

C. Suetonii Tranquilli  
Vita Galbae

C. SÜETONII TRANQUILLI  
VITA GALBAE  
A HISTORICAL COMMENTARY

By  
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## PREFACE

The purpose of this little book is to provide an explanation of Tacitus' epigrammatic and somewhat enigmatic description of Galba, that he was "omnium consensu, capax imperii nisi imperasset". In addition I hope that the book will be able to throw a little more light on the beginning of the period so aptly described as "opimum casibus, atrox proeliis, discors seditionibus, ipsa etiam pace saevum." The text used was that of Ihm (1908).

I owe a debt of gratitude to Professors A.G. McKay and H.L. Tracy for their valuable assistance and especially to Professor D.M. Shepherd, at whose suggestion I undertook this work, and who has given me considerable help in its compilation.

H.W.B.

#### LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

- A.J.Ph. American Journal of Philology.  
C.A.H. Cambridge Ancient History, Cambridge, 1951 (2nd. Impress.).  
C.I.L. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.  
C.R.A.I. Comptes Rendus de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres.  
I.L.S. Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae, ed. Dessau.  
J.R.S. Journal of Roman Studies.  
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R.E. Pauly-Wissowa's Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, Stuttgart, 1894.  
R.E.L. Revue des Études Latines.  
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## INTRODUCTION.

Suetonius. Our knowledge of the life of C. Suetonius Tranquillus is extremely scanty, for he succeeded in modestly effacing himself in his own works, and to our knowledge no biography of him was ever written in antiquity. All we possess are a few letters of Pliny the Younger, a phrase from Spartian (pp.vi,vii) and another from Johannes Lydus (pp.vii,viii). We know of his grandfather and father, but the date and place of his birth are both conjectural. He speaks of himself as adulescens<sup>2</sup> when, twenty years after the death of Nero, a false Nero appears in the East, so that it seems safe to assume that he was born<sup>3</sup> 69 A.D., probably at Rome.<sup>4</sup> His father was Suetonius Laetus, an eques who served as military tribune of the Legio XIII Gemina under Otho during the Civil War of 69 A.D.<sup>5</sup> Suetonius himself was a friend of the younger Pliny who, in or about 97 A.D., sought to calm his fears of failure in a suit he had undertaken to plead. Apparently he was terrified by a dream.<sup>6</sup> Somewhat later that year Pliny asks Baebius Hispanus to persuade a friend with land for sale to sell it to Tranquillus, his contubernalis (a term denoting extreme intimacy) at a reasonable price, since it is of a size suitable for professional scholars (scholastici domini).<sup>7</sup> Like all Roman citizens of his class, Suetonius would undoubtedly have studied rhetoric, but he remained a grammaticus<sup>8</sup> and never became rhetor.

1. Galig. 19.
2. Nero. 57.
3. Macé 35-43.
4. Suetonius' father seems to have known Otho well (Otho 10), even before the battle at Bedriacum, while Otho was in Rome.
5. ibid.
6. Pliny Ep. I.18.
7. Pliny Ep. I.24.
8. Suidas, sv. Τράγκυλος calls him a γραμματικός.

In 101 A.D. however, he contemplated a military career in Britain under Neratius Marcellus, who had given Suetonius an appointment as military tribune at the request of Pliny. Soon after, the scholar changed his mind and asked that the appointment be given to one of his relatives.<sup>9</sup> Why he sought the position we do not know, though the army may well have been the career his father expected him to follow. If it was merely a step in his equestrian career, it does not help us to ascertain the exact date of his birth, since there is no evidence regarding the age at which the first procuratorship was obtainable or generally sought. From now on, however, he seems to have devoted himself to research and writing, and in c.105 A.D. his first book is eagerly awaited by Pliny.<sup>10</sup> The latter makes his final appearance as a friend of Suetonius in a letter to Trajan dated 111 or 112 A.D.<sup>11</sup> in which he begs the emperor to grant his friend the ius trium liberorum,<sup>12</sup> since his marriage had been childless. Trajan graciously agreed.<sup>13</sup> From another writer we learn that Suetonius was ab epistulis<sup>15</sup> under Hadrian and that probably in 122 A.D. he and Septicius Clarus, the praetorian prefect, were summarily dismissed by the emperor, because they did not treat the empress, Sabina, with sufficient ceremony. Suetonius has thus reached one of the highest posts in the imperial civil service, with the result that through his hands passed the whole of the imperial correspondence.<sup>16</sup>

9. Pliny Ep. III.8.; Vid. Macé,<sup>1</sup> 64-66.
10. Pliny Ep. V. 10. Macé (94-95) thinks it was the De Viris Illustribus.
11. Pliny Ep. X.94. Vid. Macé,<sup>1</sup> 76.
12. Vid. chap. 14.3.
13. Pliny Ep. X. 94,95.
14. Spartianus Hist. Aug. (Vita Hadr. 11) uses the later title magister epistularum.
15. Vid. Mattingly, Imperial Civil Service of Rome, 88; E. Van't Dack, "A studios a bybliothecis", Historia (1963), 177 ff.
16. Vid. Mattingly, op.cit. 87 ff; Greenidge, Roman Public Life, 419.

He received reports from provincial governors, dispatches from military commanders, petitions from the provinces, and the replies to all of these.<sup>17</sup> We cannot be certain whether he had special access to the imperial archives, but it seems likely, especially since he often quotes from the letters of Augustus.<sup>18</sup>

Johannes Lydus<sup>19</sup> informs us that Suetonius dedicated his De Vita Caesarum to Septicius,<sup>20</sup> who was one of Pliny's intimates<sup>21</sup> and probably an old friend who had perhaps helped Suetonius to obtain his position. From this dedication we may infer that the work was published between 119 and 121 A.D., while Septicius held the praetorian command.

Incidental details have been supplied by fragments of an inscription from Hippo Regius,<sup>22</sup> which informs us that Trajan made Suetonius a member of the jury panels and that he held two minor sacerdotal appointments prior to his major civil service appointment. After his dismissal, however, when he presumably left the court, his life becomes a complete mystery. Certain letters of Fronto<sup>23</sup> cite a Tranquillus, and Teuffel has deduced that by the date these letters were written, after 161 A.D., Suetonius was dead,<sup>24</sup> but this is merely conjectural.

H.A. Sanders<sup>25</sup> has recreated the possible military career of Suetonius in conjunction with that of Pliny. He goes on to give a plausible delineation of Suetonius' subsequent career in the civil service, and makes special note of the high rank of ab epistulis which Suetonius achieved. But even this account ends with Suetonius' dismissal.

17. Macé, 94-95.

18. Aug. 40, 42, 51, etc.

19. De Magistratu 2.6.

20. Cf. Spartianus Hist. Aug. (Vita Hadr. 9.5, 11.3, 15.2)

21. Pliny Ep. I.1.15; II.9; VII.28; VIII.1.

22. E. Marec and H. G. Pflaum, "Nouvelle Inscription sur la carrière de Suetone, l'historien," C.R.A.I. (1952), 76. Cf. Della Corte, Suetonio Eques Romanus, 5 ff.

23. ad Amicos 1, 13.

24. Teuffel-Schwabe, History of Roman Literature, 1890.

25. "Suetonius in the Civil Service under Hadrian," A. J. Ph. LXV (1944), 133 ff.



We do possess more definite information regarding the voluminous writings of Suetonius. In addition to the De Vita Caesarum, considerable portions of the De Viris Illustribus, lives of poets, philosophers, orators etc., are extant. Besides these works Suetonius wrote several more,<sup>26</sup> the titles of which Suidas has preserved. A full list has been compiled by Macé,<sup>27</sup> which though partially conjectural, still gives us an idea of the breadth and scope of Suetonius' literary activities.

De Vita The De Vita Caesarum is a series of biographies Caesarum dealing with the lives of Julius Caesar and the emperors from Augustus to Domitian. It is divided into eight books, the first six recounting the Lives of individual rulers from Caesar to Nero, the seventh book those of the interim emperors, Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, the eighth book those of the Flavian emperors. The work is complete except for the first page or two of the Divus Julius which, according to Johannes Lydus,<sup>28</sup> contained a dedication to Septicius Clarus and almost certainly an account of Caesar's legendary descent from Venus and Anchises. In addition it must have included a number of portents and omens concerning Caesar's future greatness (these invariably accompany the birth of an emperor in Suetonius) and a description of his childhood and education. As it stands, the Divus Julius begins, "Annum agens sextum decimum," an abrupt beginning which is not at all in keeping with the rest of the Lives. This is especially strange since there would be no lack of material for Caesar's early life.

The Divus Julius, for its first forty-four chapters, is narratival, following a strict, chronological pattern.

26. For these fragments and references to others vid. Suetonii praeter Caesarum libros reliquiae, ed. Reifferscheid: Schanz, Geschichte römische Litteratur, 529 ff.

27. Macé, 355.

28. De Magistratu 2.6.

Then comes a description of Caesar's appearance, mode of life, a per species account of his virtues and vices, culminating with the final judgement of his fellow Romans, in chapter seventy-six, " praegravant tamen cetera facta dictaque eius, ut et abusus dominatione et iure caesus existimetur." The scheme is explained by the author in Aug. 9.

A similar pattern is followed in the subsequent Lives. Each begins with a discussion of the emperor's family background, a round of portents and a brief description of the emperor's early life and career before his accession. This first part is chronological, but the reign which follows is recounted under various rubrics, such as wars, administration, legislation, virtues, and vices. A description of the emperor's appearance completes this section. The death scene, which is not at all the dramatic finale one finds in Plutarch, is preceded or followed by what is often a third series of portents, which form an integral part of many of the Lives. This general scheme is adhered to throughout with only minor modifications.

Suetonius deals much more fully with the Julio-Claudians, especially with Caesar and Augustus, than with their successors. In the case of Galba, Otho, Vitellius and Titus their brief tenure of office makes this understandable, but one would have expected lengthier accounts of the reigns of Vespasian and Domitian.

Macé considered that the fragmentation of information one finds in Suetonius was due to his training as a grammaticus.<sup>29</sup> Certainly the Epaminondas of Cornelius Nepos exhibits a very similar style.<sup>30</sup> Our author assembles facts and anecdotes, and makes no overt judgement himself, except perhaps in the case of Caesar.<sup>31</sup> Only from his choice of material may we attempt to deduce the author's point of view.

29. Macé, 54.

30. W. Schmidt, Romanity of Suetonius in Biography, 14.

31. Julius. 76.

His method is well-described by Ausonius,<sup>32</sup> who writes, "Suetonius olim nomina, res gestas vitamque obitumque peregit". There is no psychological analysis or appreciation of motive, no moralization. Plutarch, on the other hand, strives for and obtains a vivid moral depiction of his characters: he seeks to instruct in ethics and his historical interest is subordinate.

Suetonius' piecemeal structure fails to demonstrate any gradual development of character, and his unsatisfactory chronological system makes it quite impossible for the reader to reconstruct such a development for himself. No account is given of prevailing historical conditions. For this we must turn to Tacitus, or perhaps Plutarch. Thus it is more difficult for us to appreciate the reasons for many of the actions of the emperors. I am convinced myself that Galba's parsimony was mainly motivated by necessity. The imperial coffers were empty. Suetonius, then, fails to create accurate representations of his emperors, perhaps because he "conceived of character as a wholly static and immutable thing".<sup>33</sup> Instead we are provided with a wealth of details and left to our own devices. Peter rightly says "Sueton hat Kein einheitliches Charakterbild eines Kaisers zustande gebracht".<sup>34</sup> Similarly, in describing the physical characteristics of the emperors, Suetonius follows the ancient pattern which is not satisfactory to the modern reader; "il a cherché non proprement à évoquer le physique de ses personages, mais à en composer un portrait qui conforme à leur caractère et qui corroborât ainsi l'étude morale."<sup>35</sup>

32. De XII Caesaribus, ed. Peiper, 183.

33. Marsh, The Reign of Tiberius, 12, says this of Tacitus.

34. Geschichtl. Litt. II, 328.

35. J. Couissin, " Suetone Physionomiste dans les Vies des Douze Césars," R.E.L. XXXI(1953), 234 ff.

Perhaps the most Suetonian trait is his interest in omens and portents. He was by nature superstitious,<sup>36</sup> and not at all influenced by the scepticism of such Roman intellectuals as Cicero. To him Caesar, no less than Agamemnon, was guilty of overweening pride in that he chose to ignore the many signs of impending disaster<sup>37</sup> and would let nothing interfere with his plans. Galba was confirmed in his designs by a striking and seemingly bad omen, a mule foaling.<sup>38</sup> A dream led him to adopt Fortune as his patron goddess<sup>39</sup> and she foretold his end.<sup>40</sup> Like Caesar, he was warned on the morning of his death,<sup>41</sup> but he was equally incapable of averting destiny. Suetonius was a fatalist, and with painstaking care he collected a vast quantity of signs and portents which heralded the future greatness or imminent doom of his protagonists. In this respect he rivals the miracle-mongering chroniclers of the Middle Ages.

Suetonius has been described as a prurient scandal-monger.<sup>42</sup> Perhaps, to the modern mind, he does show an unnatural bent towards the seamier side of his subjects' lives. In this respect, however, Suetonius was a product of his time. The Romans of his day, no less than the Athenians of the fourth century B.C., had turned their interest from politics to the individual, and for similar reasons; they were politically impotent. They, like the Athenians before them, revelled in personal anecdote.<sup>43</sup> Suetonius complied with their taste.

There was, in fact, a general movement in historiography at this era, culminating with Suetonius, towards biography, so that it was natural that the greatest attention should be paid to personalities, who in the historian's judgement, were the prime movers of events.<sup>44</sup>

36. Cf. Pliny Ep. I.18.

37. Jul. 77.

38. Chap. 4.

39. ibid.

40. Chap. 18.

41. Chap. 19.

42. J.W. Duff. A Literary History of Rome in the Silver Age, 508.

43. For the origins of biography at Rome ibid. Stuart, Epochs of Greek and Roman Biography, chaps.7,8.

44. S.G. Deitz, "Tacitus' technique of character portrayal," A.J.Ph. LXXXI (1960), 30 ff.

For the history of this period we are deeply indebted to Suetonius for filling many of those gaps in our knowledge left by Tacitus and others. He collected a vast amount of material, sifted it, and presented the modern historian with a far wider background than he could possibly have possessed without the De Vita Caesarum. Yet it is soon evident that he did not possess the breadth of Tacitus, nor the psychological insight to describe the character of an individual in a single sentence, to summarize the relevant political situation in a paragraph. Occasionally he is guilty of carelessness, especially in his system of chronology,<sup>45</sup> which leaves much to be desired. He usually informs us of the date of an emperor's birth, accession or death by naming the consuls of that year,<sup>46</sup> describing important events, or sometimes by both means.<sup>47</sup> But by deliberately avoiding the annalistic style of narrative and by grouping his facts according to subject matter rather than time-sequence, he makes it quite impossible to date with any certainty the important events which took place. In the Galba we only know very vaguely when the future emperor governed Aquitania or Africa, or when he went to Germany. Other sources must provide this information.

The style of Suetonius is mainly characterized by its brevity,<sup>48</sup> but it is not the epigrammatic brevity of Tacitus. Suetonius aims rather at stating as much as possible in the simplest manner, using participles more freely than any other Latin author. In this way he avoids numerous subordinate clauses, but he lacks the roundness of Cicero and the mordant conciseness of Tacitus. His style is plain and natural, totally lacking in rhetorical artifice. Although he did employ metrical clausulae, he was never afraid of spoiling the symmetry by bringing in verbal citations, so that we possess parts of many of Augustus' letters which a meticulous stylist would not have included.

45. E.g. Galb. 23; Otho 11; Vit. 18; Tit. 11.

46. Cf. Galb. 4; Otho 2; Vit. 3.

47. Cf. Vesp. 2.

48. Macé, 56, 96, 379.

The judgement of P. Petit<sup>49</sup> is, I feel, sound and enlightening. "Par sa prédilection pour les détails révélateurs et pittoresques, sa chronologie flottante et négligée, son indifférence aux problèmes de la «grande» histoire, sa recherche exclusive de l'homme dans le grand homme, une composition artificielle, sans rapport avec les exigences d'une méthode explicative, Suétone n'est pas un historien: mais il travaille comme un excellent historien: documentation poussée, transcription de pièces officielles, détails précis et rapprochements suggestifs, impartialité et esprit critique<sup>50</sup> (allant parfois jusqu'à la malveillance), même envers les plus grands, comme César, choix de détails frappants, et même scandaleux, tels sont les aspects du talent de Suétone, que les modernes méprisent parfois parce que sa vision ne s'élève guère, mais dont ils recueillent avec soin les renseignements originaux. Contrairement à tous les écrivains de son temps il ne tombe jamais dans la rhétorique; sa phrase est simple, mais le vocabulaire riche et précis: certaines scènes et portraits sont des oeuvres d'art".

Since the Julio-Claudian dynasty had come to an end with Galba the death of Nero, Suetonius felt compelled to note this with a number of omens which introduced the continuation of the series.

Thereafter the Vita Galbae followed the normal pattern. Galba's descent and birth are described together with the accompanying signs, after which Suetonius gives us an account of Galba's career. While in Spain, Galba received several portents which predicted his elevation, and upon Nero's death he becomes emperor. His reign is briefly discussed before a third series of portents herald his downfall. The praetorian revolt occurs, and Galba is assassinated. The book ends with a description of the emperor's person and habits.

49. Guide de l'étudiant en Histoire Ancienne, 87-88.

50 Cf. Calig. 8.

Galba is perhaps denigrated by Suetonius more than any other emperor,<sup>51</sup> mainly by allusions, suppressions and minor alterations, while Otho is treated with a little more lenience than he deserves. Tacitus<sup>52</sup> and Plutarch<sup>53</sup> inform us<sup>53</sup> that Galba was descended from a noble and rich family. Suetonius agrees,<sup>54</sup> but immediately afterwards he stigmatizes the emperor by describing his cruel, avaricious ancestor, Servius Sulpicius Galba, the "butcher of Lusitania", and the latter's grandson, who was one of the conspirators against Caesar. The intimation is that the family characteristics were cruelty, avarice, treason and treachery. Suetonius glosses over the fact that Galba prided himself more in his relationship to Quintus Catulus,<sup>55</sup> whose reputation for virtue and integrity was second to none. Finally Suetonius mentions Galba's grandfather, a political nonentity, and his father, who was a hunchback.

Tacitus and Plutarch state that Galba ruled Africa well.<sup>56</sup> Suetonius agrees, so presumably he used the same or similar sources. But he then depicts Galba as the lackey of Claudius<sup>57</sup> and proceeds to remark upon his saevitia. This quality and his mobilitas animi are Galba's main characteristics. While Otho "provinciam administravit quaestorius per decem annos moderatione atque abstinentia singulari,"<sup>58</sup> the author states that Galba "per octo annos varie atque inaequaliter provinciam rexit, primo acer et vehemens et in coercendis quidem delictis vel immodicus."<sup>59</sup>

51. Cf. Della Corte, op.cit. 122ff.

52. Hist. I.16;

53. Galba. 3.1.

54. Chap.2.1.

55. Cf. chap.3.4; Plut.Galb.3.

56. Tac.Hist.I.49; Plut.Galb.3.2.

57. chap. 7.1.

58. Otho. 3.2.

59. Chap.9.1: cf. chap. 12.1.

That Vinius and Laco destroyed the aged emperor Tacitus openly avows,<sup>60</sup> and Plutarch agrees that Galba suffered injustice on account of Vinius.<sup>61</sup> Suetonius, however, openly censures the emperor for being such a dupe<sup>62</sup> and blames him for the rebellious state of the Rhine legions, demonstrating his ignorance of the general military dissatisfaction on the northern frontier. This was caused mainly by Nero's indifference towards his troops, the practice of permanent camps, and the excessive duration of military commands under that emperor.<sup>63</sup>

Galba was a disciplinarian,<sup>64</sup> but whereas Tacitus<sup>65</sup> speaks admiringly of the emperor's statement that he chose soldiers, he did not buy them, Suetonius states that his action in not paying the donative merely embittered the soldiers throughout the empire.<sup>66</sup> Suetonius was, of course, correct, but he might have informed us that Nero had led the state to the verge of bankruptcy,<sup>67</sup> so that the payment of a huge donative might well have been impossible. It is surely possible that Galba was not so incompetent as a statesman. Tacitus is quite inconsistent in this respect. While attempting to depict Galba's mobilitas animi and give a general picture of the emperor as kind, honest, a good soldier, but a political nonentity, in Galba's speech on his adoption of Piso he shows us a man full of political sagacity.<sup>68</sup>

60. Hist. I.6.

61. Galb. 17.1.

62. Chap. 14.2.

63. Henderson, Civil War and Rebellion in the Roman Empire, 2, cf. Tac. Hist. I.4, 8, 9; Plut. Galb. I.3.

64. Chaps. 7.2, 9, 19.2.

65. Hist. I.18.

66. Chap. 16.

67. Vid. chap. 15, note on Liberalitates.

68. Hist. I.15.



If the lives of Galba and Otho are not treated quite as objectively as those of the other emperors, the Life of Otho<sup>69</sup> may give us the reason. Suetonius Laetus, the author's father, served as a military tribune under Otho and admired him greatly. He would automatically exonerate Otho, and even justify his coup.<sup>70</sup> The young Suetonius would thus nurture a partisan feeling for Otho, and would be at least a little antagonistic towards Galba, the emperor whose position Otho had usurped. He continued to follow his system of using now a favourable source, now an unfavourable one, and in this respect he remained unbiassed, but by means of innuendo he still managed to defame Galba somewhat.

When Galba came to the throne he was a tired old man of seventy-one,<sup>71</sup> perhaps drained of what little strength he still possessed by a tumor on his side.<sup>72</sup> He was an aristocrat, proud of his heritage,<sup>73</sup> a fine governor and soldier,<sup>74</sup> and could have made a fine emperor had he come to the throne earlier. Yet he might have saved the situation as it was, by a more sensible choice of successor, or by paying the donative to the praetorians and promising to pay the rest. The drain on the exchequer would have been tremendous, but it might have prevented the even greater strains imposed by the civil wars. Had he acted thus, the Rhine legions might have been satisfied with their donative and might have forgotten that they had been snubbed after defeating Vindex. The legions, however, were ripe for rebellion, and would have devised another pretext. Therefore Galba, misadvised and deceived by his subordinates, and forced in error by his stubborn pride, was the final, but by no means major, cause of the civil wars and rebellions which followed his death.

69. Chap. 10.

70. Otho. 12.2.

71 Cf. chap.23.

72. Chap.21.

73. Chap. 2; Plut. Galb. 3.1.

74. Chaps. 6,7,8.

We are informed by Josephus<sup>75</sup> that several writers dealt Sources with the events of the Galban period. Tacitus refers to the lost works of C. Plinius Secundus,<sup>76</sup> Vipstanus Messala<sup>77</sup> and Cluvius Rufus.<sup>78</sup> The latter is also cited by Plutarch.<sup>79</sup> It has been shown by Godolphin<sup>80</sup> that Tacitus and Plutarch did not rely upon one main source, Pliny the Elder, as Fabia thought, but rather upon two, Cluvius Rufus being the second. He also argues that Tacitus would adhere more closely to the account of Pliny, since their backgrounds were similar, as was their approach to history. Plutarch, on the other hand, would be inclined to favour Cluvius Rufus inasmuch as both of these writers aimed to instruct in moral precepts. Tacitus and Plutarch do, however, show an understanding of the situation prior to and during the civil wars<sup>81</sup> which Suetonius by no means shares. He was neither historian nor moralist-biographer, but a writer of memoirs.

It appears unlikely that Suetonius followed Tacitus very closely, if at all, for in places he quite contradicts him,<sup>82</sup> omits much that Tacitus considers necessary, or inserts material which is foreign to him.<sup>84</sup> A number of incidents, such as the treatment of Galba's head,<sup>85</sup> Tacitus would omit as indelicate and unimportant.

75. Bell. Iud. IV.9.2.

76. Hist. III.28; Ann. XIII.20.

77. Hist. III. 25.

78. Ann. XIII.20; XIV.2.

79. Otho. 3.

80. "The Sources of Plutarch's Thesis in the Lives of Galba and Otho", A.J.Ph. LXI (1935), 324ff.

81. Cf. Plut. Galb. 1; Tac. Hist. I.5,6.

82. Mace, 375.

83. Otho 6.3; Tac. Hist. I.37.

84. Eg. Otho's explanation of his conduct to the Senate after Galba's death, Otho. 7.

85. chap. 20.

Nevertheless the numerous passages which bear a striking resemblance to passages in Tacitus or Plutarch<sup>86</sup> argue plausibly for a common source, or sources, which would be Pliny the Elder, according to Macé,<sup>87</sup> who follows Fabia.

Suetonius would also make use of a number of subsidiary sources to supplement the paucity of biographical detail to be found in a historical work. He clearly consulted the Sulpician family records<sup>88</sup> and quite probably the Acta Fratrum Arvalium and the records of other priestly colleges, besides the various imperial and public commentarii and acta.<sup>89</sup> In addition, soldiers who had been with Galba in Spain or elsewhere could have provided Suetonius with much information, if only hearsay, and some may even have witnessed Galba's accession or his death. Finally, the author's own father, having taken part in the civil wars, would be well informed about the period and its personalities and would certainly have discussed them in the presence of and later with his son.<sup>90</sup>

86. Macé, 428.

87. ibid. 368. Cf. Hardy, xiii ff.

88. Chaps. 2.3.4.

89. Macé, 188 ff. Cf. Boissier, Tacitus and other Roman Studies, 215 ff.

90. Vid. Otho. 10.

## Commentary.

### CHAPTER ONE.

Progenies Caesarum in Nerone defecit: this is the first occasion that Suetonius begins a "Life" with anything but the origin of the Emperor concerned. The end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty and the resultant chaos caused him to preface his Life of Galba with an introductory chapter.

Nero neither produced nor adopted an heir, and he is described by Dio (apud Xil., LXIII.29) as the last of the Aeneadae and of the line of Augustus. When adopting Piso, Galba declares, "sub Tiberio et Gaio et Claudio unius familiae quasi hereditas fuimus: loco libertatis erit quod eligi coepimus, et finita Iuliorum Claudiorumque domo optimum quemque adoptio inveniet, "(Tac.Hist.I.16.1). The gens Iulia ended with Gaius, son of Germanicus and Agrippina, since Claudius, the son of Drusus, had not been transferred to the gens Iulia, as had his uncle, Tiberius, and his brother, Germanicus. Both Claudius and Nero were, however, connected with the gens Iulia by female descent (Claud.1; Nero 1: the family tree is given in Syme, R.R., appendix III), and took the cognomen Caesar, apparently as part of a set policy; cf. C.A.H., X, 667.

compluribus quidem signis: signa and omina preface the descriptions of the birth, accession and death of each of Suetonius' twelve emperors. For his superstitious beliefs vid. Introduction.

Liviae: Livia Drusilla, daughter of M.Livius Drusus Claudianus and wife of Tiberius Claudius Nero by whom she had Tiberius, the successor of Augustus. The young Octavian became enamoured of her and by means of his triumviral powers he compelled her to divorce her husband (38 B.C.) although she was pregnant with Drusus, the future father of Claudius, who succeeded Caligula. He then married her, and she outlived him, dying in 29 A.D. (Tib. 51; Tac.Ann.V.1). Suetonius remarks that Augustus "dilexit et probavit unice et perseveranter," (Aug.62.2). She bore Augustus no children (Aug.63.1). Livia was Galba's patroness,

and left him a fortune, though he would not have received it till Caligula's reign (Chap.5.2: Calig.16). Galba was devoted to her memory and struck many coins in her honour (Mattingly, R.I.C.,I.197).

Veientanum: (sc.praedium, estate). Veii, a town nine miles north of the capital, was situated close to the modern village of Isola Farnese, the site of a medieval fortress. It was the strongest town of the Etruscan confederacy but was captured by Camillus in 396 B.C. (Dion.Hal.II.54;XII,15), having caused Rome much trouble (Plut.Cam.2;Livy I.15;V.2). The town, surrounded by ravines and accessible only on the west, lay near to the Via Clodia. Vulca, one of its celebrated sculptors (Pliny N.H. XXXV.137), furnished statues for Jupiter's temple on the Capital. The statue of Apollo now in the Museo di Villa Giulia at Rome was sculpted by a member of Vulca's school. Veii was chosen as an imperial residence on account of its healthy climate and waters, its proximity to the Via Clodia and Rome. Cf. Dion.Hal.XII.frg.21; Nissen, Italienische Landeskunde,II.357 ff. A survey of the ruins of the estate is provided by Gell, Topography of Rome and its Vicinity, 436.

gallinam albam: cf. Tib.,14.2; Pliny N.H.XV.136ff. White hens were supposedly sterile (Columella VIII.2.7).Cf. the French "Le Fils de la poule blanche."

lauri: the Bay tree or sweet Laurel, was connected with the cult of Apollo, and was the tree of expiation and purification (Pliny N.H.XV.135,138). In the "triumph" the laurel adorned the victorious general (cf. Caesar,B.C.,III,71.3;Tac.Ann.II.21) to symbolize purification from blood-guilt. According to Pliny (N.H.XV.137) this particular custom is traced back to Augustus. The house and portraits of the ancestors of the triumphator were also decorated with laurel (ibid.127) as a sign of honour, glory and peace, so that Pliny (ibid.133) calls it pacifera. In addition it was a sign of poets and minstrels (Ovid Met.I.557,etc.) Vid.R.E.,XXI,sv. Lorbeer. Much of Galba's

coinage shows him with head laureate, partially, at least, for propaganda purposes. It symbolized victory and peace. Vid. Mattingly, R.I.C., I, 202 etc.

placuisset: so, too, in Dio (XLVIII), but Pliny (N.H. XV. 136) states that the haruspices ordered it.

"ad Gallinas": "The Hen Roost". A frescoed hall and a statue of Augustus were the main discoveries. The landscape painting in the hall is unique, and bears no resemblance to the idyllic style of Hellenistic art (S. Aurigemma, The Baths of Diocletian and the Museo Nazionale Remains. 131). Pliny (N.H., XV, 140), and Dio (loc. cit) describe the death of the chickens and the laurel. The custom of so naming a house was quite common (Jordan-Huelsen, Topography of Rome, 374) and many modern cities could show similar examples (Ashby and Fell, "Via Flaminia", J.R.S., XI (1921), 145). Domitian was born in a house called "ad Malum Punicum" (Domit. l.).

Alias: Pliny (N.H. XV. 140) states that the emperors planted those branches of laurel which they had carried during their triumph.

silva omnis exaruit radicitus: signifying the end of the dynasty.

Caesarum aede: the Templum Divi Augusti on the Palatine (C.I.L., VI, 2035, 13; Aug. 5; Pliny N.H. XII. 94). Livia began it, Tiberius continued it, and Caligula completed it (Calig. 21; Dio LIX. 7). By Nero's time it was known as the aedes Caesarum because the members of the Julio-Claudian family were worshipped there. Destroyed by fire in Vespasian's reign it was restored by Domitian (Marquardt, III<sup>2</sup>, 468). Vid. Wash, I, 537.

sceptrum: the sceptre dates back to the period of the kings and it remained a relic of heroic times (Virgil Aeneid XII. 206). At Rome it was always a token of triumph and only carried during the ceremony or in the processus consularis during the games, (cf. Juv. X. 43). Here the sceptrum is that held by the statue of Augustus in triumphal dress, i.e. tunica palmata and toga picta. The triumphator carried, in his right hand, an ivory sceptre topped with an eagle, and in his left hand a laurel branch (vid. supra). Cf. Dion Hal. III, 61; Mommsen S. I. 140, 425. Livia and Concordia are depicted holding

a sceptre on some of Galba's coinage, (Mattingly, R.I.C. I,202).

excussum est: cf. Domit.,15.2 or Shakespeare's Julius Caesar. II,2.

"She dreamt tonight she saw my statue,  
Which like a fountain with an hundred spouts,  
Did run pure blood."

More Suetonian portents are to be found in Richard the Second, II,4.

## CHAPTER TWO

nullo gradu contingens Caesarum domum: Galba, according to Plutarch (Galb.3), was somehow related to Livia Augusta, though he is by no means clear as to the relationship, and he gained his consulship (vid.chap.6) by means of her influence. Perhaps Plutarch meant that Livia Ocellina (vid.chap 3.4), Galba's stepmother, and Livia Augusta belonged to the same gens.  
contingens: i.e."Sanguine et genere" (Livy XLV.7).

nobilissimus: Tacitus (Hist.I.15) portrays Galba's pride in his lineage from the gens Sulpicia on his father's side, the gens Lutatia on his mother's side. The family of Galba was typical in representing the old Roman nobility (Juv. VIII.5)C.F. Syme (R.R.,377), regarding the resurgence of family pride after 27 B.C. when the principate had become established. Plutarch (Galb.3) describes Galba as the richest private person to come to the throne, and later (ibid.29) he adds that Galba was surpassed by few Romans in lineage and wealth, in fact he was in both respects the foremost of his time. The Galban branch of the gens Sulpicia was a very wealthy family and Galba's brother had clearly wasted a substantial inheritance (chap.3.4). Servius Sulpicius Galba (chap. 3.2) was accused of extortion in Spain (Nepos Cato 3.4; Plut, Cato Maior,15) and his deprivations there helped to cause permanent courts to be established (chap.3.2,vid.note on Hispaniam).

He obviously enriched himself in Spain, which was for Rome what central and South America later became for the Spaniards (C.A.H.,VIII,306 ff.). All metals mined there, except gold, were worked by private companies (Sutherland, The Romans in Spain,107) and since the Galba mentioned above had a son who was praetor in Spain in 111 B.C. (Broughton,II,623) it seems likely that the family possessed mining interests there, especially as Appian (Bell.Hisp.58-60) states that Galba was extremely wealthy. Another member of the family, S.Sulpicius Galba, married Licinia, the daughter of P.Licinius Crassus Mucianus (Malcovati,Oratorum Romanorum Fragmenta,205) so that the family was thus connected with the celebrated financiers, the Crassi.

The emperor's father married twice, both apparently good matches. First he married Mummia Achaica (chap.3.4), the great-granddaughter of Mummius, who sacked Corinth, and granddaughter of Q.Catulus Capitolinus (vid.infra) who, as a leader of the senate, would possess wealth in addition to his influence and prestige. Afterwards Galba's father married the beautiful and wealthy Livia Ocellina (chap.3.4). From his own family, therefore, Galba inherited a large fortune, and subsequently Livia Augusta bequeathed yet another fortune to him (chap.5.2), which he did not receive, however, until Caligula paid Tiberius' and Livia's legacies in full (Calig.16).

Moreover Galba's own career would naturally lend itself to the amassing of further wealth in spite of his honesty. He governed Aquitania for nearly a year,(chap.6.1), was governor in Upper Germany (chap.6.2), in Africa(chap.7.1) for two years, and in Spain for eight (chap.9.1). Notwithstanding his huge fortune, however, he remained a Roman of the old stamp, frugal and parsimonious, and quite unlike his brother Gaius, who was presumably a playboy (chap.3.4).

ut qui statuarum titulis: we have no further evidence of their existence, but Galba would certainly receive a



statua triumphalis as part of the ornamenta triumphalia he received for his German and African successes (chap.8.1). Cf. Vit.9.

Quinti Catuli Capitolini: Mummia Achaica, Galba's mother, was the granddaughter of Catulus (chap.3) in whom Galba took great pride (Plut.Galb.3). The father of Catulus, Quintus Lutatius Catulus, was consul in 102 B.C. with Marius (Broughton, I,567) and a victim of the Marian proscriptions in 87 B.C. Catulus himself was consul in 78 B.C. (ibid.,II,85) and defeated his colleague M.Aemilius Lepidus, who had attempted forcibly to overthrow the Sullan constitution, in the battle at the Mulvian Bridge in 77 B.C. cf. C.A.H.,IX,314-316. He joined in condemning Verres in 70 B.C. and opposed the Leges Gabinia and Manilia in 67 and 66 B.C. In addition he checkmated the designs of Crassus and Caesar in 65 B.C. (Plut. Crass.13.2) and stood against Caesar for the position of pontifex maximus in 63 B.C.(Plut.Caes.7.1). He even attempted to involve Caesar in the measures to be taken against Catiline's accomplices (Sall.Cat.49.1). His antipathy towards Caesar was so great that the latter felt compelled to retaliate (Jul.15.1;Dio XXXVII,44,1). He was an oligarch of the old conservative type (C.A.H.loc.cit.) and Dio described him as princeps senatus (Dio XXXVI,13). His cognomen is due to his position as commissioner for the restoration of the Capitol, a position he held from the death of Sulla onwards (Jul.15).Vid.Cic.I.Verr.I.15,44; Rice Holmes, The Roman Republic I,134ff;165ff; Syme,R.R.21ff.

stemma in atrio: the atrium was the court or hall (sometimes called aula) of a house. It appears to have been square or rectangular in shape, surrounded with covered or arched galleries. On the side opposite the gate was the tablinum, which contained the family archives (Pliny N.H. XXXV.7;Vitruv.VI.4,8). From the house at Pompeii it has been deduced that the tablinum was separated from the rest

of the atrium, of which it formed an integral part, by a curtain not a door. The imagines or impressions, were originally wax masks (Pliny N.H. XXXV.6) connected with funeral ceremonies, and they covered the faces of the dead while they lay in state (Servius ad Aen. VI.4). At funerals actors wore them in imitation of the dead man (Vesp. 19,2; Pliny loc.cit.). These masks or copies, fitted onto marble busts, were then placed in niches (armaria) along the walls of the alae (Pliny loc.cit.) and under the bust was an inscription or titulus (Livy X.7;11) giving the name and deeds of the person represented. From the sentence "stemmata vero lineis discurrebant ad imagines pictas", Duff (Juvenal, 296) concludes that the imagines were distinct from the stemmata, the latter being a genealogical chart (cf. generis tabula, Juv. VIII.6) which was so called because the names on it were illuminated with printed garlands. A similar distinction appears in Seneca (de Ben. III.28,2).

An extant imago is that of C. Norbanus Sorix, an actor and protégé of Sulla (Plut. Sulla. 36.2), whose bronze bust set on a marble pillar is to be seen at Pompeii. Bronze apparently replaced wax as the material used for permanent busts sometime in the first century B.C. (Bieber, The History of the Greek and Roman Theater. 165).

The immense length of some of these gentilia stemmata (Nero 37) demonstrates the antiquity of this practice of preserving the imagines of ancestors, but the fact that some of these pedigrees, like Galba's, were traced back to mythological ancestors, shows that some of the busts, or portraits standing in place of busts, were imaginary representations. Vid. Juv. VIII.1ff; 46ff; Smith, sv. domus, imago; R.E., II, 2146; Seyffert, Dictionary of Classical Antiquities, 84, 317.

originem ad Iovem referret: Vespasian ridiculed those who sought to give the Flavian family a similar background (Vesp. 12).

Pasiphaam: the wife of Minos, King of Crete, and daughter of Helios, the Sun God. She was also the sister of Circe. By Minos she had Ariadne and Phaedra and other children (Apoll. Rhod. III. 999ff; Ovid Met. XV. 501; Cic. De Nat. Deor. III. 19). In legend she was the mother of the minotaur, begotten in her passion for a bull (Virgil Aeneid VI). The family probably claimed descent from her because she was the Sun God's daughter, and Galba's ancestor who fought at Cannae is given a similar lineage (Sil. Ital. Pun. VIII).

It became the fashion in the first century B.C., and probably long before, for distinguished Roman gentes to claim a divine origin; cf. Jul. 6. The gens Sulpicia, one of Rome's most distinguished gens, claimed a similarly divine legendary origin, and Galba took pride in descending from Zeus and Pasiphae just as Caesar prided himself in his descent from Anchises and Aphrodite (Smith, sv. gens Julia: gens Sulpicia). For the religious connection between Zeus and Pasiphae vid. Grimal, Dictionnaire de la Mythologie Gréque et Romaine, sv. Pasiphae; Plut. Agis. 9; Cic. De Div. I, 43. For the sacred marriage of the Queen to the Bull-god at Crossus vid. Frazer, The Golden Bough, VII, 31. Galba's use of his ancestry for propaganda purposes would be an accepted part of imperial policy. Cf. Warde Fowler, The Religious Experience of the Roman People, 428 ff.; L.R. Taylor, The Divinity of the Roman Emperor, 224 ff.

## CHAPTER THREE.

1. elogia: inscriptions under the imagines (vid. supra). Probably a loan word from the Greek ἐλεγείον, first used by Plautus (Merc;409). Vid. R.E., V, 2440ff; cf. Claud. 1,5; Calig. 24.3. For examples of elogia vid. C.I.L., I<sup>2</sup>, 188; A. Ernout, Recueil de Textes Latines Archaïques, 12ff. For this information Suetonius clearly consulted the Sulpician family records.

familiae: i.e. the branch of the gens Sulpicia with the cognomen Galba. galbano: galbanum or γαλβάνη was the resinous sap of a Syrian plant made into gum, cf. Lucan IX.916. A galbeus was a kind of armband worn for ornamental purposes or, as here, a bandage. Galba is one of many Roman cognomina which indicated physical peculiarities, such as Ahenobarbus, red-bearded (Nero, 1). Caesar mentions the king of a Gallic tribe named Galba (B.G., II.4.13). The creature referred to as galba is a small worm, the ash-borer, or the larva of an ash-spinner (Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, sv. galba).

2. familiam illustravit: other distinguished members of the family were P. Sulpicius Servius Galba Maximus, consul in 211 B.C. without having followed the cursus honorum (vid. chap. 6.1), C. Sulpicius Galba, pontifex in 201 B.C. (Livy XXX.39), Servius Sulpicius Galba, urban praetor in 187 B.C. (Livy XXXVIII.44; LIV. 4), C. Sulpicius Galba, urban praetor in 171 B.C. (Livy, XLII.28,31), and C. Sulpicius Galba, son of the Galba described below, cf. Malcovati, op.cit. 205.

Servius Galba consularis: consul in 144 B.C. with L. Aurelius Cotta, vid. infra. He was also military tribune of the 2nd Legion in Macedonia and attempted to stir up the troops of Aemilius Paulus and prevent his triumph (Livy XLV.35 ff; Appian, Bell. Hisp. IX-XI). Cf. Malcovati, op.cit., 109.

eloquentissimus: cf. Cic. Brut. 82, 127; De orat. I.40. Vid. Malcovati, op.cit. 109-110.

Hispaniam ex praetura optinentem: Servius Galba was praetor in 151 B.C. and was allotted Hispania Ulterior when the Romans were at war with the Celtiberians. He invaded Lusitania and defeated the opposing forces but rashly pursued them in difficult terrain and lost seven thousand men. Invading the country a second time he compelled the inhabitants to sue for peace and after tricking them into laying down their arms he butchered or enslaved almost the whole population. The shameful behaviour of Galba and Lucullus, the consular commander in the Celtiberian War of 151 B.C., was a major cause of the establishment of permanent courts to deal with extortion. Cato denounced Galba in 149 B.C., but the latter gained an acquittal by appearing as a suppliant, with his children accompanying him. Vid. Cic. De Orat. I.52;227; Val. Max. VIII.1.2; 7.1; Nepos. Cat. 3.4; Plut. Cato Maior 15; C.A.H. VIII, 115; 310; 315; 320; Arnold, Studies in Roman Imperialism, 123; Mommsen, P. I, pp. 63ff; Syme, "The Spanish War of Augustus", A.J.Ph., LV (1934), 293; Wiseman, Roman Spain, 22 ff; Sutherland, The Romans in Spain, 76 ff.

Viriathini belli: Viriathus was one of the few survivors of Galba's treachery (vid. supra) and carried on guerilla warfare for many years. Finally Cn. Servilius Caepio, the Roman commander, suborned the ambassadors of Viriathus to murder him (139 B.C.), and afterwards subdued his followers (Appian Bell. Hisp. X.60; XI; XII; C.A.H., VIII, 314-316).

nepos: Servius Sulpicius Galba, cousin of Decimus Brutus (Cic. Fam. XI.7) and a friend of Cicero. The battle at Forum Gallorum, where Galba commanded the Legio Martia against Antony (Apr. 14, 43 B.C.), is described by him in a letter to Cicero (Fam. X.30). Vid. Appian B.C. III.45 ff., where the legion deserted Antony for Octavian, and B.C. IV.115, where it perished in a naval battle. It was given its name as a distinction for its bravery (Dio XLV.13).

ob repulsum consulatus: Caesar put Galba forward for

the consulship in 49 B.C., but Galba was unsuccessful since Cato and the Pompeians managed to outmanoeuvre the Caesarian faction (Hirtius B.G. VIII 50; Mommsen. History of Rome, IV, 413 ff; C.A.H., IX, 632). The subsequent ill-feeling between Galba and Caesar was probably due to the latter's policy during his dictatorship which alienated Cassius and others. Galba almost certainly expected the consulship as part of the price for his support; cf. Syme, R.R., 95. But this enmity was also partially a result of Galba's pride and presumption (Val. Max. VI.2,11).

legatus in Gallia: cf. Caesar, B.G. III.1-6; Dio XXXIX.5; XXXVII.48. Galba was one of Caesar's most important patrician supporters and one of his earliest legates (57 B.C), vid. Syme, R.R., 67; 69. He was entrusted by Caesar with the task of putting down certain Gallic tribes, a task which he successfully accomplished (M. Gelzer, Caesar, 105; 166).

conspiravit: cf. Appian, B.C. II.113. Cicero warned Antony that he would be Galba's next victim, though he erroneously considered Galba a "fortissimus et constantissimus civis." (Phil. X III.16).

Pedia Lege: proposed in 43 B.C. by Q Peditus, consul in that year (Caesar B.G. II.2). He was one of Caesar's legates (ibid.) and had triumphed in 45 B.C. (C.I.L., I<sup>2</sup>.p.50), but his good-fortune did not last, for he died during his consulship with Octavian (Appian B.C. IV.6,26). The Pedian Law was enacted to exile all those who had conspired to murder Caesar (Vell. Pat. II.69.5; Nero 3; R.E. XIX, 38).

3. avus: C. Sulpicius Galba, mentioned elsewhere as a historian (Plut. Rom. 17.5; Oros. V.23.6).

pater consulatu functus: a C. Sulpicius Galba was consul suffectus in 5 B.C. with Q Haterius (C.I.L. I<sup>2</sup>.p.69) and possibly the same C. Sulpicius (Galba) was consul in 22 A.D. with D. Haterius (Tac. Ann. III.52). Pliny (N.H. XXXIII.8)

mentions a C. Sulpicius Galba who makes a youthful effort to curry favour with Tiberius in 22 A.D. by penalizing those who kept eating-houses. This would certainly be Galba's elder brother, mentioned below, who committed suicide. It seems quite possible that Galba's father was twice consul, unless Galba's brother was fifteen years his senior. Tacitus further informs us that Galba's father committed suicide in 36 A.D. (Ann.VI.40), though it is possible that he was confused and fell into error.

modicae in dicendo facultatis: he was more highly praised by Macrobius (Sat.II.6.3).

4. Mummiam Achaicam: the great granddaughter of Mummius Achaicus who destroyed Corinth in 146 B.C. (vid. chap.2), and probably related to the Mummius whom Plutarch mentions as Crassus' legate in the Servile War of 72 B.C. (Crassus 10).

Catuli: Q. Lutatius Catulus Capitolinus; vid. chap.2.

Liviam Ocellinam: a similar story is told of Crates, the Cynic philosopher, and Hipparchia (Dudley, A History of Cynicism, 50).

Gaius: vid. supra, note on pater.

anno suo: i.e. the year in which, as senior ex-consul, he might apply for the sortitio provinciae; vid. Mommsen, S. II<sup>3</sup>, 251. Tiberius plainly suspected him of a desire to regain his squandered fortune at the expense of the provincials; cf. Tib. 32.2, where Tiberius, in reply to certain governors who wanted him to load the provinces with taxes, said that it was the duty of a shepherd to shear his sheep, not to flay them.

proconsulatum: i.e. of Asia or Africa only, since they alone were senatorial provinces at that period (Arnold, Roman System of Provincial Administration, 119). The other provinces were governed by propraetores chosen by the emperor. Both types of governor, however, shared the common appellation of proconsul; vid. Mommsen, S. II<sup>3</sup>, 90, 233, 238-246, 257; Hardy, 97.

## CHAPTER FOUR.

1. Suetonius usually dates the birth of his emperors either by the names of the consuls of that year or by reference to some historical event. Only in the case of Tiberius and Vespasian does he make use of both means.

M. Valerio Messala: was the son of the celebrated literary patron of Ovid and Tibullus, who was consul suffectus in 31 B.C. (Broughton, II, 420). Messala gained a certain military prestige while governing Dalmatia and Pannonia (Dio LV.29; Vell. Pat. II.112).

Cn. Lentulo: there is an obvious error here on the part of Suetonius or the manuscript, for the R.G., 16 gives L. Lentulus and M. Messala. A Cn. Lentulus was consul in 18 B.C. and 14 B.C. (Dio LIV.12, 24).

VIII Kal. Ian.: i.e. Dec. 24, 3 B.C., but cf. chap. 23. W.R. Tongue ("The date of the birth of the emperor Galba", T.A.P.A., LXLX (1938), xlix) considers this date to be the correct one. Suetonius (Nero 40) and Plutarch (Galb. 8) state that Galba was in his seventy-third year when Nero died in 68 A.D. But nowhere is it explicitly stated that he was born in 5 B.C. Here Suetonius informs us quite distinctly that Galba was born in 3 B.C. during the consulship of Messala and Lentulus. Tongue adds that Suetonius's enthusiasm for portents induced him to connect the oracle warning Nero to beware of the seventy-third year (Nero 40) with Galba's age, which automatically led to the false conclusion of 5 B.C. as the year of his birth. A summary of the evidence is as follows:

Aur. Victor Epit. 6: Galba died in his seventy-third year (69 A.D.)

Tac. Hist. I.49: Galba died in his seventy-third year.

Dio (Xiphilinus) LXLV.6: Galba lived seventy-two years; Zonaras adds that he lived seventy-two years and twenty-three days, i.e. he died on Jan. 15, 69 A.D.

Suetonius Galba 4: Galba was born on Dec. 24, 3 B.C.



Plutarch, however (Galb.8), and Eutropius (VII.16) say that Galba was in his seventy-third year when he became emperor in June, 68 A.D., and Suetonius (Nero 40) supports this. Galba would thus be in his seventy-fourth year when he died. Finally Suetonius (Galb.23) states that the emperor died in the seventy-third year of his life in the seventh month of his reign, i.e. January, 69 A.D.

I feel, with Tongue, that 3 B.C. is the more probable date of Galba's birth: Suetonius was not always consistent in his chronology, cf. Otho 11; Vit.18; Tit.11.

Terracinam: normally called Tarracina and often Anxur (Mart. V.1.6; Sil. Ital. VIII.390), which was presumably its Volscian name, was a town in Latium, some sixty-two miles south of Rome. It stood on the rock which overlooks modern Terracina (Hor. Sat.I.5.25) surrounded by rather marshy countryside (Strabo V.3.6). Martial describes it as a quiet retreat with salubrious waters (V.1.6; X.51.5-16). It was clearly of some strategic importance since the Volsci and the Romans fought over it more than once (Livy IV.59; V.8) and the parties of Vitellius and Vespasian made efforts to seize it (Tac. Hist. III.76ff.). The country house was the home of the Galba family (C. I. L. I<sup>2</sup>, 694): vid. Aurigemma-Bianchini-De Santis, Circea Terracina Fondi, (Itinerari dei Musei, Gallerie e Monumenti d'Italia, 1957), McKay, Ancient Latium and Etruria, 66ff.

Fundos: now Fondi, situated on the Appian Way about twelve miles from Tarracina and seventy-four miles from Rome, a place famous for its wines (Martial XIII.113). Fundi is first mentioned by Livy (VIII.14) when it received Roman privileges without the franchise for allowing Roman troops free passage on their march into Campania in 336 B.C. It received full franchise in 189 B.C. (Livy XXXVIII. 36). Vid. Aurigemma, op.cit. Galba was staying in the town when he was offered the governorship of Hispania Tarraconensis (chap.8.1).

adoptatus a noverca: i.e. Livia Ocellina (Chap.3.4) who must have adopted him in her will. A woman, not being the head of a family, was unable to adopt except by will (Mommsen, S. III<sup>3</sup>,40).

mutato praenomine: on being adopted Galba assumed the praenomen of Lucius Livius Ocella, father of the Livia mentioned in chapter three. From a gladiatorial tessera (C.I.L.,X,770), dating from his consulship in 33 A.D., we learn that his name during this period was L.Livius Sulpicius Galba.

usque ad tempus imperii: after becoming emperor Galba's title was Ser. Galba imp. Caesar Augustus (C.I.L., X,770;771; Dessau, I.L.S.,237). His adopted praenomen and nomen, still appear on Greek inscriptions (C.I.G.,III,4957) together with Sulpicius, his former nomen and Galba, his cognomen.

Augustum puero ..... dixisse: attributed to Tiberius by Tacitus (Ann.VI.20), Dio (LVII.19) and Josephus (Antiqu. XVIII.6). It seems probable that Suetonius is in error here.

Salutanti: cf. Vesp.12.4. The salutatio was one of the officia expected from clients by their patrons at Rome under the republic (Smith, II,sv.salutatio). Under the principate salutatio, while retaining its original connotations, was also the term used for paying court to the emperor (Aug.27; Claud.37;Vit.14; Vesp.4).

Vivat ..... nos pertinet: après moi le déluge; cf. Dio, LVII,17.

2. Avo: cf. Chap. 3.3.

fulgur procuranti: i.e. to procure the favour of the gods in order to avert the evil omen; cf. Sen. N.Q. II.32.

frugiferam quercum: Galba would reach the top, like the eagle, but since the oak was frugiferam his accession would be in the autumn of his life. It appears that Roman kings impersonated Jupiter, and until imperial times victorious generals celebrating a triumph and magistrates presiding at the games in the Circus wore the costume of Jupiter, borrowed for the occasion from his temple on the Capitol, in imitation of the traditional attire of the kings. The eagle was the bird of Jupiter and the oak his sacred tree, both symbols of regality (Frazer, op. cit., II, 174 ff.).

cum mula peperit: i.e. "when pigs have wings", a proverb similar to the Greek Kalends (Aug. 87).

mulae partus: unnatural and consequently a bad omen.

3. sumpta virili toga: according to Dio (LVI.29) Galba assumed the toga virilis on Jan. 1st., 14 A.D., and it was considered a remarkable coincidence that he did so in the year of Augustus' death, and became emperor upon the extinction of the family of Augustus. This statement would argue for the date of Galba's birth being fixed at 3 B.C. (Vid. chap. 4.1), since the normal age for the assumption of the toga virilis was between fourteen and sixteen (C.I.L., XIV, 244) when a boy would decide on his future career. Caligula assumed the toga virilis at the age of seventeen (Calig. 10), his brother Nero at fourteen (Tac. Ann. III. 29), and his brother Drusus at fifteen (ibid IV. 4).

somniavit Fortunam dicentem: the same dream is described in almost the same words in Dio LXIV.1. Cf. chap. 18.2.

Tusculum: nowadays Frascati, fifteen miles south-east of Rome on the Via Latina. Strabo (V. 239) says that on the side towards Rome the hills of Tusculum were covered with woods and palaces, and here Cicero had a villa called Tusculanum, which is the setting for his Tusculan Disputations.

The gentle climate and the proximity of Tusculum to Rome made it a favourite summer resort of the well-to-do Romans in the first century B.C. and after. Cato the Censor was born there, and many celebrated Roman families, among them the Mamilii, the Fulvii, the Pontei, the Juventii and the Porcii, all came from Tusculum. Vid. Dion.Hal. X; G. McCracken, A Short History of Ancient Tusculum.

pervigilio anniversario: cf. Calig.54; Vit.10; Tac. Ann. XV.44. We possess no evidence for such devotional all-night vigils in early Roman religion, and they seem to have been introduced with the advent of Greek and Oriental religions. The Bona Dea and Bacchus rites gave rise to great scandals at Rome (Cic. Leg. II.14) and Clodius used the Bona Dea celebrations at Caesar's house to gratify his sexual desires (Att. I.13.3). An annual celebration of the Bona Dea pervigilium took place at the house of one of the consuls (First century B.C. and after) and was directed by the magistrate's wife with the assistance of the Vestal Virgins (Cic. Har. Resp. 37; Plut. Caes. 9).

#### CHAPTER FIVE.

1. liberales disciplinas: these would be rhetoric, law, philosophy, music and poetry, cf. Aug.84; Calig.53; Claud.3; Nero.52; Domit.20; Cic. De Orat. III; Quintil. Inst. Orat., XII. Vid. Marrou, Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité, 329 ff.

dedit matrimonio operam: cf. chap.14.3, note on iustum liberorum. Marriage and the rearing of children had become a burden in the late republic and early empire resulting in so serious a decline of the old aristocratic families that Augustus was compelled to have laws enacted (Lex Julia and Lex Papia Poppaea) to penalize the celibate

and to reward those who had married and brought up children.

Lepida: perhaps the daughter of M. Aemilius, consul in 11 A.D. (Dio LVI.25).

in caelibatu: as a widower. Both bachelors and widowers possessed the same appellation, cf. Claud.16; Sen. De Ben. I.9.4.

condicione: properly the condicio uxoria, the proposal or the actual marriage.

Agrippinae: Julia Agrippina was the daughter of Germanicus and the wife of Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, to whom she bore the future emperor, Nero, in 37 A.D. On her husband's death in 39 B.C. she was exiled by her brother, Caligula (Nero 6), probably for complicity in the Gaetulicus conspiracy (Claud.9; Calig.24.3). Recalled by her uncle, Claudius, she subsequently married him, persuaded him to adopt Nero and towed him to his own daughter, Octavia. It is possible that she poisoned Claudius (Claud.44), though G. Bagnani has discredited this theory ("The Case of the Poisoned Mushrooms", Phoenix, I (1946), 15 ff.). After Nero had come to the throne in 54 A.D. (Nero 8), she practically ruled Rome for a period. She was finally put to death by her son after a number of murder attempts had failed (Nero 34; Tac. Ann. XIV.1-9). Vid. Balsdon, Roman Women, 107 ff.

Domitii: Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, Nero's father and Agrippina's first husband, who was consul in 32 A.D. (Vit.2) and proconsul in Sicily where he committed numerous crimes; cf. Nero 5, where Suetonius describes him as "omni parte vitae detestabilis." His father was probably Luc. Domitius Ahenobarbus, consul in 16 B.C., who enjoyed a similar reputation (Nero 4; Syme, R.R. 421, 510).

conventus matronarum: possibly religious gatherings in origin (Friedländer, Sittengeschichte, I, 282). They are mentioned only here and in Livy V.25; XXVII.37.

2. Liviam Augustam: vid. chap.1. Augustus had her adopted into the gens Julia in his will, with the title Augusta (Tac. Ann. I.8). Thereafter Tacitus calls her Augusta or Julia Augusta; Suetonius erroneously calls her Livia Augusta here.

plurimum valuit: according to Plutarch (Galb.3.2), Galba owed his consulship to her influence, but this seems improbable, since she died in 29 A.D. and he was not consul until four years later (P.I.R.III; 285). His initial advancement, however, may well have been due to her, cf. chap. 6.1., "honoribus ante legitimum tempus initis."

paene ditatus est: he was a rich man (Plut. Galb.3,29), in fact Plutarch calls him the richest private person who ever came to the throne. Cf. chap.2, note on nobilissimus.

praecipuum: the first charge on an estate; cf. Ulpian Dig. XXXIII.4.2.

notata, non perscripta: i.e. designated in figures only.

ne haec quidem accepit: Suetonius earlier (Calig.16) states that Caligula paid both the legacies left by Augusta and those left by Tiberius. He appears to have forgotten his former statement. Dio (LIX,1) also says that Tiberius suppressed his mother's will and paid none of her bequests.

## CHAPTER SIX.

1. Honoribus ante legitimum tempus: the cursus honorum, modified and clarified by Sulla, was made meaningless by Pompey and Octavian, but as emperor Augustus clearly defined the positions that were to be held before the praetorship could be sought, and the intervals between the various offices. Vid. C.A.R., X, 161 ff. Galba was presumably praetor before the age of thirty, and consul in 33 A.D. (P.I.R., III<sup>1</sup>, 285) at the age of thirty-six, a not unprecedented but certainly unusual

occurrence, due, in all probability, to the influence of Augusta, vid. supra. A well-tabulated outline of the senatorial and equestrian careers is given by Wells and Barrow, A Short History of the Roman Empire, appendix III.

praetor: according to Mommsen (S. I, 572), Augustus transferred the cura ludorum from the aediles to the praetors; cf. Dio. LIV. 2.

commissio: cf. Aug. 43; the commissio was the beginning of the games by the gladiators who joined battle (proelium committere). By metonymy it came to mean a speech at the opening of the games or a prize declamation, cf. Aug. 39; Calig. 53.

Ludorum Floraliu: the Floralia were inaugurated in 238 B.C., though in origin they were much older and probably constituted a spring festival of the country people. From 173 B.C. onwards mimes became the most important part of the Floralia (Bieber, History of the Greek and Roman Theater, 159). Celebrated between Apr. 28th and May 3rd. (ibid. 227) they were boisterous events, and even women performed half-naked (Ibid. 238). Cf. Sen. Ep. XVI. 2. 8; Martial I. 35; Beare, The Roman Stage, 10-11; 154-155.

elephantos funambulos: cf. Nero 11. 2, where elephants walking the tight-rope were a great attraction, Pliny; N. H. VIII. 5; Sen. Ep. XII. 3. 41; Dio LXI. 17. Terence even had a performance of his Hecyre interrupted by a tight-rope performance (Hec. prol. 4) in 165 B.C., and elephants were trained to walk the tight-rope in order to add spice to what was by then an ordinary circus performance.

provinciae Aquitaniae . . . . praefuit: Galba was legatus Augusti pro praetore in 31 or 32 A.D. (P. I. R., III<sup>1</sup>, 285). Since of the four Gallic provinces only Gallia Narbonensis was at this time senatorial (Mommsen, P. I, p. 85) Galba would be elected by Tiberius, who could choose consulares, praetorii or even senators of a lower rank if he wished, and he would

hold office at the emperor's pleasure, as a delegate of his authority. Thus Agricola governed Aquitania for three years (Dio.LIIII.23) and Galba governed Hispania Tarraconensis for eight years (Plut. Galb. 4). Aquitania was inhabited by Iberians not Celts (Mommsen, loc.cit.). At this period the province stretched from the Pyrenees in the south to the Loire in the north, and the same river, when it turned southward, formed the eastern boundary, the Atlantic the western boundary (Brogan, Roman Gaul, final map). Augustus had greatly extended the province (A.Grenier in Tenney Frank, An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome, III, 435 ff.) and its importance is shown by the fact that Agrippa was sent to deal with Aquitanian revolt in 39 B.C. (Brogan, op.cit., 23). Along with the rest of Gaul, Aquitania enjoyed its greatest period of prosperity from the reign of Augustus until that of Hadrian (Tenney Frank, op.cit., III, 510 ff.), "et jusqu' à la fin de l'empire, l'Aquitaine passe pour une des régions les plus heureuses de la Gaule" (ibid. 437).

consulatum ordinarium: the consuls elected at the beginning of a year gave their name to it and were called consules ordinarii. When other consuls were elected later in the year, they were called consules suffecti, and had their names inscribed on the Fasti. Under the empire the consuls did not usually remain in office the whole year, but were replaced, often several times during the year, so that the normal tenure of office came to be either two or four months (Dio XLIII.46; XLIII.35). This measure was first used to increase the number of consulares by Augustus after the civil wars which had seriously reduced the number of potential governors. In the year 69 A.D. there were fifteen consuls (Mommsen, S., II, 82).

L.Domitio: Cn.Domitius Ahenobarbus, vid. chap.5.1.

Salvius Otho pater Othonis: succeeded Galba to the consulship in July 33 A.D. as consul suffectus (vid.supra).

praesagium: a coincidence which would appear in



retrospect as a portent, and as such, a necessary part of Suetonius' story.

2. Gaio Caesare: i.e. Caligula, who appointed Galba commander of the German legions in 39 A.D. (Dio LIX.22). Two years later Galba defeated the Chatti, vid.infra. note on barbaris coercitis.

Gaetulici: Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus. His father, Cossus Cornelius Lentulus, received this cognomen after defeating the Gaetuli in Africa in 6 A.D. Consul in 26 A.D., Gaetulicus commanded the troops in Upper Germany for ten years with great moderation and clemency (Tac.Ann.VI.30). Because his daughter was to have married Sejanus he incurred the displeasure of Tiberius. The emperor did not execute him solely on account of his reputation with the German legions (ibid.). Caligula, however, had no such fears (Dio. LIX.22). He both banished Agrippina, presumably for complicity in the plot hatched by Lepidus and Gaetulicus (vid.chap.5.1), and put the latter to death. Cf. C.A.H.,X,659.

tessera: the ordinary tesseræ were either a kind of dice, or cubes of marble, glass, precious stones etc., used for making tessellated pavements (cf.Jul.46). Here Suetonius refers to the tessera militaris, a square tablet bearing the password, in camp, or orders as to movements and disposition of troops (Livy IX.32).

paenula: a sleeveless travelling cloak of thick cloth, used by all classes in Italy during bad weather (Smith,II,308).

3. commeatus: leave, furlough.Cf. Tib.10;Nero 35; Galig.29;Claud,23. At this period it was the practice in the Roman army for leave of absence to be purchased from the centurion (Tac.Hist.I,46), which often resulted in the depletion of the legions under slack commanders, and occasionally caused disasters (Tac.Ann.XV.9). Leave could not be purchased while the army was on the march, or in the event of an enemy incursion or an insurrection in the proximity; cf. R.E.,IV,

sv. commeatus; Daremberg-Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquities Grèques et Romaines, I, sv. commeatus.

barbaris coercitis: in Domit. 6.1 we learn of Galba's success over the Chatti, verified by Dio (LX.8), Plutarch (Galb. 8) and Tacitus (Hist. I.49).

praesenti quoque Gaio: cf. Vesp. 2.3; Calig. 43-44. Caligula's expedition took place in 39 A.D. It does not seem likely that all Suetonius' stories about Caligula were true, for the army, having already lost its popular commander, Gaetulicus, would have revolted against such treatment.

innumeras copias: Suetonius (Calig. 43) states that soldiers were collected from all parts and that so many supplies had never before been gathered. According to Dio (LIX.22) there were between 200,000 and 250,000 men.

campestrem decursionem: route marches in full kit. Livy (XL.6) says "Mos erat: exercitum decurrere et divisas biforiam duas acies concurrere ad simulacrum pugnae." Cf. also Livy XXIII.35; XXIV.48; XLII.52; Tac. Ann. II.55; Marquardt, II, 548.

ad essedum . . . . . cucurrit: Caligula compelled even senators to run beside his chariot for several miles (Calig. 26). The essedum was a war-chariot used by the Britons and Gauls, the Belgae and perhaps other German tribes (Virg. Georg. III.204; Persius VI.47). Caesar (B.G. IV.33) and Diodorus Siculus (V. 21.29) state that the Britons used the essedum in the same way that the Homeric Greeks used the δίφρος, but that the essedum was a stronger chariot and open at the front, not the back. The Romans adopted it (Cic. Att. VI.1.; Propert. II.76) and eventually it was used by the emperors as a travelling carriage (Calig. 51). Vid. Smith, I, sv. essedum.

## CHAPTER SEVEN.

1. Caede Gai: Caligula was assassinated on Jan. 24th, 41 A.D. (Calig. 58) by two praetorian tribunes, Cassius Chaerea and Cornelius Sabinus. Cf. Josephus, Antiqu. XIX.1.

cohortem amicorum: it was customary for an emperor to be accompanied on a journey or campaign by a retinue of friends or companions, comites; cf. Hor. Ep. I.3.6; 8.14; Calig. 19 and Vita Lucani, where Suetonius says that Lucan was "relocatus Athenis a Nerone cohortique amicorum additus." Crook (Consilium Principis, 25, 37) states that the cohors amicorum was the immediate entourage of the emperor wherever he was, and as such would be composed of personal friends and political and military advisors, cf. Tac. Ann. I.24.1; 27.1.

expeditionis Britannicae: the Claudian expedition is briefly described in Claud. 17, but Suetonius is vague. Dio (LX.19) says that a certain Bericus had been expelled from Britain during a revolution, and that he persuaded Claudius to send troops there. We have no other evidence that Galba accompanied Claudius. Cf. Momigliano, Claudius, the Emperor and his Achievements, 54 ff; Scramuzza, The Emperor Claudius, 30, 200-213.

Africam . . . optinuit: Tacitus (Hist. I.49) says that Galba governed the province with moderation, and Plutarch (Galb. 3.2) adds that he was greatly praised as a proconsul there. For his good work in Africa he received the triumphalia ornamenta et sacerdotium triplex (chap. 8.1). The province of Africa had come into Rome's possession after the destruction of Carthage in 146 B.C. Its principal products were grain and later olives. In 17 A.D. the celebrated revolt of Tacfarinas broke out (Tac. Ann. II.52) due to the land shortage among his people (ibid. III.73). Even after the revolt was put down the turbulent tribes of the south and west continued to give trouble (C. I. L. VIII, 14603) and had to be forcibly repressed.

In 37 A.D. Caligula appointed a legate in charge of the legio III Augusta there, in place of the proconsular governor; vid. (Tac.Hist.IV.48; Dio LIX.20). Both add that he did this through fear of the proconsul, Silanus, but Africa clearly consisted of two separate zones at this period, one peaceful, the other unsettled, each needing administration. In 40 A.D. the emperor also annexed Mauretania, after deposing its king Ptolemy (Dio LIX.25; Calig.26).

biennio: i.e. 45 and 46 A.D. Under the republic provinces were normally held for one year. Caesar extended the period to two years (Cic.Phil.I.8.19), but Augustus reduced it again (Aug.47; Tac.Ann.III.58; Dio LIII.13.2). Galba would be appointed governor of the senatorial province initially for one year, but probably his appointment was renewed (Mommsen, S. II, 250).

extra sortem electus: except under certain circumstances governors of Africa and Asia were chosen by lot from the eligible senior consulars, but Galba's was a special appointment. Pliny was likewise sent to Bithynia in 111 A.D. by Trajan on a special assignment (C.A.H., XI, 219).

intestina dissensio: in Africa Caligula had retained the distinction between the senatorial governor and the imperial commander of the troops. Claudius, when trouble broke out, appointed Galba, one of his most trusted and efficient generals, as governor and probably commander too (C.A.H., X, 674).

barbarorum tumultu: Mauretania was a trouble spot at this period: the Garamantes and Gaetuli (chap.6,2) were perennial disturbers of the peace in Africa, but the people referred to here were probably the Mussulami (Aur.Vict.Caesar IV.2).

2. cibarium: the normal diet of a legionary was simple; soup, bread, vegetables, lard and wine mixed with water (Parker, The Roman Legions, 220) for which he would pay himself (ibid. 216). Tacitus informs us that meat was not often eaten;

the soldiers investing Tigranocerta only consumed meat when compelled by starvation (Ann.XIV.24).

iuredicendo: in the provinces the governor and those to whom he delegated his powers, normally his quaestor, legates and possibly his prefects, possessed iurisdictio or the right of hearing cases. If dissatisfied with a minor official's decision a plaintiff or defendant could appeal to the governor, though a dishonest official could render this impossible (CicII Verr. II.30). An ultimate appeal might be made to the consuls, under the republic, and to the emperor or the consuls under the principate. Augustus was inundated with such appeals (Aug.33.3). Vid. Jones, Studies in Roman Government and Law, 69.ff.

#### CHAPTER EIGHT.

1. ornamenta triumphalia: a general who gained a triumph under the republic or the ornamenta triumphalia, without the ceremony, under the principate after 14 B.C., was afterwards called triumphalis and could wear the toga picta, tunica palmata and aurea corona, and at public spectacles he was allowed to appear wearing the laurel wreath. Normally he would also be accorded the statua triumphalis standing erect in a triumphal chariot, which would be displayed in the vestibulum of his house, transmitting his fame to posterity (Mommsen, S. I, 465 ff.). It was customary to provide him with a house at public expense, the triumphalis domus, and his name would be inscribed on the Fasti (Pliny N.H.XXXVI.112).

sacerdotium triplex: Vitellius likewise received three such appointments (Vit.5).

Quindecimviros: Tarquinius Superbus (or Priscus) entrusted the three Sibylline books which remained to the duo viri sacris faciundis (Livy.V.13). Later in 367 B.C. (the passing of the Licinian Laws) the number of the priests

was increased to ten, five patricians and five plebeians. This was the first priesthood opened to the plebeians since it had no connection with the sacra of the old patrician gentes (Livy VII.37.12). Again at a later date, probably under Sulla, their number was increased to the fifteen noted above (Cic.Fam.8.4.1). Augustus himself was a member of this priestly college, which was dedicated to the cult of Apollo, whose worship, together with the care of the Sibylline books, occupied a central place in his early religious reforms. (L.R.Taylor, The Divinity of the Roman Emperors, 120). These priests also conducted the Ludi Apollinares (Livy, X,10) and the Ludi Saeculares (Hor.Carm.Saec. 70). Vid. Marquardt, III, 353. Their prominence is due, at least in part, to political reasons, for Lepidus, junior member of the second triumvirate, and at the time of Augustus' celebration of the Saecular Games, pontifex maximus, had no jurisdiction over games and ceremonies enjoining Greek rites. Augustus, therefore, as president of the quindecimviri, in effect controlled the Saecular Games. Cf. L.R. Taylor, op.cit., 177-178.

sodales Titios: an ancient priesthood of uncertain origin. Tacitus gives us two accounts of its possible origin. In the Annales (I.54) he says that Titus Tatius, the former Sabine King, had founded it, whereas in the Histories (II.95) he states that Romulus founded it in honour of Titus. The priesthood was received by Augustus as part of his scheme to resuscitate the mores maiorum, and he was himself a member of the society (R.G.,7).

Augustales: this priesthood was established in 14.A.D. by Tiberius (Tac.Ann. I.54; Hist.II.95) to maintain the cult of the previous emperor, Augustus, and the gens Julia. Thereafter it was regarded as one of the great priesthoods. In its sphere was included the worship of Claudius, the next emperor deified, when we hear of the Sodales Augustales Claudiales. Similar priesthoods were established later for the joint

worship of Vespasian and Titus, the worship of Hadrian, and finally that of Antoninus Pius.

The Augustales held office for a year and it was their duty to provide the games and sponsor or restore public works. Such titles as Augustales Apollinares and Augustales Mercuriales show that Augustus was identified with these and other gods. After the reorganization of the Augustales, presumably in Trajan's reign, emphasis was placed on the magisterial rather than on the priestly functions. Cf. L.R. Taylor, "Augustales, Seviri Augustales and Seviri", T.A.P.A., XLV (1914), 231 ff; "Seviri Equitum Romanum and Municipal Seviri", J.R.S., XIV (1924), 158ff.; The Divinity of the Roman Emperor, 120ff; 177-178; 181ff; Duff, Freedman in the Early Roman Empire, 133ff; Etienne, Le Culte Impériale dans la Péninsule Ibérique d'Auguste à Dioclétien, 251ff., 405, 417-419.

cooptatus: the ranks of the augures and pontifices were originally filled and subsequently replenished by cooptation, but the Lex Domitia of 103 B.C. put an end to this (C.A.H., IX, 163). Seventeen of the thirty-five tribes were chosen by lot to act as the comitia sacerdotium, and these elected the priests for the colleges, the nominations being supplied by the colleges themselves. The priests, once elected, were then formally coöpted, in perpetuation of the traditional formality. In 29 B.C. Augustus was granted the right to choose as many priests as he desired (C.A.H., X, 122). He possessed both the nominatio and the commendatio, as he did later in the case of consular elections. In effect he appointed the various priests who were "elected" by the senate and subsequently coöpted by the colleges; cf. Pliny Ep. IV.8.

in secessu plurimum vixit: Tiberius also retired when no longer persona grata at court (Tib. 10), as did Vespasian (Vesp. 4). Seneca attempted to do so, but Nero would not allow him (Nero 35.5).

Fundi: vid. chap. 4.1.

Hispania Tarraconensis: Hispania Citerior was called Hispania Tarraconensis after its most important town, Tarraco, nowadays Tarragona, which subsequently became the foremost city in Roman Spain. The province was vast, partly Romanized, partly but recently conquered, and not more Roman than Celtiberian. Its administration was carried out by a governor and three legates, each of the latter commanding a single legion until Vespasian's reign, signifying the turbulent nature of the inhabitants. Tiberius conducted many road building enterprises in the province and consented to the building of a temple to Divus Augustus at Tarraco in 15 A.D. The city soon became the congress-centre of central and northern Spain (Sutherland, op.cit., 143, 150, 155, 171, 177, 193). Vid. Wiseman, op.cit., 109ff. Tarraco was the first city to provide evidence of a Spanish Provincial Assembly, which appears to be contemporaneous with the erection of the temple of Divus Augustus (Etienne, op.cit., 406). From Vespasian's time onwards one legion (VII Gemina), supported by auxilia, sufficed to control the whole province (C.A.H., XI, 496 ff).

oblata est: Galba was an old man of sixty-four when Nero appointed him governor of Hispania Tarraconensis, and the emperor plainly envisaged no seditious intrigue from one of Galba's years (Plut. Galb. 3).

2 inveni senem: Nero was thirty-one when he died, Galba was seventy-one when he became emperor. For this portent cf. Dio LXIV.1.

Cantabriae: part of Hispania Tarraconensis and situated in the north-west of Spain. The country was poor and its people primitive and bellicose. They were finally reduced by Roman expeditions under Augustus in 26 and 25 B.C. and Agrippa in 19 B.C. Cf. Syme, "The Spanish War of Augustus", A.J.Ph., LV (1934), 293ff.; C.A.H., X, 344; Sutherland, op.cit., 132ff, 165, 177.



duodecim secures . . . . imperii signum: twelve lictores bearing the fascēs or rods of office, to represent regal authority, accompanied the old kings of Rome. The rods symbolized the power to punish, the axe, which was always carried with them, was probably a symbol of the ius vitae necisque. Together they formed the regia insignia (Cf. Cic. Rep. II. 17. 31; Livy I. 8). In later times consuls and proconsuls, upon whom the regal powers had devolved, were allowed the privilege of being accompanied by lictors. Augustus granted this power to the consular governors of Africa and Asia only (Mommsen, S. I<sup>3</sup>, 382; II<sup>3</sup> 5.). Galba had already possessed this power once as consular governor of Africa (chap. 7.1), but he did not have the same right as imperial legate in Hispania Tarraconensis.

#### CHAPTER NINE.

1. octo annos: i. e. 60-68 A. D. The governor of a senatorial province normally remained in office for one year (vid. chap. 7.1, note on biennio) but the legate of an imperial province held office at the emperor's pleasure. Thus Otho governed Lusitania for ten years (Otho 3). Vid. Mommsen, S. II<sup>3</sup>, 259; Greenidge, Roman Public Life, 434.

varie . . . . rexit: vid. note on Africa . . . . optinuit, chap. 7.1. Galba was plainly on the side of the provincials against Nero's predatory procurators (Plut. Galb. 4.1).

primo acer: Plutarch says that Galba was sent out by Nero before he had begun to fear men of high reputation. Furthermore Galba's age and gentle nature gave the emperor confidence that he would act sensibly (Plut. Galb. 3.3). Thereafter Nero's suspicions of his provincial governors caused him to have Corbulo, his excellent general in the East, take his own life. Scribonius Rufus and Scribonius

Proclus shared his fate in 67 A.D. They had commanded the troops in Upper and Lower Germany (Dio.63.17); cf. C.A.H., X, 731. Galba was taking no chances and endeavoured to remain inconspicuous.

cui substitutus heres erat: it was not unusual for Romans to name a second heir. He could inherit if the first heir died before coming of age or simply refused the inheritance. Tiberius took this precaution (Tib.76).

imploranti leges: i.e. lex ne quis iniussu populi capite damnetur, vid. C.A.H., ix, 56. The actual leges referred to are the Lex Porcia of 197 B.C., which prescribed penalties for executing or scourging a Roman citizen, and the Lex Sempronia of 123 B.C., with which C. Gracchus extended the citizen right of appeal to the people (i.e. the popular assembly); vid. Cic. Rab. 4.12. Cicero was himself exiled on this count, since he had caused Lentulus and Cethegus, the Catilinarians, to be executed in 63 B.C. before their appeal had been heard, and this after a senatus consultum ultimum had been proclaimed. Galba acted unconstitutionally since he executed a Roman citizen without allowing the right of appeal to the emperor, who had taken the place of the people, provided for in the Lex Iulia de vi of 46 B.C. (C.A.H., IX, 698); cf. St. Paul's action in Acts, XXII, 25. Galba acted in a similar manner after he became emperor (Galb. 14.3). Vid. Hardy, 144-145, for a summary of the position under the empire.

civem Romanum se testificant: Verres acted similarly when he publicly flogged a Roman citizen (Cic. II. Verr. V. 62), as did Balbus (Cic. Fam. X. 32). Cicero invoked the Lex Porcia and the Lex Sempronia which both of his adversaries had ignored so conspicuously.

in desidiam segnitiamque conversus est: "sed claritas natalium et metus temporum obtentui, ut quod segnitia erat sapientia vocaretur," (Tac. Hist. I. 49). Cf. Tac. Agric. VI; Ann. XIV. 47.

ne quid materiae praeberet Neroni: i.e. for suspicion or jealousy. For a similar situation under Domitian vid. Tac. Agric. VI, XLII.

rationem otii reddere: according to Cato, great men should be able to give an account of their otium no less than of their negotium (Cic. Planc. XXVII, 66). Cf. Columella II.21.5.

2. Carthagine nova: New Carthage, now Cartagena, in the south-east of Hispania Citerior. Originally called Mastia it was refounded in 228 B.C. by Hasdrubal, and captured by Scipio in 209 B.C. This city was probably the most thoroughly Romanized of all the cities in Hispania Citerior (Sutherland, op.cit. 117). Both Strabo (III.2.10) and Pliny (N.H. XXXIII.97) mention the wealth of its great mines (cf. Sutherland, op.cit., 105ff.). The whole of the province was dependent for its safety on the two Roman strongholds of Carthago Nova and Tarraco, both Julian "colonies" (ibid., 48, 128; M. Grant, From Imperium to Auctoritas, 215ff).

conventum agens: a province was subdivided into districts similar to our modern counties, and each district had its own capital or county seat where the courts (our county sessions) were held. The area of these districts was determined according to the Lex Provinciae. A certain amount of independence was achieved under the Empire, and occasionally the county seat possessed its own college of priests of the Imperial cult (I.L.S., 6931-2). Agere conventum is a technical term meaning "to hold the county assizes". Suetonius (Jul. 7.1), describes the judges who make the circuit (conventus circumire). Vid. Sutherland, op.cit. 165ff; Smith, II, sv. conventus.

tumultuari Gallias: Vindex, legate of Galba Lugdunensis, one of the unarmed provincials (Tac. Hist. I.16), managed to raise an army (cf. Hardy, op.cit., 99). Galba (Plut. Galb. 4) learned of this even before the insurrection occurred through letters from Vindex, but neither joined him nor informed Nero, preferring to await results. The army of Vindex was reputed to be a

hundred thousand strong (ibid.), though this was probably exaggerated. Vindex was joined by the Aedui, the Arverni, the town of Vienna in Gallia Narbonensis, and most of the tres Galliae, in all probability. Vienna, once the capital of the Allobroges, and Lugdunum, capital of Gallia Lugdunensis, had been rivals for many years, and the former hoped to gain from the discomfiture of Lugdunum, which did not join the insurgents; cf. Henderson, Civil War and Rebellion in the Roman Empire, 27. Gallia Narbonensis remained loyal to Nero, doubtless on account of its favoured position; cf. Pliny N.H. III. 31, where it is called "Italia veriusquam provincia:" Syme, T. I. 455.

Vindex was a Gaul by birth and had descended from a royal family in Aquitania (Dio LXIII. 62), and it seems likely (Hardy, 100-101) that he was about to attempt the establishment of a Gallic Empire, like that of Civilis (Tac. Hist. IV. 17), but that it was necessary for the movement in its early stages to receive external support, whatever the pretext. According to Syme (T. 462 ff.) the real reasons for the revolt of Vindex will never be known. Apart from Gallia Narbonensis, however, Gaul had not been Romanized and exploitation had always been a cause of discontent, exacerbated in the sixties by Nero's greedy procurators. Perhaps, in fact, Vindex had clashed with these procurators in the same way as Galba and Nero would be bound to support his agents. In this case Vindex would revolt in order to save his life, or at least his position. The Rhine armies which defeated him were primarily defensive, and aimed as much at suppressing a possible Gallic uprising as repelling a German invasion. Vindex held an ambiguous position, as Roman governor, but of Gallic descent, appealing for native support to dethrone a Roman emperor. His plea naturally stirred the pride of many Gauls, but quite failed to gain the support of the legions.

Galba succeeded because he represented Roman nobility, and he was able to call upon the senate and the Roman people (chap.10), to appeal to patriotism rather than native pride.

The rebellion was suppressed by the Rhine legions (Plut.Galb.6) and was not supported by the "pars Galliarum quae Rhenum accolit," (Tac.Hist.I.51). These Gauls, mainly the Lingones and the Treveri, Galba subsequently punished, seemingly for not aiding Vindex, by loss of territory, while he rewarded the Aedui, Arverni and their allies by grants of Roman citizenship and a remission of their tribute (ibid.), a remission perhaps long overdue as a matter of policy. This action incensed the Rhine legions, and when they were deprived of their successful general, Verginius Rufus, and received no donative, they were more than ready to acclaim Vitellius.

The picture painted by Dio (LXIII.62) is highly improbable. Vindex, according to his report, delivers a crushing tirade against Nero during his address to the Gauls. Yet Nero's excesses were hardly felt in the provinces, and it would be the governors or procurators who rather incurred the hatred of the provincials. Dio, in fact, was nearer the real cause of discontent a little earlier (LXIII.22), namely the heavy burden of tribute. This view is supported by Tacitus (Ann.III.40;Hist.IV.17) who places the rising of Florus and Sacrovir under Tiberius (Ann.III.40-42,46), that of Vindex and that of Civilis, in the same category (Hist.IV.57). Vindex badly needed Galba's support, and only for this reason did he offer him the empire. Even Civilis at first concealed his real designs by pretending to maintain the cause of Vespasian (Tac.Hist.IV.21).

Aquitaniae: an unarmed province like Lugdunensis, of which Vindex was governor. Originally Aquitania was conquered by Caesar's lieutenant, P.Licinius Crassus, though it was not finally subdued until the expeditions of Augustus in 38 B.C. and 27 B.C., after which its area was extended to

include the tribes of the Loire (Strabo IV.1.1). The province was extremely rich in gold, iron and other metals (ibid. III. 146; IV.187-190; Pliny N.H. XXXI.4). Vid. R.E., sv. Aquitania.

humano generi assertorem ducemque: according to Stevenson (C.A.H., X, 811) it is doubtful whether Galba would have revolted from Nero, if Vindex had not sent letters calling upon him to become the champion of the human race. Cf. the legend SALUS GENERIS HUMANI on some of Galba's coins, C.A.H., Vol. of Plates IV, 206.

nec diu cunctatus: a description of Galba's council of war is given by Plutarch (Galb. 4), in which Vinus, Galba's lieutenant, accurately defined their position. They were committed to a revolt inasmuch as news of their deliberation would certainly leak back to the capital. Cf. Tac. Hist. II.77, "nam qui deliberant, desciverunt".

partim metu: the reason for his former inactivity, vid. supra, note on in desidiis.

mandata Neronis de nece sua: cf. Nero 43.1. It was Nero's intention to murder all former governors and commanders and the whole of the Gallic population domiciled in Rome.

procuratores: Plutarch (Galb. 4) says that Galba, though unable to aid the provincials against Nero's predatory tax-collectors, did actively sympathize with them. Plutarch speaks as a provincial who had seen these creatures at work.

In the area of administration managed by the emperor himself certain state functions were delegated to praefecti, but most duties were carried out by the imperial agents, the procuratores Caesaris. These were, strictly speaking, the servants of the emperor, possessing only representative authority vested in them by the emperor, and appointed to perform minor administrative duties (Tac. Hist. I.28.1). Originally freedmen, or even slaves (Tac. Ann. IV.6.7), they gained great importance under Claudius. Vitellius (Tac. Hist. I.58.1) and later Hadrian reformed the system and the more

responsible positions were granted to equites. In the beginning the procurator's rights only extended over the emperor's slaves and personal property (Tac.Ann.IV.15.3), but it became impossible to confine the procurators to these limits of authority. There were disputes between them and the senatorial or military authorities in the provinces and Claudius, whose laxity with his procurators increased their powers, ordered that all decisions made by his procurators should be confirmed (Claud.12).

There were several classes of procurators, some being purely finance officers based at Rome, such as the procuratores fisci, probably under the director of the fiscus, the a rationibus. Others were provincial finance officers, like those mentioned above, managing provincial taxes and assessments, and thus in charge of the fiscus provincialis. Yet another group, the procuratores castrenses, superintended payments made to the soldiers.

In addition to the procuratores fisci there were the procuratores Caesaris pro legato, who governed outlying and comparatively unimportant districts (which were classed with the imperial provinces) such as Judaea and, in Tiberius' reign, Cappadocia (Tac.Ann.II.56; Dio LVII.17.7). These procurators were probably under the authority of the nearest imperial legate; Pilate, procurator Caesaris pro legato in Judaea, was deposed by Vitellius, the governor of Syria (Josephus Antiqu.Jud. XVIII. 4.2).

These procurators governed during the emperor's pleasure and had fixed salaries, being classed as trecenarii, ducenarii, centenarii or sexagenarii according to their salary (Claud.24; Dio LIII.23.1). Vid. PFlaum, Les Procurateurs Equestres sous Le Haut-Empire Romain; Mattingly, The Imperial Civil Service of Rome, 27ff; Duff, op. cit., 143ff.

Cluniae: modern Corunna. Clunia was a Celtiberian town and county seat. After the death of Vindex Galba remained there until informed of his accession (Chap. 11.1). Cf. C.I.L. II. 2779. There is a coin bearing the legend HISPANIA CLUNIA SUL[PICIA] (Grant, Roman History from Coins, Plate 14), Vid. Wiseman, op. cit., 58, 99, 142, 180, 205.

Fatidica puella: cf. Tac. Hist. IV. 61, where Veleda, a girl of the German tribe, the Bructeri, is similarly described forecasting the success of the Germans under Civilis. She was afterwards captured and brought to Rome (Tac. Germ. 8; Statius Silvae. I. 4. 90).

carminum: such predictions, like oracular responses, were in verse; vid. Livy I. 45.

oriturum ex Hispania principem; Trajan, Hadrian and Theodosius were actually born in Spain and thus ex Hispania, while Galba was born at Tarracina (chap. 4, 1). There were similar prophecies concerning Vespasian's accession (Vesp. 4. 5).

## CHAPTER TEN.

1. manumissioni: manumission was the legal act whereby slaves were released from the manus of their masters. There were three forms of formal manumission, vindicta, census and testamentum (Ulpian Frag. 1); here the former is meant. The ceremony was conducted by a praetor and his lictor, who, as assertor libertatis, touched the slave with his rod (vindicta), uttering the words "Hunc ego hominem ex iure Quiritium liberum esse aio." A consul or governor, as here, could replace a praetor at such ceremonies. Vid. Smith, II. sv. manumissio. Cf. Duff, Freedman in the Early Roman Empire, 23-25, who states that during the Republic masters could cause the censors to place the names of favoured slaves on the roll of Roman citizens so that they were manumitted by census. This form died out with the abolition of the censorship.



The manumissio testamento, whereby the slave was declared free in the will of his master, was always the most popular. Informal manumission was also possible in three ways. A slave could be freed by letter (per epistulam), by being compelled to sit at table with his master (per mensam), or by being declared free among the friends of his master (per amicos). Technically a slave manumitted informally could be called back to slavery at any time, though usually they were protected by the praetors. Manumission was always popular among the Romans (ibid., 15ff.) whose attitude to slavery was rather different from that of the Greeks.

Galba chose this occasion to symbolize the emancipation of the Empire.

vacaturus: i.e. Galba was free to hear cases concerning manumission.

damnatorum occisorumque: cf. notes on chap.9.1, primo acer; 9.2, mandata Neronis de nece sua.

proxima Baleari insula: Majorca. Baliaris Major and Baliaris Minor (Minorca) lie off the east coast of Spain and in ancient times their inhabitants possessed a high reputation as sling-shot velites, or skirmishers. Roman suzerainty was recognized in 202 B.C., but the islands remained untouched and were not fully pacified until 121 B.C., when Q. Caecilius Metellus Balearicus reduced them; vid. Broughton, II, 539. During the principate, being part of Hispania Tarraconensis, their county seat (conventus) was at Carthago Nova. The Emperors often used them as places of exile (Tac. Ann. IV.42; XIII.43). Trouble flared up on the islands at the end of Nero's reign (C.I.L. XI.1331) presumably on account of the rapacity of his procurators; cf. Sutherland, op.cit., 44, 180. There were only two Roman settlements on Majorca and two on Minorca, so that the islands were apparently not well-colonized and do not abound in remains (Wiseman, op.cit., 129-130).

consalutatusque imperator: Dio (Xiph. 4on. LXIV.6) calculated Galba's reign from this acclamation, April 2nd., 68 A.D. Galba actually reigned from June 9th, 68 A.D., the date of Nero's death; cf. Plut. Galb.5; Mommsen, S. II<sup>3</sup>, 781.

2. legatum se senatus . . . . . professus est : Nero had appointed him propraetor in Hispania Tarraconensis, but he now withdrew his allegiance, claiming to represent the senate and the Roman people. Verginius Rufus, who suppressed the Vindex rising (chap. 9.2), did so as the representative of the senatus populusque Romanus (Dio. LXIII.27). He was a firm supporter of senatorial privilege, especially in respect to appointing an emperor, and in all probability he did not support Galba until the senate had declared Nero a public enemy and pronounced Galba his successor; cf. Plut. Galb.10. Rostovtzeff states that though there was still a movement which favoured a return to the Republican constitution, it was not powerful enough to take any definite action (Social and Economic History of Rome, II.572).

iustitio: a iustitium was the suspension of public and private business at Rome, when the occasion required it, e.g. in national emergencies. A dictator, consul or praetor might proclaim a iustitium, if he were the highest magistrate present at Rome (Livy. IX.8.7; III.23). Under the Empire religious festivals, disruption of the grain supply, or the death of one of the imperial household would cause a iustitium to be passed; cf. Mommsen, S. I, 263-266.

legiones . . . . . conscripsit: he apparently enrolled only one legion, the Legio VII Galbiana (Tac. Hist.I.25; Parker, op. cit., 99; R. E., XII, 1380).

auxilia: auxiliary detachments which were recruited locally and which together would approximately equal in manpower the legion that they supported; cf. Tib.16; Henderson, op. cit., 16; Webster, The Roman Army, 5.

exercitum veterem: i.e. the Legio VI Victrix, one of the three legions in Spain (Tac.Hist.I.6;V.16). This was the legion which saluted Galba as emperor and which, in all probability, Galba brought to Rome with him, calling it the Legio Hispana (Tac.Hist.I.6; R.E.,XII, 1599).

alarum et cohortium: auxiliary cavalry and infantry.

vel instar senatus: cf. Jul.33, when Caesar purported to represent the people and the tribunes.

3. manente anulorum aureorum usu: the ius anuli aurei was originally a military distinction; cf. Cic.II.Verr.III.187. It did not belong to the senators but to the equites, as the most distinguished military class (Livy XXIII.12.2; Pliny.N.H. XXXIII.12,21), so that here it signifies equestrian rank. The eques would normally forfeit his equestrian rank if he became a centurion or a legionary (Mommsen, S. III<sup>3</sup>, 504).

evocati: before the battle of Mutina Octavian possessed a similar bodyguard (App.B.C.III.40; cf. Cic.Fam.X.30). The evocati: veterans whose service had been completed, but who were invited to prolong it. Here the title is honorary.

excubias: the detachment of the Praetorian Guard on duty at the palace received the same appellation; cf. Nero 8;21;Otho 4;6;Tac.Ann.XII.69;Hist.I.29. This was a further sign of Galba's new position.

per provincias: Otho was the first to espouse Galba's cause (Otho4.1;Plut.Galb.20) and the other provincial governors followed his lead, except for Clodius Macer in Africa (cf.chap.11) and Verginius Rufus, commander of the legions of Upper Germany. Nero had already provided for Macer by sending out to him Galvia Crispinilla, a woman he trusted "ad instigandam in arma Clodium Macrum," (Tac.Hist.I. 73), to persuade him to withhold the grain supply and thus hold Rome to ransom; cf.Plut.Galb.13. Macer, however, though declaring against Galba,did so for his own ends. In addition to the Legio III Augusta, which he already possessed, he enrolled a new legion, the Legio I Macriana Liberatrix

(Tac.Hist.II.97). Nevertheless, his forces and prestige were still insufficient for him to prove a serious threat to Galba.

Rufus, in Upper Germany, might have proven a more dangerous adversary, since he was backed by a stronger and more experienced army, which had just defeated Vindex and was eager to make him emperor (Plut.Galb.10), but he was lacking in ambition and was content to have saved the integrity of the Empire (Henderson, op.cit.,6). Rufus, with strong republican tendencies, appears to have desired the senate to make the final decision (Plut.loc.cit.): in spite of the repeated offers of the empire by Otho's soldiers after Otho had committed suicide (Tac.Hist.II.51), he remained true to his previous declarations.

4. navis Dio (LXIV.1) gives πλοῖα. In addition to this "Dutchman" myth, he lists a number of other Suetonius portents at this juncture.

Dertosam: modern Tortosa, situated at the north of the River Ebro, where the Romans defeated Hasdrubal in 215 B.C. It was a place of great strategic importance since it guarded the crossing of the river (Sutherland, op.cit.,33). Under Tiberius it became a colony (Hill, "Ancient Coinage of Hispania Citerior", Notes and Monographs of the American Numismatic Society, L,74 ff.) and its full title subsequently was Colonia Faventia Julia Augusta Pia (Barcino),vid. C.I.L.II.p.599.

alarum altera: vid. supra notes on auxilia and alarum et cohortium. It is possible that they were simply deserting.

et servi quos . . . . . acceperat: presumably part of an elaborate imperial spy-system.

cruciatu: as slaves their testimony would only be accepted under torture, so that Galba's actions were quite normal; cf. Claud.34.1; Cic.II.Verr.V.162; Tac.Ann.III.50. Only in special circumstances, when slaves gave information of conspiracies concerning the state, were voluntary statements

accepted from them. Slaves could not, however, be trusted to give evidence against their own master, except in the case of incest, or when the senate made a special exception (Cic. pro Mil. 22.59). Under Augustus the law was modified to allow the emperor, if he suspected a conspiracy, to demand the compulsory purchase of the slaves by himself in order that they might be tortured. Several protests were raised against this act (Tac.Ann. II.30; III.67; Dio IV.5). The law also provided that in cases of treason against the emperor all persons should be in the same position as slaves, and thus liable to torture (Tac.Ann. XV.56; Dio LX.15). Vid. Smith, sv. tormentum and maiestas.

#### CHAPTER ELEVEN.

mors Vindicis: according to Plutarch (Galb.6) and Dio (LXIII.24) Vindex committed suicide. The latter adds that Vindex and Verginius Rufus came to an agreement, but their armies, due to an unfortunate misunderstanding, joined battle against their will. Tacitus knows nothing of this (Hist. I.51; IV.57) and informs us that Vindex died in battle. Moreover he adds that the German legions were slow to abandon Nero, and no swifter in accepting Galba (Hist. I.8). Tacitus is probably more reliable inasmuch as an alliance between Vindex and the armies of the Rhine would hardly have benefitted the legions, who proved themselves stronger than the Gallic levies; cf. Hardy, 112, 173; Henderson. op. cit., 243-249.

maxime consternatus: cf. Plut. Galb.6.

nuntius: Plutarch (Galb.7) says that Icelus, Galba's freedman, was first to bring the news. Vinus confirmed it two days later. Cf. chap. 22.

in verba sua iurasse: all Roman citizens, provincials and soldiers were compelled to take this oath and to renew it each year on Jan. 1st. It was a formal recognition of the

emperor's position: cf. Pliny Ep. x.52; Tac. Ann.I.8; Hist.I.5.

iter ingressus est: it was in September, 68 A.D. that Galba reached Rome (Tac. Hist.I.6), having left Hispania Tarraconensis in June. Galba took his time (ibid.), allowing the city to grow accustomed to the new regime.

paludatus: the paludamentum was the cloak of a general, and one of the insignia of his office.

usum togae: the toga was the dress of civilians and a symbol of peace, cf. Cic. de.Or.42.167; Off.I.22,77.

Nymphidio Sabino: was the son of Nymphidia, a freed-woman, and Martianus, a gladiator (Plut., Galb.,9). In 65 A.D., after Piso's abortive conspiracy, Nymphidius was made praetorian prefect by Nero. Upon hearing of the rising in Gaul under Vindex and his communications with Galba he induced the praetorians to swear for Galba, hoping thereby to ingratiate himself with Galba and so maintain his position. When his plan failed and Laco was appointed co-prefect, he attempted to win over the praetorians and make his own bid for the throne by proclaiming himself the son of Caligula (Plut. Galb.9; Tac. Ann.XV.72). This scheme failed, too, and he was put to death as he tried to gain access to the praetorian camp (Tac. Hist.I.5,25,37). Cf. Plut. Galb.8-9 and 13-15.

Nymphidius obviously expected to wield the real power himself under an old, enfeebled emperor. This design had led him to depose Tigellinus, his colleague, so that he might remain sole prefect. Moreover it appears highly likely that he offered double the donative granted by Nero (Plut. Galb.2), knowing full-well the reputation Galba had acquired for parsimony, in the expectation of some gain from the dissatisfaction of the troops if the promises were not met.

Fonteio Capitone: was legate in Lower Germany in 68 A.D., after being consul in the previous year. Dio (LXIV.2) and Plutarch (Galb.13) both inform us that he plotted against Galba, who therefore had him executed in Germany in 68 A.D. Tacitus (Hist.I.7) states that the legionary commanders executed him, without orders from Galba, and that they themselves trumped up these charges because they were unable to induce him to revolt.

Clodio Macro: Macer was Nero's legate in Africa (Tac.Hist.I.11) and his master's equal in cruelty and tyranny (ibid.). Cf. chap.10,3, note on per provincias. Africa was a special province, being senatorial and therefore governed by a proconsul chosen annually by lot, though its troops (the Legio III Augusta) had been under the command of an imperial legate since the reign of Caligula; cf. chap.7. The proconsular governor was nominally higher in rank, but in effect less important than the legate, who had been personally appointed by the emperor and commanded for a longer period. Macer, in spite of his additional legion, was soon eliminated by Galba (Tac.Hist.I.7,37,73; Plut.Galb.6,15) who disbanded the new legion (vid. chap.10,3). Vitellius re-enrolled it, but after his assassination it disappeared from history (Parker, op.cit.,106).

## CHAPTER TWELVE.

1. saevitiae . . . . . avaritiae: a similar complaint against his cruelty and greed is made by Otho (Tac.Hist.I.37,87). Discipline and thrift were necessary after Nero's laxity, depredations and fantastic extravagance (cf. Mackendrick, The Mute Stones Speak, 189, 194) so that Galba's policy was not so much to blame as his ministers. Suetonius admits himself that the state was in grave financial need (Vesp.16.3), requiring forty thousand million sesterces to balance the budget. Nero had inaugurated several ambitious building programs, such as the Corinth canal, the canal from Rome to Ostia, and the rebuilding of Rome itself. Some of these schemes, such as the Corinth canal, were dropped, but Galba would still have to defray the cost of work still in progress, and of work not paid for at this time of his accession. Vid. Bourne, The Public Works of the Julio-Claudians and the Flavians, 47 ff. The only public work known to have been undertaken by Galba himself was the restoration of the Horrea Galbae immediately behind the Portus Aemilia (Nash, I, 481).

In addition to the problems caused by the expense of these huge enterprises, Galba had to face the problem of inflation caused, to a great extent, by Nero's policy of protecting himself by debasing the silver coinage; Vid. Mattingly, R.C. 183.

Galba was injudiciously niggardly in refusing to pay the donatives promised in his name by Nymphidius, but the payment of this huge sum would have perhaps completely broken the already overburdened exchequer. His three lieutenants, however, were much to blame for Galba's downfall. They were shamelessly venal in selling offices, privileges and immunities by the score (chap. 15; Plut. Glab. 16; Tac. Hist. I. 33; Dio LXIV. 2).



Galba's parsimony appears to have been second only to Vespasian's (who faced similar problems exacerbated by the Civil Wars), though he did allow some tribute reduction in Spain and Gaul, in the provinces which had supported him (C.I.L., XIV, 4708). Tacitus (Hist. I.8) is corroborated by the evidence of Spanish and Gallic coins issued by Galba. One coin shows Hispania proudly standing before Galba on whom she is bestowing the palladium (Grant, *op. cit.*, 49), another bears the legend QUADRUBENSIMA REMISSA, which was probably the  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent portorium; vid. Mattingly, C.R.E. I, plate 58, no.7. These are presumably the taxes which Vespasian repealed (Vesp. 16.1) since he had received no such service from Spain and Gaul. Yet even he allowed benefits granted by previous emperors to stand, at least occasionally. In a letter to the Varacinians in Corsica, dated October 4th, 78 A.D. (C.I.L., X, 8038) he confirms one of Augustus acts of generosity; "Beneficia tributa vobis ab divo Augusto post septimum consulatum, quae in tempora Galbae retinuistis, confirmo."

That Galba was in need of support for his new regime is clearly demonstrated by his coinage, so full of propaganda. It glorifies Spain or Gaul (Mattingly, C.R.E. I, 109), or celebrates the restoration of constitutional government (*ibid.*, plate XXXVII, 3) by bearing such legends as ROMA RENASC., LIBERTAS PR., VICTORIA PR., CONCORDIA PR. He even uses the title of his former patroness, DIVA AUGUSTA, as a legend, since she was a respected member of the imperial household (Grant, Roman Imperial Money, 168).

civitates . . . . . punisset: cf. chap. 9, note on "tumultuari Gallias". There is, at present, no evidence to show which Spanish states he punished.

praepositos: military officers. Cf. Otho. 1.2. They may also have been local officials who worked with the procurators.

procuratores: cf. chap.9, note on "varie . . . . rexit", where the mutual animosity of Galba and these imperial procurators is clearly seen. They may well have deserved their punishment.

2 classiarios: at this period there were two Italian fleets, stationed at Misenum and Ravenna (Aug.49; Starr, The Roman Imperial Navy, 11ff.). These had replaced the earlier one at Forum Julii, which had probably merged by degrees with the fleet at Misenum. Originally the fleets were manned by imperial slaves or freedmen, and the soldiers on board were not regular legionaries but marines (classiarii, classici or ἐπιβάται) who did not possess the standing of the legionaries (ibid.59,69). Nero, upon learning of the revolt of Vindex, brought numbers of these marines into Rome, since in his day they were either freedmen or peregrini who owed allegiance to the emperor alone, because only he could enrol them. Galba accidentally caused many of the ordinary marines to be slaughtered (cf. Tac.Hist.I.31), thereby alienating the Legio Classica, the élite of the classiarii. These immediately defected to Otho as soon as he made his move. Vid. Parker, op.cit.,100; Starr, op.cit.,81; Hardy, 147; R.E.,XI, 1382.

cum classiarios . . . . cogeret: Galba was acting constitutionally, for only citizens could be enrolled as legionaries. Before Nero's panic measures only one similar legion had been enrolled, the Legio XXI Rapax, by Augustus to fill the gap caused by the Varian disaster (Tac.Ann.I.1). The accounts given by Plutarch (Galb.15) and Dio (LXIII.3) are somewhat different. These inform us that the marines demanded their eagle in a tumultuous manner. Galba hesitated, but by no means refused, whereupon some marines drew their swords and followed him menacingly. He then ordered the cavalry to charge, and there was a considerable slaughter.

aquilam et signa: the aquila was an eagle made of gold or silver, generally holding a thunderbolt, and the equivalent of our modern regimental colours. This was the legionary standard after the Marian army reforms of 104 B.C. Cf. Cic. Cat. I.9.24; Dio XL.18.1. If a legion gained any special distinctions, these were attached to the aquila. The signa were silver-plated lances, with a cross-bar near the top, and these constituted the standards of the maniples which comprised two centuries (Pliny N.H. XXXIII.58). Vid. R.E., VI.1179-82; 2542-3; Marquardt, II<sup>2</sup> 345, 353-7, 438-9.

inmisso equite disiecit: Plutarch (Galb. 15) says he ordered the cavalry to charge, Dio (LXIII.3) says he attacked them with his army, killing 7,000. Tacitus (Hist. I.6) comments upon the folly, "tot milibus inermium militum trucidatis". Galba's entry was as bloody as Sulla's.

decimavit: the punishment is mentioned in early republican times, and it is described by both Livy (II.59) and Dionysius (IX.50) in the case of App. Claudius and his mutinous army in 471 B.C. Cf. Aug. 24.2; Calig. 48.1; Tac. Ann. III.21. Decimation was the severe military punishment whereby one tenth of a legion or company which had defaulted or defected was chosen by lot for execution. The rest received barley in lieu of wheat as provisions, and were compelled to bivouac outside the camp or vallum, which was not only a disgrace but often dangerous. Cf. Polybius, VI.38.

Germanorum cohortem: Octavian was the first to employ Germans as a bodyguard after Mutina (Aug. 49.1). These he dismissed for emotional reasons after the Varian disaster in 10 A.D. They were restored by Tiberius (Tac. Ann. I.24). Caligula, too, maintained a bodyguard of Batavians (Calig. 58). Some of the tribes which provided these bodyguards were the Sueli, Ubi, Frisi and Batavi (C.L.L., VI, 4337-4345, 4716, 8802-8812).

commodo: the bounty granted by a general (under the republic) or emperor, usually consisting of land or a lump sum. Cf. Aug. 24, 49; Calig. 44; Vit. 15.

Cn. Dolabella: married Petronia, Vitellius' wife before he became emperor (Vit. 6; Tac. Hist. II. 64). He was a relative of Galba (Tac. Hist. I. 88) and many expected him to be chosen by Galba as heir (Plut. Galb., 23). Otho exiled him to Aquinum (Plut., Otho, 5) because he was related to Galba, of an ancient, respected family, and a possible contestant for the throne. In April, 69 A.D., after Otho's death, he returned to Rome, only to be denounced by Plancius Varus, one of his most intimate friends. Vitellius, though inclined to pardon him, was prevailed upon by his wife, Triaria, not to sacrifice the safety of his position to his feelings of clemency. He therefore found him guilty of seditious intrigue with the troops and had him murdered (Tac. Hist. II. 63).

verene an falso: it seems likely that many of the tales were untrue. Rumours tend to grow in exaggeration, and Galba's parsimonious ways were such a contrast to the lavish expenditure of his predecessor; vid. chap. 12.1, on "avaritia".

ordinario: the servus ordinarius, vid. Smith, op. cit., sv. servus.

denarios: Plutarch (Galb. 16) presents us with a different aspect, saying that Galba gave Canus some gold pieces, and remarked that they came out of his own pocket (vid. infra), not from the public funds.

e. peculiaribus oculis suis: emphasising that he was spending his own money.

## CHAPTER THIRTEEN.

adventus eius non gratus fuit: cf. Plutarch (Galb.15.3) where Galba was exposed to censure for the deaths of Nymphidius, Cingonius, Mithridates, and Turpillianus.

spectaculo: spectaculum is used to describe any of the four major forms of entertainment at Rome, the theatre, the stadium, the amphitheatre, and the circus.

Atellanis: the actors of the Fabula Atellana, a type of farce which came to Rome from Atella in Campania. It relied upon stock characters and a broad, earthy humour; vid. Livy VII.2; Wight Duff, A Literary History of Rome, I<sup>1</sup>, 83ff; Bieber, op.cit., 145-146, 148-150; Beare, op.cit., 12, 13, 15, 129-140.

canticum: part of a play written in trochaic septenarii and spoken to musical accompaniment, alternating with the diverbium, the colloquial part of the comedy. The canticum might also have been a song sung to musical accompaniment (Beare, op.cit., 211-224).

"Venit Onesimus a villa": Onesimus is perhaps a common name for a miser in Atellan comedy, or a rustic. There are several variant readings here eg. "Venit Dorsennus" (Lachmann) or "Venit <sup>(i)</sup>one Simus". Simus (flat-nosed) was the cant word for a clown. Galba was jeered at not only for his meanness but also for his provincialism, having spent time in Germany and Africa, and eight years in Spain (Vid. chap. 11).

## CHAPTER FOURTEEN.

1. maiore . . . . imperium: cf. Tac. Hist. I. 49: "maior privatus visus, dum privatus, et omnium consensu capax imperii nisi imperasset". Ausonius (Caes. VII) describes him as "Spe frustrata senex".

documenta egregii principis: Suetonius seems unable or unwilling to specify any. There appears to be a prejudice against Galba in Suetonius' account, which does not tally with Tacitus and Plutarch.

invisa: so, too, in Tacitus (Hist. I. 7), "inviso semel principi seu bene seu male facta parem invidiam adferebant". He adds that the new court possessed the same evils as the old one, the only difference was that Galba's age aroused ridicule among vulgar people accustomed to Nero's youth and beauty. Dio (LXIV. 2) states that Galba was held responsible for the crimes of his associates, since he either condoned them or was ignorant and therefore negligent. Cf. Plutarch (Galb. 15. 3).

2. regebatur trium arbitrio: "potentia principatus divisa in Titum Vinium . . . . Cornelium Laconem . . . . nec minor gratia Icelo, Galbae liberto," (Tac. Hist. I. 13).

paedagogos: "vulgo paedagogi dicerentur" (Aur. Vict. Ep. 6). Under Tiberius Sejanus played a similar part (Tac. Ann. IV. 74) and under Nero the role was played by Tigellinus (Plut. Galb. 17).

Titus Vinius: the first of the Vinii to attain consular rank. His father was of a praetorian family and his grandfather was proscribed by the second triumvirate. Vinius was born in 12 A.D. and served as military tribune under Calvisius Sabinus in Pannonia during Caligula's reign. He was imprisoned for having an affair with his commanding officer's wife, and subsequently freed by Claudius. Thereafter he completed the cursus honorum, and became praetor, legatus legionis, and was finally made proconsular governor of

Gallia Narbonensis by Claudius. He was Galba's legate in Spain afterwards, and so became an intimate of the future governor. In 69 A.D. Galba made him consul. Vinus caused Galba to support Vindex (vid.chap..11) and exerted great influence over the emperor (Tac.Hist.I.6). He was described by Tacitus (ibid.) as "deterrimus mortalium". Otho's soldiers put him to death immediately after they had dispatched Galba (Plut.Galb.27.4), although he had supported Otho's claim to become Galba's heir (ibid.21).

cupiditatis immensae: cf. Plutarch (Galb.12) where Tigellinus is said to have bought his safety by bribing Vinus.

Cornelius Laco: we know nothing of his previous history. It is possible that he was a freedman of the Cornelian gens, who supported Galba instead of the imperial procurators in Tarraconensis. The emperor then made him the colleague of Nymphidus in the praetorian prefecture, a position he held alone after the latter's death. He and Icelus (vid.infra) supported Piso's adoption by Galba, Vinus that of Otho (vid.supra). In addition Laco refused to travel to Germany to appease the disaffected Rhine army led by Vitellius, and he concealed certain seditious intrigues within his own camp. By persuading Galba to visit the troops that had acclaimed Otho, Laco was instrumental in the emperor's death (Tac.Hist.I.13-46). Plutarch (Galb.27.4) says he was killed with Galba, but Tacitus' account of his duplicity and cowardice makes this extremely unlikely.

assessore: the assessores were legal advisors to consuls, praetors, governors and judges. Laco was presumably a lower-grade civil servant before he came to the notice of Galba. Vid. Mommsen, S. I<sup>3</sup>.318: II<sup>3</sup>, 242.

praefectus praetorii: Sejanus was the real founder of the praetorians. As sole prefect from 23 A.D. onwards he concentrated the cohorts in one camp outside the city. The political importance of the praetorians dates from his tenure of office. Their number varied, Augustus enrolling nine

cohorts, each five-hundred strong, Vitellius as many as sixteen. Bribery of the praetorians as a means of gaining the "imperium" began with Claudius (Claud.10.4).

Icelus: a freedman of Galba and probably a Greek by birth, whom Nero imprisoned upon hearing of Galba's revolt. He was released after Nero's death, and allowed Nero's body to be cremated (Nero 49). It was Icelus who brought the news of Nero's death to Galba and informed him of his acclamation at Rome (vid.chap.22 and Plut. Galb.7). For this service he was rewarded with the equestrian ring and the name of Marcianus (vid.infra). Cf. Tac.Hist.I.13. Otho, whose adoption by Galba he had opposed (ibid), had him executed.

anulis aureis ornato: cf. cha .10.3.

Marciani cognomine: he assumed the praenomen and nomen of his patron, Galba, so that his full name became Servius Sulpicius Marcianus.

summæ equestris gradus: at this period the highest equestrian office was the prefecture of the praetorians: vid.supra, note on Laco; also Mommsen, S. III<sup>3</sup>, 565.

ut vix sibi ipse constaret: as in Tarraconensis, cf. chap.9.

parcior: cf. chap.12.1: Tac.Hist.I.49, where Galba is described as "pecuniae alienae non appetens, suae parcus publicae avarus".

principi electo: unlike the Julio-Claudian emperors who had reached the throne because of their family connections, Galba had been elected by the army, the senate, and the people (Plut. Galb.7.2).

illud aetatis : i.e. seventy-two.

inauditos: unconstitutionally, vid.chap.9.1, note on "imploranti leges".



3. Civitates R. raro dedit: according to Tacitus (Hist.I.8) he did grant citizenship to those tribes which had actively aided Vindex, the Aedui, Arverni and the Sequani, but it is improbable that he enfranchised the tribes as a whole. In 48 A.D. Claudius had granted full citizenship to the Gallic nobility of Gallia Comata (Tac. Ann XI.23), and Galba presumably acted in a similar manner, especially, as Suetonius says, he seldom granted the franchise to individuals. Plutarch (Galb.18) is probably correct in maintaining that Vinus' influence caused Galba to grant Roman citizenship to certain of the Gauls, but it seems likely that Galba knew of Vinus' machinations, yet needed to conciliate the Gauls who had supported Vindex since the rest of Gaul and the Rhine armies were antagonistic towards him. Vid. Hardy, op. cit., 157ff. The granting of citizenship was not haphazard, but carried out according to a carefully planned scheme. Claudius, for the most part, followed the course taken by Augustus, and did not grant the citizenship indiscriminately, as Seneca would have us believe (Apocolocytosis 3). Nero, like Tiberius, was less systematic in this respect, but Galba would presumably accept the well-tried system used by Augustus and Claudius. Vid. Sherwin-White, The Roman Citizenship, 180 ff.

iura trium liberorum: the author was himself granted the right by means of Pliny's influence (vid. introduction). Originally Augustus had designed a law to promote family life, since the tendency at Rome in the first century B.C. had been towards celibacy. The aristocracy considered marriage and children to be an onerous responsibility to be avoided, so that some kind of inducement became a necessity. By the Lex Julia de maritandis ordinibus of 18 B.C. and the Lex Papia Poppaea of 9 B.C. Augustus planned to aid those with three children or more, and to penalize married men without children; cf. Dio LIII.10ff. He taxed the unmarried and made it impossible for them to benefit from legacies, and

from the childless he exacted half of any legacy which had been left them. Those with three children, however, were excused jury duty, for example (Claud.15.1), and had prior claim to magistracies (Pliny Ep.X.94). An honorary ius trium liberorum was granted in certain cases by the senate, and later by Claudius (Claud.19) and subsequent emperors, as in the case of Suetonius and Pliny. Cf. Tac. Ann. II.51; Mommsen, S. II<sup>3</sup>, 888.

In spite of these laws, however, the attractions of celibacy were still too strong (Tac. Ann. III.25), and according to McDougall (Introduction to Social Psychology, 271), a weakening of the social sanctions of the reproductive and parental instincts played a prominent part in the destruction of Roman society. Cf. Dill, Roman Society from Nero to M. Aurelius 70 ff. One of the main causes of the weakening of these sanctions appears to have been the rapid development of concubinage, a union similar to matrimonium but lacking the affectio maritalis and honor matrimonii. Vid. R.E., XIV, 2259 ff.; Smith, sv. Lex Julia et Papia Poppaea; Shuckburgh, Augustus, 226 ff.

sextam decuriam : i.e. to lighten their duties. The measure is probably a sign of Galba's desire to curb public expenditure. In 70 B.C. the Lex Aurelia established three classes of iudices, the senatores, the equites, and the tribuni aerarii (Livy Ep. XCVII; Cic. Pro Cluent. 47.130). Caeser, in 46 B.C., abolished the third class, but Antony reinstated it two years later, abolishing the property qualifications and substituting service in the cavalry or as a centurion. Augustus added a fourth class (Aug. 32.2) and Caligula a fifth (Calig. 16), which raised the number of iudices to almost four thousand (Pliny N.H. XXXIII.30), so that at this period there would be approximately one thousand in each decuria. The decuriae were filled by those whom the praetor had chosen from among the citizens possessing the requisite property qualifications: the iudices for

civil cases were taken from the decuriae. Vid. Mommsen, S. III<sup>3</sup>, 535.

concessum a Claudio beneficium: under Claudius the iudices appear to have served from spring till the beginning of winter without a break (Claud. 23.1).

Previously there had been two terms of duty. During the principate a beneficium was a right bestowed by the emperor on classes or individuals, such as exemption from certain tributes or taxes (Mommsen, S. II<sup>3</sup>, p. 1126). Galba was acting constitutionally inasmuch as a beneficium lasted only during the emperor's pleasure. At his death it became null and void unless re-granted by his successor. Galba presumably lengthened the "legal" year for existing iudices in order to avoid the necessity of creating and paying a new class.

## CHAPTER FIFTEEN.

1. senatoria et equestria officia: the senatorial class under the early principate held provincial governorships, commanded legions, were urban praetors, or in charge of public works. The equestrians provided the prefects of the fleets, of the corn supply, or, more important still, of the praetorians. An equestrian invariably ruled Egypt, and several smaller northern provinces, and above all they formed the imperial tax officers (procuratores Augusti), vid. chap. 9. In the latter duty the equites had gained much experience as private tax-collectors under the republic. Here the senatorial offices referred to were probably the governorships and military commands, the equestrian offices most likely meant were the military commands and procuratorships. Galba feared the governors and commanders as possible rivals, and the procurators he both suspected and despised (chaps. 9, 12). Vid. Greenidge, op.cit. 401.

bienni spatio: Galba had been governor of Hispania Tarraconensis for eight years and Otho had been legate of Lusitania for ten years (chap.9.1).

nisi invitis ac recusantibus: in which case they would lack ambitious designs, and would be less inclined to ruin the provinces by their extortion than Nero's procurators in Hispania Tarraconensis. That Galba was strict with his governors and legates is shown in the case of Caecina (Tac.Hist.I.53). This "handsome young man of great stature and excessive ambition" was promoted by Galba to the rank of legatus legionis in Upper Germany. When prosecuted by Galba for peculation he decided to escape punishment by stirring up the seeds of discontent which were not lacking in the German armies.

Vespasian, who was even more notorious than Galba for his parsimonious ways, actually appointed avaricious tax collectors so that he might appropriate their ill-gotten fortunes by condemning them after their term of office (Vesp.16).

liberalitates: Nero squandered twenty-two hundred million sesterces, according to Tacitus (Hist.I.20). He lavished rewards on all who pandered to his tastes, giving a million sesterces to the chief judges at the Olympian Games and four hundred thousand sesterces to the Pythian prophetess for uttering oracles which pleased him (Dio LXIII. 14). On one journey in 66 A.D. Nero spent eight hundred thousand sesterces per day on provisions (ibid.2). Galba recovered some of the gifts, but obviously offended not only the recipients of Nero's favours but also many of the people who had purchased anything from them, for they were compelled to remit Nero's gifts without compensation. These actions helped to gain for him the reputation of a miser.

scaenici: actors. The Roman upper classes had always regarded such people as vulgar, and it is with great contempt that Tacitus (Ann.XV.59) describes Nero as "ille

scaenicus;" cf. Dio LXI.20.

xystici: athletes; cf. Aug. 45. The word is derived from xystus, a covered colonnade used as a winter training ground (Vitruv. V.11; Pliny Ep. II.17.17; Aug. 72.3). Nero had been especially generous to artists, poets and athletes, provided only that they did not challenge his own superiority; vid. Suetonius, Vita Lucani.

2. comites: vid. chap. 7, note on "cohortem amicorum".

libertos: i.e. Icelus and Halotus. By allowing these to profit Galba incurred the enmity of many others, like Nymphidius, who had not gained from the change of emperor.

populo deposcente supplicium: Tigellinus was perhaps the most hated man in Rome after Nero, and Galba showed little discretion in protecting him; cf. Plut. Galb. 8, 17. Tacitus clearly intimates that no one in the city would be content with anything less than his death. Vinus had either been bribed to win over Galba and so secure Tigellinus' safety, or needed friends because he was unsure of his own position (Hist. I. 72).

Haloti: Claudius' food-taster and executioner (Tac. Ann. XII. 66).

Tigellini: was banished by Caligula for adultery with the emperor's sisters. Recalled by Claudius he was suspected of a similar offence and removed a second time from Rome to Achaia. During the reign of Nero, Agrippina reinstated him, and the emperor made him praetorian prefect in place of Burrus who had died (63 A.D.). He was renowned for his physical attraction, and notorious for his amorality and profligacy (Tac. Ann. XIV. 51), qualities which quickly brought him to the notice of Nero. Many of Nero's worst crimes were devised by him, and it was through his influence and that of Poppaea that the Pisonian conspiracy was the pretext of so many executions (Tac. Ann. XV. 61). Perceiving Galba's position to be stronger than that of Nero he abetted

the rebellion by winning over some of Nero's soldiers. Otho compelled him to commit suicide (Tac.Hist.I.72). Tacitus (ibid). and Hardy (118) briefly describe his rise and fall.

incolumes praestitit: according to Tacitus Vinius procured Tigellinus' safety for his own purposes (Hist.I.72). Dio (LXLV.3) states that Galba would not pander to popular desire because he felt that such behaviour did not befit an emperor.

procuratione: vid. chap.9, note on procuratores.

#### CHAPTER SIXTEEN.

1. praecipua flagrabat invidia apud milites: cf. Tac. Hist.I.5.

in verba ..... iurantibus: cf. note, chap.11 and Plut. Galb. 10.3.

donativum grandius solito: Claudius began the custom of granting a huge donative to the praetorians, when he became emperor in 41 A.D. Created emperor by the praetorians, he gave each man 15,000 sesterces (Claud.10). Nero gave them the same (Dio LXL.3). Nymphidius offered them twice the sum, and 5,000 sesterces to each legionary (Hardy,92), a sum which, had it been raised, would have caused more distress than all the evils inflicted by Nero (Plut.Galb.2.2).

praepositi: the officers suborned by Nymphidius, who were instrumental in Galba's coup (ibid).

legere se militem, non emere consuesse: Galba's strictness had pleased the soldiers while he was a general, but now it vexed them, accustomed as they were to an emperor of Nero's calibre (Tac.Hist.I.5).

removens ..... plerosque: cf. Tac.Hist.I.20, " e praetorio Antonius Taurus et Antonius Naso, ex urbanis cohortibus Aemilius Pacensis, e vigilibus Iulius Fronto."

ut suspectos et Nymphidi socios: Galba rightly distrusted Nymphidius and his allies. As soon as he realized that his influence was not to be paramount Nymphidius attempted to suborn the praetorians to his own cause. The plan misfired, and his erstwhile supporters were won over to Otho's side, the officers through fear, the soldiers because Galba had not paid the promised donative (Tac.Hist.I.25; Plut.Galb.23).

2. superioris Germaniae exercitus: Vitellius, the future emperor, was sent by Galba to Lower Germany to command the four legions there, the I Germanica, the V Alauda, the XV Primigenia and the XVI Gallica (Tac.Hist.I.55). Hordeonius Flaccus, an old man and an invalid, quite incapable of controlling his troops or maintaining Galba's cause, was sent to Upper Germany. He was subsequently outmanoeuvred and deceived by Civilis the following year, (Tac.Hist.I.9; IV.13,18, 24 etc.). Galba dispatched Vitellius to Lower Germany either through the influence of Vinius, or because he considered that Vitellius was more interested in eating than in empire (Vit.7). He was well received by the army, reversed the corrupt policy and graft of Fonteius, his predecessor, and was soon thought of as a possible candidate for the imperium (Tac.Hist.I.52). Moreover he was not unwilling to accept overtures from his troops. The unwise action of Galba in ignoring the victory of the Rhine army over Vindex, of rewarding the latter's rebellious followers, and of punishing the Gallic supporters of Verginius incensed the legions and their Gallic allies. They were ready for revolt, needing only a leader. Vitellius, with his family background and position, provided them with one. Cf. chap.9.

Kal. Ian: January 1st., the date on which all soldiers took the oath of allegiance to the emperor, cf. chap.11.

recusarunt: Tacitus (Hist.I.12) states that the soldiers in Upper Germany broke their oath to Galba and promised only to obey an emperor chosen by the senate and Roman people.

Plutarch (Galb.22) is in agreement. Later Tacitus adds that the army of Lower Germany did take the oath, though with reluctance (Hist.I.55).

in nomen senatus: cf. Tac.Hist.I.56, " in senatus ac populi Romani verba iurasse. Id sacramentum inane visum." The oath was obviously empty, so in order to protect themselves the soldiers were compelled to elect an emperor; cf. Plut.Galb.22.3.

praetorianos: vid. chap.14.2, notes on Laco and praefectus praetorii. The importance of the praetorians as emperor-makers had now become apparent.

displicere ..... factum: the Rhine legions, generally considered among the best in the empire (Plut.Galb.10: Tac. Hist. I.51), due to strict discipline and the rigours of climate and country, were vexed that a single Spanish Legion (the Legio Hispana, vid.chap.10.2) had made an emperor after they had proved themselves by suppressing an insurrection. However, they now realized that they could do likewise, and, further insulted by Galba's actions (vid.supra), they were prepared to act.

eligerent: although the choice of the next emperor was left nominally to the senate, the senate could not act without the support of the praetorians (Tac.Hist.I.12), as the Rhine legions now knew only too well.



## CHAPTER SEVENTEEN.

orbitatem: cf. chap.8. Galba's wife and children had died and to this he erroneously attributed his lack of popularity. Plutarch (Galb.19.1) describes Galba's feelings in exactly the same way.

Pisonem: Lucius Calpurnius Piso Frugi Licinianus, son of M.Licinius Crassus Frugi, who was consul in 27 A.D., and Scribonia, a granddaughter of Sextus Pompeius, the republican admiral, and related to Scribonia, the first wife of Augustus. Piso had three brothers, one executed by Claudius, who also executed his mother and father. Cf. Seneca De Morte Claudii Caesaris 11, "Occidit (Claudius) in una domo Crassum, Magnum, Scriboniam". Nero executed another brother, and the third, Lic.Crassus Scribonius, outlived Piso and, according to Tacitus (Hist.IV.39), refused the imperium though it was offered to him. Piso's life was unfortunate throughout. Born in 38 A.D. (Tac.Hist.I.48) he was exiled by Nero, possibly after the death of his brother Licinius Crassus. He therefore held no civil offices in the state, a stigma for one of his family background. Galba and he died on the same day (Plut.Galb.27.4).

Galba's intentions in choosing Piso were excellent; his choice, however, proved disastrous. Piso was a philosopher, not a statesman, and a practical politician was needed at this vital juncture. The praetorians feared that he shared Galba's views on donatives, and had some concession been made even at this late moment, the crisis might have been postponed or even averted (cf.Plut.Galb.23.3). Otho was compelled to act, being distrusted by Galba, and therefore, presumably, by Piso. His position was strong, for he had already won over the praetorians by a judicious distribution of gifts (Tac.Hist.I.23).

egregium iuvenem: he is similarly described by Plutarch (Galb.23), Tacitus (Hist.I.14) and Dio (LXLV.5).

in bona et nomen adscitum: cf. Tac.Hist.I.15, where no mention is made that Piso was already named as Galba's private heir. Plutarch, too, is silent on this matter. After his adoption Piso's name was Servius Sulpicius Galba Caesar, (Henzen, Acta Fratrum Arvalium, XCI; McCrum-Woodhead, Documents of the Flavian Emperors, 13).

repente ..... adprehendit: the choice of Piso is also described as sudden and unexpected in Plutarch (Galb.23. 1). Tacitus, however, states that the succession was discussed in a council with Vinus, Laco, Marius Celsus and Ducenius Geminus. Vinus supported Otho, but he was opposed and defeated by Laco and Icclus, (Tac.Hist.I.13,14), either because of their antagonism towards Vinus or because Laco had already won over Piso and hoped to control him in the same way that he controlled Galba, without interference on the part of Vinus.

pro contione:= before the praetorians. Nerva and later emperors used the same formula (Dio LXVIII.3: Mommsen, S. II<sup>3</sup>, 1137). Previous adoption into the imperial family had taken place according to strict legal forms; cf. Aug.64,65, for Augustus' adoption of Gaius and Lucius, and later of Tiberius; Tac. Ann.XII.26, for Nero's adoption by Claudius. Galba dispensed with the legal formalities inasmuch as he considered them not binding on an emperor, and thus adoption became a simple declaration of intention (nuncupatio) made publicly (in contione). The date was January 10th (vid. Henzen, loc.cit.) when the Arval Brethren sacrificed in honour of the event.

ne tunc quidem ..... facta: an injudicious omission which finally cost him the support of the troops (cf. Plut. Galb.23) and enabled Otho to gain their support with ease, "faciliorem occasionem .... Othoni praebuit." Cf. Plut. Galb.24.

conata: it appears likely that Otho was willing to await Galba's death and thereby to succeed legally, for Galba was seventy-two, and could not be expected to live much longer. He had, however, previously laid plans for seizing the imperium and if Galba passed him over he was fully prepared to act (Tac.Hist.I.23).

## CHAPTER EIGHTEEN.

1. monstra . . . . exitum . . . . portenderant: they heralded the deaths of the other emperors, too. Tacitus and Plutarch barely mention the portents; for them the political scene is vivid enough and of greater importance. Dill (op.cit., 452) scathingly remarks, "The biographer of the Caesars may contend with Dion Cassius for the honour of being probably the most superstitious chronicler who ever dealt with great events."

per omne iter: i.e. from Hispania Tarraconensis to Rome.

dextra sinistraque victimae caederentur: cf. Calig.13; Appian B.C.V.24; Tac.Hist.II.70.

rupto vinculo: a similar occurrence foretold the death of Titus (Tit.10).

speculator: specially chosen from the praetorians to act as the emperor's bodyguard (C.I.L.III.3395;V.45,2784, 2832,5071; Claud.35.1; Tac. Hist.II.11). According to Tacitus, there were twenty-four in each cohort (Hist.I.27, 31,35). Cf. Darembery-Saglio, op.cit.,IV, sv.Praetoriae Cohortes.

2. Fortunam suam: Cf. chap.4.3. Sulla had built a great sanctuary of Fortune at Praeneste (Palestrina), twenty miles east of Rome, probably his most grandiose project (MacKendrick, op.cit.,116 ff.).

He even called himself felix, and was, according to Sallust (B.J.95.4), "felicissimus omnium ante civilem victoriam." Galba's attitude towards Fortuna was clearly similar to Sulla's.

Capitolinae Veneri: cf. Calig.7. Jordan (op.cit.,I.42) states that the only temple dedicated to Venus on the Capitoline was that of Venus Erycina. Platner and Ashby (op.cit.,551) agree and think that this was the temple vowed by Q.Fabius Maximus after the disaster at Trasimene in 217 B.C. (Livy XXXII.9,10), and dedicated by him in 215 B.C. (ibid.XXXII.30,31).

nihil invenit praeter . . . . .: the sacrifice had already been held, but all the essential parts of the ritual had been reversed. In order to obtain a propitious omen the conduct of the sacrifice had to be correct to the last detail. The priest should have been attended by a young, white-clad acolyte, the incense should have been carried in a special casket (acerra), and the wine should have been poured from the appropriate vessel (patera), made of precious metal. Vid. Daremberg-Saglio, op.cit.IV, sv. sacrificium.

3. coronam . . . . . excidisse: cf. chap.1; Vit.9.

auspicanti pullos avolasse: special chickens, pulli, were kept in ceremonial coops, caveae, and when omens were required their appetite was observed. A good appetite was a good sign, a bad appetite the opposite. For them to fly away was an indication of imminent disaster. It was the doctrine of the augurs that any bird could give a tripudium, the auspices taken from an observation of the behaviour of birds (Cic.de Div.II.35,73), but chickens were commonly used because of the simplicity of the signs afforded by them, and because of the rapidity and convenience with which such signs could be obtained. Cf. Livy X.40.4; Val. Max. I. 4.3.

adoptionis die: vid. chap.17.

castrensem sellam: the general's chair is of a simpler shape than the sella curulis and has straight legs. Its shape is shown on a coin in Smith, II, 620.

curulem (sellam): originally a chair in the senate raised above the level of the majority, for the use of consuls, praetors, magistrates with consular or praetorian imperium, dictators, censors, the magister equitum and the Flamen Dialis. From the time of Augustus onwards (Dio LIV.10) the emperor also possessed such a chair, between those of the consuls (Mommsen, S. III<sup>3</sup>, 936). A similar sella curulis was also used by magistrates in the municipia (ibid.I,384). For an illustration of its shape vid. Smith, loc.cit.

#### CHAPTER NINETEEN.

1. percussores: cf. chap.23.

hand multo post: both Tacitus (Hist.I.29) and Plutarch (Galb.25.4) state that the information arrived as the sacrifices were being conducted.

castra: i.e. of the Praetorian Guard. Vid. chap.14.2, note on praefectus praetorii. The overwhelming importance of the praetorians is readily shown by the fact that Tacitus makes mention of their camp eight times from the death of Caligula till the accession of Vespasian.

plerisque . . . . . suadentibus: Vinus advised him to fortify the palace and arm the slaves. Laco and Icelus, again at loggerheads with Vinus (cf. chap.17), joined with Galba's other advisors in persuading him to act promptly in order to suppress the isolated revolt, "trepidaturum etiam Othonem," (Tac.Hist.I.33).

auctoritate et praesentia praevalere: the auctoritas of the emperor was still a potent force. For the imperial connotation and origin of auctoritas vid. R.G.34; Syme, R.R. 322; Grant, From Imperium to Auctoritas, 443ff.

continere se statuit: Vinius had advised him to stay, Laco and Icelus to go out and meet the danger (Tac.Hist.I.33; Plut.Galb.25). Cf. chap.17 where Vinius was again at loggerheads with Laco and Icelus regarding the choice of a successor to Galba. The latter, according to Tacitus (loc.cit.), persisted in his personal hatred, to the ruin of the state.

legionarium: troops brought from Germany, Illyricum and Britain by Nero, who intended a war against the Albani (Tac.Hist.I.6). They were retained in the capital when news of the uprising reached Nero. Galba sent officers to the Illyrian troops encamped in the Porticus Vipsania, which occupied the western part of the Campus Agrippae (Platner-Ashby, 430), to the German detachments, who were bivouacing near the Atrium Libertatis, an important building which housed the officers of the censor, and presumably his records (ibid.56), and also to the praetorians in their camp on the north-eastern outskirts of the capital (ibid.106). The praetorians dealt violently with the emissaries and immediately went over to Otho, being joined without hesitation by the marines (vid.chap.11.2) who were probably lodged at the Castra Misenatum (ibid.p.105). The Illyrians also defected, after driving away Galba's emissary, Celsus, at the point of a spear. Only the German troops hesitated, weak as they still were on account of their voyage from Alexandria, where Nero had sent them. These finally decided for Galba, who had shown them consideration while they were ill, but being strangers to the city, they lost their way and arrived too late (Tac.Hist.I.31). Cf. chap.20.

2. Rumoribus falsis: so, too, in Tac.Hist.I.34 and Plut.Galb. 26.

"Quo auctore?" Galba remained a disciplinarian to the end; cf. chaps.6,12,16; Tac.Hist.I.18.

equites quibus mandata caedes erat: cf. Tac.Hist.I.40.  
desertum a suis: cf. Tac.loc.cit; Plut.Galb.26.4.

According to Plutarch (ibid.26.5), a certain Sempronius Densus, a centurion of the praetorian cohort who had been assigned by Galba to protect Piso, was the only person who attempted to defend the emperor. Cf. Dio LXIV.6; Tac.Hist.I.43. Tacitus maintains that he tried to give Piso a chance to escape.

#### CHAPTER TWENTY.

1. sunt qui tradant: cf. Tac. Hist.I.41, "Extremam eius vocem, ut cuique odium aut admiratio fuit, varie prodidere". He gives us two accounts of Galba's last words, that he asked what harm he had done (corroborated thus far by Dio LXIV.6) and appealed for a few days to pay the donative, or that he voluntarily offered his throat to his murderers, bidding them strike quickly if such a deed would benefit the state. Plutarch (Galb.27) gives the second version. There would have been many pro-Galban and anti-Galban sources (cf. Godolphin, "The Source of Plutarch's Thesis in the Lives of Galba and Otho," A.J.Ph. LVI.(1935), 324ff.) and Suetonius, no less than Tacitus, would have been able to find a number of eyewitnesses still living when he was collecting his material. Galba was killed publicly in the Forum, and there must have been a few <sup>witnesses</sup> citizens or soldiers, still alive forty years after the assassination. Moreover Suetonius' father would certainly have heard all about Galba's death, since he was possibly at Rome in 68/69 A.D. (cf. Otho10) and certainly knew people who were.

commilitones: Galba, unlike Nero, was himself a soldier.

"Ego vester sum: cf. chap. 14.2, note on principi electo.

donativum: Galba's proud boast was that he levied troops, he did not buy them; cf. chap. 16.1; Tac. Hist. I.5; Plut. Galb. 18.2. It is doubtful whether the obstinate old man would have forsaken his principles even in the face of death. Cf. Tac. Hist. I.35.

agerent: Galba was being sacrificed for the state like a victima; cf. Calig. 52.2. The term was regularly used for despatching an animal, and also appears in the sacrificial formula; cf. Ovid Fasti I.321.

neque praesentium quemquam . . . . conatum: vid. chap. 19.2, note on desertum a suis.

omnes qui arcesserentur: vid. chap. 19.1, note on legionariorum.

2. lacum Curti: a pond in the Roman Forum which had dried up by the time of Augustus and been converted into an enclosure. Here every year all the people threw a coin in performance of a vow they had made to Augustus (Aug. 57). The name is derived from the Sabine, Mettius Curtius, who fell from his horse while fighting against Romulus, or perhaps from the brave Roman youth, M'. Curtius, who sacrificed himself in obedience to an oracle, to save his country, or from the consul, C. Curtius (445 B.C.), who consecrated a site which had been struck by lightning. Vid. Nash, op. cit., I.542ff; Platner-Ashby, op. cit., 310ff.; Tac. Hist. II.55.

capillo arripere non poterat: Galba was bald; Cf. chap 21; Plut. Galb. 27.2.

ad Othonem: an account of Otho's life and career is given by Hardy, 163 etc.; Henderson, op. cit., 13-15, 22-27, 30-32 etc.; Syme, T152-156, 205 et passim.

lixis caloribusque: the lixae were dealers who followed a Roman army selling provisions. Mercatores, if they are to be distinguished at all from the lixae, dealt in wares other than provisions; cf. Hirtius de Bell. Afr. 75,



"Lixae mercatoresque plaustris merces portabant." Both lixae and mercatores were occasionally forbidden to follow the legions (Sall. B.J. 45) from which we may gather that they did not form part of the military commissariat. The calones were the soldier's slaves. Even under the Republic the number of slaves accompanying an army was large; under the Empire it sometimes outnumbered the soldiers. Each legion possessed its own calones, and to prevent confusion in the event of attack they were subject to military discipline (Josephus B.J. III.6). In emergencies both lixae and calones could be pressed into service (Livy XXIII.16).

fruaris aetate tua i.e. "Enjoy yourself while you are young." Cf. Sen. Phaedra 446. "Ἐτι μοι μένος ἔμπροσθεν ἔστιν:" words spoken by Diomedes (Iliad V.254) and Odysseus (Odyssey XXI.426).

Patrobli Neroniani: he was executed by Galba along with Helius, Narcissus, Lucusta and other creatures of Nero's retinue (Dio LXIV.3). His cognomen and Tacitus' description of him (Hist.I.49) show that he was one of Nero's freedmen.

redemptum: Tacitus omits these details, while Plutarch (Galb.28) says that Helvidius Priscus, because of Galba's kindness to him (Cf. Tac. Hist.IV.6), redeemed the head from the Sessorium ( a building of unknown origin, Nash, II, 384; Platner-Ashby, op.cit., 487) with Otho's permission, and had it buried at night by Argivus, a freedman.

Argivus: cf. Plut. Galb.28,3; Tac. Hist.I.49.

Aurelia via: an important road (Cic. Phil.XII.9) one hundred and seventy-five miles in length, running north-west from Rome to Alsium, and from there along the coast of Etruria to Vada Volaterrana. It was constructed sometime before 109 B.C., when its extension, the Via Aemilia Scauri, was built, linking Vada Volaterrana to Vada Sabatia. In Rome the road led from the pons Aemilius along the right bank of the Tiber and up the Janiculum, where it passed

through the Porta Aurelia. Vid. Platner-Ashby, 561; Daremberg-Saglio, op.cit., sv. Via; R.E., II, p.2430.

#### CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE.

Statura fuit iusta: he was of medium size. Julius Caesar was tall (excelsa statura) and Augustus short (brevis); cf. Jul.45; Aug.79.

praecalvo: presumably it means very bald; cf. chap.20.2.

oculis: Suetonius describes the eyes of most of his emperors.

aduncto naso: cf. Aug.79.

articulari morbo: a general term for gout or arthritis. Cheragra and Podagra are more specific terms.

calceum: strictly speaking, the calceus and the toga were the two peculiarly national features of the Roman costume (Polyb.XXX.19.2; Cic.Phil.II.30,76). The calceus is described as a regular, closed boot, with a sole and an upper part (Aul.XIII.22.5). Etiquette prescribed that the upper-class Roman should wear the toga and calcei in town, but the boots were uncomfortable. "Calcei ..... proprium togae tormentum," (Tert, de Pallio 5).

Excreverat ..... caro praependebatque: cf. chap.3.3ff. There are two possible meanings; either Galba was a hunchback like his father (cf. Domit.23), or he had a growth of flesh on his right side which was not caused by a spinal deformity. The second explanation, from the wording, and from the fact that Galba is not compared with his father, seems the more likely. The growth was presumably a tumor, but whether it was benign, i.e. non-cancerous and localized, or malignant is not certain. If it was benign, it would have had no effect on Galba's health in general. If, on the other hand, it was malignant, it would have sapped Galba's vitality

and accounted for his inactivity and hesitancy in Spain (chap.9). It would also explain the readiness with which Galba allowed Vinius, Laco and Icelus to take control of affairs at Rome (chap.14), in spite of his experience in governing and his strict military background. An old man of seventy-one with a tumour would hardly be capable of ruling the Roman Empire. Vid. Blakiston, New Gould Medical Dictionary, sv. tumor.

#### CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO.

cibi plurimi . . . . capere consuerat: only mentioned here, but Suetonius paid more attention to the personal habits of the emperors than any other writer of the period; cf. Claud.33.

ad pedes stantibus (sc.servis): this difficult passage seems to mean that Galba had the left-overs gathered together and doled out in handfuls to the attendants; cf. Sen. Ep. 77.

Libidines in mares pronior: cf. Claud.33.2, "Libidines in feminas profusissimae, marum omnino expers." Suetonius plainly possessed less information concerning the private lives of the second six emperors, especially the three short-lived ones of 68/69 A.D., if we compare the prominent role of "sexual licence" in the biographies of the Julio-Claudians with the cursory treatment of the theme in the later "Lives". Galba was possibly free from sexual vices, since Suetonius was unable to find more than one example,

Icelum: vid. chaps. 11,14.

nuntiantem: cf. Plut.Galb.7.2.

velleretur: cf. Jul.45. Caesar had his beard plucked.

## CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE.

tertio et septuagesimo anno: vid. chap.4.1.

imperii mense septimo: i.e. on Jan.15th, 69 A.D.,  
having reigned just over seven months since Nero's death  
on June 9th, 68 A.D. (Aur.Vict. De Caes. 6; Josephus B.Jud.  
IV.9). Vid. chap.4.1.

ut primum licitum est: i.e. after Vespasian's general,  
Antonius Primus, had advanced into Italy (Tac.Hist.III.7).  
Otho's propaganda would be that Galba had supplanted Nero,  
the true emperor, and that his own actions were motivated by  
justice in avenging Nero. He allowed Nero's busts and  
statues to be set up again, and reinstated Nero's procuratores  
and freedmen in their former positions (Otho 7.1), but Galba's  
statues were torn down (Plut.Galb.26.4). There is a bust of  
Galba in the Capitoline Museum at Rome. It possesses an  
aquiline nose, a prominent chin and a fine head of hair.  
Galba was perhaps in his early fifties when it was made.  
On coins Galba's aquiline nose is clearly depicted, his  
baldness is occasionally concealed. Vid. Mattingly, R.I.C.I.  
plates XIII-XV; Grant, Roman Imperial Money, plate XVI.

Senatus ..... statuum ei decreverat: in 158 B.C.  
the censors removed all statues of private individuals from  
the Forum and Capitol, unless those individuals had gained  
sanction from the senate or the people. Statues such as  
those granted to the envoys massacred at Fidenae in 437 B.C.  
would, however, remain; cf. Livy IV.17.

After 158 B.C. only the senate had the right to allow  
statues to be erected in the above-mentioned places, but the  
law was soon disregarded. In discussing the award of a statue  
to Servius Sulpicius (Cic. Phil.IX.1.3) Publius Servilius  
considered that no one who had not been slain on embassy  
should have a statue conferred upon him. Cf. Mommsen S.III<sup>2</sup>;  
1184. Dio (LX.25) informs us that since the city had

become filled with a multitude of statues (for whoever wished could have his likeness appear in public in painting, bronze or marble) Claudius moved most of them elsewhere and for the future forbade any private individual to erect statues etc., except by permission of the senate or unless he had built or repaired some public work. He did, however, erect a statue of Otho's father in the palace for the detection of a plot to kill him (Otho, 1.2). Claudius had especially unhappy memories of statues, having almost lost his consulship under Caligula because of his tardiness in setting up those of Caligula's brothers, Nero and Drusus (Claud.9.1).

rostratae columnae: employed by the Romans to record naval victories (Verg. Georg.III.29) such as that of C. Duilius, who defeated the Carthaginians in 260 B.C. (Smith, I, 494).

decretum Vespasianus abolevit: the senate actually revoked the decree. Vespasian would merely instruct them to do so.

percussores: these assassins, whom Galba supposedly sent to murder Vespasian, are mentioned nowhere else. Vespasian was a possible rival, inasmuch as he commanded a large army (Vesp.405), but we hear of no discontent in this area until Otho's play for power made the throne fair game for any commander.

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E R R A T A

Commentary:

|             |     |                           |      |                     |
|-------------|-----|---------------------------|------|---------------------|
| ge I line 7 | for | apud Xil.                 | read | apud Xiphil.        |
| ge 3 lineI4 | for | "Via Flaminia"            | read | "Via Flaminia!"     |
| ge 3 lineI6 | for | <u>"ad Malum Punicum"</u> | read | "ad Malum Punicum!" |
| ge 5 lineII | for | <u>Malcovati</u>          | read | Malcovati.          |
| ge 7 line 8 | for | niches                    | read | cupboards.          |
| geII line 3 | for | Hirtius                   | read | Caesar.             |
| ge45 lineI8 | for | Pertus                    | read | Perticus.           |
| ge46 lineII | for | taxes                     | read | remission of taxes. |

Bibliography:

|           |                  |   |
|-----------|------------------|---|
| ge I read | Ailloud H.       | Suétone: Vie des Douze Césars,<br>3rd ed., Paris, 1961.           |
| ge I read | Daremborg-Saglio | Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques<br>et Romaines, Paris, 1877. |