

COMMENTARY

Articles are referred to by name of author, and page number where appropriate; a few cited by initial letters, as are the titles of books. Full details of all will be found in the index (p. 20). Ancient authors and their works are cited in full or cited in the conventional way found in Lewis and Short's *Latin Dictionary*. *ibid.*, which means Augustus' *Res Gestae* (or *Res Gestae*). Figures in bold type refer to chapters of *Lives*; other *Lives* of Suetonius are cited by the letter alone (or its standard abbreviation - *DJ*) in the margin of Suetonius. Other abbreviations are:-

ch. chapter
 HS sestertius (the normal unit of account, 4 to the denarius)
 m. metre
 MS manuscript
 n. note

COMMENTARY

1-4 AUGUSTUS' ANCESTRY

Suetonius begins the *Life*, as is his habit, with his subject's ancestors. The hostile items are not contradicted or disproved, but presented without comment in such a way that they discredit not Augustus, but their authors.

1 Velitris: Velitrae is the modern Velletri, about 20 miles south-east of Rome.
 ara Octavio consecrata: this altar was probably a private one, dedicated to the use of Octavius and his family; hence the dative Octavio.

2.1 ea gens a Tarquinio Prisco ... in patriciatum redit: the origin of the patriciate is obscure and controversial. In my view there can be little doubt that the patrician families of the early Republic in some sense owed their status to the kings, though it is not certain whether the caste distinction between plebeian and patrician predates the end of the monarchy. The extant Roman historians purvey a detailed (but not unanimous) tradition that Romulus had chosen the original patricians, the *gentes maiores*, and that the elder Tarquin, for whom Tacitus (*Ann.* 11.25.3) substitutes L. Brutus (?), added some more families, the *gentes minores*, to this body. Livy leaves us with the strong impression that only patricians could be senators. Suetonius here credits Servius Tullius with an action nowhere else recorded of him, speaks as though there could be non-patrician senators under the kings, and indulges in a patent anachronism by making a whole gens 'join the plebs' - a process which was possible for an individual by due ceremony in the late Republic, but highly unlikely for a family collectively in much earlier times. The single apparently reliable item in this farrago is the statement that Julius Caesar conferred the patriciate on Augustus, perhaps in 48 B.C. (*Dio* 45.2.7), more probably in 46 or 45 B.C., when he was empowered by a *lex Cassia* to add to the shrunken number of patrician families (*Dio* 43.47.3; Tacitus, *Ann.* 11.25.3); but problems remain concerning Augustus' reported candidature for the tribunate of the plebs in 44 B.C. (see 10.1-4 n.).

Divus Iulius: Julius Caesar, murdered for aiming at monarchy and divinity in his lifetime, was officially deified, to the political advantage of his adopted son, in January 42 B.C. (*Dio* 47.18.4ff., *ILLRP* 409). On Caesar's divinity, see Weinstock 1971, North 1975, and 52 n.

C. Rufus: some have held Suetonius (or his MSS) to be in error over Rufus' praenomen: the consul of 165 B.C. was Cn.f(ilius) Cn.n(epos), but since we do not know when Rufus was quaestor we cannot assume the consul to have been his grandson. The date of ca. 230 B.C. for Rufus' quaestorship is based on the assumption that he was the father of the praetor of 205 B.C. (see below), and that the latter was the father of the consul of 165 B.C.; but in both cases an intervening generation may perfectly well be supposed (see Münzer in *RE* s.v. Octavius, no.79).

2.2 honoribus summis: the 'curule offices' of curule aedile,

praetor, and consul: Cn. Octavius, the quaestor's elder son (or grandson, see above), did not progress beyond his praetorship of 205 B.C., though after this the family produced consuls in every generation (consuls of 165, 126, 87, 76 and 75 B.C.).

proavus Augusti ... in Sicilia: fixed by the reference to Aemilius Papus to 205 B.C. (Liv. 25.38.13). It seems that proavus is to be taken, not in its technical sense of great-grandfather, but more loosely of a remote male ancestor (cf. Antony's insults, 2.3 & 4.2). Augustus' father, born 105-100 B.C., can only have been grandson of the military tribune if his father and grandfather both sired their sons when they were sixty or more. And if the *tessera nummularia* mentioned below (n. on *libertinum proavum*) is to be referred to Augustus' grandfather, he was still active as a banker in 53 B.C. and his father must have sired him when approaching 100 years of age:

2.3 ipse Augustus scribit: presumably in his lost autobiography which went down to 25 B.C. (85.1). The partially surviving *Life of Augustus* by Nicolaus of Damascus, a contemporary and admirer of the emperor, which is thought to have been largely based on this tendentious work, is similarly reticent about Augustus' forebears. The adoptive son of Julius Caesar, owing everything to that name, had no great desire to stress his municipal extraction.

M. Antonius: Antony's aspersions on Augustus' lineage belong either to the period late 44 - early 43 B.C., before and during the war of Mutina, or more probably to the war of words from 34-32 B.C. which preceded the final breach and armed struggle (see Scott 1933).

libertinum ... proavum ... avum argentarium: such fanciful abuse was part of the stock-in-trade of Republican politics (see Cicero, in *Pisonem* and Appendix VI in R.G. Misbet's ed.) and shows little but the social prejudices of the upper class. It is possible that Augustus' grandfather did indeed practise banking: one C. Octavius certified a bag of money on a tag (*tessera nummularia*) dated June 13th 53 B.C. (CIL I² 2663c = ILLRP 1046), but in view of the commonness of the name it is difficult to share Degraffi's confidence that this man is actually the grandfather of Augustus. A graffiti of the time of the proscriptions averred that the father of Augustus was an *argentarius* (70.2), but Suetonius repudiates any such suggestion in 3.

3 The (fairly typical) career of Augustus' father is known in full from the *elogium* from the base of his statue (ILS 47 = *Inscr* It 13.3, no. 75). He was military tribune twice (the 70s B.C. were turbulent), quaestor, plebeian aedile, and president of a court before becoming praetor in 61 B.C. He was returned first in the poll (Velleius 2.59.2), the result doubtless of his own considerable abilities and his marriage connection not only with the Iulii but also with Pompey (see 4). His appointment to the proconsulship of Macedonia followed the usual Republican procedure (see 47n.). The commission to mop up the remnant of the runaway slaves who had lent their support to the risings of the revolutionary aristocrat Catiline in 63 B.C. and the escaped gladiator Spartacus in 72 B.C. had to be given specially, because although a proconsul assumed his

imperium (see Introduction §20-25) on leaving Rome, he was not permitted to exercise it until he entered his province. By entrusting Octavius with this task, the Senate avoided the need to send one of the consuls or praetors of 60 B.C. on military operations during their year of office. Thurius was a Greek mountaineer on the west side of the Gulf of Tarentum; its mountainous hinterland is difficult to police even nowadays and has long afforded sanctuary to bandits and outlaws. Runaway slaves had no incentive to surrender in the Roman world, being liable to such punishments as mutilation or crucifixion. For his successful operations against the Thracian tribes, Octavius received a salutation from his troops as victorious general (*imperator*) which gave him *prima facie* grounds for claiming a triumph on his return to Rome (Velleius 2.59.2; CIL I², p.199). It appears that he died (at Nola - see 100.1) on the journey back from his province in the spring or early summer of 58 B.C. Cicero's letter to his brother (see below) is dated Nov./Dec. 59 B.C. and his successor was one of the praetors of 59 B.C., L. Appuleius Saturninus.

3 *divisores operasque campestris*: agents who distributed bribes and organised intimidation or defences against it at election time (cf. n. on *decuriae*, 57.2).

epistulae M. Ciceronis: one reference survives - *ad Quintum Fratrem* 1.2.7. (*Ibid.*, l.1.21, where the MSS hesitate between C. and Cn. Octavius, has been shown - Lintott 1968, 129 - to refer to Cn. Octavius, praetor 79 B.C.).

4 Octavia maiore: by mistaking this lady for her younger half-sister, Plutarch (Antony 31.1-2) has caused needless confusion and even thrown her existence into doubt. She was in fact married to one Sextus Appuleius who became high priest of the deified Caesar (*flamen Iulialis*) and was accorded a public funeral some time after 30 B.C. (ILS 8963). Their sons were Sextus, consul 29 B.C. and Marcus, consul 20 B.C. (ILS 8783).

Octavia minore: born not later than 65 B.C., she was already married to C. Claudius Marcellus (consul 50 B.C.) in 53 when her great-uncle Julius Caesar offered to transfer her to Pompey on the death of Caesar's daughter Julia in childbirth (DY 27.1): Roman girls were considered nubiles at 12. She bore Marcellus two girls and a boy (see 63.1) and after his death in 41 B.C. she was married to Antony to seal the peace arranged at Brundisium in late 40 between her brother and her new husband. She had two more girls by him before he left her for Cleopatra. She loyally brought up in his house in Rome not only her own children, but also Antony's two sons by his previous marriage to Fulvia. Antony did not divorce her until 32 B.C. and she never remarried. She died in 11 B.C. (Dio 54.35.4).

C. Caesaris: the man we call Julius Caesar. The Republican aristocracy were usually known by *cognomen* alone (thus Cicero, Brutus, Caesar), or by *praenomen* and *cognomen*, as here, for greater formality or precision. The full form C. Iulius Caesar would only be used 'for the record'. If a man did not have a *cognomen*, the family name was used in the same way

stepson, is passed over in total silence. On the other hand, what Suetonius does emphasise in 5-7 is the numinous, so that by the time we reach 8 the idea that Augustus had a special connection with the divine is firmly established.

5 M. Tullio Cicerone C. Antonio coss.: i.e. 63 B.C. Capita Bubula: perhaps one of the *vici* (see 30.1), certainly a subdivision of the Palatine region. (Cf. *Domit.* 1.1.) sacarium: Augustus was not officially deified until after his death, so such a shrine could hardly be dedicated while he was still alive. senatus actis: the minutes of the senate, first published at Julius Caesar's behest in 59 B.C. (*DJ* 20.1), but suppressed under Augustus (36). They continued to be kept and were available to privileged persons such as Suetonius, and may possibly have again been published under Tiberius (*Tib.* 73; *Dio* 57.23.2).

adulterii poena: the penalty for adultery was severe, involving relegation to an island and forfeiture of property. Ironically, it had been made a criminal offence by the very God Augustus in whose name C. Laetorius was begging mercy. (See 34.1 n.)

6 tamquam et natus ibi sit ... quasi temere ... obiciatur: Suetonius habitually employs *tamquam* and *quasi*, with verbs in the subjunctive, to introduce reported statements, without any implication that the alleged fact is untrue. Translate by 'that' - 'the opinion is prevalent in the neighbourhood that he was born there.'

7 AUGUSTUS' NAMES

7.1 infanti cognomen Thurino ...: the true reason for this abandoned cognomen must be the second offered by Suetonius (see 3.1). That Augustus did actually bear the name is put beyond doubt by his reply just below to Antony's mocking use of it. Suetonius' 'little image of him as a boy' with the name in inset iron letters was almost certainly a learned fake made much later, probably after the emperor's death. In the late Republic, portrait-busts and statues were either funerary, to commemorate the dead, or honorific, to confirm status and reward achievement. For neither reason was the young Augustus likely to have his portrait made. The maker of the statuette (or miniature portrait?) knew some history and produced a bogus antique. It was convincing enough to fool Hadrian - it is not surprising that it appealed to his recondite and antiquarian tastes - and be placed amongst the cult images (former emperors, ancestors, and *Lares familiares*) in the emperor's own chamber. Augustus kept a likeness of a great-grandson who died in childhood among these *Lares cubiculi* (*Calig.* 7).

7.2 postea C. Caesaris et deinde Augusti cognomen: Augustus was instituted principal heir and 'adopted into his house and name' by Caesar in his will (*DJ* 83.2). The precise mechanism of a posthumous adoption is unclear, and some scholars (e.g. Schmitthenner 1952) deny that such an adoption could have legal validity and hold that all Caesar could do in his will was to sanction the use of his name by his young great-

(thus Octavius, Antonius). The conjunction of *nomen* and *cognomen* (without *praenomen*) in either order appears to have been colloquial in Cicero's day, but gradually became less so; the order *cognomen* - *nomen* occasionally found in Cicero becomes frequent in later writers. The only satisfactory explanation of these facts must be that the *cognomen* was originally felt to be not so much an additional as an alternative name. (See on Cicero, *ad Atticum* 2.24.3 in D.R. Shackleton-Bailey's ed.)

Aricinus: Aricia was an old Latin municipality about 15 miles south of Rome on the Via Appia.

imagibus: the reference is to the practice of Roman families of displaying images of their ancestors in their houses. The Roman reverence for dead ancestors is not easy to separate from the cult of the *Lares familiares*, the household spirits. One should surely interpret Cicero's information (*in Verrem* II 5.36, *pro Rabirio Postumo* 16) that, by attaining the aedileship, he acquired the right of 'perpetuating his likeness' as referring to a right not of having ancestor-portraits on display at home, but of erecting a statue of himself in a public place (cf. elder Pliny *NH* 34.30). Whether or not it was controlled by law, the custom of exhibiting the images of ancestors at funerals so vividly described by Polybius (6.53.4-6) was in practice restricted to the aristocracy, who alone enjoyed such public burial. (See Zadoks-Jitta 1932 97ff.)

inter vigintiviros ... *Tullia lege divisit*: Julius Caesar, as consul 59 B.C., carried a bill to divide up and distribute to 20,000 Roman citizens with 3 or more children state land in Campania currently leased to a variety of holders. (*DJ* 20.3). The administration of the scheme was entrusted to a commission of 20, amongst whom was Pompey.

Cassius Parmensis: C. Cassius from Parma, so called to distinguish him from his namesake C. Cassius Longinus who jointly led the conspiracy to kill Caesar in which both men took part. After Philippi, he eventually joined Sex. Pompeius in Sicily, then accompanied him on his flight to Asia after the battle of Naulochus (see 16.1), and went over to Antony in 35 B.C. He met his end after Actium (Valerius Maximus 1.7.7), the last of Caesar's murderers to die, if Velleius can be believed (2.87.3 but cf. *Dio* 51.8.2 on D. Turullius).

Neruloneis mensarius: 'a money-changer from Nerulum', a place in Lucania. Cassius has improved on the insult of Antony (2.3) by giving this surely fictitious grandfather, in addition to his socially suspect calling, dirty hands and a small, remote, and scarcely Roman town to live in.

5-8 The second half of Suetonius' introduction deals with Augustus' birth, early childhood, and debut in public life in the shadow of his great-uncle Caesar. These were the years of the final breakdown of the Republican political system, culminating in the civil war of 49-45 B.C.; but ancient biography was not interested in making the connection between the acts and attitudes of a mature man and the experiences and impressions of his formative years, and Suetonius pays scant attention to Augustus' youth. It is almost *en passant* that we learn (8.2) that his mother had married again, and the character of L. Marcius Philippus, surely an important influence on his young

nephew. In the popular eye, the difference was at first technical, because in either case Augustus bore the name of C. Iulius Caesar and was heir to 1/4 of Caesar's estate. However, after the deification of Caesar in 42 B.C., Augustus found himself 'son of a God' and from 40 B.C. onwards this was his recognised filiation. His adoption, whether or not strictly legal, had become an accepted fact by then (and it must be said that in the ancient sources there is no serious evidence that it had ever been otherwise). The name of Caesar was of crucial importance to him in the savage struggles of the civil wars; thanks to it, he was able to present himself as the natural leader of the Caesarian party and the rightful focus of the demand to take vengeance on his new father's murderers. He could also claim the loyalty of all Caesar's troops, serving or veteran. Any reference to his natural parentage undermined this position, based as it was on a legal fiction. He therefore never used the form C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus, which would have been the regular way of indicating that he was a Caesar by adoption and an Octavian by birth; but Cicero, along with others, like Brutus, who were less than enthusiastic about his pretensions, did so for a while. Modern historians call him Octavian to avoid confusion with his great-uncle during the period before he became Augustus.

Suetonius does not allude to a remarkable stage in the development of Augustus' nomenclature: this was his adoption of the word *imperator* as a virtual *praenomen*. Hitherto it had been used after a man's name to indicate that as commander he had been hailed victorious by his troops (e.g. ILS 877 - CN POMPEIO CN F MAGNO IMP[eratori] COS TER PATRONO PUBLICE). Between 43 and 38 B.C. Augustus' nomenclature moved from C. Iulius C. f[ilius] Imp[eratori] to Imperator Caesar Divi f[ilius]. He thus laid claim to a permanent quality of successful generalship, and also, surprisingly, dropped the name Iulius. This startling change is almost certainly connected with the titles used by his rivals in these years: Sextus Pompeius styled himself Son of Neptune and turned his father's *cognomen* into a *praenomen* to become Magnus (Pompeius) Pius, while Antony was venerated in the East as the New Dionysus. (For full discussion and references, see Syme 1958b; Combès 1966.)

By comparison, the final addition of 'Augustus' as a fresh *cognomen* filling the gap left by the metamorphosis of Caesar into a family name, is quite straightforward. To be the new Romulus, second founder of Rome, might seem attractive, but not everyone would forget that the first Romulus had killed his brother and become a king. For the victor of a civil war, the name was a shade too apt. Augustus, splendid, reverend, and faintly archaic, was a brilliant stroke, and Plancus' motion, carried on Jan. 16th 27 B.C., set the seal on a new age. Henceforth the ruler of the Roman world was *Imperator Caesar Divi f[ilius] Augustus*. The passing of the Republic could hardly have been better symbolised.

Munati Planci: L. Munatius Plancus was one of the most distinguished, astute, and unprincipled survivors of the civil wars. Velleius, who valued loyalty, called him 'diseased with desertion' (2.83.1 cf. 2.76.1). Caesar's appointee as governor of Transalpine Gaul in 44-43 B.C., he professed loyalty to Cicero and the senate during the war of Mutina, but remained in communication with Antony and ultimately joined him. During these negotiations he took care to keep in with Augustus, and when the triumvirate was formed he secured the consulship of 42 B.C. to which Caesar had designated him. As one of the Antonian generals with troops

in Italy in the winter of 41-40 B.C. he had the opportunity to join Pollio and Ventidius in saving Antony's brother Lucius, then besieged in Perusia by Augustus and Agrippa; but again he temporised and prevented decisive action by Antonian forces which in combination were certainly strong enough to have crushed the opposition. Later he governed Asia, then Syria, in Antony's interest, but deserted him for Augustus in 32 B.C., when Antony's divorce of Octavia signalled that all hope of reconciliation was gone. In the new era which his proposal inaugurated, his distinction was confirmed by his appointment as one of the last pair of non-imperial censors in 22 B.C. His great circular mausoleum still stands on the outskirts of Gaeta (ancient Caieta) on the seacoast south of Rome; the epitaph (B-J³ no. 187 = ILS 886) is a stirring roll-call of the high honours of the vanished Republic.

ab auctu: the correct etymology, from the root *aug-*, 'increase'.

Ennius: Q. Ennius, 239-169 B.C., the greatest Roman epic poet before Virgil. A South Italian, he fought with the Romans against Carthage in the Hannibalic war and wrote, inter alia, the *Annales*, an epic poem in 18 books which, using the hexameter metre for the first time in Latin, brought the history of Rome down to 171 B.C. Some 550 lines, about 4% of the whole, survive, thanks to quotation by other authors.

8.1 *quadrifidus*: the word would normally mean 'in his fourth year', here, unless Suetonius has simply made a mistake, it must signify 'after his fourth birthday' or 'when he was four', since Augustus' father died in late 59, or early 58 B.C. (see 3h.).

duodecimum annum ... aviam Iuliam: the aunt was Julius Caesar's sister, the year 52-51 B.C. The *laudatio* (encomium) of the dead was a central part of the funeral of a member of the nobility. The procession halted in the Forum and the *laudatio* was delivered by one of the family or a close friend to the assembled people. It was liable to contain much historically dubious material (cf. Cicero, *Brutus* 61-62). For an instance of the kind of imaginary descent that could be claimed, see Julius Caesar's *laudatio* of his aunt (*DJ* 6). Nicolaus of Damascus (*Vita Augusti* 3) alleges that Augustus was only nine at the time, but Quintilian (12.6.1) agrees with Suetonius.

quadrifidus post: (i.e. 48-47 B.C.) dates only Augustus' assumption of the *toga virilis*, his official entry upon public life. Caesar's African triumph took place in Sept. 46 B.C., the month when Augustus celebrated his seventeenth birthday and became qualified for military service. *profectum mox avunculum in Hispanias*: in Nov. or Dec. 46 B.C. Caesar decided to go into Spain (plural in the Latin because it was divided into two provinces) to deal with serious resistance being offered to his commanders there by the Pompeian survivors, led by Pompey's two sons Gnaeus and Sextus. The campaign was decided by his victory at Munda, March 17th 45 B.C. Augustus eventually joined him a few weeks later.

gravi valetudine: Augustus was plagued by ill-health all his life; see 13.1, 28.1, 43.5 and 83.

8.2 *expeditionem in Dacos et inde in Parthos ...*: The Romans had never avenged the defeat of Crassus at Carthage in 53 B.C., and currently the Parthian prince Pacorus was lending effective support to Caecilius Bassus, a Pompeian who was holding out in Apamea against Caesar's legate Antistius Vetus. The Dacian king Burebista had made inroads into the Roman province of Macedonia, and Caesar judged that he could be conveniently dealt with en route for Syria.

praemissus Apolloniam ...: Apollonia was north of modern Valona, on the Illyrian coast some 60 miles north of Corfu. It was the terminus of

the southern fork of the Via Egnatia which led across to Thessalonica and on towards the Hellespont and Asia. By the spring of 44 B.C. six legions were awaiting Caesar, some nearby, some elsewhere in the province (Appian BC 3.24). The dictator had designated Augustus his Master of Horse (*magister equitum*) or second-in-command in succession to M. Aemilius Lepidus, who was then holding the office but would resign it when he and Caesar went their different ways on leaving Rome (Dio 43.51.7; *Inscr It* 13.1.58f., 134). This was an extraordinary honour for an unproven 18-year old and it is strange that Suetonius does not mention it.

hereditatem adit ... Cicero (*ad Atticum* 14.10.3) uses the same phrase, an abbreviated version of the formula *hereditatem adeo cernoque* which the heir had to use to signify his formal acceptance (Gaius 2.165-6 cf. Cicero *ad Atticum* 11.2.1; younger Pliny *Epp.* 10.75.2). Under Roman law, an heir provided that he were neither a *sums heres*, i.e. a person who became *sui iuris* on the death of the testator, nor a freedman) had the option of refusing to accept if he thought the inheritance not worth taking for any reason. No doubt the prudent Philippus considered the legacy of Caesar's name to be political dynamite (see Cicero, *ad Atticum* 14.12.2), but a more practical reason for rejecting the inheritance was Caesar's bequest of 300 sesterii a head to 'the people' (*DJ* 83.2), by which presumably those receiving the corn dole in Rome are meant - a number reduced by Caesar himself from 320,000 to 150,000 (*DJ* 41.3), but still entailing an immediate outlay of 45m. HS, or roughly the pay of an army of five legions for two years. Caesar was a wealthy man; but where the money was, whether Augustus could get his hands on it, and how far it would go when distributed on this scale, were all questions impossible to answer at the time.

Marcio Philippo ... Augustus' stepfather L. Marcus Philippus was of a family which counted consuls back to the early third century. He himself had held the consulship in 56 B.C. and managed to remain neutral in the civil war, as befitted a man whose wife was Caesar's niece while his daughter (by a previous marriage) was Cato's wife. (See Syme 1939 128.)

8.3 *atque ab eo tempore* ...: this sentence, dividing up as it does the whole of the rest of Augustus' life into three periods, signals the end of the introduction: from the date of the new Caesar's decision to take up his inheritance, his history was the political and military history of Rome. Suetonius' generalisation is not absolutely accurate, in that Augustus did not become master of the state with Antony and Lepidus until Nov. 43 B.C.; but in the context it may pass, especially as Suetonius gives some account of the period April 44 to Nov. 43 B.C. in 10-12 below. The twelve years are counted from 43-31 B.C., the forty-four from 31 B.C.- A.D. 14.

9-25 AUGUSTUS' MILITARY ACHIEVEMENTS

The Romans divided public life into two spheres, civil (*domi*) and military (*militiae*). *Imperium* (see Introduction §20-25) in the one field was not necessarily valid in the other. Suetonius applies this traditional distinction to order his account of Augustus as a public figure: 9-25 deal with his military record;

26-60 with his civil.

Chapters 9-25 are themselves divided by category into civil wars (9-18); insurrections and plots (19); foreign wars (20-21) and a final section on generalities - triumphs, honours and disasters, discipline, and rewards (22-25). Suetonius is not, of course, writing a narrative history. His account of the civil war period (44-30 B.C.) compresses or omits the causes, course, and results of the wars, and neglects events not directly connected with those wars. Suetonius emphasises throughout material which shows Augustus in a personal light: in danger, cruel, vengeful, impious, generous, brave, treacherous, resourceful, unscrupulous. On the whole the picture is unflattering, yet there are enough gleams of light not to contradict the impression, given by the opening chapters, of a man favoured by the gods.

Chapter 9 itself serves as an introduction to i) the arrangements of the rest of the work and ii) the period of the civil wars elaborated in 10-18.

i) Suetonius habitually treats his subject by topics, unless there is a strong chronological bias, as for example at the beginning and end of a *Life*. This practice obscures change and development of character and views, and presents the individual as a static conglomerate. We are given endless glimpses of Augustus, but it is difficult to feel that we know him as a person, except in the concluding chapters where Suetonius writes a genuine narrative with the anecdotal material subordinated to a wider theme. (See Introduction §4-7).

ii) Suetonius includes the war of Actium in his list of civil wars. In this he is more honest than Appian, who omitted it, doubtless on the grounds which Augustan propaganda was at pains to emphasise, that it was fought against a foreign foe, the Queen of Egypt. (For an account of the period 44-30 B.C., see Syme 1939 (chapters 7-21); Carter 1970.)

10-12 44-43 B.C. AND THE WAR OF MUTINA

Suetonius' opening statement, that Augustus' pretext for all the wars was the need to avenge Caesar and safeguard his political acts, is certainly not true of the Perusine and Actian wars and only doubtfully true of the war of Mutina. In this last case the two reasons stated were incompatible, for the governor of Cisalpine Gaul, whom Antony (illegally, according to the party of Cicero but legally, according to modern opinion) was trying to evict from the province, was Decimus Brutus, one of Caesar's assassins; yet Decimus had been appointed governor by Caesar. In helping him against Antony, Augustus could perhaps claim to be upholding Caesar's political acts (not that there is any evidence that he made such a claim). The ostensible

ground for his support of Decimus was his loyalty to constitutional government and to a Republic menaced by the military despotism of Antony. The real ground was his continuing struggle with Antony for the leadership of the Caesarian party, and to this any thoughts of avenging Caesar had, for the moment, to remain subordinate. As to the other wars, that of Philippi was undertaken precisely to take vengeance for Caesar (cf. 29.2), while Sextus Pompeius was a focus of resistance for all anti-Caesarians and counted Caesar's assassin Cassius of Parma among his followers. However, the immediate cause of the war was Sextus' harassment of the Italian coast and his demands for greater recognition from the triumvirs. Caesar's acts are something of a red herring, as the senate itself had resolved, on Antony's own proposal only two days after the murder, that all Caesar's acts and decrees should be confirmed (the other side of the bargain being an amnesty for the murderers). Augustus himself in the masterly opening sentences of *RG* makes no mention of any desire to uphold his 'father's' acts. Rather, he professes concern for the freedom of the Republic, and stresses the legitimacy of his vengeance on the murderers: at the age of nineteen on my own initiative and at my own expense I raised an army, with which I set free the state when it was labouring under the tyranny of a faction... I drove into exile the men who butchered my father, taking vengeance for their crime by proper process of law; and afterwards, when they made war against the state, I defeated them twice in battle.

10.1-4 Suetonius confuses the order of the various items preceding the war of Mutina. In fact, Augustus did not prosecute Caesar's murderers until after he had become triumphvir in late 43 B.C. When he returned to Rome about the end of April his chief concern was to enter on Caesar's heritage, both financially by getting his hands on Caesar's property so that he could discharge the legacies to the Roman *plebs*, and politically by advertising his filial piety and turning to his own account the wave of public feeling which regarded the amnesty for the murderers, arrived at in the senate on March 17th, as mean-spirited and shabby.

The attempt to recover Caesar's property led him into litigation, where the acting urban praetor, Antony's brother C. Antonius, obstructed him, and into disputes with the consul himself who in any case considered that he, not Augustus, was the rightful leader of the Caesarian party and thought that the policy of compromise was the right one. Augustus also wished to have his adoption confirmed by the necessary *lex curiata* (see n. on *Agrippam* 65.1), which should have been no more than a formality, but was blocked. Unless the unanimous tradition that Caesar had made him a patrician is wrong, his candidacy for the tribunate of the *plebs*, reported also by Plutarch (*Antony* 16.2) and Dio (45.6.2), requires some explanation. The version of Appian, whose account at this point is far superior to that of both these two or Suetonius, says that Augustus supported one

Flaminius (Chilo?) for the vacant tribunate (like Suetonius, he makes no mention of Helvius Cinna, the tribune who was killed almost immediately after the death of Caesar), and that 'the people', thinking that he refrained from standing himself because he was under age (nothing being said about patrician status, which should have constituted a permanent bar), proposed to vote for him none the less. At this point Antony interposed his edict, to the effect that Augustus should do nothing contrary to the laws, or be prepared to suffer for it (Appian, *BC* 3.31). It is, of course, possible that Augustus took the view that the sovereign people could elect whom they liked, young or old, patrician or plebeian, to guard their interests; but Appian's account has a ring of truth about it, and makes Augustus' position not unlike that of Scipio Aemilianus a hundred years previously when that worthy, in spite of being under age and unqualified, was 'drafted' to the consulship of 147 B.C. by popular pressure.

Augustus' staging (through Caesar's friend C. Matius) of the games for the Victory of Caesar (i.e. at Pharsalus), from July 20th to 30th was a notable demonstration of piety in face of the reluctance of the officially constituted special priestly college to hold them. It was during these games that Augustus paid Caesar's legacy to the people and the comet appeared which was instantly believed to be the spirit of Caesar received into heaven.

Meanwhile Antony found himself on untenable middle ground between Augustus' Caesarianism on the one hand and Cicero's anti-Caesarianism on the other. He had in June prepared his position by transferring the province of Cisalpine Gaul from Decimus Brutus, one of Caesar's assassins, to himself for six years. By early Oct. he and Augustus were open enemies and it is to this stage that Augustus' alleged attempt to assassinate him belongs. Whatever the truth of the matter, Suetonius is certainly wrong to make this relatively trivial episode the reason for Augustus to raise an illegal private army from Caesar's veterans in Campania. He did this because Antony, finding himself worsted in the political field, had gone to Brindisi to collect legions recalled from Macedonia. He would thus be equipped to deal forcibly with any opposition before marching north to take over his province, and another army, from Decimus Brutus.

In the event, Augustus induced two of the legions to desert to him, forcing Antony to retire to Cisalpine Gaul sooner than he had intended. And so Augustus, at the head of an illegal army, and Cicero, the leader of the conservative senatorial opposition to Antony (*optimates*) found they had a common enemy and could profitably combine. Decimus Brutus refused to hand over his province, claiming that Antony's law of June was illegal, and was besieged in Mutina (Modena) about the end of Dec. Cicero managed to legalise Augustus' position by securing

for him a special grant of *propraetorian imperium* and a mandate to operate with the new consuls of 43 B.C., A. Hirtius and C. Vibius Pansa, against Antony. Skirmishing began about the end of Jan., but diplomatic activity continued and it was not until about mid-March that military operations began in earnest. The siege was finally raised after the two battles of Forum Gallorum and Mutina, on April 14th and 21st. In fact Antony won the second, but decided to withdraw westwards to Provence.

11 Hirtius was killed in the second battle, Pansa had been wounded in the first (of which there survives the eye-witness account of Ser. Galba, Cicero *ad Familiares* 10.30). The deaths of both consuls were so convenient for Augustus that suspicion was perhaps inevitable, and lasted long (e.g. Tacitus *Ann.* 1.10.1), but the honourable M. Brutus at least refused to believe that Glyco could have been guilty (Cicero, *Epp. ad Brutum* 14.2). Augustus took over control of both consular armies, and when Decimus Brutus, who had unrealistically but inevitably been appointed commander of all the Republican forces at Mutina, asked him to hand over his legions, he refused, alleging that his men would not serve under one of Caesar's murderers. Nor did he co-operate with Decimus in the latter's forlorn pursuit of Antony with his siege-weakened troops.

12 The governor of Gallia Narbonensis and Nearer Spain was M. Lepidus, who professed resistance to Antony and obedience to the constitutional government for a brief while before the Caesarian veterans in both their armies reconciled the two men. L. Munatius Plancus (see 7.2 n.), governor of Further Gaul, and C. Asinius Pollio (see 43.2 n.), governor of Further Spain, joined them by July; both owed loyalty to Caesar's memory, nor would their troops have fought those of Antony and Lepidus. Decimus Brutus realised he could do nothing against them and attempted to join M. Brutus in Macedonia, but was killed by an Alpine chieftain on the way.

Thus Augustus, the arch-Caesarian of them all, remained in Cisalpine Gaul, the sole commander nominally loyal to the senate in the provinces of the west. The outcome was inevitable. Cicero and his allies (Suetonius' *optimates*) refused to take Augustus seriously and thought he could be discarded, now that Antony was out of Italy and M. Brutus and Cassius had armies in the east to deal with the Caesarian alliance. Cicero certainly called him a 'boy' (e.g. *Epp. ad Brutum* 23.7) and is likely, though he never admitted it, to have been the author of the famous witticism 'he must be praised, honoured, - and got rid of' (*laudandum, ornandum, tollendum, Cicero, ad Familiares* 11.20.1). The senate also tried to whittle down the rewards promised to Augustus' veterans and was (understandably) reluctant to offer him the vacant consulate which he felt he was entitled to. For the sequel, see 26 n. Augustus' *consulships*.

Nursinos: Nursia was a town on the borders of Umbria, Picenum, and Sabine territory. This episode probably belongs to the war of Perugia (Dio 48.13.2): the 'freedom' for which the men of Nursia died was much more clearly identifiable in 41-40 B.C. (see 13.3-14 n. - cf. Propercius 1.21; 1.22; and 4.1.126-130).

13-15 These chapters relate episodes concerning the wars of Philippi and Perugia (42-40 B.C.), which are, in themselves, scarcely explained. Suetonius lays stress on two things: first, the number of dangers and narrow escapes Augustus encountered, and second, his resolute cruelty. Thus he points to two qualities admired in a leader, good fortune and constancy. Although, for the moment, the latter is perverted, it is an important characteristic of Augustus and valuable when directed to good ends (cf. 42.2).

13.1-2 After extorting the consulship from the senate, Augustus entered into negotiations with Antony and Lepidus. These culminated in a meeting near Bononia in Nov., at which the three men agreed to form what amounted to a joint dictatorship for five years (see 27.1-4 n.) and set in train arrangements to take vengeance on the murderers of Caesar. These led eventually to the campaign of Philippi, in northern Greece, when the forces of the triumvirate led by Antony and Augustus defeated those of the self-styled 'liberators' Brutus and Cassius in two battles, one on Oct. 23rd, 42 B.C. and the other about three weeks later. Brutus sacked Augustus' camp on the first occasion, while Antony was winning on the other wing; Augustus was never a very good general, apart from being troubled by sickness, which became severe on his return to Italy in the winter.

The stories which follow are doubtless derived from pro-Antonian writings of the period 34-31 B.C. or later, and it is impossible to know how much truth there is in them. Suetonius' purpose in retelling them is discussed above (13-15). Dio (47.49) and Appian (*BC* 4.135) suggest that everyone except the actual murderers and extreme anti-Caesarians (like Favonius) were given a chance of making their peace with the victors. Antony is said to have given Brutus' body proper burial, and the head to have been lost at sea while on the way to Rome. Augustus wrote in his memoirs that he had never refused to give a man's body back to his relatives for burial (Ulpien, *Digest* 48.24.1).

13.3 By the division of responsibilities agreed between the triumvirs after Philippi, Antony undertook the task of pacifying and administering the eastern half of the empire, while Augustus was to return to Italy and supervise the settlement of the soldiers now discharged. This was an extremely unpopular operation, since it meant large-scale evictions of the existing

occupants of the land marked down for the veterans.

14 Feeling ran so high that Antony's brother Lucius, who held the consulship in 41 B.C., assisted by Antony's wife Fulvia, a great political lady, raised a rebellion in the autumn against the authority of Augustus. After various military operations, from which Augustus was lucky to escape without being trapped, Lucius found himself besieged in Perusia (modern Perugia). Antony himself was spending a winter of pleasure in Alexandria as the guest of its queen and seems to have received no news of these startling events until they were over. At any rate, the Antonian generals in Italy and Gallia Cisalpina (Pollio, Ventidius, and Plancus) received no instructions from him and although they were in a position at Fulginum (modern Foligno) from which their watch-fires could be seen across the plain by the beleaguered forces in Perusia, they made no move to attack the besiegers and Perusia fell in Jan. or Feb. 40 B.C.

quattuordecim ordinibus: the first fourteen rows of the theatre were reserved for equites and a common soldier had no right to sit there.

15 trecentos ... ad aram Divo Iulio ... mactatos: it is impossible to believe this story of human sacrifice, though it occurs in Dio too (48.14.4): a) human sacrifice, although it occurred in 216 and 114 B.C. after the discovery of unchastity among the Vestal Virgins (Livy 22.57.2-6, Plutarch, *Qu. Rom.* 83) was un-Roman and no god received it; b) Augustus can hardly have wanted to give the new god Julius, whose paternity he proudly proclaimed, such a barbaric and bloodthirsty character: the mortal Julius had been famed for his clemency; c) Lucius Antonius and other leaders were allowed to go free, which indicates a policy similar to that followed after Philippi (see Carter 1970 111); d) Suetonius himself clearly does not believe it. On Julius Caesar's divinity, see Weinstock 1971. He had been officially created a god at the beginning of 42 B.C.

facultate L. Antoni ducis praebita: even more fantastic than the tale of human sacrifice is the idea that the whole Perusine war was a put-up job between Augustus and the Antonii. Suetonius' introductory formula - 'there were those prepared to allege ...' makes it quite clear what he thinks; by reporting two such incredible stories in this way he manages to reflect doubt on other less extreme but better documented examples of Augustus' severity.

16.1 THE SICILIAN WAR AGAINST SEXTUS POMPEIUS

After the murder of Caesar, the government had entered into negotiations with Pompey's younger son Sextus, who was still at large with a fleet in the western Mediterranean, and early in 43 B.C., in the context of the struggle with Antony, the senate officially recognised him as 'commander of the fleet and coasts' - a title which appears on his coins of 42-40 B.C. (Crawford 1974 no. 511). When the triumvirate was formed he was duly proscribed, and sailed to Sicily where he treacherously killed the

governor Pompeius Bithynicus and seized the island. He defied attempts to eject him by Augustus and Salvidienus Rufus early in 42 B.C. and was joined by survivors of Philippi and the procriptions as well as less respectable fugitives from justice like runaway slaves and criminals. His fleet became strong enough to harry the Italian coasts and interfere with the corn supply to Rome, so that in 39 B.C. the triumvirs were forced to negotiate with him (at Misenum) and buy him off with a promise of restitution of his property and the control of Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and Achaea (Greece south of Macedonia). No receiving Achaea, he began hostilities again, thus provoking the war of 38-36 B.C.

The two fleets of Augustus' whose loss Suetonius records were destroyed within a few days in 38 B.C., though the first disaster had nothing to do with the weather (Appian, *BC* 5.81-9 and in both cases poor seamanship was largely responsible. But Augustus would not make peace, even though Antony had never agreed to the war. He devoted 37 B.C. to winning support for his war from a reluctant populace and his colleagues, and to the huge naval building and training programme (directed by Agrippa) which Suetonius describes. Agrippa created *portus Iulius* by joining the deep crater-lake of Avernus by a canal to the shallow intermediate lagoon of the Lucrine lake, and connecting the latter to the sea by breaching the dyke which carried the coast road from Puteoli to Baiæ and Misenum (Dio 48.50-51; Paget 1968). He thus obtained a naval base secure from attack by Sextus' squadrons, and a suitably protected expanse of water for training crews. His techniques proved effective and enabled Augustus in 36 B.C. to transport his land forces across to Sicily and join up with those which Lepidus had landed from Africa, while he himself, as admiral, defeated the fleet of Sextus first near Mylae, on the north coast, and then decisively a few weeks later at Naulochus, a little east of Mylae, on Sept. 3rd. 36 B.C. Neither Sextus nor Augustus were on board, but awaited the outcome with their armies on shore (Appian, *BC* 5.12; Dio 49.8.5-6).

16.1 XX servorum milibus manumissis: the freeing of such a large number of slaves is proof that the fleets of the late Republic and early empire did not use slaves as oarsmen. Most rowers appear to have been free men, but not Roman citizens, from the eastern parts of the Mediterranean. To use freed slaves in this way in the armed forces was a sign of crisis, cf. 25.2.

16.2 M. Agrippa: this is the first mention in the *Life* of Augustus' great friend and helper M. Vipsanius Agrippa. Of obscure origins, he was the same age as Augustus and was serving as a (presumably equestrian) officer in Caesar's army at Apollonia in March 44 B.C. He very soon established himself as Augustus' most determined and able supporter and as the best of Augustus' generals (Salvidienus excepted, see 66.1). Without his military abilities and total loyalty, it is improbable that Augustus, whose own talents for generalship were not remarkable, would have survived the civil wars. Agrippa played an important part in the

war of Perusia in 41-40 B.C., campaigned in Gaul and made a crossing of the Rhine into Germany in 39 and 38 B.C., and was recalled to Italy to assume the consulship in 37 B.C. and take charge of the naval offensive against Sextus. For his success he was awarded not only the blue standard mentioned in 25.3, but also the unique honour of a golden crown adorned with ships' rams. He undertook a notable aedileship in 33 B.C. (see 29.5 n.), was admiral of Augustus' fleet at Actium, and was Augustus' colleague in the two consulships of 28 and 27 B.C. which marked the re-introduction of constitutional government. Thereafter he was in practice vice-emperor. In the crisis of 23 B.C. (see 19.1 n.; 28.1-2 n.) he was marked out as Augustus' personal, though not constitutional, successor. In 21 B.C. he married Julia (see 63), in 18 B.C. he became associated with Augustus in the tribunician power (see 27.5 n.), and from 16 to 13 B.C. he held a general command over the eastern provinces (probably with *imperium maius*, for which see Introduction §24). He died in 12 B.C. from an illness contracted while campaigning in Pannonia the previous winter. He never accepted a triumph, but his three consulships, his naval honours, his tribunician power, and his marriage to Augustus' only child, together with his record of civil and military achievement indicated plainly enough his position in the state. We know nothing of him as a person; but there is a magnificent portrait in the Louvre, and one quirk tells us that for all his steely competence and complete devotion to Augustus he was sensitive to his relatively humble origins - he did all he could to drop his family name and become known, like any aristocrat, simply as M. Agrippa (cf. 4.1 n.).

etiam invito Neptuno: Augustus' insults to Neptune must be understood in the light of the fact that Sextus called himself 'Son of Neptune' after the great storm which destroyed Augustus' fleet in 38 B.C. He thus claimed equality with Augustus 'Son of the God Julius' and Antony 'the New Dionysus' (see 7.2 n.). For the circus procession, see 43.5 n.

16.3 *nec temere*: 'scarcely', a favourite Suetonian idiom (cf. 53.2, 66.1, 73 and 77).

traiecto in Siciliam exercitu: Augustus was attacked unexpectedly while bringing the first detachment of his army across the Straits of Messina to Tauromenium, thinking that Agrippa had pinned Sextus and his admirals Demochares and Apollonides on the north coast near Mylae. Both the other episodes here mentioned by Suetonius seem to belong to the immediate aftermath of Augustus' escape from this attack, when he had some difficulty in making his way from the remote spot where he landed and establishing contact with his forces on the Italian side of the strait (Appian, *BC* 5.110-112).

Aemilii Paulli Comitibus: Paullus Aemilius Lepidus (consul 34 B.C.) was a son of L. Aemilius Paullus (consul 50 B.C.), who had been proscribed by his own brother the triumvir Lepidus. The slave doubtless regarded Augustus as partly responsible, since the lists of victims were jointly agreed. The elder Paullus escaped to fight at Philippi and stayed in voluntary exile at Miletus afterwards (Appian, *BC* 4.37).

M. Lepidum: Lepidus owed his membership of the triumvirate to the strong military force under his command and to his union with Antony in 43 B.C. He had neither Antony's personality and military expertise, nor Augustus' Caesarian inheritance, and soon became the least important of the three, in spite of the ancient glories of the Aemilii. His loyalty

was not above suspicion and after Philippi his portion of the Roman empire, which originally comprised both Narbonese Gaul and the two Spanish provinces, was restricted to Africa. In 36 B.C. he brought twelve (wea) legions across to Sicily as part of the attack on Sextus. In the sequel to Agrippa's victory at Naulochus, when their leader had fled east, Sextus' troops in Messina surrendered to Lepidus, who thus found himself in command of 22 legions. He challenged Augustus' authority, but the soldiers would not support him and he had to throw himself on Augustus' mercy. Stripped of his triumviral powers, but retaining Pontifex Maximus, he was allowed to live quietly, until he died in 12 B.C., in the seaside town of Circeii south of Rome.

17-18 INCIDENTS FROM THE WAR WITH ANTONY

Suetonius avoids overlapping categories and the complexity of the historical explanation, and compresses the whole story of the relations between Augustus and Antony from 41-33 B.C. into ha. a sentence. All the details of 17 belong to the years 32-30 B.C. The qualities illustrated here are Augustus' determination, taken to the point of ruthlessness when necessary (*e.g.* the opening of Antony's will and the killing of Antony's eldest son), but also his capacity for respecting the motives and circumstances of those who found themselves opposing him (*e.g.* the people of Bononia and the younger children of Antony). Chapter 18 rounds off the civil war period, emphasising Augustus' standards of value and proper use of his victory.

17.1-2 RELATIONS WITH ANTONY 41-32 B.C.

News of the Perusine war (see 14) brought Antony back to Italy allied now with the remains of the Republican fleet under Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus. Antony was ready for war and laid siege to Brundisium, but once again the soldiers on both sides refused to fight their old comrades and the diplomacy of Cocceius Nerva, Maecenas, and Pollio led to an accommodation (the so-called 'treaty' of Brundisium, autumn 40 B.C.). Peace and friendship were proclaimed, both men entered Rome to an ovation and Antony, whose wife Fulvia had died in the summer, married Augustus' recently widowed sister Octavia (see 4.1 n.). In the following year agreement was reached with Sextus Pompeius at the conference of Misenum (see 16.1 n.) and Antony returned to the east with Octavia while Augustus gave his attention to Gaul. The next year the war with Sextus broke out again; in order to secure Antony's approval for it, Augustus asked him for a meeting at Brundisium but did not keep the appointment himself. Antony was angry, disapproving of the war, but since he could in fact do nothing to stop his colleague, returned to the east. In the winter of 38-37 B.C. Augustus, whose fortune were at a low ebb after the mauling of his fleet in 38, sent Maecenas to mollify him and ask him for ships. Antony came to

Tarentum in the spring with 300 ships, and once again Augustus did not meet him. He no longer needed the ships, thanks to Agrippa's energy, while on the other hand Antony was anxious to recruit in Italy for his forthcoming attack on Parthia. So Antony waited, none too pleased, and eventually Octavia prevailed upon her brother to negotiate with her husband. The result, the 'Treaty' of Tarentum, gave approval to the war against Sextus, arranged for Antony to lend 120 ships to Augustus in exchange for four or five legions, and renewed the triumvirate respectively for five years from Jan. 1st 37 B.C. Antony then left Italy, intent upon his scheme to conquer Parthia, while Octavia and her two daughters by Antony stayed behind - though there was nothing unusual about this under the circumstances. There followed Antony's resuscitation of his affair with Cleopatra (whom he had not set eyes on since early in 40 B.C., although she had subsequently borne him twins), and his disastrous expedition in 36 B.C. through Armenia against the Medes and Parthians, which had to stand comparison in Rome with Augustus' complete success against Sextus in the same year. Augustus never returned to Italy. The east provided him with all he needed: opportunities for military conquest, revenues from the richest provinces of the empire, and a regal consort who bore his children and equipped and victualled his armies - all, that is, except one thing, good fighting men from Italy. Augustus never sent him the promised legions, and at the same time embarked on a campaign in Illyria, from 35-33 B.C., whose chief purpose was to battle-harden his own recruits. From then on the final breach and war was inevitable: the young Caesar was too ambitious and ruthless to rest content with a *de facto* partition of the Roman world. He mounted a campaign of propaganda and diplomacy against his rival, designed to show that his behaviour in the east was betraying the true interests of Rome, while Antony, in spite of adding Armenia to the Roman empire in 34 B.C., played into Augustus' hands by behaving like a Hellenistic monarch with Alexandria as his capital.

At the end of 33 B.C. the triumvirate came to an end. In Feb. 32 B.C. Augustus staged a coup d'état by which he forced the consuls C. Sosius and Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus and some three hundred other senatorial supporters of Antony to leave the country. He then devoted all his efforts to manufacturing a *casus belli* sufficiently convincing to justify leading an army against his erstwhile colleague and the consuls of the Roman people. Suetonius says Antony was proclaimed an enemy of the state, but according to Dio (50.4.3) war was declared only against Cleopatra - and that not until the end of the year. In the meantime, in order to give his position as party leader some kind of bogus legality, Augustus arranged that all the inhabitants of Italy and the western provinces should swear an oath of loyalty to himself. He himself claims (RG 25.2) that the oath was spontaneous; but in that case it is not clear why he needed to excuse the people of Bononia from swearing it, and there were other places beside Bononia which supported

Antony, though they might not have had the traditionally respected tie of clientship to justify them (Dio 51.4.6). The opening of Antony's will occurred about July 32 B.C., as a result of the defection from his camp of L. Munatius Plancus (see 7.2 n.) and Plancus' nephew M. Titius. These two high-rank persons told Augustus that the will was in the keeping of the Vestal Virgins. Augustus, sensing that its contents might give him the proof he still lacked that Antony had ceased to be a true Roman, illegally seized and opened it. The senate and people learnt from Augustus' own lips that Cleopatra's eldest son, Ptolemy Caesar, was indeed Julius Caesar's child; that her children by Antony were to receive great legacies; and that Antony wished his body, should he die in Rome, to be sent to Cleopatra for burial. This was confirmation enough that the wicked queen, who lusted to overthrow Rome and dine on the Capitol, had corrupted and enslaved a once fine man to her foul purposes. The way was open for the official declaration of war.

17.2 Actium: this decisive naval battle took place off the mouth of the Gulf of Arta on the west coast of Greece on Sept. 2nd. 31 B.C. Antony had been blockaded for most of the summer, and disease and desertion were rapidly weakening his forces. It was essential for him to break out, but by making for Egypt with Cleopatra instead of trying to rejoin his army elsewhere in Greece, he abandoned any chance of recovering the military initiative. The break-out was comparatively successful under the circumstances, but Antony lost the majority of his ships and his army did not manage to retreat very far before surrendering, so that the battle was correctly represented as a victory by Augustus' side. Although Augustus was at sea participating in the fight, Agrippa held the command. (See Carter 1970 200-227.)

17.3 Samum: Augustus was in no hurry to follow up the victory of Actium, as there were enemy forces still left in Egypt and the country was difficult to attack. The lapse of a winter gave him time to attend to the diplomatic consequences of Antony's defeat amongst the kingdoms of Asia Minor and the Syrian region, and to make proper preparations for the assault. Samos was a convenient base for both purposes. Seditio praemia et missionem postulantium: after Actium, Augustus found himself with an army of over 50 legions, far more than he needed, composed of men to many of whom he had made a variety of expensive promises over the years. The end of the Sicilian war had taught him the danger of such a situation, and he sent some of them back to Italy at once to await formal discharge and the payment of their promised bounties. They became mutinous, Agrippa was sent to keep them in order but failed, and things became so serious that Augustus had to make the hurried winter voyage here described; he was only able to pacify the veterans by agreeing to provide land for them by disposing (since he had no money) communities which had supported Antony and risking the same ill-feeling which had led to the Perusine war. montes Ceraunios: also known as Acrocerania, and notorious for sudden storms, these mountains lay on the coast of Epirus near Apollonia. Alexandria ... potitus est: C. Cornelius Gallus advanced with one

army along the coast of Cyrenaica, Augustus with another by way of Asia Minor, Syria, and Judaea. Antony offered some resistance, but the decisive battle, of Aug. 1st. 30 B.C., was something of a fiasco: Antony's fleet surrendered without a fight, his cavalry deserted, and his infantry were defeated.

17.4 Antonium ... ad mortem adegit: while it may be true that Antony tried last-minute negotiations, Suetonius is certainly wrong to say that Augustus made him commit suicide. The lost battle and (false) report of Cleopatra's death were responsible.

viditque mortuum: it was regarded as cruel to look upon the dead body of your enemy (Caesar would not look at Pompey's head - Appian, BC 2.90). Cleopatrae ... Psyllos admovit: Augustus had managed to seize Cleopatra in her mausoleum before she could carry out her design of cremating her treasure in it along with herself; but it seems likely that once the treasure was safe he was not unwilling for her to commit suicide. Otherwise, after she had walked in his triumph, he would either have had to execute her (as tradition prescribed) or exile her (as clemency and respect for a great house of kings counselled), and neither course was attractive: one was barbaric, the other risky. The Psylli were a tribe of Libya said to possess the art of curing snake bites (Pliny, NH 7.14). The asp was supposed to deify those who died by its bite, and there is thus good reason to believe that Cleopatra, a goddess in the eyes of her subjects, would have chosen it as the instrument of her suicide.

17.5 Antonium iuvenem: M. Antonius junior, known as Antyllus, was probably born not later than 45 B.C. He had assumed the *toga virilis* after Actium and had been sent by his father on an embassy to negotiate with Augustus in 30 B.C. (Dio 51.8.4). His brother Iullus Antonius, born in 43 or 42 B.C., was brought up by Octavia along with her own children by Antony and attained the consulship in 10 B.C. only to be executed for his involvement in the activities of the elder Julia in 2 B.C. (see 65.1-3). Fulvia had been married to two outstanding political figures before Antony, namely P. Clodius (died 52 B.C.) and C. Scribonius Curio (died 49 B.C.).

Caesarionem: Ptolemy Caesarion, perhaps born in 47 B.C., was almost certainly Caesar's son, in spite of C. Oppius' pamphlet purporting to disprove the fact (DJ 52; Heinen 1969). Augustus, Caesar's 'son', could not afford to let a real son live, even if he would not have been recognised in Roman law.

reliquos Antoni ... liberos: these other children were the twins Alexander Helios and Cleopatra Selene (born 40 B.C.) and Ptolemy Philadelphus (born 36 B.C.). The two boys disappear from history; Cleopatra was married to Juba II of Mauretania (see 48 final n.).

18.1 Magni Alexandri: Alexander the Great died in Babylon. He apparently wished to be buried at the shrine of Zeus Ammon in the Egyptian desert, where he had been assured of his divinity by the god. There are various versions of how the body came to be in Alexandria (Diodorus 18.26-28; Pausanias 1.6.3 and 1.7.1; Strabo 17.1.8). As an all-conquering superhuman ruler, Alexander was a potent inspiration to the generals of Republican Rome (see Michel 1967). Dio (51.16.5) tells the same story

as Suetonius, adding that Augustus was said to have broken a piece off the nose of the mummy.

Ptolemaeum: this was the burial place and shrike of the Ptolemies, who had been the ruling dynasty of Egypt since the first Ptolemy had established himself as king after the death of Alexander in 323 B.C. The Macedonian stock had been diluted somewhat by marriages with other Hellenistic royal houses, but there was no Egyptian blood in the family. Cleopatra herself was ethnically largely Greek and culturally entirely Greek.

18.2 Aegyptum in provinciae formam redactam: the conversion of conquered territory into a Roman province was normally done by a law which sanctioned legal and administrative arrangements made by the victor and/or a senatorial commission, but in this case all Augustus' acts (since 32 B.C.), not only the annexation of Egypt, were ratified by an oath of the senate on Jan. 1st., 29 B.C. The government of Egypt remained quite distinct from that of the other provinces: i) it was governed by an equestrian Prefect and no senator was allowed in the country without express permission. This was because Augustus, as ruler of Egypt, became divine in the eyes of the people, and his deputy, the Prefect, was scarcely less awesome. ('He who is sent has the rank of King', Strabo 17.1.12). Egypt was also strategically strong, had a garrison (at first) of three legions, and was very important as a source of grain for Rome. Such a heady combination had to be kept away from any ambitious man who had the prestige and connections to challenge Augustus - and such a man could only be a senator. ii) There was only one city of Greek type in the country, Alexandria, and even that was too turbulent to be granted the usual local autonomy. Otherwise Egypt consisted of villages grouped into nomes (districts) within three great epistrategiai ('commands'). The whole was administered by an elaborate bureaucracy answerable directly to the Prefect. This system had been set up by the Ptolemies but was in a bad way by 30 B.C. Augustus simply made it work properly again (the clearing of the irrigation ditches is symptomatic) and substituted himself, represented by his Prefect, for the king.

COMMEMORATION OF ACTIUM

Augustus returned from Samos (where he had spent the winter of 30-29 B.C.) in the summer of 29, and put in at Actium to see to three commemorative projects:

i) He created a new city, Nicopolis ('victory-town'), on the low neck of the northern peninsula, below the site of his camp, by transferring the population from a number of places further inland.

ii) He enlarged the old temple of Apollo which stood on the tip of the southern promontory, where Antony's camp had been, and associated with it his new quinquennial games, the Actiaca (cf. 44.4 n. and on *super templa* 59). See Gagé 1936.

iii) On the hill where his camp had been he erected a monument

incorporating prows of the various sizes of ship he had captured from Antony, and dedicated it to Neptune and Mars. Since the restoration of the inscription given in E-J³ no. 12 has been superseded, the new text is given here: *Nep]tuno [et Ma]rt[us imp. Caesa]r div[us] Iulij] f. vict[or]iam ma]rit[imam consecutus bello] quoq[ue] pro [re pu]blic[a] ges[si]t in hac region[e] c]astra [ex] quib[us] ad hostem in]seq[ue]ndum eg[ressu]s est spolijs [ornat]a [dedicavit cons]ul[is] quinctum i]mperat[or] se]ptimum pace parta terra [marique]. (See Oliver 1969, revised by Carter 1977.)*

19 PLOTS AGAINST AUGUSTUS

Suetonius now inserts a chapter on plots and civil disturbances whose material tends to overlap with that of chapter 66. In a sense the theme of civil war continues, but the chapter is only tenuously connected with its general military context. We have here little but a catalogue, and Suetonius evidently expects his readers to know all about the first six names on his list.

i) 'Young Lepidus', son of the triumvir and nephew of M. Brutus, formed a plot to kill Augustus on his return to Italy in 29 B.C., but was found out and put to death by C. Maecenas (see 66.3 n.) who had been left in charge of Italy (Velleius 2.88).

ii) and iii) Varro Murena and Fannius Caepio were condemned and killed as leaders of a conspiracy formed after Murena, as counsel for M. Primus, the proconsul of Macedonia, who was accused of making war outside the borders of his province without proper authority, had challenged Augustus' standing in the case (Dio 54.3.2-8). The date of the conspiracy - 23 or 22 B.C.? - and the identity of Murena - A. Terentius Varro Murena (consul 23 B.C.) or his brother Lucius (no recorded office)? - are much disputed (see Stockton 1965; Swan 1966; Jameson 1969; Summer 1978). Murena was Maecenas' brother-in-law, and the conspiracy (if it really existed) represented a reaction against the autocracy of Augustus' new republic; on this general topic, see Sattler 1960 and Schmitthenner 1962.

iv) M. Egnatius Rufus, as aedile, probably in 22 B.C., won enormous popularity by organising an efficient fire brigade (cf. 30 n.) and was able to secure his election to the praetorship, unconstitutionally, in the next year or in 20 B.C. He then tried to become, equally illegally, consul in 19 B.C., but the already elected consul Sentius Saturninus refused to accept his candidacy and faction fighting broke out. Egnatius and his followers were imprisoned and executed. (Dio 53.24.4, misdated; Velleius 2.91-92; Dio 54.10.1; Sattler 1960 87 f.; Millar 1964a 87-88).

v) Plautius Rufus is much more obscure but is generally identified with the Publius Rufus of Dio 55.27.2, one of the

instigators of a poster campaign and seditious talk during the famine and military crisis of A.D. 6.

vi) L. Aemilius Paullus (consul A.D. 1), son of Paullus Aemilius Lepidus (consul 34 B.C. cf. 16.3) was married to Augustus' granddaughter Julia. The date and nature of his plot are not otherwise known; but Suetonius' arrangement of words makes it virtually certain that he is to be coupled with Plautius Rufus, both being introduced by *exin* in the same way that Varro Murena and Fannius Caepio, whom we know belong together, are introduced by *deinde*. All other single conspirators, except for the first named, have an adverb or adverbial phrase to themselves (*mox*; *praeter has*; *item*; *ad extremum*). Levick 1976 58 f., suggests that the activities of Rufus and Paullus were the last open political agitation of the reign and that when they were suppressed Julia and her brother Agrippa Postumus continued the struggle against their aging and tyrannical grandfather by more secret and sinister means, leading to their own exile, on the islands of Trimerus (off the Apulian coast) and Planasia (modern Pianosa, near Elba) respectively (see 65.1 n.). Paullus' fate is unknown; since Julia was accused of adultery he should have been alive in A.D. 8 (see 34.1 n.; note also Claud. 26.1 and *ILS* 5026, with elder Pliny, *NH* 18.6).

vii), viii) and ix) Of L. Audasius, Asinius Epicadus, and the remembrancer Telephus we know only what Suetonius tells us here. Augustus' daughter Julia was banished to the island of Pandateria (modern Ventotene, off the Campanian coast) from 2 B.C. to A.D. 4 after a supposed adultery scandal (see 65.1-3). For her son Agrippa, see vi above. It is possible that Suetonius has confused the two Julias; the younger seems a more likely principal in such a plot than her mother (see above) but since Suetonius neither gives dates nor makes it clear whether the activities of Audasius and Epicadus were connected, the matter remains in doubt.

20-23 Suetonius goes on to list Augustus' external wars. Augustus is now entirely 'good': he only makes war because he has to, he is successful, a paragon of good faith and moderation, an arbitrator of thrones, and a bringer of peace. In the face of disaster he acts decisively, makes the appropriate vows to the gods, and shows by his grief a proper sense of the responsibility vested in him.

20 (bellum) Delmaticum adulescens adhuc: the Dalmatian war took place in 35-33 B.C., so Augustus was not 'in his teens' (66) but 'quite young'. This war was fought largely to harden new recruits who had replaced the seasoned troops Augustus had been forced to discharge at the end of the Sicilian war in 36 B.C., and to provide a counterpoise to any military success Antony might win in the east. Augustus' personal involvement in the fighting may have been intended to efface the memory of

his somewhat inglorious part in the Sicilian war (see Appian, *Illyr.* 16-28; Dio 49.35-38; Schmitthenner 1958).

(bellum) Cantabricum: the Cantabrian war belongs to 26-25 B.C. Even after nearly 200 years of Roman rule in Spain, the peninsula was far from completely subdued. Though probably not imposing a war, the raids of the Cantabri in northern Spain were a convenient excuse for Augustus to operate in the western half of the empire against a traditional and clearly non-Roman foe. Nor did he need a fleet, so he could stake a claim to the military abilities a military monarch ought to possess without having his victories won for him by Agrippa. He was not conspicuously successful and retired in ill-health to Tarraco, leaving his legates C. Antistius and T. Carisius to finish the campaign, which they did well enough to enable Augustus to claim that universal peace had been established in the empire and close the shrine of Janus (see 22) for a second time (see Syme 1934; Schmitthenner 1962). In fact, Agrippa needed to complete the subjugation of Spain in 19 B.C.

reliqua per legatos administravit: there was one province, Africa, where wars were fought by proconsuls who were not legates of Augustus (see 47 n.); but these were not technically 'his' wars. Otherwise, since the commanders of armies in the imperial provinces derived their authority from him, he was nominally always the commander-in-chief. There was almost continuous warfare somewhere in the area of Illyricum, the Alps, and the Rhine, from 15 B.C. to the end of the reign.

21.1 partim ductu partim auspiciis: this formula is equivalent to that of RG 4.2 'by me or by my legates acting under my auspices' - a *me aut per legatos meos auspiciis meis*. Only the possessor of *imperium* conferred directly by the people had the right (and duty) of taking the auspices, and hence being able to claim the responsibility for victory and the honour of a triumph (see 38.1 n.)

Cantabria: see 20 n.

Aquitania: (south-western France), subdued by M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus in 28 B.C.; Agrippa had also operated there in 39 or 38 B.C. **Pannonia:** (northern Yugoslavia and Danube valley), initially conquered by Tiberius in 12-9 B.C., following operations by M. Vinicius and Agrippa in 14 and 13 B.C., but rebelled in A.D. 6 and was not finally subdued by Tiberius until A.D. 9 (cf. RG 30.1; more fully, Dio 55.29f.; Velleius 2.110f.).

Dalmatia: (with Illyricum), shared in the revolt of Pannonia in A.D. 6, having been previously won by a process started by Augustus himself in 35-33 B.C. (see 20 n.) and continued by P. Silius in 17 and 16 B.C.

Illyricum is an elastic region: it may include Pannonia, but Suetonius seems to use it here to mean the coastal belt (Dalmatia) together with the inland areas too far south to be included in Pannonia. It is extremely unlikely that we possess the full record of campaigns in this area under Augustus, as it was chronically turbulent.

Raetia, Vindelici, Salassi: Raetia corresponds to parts of modern Switzerland, Austria, and Bavaria; the chief town of the Vindelici after the conquest was Augusta Vindelicum (modern Augsburg) lying some 20 miles south of the Danube. This area was conquered by Tiberius and his brother Drusus in 15 B.C., a campaign celebrated by Horace, *Odes* 4.4 and 14. The Salassi lived on the Italian side of the St. Bernard Pass, where the

colony of Augusta Praetoria (modern Aosta) was founded after their final conquest in 25 B.C. by A. Terentius Varro; they had previously been defeated by C. Antistius Vetus in 35-34 B.C. and by Messalla Corvinus in (?) 27 B.C. The conquest of the Alpine regions was designed to pave the way for the annexation of Germany (see Wells 1972 35-89).

Dacorum incursions: 'Dacians' is used as a convenient label both by Suetonius and by Augustus (RG 30.2), who speaks of his armies defeating Dacians on each side of the Danube. The peoples meant are those who lived on the north bank of the river, opposite the province of Moesia, approximately in the area of modern Rumania. It is vain to try and identify the episode(s) Suetonius alludes to: but probably the success of M. Crassus, proconsul of Macedonia 30-28 B.C., is not one of them, since he was awarded a triumph and must therefore have been fighting under his own auspices (Dio 51.26.5). A more probable date is between 6 B.C. and A.D. 4, when senior army commanders were fighting in the area and the province of Moesia was being formed (Syme 1939 400). The Dacians also crossed the frozen river into Pannonia in the winter of 10 B.C. (Dio 54.36.2).

Germanisque ultra Albi fluvium summovit: Suetonius does not mean that Augustus depopulated the region between Rhine and Elbe, but that there were no unsubdued Germans left in that area. The conquest of this part of Germany took a long time, starting with the campaigns in Pannonia and Raetia (see above) to give a secure southern base, and continuing with the activities of Drusus (13-9 B.C.), Tiberius (8-7 B.C.), Cn. Ahenobarbus (ca. 1 B.C.), M. Vinicius (ca. A.D. 2), and Tiberius again (A.D. 4-6), who according to Velleius (2.108.1) completed the task except for the subjugation of the Marcomanni in the south. But the new province was lost in A.D. 9 when the German leader Arminius lured the governor P. Quinctilius Varus (consul 13 B.C.), who was treating the Germans as pacified, into a trap and destroyed him and his three legions (XVII, XVIII, and XIX), causing near-panic at Rome (see 23; Velleius 2.117-119; Dio 56.18-21; Tacitus, *Ann.* 1.60-61). The Romans were able to hold the line of the Rhine, but never thereafter controlled territory beyond it, except a small area in the angle between the upper Rhine and Danube. In general, see Wells 1972.

Suebos et Sigambros: the Sigambri (spelling variable) lived in the Ruhr area, and had contributed to the defeat of Lollius in 16 B.C. (see 23.1); they were transferred by Tiberius in 8-7 B.C. (*Tib.* 9). There were several tribes of Suebi further west and south, but which one was moved, and when, is not known; Wells 1972 156 links their deportation with that of the Sigambri.

21.2 sine iustis et necessariis causis: all Roman wars (like all modern wars) were just and unavoidable, and an elaborate religious ritual was carried out by the priests called *fetiales*, whose duty it was to claim restitution for the wrong inflicted on the Roman people before solemnly declaring war. Augustus says (RG 26.3) that he pacified the Alps without waging an unjust war on any people, though the reader of the list of Alpine tribes inscribed on the monument of La Turbie (E-J³ no. 40) might legitimately wonder what they had all done to rouse the ire of Rome, and perhaps significantly Augustus himself does not make the same claim in respect of the expeditions against Ethiopia and Arabia. Imperial expansion was a desirable, even a necessary aim of a Roman leader, but to meet with

the blessing of the gods it required a steady supply of menacing enemies. The ideology of conquest and the requirements of piety lay uneasily together.

21.3 Indos ac Scythos: Indians and Scythians appear in the same guise, as peoples from the uttermost fringes of the civilised world, in RG 31 and Horace, *Carmen saeculare* 55. Embassies from India are known in 25 and 20 B.C., and see Strabo 15.1.4 (Wheeler 1954). For Suetonius to say that these peoples were 'known by report alone' is a little strong, since Romans were trading regularly with South India early in the reign of Augustus (Schmitthenner 1979 103), but he seems to be paraphrasing Augustus' words 'not previously seen'.

Parthi quoque et Armeniam: public opinion expected Augustus to take action against the Parthians, who had captured legionary standards from Crassus at Carrhae in 53 B.C., from Decidius Saxa in 40 B.C., and from Antony in 36 B.C. (cf. RG 29.2); they had also overrun Armenia (newly annexed by Antony in 34) in 32/31 B.C. and installed a pro-Parthian king, Artaxes, on the throne. Diplomatic pressure failed and Augustus threatened military action in 21/20 B.C.; this was enough to make the Parthian king Phraates hand over the standards and any Roman prisoners who wished to return home. These events encouraged the pro-Roman party in Armenia to murder Artaxes, and Tiberius was able to enter the country unopposed and crown as king Artaxes' brother Tigranes II, who had been living first in Alexandria and then in Rome since his capture by Antony in 34 B.C. Augustus judged that Armenia was more valuable to Rome as a client-kingdom than as a province (see 48 n.; RG 27.2). For the hostages and struggles for the Parthian throne, see 43.4 n. The Armenian throne was also disputed: after the death of Tigranes II (not later than 6 B.C.) his son Tigranes III was placed on the throne by the anti-Roman faction, only to be ejected on Augustus' orders and replaced by Tigranes II's Romanised younger brother Artavasdes, who was in turn thrown out with Parthian help before 1 B.C. Then the new Parthian king Phraataces came to an understanding in A.D. 1 with Gaius, by which his half-brothers the hostages continued to stay in Rome, he refrained from interfering in Armenia, and Ariobarzanes (king of Media since 20 B.C.) became in addition king of Armenia - Tigranes III having opportunely been killed in a border disturbance. The importance of Armenia to Rome lay in its position on the flanks of Parthia and North Syria: a king friendly to Rome served as a check on Parthia and a shield to Syria, a king friendly to Parthia left the eastern frontier very exposed.

22 Ianum Quirinum: this was a small rectangular shrine with doors at both ends and the statue of the god facing both ways within (see Nash 1961 1.502). It stood in the Forum near the senate house, at the entrance to the Argiletum. It was also known as *Ianum Geminus* and *Ianus Bifrons*. The doors stood open in time of war, and the antiquarians of the late Republic held that they had been closed only twice in Roman history before Augustus' time, once in the reign of Numa and once in 235 B.C. (Varro, *IL* 5.165). They were closed again in 29 and 25 B.C. (Dio 51.20.4; 53.26.5) after the ending of the Alexandrian and Spanish wars respectively. The third occasion is unidentified but guaranteed by Augustus himself (RG 13); Orosius (6.22.1) puts it in 2 B.C. but activity at that time on the Rhine and Danube frontiers makes this implausible. 18 B.C., 13 B.C., or

sometime before 8 and 1 B.C. (Syme 1978 26) seem better guesses. terra marique pace parta: variations of this formula occur in the same connection on coins of Nero (BMC Aug Index s.v. PACE P.R. TERRA MARIQ. PARTA), in Livy 1.19.3 and in RG 13. It was also used on the Actium inscription of 29 B.C. (see 18.2 n.) and on the base of the rostral column erected in the Forum after the defeat of Sextus Pompeius (Appian BC 5.130). Links can be traced back to the Hellenistic regal title 'ruler over Land and Sea', but the connection of universal rule with universal peace seems to be an Augustan invention (Momigliano 1942 63).

bis ovans: Augustus' two ovations (a sort of inferior triumph, see Gellius, *NA* 5.6.20f., 27) were in 40 B.C., after the reconciliation with Antony at Tarentum, and 36 B.C., after the defeat of Sextus Pompeius (F-J³ pp.33-4; Dio 48.31.3 and 49.15.1; RG 4.1). Suetonius' words 'after the war of Philippi' are, at the least, misleading.

curules triumphos: 29 B.C., August 13th, 14th, and 15th. See 38.1 n., Dio 51.21.7. Suetonius follows Augustus' own words at RG 4.1 very closely.

23.1 clades ... Lollianam et Varianam: M. Lollius (consul 21 B.C.) commanding forces in the Rhine area in 17-16 B.C. suffered an incursion by the Sigambri, Usipetes, and Tencteri, was taken by surprise, and defeated after his cavalry had been routed. Recovery was swift, and the disgrace was caused chiefly by losing the eagle of the fifth legion (Velleius 2.97.1; Dio 54.20.5). Lollius lost little credit: Augustus appointed him chief adviser to Gaius on his important military and diplomatic mission in the east (2 B.C. onwards). However, intrigue, scandal, or guilt undid him and he died by his own hand in A.D. 2. The notorious pearls of his granddaughter Lollia Paulina were said to be his plunder of the provinces. (elder Pliny, *NH* 9.117). His minor reverse of 17 or 16 B.C. was turned into a 'disaster' by writers favourable to Tiberius, whose enemy he was. On Varus' defeat, see n. on Germanosque 21.1.

excubias: it is interesting that a disaster in Germany should have made Augustus take steps to ensure order in Rome. Perhaps he felt unsure of his own position after the disturbances of A.D. 6 and the banishment of his own grandchildren in A.D. 8 (see 19.1 n. v and vi).

23.2 magnos ludos: 'Great Games': the term *Ludi Magni* was applied to the *Ludi Romani*, the greatest of the regular annual festivals (Livy 1.35.9). Not exclusively, however; the sources exhibit confusion between *Ludi Magni*, *Ludi Maximi*, and *Ludi Votivi*, the last of which were without doubt specially put on in honour of a vow. The games Augustus vowed on this occasion were clearly votive - as is proved by the reference to the Cimbric (105-101 B.C.) and Marsic or Social (90-88 B.C.) wars, in both of which Rome had armies annihilated. We do not know whether Augustus carried out his vow before his death, unless 43.5 refers.

barba capilloque summisso: to go without shaving or having one's hair cut was a sign of mourning; cf. DJ 67.2; Lintott 1968 16f. diem cladis: the date is not known, but it was probably in late Sept. (RE 24.955-6).

24-25 These two chapters bring to an end the 'military' part of

later, and it is possible that they were never in fact given the land. Suetonius' phrase *citra commoda emeritorum praemiorum* 'without all the benefits of the rewards they had earned' is vague and need not mean that the men in question received nothing at all. *commoda* is the technical term under the empire for any allowance, including discharge bounty. *decimatas hordeo pavit*: decimation was the clubbing to death of every tenth man (chosen by lot) by his fellow-soldiers. The principle that breaches of individual military discipline were punished by a man's equals (Polybius 6.37.1ff.) is extended to become a kind of mass self-purification and expiation on the part of the whole unit (see Lintott 1968 42, who compares Germanicus' treatment of the Rhine army mutineers, Tacitus, *Ann.* 1.44.2-5). Augustus is known to have used the punishment once, in 34 B.C. (Dio 49.38.4); in the civil war period Caesar, Domitius Calvinus, and Antony also employed it (Dio 41.35.5; 48.42.2; 49.27.1), in some cases, as here, joined with the ancient military punishment of distributing rations of barley instead of wheat (barley being the diet of slaves and animals). *cum decempedis vel etiam caespitem portantes*: the point of this is that surveying-poles and clods of earth were normally carried only by common soldiers in the course of performing tasks which no centurion ever had to demean himself by doing.

25.1 *commilitones*: the revolutionary implications of the term 'fellow-soldiers' are patent. Augustus here reversed a practice of Caesar's, to the evident approval of Suetonius (cf. *DJ* 67.2). His power depended on his soldiers, but like every other part of society, they had to be in their place.

25.2 *libertino milite*: freedmen were regularly enrolled for the corps of *vigiles* (night-watchmen, firemen, and police); see 30 n. The two military crises are those of A.D. 6 (the Illyrian revolt - see n. on *Pannonia* 21.1 and Velleius 2.111.1, who confirms Suetonius' detail that the rich were forced to manumit) and A.D. 9 (the disaster of Varus - see n. on *Germanosque* 21.1). Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 1.11.32) says that Augustus called these separate formations of freedmen *voluntariae cohortes* ('volunteer cohorts'); free men subjected to the levy had no choice (see n. on *equitem Romanum* 24.1).

25.3 *donna militaria*: the military decorations here mentioned by Suetonius were all in use under the Republic. *phalerae* were discs or bosses worn on the chest, torques collars of twisted gold links (for illustrations, see Webster 1969 pl.VI and VII). Of the crowns, the *vallaris* (called *castrensis* by Gellius) was given to the man who first climbed the rampart into an enemy camp, the *muralis* to the man who first scaled a city wall. Gellius, in his discussion of these and other crowns (*NA* 5.6), says they were usually of gold, but Suetonius (perhaps unintentionally) seems to imply the reverse.

M. Agrippam: for Agrippa and the Sicilian war, see 16.2 n. According to Dio (51.21.3), the blue flag was awarded after Actium. A *vexillum*, a small silver-mounted standard, was a usual military decoration for senior officers. *solos triumphales*: I take it that *triumphales* includes men who had been granted the *ornamenta triumphalia* as well as those who had actually celebrated a triumph (see 38.1 n.). By refusing to award decorations to

the work: they illustrate Augustus' attitudes to military discipline and rewards, and conclude with a few pithy sayings of the emperor which both stress his policy of caution and make a vivid ending to this section. Augustus is here pictured as severe, but able to temper justice with mercy, and willing to reward people, but strictly according to their deserts. His concern for the preservation of status barriers is also evident.

24.1 *in re militari et commutavit multa et instituit*: in speaking of military reforms, as is clear from what follows, Suetonius does not refer to such strategic matters as the disposition and command of legions and general terms of pay and discharge, for which see 49, but to conditions of service for the individual, divided under the two heads of discipline (down to 25.2) and rewards (25.3). A major change, nowhere mentioned by Suetonius and not specifically attributed to Augustus by any ancient source, was the ban on soldiers' marriages which seems most likely to have been introduced in 13 B.C. (Campbell 1978 154; cf. *Ovid Ars Am.* 1.131-2). On the other hand Augustus allowed soldiers to treat as their own property, immune from the rules of *patria potestas*, their earnings while they were in the army (known as *peculium castrense*; see Crook 1967 110-111). In general, see Watson 1969.

equitem Romanum: this story of the *eques* who cut off his sons' thumbs to disqualify them from military service (*sacramentum* being the oath taken on enlistment) is clear evidence for the survival of the compulsory levy in Augustan times, in spite of the general tendency from the time of Marius for the army to become a professional volunteer force. Compulsion was applied on several occasions in the first century B.C. Since this episode is undated, it may well belong before 31 B.C.; but men were dodging the levy in 23 B.C. (*Tib.* 8) and the crises of A.D. 6 and 9 entailed even the conscription of slaves, freed for the purpose (see 25.2). Velleius (2.130.2) writes of the levy as a thing of terror before Tiberius' time, and it is likely that Augustus resorted to compulsory levies several times in his reign. For full discussion, see Brunt 1971 408ff.

publicanos: it is not clear why Augustus was so disturbed at the prospect of public contractors buying the unfortunate *eques*. Perhaps he suspected that they were going to exploit the man's former rank in some undignified way; certainly his action in making him over to an imperial freedman suggests that he repented of an over-harsh decision.

24.2 *decimam legionem*: Syme 1933 15 conjectured that this was Caesar's old tenth legion, which could have been amongst the mutinous troops at Brundisium (see 17.3) in the winter of 31/30 B.C.; but an (unspecified) legion was disbanded for mutiny in 35 B.C. (Dio 49.34.4). Neither of the two tenth legions known after 27 B.C., *Fretensis* and *Gemina* (see 49 n.), can be the one referred to here.

alias exauctoravit: *exauctoratio* is the technical military term for 'discharge', and is in itself neither honourable nor dishonourable; under the empire it may imply 'early discharge' and can be contrasted with *missio* 'full-term, pensionable, discharge' (e.g. Tacitus *Ann.* 1.36.4). Suetonius refers to the trouble Augustus had with dissatisfied troops after his defeat of Sextus Pompeius (Appian *BC* 5.129), as well as to the unrest at Brundisium (see previous n.). On the latter occasion he placated some of the veterans by giving them money with the promise of land

but 34-31 B.C. - or perhaps earlier in 39, as Dio 48.35 states). He may have gone through the farce of the second consulship in order to keep the tally of his consulships equal with Antony's; for though the Fasti almost suppress the fact, the coins show that Antony held his second consulship in 34 B.C., and such things were important for a leader's prestige. The full record may be set out as follows, combining the information of Suetonius with that of the Fasti (*Inscr It* 13.1.502ff.; EJ³32ff. and no.323):-

Consulship	Year B.C.	Place of assumption	Date of abdication	Months held
I	43	Rome	Nov. 27	3
II	33	Rome	Jan. 1	0
III	31	Rome	Apr. 30	4
IV	30	Asia (Ephesos?)	Jun. 30	6
V	29	Samos	Sep. 30	9
VI	28	Rome	-	12
VII	27	Rome	-	12
VIII	26	Tarraco	-	12
IX	25	Tarraco	-	12
X	24	Rome	-	12
XI	23	Rome	June	6
XII	5	Rome	Mar. 31 or Apr. 30	3 or 4
XIII	2	Rome	Mar. 31 or Apr. 30	3 or 4

Augustus' reasons for abdication can be inferred, where they are not known. In the late Republic the consulship had become in practice a civil magistracy and it could be administratively inconvenient for a consul to be inaccessible on campaign. Thus Augustus abdicated in 31 B.C. in time for the campaign of Actium and in 30 B.C. for the final attack on Alexandria. In 29 B.C. he appears to have retained office until after his triumphs of 12-15 Aug. (see 22), for which he would in any case have had to be given a special grant of imperium. From 28 until the middle of 23 B.C. the consulship was the office on which his power legally rested. His abdication in June 23 B.C. marked a radical transformation of the principate (see 27.5 n. and 28.1-2 n.). Henceforth he refused to be considered a consular candidate, and there was trouble and even rioting in Rome in connection with the elections for the consulships of 21 and 19 B.C.; the people at that time insisted on keeping open for him one of the two places, in his absence and against his will, although other men were eventually appointed. By the time he consented to hold the consulship again, to introduce first Gaius, then Lucius, formally into public life, it had become normal for the elected consuls (*consules ordinarii*) to resign half-way through the year so that two more men (*consules suffecti*) could have the honour of reaching the highest magistracy of state every year. By resigning after three (or four) months, Augustus in effect allowed a man, whom he had by his exceptional candidature kept out, to realise his ambitions after

such men, Augustus attempted to maintain a little of the fiction that he was only *primus inter pares*.
 οὐ μόνον βραδέως: 'more haste less speed' - 'festina lente'. Gellius (NA 10.11.6) confirms that Augustus used the Greek words.
 ἀσφαλῆς γὰρ ...: 'a safe general is better than a bold one' (Euripides, *Phoenissae* 602).

26 The opening sentence of this chapter signals the third main section of the book, 26-60. 'Magistracies and Offices' are dealt with in three chapters, but the subsequent transition to Augustus' civil achievements is logical and fleshes out the catalogue of office-holding. When at 57 Suetonius comes back full circle to honores in the sense of 'honours' rather than 'offices', those honours are now fully intelligible because we know what Augustus had done to deserve them.

The structure of 26-28 follows, with digressions, the three heads of magistracies 'held early', 'of a new sort', and 'perpetual'. The treatment is very uneven and anecdotal, gives least space to what interests modern historians most, and omits altogether the constitutional bedrock of Augustus' position after 23 B.C., his consular and proconsular imperium (see Introduction §25).

AUGUSTUS' CONSULSHIPS

Apart from the introductory sentence, 26 is devoted entirely to his consulships. The words *ante tempus* ('early') refer to tenure of an office before the minimum normal age for holding it; the minimum ages laid down by the *lex Villia annalis* of 180 B.C., reaffirmed by Sulla, and observed, with occasional exceptions allowed by the senate, down to 49 B.C. were: quaestor - age 30, praetor - age 39, consul - age 42. Augustus held no qualifying magistracies and entered his first consulship in August 43 B.C., a month before his twentieth birthday, filling with his cousin Q. Pedius the vacancies created by the deaths of Hirtius and Pansa at Mutina (see 11 n.). The story about the centurion is found also in Dio 46.43.4. The threat was not enough, and Augustus had to follow up the unsuccessful embassy by marching with his army on Rome. The senate could not of course grant the consulship: what Augustus needed from it was a dispensation from the provisions of the lex Villia. The actual election by the people was constitutionally anomalous (see Dio 46.45.3-5) but preserved a veneer of respectability. Augustus abdicated when the triumvirate was formed three months later.

His second consulship was in 33 (i.e. nine years intervening), and his third in 31 B.C.; both these appear from the legends of coins issued in 37 B.C. to have been agreed before his meeting with Antony at Tarentum in that year (perhaps at Misenum in 39 when they came to some kind of arrangement with Sextus Pompeius - though the details reported by Appian, *BC* 5.73, fit not 38-35

the contrary. Thus the triumvirate expired on 31st Dec., 33 B.C. Augustus laid down his title (RG 7.1), and after forcing the Antonian members of the senate, including the two consuls, to leave Italy, gave his position as leader of one party in a civil war a bogus legality by organising the oath of personal loyalty (see 17.2). Antony, more honest, continued to use the title as well as the powers, as is proved by coins dated to his third consulship of 31 B.C.; while Lepidus had already been stripped of his office in 36 B.C. (see 16.3).

The proscriptions of late 43 B.C. were the most notorious act of the triumvirs, and are described at length by Appian (BC 4.17ff.) and Dio (47.3ff.). They recalled the proscriptions of Sulla, and arose from the same causes: the wish to stamp out opposition and pay off old scores, and the need to obtain money to pay the soldiery. Suetonius clearly draws on anti-Augustan writings at this point, though he names no source apart from the otherwise unknown Iulius Saturninus. The picture is dark; but notice how Suetonius uses it to point up Augustus' later magnanimity, in the case of Vinus Philopoemen, and even undercuts his own presentation by the frankly incredible detail of Augustus putting out Q. Gallius' eyes with his own hands.

27.1 C. Toranium: Toranium is confirmed as C. Octavius' colleague in their adulescence (264 B.C.) by Octavius' *elogium* (see 3 n.). Fatherless Roman children were required to have a male legal guardian (tutor) until they were 14 years old, and it was normal for a man to name his children's guardians in his will (cf. *DJ* 83.2). The reasons for Toranium's fall from grace are unknown, except that they existed already before 45 B.C., when he was apparently in exile on Corcyra (Cicero, *ad Familiares* 6.20 and 21).

27.2 Iulius Saturninus: not otherwise known.

T. Vinium Philopoemen ...: the details are given by Dio 47.7.4-5. For an ex-slave to attain equestrian status was an exceptional honour (for Augustus' later attitude cf. 44.1). When legal regulations were later laid down, in A.D. 23, no man was allowed to claim equestrian rank unless his father and grandfather had been freeborn (elder Pliny, *NH* 33.32). Philopoemen had incurred the death penalty by concealing his former master. Yet it was important for the fabric of Roman society that a freedman should be loyal to his patron, and the law treated him in some respects as though he were a son.

27.3 Pinarium ... Tedium Afrum: both otherwise unknown.

27.4 Q. Gallium: the episode belongs to late 43 or early 42 B.C. His brother M. Gallius, who served with Antony at Mutina (see 10-12), was also an opponent of Augustus; he died ca. 40-39 B.C., before Livia's marriage to Augustus, leaving the infant Tiberius as his heir and adoptive son! (Cicero, *Philippics* 13.26; Appian, *BC* 3.95; *Tib.* 6.3). Appian's version of Q. Gallius' fate agrees with that of Augustus given here by Suetonius, and conforms with Augustus' general policy in dealing with opponents of high social rank. Torture of free men (not to mention

all: in both 5 and 2 B.C. we find three *suffecti*, of whom the first almost certainly held office for the unexpired portion of the six months Augustus would by now have been expected to remain consul.

Suetonius' final comment, on the places where Augustus entered on his consulships, arises from the fact that a consul had constitutionally to enter office at Rome. There is no exception before Julius Caesar in 46 B.C., unless one believes the tradition hostile to C. Flaminius (consul 217 B.C.) found in Livy 21.63; but Cicero nowhere mentions it in several contexts where it would have suited him to have done so (*de Divinatione* 1.77-78; 2.21, 2.67 and 2.71; *de Natura Deorum* 2.8) and there is good reason to doubt it. All Augustus' irregular assumptions of consular office fall in his period of continuous tenure, and were demanded, like Caesar's, by the necessities of warfare. However, unlike Caesar (cf. *DJ* 76.2-3) Augustus tried not to devalue the consulship or the other magistracies, at least once the Civil War was over.

27.1-4 THE TRIUMVIRATE

The office created by Antony, Lepidus, and Augustus for themselves by the *lex Pedia* of 27th Nov. 43 B.C. was unique. Boards of three were common for special purposes (e.g. the Gracchan land commissioners), but had not administered the state since the days of 'military tribunes with consular power' in the fifth century. The formula *rei publicae constituendae* ('to reconstitute the state'), with its clear implication that the state had broken down, had been used by Sulla to define and justify his new sort of dictatorship. It was ideally suited to cloak autocratic power. Theoretically the three men possessed no more than consular power (the dictatorship, and therefore its powers, had been abolished in 44 B.C.), but they commanded armies and were in fact a military junta. It is quite unclear to what extent the normal institutions, such as elections and the law courts, continued to function. The triumvirs certainly overrode the people by appointing consuls for years ahead and creating other magistracies wholesale; on the other hand we hear of some contested elections and it is inconceivable that the whole machinery of state suddenly required the exercise of triumviral power in order to keep it functioning. (See Millar 1973.)

The *lex Pedia* conferred power until 31st Dec., 38 B.C. (*Fasti Colotani* - E-J³ p.32). This date passed without the triumvirs having either laid down their office or taken any steps to renew it, but no one was in a position to challenge them and Antony and Augustus, meeting at Tarentum in the summer of 37 B.C., agreed to a retrospective renewal for another five years from 1st Jan., 37, which it is hard to believe was not ratified by the people, despite Appian's assertion (BC 5.95) to

putting out their eyes) was not permitted under Republican law and it seems highly unlikely that Augustus, who needed all the popularity he could get during these years, would have risked alienating the uncommitted by such an act of illegal barbarism.

27.5 TRIBUNICIAN POWER

Augustus accepted tribunician power when he abdicated from the consulship of 23 B.C. (*Fasti Capitoli* E-J, p.36), and counted his tribunician years from this date. Appian (BC 5.132) and Orosius (6.18 and 34) say that he received the power in 36 B.C., Dio (49.15.6) that he was granted the inviolability (*sacrosanctitas*) of a tribune in 36 and the power (*potestas*) in 30 and again in 23 B.C. (55.32.5). Various explanations have been advanced of these contradictory data, but three things are quite clear. First, so long as Augustus was triumvir or consul, i.e. until 23 B.C. (excepting only the year 32, see 17.2), tribunician powers afforded him no practical constitutional advantage; second, he himself did not rate them important until he laid down the consulship in 23 B.C.; and third, he himself distinguishes (RG 10.1) between his sacrosanctity and his tribunician power, although his language leaves it obscure whether they were conferred on him at the same time. The powers were:—

- i) *auxilium*: the right to intervene on behalf of citizens who were being unfairly treated by other magistrates.
- ii) *intercessio*: the right to veto the acts of other magistrates
- iii) *coercitio*: the right to compel citizens to obey his orders, and impose sanctions if necessary.
- iv) legislative powers (*ius agendi cum populo* and *ius consulendi senatum*): the right to summon the people, address them, and put legislation to them, and the right to summon the senate and put motions to it.

A tribune could not exercise any of these powers outside the city of Rome, though imperial holders of *tribunicia potestas* may have done so (*Tib.* 11.3) and during his year of office he was supposed to be available at all times to those whose interests he guarded, the common people of Rome, and the doors of his house were always open. The tribunate was a magistracy of the city of Rome, and Rome alone. Its origins lay deep in the class struggles of the fifth century B.C., and it symbolised above all the successful defiance of an oppressive aristocracy by the ordinary people of Rome. The opening sentence of RG informs us that Augustus 'set free the state when it was labouring under the tyranny of a faction'. The parallel is obvious, even if tenuous. As perpetual holder of tribunician power, Augustus was perpetual watchdog of the interests of his clients, the *plebs* of Rome. Watchdog against whom? In reality, no one, except perhaps his own agents; but in the early days of the

principlate, when there was a token measure of Republican freedom it may have seemed that there were potential enemies of the new order and of the benefits it brought to Romulus' descendants. It is clear that it was chiefly for symbolic reasons that Augustus held the powers of a tribune, though there is a little more to it than that. The Roman people did not like Augustus, decision to cease holding an annual consulship (see 26 n.), and it is possible that he thought it politic to accept (or re-accept a grant of the powers of a tribune, never hitherto dissociated from the office itself, in order to convince them that he would still be able to represent their interests properly. Probably the least important reason is that commonly advanced by constitutionalists, that he needed the powers to compensate for those that he lost by resigning the consulship. Formally, this may be true (but note the hypothesis of Brunt 1962, 70ff. — retracted Brunt and Moore 1967, 14 — that he may have held *imperium* without the insignia from 23-19 B.C.). But in practice his personal authority, powers of patronage, and continued provincial commands were so powerful, even after 23 B.C. and before he was formally invested with consular *imperium* (without the office) in 19 B.C., that he did not stand in any need of the personal right to convoke senate, put legislation to the people, and so on. These were things he could do just as effectively through others, and in fact did so throughout his reign (e.g. the lex Papia Poppaea of A.D. 9, modifying his own earlier marriage laws and undoubtedly representing his own wishes, but brought in by the consuls of the year). For extended discussion see last 1951.

Augustus had a colleague five times in tribunician power (RG 6):

Agrippa	18-14 B.C.	(Dio 54.12.4)
	13-(9) B.C.	(Dio 54.28.1)
Tiberius	6-1 B.C.	(Dio 55.9.4; <i>Tib.</i> 9.3)
	A.D. 4-13	(Dio 55.13.1)
	A.D. 13-23	(Dio 56.28.1)

Suetonius is thus in error in stating that all the grants were for periods of a *Iustrum* (five years), though they were certainly for multiples of that period. (Amend GG to read 'for five-year periods'.) For Augustus' use of the title tribune, see Lacey 1979.

PERPETUAL CENSORSHIP

By the words *morum legumque regimen perpetuum* Suetonius seems to mean a kind of enhanced censorial power, extending beyond the field of *mores* to that of *leges*, which had certainly never been subject to normal censorial scrutiny. Although Dio (54.10.5) gives Suetonius some support, Augustus himself says (RG 6) that, when in 19, 18 and 11 B.C. the senate and people wished to appoint him *curator legum et morum* (supervisor of laws and

morals), he 'would not accept any office inconsistent with Roman tradition', and did what was needful at the time in virtue of his tribunician power. Suetonius is consequently confused about the legal basis of Augustus' three censures, though he is correct to state that Augustus did not hold the actual office of censor. From *RG* 8 we learn that the first in 28 B.C. was carried out with Agrippa as colleague, when they were actually consuls; and that the second in 8 B.C., without a colleague, and the third in A.D. 14, with Tiberius, were carried out by consular power. Jones 1960 ch.I; so in all three cases he could have acted in virtue of an authority he already possessed. On the other hand the *Fasti* of Venusia (E-J, no.323) record that Augustus and Agrippa held censorial power in 28 B.C., and Dio (54.10.5 and 54.30.1) says that he took it in 19 B.C., and again in 12 (or 11) B.C., for a five-year period.

We know that he was embarrassed about exercising the functions of the censor in respect of his social equals (see 35), and he may have felt that to take the office itself was inconsistent with his political stance as first citizen and protector of the people. As for the powers of the office, the censorship had originally been created to assist the consuls; so it might be said that consular power was not distinguishable from censorial power. The chief duties of the censors (normally, under the Republic, elected every five years, to hold office for 18 months) were to compile up-to-date citizen rolls, let the state contracts for taxation, supplies, and public works, and revise the membership of the two elite groups, the equestrian and senatorial orders. This last duty involved not only promoting the worthy, but demoting (or merely censuring) the unworthy, and to this end they would take account of all aspects of a man's life, public and private, moral and practical. A severe censorship, conducted according to the moral criteria of a Cato, was theoretically excellent, and accorded well with the view the Romans had of the qualities which had made them a great nation; but it could produce resentment, especially among a group as exclusive and interrelated as the Roman aristocracy, and it is easy to see why Augustus disliked this side of the censorship and did his best to avoid it. A further point was that a censorship of high moral tone could only plausibly be conducted by a man who himself measured up to the standards he demanded of others, and Augustus was notoriously open to attack on this ground (see 69-71). On the other hand, a pair of censors derived credit from being able to register a higher number of Roman citizens than previously enumerated, and it is this aspect of censorial activity which Augustus makes much of in *RG*, recording figures more than four times higher than the last Republican count. It is noteworthy that both Suetonius and Augustus himself clearly dissociate the enumeration of the citizens from the revision of the roll of the senate. See Jones 1960 ch.II; Astin 1963; and Brunt 1971, esp. 113ff.

28.1-2 CONTROL OF THE STATE

These sections sum up Suetonius' view of the nature of Augustus' power: autocratic but benevolent. From a distance of 150 years it seemed obvious that Augustus had always controlled the state and never yielded it up (cf. Dio 52.1). It is tempting to identify the first of the two occasions on which Suetonius says he thought of doing so with the constitutional normalisation of 28-27 B.C., when Augustus claimed to have 'transferred the republic from my power to the discretion of the senate and people of Rome' (*RG* 34.1; cf. Dio 52.42 and 53.2; Velleius 2.89.3-4; and, for a contrary view, Millar 1973). But that process culminated in the senate meetings of 13th and 16th Jan., 27 B.C., as a result of which Augustus received ten-year proconsular commands over Egypt, Cyprus, and the three great military provinces of Spain, Gaul, and Syria (see Lacey 1974). He also retained the consulship (which is to say he did not wish to stop the people electing him consul). This is the so-called 'first settlement', and since it remained the legal basis for his power down to 23 B.C. it is very difficult to see how Suetonius can have been thinking of this; for although Augustus may stress the constitutional propriety of the way in which his power was held after 27 B.C., Suetonius is interested not in the propriety but in the reality of that power. Furthermore the phrase 'immediately after the death of Antony' more naturally refers to 30-29 B.C. than to any later date. We know neither the occasion, nor whether Suetonius is right.

As to the second occasion, Suetonius must be referring to Augustus' critical illness of 23 B.C., when, according to Dio 53.30.1-2, he gave his fellow-consul Piso a statement of the military forces and revenues of the empire (*rationalium imperii* and handed over his signet-ring to Agrippa (see 50 n.). In that case it seems it was the imminence of death and the need to attempt some kind of continuity in the management of the state which forced this course upon him. As soon as he recovered, he took steps to alter his constitutional position by resigning his consulship (see 26), accepting perpetual tribunician power (27) and having conferred upon himself a species of *imperium* (known to later writers as *imperium proconsulare maius*, see Introduction §24-25) which was formally superior to that of all other holders in the provinces. He continued to hold the proconsular command which he had acquired in 27 B.C. (with adjustments as time went on, see 47 n.), though he did for the most part administer the province through legates. Thus he was in a position to give direct orders to all army commanders and provincial governors, whether or not they had been appointed by himself; and he had also disembarra himself of an annual consulship which, though prestigious, had become somewhat anomalous because of his long absence from Rome in 27-25 B.C., and had incidentally halved the number of consularships available to others whose support he needed and who like their ancestors regarded that office as the crown of their legitimate ambitions. This is the so-called 'second settlement

restoration at the time' - doubtless using the spoils of his victory over Cleopatra for the purpose.

29.1 Suetonius chooses to mention only three striking examples of Augustus' building activity. For what Augustus himself thought worth a mention, see *RG* 19-21; and for modern discussion, Boethius and Ward-Perkins 1970, 183f. and Gros 1976. The best guide to the individual remains is Coarelli 1974; for pictures, Nash 1961; and for topography, Platner and Ashby 1929 and Lugli *Fontes*.

The Forum of Augustus, lying to the east of its predecessors, the Republican and Caesarian Fora, is named by the elder Pliny (*NH* 36.102) as one of the three most beautiful buildings in the world (the others being the Basilica Aemilia and Vespasian's Temple of Peace). The materials, workmanship, and architecture were all of the very highest quality, and the immediate model was clearly the adjacent Forum of Caesar, completed by Augustus after being left unfinished at the dictator's death. Vowed in 42 B.C., the temple itself was not completed and dedicated until 2 B.C.; it stood at the end of the Forum (backing against a massive stone wall which separated it from the crowded region of the Subura just behind it) on a high podium, approached by steps in front. It was flanked by porticoed hemicycles which gave a cross axis and widened out the slightly restricted space (cf. 56.2). The porticoes continued along the sides and across the opposite end, and contained niches in which were set, with appropriate inscriptions, two series of statues: one of members of his own family, which traced its descent back to Aeneas, son of Venus, and the other of those not so connected. According to Suetonius, all were represented in triumphal garb (see 31.5), and they were men who 'had raised the power of Rome from insignificance to greatness', but we know of at least one, Ap. Claudius Caecus, whose inscription has survived and makes no mention of a triumph. While apparently subscribing to traditional Republican values of pride in family and respect for achievement, particularly military, the whole complex underlined the extraordinary status of Augustus. See Rowell 1940; Dudley 1967, 123f.; Zanker 1968.

sortitiones iudicum: the jury for any particular trial was drawn by lot from a much larger panel constituted by the praetor from the *decuriae iudicum* (see 32.3 n.).

29.2 The Temple of Mars Ultor, the Avenger (i.e. of Caesar), whose dedication might have served as an uncomfortable reminder of the Civil Wars, was skilfully given another emphasis. By placing in the temple the standards he had recovered from the Parthians in 20 B.C., and enacting that henceforth similar trophies were to be put here and not on the Capitol, Augustus bought to the fore the idea of Mars as Avenger of the Roman people on its enemies. And by the time the temple was eventually dedicated, on 1st Aug., 2 B.C., the anniversary of the day on

By it, Augustus freed himself from holding any of the actual magistracies of the state, and strengthened the powers he possessed. He was granted consular power and insignia in 19 B.C. (Dio 54.10.5), so that after this date he held *imperium* equal to the consuls' in Rome and greater than anyone else's outside the city. This grant was not essential to his position, which was perfectly well safeguarded by his other powers and his immense personal prestige and authority, but it conveniently allowed him to exercise *imperium* in his own right in the city and it gave him the formal prominence which the Roman people evidently desired him to have. It also had the effect that his edicts acquired the same consular authority as they had had before 23 B.C. (on Augustus' *imperium*, see last 1947, Chilver 1950, Jones 1960 ch.I, Grenade 1961, Brunt and Moore 1967).

It seems in fact unlikely that Augustus ever thought of becoming a private citizen. The reasons Suetonius gives for his decision can hardly be derived from anything said or written by Augustus, but are a piece of historical analysis presented without the qualifying 'doubtless' which would mark them in a modern writer. The conclusion of the paragraph, with its impressive quotation, leaves the reader in no doubt about the magnitude of Augustus' achievement or its success.

The date of the edict from which Suetonius quotes is unknown, but its tone and content would fit well in the years 17-16 B.C., when the *Ludi Saeculares* (see 31.4 n.) had inaugurated a new age, and the coinage mentions public prayers and offerings made to Jupiter Optimus Maximus for the health and safety of Augustus *quod per eum res publica in ampliore et tranquilliore statu esset* 'because through him the state is in a better and more peaceful condition' (*BMC Aug* pp.16-19). A magistrate's edict was the formal communication to the Roman people of his views on a matter of public importance. By a natural development imperial edicts gradually came to have the force of law: cf. Augustus' edict on the aqueduct of Venafrum, E-J's no.282, or the edict on the torture of slaves of A.D. 8 (*Digest* 48.18.8).

28.3-31 SACRED AND PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND INSTITUTIONS IN ROME

28.3 For flood and fire, see 30. Augustus' boast that he found Rome brick and left it marble is taken metaphorically by Dio (56.30.4). Suetonius' literal interpretation is as good, provided that by 'brick' we understand not the familiar brick-faced architecture of the empire, as yet undeveloped in Augustus' day, but the unbaked brick which was the basic wall material of ordinary buildings. There can be no doubt that the Augustan period saw a transformation of the centre of Rome, both by the creation of new monumental complexes like Augustus' own forum, and by the rebuilding in more splendid materials of damaged or dilapidated structures. Augustus mentions (*RG* 20.4) that he restored 32 temples in 28 B.C. 'neglecting none that needed

which Augustus had entered Alexandria and thus in the words of the official calendars 'freed the state from the most terrible danger', memories of the original reason for its building would have faded still further. The other functions or ceremonies transferred here were clearly appropriate to Mars. The senate had formerly met to consider a request for a triumph in the temple of Bellona, which was (unlike Mars Ultor) outside the pomerium, so that the commander in question could attend the meeting without having to lay down the imperium he required to command his troops (Livy 28.9.5 and 28.38.2). It seems that in the late Republic a special grant of imperium for the day of the triumph could be made (e.g. Pompey's Pontic triumph was held long after he had returned to Rome) and the need for the senate to meet outside the ritual boundary of the city disappeared.

29.3 The Temple of Apollo on the Palatine has now been positively identified with the foundations immediately adjacent to the north-west corner of the palace of Domitian at the top of the slope down to the Circus Maximus (Carettoni 1967). It was begun on land which Augustus had acquired for an extension to his own house in 36 B.C. (Velleius 2.81.3), and dedicated on 9th Oct., 28 B.C. The porticoed courtyard with the Greek and Latin libraries lay to the south, at a lower level than the platform on which the temple stood, and was balanced on the north by the courtyard of Augustus' own house (see 72). The meetings of the senate mentioned by Suetonius are attested in two documents of the time (*tabula Hebana* E-J³ no. 94a, line 1; *Papyrus Oxyrhynchus* 2435 = E-J³ no. 379, line 32). The temple contained statues of Apollo, Diana, and Latona by the great fourth-century sculptors Scopas, Timotheus, and Cephessodotus (elder Pliny, *NH* 36.5.24 - 25 and 32); the ivory panels of the doors were worked with scenes of the god's wrath; and the portico was embellished with statues of the Danaids and one of Apollo himself singing to the lyre (Propertius 2.31.1-16). The whole effect must have been magnificently impressive, with the great platform thrusting forward and on top of it the temple itself in gleaming Luna marble standing high above the other buildings. Aside from the fact that the god had himself chosen the site by striking it with lightning, sanctity was given to the new temple by transferring to it the Sibylline books (31.1). (The literary sources are numerous, see Lugli *Fontes* xix; and on Augustus' 'special relationship' with Apollo, see Liebeschuetz 1979, 82f. and Gagé 1955, 523ff.)

haruspices: an order of priests concerned with the 'Etruscan discipline', in particular the interpretation of the signs afforded by the livers of sacrificial victims and by lightning. They might also be called upon by the senate to interpret prodigies.
 decurias iudicum: the judicial panels, see 32.3 n.

The Temple of Jupiter Tonans (the Thunderer) has entirely disappeared, but its importance is clear. It figures on the coinage

(*BMC Aug* nos. 362ff.) and was according to the elder Pliny (*NH* 36.50) one of the few buildings in Rome to be built of solid marble, not just faced. If it is correctly placed by Gros 1976, 97-100, it stood on the west edge of the area *Capitolina* near the head of the steps which led up from the Forum Holitorium. The coins show it as hexastyle but given the conventions of Roman numismatic representations this is no proof that it was so. It was not as big as the Palatine Temple of Apollo (ca. 19.5 x 35.5m. to ca. 22 x 40m.) and both were smaller than the great octastyle temple of Mars Ultor (ca. 35.5 x 43m., excluding that portion of the podium which lay in front of the porch columns). It was dedicated on 1st Sept., 22 B.C. and was thus completed fairly quickly; Augustus' narrow escape from lightning must have occurred in either 26 or 25 B.C.

The Porticus Gai et Luci seems to have been a kind of loggia connecting the *Basilica Aemilia* (itself restored in 14 B.C.) with the temple of Divus Julius, and forming a dignified entrance to that corner of the Republican forum (see Gros 1976, pl. IX-X).

The *Basilica Gai et Luci* was the name Augustus intended for his rebuilding of the *Basilica Julia* after it had been destroyed by fire. It was still incomplete when he last revised the text of *Rg* 20.3 and Dio (56.27.5) may be wrong in ascribing its dedication to A.D. 12. But these are the only three passages which associate it with the names of Augustus' grandsons, and to the Romans it remained the *Basilica Julia*.

The Porticus Liviae was built on the Esquiline, on a site once owned by Vedius Pollio, a man whose cruelty and extravagance were so notorious that when he died in 15 B.C. and left his property to Augustus, the emperor pulled down the house and constructed a fine colonnaded square (Dio 54.23.6; Ovid, *Fasti* 6.639-648). Its plan is preserved on a fragment of the Severan marble plan of Rome. It was dedicated in 7 B.C. (Dio 55.8.2; cf. Strabo 5.236).

The Porticus Octaviae, here associated by Suetonius with Augustus' sister, is to be identified with the portico so labelled on the Severan marble plan, which ran around the temples of Jupiter Stator and Juno Regina next to the *Circus Flaminius*. It was a replacement or reworking, some time after 27 B.C., of a portico of Metellus which existed from 146 B.C. in the same area (Velleius 1.11). It is easily confused (e.g. by Dio 49.43.8) with the nearby Portico of Octavius (*Porticus Octavia* or *Octavi*) mentioned by Augustus (*RG* 19.1), which was erected in 167 and reconstructed by Augustus in 33 B.C.

The *Theatrum Marcellii*, lying between the Capitol and the river opposite the island in the Tiber, was both a memorial of Augustus' nephew Marcellus, who died in 23 B.C. (see 65 and 66), and a realisation of a project of Julius Caesar's. It was well advanced by 17 B.C. and was dedicated probably in 13 B.C.

form part of the massive programme of urban renewal inaugurated by Agrippa's aediles in 33 B.C., which reached a climax in Augustus' own restorations (together with the completion of the Palatine Temple of Apollo) of 28 B.C. Only the Temple of Saturn can still be seen, though the Temple of Hercules and the Theatre of Balbus appear on fragments of the marble plan.

M. Agrippa never accepted a triumph; but his position as Augustus' lieutenant is accurately reflected by the number of public works for which he was responsible. His assumption of the relatively lowly office of aedile in 33 B.C. was a striking way of demonstrating to the people of Rome that the Augustan party cared for their physical well-being. As aedile he constructed a new aqueduct (the Julia), added to and mended others, repaired public buildings and streets, cleaned out the sewers, and instilled ornamental fountains - in effect carrying out a huge programme of public sanitation. Between 33 and his death in 12 B.C. he was responsible, amongst other things, for his Pantheon (totally obliterated by the present Hadrianic rotunda), the completion of the *saepta Julia* (the voting enclosure), a portico, baths, an ornamental lake, and another aqueduct (the Virgo, still supplying the Trevi fountain). All these were on the Campus Martius. He also built a bridge over the Tiber and a set of granaries between the Palatine and the Vicus Tuscus. When he died he bequeathed to the Roman people his baths and gardens, lying between the river and the public part of the Campus Martius which he had done so much to adorn, together with an endowment to maintain them free of charge.

(On sections 29.4-5, see esp. Shipley 1931.)

30 THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE CITY

The elder Pliny (*NH* 3.66) tells us there were 14 regions and 265 *vici* (wards). These were instituted by 7 B.C. at the latest, and the administration here described by Suetonius replaced the former oversight of the city by the aediles. The urban areas had increased enormously during the last years of the Republic (see Quilici 1974, who places the extension of the city out along the main highways at 5-7 km. from the centre) and maps which show the Augustan regions bounded by the Aurelian walls of ca. 273 A.D. are misleading. The praetors, aediles, and tribunes (a total of 24 for most of the period) were those who drew lots for the regions (Dio 55.8.7). The *vicomagistri*, four per *vicus*, were predominantly freedmen, and they had control of the public slaves who had earlier been at the disposal of the aediles for fire-fighting purposes, until the institution in A.D. 6 of the regular system of *vigiles* (nightwatchmen and police) in seven cohorts of freedmen, under the command of the urban prefect (see 37, Dio 55.26.4-5; Baillie Reynolds 1926). After A.D. 6 the chief function of the *vicomagistri* was to give individual *vici* a sense of identity, and to supervise the cult

(Dio 54.26.1) rather than 11 B.C. (elder Pliny, *NH* 8.65). A large part of the semi-circular, arcaded, facade of the cavea still exists, with modern apartments built around and on top of it. Dramatic spectacles (more spectacle than drama, if Horace is to be believed) were an important part of life in the capital, but in the Republic permanent theatres had been banned. This was why the first stone theatre, that of Pompey erected in 55-52 B.C., took the form of a semi-circular flight of steps leading up to a temple which stood high at the back. The theatres of Marcellus and Balbus (see 29.5 n.) were a notable addition to the amenities of the capital, and needed to pretend to no such religious connection.

29.5 The structures Suetonius mentions in this section were certainly erected from the spoils of victory (*ex manibibus*, cf. E-J³ no.187 = *IJL* 886). Their donors were all men who had triumphed, and although there was no legal compulsion on a general to use his spoils for the public benefit, political considerations had made this desirable and customary (see Shatzman 1972). The buildings may be tabulated as follows:-

Building	Location	Date of Dedication	Builder and date	Date of Triumph
Temple of Hercules Musarum (reconstructed)	North of Circus Flaminius	?	L. Marcius Philippus (38 B.C.)	33 B.C.
Temple of Diana (reconstructed)	Aventine	?	L. Cornificius (35 B.C.)	33 B.C.
Atrium Libertatis (census offices reconstructed, with added library)	Near Forum of Caesar	Before 28 B.C.	C. Asinius Pollio (40 B.C.)	39 or 38 B.C.
Temple of Saturn (reconstructed)	Republican Forum	?	L. Munatius Plancus (42 B.C.)	43 B.C.
Theatre of Balbus	North of Theatre of Marcellus	13 B.C.	L. Cornelius Balbus (40 B.C.)	19 B.C.
Amphitheatre of Taurus	Near Theatre of Balbus	29 B.C.	T. Statilius Taurus (37, 26 B.C.)	34 B.C.

With the exception of Balbus' theatre, and possibly Pollio's Atrium Libertatis and Plancus' Temple of Saturn, the buildings

of the Lares Compitales and the Genius of the emperor (see 31.4). The office also allowed freedmen a niche in public life, from most aspects of which they were debarred by statute. (See Niebling 1956.)

30.1 alveum Tiberis: for the Tiber commissioners, see 37 n. A (iv).
Flaminia via: the inscription on the arch of Augustus at Rimini of 27 B.C. commemorates Augustus' restoration of this road, along with that of others not named, 'at his prompting and expense' E-J³ no.286 = *ILS* 84).

triumphalibus viris: two of these were C. Calvisius Sabinus (consul 39, triumphed 28 B.C.) and M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus (consul 31, triumphed 27 B.C.), who each refurbished part of the Via Latina (*CIL* 10.6895; *Tib.* 1.7.57). On *manubiali pecunia* (money derived from booty), see 29.5 n. and Shatzman 1972.

aedes sacras: on the temples, see 28.3 n.; the remarkable single deposit of gold, jewels, and pearls in the temple of Capitoline Jupiter was surely made after Augustus' Egyptian triumph of 29 B.C. (cf. *Dio* 51.22.3), though Suetonius seems to have exaggerated the sum: 16,000 lbs. of gold = 67 million HS, which with the 50 million HS of the gems and pearls exceeds on its own the 100 million HS which Augustus says (*RG* 21.2) was the total of his gifts to several temples, including this one.

31 This chapter contains a number of items related to the themes of the preceding two, without being organically connected to them: religious institutions, the calendar, and honours for great men of the past. The quotation from an edict of Augustus' at the end of the chapter, serves like the similar quotation at 28.2 to round off this sub-section.

31.1 Pontificatum Maximum: Lepidus had managed, as the price for his support of Antony in the confusion after the murder of Caesar, to have himself made Pontifex Maximus - the most prestigious priestly office in the state. After his downfall in 36 B.C. (see 16.4) he retained the office, probably because there was neither any real power attached to it, nor any mechanism whereby Augustus could decently strip him of it. Augustus took credit (*RG* 10.2) for this forbearance, and was duly offered the post by the people when Lepidus died in 12 B.C. *Dio* relates (44.5.3) that one of the honours conferred on Caesar in 44 B.C. was that any son of his should become Pontifex Maximus.

fatidicorum librorum ... Sibyllinos: the Sibylline books proper had been burnt in the fire which destroyed the Capitoline temple in 83 B.C., and replaced by another collection of oracles gathered by a special commission. It is evident that a large number of 'prophecies' circulated under this and other names, many capable of bearing a political interpretation. It was important for Augustus to control them, because the people seem to have taken them seriously and the state religion provided for consultation of the Sibylline books under certain circumstances. Augustus had the Sibylline books recopied on the grounds that they were becoming illegible, which afforded a good opportunity for the editorial work here described (cf. *Dio* 54.17.2). They were in the charge of the priestly college of *quindecimviri sacris faciundis*, who were bound to keep their contents secret.

31.2 annum a divo Iulio ordinatum ...: the Julian calendar, introduced in 45 B.C., had fallen into error through the insertion of a leap year every three instead of every four years (Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.14.13-15), and was corrected in 8 B.C. Macrobius also preserves (1.12.35 = E-J³ no. 37) the text of the decree of that year which changed the name of the month Sextilis to Augustus: it is more accurate than Suetonius in placing only one victory in the month, that of Alexandria (1st Aug.); Actium and Nauchochus fell on 2nd Sept. and 3rd Sept.

31.3 THE PRIESTHOODS

A priesthood was held for life and was amongst the highest honours of state. Augustus himself not only belonged to the four major priestly colleges (*pontifices*, *augures*, *quindecimviri sacris faciundis*, and *septemviri epulonum*) but was also a *sodalis Titius*, a *frater Arvalis*, and a *fetialis* (*RG* 7.3 and see Brunt and Moore, *ad loc.*). He seems to have been responsible for the revival of the defunct Arval brethren some time before 21 B.C.; as *fetialis* he participated in the declaration of war against Cleopatra; and as *quindecimvir* he took a leading part in the celebration of his *Ludi Saeculares* in 17 B.C. (*ILS* 5050 = *LR* II 57-61). This encouragement of the priestly colleges was part of his programme to revive the state religion. He was permitted by a senatorial decree of 29 B.C. (*Dio* 51.20.3) to choose supernumerary priests; it is the view of Lewis 1955 that the first three colleges (nominal strength 15) normally had about 25 members, and the *septem viri* about 10. Thus Augustus widened the circle of honour without significantly devaluing it.

As to the Vestal Virgins, it appears that ritual virginity and honoured seclusion for their daughters were not as attractive to the aristocracy as they had once been. When one of the Vestals died, a girl of between six and ten was chosen to take her place, normally from amongst the best families in Rome. In A.D. 5 even daughters of freedmen were declared eligible, though none were actually chosen (*Dio* 55.22.5). Augustus increased the Vestals' material comforts (*commoda*) by resigning to them the official residence of the Pontifex Maximus and by giving them estates at Lanuvium (*Liber Coloniaiarum* I p.235 Blume).

31.4 augurium salutis: the 'Augury for Safety' was a ceremony to determine whether it was propitious for the consuls to offer a prayer for the safety of the state. It could only be performed in time of peace. We know of no instances of it between 63 and 29 B.C., and since Tacitus says (*Ann.* 12.23.3) that Claudius' performance of it in A.D. 47 was the first for 75 years, 28 B.C. must have been the last Augustan occasion. *Diale Flaminium*: the *Flamen Dialis* was the priest of Jupiter and a member of the college of pontifices, but was subject to so many taboos (e.g. he could not sleep out of his own bed for more than three consecutive nights, and could not look on a dead body) that the office had been vacant since the death of L. Cornelius Merula in 87 B.C. It is likely that Ser. Cornelius Lentulus Maluginensis (consul A.D. 10) was the

holder of the office from its restoration in 11 B.C. (Dio 54.36.1; Lewis 1955, 30.)

sacrum Lupercale: the *Lupercalia*, a festival (15th Feb.) centring on the Palatine cave of *Lupercus* (an old Italian fertility god), and its priests the *Luperci* were flourishing at the end of the Republic. The celebration of 44 B.C. is notorious for the attempt of Antony, clad only in the ritual goatskin in which the *Luperci* ran around the Palatine, to crown Caesar; it was probably as a result of this that the senate withdrew funds from the *Luperci* with which Caesar had favoured them (Cicero, *Philippics* 13.31). Augustus' action is then to be seen as a re-enactment of Caesarian policy.

Ludos Saeculares: Augustus' *Ludi Saeculares* were intended to inaugurate a new age in which proper standards of religious and moral behaviour would be restored and the gods would once again look upon Rome with favour after the long years of civil war and neglect of ancient values (see Liebeschuetz 1979, 90f.). The celebrations took place on 1st-3rd June, 17 B.C., with prayers and sacrifices by night to the Fates, *Eilithyia* (Hehate), and *Terra Mater*, and by day to *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Apollo* and *Diana* (*ILS* 5050 = *LR* II 57-61). Horace wrote his *Carmen Saeculare* to accompany the last. The sole resemblance between these ceremonies and their only two certainly historical precursors, those of 249 and 146 B.C., is in the night-time sacrifice to chthonic deities. This took place beside the Tiber at the spot known as the *Tarentum*, because it was from that city that the wholly Greek rite of a special sacrifice to *Dis* and *Proserpina* came - as a result of consultation of the Sibylline books in a dark moment of the First Punic War. The alleged celebrations of 348 and 509 B.C. are certainly a fiction of the annalistic historians of the first century B.C., as is the whole idea of inaugurating a new *saeculum* (100 or 110 years); there is no suggestion in any of our very full sources for 49-46 B.C. that *Ludi Saeculares* were due then. In short, it seems that Augustus invented a large part of the ceremonies for his celebration, and grafted them on to a notion of the *saeculum* only recently developed (perhaps by the learned antiquary *Varro*), to produce a splendid piece of bogus archaism - celebrated with great solemnity, commemorated on the coinage of the state, and designed to stress the continuing greatness of Rome as the new age dawned. (See Weiss 1973.)

Compitalicios ... Compitaliaes Lares: the *Compitalia* was an ancient festival celebrated at *compita* (road junctions). With the urbanisation of Rome the festival, which became fixed at 3rd and 4th Jan., fell under the charge of local associations presided over by *vicomagistri* (see 30.1 n.). These associations (*collegia*) were closed down by Caesar on account of their political activities, but revived by Augustus in 7 B.C. as a means of giving the reorganised *vici* a cult focus. The *Compitalia*, at which the youths of the street participated in games under the direction of the *vicomagistri*, had always been particularly celebrated by slaves and freedmen, and this continued to be true. The Augustan *vicomagistri* were almost always freedmen, so this important social group, legally debarred from almost all office and honour, gained a means of acquiring local status and participating in the cult life of the state. By associating his *Genius* (see 52 n.) with the *Lares Compitaliaes* (so that the *Lares* came to be known as the *Lares Augusti*) Augustus in effect transformed the cult into a disguised expression of emperor-worship on the part of the least privileged sections of the urban population. The crowning of the *Lares* with flowers

was probably on 1st May and 1st Aug. (Ovid, *Fasti* 5.129 and 147; E-J³ no.139 = *ILS* 3612); consequently there was some celebration of the cult, and thus of the emperor's divinity, approximately every four months (see further Ryberg 1955, 53f.; Kunckel 1974, 22f.; Liebeschuetz 1979, 70f.).

31.5 opera ... *manentibus titulis:* Suetonius means temples and other public buildings. Augustus himself cites one instance, that of the *Porticus Octavia* (*IG* 19.1).

statuas: see 29.1 n.

principes: 'leaders' in the plural is a pleasing echo of the vocabulary of Republican politics. The leading men might be emperors, but that was not what Augustus wished to stress here: the message of his edict is that the leaders of Rome should continue to increase the power and dominion of Rome. Its spirit is that of the prayer which *Valerius Maximus* (4.1.10) says the censors made down to 142 B.C., that the gods should 'expand and prosper the affairs of the Roman people' (*populi Romani res meliores amplioresque facerent*).

curia in qua C. Caesar fuerat occisus: Caesar was murdered in a hall whose foundations can still be seen on the west side of the Largo Argentina. It opened off the portico behind Pompey's theatre. Why Augustus moved the statue is unknown. Perhaps he closed or altered the hall in an attempt to break its associations with the murder.

32-34 These chapters are concerned with Augustus' achievements in the field of law and order, and follow on naturally after the ethical note struck in 31.5. The main theme of Suetonius' presentation is that Augustus was both fair and strict, and that his measures were motivated by a proper concern for an orderly and decent society.

32.1 SUPPRESSION OF CRIME

We first hear of detachments (*stationes*) of soldiers stationed about Italy in 36 B.C., when Augustus, after his defeat of *Sex. Pompeius*, was able to make Italy safe from the highwaymen (*grassatores*) who had flourished in the civil wars. *Appian* (*BC* 5.132) makes these troops the precursors of the *vigiles* (or urban cohorts?), so perhaps it was from these units that the regular detachments were later drawn. In spite of these measures, the menace of highway robbery was a continuing one. *Tiberius* had to increase the number of military pickets in his principate (*trib.* 37.1).

ergastula: barracks in which the agricultural slaves of large landowners (*possessores*) were confined when they were not working in the fields. In his quaestorship or immediately after it *Tiberius* was charged by Augustus with the task of investigating these establishments (23 or 22 B.C. - *Tib.* 8) to see if free men or other men's slaves were illegally detained in them.

collegia: associations, generally formed for the purposes of trade, burial, or worship, were a notable feature of Roman life (see 34.4 n. on *Compital-*

excused every year.

judices a vicesimo quinto aetatis anno: since we know 30 to have been the minimum age for jury service in the Republic (*lex repetundarum* = *FIRA* I no.7, line 13, translated in *HRFC* I p.123) the correct figure here must be 25. The corruption XXV to XXX would be very easy. (Amend GG to read 'from 30 to 25 years'.)

33 THE IMPERIAL JURISDICTION

The imperial jurisdiction grew up because Augustus was the most powerful man in the state and it was inevitable that appeal would be made to him by those who were dissatisfied with their treatment at the hands of other organs of the law. None the less, one can construct a theoretical framework to accommodate his jurisdiction:

- i) Any *legatus* of his who governed a province, and so administered the law, was his deputy; appeal therefore lay from deputy to principal. Such appeals must have been numerous, or he would not have had to delegate them to senior men, as Suetonius tells us at the end of the chapter. On appeal under the empire, see Garnsey 1966.
- ii) From 27-23 B.C., and after 19 B.C., Augustus held *consulare imperium*. This allowed him to exercise the normally dormant judicial powers of the consul and intervene on appeal in cases which did not come from the inappellable standing courts (*quaestiones*). We also find under Augustus the beginnings of the jurisdiction of the senate (Kunkel 1969). Since the consuls presided Augustus too could preside or sit with them (cf. Dio 55.34.1); see further 33.3 n.

iii) After 23 B.C. Augustus also possessed *imperium proconsulare maius*, valid all over the empire (see 47 n.), and cases came to him from non-imperial provinces which ought in strict theory to have been taken by the *quaestiones* or dealt with by local law (e.g. the murder case from Chidos, which was an independent city, E-J³ no. 312; see Sherck 1969, 343f.)

iv) He also had a complete military jurisdiction, based on his authority over all army commanders (created by his *imperium maius*) and on the fact that all soldiers swore an annual oath of loyalty to him.

v) Like all Roman *patresfamiliae* (heads of families), he had power of life and death over those who were legally in his *potestas* - very roughly, his children, freedmen, and slaves (see Crook 1967, ch.4). It appears to be in virtue of this power that he relegated his daughter and granddaughter to islands (see 65).

icios; and esp. McMullen 1974, 73f.). They had elected officers, respectable aims, limited membership, and legal status. But in the late Republic they came to be used as a covert means of mobilising a political force, and this provoked attempts to control them, notably a *lex Julia* of Caesar's; Suetonius' words here suggest that the process had gone further and that the *collegia* had actually become vehicles for organised crime. Dio (54.2.3) places in 22 B.C. Augustus' regulation of the *collegia*. Apparently he enforced Caesar's law banning all except long-standing *collegia*, but relaxed its provisions to allow *bona fide* new associations to come into being subject to senatorial approval (*ILS* 4966; de Robertis 1938, 171f.; Treggiari 1969, 169f.).

32.2 *tabulas ... debitorum*: in 28 B.C. Augustus cancelled all debts to the treasury incurred before Actium, except those concerned with buildings (Dio 53.2.3). Because there was no public prosecutor at Rome it was open to any individual to prosecute those in breach of the law - a process which was encouraged by the provision of statutory rewards for successful prosecution. Thus even if the treasury officials did not take any magisterial action to recover monies owed, the debtor was still liable to be prosecuted (cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* 13.23.3-4).

diutino reorum ... sordibus: it was the custom for an accused man to put on dirty clothes and remain unshaved and unkempt (to excite pity and support) as soon as a charge was formally laid, regardless of how long ahead the trial might be. The vindictive practice of accusing someone, so that he became *reus*, and then delaying bringing the action was not stamped out by Augustus, as a speech of Claudius to the senate reveals (Smallwood 1967, no.367 = *FIRA* I.44).

maleficium negotiumve impunitate vel mora: take *maleficium* with *impunitate* and *negotium* with *mora* - 'lest a crime should slip away unpunished or a business suit collapse from delay'. Honorary holidays had been added to the calendar at a prodigal rate in the late Republican and triumviral periods.

32.3 THE JUDICIAL PANELS (*DECURIAE*)

The *lex Aurelia* of 70 B.C. had set up three panels of jurors for the standing courts. Juries were made up of jurors drawn equally from the three panels, one of senators, one of *equites*, and one of *tribuni aerarii*. The last, which appears in practice to have comprised an inferior sort of *equites*, was abolished by Caesar. Antony reconstituted it (Cicero, *Philippics* 1.19 and 5.12) but the details are unclear and it is generally presumed that the three panels to which Suetonius here refers consisted of one of Frontinus and two of *equites* (cf. elder Pliny, *NH* 33.29-30 with Frontinus, *de Aquis* 101 = E-J³ no.278 A21). The minimum property qualification of an *eques* was 400,000 HS, and of a senator 1 million HS (see 41.1 n.). The reduction in the age qualification for jurors from 30 to 25 matches a similar reduction for the *quaestorship* and hence for the start of a senatorial career. It is not apparent how the system of years of duty mentioned by Suetonius worked in practice: perhaps he has made a mistake, and what actually happened was that a quarter of each panel was

33.1 ne culleo insueretur: the apparently archaic penalty of being sewn up in a sack and drowned had first been used to punish *parricidium* (murder of close relatives) in 102 B.C. (Livy, *Periochae* 68), and was still prescribed under the *Lex Pompeia de parricidiis* (see Lintott 1969, 37f.)

33.3 appellationes ... urbanorum ... litigatorum praetori delegabat urbano: these appeals from litigants at Rome ('Roman citizens' in *GG* is misleading) may have been either from the court of the urban praefect, who exercised a summary criminal jurisdiction in and around Rome, or more probably from the ordinary civil processes administered by the urban praetor. In either case Augustus' tribunician and/or consular powers gave him the right to override the magistrate. By sending these appeals to the urban praetor, Augustus was directing them, or at least the civil cases among them, back to the magistrate against whom the appeal was being made. If the text is right, what Augustus did was effectively to order a re-trial; but Lipsius, followed in more recent times by Savigny, proposed to read *praefecto* for *praetori*. This correction would provide a neat basis for the later well-attested jurisdiction of the urban praefect, and would mean that this class of appeal was referred, like those from the provinces, to a consular. But there is no MS support for the correction, and there remains the problem of why the other class of appeal, from the praefect himself, should have been directed back to him - for the urban praefect did not have a vast legal machine at his disposal and could not easily arrange, like the urban praetor, for a genuinely new trial to take place. If the case had criminal aspects, the praetor could send it to the appropriate *quaestio* presided over by one of his colleagues (cf. Younger Pliny, *Epp.* 5.1.7); if civil, he could revise his *formula* and choose a different *iudex* (or, in the centumviral court, different jurors). It seems best to retain the MS reading. On the urban praefect, see 37 n.C. *consularibus viris*: the subjunctive *praeposuisse* indicates that consulars were appointed as the need arose, not on a regular basis. These appeals are 'from the provinces', i.e. from the decisions of the provincial governor, not 'from foreigners' (*GG*). Many Roman citizens lived or did business in the provinces and it was only they who had the right of appeal to the emperor, if they could reach him: there survives the record of a murder case (E-J³ no.312; Sherk 1969, no.67; Lewis 1974, 10) involving only citizens of the 'free' state of Cnidos, which was brought to Augustus in Rome in 6 B.C. and was referred by him for investigation to Asinius Gallus (consul 8 B.C.)

34 THE LEGISLATION OF AUGUSTUS

There were eleven laws under which *quaestiones* (standing courts) operated in the later empire; at least six of them are known to have been revising or consolidating statutes, while eight bear the name *Iulia* (*Digest* 48.1.1). The partition of these between Caesar and Augustus (Tiberius being generally discounted) is disputed, especially as both men were responsible for consolidating legislation. For the new legislation of Augustus, Suetonius' list may be complete: There is only one certainly Augustan *lex Iulia* not mentioned here, his *lex iudicaria*

vii) The main problem is by what right Augustus heard cases for which inappellable standing courts existed. The present chapter is the chief evidence for this, *maiestas* cases excepted. Kelly 1957 argues that *ius dixit* here means no more than that Augustus was an ordinary member of the jury or at most presiding in place of the praetor (cf. Dio 55.34.1); but this contradicts not only the natural meaning of the Latin but the impression given by the whole chapter that Suetonius is describing trials by the free inquisitorial procedure known as *cognitio extra ordinem* which was the regular form for trials before the emperor. Note especially Augustus' readiness to alter normal procedure, and the phrase *simul cognoscentibus* which hardly suggests the jury of a regular court. (One would expect to read *simul iudicantibus*.) Another possible escape route from the conclusion that Augustus encroached upon the jurisdiction of the standing courts is to place these two episodes in the provinces during the princeps' lengthy absences from Rome (cf. 51.2 n.). As to *maiestas*, it is generally accepted, in the light of such passages as Tacitus, *Ann.* 1.72.4 (Augustus was the first to take cases of libel under the law of *maiestas*) and Cyrene Edict II (E-J³ no.311) line 45 (the ground for sending the offenders to Rome was that they were alleged to have knowledge concerning the emperor's safety and the state) that Augustus did exercise a primary jurisdiction in this politically sensitive matter. However, it is disputed whether the *lex Iulia Maiestatis* was a law of Augustus' or Caesar's (see Allison and Cloud 1962). If the former, it may have provided for trial by imperial *cognitio*; if the latter, it cannot have, and we are faced with a clear instance of encroachment on the *quaestio*. How this may have taken place is extremely obscure: some posit a specific law (or mandate), some derive the competence from Augustus' tribunician power and privileges, and some deny that any formal legal basis for it existed at all. All one can safely say is that by the end of Augustus' reign the emperor, whether *de facto* or *de iure*, had acquired the right to try in his own court (i.e. by *cognitio*) cases which could previously only have gone to the standing courts. We do not know the criteria for selection of these cases, nor whether they were restricted to *maiestas*, nor how exceptional they were. But the development was inevitable, given Augustus' position, and had immense consequences. See Jones 1960, ch.V; Bauman 1967; Bleicken 1962.

vii) It seems clear that Augustus was also prepared to exercise a primary jurisdiction in civil cases, when litigants approached him directly and were able to persuade him that they had a case (97.3 below; *Digest* 8.3.35; Valerius Maximus 7.7.3 and 4). The origin of this jurisdiction is as mysterious as that of (vi) above, but must, like it, derive from the fact that Augustus was the most powerful man in the state and as a holder of *imperium* had the basic power to deliver and enforce judgments (see introduction §20-25 and Millar 1977, 465ff. and 528ff.).

(actually two laws, one dealing with private courts, the other with public; cf. Gaius 4.30), and what we know of its provisions suggests that it was an administrative statute regulating procedure, the legal calendar, and so on, so that Suetonius may well not have regarded it an essentially new.

34.1 *sumptuarius*: the Romans had a long history of attempts to regulate ostentatious hospitality: for the latest, see *DJ* 43.2. Augustus' law provided for a normal limit on expenditure of 200 HS per guest, rising to 300 HS on the Kalends, Nones, Ides and certain other days, and to 1,000 HS for weddings and similar parties (Gellius, *NA* 2.24.14). Like all its predecessors, it became a dead letter and does not figure in the Digest (cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* 3.54).

de adulteriis et de pudicitia: this apparent pair of laws must be the statute elsewhere known simply as the *lex Iulia de adulteriis*; the reason may be that *adulterium* was a crime which could only be committed with a married woman, while the law created a new and separate offence called *stuprum* (for which *pudicitia* could be a polite circumlocution) to cover virtually all other sorts of irregular sexual connection. Perhaps one should read *de adulteriis et [de] pudicitia* or treat the whole group *et de pudicitia* as a gloss.

The law itself was an attempt to tighten up the very free moral standards of late Republican and early Augustan Rome, and was passed in 18 or 17 B.C. along with the *lex de maritandis ordinibus* (below) as part of the general programme marking the introduction of the new *saeculum* (Horace, *Carmen Saeculare* 16-20); n. on *Ludus Saeculares* 31.4). The main source is *Digest* 48.5; the terms of the law were briefly as follows:-

(a) It made adultery a public offence; on conviction both parties were relegated to different islands for life. The man lost half of his property (to the treasury), the woman a third of her property (to the treasury) and half her dowry (to her husband).

(b) It set up a procedure requiring divorce in set form before the husband, or anyone else, could prosecute, and all but abolished the archaic right of husband or wife's father to kill one or both of the guilty parties if they were caught *in flagranti*.

(c) A case had to be brought within six months in the new *quaestio de adulteriis* set up for the purpose.

(d) It created a new and equal crime of *stuprum* covering liaisons not qualifying as *adulterium*, i.e. between a man (married or unmarried) and a free widow, unmarried woman, or boy - unless registered as a prostitute or concubine

The penalties prescribed make it certain that the law was directed only at the wealthy classes, but it represented a massive intrusion into private life and offered a fertile field to professional informers. Its effect may be seen in the virtual drying up after 17 B.C. of Roman elegiac and amatory poetry - whose theme is always a relationship which the law had now made criminal; but whether it made the gilded society of Rome more moral, as opposed to more cautious, is doubtful. See further Brunt 1971, 558f.

de ambitu: *ambitus*, essentially, was any attempt to procure one's election to office by irregular means of winning support (notably electoral bribery). It was the target of a number of laws in the late Republic, the most recent being the *lex Pompeia* of 52 B.C. (Asconius 31 and 34). Tacitus (*Ann.* 15.20)

speaks of *leges Iulias*, which may be ascribed to 18 and 8 B.C. (*Dio* 54.16.1 and 55.5.3). The former penalised offenders by barring them from office for five years, the second required a cash deposit from candidates before the elections, to be forfeited in case of infringements. The disturbances which preceded the earlier law, in 22-19 B.C., are evidence that political life was vigorous for at least ten years of Augustus' principate; by 8 B.C. it was the honour rather than the political importance of the office which was attractive.

de maritandis ordinibus: for date and context, see on *de adulteriis* above. That law operated negatively, this one positively, to encourage marriage and the begetting of children. At the census, a Roman affirmed that he had a wife (if he did) for the purpose of getting children, and the censors were traditionally concerned with increasing the number of citizens. Augustus perceived (rightly or wrongly) that among the upper classes there were more men than women (*Dio* 54.16.2), and it was at the wealthy that most of the inducements of the law were aimed. The original law (*lex Iulia*) was tempered in A.D. 9 by the *lex Papia Poppaea*. The two laws are treated as one by the jurists, which makes it difficult to separate their provisions with certainty. Suetonius' account points to a revision (perhaps only projected?) earlier than A.D. 9, but it has left no trace other than the fact of the strong protests made by the *equites* in that year (*Dio* 56.1.2 corroborates Suetonius: Germanicus had children aged 3 and 2 in A.D. 9). The chief provisions of the two laws were as follows:-

LEX IULIA

(a) Unmarried men between 25 and 60, and unmarried women between 20 and 50, were forbidden to accept inheritances from outside their agnatic family (to the sixth degree). Childless couples may have been treated as unmarried, or they may have been allowed to accept some fraction smaller than a half (see *lex Papia Poppaea* (a) ii below).

(1) An heir thus barred was allowed a limited time (probably 100 days) to acquire spouse/child(?).

(2) Divorcées were given six months, widows twelve, to marry again.

(3) Betrothal to a girl under 12 counted as marriage for the purposes of the law.

(4) One surviving child was sufficient to exempt a man from the restrictions of the law (perhaps a woman needed three, *Dio* 55.2.5).

(b) Marriages between freeborn (except senators and their descendants in the male line to the third generation) and freed slaves were expressly validated, unless the latter were *famosae* (prostitutes, actresses, adulteresses, or convicted persons).

(c) (i) Celibacy could not be specified as a condition of inheritance by testators, nor a condition of manumission by patrons.

(ii) Fathers could not obstruct their children's marriages by the exercise of *patria potestas*.

LEX PAPIA POPPAEA

(a) Modified (a) above of the *lex Iulia*:

(i) Spouses, if childless, and within the age limits, could inherit one-tenth of each other's property. Each surviving child of a previous marriage and up to two deceased children of the existing marriage increased the proportion by a tenth. One common child

surviving till puberty, or two to three years old, or three to nine days old, freed them from all restrictions of the law.

- (ii) The childless married could now take half of what they might have had if they had had a child.
- (iii) Divorcées were now allowed 18 months, widows 2 years to remarry.

- (b)
 - (i) Candidates for public office might anticipate the statutory qualifying ages by as many years as they had children, up to three.
 - (ii) A freeborn woman with two children (or a freedwoman with three) gained the old Republican rights of a male patron over the estate of her freedman (see (v) below).
 - (iii) A freeborn woman with three children also
 - (1) probably escaped the provisions of the Lex Voconia which stopped a woman in the first property class being instituted heir or receiving as legatee more than the heir(s);
 - (2) escaped from guardianship (*tutela*), as did a freedwoman with four children.
 - (iv) A freedman with two children was exempted from performing compulsory service (*operae*) for his patron.
 - (v) A freedman now needed three children (previously only one) to prevent his patron participating equally with the other heirs in his estate - provided this were worth over 100,000 HS.
- (c) Introduced a system of rewards for informers.

All these inducements to marry are either pecuniary or apply only to candidates for public office, so it is scarcely surprising that it was the moneyed class, the equites, whose protests were so loud. Note that the practice of leaving substantial legacies to, or instituting as heirs, non-relatives was common among the often childless Roman wealthy. The attention paid to freedmen and -women is very striking, and bears out the impression gained from other sources (literary and epigraphic) that this class controlled considerable wealth. It is not clear whether the main purpose of the provisions regarding freedmen was to ensure that more of their property than hitherto came back to their patron's estate, or to encourage them to have a large number of children who would of course be freeborn Roman citizens. As to the 'legitimising' of marriage between free non-senators and freedwomen, there is no indication that this had ever been prohibited; but by affirming its complete propriety, Augustus may have hoped to remove the social prejudice which evidently existed against it. See further Brunt 1971, 558f.; Corbett 1930.

vacatione trienni data: this three years' grace is not the period allowed an individual between death of spouse and remarriage (so GG), but a moratorium granted before the provisions of the law came into force (cf. Dio 56.7.2; Ulpian, *Tituli* 14). Since the only provisions of the *Lex Papia Poppaea* as set out above which appear possibly harsher than those of the *Lex Iulia* are those relating to inheritance by spouses from each other, the three year period could have given couples with one child time to have a second in order to free them from all restrictions. (There may of course have been other clauses of which we are ignorant; see n. on *immatritate sponsarum* 34.2).

34.2 Germanici liberis ... iuvenis exemplum: in A.D. 9 Germanicus was 24, and had two sons, Nero (born A.D. 6) and Drusus (born A.D. 7),

though he was still below the age set by the law for marriage. On imperial attendance at the games, see 53.1 n.

immatritate sponsarum et matrimonium crebra mutatio: since betrothal to an infant counted as matrimony, it was possible to have a whole string of 'fiancées' under 12 and never in fact get married. Augustus altered the rule so that the girl must be at least ten (Dio 54.16.7). Dio seems to ascribe this change to 18 B.C., which is impossible, while Suetonius speaks of it as though it were subsequent to A.D. 9. If it was in fact part of the *lex Papia Poppaea*, it would provide a satisfactory reason for the three-year period of grace (above). 'Frequent changes of marriage' must refer to divorcées who reaching the end of their six-month (later eighteen-month) period of permitted celibacy, contracted a marriage of convenience and immediately got divorced again. Men might also abuse the law by acquiring a temporary wife within the permitted 100 days in order to accept a legacy. In either case *modum imposuit* surely means 'placed a numerical limit on'; in spite of the fact that the jurists make no mention of such a rule.

35-40 These chapters describe measures concerning the senate and senatorial offices (35-38.2), the equestrian order (38.3-40.1), and the plebs (40.2-5). Augustus is shown as the great regulator of the institutions of the Roman state, sometimes innovating, sometimes reforming, sometimes reviving good customs of the past. He is always rational, moderate, and humane. Order in society implies clear definition and gradation of status (cf. Cicero *de Republica* 1.43: democracy is 'unfair (*iniqua*) since it has no grades of esteem'); the empire became progressively more status-bound, and it would never have occurred to Suetonius to question or analyse the assumptions according to which Augustus articulated the Roman society of his day, or do anything but approve of the measures here set out.

35.1-2 MEMBERSHIP OF THE SENATE

Caesar was attacked in his lifetime for admitting to the senate foreigners (*DJ* 80.2), soldiers (i.e. centurions), and freedmen (Dio 43.47), and is said to have increased its numbers from 600 to 900. The rule of the triumvirs severely reduced the importance and standing of the senate, and there can be little doubt that they too admitted their partisans on a generous scale. *Orcivus* (later *Orcinus*), from *Orcus* = Hades, was a term applied to slaves freed under a will, that is owing their status to a death.

Augustus himself says (*RG* 8.2) he put through three revisions of the senate's membership (*lectiones*). The first was in 29 B.C., as part of the censorial activities carried out with Agrippa in that year and 28 B.C., when he tactfully removed 190 senators, amongst them 50 who resigned voluntarily and were allowed to keep the privileges mentioned here by Suetonius (cf. Dio 52.42.2); this is Suetonius' 'second' *lectio*, and the precautions described

are appropriate to the uncertain political atmosphere in which Augustus began the return to constitutional government. The second *lectio* (Suetonius 'first') is that of 18 B.C., when Augustus, wishing to reduce the senate to 600, tried to avoid the opprobrium of himself expelling senators by setting up an elaborate system of co-option (see Dio 54.13). It did not work and he had to act himself. The third, not mentioned by Suetonius, must have been in either 13 or 11 B.C., probably the latter (Dio 54.26.3 and 54.31.1; Jones 1960, 21f.). There was another *lectio* in A.D. 4, carried out by three senators (see 38 n.D.).

35.2 Cordus Cremutius: the senator Cremutius Cordus (for the inversion see 4.1 n.) wrote a history of the civil wars and the reign of Augustus, which Augustus himself had read, apparently without taking any great offence. But in A.D. 25 he offended Sejanus, was prosecuted for having called Cassius the last of the Romans and shown insufficient respect for Augustus, senate, and people, and committed suicide. His works were ordered to be burnt. (Tacitus, *Ann.* 4.34-35; Dio 57.24; Younger Seneca, *ad Marciam* 22.4.)

insigne vestis: the distinguishing marks of the senatorial dress were the broad purple stripe on the toga and the special senatorial boots. *spectandi in orchestra*: see 44.1 n. *epulandi publice*: on feast days the senate dined publicly on the Capitol.

35.3-4 SENATORIAL PROCEDURE

The changes here described were consequent upon the establishment of *de facto* monarchy. The offering by each senator as he took his seat gave a solemn and ritual quality to meetings which helped to conceal the fact that they were no longer important; but it was this very fact which enabled Augustus to prescribe regular meeting days (*legitimus* is confirmed as the technical word by a fragment of a municipal calendar recently discovered at Viterbo, *Notizie di scavi* 1975, 39), to institute a quorum for the vacation months of September and October, and to break with the Republican custom of asking the most senior men for their opinions first - a custom which had resulted in others seldom doing more than indicate their agreement with one of the first speakers. Had the senate still been a place for real political debate and decision, none of this would have been necessary.

The *consilium semenstre* (six-monthly committee) is more fully described by Dio (53.21.4-5); it consisted of the consul(s), one praetor, one aedile, one tribune, and one quaestor, and fifteen other senators chosen by lot. Thus every year thirty non-magistrates would work closely with Augustus, and after a period of years a majority of the senate would have served in this way. Augustus thus had an opportunity to get to know new senators (recruited at the rate of twenty a year through the quaestorship) and to obtain opinions about plans and policies which ordinary senators might have been unwilling to air in full senate. This body had no executive power, but in practice it

formulated business for the senate and anticipated its decisions (*Cyrene Edict* V = B-J³ no.311, 87). It should not be confused with the true council of state created in A.D. 13 when Augustus was too infirm to attend the senate regularly; this was composed of 20 annual counsellors, himself, Tiberius, the consuls, the consuls-designate, Germanicus, Drusus, and any others he wished according to the business involved, and its decrees had the force of *senatus consulta* (Dio 56.28.2-3). Nor should it be confused with the emperor's *consilium*, his inner circle of advisers or 'cabinet', which had no formal constitutional existence but immense importance; Suetonius makes no mention of this, but see Crook 1955.

36 *acta senatus*: see 5 n.

magistratus: statim in provincias: the normal republican practice after Sulla's reforms of 80 B.C., had been for a consul or praetor to proceed to his province as soon as his year of urban office was over.

His imperium, conferred on him in virtue of his election to a magistracy, was simply extended by the senate. In 52 B.C. Pompey, in order to moderate the scramble for office, imposed a five-year interval between magistracy and governorship, but this law was either repealed or ignored in the period of the Civil Wars. According to Dio (53.14.2), Augustus prescribed the same five-year interval for both praetors and consuls, but only with regard to the senatorial provinces; he appointed as he pleased to his own provinces; see also 47 n.

cura aerarii: the *aerarium* was the official state treasury and was located in the massive podium of the Temple of Saturn in the Forum. The two urban quaestors were the original financial officials of the republic, although they were never responsible for policy or judicial decisions, only for payments, receipts, and custody of the cash. In 29 B.C. Augustus re-placed them by two *praefecti* of praetorian rank, and these again in 23 B.C. by two praetors appointed by lot from amongst those elected, now increased to ten (*Facitus*, *Ann.* 13.29; Dio 53.2.1). Perhaps Augustus saw administrative advantages in having a holder of *imperium* in charge of the treasury (cf. n. on *tabulas debitorum* 32.2). See Jones 1960, 99f.; Millar 1964b; Corbier 1974.

centumviralem hastam: the centumviral court dealt with civil cases involving inheritance (and therefore property and many related legal questions) which were sent to it by the praetor (Cicero, *de Oratore* 1.173). It seems likely to be of ancient origin, but we only know that in the late Republic its jurors numbered 105, three from each of the 35 tribes. (On the competence and constitution of the court, see Kelly 1976, ch.I). A panel of jurors would hear any particular case, under the presidency (after the change here described) of one of the *decem viri stitibus iudicandis*: these ten were one of the four boards of junior magistrates which made up the vigintivirate, the others being *tres viri monetales* (moneyers), *tres viri capitales* (magistrates of summary jurisdiction), and *quattuor viri viis in urbe purgandis* (road maintenance board). Augustus made it compulsory for a man entering upon a senatorial career to perform a period of military service and to hold one of the offices of the vigintivirate before becoming qualified, at the age of 25, to stand for the quaestorship and thus secure entry into the senate (see Dio 54.26.5). On the Republican functions of the *decem viri*, see Kelly 1976, 66f.

37 nova officia excogitavit:

(A) The first four of these new posts reflect the increase in size, complexity and facilities of the new capital city, which had by now completely outgrown the ability of the aediles to maintain it adequately. Augustus' technique was to mount a massive restoration programme and then or later create an appropriate body of curators.

(i) The aqueducts were refurbished and improved in 33 B.C. by Agrippa (see 29.5 n.), who continued to take responsibility for them until his death, and added the *Aqua Virgo* in 19 B.C. His large workforce of skilled slaves passed to Augustus by his will, prompting the senatorial decree of 11 B.C. which set up the board of *curatores aquarum* (E-J³ no. 278 = LR II.69f. = HRFC II.207). An inscription of 5 B.C., commemorating Augustus' repair of all the aqueducts, signifies the end of the long process of major restoration carried out at his expense (ILS 98 = E-J³ no. 281; cf. RG 20.2). The president was a consular and had two assistants, one at least praetorian. He had *imperium* and two *lictors*. The Augustan holders of the office were M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus (consul 31) from 11 B.C. to A.D. 13, and C. Ateius Capito (consul 5 B.C.), from A.D. 13 to 23 (see Frontinus *de Aquis*; van Deman 1934; Ashby 1935).

(ii) For the roads, see 30.1 and the coin of 16 B.C. showing a *cippus* with the inscription 'Senate and people of Rome to Emperor Caesar because the roads have been made up with the money which he contributed to the treasury' (E-J³ no. 287 = BMC Aug. nos. 79ff.). Augustus' curators replaced the old Republican *duo viri viis extra urbem purgandis*, a junior magistracy no longer equal to the task. They were of praetorian rank, and appear to have been established by 20 B.C. (Dio 54.8.4; ILS 915 = E-J³ no. 197). (iii) The full title of a curator of public buildings under Augustus appears as *curator aedium sacrarum monumentorumque publicorum tuendorum* (ILS 932 = E-J³ no. 205); by Suetonius' own time the formula generally includes the words *operum publicorum*, with or without the reference to sacred buildings. Under the Republic, the descendants of a man who had erected a temple or other public building expected as a matter of family pride to look after it; otherwise, the censors were supposed to see to it. But families died out or became impoverished, and censors had been infrequently appointed in the late Republic. Hence the tally of 82 temples mentioned at RG 20.4 as needing repair in 28 B.C. After 30 B.C. the emperor's own benefactions, and those of this family and relations, were on such a scale as to need more than his personal supervision. We are not informed how the expenses of the necessary work were met.

(iv) There is no inscriptional evidence to corroborate Suetonius' statement that Augustus set up the curatorship of the bed (and banks) of the Tiber. In the Republic the censors were responsible for it. Cippi restored by the board of five set up in A.D. 15 by Tiberius (Dio 57.14.8) reveal that the consuls of 8 B.C. defined and cleared the bed (E-J³ no. 295 = ILS 5923d), a task which was finished by Augustus himself (ILS 5924); see 30.1. The first known *curatores alvei Tiberis* are C. Ateius Capito, who in A.D. 15 joined the office to his existing post of curator *aquarum*, and L. Arruntius (Tacitus, Ann. 1.76.3).

(B) After the famine of 22 B.C., when he took over general responsibility for the corn supply (*annona*), Augustus arranged that 2 annual prefects (4 after 18 B.C.) appointed by the senate from ex-praetors should take

charge of distribution of grain to the people (Dio 54.1.4 and 54.17.1). Their title, *praefecti frumenti dandi* (*ex senatus consulto*) marked their difference from the Republican *curatores frumenti*, who were of a more junior status and must presumably have assisted the aediles whose task it had been, before 22 B.C., to arrange the distribution (ILS 887, 907, 932 = E-J³ no. 205). In A.D. 6 another famine caused the additional appointment of two ex-consuls to have general oversight of the whole system of supply and distribution (Dio 55.26.2 and 54.31.4); but by the end of his reign Augustus had assumed full personal responsibility and created, to direct the entire operation, an equestrian prefecture with no limit of tenure and answerable only to himself. Significantly, the man chosen, C. Turranus (Tacitus, Ann. 1.7), had been previously prefect of Egypt and would thus have been familiar with the main supply source, quite apart from the prestige and experience he had gained from holding this great office. The efficient provisioning of the city was of cardinal importance in preserving popular support for Augustus' rule. See van Berchem 1939 and 1974; Pavis d'Escurac 1976.

(C) The urban prefecture of the principate, though having a superficial connection with the Republican institution, was in fact a new creation. In the Republic, if both consuls were out of Rome, a *praefectus urbi* could be appointed to exercise consular power in their absence; he was a representative, not a subordinate, and had full consular *imperium* and *fascēs*. Once the praetorship had been instituted (367 B.C.) the need for the office vanished, and it survived only in the honorific appointment of a *praefectus urbi* for the period of the Latin Festival (a custom which endured to Tacitus' day). Under Augustus we know of both unofficial and official prefectures: the unofficial ones were those held by Maecenas in 36-33 B.C. and 31-29 B.C. and by Agrippa in 27-26 B.C. (?) and 21 B.C., when Augustus was away from Rome and wished to leave it in no doubt who was to be the ultimate authority in his absence, although no special grant of constitutional power was made. The official holders (Tacitus, Ann. 6.11.4-6) were M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus (see 58.1 n.), who resigned after a few days in 25 B.C. on the ground that he 'did not know how to exercise his powers' (which probably means that he was forced to resign because of opposition - see Sattler 1960, 58f.); T. Statilius Taurus (consul II 26 B.C.), perhaps in office from 18 B.C. (Dio 54.17.2), certainly from 16 to 13 B.C. (Dio 54.19.6), and possibly later since Tacitus speaks of his advanced age; and L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi (consul 15 B.C.) who held the post from A.D. 12-32 and whose tenure marks its establishment as a permanent office of state. Messalla and Taurus were, it seems, intended to stand in for Augustus in some way, but the matter is very obscure as Augustus possessed, in theory, no powers which some other magistrate did not already exercise. (Caesar, when in Spain in 46-45 B.C., had been represented by Lepidus and eight *praefecti*). As for Piso, his post cannot be connected with Augustus' absence like the other two. What is certain is that the urban prefect was a senior consular whose job was to maintain public order in the capital. He exercised (in virtue of his powers of *coercitio* and *iurisdictio*) a summary 'police-court' jurisdiction in and immediately around Rome, and commanded the urban cohorts and the *vigiles* (see 30 n. and 49 n.). He lost his powers if he left the city. We do not know how he was appointed, though this should have been by election since his powers were magisterial and urban; he does not seem to have been a delegate of the *princeps*, but a magistrate

in his own right (see Cadoux 1959).
 (D) The two triumvirates for revising the senate and the squadrons of equites were another device by which Augustus tried to avoid exercising the functions of the censors (cf. 27.5 n.):

(i) The senatorial *lectio* of A.D. 4 was performed (uniquely) by a board of three senators selected by lot from ten nominated by Augustus (Dio 55.15.3; cf. 35.1).

(ii) The equestrian order was the second order in the state (see Nicolet 1966; Wiseman 1970; Millar 1977, 279f.). It was composed of men enrolled in the 18 centuries of *equites equo publico* ('cavalry mounted at public expense'); these had originally been the cavalry, i.e. the wealthiest members of the citizen army, but after the second century B.C. they merely comprised voting units in the centuriate assembly. Membership was a mark of social distinction: senators excluded, this group represented the cream of Roman society. Property worth 400,000 HS was a necessary, but not sufficient, condition for membership, and sons and relatives of senators formed a significant proportion of the order. It is likely that under Augustus military service as an officer became a necessary qualification, although in the early years membership could be claimed on hereditary grounds (Ovid, *Amores* 3.15.5-6). Equestrian rank could also be granted as an honour to men who would not otherwise be entitled to it, e.g. freed-

men. Augustus desired to recall the military aspects of the order and reintroduced the annual parade on horseback (*travectio*, see 38.3), for which the centuries were grouped into six *turmae* (squadrons) of three centuries, each commanded, for the purposes of the parade, by a *sevir* - normally a young man of very high birth, who held office for the day (see le Bohec 1975). Those members of the order who attained the quaestorship and so became senators left it; but the others remained equites so long as they were fit to appear at the *travectio*. Suetonius gives the details at 38.3, from which it is clear what the original purpose of the Republican *travectio* had been and how Augustus modified it to enable older equites to retain the rank which they would otherwise, on practical criteria, have had to forfeit. We learn there that the emperor often carried out the inspection (*recognitio*) himself, so that the triumvirate - whose title was *tresvir centuriarum equitum recognoscendarum censoria potestate* (ILS 9483 = E-J³ no.209) - can hardly have been a regular office. The parallel with other occasions when Augustus delegated censorial functions suggests that the triumvirate may have been created to carry out a serious examination and reconstitution of the order, the normal *recognitio* being little more than formal. In the Republic, *travectio* (annually on 15th July) and *recognitio* (by the censors) were separate, but Augustus appears to have combined them (cf. Ovid, *Tristia* 2.89).

censors: the appointment of censors had become very irregular after 80 B.C., although in theory two ought to have been elected every five years to hold office for 18 months. The last pre-Augustan pair had held office in 42 B.C., but there were no more until L. Munatius Plancus and Paulus Aemilius Lepidus were appointed in 22 B.C. They fell out with each other and did not complete their duties, but had the distinction of being the last non-imperial censors in the history of Rome (Dio 54.22.2). For the duties of the office and Augustus' avoidance of it, see 27.5 n. Many of

the new offices mentioned in this chapter were concerned with some part of the original censorial functions.

numerus praetorum: the number of praetors increased steadily during the Republic until it reached eight under Sulla, the reason being the roughly parallel increase in the number of provinces which required governors (see 47 n.). Caesar raised the number to sixteen (Dio 43.51.4), but eight was felt to be the norm when constitutional government returned in 28-27 B.C. Augustus added two more in 23 B.C. when he placed praetors in charge of the *aerarium* (see 36), and another two in A.D. 12 - apparently because there were was such competition to attain the office that in the previous year he had allowed all sixteen candidates to be elected (Dio 56.25.4). The praetorship was the 'career grade' for a senator; over half of all entrants would reach it.

38.1 iustos triumphos et ... triumphalia ornamenta: a triumph was the highest military honour which could be won by a Roman general. The triumphator entered the city in solemn procession, riding in a splendid chariot and wearing the dress of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, accompanied by his soldiers, booty, captives, and tableaux or pictures of his exploits; he made his offering at Jupiter's temple on the Capitol, and then feasted the populace (see Versnel 1970). Triumphs were granted increasingly frequently in the later Republican and triumviral periods but after the first ten years of Augustus' reign they were practically eliminated: the last private citizen (i.e. non-member of the imperial family) to triumph was L. Cornelius Balbus in 19 B.C., and after that of Tiberius in 7 B.C. and A.D. 12. The reasons were partly technical, in that to triumph a general had to be fighting under his own auspices, that is holding a command directly conferred on him by the people (Cicero, *de Divinatione* 2.76), and nearly all major wars occurred in imperial provinces where the generals were Augustus' subordinates; and partly political, in that Augustus, as founder of a military monarchy, had a strong interest in denying to outsiders access to the highest military honours. Thus the full (*iusti*) triumphs were replaced by the triumphal decorations (*ornamenta triumphalia*) which allowed a man to enjoy the status and privileges of one who had triumphed, but robbed him of his day of glory. Counting from the establishment of the triumvirate in 43 B.C., we know the names of 20 men who actually triumphed, apart from Augustus and Tiberius, and 17 of them belong in or before 27 B.C.; but we have no similar corroboration of Suetonius' statement about the number receiving the *ornamenta*.

38.2 liberis senatorum: the custom under the Republic (cf. Cicero, *pro Caelio* 10-11) had been for the sons of senators and others who wished to embark on a senatorial career to be introduced by their fathers or important friends, when they had assumed the *toga virilis* (cf. 8.1), into the social and intellectual world of the governing elite at the same time as they pursued their studies in rhetoric and law. Augustus formalised the process by allowing young men (and not only senators' sons - cf. Ovid *Tristia* 4.10.29) who intended to become senators to assume the senatorial *toga* with its wide purple stripe and to attend meetings of the senate. This treatment reflects the creation of a senatorial class seen elsewhere

in the Augustan principate, e.g. in the marriage legislation which forbade a senator or his descendants to the third generation to marry a freedwoman. *militiamque auspicantibus*: 'making a start' because later in their careers senators could expect to return to the legions for periods of service as senior officers and generals.

non tribunatum modo legionum sed et praefecturas alarum: the command of a squadron of auxiliary horse was later an equestrian post, but there is epigraphic confirmation of Suetonius' statement here (ILS 911 = E-J³ no.195) - though not of the more remarkable information about joint prefectures of horse. The usual military post for a *laticlavus* (would-be senator) was a legionary tribunate. Each legion had six tribunes, normally five equestrian and one senatorial, who ranked below the commander and above the centurions. The 28 (or after A.D. 9, 25) legions should thus have been able to absorb each year's crop of 20+ young men who wished to qualify for the 20 quaestorships which would be available to them in due course. That they could not suggests either that Augustus expected more than a year's military service from senatorial tribunes, or else that at times there was considerable competition for entry to the senate and more men were qualifying than would be able to enter.

38.3 equitum turmas ... see 37 n.(D)(ii). *reddendi equi gratiam fecit ... nollent*: Mommsen emended *nollent* to *mallent*, to give the sense 'he allowed those who preferred, to retain their horses after reaching the age of 35'. This entails supposing an otherwise unknown regulation bringing equestrian service (and membership of the order?) to an end at that age. The transmitted text is perfectly satisfactory: 'he excused those over 35 from keeping their horses if they did not want to' (*sc.* while still remaining members of the order). The horse was called a 'public horse' because it was conferred by the censor (or whoever performed their function - cf. Ovid, *Tristia* 2.89-90), and its owner received an allowance from the state towards its upkeep. Originally this had been to ensure adequately mounted cavalry, but since the equestrian centuries were no longer a military force, Augustus was prepared to tolerate an unfit eque in the interests of preserving the dignity, and so commanding the gratitude, of the older men of the order.

39 *decem adiutoribus*: this commission of ten is not mentioned elsewhere and was probably unique (cf. the triumvirate of ch.37). It would fit in well with the 'normalisation' programme of 28 B.C., or it may be connected with the investigations referred to in a muddled fashion by Dio (54.26.8-9) as occurring in 13 B.C. (so Jones 1960, 22-23).

40.1 *comitiis tribunicis, si deessent candidati senatores*: for the tribunate of the plebs, see 27.5 n. The office was a considerable tie, and unattractive once it had suffered political emasculation. Dio (54.30.2) bears out Suetonius precisely in his account of events in 13 B.C. (Cf. also E-J³ no.371.) *e quattuordecim ... metu poenae theatralis*: the first 14 rows of the theatre had been reserved for the *equites* by the *lex Roscia* (67 B.C.), which also provided a special place for those bankrupt through no fault of

their own (Cicero, *Philippics* 2.44). Augustus was evidently enlarging this category so as to preserve inherited status and avoid inflicting public humiliation on the undeserving.

40.2 *populi recensum vicatim egit*: this enumeration by *vici* (see 30 n.) was a separate count from that of the ordinary census; instituted by Julius Caesar, its prime purpose was to determine the number of those qualified for the corn dole - i.e. Roman citizens domiciled in Rome. On the *frumentatio* see 41.2 n.

THE ELECTIONS UNDER AUGUSTUS

Under Caesar and the triumvirs the elections had been largely taken out of the hands of the people, certainly in the case of the more important offices, and the minor offices had become devalued. Restoration of genuine elections and of proper limits on magisterial powers was one of the most important aspects of the return of constitutionality in 28 B.C. The reality of competition is shown by Augustus' law on electoral bribery (*ambitus*, see 34.1 n.) and by the disorders and irregularities attending the elections in 22-19 B.C. and again in A.D. 6 or 7 (Dio 55.34.2 and cf. 55.27.1-3). Suetonius, and all our literary sources, are quite silent about the *lex Valeria Cornelia* of A.D. 5, which set up a special assembly consisting of senators and *equites* aged over 25 to deliver an advance vote which served as a lead (*destinatio*) to the normal assembly in some way which is not clear (E-J³ no.94a; Brunt 1961; Staveland 1972 218f.; Pani 1974); but by the end of the reign true popular election must have been dead, because Tiberius was able to transfer the elections to the senate (Tacitus, *Ann.* 1.15.1) without provoking any protests.

Fabianis et Scaptiensibus: Augustus belonged by adoption to the tribe Fabia, and by birth to the Scaptia. It was accepted that a man might distribute gifts or other favours, if he were a candidate, to his fellow-tribesmen. The point of Suetonius' remark is that Augustus was so certain of election that he had no need to do this, but none the less did so.

40.3-4 *civitates Romanas parciissime dedit et manumittendi modum terminavit*: On the whole subject of Roman citizenship, see Sherwin-White 1973. In the Augustan period it could be obtained (other than by birth) in the following ways:

- (i) By becoming a magistrate in a community which possessed the Latin citizenship (see 47 n.) or by belonging to an existing community which collectively had Roman citizenship conferred upon it (e.g. Carthage - Sherwin-White 1973, 227).
- (ii) Possibly, on discharge from service as an auxiliary soldier, though evidence is lacking between ca. 40 B.C. (E-J³ no.302) and Claudius' regularisation of the practice.
- (iii) By a special grant for services rendered, as must be the case with the requests of Tiberius and Livia here. An attested example is

freed slaves, see Hopkins 1978, 115f., and on manumission in general, Buckland 1908, 533f.

40.5 pullatorum: *pullati* were those who wore the *pulla vestis*, the dark grey (and probably dirty) everyday garment of the common people. en, Romanos rerum dominos ...: Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.282. The Aeneid had not been published when Virgil died in 19 B.C. That Augustus could quote it like this shows its instant success as a national classic.

41-45 These chapters deal with Augustus' liberality to the people as a whole. *liberalitas*, no more than a welcome attribute of a Republican politician, rapidly became an essential quality of the emperor, since he could no longer do his clients political favours. Also relevant is the idea that the possessor of great wealth had a duty to share it, and that offices of state (even humble ones) carried with them the obligation to expend private funds. The four cardinal virtues of the emperor may have been *iustitia*, *clementia*, *pietas*, and *virtus* (RG 34.2), but *liberalitas* had a greater practical value than any of them. It could be abused by a bad emperor: Suetonius is therefore careful to contradict any impression that Augustus' notable largesse had selfish motives by his famous verdict *salubrem magis quam ambitiosum principem* ('an emperor who sought not his own popular glory but his people's health'). Augustus is presented as a man of generosity tempered by strictness and a strong sense of moral values -- in fact as a good father to his people.

Two main categories of benefaction appear, as they do in Augustus' own statements (RG 15 and 22-23): distribution of money and grain (41-42) and giving of shows (43), to which is appended other matter relevant to this important aspect of city life (44-45). For a different viewpoint, one need only cite Juvenal's bitter comment (10.77-81) on the Roman people:

*qui dabat olim
imperium, fasces, legiones, omnia, nunc se
continet atque duas tantum res anxius optat
panem et circenses.*

'they used to confer consulships, power, armies, everything - but now they do nothing and long anxiously for just two things: bread and the games'

See further Kloft 1970; Yavetz 1969, 88ff.

41.1 Alexandrino triumpho regia gaza: the Alexandrian triumph was the third of Augustus' three triumphs, 15th Aug., 29 B.C. The treasure of the Ptolemies, which had fallen into his hands with the capture of Cleopatra (Dio 51.8.6 and 51.11.1-4), was the last major collection of wealth left in the Mediterranean world not in the hands of Rome, and its release into the economy made the rate of interest drop from its normal

Seleucus of Rhosos in Syria, given the citizenship before 33 B.C. for service as an admiral under Augustus (E-J³ no.301 = Sherk 1969, no.58 and Lewis 1974, 20). What Suetonius says about Augustus' attitude has been confirmed by the recent discovery at Aphrodisias of the text of his reply to a Samian request for freedom (Reynolds 1982, no.13; trans. only, Miller 1977, 431; ?38 B.C.). He refuses, on grounds very similar to those on which he refused the Gaul whom Livy supported (as she also did the Samians). In both cases he dismisses financial considerations as trivial. The Gaul cost the provincial treasury (*fiscus*) money, because had he become a Roman citizen he would still have paid tax - unless he had also been granted the *immunitas* which was all Augustus was prepared to offer him.

(iv) By manumission. A freed slave had a position in law analogous to that of a son, and though he himself was subject to certain statutory disabilities his children were fully free. Since nearly all slaves were non-Italian, and manumission was very common, the free population of Rome was steadily becoming more racially mixed. Augustus attempted to control the process by two statutes:

(a) The *Lex Fufia Caninia* of 2 B.C. restricted the number of slaves a man could free by will: if he had one or two slaves, both could be freed; if 3-10, half of them; if 10-30, a third; if 30-100, a quarter; if 100-500, a fifth; and if over 500, 100 only. To free large numbers of slaves by will was an extravagant gesture which cost the testator nothing, but created new (and chiefly non-Italian) Roman citizens to draw the corn dole. The passing of the law shows that the practice was not uncommon, and slave establishments liable to be large.

(b) In A.D. 4 the *Lex Aelia Sentia* tightened up the regulations for manumission while the master was alive:

(1) Manumissions designed to defraud patrons or creditors were forbidden.

(2) A master under 20 years old could not manumit at all without showing good cause to a tribunal.

(3) A master over 20 could formally manumit only a slave over 30; if the slave were under 30, manumission could only be informal (*inter amicos*) and the slave, though in practice a freedman, was in law still a slave. Such a slave (known later as a Junian Latin) could attain full legal freedom (*libertas iusta*) by marrying and having a child (or, after the *Lex Visellia* of A.D. 24, by completing six years service in the *vigiles*).

(4) A criminal slave (*vinculus* ... *tortusve quis*), if manumitted, joined the category of *peregrini dediticii*, who were not Roman citizens, yet not citizens of any other state, and had to live over 100 miles from Rome (*passima libertas eorum* Galus 1.26).

(5) All legitimate births had to be registered within 30 days (in the interests of later proof of origin, status, and entitlement to privileges such as the corn dole).

Suetonius' comments on the barriers erected by Augustus between a slave and full freedom become intelligible in the light of these provisions, to which should be added that of the *Lex Papia Poppaea* which required a freedman to have three children (formerly only one) before his patron lost all claim on his estate (see 34.1 n.). For discussion of why the Romans

figure of 12 per cent to 4 per cent (Dio 51.21.5).
quodlibet ex damnatorum bonis pecunia superflueret: property of condemned men which fell to the state went into the *aerarium*, but why it should thus have been treated as a special category of money is not clear - unless it was very substantial, and we have no record of large-scale prosecutions under Augustus. It is possible that the estate of an occasional offender of very high rank (e.g. Cornelius Gallus, or Murena - see 19.1, 66.2) might be large enough to merit such treatment. But in general, the *aerarium* did not lend money and one should perhaps draw the conclusion that it was unusual for its liquid assets to be in long-term surplus. Augustus' purpose in making these interest-free loans, against generous security, can only be guessed at. The context suggests that he wished to encourage investment in Italian land and to compensate in part for the rise in its price.

senatorium censum: Suetonius' figure of 1,200,000 HS for the senatorial census is not supported by Dio (54.26.3) or Tacitus (*Ann.* 1.75.5 and 2.37.2), who say or imply that the figure was 1,000,000; nor is there any evidence elsewhere that it had ever been fixed at 800,000, though this could have been an intermediate step in the raising of the sum from the 400,000 HS which *equites* (and a *fortiori* senators) were required to possess. Nicolet 1976 has shown that there was no senatorial census as such in the Republic, and has argued that the senatorial *lectio* of 18 B.C. and the impending marriage legislation of that year or the next provide the context for its introduction, and the effective establishment of a senatorial class (cf. 38.2 n.).

41.2 *congiaria ... frumentum*: Augustus lists and dates his largesse to the civil population (RG 15), showing Suetonius to be less than strictly accurate: 400 HS three times (29, 24 and 11 B.C.), 300 HS once (by Caesar's will), and 240 (not 250) HS twice (5 and 2 B.C.). He made only one gift of free corn to the whole plebs, that of 23-22 B.C. when he distributed a whole year's rations at his own expense (see n. on dictatorship 52); from RG 18 we learn that from 18 B.C. on he made sundry distributions, both of grain and money, 'sometimes to 100,000 persons, sometimes to many more', but evidently not to all. For a full discussion of Augustus' expenditure, see Brunt and Moore 1967, 57f.

ab *undecimo aetatis anno*: the figure must be corrupt, as eleven was not a qualifying age for anything. Recently edited Oxyrhynchus papyri make it almost certain that the correct figure should be fourteen, *quarto decimo* (Rea 1972), the textual corruption being either from *iiiiidecimo* to *undecimo* or from *xiv* to *xi*.

tesserarum nummaria duplicavit: the context makes it difficult to believe that *tesserarum nummariae* can have had any other purpose than to allow their recipients to buy grain. The later *tessera frumentaria* was a permanent possession of its owner and had stamped on it the day of the month and the counter number at which he was to draw his ration; but the Augustan system seems to have involved the surrender of a monthly *tessera* (not particular to its holder). Thus it functioned much more like money (*nummus*), and is therefore termed a *tessera nummaria* by Suetonius. Dio mentions (55.26.3) that Augustus doubled the corn ration in A.D. 6, evidently, if this interpretation of Suetonius is right, by issuing two *tesserarum* to each recipient. See van Berchem 1939, 85f.

42.1 a *genero suo Agrippa perductis ... aquis*: for Agrippa's activities as builder and overseer of aqueducts, see 37 n.A(i). He became Augustus' son-in-law in 21 B.C. when he married Julia.

42.2 *multos manumissos insertosque civium numero*: a freed slave became a Roman citizen and so entitled to the corn dole, and to any other distribution made on the basis of the same list; see 40.3-4 n.(iv).

42.3 THE FAMINE OF A.D. 6 AND THE FRUMENTATIO

It is clear from Dio (55.26.1 - 2), who gives many of the same details, that Suetonius refers to the famine of A.D. 6. Even doubling the corn dole was not enough, and the mob clamoured for more. Hence Augustus' reappraisal of the institution. To abandon the dole was not simply a political but also a social and economic impossibility; but what Augustus meant was that the existence of the dole tempted men to abandon farming and come to the city - i.e. to forsake the mode of life which had made Rome great (cf. Horace, *Odes* 3.6.33 - 44). He was making an ethical, not an economic comment. The land thus left (if it was left) would have been taken back into cultivation by Italy; the archaeological record suggests that agriculture in Italy prospered in the Augustan period. We hear of no more grain distributions after A.D. 6; so perhaps Augustus' way of 'taking account of the interests of growers and merchants' was to allow the price of grain in the open market to find its natural level - while still keeping the free issue in being at its standard amount of 5 *modii* a month (more than enough for a single man, not enough for a family). It is notable that Augustus does not make the complaint often voiced by Republican opponents of the grain distributions, that the treasury was being exhausted (e.g. Cicero, *pro Sestio* 103).

43 PUBLIC SHOWS

Providing entertainment for the city populace had long been a function of the ruling class, and became, in the political struggles of the late Republic, an important way of winning support and publicity. Augustus thus continued a well-established tradition, but on a colossal scale in keeping with his political dominance and financial resources. The large number of festivals and holidays must be set beside the lack of a regular Sunday or weekend in the Roman calendar. Augustus' own list of the shows he gave is at RG 22-23.

'Games' (*ludi*) had originally had a religious significance, and all the regular *ludi* were associated with the festival of a god. They comprised dramatic performances and chariot races; gladiatorial shows being reckoned separately, like the wild beast hunts. See in general Pignaniol 1923 and Harris 1972.

43.1 *fecisse se ludos ... ter et vicies*: Suetonius gives an almost

verbatim quotation from RG 22, with a gloss of his own inserted. The four games Augustus gave in his own name were probably the following, of which the third and fourth are guaranteed by his own words:—

(i) The games following his triumphs and the dedication of the temple of Divus Iulius in 29 B.C. (Dio 51.22.4-9)

(ii) The *Ludi Apollinis* at the dedication of the Palatine temple of Apollo in 28 B.C. (see 29.3; Dio 53.1.1.4)

(iii) The *Ludi Saeculares* (see 31.4 n.; RG 22.2)

(iv) The *Ludi Martis* of May 12th., 2 B.C., preceding the dedication of the temple of Mars Ultor on Aug. 1st. (see 29.2; RG 22.2).

The occasions when he stood in for others are too numerous to identify, though some are mentioned by Dio; the most noteworthy are the *Ludi Victoriae Caesaris* of 44 B.C. (see 10.1).

<circensibus ... venationes> non in foro modo: the context and comparison with RG 22 show that a reference to gladiatorial games (which traditionally, before the Augustan period, took place in the forum) and to wild-beast hunts (*venationes*) is required to fill the evident lacuna after *histriones*. I print Roth's supplement ('he very often gave games in the circus and gladiatorial shows, diversifying them quite frequently with hunts of African wild beasts'). Augustus himself does not mention the Saeptra as a location, although Dio does (55.10.7).

navale proelium: cf. RG 23: a lake 1800 x 1200 feet was excavated, capable of holding thirty heavy warships and many smaller ones, fed by a special aqueduct (*Alsietina* or *Augusta*) of low-grade water. The year was 2 B.C., the place just across the Tiber. Suetonius again quotes Augustus, whose exact words are *in quo loco nunc nemus est Caesarum*; the site was converted after the deaths of Gaius and Lucius into a memorial grove.

43.2 Troiae lusum: the 'Troy' game is described by Virgil, *Aeneid* 5.553-602 and fully discussed in the edition of R.D. Williams (Oxford 1960) *ad loc.* The word *Troia* appears to be etymologically distinct from the name of the city and originally to have had nothing to do with it. The game was a kind of cavalry tournament performed by the young sons of the upper classes, involving mock battles and elaborate formation riding. The two age divisions (*maiores* and *minores*) are referred to by Suetonius also in connection with Caesar's staging of the game (DJ 39.2). Suetonius himself wrote a lost work on boys' games, including this (Suetonius on Virgil, *loc.cit.*).

Nonius Asprenas: it is not clear which Asprenas this was; but probably a son of the consul of A.D. 6, as the father is never surnamed Torquatus. We hear of a L. Nonius Calpurnius Torquatus Asprenas, consul in A.D. 93, who must be a descendant. The Nonii Asprenates were very close to Augustus; see 56.3 n.

Asinio Pollione Oratore. this episode provides a *terminus ante quem* for the stopping of the Troy game, since C. Asinius Pollio died in A.D. 4. Suetonius labels him an orator, but he wrote history and tragedy as well. had wide literary and critical interests, and had been at one time the patron of Virgil. Nothing survives of his literary output, and he is better known to us for his prominent part as an army commander and sympathiser of Antony's in the events of 43-40 B.C. He held a consulship in the latter year and triumphed in 38 B.C. after a campaign in the region of modern Albania; but thereafter he declined to take sides in the quarrel

of Augustus and Antony, and offered himself as a prize to the victor (Velleius 2.86). In the reborn Republic of Augustus, this great man devoted himself to literature and preserved his integrity; aloof, independent, and severe, when Pollio spoke, even the emperor had to take note. None the less, the game was reintroduced: the young Nero took part in it ca. A.D. 47 (*Nero* 7.1).

43.3 et equitibus Romanis aliquando usus est: Roman equites appeared in the games on two occasions mentioned by Dio: in 23 B.C. (53.31.3) before the passing of a senatorial decree which, in deference to social prejudice, forbade the practice (54.2.5); and in A.D. 11 (56.25.7-8) when the rule was waived for some reason not at all clear from Dio's account. For senators as well as equites competing in this way, see DJ 39.1-2. Both acting and gladiatorial professions were traditionally the preserve of slaves and freedmen, and actors were, like prostitutes, discriminated against by the law.

43.4 Parthorum obsides: Phraates, king of Parthia, at some time between 20' and 8 B.C., because he was threatened by dissident nobles and wished his bastard son Phraataces to succeed him, sent his four legitimate sons to Rome so that they could not be put on the throne (Strabo 16.1.28, dating the episode to Titius' governorship of Syria, i.e. either 19 or 13-8 B.C.; see Syme 1939, 398 n.1 and cf. 21.3). Augustus' exceptional treatment of them is explained by their royal status. Of the four, Seraspades and Rhodaspes died in Rome (ILS 842 = E-J³ no.183); Vonones was sent to be the Parthian king ca. A.D. 6, but was expelled and, after an abortive attempt to become king of Armenia, was put to death in A.D. 19; and Phraates, backed by Rome in a bid to secure the throne of Parthia in A.D. 35, died of illness.

rhinocerotem ... tigrim ... anguem: for Augustus' interest in natural curiosities of all sorts, cf. 43.3 (the Lycian midget) and 72.3 (his villa on Capri).

43.5 votivis circensibus ... tensas deduceret: *Iudi votivi* were special games celebrated in fulfilment of a vow (cf. 23.2). The giver of games opened them by leading into the circus the *pompa circensis*, a procession of statues of the gods, each in its own special cart (*tensa*) whose reins were held by boys whose parents were both alive (*patrimi et matrimi*). He himself rode in a chariot and wore triumphal insignia (cf. Juvenal 10.36ff.).

theatrum Marcelli: on Marcellus' theatre, see 29.4 n.

44.1 spectandi ... morem correxit: in Rome, senators had from 194 B.C. enjoyed the privilege of sitting in the orchestra of the theatre. Elsewhere a senator was a personage of such importance and comparative rarity that he could expect to have a good seat cleared for him, and no law had been necessary. But at Puteoli on the bay of Naples where a large number of senators owned villas and other property (see D'Arms 1970), familiarity appears to have bred contempt, and led to this decree - presumably that of 26 B.C. referred to by Dio 53.25.1. No such regulation applied to the circus until A.D. 5 (Dio 55.22.4).

The ban on other states' delegations sitting in the orchestra alongside

normally slaves; having attained their freedom by risking their lives they were of course free to go on being gladiators (cf. Horace, *Epistles* 1.1.4). Actors had long been discriminated against by the law (*infames*) even when they were not slaves or of servile origin; *coercitio* here seems to mean flogging (cf. Tacitus *Ann.* 1.77).

45.4 *xysticorum*: 'wrestlers', because they practised in *xysti*, a Greek term indicating porticoes with special facilities for athletes to exercise (Vitruvius 5.11.3-4).

severissime egit: reluctant combatants are spoken of by Seneca

(*Epistulae Morales* 7.5) as being urged on with whips and hot irons.

Stephanionem togatarium: Stephanio specialised in *fabulae togatae*, plays with subjects taken from Roman history. His offence consisted in the fact that his disguised lover was a married woman (*matrona*), and the pair of them were flouting Augustus' adultery law (see 34 n.) in a spectacular manner. The three theatres were those of Pompey, Marcellus, and Balbus. *Togatarium* occurs nowhere else, and has been emended to *togatarum* (gen. pl.); but there is no good reason to suspect the formation, which is very common in words denoting occupation, e.g. *navicularius*, *sandalarius*, *tignarius*.

Hylan pantomimum: a *pantomimus* ('mime-all') was a solo performer of dramatic scenes, using dance and gesture to accompany words from a chorus. Augustus is said to have introduced this form of entertainment to Rome. Hylas was a pupil of Pylades, who was allowed to return from exile in 18 B.C. (Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 2.7.12f.; Dio 54.17.5).

querente praetore: the fact that the praetor, who was presiding when Hylas transgressed, complained to Augustus shows either that summary punishment was in fact rare, or else that Hylas' crime was very serious - perhaps an insult to Augustus, as Suetonius does not report it.

46 This is the sole chapter of the work devoted specifically to Italy, almost as though the peninsula was nothing more than a huge appendix to Rome. On the other hand, Suetonius' subject is Augustus and it is true that the emperor's direct interventions in Italy were limited to such acts as are summarised here. The effects of the Augustan peace and of Augustus' social, financial, and military policies - all topics alluded to elsewhere by Suetonius - were no concern of Suetonius', and he never embarks on this kind of analysis.

duodeviginta coloniarum numero: the figure of 28 colonies is taken from *RG* 28.2. Identification is difficult: Pliny (*NH* 3.46ff.) names 46 towns as colonies, practically confining the title to those founded by Augustus, and it is possible on the basis of other evidence to compile a list of between 34 and 42 colonies of the triumphal and Augustan periods. Colonies normally bore their founder's name in their titulature, e.g. Capua was called *Capua Concordia Iulia Felix Augusta*, but there are two difficulties with this criterion: one is that the name *Iulia* was borne by colonies of Caesar, of Antony acting in Caesar's memory, and of Augustus; the other is that a second title, as in the case of Capua may indicate only an additional settlement of colonists not substantial

senators, their Roman equivalents, because there might be freedmen amongst them, reveals once again (as do the sentences which follow) Augustus' concern with defining and erecting status barriers in his new state; cf. 74.

44.2 *maritis e plebe*: granting special places to the married was part of Augustus' campaign to improve the legitimate birth rate. Comparison with e.g. early Victorian London suggests that regular marriage was infrequent amongst the poor. (*plebs* means those who were neither senatorial nor equestrian).

pullatorum: see 40.5 n.

44.3 *praetoris tribunal*: 'the praetor's platform' because the president at the games was normally a praetor.

44.4 *pontificalibus ludis*: the games in honour of Actium, instituted in 28 B.C., were celebrated every four years; each of the major priesthoods (see 31.3 n.) took it in turn to celebrate them (Dio 53.1.5; cf. 54.19.8).

45.1 *cenaculis*: if these are really 'attics' or 'penthouses', according to the literal meaning, the apartment blocks to which they belonged must have been very close to the circus. It seems more probable that they were private boxes of some sort, either high up, or constructed like penthouses.

ex pulvinari ... cum coniuge: the *pulvinar*, built by Augustus, was the platform where the statues of the gods were placed after the procession, in full view at the front (cf. *RG* 19.1; *CLAudius* 4). The comment about Livia and the children is explained by what Suetonius has just said about the separation of the sexes at the games (44.2).

petita venia: see 53.1 n; the people expected their leaders to take as much interest in the games as they did themselves. To attend, but do office work at the same time, was an insult.

45.2 *corollaria ac praemia*: these were prizes and sums of money, the kind of thing described at 85. By distributing these at games given by others, the emperor was putting his position as unique patron of the plebs beyond all challenge.

Graeco certamini: games on the Greek model included athletics and musical contests, neither of which formed part of ordinary Roman games. Cicero, *Ad Atticum* 16.5.1, speaks slightly of *Iudi Graeci*, which involved the performance of Greek plays.

45.3 SPECIAL TREATMENT OF ENTERTAINERS

In the Hellenistic Greek world artists and entertainers formed professional corporations (e.g. the *Dionysiac Artists*) and were commonly granted special privileges, such as immunity from civic duties, in recognition of their services to the community and to the festivals of the gods. Of the three categories Suetonius mentions, the athletes (presumably Greek, see 45.2 n.) are likely to have been just such a corporation. Gladiators were

enough to rank as a re-foundation (cf. Cicero, *Philippics* 2.102), or denote nothing more than a favour conferred.

There was at this time no juridical difference between *coloniae* and *municipia*, though forms of government differed slightly. But *municipia* were civil communities, while *coloniae* had always been military in character (apart from some in the second century B.C.) and enjoyed greater prestige. It is safe to assume that all Augustus' colonies were settlements consisting almost exclusively of veterans. The problem of providing land for discharged soldiers was with Augustus all his life, until the institution of the *aerarium militare* in A.D. 6 (see 49 n., last paragraph). Some of the colonies (e.g. those of Regio XI - see below) performed the original purpose of such settlements, to secure a quasi-military grip on outlying territory. The rest had no overt military purpose, though they served as important foci of loyalty to Augustus and remained a potential source of armed support in a crisis.

We do not know on what basis Augustus restricted his total of colonies founded to 28; the candidates appear to be, by region:

I (Latium and Campania)	Capua, Calabria, Aquinum, Suessa, Venafurum*, Sora, Puteoli?, Nuceria?
II (Apulia and Calabria)	Luceria*, Venusia.
III (Lucania and Bruttium)	none
IV (Samnium)	none
V (Picenum)	Asculum, Falerno*, Hadria.
VI (Umbria)	Fanum Fortunae, Hispellum, Tuder.
VII (Etruria)	Luca, Pisa, Lucus Feroniae, Rusellae, Saena, Sutrium, Perugia?, Florentia?
VIII (Cispadana)	Ariminum, Brixellum, Parma, Placentia, Mutina?.
IX (Liguria)	Dertona.
X (Venetia)	Concordia, Tergeste*, Pola*, Cremona, Brixia*, Ateste*.
XI (Transpadana)	Augusta Taurinorum*, Augusta Praetoria*.

* certainly Augustan

? not very likely to be Augustan

(I have excluded from the above list the triumphal colonies of Ancona, Bononia, Beneventum, and Pisaurum, which are known to have been founded by Antony. See further Brunt 1971, 608f., and Salmon 1969.)

operibus ac vectigalibus publicis: outstanding examples of such endowments made by Augustus are the aqueducts of Puteoli and Venafurum and the walls of Fanum (RE 22.5057, ILS 5743 = E-J³ no.282; ILS 104), and the revenues of land near Cnosos in Crete presented to Capua (Dio 49.14.5). *excogitato genere suffragiorum*: this system of 'postal voting' is not heard of in any of our other sources and must have lapsed very soon. It became a worthless privilege after Tiberius transferred the elections to the senate in A.D. 15 (see 40.2 n.). It is significant that Augustus restricted it to the *decuriones*, the members of the local senate: his

object was not to ensure that votes taken in Rome were more representative, but to confer privilege (and thus status) on the local notables. Every other Roman citizen had to travel to Rome to cast his vote. Most of course never did so.

aut honestorum ... aut multitudinis: from the context, *honestis* must mean not just 'respectable', but actually 'equestrian': Suetonius is using the terminology of his own day, when *honesti* were well on the way to becoming a legal category quite separate from the bulk (*multitudo*) of Roman citizens (Garnsey 1970).

equestrem militiam petentes: see 37 n.D and 38.3 n. for the equestrian order. Permission to qualify for the order by taking a post as an officer (legionary tribune or prefect of a cavalry or auxiliary formation - see 38.2 n. and 49 n.A) was granted by the emperor. It has been suggested that the mysterious *tribuni militum a populo* of the Augustan period (E-J³ no.224 = ILS 9007) are those who were recommended by their communities in the way Suetonius describes (Nicolet 1967, 29).

regiones: these must be the regions of Italy, for which see on *duodeviginti coloniarum numero* above. *GG* interpret as the regions of Rome, but this flies in the face of Suetonius' principles of arrangement. 1000 HS = 250 *denarii* = 10 *aurei*, slightly more than a year's pay for a common soldier. Such a large amount was presumably not only to encourage the production of children (and hence soldiers, who were largely recruited from the country districts) but also to compensate for not receiving the electoral largesse and *congiaria* of the city plebs (see 40.2 and 41.2).

47-50 These four chapters deal in a very summary way with the provinces, client kingdoms, military forces, and communications of the empire. The information given is for the most part so brief and generalised as to be useless to a historian; but Suetonius' purpose is different, namely to show Augustus as a man who administered the empire responsibly and with due regard for order, discipline, efficiency, and humanity.

47 (A) 'IMPERIAL' AND 'SENATORIAL' PROVINCES

In the Late Republic, provinces were normally governed by pro-consuls, who held office for a year; these men were ordinarily the consuls and praetors of the preceding year, who drew lots among themselves for provinces which had already been designated by the senate. The assembly of the people, being sovereign, could override this system and appoint anyone it chose, for as long as it liked, to govern a province. Hence Julius Caesar's ten-year tenure of Gaul, and the five-year commands of Crassus in Syria and Pompey in Spain. The latter is particularly relevant to Augustus' practice, because Pompey remained in Rome, and even contrived to become consul (in 52 B.C.), while governing his province through *legati*. As in other fields, Augustus was able to build a new system by skilfully combining elements which all had Republican precedents.

The 'First Settlement' of 27 B.C. (see 28 n.) established the division between those provinces which Augustus undertook to

administer, and those to which annual governors were appointed under the Republican system outlined above (see also 36.1). The former, conventionally termed 'imperial', comprised Spain (except Baetica), all Transalpine Gaul, Syria (including Cilicia), Cyprus, and Egypt; the latter, or 'senatorial' provinces, were Africa (including Numidia), Illyricum, Macedonia, Achaea, Asia, Bithynia with Pontus, Crete with Cyrene, Sicily, Sardinia with Corsica, and Baetica (Dio 53.12.4 - 8: the modern doctrine that Baetica was created at a later stage, perhaps 16-13 B.C., is flimsy). The list given by Strabo (840C) dates from a period when Narbonese Gaul and Cyprus had been made senatorial and when Illyricum had not yet been taken under imperial control, that is apparently between 23 (or 22) and 12 B.C. (cf. Dio 54.4.1 and 54.34.4; Syme 1939, 394 n.2). Later, Sardinia became imperial (in A.D. 6 - Dio 55.28.1) and the new province of Moesia took over the legions hitherto stationed in Macedonia (probably ca. A.D. 3). Other new provinces, all imperial, created after 27 B.C. were Galatia (25 B.C.), Raetia, Noricum (both 15 B.C.), and Judaea (A.D. 6).

The governor of a senatorial province was called *proconsul*; of an imperial, *legatus Augusti pro praetore* - unless he was the equestrian governor of Raetia, Noricum, Judaea, or Sardinia, when his title was *praefectus* (or, from Claudius' time, *procurator*). These titles bear no reference to the previous status of the holder. A *legatus Augusti pro praetore* is in fact much more likely than a *proconsul* to have already held the consulship. During Augustus' reign the convention became established that Africa and Asia went to ex-consuls, and the remainder of the senatorial provinces to ex-praetors. In the emperor's provinces the situation was more fluid, but in general the great military commands went to ex-consuls. The *imperium* of Augustus' *legati* was 'praetorian' because it derived from, and was subordinate to, his 'proconsular' variety. Hence appeal was possible to Augustus from the judicial (and other) decisions of his *legati*.

Technically the senate controlled all the provinces in that it decided (even if only through the drawing of lots) who was to govern them, and before 23 B.C. Augustus was on a par with any other duly appointed *proconsul*. But there were important differences: first, he was governor of several provinces, not all adjacent, at the same time; second, he was appointed for a period of ten years; and third, he was permitted to govern *in absentia* through *legati* chosen and appointed by himself alone. The fact that the Roman people happened to elect him *consul* in each of the first five years of the new system did not essentially alter his constitutional position as a provincial governor. His authority remained identical. He did not have to be 'acting *consul*' (if one may so render *proconsul*) since he was in fact *consul*. After 23 B.C. the position was slightly different: in that year Augustus resigned the consulship and was granted *imperium maius*, by which his *imperium* was formally

declared to be greater than that of any other *proconsul* and he acquired the legal power (in addition to the moral authority he already possessed) to issue edicts and decisions in any part of the empire. But the distinction between imperial and senatorial provinces remained unaltered. See further Millar 1966.

The official propaganda of the regime maintained that the purpose of the division was to leave Augustus with the troublesome and possibly dangerous border provinces to pacify (a task which, according to Dio 53.13.1, he promised to complete within his allotted ten years), while others could enjoy governing the rich and peaceful provinces of the remainder of the empire. This is explicit in Augustus' contemporary Strabo (840C); but Suetonius' own words here, though apparently conveying the same information, start to seem ambiguous once the reader ponders whose ease and safety are in question: the emperor's, or the Roman people's? And Dio, writing another hundred years later, when it was quite plain that Augustus had in fact established a monarchy, says:

'His professed reason was that the senate might enjoy without fear the best parts of the empire, while he himself had the trouble and the danger; but really he wanted an excuse for them to be unarmed and incapable of fighting, while he alone had arms and maintained soldiers' (53.12.3).

This explanation is over-simplified. Of the original senatorial provinces, Africa, Illyricum, and Macedonia contained legions, probably to a total of between six and nine, or a quarter to a third of the army (see 49); but the loyalty of the whole army to the victor of Actium and 'son of the Divine Julius' was such that there was no possibility of armed revolt. What Augustus had to fear was not insurrection, but competition for military glory and prestige from members of his own class, the semi-hereditary ruling aristocracy of Rome. The division of 27 B.C. removed nearly all the significant military commands from the arena. Certainly, men had to govern these provinces, but their status as mere *legati* of Augustus, their direct dependence upon imperial favour for their appointment, and their inability to claim credit in their own right for any victories they might win (see 21.1 n.) effectively prevented any challenge to Augustus' position as supreme trustee of the greatness of Rome's empire.

(B) STATUS AND TREATMENT OF PROVINCIAL COMMUNITIES

'Federated' cities (*urbes foederatae*), mostly Greek, had an independent treaty of alliance (*foedus*) with Rome. The exact terms of their 'freedom' varied, but normally meant freedom from the authority of the Roman governor, from Roman taxes, and from Roman law. The unreality of the status is well illustrated by the unilateral cancellations of it here mentioned

48 RELATIONS WITH FOREIGN KINGS

The 'few' kingdoms which Augustus did not give back to native dynasties included Egypt, a sizable portion of Spain, the Alpine region, the provinces of Illyricum and Moesia, and (until the disaster of Varus) Germany between the Rhine and Elbe:

Suetonius' statement remains accurate for North Africa and the eastern frontier between Egypt and the Black Sea. In the latter area Roman policy had long operated with buffer states or 'client-kingdoms', a system first given proper cohesion by Pompey in 65-63 B.C. After Actium Augustus could be said to have 'conquered' these kingdoms, but he wisely confirmed on their thrones the more important kings: Amyntas of Galatia (who had already deserted Antony at Actium), Polemo of Pontus, Archelaus of Cappadocia, and Herod of Judaea. In Armenia, he attempted no revenge on Artaxes, son of the king whom Antony had defeated and deposed in 34 B.C., for the Romans he had massacred in 32, but simply recognised him. When there was trouble in the kingdom in 20 B.C. he intervened by sending Tiberius to replace Artaxes by his brother Tigranes (RC 27.2). Augustus knew that Armenia was too troublesome and difficult to be worth annexing (though he made capital out of Tiberius' success by issuing coins bearing the legend *ARMENIA CAPTA*), but when Amyntas and Herod's successor Archelaus died (in 25 B.C. and A.D. 6 respectively) Galatia and Judaea became imperial provinces. For a complete treatment, see Pahl 1972.

In Africa, the only considerable independent kingdom was Mauretania. Augustus had annexed it as a province in 33 B.C. on the death of King Bocchus - no doubt to counterbalance Antony's annexation of Armenia in the previous year. But, with Antony defeated and Armenia under local rule again, he found it convenient to let Mauretania revert to the status of a client-kingdom and in 25 B.C. he installed as king a native African, the Romanised and scholarly Juba II whose father, the last king of Numidia, had been deposed by Julius Caesar.

necessitudinibus mutuis iunxit...: examples are the marriage of Polemo, king of Pontus, to Dynamis, queen of the Bosporan kingdom (Dio, 54.24.6) and of several connections of Herod's family (Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* 18.1135-140).
nec aliter universos...habuit: 'he treated them all as component parts of the empire'. These kings were not Romans; yet Augustus dealt with them in the manner prescribed by Roman law if they were minors or insane, by appointing a guardian.
plurimorum liberos...et instituit: examples are Agrippa the grandson of Herod, brought up at Rome with Tiberius' son Drusus (Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* 18.143); Juba II, who was about ten years older than Augustus' stepsons Tiberius and Drusus and later married Cleopatra Selene, Antony's daughter by Cleopatra (Dio 51.15.6);

by Suetonius, and by the terms of the extant treaty with Mytilene (E-J³ no.307) whereby the Roman people solemnly promise not to allow the enemies of the Mytilenaeans people to pass through Roman territory 'so as to make war on the people of the Mytilenaeans or on their subjects or on the allies of the people of the Mytilenaeans' and the Mytilenaeans promise the same *mutatis mutandis*. Cities which we know to have been deprived of their independence include Cyzicus, Tyre, and Sidon (Dio 54.7.6), all indeed displaying Suetonius' *licentia*.

Foreign communities which were not 'free' could be granted Latin or full Roman citizenship. *Latinitas* derived from the original relationship of the cities of the Latin League with Rome in the early days of the Republic. After the whole of Italy had been granted Roman citizenship in 90-89 B.C. *Latinitas*, now outmoded in its original sense, flourished in the non-Greek parts of the empire as a means of marking a half-way stage in the transformation of foreign communities into Roman towns. The chief features of Latin status were the ability to contract under Roman law valid matrimonial and commercial relations with Roman citizens, and the possibility of becoming a full Roman citizen by holding a local magistracy. Since the children of Roman citizens were themselves Romans, as time passed an increasing proportion of the office-holding, that is the better-off, class came to be Roman rather than Latin in status. Hence Roman law, institutions, and culture were slowly diffused through the southern, western, and northern regions of the empire in the first two centuries A.D. - the process known as 'Romanisation'. When sufficiently confident of its Roman-ness a Latin community could apply for the full citizenship just as it had previously done for the Latin. The process is nowhere fully recorded, but Suetonius' *adlegantes merita* ('claiming a record of service to Rome') gives an idea of the grounds on which a petition could be based. In Claudius' time Volubilis in Mauretania obtained the full citizenship by sending a deputation of leading men to the emperor (AE 1916, 42 and cf. Pöxy 2435 = E-J³ no.379) and no doubt this was the usual method. See further Abbott-Johnson 1926, Sherwin-White 1973, Millar 1977, 394ff., and (for the west) Clavel-Lévêque 1971.

aere alieno laborantes ... terrae motu subversas: debt, being often caused by failure of the harvest, was almost as much a natural disaster as earthquake. For Augustus, Dio (54.23.7) mentions Paphos specifically and adds that aid was given on so many occasions that he could not feasibly produce a list. A decree of Cos (*Olympia* V.53) speaks of Augustus as surpassing the founder Merope by restoring the city after a 'quake'. See Robert 1978.
traicere ex Sicilia apparantem: cf. Dio 49.34.1: the episode belongs to the winter of 36-35 B.C.: Sardinia had been held by Sextus, Africa by Augustus' disgraced fellow-triumvir Lepidus (see 16). The emperor is alleged by Nicolaus of Damascus (*Vita* 11-12) to have visited Africa in the train of his great-uncle in 45 B.C.

fessionalisation of *auxilia*, but the situation is very fluid. There were two sorts of unit, the cavalry *ala* and the infantry *cohortes* (some of whom might be mounted), and they were normally about 500 strong. In time, they came to be commanded by a Roman officer of equestrian rank, but this had not yet become the regular practice under Augustus, and both senatorial (see 38) and native commanders (e.g. *ILS* 847 - a chief-tain of the Trumplini commanding his own men) are recorded. Although they operated with legions, it is not clear how firmly they were attached to the legions. It is difficult to estimate the proportion of auxiliary to legionary soldiers in the Augustan army. Velleius (2.113.1) records that Tiberius in A.D. 7 commanded an army of 10 legions, more than 70 (auxiliary) *cohortes* and 10 or 14 *alae* (the figure is corrupt in the text). If this is typical there were not many fewer auxiliaries than legionaries. Such a conclusion is in harmony with Tacitus' vague remark at *Ann.* 4.5 about the comparative equality of numbers of the two classes. (On the army in general, see Watson 1969 and Webster 1969; on the *auxilia*, Saddington 1975).

The navy was not dissimilar to the *auxilia*. The rowers were generally free non-citizens, the captains often freedmen (not slaves - see Kienast 1966 on E-J³ nos. 274 and 276), and the admirals of the two great fleets equestrian. The bases at Misenum and Ravenna, and another at Forum Julii (Fréjus) east of Massilia, mentioned by Strabo (184C) and Tacitus (*Ann.* 4.5), were all constructed by Augustus. After the end of the civil wars the main function of the fleets must have been to keep down piracy and convoy important personages, since there was no rival power left in the Mediterranean. Perhaps the continued existence of these fleets was due to reluctance on the part of Augustus to destroy the arm which had won him the battle of Actium and, earlier, driven Sextus from Sicily. Tacitus says that the ships stationed at Forum Julii were those which Augustus had captured from Antony at Actium. See in general Starr 1960 and Kienast 1966.

The forces stationed in and around Rome were the nine cohorts of the praetorian guard and the three urban cohorts (for the *vigiles* see 30 n.). The former received more than three times the pay of ordinary legionaries (750 *denarii* a year as against 225), and existed from the start of the principate (Dio 53. 11.5). The latter received half the pay of the praetorians, were certainly in existence by the end of the reign, and were probably under the command of the urban prefect, although there is no necessary connection between the institution of the urban prefecture as a regular post (? A.D. 12, Tacitus, *Ann.* 6.11.3) and the establishment of the urban cohorts. These cohorts were numbered X, XI, and XII in sequence with the praetorian cohorts. They were a sort of security force, standing in the same kind of relationship to the praetorians as in London the Metropolitan Police do to the Guards - except that

and probably Phraates II of Armenia, captured by Antony in 34 B.C. and then, after Antony's death, resident in Rome until he was placed on the Armenian throne in 20 B.C.

49 (A) DEPLOYMENT OF MILITARY FORCES

After Actium, Augustus reduced his swollen army of some 50 legions to 28, a number which was further diminished to 25 in A.D. 9 when Varus lost three in Germany (see 23). We cannot discern any stable pattern of deployment before about 16 B.C., when most of the other fronts were quiescent and the legions were positioned for the long and in the end fruitless struggle to annex the whole of Germany. Even after 16 B.C., it would be wrong to think of the Augustan legions as having any kind of 'normal' distribution of permanent bases in spite of the fact that some of them may actually have been stationed in the same places for years at a time. There was fighting in the Danube regions, in Asia Minor, and on the eastern frontiers, quite apart from the great Pannonian revolt of A.D. 6-9, all of which entailed the movement of legions. The following table, based on Tacitus, *Ann.* 4.5 and the researches of Parker (1928) and Syme (1933), is over-tidy and cannot represent the likely complexity of troop transfers, but may serve to give some idea of the military importance of the various provinces:

Province	No. of legions before A.D. 6	No. and probable identification of legions A.D. 10-23
Spain	4 (5?)	3 (IV <i>Macedonica</i> , VI <i>Victrix</i> , X <i>Gemina</i>)
Germany (Rhine)	5	8 (I, V <i>Alaudae</i> , XX, XXI <i>Rapax</i> , II <i>Augusta</i> , XIII <i>Gemina</i> , XIV <i>Gemina</i> , XVI)
Raetia-Vindelicia	2	0
Illyricum	5	5 (VII, VIII <i>Augusta</i> , IX <i>Hispana</i> , XI, XV <i>Apollinaris</i>)
Moesia (Macedonia)	3	2 (IV <i>Scythica</i> , V <i>Macedonica</i>)
Syria	4	4 (III <i>Gallica</i> , VI <i>Ferrata</i> , X <i>Fretensis</i> , XII <i>Fulminata</i>)
Egypt	3	2 (III <i>Cyrenaica</i> , XXII <i>Deiotariana</i>)
Africa	2 (1?)	1 (III <i>Augusta</i>)
	28	25

The *auxilia* were non-citizen forces, often either lightly or specially armed (e.g. slingers, bowmen, cavalry). From the second century B.C. the Republican army had made use of such units. Under Augustus we can see the beginnings of the pro-

missionem construed closely with what follows so that the sense is 'they should not be able to be incited to revolution after discharge on account of either *aetas* or *inopia*', *aetas* can surely only mean 'youth' - i.e. what Augustus avoided was discharging relatively young men, with inadequate pensions, who might be potential revolutionaries. He had nothing to fear from old men after discharge; they were only to be feared if they were not discharged at the proper time (cf. the complaints of the mutineers of A.D. 14 - Tacitus, *Ann.* 1.17.3).

(B) THE IMPERIAL POST

There was no regular postal system in the Republic, and even Augustus' system was supposed to be entirely for public business; private individuals had to obtain special permission to use the post for their own purposes. The great financial companies (*societates publicanorum*) kept a postal service of messengers, but otherwise communication depended on sending a slave or freedman of one's own, or making use of the journeys of one's friends or their agents.

Suetonius makes it clear that Augustus' original system passed a message through many hands, but that later the same messenger would use relays of vehicles. Once available, the vehicles could also be used as transport by public officials. They were provided by local communities along the roads, and were supposed to be paid for by the user; but inscriptions show quite plainly that not only did official users avoid payment, but others who had no right to use the service at all did so. (See in particular the interesting and detailed inscription from Pisidia - JRS (1976) 106ff., from which it appears that overnight accommodation had to be provided free of charge for the emperor's staff, agents, and soldiers).

vehicula: not 'chariots' (GG), but 'carts' (carra in the Pisidian inscription). Mules or donkeys were also provided.

50 SEALING OF LETTERS

In the late Republic and early Empire, a signet-ring was still simply the personal seal of its owner and was not what it later became, a badge of office or a means of symbolising the consent or transference of power (cf. 66.3 n.). We are told that the sphinx ring existed in duplicate, in order that Maecenas and Agrippa could issue commands in Augustus' name when he was absent from Italy (see Dio 51.3.4 - 6; elder Pliny, *NH* 37.10). It was, therefore, in use before 29 B.C. and was inevitably associated with a rule which many Romans considered illegal or at least tyrannical. The Alexander-ring, on the other hand, had clear reference to world-rule (achieved or projected) and was particularly appropriate after the capture of Alexandria (cf. 18.1). Alexander was well understood

in Rome both were military units and promotion could take place from one to the other. There seems to be no reason for believing that the number of three cohorts, which Suetonius says was the maximum Augustus permitted in the city, did not include the urban cohorts. In later reigns, when the praetorians had their own barracks instead of being billeted round about as they were under Augustus, only one praetorian cohort was normally on duty at the palace. Perhaps the Augustan practice was to have one praetorian and two urban cohorts in the city. On the praetorians, see Durry 1938; on the urban cohorts, Freis 1967.

We first hear of definite periods of service in 13 B.C., when fixed terms were introduced - 12 years for praetorians, 16 for others (Dio 54.25.5). In A.D. 5, evidently in response to recruitment difficulties, these were raised to 16 for praetorians and 20 for others. At the same time regular money pensions were introduced - 20,000 HS for praetorians, 12,000 HS for others. These replaced the rather hand-to-mouth Republican system which Augustus had so far followed of settling retired soldiers either on individual parcels of land ('virthane assignments') or in new colonies, which after the early years of the reign had all to be overseas since there was no more room in Italy. In the following year the military treasury (*aerarium militare*) was set up, funded by an initial 'float' from the emperor of 170 million HS (RG 17.2), by a new tax of 5% on inheritance (*viicesima hereditatum*) which was payable only by Roman citizens (Dio 55.25.5), and by the existing 1% tax on goods sold at auction (*centesima rerum venalium* - Tacitus, *Ann.* 1.78). Augustus had clung so long to personal responsibility for settling veterans on discharge, because this was a potent factor in ensuring the loyalty of an army to its commander, as the last years of the Republic and the civil wars had so powerfully demonstrated. But by A.D. 6 even the imperial coffers could no longer stand the strain, and there can have been only a handful of soldiers still serving who had ever known any commander-in-chief other than Augustus. See Brunt and Moore 1967, 41-43, and Brunt 1971, 332ff.

Miseni: the great base at Misenum was established c. 30-20 B.C.

to replace *Portus Iulius* which Agrippa had created in 37 B.C. for the naval campaign against Sextus Pompeius (see 16.1).

Ravennae: the new port of *Classis* was connected to the city of Ravenna by a causeway, and to the mouth of the Po by a canal through the lagoons.

Calagurritanorum: from *Calagurris Masica* (modern Calahorra), a Roman *municipium* in Hispania *Tarraconensis*.

Germanorum: perhaps the Batavian horsemen of Dio 55.24.7. The

Germans were employed again by A.D. 14 (Tacitus, *Ann.* 1.24) and remained as a bodyguard until dismissed by Galba in A.D. 68. For

the disaster of Varus, see 23.1.

aut *aetate* aut *inopia*: if *aetate* is to be taken according to the normal use of Latin, as a parallel alternative to *inopia*, with post

and used in the self-assertive world of late Republican politics as the type of all-conquering, superhuman ruler (Michel 1967). It is not known when Augustus gave up using this ring in favour of one bearing his own portrait; the engraver of this, Dioscurides, was the most famous exponent of the art in Augustan times and half-a-dozen of his gems are still extant. For full discussion, see Instinsky, 1962.

diplomatus: originally any document folded or closed in on itself, *diploma* came to mean a document authorising an official privilege like the use of the imperial post, and later particularly a grant of Roman citizenship made to an auxiliary soldier on discharge. *libellis*: the term is used here in the technical sense of 'petitions' to which the emperor generally replied by writing his answer at the foot (*subscriptio*). The word can also mean 'notebooks' or, as in 55 'pamphlets'.

51-56 These six chapters form the last section of Suetonius' treatment of Augustus as a public figure in the civil sphere, which began at 26. The first two words, *clementiae civilitatisque*, function as a main heading for all that follows in these chapters, which prepare us for the climax reached at 57-60.

51.1 *clementia*: this was one of the four cardinal virtues inscribed on the golden shield voted by the senate to Augustus in 27 B.C. and set up in the senate-house (RG 34.2). It was not a Republican virtue, clemency, at least in the political field, being an autocrat's privilege. *civilitas* describes the quality of decent relations between citizen-equals. *ne ennumerem...Iunium Novatum et Cassium Severum*: Suetonius' reasoning is this: 'if Augustus could pardon even common people for apparently serious offences, he of course pardoned men who were of more exalted status or had committed lesser crimes'. The assumption is that common people deserve - or at least get - harsher treatment, a proposition which became a fact in the legal framework of the Roman state not long after Suetonius' time (Garnsey 1970).

It is possible that Junius, by uttering a forged document, laid himself open to the penalties of the *Lex Cornelia de falsis*. However, what we know of the law suggests that it dealt with forgery for financial gain (especially forgery in wills), and since Tacitus, *Ann.* 1.72, says 'Augustus was the first to deal with defamatory pamphlets under the law of treason (*maiestas*)', it is likely then that this is a case in point. The crime of Cassius (see 56.3) can hardly be brought under any other head than that of *maiestas*, a vague but serious offence whose scope became widened under Augustus and especially Tiberius to cover virtually any form of opposition to or criticism of the regime. See Bauman 1974, 27f.; Allison and Clout 1962.

Agrippae iuvenis: see 19.2 n.

51.2 *quadam vero cognitione cum Aemilio Aeliano...: cognitio extra ordinem* was a judicial hearing before a Roman magistrate, conducted at his discretion and in virtue of his *imperium*, and obeying no set rules

of procedure. It was the normal means by which Roman justice was dispensed outside the city of Rome, though it could be employed there too and appears to have been the usual way in which the (exceptional) jurisdiction of consuls and emperors was exercised (Jones 1960, 85). Corduba was in Baetica, the senatorial province of Spain, and its inhabitants possessed the Roman citizenship. A constitutional problem then arises: by what right did Augustus hear a case against a Roman citizen from a senatorial province? Such a case ought either to have been taken by the proconsul, or referred to the courts at Rome, from which there lay no appeal. If Augustus heard the case in Rome, it provides support for the thesis of Kelly (1957) that the emperor possessed or at any rate exercised a primary criminal jurisdiction in cases involving *maiestas*. But there is no need to suppose a hearing in Rome. The most attractive and economical explanation is that the incident occurred on one of Augustus' visits to Spain - probably that of 15-13 B.C. when he was in formal possession of *imperium maius* (see 47 initial n.) and was clearly the highest judicial authority in the province, rather than that of 27-24 B.C. when his *imperium* was in theory no more than equal to that of the proconsul. The reply to Tiberius with its reference to his youth will suit either of these occasions but precludes any later date.

52 (A) RULER-CULT

Suetonius is not interested in this phenomenon (perhaps because it had become routine in his day) and appears to place temples and honorific statues in the same category. In fact, ruler-cult helped to hold the empire together. The inhabitants of the eastern provinces had long been accustomed to worship their monarchs; and just as Alexander and his successors were heirs to the Achaemenids and the Pharaohs, so Augustus and before him the proconsuls of the late Republic, were the heirs of Alexander. The goddess Roma had first made her appearance in the East for diplomatic reasons, early in the second century B.C. (the first cult attested is that of Smyrna in 195 B.C.). When the Romans rapidly became *de facto* and eventually *de jure* rulers of these regions, Roma stayed on to receive the gratitude of those who were now kingless; but since she was somewhat colourless, her temporal (and temporary) representatives, the proconsular governors of the eastern provinces, quite frequently found themselves honoured with the trappings of the cult - temples, sacrifices, and games (for a list of known cases, see Bowersock 1965, 150).

Between 42 and 30 B.C. Antony had been worshipped as a god in the East. His conqueror would have found it impossible to avoid the same treatment, the more so as he advertised that he was the 'son of a god' in his official nomenclature. But the fate of his divine 'father' and the barrage of anti-monarchic and anti-oriental propaganda laid down by his own side before the campaign of Actium made it impossible for Augustus to assume tout court the role of king and god in

phenomenon, devoid of any real religious content; but this view stems from a sharp distinction between mortal and divine which is not found in ancient thought. The Greeks rather conceived of many gradations between the fully human and the fully divine, exemplified by Naiads, heroes, demi-gods, and even founders of cities, and met no conceptual obstacle when wishing to recognise a degree of divinity in men like Alexander, or Augustus, who were plainly out of the ordinary.

See Taylor 1931; Weinstock 1971; Deininger 1965; Habicht 1973; Mellor 1975; Liebeschuetz 1979, 65f.; Fishwick 1969.

argenteas statuas: silver statues were an oriental extravagance. Those of the Pontic kings Pharnaces and Mithridates were carried as spoil in Pompey's triumph of 61 B.C. (Elder Pliny *NH* 33.151). Dio (53.22.3) records that Augustus, by striking coin from silver statues set up 'by his friends and some communities', and disbursing it on public projects as his own money made it appear that his personal generosity was greater than it really was. (For the Temple of Palatine Apollo, see 29.1 n.). Augustus himself says he melted down about eighty silver statues to provide the gold offerings to Apollo (RG 24.2).

(B) REFUSAL OF DICTATORSHIP

The occasion was the spring of 22 B.C., the first year since the restoration of regular government in 27 B.C. that Augustus had not been consul. Disease, floods, and scarcity of corn provoked the people to besiege the senate house and demand that Augustus be given special charge of the corn supply (*praefectura annonae*) and be made dictator (Dio 54.1; RG 5.1). The latter office was anathema to the Roman upper classes after the use made of it by Sulla and Julius Caesar, and had been constitutionally abolished by Antony in the reaction after Caesar's murder; the present demand shows how differently the lower classes felt, and to what lengths Augustus had to go to dissuade them. They clearly wished Augustus to possess open and unambiguous authority, if he would not hold the consulship. He did, however, accept charge of the corn supply, and to such effect that 'within a few days I delivered the whole city from apprehension and immediate danger at my own cost and by my own efforts' (RG 5.2). If this statement is true, it must raise the suspicion that Augustus had been stockpiling corn (and thus helping to create the shortage?) against just such an eventuality, in order to be able to play the part of larger-than-life benefactor to his stricken people; for how could a man, given the slow and cumbersome systems of communication and transport available then, relieve a major shortage in a city of nearly a million inhabitants 'within a few days' without having massive stores ready to hand?

deprecatus est: 'begged them not to (force the dictatorship on him)' rather than 'implored their silence' (GG).

the East. Hence the compromise indicated here by Suetonius (see further Dio 51.20.6-8). It is interesting that cult honours are attested as late as 2/3 A.D. for a non-imperial provincial governor, but clearly the cult of the emperor (which spread to his family) was far more important. It was regularised on a provincial basis by the appointment of a high priest - the highest honour a native could attain within his province - and by the grafting of the cult, with its annual gathering for prayer, sacrifice, and games, on to the existing institution of the provincial *koionon*. Deputations from all the cities of a province were accustomed to meet regularly to discuss matters of common concern. The assembled delegates constituted the *koionon* (council) of the province and were able to give some political expression to its feelings by (for example) passing decrees laudatory (or otherwise) of the governor or even deciding to prosecute him. In the western provinces and Italy, where there was no previous tradition of ruler-worship or provincial assemblies, the cult of Augustus and Roma was deliberately promoted as an instrument of political cohesion - notably by the altar at Lyon dedicated by Drusus in 10 B.C. as a gathering-place for the representatives of the Gallic tribes - but was slower to take root.

Below this 'official' provincial level things were different. Tiberius, we know, tried to discourage divine honours (Tacitus, *Ann.* 4.37 cf. his letter to Gytheion, E-J³ no.102) and we can be certain Augustus had done the same. But municipalities and groups of private citizens were free to worship whom they liked (subversion apart), and we find for example that the Roman merchants at Thinissut (Africa) made an offering to 'God Augustus', and one L. Calpurnius of a leading commercial family from Puteoli (near Naples) erected a temple to Augustus (E-J³ nos.106 and 111). It was partly in response to this kind of pressure that after he became Pontifex Maximus in 12 B.C. Augustus instituted a public cult of his spirit (*genius*) in association with the *Lares Compitales* (see 31.4 n.). This acted as a veiled form of ruler worship and managed to avoid giving that offence which Julius Caesar's striving towards personal divinity had provoked. The *genius*, though an aspect of the individual (or of the collective represented as an individual, e.g. *Genius Populi Romani* as figured on coins and sculpture) nevertheless signified the divine and life-giving element in him. The *genius* of the *paterfamilias*, the head of the family, who embodied the continuing existence of that family, was worshipped under the form of a bearded snake. Thus the *Genius Augusti* was simultaneously unique to Augustus and represented something far less transitory than the mortal emperor himself. It also tended to be identified, especially after Augustus had become *Pater Patriae* (see 58.1 n.), with the *Genius* of the Roman people to whom Augustus was now *paterfamilias*.

Some modern scholars regard ruler-cult as a purely political

54-55 The theme of Augustus' respect for the senate leads to his tolerance (not always cheerful) of (verbal) opposition from it. The examples of free speech given by Suetonius, though innocuous by the standards of the departed Republic, will have seemed bold under the developed principate of Trajan and Hadrian.

54 *si locum haberem* ...: 'if I had the chance to speak'. Senators were normally called to speak in order of seniority, and many would not get the chance (but cf. 35.4).

Antistius Labeo: a famous jurist and antiquarian, of incorruptible independence, described by his great rival Ateius Capito, who was a friend of Augustus', thus: 'the man was driven by a spirit of freedom so excessive and intense that even when the late Augustus was princeps and master of the state, he considered nothing to be important or valid which had not been prescribed and hallowed according to his reading by the ancient usage of Rome' (Gallius, NA 13.12.2). His father had been one of the conspirators against Caesar and committed suicide after Philippi. Dio (54.15.7) relates the same episode, but makes Labeo reply 'What have I done wrong by keeping in the senate a man you still allow to be Pontifex Maximus?' The occasion was the *lectio* of 18 B.C. (see 35.1 n.); for Lepidus, see 16.4.

55 *libellos aut carmina ad infamiam cuiuspiam* ...: *libelli* here are 'pamphlets', the origin of English 'libel', while *carmina* are not, as sometimes, 'magic incantations', but verse *libelli*. The prose pamphlets were a more modern form of the older verse attack already provided against in the XII Tables. Suetonius seems to be stressing two aspects of Augustus' action - that libel of anyone, not just himself, was wrong and that libel was just as reprehensible under a false name as a true one. Tacitus (Ann. 1.72.4) says Augustus was the first to proceed against libellous publications under the law of treason (*maiestas*) - see 33 n.; Bauman 1974, 27 f. The date is probably A.D. 6 (cf. Dio 55.27.1 - 3).

56 A final, miscellaneous chapter, giving more instances of Augustus' moderation and forming a general conclusion to the section introduced in 51 by the leading words *Clementiae civilitatisque eius*.

56.1 *testamentorum licentia*: 'freedom of speech in wills', often the only safe place to attack the powerful. Note Fulcinus Trio, who driven to suicide by informers 'wrote in his last testament many terrible charges against Macro and the principal freedmen of the emperor' (Tacitus, Ann. 6.44).

candidatis suis: those candidates to whom Augustus had promised his support were known as *candidati Caesaris*. They were, presumably, sure of election, but Augustus thought it proper to go through the motions of soliciting votes on their behalf. This process was called *suffragatio*. When as a result of age he found it difficult to go round in person, he resorted to *commendatio*, a public announcement in which he 'commended' certain candidates to the people as particularly worthy of their votes

53 Augustus' avoidance of any title, pomp, or flattery which smacked of monarchy was a necessary part of his political stance. As 'leading citizen' (*princeps*) it was important for him to accept no more honour than a citizen should from his fellows, and to be accessible, good-humoured, and courteous.

domini appellatorem: the title *dominus* (master) was associated with slavery, whether actual or metaphorical. Augustus' successors were less modest: Gaius (Caligula) had himself made a god, and Domitian was called *dominus et deus*.

spectante eo ludos: his position obliged the emperor to attend the games (which included dramatic performances). They afforded the populace a good chance to demonstrate their sympathies (see Millar 1977, 368f.). This episode appears to be dated later than 17 B.C. by the reference to Augustus' 'children' as it was in that year that Gaius and Lucius were adopted. Cf. Cicero's account of the discomfiture of Pompey and Caesar on a similar occasion in 59 B.C. (*ad Atticum* 2.19.3).

ne quem officii causa inquietaret: it was a well-established Roman custom for a procession to meet a returning magistrate or commander, or accompany him on his departure (cf. Cicero, *Philippics* 2.106). In 30 B.C. the Senate decreed that on Augustus' return from the East the Vestal Virgins, the Senate, and the whole people with their wives and children should turn out to meet him (Dio 51.19.2), and in 19 B.C. they sent the consul Q. Lucretius and a deputation of other magistrates and leading men as far as Campania to greet him - 'an honour that up to the present day has been decreed to none but myself' (RG 12.1). But special occasions apart, Augustus was doubtless as keen to spare himself the tedium of endless municipal welcomes and farewells as he was to relieve his hosts of time-consuming and unproductive formality. He was not long imitated. By the second century the imperial *adventus* (arrival) and *profectio* (departure) had become ceremonial occasions.

adaperta sella: 'an open sedan chair'. I adopt the conjecture of Berwaldus for the MSS' *adoperta* 'closed', which was a sign of pride, secrecy, or stand-offishness; cf. Cicero, *Philippics* 2.106; Gellius, NA 10.3.5.

promiscuis salutationibus: the *salutatio* was the early morning call paid by friends and clients on the great, an institution famous from the later strictures of Martial and Juvenal. Augustus refused to join those who followed the practice of C. Gracchus, whom Seneca alleges to have been the first Roman to have divided his callers into grades of precedence and had 'first friends, second friends, but no true friends' (*de Beneficiis* 6.34.2).

die senatus: to be taken closely with what precedes: the inference is that on other days senators would attend the *salutatio*, but that on a senate day Augustus wished to preserve the fiction that he was of the same status as his fellow-senators. (Cf. Dio 54.25.4 - 5 and 56.41.5). Julius Caesar had caused great offence by failing to treat the senate with respect (cf. DJ 78). To know the senators by name, without calling on the services of a remembrancer (*nomenclator*), and to greet them in their seats, indicated Augustus' tact and political sensitivity.

Gallum Cerrinnum: the cognomen is placed first; see 4.1 n. This man is not otherwise known, though L. Cestius Gallus Cerrinius Iustus Lutatius Natalis, a senator of the later second century A.D., may be a descendant.

(Dio 55.34.2). It is unlikely that he ever commended the same number of candidates as there were vacancies, and he never apparently commended to the consulship (except perhaps in the disturbances of 19 B.C. and A.D. 6 - Dio 54.10.2 (cf. 6.1-3 and 55.34.2)).

56.2 forum angustius fecit: for his forum, see 29.1.1. The plan is slightly asymmetrical at one end; but perhaps Suetonius means more than this, as the flanking colonnades do seem to crowd the temple a little. praetextatis ... assurrectum ... et ... plausum: the important word is the first one. What Augustus objected to was not the demonstration as such, but the fact that it was in honour of mere boys who had not yet officially emerged into public life. This episode (cf. Dio 55.9.1) is presumably to be placed in or not long before 6 B.C., when Tiberius retired from Rome and his stepsons, Augustus' 'sons', became so popular that Gaius, not yet fifteen, was elected to a consulship, in defiance of the constitution and Augustus' wishes. Dio (54.27.1) speaks of a similar incident, involving only Gaius, as early as 13 B.C.

56.3 Asprenas Nonius: a cause célèbre; Quintilian (10.1.22) recommends the student to read the speeches of Cassius, prosecuting, and Asinius Pollio, defending. Asprenas was alleged to have poisoned 130 guests (elder Pliny, *NH* 35.164), but Quintilian at any rate regarded the charge as malicious (11.1.57). This man was the father of the consuls of A.D. 6 and 8, and brother-in-law to the ill-fated P. Quinctilius Varus (see 23.1) and his sister Quinctilla who was married to Sex. Appuleius (consul 29 B.C.), Augustus' nephew (see 4.1 n.).

Cassius Severus: 'this man, an able and vigorous orator of obscure origin, resembling a gladiator in appearance, was hated and feared for his bitter tongue and incorrigible love of independence' (Syme 1939, 486). When the dangerous historical writings of another notorious opponent of the regime, T. Labienus, were burnt towards the end of Augustus' life, Cassius remarked that it was no matter, as he knew them all by heart (elder Seneca, *Controversiae* 10. praefatio 8). He was himself prosecuted (?A.D. 12) and condemned under the law of *maiestas* (see 55 n.) to exile first in Crete and finally on the rocky islet of Seriphos (Tacitus, *Ann.* 1.72 and 4.21).

superasset: the technical term for one who appeared in court to support another, especially by delivering an encomium (*laudatio*) of the accused. *Castricium, per quem de coniuratione Murenæ cognoverat*: for the conspiracy of Murena, see 19.1 n. There exists an Augustan inscription (E-J³ no.235) relating to one 'A. Castricius, son of Myriotalentus' which has given rise to the speculation that Myriotalentus ('Moneybags') may be Augustus' informer - who will not have gone unrewarded (Stockton 1965, 27).

57-60 Suetonius now passes, by an entirely natural transition, from Augustus' acts of kindness and moderation to their recognition by his grateful people. His arrangement is skilful. First come relatively ordinary celebrations and pecuniary gratitude; the tone rises as Augustus is named *Pater Patriae*; then we hear how important his very life was for Romans; and finally comes the astonishing information that even kings ceased to pretend they were kings when they were in his

presence. Augustus is truly King of Kings, though Suetonius is careful to avoid the title. In musical terms, this movement ends with a fortissimo climax.

57.1 senatus consulta: to Suetonius' contemporaries fulsome praise of the *princeps* in decrees of the senate would have seemed routine; but even in Augustus' own lifetime the currency of official praise had been devalued by extravagant decrees in honour of Julius Caesar (*DJ* 70 and 78) and of himself (Dio 51.19).

equites R. natalem eius ... biduo semper celebrarunt: Augustus' birthday, September 23rd. (5.1) had been honoured by an official thanks-giving since 30 B.C. (Dio 51.19.2), and by praetorian games, which however did not become part of the official calendar as the Augustalia until 11 B.C. (Dio 54.34.2). It is not known why the equestrian order celebrated for two days (23rd and 24th), but their lead was soon followed: decrees from Narbo and Forum Clodii (Etruria) attest two days of celebrations and point to some confusion as to which day actually was Augustus' birthday (E-J³ nos. 100A and 101). The confusion may have arisen as a result of Julius Caesar's calendar reform.

Lacum Curti: this was a well or pool in the Forum, with paving around it by Augustan times. The Romans connected the name variously with a Sabine leader who fought against Romulus, a consul of 445B.C., or a young man who 'devoted' himself to the gods, to save the community, by leaping into a chasm on the spot in 362 B.C. (Livy 1.12-13 and 7.6; Varro, *de Lingua Latina* 5.150; Dudley 1967, 95-97; Nash 1961, I.542-4). The custom of casting coins or precious objects into water for good luck was practised then as now: see Pausanias 1.34.4; *Tib.* 14.3.

strenam: 'we call that strenua which is given for the sake of the omen on a holy day' - Festus 410L. This practice became institutionalised (cf. *Tib.* 34; *Gaius* 42) and gradually turned into a kind of tax. Augustus at least used it for the ornamentation of the city; cf. 91.2.

57.2 Palatinae domus: Augustus' house was burnt down about A.D. 3 (Dio 55.12.4-5). For the house, see 72.1.

veterani: veterans had a civic identity as colonists, most of Augustus' colonies being founded to settle them on discharge. *decuriae*: Cicero, *pro Plancio* 45, which has been cited in support of the theory that tribes had subdivisions known as *decuriae*, in fact proves the reverse: the process of *decuratio tribulium* there referred to is the electoral malpractice by which political agents broke up the tribal lists into quite unofficial sub-groups for the easier organisation of bribery (cf. Cicero, *Philippics* 7.18 - *non decuriabit improbos?*). *GG's* 'guilds' must be right. *CIL* 6. (1802ff.) yields many examples of *decuriae* of scribes, lictors, heralds, etc. attendant upon magistrates. There were also the grander *decuriae* of jurors (see 32.3 n.), and the word came to be used of the various corps of freedmen and slaves within the emperor's own household (cf. Petronius, *Satyricon* 47.11-13).

58.1 Patris Patriae: the senate bestowed the title *Pater Patriae* on Augustus on February 5th 2 B.C. (Ovid, *Fasti* 2.127ff; *Fasti Praenestini* - E-J³ p.47). In *RG* Augustus places this honour last, after the great roll of kings who acknowledged his superiority, and so makes it the climax of his achievements. Suetonius reverses the emphasis.

The penetrating study of Alföldi (1952-4) has shown how *pater* (or *patres*) *patriae*, as used in the late Republic, always has connotations of 'saviour of the state', apart from the obvious elements of guardianship and authority; and this links the title not only with the world of the Hellenistic kings, who were often called 'Saviour', but with both the ideal Roman statesman, the *conservator* or *rector rei publicae* which Ciceronian political theory sought, and the actual achievement of Augustus commemorated by the oak wreath bestowed on him in 27 B.C. for 'saving the citizens' (RG 34.2; Dio 53.16.4). As applied by Livy to Romulus (1.16.6), Camillus (5.49.7), Manlius Capitolinus (6.14.5) and others, by Cato and Catulus to Cicero (Appian, BC 2.7; Cicero, *In Pisone* 6), and by Cicero to Marius (*pro Rabirio perduellionis* 27), it had no formal existence as a title. This first occurred when the senate decreed that Julius Caesar should be called *Patres Patriae* (DJ 76.1 appears to be in error; cf. Alföldi 1953, 107) though this is not attested on coins or inscriptions until after his death (see *ILLRP* nos. 407-10; Crawford 1974, 494; DJ 85; Cicero, *ad Familiares* 12.3.1). Since the term was already clearly established in the vocabulary of political praise and had no unique reference to Caesar, it is scarcely surprising to find it applied to Augustus before 2 B.C. (e.g. Horace, *Odes* 1.2.50 - *hic ames dici pater atque princeps*; *ibid* 3.24.27 - *si quaeis PATER URBIS subscribi status*; denarius of 18-17 B.C., BMC Aug. nos. 397ff. - *SPQR PARENTI CONS(ervatori) SUO*; *ILS* 96 and 6755 - *both patri patriae*). There can be little doubt, in view of this, that the sequence of events related by Suetonius was carefully orchestrated. Note that it happens in the special year of 2 B.C., the year of Augustus' final consulship, of the entry of his younger 'son' on public life, of his final distribution of money to the Roman plebs, and of the forty-years-awaited dedication of the Temple of Mars Ultor and its associated forum (see 29.2). Note also the exceptional nature of a deputation from the plebs, presumably voted by the popular assembly and headed by the tribunes (shades of the early Republic!). Furthermore, Augustus' initial refusal of the honour could not fail to make his eventual acceptance more striking (cf. his refusal of political power in January 27 B.C.), and may be seen as an almost necessary part of the process by which the formula *Pater Patriae* was converted from a casual term of eulogy to an imperial title. Of subsequent emperors, only Tiberius and apparently Galba, Otho, and Vitellius declined to take it (see BMC *ineunti Romae spectacula*: another example of the importance of the games as an arena for the demonstration of public opinion; cf. 56.2. Valerium Messallam: M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus was an ex-Republican but soon left Antony for Augustus, commanded armies for the latter, and received the doubtful honour of holding the consulship of 31 B.C. that was rightly Antony's. Subsequently military success (he triumphed from Aquitania in 27 B.C.), oratorical skill, and literary patronage (of Tibullus, amongst others), together with his ancient and distinguished political lineage, enabled him to pretend to some sort of independence. In 26 B.C. (Jerome's date), or more probably in 25 (Schmitthenner 1962, 81f.), when Augustus was absent in Spain, he laid down the prefecture of the city after holding it for only a few days, claiming that it was inconsistent with the constitution as he understood it (see 37 n. C). His seniority in the senate, his status as an individual, and his talents

as an orator made him the ideal spokesman for the senate on this occasion. 58.2 *domuque tuae*: the emphasis on Augustus' family is not Republican. The same dynastic note is already present in a state document of 17 B.C. - the prayer offered at the *Ludi Saeculares* (see 31.4 n.). This asks for the blessing of the gods not only on the Roman people and on the college of *Quindecimviri*, as whose spokesman Augustus made the prayer, but on Augustus and his house and family (*mibi domo familiaeque*).

59 Antonius Musa: cf. 81. Like most doctors, Musa was a Greek freedman. He cured Augustus in 23 B.C. by prescribing cold baths and a diet of lettuce and cold drinks, but failed to save Augustus' nephew Marcellus by the same means later in the year (Dio 53.30.3-4; elder Pliny, *NH* 19.128; cf. Horace, *Epistles* 1.15.3-5). *initium anni*: to alter the beginning of the year was not quite so silly as it may seem, since there were numerous different calendars and different starts to the year in the cities of the Mediterranean world; but it was tiresome in Italy, where the Roman calendar was in general use. Cf. the long and eulogistic decree from the province of Asia, probably of 9 B.C., making September 23rd., Augustus' birthday, the start of the year (*E-j* no. 98 = *LR* II 64-65). *super templa et aras ludos quoque quinquennales*: temples, altars, and games are all the trappings of cult (see 52 n.). *Quinquennales* means every four years, because of inclusive reckoning. This interval was that of the four ancient and famous festivals of Greece, the Olympic, Nemean, Pythian, and Isthmian games. Inter-city rivalry was largely responsible for this multiplication of festivals.

60 *Caesareas urbes*: Herod the Great's Caesarea on the Judaeian coast is the best known of these. It had a temple of Rome and Augustus and quinquennial games; finally dedicated in 10/9 B.C. after twelve years' building, it was a splendid modern Graeco-Roman city and advertised Herod's ability to meet the standards of the rest of the civilised world (Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* 15.331f. and 16.136f.). Others were named, or founded, by Herod's son Philip in Phoenicia, by Juba II in Mauretania, and by Amyntas in Pisidia (see *RE* 3.1 s.v. *Caesarea*). *aedem Iovis Olympii Athenis*: this is the great temple some of whose columns still stand to the east of the Acropolis. Begun by Pisistratus in the sixth century B.C., it was not finally completed until the reign of Hadrian. see 52 nn. *genio*: to dress as Romans was to proclaim the kings' subservience to an authority and a civilisation mightier than their own.

61-65 The introductory sentence of 61 marks the beginning of the third and final main division of the work, devoted to Augustus' private life and concluded by his death. The first five chapters are concerned with his family, with which he was notoriously unlucky. The contrast with the climax just reached at the end of the 'public' section is striking and pathetic.

61.2 *matrem amisit in primo consulatu*: Atia (see 4.1) died, then, between August 19th and November 27th, 43 B.C. She was honoured by a public funeral (Dio 47.17.6).

Antony, having not so long since abandoned Sextus, to whom he had fled after supporting L. Antonius in the Perusine war (*Tib.* 4). In other words, Augustus was starting to attract to his side some of the Republican nobility (see also Levick 1976, 15). Livia was also of Claudian stock: her father, who fought against the triumvirs at Philippi and committed suicide after the battle, was a Claudius who had been adopted into the family of the Livii Drusi (see Syme 1939, 229). She herself was born in 58 or 57 B.C. (Dio 58.2.1), and bore her sons by Ti. Nero in 42 (Tiberius) and 38 (Drusus).

63.1 Juliam: see (iii) above and 65.

Marcello: C. Claudius Marcellus, Octavia's son by her first husband of the same name (consul 50 B.C.), was born in 42 B.C. (Propertius 3.18.15) and died in the autumn of 23 (cf. 59 n. Antonius Musa). Like all Julia's husbands, he was destined by Augustus to succeed to the principate. M. Agrippae nuptum dedit: for Agrippa, see 16.2 n. The marriage took place in 21 B.C., Augustus himself being absent overseas (Dio 54.6.5). Agrippa's previous match, to the elder of Marcellus' two sisters, had taken place after he had divorced (or lost) his first wife Caecilia, daughter of Cicero's friend Atticus, sometime between 32 and 28 B.C. (Nepos, *Atticus* 21-22; Dio 53.1.2).

exorata sorore, ut sibi generum cederet (genero MSS): it is possible to extract a sense out of the received text, by translating 'he begged his sister to yield to her son-in-law, for his (sibi), i.e. Augustus' sake'. But this makes Agrippa take the initiative, when the drift of the whole paragraph is what Augustus did about Julia's marriages. The correction *generum* gives a simple and precisely appropriate meaning: 'he begged his sister to surrender a son-in-law to him', i.e. he was asking his sister to let her son-in-law (by the marriage with Marcella) become *his* (by marrying Julia).

63.2 Tiberium privignum: Tiberius was married to Vipsania Agrippina, Agrippa's daughter by his first marriage to Caecilia (see above), and was deeply attached to her (*Tib.* 7.2-3). Their son Drusus had been born in 14 B.C. Suetonius (*Tib.* 7.2-3) says that the marriage to Julia, which took place in 11 B.C., was satisfactory at first and only degenerated after the death of their baby son, born at Aquileia in 10 or 9 B.C. That Augustus considered a member of the equestrian order as a possible husband for Julia is incredible in the light of his dynastic ruthlessness in arranging her marriages; Tacitus' allusions to the story (*Ann.* 4.39.5 and 40.8) are placed in a context which scarcely confirms its reliability.

M. Antonius scribit ... primum Antonio ... dein Cotisoni: the betrothal of Julia to Antyllus (see 17.5 n.) sealed the compact of Tarentum in 37 B.C., when Julia was about two and young Antonius about eight or nine (Dio 48.54.4). Cotiso in 33 B.C. controlled an area which bordered both on Dalmatia, recently conquered by Augustus, and on Macedonia the northern flank of Antony's dominions. Both men were anxious to have him as an ally. It may be true that Augustus offered to betroth Julia to him, but he decided to join Antony. The latter wished to publicise the story in order to show Augustus' faithlessness in breaking the earlier engagement and his readiness to contract alliances, just like Antony, with barbarian monarchs.

sororem Octaviam: Suetonius must mean Augustus' full sister, for whom see 4.1 n. Dio places her death in 11 B.C. (54.35.4), Suetonius between September 23rd, 10 B.C. and September 23rd, 9 B.C. Her body lay in state at the shrine of Divus Julius in the Forum, and Augustus himself delivered the funeral oration. Her ashes were laid in the Mausoleum of Augustus beside those of her son Marcellus (see 63.1; Dudley 1967, pl.65).

62 AUGUSTUS' MARRIAGES

(i) *servilia* was the daughter of P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus, who was related by marriage to Brutus, Cassius, and Lepidus, was a leading senatorial 'moderate' in the events of 44-43 B.C., and had been Caesar's consular colleague in the year of Pharsalus; her engagement to Augustus was the product of the political alignment engineered by Cicero in early 43 B.C. (see 10 n.).

(ii) The marriage to *Claudia*, as Suetonius explains, took place for similar reasons of state, late in 43 B.C. Claudia must have been just twelve, the legal age for marriage (*vixdum nubilem*). Fulvia's first husband, Cicero's great enemy P. Clodius Pulcher, was killed in 52, and her second, C. Scribonius Curio, in 49 B.C. It is not known when she married Antony, except that it cannot have been later than 46 since their elder son was old enough to participate in diplomacy and fighting when Augustus attacked Alexandria in 30 B.C. The 'disagreement' between Augustus and his mother-in-law arose in 42-41 B.C. (see 14) when his bride was still probably only thirteen.

(iii) *Scribonia* became Augustus' wife early in 40 B.C., also for purely political reasons; his object was to forge a hasty link with Sextus Pompeius in the aftermath of Perusia, when it was not clear whether Antony would remain a friend (see 17.1-2 n.). She was sister to Sextus' father-in-law L. Scribonius Libo. One of her former husbands was a Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus, presumably Cn., consul in 56 B.C.; the other was a Cornelius Scipio, possibly the consul of 35 B.C. (see Groag, *RE* 4.1388; *CIL* 6.26033; Propertius 4.11.29-30 and 55-66). The evidence shows that Scribonia had children by both marriages, and if Scipio is the man suggested, he reached his consulship some years after his marriage with Scribonia was over. Augustus divorced Scribonia in 39 B.C., on the very day of Julia's birth, if we may believe Dio (48.34.3).

(iv) The marriage with *Livia Drusilla* (January 17th 38 B.C. - *E-J*³ p.46) is said to have been a love match, but this is not the whole truth. Note that the divorce with Scribonia (though it cannot be placed exactly) occurred just when Augustus was starting to quarrel with Sextus in the latter part of 39 B.C.; also that Livia's husband Ti. Claudius Nero, a blue-blooded ex-Republican aristocrat (a type hitherto conspicuously lacking in the party of Augustus) was at the time he so obligingly divorced his young, pretty, and pregnant wife, a follower of

- 64.1 nepotes: for Augustus' grandchildren, see the genealogical table II, p. 18.
- L. Paullo: on this L. Aemilius Paullus, grandson of Scribonia through her daughter Cornelia's marriage to L. Aemilius Paullus, censor of 22 B.C., see 19 n. vi.
- Germanico: Germanicus (born 15 B.C.) was not only Octavia's grandson through the younger Antonia, but also Livia's grandson through her younger son Drusus. Groomed by Augustus as a potential successor to Tiberius, he died in A.D. 19 and it was his 'unsuitable' younger brother Claudius who in fact ended up by becoming emperor.
- Gaium et Lucium adoptavit ... per assem et libram: both boys were adopted by Augustus on the birth of Lucius. It was common practice among the Roman aristocracy to adopt (even adults) to prevent a name dying out. Augustus himself owed everything to his adoption by Caesar, and wished to endow his grandsons with similar good fortune. Agrippa's feelings are not recorded, but he too had profited from Augustus' adoption and his own loyalty to the name of Caesar; nor did he cherish his own family name Vipsanius (cf. 16.2 n.). *per assem et libram emptos* describes the routine ritual of a Roman sale; adoption was theoretically the purchase of another man's sons, which by old Roman law were as much his property, to dispose of as he wished, as his oxen; (see Gaius 1.119-122).
- ad curam rei publicae: the senate decreed that Gaius and Lucius should participate in the business of the state (*consiliis publicis*) as soon as they had officially come of age and been introduced into public life (see 8.1 n. *quadriennio* and 38.2 n.). We know from Josephus that the first time Gaius attended Augustus' *consilium* (council of state) was when it considered what to do with Judaea on Herod's death (autumn 5 or spring 4 B.C.; Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* 17.229).
- consules designatos: much to Augustus' irritation, the people elected Gaius to a consulship in 6 B.C. when he was only fourteen and officially still a child. Both Gaius and Lucius were very popular, and in overruling this highly irregular election Augustus had to concede that they could hold the consulship when they were twenty and be officially designated five years before that: so Gaius became consul-designate in 5 B.C. for A.D. 1 and Lucius in 2 B.C. for A.D. 4. Gaius visited the armies in the Balkans and the Danube and took command of the latter in 1 B.C., preparatory to undertaking an expedition in the east which was to lead him to campaign in Arabia in A.D. 1 and ultimately to die at Limyra in Lycia, on February 21st A.D. 4, from a wound received at the siege of Artagira in Armenia (*ILS* 140 = *E-J*³ no.69; *Dio* 55.10.17-10a.9). Lucius was sent to visit the Spanish armies, but died at Marseilles on August 20th A.D. 2 (*ILS* 139 = *E-J*³ no.68).
- 64.2 diurnos commentarios: *GG* translate 'imperial day-book', which is possible, but otherwise unattested, and of obscure function. Suetonius more probably refers to the *acta diurna*, the daily public bulletin of official news, and means that Augustus expected his girls' conduct to be of a standard which would cause no embarrassment if reported in this publication.
- L. Vinicio: this eligible and distinguished young man was the son of the consul of 33 B.C. of the same name, and related to M. Vinicius
- (consul 19 B.C.), who was a personal friend of Augustus and an experienced commander of armies. He was of much the same age as Julia. Baiae, across the bay from Puteoli (Pozzuoli), was thick with the luxury seaside villas of the wealthy and powerful, and already by the 50s B.C. had become a byword for luxury, idleness and loose morals (Cicero, *Pro Caelio* 38; *D'Arms* 1970, 39-84).
- natare: 'swimming': so the MSS but Lipsius' conjecture *notare* 'to write shorthand' or 'in cipher' is very attractive (cf. 88).
- in imo lecto: at a formal dinner there were three couches, arranged in an open square, and the least honoured guests were placed on the 'bottom couch'. Adults reclined, but children were expected to sit up. (The Latin will also bear the interpretation 'they sat on the bottom of his couch', which is perhaps preferable as it removes the anomaly of the presence of children at a formal dinner, and the point of Suetonius' information here is that Augustus kept his grandsons in their place).
- 65.1 Iulias filiam et neptem: (a) his daughter was relegated by Augustus to the island of Pandateria (Ventotene) off the Campanian coast in 2 B.C. She was said to be at the centre of an adultery scandal. Five were implicated, including two ex-consuls: Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, Cornelius Scipio, Ap. Claudius Pulcher, T. Quinctius Crispinus Sulpicianus (consul 9 B.C.), and Iullus Antonius (consul 10 B.C.). The last, Antony's younger son by Fulvia but brought up by Octavia in the imperial household, was allowed to commit suicide; the others were all relegated (Velleius Paterculus 2.100.3-5; *Dio* 55.10.12-16). The number and nobility of the 'lovers' and the execution of Iullus Antonius (who was married to the elder Marcella - see 63.1) point to something more than a simple sex scandal. It is plausibly conjectured (e.g. by Syme 1939, 427 and Levick 1976, 41) that some treasonable intrigue was brewing. Adultery there may well have been; but it was not the heart of the matter.
- (b) The younger Julia was relegated in A.D. 8 to the island of Trimerus off the Apulian coast. Like her mother, she was accused of adultery, but again there is an oddity in that her lover D. Iunius Silanus was not exposed to the rigour of the courts but only sent into informal exile (Tacitus, *Ann.* 3.24.5). In the same year her brother Agrippa Postumus was relegated to Planasia near Elba and the poet Ovid, who moved in these circles, to Tomi near the Black Sea. Ovid is notoriously reticent about the precise nature of the 'error' which led to his exile, but leaves a reader in no doubt that it was a serious matter of state. Historians rightly sense a plot, but its nature is quite mysterious (see Levick 1976, 59f.; Syme 1978, 206f.; and cf. 19 n.vi).
- Gaium et Lucium: see 64.1 n. *consules designatos*.
- Agrippam: Agrippa Postumus, born in 12 B.C. after the death of his father, was adopted along with Tiberius by Augustus on June 26th A.D. 4. The *Lex curiata* was a law passed by the *comitia curiata*, an assembly which was an atrophied survival from the period of the kings; it was presided over by the *pontifex maximus* and the people were represented by thirty *lictors*. This assembly performed certain formal acts: conferment of *imperium* on magistrates, validation of wills, and installation of priests, apart from adoptions (*adrogatio*) of persons who, like Agrippa and Tiberius, were *sui iuris* (fully independent in law) and could not therefore be 'sold' as Gaius and Lucius were (Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 5.19;

Gaius 1.98ff.).

Since 25 B.C. Augustus' intended successors (Marcellus, Agrippa, Tiberius, Gaius) had all been either his sons-in-law or adopted sons. Tiberius had ceased to be his son-in-law (though remaining his step-son) when Augustus made him divorce Julia after her relegation in 2 B.C. Now that Gaius was dead and Tiberius recalled to public life after ten years' retirement, Augustus wished to mark him out as his heir beyond all doubt; he also gave him tribunician power for ten years, and *imperium* in all the imperial provinces. At the adoption Augustus said 'I do this for the sake of Rome' (Velleius Paterculus 2.104.1), a remark which has been variously interpreted but was surely only meant to deal with the legal point about his automatic acquisition of Tiberius' property (see below).

The adoption of Postumus is not so easily explained. He had done without a father all his life and without a mother since he was ten, and it is hard to avoid the conclusion, in the light of his later truculence, that Augustus wished to control him, as the only surviving male in the emperor's direct line, by bringing him under the control of his own *patria potestas*. A more charitable view would be that he wanted to give him the family name of Iulius, to his future advantage. But there was little question of succession to the purple, as Tiberius not only had a son of his own, Drusus, who was older than Agrippa, but had also by Augustus' express wish adopted Germanicus, who was a year or so older again than Drusus. It seems clear that Augustus intended the succession to pass via Tiberius to Germanicus, or failing him to Drusus. One indisputable legal consequence of Postumus' adoption was that the property which had come to him by his father's death now became Augustus' (an adopter had to swear an oath that his object was not to acquire property, since under Roman law only a person *sui iuris*, that is not in the *patria potestas* of another, could own property - Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 5.19). Augustus could not handle Postumus, and he first disinherited him and confined him to the imperial villa at Surrentum (A.D. 6 or 7), then (A.D. 7 or 8), finding no improvement, relegated him to Planasia (see below and 19.1 n.vi). The method of disinheritance practised against Postumus was *abdicatio*, forced emancipation. It was a savage measure, because by restoring Agrippa to the legal status he had possessed before his adoption, that of a free and independent individual, it cut him off from Augustus' family and deprived him not only of his status as Augustus' son but also of all right to the property which had once been his but had passed to Augustus at the time of the adoption (see Levick 1972). No wonder that Augustus found him querulous and intractable (and probably fomenting intrigue) at Surrentum, and left instructions that on his own death the guard commander on Planasia was to kill Postumus (which he did). It is not an accident that Suetonius here uses the word *ferox* to describe Postumus' character (*ingenium*): *ferocia* (unmanageability and liability to be violent) was a recognised ground for *abdicatio* (Quintilian, *Declamationes minores* 269 - 59 Ritter, and 279 - 139 Ritter).

65.2 per quaestorem: one of the quaestors was assigned to the emperor as a kind of combined ADC and parliamentary private secretary.

65.3 deprecanti saepe populo Romano: one such demonstration in

favour of Julia is recorded by Dio (55.13.1) under A.D. 3. Before Gaius' death in A.D. 4 Julia was after all the mother of the heir-apparent; and after it she and her friends stood for something less austere and more 'popular' than the ageing Augustus and his grim step-son Tiberius.

65.4 ex nepte Iulia...infantem: this infant was presumably the child of Iunius Silanus. On the birth of a child the father or someone acting for him (in this case Augustus, in virtue of *patria potestas*) formally recognised it, and if he did not it did not count in the family, regardless of whether it were kept alive.

Agrippam...in insulam: Agrippa was sent to Planasia, S.W. of Elba, in 7 or 8 A.D.

cavit etiam senatus consulto: why was a decree of the senate necessary to keep Postumus on his island? Perhaps because unlike his mother and sister he was guilty of no statutory crime and had therefore been relegated (like Ovid) by sheer imperial authority. Nor could Augustus claim to be exercising *patria potestas* once he had inflicted *abdicatio* on Postumus. Augustus wished, then, to provide some constitutional backing for his exercise of autocratic power.

αὐτῷ ὄφελον...κτλ.: 'I should have lived unwed and childless died'. Augustus has here altered the reproach of Hector to Paris at *Iliad* 3.40 ('You should have been unborn and died unwed') with a pun on ὄφελος = unborn/childless.

66-67 Suetonius now turns to the other two categories of social relations: dealings with legal equals ('friends') and with legal inferiors (freedmen and slaves). Recognition of just deserts and a disposition to clemency, or at least not to take little things too seriously, are the characteristics stressed.

66.1 Q. Salvidienus Rufus: older than Agrippa but like him of obscure and probably Central Italian ancestry (Syme 1939, 129), was also at Apollonia when the news came of Caesar's murder. He accompanied Augustus to Italy, and became one of the chief generals of Augustus' party. Instrumental in saving his leader from the Antonian armies in the war of Perusia, he was rewarded by being designated to the consulship of 39 B.C., though not yet even a senator. But in the months between the end of the war and the reconciliation of Augustus and Antony at Brundisium (see 17.1-2 n.) he began to negotiate his desertion from one to the other. If it had come to war between the two triumvirs, the defection of Salvidienus, who controlled the armies of Gaul and Spain, must have been decisive. There was no war, Salvidienus' disloyalty became known, and he was condemned by the senate and put to death (Dio 48.33.1-2; Velleius Paterculus 2.76.4). C. Cornelius Gallus: (born ca. 69 B.C.) another non-senator who rose very high in Augustus' service. He came from Forum Julii (Préjuss), and is supposed to have been instrumental in exempting the land of his friend Virgil from the allocations which he was making to the soldiers of the triumvirs in the Po valley in 42-40 B.C.

He then disappears from the record until 30 B.C., when, having commanded the army which had advanced through Cyrenaica to Alexandria, he was installed by Augustus as the first prefect of Egypt (see 18.2 n.). He offended the emperor by allowing himself to be honoured above his station (cf. Dio 53.23.5; E-J³ no. 21 = LR II, 45) and suffered *renuntiatio amicitiae* ('withdrawal of friendly relations') and banning from Augustus' provinces. Other enemies then accused him, and the senate voted that he should be condemned in the courts. He anticipated a formal verdict by committing suicide. These events occurred at some time between 28 and 26 B.C. Suetonius' words *ob ingratum et malevolum animum* ('on account of his ungrateful and malevolent disposition') do not fit Gallus' alleged misbehaviour in Egypt particularly well, nor is there anything very damning in Dio's report of his misdeeds, bearing in mind that (in Strabo's contemporary phrase) the prefect of Egypt 'has the rank of a king'. Maybe his true crime lay in opposing Augustus in Rome, and has nothing to do with Egypt. Augustus' action suggests that Gallus was not formally guilty of breaking any law; perhaps the accusations of arrogant behaviour in Egypt were trumped up in the wake of the emperor's displeasure. Gallus was also, at an earlier stage of his career, a poet much revered by Virgil (*Eclogue* 10) and the elegists (Propertius 2.34.91-2; Ovid, *Amores* 1.15.29-30) for his amatory verse, addressed to one Lycoris, whose real name was Vollumia Cytheris; she was an actress who had previously been the mistress of Antony. A papyrus fragment containing some elegiacs, which seem likely to be by him but do nothing to explain this reverence, has recently come to light in a rubbish deposit at Qasr Ibrîm in southern Egypt. The two complete couplets read (*JRS* 1979, 140, with spelling normalised):

fata mihi, Caesar, tum erunt mea dulcia, quum tu
maxima Romanae pars eris historiae
postque tuum reditum multorum templa deorum
fixa legam spoliis divitiora tuis.

(For a full treatment of Gallus' career and activity, see Boucher 1966). A noteworthy aspect of Gallus' fall is the part played by the senate, which foreshadows its later development as a court (cf. 33 n.ii). It is clear from Dio that the senate did not itself condemn Gallus, but passed a motion which amounted to an instruction to the courts; probably to the effect that Gallus had 'acted against the interests of the state' (*contra rem publicam fecisse* - cf. Cicero, *ad Quintum fratrem* 2.1.2 and 2.3.3). It was nothing new for the senate to indulge in such quasi-judicial activity: it summoned C. Gracchus and Fulvius Flaccus before it in 121 B.C. (Appian, *Bellum Civile* 1.26).

66.3 M. Agrippae patientiam: Agrippa's patience had good cause to be tested in 25-23 B.C. when Augustus seemed to be advancing his nephew Marcellus to be his successor. Augustus' own blood, young and untried, was evidently worth more than the immense experience, authority, ability, and loyal service of Agrippa. However, when it came to the point during Augustus' critical illness of 23 B.C. it was to Agrippa and not to Marcellus that he gave his signet-ring (see 50 n.). 'There were grounds for the opinion that, if Augustus died, Agrippa would make short work of the Princes' young nephew' (Syme 1939, 344). Subsequently, Agrippa left Rome with a grant of *imperium* (probably *maius*,

see Papyrus Coloniensis 4701 = E-J³ no. 366; Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* 15.350; Bringmann 1977) over the eastern provinces and made Mitylene his headquarters. As it happened, Marcellus died within two or three months. Suetonius goes further than Dio (53.32.1) in seeing an open rift between Augustus and Marcellus on the one hand and Agrippa on the other; his interpretation, like that of Velleius (2.93.2), must be coloured by his knowledge of Tiberius' (genuine) withdrawal from public life in 6 B.C. when Gaius and Lucius were receiving the same promotion as Marcellus had had. Syme (1939, 341ff.) is surely right to see in these events a victory for Agrippa in the dynastic struggle.

Maecenatis taciturnitatem: for the conspiracy of Murena, Maecenas' brother-in-law, see 19 n.ii. Maecenas is supposed to have told his wife Terentia that the plot had been discovered, and she to have warned her brother. Dio on the other hand says nothing of this when he is speaking of the conspiracy, but reports under 16 B.C. (54.19.3, cf. 55.7.5) a scandal which connected Terentia with Augustus (and may have been of long standing - cf. 69.2). Whatever the reason, Maecenas is not recorded as being involved in affairs of state between 23 and his death in 8 B.C. (The assertion of Furneaux on Tacitus, *Ann.* 3.30.6 that Maecenas 'retired' in 16 B.C. seems far too precise an inference from Dio.)

C. Maecenas, the wealthy, cultured, self-indulgent, subtle, and effeminate descendant of Etruscan kings, came of a family which had ties with Julius Caesar. He rapidly established himself as chief diplomat and adviser in the revolutionary party of Caesar's heir. He never became a senator or held a consulship, but as regent of Rome in Augustus' absence in 36 and 31-29 B.C. he wielded more power than any consul. His literary accomplishments and above all his patronage of Virgil and Horace have ensured him lasting fame; but like another of Augustus' equestrian friends, Vedius Pollio (see 29.4 n. *Porticus Liviae*; Syme 1961), his tastes and morals consorted ill with the avowed standards of the new age.

66.4 hereditates: it was the custom in a Roman will to recognise one's friends by leaving them legacies or by instituting them second (or third) heirs - in which case they would only inherit if the first (or second) heirs were unable or unwilling to enter, and to be named thus was simply a mark of honour. The reader gains the impression from this passage that Augustus had little interest in the money. In fact his finances depended on it: he received in this way, in the last twenty years of his life, 1,400 million HS (see 101.3), an immense sum. For comparison, his total expenditure on pensions and land for veterans and funding the *aerarium militare* (cf. 49 n.) was 1,430 million HS (RG 16-17).

67.1 Licinum et Celadum: Celadus is otherwise unknown, but Dio (54.21.3-8) says Licinus, who had originally been a Gallic captive of Caesar's was made procurator of Gaul by Augustus and enriched both himself and his patron at the expense of his fellow-Gauls.

Diomedes dispensatorem: 'keeper of the purse', 'bursar'. It is not clear from the context whether Diomedes was a slave or a freedman. There survives a funerary inscription (E-J³ 158 = HRFC II. 142) of a slave who was *dispensator* under Tiberius of the treasury of Gallia Lugdunensis and had no less than sixteen slaves of his own with him when he died on a visit to Rome.

67.2 Thallo a manu ... crura effregit: a manu is a general term for a secretary. The reading *ei fregit* of the better MS seems impossibly harsh, and *effringere* (properly 'to break open') is used by extension of bones other than the skull and rib-cage to which it is clearly appropriate. (Shuckburgh compares 94.7 *prandenti ... ei e manu rapuit*, but *ei prandenti* is not parallel to *ei Thallo*.)
paedagogum: a boy's tutor was regularly a slave. It is remarkable that Gaius, a consul of the Roman people, still had a *paedagogus* at the time of his death. And what, one might ask, were Gaius' entourage of advisers doing while these slaves were putting on airs? The tale is difficult to believe, even allowing for the fact that slaves might suffer *recherché* punishments unknown to the law of free men.

68-78 These chapters deal with Augustus' pleasures and relaxations. In good rhetorical fashion, Suetonius puts the most discreditable material first and specifically ascribes much of it to Antony, then palliates the undeniable charges of adultery (by citing Livia's complicity) and fondness for gambling (by proving his generosity), before moving on at 72 to calmer waters where he can pronounce Augustus free of all vice: the emperor's houses were modest, or at least modestly equipped (72-73), his dress unremarkable (73), his dinner-parties proper (74), his liberality witty (75), his taste in food and drink plebeian and careless (76-77). Finally comes a chapter on his sleeping habits which is simply descriptive - and unintentionally revealing, because for once information is presented which lies outside, and so makes the reader aware of, the framework of moral approval and disapproval which structures the whole work and is particularly evident in this section of it.

68 *effeminatum*: the charge of homosexual effeminacy was routine in the political invective of the time - cf. Cicero, *pro Caelio* 6: 'that sort of slander is very common in the case of any young man of good looks and handsome appearance'. It was alleged, e.g. against Caesar (DI 49; Catullus 29 and 57) and Antony (Cicero, *Philippics* 2.44).
gallo matris Deum tympanizante: one of the titles of Cybele was Mother of the Gods. Her priests were eunuchs and called *galli*. In the popular mind castration and passive homosexuality were connected, so that *cinaedus* was an appropriate in its literal meaning to the *gallus* as to young Augustus. *orbem temperat* means 'plays the drum' and 'rules the world'. The theatre audience was quick to pick up such references (cf. Cicero, *ad Atticum* 2.19.3: the line *nostra miseria tu es magnus ...* was made an occasion for a demonstration against Pompey in 59 B.C.). The present episode must belong to the period of the triumvirate, probably 41-39 B.C.

69.1 *adulteria*: the justification advanced by Augustus' friends for his proclivities in this direction recalls the explanation of the Perusine war given at 15.
M. Antonius ... obiecit: for the occasion of Antony's *invectives*,

see 2.3 n.
festinatias Liviae nuptias ... dimissam Scriboniam: see 62.2, where Augustus' version of Scribonia's divorce will be found, and 62.2 n. conditions: this is the technical word for sexual assignments - cf. Cicero, *pro Caelio* 36.

denudarent ... tamquam Toranio mangone vendente: this Toranius is not to be confused with Augustus' guardian at 27.1. Slave-dealers would be asked to strip slaves naked so that the purchaser could be sure there were no hidden physical defects.

69.2 Antony's letter:

The letter from which this passage is an extract can be dated to the spring of 33 B.C., nine years, by inclusive reckoning, from the first meeting of Antony and Cleopatra in 41 B.C. It was at the beginning of 33 B.C., after receiving the news of the 'Donations of Alexandria' (by which Antony the previous autumn had created his children by Cleopatra monarchs of certain territories within the Roman sphere of influence) that Augustus first publicly attacked his triumphal colleague. The letter is a precious piece of evidence for Antony's attitude to Augustus at this time - pained, basically friendly, and incredulous at the grounds of attack, which were clearly a case of the pot calling the kettle black. *uxor mea est?*: 'Is she my wife?' All editors hitherto have mis-punctuated the vital words by leaving out the question mark. The line of Antony's defence is that he has done nothing that Augustus has not, and between friends what does the odd peccadillo matter anyway? Antony happened to be married to Augustus' sister, and did not divorce her until mid-32 B.C. Therefore to state that Cleopatra was his wife, quite apart from being impossible in Roman law as he could not be married to two women at once, would be to make complete nonsense of his whole argument. What is needed, as was pointed out by Kraft (1967c) is a *denial* that Cleopatra was his wife. The argument requires that she stand in the same relation to him as Tertulla and the others do to Augustus. These conditions are perfectly fulfilled by restoring the missing question-mark - which has the further advantage of producing a satisfactory string of short, pointed questions, to none of which does the writer need to supply an answer.

Terentilla: a diminutive of Terentia, very probably Maecenas' wife (see 66.3 n.). The other women elude identification.

70.1 *cena ... secretior*: the winter of 39-38 B.C., when there were difficulties with the corn supply in Rome is a plausible time for this notorious 'banquet of the twelve gods', but any time before 32 B.C. is possible. The twelve gods were presumably the twelve Olympians: Juno, Vesta, Minerva, Ceres, Diana, Venus, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Neptune, Vulcan, and Apollo (so Ennius, *Annales* 63-64V). Antony's intimates indulged in similar fancy-dress frolics: at one of these *Plancus*, naked, covered in blue paint, and equipped with a tail, played the part of a sea-god (Velleius Paterculus 2.83.2).

The verses of the lampoon pose difficulties:

line 1 The problem is the meaning of *mensa*. Heinsius proposed to read *cum mimum histrorum conduxit mensa choragi* - 'when the table of the producer had collected a troupe of actors', but this only avoids one difficulty, the otherwise unexampled use of *mensa* to mean 'guests at table', by creating two others, that is making the table 'collect' people,

and imposing on *mimum* (itself a conjecture) the extremely strained meaning of 'troupe'. It is better to stay with the traditional interpretation of *mensa* and translate: 'as soon as that table-full of diners had found themselves a producer (i.e. Augustus)'.

Line 2 *Mallia* remains a mystery. It may go with *mensa* (Mallius' table), but is most plausibly the name either of a house (*Mallia domus*) where such risqué entertainments took place, or of its hostess.

Line 3 *mendacia ludit* 'plays lies' is a very bold but perfectly intelligible internal accusative. The construction is a favourite one with the poets: an Augustan example of similar boldness is Propertius 1.13.23. *flagrans amor Herculis Heben*. It is incorrect to assert, with Adams, that *mendacium* here means *simulatio* ('imitation'); the lampoonist clearly intends us to understand that Augustus' role-playing traduced the god.

Line 4 *cenat adulteria* 'dines adulteries' is an astonishing, but in its context still quite comprehensible, example of the same construction as *mendacia ludit* above.

Line 6 *thronos* is by nearly a hundred years the earliest use of this Greek word for the native Latin *solium*, the next user being the elder Pliny (NH 2.178, 35.63). The first of Pliny's references uses the Greek form of the accusative, *thronon*, and the second, like the present passage, speaks of the throne of Jupiter. So there is reason to believe that the word was still felt to be Greek. It thus provides an echo for the Greek term *choragum* in the first line and is completely fitting in verses whose target was vulgarly described by a Greek word. There is no need, then, to question either (with Adams) the triumphal date of the lines or (with Bentley) the soundness of the text of the last line.

70.2 Apollinem ... Tortorem: 'Apollo the Torturer' is not known elsewhere. The cult may have been in the district of Rome where instruments of punishment and torture, and their operators, were to be obtained; cf. 'Apollo of the Sandalmakers', 57.1.

Corinthiaribus: a joke formation after the pattern of nouns denoting occupation - 'a Corinthian-bronzer'. This bronze was an alloy of copper with gold and/or silver, according to Pliny (NH 34.6-8). Since Corinth was burnt in 146 B.C. (giving rise to the absurd story that the alloy was produced by the chance of the fire) and since the famous bronze workshops had in any case ceased to produce masterpieces some time previously, genuine Corinthian bronzes, whether dishes or statues, were antiques much sought after by wealthy Roman collectors. Pliny credits Antony with proscribing Verres and Cicero because he coveted their Corinthian bronzes. For the proscriptions see 27.1-4 n., and for Augustus' father as a banker, which Suetonius denies, 3.1.

postquam bis classe ...: the two fleets were destroyed in 38 B.C. - see 16.1 n. The couplet, in the six-foot iambic line of the dramatic stage, is mock-tragic in tone and may well have been a parody.

71.1 impudicitia: this word refers back to the charges made in 68, while *libidines* below, at the start of the next sentence, refers to 69. *murrinum calicem*: 'murrine' vessels were of Eastern origin and inordinately prized at Rome. The identification of *murra* as 'agate' (so GG) is not certain, and it may be flourspar: see Pliny, NH 37.18-22 and Eichholz's note on the passage in the Loeb edition.

aleae rumorem: a law against gambling existed at the end of the third century B.C. (Plautus, *Miles Gloriosus* 164) and an associate of Antony's was actually condemned under such a law in the late Republic (Cicero, *Philippics* 2.56). However, we do not know what its provisions were, and it is quite clear that public disapproval was minimal by Augustus' day (cf. Ovid, *Tristia* 2.471ff.; *Claud.* 33.2). Some kind of law continued to exist under the Empire, directed rather against professionals and those who made a habit of gaming in public places than against people who liked a flutter at dinner (*Digest* 11.5; *Martial* 5.84.3-5 and 14.1.3). *Decembri mense*: at the festival of the Saturnalia, which fell on December 17th-23rd, many of the rules and conventions of every day behaviour were traditionally ignored or upset.

71.2 Vinicius et Silius pater: these were two stalwarts of the regime: M. Vinicius, who attained a (suffect) consulship in 19 B.C., was a new man, son of a local worthy of Calles in Campania, and had a long and distinguished military career. P. Silius Nerva (consul 20 B.C.), whose father had attained the praetorship in the 50s B.C., showed similar military competence in Spain and Illyricum between 19 and 16 B.C. The sons of both men duly held consulships, in A.D. 2 and A.D. 3 respectively. *geronticos*: a transliteration of the Greek adverb 'like old men'. *talis ... canem aut senionem ... Venerem*: the sort of dice known as *tali* had four faces, marked one (*canis*, 'the dog'), three (*ternio*), four (*quaternio*), and six (*senio*). 'Venus' was the throw (with four *tali*) which showed one of each value.

71.3 quinquatrus: this festival, originally of one day, the fifth after the Ides, had developed by the historical period into a five-day holiday (March 19th-23rd) in honour of Minerva, patron goddess of craft workers; see Ovid, *Fasti* 3.809ff.

forum aleatorium: 'the Gambling Exchange': the regular Latin for a gaming table is *tabula* or *alveus*. Augustus' expression is a joke, alluding to such terms as *forum hollitorium* 'the vegetable market'. (Hence my preference for the Renaissance emendation of the MS' *aleatorium*.) *manus*: 'stakes'. The pool was called *aes manuarium* (Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 18.13.4).

71.4 *par impar ludere*: 'to play at odd and even': one player held some nuts, or similar small objects, in his hand, and the other had to guess whether there was an odd or even number of them.

72.1 *Scalae anulariae*: 'the Ring-makers' Steps'. Lugli (Fontes, xix.135) places these at the foot of the Palatine, presumably somewhere near the northern corner of the hill. There exists no other reference to them or to Calvus' house.

Calvi oratoris: C. Licinius Calvus, a friend and contemporary of Catullus, was a poet of distinction (author of the epyllion *Smyrna* or *Myrrha*) as well as one of the notable orators of the day (Cicero, *Brutus* 283-5). He died before 46 B.C., while still in his late twenties or early thirties.

in Palatio ... *aedibus modicis Hortensianis*: in the late Republic the Palatine had become the most fashionable residential quarter of Rome. Q. Hortensius Hortalus (consul 69 B.C.) had been the leading orator in Rome before the rise of Cicero. He died in 50 B.C., presumably leaving

the property to his son Quintus who fought against the triumvirs at Philippi and was afterwards put to death. Augustus will therefore have acquired the house, now forfeit to the state, in 42 or 41 B.C.

The site lies between the Temple of Apollo (see 29.3) and the *Scalae Caci* on the south-west escarpment of the hill. Recent excavations have recovered the ground-floor rooms of the private wing of the house, two of which contain fine and well-preserved examples of 'second-style' wall-painting, and are in course of revealing a more official suite, whose construction looks to be integral with that of the podium and access ramp of the Temple of Apollo above and behind them. These rooms likewise have yielded wall-paintings of the superb quality one might expect in the First Citizen's residence. The two sets of rooms form a right angle and look on to a peristyle courtyard whose other two sides have not been investigated. The house is large by the standards of other late Republican dwellings on the cramped sites of the Palatine: Suetonius judges it by the scale, not only of the palaces of the later emperors, but of luxury villas of Augustus' own day set in less trammelled surroundings. In fact, Augustus intended to enlarge it considerably, but decided to use all (or most) of the additional property he had bought for this purpose by building instead the temple and libraries of Palatine Apollo (Velleius Paterculus 2.81.3). Thus he forfeited some private luxury and convenience; but all Rome was made aware that the son of one god shared his house with another. Dio (49.15.5) says that the people in return voted a house to him at public expense. Unless this is Hortensius', it appears that he refused it. See Carettoni 1967 and 1978; Coarelli 1974, 141-4; and for a contemporary impression, Ovid, *Tristia* 3.1.33ff.

Albanarum columnarum: columns made of stone from the nearby Alban Hills were in stark contrast with the luxury marbles from Africa and the eastern Mediterranean which were newly fashionable (Pliny, *NH* 36.48ff.).

72.2 Syracusas et technophyon: there are no compelling reasons for altering the MS reading *technophyon* (not found elsewhere) to *technophion* (not found anywhere). The elements of the word mean 'scheme-generating' and this is precisely what is required; a better form would be *technophyon*, perhaps the true reading. As to 'Syracuse', the reason for the name is a mystery; perhaps the place was effectively an island, like Ortygia, the original heart of Syracuse, or was extremely difficult to penetrate, like the defences of the town in the hands of a Dionysius or an Archimedes. There is no evidence to suggest that it formed part of the house on the Palatine; the verb *transibat* ('went across') might indicate that it was on the Janiculum (across the river) or on the Aventine (across the valley of the Circus Maximus).

ex secessibus: 'country retreats': wealthy Romans were apt to own several of these, because land was the major source of their wealth and the only safe haven for capital. They were, for the most part, productive agricultural estates on which the owner might, or might not, choose to erect a luxury villa. The apparent exceptions are the maritime villas which clustered thickly around the Bay of Naples and extended all along the Tyrrhenian coast, but recent research has shown that these too could generate income by fish-farming and exploitation of the hinterland (D'Arms 1977).

Imperial villas of Augustan date in and around the Bay of Naples are

known on Capreae and Pandateria and at Surrentum, Baiiae, Pausilypon (between Naples and Puteoli), Nola, and Boscorease (on all of which, see D'Arms 1970). Most of these have been located, but the sites of those in the fashionable hill-towns within easy reach of Rome, Lanuvio, Palestrina, and Tivoli (to give them their modern names) remain unidentified.

73 togis neque restrictis nec fuis: Augustus wished to avoid Caesar's idiosyncratic style; but excessive restriction of the toga, such as Cato adopted, was as much of an affectation as the over-luxurious fullness of that of Maecenas (*DJ* 45.3; Seneca, *Epistulae Morales* 92.35 and 114.4).

clavo nec lato nec angusto: the broad stripe on the toga indicated a senator, the narrow a member of the equestrian order.

74 Valerius Messallia: see 58.1 n.

Mena: the ex-slave Menas (otherwise known as Menodorus) was one of the admirals of Sextus Pompeius. In 38 B.C. he betrayed to Augustus Corsica and Sardinia with three legions and the fleet he commanded; in 37 he rejoined Sextus; and in 36 B.C. he changed sides a third time after demonstrating his prowess by a brilliant surprise attack on Augustus' supply-ships. His reward, to be 'deemed of free birth', and the dinner Suetonius records, surely belong to 38 B.C.

speculator: originally a 'scout', this came to be the term for members of the imperial bodyguard attached to the praetorian cohorts. There is no reason to believe that this man was a freedman; the point is that Augustus was not too superior to dine with the most ordinary people if the circumstances called for it.

triviales ... ludios: 'street buskers'. *ex circo* does not mean that such people were part of the official programme at the circus (as *GG* rather imply), but that the circus area was where they could be found (cf. Horace, *Satires* 1.6.113 and Cicero, *de Divinatione* 1.132).

aretalogos: hardly 'storytellers' (*GG*), but popular and rather specious disputers on philosophical topics (Juvenal 15.16 and Acro on Horace, *Satires* 1.1.120). The currently popular *suasoriae*, hypothetical speeches of advice given to historical (or fictional) characters at moments of crisis, presented with all the gilding of rhetorical artifice, were an analogous diversion for the educated.

75 Saturnalibus: it was the custom to give small presents especially at the Saturnalia (see 71.1 n.). Martial, Book XIV is a collection of riddling couplets describing such things, and no doubt contains exactly the sort of material which accompanied Augustus' gifts.

nummos ... regios: even if some Romans thought, erroneously, that their coinage went back to the regal period, there were of course no specimens for Augustus to distribute. The reference must be to coins of Hellenistic kings.

per singulos lectos licitatio: 'bidding by couches': the usual arrangement at a formal dinner was for guests to recline three to a couch.

76 ne Iudaeus quidem: Augustus' mistake in thinking that Jews kept the Sabbath as a fast proves that he was not on intimate terms with any of that race.

manducavi: 'I ate'. This, the ordinary word, was avoided in literature,

82.2 *nervorum causa*: literally 'on account of his muscles'; this could mean 'rheumatism' (so GG), but could equally well describe all sorts of other complaints.

Albulis calidis: supply the noun *aguis*, 'the warm waters of Albulae', sulphur springs between Rome and Tibur, the modern Bagni di Tivoli.

83 *segestri*: the most likely correction for *MS sestertio*. The word means some kind of leather sheet or strip, Varro's etymology from *seges* 'straw' (*de Lingua Latina* 5.166) not being borne out by the other evidence. Here, then, 'a leather cloak'.

84-89 Augustus' literary tastes, accomplishments, and style. These chapters demonstrate Suetonius' familiarity with Augustus' writings, both public and private, also evidenced at DJ 55.3-4.

84 *non deficeretur*: 'he was not failed by', i.e. he was not lacking in, an ability to speak extempore.

85.1 *rescripta Bruto de Catone*: M. Brutus was the son of Cato's half-sister Servilia, and also his son-in-law. Cato's determination, character, and consciously old-fashioned rectitude made him a leader of the resistance to Caesar, and his suicide at Utica in 46 B.C., in preference to surrender to Caesar, transformed him into a kind of Republican saint and martyr. Panegyrics of him are known to have been composed by Cicero, M. Fabius Gallus, and (L?) Munatius (Plancus?), as well as by Brutus himself, and answers by A. Hirtius and Caesar (Cicero, *ad Atticum* 12.4.2, 12.21.1, 12.40.1 and 13.46.2; *ad Familiares* 7.24.2; Plutarch, *Cato Minor* 37.1). It is a little surprising to find the elderly emperor raking over the ashes of an old (though still relevant) dispute; perhaps the incident indicates some revival, in high places, of sympathy for the ideals of Caesar's opponents.

de Vita Sua: this work was well known to, and used by, both Suetonius and Plutarch. It is likely that the extant portion of Nicolaus of Damascus' *Life* is based on it. Suetonius does not suggest that the work was unfinished, and the Cantabrian War (see 20) made a very suitable point for Augustus to stop writing. It was his final campaign as a front-line commander and immediately preceded his retirement from the highest executive position in the state, which he had held, with the exception of the year 32, continuously from 43 to 23 B.C. After this 'retirement' his public accountability became less, his prestige greater, and his actions stood in little need of justification. The developments in the nature and institutions of the principate which modern historians discern in the rest of Augustus' long reign were not the stuff of which autobiography was made - even if the participants were fully aware of them.

85.2 *Epigrammatum*: one of Augustus' epigrams, written at the time of the war of Perusia, is preserved by Martial (11.20. 3-8). *Aiacem suum in spongiam incubuisse*: in the legend Ajax commits suicide by falling on his sword. A sponge was used by Romans for wholesale erasure of writing in ink (Martial 4.10). According to Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 2.4.2), it was L. Varius, famous as Virgil's literary executor,

but survived in common speech to become Italian *mangiare*, French *manger*.

77 *Cornelius Nepos*: a friend and approximate contemporary of Cicero - a literary figure who wrote (apart from the extant 'Short Lives of the Famous') biography, geography, and poetry, and was the dedicatee of Catullus' collection of verse. He died some time after 27 B.C. (elder Pliny, *NH* 9.137).

senos sextantes: a *sextans* was one-sixth of the liquid measure a *sextarius*, which approximated to a pint. It is probable that Augustus' three after-supper drinks in camp were each of a *cyathus* (half a *sextans*), the normal amount for one cup (Horace, *Odes* 3.8.13; Ovid, *Fasti* 3.532).

79-83 Augustus' physical appearance, health, and diversions.

79.2 *oculos ... claros et nitidos*: it may well be true that Augustus had unusual eyes, though his portraits do not suggest it (see Zanker 1973). The elder Pliny (*NH* 11.143) says that they shone like a horse's and had abnormally large whites, which caused him to be sensitive if people looked intensely into them. Suetonius' mention of the 'divine force' of his gaze takes us into the world of Alexander-imagery (see 50 n.) again. Alexander was famous for his superhuman gaze, while the 'radiance of the sun' was clearly an appropriate attribute for the face of a ruler who had a special relationship with the sun-god Apollo.

Iulius Marathus libertus et a memoria eius: 'his freedman and keeper of records'. Marathus (cf. 94.3) doubtless cashed in on the curiosity of Romans, after Augustus' death, to know this kind of personal detail - and he will not have been alone: Suetonius is extremely unlikely, even in his boyhood, to have met anyone who could have described Augustus from personal recollection. (et a *memoria* is an emendation of Lipsius for the impossible *etiam memoria* of the MS: the office a *memoria* is not epigraphically attested until the reign of Hadrian - *CIL* 6.8618 - but is clearly one of the main clerical departments of the imperial household and thus likely to go back in origin to Augustus - see Weaver 1972.) *quinque pedum et dodrantis*: five and three-quarter Roman feet works out at about 5'7" since a Roman foot is 1/3" shorter than ours.

80 *remedio harenarum et harundinum*: this 'remedy of sand and reeds' seems to have been some kind of poultice. Both substances are credited with drawing powers when heated or pounded (Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 19.8.3; elder Pliny, *NH* 24.87, 31.72). Augustus' infirmity may be connected with the injuries he received in the Dalmatian war (see 20). *digitum salutarem*: the forefinger was called the 'greeting finger' because it was extended when the right hand and arm were raised in salutation. The gesture is exactly illustrated in the famous statue of Augustus in armour from Prima Porta, now in the Vatican.

81.1 *Antonio Musa*: see 59.

81.2 *natalem suum*: his birthday was September 23rd (see 5)

82.1 *Praeneste vel Tibur*: normally reckoned to be within an easy day's journey; being 37 and 31.5 km. respectively, by road, distant from the centre of Rome.

to whom Augustus made this reply.

86.1 *sententiarum ineptis et concinnitate*: declamation, the delivery of an extempore speech of advice or legal argument on a set topic before an audience, had recently become a fashionable form of entertainment in literary circles in Rome. The extreme artificiality of the exercise meant that the superficial stylistic tricks, like striking phrases or epigrams (*sententiae*) and mellifluous arrangements of words (*concinnitas*), won applause and counted for more than logical argument and clear exposition; (see elder Seneca, *Controversiae et Suasoriae*; younger Seneca, *Epistulae Morales* 114.10-11; Clarke 1953, especially ch.8: and for discussion and examples, Winterbottom, *Roman Declamation* (BCP, 1979).

reconditorum verborum fetoribus: fetor ('stink') is nowhere else found as a literary metaphor. Augustus was presumably satirising the very taste for obscure words and usages which he was criticising.

86.2 *cacozelos*: a Greek word - 'bad stylists'. Their fault is defined by Quintilian (8.3.58) as speaking 'otherwise than is natural or right or sufficient'. Agrippa accused Maecenas of inciting Virgil to invent a new sort of 'bad style' (Donatus, *Vita Virgilia* 11.180-183). *myrobrechis* (μυροβρεχίς) *concinno*: 'ringleaders wet with perfume', another sarcastic exaggeration of critical vocabulary along the lines of the fault criticised. Maecenas was notorious for the luxurious decadence alike of his morals, his way of life, and his literary style. Cicero uses the metaphor of 'curling-tongs' (*calamistri*) when discussing style.

86.3 *Imberius Veranius Flaccus*: T. Annius Cimber was a partisan of Antony in 44-43 B.C. There survives an epigram attributed to Virgil which attacks him for his conceits of style and alludes to the charge made by Cicero that he had murdered his brother (Quintilian 8.3.28; Cicero, *Philippics* 11.14). Nothing is known of Veranius Flaccus unless he is to be identified with the Veranius who is cited by Festus and Macrobius as a late Republican writer on legal and religious topics. *Crispus Sallustius*: Sallust (C. Sallustius Crispus, 86-34 B.C.), author of the two extant historical monographs *On the Jugurthine War* and *On the Catilinarian Conspiracy* and also of the lost *Histories* (covering 78-67 B.C.), was the first Latin prose author to indulge in conscious archaism. The elder Cato's *Origines*, an idiosyncratic account of Roman history, written c. 160 B.C., was the earliest work of Latin prose literature. To plunder it was therefore to go as far back as possible in the quest for archaic vocabulary.

Asiaticorum oratorum: Augustus was alluding to a well-known literary controversy, to which Cicero's stylistic treatise the *Orator* owes its existence. 'Asiatic' oratory, luxuriant, soft, and highly ornamented, was contrasted to 'Attic', spare, direct, and unaffected. To the Asianists, Attic style was jejune and boring, to the Atticists, Asian was long-winded and frigid.

87.1 *Kalendas Graecas*: 'the Greek Kalends', i.e. never, since the Greek calendar had no such day. Debts were commonly scheduled to be repaid on the first of the month.

hoc Catone: commentators cite Macrobius 2.4.18: 'when Strabo, in

flattery of Caesar, condemned Cato, Augustus said "Anyone who does not want the existing political order changed is a good citizen and a good man". This does not seem to be relevant to the present passage, where 'Cato' must stand for some kind of imperfection: the obstructionist, the 'fly in the ointment'. Perhaps the text is corrupt.

87.2 *betizare...lachanizare*: 'to be (limp as) a beetroot'... 'to be (limp as) a vegetable'. Both verbs show the mixture of Greek and Latin words and forms which occurred in popular speech in Rome and the Campanian cities and can be found reproduced in Petronius. *domuos*: this is the ancient form of the genitive of the fourth declension, cf. *senatus* in the senatorial decree of 186 B.C. on the Bacchanalian 'conspiracy' (*FIRA* 1. no.30).

89.1 *Graecarum disciplinarum*: 'Greek learning' included not only the study of Greek language and literature, but particularly the discipline of philosophy. Greek teachers and philosophers are found in the entourage of Roman grandees from the second century B.C. and played an important part in the educational and intellectual life of Rome.

Apollodorus of Pergamum: is known as the author of an influential, but dry, manual of rhetoric (Quintilian, 3.1.17; Tacitus, *Dialogus* 19.3). He died at the age of 82, having lived at least long enough after the trip to Apollonia (see 8.2) to profit from his association with Augustus (Strabo 13.4.3).

Aeneius of Alexandria: seems to have succeeded Apollodorus as Augustus' teacher. One of the reasons for which Augustus pardoned Alexandria for its resistance to him in 30 B.C. was that 'his friend Aeneius' was a citizen of the place. Aeneius later served Augustus as imperial procurator in Sicily, and was offered, but declined, an important post (probably that of *Idios Logos*) in the administration of his native Egypt (see Bowersock 1965).

comoedia veteri: 'Old Comedy' is that of Athens in the fifth century B.C., associated above all with the name of Aristophanes.

89.2 *Q. Metelli de prole augenda*: Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus, in his capacity as censor in 131 B.C., delivered a speech exhorting all Romans to take wives - not for pleasure, for which purpose bachelor life was much better, but to ensure the continuance of the race (*OFF* 107).

The occasion of Augustus' citation must have been the introduction of his *lex de maritandis ordinibus* (see 34.1 n.)

Rutili de modo aedificiorum: Rutilius will be either P. Rutilius Lupus (consul 90 B.C.) or, more probably, P. Rutilius Rufus (consul 105 B.C.), who gains a mention as an orator in Cicero's *Brutus* (110 f.) and wrote an autobiography (Tacitus, *Agricola* 1). The increase in the city population and the improvements in the techniques of using concrete which occurred in the second century B.C. produced ever taller buildings in the centre of Rome. Such structures overshadowed the narrow streets and were not always soundly built; hence Augustus imposed a height limit of 70 feet (Vitruvius 2.8.8 and 17; Strabo 5.3.7).

Commissionibus: contests of public speaking, at which praise of the

emperor afforded an eminently suitable subject; for such a contest at Lugdunum, cf. *Caligula* 20.

90-96 By reserving to the end of the 'personal' section of the work his description of Augustus' attitudes to the supernatural (90-93), Suetonius prepares the ground for the immediately subsequent account of the signs and prodigies which marked Augustus out as a man who enjoyed the special favour of the gods (94-96). Thus he recapitulates the motif of Augustus' extraordinary, indeed superhuman, nature, which concludes the 'public' section. Trivialities dealt with, we return in these chapters to the underlying greatness of the man, but presented this time in relation not to the temporal world, but to the divine.

90 pellem vituli marini: seals were supposed to be immune to lightning-strike (elder Pliny, *NH* 2.146).
ut praediximus: Augustus' escape from lightning is described at 29.3.

91.1 amici somnio: Augustus' dreaming 'friend' was his doctor Artorius, according to Velleius (2.70.1).

91.2 Tonanti Iovi: see 29.3n.
tintinnabulis: bells may seem a surprising adornment for a temple gable, but note Varro's account of the tomb of Porsena of Clusium, composed of five pyramids, on top of which '...there rests a bronze disc and cupola, from which hang bells fastened by chains, which when shaken by the wind can be heard afar' (elder Pliny, *NH* 36.92). Dio (54.4.4) explains the bell as being that appropriate to a night-watchman.

stipem quotannis: for this annual 'contribution', cf. 57.1. It appears to be different from the two there mentioned. Dio (54.35.3) is sceptical of the story, but to play the beggar for a day might be a way of averting divine jealousy by showing humility.

92.1 calceus perperam: the detail about wrong shoes comes from Augustus himself, who retailed a story connecting them with bad luck (elder Pliny, *NH* 2.24)
palmam: the palm was an emblem of victory
compluvium decorum Penatium: the *di Penates* were the household gods of the individual family. The Roman state also collectively worshipped those *Penates* which Aeneas is supposed to have brought from Troy, under the name of *di Penates Publici*. Augustus built a temple for them on the Velia, where they were represented by statues of two young men, and it appears therefore that the cult had to some extent become fused with that of the Dioscuri (Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 1.68; *RG* 19; see also Ogilvie's commentary on Livy 1.1.10). The *compluvium* here referred to should be that of the shrine on the Velia, because Augustus, through the Iulii, claimed descent from Aeneas. His own *Penates* were therefore none other than those brought by Aeneas from Troy. (The translation of *GG*, though technically accurate, gives a misleading impression.)

92.2 Aenaria: modern Ischia. Augustus exchanged it for Capri in 29 B.C. (Dio 52.43.2).
dies quosdam: Kalends, Nones (especially), and Ides were all unlucky, and the days following them worse (Varro, *de Lingua Latina* 6.29; Ovid, *Fasti* 1.57-8). *Nundinae* fell every 'ninth' (to us, eighth) day and were days on which no public business could be done, but do not seem otherwise to have been considered unlucky unless they fell on the first day of the year (Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.13.17).

δυστυχία nominis: 'the unlucky sound of the word', i.e. *non-is* = you do not proceed. In this matter of superstition, Augustus affords a clear contrast to Julius Caesar, who was contemptuous of such things (*DJ* 59).

93 Athenis initiatus: Augustus was admitted as an initiate of the mystery cult of Demeter (the 'Attic Ceres') and Persephone at Eleusis, near Athens, in the autumn of 31 B.C., after his victory at Actium.
Apis: Apis was the sacred bull of Memphis in Egypt, which gave oracles in the name of the god Ptah and at death was embalmed and buried as Osiris-Apis.

94.2 saepius...cum populo Romano belligeraverant: the 'rebellions' (as they are presented in Livy) of Velitrae against Rome belong to the fourth century B.C., when the hold of Rome over Latium was far from secure. Velitrae finally lost her independence in 338 B.C., when Rome broke up the Latin League, and some, if not all, of her citizens had acquired full Roman citizenship before the Hannibalic War (see 2).

94.3 Iulius Marathus: see 79.2 n.
senatus consultum ad aerarium deferretur: decrees of the senate were not valid until they had been deposited at the treasury, in the Temple of Saturn. This was a relic of the concession granted by the Valerio-Horatian laws of 449 B.C., whereby the decisions of the senate (i.e., in effect, the patricians) were made available to the people by being handed over to the plebeian aediles for safe keeping at the Temple of Ceres.

94.4 Asclepiades: from Mendes in the Nile delta, wrote (according to the Suda - s.v. 'Ἰσκληπιάδης') a 'harmony' (*symphonia*) of all religions - presumably the work here referred to by Suetonius.
Atiam: see 4.; her experience is related also by Dio (45.1.2) who follows it with her dream, and that of Octavius, told in such a way as to make it certain either that Dio was drawing directly on Suetonius or, more probably, that both men took their information from Asclepiades (see Introduction p. 7).

94.5 Catilinae coniuratione: if this report is sound, it is evidence that the senate discussed the conspiracy of Catiline before October 21, the date when Cicero used information about the revolutionary activities of Catiline's partisan C. Manlius in Etruria to persuade the senate to pass the so-called 'last decree' (*senatus consultum ultimum*), which called upon the consuls to be vigilant and active in defence of the state.

P. Nigidium: P. Nigidius Figulus, senator and friend of Cicero, attained the praetorship in 58 B.C., supported Pompey in the civil war, fought at Pharsalus, and died in exile unreconciled to Caesar in 45/44 B.C.

He was one of the most learned men of his age, versed in philosophical, antiquarian, religious, and astronomical matters, and there is still extant, in the Greek translation of John the Lydian, Nigidius' version of an Etruscan calendar dealing with the interpretation of thunder.

94.6 fulmine et sceptro...: apart from the thunderbolt, these are all the attributes of Jupiter Optimus Maximus which were adopted for the day of his triumph by a *triumphator* (see 38.1 n.). The unusual number of twelve white horses may allude to the number of a consul's fasces, or of the vultures seen by Romulus at the founding of the city (cf. 95).
C.Drusum: otherwise unknown.

94.8 Q.Catulus post dedicatum Capitolium: Q. Lutatius Catulus (consul 78 B.C.) was placed, after Sulla's death, in charge of the rebuilding of the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol, which had been burnt down in 83 B.C. According to Livy's epitomator (98), he dedicated the temple in 69 or 68 B.C., but the fact that Julius Caesar attempted to deprive Catulus of his post on January 1 62 B.C. (DJ 15), must show that the work was still not complete at that date. Even so, Catulus died at the latest in May of 60 B.C. (Cicero, *ad Atticum* 1.20.3), when Augustus was only two and a half, and the story can scarcely be authentic.

94.9 M. Cicero: Cicero himself does not relate this dream, although the *Philippics* would have given him an excellent excuse for so doing. It is certainly apocryphal.

94.10 tunica lati clavi: Augustus assumed the *toga virilis* in 48-47 B.C. (see 8.1). The broad stripe on the tunic was ordinarily reserved for senators. It is possible that Caesar had as a special favour conferred it on the young Augustus, or else that Augustus' 'innovation' of allowing young men who proposed to become senators to assume the broad stripe forthwith was in fact a regularisation of what was already being done (see 38.2). In Dio's version of the incident (42.2.5) the detail of the stripe is only implied, and it is Augustus himself who is made to interpret the omen.

94.11 apud Mundam: see 8.1 n.

94.12 in secessu Apolloniae: see 8.2 n.
nummum argenteum nota sideris Capricorni: there are several coin issues bearing the type of the Capricorn, all, with the exception of one from the mint of Lugdunum of 12-11 B.C., of the years 22-18 B.C. The statement that Augustus was born under the sign of Capricorn (December-January) seems unlikely to be a mistaken inference by Suetonius from these coins, since Manilius 2.509 gives the same information. Nor can the discrepancy be explained by the tendency of the Roman calendar to get out of step with the sun, since the civil year was shorter than the solar; there would have had to be the intolerable error of nine months to allow the civil date of September 23rd to fall in Capricorn, and in any case Virgil (*Georgics* 1.32-35) and Germanicus Caesar (*Aratea* 558-560) make Augustus' birth-sign Libra, as one would expect for late September. The explanation is that the moon was in Capricorn at the hour of Augustus' birth (see Cicero, *de Divinatione* 2.91; and Housman on Manilius 4.776),

and Kraft (1967a) therefore suggests that the message of these coins is that this hour was lucky for the state.

95 iocinera: the livers of sacrificial victims were always inspected for portents of good and bad omen. The interpretation of deformities and unusual features of the entrails of animals was the province of the order of priests called *haruspices*, and was a part of the Etruscan religious lore.

96.1 ad Bononiam: the negotiations which led to the formation of the triumvirate (see 13.1-2 n.) took place in November 43 B.C. on a small island in the river which flows past Bononia. Dio's notice of this omen (47.1.2-3) gives to Antony and Lepidus equally suitable portents of their future fate.

96.2 templo, in quod castrorum suorum locum vertit: see 18.2 n.
templo here has its fundamental meaning of 'a consecrated area': there was never a temple on the site of Augustus' camp at Actium.

97-101 Suetonius firmly establishes the theme of Augustus' imminent deification with the omen of the eagle (97.1) before launching into the narrative which leads up to Augustus' death (99) and funeral rites (100). He presents Augustus as imbued with a kind of superhuman cheerfulness, in spite of his illness, so that the reader gains the impression of a man drifting inevitably away from this world to a higher order of existence. It is a sympathetic and masterly climax to the work. And finally, Suetonius brings us back to the everyday world with the factual but impressive coda on the emperor's will, which makes plain, once more, Augustus' solicitude for his people.

97.1 cum lustrum ... conderet: 'when he was performing the expiatory sacrifice to close the census'. This sacrifice was offered by the censors on behalf of the whole people at the conclusion of their term of office. Augustus and Tiberius, in spite of not taking the title of censor, evidently performed the census of A.D. 14 exactly as though they were censors. For the 'censorships' of Augustus, see 27.5 n. (*lustrum* comes to mean 'a period of five years' because in the Republic a census was customarily held every five years: there is no suggestion in the present passage either that Augustus and Tiberius had held office for five years or that such a sacrifice was performed every five years. GG's translation is thus a little misleading.)
vicinam aedem super nomen Agrippae: Agrippa built much on the Campus Martius (see 29.5 n.), but we only know of one temple, namely his Pantheon.

97.3 interpellatores ... in iure dicendo detinerent: for Augustus' powers of civil jurisdiction, see 38 n. vii. This passage is valuable evidence for the eagerness of litigants to obtain an imperial decision, and the willingness (in principle) of Augustus to take cases.

98.2 nautaeque ... candidati coronatique et tura libantes: these

sailors were dressed as though to perform a religious rite, and the language in which they speak of Augustus is that appropriate to a prayer of thanksgiving to a god. Emperor-worship suddenly becomes, at this point in Suetonius' narrative, a real and significant thing. (Contrast 52).

98.3 togas ... ac pallia: the *pallium* was the outer garment characteristic of Greeks, as the toga was of Romans. Naples remained an identifiable Greek city until well into the Empire, and Capri, being Neapolitan territory until 29 B.C. (see 92.2), must have had a substantial Greek element in its population.

ephebos: 'ephebes' were the members of an institution found in the Greek world from the fourth century B.C.; originally they were young men in their late teens, not yet full citizens, who underwent a period of military training followed by garrison or frontier service, but later the military aspect became less important and they received instruction in intellectual disciplines such as philosophy and rhetoric as well as physical sports and athletics. They, or their families, paid for this themselves, and the result was that the ephebate became a kind of upper-class educational club and 'finishing establishment', with admission controlled by the existing members, although it still remained an official institution of the state. At Alexandria in the Roman period boys became qualified to be ephebes at about fourteen.

98.4 vicinam Capreis insulam Apragopolim: the view of Shuckburgh, followed by GG, that this phrase means 'he used to call the neighbouring island Capri *Donothington*' involves (a) taking *Capreis* as a locative in apposition to an accusative, and (b) having to understand some place not mentioned in the text as that to which Capri is near. This forcing of the Latin arises from the mistaken idea that there are no islands off Capri. There is in fact a tiny islet near the south-east corner which would perfectly fit Suetonius' story about Masgabab, and allows us to preserve the plain meaning of the Latin: 'he used to call an island off Capri *Donothington*'.

κίτρον ...: 'I see the founder's tomb a gleam with fire'.
 Thrasylus: a Greek astrologer (*mathematicus*) whom Tiberius had met during his years of exile and brought back with him from Rhodes (*Vib.* 14.4).

Ἐοφῆς ...: 'seest thou the torches honouring Masgabab?'

98.5 revocatum ex itinere Tiberium: according to Tacitus (*Ann.* 1.5.3) Tiberius had reached Illyricum and was summoned back by Livina, who may have suppressed the news of Augustus' death until her son was safely on the spot. There is no reason to believe Tacitus against Suetonius, especially as Tiberius' position was so strong that the motive Tacitus provides for Livina's devious behaviour, to ensure his succession, is quite implausible. It is possible that Suetonius is deliberately correcting the recently published work of Tacitus.

99.1 clausula: the formal closing lines of a play, often, as here, asking for applause. The lines themselves are very corrupt in the MS, and their authorship unknown.
 Drusi filia aegra: Livia Julia or Livilla, Livia's granddaughter, sister of Germanicus and Claudius, and wife of Tiberius' son Drusus

after being widowed at about sixteen by the death of Gaius Caesar in A.D. 4.

100.4 Mausoleo: Augustus' Mausoleum was a stepped circular tumulus

87m. in diameter and originally 44m. high, faced with marble, planted with cypresses, and topped by a statue of the emperor (Strabo 5.3.8). Much of the earth and concrete core of the mound remains (and concerts have occasionally been given there). Suetonius' date (28 B.C.) refers to its completion: its conception must belong to about 32 B.C. at the height of the propaganda battle with Antony. Antony in his will, forcibly opened by Augustus in that year, expressed a wish to be buried in Alexandria. Augustus' Mausoleum is to be seen as his counter-statement, making clear his intention to remain a Roman in death as in life. Furthermore, the form of the monument (which is almost certainly earlier than any of the other famous circular tombs like that of Munatius Plancus at Gaeta - see 7.2 n. - or of Caecilia Metella on the Appian Way) is best explained, not as a historically uncomfortable reminiscence of the tombs of Etruscan dynasts, which do indeed afford a kind of parallel, but as a recreation of the tumuli in which the princes of Troy, from whom the Iulii claimed descent, and the Greek heroes of the Homeric age were supposed to be buried (Strabo 13.1.34; Virgil, *Aeneid* 3.22, 3.304 and 6.232); see Holloway 1966 and Kraft 1967b.

101.1 Virgines Vestales: it was not unusual for important private documents to be deposited with the Vestals, e.g. the wills of Caesar and Antony (*DJ* 83.1; Plutarch, *Antony* 58.3) and the 'treaty' of Misenum of 39 B.C. (Appian, *Bellum Civile* 5.73).

101.2 heredes instituit primos: the 'first heirs' are the true ones. The 'seconds' would only succeed if the 'firsts' either refused the inheritance or (if they were minors) died before coming of age. Here the 'seconds' are anyway the natural heirs of the 'firsts', but often it was no more than a mark of friendship, or honour, to be so named; and this is patently the case with the 'third heirs'.

quos et ferre nomen suum iussit: it was only Livina whose name was changed (to Iulia Augusta) as a result of Augustus' will. Tiberius had borne Augustus' name (i.e. Iulius Caesar) since his adoption in A.D. 4, and he initially refused to assume the special and unique cognomen Augustus.

Germanicum liberisque eius tres: the three sons of Germanicus were Nero, Drusus, and Gaius, of whom the two former died as a result of Sejanus' machinations before his fall in A.D. 31, while Gaius ('Caligula') eventually became emperor.

legavit populo Romano quadringentias, tribubus tricenas quinque: what is the difference between the 'Roman people' and 'the tribes', given that every Roman citizen belonged to a tribe? The fact that there were 35 tribes and the sum left to them was 3.5 million HS must surely dispose of Shuckburgh's interpretation (followed by GG) of the tribes as Augustus' own two tribes (Fabia and Scaptia, see 40.2). Tacitus (*Ann.* 1.8.2) adds the two sums together, saying that Augustus left 43.5 million HS to 'the people and plebs of Rome'. Thus *plebs* in Tacitus appears to be equated with 'tribes' in Suetonius, and if Tacitus' usage is that of Augustus (a dangerous assumption), *plebs* will mean the *plebs frumentaria*, the free inhabitants of Rome who received

the corn dole (RG 15); we may therefore conclude that Augustus left 40 million HS to all Roman citizens, wherever they might be, and 3.5. million HS to the urban populace. This seems not unjust. But there were practically 5 million citizens in A.D. 14 (RG 8.4) and even if only one in four of these was an adult male eligible for the bequest each could have received only 32 HS or 8 *denarii* - which is absurd. If, on the other hand, by the 'Roman people' Suetonius means the *plebs frumentaria* (numbering ca. 200,000), each will have received 200 HS or 50 *denarii*, which is in line with the 300 HS per head left by Julius Caesar's will and the range of 240-400 HS for Augustus' own largesses in his lifetime (RG 15). The conclusion seems inescapable that Augustus left 40 million HS to the urban populace. What then of 'the tribes'? We know that they did have some kind of administrative structure and corporate identity, and were capable, for example, of erecting a gilded equestrian statue in honour of Antony's brother Lucius in 44 B.C. This presupposes financial resources, so perhaps we should understand that Augustus intended each tribe's central funds to receive 100,000 HS. This will have been the only part of the legacy which in any way directly benefited Roman citizens who were neither soldiers nor inhabitants of the capital.

praetorianis militibus ...: the scale of legacies to the three categories of soldiers is in proportion to their pay (see 49 n.A).

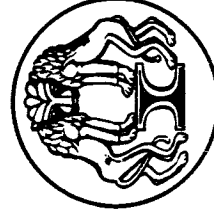
Iulias: see 65.1 n.

101.4 *indicem rerum a se gestarum*: our knowledge of the *Res Gestae* comes chiefly from the copy cut on the walls of the temple of Rome and Augustus at Ancyra (*Monumentum Ancyranum*): its preamble states that the original was 'cut on two bronze pillars, which are at Rome'. *fiscis*: not 'the privy purse' (GG), but the local treasuries of each province. The use of *fiscus* in the singular to denote monies under imperial management (and, in practice, never accounted for to the senate) is later (see Millar 1963). Augustus had published regular statements of the imperial accounts - a practice discontinued by Tiberius but reinstated by Gaius (*Caligula* 16.1).

SUETONIUS DIVUS AUGUSTUS

Edited with Introduction and
Commentary by

John M. Carter



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