

Commentary

1-7 Biography of Germanicus

In the Suetonian rubric system, an account is generally given of the family history, which is followed by a separate heading covering the subject's father. In the *Caligula*, the family history is omitted, since it has already been treated in the life of Tiberius. Suetonius deals with Germanicus in far more detail than any other minor character in the lives and develops the treatment into a minor panegyric biography. The fathers of the emperors are otherwise treated in a single chapter (e.g. *Aug.* 3; *Tib.* 4; *Claud.* 1; *Nero* 5).

Germanicus had a specially favoured place in the historiographical tradition. Thus Suetonius implies that Tiberius victimised Germanicus, although he attributes to others the belief that Germanicus had met his end at the hands of Tiberius in connivance with Piso (2). He retails the view found in Dio that the death of Germanicus was a turning point for the worse in the reign of Tiberius (*Cal.* 6: *cunctis nec temere opinantibus reuerentia eius ac metu repressam Tiberi saeuitiam quae mox eruperit*; cf. Dio 57.19.1f.). But he is not consistent on this, since elsewhere it is Tiberius' discovery in AD 31 that Drusus had been poisoned which is signalled as a turning point (Suet. *Tib.* 62.1). This can probably be attributed to the use of different sources for different topics, although it is notable that Tacitus sees yet another turning-point in the death of Livia (Tac. *Ann.* 5.3). It may be suspected that the whole idea of a decline at some stage is entrenched in the tradition. When discussing the death of Germanicus, Suetonius is more naive than Tacitus, who shows some awareness of diverging traditions (Tac. *Ann.* 2.73.6: *ut quis in misericordia in Germanicum et praerupta suspicione aut fauore in Pisonem prior diuersi interpretabantur*). Tacitus' account of Germanicus' abilities as a commander is less adulatory, and provides hints that the favourable tradition was based on senatorial belief that Germanicus favoured a return to the Republic (Tac. *Ann.* 1.33). Another forceful element in moulding the tradition was the fact that his son became emperor. Several scholars have suggested that the main thrust of the picture of Germanicus took shape during the reign of Caligula. Germanicus' *ciuilitas* was said to be another factor in his popularity (Tac. *Ann.* 2.82).

Commentary

Life of Germanicus: Structure

1-2	Summary of career up to death	
3	<i>uir</i> tutes:	1. <i>forma</i> 2. <i>fortitudo</i> 3. <i>eloquentia</i> 4. <i>ciuilitas</i>
4	benefits of the <i>uir</i> tutes:	1. approval of Augustus 2. mass approval
5-6	death and reactions:	1. popular dismay 2. barbarian sympathy 3. report of recovery 4. intense grief when truth emerges
7	wife and progeny	

This format is very close to the standard arrangement of the *encomium*. The best examples of panegyric biography in the Roman context are Nepos *Atticus* and Tacitus *Agricola*. Suetonius does not go as far as Tacitus in the process of combining the chronological with the topical.

Drusi et minoris Antoniae filius: Drusus was the son of Livia and Tiberius Claudius Nero, and the stepson of Augustus. He is the subject of more detailed comment in the life of Claudius (Suet. *Claud.* 1), another son of the same parents. See *PIR* 2 C 857; Mottershead (1986) 28-33.

Antonia Minor was the youngest daughter of Octavia, sister of Augustus, and the triumvir Marcus Antonius. For the ramifications of the relationships in this family see Koenen, *ZPE* 5 (1970) 257ff. Born on 31st January 36 BC, her marriage to Drusus had taken place by 16 BC. Germanicus, her first child, was born in 15 BC. See below 1.2. On Antonia see *PIR* 2 A 885.

a Tiberio patruo adoptatus: this was in AD 4. For discussion and bibliography see 4 below.

quaesturam quinquennio ante quam per leges liceret: Dio asserts that in the Augustan period a man could become quaestor at the age of 25 and that he might proceed to the praetorship at the age of 30 (Dio 52.20.1, under 29 BC). Various complications obscure the detailed application of the legal rules (*leges annales*), here mentioned by Suetonius. An allowance was made for the possession of children (the *ius liberorum*: Dig. IV.4.2), but it is not clear when this advantage first began to operate. Dio has the dispensation already in place in 27 BC (Dio 53.13.2), although this seems unlikely, since it appears

to be a product of the lex Iulia of 18 BC, and of the lex Papia Poppaea of AD 9. Our earliest clear case of its operation is that of Agricola, some 80 years later. Another problem is the reckoning of a year begun in a man's life as a year completed. This is the so-called *annus coeptus* principle, attested for Hadrianic date (Dig. XXXVI.1.76: *quantum ad munera municipalia...eum annum quam quis ingressus esset pro impleto numeravi* [Paulus]; Dig. L.4.8: *ad rem publicam administrandam ante uicesimum quintum annum, uel ad munera quae non patrimonii sunt uel honores, admitti minores non oportet: denique nec decuriones creentur uel creati suffragium in curia ferant. annus autem uicesimus quintus coeptus pro pleno habetur; hoc enim in honoribus fauoris causa constitutum est, ut pro plenis inchoatos incipiamus* [Ulpian]). If this applies then a man could become quaestor at 24, as is accepted by some scholars.

In the case before us, Germanicus was 20 when he became quaestor in AD 7 (Dio 55.31.1), assuming we take 24th May 15 BC as his birth date, as discussed below. He thus gets a five-year exemption. At this time he already has one son (Nero, born 7th June AD 5 or 6; see 7 below), but gets no extra advantage on that count. The *annus coeptus* principle need not be invoked (cf. Morris, *LF* 87 [1964] 322). Special exemptions of this type are a commonplace for members of the imperial family. Tiberius was allowed to become quaestor at 18 (Dio 53.28.3).

For discussion see T. Mommsen, *StR* I 534ff., 572ff.; R. Syme II (1958) 652ff.; J. Morris, *LF* 87 (1964) 316-37; 88 (1965) 22-31.

consulatum statim gessit: Germanicus proceeded to the consulship without ever holding the praetorship. This was a special exemption, only otherwise attested for Commodus (*HA Vita Commodi* 2.4; see Morris *LF* 87 [1964] 324). He held office for the entire year in AD 12 (8.1 below; Dio 56.26.1; *Inscr. Ital.* 13.1 612). *Statim* here covers a gap of five years, which gives him a consulate at the age of 25, extremely early, even under the Augustan scheme, which granted a number of consulships to young aristocrats at about the age of 32. Gaius and Lucius Caesar had of course been given even more rapid advancement.

On the age for the consulate see Mommsen, *StR* I 574, who argues for a legal minimum age of 32, while Syme has suggested a 'standard' age of 42 (II [1958] 653-4), although admitting that birth and rank allowed some earlier entrants. B.W. Jones has questioned the value of a 'standard' age in *PP* 217 (1984) 281-4. Clearly the imperial family was not subject to such constraints.

missusque ad exercitum in Germaniam: after his consulship in AD 13 Germanicus was sent to Germany to finish off the war there (8.3: *exacto*

consulatu; Vell. 2.123.1; cf. Oros. 7.4.3). Authorities now suggest that Germanicus had proconsular *imperium* from the time of his initial appointment to Germany, and not first in September AD 14 as had been deduced from Tac. *Ann.* 1.14 (see P.A. Brunt, *ZPE* 13 [1974] 176-80; R. Syme [1978] 56-9). Previously it was held that his status in the interim was that of *legatus pro praetore* with control of the eight legions on the Rhine (Tac. *Ann.* 1.3.5; cf. 1.31.3).

excessu Augusti nuntiato, legiones...compescuit: there are some chronological difficulties in the connection between the death of Augustus and the outbreak of the mutiny. These problems are largely related to the date when Drusus departed to quell the mutiny. Augustus died on 19th August (Suet. *Aug.* 100.1), and the eclipse which is said to have influenced the suppression of the mutiny took place on 27th September (Tac. *Ann.* 1.28). This latter date is only 10 days after Drusus is supposed to have departed with two praetorian cohorts, following the senate meeting on 17th September; the chronology is too tight for Drusus to have been present at the debate. Wellesley proposes drastic revisions of chronology, but other solutions are possible. Tacitus' language may not indicate that Drusus was present at the debate. Alternatively, the cohorts may have left Rome before the debate, and been joined by Drusus subsequently at a rendez-vous near the legionary camp.

On the chronology see G. Kampff, *Phoenix* 17 (1963) 25-58; K. Wellesley, *JRS* 57 (1967) 23-30; M.M. Sage, *Ancient Society* 13/14 (1982/3) 293-321, with full bibliography.

Suetonius exaggerates the role of Germanicus in settling the legionary mutinies in AD 14 as well as the hostility of the legions to Tiberius. It is possible that the tradition has retrojected the story of the bad relationship between Germanicus and Tiberius to the earliest possible moment of Tiberius' reign. There was however a problem in Germany. The contemporary Velleius, who seems hostile to Germanicus, is forced to concede that Germanicus was loyal to Tiberius despite opportunities to turn against the state (Vell. 2.125.2f.). According to Tacitus, the legions in Pannonia were discontented not so much with Tiberius as with the conditions of service (Tac. *Ann.* 1.16.1: *nullis nouis causis, nisi quod mutatus princeps licentiam turbarum et ex ciuili bello spem praemiorum ostendebat*). The situation in Germany was different. There the legions did see a chance to support their own nominee (Tac. *Ann.* 1.31.1f.). Suetonius has generalised from the latter instance. The Tacitean view that the rebellion in Germany was political enables him to emphasise the loyalty of Germanicus and Tiberius' unfair assessment of him.

On the motives of the mutineers see J.J. Wilkes, *CQ* 13 (1963) 268-71; Seager, *Tiberius* (1972) 63f.; Levick, *Tiberius* (1976) 71.

hoste mox deuicto triumphauit: Suetonius compresses events to emphasise the impression that Germanicus was an efficient general. In fact he is covering the events of three campaigning seasons. For these campaigns see E. Koestermann, *Historia* 6 (1957) 429-79; D. Timpe (1968). Suetonius' lack of interest in the details of the military campaigns is characteristic. Such material has little place in illustrating the personality of his subject.

Germanicus had been granted a *laudatio* at the end of AD 14 for a campaign about which Tacitus is not entirely complimentary (Tac. *Ann.* 1.52.2, 1.51.1). In the spring of AD 15 he was awarded the *nomen imperatoris* (Tac. *Ann.* 1.58.5), followed by the triumph at the end of AD 15.

Germanicus received no new honour in AD 16, nor did Tiberius assume a new imperial salutation during that year. Timpe plausibly suggests that in the course of AD 15 Tiberius decided to terminate the campaign. Germanicus is then to be seen as flouting this decision (Timpe [1968] 59ff.).

Germanicus did not return to celebrate the triumph until 26th May AD 17 (Tac. *Ann.* 2.41; cf. *EJ* 49). Timpe's theory assumes that the second consulship and the promise of the Eastern command were used as bait to lure Germanicus back to Rome. This would explain the presence of Piso as a watchdog during the Eastern expedition.

consul...iterum creatus: this was in AD 18 when he had Tiberius as his colleague. Germanicus entered his consulship at Nicopolis in Epirus, then part of Achaia (Tac. *Ann.* 2.53.1). Consulates in absence were a rarity, and it had not been Tiberius' initial intention that Germanicus should hold this consulship as an absentee. See Tac. *Ann.* 2.26.3: *cuius munia praesens obiret*. This appears to be the earliest non-imperial example of the phenomenon. For other examples see R. Syme, *JRS* 48 (1958) 1-9. Tiberius held his third consulship at this time for only a few days (Suet. *Tib.* 26.2).

ad componendum Orientis statum expulsus: Bentley's ingenious emendation *ex s.c. missus* cannot be justified in view of Suetonius' portrait of Germanicus as a victim of Tiberius.

Precise motives for Germanicus' mission remain obscure. The lack of a ruler in Armenia, the acquisition of Cappadocia, and the deaths of Antiochus III of Commagene and Philopater II of Cilicia had, however, left the boundaries of the empire exposed. Tacitus has Tiberius claim that he himself was too old, and Drusus too young. To accomplish the task Germanicus was endowed with *imperium maius proconsulare* (Tac. *Ann.* 2.43.1; Jos. *AJ* 18.5; see Magie I [1950] 497; II [1950] 1356). For a full discussion of the aims of the mission see E. Koestermann, *Historia* 7 (1958) 331-75.

cum Armeniae regem deuicisset: according to Tacitus, the Armenian throne had been vacant since the removal of Vonones, which he dates to AD 16 (Tac. *Ann.* 2.3-4, 2.56). Tacitus does not mention any engagement in which Germanicus took part on arriving in Armenia, and we may suspect textual corruption or error on the part of Suetonius. Clason proposed to alter the text to *delegisset*, which is more appropriate to the situation as transmitted by Tacitus. See Ihm I (1907) 153.

Germanicus placed on the throne Zeno, the younger son of Polemo and Pythodorus of Pontus. He escorted Zeno to Artaxata, and formally crowned him king of Armenia. Zeno took the royal name Artaxias as a token of his devotion to his new country (Tac. *Ann.* 2.56.3; Strabo 12.3.29 = C556; see Magie [1950] I 498; M. Pani [1974] ch. 5).

On Vonones see R.D. Sullivan, *ANRW* II.7.2 (1980) 1160-1; M. Pani (1974) 155ff.

Cappadociam...redegisset: for this idiom cf. Suet. *Iul.* 25: *Galliam...in prouinciae formam redegit*, Aug. 18.2.

Under Augustus a procurator had been placed in Cappadocia when Archelaus apparently suffered a mental breakdown (Dio 57.17). Archelaus had had a chequered but lengthy career as client – he supported Antony at Actium, was defended on unspecified charges by Tiberius in about 23 BC, and was ultimately removed on the accession of Tiberius. His marriage to Pythodorus had greatly enhanced his already considerable influence in the East, and he was now suspected of revolutionary activity.

Cappadocia became a Roman province on the death of Archelaus in AD 17, and its organisation was delegated by Germanicus to his legate Q. Veranius (Tac. *Ann.* 2.56) Veranius soon rejoined Germanicus and held a prominent position as an accuser of Piso after his commander's death (Tac. *Ann.* 2.74, 3.10, 3.13). The province was entrusted to an equestrian procurator (Dio 57.17.7), an arrangement retained until the time of Vespasian. Sufficient income was generated from Cappadocia to enable the emperor to reduce the unpopular sales tax which had filled the *aerarium militare* (from 1% to 1/2%). Taxes in Cappadocia were also reduced to assist the transition (Tac. *Ann.* 2.42.4; see Koestermann ad loc.). See 16.3.

See Gwatkin, *University of Missouri Studies* 5 (1930) 1-29; Sullivan *ANRW* II.7.2 (1980) 1149-60; *RE* s.v. Veranius nos 1 and 2.

annum agens aetatis quartum et tricensimum...obiit: this is primary evidence for the birth date of Germanicus since we are equipped with an exact date for his death – 10th October AD 19 (Fast. Ant. Min. in *Inscr. Ital.* 13.2 209, 519; Tac. *Ann.* 2.72f.). The day of his birthday is not in dispute, as it is

provided by the *Fasti* (*Inscr. Ital.* 13.2 279, 461). There has, however, been some debate over the year of Germanicus' birth. The palpable meaning of Suetonius is that Germanicus died in his 34th year (i.e. in the year following his 33rd birthday), which makes Germanicus' birth date 24th May 15 BC. This interpretation, which is followed here, was challenged by Levick, who doubted the precision of Suetonius (*Latomus* 25 [1966] 238). Sumner has provided cogent reasons for adhering to the traditional date (*Latomus* 26 [1967] 413-30) and Levick subsequently modified her view ([1976] 63 n.58). Tacitus records his death at Antioch, which is also evidenced by a fragmentary inscription (*Tac. Ann.* 2.72.2; *CIL* VI 911 – his cremation is also noted on the inscription). He draws the comparison with the death of Alexander, and Suetonius may intend an allusion to this by noting Germanicus' death at a comparable age. Such a comparison is certainly to be found in the tradition about Germanicus (*Tac. Ann.* 2.73.1-2; G.J.D. Aalders, *Historia* 10 [1961] 382-4; S. Weinstock [1971] 37; Bradley [1978] 119). It may originate from the elder Pliny's *Bella Germaniae*. See 8.1. Antioch seems to have been an unhealthy spot in the early empire (Syme, *ZPE* 41 [1981] 125ff.).

non sine ueneni suspicione: Suetonius follows Tacitus' caution on this subject (*Tac. Ann.* 2.69.3, 2.73, 3.14.2). Dio uncritically accepts the tradition that Piso and Plancina were responsible for Germanicus' death (Dio 57.18.9). The symptoms mentioned by Suetonius here would not today be considered indicative of poisoning (A. Esser [1958] 120). There are some signs that Germanicus was already seriously ill when he reached Antioch. See A.-M. Tupet (1980) 347.

cor...incompactum: at his trial Piso cleared himself of the poisoning charge (*Tac. Ann.* 3.14.2; *Plin. NH* 11.187). Vitellius' insistence that the heart would not burn was met by the defence that this also occurred with heart disease (*Plin. loc. cit.*).

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obiit autem, ut opinio fuit, fraude Tiberi: for Suetonius' attitude to Germanicus see introductory remarks. Dio accepts the tradition that Piso and Plancina were responsible for Germanicus' death (Dio [exc.] 57.18.9).

Tacitus gives rather more background to the diverging traditions. He notes with scepticism a belief that Tiberius had given Piso *occulta mandata* (*Tac. Ann.* 2.43.4), and doubts the story that Piso at the time of his death was about to divulge a document incriminating Tiberius (*Tac. Ann.* 3.16.1-2). Suetonius' account of the death of Piso in his *Tiberius* is obscured by a critical lacuna (*Suet. Tib.* 52.3), but it is evident that belief in the hostility of Tiberius to

Germanicus was fostered by his subsequent treatment of Agrippina and the children of Germanicus. Dio interprets the Tiberian charge against Piso as an attempt by Tiberius to clear himself of the suspicion of having destroyed Germanicus (Dio [exc.] 57.18.10).

Modern approaches emphasise that Piso was appointed by the senate, although Tiberius was under no obligation to consult the senate on a matter relating to an imperial province (*Tac. Ann.* 3.12.2; Seager [1972] 98; Levick [1976] 108). But contemporaries still saw Piso as a Tiberian appointment.

Cn. Pisonis...Syriae praepositus: before his death in AD 20 this scion of a consular family wrote to Tiberius to remind him of his *quinque et quadraginta annorum obsequium* (*Tac. Ann.* 3.16). He was a friend of Augustus, and Tacitus lists him as one of those thought *capax imperii* in AD 14 (*Tac. Ann.* 3.12, 1.13). His haughtiness is emphasised by Tacitus (*Tac. Ann.* 2.43). Little is known of his career until he held the consulship in 7 BC with Tiberius. Their friendship is well attested, and Velleius notes him as one of Tiberius' failures (*Vell.* 2.130.3). He was proconsul of Africa while Gaius and Lucius Caesar were still alive (between 5 BC-AD 2), where Seneca notes his cruelty to his soldiers (*Sen. De Ira* 1.19.3). He was subsequently governor of Spain in AD 9-10, and in relation to this Fulcinus Trio brought up at his trial old charges of intrigue and extortion (*Tac. Ann.* 3.13: *ambitiose auareque habitam Hispaniam*; for the date see Alföldy [1969] 10; Syme, *ES* 8 [1969] 125ff.). His appointment to Syria in AD 17 was as a replacement for Creticus Silanus (*Tac. Ann.* 2.43; *Suet. Tib.* 52.3; cf. E. Schürer [1973] 259f.).

For details of his career see *PIR* 2 C 287; D.C.A. Shotton, *Historia* 23 (1974) 229-45.

nec dissimulans offendendum sibi aut patrem aut filium: this is consistent with the haughtiness attributed to Piso, but may represent Suetonian interpretation of the situation.

etiam aegrum...adfecit: Tacitus' version is more detailed, and he claims that Piso was said to have sent spies to report on Germanicus' illness (*Tac. Ann.* 2.69.5).

ut Romam rediit, paene discerptus a populo: Tacitus notes popular displeasure outside the senate at the time of Piso's trial (*Tac. Ann.* 3.14.5).

a senatu capitis damnatus est: Tacitus and Dio relate that Piso committed suicide before the hearing was completed (*Tac. Ann.* 3.15.3; Dio [exc.] 57.18.10). Suetonius' view that he was nevertheless convicted cannot be

confirmed from Tacitus. Cotta's proposals for his punishment are however suggestive (Tac. *Ann.* 3.17.4). The only charge of which he was certainly cleared was that of murdering Germanicus (1.2 above). For detailed discussion of the case see Rogers (1935) 43ff.

3.1

omnes Germanico...uirtutes: all the major sources follow the tradition that Germanicus' fine physical appearance was matched by his personal qualities (*uirtutes*). As in the longer Suetonian lives so too in this short life of Germanicus discussion of virtues and vices is a major key to the personality of his subject. In contrast with the Caligula hardly a single negative point is registered. As noted above the treatment has affinities with *encomium*.

On Germanicus' appearance and character see Tac. *Ann.* 2.41, 2.72, 2.73.3f.; Jos. *AJ* 18.207-10 (cf. *AJ* 18.167); Dio 57.18.6f.

in utroque eloquentiae doctrinaeque genere praecellens: i.e. in both Latin and Greek (cf. Suet. *Aug.* 89.1; *Tib.* 70.1; *Claud.* 3.1, 42.1; *Nero* 52).

One of Germanicus' teachers was Cassius Salanus, who was a friend of Ovid. Germanicus presented two chased cups, the handiwork of Calamis, to Salanus as a token of esteem, and these eventually came into the hands of his nephew Dubius Auitus (Auitus was praetorian governor in Aquitania before AD 56 [ILS 979]). (Plin. *NH* 34.47; Ovid *Ex Pont.* 2.5.42f.; Syme [1978] 88; *PIR* 2 C 520). Germanicus' brother Claudius also had a freeborn teacher in the form of Livy (Suet. *Claud.* 41.1).

conciliandaeque hominum gratiae...mirum et efficax studium: Josephus as well as Suetonius list this as a reason for the popularity of Caligula's accession (see 13).

formae minus congruebat gracilitas crurum: this is really the only negative point listed by Suetonius, and even this is turned to his advantage. Caligula inherited thin legs but lacked the virtue of a Germanicus who cured the problem through exercise! See 50.1. On the scanty attention paid to heredity by the ancient biographers see Stuart (1928) 65. Suetonius does however describe a hereditary predisposition to ferocity amongst the Domitii Ahenobarbi, and is at least conscious of the possibility of inherited characteristics. See Suet. *Nero* 2-6.

hostem comminus saepe percussit: on this aspect of Germanicus see Dio 57.18.6. Tacitus not only notes his prowess in battle, but assesses his *clementia* as greater than that of Alexander the Great (Tac. *Ann.* 2.73.3; cf. G.A.

Lehmann, *AU* 14 [1971] 23-36). For the importance of single combat as a test of the quality of a Roman see W.V. Harris (1979) 38f.; S.P. Oakley, *CQ* 35 (1985) 392-410.

3.2

orauit causas etiam triumphalis: Germanicus is known to have pleaded cases from a date prior to the exile of Ovid in AD 8 (Ovid *Fast.* 1.21). Dio comments favourably on his advocacy, and notes it as the major achievement of his consulship (Dio 56.24.7 [AD 10]; Dio 56.26.1 [AD 12]).

studiorum monimenta...comoedias Graecas: no fragments of Germanicus' Greek comedies are extant. The *Phaenomena* of Aratus is generally ascribed to Germanicus, although there have been some dissentients. Fragments also exist from the *Diosemeia*, a physical poem compiled from Greek sources. On the Aratus see D.B. Gain (1976) 16-20 (inconclusive); B. Baldwin, *QUCC* n.s. 7 (1981) 163-72 (Germanicus). For the date (c. AD 17) see L. Cicu, *Maia* 31 (1979) 139-44.

Ovid dedicated his *Fasti* to Germanicus (1.19f.) and further flatters him on two other occasions (*Ex Pont.* 2.5.41f.; 4.8.67f.). This was not related to Germanicus' merit as an author so much as to Ovid's hope for his intercession to secure his return from exile (see Syme [1978] 63, 87f.).

After his death Tiberius acknowledged Germanicus' eminence as an author with what Tacitus seems to interpret as niggardly respect (Tac. *Ann.* 2.83.4).

domi forisque ciuilibus...sine lictoribus adibat: on the virtue of *ciuilitas* see Wallace-Hadrill, *JRS* 72 (1982) 32-48; Suetonius (1984) 162ff. When Suetonius talks of his treatment of the *libera ac foederata oppida* he may be generalising from the case of Athens where Germanicus is said to have used a single lictor (Tac. *Ann.* 2.53; cf. 2.59). His proconsular power entitled him to twelve lictors. A magistrate visiting a sovereign or confederate state would not take a lictor with him. But the single lictor at Athens takes the place of an *accensus* and is not counted (Mommsen, *StR* 1 373, 378).

The precedent for Germanicus' behaviour was provided by his grandfather Antony (App. *BC* 5.76; Plut. *Ant.* 33.7; Dio 48.39.2). Hostile propaganda interpreted Antony's behaviour as lax and unsuitable.

sicubi...inferias Manibus dabat: this is a Suetonian generalisation, but Tacitus does record superstitious elements in Germanicus' make up.

caesorum...adgressus est: cf. Tac. *Ann.* 1.61-2; Dio (Xiph.) 57.18.1. Tacitus' report of Germanicus' emotional and impulsive behaviour at the scene of the

Varian disaster is double edged. On the one hand he accuses Tiberius of disliking Germanicus; on the other he suggests that the episode would be bad for morale (Tac. *Ann.* 1.62). For Dio it is one of Germanicus' achievements in Germany, a positive view shared by Seager (1972) 78.

colligere sua manu: this would probably amount to pollution (cf. Tac. *Ann.* 1.62: *neque imperatorem...adtrectare feralia debuisse*).

3.3

Pisoni decreta sua rescindent, clientelas diu uexanti: Tacitus also follows the tradition that Piso had been tampering with Germanicus' *clientelae* since before Germanicus' arrival in Syria and notes Piso's subsequent interference with Germanicus' arrangements (Tac. *Ann.* 2.55.5; Tac. *Ann.* 2.69.1: *Germanicus Aegypto remeans cuncta quae apud legiones aut urbes iusserat abolita uel in contrarium uersa cognoscit*).

non prius suscensere...quam...impugnari: Tacitus emphasises that Piso's interference did lead to reciprocated hostilities (Tac. *Ann.* 2.69.1). Suetonius is determined on panegyric, and underlines the *moderatio* of Germanicus. Unlike Suetonius and Dio, Tacitus is sceptical about Piso's responsibility for the presence of magical devices in the house where Germanicus died. In his version it was Germanicus himself who blamed Piso for planting the devices, and ordered Piso to leave Syria because he believed that Piso was poisoning him (Tac. *Ann.* 2.69.5; cf. Dio 57.18.9).

A *deuotio* is a magical device. Originally an effigy of the victim was transfixed by a needle, like a voodoo doll. In this case curse tablets (*defixiones*) are said to have been used. The name of the victim was inscribed on a lead tablet with curses to the infernal deities (Tac. *Ann.* 2.69.5). See J.G. Frazer on Ovid *Fasti* 1.3; for examples of *defixiones* see A. Audollent (1904).

On the use of magic at the time of Germanicus' death see the cautious comments of A.-M. Tupet (1980) 345-52, who suggests that a hypersensitive Germanicus worsened his condition through a fear of the use of magic by his enemies.

amicitiam...renuntiaret: Tacitus also notes the formal breach of friendly relations by letter (Tac. *Ann.* 2.70.3; cf. 3.12.2, 6.29.2 for Tiberius' attitude to the problem). Rogers plausibly denotes formal renunciation of friendship as private and personal, but other authorities have thought that such declarations of hostility could also occur between states and individuals. For discussion see R.S. Rogers, *TAPA* 90 (1959) 224-37; J.A. Crook (1955) 25f.; *TLL* s.v. *amicitia* cols 1892-4.

si quid sibi accideret: Tacitus also notes this pact (Tac. *Ann.* 2.71.2: *si fato concederem*).

4

Augustus...adoptandum Tiberio dedit: Tacitus supports the tradition that Germanicus was preferentially treated by Augustus, and adds that he eventually yielded to Liuia's entreaties when he adopted Tiberius and left Tiberius to adopt Germanicus in AD 4 (Tac. *Ann.* 4.57; see Seager [1972] 36 n.3). There seems little doubt that Augustus was forced to favour Tiberius on grounds of age, but that the arrangement was supposed to ensure that an heir of Augustus' own blood would eventually reach the throne.

On the adoptions and Augustus' overall strategy in AD 4 see R.A. Birch, *CQ* 31 (1981) 443-56; B.M. Levick (1976) ch. 4; G.V. Sumner, *Latomus* 26 (1967) 413-35.

sic uulgo fauorabilis...discrimen uitae adisse: on his popularity see 3.1f., 13. There is evidence from Egypt that Germanicus was forced to curb the extravagance of flattery at Alexandria by edict (*EJ* 32 [b]). Another papyrus gives further evidence of the uncontrollable enthusiasm on the occasion of his visit (*P. Oxy.* 25.2435).

post compressam seditionem...praetorianas cohortes uniuersas: in AD 14 it was not normal for more than three cohorts to be in Rome itself. The remainder were billeted in winter or summer quarters in towns surrounding the city (Suet. *Aug.* 49.1). It was under Sejanus that this changed when he brought together the cohorts in one camp (Tac. *Ann.* 4.2; see Dury [1968] 43f.). This was not until AD 23, and it was probably for the occasion of Germanicus' triumph in May AD 17 that all the praetorians were present at Rome. Tacitus also emphasises widespread military support for Germanicus (Tac. *Ann.* 1.35).

5

iudicia in morte ac post mortem: Tacitus has a more complete account of Germanicus' death and reactions to that event at Rome. It may be suspected that Suetonius and Tacitus have a common source on this subject (Tac. *Ann.* 2.72ff., 2.82). Dio sees the death of Germanicus as a source of joy for Tiberius and Liuia. This is an uncritical development of Tacitean innuendoes about the sincerity of imperial mourning (Dio 57.18.6-19.8; cf. Tac. *Ann.* 3.3).

A number of inscriptions also attest the esteem in which Germanicus was held. See Rosborough (1920) 11.

quo defunctus est die: Germanicus died on 10th October. See *Inscr. Ital.* 13.2 519.

lapidata sunt templa, subuersae deum arae, Lares a quibusdam familiares in publicum abiecti: some exaggeration is to be suspected, but Tacitus mentions violence after the false report that Germanicus was still alive (*Tac. Ann.* 2.82.3; cf. 6.1 below). Suetonius pictures popular anger against public and private gods at the death of Germanicus. See Maurer (1949) 20.

partus coniugum expositi: as though life would be godless and hence valueless under these circumstances. There has been quite extensive modern debate on the subject of infanticide at Rome. In general it seems unlikely to have been commonplace. The present passage shows an example of the impact that bad omens could have on the lives of the superstitious. On infanticide see D. Engels, *CPh* 75 (1980) 112-20; W.V. Harris, *CQ* 32 (1982) 114-16; D. Engels, *CQ* 34 (1984) 386-93, discussing the validity of using comparative demographic evidence to assess the importance of the phenomenon. See now S. Dixon (1992) 122.

barbaros ferunt...consensisse ad indutias: so also Tacitus (*Tac. Ann.* 2.72). Suetonius' comment about nations at war internally and with Rome is a generalisation and an exaggeration.

regulos quosdam barbam posuisse: the oriental practice was the reverse of the Roman. Compare the behaviour of Augustus at the time of the Varian disaster (*Suet. Aug.* 23.2).

regum etiam regem: oriental monarchs often took this title, and here the reference is to Artabanus III of Parthia. See 14.3.

exercitatione uenandi: Tacitus claims that the neglect of this traditional Parthian custom led to the expulsion of Vonones (*Tac. Ann.* 2.2; cf. Altheim/Stiehl [1970] 544f.).

megistanum: these were oriental courtiers. The word is a transcript of the Parthian *vazarkan*. See Altheim/Stiehl (1970) 26f.

6.1

incertis auctoribus conualuisse: Tacitus says that this rumour was spread by merchants who left Syria while Germanicus was still alive (*Tac. Ann.* 2.82.6).

paene reuolsae templi fores: the Capitolium is referred to; see 22.4 below. Tacitus gives a less explicit account of the incident (*Tac. Ann.* 2.82.8).

salua Roma, salua patria, saluus est Germanicus: this is a trochaic *septenarius* with coincidence of stress and ictus. See Maurer (1949) ad loc.

6.2

non edictis inhiberi luctus...per festos Decembris mensis dies: for the *edicta* on mourning see *Tac. Ann.* 3.6. Suetonius refers to the *Saturnalia* which took place on 17th December. This is an indication of lengthy public mourning since it is over two months after Germanicus' death. The actual interment of his remains took place early in AD 20 (*Tac. Ann.* 3.2).

repressam Tiberi saeuitiam, quae mox eruperit: Dio follows Suetonius in attributing a stage of Tiberius' decline to the death of Germanicus (Dio [Xiph.] 57.19.1f., 19.8). See introductory remarks at 1.1.

7

The account of Germanicus' marriage is reserved as the last theme in the life, since discussion of the offspring of his union with Agrippina leads naturally into the section on Caligula's birth.

habuit in matrimonio Agrippinam: Agrippina, a daughter of Agrippa and Julia, was born in October between 15-13 BC (Mommsen, *Hermes* 13 [1878] 245-65 = *GS* IV 271-91). Her marriage to Germanicus was a product of the dynastic settlement in AD 4 (see Birch, *CQ* 31 [1981] 443; Syme [1986] 94). Suetonius is only concerned with her fecundity, but the fact that she is a granddaughter of Augustus assists Germanicus' rise to dynastic significance.

ex ea nouem liberos tulit: the following table provides a summary of the evidence for their birth date (based on Mommsen with minor modifications):

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------|---|
| 1. Nero (<i>PIR</i> 2 I 223) | Born 7th June AD 5
or AD 6 | <i>toga uiril</i> in
AD 20: <i>Tac. Ann.</i>
3.29.1; <i>CIL</i> XIV
244 (<i>Fasti Ostienses</i>) |
| Nero if born in AD 6 was only 14 at time of toga (i.e. only just entering his 15th year). More likely AD 5. | | |
| 2. Drusus (<i>PIR</i> 2 I 220) | Born AD 7-9 | <i>toga uiril</i> early in
AD 23: <i>Tac. Ann.</i> 4.4.1. |

Suetonius: Caligula

He would have to be born in AD 8 to be 15 at time of toga. His birth must be before July AD 8 (*ILS* 107, 9). Syme supports AD 7-8 (1986) 133 n.44.

3. Tiberius/ignotus: If there was as much as 3 years between Nero and Drusus it is possible that we should assign one of the two children who died as *infantes* to this period. With more plausibility one can be placed in the years AD 8-10. One of these children was named Tiberius as is revealed by an inscription found at the *ustrinum* near the Mausoleum of Augustus (*CIL* VI 888). The other child was male, but his name is not known (*CIL* VI 890: Caes]ar [Ge]rmanici f. hic crematus est).

- | | | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------|--|
| 4. Gaius (<i>PIR</i> 2 I 218) | Born AD 11 | Born at Tibur, one year before Caligula (8.2) |
| 5. Caligula (<i>PIR</i> 2 I 217) | Born 31st August AD 12 | 8.1 |
| 6. — | AD 14/15 | <i>imminentem partum</i> : Tac. <i>Ann.</i> 1.44.2 |
- Supposed by Humphrey to be Drusilla, born early in AD 15 on his calculation (see below).
- | | | |
|------------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 7. Agrippina (<i>PIR</i> 2 I 641) | 6th November AD 15 | Fasti Aruales
<i>CIL</i> I 2 249 |
| 8. Drusilla (<i>PIR</i> 2 I 664) | Late AD 16/early AD 17 | |
| 9. Liuilla (<i>PIR</i> 2 I 674) | Early AD 18 | Tac. <i>Ann.</i> 2.54.2 |

I have assumed that Suetonius lists the daughters in order of seniority, as he does with the sons. This has been challenged by Humphrey, who has argued for Drusilla as the eldest daughter. This he is able to do by identifying Drusilla as the product of Agrippina's pregnancy during the mutiny. A problem for this interpretation is that Agrippina is the first daughter to be married in the latter part of AD 28 (Tac. *Ann.* 4.75). If, as he suggests, she was born on 6th November AD 16, this is an early marriage even by Roman standards. Both Drusilla and Agrippina were born in Germany (8.3), and any reconstruction has to allow for the presence of 5 children at the triumph in May AD 17 (Tac. *Ann.* 2.41.4).

See Mommsen, *Hermes* 13 (1878) 245-65; J. Humphrey, *AJAH* 4 (1979) 125-43.

Commentary

unus iam puerascens...effigiem habitu Cupidinis: this was the Gaius born at Tibur in AD 11 (8.2). The term *puerascens* is used as a contrast with *infans* and may indicate that he was at least two when he died. Busts of dead children were often created (Plin. *Ep.* 4.7.1). Cupid's dress was appropriate since Cupid was the son of Venus from whom the Iulii traced their origin (Suet. *Iul.* 6).

in aede Capitolinae Veneris: this may be the temple of Venus Erycina on the Capitol, but Mommsen wanted to identify it with that of Venus Victrix (*CIL* 1 2 331). See Platner/Ashby (1929) 551.

Neronem et Drusum...hostes iudicavit: according to Tacitus Tiberius did not dare an open attack on Nero and Agrippina until the death of Liuvia (Tac. *Ann.* 5.1ff.). This has been doubted by some scholars (see 10.1; Seager [1972] 209f.). Nero's dissolute life is said to have been brought up against him in a letter sent by Tiberius to the senate, while Agrippina was also charged with personal failings rather than any revolutionary intent (Tac. *Ann.* 5.3). R.S. Rogers is surely right to assume that Agrippina's party was engaged in a real and dangerous conspiracy, and was thus not a victim of Sejanus as such (*TAPhA* 62 [1931] 141-68). Nero was declared a public enemy by the senate while the populace demonstrated outside (Tac. *Ann.* 5.4; Suet. *Tib.* 54.2). He and his mother were removed under guard, and he may have been killed or hustled into suicide (Plin. *NH* 8.145; Suet. *Tib.* 53.2, 54.2; Dio 58.8.4).

In AD 30 an attack on Drusus by a Cassius Longinus was instigated by Sejanus, who first enlisted Drusus' wife Aemilia Lepida against him (see Seager [1972] 212). Drusus left Capri for Rome and was declared a public enemy. Unlike Nero and Agrippina he was imprisoned in the palace dungeon at Rome (Suet. *Tib.* 54.2; Tac. *Ann.* 6.23.2; Dio [exc.] 58.3.8; cf. Tac. *Ann.* 6.40.3). The fall of Sejanus had no beneficial effect on the fortunes of Agrippina and her sons.

8 Birth

As in other lives, Suetonius devotes a section to the birth of his subject. This life goes to special lengths to unravel the place of Caligula's birth for reasons outlined below.

8.1

C. Caesar natus est pridie Kal. Sept: the date is confirmed by other sources, notably the Fasti (*Inscr. Ital.* 13.1 317, 13.2 504; cf. *P. Ryl.* 2.167; Dio 59.7.2-3).

patre suo et C. Fonteio Capitone coss: AD 12, Germanicus' first consulship (1.1). Capito's father had been an Antonian partisan, and it has been suggested that Antonians had a profound influence on the childhood of Caligula. It is hard to prove (see J. Colin, *Latomus* 13 [1954] 394ff.).

ubi natus sit, incertum diuersitas tradentium facit: the trouble Suetonius takes to settle this debate is quite unusual not only by his own standards but also by the standards of ancient historiography. The suggestion which has been made with increasing confidence in recent years that he was responding to Tacitus is attractive. See Introduction 14. The Tacitean version has Caligula born in the camp on the Rhine (see below).

A recent article has investigated how closely Tacitus and Suetonius follow the same ultimate source in relation to the end of the Rhine mutiny (D.W. Hurley, *AJPh* 110 [1989] 316-38). A difference in emphasis is to be found in Suetonius, who makes Caligula alone the reason for the soldiers change of heart (9), while Tacitus includes both Agrippina and Caligula. The biographical genre sufficiently explains the prominent role of Caligula, who has to be kept centre-stage throughout. The motive of both writers seems to be to cover the traces of events discreditable to Germanicus. Suetonius actually knows of the less creditable tradition as is clear from 48.1 (see notes ad loc.).

The source behind Tacitus and Suetonius is usually identified as the elder Pliny's *Bella Germaniae*, and this is still the most likely origin for the panegyric material on Germanicus. He was certainly writing under Claudius (see below), and Germanicus was that emperor's brother. The possibility that there existed a romanticised biography of Germanicus by some other author in which he was openly compared with Alexander cannot be ruled out, but it is not impossible that the entire tradition springs from Pliny. Even material on his reputation in the East could have been included in the *Bella Germaniae*, since we know so little about its format (cf. Hurley, op. cit. 335-8).

Suetonius' own evidence for the birth of Caligula divides into three basic sections:

- 1) the evidence of the *acta*. Suetonius has documentation. Pliny's supposed documentation is refuted on the basis of an ambiguity.
- 2) *ratio temporum*; chronology does not support Pliny, since Germanicus was consul at Rome for the whole of AD 12 (8.3; Dio 56.26.1).
- 3) documentation from the imperial household (the letter of Augustus).

Cn. Lentulus Gaetulicus Tiburi genitum scribit: Gaetulicus had been appointed governor of Upper Germany in AD 29, and was retained in the position for 10 years, despite stories of his ambiguous relationship with Tiberius (Tac. *Ann.* 6.30.3; Dio 59.22.5). Notably he escaped the ruin which

fell on adherents of Sejanus, although his daughter had been betrothed to Sejanus' son (Tac. *Ann.* 6.30.1). It was Caligula who condemned him along with Aemilius Lepidus on a charge of conspiracy in AD 39 (Suet. *Claud.* 9.1; Tac. *Ann.* 6.30.; Dio 59.22.5; *AFA* Oct 27th = Smallwood [1967] 9). See further 24.

Gaetulicus had clearly written some sort of biography of Caligula before his fall. The tone was adulatory (8.2: *Gaetulicum refellit Plinius quasi mentitum per adulationem*). This suggests a date of composition under Caligula between AD 37-9. That the work was historical has been argued by Peter on the grounds that the verb *trado* is reserved for historians (*diuersitas tradentium*: see *HRR* II CXVII). This is by no means certain. Pliny and Martial number him amongst erotic poets (Plin. *Ep.* 5.3.5; Mart. 1 praef.), and Probus cites three hexameters *cum ait de Britannis* (*Ad Verg. Georg.* 1.227). This may suggest that the imperial adulator wrote an historical epic in commemoration of Caligula's proposed invasion of Britain. Gaetulicus chose Tibur as Caligula's birthplace to flatter him with a connection to a city sacred to Hercules (8.2; see *RE* s.v. Tibur cols 816-41; Rosborough [1920] 18-19).

Plinius Secundus in Treueris uico Ambitaruio supra Confluentes: the precise location of the *uicus Ambitaruius* is not known, but it must have been near Koblenz, at the confluence of the Rhine and Moselle.

Pliny claimed to have seen an inscription on an *ara* bearing the words OB AGRIPPINAE PVERPERIVM. He had undertaken military service on the Rhine during which he had begun to compose his *Bella Germaniae* (Plin. *Ep.* 3.5). Perhaps the discussion of Caligula's birthplace can be located in this work, in a section on Germanicus' campaigns in Germany. As noted above he could have motives for distorting the role of Germanicus and his son in the quelling of the mutiny. Syme has investigated the elder Pliny's career in detail, and has shown that he was in Germany between AD 47-58, largely during the reign of Claudius. See Syme, *HSCP* 73 (1969) 20ff. Suetonius dismisses Pliny's evidence below on the grounds that the term *puerperium* can apply not only to male births but also to those of girls. Agrippina had twice given birth to girls in Germany (8.3).

in castris natus, patriis nutritus in armis, iam designati principis omen erat: these popular verses are a reflection of the favour Caligula gained as a result of his childhood presence in the camp. Tacitus clearly paraphrases this couplet in his version of the suppression of the mutiny (Tac. *Ann.* 1.41.2: *infans in castris genitus, in contubernio legionum eductus*). See discussion in Hurley, op. cit. 321f.

8.2

ego in actis Anti editum inuenio: at Rome there were two sets of public records:

1) the *acta senatus*, a record of the proceedings of the Senate which had been instituted by Julius Caesar (Suet. *Iul.* 20.1). Augustus placed a ban on their publication, but they seem nevertheless to have been available for consultation, at least to those in high office (Suet. *Aug.* 36). Both Tacitus and Pliny claim to have consulted them (Tac. *Ann.* 15.74; Plin. *Ep.* 8.6.2). It is possible that they again became available in published form under Tiberius (Suet. *Tib.* 73; Dio 57.23.2; see J.M. Carter [1982] 95). See full discussion in Talbert (1984) 322-34.

2) the *acta diurna*; this was a daily record of events in the city, which was published both in Rome and abroad. As with the senatorial records Caesar was the first to regularise this account (Suet. *Iul.* 20.1). The original was stored in the archives. Tacitus and Pliny also made use of this source (Tac. *Ann.* 3.3; Plin. *Ep.* 8.33.3). See B. Baldwin, *Chiron* 9 (1979) 189-203.

Suetonius must refer to the latter in this context since Juvenal tells us that the *acta diurna* contained a record of births (9.84). Further confirmation is provided by Suetonius himself who notes that Tiberius' birthday was recorded in this journal (Suet. *Tib.* 5). Baldwin suggests that items from the *acta senatus* may occasionally have appeared in the *acta diurna* (op. cit. 194f.). On Roman registers of births and birth certificates see F. Schulz, *JRS* 32 (1942) 78-91; 33 (1943) 55-64, who, however, is unwilling to accept that the *acta diurna* are referred to in the present passage. On his view Suetonius refers to a separate register at the Aerarium Saturni (see Serv. *In Verg. Georg.* 2.502: *templum Saturni in quo et aerarium fuerat et reponerentur acta, quae susceptis liberis faciebant parentes*). But this formal register involving a *professio* and registration at the temple of Saturn was only initiated by Marcus Aurelius (*HA Marc. Ant.* 9.7-8; *Gord.* 4.8; see F. Millar, *JRS* 54 [1964] 33-40, esp. 35). See remarks in J.F. Gardner, *BICS* 33 (1986) 1-14.

8.3

Plinium arguit ratio temporum: see 8.1 above.

qui res Augusti memoriae mandarunt: the sources available to Suetonius and Tacitus on the Augustan period are imperfectly known. Syme has supported the claim of Seruilius Nonianus, but evidence for the *termini* of his history is scant. See Syme I (1958) 288 n.1; (1970) 91-109, esp. 102f.

See also Introduction 26-35 on Suetonius' sources.

Germanicum...in Galliam missum: see 1.1.

bis in ea regione filias enixa sit: the children were Julia Agrippina and Julia Drusilla. See 7 above.

puerperium: this interest in etymology will have been demonstrated more fully in Suetonius' minor works (see Wallace-Hadrill [1983] 43ff.). Compare Priscian *Inst.* 6.8.41-2: '*puer pueri*' cuius feminarum '*puera*' dicebant anti-quissimi, unde et '*puerpera*' dicitur, quae puerum uel pueram parit, id est puellam, quod est diminutiuum puerae, ut '*capra capella*', '*tenera tenella*', '*umbra umbella*'.

8.4

extat et Augusti epistula...ad Agrippinam neptem: this letter was written in AD 14 (*epistula ante paucos quam obiret menses...scripta*). Suetonius may have taken advantage of his official status to gain access to Augustan correspondence, although it is totally unclear whether such correspondence was generally available or not. The letter shows that Agrippina had not accompanied her husband to his post in AD 13. Augustus' offer to assign a doctor to Agrippina and his concern over her health suggest that she may have been unwell (cf. J. Humphrey, *AJAH* 4 [1979] 135). On the letter see H. Malcovati (1928) no. XXVI

Talarius et Asillius: Talarius and Asillius are likely to be freedmen of the emperor. It is just possible that Asillius could be identified with Asilius Sabinus, who is referred to as a *rhetor* by the elder Seneca (*Suas.* 2.12: *uetustissimus inter rhetores scurra*).

See *RE* s.v. Talarius; Asilius nos 1 and 2; Asellius no. 3.

scripsi Germanico: this letter is not extant. See Malcovati (1928) no. XXVII.

dabis operam ut ualens peruenias ad Germanicum tuum: see Tac. *Ann.* 1.40.3 for Agrippina's unwillingness to be separated from her husband (*diu cunctatus asperrantem uxorem, cum se diuo Augusto ortam neque degenerem ad pericula testaretur, postremo uterum eius et communem filium multo cum fetu complexus, ut abiret perpulit*).

8.5

abunde parere arbitror: authorial intervention of this type is very rare in Suetonius. On his motives see above 8.1.

Gaius Antium...praelatum...tradaturque etiam sedem ac domicilium

imperii...transferre eo destinasse: Caligula's first marriage was held at Antium (Dio 58.25.2). Otherwise there is no sign in the extant sources that Caligula favoured the city. Suetonius is the only author to report the tradition that he wished to move the seat of power to Antium. On the origin of such stories see 49.2 below.

9-12 Early life

Suetonius now turns to the early life of Caligula, and in the ensuing sections provides an outline up to the time of his accession.

9

Caligulae cognomen: the name does not appear on inscriptions, with the exception of a forged inscription (*CIL* III 28). After he became emperor Caligula is said to have found the name humiliating and to have punished a *primipilarius* for using it (Sen. *De Const. Sap.* 18.4). For his fickleness on the subject of his name see Barrett (1989) xix. His official imperial title was C. Caesar Augustus Germanicus. See Rosborough (1920) ad loc.

manipulario habitu: i.e. that of a private soldier. The *caliga militaris* was the heavy boot worn by all men in the army except officers above the rank of centurion (Plin. *NH* 7.135). Hence the diminutive form *caligula*.

quantum...amore et gratia ualuerit: Caligula had been deliberately dressed in military gear to gain popularity (Tac. *Ann.* 1.41.2).

ex conspectu suo flexit: on the mutiny see 1.1. Tacitus follows the same tradition as Suetonius at this point. There is however a slight difference of emphasis. He has the mutiny ending when the soldiers realised that their revolt was causing Agrippina to depart to live amongst the Treueri (Tac. *Ann.* 1.41). Here all emphasis focuses on Caligula. See Hurley, op. cit. 320f.

proximam ciuitatem: Augusta Treuerorum (modern Trier); cf. Tac. *Ann.* 1.40.2.

retento uehiculo: cf. Tac. *Ann.* 1.41: *obsistunt, rediret, maneret, pars Agrippinae occursantes*. Suetonius is again very close to Tacitus in interpretation. Dio reports a conflicting tradition that the soldiers seized Agrippina and Gaius (Dio 57.5.6). Suetonius appears to know of this version. See 48.1.

10.1

comitatus...patrem...Syriaca expeditione: in addition to the literary evidence, two significant inscriptions provide evidence of the presence of Germanicus family on this trip (decree of Assos = *SIG* 797; inscription from Paphos = *AE* [1966] 487).

in matris, deinde ea relegata in Liuia...contubernio...quam defunctam: this chronology has been disputed, especially by Balsdon (1934) 13 and Syme (1958) 405 n.2. Tacitus places the death of Liuia before the trial of Agrippina and Nero, and claims it was Liuia's influence that prevented their earlier prosecution (Tac. *Ann.* 5.3). There are two reasons for doubting this: (1) Tacitus' interpretation glosses over facts to the detriment of the family of Germanicus, namely conspiratorial activities before the death of Livia (so Charlesworth, *CR* 17 [1922] 260-1). (2) Tacitus' account seems to develop as a motif the growth in Tiberius' savagery after the death of his mother. Even if we were to favour the Tacitean chronology, Suetonius' account can largely be credited. Proceedings against Agrippina could have begun before Livia's death in AD 29 (Tac. *Ann.* 5.1.1; Suet. *Tib.* 51.2; Dio 58.2.1). Proceedings against Titius Sabinus provide a *terminus post quem* (Plin. *NH* 8.145; Tac. *Ann.* 4.68-70 [AD 28]); his fall was seen as a prelude to an attack on Agrippina. Caligula would have entered Livia's family at that stage. Suetonius on this view would only have anticipated the relegation of Agrippina to explain Caligula's entry in to Livia's household. Our problem is that we have no dated literary evidence for the declaration of Nero and Agrippina as *hostes* (Suet. *Tib.* 53; *Cal.* 7), and their subsequent banishment to Pontia and Pandateria respectively (Suet. *Tib.* 53, 54). It is, however, clear that this would be covered by the missing portion of Tacitus' narrative. Syme would not countenance discarding Tacitus as a chronological peg, and even Charlesworth later recanted on his approach (*CAH* X 635). For discussion see Meise (1969) 237f.; Seager (1972) 209; Hennig (1975) 93 n.38.

praetextatus etiam tunc: when Livia died in AD 29, Caligula was 16; his brother Nero had received the *toga uirilis* at 14 (Tac. *Ann.* 3.29.1); Drusus at 15 (Tac. *Ann.* 4.4). Hence the force of *etiam tunc*. Caligula's career had hitherto been delayed.

pro rostris laudauit: See Tac. *Ann.* 5.1.6. This has been seen as a sign of his rising political fortunes by Gelzer (*RE* 10 [1918] col. 382), probably correctly. It has been discounted as the beginning of the rise of Caligula by Maurer (1949) 38 and recently by Barrett (1989) 24 n.27. All the Julio-Claudians delivered

funeral orations with the exception of Claudius. It was often the first act in a public career. On the educational background of the Julio-Claudian princes see E.R. Parker, *AJPh* 67 (1946) 29-50, esp. 42-4. For Caligula's ability in the field of oratory see 53. On the *laudatio funebris* see J.A. North, *JRS* 73 (1983) 169-74.

transitque ad Antoniam auiam: he remained with Antonia until he joined Tiberius on Capri in AD 31. Later in this biography Suetonius retails the story that Antonia caught Caligula in bed with Drusilla (24), and it has been assumed that the two unmarried sisters of Caligula also joined the household of Antonia at this time. The Antonian heritage was influential (17, 23). Also residing with Antonia were M. Iulius Agrippa (Jos. *AJ* 18.143) and apparently the sons of Cotys of Thrace (Rhoemetalces, Polemo and Cotys: *SIG* 798), who were all rewarded on Caligula's accession with kingdoms (16.3). Antonia was a patron of L. Vitellius and D. Valerius Asiaticus (*Tac. Ann.* 11.3), who were subsequently involved in the perilous life of Caligula's court (Dio [Xiph.] 59.27.2f.; Sen. *De Const. Sap.* 18.2). For Asiaticus see also 36.2.

undeuicensimo aetatis anno: Ihm has adopted the reading of M, the oldest manuscript, and this is accepted here. The alternative reading *inde uicesimo* results from the common confusion of u with i. Oudendorp suggested the emendation *unetuicesimo* on the grounds that Caligula married Iunia not long after (12.2), an event dated by Tacitus to AD 33 (*Tac. Ann.* 6.20.1). However, Suetonius' statement lacks precision and Tacitus also fails to provide an exact chronology (*sub idem tempus...coniugio accepit*). Dio further confuses the issue by placing the marriage in AD 35 (Dio 58.25.2; accepted by Ferrill [1991] 86).

Ihm's reading gives us AD 31 as the year of Caligula's departure to Capri. Balsdon assumes that Sejanus had already fallen at this time (Balsdon [1934] 15); if so the date must be after 18th October. But any date after Caligula's nineteenth birthday is possible (i.e. after August 31st AD 31). A good reason for believing that Sejanus had not fallen is that in this year Caligula was made *pontifex* at the same time as Sejanus and his son (see 12.1 note). Some authorities think that Caligula's slow start was caused by the machinations of Sejanus (*Tac. Ann.* 6.3.4; cf. Levick [1976] 173), but Willrich is preferable on this subject. He argued that Tiberius enforced it, in an attempt to avoid the fiasco of the advancement of his brothers (Willrich, *Klio* 3 [1903] 100; Barrett [1989] 270).

togam sumpsit...sine ullo honore qualis contigerat tirocinio fratrum: Dio says that Tiberius requested the senate not to make the young man conceited

by numerous and premature honours (Dio 58.23.10), a report which may reflect the Tiberian reaction to problems encountered with Nero and Drusus. Caligula's assumption of the toga is not even referred to in any of the extant calendars. Contrast the *tirocinium* of Nero and Drusus which was in each case accompanied by a *congiarium* (Suet. *Tib.* 54.1; *Tac. Ann.* 3.29; *Inscr. Ital.* 13.2 466, dated 7th June AD 20).

barbamque posuit: the point is that the *toga uirilis* was normally adopted well before the *depositio barbae*. In accordance with this custom Augustus had dedicated his first beard to the gods in 39 BC by giving a banquet to the people at public expense (Dio 48.34.3; Marquardt [1886] 599-600; Mooney on *Otho* 12 [305]).

tirocinio: the *tirocinium* (rawness) was that period in the life of a Roman between the assumption of the *toga uirilis* and his introduction to military training (Val. Max. 5.4.2; Suet. *Aug.* 26; *Tib.* 54). On the day when he was introduced into public life a Roman youth was clad in the *toga uirilis* and, accompanied by a procession of relatives and friends (Cic. *Pro Murena* 33.69), gave his name to be entered in the tribal lists in the *tabularium* (Dio 55.22.4; App. *BC* 4.30; Dion. Hal. 4.15.5). He then deposited a gold coin in the temple of the goddess Iuventas (Dion. Hal. 4.15.5; Augustin. *Civ. Dei* 4.11). There was some variation in the age for the adoption of the toga, ranging from Nero at the age of 14 (Suet. *Nero* 6) to this extremely late example of Caligula. See *D & S* s.v. toga; *RE* s.v. *tirocinium fori*.

obliterato suorum casu...incredibili dissimulatione...nec seruum meliorem ullum nec deteriorem dominum fuisse: Tacitus seems to follow the same source at this point (*Tac. Ann.* 6.20.1). There are three elements in common: (1) the development of an ability to conceal his true emotions; (2) lack of concern over the fate of his mother and brothers; (3) the *dictum* which is attributed by Tacitus to Passienus Crispus. Passienus is one of the orators treated by Suetonius in the *De Viris Illustribus*. There he says that Passienus ingratiated himself with all the emperors, and Caligula is singled out in particular (*omnium principum gratiam adpetiuit* [Reifferscheid fr. 71]). His second wife was Caligula's sister Agrippina. It was said that she poisoned him to make way for marriage with Claudius. Whether Suetonius or Tacitus is the earlier is a vexed question, although opinion now seems to see Suetonius responding to items in Tacitus, at least from Book 1 of the *Annals* (see now D.W. Hurley, *AJPh* 110 [1989] 316-38, esp. 325f.; for the debate see summary in Wallace-Hadrill [1983] 1-2). See above 8 and 9, and Introduction 14.

11

naturam tamen saeuam atque probrosam ne tunc quidem inhibere poterat: this passage is important in biographical terms, since it is a clear statement that Suetonius believes in fixity of character. (Compare Suet. *Tib.* 57.1 and see Mouchova [1968] 43.) Tacitus' approach to the personality of Caligula is very similar. On Capri he claims that Caligula concealed his savage temper, but nevertheless Tiberius had few illusions about him (*Tac. Ann.* 6.20, 6.46). Philo and Dio have also picked up this tradition, which may be seen as a product of the moralistic aims of ancient historiography (Philo *Leg.* 33; *In Flacc.* 10, 12; Dio 58.23.3). We cannot expect clemency from a man who is inherently cruel. See Wallace-Hadrill (1983) 159 n.26. On character development see C. Gill, *CQ* 33 (1983) 469-87.

animaduersionibus: for this usage compare Suet. *Aug.* 24.2; *Tib.* 19.

ganeas: a *ganea* was an eating-house of low repute, often also a *lupanar*. See *TLL* s.v. *ganea*.

capillamento: i.e. a wig. See Schol. Hor. *Sat.* 1.8.48: *crinis suppositicius siue capillamentum*. Juvenal gives an account of the riotous night life in Rome (*Juv.* 3.278-80); however this story about Caligula's enthusiasm for low life has a suspicious similarity to stories told of Nero, and is a palpable product of the hostile tradition (Suet. *Nero* 26.1; *Tac. Ann.* 13.25.2; Dio 61.9.2).

exitio suo omniumque...Phaethontem...educare: Phaethon induced his father Apollo to allow him to drive the chariot of the sun across the heavens. He lost control and would have set the earth on fire had not Zeus killed him with a thunderbolt. This myth is hardly encountered in Roman literature before Ovid (*Met.* 2.1-366), but was the subject of Euripides *Phaethon*. For a full account see Diggle (1970) 4ff.

Tiberius is said to have been in the habit of quoting a line of Greek tragedy illustrating his consciousness of the nature of his proposed successor:

ἔμοῦ θανόντος γὰρ μείχθητο πορτί

Some authorities attribute the sentiment to Euripides *Phaethon*, but the line is not included by Diggle (op. cit.). It also occurs in a hostile story about Nero (Dio 58.23.4; Suet. *Nero* 38.1), and a common source has been suspected. See Bradley (1978) 228; Townend, *Hermes* 88 (1960) 98ff., 112ff.

12.1

Iuniam Claudillam M. Silani...duxit uxorem: Tacitus dates the marriage to AD 33 (*Tac. Ann.* 6.20.1), but some imprecision remains on this point (see 10.1 above). Claudilla died in childbirth sometime before AD 37 (12.2; *Tac. Ann.* 6.45.3; cf. Philo *Leg.* 62). There is a hostile variant in Dio to the effect that she was cast aside by Caligula sometime before AD 38, in which year he married Liuia Orestilla (Dio 59.8.4-7).

On Iunia see *PIR* 2 I 857; see Mouchova (1968) 30 on the failure to include the marriage under 25. On the distinction of Silanus see Philo *Leg.* 62; *Tac. Ann.* 3.24.3; Dio 59.8.4; *PIR* 2 I 832 and Barrett (1989) 32.

augur in locum...Drusi: Rosborough (1920) 21 discounts an augurate for Drusus, since no inscription refers to it. But this is hardly conclusive, and Suetonius' account is plausible. Tacitus places the death of Drusus in the palace dungeons just after the transfer of Caligula to Capri and his marriage (*Tac. Ann.* 6.20, 23). Drusus' augurate might have been reassigned even before his death in AD 33.

prius quam inauguraretur ad pontificatum traductus est: according to Dio, Caligula's appointment to the pontificate coincided with that of Sejanus and his son, in AD 31 (Dio 58.7.4, 8.1). If this is so, Suetonius' account is confused chronologically, since the pontificate should then pre-date the marriage (AD 33). Dio's evidence for the pontificate with Sejanus and his son is not unshakeable.

insigni testimonio pietatis atque indolis: on Caligula's sycophancy see 10.2 above.

Seianoque...suspecto...oppresso: Suetonius accepts the view that Sejanus was plotting against the emperor, although this is far from clear. On October 18th AD 31 (*Tac. Ann.* 6.25; *ILS* 158), after Tiberius had taken precautions against an outbreak of violence (Suet. *Tib.* 65.2; Dio 58.9.5, 13.1), a letter from Tiberius was delivered in the Senate by Macro (*Juv.* 10.71-2: *uerbosa et grandis epistula uenit/ta Capreis*; Dio 58.9.2). Sejanus' end was ignominious. There was apparently no trial as such. The Senate voted Sejanus' execution after the consul had ordered his arrest, which was carried out by Graecinius Laco, the prefect of the *vigiles* (Dio 58.10.8, 11.4-5; cf. *Juv.* 10.69-70). This was greeted by a riot against Sejanus, apparently contrary to Tiberius' expectations, and Sejanus' images were overthrown (Dio 58.11.3; *Juv.* 10.58). Once popular feeling became clear his body was carved up on the

Gemoniae (Dio 58.11.4-5; Sen. *De Tranq.* 11.11).

The lead up to the trial is only treated sketchily in the sources. The loss of the relevant section of Tacitus hampers reconstruction. In his autobiography Tiberius is said to have written that he punished Sejanus because of plots against the children of Germanicus (Suet. *Tib.* 61.1). This is hard to believe since the fall of Agrippina and her elder sons was not affected by the destruction of Sejanus. Despite this, modern interpretations have favoured the view that Sejanus was plotting against Tiberius (Rogers [1935] 110 n.345; Marsh [1931] 304ff.; Seager [1972] 216; Levick [1976] 172-3).

Josephus and Dio give some support for this approach. They have Tiberius warned of danger by Antonia (Jos. *AJ* 18.181f.; Dio 65.14.1f.). Indications of declining favour have been detected in imperial behaviour just before the fall. Most significant was the dropping of charges against Lucius Arruntius, a powerful enemy of Sejanus. This was said to have been done with Tiberius' connivance (Dio 58.8.3; Tac. *Ann.* 6.7; Rogers [1935] 109). Another obvious sign of disfavour was Tiberius' prohibition of offerings to any human being, which was felt to be a measure aimed at Sejanus (Dio 58.8.4). It is, however, extremely unlikely that Tiberius gave any open indication that he was planning to move against his henchman, and we can only speculate as to his motives.

A useful biography of Sejanus, which canvasses most possibilities is D. Hennig (1975).

ad spem successionis paulatim admoueretur: the chronology of Caligula's preferment is far from clear. If he had already taken over Drusus' role in AD 31 through his rise to the augurate/pontificate this would be significant. The summons to Capri is usually accepted as the key event, dated above to AD 31.

Sources repeatedly refer to his indifference to the fate of his mother and brothers at this time, and Suetonius himself claims that he subsequently behaved oddly over their memory (15.1). No doubt he had a difficult struggle for political survival, and the sources have interpreted this in a hostile manner in retrospect. For discussion see Barrett (1989) 30ff.

amissa Iunia ex partu: see 12.1.

12.2

Enniam Naeuiam...sollicitauit ad stuprum: her name is apparently Ennia Thrasylla (Dio 58.28.4). Ennia Naeuia is substituted for Ennia Naeui (*PIR* 2 E 65; the name of her husband). Cichorius suggested that she was the granddaughter of the astrologer Thrasyllus, and this has been generally accepted ([1922] 391f.).

The Suetonian version of this affair implies that Caligula was the initiator, but other sources claim that Macro's ambitious wife in collusion with her husband feigned an attachment to Caligula (Tac. *Ann.* 6.45; Dio 58.28.4). Philo goes further and implies that Ennia initiated the affair and only later brought in Macro to assist in Caligula's design for empire (Philo *Leg.* 39-40, 61). See Barrett (1989) 34 who favours the approach in Tacitus and Dio.

Macronis...qui tum praetorianis...praeerat: Macro's appointment dated from AD 31 when he brought the letter against Sejanus from Capri (Dio 58.9.2).

His full name was Q. Naevius Cordus Sutorius Macro, as revealed by the inscription from Alba Fucens (*AE* [1957] 250 = *EJ* 370).

On his career see F. De Visscher (1957, 1960, 1964, 1966).

pollicitus et matrimonium: Tacitus claims that Macro incited Ennia to require this condition, and that Caligula shrank from no condition of *dominatio* (Tac. *Ann.* 6.45.5).

ueneno Tiberium adgressus est: Tiberius was an old man when he died (78). Few will believe that he was poisoned. Legendary details have obscured the truth. Obvious legendary elements include the story in Tacitus that Charicles attempted to take the emperor's pulse through a ruse, and deduced that he could not survive longer than two more days. If true this would in any case surely rule out murder (cf. Balsdon [1934] 22). Tacitus continues with a theatrical account of Tiberius, imagined dead, calling for food, and smothered on instructions from Macro (Tac. *Ann.* 6.50). Dio goes even further, with Caligula actively refusing Tiberius' request for food and involved in the smothering (Dio 58.28.1-5). Suetonius canvasses four options: (1) poisoned (also at *Tib.* 73.2); (2) starved (Suet. *Tib.* 73.2; cf. Tac. *Ann.* 6.50; Dio 58.28.1-5); (3) smothered, after he revived during an attempt to remove his ring (also at Suet. *Tib.* 73.2; cf. Tac. and Dio); (4) at Suet. *Tib.* 73.2, Suetonius gives a contemporary version from the elder Seneca. In this Tiberius took off the ring of his own accord as though to hand it to a successor. He then returned it to his finger, clenched his fist, and remained motionless for a long time. His attendants left, and eventually he got up and collapsed dead. The Elder Seneca had died before his son's exile in AD 41, and this could be a version acceptable to Caligula. If so, its value is impugned. Contrast Seager (1972) 244f.; Levick (1976) 218f.; Fairweather (1981) 15 n.50. The emphasis in the tradition on scheming by Macro and Caligula can be seen as a reflection of the conspicuous influence of Macro in the early part of Caligula's principate and his subsequent fall.

liberto...in cruce acto: not mentioned by other sources.

12.3

gloriatum...ad ulciscendam necem...introisse se: the story seems to be Suetonian fiction. What it highlights is the ambiguity of Caligula's position as a survivor in the face of the destruction of his mother and brothers.

13-16 Initial popularity: *prima acta*

This rubric describes the initial popularity of Caligula. It is divided into popularity attained through the Germanic inheritance (13-14.3), followed by popularity won through his *prima acta* (15.1-16.4).

13

exoptatissimus...maximae parti prouincialium...ob memoriam Germanici: many provincial inscriptions emphasise the Germanic inheritance. See Rosborough ad loc. Of particular note are the two oaths of allegiance from Aritium in Lusitania and Assos in the Troad (*JLS* 190 = Smallwood [1967] 32; *SIG* 797 = Smallwood [1967] 33). See further 15.3 below.

itaque ut a Miseno...et funus Tiberi prosequens: Misenum had become a favoured site for the villas of wealthy Romans during the last century of the Republic, and Tiberius had died in a villa which may have belonged to Marius before it was taken over and extended by Lucullus. It was in Tiberius' personal possession at the time of his death (*Tac. Ann.* 6.50.2; *Suet. Tib.* 73; see E. Badian, *JRS* 63 [1973] 121ff.; also J. D'Arms [1970] 23-7, 86).

Tiberius died on 16th March. Dio incorrectly gives the date as ten days later (*Fasti Ostienses*, *EJ* 43 = *Inscr. Ital.* 13.1 no. 5; *Tac. Ann.* 6.50; *Suet. Tib.* 73f.; Dio 58.28.5). The Suetonian tradition differs from Dio's version in important ways. In Suetonius Caligula enters the city with the body of Tiberius and has a public funeral in which he shows all respect to his predecessor (see also *Tib.* 75), including the expected emotional involvement (see 15.1: *cum plurimis lacrimis pro contione laudato funeratoque amplissime*). Contrast Dio's hostile tradition that the body was brought in under cover of night, and that the obsequies were restricted to a hasty public funeral in which Caligula's funeral speech aimed at self promotion by reference to the examples of Augustus and Germanicus (Dio 59.3.7). This is contradicted by the *AFA*. Caligula entered the city on 28th March (*CIL* VI 2028c = *Inscr. Ital.* 13.2 433), and the *Fasti Ostienses* record the transfer of the body from one place to another within the city on 29th

March (*EJ* 43 = *Inscr. Ital.* 13.1. no. 5: *III k. Apr. corpus in urbe perlatum per milites*; tab. LXIX). The public funeral was not held until 3rd April (*EJ* 43 = *Inscr. Ital.* 13.1 no. 5; tab. LXIX). On the hostile tradition see Charlesworth, *CHJ* 4 (1933) 107-8.

The dress worn in mourning referred to in this passage was the *toga pulla* (cf. *Juv.* 3.213: *pullati proceres*). It was dark in colour (*Juv.* 10.245: *nigra ueste*); hence the proverb *albatu ad exsequias, pullati ad nuptias* (*Sidonius Ep.* 5.7).

sidus...alumnum: these are all terms of endearment, on which see now S. Dixon (1992) 102. Only *alumnus* is otherwise attested for Caligula. See *Tac. Ann.* 1.44.1: *legionum alumnus*; *Sen. De Const. Sap.* 18.4; Dio 59.6.1.

14.1

ingressoque urbem: the *AFA* record Caligula's entry into the city on 28th March (*CIL* VI 2028c 1.15-17 = *Inscr. Ital.* 13.2 433). The same source tells us that he was hailed as emperor on 18th March (*CIL* VI 2028c = *Inscr. Ital.* 13.2 426). A recent article has suggested that the present passage indicates that Caligula did not formally accept the power until 28th March, and that this would be in accord with the traditions of *recusatio*. It also fits with the evidence of Dio Cassius, who dates the commencement of Caligula's reign from this day (Dio 59.30.1). See A. Jakobson and H.M. Cotton, *Historia* 34 (1985) 497-503 and compare Barrett (1989) 54 n.21.

inrita Tiberi uoluntate: it seems clear that Caligula ignored the will of Tiberius, but the tradition has been influenced by Caligulan propaganda. Thus Suetonius elsewhere notes that the will was testified by *humillimorum signis* (*Suet. Tib.* 76), and Dio records that the will had been invalidated on the grounds that Tiberius was of unsound mind when he composed it (Dio 59.1.1-2). It seems plausible to believe that these are stories circulated by Caligula and Macro to justify their actions.

As far as the constitutional situation was concerned, Tiberius was only in a position to bequeath his *res priuata*, as had been revealed by the will of Augustus (*Suet. Aug.* 101). Tiberius had given the senate a clear indication of his preference for Caligula (see *Tac. Ann.* 6.48.3-4; *Jos. AJ* 18.168, 187), but *imperium* could only be conferred by *SPQR* (see discussion in Timpe [1962] 124-6; Brunt, *JRS* 67 [1977] 98).

praetextatum adhuc: Tacitus places the birth of the twins in AD 19, which makes Gemellus 17 or 18 at the time of Tiberius' death (*Tac. Ann.* 2.84). He did not adopt the *toga uirilis* until after Caligula's accession (15.2), which

shows that his advance had been unspectacular. Philo implies that he was younger, and this may reflect a picture promoted by Caligula and Macro to emphasise his unsuitability for the throne (*Leg.* 23; cf. 26).

ius arbitriumque omnium rerum illi permissum est: note the similarity of the terminology to that used by Augustus in the *Res Gestae* (RG 34.1). This may reflect the actual grant of *imperium*. The *Lex de Imperio Vespasiani* has very comparable phraseology: *ILS 244: omnium rerum ius perinde habeatur*. See P. Grenade (1961) 281.

tanta publica laetitia...supra centum sexaginta milia uictimarum caesa: cf. Philo *Leg.* 11-13. See 13 above.

14.2

in proximas Campaniae insulas: this refers to his journey to collect the remains of his mother and brother. See 15.1.

uota pro reditu...de incolumitate eius: Rosborough (1920) 25 has collected a list of these *uota*. Some refer to his *salus* and his *reditus*, and may date from the time of his German expedition rather than the present context (e.g. *CIL* XIV 2854).

in aduersam ualitudinem incidit: see 24.1.

non defuerunt qui...uouerent: here these generalisations are used to show his early popularity. Suetonius later gives an example of each type to illustrate the decline into tyranny (27.2).

titulo proposito: vows were written on tablets and usually either hung on the walls of temples, or sometimes fastened with wax to the knees of gods to whom they were addressed (*Juv.* 10.54-5, 12.98-101). The purpose was identical in either case: that the vow should be publicly recorded.

14.3

accessit...etiam externorum fauor: we hear of rejoicing in Alexandria (Philo *Leg.* 8-13; *In Flacc.* 97), as well as an extant letter from the people of Cyzicus (*SIG* 798 = Smallwood [1967] 401); statues were offered to Caligula by a large group of local councils in Greece (*ILS* 8792 = Smallwood [1967] 361).

Artabanus...odium semper contemptumque Tiberi: Suetonius relates that Artabanus had sent Tiberius insulting letters after the quashing of the conspir-

acy of Sejanus (*Tib.* 66). He had respect for Germanicus (5), and despised Tiberius for being old and unwarlike (*Tac. Ann.* 6.31). Artabanus had good reason to be annoyed with Tiberius since Roman interference in Parthian affairs had been escalating up to the time of Tiberius' death. See Debevoise (1938) 152ff.; U. Kahrstedt (1950).

uenitque ad colloquium legati consularis: this was L. Vitellius, who had been made legate of Syria in AD 35, when Tiberius gave him supreme command over Eastern affairs (*Tac. Ann.* 6.32). Josephus places the meeting in the reign of Tiberius (*AJ* 18.101). The diplomatic initiative should be credited to him, although Caligula clearly saw the importance of ratifying the actual agreement, which was a compromise reached soon after Caligula's accession. It included sending Artabanus' son Darius to Rome. He was later to be displayed during the episode at Baiae (*Jos. AJ* 18.101-3; *Dio* 59.17.5, 27.2ff.; *Suet. Vit.* 2.4; *Cal.* 19.2). See Garzetti (1956) 211-29; Barrett (1989) 63-4.

As Barrett points out, it is a sign of the Parthian king's weakness if we accept that he showed respect not only for the Roman eagles and standards but also for the imperial images. Distortion in Suetonius could be suspected, but a similar rignarole was expected of Tiridates in the reign of Nero (*Tac. Ann.* 15.29.2).

15.1

omni genere popularitatis: the importance of these popular measures is underplayed by Suetonius, who implies that Caligula lost popular favour later in his reign. Josephus makes it quite clear that the death of Caligula upset a large segment of the audience in the theatre, who had been won over by imperial *liberalitas* (*Jos. AJ* 19.127-33). Yavetz takes this further and sees Caligula winning favour with the people by humiliating the influential (Yavetz [1969] 114-15), but Barrett (1989) 229 is right to play down this approach.

Tiberio...pro contione laudato: Caligula is said to have used this funeral as an opportunity for self promotion, and to have made much of his connection with Augustus and Germanicus (*Dio* 58.28.5, 59.3.7-8). See Millar (1977) 369.

funeratoque amplissime: on the hostile tradition in Dio and the date of Tiberius' funeral, see 13 above.

Pandateriam et Pontias...festinauit: these islands in the Tyrrhenian sea were prominent in the early empire as places of exile. Julia, daughter of

Augustus (Tac. *Ann.* 1.53.1) and Agrippina (Suet. *Tib.* 53.2) had been confined on Pandateria, while Nero, son of Germanicus, was kept on the island of Pontia (Suet. *Tib.* 54.2).

Dio also has Caligula collecting the bones of his relatives (Dio 59.3.5), and the sepulchral inscriptions of Agrippina and Nero survive (*CIL* VI 886 = *ILS* 180; *CIL* VI 887 = *ILS* 183). Agrippina's urn can be seen in the Palace of the Conservatori at Rome. Barrett points out that Nero is called son of Germanicus on the funerary inscription, not son of Tiberius, as he had become through adoption ([1989] 61). Many Tiberian measures were reversed at the beginning of Caligula's reign and it is likely that the rehabilitation of his mother and brother was intended to be symbolic of this change of emphasis. For coins celebrating this occasion see Smallwood (1967) 84ff.

nec minore scena...Mausoleo intulit: the episode must have reminded Romans of Agrippina's return with the ashes of Germanicus some 17 years earlier. Some authorities have seen it as a mockery of the earlier ceremony; others as modelled on the arrival of the Magna Mater from Pessinus in Phrygia in 204 BC (Ovid *Fast.* 4.291-348; cf. Livy 29.14.11-13). The rehabilitation of his family should be seen as an important political gesture, marking the break from the Tiberian past.

Use of the *carpentum* had been restricted by Republican sumptuary laws, and subsequently only the vestals, the *rex sacrorum* and the *flamines* were entitled to use one at festivals. A coin confirms Suetonius: on the obverse is Agrippina's likeness and the inscription: *Agrippinae M. f. mat. C. Caesaris Augusti*; on the reverse is a *carpentum* drawn by two mules, along with the inscription: *SRQR Memoriae Agrippinae* = Smallwood (1967) 84(b). Claudius was later to see to it that his mother Antonia received this posthumous honour (Suet. *Claud.* 11.2).

See *RE* s.v. *Carpentum*; Marquardt (1886) 735-6; Mommsen *StR* I 394.

15.2

Septembrem mensem Germanicum appellavit: this has been confirmed by a recently published calendar for the reign of Caligula (*P. Oxy.* 55 [1984] no. 3780). Honorific months of this type followed Hellenistic practice. These changes seem only to have lasted for a brief time under Claudius. Suetonius had written a work on the Roman year, and his knowledge of the area is reflected elsewhere in his *Caesares* (e.g. *Iul.* 40; *Aug.* 100; *Dom.* 13.3).

See K. Scott, *Yale Classical Studies* 2 (1931) 201-78; A.E. Hanson, *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* (1984) III 1287-95.

post haec Antoniae auiae, quidquid...Liuia Augusta honorum cepisset,

uno senatus consulto conegessit: there is a hostile tradition that Caligula turned on Antonia after first treating her with respect. Dio has her greeted as Augusta and granted all the privileges of the Vestal Virgins before being forced to suicide for an obscure reason (Dio 59.3.4f.). Suetonius is also vague about the cause of her death and associates tyrannical behaviour with it (23.2, 29.1). The title Augusta is confirmed by the *AFA* which record a sacrifice for her birthday on 31st January AD 38 (*CIL* VI 2028c = *Inscr. Ital.* 13.2 405). She had actually died within a month of Caligula's accession according to the *Fasti Ostienses*, which makes the tradition of subsequent ill-treatment unlikely. See Charlesworth, *CHJ* 4 (1933) 108. On the honours awarded to Liuia see H.W. Ritter, *Chiron* 2 (1972) 313-38, and for the influence of these on honours for Antonia and Drusilla see P. Herz, *Historia* 30 (1981) 324-36.

patruum Claudium...collegam...assumpsit: this was Caligula's first consulship which he entered on 1st July. See 17.1 below. Although there is a tradition that Claudius was abused by Caligula, it would seem that this joint consulship was an exercise in family solidarity aimed at consolidating the claim of the young heir to the throne. Compare Barrett (1989) 68.

fratrem Tiberium die uirilil togae adoptavit: Gemellus was the twin son of Drusus, son of Tiberius, and Livilla (Tac. *Ann.* 2.84). Although he was younger than Caligula by some seven years, his claim to the throne was strong. Notice that Caligula was never adopted as a son by Tiberius, although Caligula takes care to adopt Gemellus. Caligula was already Tiberius' grandson as a result of the adoption of Germanicus, but confirmation of Caligula's status as heir could have been expected through a further adoption. A solution to this problem is to say that Tiberius never settled the succession question. There are two possible interpretations of Caligula's handling of Gemellus: (1) Gemellus had been set aside by Tiberius because of his mother's poor reputation, but was now resuscitated to secure the succession (for Livilla's reputation see Tac. *Ann.* 4.3ff., 6.2); (2) Caligula and Macro had ignored the wishes of Tiberius and the claim of Gemellus, and possibly manufactured the story that Tiberius had despised him as an illegitimate *after* they had disposed of him (Suet. *Tib.* 62.3; Dio 58.23.2). At the beginning of Caligula's reign the other sources also say Gemellus got the *toga uirilil*, the title *princeps iuuentutis* and adoption into Caligula's family (Dio 59.1.3; Philo *Leg.* 26-7). For the story of Gemellus' later victimisation by Caligula see 23.3, 29.1. On the adoption and its significance see M.H. Prévost (1949) 35ff.

15.3

de sororibus auctor fuit, ut omnibus sacramentis adicerentur: as in the

case of Antonia the sisters had been granted the privileges of Vestal Virgins and the right to imperial seats at the circus. Dio says that their names were included in the formula used by the consuls for introducing proposals in the senate, as well as in annual vows for his safety, and the oaths of allegiance to his reign (Dio 59.3.4). This is in agreement with the Suetonian evidence. Dio also records the taking of the annual oath of allegiance in AD 38 and reproduces the formula quoted by Suetonius (Dio 59.9.1).

The oath of allegiance taken on 11th May AD 37 at Aritium in Lusitania makes no mention of Caligula's sisters (*CIL* II 172 = *ILS* 190 = Smallwood [1967] 32). But a decree passed by the people of Assos at the beginning of Caligula's reign does swear allegiance to Caligula and his house (*SIG* 797 = Smallwood [1967] 33, l.20). The formula in the Aritium oath may derive from the Augustan period, possibly modelled on the oath of 32 BC. Compare the oath of Gangra (*EJ* 315) and the oath from Cyprus (*EJ* 105; see T.B. Mitford, *JRS* 50 [1960] 157f.). See P. Herrmann, *Der römische Kaisereid* (1968) 90-110, 122-9.

Thus although we can see that the sisters were prominent in the early part of the reign, we have no epigraphic confirmation of Suetonius and Dio. It is on the coinage that their unusual status is clearly commemorated. See *BMC* 36-7; Barrett (1989) 62-3.

15.4

Pari popularitate...restituit: Dio also mentions the release of prisoners as a Tiberian reversal at the beginning of the reign (Dio 59.6.2-3). Only one beneficiary of this move is known to us, the literary figure Publius Pomponius Secundus (see Barrett [1989] 66). For his later escape from a prosecution launched against him see 16.4.

commentarios...concremauit: *commentarii* seem to have been records of trials kept in imperial possession, although it may not be a technical term. See Millar (1977) 260. According to Dio only copies of the documents were burnt (Dio 59.4.3), and Suetonius later says that Caligula used these very documents to convict all the Senators of being informers against his mother and brothers (30.2). The aim of the public cremation fits with the new start that both he and Macro felt was appropriate in the aftermath of Tiberius. Augustus had gone through a similar ritual with Antonian letters, and Claudius also officially cleaned the slate (Dio 60.4.5). See Barrett (1989) 65-6.

16.1

spintrias...urbe submouit: these were male prostitutes, said to have been cultivated by Tiberius (Suet. *Tib.* 43.1). The stories of Tiberius' excesses on Capri

are usually dismissed as the product of rhetorical *uituperatio* (but see Wallace-Hadrill [1983] 184). If the traditional view is taken then the issue of coins known as *spintriae* in the years AD 22-37, depicting erotic scenes, may have given rise to the hostile stories, fuelled by speculation over Tiberius' activities on Capri (see T.V. Buttrey, *NC* 13 [1973] 52-63; C.L. Murison, *AHB* 1, 4 [1987] 97-9).

For the penalty compare Suet. *Aug.* 67.2; Plin. *Pan.* 34.5ff. Suetonius may refer here to the notorious *poena cullei*. See M. Radin, *JRS* 10 (1920) 119-30. However, a similar interest in drowning victims is alleged in the context of Caligula's rhetorical contest (20 below). Caligula's motives on this occasion are opaque. Barrett (1989) 31 detects a prudish attitude towards sex, unbelievably. The expulsion fits well amongst the measures aimed at popular favour soon after his accession, although caution is in order for any of the stories relating to imperial sexual tastes.

Titi Labieni, Cordi Cremuti, Cassi Seueri scripta...permisit: Tiberius made a show of being tolerant of lampoons (Suet. *Tib.* 28), but it is nevertheless possible that the book burning and penalties exacted from mischievous authors in the last years of Augustus were under Tiberian influence. Both Labienus and Cassius Seuerus had come to grief in AD 12, and the persecution of Cremutius Cordus some years later could be seen as a continuation of this intolerant attitude (Goodyear, *ANRW* II.32.1 [1984] 603-10). Caligula saw an opportunity to reverse an unpopular aspect of his predecessor's policy, but did not keep this up for long. In AD 39 Carrinas Secundus was exiled for giving a speech on tyrants in a rhetorical contest (Dio 59.20.6). See Introduction 35.

The elder Seneca reveals that Labienus acquired the sobriquet Rabienus because of his outspoken virulence against all and sundry, and was the first to have his books burnt (Sen. *Contr. praef.* 8, probably in AD 12 [Dio 56.27.1]). See Hennig, *Chiron* 3 (1973) 245-54.

Cremutius was supposed to have gained the hatred of Sejanus, and the pretext for prosecution was that he had described Brutus and Cassius as the last of the Romans (Sen. *Ad Marc.* 22.4; Tac. *Ann.* 4.34; Suet. *Tib.* 61.3; Dio [Xiph.] 57.24.2f.). The senate decreed that his books should be burnt, but some (possibly censored) versions survived and were at this time produced by his daughter Marcia (Sen. *Ad Marc.* 1.3; Quint. 10.1.104; Tac. *Ann.* 4.35.5); Dio [Xiph.] 57.24.4). On his prosecution see R.S. Rogers, *TAPhA* 96 (1965) 351-9.

Cassius Seuerus gave rise to the application of the law of *maiestas* to cases of libel/defamation through his attacks on the illustrious, according to Tacitus (Tac. *Ann.* 1.72.2; see Koestermann ad loc.). His outspokenness was rewarded by a lengthy exile on Crete and later on Seriphos (Tac. *Ann.* 4.21.5f.).

For a comprehensive study of bookburning and censorship at Rome in the early empire see F.H. Cramer, *Journal of the History of Ideas* 6 (1945) 157-96.

rationes imperii...publicavit: Dio notes that he was following an Augustan precedent which had been interrupted by Tiberius' absence on Capri (Dio 59.9.4; cf. Suet. *Aug.* 28.1, 101.4). According to A.H.M. Jones the intermission under Tiberius showed that the emperor was not legally required to issue this general balance sheet of the empire (Jones [1960] 105, 192; cf. Tac. *Ann.* 1.6). The *rationes* had a Republican origin, when they provided a check on individual governors, who were required to send an accounting to the *aerarium*, but only retrospectively. The difference under the empire was the creation of more general accounts of the State (see Millar, *JRS* 54 [1964] 33-40, esp. 37-8). These attempts to quantify the resources of the empire did not continue into the later empire (Millar [1977] 267ff.). Caligula perhaps only issued the *rationes* at the beginning of his reign, and the figures mentioned at 37.3 may derive from this occasion. See Barrett (1989) 224.

16.2

magistratibus liberam iuris dictionem et sine sui appellatione concessit: Augustus had delegated appeals at Rome to the praetors and in the provinces to certain *consulares* (Suet. *Aug.* 33.3). Tiberius' willingness to allow the judgements of Marcus Silanus to stand without appeal implies that it was normal for that emperor to receive appeals (Dio 59.8.5). The present passage could apply to both local and provincial appeals. This piece of magnanimity can be placed amongst the early manoeuvres for popularity. Appeals from the senate came to the emperor himself (Dio 59.18.2). See Garnsey, *JRS* 56 (1966) 180; Millar (1977) 510.

equites...recognovit: under the empire entry to the equestrian order was closely regulated. One requirement was a census of 400,000 HS, first mentioned by Horace (*Ep.* 1.1.58), and it appears that the order would be filled simply on the basis of census without imperial intervention. Equestrian status was not normally conferred by the emperor, although he had important censorial functions (Millar [1977] 279ff.).

The role of the *equus publicus* was reformed by Augustus. Despite the fact that Suetonius identifies possession of the horse with membership of the order, the horse appears to be an honour bestowed by the emperor on some of those who already possessed the equestrian census. Augustus also revived the *transuectio* of the *equites*, an antiquarian ceremonial involving those honoured with the *equus publicus*.

Augustus carried out his censorial functions with ten assistants requested from the senate (Suet. *Aug.* 38.3-39). Apart from establishing who was worthy of the *equus publicus*, this body also selected the *decuriae* of *iudices* (Plin. *NH* 29.18). Caligula's censorial activity mentioned here is also apparently

related to the *transuectio* and the selection of *iudices*. But emperors did have the power to expel members of the equestrian order (Suet. *Claud.* 24.1), and were expected to take an interest in maintaining it. Suetonius shows his disapproval of Tiberius for not finding suitable participants in the latter part of his reign (Suet. *Tib.* 41). Caligula was more conscientious, since Dio tells us that he summoned suitable men from the provinces to enrol them (Dio 59.9.5)

For bibliography see Millar (1977) 279; cf. Mommsen *StR* III 491ff.

ut leuior labor iudicantibus...quintam decuriam addidit: under the Republic there had been three *decuriae* of *iudices*. See A.H.M. Jones (1960) 41. Augustus had added a fourth, consisting of men of lower census, with a provision that they should be over the age of 30 (Suet. *Aug.* 32.3). Previously 35 had been the minimum age. The addition will have been in AD 4 when Augustus held a census of all citizens in Italy who were assessed at 200,000 HS or more (Dio 55.13). The fifth *decuria* added by Caligula was probably drawn from citizens of like census. Selection for the *decuriae* of *iudices* has been thought to be honorific like the *equus publicus*. Active participation in the judicial process may not have been expected from those who were enrolled (see Millar [1977] 282, quoting *AE* [1972] 573, the career of M. Gaius Bassus, who was 'adlected into the fifth *decuria* among the *selecti*' despite his probable absence from Rome at that stage of his career). Suetonius implies that in the reign of Caligula, at least, duties were attached to the post (*labor*).

temptavit et...suffragia populo reddere: Augustus had made a show of returning the elections to the *comitia* (Suet. *Aug.* 40; Dio 51.21.6), and only openly appointed his own nominees in times of crisis. But the reality was that candidates could only present themselves for election with imperial approval (Levick, *Historia* 16 [1967] 207-9).

A change took place when the praetorian elections of AD 14 were held in the Senate (Tac. *Ann.* 1.15.1: *tum primum e campo comitia ad patres translata sunt*). But consular elections still seem to have taken place outside the senate. Tacitus describes the consular elections during AD 15 for AD 16 in ambiguous terms, but talks of bribery as an issue dealt with by Tiberius (Tac. *Ann.* 1.81.2). Further confirmation of the continuation of popular elections is provided by the Tabula Hebana (*EJ* 94a), although this evidence has been variously interpreted. The full transfer had certainly taken place by AD 32 when the people merely ratified a senate decision (Dio 58.20.1-4).

Dio dates Caligula's restoration of popular elections to AD 38 (Dio 59.9.6). The change did not last, because of popular indifference (Dio 59.20.3-5) but surely not because of the farce imagined by Levick (op. cit. 225) – namely that

the number of candidates had been brought down to the number of places to be filled. In practical terms the emperor was not relinquishing power by restoring popular elections since he retained the ability to nominate and commend preferred candidates. Caligula's move should be appreciated as following an Augustan precedent, and also as a deliberate reversal of trends started by Tiberius.

For a selection of the large bibliography on this topic see H. Siber, *Festschrift Paul Koschaker* 1 (1939) 171-217; D.C.A. Shotter, *CQ* 17 (1967) 321-32; B.M. Levick, *Historia* 16 (1967) 207-30; A.J. Holladay, *Latomus* 37 (1978) 874-93; C.J. Simpson, *PP* 36 (1981) 295-311; Barrett (1989) 230-1.

16.3

legata...cum fide...persoluit: Dio correctly sees this as a political move. Caligula had set aside Tiberius' will for dynastic motives and was now buying himself popularity. Dio outlines the benefactors (59.2.1-3):

- 1) 45 million HS to the people en bloc, plus the money they had failed to receive when Caligula assumed the *toga uirilis*.
- 2) 1,000 HS to the praetorians. Caligula doubled the award.
- 3) 500 HS to the *cohortes urbanae*.
- 4) 300 HS to the *uigiles*, and the remainder of the military.

In relation to the will of Iulia Augusta, Dio agrees that Tiberius had not paid any of her bequests, and that Caligula complied with the will in all its particulars (Dio 58.2.3a, 59.2.3-4; Suet. *Tib.* 51; *Galba* 5).

ducentesimam auctionum Italiae remisit: coins from AD 39-40 inscribed *RCC* have been taken to refer to this (*remissa ducentesima*). See *BMC* 56-7: *RIC* 39; Sutherland (1951) 120.

In AD 15 Tiberius had refused to abolish this tax on which the *aerarium militare* relied, but 2 years later he was able to halve it from 1% to 1/2% because of the extent of revenue from the recently annexed Cappadocia (Tac. *Ann.* 1.78.2, 2.42.6). The tax is twice mentioned by Dio who has it increasing from 1/2% to 1% in AD 31 and dates abolition of a 1% tax to AD 38 (Dio 58.16.2, 59.9.6). This conflicts with the Suetonian testimony unless we posit more than one alteration under Caligula. Mommsen adopts the Suetonian version, rejecting Dio altogether (*StR* II 1014 n.3), but Dio's date may be correct. Presumably the loss was once more met by the Cappadocian taxes, which are said to have been sufficient to enable a reduction in tax within Cappadocia, which assisted in the popularity of Roman rule (Tac. *Ann.* 2.56.4; for some doubts, see Koestermann ad loc.).

multis incendiorum damna suppleuit: see Dio 59.9.4.

si quibus regna restituit, adiecit et fructum...medii temporis: in returning revenues from these domains, Caligula was following Julio-Claudian precedents. Beneficiaries of Caligula's accession include:

- 1) Agrippa, who may have received as much as 300 talents, representing the revenue from his ancestral domain which had been kept aside by Tiberius since the death of the tetrarch Philip in AD 33-4 (Jos. *AJ* 18.106-8; see Box [1939] 83). For Agrippa's career see further *PIR* 2 I 131; Smallwood (1976) 150; Barrett (1989) 182f.
- 2) Antiochus, who is given as the example of this generalisation, obtained Commagene and, like Agrippa, was awarded additional territory as a result of his favoured status (Dio 59.8.2). See *PIR* 2 I 149.
- 3) Sohaemus obtained Ituraea in AD 38 (Dio 59.12.2). Why he was so honoured is obscure. See *RE* s.v. Sohaemus no. 3.
- 4) Rhoemetaces, Polemo and Cotys, who had grown up with Caligula each received a major kingdom in the East.

These examples show that Caligula continued the Julio-Claudian tradition of employing trusted Eastern dignitaries as clients under direct imperial patronage. The application of funds from these territories to continuing the system shows Caligula as no radical in this area of provincial administration.

16.4

libertinae...donauit, quod excruciata...reticuisset: while the general rule was that slaves and *liberti* and *libertinae* could not be questioned under torture against their masters, certain exceptions were admitted, the most important of which related to cases of *maiestas*. Dio dates the present case to AD 40 and makes it clear that this was the charge. In his text the *patronus* is named as Pomponius and the *libertina* is described as his mistress (Dio 59.26.4f.). In Josephus she is named as Quintilia and the patron is identified as a senatorial Epicurean by the name of Pompedius. This seems to be a corruption for Pomponius, and Swan has made a case for identifying him with P. Pomponius Secundus, suffect consul in AD 44. See *Phoenix* 30 (1976) 54-9. A previously favoured identification with an ex-consul by the name of Pompeius Pennus has little to recommend it. See *Sen. De Ben.* 2.12; Balsdon (1934) 100-1. On evidence given under torture in the early principate see Brunt, *ZRG* 97 (1980) 256-65.

decretus est ei clipeus...quem...in Capitolium ferrent: the *clipeus aureus* was decreed for Augustus (RG 34.2). Amongst the honours proposed for Germanicus was that a *clipeus* of gold with his portrait should be included amongst the portraits of the orators in the Palatine library. Tiberius moderated this to a bronze *clipeus* (Tac. *Ann.* 2.83.4). Weinstock (1971) 241 plausibly associates the present passage with the institution in AD 39 of an annual

festival in honour of the *clementia* of Caligula, when a golden image of the emperor was carried to the Capitol and hymns were sung by noble youths (Dio 59.16.10). Suetonius notes that their theme was the imperial virtues, which doubtless included his *clementia*.

decretum...ut dies quo cepisset imperium Parilia uocaretur: for Caligula's *dies imperii* see 14.1 above. The *Parilia* (or *Palilia*) was a festival in honour of Pales, a rustic god of Latium, which was celebrated on April 21st. It was also considered to be the birthday of Rome (Ovid *Fasti* 4.800f.; Festus 273, ed. Lindsay), and its symbolism here is in equating Caligula with Romulus as the founder of a new golden age. See Weinstock (1971) 191; Barrett (1989) 72.

17 Consulships and public duties

The concern in this segment is with Caligula's handling of official duties.

Consulatus quattuor gessit: soon after Caligula's accession the senate voted him a perpetual consulship, which he rejected. He became consul at once through the removal of Proculus and Nigrinus (Dio 59.6.5), but did not hold the consulship in AD 38. Some have seen in this an attitude of constitutional moderation (Barrett [1989] 91). But from AD 39 until his death he was consul every year, which is symptomatic of his absolutism. Since 23 BC neither Augustus nor Tiberius had held contiguous consulships. Another innovation seen for the first time in an imperial context is Caligula's permission for a mere senator to stand for a second consulship. This is exemplified by the case of Sanquinius Maximus.

Caligula entered his first consulship, which he held in conjunction with his uncle Claudius, on July 1st AD 37 (Suet. *Cal.* 15.2; Dio 59.6.5). The *Fasti Ostienses* confirm Suetonius, who states that the consulship was held for just two months (*Inscr. Ital.* 13.1 664 with tab. LXIX). A. Caecina Paetus and C. Caninius Rebilus took over as suffectus on September 1st. Dio wrongly extends his term by 12 days.

Caligula's second consulship was in AD 39, and lasted for 30 days with L. Apronius Caesianus as his colleague (Dio 59.13.2). Caesianus remained in office for six months, while the prefect of the city Sanquinius Maximus took over from Caligula as suffect (Dio loc. cit.).

His third consulship was held without colleague in AD 40 (see further below). Caligula held office until January 13th, when suffectus took over (*Fasti Antiates: Inscr. Ital.* 13.1, tab. XCVI; 13.1 664; Dio 59.24.7).

For the first week of AD 41 Caligula was consul with Cn. Sentius Satur-

ninus. Saturninus is listed as consul for the year with Q. Pomponius Secundus, who was the suffect replacing Caligula (*Fasti Feriarum Latinarum* for 25th June; name of the latter erased: *Inscr. Ital.* 13.1 tab. LIX; 13.1, 664; cf. Jos. *BJ* 2.205; Dio 59.29.5).

On the *Fasti* for the reign of Gaius see Gallivan (1979); Humphrey and Swan (1983). Colin (1954) tries to trace the motives for favouring senators with the consulship under Caligula, now discussed by Barrett (1989) ch. 6.

duos nouissimos coniunxit: this is incorrect as is clear from the above. Bentley corrects the reading to *tris*.

tertium...solus, non ut quidam opinantur superbia: Dio also contradicts the hostile tradition about this consulship (Dio 59.24.2), possibly a sign of a common source (see Introduction 26-35). Dio thought that the praetors should have taken action in Caligula's absence, but feared the consequences of appearing to usurp his role. Within 12 days Caligula had resigned and handed over the consulship to suffectus. See Barrett (1989) 133.

17.2

congiarium populo bis...trecentos sestertios: a *congiarium* was originally a gift of oil given to the people in addition to the regular allotment of grain. This liberality was extended only to the *incisi frumento publico*. Tiberius' will left 45 million HS to the people (see above 16.3). On the basis of the present passage, we can assume that he anticipated 150,000 recipients (Van Berchem [1939] 146). This represented a considerable decline from the 200,000 recipients in 2 BC (RG 15.4) and the 320,000 recipients in 5 BC.

The *Fasti Ostienses* for AD 37 give dates for these distributions and confirm the sum of money (*Inscr. Ital.* 13.1, tab. LXIX: 75 denarii = 300 sestertii). The first *congiarium* was given on June 1st AD 37, and represented the money which the people had failed to receive in AD 31 when Caligula received the *toga uirilis*. According to Dio 240 sesterces were *congiarium* proper, while the remaining 60 sesterces represented interest on the sum since AD 31 (Dio 59.2.2). The second *congiarium* was on July 19th AD 37, and was probably issued in commemoration of Caligula's first consulship (Balsdon [1934] 34). This appears to represent the payment of Tiberius' legacy (Balsdon [1934] 183). Caligula thus made sure that this piece of liberality was closely associated with an event in his own career.

totiens abundantissimum epulum senatui equestrique ordini: non-citizens and the senatorial and equestrian orders were not entitled to the dole.

Dio records the first of the banquets mentioned here under the year AD 37 at the time of the dedication of the temple of the deified Augustus (Dio 59.7.1). Dio mentions that wives were invited to these banquets, but he is possibly mistaken in his claim that the people also participated. Another banquet is associated with the birthday of Drusilla when it was celebrated in AD 39 for the first time since her consecration (Dio 59.13.9), and yet another coincided with the bridging of the gulf of Baiae (Dio 59.17.8). These dates from Dio do not correspond with the known dates of the *congiaria*.

forensia: scil. *uestimenta*, i.e. togas, as opposed to *domestica uestimenta*; cf. Suet. *Aug.* 73 and Shuckburgh ad loc.

fascias purpuræ ac conchylii: two distinct shades of colour are indicated here. There are two separate groups of shellfish from which a purple dye is derived, the *murex* and the *purpura*: (1) the *murex brandaris*, *trunculus* and *erinaceus*; (2) the *purpura haemastoma* and *tapillus*. See further *D & S* s.v. *purpura*.

A passage from Isidorus confirms that the *conchylium* is to be associated with the *murex*: *murex cochlea est maris... quae alio nomine conchylium nominatur, propter quod circumcisa ferro lacrimas purpurei coloris emittat, ex quibus purpura tingitur: et inde ostrum appellatum quod haec tinctura ex testae humore elicetur* (*Orig.* 12.6.50). Some confusion does arise since even in antiquity the terms *murex* and *purpura* seem to have been used interchangeably.

Purple dye was highly prized in antiquity largely on account of its expense and its association with royalty. See Reinhold (1970). It was not to be confused with some vegetable dyes going under the same name.

adiexit diem Saturnalibus: see 6.2 above.

18-20 Public Shows

The rubric is a reflection of Suetonius' earlier work *On games*. It is not extant, but some idea of its scope can be gained from Tertullian *De Spectaculis*. Types of spectacle, their place in the calendar, and details of ceremonial will have been central, as pointed out by Wallace-Hadrill (1983) 127-8. This is an important example of how the earlier antiquarian works have provided raw material for Suetonius' treatment of the *Caesares*. He starts with gladiatorial contests, theatrical shows and the circus (18). This is followed by the unusual spectacle at Baiae (19), and the novelty of holding shows outside the city (20).

18.1

Munera gladiatoria: gladiatorial combats at Rome were originally celebrated at funerals and attained official status when staged by the consuls of 105 BC (Val. Max. 2.3.2). In the late Republic the politically ambitious would exhibit large numbers of contests, and after Julius Caesar showed 320 pairs in 65 BC, there was an outcry from his political opponents. The senate then restricted the number of gladiators to appear at one time (Suet. *Iul.* 10.2; Plut. *Caes.* 5), and Augustus made further restrictions which did not apply to himself (RG 22.1; cf. Dio 53.28.2; P.A. Brunt, *JRS* 67 [1977] 95f.). Caligula extracted a similar exemption from the senate, and is even said to have allowed others to display large exhibitions (Dio 59.10.1f., 14.3). According to Persius a rich man intended to celebrate the Genius of Caligula for his victories over the Germans through an exhibition of 100 pairs (6.43-9). Under Augustus the limit had been 60 pairs, which suggests some relaxation of the rules. Caligula is said to have forced citizens to fight as gladiators (Dio 59.10.1-5; cf. 35.2 below), and Seneca (a far from impartial witness) talks of his delight at the sight of human blood (Dio 59.10.2; Sen. *De Ben.* 4.31.2).

See Friedländer II (1908-13) 41-62; IV (1908-13) 171-81.

in amphitheatro Tauri: this was the first stone amphitheatre at Rome, and was erected somewhere in the southern part of the Campus Martius by Augustus' henchman Statilius Taurus. The structure is said to have been despised by Caligula, either because of its small size or because of Taurus' status as a parvenu (see Syme [1939] 237). Taurus' wealth originated from the booty he obtained in Dalmatia in the campaign which won him his triumph in 34 BC (Appian *Illyr.* 27; Dio 49.14.6, 38.4).

See further *RE* s.v. Statilius no. 34.

in Saeptis: the *Saepta Iulia* was located between the Pantheon and the temple of Isis on the Campus Martius. It had been dedicated in 26 BC by Agrippa as a voting place. Caligula excavated the area and used it for aquatic events after erecting temporary stands (Dio 59.10.5). His enthusiasm for gladiatorial shows had an important political dimension since he was reliant on popular support. Already under Augustus the *Saepta* was used for gladiatorial combats and *naumachiae* (Suet. *Aug.* 43.1; Dio 55.8.5, 10.7). See Nash II (1961-2) 291-3.

cateruas... pugilum: i.e. *cateruarii*. Cf. Suet. *Aug.* 45.2; *TLL* s.v. *cateruarius* col. 610. In this type of combat, the participants fought in bands, rather than as one individual pitted against another. Dio appears to allude to such a contest under Caligula (Dio 59.10.1)

neque...semper ipse praesedit: to send a substitute was an indication of *ciuitas* (Cameron [1976] 175). Claudius gained popularity from the role, according to Suetonius (*Claud.* 7). The hostile Dio associates the use of substitutes with pique on the part of Caligula at the failure of the people to back his favourites (Dio 59.13.5f.).

18.2

scaenicos ludos...uarii generis...fecit: the *genera* were comedy, tragedy, the *atellana* and the *mimus*. Caligula had allowed the pantomime to return to Rome after its banishment in AD 23 (Tac. *Ann.* 4.14.4). The problem was that *ludi scaenici* had become increasingly political, violent, and vulgar in the endeavour to compete with the sensations on offer at the *ludi circenses* and the *munera gladiatoria*. The return of these entertainments reversed a Tiberian enactment at the beginning of Caligula's reign.

On theatre in the empire see Friedländer II (1908-13) 90-117; *D & S* s.v. *ludi* III (Rome); W. Beare (1950); on pantomime see E.J. Jory, *BICS* 28 (1981) 147-57, esp. 152.

sparsit et missilia: Suetonius and Josephus recount that Caligula would distribute coins from the roof of the Basilica Iulia (see 37.1 below) This eccentric type of liberality was introduced by Caligula. See Millar (1977) 137; *D & S* s.v. *missilia*.

panaria cum obsonio: Josephus records distribution of portions of meat to the people amongst Caligula's popular measures (Jos. *AJ* 19.130).

codicillos: these were communications resembling a small codex, written on parchment or wax tablets (see Millar [1977] 296). They were used by the emperors for issuing written orders (Suet. *Tib.* 29, 55.1 below) and, as here, for conferring distinctions (Tac. *Dial.* 7; *Agr.* 40.2; Tac. *Ann.* 13.20.2). See *RE* s.v. *codicilli*.

praetorem eum extra ordinem designabat: for nomination to praetorships as a 'spontaneous personal favour' see Millar (1977) 305. Suetonius does not make it clear whether *extra ordinem* means here in addition to the regular praetors or before the normal entitlement of that individual. See R. Frei-Stolba (1967) 159-62.

18.3

edidit et circenses: the *ludi circenses* lost ground to gladiatorial shows under

the empire. The main events were chariot races although other competitive events were included. Caligula outstripped his predecessors by introducing the performance on a six-horse chariot (Dio 59.7.4). For his factional interests see 55.2 below. See Friedländer II (1908-13) 19-40; *D & S* s.v. *circus* (II: les Jeux).

Africanarum uenatione: *Africanae* were various species of the genus *felis*, particularly panthers and leopards. The distinct word *leopardus* is first found in the *HA*. They were first seen at Rome as early as the first *uenatio* in 186 BC (Livy 39.22.2), and Augustus could boast that 3,500 animals had been killed in his *uenationes*. Caligula exhibited 400 *Africanae* and the same number of bears on the occasion of the dedication of the temple of Augustus in AD 37 (Dio 59.7.3).

In a *uenatio* animals could be hunted by *uenatores* or poorly armed criminals could be set against animals; other formats were possible. See Friedländer II (1908-13) 62-74; IV (1908-13) 182; *D & S* s.v. *venatio*.

Troiae decursione: this was also known as the *Troiae lusus*, and was an event for equestrian youths. In his work on the games Suetonius will have doubtless outlined obscurities such as the date of its introduction at Rome.

The maximum age of participation was apparently adoption of the *toga uirilis*, and boys were divided into two *turmae* of *maiores* and *minores*, but further details are unclear.

It involved a type of mock battle, and injuries were a commonplace (Verg. *Aen.* 5.585; Suet. *Aug.* 43.2). As with many public entertainments, the *lusus Troiae* had not been held under Tiberius, but it was revived by Caligula, and is attested both at the dedication of the temple of Augustus and at the funeral of Drusilla (Dio 59.7.4, 59.11.2).

See *RE* s.v. *lusus troiae*; K.-W. Weeber, *Ancient Society* 5 (1974) 171-96.

minio et chrysocolla constrato circo: Caligula decorated the circus with red and green stripes. He was a notorious supporter of the green faction (55.2), which was an indication of his sympathy for the plebs. The red faction were also favoured by the plebs (Cameron [1976] 62).

Nero also used *chrysocolla* in the circus and wore a coat of like colour (Plin. *NH* 33.90). See Bradley (1978) 135-6.

commisit et subitos: cf. Dio 59.7.3.

e Gelotiana: this was a house on the slope of the Palatine overlooking the Circus Maximus. Suetonius implies that Caligula had incorporated it into the

palace. The attraction was its proximity to the circus. For discussion with bibliography see R. Lanciani (1897) 185-7, who identifies the *domus Gelotiana* with the building known as the *paedagogium*. See also Nash I (1961-2) 316-7; Barrett (1989) 207. On the organic nature of the palace see T.P. Wiseman, *LCM* 5 (1980) 232.

ex proximis Maenianis: these were projecting balconies named after the Maenius who first permitted their erection for viewing gladiatorial shows and similar events. This must be Gaius Maenius (cos. 338 BC), who was later censor in 318 BC.

See *RE* s.v. Maenius no. 9; cf. Lehmann-Hartleben, *AJPh* 59 (1938) 280ff.

19

This section continues the discussion of *spectacula* which begins at 18.1. The unusual nature of the Bridge at Baiae is chosen as illustrative of Caligula's eccentricities.

nam Baiarum...ponte coniunxit: Baiae was not only a resort town on the Bay of Naples, but also the location of imperial residences. Caligula had received the embassies of Herod and Agrippa at Baiae (Jos. *AJ* 18.249; cf. Strabo 5.4.7 = C246). On imperial interests in this region see J.H. D'Arms (1970) 73ff.

Caligula built his bridge across the Bay of Naples in the summer of AD 39. It is narrated prior to the conspiracy of Gaetulicus by Dio (59.17.1f.).

Much discussion has centred on the location of the bridge. The text of Suetonius is corrupt at this point, and appears mistakenly to place the bridge between Baiae and the mole at Puteoli. Dio places it between Bauli and Puteoli, but the location of Bauli has been a matter of conjecture (Dio 59.17.1). Josephus also mentions Puteoli, but places the other end of the bridge at Misenum (Jos. *AJ* 19.5). These sources can be reconciled if Bauli is equated with modern Bacoli, which is where Tacitus locates a villa named Bauli (Tac. *Ann.* 14.4.4). Pliny is totally inconsistent on this point (Plin. *NH* 3.61, 9.172). For Bauli as Bacoli see Bicknell, *CR* 13 (1963) 261; Barrett (1989) 212.

Puteolanas moles: this mole was built in the time of Augustus, who docked a ship which had been used for bringing obelisks from Egypt at Puteoli as a permanent fixture. It was later destroyed by fire (Plin. *NH* 36.70). Today the remains of the docks are known as Ponte di Caligola.

See *RE* s.v. Puteoli; J.H. D'Arms (1970) 81f.

trium milium et sescentorum fere passuum: This estimate = 5.3 km and

Dio's (59.17.2) 26 stades = 5.1 km (7.5 stades to the Roman mile: see Dio 52.21.2) are both too high. According to Nissen II (1883-1902) 733 n.9, the distance between Puteoli and Bacoli is about 3.6 km.

See Maurer (1949) 93; also Barrett (1989) 212, whose calculations seem to be based on a longer Roman foot than those of Nissen.

contractis undique onerariis nauibus: Suetonius both here and at 26.5 picks up a tradition first found in Seneca to the effect that Caligula commandeered grain ships for his project, and either deliberately or fecklessly caused famine. See Seneca *De Brev. Vit.* 18.5: *dum ille pontes nauibus iungit et uiribus imperi ludit, aderat ultimum malorum obsessis quoque alimentorum egestas*: Dio 59.17.2, who in addition has Caligula building boats on the spot. At 26.5 Suetonius converts this tradition into the generalisation that Caligula habitually shut the granaries because he wanted to cause famine. See Introduction 30 and Barrett (1989) 194-5.

derecto in Appiae uiae formam: the point is that the Via Appia was proverbially straight (cf. *RE* s.v. Appia Via). In Dio's account not only was a road surface superimposed on the structure, but resting places with running water were spaced along the way (Dio 59.17.3).

19.2

biduo continenti: cf. Dio 59.17.5, which highlights the importance of the activities on the second day (Barrett [1989] 211-12).

phalerato equo: *phalerae* were metal discs used to decorate the harness. Metals used for this purpose were bronze, silver and gold. See Maurer (1949) 94.

quercea corona: cf. Dio 59.17.3. This was the *corona ciuica*, which was originally granted for saving the life of a Roman citizen in battle under specialised circumstances (Maxfield [1981] 170-4). In the empire it was awarded to the emperor or his representative. Weinstock shows that Caligula was following a Caesarian precedent which had been taken up by Augustus but ignored by Tiberius (Weinstock [1971] 203; Dio 53.16; RG 34.2; Suet. *Tib.* 26.2). His attitude to honours certainly did not follow the moderation of a Tiberius. Dio has him accepting on a single day in AD 37 all the honours which Augustus received in his lifetime, including some never accepted by Tiberius (Dio 59.3; see also Dio 59.23.3-4, 25.5, 26.3-4). Coins from AD 37-38 confirm Caligula's *corona ciuica*. These are inscribed *P(ater)P(atriciae)* with *Ob ciues seruatos* within an oak wreath (*RIC* 37; *BMC* 38). See further *RE* s.v. corona ciuica.

On Caligula's attitude to honours, especially divine honours see Barrett (1989) ch. 9, 140-53.

caetra et gladio: the *caetra* was a round shield made from leather, equivalent to the Greek *pelte* (Livy 28.5.11). Dio says he also put on what he claimed was the breastplate of Alexander (Dio 59.17.3; see 52 below).

aureaque chlamyde: this was a type of short mantle or cloak usually identified with the *paludamentum*. Caesonia is said to have worn such a garment when reviewing troops with Caligula (25.3). Dio describes Caligula's exotic garment (Dio 59.17.3).

postridie quadrigario habitu: the dress of a chariot driver was a close fitting cap and a short tunic with or without sleeves, and tightly laced around the body with leather thongs. The tunic was coloured according to the faction of the driver. Despite Caligula's support for the green faction, he wore gold, which was traditional for a triumphant general. See Marquardt III (1881-5) 516.

curriculoque biugi famosorum equorum: cf. Dio 59.17.5; Jos. *AJ* 19.6.

Dareum: Darius was the son of Artabanus III (Jos. *AJ* 18.103); he was given as a hostage to L. Vitellius at the meeting on the Euphrates together with some other princes (see 14.3 above). Dio also mentions the presence of spoils and hostages (Dio 59.17.5). See *PIR* 2 D 10.

comitante...cohorte amicorum: the presence of the praetorian guard on this occasion is of interest since Caligula greatly increased imperial security, notably by the presence of his bodyguard in the Senate (Dio 59.26.3; dated AD 40). See Barrett (1989) 159-60.

The *essedum* was a vehicle of Belgic origin and used as a war-chariot. Roman generals and emperors adapted it for travel, attracted by its size and elaboration. See L. Casson (1974) 179.

An *amicus principis* was one of those admitted to the emperor's *salutationes* (morning reception). They were not necessarily close personal friends of the emperor, but they were politically significant men who were closely associated with the office of *princeps* (see Juv. 4.74-5: *in quorum facie miserae magnaue sedebat, pallor amicitiae*; Plin. *Pan.* 85: *etenim in principum domo nomen tantum amicitiae inane scilicet inrisumque remanebat*). To place *amici principis* in the hierarchy, see J.A. Crook (1955) 21f.

19.3

scio plerosque existimasse...aemulatione Xerxis: Suetonius gives three motives for building the bridge: (1) competition with Xerxes; (2) to frighten Britain and Germany; (3) to confound a prediction made by the astrologer Thrasyllus. The last of these is designed to emphasise Caligula's paranoia, and we could detect mockery in the second item. Suetonius cumulates possible motives to reinforce his picture of Caligula's instability (compare Barrett [1989] 212, who takes a different view). Josephus and Seneca see the bridge as a manifestation of insanity. Josephus relates it to his religious policy as an attempt to show his divine power over the sea (Jos. *AJ* 19.6).

Xerxes had bridged 7 stades at the Hellespont (Hdt. 4.85; Plin. *NH* 4.75). For the length of Caligula's bridge, which was certainly longer, see 19.1. Caligula had a keen sense of history as shown here by the presence of a Darius as hostage and his assumption of the breastplate of Alexander the Great.

Germaniam et Britanniam, quibus imminabat: this implies that Caligula was already planning his expedition to Germany and Britain in the summer of AD 39 before the conspiracy of Gaetulicus. One may suspect the motive was invented retrospectively by the sources.

sed auum meum narrantem puer audiebam: Suetonius' grandfather is not otherwise known. This is one of few places where Suetonius allows personal references to intrude (see also *Nero* 57.2; *Otho* 10; *Dom.* 12.2; *Gramm.* 4).

Thrasylus: Thrasyllus was a mathematician and astrologer with whom Tiberius had studied on Rhodes. His influence over the emperor was considerable, and legend has it that he persuaded the moribund emperor to postpone some executions on the grounds that he would live for a further 10 years (Suet. *Tib.* 62.3; Dio 58.27.3). Thrasyllus himself died before Tiberius in AD 36 (Dio 58.27.1). His importance to Caligula would be very considerable if it could be proved that he was the father of Ennia Thrasylla. See 12.2 above. On his career see *RE* s.v. Thrasyllus no. 7; Cichorius (1922) 390ff. A.H. Krappe, *AJPh* 48 (1927) 359-66; R.P. Oliver, *ICS* 5 (1980) 130-48.

in uerum nepotem: Tiberius Gemellus. See 15.2.

20

Presentation of *spectacula* outside Rome again marks Caligula out as an unusual emperor.

in Sicilia Syracusis asticos ludos: this is one of only three references to *astici ludi*. See also Suet. *Tib.* 6.4; *CIL* VI 32323 1.156f. There were equivalent games in honour of Dionysius at Athens (Thuc. 5.20.1). It is not known when *ludi astici* were adopted at Rome. See *RE* s.v. *astici ludi*; *TLL* II col. 950.41-7.

Caligula visited Syracuse immediately after the death of his sister Drusilla, on June 10th AD 38 (24.2 below; Sen. *Cons. ad Polyb.* 17.5). Seneca implies that her cult was established on Sicily immediately (*numquam satis certum utrum lugeri uellet an coli sororem*), and the games may have been held in honour of the deified Drusilla. The official consecration at Rome was not until September 23rd. If Seneca is not merely engaging in rhetorical exaggeration, we could interpret the repair of walls and temples at Syracuse as an act of gratitude on the part of Caligula for the early recognition of his sister's divine status (see 21 below; cf. *RE* s.v. *Iulius* no. 133 cols 395-6). On the divinisation of Drusilla see P. Herz, *Historia* 30 (1981) 324-36.

in Gallia Lugduni miscellos: Caligula wintered in Lyons after his expedition to the Northern frontier in AD 39. Dio lists games as one of his extravagances at this time (Dio 59.22.1). *Ludi miscelli* included all forms of entertainment from the mime to gladiatorial combat (see *D & S* s.v. *ludus*).

certamen quoque Graecae Latinaeque facundiae: for Caligula's interest in oratory see 53 below. The punishment shows that Caligula intended to parody a school of rhetoric (Maurer [1949] 102). His treatment of the losers made his contest proverbial (Juv. 1.43-4: *palleat ut nudis pressit qui calcibus anguem/aut Lugudunensem rhetor dicturus ad aram*; see J.B. Mayor [1901] ad loc.). Fishwick sees mimicry of local religion in the penalty, and associates a passage in the *Claudius* with this incident (Suet. *Claud.* 9.1; D. Fishwick, *AJAH* 3 [1978] 76-7).

21 Public works

Opera sub Tiberio semiperfecta...absoluit: cf. Suet. *Tib.* 47: *princeps neque opere ulla magna fecit – nam et quae sola susceperat Augusti templum restitutionemque Pompeiani theatri, imperfecta post tot annos reliquit*; see also Tac. *Ann.* 6.45. For Tiberius' parsimony see Garzetti (1974) 30. Building programmes provided an opportunity for the *princeps* to exhibit his *liberalitas*. But Suetonius' list shows the development of Caligula's interests in this area from the mundane to the unrealistic. It thus contributes to Suetonius' picture of his personality.

templum Augusti: Suetonius locates the temple between the Palatine and the

Capitol, south of the Basilica Iulia (see 22.4), an area which has not been excavated. See Nash I (1961-2) 164; Castagnoli (1978) 77.

Suetonius is probably unfair to Tiberius when he says that this structure was left incomplete at the time of his death (*Tib.* 47). Tacitus claims on the contrary that Tiberius completed the structure (Tac. *Ann.* 6.45.2). Caligula dedicated it on his own birthday in AD 37 (31st August), less than six months after his accession, and it is therefore likely that his contribution was minimal (Dio 59.7.1). Caligulan coins depicting a hexastyle temple and inscribed *DIVO AUG. S.C.* show that he took the credit (*BMC* p. 153 pl. 28: 6, 9; pl. 29: 14).

theatrumque Pompei: the first permanent theatre at Rome. For a full history see Platner-Ashby (1929) 515-17. Nash II (1961-2) 423-8 gives a detailed site plan. The building burnt down in AD 21, and Tiberius undertook its restoration since there was no surviving member of the family to undertake the task (Vell. 2.130; Sen. *Cons. ad Marc.* 22.4; Tac. *Ann.* 3.72). Here again it appears that the repairs were completed under Tiberius (Tac. *Ann.* 6.45). What Caligula did remains uncertain, and Suetonius is vague on this point. He refers to its rededication by Claudius in AD 41 (Suet. *Claud.* 21; Dio 60.6.8).

aque ductum regione Tiburti: Suetonius here refers to the *Aqua Claudia*. Like the *Anio Nouus*, which Suetonius refrains from mentioning, the *Aqua Claudia* was begun by Caligula in AD 38 (Plin. *NH* 36.122; Front. *De Aquaeductu* 13). As Suetonius notes, the task was completed by Claudius, in AD 52 (Front. *De Aquaeductu* 13; *CIL* VI 1256). Tacitus probably refers to a resumption of work, rather than its completion in AD 47 (Tac. *Ann.* 12.13.2; see Koestermann ad loc.). Surviving elements of the aqueduct were incorporated into the Aurelian wall. See Nash I (1961-2) 37-46. On Roman aqueducts see Van Deman (1934); Ashby (1935).

amphitheatrum iuxta Saepta: an inscription suggests that Caligula tampered with the *Aqua Virgo* during the construction of his amphitheatre (*CIL* VI 1252 = *ILS* 205). Dio says that Caligula initially held gladiatorial contests in the *Saepta*, and later cleared a larger area for his contests (Dio 59.10.5). He maintains that Caligula despised the amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus (cf. 18.1, 23.1).

Syracusis...moenia deorumque aedes refectae: Caligula had visited Syracuse in AD 38 (20 above).

The walls of Syracuse had historical interest for Romans because of the siege of Claudius Marcellus during the Hannibalic wars. Caligula's eccentric

tastes often have something of an antiquarian flavour. Syracuse had suffered at the hands of Sextus Pompey. Augustus subsequently colonised and restored it in 21 BC (Strabo 6.2.4 = C270; Dio 54.7.1). Caligula continued this programme, which is outlined by Strabo.

Another Julio-Claudian grant for city walls is known at Saepinum (*ILS* 147 = *EJ* 79; see A. Bernecker, *Chiron* 6 [1976] 185-92; for the date [2-1 BC] see A.U. Stylow, *Chiron* 7 [1977] 487-91). For other later *beneficia* of this type see F. Millar (1977) 421 n.8.

For a Roman audience the restoration of the temples would be a reminder of the excesses of Verres in the previous century (Cic. *In Verr.* 2.4.33-4).

destinauerat et Sami Polycratis regiam restituere: this is the only literary reference to Polycrates' palace. It is thought to have been located on the acropolis of the ancient city, but no traces now remain. See *PECS* s.v. Samos.

There has been some modern debate over the dating of major public works on Samos. It is thought that some works attributed to Polycrates should be retrojected to the reign of his father Aiaces, who may have been tyrant before him. See M. White, *JHS* 74 (1954) 36f.; cf. J. Barron, *CQ* 14 (1964) 219f. (against).

L. Jeffery (1976) 216 suggests that Caligula (or his agents) mistook the ruins of the Heraion for Polycrates' palace, a theory which has some plausibility in view of the surprising lack of remains on the acropolis. Caligula had not visited Samos as an adult, but as we know from Tacitus his father had taken him to view antiquities along the coast of Asia Minor as a child (Tac. *Ann.* 2.53-4), and his antiquarian interests were doubtless an inheritance from that quarter.

Mileti Didymeum peragere: this temple replaced one burnt down by the Persians (Hdt. 6.19, 9.104; Strabo 14.1.5 = C634; there is some dispute over whether the culprit was Darius or Xerxes). The architects were Paionius and Daphnis of Miletus (the former famous as the designer of the great temple at Ephesus). The temple was decastyle and complete in outline by about 280 BC (Vitruvius 7 praef; Pausanias 7.5.4). Despite the many works of art contained in the temple it remained roofless because of its size (Strabo 14.1.5 = C634). Suetonius uses this project and those which follow to illustrate the picture of a Caligula obsessed with achieving unattainable goals. He is incorrect in locating the temple at Miletus. It was in fact at Didyma (Branchidae).

Dio believed that the temple of Apollo was to be completed to serve as a temple to Caligula's own divinity (59.28.1). This is not impossible, since details of Caligula's cult are revealed by an inscription found on the site (*AE* [1912] 134 = Smallwood [1967] 127, discussed by L. Robert, *Hellenica* 7

[1949] 206-38, who thought that the Milesians were to be rewarded for building a temple to Caligula by the provision of funds to complete the Didymeum). Miletus was certainly to get a provincial temple of Caligula (see S.R.F. Price [1984] 257, also rejecting Caligulan designs on the temple of Apollo). For the situation over divine honours at Rome see 22.3 below.

On the Didymeum see *RE* s.v. Didyma no. 1; B. Haussoullier, *Rev. Phil.* 23 (1899) 147-64; G. Bean (1966) ch. XI; Barrett (1989) 143-4.

in iugo Alpium urbem condere: this plan is not otherwise attested, and rhetorical exaggeration can be suspected. The emphasis is on the contrary nature of Caligula.

Isthmum in Achaia perfodere: this was a traditionally impossible task attempted many times in antiquity. Pliny mentions Caligula's attempt (*Plin. NH* 4.10).

Its advantages were recognised already by Periander in the 7th century BC (Diogenes Laertius 1.99). Later Demetrius Poliorcetes (342-283 BC) attempted the task (Strabo 1.3.11 = C54; *Plin. NH* 4.10), but he abandoned it, fearing that it would result in the submersion of Aegina. No doubt this was a widespread belief in the time of Suetonius, and this is why he places the episode amongst Caligula's ludicrous projects. Both Caesar and Nero had ambitions for the project, but neither was able to bring the operation to completion (*Plin. NH* 4.10; *Plut. Caes.* 58; *Suet. Iul.* 44; Dio 44.5.1 [Caesar]; *Plin. NH* 4.10; *Suet. Nero* 19.2; Dio 62.16 [Nero]).

It was not until the 19th century that the Corinth canal was successfully realised. Work began in 1889 and ended in 1893 only after overcoming many difficulties. It is some 4 miles long.

See *RE* s.v. isthmus.

miseratque iam...primipilarem: a centurion surveyor was a rarity. The post was generally held by freedmen. See O.A.W. Dilke (1971) 39f. The *primipilaris* is an indication of the importance of the project to Caligula.

22-35 Pride and cruelty

Suetonius in the ensuing sections illustrates Caligula's pride and cruelty in different contexts.

22.1

Hactenus quasi de principe, reliqua ut de monstro: this clear division of virtues and vices is comparable with that in the life of Nero: *haec in unum contuli, ut secernerem a probris ac sceleribus eius, de quibus dehinc dicam*

(Suet. *Nero* 19.3). Even in those lives where Suetonian comment is less blatant, a moralistic concern over imperial behaviour is clearly evident. See Introduction 25.

Compluribus cognominibus adsumptis: 'none of these *cognomina* are found in the *tituli* of Caligula, while in our passage no mention is made of the *cognomen* of Germanicus which alone has epigraphical attestation; so too the *praenomen* of *Imperator* is passed by in silence' (Dennison, *AJA* [1898] 63). But Suetonius is not talking about official titulature. Dio alone of the literary sources refers to Caligula's imperial salutations, claiming there were seven in the course of the German expedition (Dio 59.22.2). It is believable that Caligula had himself dubbed *castrorum filius* and *pater exercituum* to capitalise on the Germanic inheritance. See J.B. Campbell (1984) 35, 40-1, 124.

This rubric is concerned with charting his rapid decline from *pietas*. The title of *optimus maximusque princeps* was widely used by later emperors, and would have had associations for Suetonius' audience, although I doubt whether criticism of Hadrian is intended. See Simpson, *Latomus* 40 (1981) 496. On the structure of the rubric see B. Tamm, *Eranos* 62 (1964) 154.

audiret...reges...concertantis...de nobilitate generis: Charlesworth suggests that these were client kings summoned to take part in a triumph after the expedition of AD 40 (*CAH X* [1934] 659). We cannot be sure; Suetonius only includes the incident to emphasise Caligula's obsession with lineage, and the Homeric quotation underlines his autocratic style (*Iliad* 2.204). All the main sources place emphasis on autocracy (Philo *Leg.* 13; Jos. *AJ* 18.256; Dio 59.3.1). On the use of Homer see Introduction 34-5.

nec multum afuit quin statim diadema sumeret: cf. Aur. Vict. 3.13: *dominum dici atque insignia regni nectere capiti tentauerat*; Epit. 3.8: *primus diademate imposito dominum se iussit appellari*. These late sources have elaborated on the Suetonian observation. Weinstock sees Caligula as a follower of Caesarian precedent, but Caligula is not portrayed by Suetonius as a man to be bound by such restraints (Weinstock [1971] 336).

speciemque principatus in regni formam conuerteret: this observation is a significant indicator of the Suetonian attitude that the principate in autocratic hands could easily turn to tyranny.

22.2

admonitus et principum et regum se excessisse fastigium, diuinam... maiestatem asserere sibi coepit: Dio says that Caligula had used his divinity

as a pretext for seducing his sisters (Dio 59.26.5, under AD 40). Suetonius here caps the story of Caligula's absolutism with that of his ambitions in the supernatural sphere.

simulacra numinum religione et arte praeclara, inter quae Olympii Iouis, apportarentur: Josephus also mentions a concerted programme of depredations from the Greek world (Jos. *AJ* 19.7). Other sources give specific instances. The Venus at Thespieae was taken by Caligula (Paus. 9.27.3), and in Italy Pliny notes his attempt to remove famous paintings of Atalanta and Helen from Lanuvium. In the event he was unsuccessful because of the consistency of the plaster (Plin. *NH* 35.18).

The statue of Olympian Zeus here mentioned was the work of Pheidias (Jos. *AJ* 19.8). Caligula's designs on this piece are said to have been frustrated by technicians who reported to Memmius Regulus (cf. 25.2) that the work would be ruined if it was moved (Jos. *AJ* 19.8-9). Josephus, Suetonius and Dio follow a tradition recording sinister portents associated with this project (Jos. *AJ* 19.9; Dio 59.28.3; see 57.1 below). Claudius restored statues to various cities in AD 41 as part of his package of reversals of Caligulan policies (Dio 60.6.8).

quibus capite dempto suum imponeret: Dio reports that Caligula wanted to rework the statue of Olympian Zeus to resemble himself (Dio 59.28.3).

partem Palatii...promouit...aede Castoris et Pollucis...transfigurata: Dio dates this operation to AD 40, and later refers to the restoration of the temple to Castor and Pollux by Claudius in AD 41 (Dio 59.28, 60.6.8).

For the location of the temple of Castor and Pollux at the South East end of the Forum Romanum see Nash I (1961-2) 210. Both Josephus and Pliny comment on the massive proportions of Caligula's palace (Jos. *AJ* 19.71; Plin. *NH* 37.111: *bis uidimus urbem tutam cingi domibus Gai et Neronis*). Much has been obscured today by the additions of subsequent emperors (cf. Jos. *AJ* 19.117). For a full discussion of the extant remains see Blake (1959) 20f., following E.B. Van Deman, *AJA* 28 (1924) 368-98. The links between the peristyle identified as belonging to Caligula's palace and the *domus Tiberiana* have not survived. For argument against the use of the temple of Castor and Pollux as a vestibule for the palace see B. Tamm, *Eranos* 62 (1964) 146-69, possibly overcome by T.P. Wiseman, *JACT* 2 (1987) 4, discussed by Barrett (1989) 208-10.

consistens saepe inter fratres deos...se adeuntibus exhibebat...quidam eum Latiam Iouem consalutarunt: cf. Dio 59.28.5; Jos. *AJ* 19.4. Even

Nero refused a temple to his own divinity (Tac. *Ann.* 15.74.3-5). Although details of the story about the cult of Caligula may seem suspect, and clearly reflect senatorial disapproval of his actions, we are left with anecdotal evidence in support of an attempt to establish the cult of Caligula at Rome. See discussion by A. Aiardi, *AIV* 136 (1978) 99-108; C.J. Simpson, *Latomus* 40 (1981) 489-511; Barrett (1989) 146-53, who are sceptical. The worship of the emperors as Jupiter had its beginning with Augustus, and this could be another area where Caligula's pursuit of precedent has been treated with hostility by the sources. His use of the role as a support for absolutist aims provides an obvious motive for hostility. On the emperors and Jupiter see J.R. Fears, *ANRW* II.17.1 (1981) 3-141, esp. 72-4.

22.3

templum etiam numini suo proprium: Dio says that Caligula built two temples of his own at Rome, one by vote of the Senate on the Capitoline, another at his own expense on the Palatine (Dio 59.28.2). There is no record of the location of either temple, and Suetonius may be correct in saying that there was only one temple. See Rosborough (1920) 36. A majority of scholars have placed this on the Palatine and associated it with a shrine to Augustus built after his death (Plin. *NH* 12.94; Suet. *Aug.* 5.1; Dio 56.46.3; see Barrett [1989] 147). Worship of the *numen* of the emperor was a guise for direct worship of the emperor, and represents an important stage in the acceptance of the imperial cult in the Roman West. See L.R. Taylor (1931) 182; D. Fishwick, *HTHR* 62 (1969) 356-67; Barrett (1989) 142f.

sacerdotes...instituit: elsewhere Suetonius relates the story that Claudius was forced to pay 8 million sesterces for the priesthood, and was declared a debtor when he could not meet the required sum (Suet. *Claud.* 9.2). Dio assesses the fee extracted from Caesonia, Claudius and other wealthy individuals at 10 million sesterces, and embellishes the story with the detail that Caligula's horse was made a fellow priest (Dio 59.28.5-6). Although evidence for payment of *summae honorariae* to qualify for entry to the colleges at Rome is lacking the story is not inherently implausible (see Barrett [1989] 147). Levick has suggested that the contempt in which Claudius was held early in his career related to his relative poverty (Levick [1990] 27-8). Caligula may have been trying to demean him by mulcting him of the sum needed for senatorial status. On the history of *summae honorariae* see Duncan-Jones (1982) 82-8, 147-55.

in templo simulacrum stabat aureum iconicum: the original idea was to have Pheidias' statue of Zeus from Olympia remodelled for the cult of the

emperor, according to Dio (59.28.3-4; cf. 22.2 above). See 57.1 for problems encountered in moving it.

hostiae erant phoenicopteri: for Caligula's taste for exotic sacrificial victims see Dio 59.28.6; 57.4. Wallace-Hadrill points out that Suetonius includes this detail to exemplify Caligula's arrogant breaches of *ciuilitas* (Wallace-Hadrill [1983] 163).

22.4

lunam inuitabat...in amplexus atque concubitum: Dio relates this story in the context of the sycophancy of Vitellius (Dio 59.26.5).

cum Capitolino Ioue...fabulabatur...uox comminantis audita est: cf. Sen. *De Ira* 1.20.8: *ad pugnam uocauit Iouem*. Seneca claims that this line from Homer, which Ajax addresses to Odysseus in the course of a wrestling match (Hom. *Iliad* 23.724), was Caligula's response to a thunderstorm which interrupted a pantomime. Dio generalises the case, saying that when a thunderbolt fell (the symbol of Jupiter; cf. 52), Caligula would hurl a javelin at a rock, uttering this line (Dio 59.28.6). See Introduction 34-5.

templum Diui Augusti: see 21.

super templum...ponte transmisso Palatium Capitoliumque coniunxit: nothing is known of the size or appearance of this bridge (see Platner-Ashby [1929] 399). If it ever existed the bridge would need to have spanned a distance of 820 feet, and at its maximum its height would have been 98 feet (Balsdon [1934] 174). It is hard to believe that such a structure could have been built from anything more substantial than wood. On the Capitolium see Nash I (1961-2) 530-3.

in area Capitolina nouae domus fundamenta iecit: no traces of these foundations have been recovered. See Platner-Ashby (1929) 49 n.1.

23-26.1 Dealings with his family and friends

23.1

Agrippae se nepotem...neque dici ob ignobilitatem eius uolebat: for Agrippa's lowly origins see Tac. *Ann.* 1.3.1; Vell. 2.127.1, 2.96.1. The elder Seneca says that Agrippa was ashamed of his lowly origin and attempted to conceal it by dropping the *nomen* Vipsanius (Sen. *Contr.* 2.4.12-13). The *fasti* confirm this. See M. Reinhold (1933) 5f. However, Caligula's antipathy to

Agrippa can have been no more than a whim of the moment since Agrippina's mortuary inscription (*CIL* VI 886) and a Caligulan coin record the relationship. See Rosborough (1920) 36. Seneca does nevertheless allude to Caligula's insults to his own ancestry (*Sen. De Const. Sap.* 18.1: *immensum est, si uelim singula referre per quae in parentes auosque suos contumeliosus fuit*). Wallace-Hadrill has recently accepted the Suetonian picture of Caligula's pathological obsession with pride of nobility, and it can be used to explain why he wanted to pose as a descendant of Antony rather than of Augustus (*Dio* 59.20.2; Wallace-Hadrill [1983] 106). But Barrett (1989) 217-18 points out the absurdity of the notion that Caligula wanted a break with the Augustan tradition, and the stories here in Suetonius may represent examples of his perverse sense of humour, if they have any basis at all.

matrem...ex incesto...procreatam: thus he himself would have divine ancestry, and hence his divine right (*Philo Leg.* 52f.).

Actiacas Si[n]culasque uictorias...uetuit...celebrari: Dio relates that in AD 39 the consuls were removed for failing to proclaim a thanksgiving on Caligula's birthday, and because they celebrated the Augustan victories in customary manner on September 2nd (*Dio* 59.20.1-3; *Inscr. Ital.* 13.2 505). See 26.3 below.

23.2

Liuiam Augustam...Vlixem stolatum...appellans: The characteristic features of Ulysses/Odysseus were his cunning and dissimulation. Tiberius too had been compared to Odysseus (*Juv.* 10.84). For discussion see A.F. Stewart, *JRS* 67 (1977) 87 n.107.

quasi materno auo decurione Fundano ortam, cum...certum sit Aufidium Lurconem Romae honoribus functum: several inscriptions show that Liuia's mother was not Aufidia but Alfidia (*CIL* II 1667; IX 3661; *IGR* IV 983). Suetonius appears mistaken in relating Aufidius Lurco to her family. See *RE* s.v. Aufidius no. 24; T.P. Wiseman, *Historia* 14 (1965) 333-4. Lurco was a famous epicure (*Plin. NH* 10.45), but nothing is known of the career of honours claimed by Suetonius. See J. Linderski, *Historia* 23 (1974) 463-80. Caligula's gesture is another attempt to lessen the prestige of the line of Augustus and Liuia in favour of his Antonian connection. Slightings on ancestry such as those of Antony directed against Octavian were a commonplace in forensic rhetoric (*Suet. Aug.* 4).

auiae Antoniae...per...indignitates...causa extitit mortis: cf. 29.1 for one

of these alleged insults, and 15.2 on Caligula's initial deference to Antonia. The date of her death is recorded in the *Fasti Ostienses* as 1st May AD 37 (*Inscr. Ital.* 13.1, tab. LXIX).

nisi ut interueniret Macro: see 12.2. He did not fall until AD 38; cf. 26.1.

dato tamen, ut quidam putant, et ueneno: Dio claims that Caligula forced Antonia to suicide, after a rebuke (*Dio* 59.3.6). Suetonius is vague about the poisoning allegation.

nec defunctae ullum honorem habuit: yet the *AFA* record a sacrifice in honour of her birthday in AD 38 (*CIL* VI 2028c). Balsdon has rejected the entire story of Caligula's responsibility for Antonia's death on the grounds that it fell within the 'good' section of Caligula's reign (*Balsdon* [1934] 33). But we have no reliable checks on this point.

prospexitque e triclinio ardentem rogam: a recent suggestion is that he could have viewed the pyre on the Campus Martius from an imperial villa on the Mons Vaticanus (*Barrett* [1989] 203). But the whole story is reminiscent of other aspects of behaviour attributed to tyrants, and should probably be discounted.

23.3

fratrem Tiberium...immisso tribuno militum interemit: Dio says that Caligula's pretext for killing Gemellus was conspiracy, proved by Gemellus' prayers for the emperor's death during his illness at the end of AD 37. Philo adds sensational and possibly apocryphal details about Gemellus enforced suicide (*Philo Leg.* 23-30; *In Flacc.* 10; cf. 22; *Dio* 59.1.3; 8.1). Suetonius never mentions suicide, and may be following a different tradition.

Silanum...socerum...ad necem...compulit: see 12.1 on the marriage. For Silanus' forced suicide see *Dio* 59.8.4-5; *Philo Leg.* 65; *Sen. Apocol.* 11.2 (not named). Iulius Graecinus refused to prepare a charge against him, and thus brought about his own demise (*Tac. Agric.* 4.1). It seems probable that Caligula had dynastic reasons for disposing of Silanus, who was closely related to the imperial family, even before the marriage of his daughter to the emperor (cf. 35.1; see further K.H. Waters, *Phoenix* 17 [1963] 198-218 on disposal of threats to dynastic stability). If so, the charge was presumably one of *maiestas*. Dio dates his destruction to AD 37, but note that his substitute as Arval brother was not elected until 24th May AD 38 (*CIL* VI 2028c = *Smallwood* [1967] 11).

causatus...quod...turbatus mare non esset secutus: Suetonius earlier relates that Caligula deliberately crossed to Pandateria and Pontia under choppy conditions to collect the relics of his mother and brother so that he might flaunt his piety (15.1).

ille antidotum obol[e]uisset: cf. 29.1; F. D'Erce, *Janus* 54 (1969) 148.

Claudium...in ludibrium reseruauit: stories illustrating this abound. Claudius is said to have been forced to purchase a priesthood for an extortionate sum (22.3); he was tried on a capital charge on the accusation of his slave Polydeuces (Jos. *AJ* 19.13); he was the last man of consular rank to speak in any senatorial debate (Suet. *Claud.* 9.2). See Introduction 29 on the origins of the tradition.

24 Treatment of the sisters

24.1

Cum omnibus sororibus suis consuetudinem stupri fecit: Balsdon (1934) 211 was unwilling to accept this allegation, since it does not appear in the extant portions of Tacitus. But the story is persistent, and may be credible. Josephus only mentions incest with one sister (Jos. *AJ* 19.204). Dio, who is possibly following either Suetonius or his source, claims that Caligula and Lepidus carried on improper relations with all the emperor's sisters (Dio 59.3.6, 22.6), adding that Caligula used the role of Jupiter as a pretext for these seductions (Dio 59.26.6). Barrett cautiously comments that his sexual prowess must have been exaggerated, since another story has Caesonia dosing him with aphrodisiacs (50.2; Barrett [1989] 44; cf. 85). Ferrill (1991) 109 has no hesitation about accepting the sensational tradition.

plenoque conuiuio...uxore supra cubante: the wife should have been granted the honour of dining below the emperor. For the etiquette see J. Carcopino (1962) 266.

Drusillam uitiasse uirginem...creditur...deprehensus ab Antonia auia: the story is only found here and is uncheckable. For Caligula's education in the house of Antonia see 10.1.

mox Lucio Cassio Longino consulari conlocatam: this marriage took place in AD 33 (Tac. *Ann.* 6.15; Dio 58.21.1 [without the husband's name]). Longinus was consul in AD 30, and the brother of the man recalled from Asia by Caligula just before his assassination (57.3). Drusilla's sister Liuilla was

given to M. Vinicius, the other *consul ordinarius* in AD 30 at the same time. By AD 38 Lepidus is named as Drusilla's husband (Dio 59.11.1, 22.6).

in modum iustae uxoris propalam habuit: cf. Dio 59.11.1.

heredem...bonorum atque imperii aeger instituit: Philo dates Caligula's serious illness to the eighth month of his reign, and attributes it to his debaucheries (Philo *Leg.* 14f.). Dio places the illness in AD 37 after Caligula's first consulship (Dio 59.8.1). This ran from July for two months and two days (17.1). The two sources can thus be reconciled. Suetonius never specifies the precise nature of the illness, nor does he give any details of the time of its occurrence (cf. 14.2, 27.2).

Caligula was only in a position to bequeath his *res priuata*. *Imperium* could in theory only be conferred by *SPQR*. See 14.1 on the situation when Caligula came to power. Nevertheless Caligula could indicate a favoured candidate, as he is said to have done with Lepidus after the death of Drusilla (Dio 59.22.7).

24.2

eadem defuncta iustitium indixit, in quo risisse...capital fuit: Drusilla's death was on 10th June AD 38 (Fasti Ostienses: *Inscr. Ital.* 13.1, tab. LXIX). Philo notes Jewish observance of the *iustitium* (Philo *In Flacc.* 56). But the Jews in Egypt did not all show the same respect for the festival in honour of Caligula's birthday (Philo *In Flacc.* 81; see Box ad loc.). Philo takes the opportunity to point out that the Alexandrian community did not follow the allegedly exemplary conduct of the Jews during the *iustitium*.

Seneca is the earliest source for Caligula's behaviour at the time of Drusilla's death. His story is that Caligula himself was not present at Drusilla's funeral, but went to find solace by playing dice, *numquam satis certum utrum lugeri uellet an coli sororem* (Sen. *Cons. ad Polyb.* 17.4-5). His account which stresses tyrannical elements in Caligula's behaviour paints Drusilla's death as a source of imperial cruelty (Sen. *ibid.*: *eos qui parum maesti fuerant crudelissima adfliciebat animaduersione*). See Introduction 28-30. Dio's account concentrates on her public funeral and posthumous honours, but also gives an example of a man put to death on a charge of *maiestas* because he had sold hot water during the *iustitium* (Dio 59.11.1ff.). Hot water was served with wine. Claudius is said to have disapproved of the sale of cooked meat and hot water, and to have punished those who persisted in these practices (Dio 60.6.7).

maeroris impatiens...repente...profugisset: Suetonius associates sudden and unpredictable behaviour with Caligula's personality both here and elsewhere (cf. 43.1). For discussion of Suetonius' attitude to Caligula's mental state see 50.2f.

Campaniam, Syracusas petit...rediit barba capilloque promisso: Suetonius may depend on Seneca for his view of Caligula's unpredictability at this juncture. See Sen. *Cons. ad Polyb.* 17.5: *idem ille Gaius furiosa inconstantia modo barbam capillumque summittens modo Italiae ac Siciliae oras errabundus permiciens*. For the visit to Syracuse see 20, and Introduction 30.

postea...per numen Drusillae deierauit: Drusilla's deification appears to have taken place on September 23rd AD 38 (*CIL* VI 2028; this was Henzen's conjecture, accepted by P. Herz, *Historia* 30 [1981] 324). Apart from this Suetonian reference there is no other specific record of oaths *per numen Drusillae*. But Dio says that after her death a decree was passed to the effect that women offering testimony were to swear by her name (Dio 59.11.3). Other honours included declaring her worthy of divine honours in all cities. Even before her death cities in Asia accorded her divine honours (*IGR* IV 78 [Mytilene]; *IGR* IV 145 [Cyzicus]). For inscriptions indicating her deification see Rosborough (1920) 38.

24.3

reliquas sorores...exoletis...prostrau<e>rit: Suetonius appears to generalise from the stories about Lepidus, who is said to have joined Caligula in the corruption of his sisters (Dio 59.22.6). Tacitus whose portrait emphasises domineering aspects in Agrippina's personality claims that Agrippina herself solicited advances from Lepidus (*Tac. Ann.* 14.2.4: *quae puellaribus annis stuprum cum Lepido spe dominationis admiserat*). A similar story of Agrippina's forwardness is related by Suetonius in relation to the future emperor Galba (*Suet. Galba* 5.1).

in causa Aemili Lepidi condemnauit quasi adulteras: only one source talks of an actual conspiracy between M. Aemilius Lepidus and Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus. This is Suetonius himself in the life of Claudius (*Suet. Claud.* 9.1: *detecta esset Lepidi et Gaetulici coniuratio*). Dio views the conspiracy as a figment of Caligula's imagination and an excuse for him to despoil the rich (Dio 59.21.4; Lepidus is not specifically named in this context). Later he talks of the deaths of Gaetulicus and Lentulus as illogical murders (Dio 59.22.5). Seneca, the source nearest in time to the events only gives the name of Lepidus' executioner (*Sen Ep.* 4.7; Dexter, a military tribune). Simpson has recently cast doubt on *Suet. Claud.* 9.1, and suggested that Gaetulicus was removed for incompetence, while the unrelated charge against Lepidus (mentioned here) may have been one of *maiestas*, based on Lepidus' adulterous association with the emperor's sisters. On this view

Caligula probably invented the conspiracy of Gaetulicus to account for his actions to the senate (Simpson, *Collection Latomus* 168 [1980] 347-66). This theory makes too much of Suetonius' failure to mention Gaetulicus in the present context. Dio's unsatisfactory account of the affair also sees a connection between the deaths of the two men. For the date of the executions we are dependent on a reference in the *AFA* to a sacrifice on 27th October recording the suppression of the plot (*CIL* VI 2029 = 32346: *A.D. VI k. Nouemb. ob detecta nefaria con<silia in C. Germanic>um Cn. Lentuli Gae<tulici>*). For a despatch to have reached Rome by this date Caligula must have arrived at Mainz on or before 22nd October. For a discussion of the chronological problem see Balsdon, *JRS* 24 (1934) 16-17. Apart from executing Gaetulicus and Lepidus Caligula deported his sisters to the Pontian isles on the grounds of their adultery with Lepidus, apparently in imitation of Augustus' treatment of Julia. Agrippina is said to have been forced to carry Lepidus bones back to Rome in an urn, a parody of her mother's return from the East with the ashes of Germanicus (Dio 59.22.8; cf. *Tac. Ann.* 3.1; see also 15.1 above). Balsdon tries to make some sense out of the execution of Lepidus and the banishment of the sisters by suggesting that Lepidus was related to the imperial family, and was in fact Caligula's cousin (Balsdon [1934] 42). This would provide some justification for a charge of *maiestas*, but the relationship cannot be proved (see L. Hayne, *AC* 42 [1973] 501ff., with stemma at 507). Furthermore it was Caligula himself, according to the tradition, who had gone so far as to designate Lepidus as his successor after the death of Drusilla (Dio 59.22.6-7). This was only the culmination of a whole series of other honours bestowed by the emperor. Josephus follows the other sources in seeing Lepidus' death as murder. He claims that the murder of Lepidus gained Caligula the enmity of Vinicianus, which paved the way to his destruction (*Jos. AJ* 19.20). Dio asserts that Caligula capped off the whole business by giving his soldiers money as though he had defeated some enemies (Dio 59.22.7), certainly inappropriate behaviour for the suppression of a genuine conspiracy.

chirographa...diulgauit: Dio says that he accused them in a letter to the Senate of many impious and immoral actions (Dio 59.22.8). Suetonius shows a characteristic interest in Caligula's supposed disreputable muck-raking (*chirographa...requisita fraude ac stupro*).

tres gladios...Marti Vitori...consecrauit: so also Dio 59.22.7. For the temple of Mars Ultor, which was built to commemorate the avenging of Caesar see Nash I (1961-2) 401. Simpson suggests that the daggers were sent to Rome as part of Caligula's propaganda about his activities in Germany (op.

cit. [1980] 365 n.67). No doubt Caligula did want the Senate to believe that his life was subject to genuine threats.

25 Marriages

25.1

Matrimonia contraxerit turpius an dimiserit an tenuerit: Suetonius builds up his case on Caligula's attitude to marriage as follows: (1) he seizes his second wife at a ceremony where she was destined for another; (2) he tyrannically sends for his third wife, fired up by her grandmother's reputation for beauty; (3) he takes as his fourth wife a woman of easy virtue, and no redeeming qualities. He omits entirely the first marriage to Iunia Claudilla, and turns the fertility of Caesonia into a defect. Suetonius' own attitudes to marriage have recently been investigated by Bradley (*RSA* 15 [1985] 77-95), and he shows that Suetonius measures the emperors against traditional Roman standards – that marriage should be for life, that a woman should be *uniuira*, and that marriages arranged for purely political/dynastic purposes should still adhere to this standard, despite the frequency of divorce. What he produces in relation to Caligula is designed to illustrate the worst excesses of the tyrant, a theme which has recently been explored by Flory (*TAPhA* 118 [1988] 343-59, esp. 350-2).

Liuiam Orestillam...biennio post relegauit: the seizure of Piso's bride is also mentioned by Dio, and has been placed by Willrich at the end of AD 37 or the beginning of AD 38 (Dio 59.8.7; cf. Vict. *Caes.* 3.10; Willrich, *Klio* 3 [1903] 294 n.3). Dio places the banishment two months later and follows the tradition that the cause of banishment was the maintenance of illicit relations. But the date in Suetonius is to be preferred (i.e. banishment two years later), since the *AFA* record shows that C. Calpurnius Piso was co-opted as Arval brother in May AD 38. He was present in September of the same year, and was still on hand in June AD 40 (*CIL* VI 2028 c35, d3, d12, e11, e22, f2; *CIL* VI 2030, 17-18; 32347, 26; see Smallwood [1967] 12, 14). Thus if Piso was relegated with his bride, Dio must be wrong about the date of relegation.

There is some confusion about the name of Piso's bride. In Dio she is called Cornelia Orestina (Dio 59.8.7). Some textual critics have altered this to Orestilla under the influence of the present passage. Groag tried to cut the Gordian knot by calling her Cornelia Liuia Orestina. But Kajawa points out that such double *gentilicia* amongst Roman senatorial women are not known until the second century. One or other authority must be wrong. Kajawa rejects Suetonius, and leaves the choice between Cornelia Orestina and Cornelia Orestilla, but there seems no obvious reason for preferring Dio to Suetonius

for the *nomen*. Why not Liuia Orestilla? See *PIR* 2 C 1492; M. Kajawa, *Arctos* n.s. 18 (1984) 23-30.

Piso was apparently reinstated under Claudius (Schol. Juv. 5.109) and held the consulship in an uncertain year; he was later to attain fame as the Neronian conspirator.

See *PIR* 2 C 284; Syme, *HSCPh* 88 (1984) 166 n.10. His uncertain paternity is discussed by Syme, *AJPh* 101 (1980) 335-6.

matrimonium sibi repertum exemplo Romuli et Augusti: the story has Caligula cite Romulus and Augustus as precedents for the seduction of the wives of guests during a banquet. Romulus had seized the Sabine women during an infamous festival, while Augustus (according to a scurrilous Antonian story) is said to have taken Liuia from her husband's dining-room to a bedroom, from which Liuia returned in a state of disarray (Livy 1.9.7f.; Suet. *Aug.* 69.1; cf. Dio 48.44). Caligula is portrayed going one better by seducing Piso's wife at the wedding ceremony. The common factor is that in all three cases the traditions of hospitality were infringed. Here the story is a variant (*alii tradunt*). Flory suggests that Caligula mimicked Augustus who was fond of justifying his behaviour through historical examples (Suet. *Aug.* 89.2). The picture is certainly consistent with the sense of humour attributed to Caligula, but the story may have been influenced by the stock portrait of the tyrant, as she is prepared to admit in the case of Augustus (Flory, *TAPhA* 118 [1988] 343-59, esp. 353 and 358).

Lolliam Paulinam, C. Memmio...nuptam: Lolliam was the daughter of M. Lollius (*PIR* 2 L 312; probably not a consular despite Tac. *Ann.* 12.1.2, where the text seems to be at fault; see Syme, *JRS* 56 [1966] 59), and the granddaughter of M. Lollius, who had taken poison while *rector* to Gaius Caesar in the East, and was never forgiven by Tiberius for his pernicious influence on the young man (Plin. *NH* 9.117f.; Tac. *Ann.* 3.48). Pliny talks of the staggering number of Lolliam's pearls and their dubious ancestry as gifts extracted by Lollius from potentates in the East. Caligula's brides were all rich (Vict. *Caes.* 3.10).

Lolliam's first husband was P. Memmius Regulus (*RE* s.v. Memmius no. 29), not C. Memmius, as here. He was commander in Moesia (hence *consulari exercitus regenti*). Oliver suggests that Lolliam's first marriage was never consummated, and tries to account for the betrothal of Lolliam by Memmius to Caligula in this way (*Hesperia* 35 [1966] 150). But betrothals of married women are known at Rome, as in the case of Liuia given away by Tiberius Claudius Nero, and Marcia given away by Cato to Hortensius in what Strabo describes as an ancient Roman custom (Strabo 11.9.1 = C515). In these cases the

husband takes on the role of the father. Dio claims that Caligula did not want to break the law by taking Lollia away without betrothal (Dio 59.12.1). He dates the marriage some days after the consecration of Drusilla, which took place on 23rd September AD 38 (24.2 above). The divorce is placed during Caligula's absence in Gaul at the end of AD 39 (Dio 59.23.7), although there are some confusions in Dio's chronology at this point.

interdicto cuiusquam in perpetuum coitu: this is thought to be related to Caligula's claim to divine status. No mere mortal could be worthy of the consort of a god. See E. Meise (1969) 104, following S. Eitrem, *SO* 11 (1932) 22.

Caesoniam...amauit: Milonia Caesonia was one of the many children of Vistilia (Plin. *NH* 7.39). Her father is unknown (see Cichorius [1922] 429f.; Syme, *JRS* 60 [1970] 31f.). Her birth date is also unknown, but she must have been considerably older than Caligula (*neque aetate integra*), supporting Syme's view that she was born before AD 5. The marriage to Caligula should be placed after the conspiracy in AD 39, if we are to accept Dio's chronology (i.e. after 27th October), not in summer AD 39, as is suggested by Meise and others (Meise [1969] 119; Simpson [1980] 352 n.27). Her previous husband cannot be identified.

chlamyde: see 19.2.

iuxta adequitantem militibus ostenderit: this was considered unseemly behaviour for a woman. See Tac. *Ann.* 1.69, 2.55: *nec Plancina se intra decora feminis tenebat, sed exercitio equitum, decursibus cohortium interesse*. Caligula himself had indicted Cornelia, the wife of Calvisius Sabinus on the pretext that she was too familiar with the soldiery (Dio 59.18.4).

uxorio nomine...enixam: the text is corrupt. I have adopted a solution in line with Dio's statement that Caligula only married Caesonia at this point so that he might become the father of a one month child (Dio 59.23.7). See Ihm ad loc. for other solutions.

uno atque eodem die...maritum...et patrem infantis ex ea natae: apparently Suetonius exaggerates here. Dio places the birth 30 days after the marriage (Dio 59.23.7). This must be another instance of Caligula parodying Augustus over the birth of Drusus within three months of his marriage to Livia (Flory, *TAPhA* 118 [1988] 358). Caligula himself again outclasses Augustus.

Iuliam Drusillam...per omnium dearum templa circumferens: Dio says

that Caligula put his daughter on the knees of Jupiter in the Capitolium, hinting that she was Jupiter's child, and put her in charge of Minerua to be suckled (Dio [exc.] 59.28.7). There is some evidence to show that Caligula held Minerua in high esteem (*ILS* 197; *IGR* IV 328; see Rosborough ad loc.). Josephus has the story that Caligula claimed that the child belonged to Jupiter and Zeus (Jos *AJ* 19.11).

On Julia Drusilla see also 42, 59; *PIR* 2 I 1665.

26.1

quo propinquos amicosque pacto tractauerit: this is a further subsection of the analysis that begins at 23.

Ptolemaeum regis Iubae filium: the pedigree of Ptolemy is explained here by Suetonius. Iuba had been restored to his paternal kingdom after Actium, and in 25 BC Augustus added Mauretania which his father had held before him (Dio 53.26.2). In the years after Actium Mauretania was treated as an annex of Spain. See P.A. Brunt (1971) 595-6. On Iuba see *PIR* 2 I 65. For more detailed treatment of the death of Ptolemy see 35.1.

ipsum Macronem, ipsam Enniam: see 12.2 above. In AD 38 Caligula is said to have forced Macro and Ennia to take their lives (Dio 59.10.6).

26.2 Dealings with the Senate

Nihilo reuerentior leniorue erga senatum: according to Dio Caligula initially showed great deference to the Senate (Dio 59.6.1), and it was only in AD 39 that the *maiestas* charges were reintroduced (see 30.2). Josephus talks of Caligula's special animus against the Senate, and Tacitus also gives two examples of Caligula's hostility to the order (Tac. *Hist.* 1.48, 4.48). The account of Dio is the most detailed, and emphasises the tradition of Caligula's contrary nature. This can be traced back as far as Seneca (Dio 59.23.1-6; cf. Sen. *De Ben.* 2.12.1-2; *De Ira* 3.18.3-19.2). Caligula is portrayed as detecting a threat to his autocratic style in the power of the Senate to bestow honours on him.

There seems to be little doubt that there was a very poor relationship between the Senate and Caligula. It is one of the main causes of the hostile source tradition, and it is believable that the autocratic tendencies of the emperor were a major bone of contention. But there are contradictions in the tradition, such as his attitude to the *latus clauus* (Dio 59.9.5), the fact that he is said to have given advance notice of the agenda for Senate meetings (Dio 59.24.8), and the initial appeal to Augustan precedent. See A. Chastagnol,

RHD 53 (1975) 375-94; Talbert (1984) 188, 513; Barrett (1989) 233-4.

See Rossi, *RFIC* 99 (1971) 164-71; Barrett (1989) ch. 6.

quosdam...ad essedum sibi currere...aliquot passuum: it is reasonable to see in this a Suetonian generalisation; the story is told in relation to *Galba*, who is said to have followed him on the run for 20 miles. The emphatic position of the word *togatos* is used to underscore the unsuitability of the garment (Suet. *Galba* 6.3). See M.P. Charlesworth, *CHJ* 4 (1933) 110. A somewhat similar story is told of Passienus Crispus in the *De Viris Illustribus*. (Reifferscheid fr. 71: *omnium principum gratiam adpetiuit, sed praecipue (C.) Caesaris, quem iter facientem secutus est pedibus.*)

ad pluteum: the back board of a settee on which guests reclined at table; here used by metonymy for the settee itself.

succinctos linteo: like servants.

alios cum clam interemisset...uoluntaria morte perisse mentitus: another unsubstantiated generalisation reinforcing the picture of an arbitrary Caligula. Suetonius deliberately gives the impression he is quoting the emperor's actual excuse.

26.3

consulibus oblitis de natali...fuitque per triduum sine summa potestate res p.: Caligula is said not to have been satisfied with the scale of celebrations on 31st August AD 39 (Dio 59.20.1). For details see 23.1. The other reason given for the deposition of the consuls was excessive celebration of the victory of Actium (2nd September). Dio on the other hand says that the *suffects* were installed on 2nd September (Dio 59.20.3). Perhaps these variant motives for the deposition are a product of contemporary speculation.

quaestorem suum in coniuratione nominatum flagellauit: the number of quaestors specifically attached to the emperor is not certain. There must have been more than one (Plin. *Ep.* 7.16.2: *simul quaestores Caesaris fuimus*; cf. *ILS* 967: *inter suos quaestores*). When he was consul an emperor acquired the two quaestors attached to this office, possibly making the total four (Cebeillac [1972] 58-9; cf. Mommsen, *StR* II 569f.).

The quaestor mentioned here was Betilienus Bassus (*PIR* 2 B 114). Unlike Veranius, the only other known quaestor of Caligula (AD 37), Betilienus was a *nouus homo*. His father was an imperial procurator by the name of Betilienus Capito (*PIR* 2 B 116).

The fall of Betilienus is attributed by Seneca to the whim of Caligula. All existing accounts of this could derive from his version, which claims that the father was obliged to assist in his son's execution before being killed himself (Sen. *De Ira* 3.18.3; Dio [exc.] 59.25.5b, dated to AD 40, presumably the year of his quaestorship; see also 27.4).

26.4 Dealings with other classes

scaenicis ludis: see 18.2.

decimas maturius dabat: these were tickets for seats at games. It was normal to distribute such largess only after the equestrians had taken first choice (cf. Mommsen, *StR* III 520). The reader is to understand that Caligula did not allow the equestrians to find their places before making the distribution. See *RE* s.v. *decuma*.

inter plebem et equitem causam discordiarum...ut equestris ab infimo...occuparentur: in Josephus this procedure is associated with the Palatine games (Jos. *AJ* 19.86). Deliberate manoeuvres aimed at creating tensions between social groups are traditionally attributed to Caligula. See 56.1. That he was initially favourable to the equestrian order is suggested by the *recognitio* referred to at 16.2. For further discussion on this see Barrett (1989) 232-3.

26.5

gladiatorio munere: see 18.1.

reductis...flagrantissimo sole uellis: the practice of stretching awnings across the Forum was begun by Augustus when Marcellus was aedile (Dio 53.31.2f.; Prop. 3.18.3, 4.1.15). In the summer of AD 39 Dio claims that such awnings were erected because of the heat. Suetonius seems to have a hostile version of this incident.

proque paegniariis: this is a simple correction to the corrupt MSS. *Paegniarii* were gladiators who fought in jest. A mosaic found at Nennig shows *paegniarii* armed with small shields. They hold a staff in the left hand and a whip in the right. Little else is known about their equipment. See Friedländer IV (1908-13) 179.

horreus praeculosis populo famam indixit: see 19.1 for Caligula and the corn supply.

27-35 Saeuitia

27.1

Saeuitiam...ostendit: for a comparable tirade on the *saeuitia* of Caligula see Sen. *De Ira* III. 19.

ad saginam...carius pecudes compararentur, ex noxiis laniandos adnotauit: according to Dio, Caligula would order some of the mob to be thrown to the wild beasts when there was a shortage of condemned criminals (Dio 59.10.3; cf. 26.3).

nullius inspecto elogio: the charge against the prisoner was inscribed on a tablet known as an *elogium* (see *RE* s.v. *elogium*).

a caluo ad caluum: a bald headed man was presumably standing at either end of the line. E. Braun thought that it would be normal practice to shave the heads of prisoners, but this surely spoils the point of the story (see *JOEAI* 37 [1948] 175-7). The witticism is associated by Dio with Caligula's exploits in Gaul (Dio 59.22.3).

27.2

uotum exegit ab eo, qui...gladiatoriam operam promiserat: the tradition associates this with Caligula's illness in the latter part of AD 37. See 14.2, 24.1.

alterum...praecipitaretur ex aggere: see 14.2.

27.3

multos honesti ordinis...ad bestias condemnauit: Claudius is also said to have thrown those convicted of serious crimes to the beasts (Suet. *Claud.* 14), while Nero threw Christians to the dogs. Suetonius' complaint against Caligula's behaviour emphasises that not all his victims had committed serious crimes. See P. Garnsey (1970) 130-4.

numquam per genium suum deierassent: for avoidance of divine titles by the emperors during their lifetime see L.R. Taylor (1931) 240. Caligula is alleged to have sworn by the *salus* and *genius* of his horse, and this is some confirmation of the oath by his genius. An inscription of AD 38 mentions the *genius* of Caligula (*ILS* 192: *pro salute et uictoria et genio Caesaris Augusti*). *CIL* XII 3052 has been interpreted to refer to Caligula's *genius* without much

plausibility (see Rosborough [1920] 41). For Caligula's deviation from the practice of his predecessors in relation to the oath see Weinstock (1971) 217.

27.4

parentes supplicio filiorum interesse cogebat: three examples of this manifestation of *saeuitia* have entered the tradition: (1) Pastor (Sen. *De Ira* II.33.3f.). (2) Cerialis and Papinius (Dio 59.25.5b; cf. Tac. *Ann.* 16.17). Dio (who at this point is in epitome) appears to have made a confusion in thinking that Cerialis was the father. (3) Betilienus Capito and Betilienus Bassus (Sen. *De Ira* III.18.3; Dio 59.25.5b; see 26.3 for details; Balsdon is justifiably sceptical about these tales [1934] 98-9; see also I.E. Grady, *RhM* 124 [1981] 261-7).

alium...ad hilaritatem et iocos prouocauit: this fits with the details given by Seneca in the story of Pastor (Sen. *De Ira* II.33.3-4; cf. 35.2). For Suetonius' use of Seneca as a source see Introduction 28-30.

non prius occidit quam offensus putrefacti cerebri odore: this sensational detail underlines the need for caution in dealing with unsubstantiated elements in the Suetonian version.

Atellanae poetam...cremauit: for the *Atellanae Fabulae* see W. Beare (1950) 137-48; *D & S* s.v. *Atellana*. See 16.1 on Caligula's attitude to politically sensitive themes in literature. Political themes were treated in the Atellan farce as can be deduced from the case of the actor Datus who criticised Nero's parricide during an *Atellana* (Suet. *Nero* 39.3). Tacitus claims that it was not successful as popular entertainment (Tac. *Ann.* 4.14: *leuissimae apud uulgum oblectationis*).

The penalty of cremation is rare. Seneca mentions Caligula's use of cremation on victims (*De Ira* III.19). It is perhaps attested on a Giessen papyrus (P. Giess. 46; cf. Garnsey [1970] 125). It was considered an atrocity when Balbus inflicted the penalty on the Pompeian Fadius in Spain (Cic. *Ad Fam.* 10.32.3). Suetonius has it here as an instance of imperial *saeuitia*.

equitem...cum se innocentem proclamasset, reduxit abscisaque lingua rursus induxit: this is a persistent theme in the sources. According to Dio those who were thrown to the wild beasts had their tongues cut out first (Dio 59.10.3; cf. 27.1). Seneca's Caligula uses sponges and other items to prevent victims from giving voice during an execution (Sen. *De Ira* III.19.3-4). The stories are doubted by Barrett (1989) xxiii, 232.

28

reuocatum quendam...respondente eo per adulationem: the flatterer cannot be identified. Other imperial adulators are said to have attracted more favourable reactions from Caligula. See Dio 59.19.4f. (Domitius Afer); Dio 59.27.5 (L. Vitellius).

deos semper orauit ut, quod euenit, periret Tiberius et tu imperares: apparently this individual had been exiled by Tiberius. One of Caligula's first measures in AD 37 was to release those who were in prison (15.4). Amongst these was Quintus Pomponius who had spent seven years in jail since his consulship (Dio 59.6.2). Caligula also recalled from exile those who had been implicated in the charges against his mother and brother (Dio 59.3.6). On the reintroduction of the *maiestas* charges see 30.2.

misit circum insulas qui uniuersos contrucidarent: the story sounds suspiciously like a Suetonian generalisation, but Philo talks of a general massacre, which was to include Flaccus (Philo *In Flacc.* 183ff.). Sherwin-White has dated this to the middle of AD 39 (*Latomus* 31 [1972] 827; cf. Dio 59.13.2).

cum discerpsi senatorem concupisset, subornauit qui...lacerandum ceteris traderent: Dio elaborates on this story (Dio [Xiph.] 59.26.1f.). In his version, the Senate acted in response to incitement from Protogenes, Caligula's agent in his harshest measures (see 49.3). He gives the name of the senator as Scribonius Proculus. Barrett is prepared to countenance the story and believes that Proculus had been conspiring against Caligula ([1989] 152, 158). P. Sulpicius Scribonius Proculus, a prominent jurist seems to have been his son or adoptive son, and Bauman links this death with Caligula's opposition to the legal profession. He assumes that our Scribonius Proculus was also a jurist. On Caligula's opposition to that profession see 34.2.

See *RE* s.v. Scribonius nos 25 and 26; W. Kunkel (1967) 127; Bauman (1974) 136-7.

29.1

immanissima facta augebat atrocitate uerborum: Suetonius gives many examples in the following chapters. Some are entrenched in the tradition about Caligula, and are to be found in the other sources. There is no obvious control over their authenticity.

in natura sua laudare...ἀδυσπραγία, hoc est inuerecundiam: the Greek

word is only found here. It is not clear whether the Latin explanation is a gloss, or a censorious explanation from the pen of Suetonius.

monenti Antoniae auiae: cf. 23.2.

omnia mihi et <in> omnis licere: cf. *Caesari...omnia licent* (Sen. *Ad Polyb.* 7.2), with reference to Claudius. Brunt argues from the evidence of the investiture clause of the *Lex de Imperio Vespasiani* that the emperor was entitled to act in the public interest as he thought best (*JRS* 67 [1977] 107ff., esp. 109). See 14.1 above. Absolutist opinions of this sort are also attributed to Nero. See Suet. *Nero* 37.3: *negauit quemquam principum scisse quid sibi liceret* (cf. Bradley [1978] 225).

trucidaturus fratrem, quem...praemuniri medicamentis suspicabatur: see 23.3.

29.2

relegatis sororibus: after the conspiracy of Gaetulicus in AD 39. See Dio 59.22.8.

praetorium uirum...cui tam diu non prodesset elleborem: the praetorian cannot be identified. Anticyra was a spa in southern Phocis on the Gulf of Corinth, famed for growing hellebore (Strabo 9.3.3 = C418; Plin. *NH* 25.52). This accounts for its growth as a spa, since hellebore was used as a purgative. See *RE* s.v. Anticyra.

rationem se purgare dicebat: this is a phrase from the world of commerce. *Rationes* were business accounts. For the metaphor see Tac. *Ann.* 1.6: *non aliter ratio constet quam si uni reddatur.*

30.1

ita feri ut se mori sentiat: Seneca and Dio both put emphasis on Caligula's bloodthirstiness (Sen. *De Ben.* 4.31.2: *hominem sanguinis humani auidissimus*; Dio 59.10.2f.).

punito per errorem nominis...paria meruisse dixit: Dio identifies Iulius Sacerdos as a victim of this type. Caligula is said to have misread the census lists when trying to raise funds by killing the wealthiest (Dio 59.22.3f.; *PIR* 2 I 538).

tragicum...iactabat: oderint dum metuant: this line occurs in the Atrous

of Accius, a fact known from Seneca's admiration of it (Sen. *De Ira* 1.20.4: *Sullano scias saeculo scriptam*; see Warmington II [1935-40] 382 fr. 168). The violence of Atreus' sayings in this play is confirmed by other fragments. Accius, who wrote in the 2nd century BC, was considered the greatest Roman tragedian in the early imperial period (Vell. 1.17; Columella *praef.* 30). Suetonius attributes to Caligula a sound knowledge of the literary stereotype of a tyrant.

30.2

saepe in...senatores ut Seiani clientis...inuectus est...defensaque Tiberi saevitia quasi necessaria: for Caligula's attitude to the Senate see 26.2. Lentulus Gaetulicus is one known partisan of Sejanus who did survive until AD 39 (see 8.1; cf. Z. Stewart, *AJPh* 74 [1953] 70-85). He was surely exceptional after the witch-hunt of the early thirties. Suetonius must have appreciated this, and the aim is to show how unbalanced the emperor became. On Caligula's ambiguous attitude to the memory of Tiberius see Barrett (1989) 92ff. There seems to have been a sudden change of direction in AD 39, when he denounced the senate, and restored trials for *maiestas* (Dio 59.16.1-7; cf. 59.4.3). It is claimed by Dio that Tiberius was rehabilitated at this time, an action which could be regarded as a reaction against the influence of Macro.

equestrem ordinem...assidue proscidit: cf. 26.4, 41.2.

utinam p. R, unam ceruicem haberet: Caligula is supposed to have uttered these immortal words in response to unfavourable comments about his accession to the consulate before the legal age. See Dio 59.13.6; cf. Dio (Xiph.) 59.30.1c; Sen. *De Ira* 3.19.2. The aim of the presentation in the present passage is to show that Caligula was hated by all orders of society, and for good reason. See Wallace-Hadrill (1983) 113-14; Millar (1977) 371.

cumque Tetrinius latro postularetur: to fight as a gladiator or to be thrown to the beasts. See *RE* s.v. Tetrinius. On such interchanges between the crowd and the emperor at the circus see Millar (1977) 373.

30.3

retiarum tunicati...succubuerant...caedem...execratus est: these were the only gladiators to appear without head-gear (Suet. *Claud.* 34; Juv. 8.200-6). Their defensive arms were the *batteus* (belly-band), and a sleeve on the left arm with a shoulder-plate taking the place of a shield (*galerus*). For weapons they had the net (*iaculum*), the trident (*fuscina*) and the dagger (Val. Max.

1.7.8). See Friedländer IV (1908-13) 171. This contest between *retiarum tunicati* and *secutores* does not seem to be an ordinary gladiatorial fight. A recent suggestion to explain why Caligula behaved with such hostility to the actions of the successful *tunicatus* highlights the role of *retiarum tunicati* as comic relief rather than as regular gladiators. The aim seems to have been humiliation of effeminate men in a demeaning contest. See S.M. Cerutti and L. Richardson Jr, *AJPh* 110 (1989) 589-94.

secutoribus: their arms were a sword, shield, visored helmet and a greave. See Friedländer IV (1908-13) 174-5.

31

queri...solebat...nullis calamitatibus publicis: Suetonius here develops the tradition of Caligula's perverse nature, which is followed later by Dio (59.9.4). Similar perverted views are attributed to Nero at the time of the great fire (Suet. *Nero* 38), and this may suggest that perversity was turned into one of the traditional attributes of 'bad' emperors. Suetonius enhances the denigratory effect by reporting what he claims are Caligula's attitudes.

Caligula is said to have responded with generosity on the occasion of the fire at the Aemiliana in AD 38 (Dio 59.9.4; *Inscr. Ital.* 13.1, tab. LXIX). Disasters were politically useful since they gave scope for *liberalitas*. On this imperial virtue see H. Kloft (1970); A. Wallace-Hadrill, *Historia* 30 (1981) 298-323.

Augusti principatum clade Variana: This disaster of AD 9 when three legions were cut to pieces had been Augustus' only disgraceful defeat apart from the Lollian disaster (Suet. *Aug.* 23.1). For discussion and literature see *RE* s.v. Quinctilius col. 922f.

Tiberi ruina spectaculorum apud Fidenas: this took place in AD 27. Tiberius had banned hunting spectacles from the city, and consequently a freedman named Atilius provided a wooden amphitheatre outside the city (Tac. *Ann.* 4.62; Dio 58.1.1a). The death toll from its collapse was over 20,000 (Suet. *Tib.* 40), with as many as 50,000 suffering some sort of injury (Tac. *Ann.* 4.63). Atilius was exiled.

identidem exercituum caedes, famem, pestilentiam, incendia...optabat: the build up within this *species* to heighten the impression of imperial perversity is noteworthy. On this aspect of the Suetonian biographies see J. Ektor, *LEC* 48 (1980) 319f.

32.1

ludoque et epulis dedito...saeuitia aderat: these generalisations are a commonplace in Suetonius. On Caligula's cruelty while playing dice see 41.2. The incident mentioned at 36.2 illustrates the tradition that Caligula behaved in a tyrannical manner while feasting. Seneca has Caligula gloating over the murder of Pastor's son at a dinner party (Sen. *De Ira* 2.33.4f.). In each case it is infringement of the traditions of hospitality which is used to exemplify tyrannical characteristics.

Puteolis...repente omnis praecipitavit: see 19 for a full discussion of the incident at Baiae. Dio has inherited a similar tradition. He relates that some perished on this occasion, but that most managed to save themselves despite their drunkenness (Dio 59.17.9-10).

32.2

murmillonem...confodit ferrea sica: the *murmillo*es were generally matched with the *retarii* or the *Thraeces*. It is interesting in this context to note that Caligula is alleged to have fought as a *Thraex* (see 54.1). The unsporting weapon used by Caligula here was their characteristic weapon. See 55.2 for the equipment of the *murmillo*es.

32.3

poparum habitu: the *popa* was the junior priest who slew the victims. This would be highly unsuitable garb for an emperor, and clearly had sinister implications. For Caligula's dressing eccentricities see 52.

consulibus, qui iuxta cubabant: these may be the pair who failed to celebrate Caligula's birthday adequately (26.3).

33

There is a crescendo of examples of jocularities in this section (*inter...iocos; quotiens...; quin et subinde iactabat*). This technique is widely used by Suetonius.

simulacro Iouis: for Caligula's attitude to Jupiter see 22.2.

Apellen tragoedum: for this man see *PIR* 2 A 907. The influence of Apelles on Caligula was considered to be excessive (Dio 59.5; Philo *Leg.* 203). Caligula ignored decorum by keeping company with him in public. In this Caligula made a major break with the reign of Tiberius, who had attempted

to sustain aristocratic values by placing a ban on public performance by members of the equestrian and senatorial orders. Caligula not only asked for exemption from this ban (Dio 59.10.1f.), but himself wanted to be involved with activities tainted by *infamia*. On the status of actors see B. Levick, *JRS* 73 (1983) 97-115.

Seneca also levels allegations of torture against Caligula (Sen. *De Ira* 3.18.3). Caligula may have found it amusing to flay a man whose name would mean 'skinless' (see Barrett [1989] 217).

Caesonia sua: cf. 25.3.

34.1

Nec minore luore ac malignitate quam superbia...grassatus est: this catalogue of vices has parallels in Suetonius' treatment of other bad emperors (cf. Suet. *Nero* 36.1; Mouchova [1968] 45). Ironically Caligula is said to have sacrificed to Envy at Baiae (Dio 59.17.4). Suetonius' tendency to generalise is again evident.

Capitolina area: see Nash I (1961-2) 535.

uetuitque...uiuentium...statuam aut imaginem nisi consulto et auctore se poni: Claudius is said to have been taken to task during his consulship for being slow to erect statues of Nero and Drusus, the brothers of Caligula (Suet. *Claud.* 9.1). This is evidence that the erection of statues was under imperial control. Dio relates that Domitius Afer got into trouble in connection with a statue. In his case it was the accompanying inscription that caused offence (Dio 59.19.1-7; cf. Bauman [1974] 135). The interest in controlling statues is another sign of Caligula's autocratic style. He is said initially to have forbidden anyone to set up images of himself, and later to have taken over the manufacture of them (Dio 59.4.4). For statues and their importance in relation to emperor worship see K. Scott, *TAPhA* 72 (1931) 101-23.

34.2

cogitavit etiam de Homeri carminibus abolendis: see Introduction 34-5.

Vergili ac Titi Liui scripta et imagines paulum afuit quin...amoueret: as in the case of Homer, Vergil is quoted by Caligula (45). The story has come from the hostile tradition. If the threat was not carried out, how could Suetonius have heard of it? Caligula's verdict on Livy (*uerbosum in historia neglegentemque*) has met with some approval from modern writers (see Walsh, *G & R* 5 [1958] 83-8; [1961] 153).

de iuris quoque consultis...saepe iactavit se mehercule effecturum ne quid respondere possint praeter aequum: the text is corrupt (= *praeter eum*). Caligula's quip is interpreted by Suetonius as indicative of imperial interference in the judicial system and as a further sign of absolutism. I have adopted Sabellicus' reading which (if correct) illustrates his malicious sense of humour.

35.1

uetera familiarum insignia...ademit: the statement is a characteristic Suetonian generalisation. For Caligula's attitude to the Senate see 26.2, 30.2. Josephus also talks of Caligula's envy of special honours (Jos. *AJ* 19.2).

Torquato torquem: Torquatus is unidentified. Both the Nonii Asprenates and the Iunii Silani are known to have taken this *cognomen*. The latter acquired it by adoption from the patrician Manlii Torquati whose line ended with the Republic (see J.F. Mitchell, *Historia* 15 [1966] 23-9). Since the Nonii Asprenates had little claim to be numbered amongst the ancient families, Mommsen suggested that a Silanus was referred to here (*GS* VIII 203). He would then be D. Iunius Torquatus (cos. AD 53) who was already established as a Salian priest under Caligula (*PIR* 2 I 837; Mommsen, *Hermes* 38 [1903] 125f.). The only complication for this theory is Suetonius' own discussion of the bestowal of the *cognomen* on Nonius Asprenas by Augustus (Suet. *Aug.* 43; *RE* s.v. Nonius no. 23). It would be strange for him to use the sobriquet to refer to two different people without further explanation. However, this may be the case. The Iunii Silani were connected with the imperial family – indeed Caligula's first wife was a Iunia Silana – and this provides an obvious motive for Caligula to attempt to diminish the status of the family. Pompeius Magnus also had imperial links. Torquatus' mother was Aemilia Lepida, the great-granddaughter of Augustus (*Tac. Ann.* 4.48.1; *CIL* X 8041.21).

The *torques* was a neckband made from gold, silver or bronze (*Isid. Etym.* XIX. 31.11.2: *dictae autem torques quod sunt tortae*; cf. *RE* s.v. *torques*).

Cincinnato crinem: the history of the Quinctii Cincinnati at this time is obscure. This Cincinnatus was probably the son of T. Quinctius Crispinus Valerianus (cos. suff. AD 2). See *RE* Band XXIV col. 1019. Cincinnatus = curly-head; the emblem of the family was a lock of hair.

Cn. Pompeio stirpis antiquae Magni cognomen: this man was the son of M. Licinius Crassus Frugi (*ILS* 955: *Cn. Pompeius Crassi f. Men. Magnus*). The relationship to Pompey the Great stemmed from his maternal ancestors. Marcus Crassus was married to Scribonia, the daughter of L. Scribonius Libo

(cos. AD 16 = *RE* s.v. Scribonius no. 30). In addition to her relationship with the imperial family Scribonia could trace her ancestry to Pompeius Magnus (cf. *Tac. Ann.* 2.27). This is the motive for Caligula's hostility. Cn. Pompeius Magnus went on to make a dynastically significant marriage to Antonia, the daughter of Claudius in AD 41, before being destroyed by Claudius in AD 46 (Suet. *Claud.* 27; Dio 60.5.7). See *RE* s.v. Licinius no. 73 col. 341.

There is reason to doubt the story of the removal of the *cognomen* since a fragmentary list of co-optations to the Salian priesthood still lists the title in conjunction with a record of Caligula's third consulship (*ILS* 9339).

Caligula did not become cos. III until 1st January AD 40. But the literary tradition strongly supports the idea that Caligula deprived the man of his title (*Sen. Apocol.* 11.2: *Gaius Crassi filium uetuit Magnum uocari. hic [i.e. Claudius] nomen illi reddidit, caput tulit*; Dio 60.5.9). If it is accepted a date late in Caligula's reign must be postulated.

Ptolemaeum...percussit...quod...conuertisse...oculos...animaduertit: cf. 26.1. The arrest of Ptolemy probably occurred sometime in AD 39. Dio records his execution in AD 40 (Dio 59.25.1) and we know that Ptolemy had been a prisoner for at least some time before that (*Sen. De Tranq.* 11.12).

The charge against Ptolemy must have been one of *maiestas*. Reinhold concludes that purple was restricted to imperial persons under Caligula, a stricter policy than that of Tiberius who merely discouraged its usage (Dio 57.13.5; see Reinhold [1970] 49). Ptolemy's father Juba had established a dyeing industry on the Insulae Fortunatae, and this was doubtless the source of the dye for the offending garment (*Plin. NH* 6.201).

The *abolla* appears to have been a slightly different garment from the cloak generally worn by the Caesars, the *paludamentum*. Modern authorities have shown an unwillingness to accept that Caligula could have executed Ptolemy for so trivial an offence. But Suetonius' point in this section centres on precisely this issue. Caligula was very sensitive about questions of status. Ptolemy was a grandson of Antony and Cleopatra, which may have been the fatal crime. There has been speculation that he could have been involved in the conspiracy of Gaetulicus (D. Fishwick and B.D. Shaw, *Historia* 25 [1976] 491-4).

See M. Hofmann, *RE* 17 (1959) 1768-87; T. Kotula, *Archeologia* 15 (1964) 76-94; D. Fishwick, *Historia* 20 (1971) 467-87; J.-C. Faur, *Klio* 55 (1973) 249-71; Barrett (1989) ch. 7

35.2

pulchros et comatos...deturpabat: Caligula is said to have been bald (see 50.1), and Seneca has a story about the *eques* Pastor whose son met his end

because of Caligula's envy of his locks (Sen. *De Ira* 2.33.3: *munditiis eius et cultioribus capillis offensus*). Suetonius may again be generalising from the Senecan story.

erat Caesius Proculus patre primipilari: the text is uncertain here (cf. *PIR* 2 A 431). The MSS read Esius or Hesius. Ihm emended the text to Aesius, but Heinsius' suggestion of Caesius is more attractive (see e.g. C. Caesius Aper, equestrian *praef. cohortis* in AD 61; see Smallwood [1967] 296).

ob egregiam corporis amplitudinem...Colosseros dictus...iussit...uicatum circumduci ac mulieribus ostendi: the name Colosseros is of course a joke about the size of his genitalia. Characteristically Caligula found it amusing to have him shown to the women.

Thraeci: cf. 54.1: Thraex; 55.2: Thraeces. For the variations in spelling see *RE* s.v. Thraex.

The Thraeces carried a small shield called the *parma* and would contend with the Samnites who bore the large shield, the *scutum*. Their characteristic offensive weapon was the *sica* (the national weapon of the Thracians [Val. Max. 3.2.12]). This was a short curved sword. The Thraeces would fight with one another, and also with the *murmillones* (see 32.2), but their chief opponents were the *hoplomachi*. See Friedländer IV (1908-13) 175-6.

et mox hoplomacho: Suetonius appears to be trying to illustrate Caligula's perversity. The man is to see the fight from both points of view. *Hoplomachi* appear as opponents of the *Thraeces*, *murmillones* and *dimachaeri* in the Pompeian list (*CIL* VI 2508). See Friedländer IV (1908-13) 176.

35.3

nullus...cuius non commodis obtrearet: Suetonius provides one example of *abjecta condicio* and one of *extrema sors*.

Nemorensi regi...ualidiorem aduersarium subornauit: the insecure tenure of the king of Nemi was notorious in antiquity and is a commonplace as a literary theme. Traditionally the *rex Nemorensis* (the priest of Diana at Nemi) was a runaway slave who had to break off a branch of a certain tree within the sanctuary at Nemi to secure the right to fight his predecessor. In this way, if victorious he would hold office until such time as he met his match. See J.G. Frazer I (1911) 8-10. For attempts to relate the present story to a coherent religious policy see Balsdon (1934) 149; A. Bernardi, *Athenaeum* 31 (1953) 273-87. Suetonius portrays the emperor as malevolently jocular in his

approach to the affair. Caligula may have been following the Augustan precedent of reviving obsolete religious practices. Notice his concern with reorganising the Salii. See Mommsen, *Hermes* 38 (1903) 125-9; cf. Wilrich *Klio* 3 (1903) 447. On Caligula's galleys at Nemi see 37.2.

essedario Porio...plausum esset, ita proripuit se...ut...praeceps...iret: this shows that a chariot at the circus would normally be manned by a combatant as well as the driver. The *essedarius* Porius is not otherwise known (*RE* s.v. Porius).

clamitans...plus honoris gladiatori...quam...praesenti sibi: Dio also comments on Caligula's childish behaviour at the games (Dio 59.13.5). Suetonius alleges that other tyrannical figures are 'bad sports'. See Suet. *Nero* 23.

36 Unchastity

36.1

Pudicitiae <neque suae> neque alienae: on the tyrannical vices in Suetonius see Wallace-Hadrill (1983) 157-8. This section is a good illustration of the way in which Suetonius builds up the examples within a rubric. Thus we start with his tastes in homosexual love, highlighted by the consular youth. The charge of incest is topped with his affair with a prostitute, and culminates with the generalisation about his manner of dealing with aristocratic women on social occasions. The section ends with him acting as moral guardian for absent husbands.

The bracketed words only appear in late codices, but note Vict. *Caes.* 5.5, which depends on the present passage.

M. Lepidum: see 24.3. For his alleged sexual relationship with Caligula see Dio 59.11.1, 22.6.

Mnesterem pantomimum: Dio has inherited the same tradition about Caligula's enthusiasm for Mnester (Dio 60.22.4; see also 55.2). The disapproval of the sources towards pantomime actors relates in part to the Greek origin of the genre and the association of pantomime with homosexuality. It was not unusual for aristocratic families to possess their own troupe of pantomime actors, but they are pushed into prominence by the sources in the case of tyrannical emperors. Nero is the other conspicuous example (Suet. *Nero* 20-1). See Wallace-Hadrill [1983] 185; on pantomime see Jory (1981).

Valerius Catullus, consulari familia iuuenis: *contubernium* had a republican past of eminent respectability, and this idea of training young men through

the example of an older man continued into the empire, especially at court. A commonplace in our authorities is the suggestion of sexual impropriety in this situation, and material of this type cannot be controlled. See Wallace-Hadrill (1983) 178.

Doubtless the youth in question was some relative of the poet Catullus and this was intended to give point to the joke. He may in fact be L. Valerius Catullus Messalinus, consul in AD 73. Since this man did not outlive Domitian (Plin. *Ep.* 4.22.5), it is conceivable that he may be the *consulari familia iuuenis*. A reason to believe this is to be found in Juvenal (4.113f.), where the sexual proclivities of the consul are confirmed. See *RE* s.v. Valerius no. 120; 127. The nomenclature of the consul of AD 73 suggests the possibility he was married to Statilia Messalina, who was one of the wives of Nero (*RE* Band IIIA col. 2208ff.). He has also been identified as the author of the mime Laureolus. See 57.4.

super sororum incesta: see 24.1.

notissimum prostitutae Pyralidis amorem: she is not otherwise known (*RE* s.v. Pyralis). Suetonius was an authority on famous whores, and it may be that his Lives of the courtesans can be detected behind the present passage. See Wallace-Hadrill (1983) 48.

36.2

egressus triclinio...lasciuiae notis reuersus: the passage is important for its reflection of court life. The emperor customarily dined with a wider group than his immediate family, comprising courtiers and members of the upper classes (Wallace-Hadrill [1983] 179). The allegation of misbehaviour on these occasions is typical of material attributing tyrannical habits to the emperors (see M. Flory, *TAPhA* 118 [1988] 343-59, esp. 352f.). Suetonius generalises a story which is found in Seneca, who in a passage characterised by its *uituperatio*, alleges that Caligula subjected the wife of Valerius Asiaticus to this treatment (Sen. *De Const. Sap.* 18.2: *non dico consulari, sed tantum marito princeps et adulterium suum narret et fastidium!*). According to Dio, Asiaticus was pleased at his assassination (Dio [Xiph.] 59.30.2).

repudium ipse misit: the rules of divorce for adultery were as follows: (1) the husband could only prosecute after divorce; (2) no other person could prosecute before divorce unless he had first succeeded in getting the husband convicted of *lenocinium*; (3) the husband who had detected adultery in commission must divorce to avoid prosecution for *lenocinium* (note the instance of Vistilia's husband questioned on this matter: Tac. *Ann.* 2.85). The

repudium itself was usually conveyed by *nuntius*. When it was oral there had to be seven witnesses; when written it was described as a *libellus repudii* and may have borne the seals of seven witnesses. See P.E. Corbett (1930) 143-4, 238.

Caligula's supposed act in anticipating the husband's right to send the bill of divorce implies that he habitually instituted proceedings for *lenocinium* against husbands after his tyrannical dinner parties! They would then be subjected to public humiliation through the record in the *acta diurna* (see 8.1). This incidentally gives some idea of the material appearing in that journal, at least under Caligula. See Baldwin, *Chiron* 9 (1979) 195.

37 Extravagance

37.1

The sources are in general agreement over Caligula's extravagance (e.g. Dio 59.4.5, 5.3, 18; Jos. *AJ* 19.207f.; Sen. *Cons. Ad Helv.* 10.4: *centiens sestertio cenauit uno die*; Plin. *NH* 36.122). Suetonius here concentrates on those elements which brought no benefit to the community. The building programme is listed as one of Caligula's positive ventures (21). Whether in fact Caligula brought the state to the edge of ruin or not is impossible to assess because of the hostility of the sources. See Barrett (1989) 224-8.

commentus nouum balnearum usum: cf. Plin. *NH* 13.22: *nec non aliquem e priuatis audiuimus iussisse spargi parietes balnearum unguento atque Gaium principem solia temperari.*

portentissima genera ciborum atque cenarum: cf. Sen. *Cons. ad Helv.* 10.5: *pretiosos autem non eximius sapor aut aliqua faucium dulcedo sed raritas et difficultas parandi facit.*

pretiosissima margarita aceto...sorberet: Cleopatra was believed to have dissolved pearls in vinegar when indulging in a competition in extravagance with Antony (Plin. *NH* 9.120). It is extremely doubtful whether pearls would melt in vinegar within a reasonable time, since acetic acid is very weak, but belief in the destructive force of vinegar seems to have been common in antiquity (cf. Juv. 10.153; Livy 21.37; Appian *Bell. Hann.* 4). The story may have been influenced by a mining technique common in antiquity whereby rocks were heated and rapidly cooled to split them by the application of vinegar (Plin. *NH* 33.71; cf. 2.132 on Roman belief that vinegar was colder than water; see O. Davies [1935] 22). The story of Cleopatra's extravagance with these pearls was a useful element in the propaganda war against Antony

in the late 30s (see B.L. Ullmann, *CJ* 52 [1957] 193-201; M. Flory, *Historia* 37 [1988] 502-3).

nummos...e fastigio basilicae Iuliae...sparsit in plebem: Josephus says that Caligula showered money from the roof of the Palace (Jos. *AJ* 19.71). Dio and the Chronographer of the year 354 claim that Caligula mixed pieces of iron with the gifts and that many perished in the scramble for *missilia* (Dio 59.25.5). Liberality was more usually handled by *dispensatores*. See Millar (1977) 137 for Caligula's discrepant attitude.

37.2

fabricavit et deceris Liburnicas: the Liburna was a warship of Illyrian pirate origin (App. *Illyr.* 3). No representations of these ships have survived, and there is a total uncertainty about the organisation of the rowers, in particular what is indicated by *deceris*. It suggests ten banks of rowers, as accepted by Casson (1971) 77-80. Perhaps these were floating palaces rather than practical vessels for navigation. This was undoubtedly the case with two galleys found at Lake Nemi which date from Caligula's principate. Brickstamps and four inscribed water pipes make Caligulan attribution certain. See Blake (1959) 23f.; G.C. Speziale, *Mariner's Mirror* 15 (1929) 333-46; H.M. Denham, *Mariner's Mirror* 15 (1929) 347-50; G. Ucelli (1950). The earliest attempt to retrieve these galleys took place in the Renaissance, but a serious survey was not undertaken until 1895, followed by the draining of the lake in 1929. What is clear from the excavations is that Suetonius does not exaggerate the extravagant style of the vessels used by Caligula for relaxation. Caligula's interest in pleasure cruises along the Campanian coast was one of the many Hellenistic features of life at Baiae (see Wallace-Hadrill [1983] 183). Caligula's predecessors in this style of living were the Ptolemies, and Suetonius frowns on the oriental influences.

uersicoloribus uelis: coloured sails sometimes had special significance, but in this case we may suspect extroversion on the part of Caligula (see Casson [1971] 235).

in extructionibus...concupiscebat...quod posse effici negaretur: Pliny emphasises this as Caligula's approach to the construction of the Aqua Claudia (*NH* 36.123).

37.3

illud T<i>. Caesaris uicies ac septies milies sestertium...absumpsit: this amounts to 2,700 million HS. Dio gives two figures, but they are both of the

same order (2,300 million HS or 3,300 HS) (Dio 59.2.6).

There are conflicting accounts over how long the Tiberian money lasted. These differences are also associated by the sources with Caligula's decline, and consequently should be treated with scepticism.

Philo has the decline after Caligula's illness at the end of his first year's rule, and thus agrees with Suetonius (Philo *Leg.* 13), while Josephus and Dio claim that Caligula ruled moderately for two years (Jos. *AJ* 18.256; Dio 59.2.6).

38-42 Rapinae

38.1

Exhaustus...ad rapinas conuertit...exquisitissimo calumniarum ...genere: the accusation of extravagance followed by plundering is a commonplace in Suetonius' analysis of the tyrannical emperors. Note especially Nero and Domitian (*Nero* 32.1: *exhaustus et egens...calumniis rapinisque intendit animum*; *Dom.* 12.1: *exhaustus...impensis...nihil pensi habuit quin praederetur omni modo*). Dio follows the same tradition (Dio 59.18.1f.). *Calumniae* in this context are false charges of *maiestas* (see Bauman [1974] 139 n.34).

negabat iure ciuitatem...usurpare...nisi si filii essent,...diplomata... deflabat: Suetonius retails anecdotes to illustrate how sparing Augustus was in bestowing the citizenship, although he makes it clear that the citizenship was in the emperor's gift (Suet. *Aug.* 40). Caligula is here portrayed as perversely denying legal possession of the citizenship to those whose ancestors had obtained it for themselves and their descendants, if they were not sons of the ancestor so honoured. The *diplomata* of Julius Caesar and Augustus referred to in this passage seem to be some form of civilian diploma of citizenship, and should not be confused with those given to auxiliary soldiers on discharge. The civilian diploma is only otherwise attested under Nero when they were given to epebes who had put on entertainments for him (Suet. *Nero* 12.1) Although the evidence is sparse we must assume that civilians did have documentation to prove their citizenship. Claudius, despite his more liberal attitude to extension of the citizenship, forbade non-citizens to adopt Roman *nomina*, and was strict about the language requirement for those admitted (Suet. *Claud.* 16.2, 25.3; Dio 60.17.5-7). The ease with which frauds could be perpetrated need not suggest that citizens did not have documentary proof of their status. Sherwin-White suggests that this proof might merely be a copy of the *commentarius ciuitate romana donatorum*, as instanced on the Tabula Banasitana (*JRS* 63 [1973] 90-1). The present passage suggests otherwise.

In all likelihood Caligula's concerns were similar to those of Claudius. There is some evidence to suggest that he started the process of extending the citizenship for provincials which was continued on a larger scale by Claudius. What the hostile sources have picked up is his concern to suppress spurious claims to the citizenship. See Barrett (1989) 223; Millar (1977) 480-1; Sherwin-White (1973) 237-50; cf. 352 n.1.

38.2

perperam editos census, quibus...quicquam incrementi accessisset: income that had accrued since the last census and not included in that census was considered as an attempt to make an evasive declaration to the censors. This would enable him to confiscate estates.

testamenta primipilariū...ut ingrata rescidit; item ceterorum...quis diceret herede Caesare mori destinasse: Dio also records this tradition (Dio 59.15.2). *Primipilares* were extremely well paid, and received very large pensions (see 44.1 note). This would make them obvious targets. In senatorial circles in the late Republic legacies to friends and political allies became a commonplace. The emperors openly sought legacies of this nature, and attracted enormous sums from them (Suet. *Aug.* 101). Under Tiberius it had been expected that prominent individuals (normally senators) would leave something to the emperor. Caligula is portrayed as extending this custom, and adding an element of compulsion to it. Dio claims that he confiscated the entire estates of the *primipilares*. According to Suetonius he also invalidated the will of anyone who was said to have intended to institute the emperor as his heir but failed to do so, and would encourage the dutiful to suicide. The stories are suspicious, but in keeping with the macabre sense of humour attributed to Caligula. This is another instance where Claudius is conspicuously visible reversing Caligulan policy. Under his rule it was forbidden for those who had relatives to make him their heir (Dio 60.6.3, 17.7). For the practice of other 'evil' emperors in relation to inheritances see Suet. *Nero* 32.2; *Dom.* 12.2.

See Millar (1977) 153-8; R.S. Rogers, *TAPhA* 78 (1947) 140; J. Gaudemet, *Studi Arancio-Ruiz* III (1953) 115; E. Champlin (1991) 23.

multis uenenatas matteas misit: on Caligula's alleged use of poisons see 49.2, and see discussion in Barrett (1989) 227-8.

38.3

taxato prius modo summae...gloriatuque...quantum egisset dum ea meridiaret: cf. 41.2. Dio has similarly tyrannical stories about Caligula's

cupidity (Dio 59.22.3f.). It is a repeated motif in Suetonius that tyrannical emperors execute the rich. See Wallace-Hadrill (1983) 170 n.43.

38.4

reliquias...spectaculorum...uenditauit, exquirens per se pretia: two instances are given by Dio, an auction of the survivors from gladiatorial combats at Rome (Dio 59.14.1-4), and the auction in Gaul (Dio 59.21.5; cf. 39 below). There is implicit criticism of Caligula's involvement in such sordid trade. On these sales see G. Ville (1982) 162 n.50. Compare Caligula's attitude to that of Tiberius, who had placed restrictions on the number of gladiators permitted to appear (Suet. *Tib.* 34.1).

quidam...uenas sibi inciderent: Dio says many hoped to avoid danger from the emperor by handing over their wealth at these farcical auctions – to no avail (Dio 59.14.4-5). On Roman attitudes to suicide see Y. Gris , *Latomus* 39 (1980) 17-46. Here the emphasis is on suicide to avoid public humiliation.

Aponio Saturnino: Aponius may be a Spaniard from Cordoba (see R.C. Knapp [1983] 42), and is to be identified as a senator who was wounded by the soldiers on the day after Caligula's murder (Jos. *AJ* 19.264; *PIR* 2 A 936). His consulate should be placed under Claudius (not under Nero between 63-66 as in Gullivan, *CQ* 24 [1974] 311). Later in his career in AD 69 he went on to be a consular legate in the Danubian province of Moesia (M. Aponius Saturninus = *PIR* 2 A 938). Milns has shown that the consular legate is the same man, despite his age, on the grounds of comparison with the careers of Tampilus Flavianus and M. Pompeius Siluanus. See *Historia* 22 (1973) 284f.

ne praetorium...praeteriret...quoad...gladiatores...ignoranti addicerentur: see also Dio 59.14.2 on men of distinction being forced to put on gladiatorial shows (discussed by R.F. Newbold, *PACA* 13 [1975] 32).

39.1

cum damnatarum sororum ornamenta...uendidisset...quidquid instrumenti ueteris aulae erat ab urbe repetiit: the idea that the property of condemned persons should pass to the emperor had its roots in the Republic when the property of those condemned for offences against the state was sold by auction. The process had been notorious for its association with corrupt practices since the proscriptions of Sulla. See Millar (1977) 163-74. Here Caligula is portrayed as obsessively greedy to capitalise on the conviction of his sisters in the conspiracy of Lentulus and Gaetulicus (24.3). Dio shows us his talents as an auctioneer, selling every item with a pedegree (Dio 59.21). In

Suetonius his cupidity is underlined by the improbable story that he had extra furniture from the Domus Augustana (*uetus aula*) brought to Gaul specifically for these auctions. This version also appears in Dio (59.21.5). Typically his grandiose plans caused havoc with everyday activities at Rome (*comprensis...uehiculis...ut et panis Romae saepe deficeret et litigatorum plerique...causa caderent*; cf. 19.1, 26.5). One reason for the ridicule of Caligula as auctioneer is undoubtedly the low esteem in which auctioneers were held at Rome. See N.K. Rauh, *Historia* 38 (1989) 451-71.

For discussion of Caligula's auction see Barrett (1989) 226-7 (some doubts); Ferrill (1991) 124 (accepts entire story as historical).

39.2

modo auaritia singulos increpans...modo paenitentiam simulans quod principalium rerum priuatis copiam faceret: cf. Dio 59.21.5-6.

proincialem locupletem ducenta sestertia numerasse uocatoribus: Dio notes Caligula's merciless stripping of the provinces (Dio 59.21.4f.). The story has point if we bear in mind the prestige attached to access to the emperor. See Wallace-Hadrill (1983) 179.

40

Vectigalia...per centuriones tribunosque praetorianos exercuit: Chaerea, who was a tribune of the praetorian guard, is said to have been required to enforce the collection of taxes. Caligula taunted him with effeminacy because he was merciful in his exactions (Jos. *AJ* 19.28-9; see 56.2 below). The aim in turning over these taxes to the military was to ensure a good return, and to maximise efficiency. Doubts have been expressed over the involvement of soldiers in tax collecting at this early point in imperial history, probably without cause (McGinn, *Helios* 16 [1989] 79-110). *Publicani* continued to be used for at least another generation for many areas of tax collecting.

The Lex Caecilia (60 BC) had eliminated all *portoria* in Italy (= *uectigalia*; see Mommsen, *StR* II 439ff.). Under Tiberius the collection of taxes in the provinces was farmed out to *publicani* until AD 23, when some change took place (Tac. *Ann.* 4.6.3). But *publicani* were still used at the port on the Red Sea in the reign of Claudius, and it is only under Nero that we can say that *stipendia* and *tributa* were no longer farmed out (Plin. *NH* 6.84; Tac. *Ann.* 13.50). At this point provincial governors were set over tribunals to judge the fairness of cases between publicans and taxpayers (Tac. *Ann.* 13.51). It seems likely that imperial procurators gradually took over the collection of taxes. Procuratorial posts were held by both freedmen and equestrians.

A general view was that direct taxation of wealth was a penalty inflicted

by tyrannical rulers, and something only appropriate for the lower classes and non-citizens (McGinn, op. cit. 84). Caligula's taxes have this emphasis on lowly trade (with the exception of the tax on litigation), and we can accept that a considerable revenue might have been raised in this way.

See T.A.J. McGinn, *Helios* 16 (1989) 79-110; S.J. De Laet (1949) 370-6; G. Urögdi, *RE Suppl.* XI col. 1202.

There is evidence from the second year of Caligula's reign indicating a reduction in *laographia* at Philadelphia. This would have been aimed at increasing his popularity. Unfortunately we do not know how widespread this reduction was, nor do we know what its duration was. See A.E. Hanson, *Proceedings of the XVI Int. Congr. of Papyrology* (1981) 345-55.

nullo rerum aut hominum genere omisso: we have no other account of items taxed under Caligula, although Dio has inherited the same tradition of the severity of his tax laws (Dio [Xiph.] 59.28.11). Within the rubric there is a development from minor items through to prostitution.

pro edulibus: De Laet imagined that the tax *pro edulibus* was abolished by Claudius, but it may have been retained (Garzetti [1974] 600). The tax on prostitutes was in all probability retained. See McGinn, op. cit. 80; cf. Suet. *Claud.* 11.3; Dio 60.4.1.

pro litibus...donasse negotium conuinceretur: the claim that Caligula extracted a tax regardless of whether the matter was settled in or out of court is another point chosen to emphasise the tyrannical nature of Caligula's impositions.

gerulorum: 'porters'.

ex capturis prostitutarum quantum quaeque uno concubitu mereret: this would represent a high rate of taxation, as McGinn has shown (*Helios* 16 [1989] 90ff.). An inscription from Palmyra dated to AD 137 also mentions this rate. See *IGR* 3.1056; *OGIS* 2.629; *CIS* 2.3.3913. On this inscription see J.F. Matthews, *JRS* 74 (1984) 156-80.

additumque...nec non et matrimonia obnoxia essent: as in the case of the law suits this indicates that Caligula's aim was to maximise the return from this tax. See McGinn, *Helios* 16 (1989) 80ff.

41.1

uectigalibus indictis neque propositis...tandem...proposuit quidem legem: in Dio Caligula's reticence over his taxation laws is given as the reason

for a riot in the Circus (apparently on January 3rd-5th AD 41; see Fasti Philocali, *Inscr. Ital.* 13.2 239; Fasti Polemii Siluii, *Inscr. Ital.* 13.2 264; Dio [exc.] 59.28.11). Both Dio and Josephus see these laws as the major precursor to Caligula's assassination. Josephus describes a bloodbath after public protests during the chariot races (Jos. *AJ* 19.24-7).

Claudius is said to have made a show of abolishing Caligula's taxes (Dio 60.4.1; cf. 17.2).

et minutissimis litteris et angustissimo loco: cf. Dio (exc.) 59.28.11. There is some confirmation that Caligulan laws were not clearly displayed from the emphasis on clear display in an edict of Claudius as reported by Josephus (Jos. *AJ* 19.291; cf. Millar [1977] 255).

lupanar in Palatio constituit: Dio operating from the same tradition credits Caligula with the motives of humiliating aristocratic families and raising revenue (Dio [exc.] 59.28.8-9). Similar allegations have become attached to the tradition about Messalina (Dio 60.18; Dio [exc.] 61.31).

praebita aduenientibus pecunia faenebris: we are to assume that Caligula had ulterior motives in granting credit. The use of *nomenclatores* to round up customers implies that particular individuals were being sought out.

appositique qui nomina palam subnotarent: the emphasis here is on tyrannical aspects of Caligula's behaviour. The reader is to understand that even the influential would not dare ignore an imperial command. The emperor is thus portrayed humiliating individuals over whom he would now have a hold.

41.2

ac ne ex lusu quidem aleae compendium spernens: in the late Republic gambling was seen as an aspect of Hellenisation undermining the fabric of Roman society. By imperial times disapproval is reserved for excess, as in this case where the emperor is supposed to have seen gambling as a method of supplementing his revenues. See Wallace-Hadrill (1983) 185. On dicing see Balsdon (1969) 154-9.

Caligula is said to have dined to alleviate his grief at the loss of Drusilla (Sen. *Cons. Ad Polyb.* 17.4). The generalisation here can be matched to a story in Dio that Caligula lost a lot of money playing dice in Gaul. He then called for the Gallic census lists and ordered some wealthy individuals to be executed. Iulius Sacerdos who was chosen through a confusion of names turned out to be less wealthy than anticipated (Dio 59.22.3f.).

duos equites R. locupletis: see 26.4, 30.2 for Caligula's relationship with the *equites*. Josephus also sees wealth as critical for Caligula's antagonism towards the equestrian order (Jos. *AJ* 19.3). As Millar points out these exaggerated stories about confiscations serve to underline the immense power that was available to the emperor ([1977] 168).

42

Filia uero nata: cf. 25.3-4, 59.

nec iam imperatoria modo sed et patria conquerens onera: Suetonius tries to give the impression that he is summarising the actual words of the emperor. This helps to reinforce the characterisation.

edixit et strenas ineunte anno: this was an ancient custom: *ab exortu paene urbis Martiae strenarum usus adoleuit auctoritate Tatii regis, qui uerbenas felicis arboris ex luco Streniae anni noui auspices primus accepit* (Symmachus *Rel.* 15.1). This antiquarian custom was revived by Augustus as part of his religious policy (Suet. *Aug.* 57.1). Tiberius had discouraged the practice (Suet. *Tib.* 34.2; Dio 57.8.6, 17.1). See *RE* s.v. *strena*.

stetitque in uestibulo aedium Kal. Ian. ad captandas stipes: Under Augustus the gifts were presented on the Capitol if the emperor was away (Suet. *Aug.* 57.1; Dio 54.35.2; *ILS* 99). Caligula's edict was similarly obeyed in his absence at the beginning of AD 40 (Dio 59.6.4, 24.4). See Millar (1977) 143.

super immensos aureorum aceruos...uolutatus est: cf. Dio (exc.) 59.28.10. The contrast with Suetonius' treatment of the *strenae* received by Augustus is noteworthy. It is Caligula's obsession with the tactile that is given prominence. For Suetonius it is proof of the avarice of the tyrant. Guey tries unconvincingly to associate these actions with Caligula's divine aspirations, under Egyptian influence (*MEFR* 89 [1977] 443-6). See now Barrett (1989) 219-21.

43-9

Militia

Suetonius treats the expedition to the Northern frontier as a major cause of the bad relationship with the Senate that led to Caligula's assassination. The campaign is never dignified with a serious purpose, and episodes are in fact chosen to illustrate an unpredictable and unbalanced approach to warfare.

Thus in 43 the expedition is said to have been an unplanned development

from a tourist trip to the famed grove at Clitumnus, and to have been brought about by a warning to replenish his German bodyguard. His preparations were on quite a scale, Suetonius allows, but carried into effect impulsively, and his travelling arrangements were effeminate and inappropriate to warfare. A mocking tone is continued in 44 (*ut se acrem ac seuerum ducem ostenderet*) where his incompetence and instability are highlighted by the treatment of senior officers in his army. The surrender of Adminius is belittled since he came to Caligula as a suppliant after expulsion by his father, and Caligula's megalomania is emphasised by his desire to have this trivial incident magnified for senatorial consumption. In 45 Caligula's insanity is pursued further: he has no military aims, and is forced to mock up an episode to provide himself with captives. Meantime he criticises the Senate and populace in an edict for their obsession with a life of ease while he is exposed to danger. 46 emphasises that there is no sense to any of his activities (*quasi perpetraturus bellum* etc.) and his passion for humiliating others is satisfied by ordering his soldiers to gather up shells. The building of the lighthouse is seen as a *folie de grandeur*, and even the donative to the soldiers is subjected to scorn. The preparation for a triumph is a fraud (47), and amounts to mockery of the institution. Typically he wanted his triumph to exceed all its predecessors, and authorised his procurators to seize property to fund it as cheaply as possible. Suetonius claims that he planned a decimation (48), but ran for cover to Rome when his intention was suspected. There he gave the Senate a hard time with his changeable attitude to recognition of his achievements (i.e. *honores*). 49 discusses his relationship with the Senate in the aftermath of these events, quoting an alleged saying illustrating the breakdown of the relationship, and providing other circumstantial evidence of his attitude to the order.

Militiam...semel attigit: Suetonius uses Caligula's expedition to Germany to demonstrate his conception of his subject's personality. There is little or no attempt to view the expedition from a strategic point of view. Rather Caligula is portrayed as an incompetent general suffering from attacks of mania.

Other ancient sources report the expedition variously. The only contemporary account is that of Seneca (*De Breu. Vit.* 18.5: *uiribus imperi ludit*). The reference is vague and may not be alluding to the sea-shells incident, but rather to the Bridge at Baiae, when Caligula is said to have commandeered grain transports. A realistic appraisal of Caligula's intentions can hardly be expected from Seneca's *uituperatio*. At 19.3 Suetonius talks as though a British expedition had been planned in addition to the moves in Germany (*alios, ut Germaniam et Britanniam, quibus imminebat, alicuius immensi operis fama territaret*). The present description, however, only mentions Germany as the object of an expedition (*expeditionis Germanicae*), although at 44.2

Caligula's exaggerated claims in relation to the surrender of Adminius do attract comment. When Suetonius treats the Claudian expedition there is no suggestion that an invasion was contemplated under Caligula (Suet. *Claud.* 17.2: *Britanniam...neque temptatam ulli post Diuum Iulium et tunc tumultuantem ob non redditos transfugas*).

This is not the attitude adopted by Tacitus who credits Caligula with serious intentions against Britain (*Agric.* 13.4: *agitasse Gaium Caesarem de intranda Britannia satis constat, ni uelox ingenio mobili paenitentiae et ingentes aduersus Germaniam conatus frustra fuissent*). A tone of mockery may be suspected, but two factors can still be surmised to have contributed to Caligula's failure to proceed against Britain: (1) personality, and (2) his lack of success on the German frontier. In other passages Tacitus describes the expedition as a *ludibrium* (*Tac. Hist.* 4.15.3; *Germ.* 37.5: *ingentes Gai Caesaris minae in ludibrium uersae*). Although Tacitus' account in the *Annals* has not survived, we can assume he gave Caligula little more credit than Suetonius and Dio. What he does contribute is the information that Caligula's forces in Germany came into contact with the Canninefates under Brinno's father (*Tac. Hist.* 4.15.3).

Dio Cassius claims that Caligula only used troubles in Germany as a pretext for exploiting Gaul and Spain (Dio 59.21.2). Impulsive elements are highlighted as in Suetonius. The actual expedition was unannounced and amounted to a sortie across the Rhine for a short distance without encountering his enemy. This was followed by an advance as though against Britain. His subordinates were said to have had some success, presumably in Germany (Dio 59.21.1-4). A passage from Xiphilinus gives some expansion on Caligula's alleged antics on the shore of the English Channel (Dio [Xiph.] 59.25.1-5a). The narratives of Suetonius and Dio on the incident with the sea shells bear many resemblances, and a common source should be suspected (see Momigliano, *Osservazioni* [1932] 293-336, who identifies it as Cluvius Rufus).

Later writers who allude to Caligula's expedition have inherited this tradition, and add little to the picture. Eutropius indicates a slothful attitude to warfare on the part of Caligula (7.12: *bellum contra Germanos susceptum et ingressus Sueuiam nihil strenue fecit*), while Aurelius Victor and Orosius emphasise the size of his forces (Aur. *Vic. De Caes.* 1.11: *neque secus contractis in unum legionibus spe in Germaniam transgrediendi*; Oros. 7.5.5: *magno et incredibili apparatu profectus...Germaniam Galliamque percurrrens*).

Modern analysts have attempted to find some rationale behind Caligula's actions on the Northern frontier. It is accepted that serious distortion has crept into the sources, minimising the importance of Caligula's moves, possibly to accentuate the Claudian contribution (Balsdon [1934] 95). The

story of Caligula and the Sea Shells (46) has attracted much ingenuity (see Balsdon [1934] 88ff.; Bicknell, *A Class* 5 [1962] 72-4 [suggesting that Caligula intended some sort of symbolic conquest of Neptune]). R. W. Davies endorses Balsdon's suggestion that there was a confusion over the term *musculus* 'because the civilian Suetonius misunderstood an order to the sappers to "Pack up your equipment" which used a military term (*musculi*) which to the layman meant shells' (*Historia* 15 [1966] 124-8). This argument shows more ingenuity than plausibility since the word actually used by Suetonius is undoubtedly *concha*, not *musculus*. Suetonius certainly believed that Caligula intended to humiliate his soldiers, and if the story has any foundation it may reflect emulation of Caesar (M. Flory, *Historia* 37 [1988] 498-504). Davies also raises a series of objections to belief that Caligula had serious intentions against Britain (e.g. lack of time for planning while wintering at Lyon; lack of time for drilling and training his forces; no positive proof that Caligula raised XV and XXII Primigenia; no plans to entrust rule at Rome to a Prefect etc.). This leads him to conclude that the 'British expedition' was never intended to be more than a series of manoeuvres in Germany with intimidatory intent. Bicknell points out that this is hard to reconcile with the extensive levies mentioned by Suetonius (43), and he more believably attributes the abandonment of the expedition to the Gaetulican conspiracy (*Historia* 17 [1968] 496-505). In his view this necessitated a programme of manoeuvres and fatigues to restore morale. Less acceptable is his attempt to transfer the Sea Shell episode to Lower Germany, forcing him to deny that Suetonius refers to the Gesoriacum lighthouse at 46 (500f.). Bicknell places undue weight on late evidence from Aurelius Victor and attempts to add credence to the view that serious operations were undertaken in Lower Germany through Tacitus' account of Brinno's father, leader of the Canninefates. He is said to have occupied the far side of the Rhine opposite the province of Lower Germany (Tac. *Hist.* 4.15.3: *multa hostilia ausus Gaiantarum expeditionum ludibrium impune spreuerat*). This passage gives no context for the misbehaviour of the Canninefate leader, and Bicknell's theory should be allowed to lapse (cf. Phillips, *Historia* 19 [1970] 373-4). It is unlikely that we will ever be able to reconstruct Caligula's moves in more detail, but a serious aim of military expansion should be accepted. He may well have abandoned these plans because of internal insecurity. See now Barrett (1989) 125-39. On the political importance for Caligula of participating in manoeuvres and campaigns see J.B. Campbell (1984) 40-1.

nemus flumenque Clitumni Meuaniam processisset: this is some 60 miles north-east of Rome in Umbria, on the Via Flaminia. The River Clitumnus was celebrated for its beautiful scenery (Plin. *Ep.* 8.8).

admonitus de supplendo numero Batauorum: the term *Bataui* is used interchangeably with the term *Germani* to denote the imperial bodyguard. Josephus emphasises their steadfast loyalty to Caligula on the day of his murder (Jos. *AJ* 19.138f.). Their leader at this time was Sabinus (55.2). Some had been dismissed after the Varian disaster, but their nucleus remained until AD 69. See H. Bellen (1981); M. Speidel, *Germania* 62 (1984) 31-45.

legionibus et auxiliis undique excitis, dilectibus ubique acerbissime actis: Dio tells us that Caligula had gathered together either 200,000 or 250,000 troops at Lugdunum (Dio 59.22.1). These figures seem certainly to be corrupt, since they represent a figure roughly double the strength of the entire Roman army! But a large army seems to have been assembled at this time.

Ritterling has made a case for the presence on the Rhine in AD 39 of elements from Legio IV Macedonica from Spain and III Cyrenaica and XXII Deiotariana, both from Egypt (*CIL* III 6627; XIII 6227 and XIII 8175; see *RE* s.v. legio cols 1798, 1508 and 1551). He also argues for the raising of the two new legions at this time (*RE* s.v. legio cols 1244-8). This would give Caligula four legions, the same number as in the Claudian expedition (II and XIV from Upper Germany, XX from Lower Germany and IX Hispana from Pannonia). The raising of these legions and the presence of auxiliaries is the most plausible explanation of the present passage; it is also good evidence for a serious military purpose on the part of Caligula. See Balsdon, *JRS* 24 (1934) 13-16. On the raising of new legions under the principate see J.C. Mann, *Hermes* 91 (1963) 483ff.

Conscription may have been a fairly regular occurrence in the early empire. This is hard to judge on available evidence. See P.A. Brunt, *SCI* 1 (1974) 90ff.; J.B. Campbell (1984) 14-15.

contracto et omnis generis comœatu quanto numquam antea: Caligula is said to have taken actors, gladiators, horses and women with him, trappings of luxury rather than war (Dio 59.21.1-3).

iter ingressus est: on the date of Caligula's departure from Rome see 24.3.

tam festinanter et rapide, ut praetorianae...signa iumentis imponere: the speed of march must have been something like 21 miles per day (24.3), which indicates that Caligula cannot have had the army with him. He probably had a small advance party consisting of the praetorians mentioned here by Suetonius.

uerri sibi uias et conspergi: the sweeping and sprinkling of the streets are indications of Caligula's haste, not that he was luxuriating as Suetonius

implies. Balsdon's theory that these actions were aimed at lulling Gaetulicus' suspicions is ludicrous ([1934] 73).

The route taken by Caligula was probably through the Great St Bernard and then straight to Mainz.

44.1

Postquam castra attigit: Caligula had mustered his forces at Lugdunum (Dio 59.22.1), but it is more probable that the camp here referred to was at Mainz. This was the legionary headquarters in Upper Germany, and Suetonius elsewhere talks of the rigorous discipline which was enforced on the troops in the aftermath of the execution of Gaetulicus and his replacement by *Galba* (Suet. *Galba* 6.2-3). For the importance of *Galba's* role in Germany see Barrett (1989) 129-32.

legatos...cum ignominia dimisit: for further allegations of Caligula's cruelty to his forces see 48.1. The charge of slowness in gathering *auxilia* is of interest. It is said that Caligula gathered troops from every province (Suet. *Galba* 6.3: *innumeras contractasque ex omnibus prouinciis copias*). Claudius was to find these Rhine forces useful in the consolidation of his position on the throne. See P.A. Holder [1980] 109ff., 141. For *ignominia* see *RE* s.v. *infamia* col. 1537f., esp. 1539.

in exercitu recensendo: this appears to be a reference to the *campestris decursio* at which *Galba* earned his colours (Suet. *Galba* 6.3; see also 26.2 for the story that *Galba* ran by the side of the emperor's chariot for 20 miles).

ante paucissimos quam consummaturi essent dies, primos pilos ademittit: Caligula's pretexts for the dismissal of centurions are given scant respect by Suetonius (*causatus senium cuiusque et imbecillitatem*). But the centurionate was often a target for purges. *Piso* indulged in a political purge while in Syria (Tac. *Ann.* 2.55; cf. Tac. *Hist.* 1.51f.; Tac. *Ann.* 13.35, where Tacitus accepts inefficiency as the motive for punishment). A serious political motive can be suspected to underlie Caligula's action.

For the centurionate and its career structure see B. Dobson, *ANRW* II.1 (1974) 392-434; D.J. Breeze, *ANRW* II.1 (1974) 434-51; Dobson and Breeze, *ES* 8 (1969) 100-24.

ceterorum increpita cupiditate: Suetonius reinforces his picture of Caligula's perversity with this anecdote.

commoda emeritae militiae ad sescentorum milium summam recidit: according to Dio in AD 5 the reward for service as a legionary was 12,000 HS (Dio 55.23.1). In AD 14 the mutineers extracted concessions from Tiberius (Tac. *Ann.* 1.36.3), but these were rescinded in the following year. On present evidence we can assume that the same conditions of military service were in operation under Caligula as under Augustus.

If the text is sound it is clear that *primipili* were doing very well, even under Caligula's reduced reward. This would be sufficient to qualify a *primuspilus* for equestrian status. See B. Dobson, *ANRW* II.1 (1974) 396. We have no idea of the figure from which this reward had been reduced. For the difficulties experienced by emperors in honouring discharge promises see Brunt (1971) 332f., esp. 334.

44.2

Adminio Cynobellini Britannorum regis filio...in deditionem recepto: Adminius is named Amminius on coins found in Kent, which may have been his domain. See R.P. Mack (1953) 95; D.F. Allen, *Britannia* 7 (1976) 96-100; D. Nash, *OJA* 1 (1982) 111-14; M. Henig and D. Nash, *OJA* 1 (1982) 243-6. Balsdon (1934) 62 places the flight of Adminius from his father's kingdom in the autumn of AD 39. Caligula received the submission of Adminius while in Northern Europe (probably in Germany: *postquam castra attigit* [44.1]). For discussion see Barrett (1989) 136-7. In the life of Claudius Suetonius mentions that Britain was a trouble spot at the time of the invasion because of Roman failure to return these refugees (Suet. *Claud.* 17.1: *Britanniam...elegit, neque temptatam ulli post Diuum Iulium et tunc tumultuantem ob non redditos transfugas*). The rebellion may have taken the form of failing to pay tribute and to honour treaty obligations.

Precisely what relationship existed between Rome and Britain at the time of the accession of Caligula remains unclear. Under Augustus British princes had fled to Rome for protection (RG 32), and it appears that Augustus encouraged belief that the island was virtually under Roman sway (Strabo 4.5.3 = C200). Official reasons were also promulgated to explain failure to proceed with annexation (Strabo *ibid.*). Indeed Frere thinks treaty relations with Rome go back to 16 BC ([1967] 58). Evidence for good relations with the Britons during the reign of Tiberius is provided by Tacitus in his treatment of Germanicus' campaigns in Germany during which some of his soldiers were shipwrecked and treated with respect by British princelings (Tac. *Ann.* 2.24.5: *quidam in Britanniam rapti remissi a regulis*). Throughout the period from c. AD 10-40 Cynobellinus, chief of the Catuvellauni, held sway over much, if not all, of south eastern Britain. His base was at Camulodunum (Dio 60.21.4) which had been the capital of the Trinovantes (Ptol. 2.3.11), and fell

to the Catuvellauni c. AD 5-10. Coins from his reign have been strongly assimilated to the Roman type, which seems to be indicative of the extension of Roman influence. Alliance and payment of tribute can be suspected. Some authorities have believed that it was the death of Cynobellinus and the subsequent quarrels amongst his sons which led to the invasion in AD 43. See G. Webster (1982) 14. The present incident may be the prelude to this. Possibly Cynobellinus is already dead at the time of Adminius' flight. Adminius' surrender may have dynastic significance. Dio's evidence establishes that Cynobellinus was dead by AD 43, and that his sons Caratacus and Togodumnus represented serious opposition to the Roman invasion force (Dio 60.20.1). Togodumnus soon died (Dio. 60.21.1), but in AD 50 Tacitus mentions brothers of Caratacus *in deditionem accepti*, who must therefore have been yet other sons of Cynobellinus. See Smallwood (1967) 197 (= *RIB* 91); 198.

For further discussion see *RE* s.v. Adminius, and *RE* s.v. Cunobellinus; S. Frere (1967) 55-77; R.M. Ogilvie and I.A. Richmond (1967) 49-57.

ut uehiculo ad forum usque et curiam pertenderent: vehicles were not normally allowed in the streets of Rome during daylight hours. See Friedländer IV (1908-13) 28.

nec nisi in aede Martis: this was the temple in the Forum Augustum which Octavian had given critical status in relation to the triumph. Statues of generals who had won triumphs were erected there by Augustus. Caligula here follows Augustan precedent, since Augustus had declared that the Senate should debate about wars and triumphs in this temple (Suet. *Aug.* 29; see Talbert [1984] 117).

45.1

Mox deficiente belli materia: Suetonius gives Caligula's enterprises in Germany the status of comic opera. For interpretation see 43.1.

paucos...traici...trans Rhenum iussit: Dio says that Caligula only proceeded for a short distance beyond the Rhine before returning as if to make an attempt on Britain (Dio 59.21.3). He later alludes to Caligula's butchery of his own troops after capturing a few enemy (Dio 59.22.2).

Modern commentators have suggested that Suetonius (or his source) is making a mockery of quite rational military manoeuvres. The idea that some sort of military exercises occurred at this time is based on reference to *Galba's* prominence at a *campestris decursio* in Germany (Suet. *Galba* 6.3).

quo facto proripuit se...qui secuti non essent timiditatem et ignauiam corripuit: the emphasis is again on Caligula's impulsiveness and his whimsical humours.

exploratorias: sc. coronas. The actions attributed to Caligula make a mockery of standard military decorations. See G.R. Watson (1969) 114f. To be eligible for a *corona* it was necessary to have the status of *euocatus* or above. On this decoration in the Roman army see V. Maxfield (1981) 55ff.

45.2

obsides...e litterario ludo...praemissos...in catenis reduxit: cf. Dio 59.22.2. On the *litterarius ludus* see Marrou (1956) 294-5.

in hoc quoque mimo: Dio also has an emphasis on theatricality in his handling of the entire expedition (Dio 59.25.2f.).

durarent secundisque se rebus seruarent: Verg. *Aen.* 1.207. See 34.2 for Caligula's attitude to Vergil.

45.3

populumque...obiurgauit edicto, quod Caesare...tantis discriminibus obiecto: cf. Dio 59.23.1.

46

postremo quasi perpetraturus bellum: as noted above, Suetonius does not take Caligula's 'British' campaign seriously. For attempts to make sense of the unsympathetic accounts of the ancient writers see 43.1.

altissimam turrem excitauit: Suetonius fails to mention the site of this tower, but most authorities agree that it should be identified with the Tour d'Ordre at Gesoriacum (Boulogne). Gesoriacum was the point of embarkation for the Claudian expedition to Britain (Suet. *Claud.* 17.2). Suetonius belittles Caligula's motive for building the lighthouse (*in indicium uictoriae*), but had Caligula lived longer it seems unquestionable that he would have made a concerted attempt at a British invasion. Caligula must have anticipated its role as propaganda for his personal contribution to Roman imperialism, and this is sufficient explanation for its monumental size. Claudius is thought to have been responsible for building a similar edifice at Dover after the expedition of AD 43. See *D & S* s.v. Pharos.

Little has survived of this monument, but it remained largely intact until the 17th century, after substantial repairs by Charlemagne in the 9th century.

Consequently it is known from the manuscripts of the early historians of Boulogne, Lequin and Luto, as well as from a series of plans, drawings and engravings of the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries. Among these is the engraving of Châtillon, Henry IV's topographer. See *D & S* s.v. Pharos 431, fig. 5629.

The lighthouse was the most considerable of antiquity after that of Alexandria. Reports of its height vary (124 or 200 ft), and it was mounted on a cliff itself c. 55 metres high. In construction it was an octagonal pyramid of twelve stories each smaller than the last, with an opening on the northern side (or possibly one on each face). The fabric was layers of white and yellow stones and red bricks.

Bicknell's theory that the building referred to by Suetonius was in Lower Germany has little to recommend it, since no suitable remains have been found there (*Historia* 17 [1968] 504). The lighthouse at Gesoriacum corresponds to the Suetonian epithet *altissimam*. The history of the lighthouse is discussed by F. D'Erce, *RA* n.s. 1 (1966) 89-96.

ut Pharo: Pharo is the name given to the narrow island off the coast of Egypt, opposite Alexandria, and connected to the city since antiquity by a causeway. The lighthouse was given the same name, which probably derives from a type of cloth traded on the island. See *D & S* s.v. Pharos. On the Alexandrian Lighthouse, which was numbered amongst the Seven Wonders of the World see P.M. Fraser I (1972) 17-20.

militi donatiuo centenis uiritim denariis: Balsdon suggests that this was a stingy donative intended to insult Caligula's soldiers, and prompted by their unwillingness to embark on an expedition beyond the then known confines of the civilised world ([1934] 92). See also E.J. Phillips, *Historia* 19 (1970) 372: 'Gaius' deliberate humiliation of the troops becomes intelligible only when some kind of disturbance which has been omitted by our sources is postulated'. It is known that Aulus Plautius experienced difficulties in inducing his army to advance beyond Gaul at the time of the Claudian invasion (Dio 60.19.2). However, Balsdon is surely mistaken in his belief that the donative was unduly stingy. It was identical to Augustus' *triumphale congiarium* in 29 BC, and larger than the inheritance from Tiberius in AD 37 (see 16.3). Suetonius merely portrays a Caligula obsessed with theatrical gestures. This is our first record of the amount of a donative paid to soldiers while campaigning in the provinces. See J.B. Campbell (1984) 166, 188-9.

47

Conuersus hinc ad curam triumphi: according to the tradition it was impossible for the Senate to satisfy Caligula in relation to honours. At first he

wanted no recognition of his achievements, but subsequently he was distressed by their failure to acknowledge his prowess (48.2: *fraudatum se iusto triumpho*; Dio 59.25.4-5). This fit of pique was said to be related to Caligula's displeasure over senatorial power to confer honours.

Mockery of Caligula's triumph can be traced back as far as the contemporary Persius. He scathingly mentions the cause of the triumph, *insignem ob cladem Germanae pubis* (6.44), apparently reflecting the story of the *litterarius ludus*. Persius pictures Caesonia making premature preparations for the triumph (Persius 6.46-7: *iam postibus armaliam chlamydas regum iam lutea gausapa captislessedaque ingentes locat Caesonia Rhenos*), and Caligula is portrayed by Suetonius and Dio deliberately searching out suitable booty in anticipation of the Senate's vote (46; Dio 59.25.3). All these stories are highly suspect, but uncheckable.

captiuos: these normally left the triumphal procession at the foot of the Capitoline hill, and were led off to the Mamertine prison, where the principal victims were executed (Jos. *BJ* 7.118-38, 154). See *D & S* s.v. Triumphus 489.

transfugas barbaros: presumably Adminius and his followers are referred to (44.2; cf. Suet. *Claud.* 17).

procerissimum quemque...seposuit...coegitque...sermonem Germanicum addiscere et nomina barbarica ferre: see also Xiph. 166.30-167.10. There is not a little theatricality in this Caligulan anecdote, which appears to be an element of the hostile tradition intended to ridicule the scale of Caligula's achievements in Germany. Domitian, another emperor with a poor relationship with his Senate, is also alleged to have produced fraudulent captives from his German campaign (Tac. *Agric.* 39; Xiph. 218.22; see further M.P. Charlesworth, *CHJ* 4 [1933] 114). The most likely origin of the story is the hostile senatorial tradition.

Another possibility, which may appeal to those who would emphasise Caligula's sense of humour, is that Caligula deliberately reduced the triumph to a farce because of his hatred of senatorial control over the institution.

Traditionally to justify award of a triumph by the Senate, a general had to have conducted a war against a foreign country in which at least 5,000 enemy had fallen in a single battle leading to a totally successful outcome. For details see *D & S* s.v. Triumphus 488. On the history of the triumph and its Etruscan origins see H.S. Versnel (1970).

triremis, quibus intoierat Oceanum: modern authorities doubt whether Caligula had a sufficient fleet for an expedition to Britain, since there is no

reference to preparation of this type in the sources. Dio only mentions a single trireme used by Caligula at the time of the episode with the sea shells (Dio 59.25.2, 46 above). Davies is sceptical of a terrestrial trip to Rome with the fleet (*Historia* 15 [1966] 127). It has probably been influenced by the traditional presence of ships used in the campaign at triumphs. The triumph of Titus exemplifies this (Jos. BJ 7.147).

scripsit et procuratoribus...in omnium hominum bona ius haberent: for the powers of the imperial procurators see P. Brunt, *Latomus* 25 (1966) 461-89. The seizure of property by procurators was not normally authorised unless the victim had been convicted of a capital charge, but in Brunt's view a tyrannical emperor would be in a position to give his procurators free rein (Brunt, op. cit. 473, 479).

48.1

legiones, quae...seditionem olim mouerant: see 1.1. Germanicus, Caligula's father, is said to have planned a massacre of his seditious legions in AD 14 (Tac. *Ann.* 1.48 [Legions V and XXI]).

quod et patrem suum...et se infantem tunc obsedissent: see 8.1; 9. Suetonius here shows an awareness of a tradition about the mutiny of AD 14 which is less favourable to Germanicus. This tradition is only otherwise represented by Dio (57.5.1ff.), who has Germanicus begging for the release of Agrippina and Caligula (57.5.6f.). For discussion see D.W. Hurley, *AJPh* 110 (1989) 316-38.

inhiberi nullo modo...quin decimare uelle perseueraret: decimation was only usually resorted to in the case of mutinous legions. Balsdon takes this as an indication that Caligula's troops had in fact mutinied when confronted with the prospect of an expedition to Britain (Balsdon [1934] 88f.; cf. Tac. *Ann.* 1.48, 3.21; Suet. *Galba* 12). But the story is more probably a figment of the hostile tradition, since Suetonius merely reports an otherwise unsubstantiated *desire* to use this punishment. He does not say that Caligula actually instituted a decimation.

48.2

cum uideret...plerosque dilabi ad resumenda...arma, profugit contionem: there are other instances in Suetonius where a sharp contrast is made between Caligula's initial boldness and subsequent cowardliness (e.g. 51.2-3).

deflexa omni acerbitate in senatum: Suetonius may be associating this incident with the Senecan tradition that Caligula threatened to destroy the entire Senate (Sen. *De Ira* 3.19.2; Dio [exc.] 59.25.5). See Introduction 28-30 and for Caligula's dealings with the Senate see 26.2.

fraudatum se iusto triumpho: for the triumphal preparations see 47. Suetonius again emphasises Caligula's childishness and contrariness (see 31, 39.2). On Caligula's resentment of senatorial power over honours see 26.2.

cum ipse...ne quid de honoribus suis ageretur...denuntiasset: on accession Caligula is said to have prohibited the setting up of images of himself, and to have requested the annulment of a decree ordering sacrifices to be offered to his *τόχη*. Later he was to organise these activities without the senate as an intermediary, if we are to believe Dio (59.4.4). As late as AD 39 he refused an ovation offered by the Senate at the time when the charge of *maiestas* was introduced (Dio 59.17.1), although Dio also implies that Caligula's refusal was prompted by his dissatisfaction with senatorial control over honours. After the suppression of the Gaetulican conspiracy this ambiguous attitude appears again. Caligula is said to have found fault with the honours voted, and forbade the bestowing of praise or honours on his relatives (Dio 59.23.2-4). The sources unanimously report attitudes such as these to underline his autocratic style.

49.1

aditus...a legatis amplissimi ordinis: this embassy is to be differentiated from two mentioned in Gaul at the time of the suppression of Gaetulicus' conspiracy (Suet. *Claud.* 9.1; Dio 59.23.2ff.).

reuerti se, sed iis...qui optarent...neque ciuem neque principem senatui: for the attribution of childish awkwardness to Caligula see also 48.2, 26.2. Caligula is supposed to have wanted to place himself outside the reach of traditional hierarchies. See J. Gascou, *REL* 54 (1976) 265-6.

49.2

atque omisso uel dilato triumpho ouans urbem natali suo ingressus est: the Senate had voted Caligula an ovation in response to news of the suppression of the Gaetulican conspiracy (Dio 59.23.2). On senatorial confusion over granting honours to the emperor see Dio 59.23.2-6.

Caligula's birthday was 31st August. See 8.1.

intraque quartum mensem periit: since Caligula died on 24th January AD

41 (see 58.1), the reading *quintum* has been proposed to rectify this statement. This should be accepted.

proposuerat Antium, deinde Alexandream commigrare: cf. Suet. *Nero* 55 and Bradley (1978) 291. Antium was Caligula's birthplace (8.1, 8.5). The rumour that Caligula wished to migrate to Alexandria has probably entered the tradition under influence of the story put about by the conspirators against Nero. Suetonius claims that Caesar had similar ambitions (Suet. *Iul.* 79.4). The fear of orientalising was used as an effective political weapon by Octavian against Antony, and thus becomes part of the stock of allegations levelled against the emperors who failed to win senatorial approval.

Josephus notes that Caligula was planning an inspection of Egypt at the time of his assassination, and his fondness for Alexandria is attested by Philo (Jos. *AJ* 19.81; cf. Philo *Leg.* 172, 250-3; *In Flacc.* 21-3). His father Germanicus had visited the city in AD 19, and Caligula's influential *cubicularius* Helicon was a native of Alexandria (*Leg.* 166-75; cf. *In Flacc.* 23 and Box [1939] ad loc.). This all shows that fears of orientalising could easily have been used against Caligula.

On the fear of the Orient see M.P. Charlesworth, *CHJ* 2 (1926) 9-16.

interempto prius...electissimo quoque: when the Senate refused to vote Caligula divine honours after his return from Germany Seneca claims he came near to destroying the entire Senate (Sen. *De Ira* 3.19.2; Dio 59.25.5; Introduction 28-30).

49.3

alteri gladius, alteri pugio index erat: the freedman Protogenes is said to have carried these books around for Caligula (see 28 above).

inuenta et arca ingens uariorum uenenorum plena: Caligula is alleged to have poisoned gladiators and rival horses as well as persons of wealth (Dio 59.14.5). Dio says that one of Claudius' first moves on coming to power was to destroy these poisons and the books of Protogenes (Dio 60.4.5). For the poisons of Caligula see F. D'Erce, *Janus* 54 (1969) 123-48.

50-1 Physique and health

A description of the physique of each emperor is a standard rubric within the Suetonian scheme (e.g. Suet. *Iul.* 45; *Aug.* 79; *Tib.* 68 etc.). The aim of these descriptions is to provide a guide to the personality of his subject. Their purpose is thus moralistic.

Suetonius' portrayals have been influenced by various Greek writers on physiognomy as well as the more general background of physiognomical lore. His familiarity with the pseudo-Aristotelian handbook on physiognomy can be demonstrated from the meagre fragments of his *Περὶ βλασφημιῶν*. The physiognomists associated certain facial characteristics with personality traits. It is recognised that the *Caligula* has outstanding examples of this type of association. See E.C. Evans, *HSCP* 46 (1935) 43-84, esp. 67f.; *TAPhA* 72 (1941) 96-108; J. Coussin, *REL* 31 (1953) 234-56, esp. 246f.

The other ancient source to provide a description of Caligula is Seneca (*De Const. Sap.* 18.1). Suetonius appears to have been influenced by his predecessor. See Introduction 30. This in turn shows that the physiognomical lore had begun to affect both rhetorical and biographical descriptions well before the time of Suetonius (E.C. Evans, *HSCP* 46 [1935] 58f.; cf. A.E. Wardman, *CQ* 17 [1967] 414).

Unlike Plutarch, Suetonius probably did not consult statues to 'confirm' his description (Wardman, op. cit. 419), but he must surely have been familiar with statues of the emperor. The four main types of bust associated with Caligula are conveniently assembled by V. Poulsen, *Acta Archaeologica* 29 (1958) 175-90. It is uncertain to what extent these portraits have been assimilated to those of Augustus and Tiberius (cf. Poulsen, op. cit. 188), but there are certainly discrepancies between the literary and iconistic evidence. For further bibliography on attributed pieces see Barrett (1989) 254.

50.1

colore expallido: according to the physiognomists such pallor was a sign of cowardice (Evans, *HSCP* 46 [1935] 68). Suetonius elsewhere portrays Caligula as a coward (e.g. 51), and probably intends to reinforce the point. Other authorities emphasise pallor as a sign of lust, and as indicative of a taste for doing harm, not incompatible with Suetonius' portrait (Coussin, op. cit. 249-50). For Seneca, this feature of his appearance provided confirmation of his insanity (Sen. *De Const. Sap.* 18.1: *tanta illi palloris insaniam testantis foeditas erat*).

corpore enormi: the ill-proportioned body was the sign of a rogue (Evans, op. cit. 64). Pliny is equally unflattering about Caligula's size, when he talks of a banquet in a tree at Velletri *cum ipse pars esset umbrae* (Plin. *NH* 12.10). Gluttony is of course a standard charge levelled against tyrants.

gracillitate maxima ceruicis et crurum: further indication of disproportion and hence turpitude. Caligula's father Germanicus also had thin legs, according to Suetonius (3 above), but showed his moral superiority by his

endeavours to rectify the problem. It is a deliberate contrast drawn between father and son. Seneca may be the source of the caricature of the proportions of Caligula's body (Sen. *De Const. Sap.* 18.1: *exilitatem crurum et enormitatem pedum*).

oculis et temporibus concauis, fronte lata et torua: cf. Sen. *De Const. Sap.* 18.1: *oculorum sub fronte anili latentium toruitas*: these were signs of stupidity and foolishness (Evans, op. cit. 68), as well as diverse other anti-social features (Coussin, op. cit. 250). Pliny talks of Caligula's staring eyes (Plin. *NH* 11.144: *[oculi] Gaio principi rigentes*).

capillo raro at circa uerticem nullo: for Caligula's sensitivity about his lack of hair see 35.2 above. This deficiency is not emphasised in his busts (cf. D. Strong [1976] 63; V. Poulsen, *Acta Archaeologica* 29 [1958] 186).

hirsutus ceteram: cf. Sen. *De Const Sap.* 18.1: *obsessam saetis*.

capram nominare...exitiale habebatur: Coussin suggests that this insult had its origin in an Atellan farce, since they depended heavily on rustic themes of this type (*REL* 31 [1953] 247).

uultum uero natura horridum: a Senecan diatribe claims that Caligula used facial expression to torture people (Sen. *De Ira* 3.19: *torserat per omnia quae in rerum natura tristissima sunt, fidiculis, talaribus, eculeo, igne, uultu suo*). Nymphidius Sabinus said he was Caligula's son, and Tacitus notes physical resemblances (Tac. *Ann.* 15.72: *habitu procerus et toruo uultu*).

50.2

Validudo ei neque corporis neque animi constitit: significantly Suetonius treats the mental state of his subject as closely related to his physical condition.

He first discusses the symptoms, beginning with the epilepsy which diminished in *adulescentia*. He claims knowledge of an intention on the part of Caligula to purge his brain to cure his mental condition, and of a tradition (*creditur*) that Caesonia had driven him insane by administering aphrodisiacs. The section concludes with his insomniac tendencies, and characteristic tales to illustrate.

Tacitus talks of the *turbata mens* of Caligula, and a majority of modern authorities since Baisdon have accepted the notion. Most argument has centred on the nature of the disturbance. An early suggestion was alcoholism (T.S. Jerome [1923] 381-421), but there is little in the sources directly confirming this. Encephalitis was canvassed by Sandison (A.T. Sandison,

Medical History 2 [1958] 202-9), but Esser thought that Caligula suffered from grand mal epilepsy and that he was schizoid if not schizophrenic (Esser [1958] 201-3). Suetonius narrates many instances which (if historical) provide evidence of mania or possibly paranoia, but in Esser's view these cannot provide us with conclusive proof as to Caligula's mental state (Esser [1958] 166). Moss, however, was prepared to countenance either paranoia or mania (G.C. Moss, *Medical History* 7 [1963] 165-75). This is an attractive view also supported by V. Massaro and I. Montgomery (*Latomus* 37 [1978] 894-909). Another view rejects insanity in favour of hyperthyroidism, basing the conclusion largely on an examination of the emperor's physical appearance as described by Suetonius (R.S. Katz, *CW* 65 [1971-2] 223-5; *CW* 70 [1977] 451). This has been rejected by M. Gwyn Morgan on the grounds of the unreliability of the Suetonian evidence (*CW* 66 [1972-3] 327-9; *CW* 70 [1977] 452-3), and by Massaro and Montgomery on the grounds that hyperthyroid patients enjoy deep sleep inconsistent with the picture of Caligula's sleeping habits in Suetonius (*Latomus* 38 [1979] 699-700). J. Lucas rejects grand mal epilepsy because Suetonius notes abatement of the condition in adolescence (*AC* 36 [1967] 159-89). He concentrates on Caligula's psychopathic tendencies, but this too has met with criticism from Massaro and Montgomery, who note the absence of some of the main symptoms of psychopathy. Perhaps the most ingenious explanation of his condition has found in the Julian family some of the symptoms of a hereditary disease with a biochemical basis. This disease, known as Hartnup's disease (first described in 1956) has neuropsychiatric and dermatological manifestations, and could explain the various clinical conditions known to have been present in the Julio-Claudian family (J.H. Dirckx, *American Journal of Dermatopathology* 8[4] [1986] 351-7). The latest contribution to the debate has offered us interictal temporal lobe epilepsy (D.T. Benediktson, *CW* 82 [1989] 370-5; *CJ* 87 [1992] 159-63).

See also A. Momigliano, *ASNP* 1 (1932) 205-28; Baisdon, *ANRW* II.2 (1975) 92-4; Barrett (1989) 73, 271 nn.4-5; B. Baldwin, *AHB* 4.3 (1990) 133-49; Ferrill (1991) 104, 176 n.301 (emphasising that Caligula's illness in AD 37 was not the cause of his mental problems).

It is obviously difficult to psychoanalyse a subject who can only be recovered from a hostile literary tradition. It is unlikely that a satisfactory result can be obtained by this method, but it is only to be expected that speculation will continue.

comitiali morbo uexatus: for identification of the *comitialis morbus* as epilepsy see description in Celsus 3.23. Attempts have been made to trace the transmission of epilepsy in the Julio-Claudian family, but proof of a hereditary failing is far from complete. See Esser (1958) 201-3. Suetonius gives some

indication that Caligula was ill as a child in his report that two doctors were to accompany him in AD 14 when he was returned by Augustus to his parents (8.4).

in adulescentia ita patiens laborum: this improvement in his epileptic condition in his adolescence shows that he did not suffer from grand mal epilepsy. However, he could still have suffered from the petit mal condition, and Philo refers to behaviour consistent with an epileptic attack when Caligula heard of Gemellus' death (*In Flacc.* 10).

creditur potionatus a Caesonia: see also Jos. *AJ* 19.193. The conspirators are said to have used this story, which they must have promulgated, to justify the execution of Caesonia in the aftermath of Caligula's assassination. Suetonius here shows typical naivety in handling this propaganda.

50.3

incitabatur insomnio: in antiquity this was thought to be a common symptom of insanity. Philo also mentions Caligula's restless nights (*In Flacc.* 183). Wallace-Hadrill points out that Augustus is also portrayed as an insomniac emperor, although in his case it is creditable since it is illustrative of his diligence (Wallace-Hadrill [1983] 173).

51

This section shows the emperor's contrasting confidence and timidity which Suetonius attributes to his mental health. This is illustrated by three stories rising to a crescendo (*peregrinatione quidem Siciliensi; aduersus barbaros quoque; mox etiam audita rebellione Germaniae*), and capped with the story that the assassins played on this aspect of his personality to quell the praetorians, claiming his death as a suicide brought on by terror at a defeat.

51.1

peregrinatione quidem Siciliensi: on Caligula's visit to Sicily after the death of Drusilla see 20, 24.2.

51.2

cum trans Rhenum...iter essedo faceret: this appears to be the episode mentioned at 45.1 above.

<re>uersus ad pontes...per manus ac super capita hominum translatus est: Bicknell suggests that this was the bridge at Mainz (*Historia* 17 [1968] 503).

51.3

audita rebellione Germaniae: was there in fact a rebellion in Germany? This may refer to the conspiracy of Gaetulicus. No other source shows knowledge of a separate rebellion, but if there was one it could explain why Caligula postponed any serious attempt at annexing Britain. Note Galba's campaigns on the advent of Claudius.

uno solacio...transmarinas certe sibi superfuturas prouincias: Suetonius projects the reader into Caligula's world of insecurity with his catalogue of possible disasters.

si victores Alpium iuga, ut Cimbri, uel etiam urbem, ut Senones quondam: the Cimbri were a tribe of Germanic origin from North Jutland. In 105 BC they had humiliated the Romans with a defeat at Arausio, one of the black days in Roman history (6th October). The Senones were the last Gauls to settle in Italy. They are said to have led the group of Gauls who captured Rome in 390 BC (Diod. 14.113f.; Livy 5.35.3; cf. Polyb. 2.17f.). The tradition is doubted by Livy.

unde...consilium...ementiendi, ipsum sibi manus intulisse: for the atmosphere in the theatre after Caligula's murder see Jos. *AJ* 19.127f. If the conspirators did ever plan to lie that Caligula had committed suicide, it was clearly to no avail since his German bodyguard were quickly on the scene and took blood curdling vengeance on those they caught (Jos. *AJ* 19.119f.).

52 Dress

The comments on imperial dress again reflect on the quality of the emperor, and are a standard feature of Suetonian biography. Caligula fails to meet with approval both because of effeminacy and because of his adoption of divine attributes. His interest in the stage is foreshadowed, and disapproval of him wearing triumphal garb before any award is manifested. His hubris is reinforced with the story that he habitually wore the thorax of Alexander. Criticism is related to the orientalisising tendencies of the emperor, as well as to his breaches of *ciuitas*. See A. Alföldy, *MDAI(R)* 49 (1934) 1-118; 50 (1935) 1-171.

Suetonius was author of a work on Names for Clothes, and this interest is clearly reflected in the section, although the main aim is to assess the moral worth of his subject (see Wallace-Hadrill [1983] 45-6, who notices a lexicographical work of like title by Telephus of Pergamon; Macé [1900] 306).

Vestitu calciatuque...ne uirili quidem ac denique humano: all the sources comment on Caligula's tendency to effeminate eccentricities in clothing (Sen. *De Const. Sap.* 18.3; Plin. *NH* 37.17; Jos. *AJ* 19.30; Dio 59.26.6-10). He is said to have adopted a number of divine roles, both male and female (Dio 59.26.5-7; Philo *Leg.* 75-114). A persistent story is that he dressed himself as Jupiter, and Dio claims that the role was used as a pretext for seducing women. See 22.2 and discussion in Barrett (1989) 145-6.

saepe depictas...indutus paenulas...processit: on his attire at Baiae in AD 39 see Dio 59.17.3.

aliquando sericatus: see also Dio. 59.26.10. In AD 16 Tiberius had forbidden the wearing of silk by men (Tac. *Ann.* 2.33: *decretumque...ne uestis serica uiros foedaret*; Dio 57.15.1). Caligula may have repealed this measure, although we need not assume that he felt bound by human laws.

ac modo in crepidis: cf. Sen. *De Const. Sap.* 18.3: *ipse perlucidus, crepidatus, auratus*.

modo in speculatoria caliga: cf. 9 above. Barrett (1989) 43 suggests that Caligula's taste for dressing up originated in his childhood on the Rhine.

nonnumquam socco muliebri: Pliny and Seneca both mention ornamental *socci* (Plin. *NH* 37.17: *soccos induebat e margaritis*; Sen. *De Ben.* 2.12.1: *socculum auratum, immo aureum, margaritis distinctum*).

plerumque uero aurea barba: Dio also has a beard as one of Caligula's disguises (Dio 59.26.7). T.F. Carney suggests that Suetonius reflects the reintroduction of beards to Rome in the age of Hadrian in his hostility to this aspect of imperial taste (*PACA* 11 [1968] 13).

fulmen tenens aut fuscina aut caduceum: the symbols of Jupiter, Neptune and Mercury respectively.

etiam Veneris cultu: cf. Dio 59.26.6.

triumphalem quidem ornatum...ante expeditionem...gestauit: Dio specifies that Caligula wore triumphal garb when he returned with his mother's ashes, and also when dedicating the temple of Augustus in AD 37, as well as at Baiae in AD 39 (Dio 59.3.5, 59.7.1, 59.17.3f., 59.26.10; cf. 19.2 above).

Magni Alexandri thoracem repetitum e conditorio eius: Dio says that Caligula wore Alexander's breastplate on the bridge at Baiae (Dio 59.17.3). The *conditorium* of Alexander was at Alexandria (Suet. *Aug.* 18.1), and was known as the *sema* (P.M. Fraser I [1972] 14-17).

53 Liberales disciplinae

53.1

Ex disciplinis liberalibus minimum eruditioni, eloquentiae plurimum attendit: the *liberales disciplinae* included rhetoric, philosophy, music, poetry and jurisprudence (see Cic. *De Or.* 3.32, 127). The Suda names Caligula as the author of a book on oratory (s.v. Γολίος Κοίσορ). This is possible given that Tacitus talks of his *uis* as an orator (Tac. *Ann.* 13.3).

He used to boast that he surpassed all the orators, and Josephus is prepared to admit that he was an orator of skill, much given to the study of Greek and Latin (Dio 59.19.3; Jos. *AJ* 19.208). Josephus also emphasises his skill at speaking off the cuff (*loc. cit.*). Domitius Afer is said to have escaped from a dangerous encounter with Caligula's interest in oratory (Dio 59.19.1-7; cf. Quint. 12.11.3). On the importance of *eloquentia* as an imperial skill see Millar (1977) 203-4. Attainment in the *liberales disciplinae* is highly regarded by Suetonius (note Suet. *Aug.* 84.1). See Mooney (1930) 203.

53.2

Senecam...commissiones meras...harenam esse sine calce diceret: on Seneca's career and impact on the tradition about Caligula see Introduction 28-30.

Seneca's style was out of fashion by the time that Suetonius wrote, and both he and Quintilian are scathing about it (Suet. *Nero* 52; Quint. 10.1.125-31). Aulus Gellius and other Antonine critics also had no time for him (*NA* 12.2; see Holford-Strevens [1988] 204-5). Suetonius seems to admire the iconoclast in Caligula, whom he portrays as anticipating the Antonine view that Seneca was stylistically shallow.

magnorum in senatu reorum accusationes defensionesque meditari: note the significance of this in relation to Caligula's mentality (see 50.2). Of course the whole rhetorical tradition encouraged exercises not dissimilar to these.

54-5 Diversions

54.1

artes studiosissime...exercuit. Thraex et auriga, idem cantor atque saltator

...tragoedo pronuntianti concineret: Dio's account is also very hostile to the prominence of these arts at Caligula's court (Dio 59.5; contrast Tiberius: Suet. *Tib.* 34.1; Tac. *Ann.* 1.77; see Seager [1972] 138). A particular accusation is that Caligula became a slave of charioteers, gladiators and actors. Nero attracts like criticism (Suet. *Nero* 20ff., 53; Tac. *Ann.* 14.15); their artistic tastes represented an aspect of Hellenisation unacceptable to the aristocracy in an emperor. See Bradley (1978) 120ff. (on upper class opinion); Wallace-Hadrill (1983) 182 (on Hellenisation).

54.2

eo die, quo periit, perugillum indixisse...ut...auspicaretur: although Suetonius is so hostile to Caligula's attitude to the gods, it is interesting to note that he is portrayed as concerned over the auspices for his stage debut (cf. 57). At the time of his death the games are said to have been extended for 3 days to encompass his own performance (Dio 59.29.6).

55.1

Quorum uero studio teneretur, omnibus ad insaniam fauit: Suetonius' aim in this section is to show how the excesses of Caligula's private interests affected his public behaviour. On excess in imperial participation see Wallace-Hadrill (1983) 125.

Mnesterem pantomimum etiam inter spectacula osculabatur: criticism here is levelled at the emperor's association with actors, who were of low status (*infames*). Although troupes of pantomime actors were owned by aristocratic households, it was a Hellenistic taste and as elsewhere Suetonius is hostile (see Wallace-Hadrill [1983] 185). Dio reflects the same tradition when he relates that Caligula would kiss actors every day in the sight of everyone (Dio 59.27.1). Senators would only be offered a hand or a foot to kiss! (Dio [Xiph.] 59.29.5; Sen. *De Ben.* 2.12.1.)

si qui...obstreperet...manu sua flagellabat: on Caligula's displeasure at disturbed performances see also Dio 59.7.5.

equiti R. tumultuanti...abiret...perferretque ad Ptolemaeum...codicillos suos: this story is another example of Caligula's mischievous sense of humour. It must be dated before Ptolemy came to Rome sometime in AD 39 (cf. 26.1, 35.1). On *codicilli* see 18.2.

55.2

Thr<a>eces quosdam Germanis corporis custodibus praeposuit: Josephus

names the gladiator Sabinus as prefect of the German bodyguard (*AJ* 19.122). This man was later saved from death in the arena by Messalina, whose paramour he is alleged to have been (Dio 60.28.2). Former gladiators also formed Nero's bodyguard (Suet. *Nero* 30.2). Caligula and Nero seem to be exceptional in choosing men of this status as officers. In the present case Suetonius ascribes this anomaly to Caligula's favouritism towards gladiators as a group. But we must remember that Rutilius Rufus and Marius had seen the advantages of gladiatorial training in a military context (*Val. Max.* 2.3.2), and it may be suspected that Caligula hoped to improve the tactics and fitness of his guard through this innovation. That Suetonius finds gladiators of unsuitable status is no surprise. On the ethnic composition of the bodyguard see Bellen (1981) 34-57. On the *Germani Corporis Custodes* see further M.P. Speidel, *Germania* 62 (1984) 31-45.

murmillonum armaturas recidit: the chief opponents of the *murmillo*es were the *Thraeces* and the *retarii*. Caligula is credited with reducing the armour of the *murmillo*es because of his preference for the *Thraeces*. On the equipment of the *murmillo*es see Friedländer IV (1908-13) 176-7.

Columbo...uenenum...addidit, quod ex eo Columbinum appellauit: for Caligula's interest in poisons see 49.3. Columbus is attested as a gladiatorial name (*CIL* XII 5696.32). The diminutive form is a pun on *stercus Columbinum*, which was supposed to have medicinal qualities (see *TLL* s.v. *stercus*). The accusation that Caligula poisoned gladiators is also found in Dio (59.14).

prasinae factioni ita addictus: see Dio 59.14.6; Jos. *AJ* 19.257. For Caligula's factional preference see 18.3.

agitatori Eutycho: cf. Jos. *AJ* 19.257; Eutyclus as leader of the popular green faction was politically important to Caligula. See J. Gagé, *Hommages à M. Renard* II (1969) 275-83; *RE* s.v. Eutychos no. 3.

apophoretis: these were gifts given to dinner guests on the Saturnalia and at other feasts (Suet. *Vesp.* 19; Mart. 14.1). The custom was of Greek origin as the name makes clear. See *RE* s.v. *apophoreta*.

55.3

Incitato equo: expenditure on horses is numbered amongst Caligula's main extravagances, and he even compelled his soldiers to build stables for them (Jos. *AJ* 19.257; Dio 59.2.5). Carney suggests that Suetonius is engaging in

veiled criticism of Hadrian, who also had a passion for horses (see T.F. Carney, *PACA* 11 [1968] 12). Although this is not impossible, it is more probable that Suetonius found the stories in his sources, and that they represent the more general tendency to criticise imperial taste.

Incitatus is prominent in the sources (cf. Dio 59.14.7), and the story of the threat to make him a consul amounts to criticism of Caligula's lack of respect for traditional hierarchies (see Wallace-Hadrill [1983] 116). At the parties for Incitatus mentioned by Suetonius, Caligula is said to have offered Incitatus golden barley and to have drunk his health out of golden goblets. Lugand adopts an extreme position when he accounts for the role of Incitatus as part of Caligula's orientalising passion. His Caligula is seen as a Mazdean sun worshipper keeping Incitatus in readiness for apotheosis (see R. Lugand, *REA* 32 [1930] 9-13; Barrett [1989] 219).

56-60 Death of Caligula

56.1

Ita bacchantem atque grassantem: there are obvious parallels with the life of Nero. Tyrannical attributes are again to the fore.

non defuit plerisque animus adoriri: Suetonius' account of the conspiracies is less detailed than that of Josephus (*AJ* 19.1-273); in particular he has little to say about the main participants, with the exception of Cassius Chaerea. Josephus details these events at such length because he wants to illustrate the theme that divine vengeance inevitably falls on the morally corrupt. Josephus' account, like that of Suetonius, minimises the role of Senators in the assassination, and concentrates on Cassius Chaerea. See Introduction 31 and 34. Annius Vinicianus (and others) must be presumed to have had a more significant role than that attributed to him by Josephus (*AJ* 19.52, 97ff.). Suetonius' account exhibits some variations from that of Josephus.

una <atque> altera...detecta: the reference is vague. For conspiracies mentioned by Suetonius in the *Caligula* see 24.3 (Gaetulicus and Lepidus); 26.3 (Betilienus and Capito); 28 (Scribonius Proculus); 57.3 (C. Cassius Longinus).

alii per inopiam...cunctantibus: Aemilius Regulus of Cordova in Spain may fall into this category. Josephus is the only source to refer to his ring of conspirators (*AJ* 19.17, 19; see *PIR* 2 A 397). It is tempting to link him with Seneca in view of their common *patria* (see G.W. Clarke, *Latomus* 24 [1965] 67). Regulus' faction may have amalgamated with the main ring under

Vinicianus and Chaerea. However, the matter is complicated, since Seneca was soon to be accused by Claudius of immoral relations with Livilla (Dio 60.8.5). Her husband M. Vinicius had a conflicting claim to the throne, but also appears to have been a relative of Vinicianus.

non sine conscientia...praefectorum praetori: Dio and Josephus agree that Callistus and the praetorian prefects were privy to the plot (Dio 59.29.1; cf. 25.7; Jos. *AJ* 19.64-9 [Callistus]; *AJ* 19.37-46 [Clemens]). See also Tac. *Ann.* 11.29, who makes it clear that Callistus was implicated in the affair.

Callistus was a wealthy *libertus* who held great influence with Caligula. He may have owed this to his wife Nymphidia, who had a liaison with Caligula in his youth (Plut. *Galba* 9; see *PIR* 2 I 229). Nymphidia was the mother of the notorious Nymphidius Sabinus who is said to have claimed Caligula as his father (Tac. *Ann.* 15.72; *RE* s.v. Nymphidius no. 5). It has been thought that Callistus' continued prominence under Claudius may be a sign that Claudius himself was involved in the conspiracy. This view has been explored in detail by H. Jung, *Chiron* 2 (1972) 367-86; cf. Wiseman (1991) 53-4.

Only one praetorian prefect is known at this time, but joint prefectures are attested. The known prefect, M. Arrecinus Clemens, is said to have refused to become actively involved in the plot because of his age (Jos. *AJ* 19.37-46). His daughter, Arrecina Tertulla, was to become the bride of Titus. See *PIR* 2 A 1073; for his son's dedication at Rimini, which was perhaps his *patria* see G. Gentili, *Epigraphica* 38 (1976) 51-8. On the son and his background see also A. Passerini, *Athenaeum* 18 (1940) 145-63.

ipsi...falso in quadam coniuratione...nominati: this story is related in more detail by Dio, and is associated with the conspiracy of Capito (Dio 59.25.7; cf. 26.3).

suspectos tamen se et inuisos sentiebant: it is a common Suetonian and Tacitean technique to claim to know inner feelings and thoughts.

sponte se perturum...nec cessavit...inter se omnis committere: Dio relates similar theatrics, and the tactic of setting individuals against one another is traditionally associated with Caligula (Dio 59.25.8).

56.2

Palatinis ludis: cf. Dio 56.46.5; Tac. *Ann.* 1.73.4. Livia had held a private festival in honour of Augustus for three days. Calendar evidence of late date registers the *ludi* from 17th-22nd January (Fasti Polemii Siluii [AD 448] = *Inscr. Ital.* 13.2 264; Fasti Furi Philocali [AD 354] = *Inscr. Ital.* 13.2 239; cf. Wiseman, *LCM* 5 [1980] 231). Dio says that Caligula added extra days to the

festival. In his version the conspirators held back for five days, which would correspond with the final day of the games in the calendars. However Suetonius dates the assassination to 24th January (58.1). Degraasi and Wiseman favour the calendars, and would emend 58.1 to place the assassination on January 22nd (see Wiseman loc. cit.). Their solution is also supported by Barrett (1989) 169-71. For problems with this approach see 58.1, 59.

egressum meridiem: see 58.1.

Cassius Chaerea tribunus cohortis praetoriae...seniorem iam: he had been a centurion in the army in Germany at the time of the mutiny in AD 14 (Tac. *Ann.* 1.32). See further *PIR* 2 C 488.

mollem et effeminatum denotare...signum petenti Priapum aut Venerem dare: cf. Sen. *De Const. Sap.* 18.3; Jos. *AJ* 19.18, 21, 29-31; Dio (exc.) 59.29. Seneca appears to be the common source for this story. He says that Caligula's insult was aimed at mocking Chaerea's weak voice. The story is likely to have some basis in fact, but as noted above some distortion of his role in the conspiracy has occurred. See Introduction 30.

manum offerre formatam...in obscaenum modum: such gestures are noted by Martial: *ostendit digitum, sed impudicum* (6.70.5); *digitum porrigito medium* (2.28); cf. *lacrimae euocant nomina parum grata auribus et digitorum motus* (Sen. *De Const. Sap.* 5.2).

57 Omens of Caligula's death

It has been well demonstrated by Mouchova and Gugel that omens in Suetonius are included to some purpose. They have an important role in the assessment of the moral worth of the subject, who is evaluated in terms of his response to prodigies. Caligula is rated as hubristic, a point highlighted by his assumption of the role of Jupiter as well as other significant insults to that god enumerated at 22. See Mouchova (1968) 34-42; Gugel (1977) 24-73.

Gugel (1977) 49-53 has shown that 57 is far more highly structured than appears at a casual glance :

57.1

a) The Zeus at Olympia uttered a laugh causing the workers employed to remove it to disperse (Jupiter catching up with his hubris).

b) A Cassius dreamt that he had been ordered to sacrifice a bull to Jupiter (Cassius as the instrument of vengeance).

57.2

c) Omens of destruction: (i) the capitol at Capua was struck by lightening on the Ides of March; (ii) at Rome the doorkeeper's house was struck (these omens are parallel to the portrayal of Caesar's *superbia* in Suet. *Caes.* 81).
d) Sulla the mathematician predicted his actual death.

57.3

e) The *ueridicae sorores* at Antium warned Caligula to beware of Cassius.
f) Caligula's nightmare to the effect that he was alone in the sky next to Jupiter, who kicked him back down to earth.

57.4

g) Omens of bloodletting: (i) Caligula is spattered with flamingo blood while sacrificing; (ii) Mnester's tragedy; (iii) Laureolus' mime; (iv) spectacle with a scene in the Underworld.

The overall effect of this rubric is to confirm that those who despise the gods and their signs can only expect divine retribution. That Suetonius himself was superstitious is suggested by his refusal to appear in court after an ill omened dream (Plin. *Ep.* 1.18).

Other sources record omens not mentioned by Suetonius. Pliny relates that in the sacrifice on January 1st AD 41 the liver was missing from the entrails of the victim (*NH* 11.189). An Egyptian named Apollonius foretold Caligula's fate, and was brought to Rome for punishment. He escaped through the death of Caligula (Dio 59.29.4). During the sacrifice to Augustus blood from one of the victims is said to have splashed Asprenas' robe. Significantly he ignored the omen and was one of those later struck down over Caligula's body (Jos. *AJ* 19.87; cf. 57.3, 57.4).

57.1

Olympiae simulacrum Iouis: see 22.2 for other portents connected with this incident.

illico quidam Cassius nomine: this Cassius is not otherwise known, but he is intended to recall Caesar's assassin (and Chaerea) (= *PIR* 2 C 472). Note that Philo also has a story that Caligula had a hatred of homonyms (*In Flacc.* 180).

57.2

Capitolium Capuae Id. Mar<t>...tactum est: the date is intended as a further parallel with Caesar's assassination. The temple of Jupiter on the

Capitol at Capua had been dedicated by Tiberius in AD 26 (Suet. *Tib.* 40; Tac. *Ann.* 4.57; cf. *Sil. Ital.* 11.265). See *RE* s.v. Capua.

cella Palatini atriensis: this will refer to the vestibule of the Palace.

consulenti...Sulla mathematicus: not otherwise known; see *RE* s.v. Sulla col. 728; Shackleton Bailey (1976) 68.

57.3

monuerunt et Fortunae Antiatinae: these are the *ueridicae sorores* of Martial (5.1.3). They appear on coins of the *gens Rustia* (from Antium: *RIC* 1 69 pl. 1.1). Macrobius alludes to the delivery of this oracle when describing Egyptian rites at Helipolis (*Sat.* 1.23.13: *ferunturque diuino spiritu, non suo arbitrio sed quo deus propellit uehentes, ut uidemus apud Antium promoueri simulacra Fortunarum ad danda responsa*). The infallibility of this oracle reinforces the theme of Caligula's hubris.

On the *ueridicae sorores* see *RE* s.v. Antiates; Nisbet and Hubbard on Horace *Odes* 1.35.

Cassium Longinum Asiae tum proconsulem: C. Cassius Longinus was brother of the man who married Drusilla (24.1), and more importantly a descendant of the assassin of Julius Caesar (Tac. *Ann.* 16.7; cf. 11.12; Suet. *Nero* 37.1; Dio [Xiph.] 59.29.3). According to Dio this was the reason for Caligula's delusion. He was a rhetorician and jurist (Tac. *Ann.* 12.12; Plin. *Ep.* 7.24.8). The Asian proconsulate was in AD 40-1, and Dio confirms that he was brought back to Rome as a prisoner, although saved by the death of Caligula (loc. cit.). For other details of his distinguished career see *PIR* 2 C 501.

pridie quam periret, somniauit: this moralistic tale shows the final stages of Jupiter's vengeance in preparation. This is finally picked up and combined with Chaerea's vengeance in the assassination scene where Caligula gives the password Jupiter and receives the reward for his acts of hubris.

57.4

sacrificans respersus est phoenicopteri sanguine: this is apparently a variant on the omen to be found in Josephus of Asprenas' robe being spattered with blood during a sacrifice. See Introduction 57.

Mnester tragoediam saltauit: on Mnester see 36, 55.1. Josephus mentions the same portent without naming Mnester, but he identifies the tragedy as the

Cinyras (cf. Ovid *Met.* 10.298f.). This tragedy had been performed at the games during which Philip of Macedon was assassinated, and this probably accounts for Josephus' mistake in assigning the deaths of Philip and Caligula to the same day (Jos. *AJ* 19.95; cf. Diod. 16.92-3). It seems probable that the parallels between the two deaths have been exaggerated by the tradition.

Neoptolemus tragoedus: in Diodorus there is no reference to a tragedy; Neoptolemus is credited with a different ominous song. On Neoptolemus see *RE* s.v. Neoptolemos no. 13.

ludis, quibus rex...Philippus occisus est: in 336 BC Philip was murdered as he entered the theatre at Aegae by Pausanias, one of his companions. The occasion was the marriage of his daughter Kleopatra to Alexander of Epirus. The motives of Pausanias are a matter for dispute, and represent an important parallel with Chaerea's motives. According to Diodorus (16.93), Plutarch (*Alex.* 10), and Justin (9.6.5-8), Pausanias had been humiliated by Attalus, but could get no redress from Philip. Additional political motives have been suspected. Badian believed that Pausanias was a pawn in a conspiracy backed by Olympias (*Phoenix* 17 [1963] 244-50). J.R. Fears favours the personal motive, while J.R. Ellis has supported the view that Pausanias was a lunatic assassin in the modern mould (J.R. Fears, *Athenaeum* 53 [1975] 111-35; J.R. Ellis, *Ancient Macedonian Studies in Honor of C.F. Edson* [1981] 99-137). Some authorities have impugned the quality of the evidence, and left the matter undecided (A.B. Bosworth, *CQ* 21 [1971] 93-105; cf. N.G.L. Hammond and G.T. Griffith, *A History of Macedonia II* [1978] 691). As in the case of the murder of Caligula the problem relates to the politics of succession. If interested parties were behind either assassination it is hardly likely that the matter remained anything but obscure even to contemporaries.

in Laureolo mimo...cruore scaena abundauit: Laureolus was an apparently fictitious highwayman and former slave, who became the subject of a mime illustrating the retribution of society on the criminal, in which he was caught and crucified (Juv. 8.187; Schol. Juv. 8.187; see Courtney [1980] ad loc.; Jos. *AJ* 19.94; that he was in fact crucified is doubted by V. Schmidt, *Latomus* 42 [1983] 156-60). On the mime see L. Hermann, *Hommages à H. Bardon* (1985) 225-34, who emphasises the derisory intent in the name Laureolus. Juvenal describes the mime as the Laureolus of Catullus, who may be the consular youth referred to by Suetonius *Cal.* 36. Both Josephus and Suetonius talk of enormous quantities of artificial blood being spilt, and it is clear that a gross type of realism was involved. For discussion see K.M. Coleman, *JRS* 80 (1990) 64-5. Hermann believed that Suetonius had confused this story with

the spectacle that followed, the *Cinyras* (op. cit. 228), but this seems unwarranted.

Josephus adds that the play *Cinyras* was also ominous since the hero, and in some versions his daughter Myrrha as well, are killed (Jos. *AJ* 19.94; cf. Ovid *Met.* 10.298-502; Plut. *Parall.* 22).

secundarum: those who played subordinate parts.

parabatur et in noctem spectaculum: cf. 18.2.

quo argumenta...per Aegyptios et Aethiopas explicarentur: on Caligula's interest in Egyptianising influences, which has been grossly exaggerated by some modern authorities, see Barrett (1989) 220-1, refuting E. Köberlein (1962), who is also forcefully attacked by P. Herz, *Historia* 30 (1981) 324-36.

58.1

VIII. Kal. Febr.: i.e. 24th January; see above 56.2 for the problems relating to the length of the *ludi Palatini*. The strong arguments for a textual corruption in Suetonius at this point on the basis of the evidence of the calendars is negated by the statement about the length of Caligula's reign at the beginning of 59. It would in any case be hard to account for the error on textual grounds (VIII for XI).

hora fere septima cunctatus an ad prandium surgeret: Josephus, who places the assassination at around the ninth hour, also speaks of Caligula's hesitation to leave at the lunch interval (Jos. *AJ* 19.96, 99).

marcente adhuc stomacho pridiani cibi onere: a Suetonian moralising detail; perhaps the theme of Caligula's greed had been treated by the elder Pliny (cf. Plin. *NH* 12.10).

suadentibus amicis egressus est.: according to Josephus, Vinicianus tried to induce Caligula to leave the theatre for lunch, which indicates his active involvement in the plot. It was, however, Asprenas, the consul of AD 38 who finally persuaded him (Jos. *AJ* 19.96-8). Claudius, M. Vinicius and Valerius Asiaticus had preceded his exit. Caligula is said to have followed with Paulus Arruntius (otherwise unknown). In Josephus' version Caligula had decided to bathe instead of to dine (Jos. *AJ* 19.102-4).

in crypta: Van Deman concludes that the murder probably took place in a part of the palace north west of the House of Livia amongst the early buildings forming part of the *domus Tiberiana* (AJA 28 [1924] 396). The location of the

murder is now discussed by Wiseman (1991) 62, 105-10.

pueri nobiles ex Asia...euocati: Caligula intended to use them as a choir in the mysteries he was celebrating, and also in Pyrrhic dances (Jos. *AJ* 19.104). According to Dio they came from Greece and Ionia, and were to sing a hymn composed in the emperor's honour (Dio [exc.] 59.29.6; cf. Dio 60.7.2, 60.23.5).

58.2

duplex dehinc fama est: on the nature of the tradition see Introduction and 56.1. The second version offered by Suetonius accords best with Josephus, although in Josephus it was Chaerea and not Sabinus who called for the watchword (Jos. *AJ* 19.105).

alii tradunt...ceruicem gladio caesim grauiter percussisse: Suetonius could derive this version from Seneca. See Sen. *De Const. Sap.* 18.3: *ille (Chaerea) ceruicem mediam uno ictu decedit*; but Suetonius' more detailed account may suggest that he has used additional sources. Seneca's version combines elements from what Suetonius claims are two separate traditions on the conspiracy.

Cornelium Sabinum: this tribune of the praetorian guard is also given an important role by Dio and Josephus. See *PIR* 2 C 1431.

58.3

alii Sabinum...signum...petisse: this second version adds many sensational details, and exhibits the moralistic tradition known to Josephus. The Jewish historian reports but does not accept the story that Chaerea intentionally avoided dispatching Caligula with a single blow in order to increase his revenge (Jos. *AJ* 19.106). Charlesworth links this tradition to Caligula's alleged saying *ita feri ut se mori sentiat*, and sees a desire for poetic justice creating it (*CHJ* 4 [1933] 112).

clamitantem se uiuere: Josephus agrees that the initial blow was not fatal but that Caligula was dazed (Jos. *AJ* 19.105).

ceteri uulneribus triginta confecerunt: cf. Sen. *De Const. Sap.* 18.3: *undique publicas ac priuatas iniurias ulciscantium gladiatorum ingestum est*. Seneca's sensationalism is picked up by Dio, who adds that numerous blows were struck even after Caligula was dead, and further embellishes his version with a cannibalistic feast on the flesh of the tyrant (Dio [exc.] 59.29.7).

Josephus' version is more sober; after the initial blow from Chaerea, Sabinus brought Caligula to the ground where the final blow was delivered by Aquila (probably M. Aquila Iulianus, cos. AD 38) (Jos. *AJ* 19.110-11).

lecticari cum asseribus in auxilium accucurrerunt: a detail not attested by Josephus, who says that the German body guard were the first to arrive on the scene (Jos. *AJ* 19.119).

Asseres were the poles on which a litter was borne. See Juv. 3.245, 7.132.

nonnullos ex percussoribus, quosdam...innocuos interemerunt: Josephus names three men executed in the aftermath of the murder; Asprenas, who was certainly one of the conspirators (Jos. *AJ* 19.123), and two others whose connection with the conspiracy is suggested merely by their execution. These were Norbanus, who was perhaps L. Norbanus Balbus (cos. AD 19), although Syme prefers either his son, or the son of C. Norbanus Flaccus (cos. AD 15) (see Groag in *RE* s.v. Norbanus no. 8; Syme *Historia* 30 [1981] 190), and Anteius who is otherwise unknown (see Wiseman [1991] 67). According to Josephus, he had cause to hate Caligula since his father had been driven into exile and finally killed by him (Jos. *AJ* 19.123-5; cf. *RE* s.v. Anteius no. 4). On the steadfast loyalty of the *Germani* see Millar (1977) 63.

59

Vixit annis uiginti nouem: see G.V. Sumner, *Latomus* 26 (1967) 420 n.2 on this formula.

imperauit triennio et decem mensibus diebusque octo.: if we accept the unamended Suetonian text for the date of Caligula's assassination (58.1), this gives March 16th as his *dies imperii*. This was in fact the date of Tiberius' death, and Caligula's *dies imperii* did not occur until two days later, March 18th (13.1). Dio erroneously says that he reigned for three years nine months and twenty eight days, which is simply a perpetuation of his error over the date of Tiberius' death (Dio 58.28.5, 59.30.1). On the length of Caligula's reign see also Josephus' imprecise notice (Jos. *AJ* 19.201).

in hortos Lamianos: these gardens which became imperial property (*CIL* VI 8668) appear to have been laid out by L. Aelius Lamia (cos. AD 3), and bequeathed by him to Tiberius. They were close to the gardens of Maecenas, and discoveries south of the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele II and the Piazza Dante have been identified with them (Philo *Leg.* 351; Grimal [1969] 146). They were part of the early development of an imperial domain, and Caligula is said to have enjoyed spending time in them (Philo loc. cit.).

per sorores ab exilio reuersas: AD 41 (Dio 60.4.1). See above 24.3.

hortorum custodes: *CIL* VI 8668 mentions one Moschus as the procurator of the Horti Maiani and Lamiani, Other offices related to the care of imperial gardens are recorded (*CIL* VI 8666-75).

in ea quoque domo, in qua occubuerit: see 58.1, 22.2.

donec ipsa domus incendio consumpta sit.: this will refer to the burning of the Palace in AD 64 under Nero (Tac. *Ann.* 15.39.1; Suet. *Nero* 31.1).

perit...Caesonia...et filia: cf. Dio 59.29.7; Jos. *AJ* 19.190f. According to Josephus, who names him as Iulius Lupus, the man who did the deed was a military tribune. He was related to the Praetorian Prefect, and chosen for the job for that reason (Jos. *AJ* 19.190; *RE* s.v. Iulius no. 327).

The idea of destroying Caligula's wife and daughter is said to have been a matter for dispute amongst the conspirators. Josephus claims it was Chaerea who was thought to have made the decision (Jos. *AJ* 19.190-3), but this may represent a distortion in the tradition covering the tracks of the senatorial faction which wanted to make an end of the dynasty. The murder of both the wife and the child must be considered to have dynastic implications, as several modern scholars have pointed out. Total destruction of the Julio-Claudian dynasty was not in the best interests of Claudius, and it is hardly surprising that he subsequently executed Lupus along with Chaerea and others (Jos. *AJ* 19.268f.; Suet. *Claud.* 11.1; Dio 60.3.4). Even if he had some involvement in the conspiracy he could scarcely allow such a precedent.

60

neque caede uulgata statim creditum: Josephus reports various types of reaction when news of Caligula's death reached the theatre (Jos. *AJ* 19.127f.). The sources have largely obscured popular dismay at his death (Jos. *AJ* 19.228). A patrician attitude of suspicion is consistent with the picture presented by Suetonius of Caligula setting the conspirators at odds with one another (56.1). An obvious point is that events are often obscure during the course of a coup, as shown by recent events in the former Soviet Union.

neque coniurati cuiquam imperium destinauerunt: the German guards captured Asprenas and some other conspirators, fixed their heads on an altar, surrounded the theatre, and were with difficulty restrained from further violence (Jos. *AJ* 19.138-44). In the meantime the conspirators were hiding in the house of Germanicus (Jos. *AJ* 19.117-18). The senatorial order was not

therefore in a strong position when they debated the subject of succession on January 25th (Jos. *AJ* 19.248ff.; Suet. *Claud.* 11). It was to be the support of the praetorians which was crucial for the success of Claudius; without the military the senate was impotent. The situation has some similarities to the events of AD 68-9, although we are poorly informed about the loyalty of the provincial legions (cf. Wiseman, *JRS* 72 [1982] 57-67).

in asserenda libertate: discussion of a return to the republic by the senators is an entrenched element of the literary tradition (Suet. *Claud.* 10.3ff.; Jos. *AJ* 19.162ff.). The attitude of the soldiers, who opposed any such reform, was critical. For discussion see Ch. Wirszubski (1950) 126; D. Timpe (1962) 84ff.

non in curia quia Iulia uocabatur: this was the new senate house begun by Caesar in 44 BC. It was burned down under Domitian, and again under Diocletian. In modern times it has been restored to the form it received after restoration by Diocletian. See Nash I (1961-2) 301-3.

sed in Capitolium: the consuls are said to have taken this measure after making suitable security arrangements elsewhere in the city (Jos. *BJ* 2.205; Dio 60.1.1). In the *Antiquities* Josephus says that the consuls called the Senate to meet in the temple of Jupiter Victor (19.248). Wiseman (1991) 96 believes that the Capitolium is referred to, despite some modern doubts. On the Capitolium see 22.4. It had often been used for senatorial meetings in the Republic, and it was an unusual and deliberate return to Republican practice which motivated use of the venue after the death of Caligula. See Talbert (1984) 116-17.

abolendam Caesarum memoriam: the *quidam* will have been the Senatorial clique referred to by Josephus who desired a return to the Republican system. Conceivably a Senatorial group with their own nominee might have a motive to destroy both the family and the imperial cult. But the motion to destroy all vestiges of the imperial system suggests a Republican movement.

In the event Claudius was not prepared to go so far as to subject his predecessor to *damnatio memoriae*. Many of Caligula's *acta* were rescinded, but he was not declared *hostis* (Suet. *Claud.* 11.3; Dio 60.3.4, 4.5). This was related to the circumstances of Claudius' accession, and a campaign aimed at discrediting his predecessor was mounted. See E.S. Ramage, *Historia* 32 (1983) 202-6; Barrett (1989) 177-80.

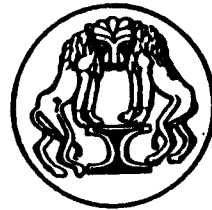
Caesares omnes, quibus Gai praenomen fuerit, ferro perisse: this inaccurate statement is a characteristic Suetonian generalisation. The dictator's father

died a natural death, as did Gaius Caesar, the grandson of Augustus. Admittedly Tacitus mentions suspicion of poisoning (Tac. *Ann.* 1.3). See *RE* s.v. Iulius no. 130; *PIR* 2 I 216.

ab eo, qui Cinnanis temporibus sit occisus: this was Gaius Iulius Caesar Strabo, an opponent and victim of Marius and Cinna, who was killed in 87 BC. For the sources see Greenidge and Clay (1960) 175-6; *RE* s.v. Iulius no. 135.

SUETONIUS CALIGULA

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