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978-0-521-72015-1 - C. Suetoni Tranquilli: Divus Augustus

Edited by Evelyn S. Shuckburgh

Excerpt

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C. SUETONI TRANQUILLI  
DE VITA CAESARUM

## LIBER II.

## DIVUS AUGUSTUS.

GENTEM Octaviam Velitris praecipuam olim fuisse, multa <sup>1</sup> declarant. Nam et vicus celeberrima parte oppidii iam pridem Octavius vocabatur et ostendebatur ara <sup>The Gens Octavia.</sup> Octavio consecrata, qui bello dux finitimo, cum forte Marti rem divinam faceret, nuntiata repente hostis

**1. Velitris.** It seems doubtful whether Velitrae was originally a Latin or Volscian town. It long maintained independence of Rome. Twice at least (B.C. 492 and 404) it was occupied by Roman *coloni*. Yet the original inhabitants absorbed or overcame these *coloni* and maintained the traditional hostility to Rome. At the end of the Latin War (B.C. 340—338) its senators were removed beyond the Tiber, its walls dismantled, and new settlers were sent to occupy the lands of the banished senators. Still it retained a form of municipal government [Livy 8, 14] and shared in the Roman *civitas* under the Lex Iulia of B.C. 90. The members of the *gens Octavia* however who were settled there were already Roman citizens.

**praecipuam**, 'distinguished.' Tac. *A.* 12, 40 *praecipuus scientia rei mili-*

*taris*. As applied to living persons in this sense it seems chiefly prae-classical and of the silver age.

**celeberrima**, 'most frequented.' Cato *R. R.* 1 § 3 recommends that there should be near the farm a *via bona celeberrisque*; cp. *infr.* c. 44 *ludi celeberrimi*. **oppidii** as opposed to *urbs* (Rome), cp. *Tib.* 11; *Otho* 1, though the two words are often interchanged.

**ara Octavio consecrata**, 'an altar consecrated by an Octavius'; cf. *Iul.* 20 *campum Stellatam maioribus consecratum...divisit*. Some however explain it as dative 'dedicated to,' i.e. for the use of Octavius and his family. The builder of such an altar consecrated it to the use of himself and his family, see for instance Willmanns' *Exempl. Inscr.* 2514 C • CLODIVS • C • L • EVPHEMVS • NEGOCIATOR • PENORIS • ET • VINORVM • DE • VELABRO • A • IIII •

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incursione, semicruda exta rapta foco prosequit, atque ita proelium ingressus victor redit. Decretum etiam publicum exstabat, quo cavebatur ut in posterum quoque simili modo exta Marti redderentur, reliquiaeque ad Octavios referrentur. Ea gens a Tarquinio Prisco rege inter minores gentis adlecta in senatum, mox a Servio Tullio in patricias traducta, procedente tempore ad plebem se contulit, ac rursus magno

SCARIS • ARAM • POSVIT • SIBI • CON-  
SECRAVIT • DEDICAVITQVE • LIBERTIS-  
QVE • SVIS • POSTERISQVE • EORVM.  
Such an altar served at once as a rendezvous of the family and a memorial of some great event. Thus the *exsecrata columna* [Cic. 1 *Phil.* § 5] set up by the pseudo-Marius where Caesar's body was burnt is called by Dio Cassius a *βωμός* [44, 51] and an *ara* by Brutus [*ad fam.* 12, 2]. Even when such memorials in the streets took the form of statues, incense was offered on them as altars. Cicero *de Off.* 3, § 80 (of Marius Gratidianus) *et ea res, si quaeris, ei magno honori fuit. Omnibus vicis statuae, ad eas tus, cerei.*

**prosequit** is a ritual word, and was applied to formal cutting or slicing of the entrails, as *inseco* to the flesh, in preparation for the altar. Cato *R. R.* 134 *ubi exta prosecta erunt, lano struem ommoveto mactatoque item uti prius obmoveris.* Varro *L. L.* 110 *insicia ab eo quod insecta caro, ut in carmine Saliorum est, quod in extis dicitur nunc prosectum.* Livy 5, 21 *vocem haruspiciis dicentis 'qui eius hostiae exta prosequisset ei victoriam dari' exauditam.* See also Lucan 6, 709; Ovid *F.* 6, 163.

**redderentur** is also a ritual word applied to the action of placing the *exta* on the altar. Carmen Arv. *C. I. L.* 28 *deinde reversus ad aram extas reddidit.* Vergil *G.* 2, 194 *lancibus et pandis fumantia reddimus exta.* Stat. *Theb.* 4, 466 *semineces fibras et adhuc spirantia reddit viscera.* This was also expressed by *exta porricere.*

**reliquiae...referrentur**, that is, the parts not burnt were to be taken to the house of the Octavii. Cp. Plaut. *Poen.* 2, 43 *age camus intro, dum exta referuntur.* Ovid *Mel.* 12, 153 *cuius ut impulerit prosecta calentibus aris...sacra tulere suam, pars est data cetera mensis.*

**2. ea gens...senatum.** The addition of 100 to the Senate by Tarquinius Priscus is recorded by Livy 1, 35; Dionysius 3, 67. Cicero [*de Re P.* 2, 20]

says that he doubled the number. The gentes from whom they were taken were called *gentes minores*. The process was called *adlectio* [Suet. *Iul.* 80, *προσκαταλέγειν* Plut. *Rom.* 20], or *sublectio* [Livy ep. 70; Tac. *Ann.* 11, 25]. But neither of this nor of the subsequent *traductio* by Servius Tullius have we any knowledge. It seems to have been a later invention. The Octavii known to us in Livy [28, 36; 29, 13, 36; 30, 2, 24, 36; 31, 3, 11; 34, 45; 35, 25; 36, 16] are a Plebeian gens, of which the first to hold curule office was Cn. Octavius, praetor in 205. For the term *traductio* see Cicero *pro Sest.* § 15 *traductio ad plebem furibundi hominis; ad Att.* 2, 9 *hic Hierosolymarius traductor ad plebem.*

**per Divum Iulium...redit.** The elevation of Octavius to the patriciate seems to have taken place soon after the battle of Pharsalus (August B.C. 48). On the 18th of October following [*C. I. L.* 10, 8375] Octavius took the *toga virilis*, and in describing the ceremony Dio [45, 2] says *ἐξ ὧν τούτων ὁ Καῖσαρ μέγαρα ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐπέειπας ἐς τε τοὺς εὐπατρίδας αὐτὸν ἐσθγάγε καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἦσκει.* At the same time he was elected into the college of Pontifices in the place of Ahenobarbus, who had fallen in the battle [Nicolas Dam. 4]. But as Caesar did not return to Rome till the autumn of 47, the actual *traductio* may not have taken place till later; perhaps in 46 or 45, when in virtue of a *lex Cassia* [Tac. *Ann.* 11, 25] Caesar endeavoured to recruit the diminishing patrician gentes, which had sunk to fourteen or fifteen, by new creations, Dio 43, 47 *πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐς τοὺς εὐπατρίδας τοὺς τε ὑπατευκότας ἢ καὶ ἀρχὴν τῶα ἀρξάντας ἐγκατέλεξεν.* For this new class of nobility see Mommsen *R. H.* 4 p. 475. Augustus continued the practice,—*patriciorum numerum auxi consul quintum* (B.C. 29) *iussu populi et senatus*, M. A. 1, 8, cp. Dio 52, 42; Tacitus *l.c.* Subsequent emperors did it on their own authority.

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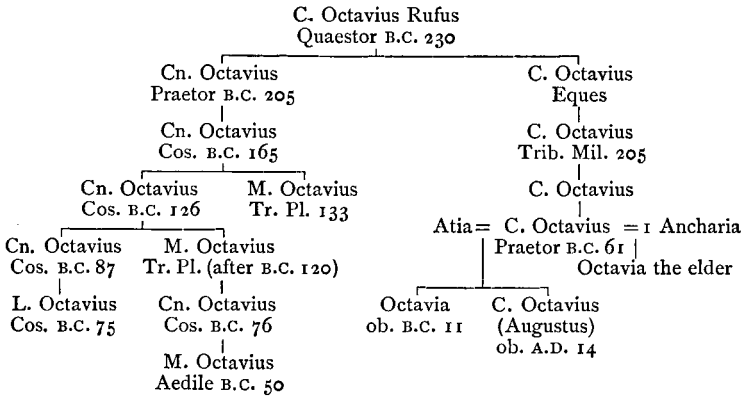
2.]

## DIVUS AUGUSTUS.

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intervallo per Divum Iulium in patriciatum redit. Primus ex hac magistratum populi suffragio cepit C. Rufus. Is quaestorius CN. et C. procreavit, a quibus duplex Octaviorum familia defluxit conditione diversa. Siquidem Gnaeus et deinceps ab eo reliqui omnes functi sunt honoribus summis. At Gaius eiusque posterii, seu fortuna seu voluntate, in equestri ordine constiterunt usque ad Augusti patrem. Proavus Augusti secundo Punico bello stipendia in Sicilia tribunus militum fecit Aemilio Papo imperatore. Avus municipalibus

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



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

**avus municipalibus magistratibus,** 'municipal offices.' *Magisterium* properly the office of a *magister*, as Cicero *prov. cons.* § 46 describes the office of censor as *magisterium morum*. Cp. *magisterium equitum Tib.* 3; *magisteria sacerdotii Cal.* 22; *magisterium collegii* [Minervae] *Dom.* 4; and the later office of *pedestre magisterium*, Aurel. Vict. *Caesares* 42. It is not classical as a technical word for the office of a *magistratus*, and Suetonius here uses it as opposed to the imperial *magistratus*. The offices in a

municipium varied in different towns. The prevailing ones were those of Senate or Council (*decuriones*, *centumviri*, *curiales* or *curia*); officers yearly elected, —and popular election went on in these towns more than 100 years after it ceased in Rome,—as two *duumviri iuri dicundo*, *consules*, two *quaestores*, two *aediles*. In some—called *praefecturae*—a *praefectus iuri dicundo* was yearly appointed by the Praetor at Rome. In others—*coloniae*—there were *quattuorviri*, *censores*, and *curatores*. Though after the Social War and the lex Iulia (B.C. 90) the civil status of these towns was assimilated, the interior constitution varied as before. As regarded Rome they were all *municipia* and possessed the franchise, but with respect to their internal administration they were still to be classed as *municipia*, *coloniae*, *praefecturae*, *conciliabula*. See W. T. Arnold, *Roman Provincial Administration*, p. 225.

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magisteriis contentus abundante patrimonio tranquillissime senuit.

Sed haec alii; ipse Augustus nihil amplius quam equestri familia ortum se scribit vetere ac locuplete, et in qua primus senator pater suus fuerit. M. Antonius Augustus only claimed equestrian rank. libertinum ei proavum exprobrat, restionem e pago Thurino, avum argentarium. Nec quicquam ultra de paternis Augusti maioribus repperi.

- 3 C. Octavius pater a principio aetatis et re et existimatione magna fuit, ut equidem mirer hunc quoque a nonnullis nullis argentarium atque etiam inter divisores operasque campestris proditum; amplis enim innutritus

**sed haec alii.** No doubt many flatterers or enemies were found to search the annals of the Octavii. Suetonius quotes as writers on the life of Augustus, Iulius Marathus (cc. 79, 94); C. Drusus (c. 94); Iulius Saturninus (c. 27); Aquilius Niger (c. 11); M. Valerius Messala Corvinus (c. 74). C. Asinius Pollio, who wrote on the Civil War [*Iul.* c. 55–6], does not seem to have brought his history down to the reign of Augustus. The only considerable fragment of such a work which we possess is that of Nicolas of Damascus, friend and secretary of Herod, and in high favour with Augustus himself. On this point however he merely says that his father was a Senator (τὸν ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου), and his ancestors κατά τε πλοῦτον καὶ ἐπιεικίαν ὀνοματώτατοι.

**ipse Augustus.** Besides the *Res gestae* left by Augustus to be inscribed in various parts of the empire and preserved for us in the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, he wrote a history of his own life and times. See cc. 25, 27, 42, 74, 85–6, *Claud.* 1; *de Gramm.* 16. This work was used by Plutarch in the lives of Cicero (45), Brutus (27), Antony (22, 68); and by Appian [*B. civ.* 42], Dio Cassius [48, 44], and by other later writers. Augustus also caused the honours of his grandfather and father to be inscribed on marble slabs adorning some chapel in his palace. That of his grandfather (if it is his) is too much broken to be of use. That of his father is entire. [*C. I. L.* Vol. 1, p. 278.]

C • OCTAVIUS • C • F • C • N • C • PRON • PATER • AUGUSTI • TR • MIL • BIS • Q • AED • PL • CUM • C • TORANIO • IVDEX • QUAESTIONUM • PR •

PRO • COS • IMPERATOR • APELLATUS • EX • PROVINCIA • MACEDONIA.

**M. Antonius.** The slanders of Antony were apparently conveyed in letters principally written in the two or three years previous to the battle of Actium, which his friends or his enemies published.

**e pago Thurino.** The term *pagus* as applied to the *municipia* properly indicates a village or other unit of inhabitants in the country as opposed to the *vicus* in the town; but Suetonius seems to be using it loosely for *ager Thurinus* (c. 3) or *regio Thurina* (c. 7). In B.C. 193 a 'Latin' colony was settled at Thurii—consisting of 3000 veterans of the infantry and 300 from the cavalry; but its territory was so large that these were not considered sufficient, and a third of the land was retained for future allotments [Livy 35, 9 *numerus exiguus pro copia agri*]. The name was changed to Copia, but this seems not to have lasted, and the old appellation prevailed. **argentarius,** 'money-changer' or 'banker,' *Nero* 5. Cicero *Caecin.* § 16. Whether the Octavii did possess a ropewalk at Thurii and a bank at Thurii or Velitrae is quite unknown. They were certainly wealthy.

3. **divisores operasque campestris.** Cicero [*Harus. resp.* § 42] speaks of the *quaestus campestris* as being of the most profitable kind (*maxime fecundus*). It was of various sorts. Friendly supporters (*suffragatores*) distributed passes for theatres and festivals [Cic. *Mur.* § 72]; election agents (*sequestres*) held sums of money which the *divisores* distributed; and the heads of political clubs or *sodalitates* brought

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opibus, honores et adeptus est facile et egregie administravit. Ex praetura Macedoniam sortitus, fugitivos, residuam Spartaci et Catilinae manum, Thurinum agrum tenentis, in itinere delevit, negotio sibi in senatu extra ordinem dato. Provinciae praefuit non minore iustitia quam fortitudine; namque Bessis ac Thracibus magno proelio fuis, ita socios tractavit, ut

bands of artisans (*operae*) to encourage or overawe the voters (see on c. 32). But though such things were forbidden by many laws, it seems that a certain amount of money distributed at least among a man's own tribe was looked upon as almost a matter of course. See inf. c. 40 and *Iul.* 19. Cic. *ad Att.* 1, 18 *est autem C. Herennius quidam Tr. Pl., quem fortassene nosti quidem, —tamen etsi potes nosse: tributis enim tuus est, et Sextus pater eius numos vobis dividere solebat.* For the discreditable nature of the employment see Cicero *Verres* 3, § 161 *non in hominis luxuriosi sed tantum in furis atque divisoris disciplina educatus.*

**ex praetura Macedoniam sortitus,** 'after his praetorship the chance of the lot gave him Macedonia.' His praetorship was in 61. In 60 (March) he went as propraetor to Macedonia, succeeding the extortionate and unsuccessful Gaius Antonius, the colleague of Cicero in his consulship (63). He distinguished himself in his province not only in war against encroaching barbarians, in the course of which he was acclaimed by his soldiers 'imperator' [*Vell.* 2, 69], but also by his conciliatory manners, strict integrity, and justice [*Cic. ad Q. Fr.* 1, 1 § 21]. Macedonia was looked upon as a profitable province and had suffered much at the hands of various governors. It was generally governed by a *praetorius*, not a *consularis*, but the practice varied according to the military necessities. The Senate decided from year to year which provinces were to be praetorian which consular; but some, as Sicily and Sardinia, seem always to have been praetorian. See Arnold, p. 44.

**residuam Spartaci.** In B.C. 72 Spartacus, the leader of the revolted gladiators, seized Thurii and held it as base of operations for plundering expeditions. It shows how difficult an effective police in S. Italy was to maintain, that twelve years after this there should still be remains of his followers who held out in the mountains near

Thurii. For the war of Spartacus B.C. 73—71 see Livy ep. 95—7; Appian *B. civ.* 1, 116—120; Plutarch *Crass.* 8—11. Catiline was conquered in Etruria near Pistoria (*Pistonia*), but some of his men doubtless escaped and made their way south. Or they may be some of the slaves dismissed from the camp at Faesulae, who had taken refuge, as a last resource, with the surviving gladiators at Thurii.

**tenentis** in app. to **manum**, cp. Liv. 26, 35 *ingens turba circumfusi fremebant.* **extra ordinem**, 'beyond his regular sphere of duty,' which was in Macedonia.

**Bessis ac Thracibus**, 'with the Bessi and other Thracians.' The Bessi were a large mountain tribe extending at various periods from the R. Nestus and the Rhodope Mt. (*Despoti Dagh*) to the Strymon or at times to the Axios. They were the most constant source of trouble to a governor of Macedonia, whose object was to keep them on the other side of Rhodope and make his N.W. frontier secure. Even before the Roman occupation the Macedonian kings had had to fight them [Polyb. 23, 8; Livy 39, 53]. The victory of Octavius seems to have dismayed them for a time, for we find them offering Piso, proconsul in Maced. B.C. 57—56, reinforcements [*Cic. in Pis.* § 84]. But Piso alienated them again by his treatment of their agent; and in 43 Brutus had to go on an expedition against them [Dio 47, 25]. They are mentioned by Herodotus [7, 111] as a branch of the Satrae, the one Thracian tribe that had never been conquered, and as having charge of an oracle of Dionysus, whence probably the term *Bassareus* used by Horace [*Od.* 1, 18, 11] for the Thracian Bacchus, though this is derived by others from *βασάρα*, 'a fox skin,' Her. 4, 192. They were infamous even among other predatory tribes for their robberies. Strabo 7, 5, 12 *Βέσσοι δὲ ὅπερ τὸ πλεόν τοῦ ὄρους νέμονται τοῦ Ἀλμου, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ληστῶν ληστὰ προσαγορεύονται*, cp. *id.* 7, fr. 47.

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epistolae M. Ciceronis exstent quibus Quintum fratrem, eodem tempore parum secunda fama proconsulatum Asiae administrantem, hortatur et monet, imitetur in promerendis sociis  
 4 vicinum suum Octavium. Decedens Macedonia, prius quam  
 profiteri se candidatum consulatus posset, mortem  
 his mother and sisters. obiit repentinam, superstitibus liberis Octavia maior, quam ex Ancharia, et Octavia minore item

**proconsulatum Asiae.** Quintus Tullius Cicero was Praetor in B.C. 62 and governor of Asia from 61 to 58. That Suetonius should indicate the government of a *praetorius* by the term *proconsulatus* may be the result of the later division of the provinces into Imperial and Senatorial, the former being governed by a *legatus*, the latter by a *proconsul*, titles which the governors held without regard to the magistracies they had previously administered. Asia had always since its establishment (B.C. 129) been governed by a *praetorius*, who however even in republican times was sometimes called *proconsul*. The province started with the dominions of Attalus of Pergamus bequeathed to Rome in B.C. 133; and in Cicero's time included Phrygia, Mysia, Caria, and Lydia [*pro Flacc. c. 27*]. The administration of Quintus seems to have been marred by ill temper (*ad Q. Fr. 1, 1 adiungenda enim facilitas est in audiendo, in satisfaciendo ac disputando diligentia. His rebus nuper C. Octavius iucundissimus fuit*) and a too credulous confidence in his freedman Statius [*ib. 1, 2*]. Asia was a province however in which an honest governor was pretty sure to give offence; for it was the chosen hunting ground of the publicani, until Caesar abolished the system in 48 [*App. B. civ. 5, 4; Dio Cass. 42, 6*].

**4. decedens Macedonia,** 'on quitting his province of Macedonia.' The technical word for a governor giving up his province: *Iul. 18 ad triumphum simul consulatumque decessit*: generally however with *ex* [more rarely with *a*]; but in *Cic. pr. Lig. 1, 2 decedens provincia*; and absolutely in *Cic. fam. 3, 6 te ante quam tibi successum esset decessurum esse*. *Sall. J. 36 Albinus Romam decessit*.

**profiteri se candidatum.** The *professio* would have to be made at Rome at least 17 days [*trinum nundinum, Cicero ad fam. 16, 12*] before the date of election. When the regulation requiring a per-

sonal *professio* was made is not known. Cicero, speaking in 63, says that it was not required by any *lex* [*contr. Rull. 2 § 24*]. It may nevertheless have been a custom which could not be neglected. In B.C. 66 Catiline was prevented by an accusation of *repetundae* from standing for the consulship,—*quod intra legitimas dies profiteri nequiverit* [*Sall. Cat. 18*]. In B.C. 60 Caesar had to choose between giving up his triumph and entering Rome to make his *professio*, *Κάτωνος δὲ ἀντιλέγοντος αὐτῷ, καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν τελευτάλαν οὖσαν τῶν παραγγελιῶν ἀναλοῦντος ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις, ἐσέδραμεν ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑπερδῶν τοῦ θριάμβου καὶ παραγγελίας ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνέμενε τὴν χειροτολίαν*, *Appian B. civ. 2, 8*. Instances of election without such personal *professio* are not uncommon earlier, Marius for instance having been more than once elected in his absence; and in B.C. 160 Q. Fulvius Flaccus, in circumstances very like Caesar's, for he was waiting outside the walls for a triumph from Spain, was elected consul [*Livy 40, 43*]. Still the law of Pompey in 55 or 52, which is the first we know of as actually legalising the regulation, must have been only an enforcement of a custom generally observed, though perhaps liable to evasion [*Iul. 28*].

**Octavia maiore, quam ex Ancharia.** According to Plutarch [*Anton. 31*] there was only one Octavia, daughter of Ancharia and half sister to Augustus; and we certainly hear nowhere else of an elder Octavia. But that Octavia was connected with the Julian gens is shown by her body being laid out in the Heroum Iulium [*Dio 54, 35*]. Her character is conspicuous for magnanimity and purity, in spite of the way in which both her uncle and brother (who was devotedly attached to her) used her hand to secure political objects. She was married to C. Claudius Marcellus (consul in B.C. 50), yet Iulius offered to transfer her to Pompey in 53, on the death of Iulia [*Suet.*

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## DIVUS AUGUSTUS.

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Augusto, quos ex Atia tulerat. Atia M. Atio Balbo et Iulia, sorore C. Caesaris, genita est. Balbus, paterna stirpe Aricinus, multis in familia senatoriis imaginibus, a matre Magnum Pompeium artissimo contingebat gradu functusque honore s praeturae inter vigintiviros agrum Campanum plebi Iulia lege

*Caes.* 27]; and when she was left a widow at the end of 41, though pregnant by her former husband, she consented to be married to Antony in order to cement a reconciliation between him and her brother, the Senate suspending the law which required a ten months' widowhood [App. *B. civ.* 5, 64; Plut. *Ant.* 31; Dio 48, 31]. For two or three years she resided with Antony at Athens, where she was much beloved, and succeeded in retaining his affection and intervening more than once to prevent a quarrel between her husband and brother [App. *B. civ.* 5, 93; Plut. *Ant.* 33, 35; Dio 48, 54]. But in B.C. 37—when the last reconciliation took place—she was left behind at Rome and Antony again fell under the influence of Cleopatra. When she went in B.C. 35 to Greece to take troops and money to Antony in Egypt, he forbade her to come nearer to him than Athens, though he accepted the presents [App. 5, 138; Dio 49, 33]. But though she returned to Rome in B.C. 34 she refused to obey her brother when he ordered her to quit Antony's house. She lived there as his wife, carefully bringing up both the three children which she had borne him and his own children by Fulvia [Plut. 54; Dio 51, 15]; and though Antony divorced her in B.C. 32 [Dio 50, 3; Plut. 57] she adopted and brought up his children by Cleopatra [Plut. 87]. The death of her son Marcellus in B.C. 23 was a severe blow to her, and she seems to have lived in retirement after that till her death in B.C. 11, when her *laudatio* was delivered by Augustus and her son-in-law Drusus [Dio 5, 35]. Augustus was glad to accept honours voted to her by the Senate in B.C. 35, and dedicated many of his public buildings to her. The *opera Octaviae* included a *porticus* (with a school), a *curia*, and a library [Pliny *N. H.* 34, 31; 35, 114; 36, 22, 24, 34—5, 43—2].

**Iulia**, see *infr.* c. 9.

**Aricinus**. Aricia [*la Riccia*] was the first halting on the *via Appia* [Horace *Sat.* 1, 5, 1], 16 miles from Rome. It obtained the most favourable terms at

the end of the Great Latin War (B.C. 338) and practically enjoyed the rights of citizenship ever since [Livy 8, 14]. Cicero [3 *Phil.* § 15] speaks of it as a *municipium...vetustate antiquissimum, iure foederatum, propinquitate paene finitimum, splendore municipum honestissimum*.

**senatoriis imaginibus**. The *ius imaginum* belonged not to Senators, as such, but to Curule Magistrates. See Cicero 2 *Verres* 5 § 36 *nunc sum designatus aedilis...ob earum rerum laborem et sollicitudinem fructus illos datos, antiquiorem in senatu sententiae dicendae locum, togam praetextam, sellam curulem, ius imaginis ad memoriam posteritatemque prodendam*. But as the curule magistracies gave a seat in the Senate, they are loosely spoken of as *senatoriae*: though since the time of Sulla the Quaestorship gave the entrée to the Senate, and therefore there would be Senators who had not the *ius imaginum*, as in fact had always been the case with those Senators who had been from time to time put on the roll by the Censors without having held curule offices. Pliny [*N. H.* 35, §§ 4—8] complains that the old waxen portraits had in his time been superseded by bronze shields with conventional figures, or statues on which often different heads were substituted. The old fashion was to keep *expressi cera vultus* (real portraits) in their several shelves or niches, so that likenesses of all the known members of a family were sometimes carried at a man's funeral. They were joined by long scrolls (*stemma*); and near them were cases of family records (*tabulina*) relating the events in the years of office held by them. The earliest mention of these *imagines* at funerals is in Polybius [6, 51] who thought it a custom admirably calculated to inspire emulation in virtue.

**a matre**, 'on his mother's side. Cp. *Iul.* 65 *militem neque a moribus neque a forma probabat, sed tantum a viribus*. So *ab omni parte* [Hor. *Od.* 2, 16, 27], *insignis ab arte* [Ov. *Tr.* 4, 10, 16].

**praeturae**. M. Atilius Balbus was

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divisit. Verum idem Antonius, despiciens etiam maternam Augusti originem, proavum eius Afri generis fuisse et modo unguentariam tabernam modo pistrinum Ariciae exercuisse obicit. Cassius quidem Parmensis quadam epistola non

praetor in B.C. 62 and served in Sardinia. He was one of the *xxviri* for dividing the Campanian land, as was Pompey, whom Cicero therefore calls *Attii collegam* [*ad Att.* 2, 10].

**Julia lege.** The law passed in his first consulship (B.C. 59) for the division of the Campanian lands and the Stellanian plain among 20,000 citizens. The lands immediately round Capua were reserved, as the best, for the fathers of three children, and dispossessed owners were compensated by means of the funds brought by Pompey from the East. It was vehemently resisted by the Optimates headed by Bibulus, and was only carried by the forcible expulsion of Bibulus from the Forum. *Jul. 10 lege autem agraria promulgata obnuntiantem collegam armis foro expulit.* The opposition to it in the Senate caused Caesar to neglect that body and hardly ever summon it during the rest of his year [*Appian B. civ.* 2, 10; *Dio* 38, 1–3]. Cicero seems to have hesitated as to what position to take up, *ad Att.* 2, 3 *est res sane magni consilii. Nam fortasse resistendum legi agrariae; in quo est quaedam dimicatio, sed plena laudis: aut quiescendum.* He afterwards speaks with disapproval of it as depriving the state of a large revenue [*2 Phil.* § 101, cp. *ad Att.* 2, 16], and refused to serve on the commission [*ad Att.* 2, 19, 3]. Candidates for office for the next year had to take an oath not to disturb arrangements made under it, *ad Att.* 2, 18 *habet etiam Campana lex execrationem candidatorum, in contione si mentionem fecerint quo aliter ager possideatur atque ut ex Iuliiis legibus.* For three chapters of the law preserved in *Scriptores Gnomatici*, see *Bruns Fontes Iuris R.* p. 94.

**despiciens,** 'by way of lowering,' the feeling of contempt is put for the expression of it. Cicero [*3 Phil.* § 15] answering an edict of Antony's in which these attacks on the birth of Augustus were continued, says, *videto quam despiciamur omnes qui sumus e municipiis, id est, omnes plane.*

**exercuisse,** 'carried on,' so *Vitell.* 2 *Antiochi cuiusdam furnariam exercen-*

*tis. de Gramm.* 23 *cum et officinas pro-mercalium vestium exerceret. Vesp.* 16 *negotiationes quoque vel privato pudendas propalam exercuit.*

**Cassius Parmensis.** The identity of this Cassius of Parma has been a subject of much dispute. The earliest trace of him is a letter to Cicero [*ad fam.* 12, 13] in the year 43, dated from Cyprus on the 13th of June. If this is really the man, it appears that he was in command of a fleet on the coast of Asia, and, in conjunction with his namesake C. Cassius Longinus, was attacking Dolabella when endeavouring to take possession of the province of Syria. He probably was then Quaestor or pro-quaestor. But Porphyrio on Horace [*Ep.* 1, 4, 3] says that he was *tribunus militum* with Horace. He had been one of the assassins of Caesar, and after the failure and death of Brutus and Cassius at Philippi (Nov. B.C. 42) he made his way from Asia, where they had left him, to the Ionian Sea with more than 30 ships and joined first Domitius Ahenobarbus and then Sextus Pompeius in Sicily. After the death of the latter he attached himself to Antony. And it was while with him at Alexandria (B.C. 35–31), between the death of Sextus and the battle of Actium, that this letter would be written. After Actium Cassius fled to Athens, and was executed by order of Octavian, the last of the assassins to perish [*App. B. civ.* 5, 2: *Vell. Pat.* 2, 87: *Valer. Max.* 1, 7, 7]. Porphyrio on the passage of Horace already cited says that he wrote *multas tragoedias.* And another grammarian Acro says: *Epicureus fuit poeta, ... satiras scripsit. aliquot generibus stilum exercuit: inter quae opera elegia et epigrammata ejus laudantur.* Another Cassius, an inferior poet called Cassius Etruscus, is mentioned by Horace [*Sat.* 1, 10, 59 sq.] and has been by some confounded with Cassius of Parma. Two lines of Cassius are quoted by Quint. 5, 11, 24; and Varro *L. L.* 6, 7; 7, 72. A poem on Orpheus was attributed to him, which however has been shown to have been composed in the 16th century A.D.



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5.]

## DIVUS AUGUSTUS.

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tantum ut pistoris, sed etiam ut nummulari nepotem sic taxat Augustum: *Materna tibi farinast ex crudissimo Ariciae pistrino: hanc finxit manibus collybo decoloratis Nerulonensis mensarius.*

- 5 Natus est Augustus M. Tullio Cicerone C. Antonio cons. 5 VIII. Kal. Octob., paulo ante solis exortum, regione Palati, ad Capita bubula, ubi nunc sacrarium habet, aliquanto post quam excessit constitutum. Nam ut senatus actis continetur, cum C. Laetorius, adulescens

Birth of Augustus 23 September B.C. 63.

**nummulari.** The *nummularius* was a 'money changer,' his office or counter was a *mensa* (hence *mensarius*). Mart. 12, 57, 8

*Hinc otiosus sordidam quatit mensam Neroniana nummularius massa.*

*Galb. 9 nummulario non ex fide versanti pecunias manus amputavit mensaeque eius adfixit.*

**taxat** [a frequentative form of *tango*], 'attacks,' 'inveighs against.' It means (1) 'to take cognisance of,' 'to estimate,' (2) in a bad sense, as here, 'to stigmatize.' Cp. *Domit. 10 Occidit et Helvidium filium, quasi scaenico exordio sub persona Paridis et Oenones divortium suum cum uxore taxasset.* So *retaxare*, cf. *Vesp. 13 Licinium Mucianum... nunquam nisi clam et haecenus retaxare sustinuit, ut apud communem aliquem amicam querens adderet clausulam: 'Ego tamen vir sum.'*

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

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

**collybo**, 'exchange,' 'agio.' Cic. *ad Att. 12, 6 sed certe in collubo est detrimenti satis*, cp. 2 *Verr. 3, § 181*. Hence the word familiar to us in the N. T. [Matt. xii. 21 etc.] *κολληβιστής*, cp. Arist. *Pax 1196 οὐδὲ κολλύβου* 'a small coin' [Pollux 9, 72 εἴη δ' ἄν καὶ κόλλυβον λεπτὸν τι νομισμάτιον]. But *κόλλυβος* = ἀλλαγή [Pollux 7, 170]. The word is not Latin or Greek, but of Semitic or Phœnician origin. Hebrew *הֲלִיב* and Rabbinic *הֲלִיבִי*.

5. VIII. Kal. Oct., i.e. 23 September [C. I. L. 1, p. 326]. A birthday was reckoned from midnight to midnight [Varro ap. Macrobian. *Sat. 3, 2*]. It is a question whether the date is by the reformed Julian calendar, which came

into operation on 1 January 45, or by the old calendar which would make the date 31 August. But even if we admit that the old calendar is that referred to, it is still extremely doubtful how far any one particular year was wrong. It was the custom about this time to intercalate 27 days at the end of February every other year in order to bring the civil year into harmony with the solar year. But this was wholly in the hands of the Pontiffs, and they seem to have been often influenced by political motives (such as wishing to prolong or curtail a tenure of some magistrate's office) and therefore it is not certain in any particular year what the true state of things was. In the year 63 however, Cicero speaking on the *VI Id. Novembres* [2 *Cat. 23*] says—*Quem ad modum illis (mulierculis) carere poterunt, his praesertim iam noctibus? quo autem pacto illi Apenninum atque illas pruinas ac nives perferent?* This suits the time of year, and looks as if the civil calendar was not far wrong in 63. In c. 94 the father of Augustus is said to have come late to a meeting of the Senate when a discussion on *Catiline* was to take place, owing to the birth of his son. And though we do not know elsewhere of such a debate as early as 23 September: yet *Catiline's* proceedings had been causing much trouble for some months. The *Comitia* had been twice postponed; and it is not surprising that he should have formed a subject of debate on that day. Dio [48, 1] relates the lateness of Octavius at the Senate, but does not mention the subject of debate. Augustus himself in B.C. 8 selected *Sextilis* as the month to be called by his name, as that in which he had first been consul and had won certain victories, though many friends suggested *September* as his birth month, Dio 55, 6. The large error in 46 is

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[5—

patricii generis, in deprecanda graviore adulterii poena praeter aetatem atque natales hoc quoque patribus conscriptis allegaret, esse possessorem ac velut aedituum soli, quod primum

partly accounted for by the suspension of the usual biennial intercalation owing to the absence of Caesar (Pont. Max.) and many of the pontiffs from the beginning of 49.

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

**sacrarium.** A chapel or shrine, which in the larger houses of Rome not only included the *Lararium*, but served also as the repository of objects of reverence or heirlooms of the family, and works of art. From Cicero [*ad fam.* 13, 2] it would sometimes seem to have been used as a studio for sculptor or artist,—*Aviano Evandro, qui habitat in tuo sacrario, multum utor*. The obligation to maintain such a shrine would pass in many cases with the ownership of the house, like the trophies and triumphal ornaments [Pliny *N. H.* 35 § 6]. For its place in the house, see Becker's *Gallus*, p. 262. Ulpian *dig.* 1, 8, 9 § 2 *sacer locus est locus consecratus: sacrarium est locus in quo sacra reponuntur: quod etiam in privato aedificio esse potest*.

**senatus actis.** Julius Caesar in his first consulship, B.C. 59, caused these *acta* to be kept and published as well as the *acta diurna* [see Suet. *Iul.* 20 *inito honore primus omnium instituit ut tam senatus quam populi diurna acta conferret et publicarentur*]; and they were included in a *commentarium rerum urbanarum* sent to the provinces. Thus Caelius says to Cicero then in Cilicia [*ad fam.* 8, 11] in B.C. 51,—*quam quisque sententiam dixerit in*

*commentariis est rerum urbanarum, ex quo tu quae digna sunt selige; multa transi*; cp. *ib.* 12, 23. Augustus stopped the publication of the *acta senatus* (c. 73). But Tiberius seems to have allowed them to be published, *Tib.* 73. Dio 57, 23 says that in causing the condemnation of his libellers in the Senate he really published them...*ἐδημοσίωεν ὥστε καὶ ἐς τὰ κοινὰ ὑπομνήματα ἐσγράψεσθαι*. He complains that the suppression of the *acta* not only made the writing of history difficult, but caused endless false and groundless rumours [53, 19].

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

**graviore poena.** The punishment of adultery by the *lex Iulia* (B.C. 17) was for the man a fine of half his goods and *relegatio*, for the woman the loss of half of her *dos* and a third of her whole estate and *relegatio*. The law did not inflict death, though it allowed the father or the injured husband to inflict it in certain cases and with certain restrictions. Tacitus [*Ann.* 3, 24] remarks that in punishing the paramours of his daughter and granddaughter with death Augustus *clementiam maiorum suasque ipse leges egrediebatur*. His action in this case was grounded on the principle that these men were guilty of *maiestas* also: cp. the case of Appuleia Varilla [Tac. *Ann.* 2, 50] where Tiberius, when she had been acquitted of *maiestas*,...*adulterii graviorem poenam deprecatus, ut exemplo maiorum propinquis suis ultra ducentesimum lapidem removeretur suavit*. In B.C. 25 however Tiberius inflicted *exilium* on Aquilia and her paramour, instead of the *relegatio* of the *lex Iulia* [Tac. *Ann.* 4, 42].

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

**aedituum,** 'temple-guardian.' There were two classes of *aeditui*: the *aedituus magister* had the general superintendence of a temple, though he did not live in it. Thus Domitian, when the