῖται ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων προσγιγώθηκε με πατέρας πατριδός καὶ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τοῦ πυλῶν τῆς ὑμείς μου καὶ ἐν τῇ βουλευτηρίῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ άγορᾷ τῇ Σεβαστῇ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀριστεία, ο μοι δόγματι συνκλητοῦ ἀνετείθη, ἐπιγραφήματι ἐσφημάτο. Ὁτε ἔγραφον ταῦτα, ἤγγο ἐτὸς ἐξοδομηριστοῦ ἑκτον.

36 Συνεκφολαισθεὶς ἡμιθυμημένος χρήματος εἰς τὸ αἱρέμων ἡ τῶν Ῥωμαίων οὐκ ἔφεσεν ὑμῶν ἡ τῶν Ῥωμαίων οὐκ ἔφεσεν στρατιώτους; ἦν μυρμάδες μυρμάδων. Ἑρμα καὶ ἕγεντο ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ναὸς μὲν Ἀρεώς, Δίως βροντηροῦ καὶ τροποφόρου, Παινὸς, Ἀπόλλωνος, θεοῦ Τιμίου, Κυρέωνος, Λ[θ]η[γ]οχος, Ἕρας βασιλείδος, Δίως Ελευθερίου, S.
Larum, deum Penátium, Iuv[entatis, Matris deum, Lupercal, pulvina]r ad circum, cúriam cum ch[alcido, forum Augustum, basilica]m Iuliam, theatrum Marcelli, [p]or[icus .........., nemus trans T]iberím Caesarum.


I. MONUMENTUM ANCYRANUM.

ἵρωαν, θεῶν πατρίων, Νεότητος, Μητρός θεῶν,
β[αυλιτήριον] σῶν χαλκιδικῆς, ἀγορᾶ Σεβαστῆ, θεάτρων
Μαρκέλλου, β[αυλιτήριον] Ἰουλία, ἀλοιπού Κασαρίου, στοιά
€[ν] Παλατ[ι], στοὰ ἐν ἱπποδόμῳ Φαλαμνίῳ. Ἐπεσκευάσθη [η τὸ
Καπιτάλλου, ναόι οὐκόκοιντα δύο, θ[ατρίον] Π[αμπίροι,
δῶδ Φαλαμνία, ἀγοραὶ ὑδάτων. Η[πατ]άνας ἐν θέας καὶ μονο-
μάχους καὶ αθλητῶς καὶ ναυμαχίαν καὶ ἱππομαχίαν δωρεάν [τε] ἀποκάλεσ
tολεσιν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, πόλεσιν ἐν ἵπποχεῖαισιν, στειρῷ καὶ [1] ἐπιτριβοῖς
πετονηρίασις ἢ κατ' ἄνδρα φίλοις καὶ συνελεητικοῖς, ὃν τὸς τεμένεσις
προσεξεπλήσσεν: ἀπειρὸν πλῆθος.

13—2
II. DATES IN THE LIFE OF AUGUSTUS.

C. I. L. x. 8375 (at Cumae). Rushforth 38.

Aug. 19. [XIII K. Septembr. eo die Caesar primum consulatum in[iit . . . . .]
Sept. 3. [III Non. Septembr. eo die exercitus Lepidi tradidit se Caesari.
Suppli[ca]tio . . .]
Oct. 18. XV K. Novemb. eo die Caesar togam virilém sumpsit. Supplicatio
Spei et Iuvi[nuts].
Dec. 15. XVIII K. Ianuar. eo die a[ra] Fortunae Reduci dedicatae quae
Caesarem [ex transmaris,]
nis provincis reduct[ur]. Supplicatio Fortunae Reduci.
Jan. 7. VII Idus Ianuar. eo die [Caesar] primum fasces sumpsit. Supplicatio
Iovi sempiterno.
Augusto.
imperio Caesari Augusti custodis
[civium Romanorum totiusque orbis terrarum].
Quirinum].
Augustae.
Apr. 15. XVII K. Mai. eo die Caesar primum imperator appellatus est. Supplicatio
Feliciti Imperi.
May 12. [III Id. Mai. eo die aedes Martis dedicatae. Supplicatio] Moli[ius
Martis.

July 12. [IIIId. Jul. natalis divi Iuli. Supplicatio Iovi], Marti Ultori,
[Gen[ericis].

Suppli]catio Iovi . . . .
APPENDIX B.

THE ASSASSINS OF IULIUS.

To avenge his great-uncle's murder was the first object of Octavian [c. 10, M. A. 1]. The revenge took gradually a wider sweep, but it was in the first place to be exacted from those who had taken actual part in the murder. Of these men Suetonius [Caesar 80] says that scarcely any survived their victim more than three years, or died a natural death. All were condemned under the *lex Pedia*, and were either executed, or perished by shipwreck, or fell in battle, or killed themselves. Dio [48, 1] says that all but a few met with the fate which the murder of a benefactor deserved. Plutarch [Caes. 69] declares that the Fortune which attended Caesar in his lifetime became an avenging spirit after his death, pursuing and tracking his murderers over land and sea till none were left. It is scarcely possible to test this statement completely, for the number privy to the conspiracy was large,—60 according to Suetonius [Caes. 80], 'some obscure and some young' [Cic. 2 Phil. § 26], and accordingly many of their names are unknown to us; but with some exceptions it is confirmed by what we learn of those whose names have been preserved.

The most extensive list of names is that given by Appian *B. civ.* 2, 111—113, but some are learnt from other sources. They are:

M. Iunius Brutus Caepio.

*Killed himself at Philippi* b.c. 42. App. 4, 131; Dio 47, 49.

Dec. Iunius Brutus Albinus.

*Killed in Gaul* b.c. 43. App. 4, 98; Dio 46, 53.

C. Servilius Casca.

Cic. 2 Phil. § 27. *Publius was tribune in b.c. 43, and was con- demned under the lex Pedia* [Dio 46, 49; Cic. ad fam. 16, 15; 13 Phil. § 31], *but escaped from Rome and fought at Philippi* [b.c. 42]. Plut.
APPENDIX B.

Brut. 45]. He either fell there or perished soon afterwards, but it is not known which. Gaius seems to have been Tribune in B.C. 44 and to have tried to disclaim any share in the murder [Dio 44, 52], but Cicero [2 Phil. 27] and Appian [B. civ. 2, 113] speak of both brothers being among the assassins, and Plutarch [Cas. 66] represents Casca (he gives no praenomen or nomen) exclaiming ἄδειλε, βοήθει. His subsequent fate is unknown.

Caeцийus and Bucilianus.

Appian, Lc. Nothing is known of these two brothers. Bucilianus accompanied M. Brutus and presumably shared his fate [Cic. ad Att. 15, 17, § 2; 16, 4 § 4].

C. Cassius.

Killed himself at Philippi, App. B. civ. 4, 113; Dio 47, 46.

Cassius Parmensis.

Put to death in B.C. 31 or 30, see note on p. 8.

Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus.

It has been questioned whether he was among the assassins. He was however condemned under the lex Pedia and was in the proscription list. Coceius, the legate of Antony in B.C. 40, denied that he was an assassin [App. B. civ. 5, 62]; but Cicero [2 Phil. §§ 27, 50] names him emphatically, and Appian, though he does not mention him in his account of the murder, speaks of him elsewhere [B. civ. 5, 59] as a φόνος Πολύτοιος, as also does Dio [48, 7 and 54]. He was in command of ships at the time of the battle of Philippi, and after that joined Sext. Pompeius; but after the treaty of Tarentum [B.C. 37] became reconciled with Antony, by whose influence he secured the consulship in B.C. 32. Though on the rupture between Augustus and Antony in that year he left Rome and joined the latter, he quarrelled with Cleopatra and joined Augustus before Actium, but died shortly afterwards, prior it seems to the actual battle [Dio 50, 13]. See p. 38.

Q. Antistius Labeo.

Father of the jurist [see c. 54]. He caused a slave to kill him in his tent after Philippi [App. B. civ. 4, 135]. See Cic. Ep. ad Brut. 1, 18; 2, 27.

Q. Ligarius.

Plutarch [Brut. 11] calls him Gaius. Cicero had defended him on a charge of vis. With his two brothers he perished in the proscription of B.C. 43—2. App. B. civ. 4, 22 [Cic. pro Lig. 12; fam. 6, 13, 14; Att. 13, 12, 19, 20, 44].
THE ASSASSINS OF IULIUS.

Minucius Basilus was murdered by his own slaves in retaliation for a barbarous act on his part early in B.C. 43 [App. B. civ. 3, 98]. In the assassination he wounded Rubrius by mistake [Nic. Dam. c. 24]. He was a friend of Cicero's [Att. 11, 5], who wrote congratulating him on the murder [ad fam. 6, 15].

Sextius Naso perished in the proscription of B.C. 43—2 [Appian B. civ. 4, 24].

Petronius. Otherwise unknown. He was put to death by Antony at Ephesus after Philippus B.C. 42 [App. B. civ. 5, 4].

L. Pontius Aquila.

He was legatus to Decimus Brutus in B.C. 43 [Dio 46, 38; Cic. 11 Phil. § 14; 13 Phil. 27], and was killed in the battle at Forum Gallorum, near Mutina, 15 April B.C. 43 [Dio 46, 40].

Rubrius Ruga.

App. B. civ. 2, 113; Nic. Dam. c. 24. His fate is not recorded.

Ser. Sulpicius Galba.

Great-grandfather of the Emperor Galba [Suet. Galb. 3]. He wrote the well-known account of the battle at Forum Gallorum on the 15th of April [Cic. fam. 10, 30]. Appian's assertion that he was among the assassins is confirmed by a sentence in Antony's letter to the Senate, Cic. 13 Phil. 33. He probably fell in the course of the campaign, as his name is not mentioned among the proscribed.

M. Spurius.

Nothing is known of him or his fate.

Statilius.

Perhaps L. Statilius, an augur [Cic. Att. 12, 13 § 2; 14, 3]. He was killed at Philippus, Plut. Brut. 51.

C. Toranius.

See p. 58. He perished in the proscription, App. B. civ. 4, 12, 18; Orosius 6, 18, 9. He was betrayed to the emissaries of the triumvirs by his son. [Valer. Max. 9, 11, 5].

L. Tilius Cimber.

Though a great friend of Iulius [Cic. fam. 12, 13, 3; 2 Phil. § 27], he struck the first blow [Iul. 82]. He brought a fleet from his province of Bithynia to aid Brutus and Cassius in Macedonia B.C. 42 [App. B. civ. 4, 102, 105]. He either perished in the course of the war or immediately after it. He would meet with no mercy as being con-
APPENDIX B.

demned by the lex Pedia. We find the governorship of Bithynia vacant in B.C. 41—0 [App. B. civ. 5, 63 fn.].

C. Trebonius.

Killed by Dolabella in Asia b.c. 44—3, Cic. 11 Phil. §§ 1—8, 13 Phil. § 22; fam. 12, 12, 14, 15.

P. Turullius

commanded a ship in the fleet of Cassius b.c. 44—3 [Cic. fam. 12, 13; App. B. civ. 5, 2]. He afterwards joined Antony, but was given up to Octavian with the hope of conciliating him in b.c. 30, and was by him put to death. Dio 51, 8; Valer. Max. 1, 1, 19.

Besides these, who seem to have taken an active part in the assassination, Plutarch says that Gaius Octavius and Lentulus Spinther joined them on their way up to the Capitol, feigning to have been in the plot [Plut. Cæs. 67, cp. Cic. 2 Phil. § 25]. Appian [B. civ. 2, 119] adds to this category Favonius, Aquinius, Dolabella, Murcianus and Paticus.

Of these Gaius Octavius is unknown to us. P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, though he thus openly joined the conspirators [Cic. Att. 13, 10; fam. 12, 14], and served at Philippi, managed to escape, and was alive at least up to b.c. 27 [Eckhel 5, p. 185]. M. Favonius was executed after Philippi [Dio 47, 49; see note on p. 27]. Aquinius may be the M. Aquinius pardoned by Iulius in b.c. 47 [bell. Afric. 57, 89], but we have no account of him after that. Dolabella took advantage of the murder of Iulius to assume the consulship, but he soon showed by his execution of Trebonius in Asia that he was not at one with the assassins. He was driven to suicide in Syria by Cassius, b.c. 43. How far he did at first openly connect himself with the assassins is not clear, but for some time Cicero was thoroughly satisfied with his speeches and actions [Cic. Att. 14, 20—21, 15, 13, 16, 11]. L. Statius Marcus (once a legatus of Iulius) had been praetor in the year before the assassination, and if he was in Rome at the time must have been on the point of starting for his province (Syria). He afterwards did good service to the cause of Brutus and Cassius with his fleet; but joining Sextus Pompeius after Philippi he was assassinated, owing to the jealousy of Menodorus [Dio 48, 19]. Paticus was with Cassius as pro-quaestor in command of a ship, b.c. 43 [Cic. fam. 12, 13, 15].
### APPENDIX C.

#### FAMILY AND CONNECTIONS OF AUGUSTUS.

#### I.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C. Iulius Caesar = Aurelia</th>
<th>ob. B.C. 84</th>
<th>ob. B.C. 54</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Iulia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother or grandmother of</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q. Pedius (ob. B.C. 43)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and L. Pinarius</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cornelia = C. JULIUS CAESAR</th>
<th>Dictator</th>
<th>b.c. 101—44</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Iulia = Pompeius Magnus</td>
<td>b.c. 83</td>
<td>ob. B.C. 54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Iulia (1) = M. Atius Balbus   | ob. B.C. 51 |
|                                 |             |
| Atia = C. Octavius = Ancharia  | ob. B.C. 59 |
| b.c. 43                        |             |
| Octavia ma.                    |             |
| Octavia                        |             |
| C. Octavius (Augustus)         |             |
| see III.                      |             |

[1 Atil married secondly L. Marcus Philippus, see p. 17. The statement of Ovid (F. 6, 809) that Philippus married an aunt of Augustus may be accounted for perhaps if he married an elder sister of Atilia first, though we have no account of such a person. However, we find he had a daughter Marcia called 'cousin' to Augustus. C. I. C. 359. Μαρκια Φαβίου θυγατρί, δηλερή Καλαρος θεός Σεβαστον, γνωσε Παλλην Φαβίον Μαξιμον, Σεβαστήν Πάφον τη βωλό και δάφνη. Ovid's third wife was connected with Fabius Maximus, and was thus brought into connexion with certain relatives of the Emperor. Ep. ex P. i, 2, 138.]
The last of this branch to survive was perhaps Iunia Calvina, who is mentioned as living in the time of Vespasian [see Suet. Vesp. 23]. The family of Augustus is carried on by Agrippina (1). See III.
III.

C. Claudius Marcellus = Octavia = M. Antonius
ob. B.C. 27 | ob. B.C. 11 | ob. B.C. 30

M. Claudius Marcellus
ob. B.C. 33

Marcella
m. (1) M. Agrippa
ob. B.C. 13

(2) L. Antonius
ob. B.C. 2

(g) Sext. Appuleius

Appuleia Varilla

L. Domitius Abenobarbus = Antonia ma.
ob. A.D. 25

Agrippina (4) = Cn. Domitius
D. of Germanicus
occis. A.D. 62

Domitia Lepida = M. Valerius
ob. A.D. 40

ob. B.C. 54

Agrippina (1) = Germanicus
see II.

adopted by
Tiberius
A.D. 4,

Nero (3)
(Emperor)
A.D. 54—68

Messalina
(wife of Emperor Claudius)
occis. A.D. 48

Livilla
wife of Drusus (3)
occis. A.D. 31

Claudius
(Emperor)
A.D. 41—54

Antonia ma. = Drusus (1)
ob. A.D. 37—8 | 2nd s. of Livia
occis. A.D. 9

Antonia
occis. A.D. 66

Octavia
occis. A.D. 62

Nero (1)
occis. A.D. 39

Drusus (3)
occis. A.D. 39

C. Caesar (Caligula)
(Emperor)
A.D. 37—41

Agrippina (5)
(mother of Nero)
occis. A.D. 63

Drusilla
occis. A.D. 38

Iulia Livilla
occis. A.D. 41

[1 There is considerable difficulty as to this part of the pedigree. The two Marcellae are mentioned in inscriptions (Wilm. 361. 169), but the third marriage to Appuleius is not recorded. Tacitus (Ann. 2. 50) calls Appuleia Varilla 'a granddaughter of the sister of Augustus'; but he also mentions (ib. 4. 53) a certain Claudia Pulchra as 'a cousin of Agrippina,' who must, it seems, be the daughter of one of the Marcellae.]
Thus on Nero's death, in A.D. 68, all those who could trace their descent from Augustus or his sister had passed away, with the one exception of Iunia Calvina. In A.D. 7 the expected succession in the Imperial family as far as Claudius is shown by an inscription on an arch at Pavia, which includes Gaius and Lucius, who had died a few years before, Wilmanns 880:

IMP. CAESARI | DIVI. F. AVGVSTO | PONTIFIC. MAXIMO | PATRI.
PATRIAE. AVG. XV. VIR. S. F. VII. VIR. EPVLON | COS.
XIII. IMP. XVII. TRIBVNIC. POTEST. XXX
LIVIAE. | DRVSI. F. | VXORI. CAESARI. AVG.
TI. CAESARI | AVGVSTI. F. | DIVI. NEPOT. | PONT. | AVGVRQVE. | COS.
ITER. IMP. TER. TRIBVNICIAE. POT. VIII.
GERMANICO | IVLIO. TI. F. | AVGVSTI. NEPOT. | DIVI. PRON. CAESARI
Druso iulio ti. F. | AVGVSTI. NEPOTI. | DIVI. PRON. CAESARI | PONTIFICI
NERONI. IVLIO | GERMANICI. F. | AVG. PRONEPOT. | CAESARI
L. CAESARI | AVGVSTI. F. | DIVI. NEPOT. | PONTIFIC. COS | IMPERATORI
L. CAESARI | AVGVSTI. F. | DIVI. NEPOT. | AVGVRi. COS | DESIGN | PRINCIPI. IVVENTVTIS
DRVSO. IVLIO | GERMANICI. F. | AVG. PRONEPOT. | GERMANICO
TI. CLAVDIO | DRVSI. GERMANICI. F. | NERONI. GERMANICO

Tiberius is called AVGVSTI F. since his adoption in A.D. 4; of those named none but the last, Claudius, survived Tiberius (A.D. 37). Gaius died in A.D. 4; Lucius A.D. 3; Drusus, son of Tiberius, in A.D. 23; and Drusus, son of Germanicus, was starved to death in A.D. 33 [Tac. Ann. 6, 23—4], having been born it seems in A.D. 7 or the year previous [Tac. Ann. 4, 4]. It seems strange that his elder brother Nero b. A.D. 1, and afterwards (A.D. 20) married to Iulia daughter of Drusus s. of Tiberius, should be omitted [Tac. Ann. 3, 29]; he was starved to death in A.D. 29 [Suet. Tib. 54]. Nero and Drusus, as sons of Germanicus (adopted by Tiberius), would naturally come before their uncle Claudius. Gaius (Caligula) was not born till five years later (A.D. 12).
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