

## EXPLANATORY NOTES

The following abbreviations are used:

<i>Aug.</i>	<i>The Deified Augustus</i>
<i>Cal.</i>	<i>Caligula</i>
<i>Claud.</i>	<i>The Deified Claudius</i>
<i>Dom.</i>	<i>Domitian</i>
<i>Jul.</i>	<i>The Deified Julius Caesar</i>
<i>Tib.</i>	<i>Tiberius</i>
<i>Vesp.</i>	<i>The Deified Vespasian</i>
<i>Vit.</i>	<i>Vitellius</i>

For explanation of technical terms, ranks, etc. see the Glossary

### THE DEIFIED JULIUS CAESAR

- 3 *lost his father*: according to Suetonius' chronology, Caesar was born in 100 BCE, while his father died in 85 or 84. There is considerable debate about his date of birth.
- divorced Cossutia*: the Flamen Dialis, was not permitted to divorce his wife and had to be married but it seems Caesar was never formally inaugurated into the office.
- many Mariuses*: the great general Marius, many times consul, had been Sulla's greatest rival and was married to Caesar's paternal aunt Julia.
- Marcus Lepidus' measures*: Lepidus, who with Catulus was consul in 78 BCE, tried to repeal some of Sulla's laws but was overthrown by Catulus and Pompey.
- 4 *a charge of extortion against Cornelius Dolabella*: members of the Roman élite regularly brought such charges against one another, in part, at least, as an opportunity to display their own rhetorical skills.
- the leading teacher of oratory*: probably 74 BCE. See ch. 55 below for Caesar's oratorical skills.
- the punishment with which he had often jokingly threatened them*: crucifixion, according to ch. 74 below.
- after the consul's death*: Sertorius and his supporters had held out in Spain for the cause of Marius 77–73 BCE.
- his aunt Julia*: the widow of Marius.
- 5 *Ancus Marcius*: Caesar's grandfather, C. Julius Caesar, was married to a Marcia. Ancus Marcius was the fourth king of Rome.
- the profaning of rituals*: the festival was that of the Bona Dea ('Good Goddess') from which men were excluded (see also ch. 74 below). Cicero

was much exercised by Clodius' alleged sacrilege. Cf. his letter *To Atticus* I. 12–16.

5 *Alexander had already conquered the world*: cf. *Aug.* 18.

*some Latin colonies . . . full citizenship*: the Gallic towns beyond the river Po (i.e. 'Transpadane'), including Verona, Comum, and Cremona.

*Publius Sulla*: nephew of the dictator, Lucius Sulla.

*consular elections*: held in 66 BCE to elect consuls for 65. A rather different version of the plot appears in Sallust, *Catiline* 18.

6 *the Ambrani and the Transpadanes*: the Ambrani were a tribe in Liguria. For the Transpadanes see note to p. 5 above.

*displayed in great profusion*: it seems to have been customary for aediles to erect such temporary structures around the Forum (though not on the Capitoline hill) to display materials associated with the games which they were responsible for providing.

*termed ally and friend by the senate*: according to Caesar himself (*Civil War* 3. 107. 2), Ptolemy did not receive this title, the regular term for a dependent king, until 59 BCE. Ptolemy's expulsion seems not to have occurred until 58 or 57.

7 *prosecutions for murder*: as *iudex quaestionis* (president of the court), an office held by Caesar between the aedileship and the praetorship.

*proscriptions*: under Sulla (partly in revenge for the massacres instigated by Marius in 87 and 82), many of his enemies had been declared outlaws, so that their property was confiscated and rewards were offered for their deaths in 82–81 BCE.

*Gaius Rabirius*: the accusation was brought under the ancient and practically obsolete form of trial by *duumviri perduellionis* (described by Livy I. 26). In 63 BCE Rabirius was defended by Cicero (*On Behalf of Rabirius*). The details of the trial remain unclear.

*the harshness of his judge*: Caesar was one of a commission of two men appointed by lot to try cases of high treason. Appeals against his decision could be made to the people.

*a province*: presumably the special command of Egypt referred to in ch. 11.

*he won more votes . . . overall*: at this time, seventeen tribes (each associated with a particular region of Italy or part of Rome) were eligible to vote (there were thirty-five voting tribes in total). A candidate would generally count on the support of his own tribe.

*When . . . than he had intended*: as consul elect, Silanus would have been asked to give his opinion first. Senators were invited to speak in order of seniority. After the debate, different opinions were put to the vote. For a clear modern account see T. P. Wiseman, 'The Peasants' Revolt and the Bankrupts' Plot', in *Cambridge Ancient History*, ix (2nd edn., Cambridge, 1994), 346–58.

*the consul*: the famous orator, Marcus Tullius Cicero.

8 *the first day of his praetorship*: 1 January 62.

*the restoration of the Capitoline*: the temple of Jupiter had been damaged in a fire of 83. The new temple, bearing Catulus' name as restorer, was dedicated in 69.

*someone else*: Pompey, according to other sources.

*their attendance . . . his measures*: Caesar had taken advantage of the fact that it was customary for friends of the new consuls to accompany them to their homes, after they had offered the sacrifice with which they embarked on their year of office on 1 January (thus they were not around when he began his attack on Catulus).

*decree of the senate*: Suetonius is the only source to state that the decree applied to Caesar.

9 *once he was out of office*: as magistrate or pro-magistrate (provincial governor), Caesar would be immune from civil prosecution.

*he was obliged . . . excluded from the consulship*: as holder of *imperium* a general had to wait outside the sacred boundary of the city (the *pomerium*) to be granted a triumph by the senate. Once he had given up his *imperium* he could enter the city without waiting for permission—but would no longer be eligible to celebrate a triumph.

*Even Cato . . . the good of the state*: Cato was famously opposed to the use of bribery in elections. Cf. Plutarch, *Younger Cato* 44 and 49.

*woodland and pastures*: in charge of the woodland and pastures of Italy, Caesar would, of course, have no army under his command.

10 *the lictors would follow behind him*: according to tradition there was originally only one set of lictors which each of the consuls used in turn. Later, it seems, each consul was given a set of lictors who would walk before him. Caesar altered this procedure for those months in which his colleague held the fasces and was therefore in charge of public business.

*adverse omens*: public business could be interrupted by a magistrate's announcement that he had observed adverse omens in the sky.

*did nothing . . . omens*: thus technically nullifying all Caesar's subsequent legislation.

*tax-collecting contracts*: the Roman state delegated the collection of taxes to private tax-collectors who would bid for the contract. If they bid too high in their attempt to secure the contract, they might have difficulties recovering their costs.

*his veto*: other sources suggest he was objecting to Caesar's land laws.

11 *at the ninth hour of the same day*: that is, after the usual close of business. Clodius, as a member of a patrician family, had not been eligible to stand for election as tribune of the plebs. Cicero and Clodius fell out after Cicero gave evidence against Clodius when he was on trial in 61 BCE for appearing disguised as a woman at the Bona Dea festival in 62.

- 11 *'long-haired' Gaul* also: this term is sometimes used to refer to the area of Gaul outside Roman control. Here Suetonius appears to use it to mean Gaul beyond the Alps, as opposed to 'Cisalpine', on 'this' side of the Alps.  
*mounting on their heads*: a claim which could also be taken in an obscene sense, as the response indicates. Threats of oral rape were a regular feature of the Roman political vocabulary.  
*And when someone . . . a large part of Asia*: for allegations that Caesar had taken a passive 'feminine' sexual role in relations with Nicomedes, cf. chs. 2, 49, and 52. Such claims were not uncommon against powerful Romans (see Introduction for further discussion of this). Suetonius also lists in ch. 45 details of Caesar's dress and self-presentation which might be construed as 'effeminate'. Semiramis was a famous queen of Assyria. The Amazons were a mythical race of female warriors associated with the region of Pontus.
- 12 *a candidate for the consulship*: for the year 55.  
*he added . . . the Alauda*: such enrolments of non-citizens in the legions are not previously recorded.  
*After that . . . enemies and barbarous peoples*: a very different view is offered in Caesar's own account, *The Gallic War*.  
*ought to be handed over to the enemy*: on the grounds that his actions had been in breach of natural justice. According to Plutarch, Cato made this proposal in 55, claiming Caesar had breached an armistice (*Younger Cato* 51. 1). Caesar himself claimed it was the enemy who had broken the armistice (*Gallic War* 4. 1–16).  
*days of supplication*: a supplication was a public thanksgiving which took the form of prayers at all the temples in Rome, often accompanied by processions.  
*nine years*: 58–49 BCE.  
*Mount Cebenna*: modern Cévennes.
- 13 *the murder of Publius Clodius*: early in 52 at the hands of thugs associated with his enemy, Milo.  
*he persuaded them . . . before the campaign was rounded off*: returning to Rome as consul rather than as a private citizen, Caesar would be immune from prosecution for his actions while in Gaul.  
*a forum . . . a hundred million sesterces*: the Forum Iulium, adjoining the Forum Romanum. This was later completed by Augustus.  
*something which no one had ever done before*: previously only men had received such honours.  
*whenever famous gladiators . . . kept for him*: this must refer to gladiators who were defeated and whom the spectators had not opted to save from death at the hands of their opponents.
- 14 *He doubled . . . in perpetuity*: probably a reference to the legions raised by

- Caesar himself. The senate's authority would be needed for such a measure in relation to the state legions.  
*he offered him as wife Octavia, his sister's granddaughter*: Pompey declined the offer.
- 15 *intervention on his behalf by the tribunes of the plebs*: when the senate decreed that Caesar should disband his army, the tribunes Mark Antony and Quintus Cassius vetoed it (cf. Caesar, *Civil War* 1. 2. 6–7). The senate ignored the veto and the tribunes were forced to flee.
- 16 *Others say . . . during his first consulship*: cf. chs. 20 and 21 above.  
*Milo*: prosecuted for the murder of Publius Clodius, who was very popular with the poorer inhabitants of Rome. Pompey surrounded the court with armed men in order to secure Milo's conviction.  
*Asinius Pollio's account*: Pollio was with Caesar at the crossing of the Rubicon and at Pharsalus. He wrote a history of the civil war in seventeen books which has not survived.  
*'On Duties'*: 3. 82. The quotation comes from Euripides' *Phoenissae* 524.
- 17 *It is even thought . . . four hundred thousand sesterces*: the gold ring was worn only by knights and senators. To qualify a man needed to own property of at least 400,000 sesterces.  
*Corfinium*: a town of the Paeligni in central Italy, modern Pelino.  
*Brundisium*: modern Brindisi.
- 18 *Pharsalus*: in central Thessaly.  
*sons of Pompey*: Gnaeus and Sextus.  
*Gaius Antonius*: brother of Mark Antony.  
*the same month*: in 46 BCE.
- 19 *after the defeat of the sons of Pompey*: in 45.  
*the speed with which it was completed*: cf. Suetonius' comments on the speed with which Caesar defeated Pharnaces in ch. 35.  
*In a gladiatorial fight . . . to the finish*: public performance in gladiatorial and theatrical entertainments (though not circus races) was considered degrading and inappropriate for members of the élite, who might be punished with the loss of their privileged status. Some were nevertheless attracted to participate by the associated glamour—or money. Cf. Suetonius' remarks in *Aug.* 43, *Nero.* 4.  
*a Pyrrhic dance*: a war dance in armour.  
*five hundred thousand sesterces and a golden ring*: thus restoring the equestrian status Laberius had lost by appearing on stage.  
*the fourteen rows*: since 67, it had been the privilege of knights (and senators) to sit in the front fourteen rows.
- 20 *the Troy game*: see Glossary.

- 20 *the lesser Codeta*: a marshy area on the banks of the Tiber across from the Campus Martius.
- the calendar . . . a long period of time*: it was the duty of the *pontifices* to ensure the calendar remained in sync with the seasons, by adding an extra month from time to time (to compensate for the fact that the lunar calendar year of 355 days was slightly shorter than the solar year). Since magistracies coincided with the calendar year, the length of a particular year was of material interest both to magistrates in power and to their rivals.
- He increased . . . the senate*: both by adding new members and by restoring those who had been expelled. According to Dio (43. 47. 2), he had raised the number to 900 by 45 BCE.
- made new appointments . . . patricians*: presumably replacing families who had died out. Certain priesthoods could only be held by patricians.
- the number of . . . magistrates*: the increased number of provinces requiring governors and other staff provoked a need for more ex-magistrates to take these posts. By 44 the number of praetors was sixteen per year. The number of quaestors had risen to forty by 45.
- censors*: for instance, in 50 when many had been struck from the senate by the censor Appius Claudius (and had subsequently given their support to Caesar).
- electoral corruption*: Pompey had introduced a new law on electoral corruption in 52.
- 21 *to compete for office*: Sulla had passed a law debarring the sons of those he proscribed from office. For the proscriptions, see note to p. 7 above.
- which had been the third*: this category of men had provided a third of the judges since 70. The qualifications for the category remain unclear. Such men were apparently of lesser status than Roman knights.
- forty*: 'ten' (the figure in the manuscript) makes little sense. Probably the text is corrupt here. Scholars have suggested instead a more plausible age such as 'forty'.
- guilds . . . of ancient foundation*: these were guilds, associations, or clubs sometimes made up of those who worked in the same professions, sometimes for religious or burial purposes. They had been abolished in 64 on the grounds that they were seedbeds of political disruption, then reinstated by a law proposed by Publius Clodius in 58. The exception here may refer to the synagogues of the Jews which were respected for their antiquity.
- according to Cicero*: allusion unknown.
- 22 *a temple to Mars . . . just by the Tarpeian rock*: neither of these projects was completed.
- Marcus Varro*: author of many books and with a reputation for great learning. This project, too, was not fulfilled.
- to drain the Pontine marshes . . . if he had first tested their forces*: these

- projects also were not embarked upon. Augustus' extension of the via Salaria could be seen as carrying out Caesar's project here. Later, Caligula and Nero tried unsuccessfully to dig through the Isthmus of Corinth (cf. *Cal.* 21; *Nero* 19). The Parthians were to be approached with caution after the disaster suffered by Crassus in 53. Caesar was planning a campaign against them when he was assassinated in 44.
- 23 *had his body hair plucked out . . . disapproval*: for men to have their body hair removed was often seen as a sign of effeminacy (though a century after Caesar's time, the younger Seneca implies it was proper for men to have hair removed from their armpits but not from their legs; *Letters*: 114. 14).
- fringed sleeves down to his wrists*: both the length of the sleeves and the fringes were associated with effeminacy. Cf. Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights* 7. 12. 1.
- belted . . . rather loosely*: a belt was not usually worn with the senator's broad-striped tunic. Belts were worn with ordinary tunics—but to wear a belt loose was regarded as a sign of effeminacy.
- Subura*: an area between the Forum and the Esquiline, largely, it seems, inhabited by the poor.
- bread . . . different from that which was served to himself*: Roman moralists regularly express disapproval of hosts who eat better food than that offered to their guests.
- 24 *I shall not discuss*: Suetonius' use of the trope of *praeteritio* (mentioning something while self-righteously claiming to be leaving it out) is particularly flagrant in this section.
- as they march behind the chariot*: the soldiers' mockery of their triumphant general has been seen as having the function of repelling the envy of the gods, on an occasion when Roman generals came close to assuming godlike status.
- 25 *having divorced . . . Aegisthus*: Pompey divorced his wife Mucia on the grounds of her unfaithfulness during his absence. The reference to Aegisthus implies that Caesar was one of her lovers, since, in Greek mythology, Aegisthus was the lover of Clytemnestra, wife of the great general Agamemnon who led the Greeks against Troy.
- daughter in marriage*: Julia, whom Pompey married in 59. Cf. ch. 21.
- Tertia*: in Latin, *tertia* means a third.
- Bogud*: one of the African kings supported by Caesar as opponents of Juba, who sided with Pompey.
- Naso*: M. Actorius Naso, also mentioned in ch. 9 above.
- he welcomed her to Rome*: other sources (e.g. Dio, *Roman History* 43. 27. 3) suggest Cleopatra arrived in Rome in 46.
- The child . . . were aware of this*: the child's name was Caesarion. His paternity became a more contentious political issue after Caesar's death.

Octavian (Caesar's heir and adopted son) and his supporters wished to deny Caesarion's claim to be Caesar's true son, while Antony, disputing Octavian's position, had a vested interest in backing Caesarion. Matus and Oppius were Roman knights who were agents of Caesar. Oppius' memoirs were used by both Suetonius and Plutarch in writing about Caesar.

25 *tribune of the plebs*: in 44 BCE.

26 *governor in Spain*: 61–60 BCE.

*three thousand sesterces a pound*: much less than the usual price, it seems.

*During his first consulship . . . gilded bronze*: this may be a version of the story told by Appian (*Civil Wars* 2. 41), according to which Caesar in 49 raided the Treasury of Saturn, taking gold deposited there at the time of the Gallic invasion in the early fourth century. There was a curse on anyone who used it except for a Gallic war.

*Dolabella*: see ch. 4 and note to p. 4.

*Cicero . . . ample*: Cicero, *Brutus* 261.

27 *Caesar Strabo*: a cousin of Julius. Aedile in 90 BCE, he was also a writer of tragedies.

*common opponents*: cf. ch. 16.

*it was the latter . . . the Gallic war*: apparently completing both books 7 and 8 of *The Gallic War*.

*The "Commentaries" . . . pen to paper*: Cicero, *Brutus* 262.

*'They are so much approved . . . how easily and quickly he did it'*: *The Gallic War* 8, preface 5–6.

28 *'On Analogy'*: this work survives only in a few fragments. Part of an ongoing debate about grammar, it seems to have argued in favour of standardization.

*speeches in criticism of Cato*: after the death of Cato at Utica, Cicero wrote a speech in praise of Cato. Caesar responded with a speech against. Only a few fragments survive.

*across the scroll*: the exact nature of this innovation is not clear.

*letters to Cicero*: a small number of these survive in Cicero's collection *To his Friends*.

*Augustus prohibited publication of any of these works*: Augustus, whose initial claim to power was largely based on his status as adopted son of the Deified Julius, seems to have taken some care to control Caesar's reputation.

29 *omens*: Caesar's disregard for omens indirectly causes his downfall in ch. 81 below.

*his expedition against Scipio and Juba*: cf. ch. 35 above.

*the victim . . . sacrifice*: this would normally be interpreted as a bad omen.

*Salvito . . . he led*: according to the elder Pliny, he was so named after a particular mime-actor (actors were considered very disreputable), *Natural Histories* 7. 54; 35. 8.

30 *military cloak*: the crimson cloak worn by commanders.

31 *dripping with perfume*: contrast *Vesp.* 8.

*'comrades'*: contrast *Aug.* 25.

*the Titurian disaster*: see ch. 25 above.

*Dyrrhachium*: see ch. 36 above.

32 *a hundred and thirty thousand*: Caesar himself gives more modest figures; see *Civil War* 3. 52–3.

*Cynegirus*: at the battle of Marathon; see Herodotus, *History* 6. 114. Cynegirus was the brother of the playwright Aeschylus.

*Placentia*: modern Piacenza.

*When the men . . . due to receive*: this incident is described in detail by Appian 2. 92.

*Masimtha*: the name seems to be Numidian. He may have been a son of King Hiarbas (an ally of the Marians) whom Pompey (on Sulla's orders) had deposed in favour of Hiempsal.

*King Juba's son*: Hiempsal was the son of Juba.

33 *after his praetorship*: that is, in 61.

*the lictors with their fasces*: the praetor setting out for his province would be attended by lictors as well as his own friends and clients.

*when he sought the consulship*: on Memmius, see ch. 49 above.

*When Gaius Calvus . . . a letter of his own*: Gaius Licinius Calvus was a friend of the poet Catullus. See ch. 49 above.

*Mamurra . . . reputation*: Mamurra was Caesar's *praefectus fabrorum* (overseer of works) and had allegedly acquired great wealth through Caesar's favour. See Catullus' poems 29 and 57.

*the pirates . . . strangled first*: see ch. 4 above.

*during the time . . . delivered to Sulla*: see ch. 1 above on Caesar's need to take refuge from Sulla.

*without further punishment*: a slave who tried to murder his master would normally be crucified.

34 *When he was summoned . . . free of crime*: see ch. 6 above and note to p. 7 above.

*When conditions of surrender . . . committed against him*: for a more detailed (and somewhat different) account of this, see Caesar, *Civil Wars* 1. 74–6.

*none of the Pompeians . . . young Lucius Caesar*: Faustus Cornelius Sulla was son of the dictator Sulla. Lucius Caesar was a distant relative of Julius. Other sources, e.g. Appian 2. 100 and Plutarch, *Caesar* 53. 3, record that many more were killed.

- 34 *which had been broken up by the common people*: when news came of the battle of Pharsalus (Dio 42. 18. 2).
- 35 *Pitholaus*: a freedman of Pompey.  
*one consulship after another*: having already held the consulship in 59 and 48, Caesar was again consul in 46, in 45 (without a colleague), and in 44 (which was to have been first in a run of ten consulships).  
*responsibility for morals*: conferred in 46 for three years (Dio 43.14), this effectively made him censor, a powerful post with particular responsibility for the composition of the senate.  
*a statue displayed with those of the kings*: these statues were located on the Capitol, along with a statue of Brutus who had driven the last king out of Rome.  
*the procession for the circus games*: the procession, which went from the Capitol via the Velabrum and Forum Boarium to the Circus Maximus, traditionally included litters on which statues of the gods were displayed.  
*a couch*: of a kind on which statues of the gods were displayed.  
*a priest*: Mark Antony held this priesthood.  
*an extra college of Luperci*: there were previously just two colleges of Luperci, the priests responsible for the February festival in honour of the god Lupercus.  
*a month of the year named after him*: the seventh month of the year was renamed July.  
*in each of these two years . . . during his absence*: other sources give different accounts of these constitutional arrangements.  
*Rufio*: a typical slave name.  
*Titus Ampius*: one of Pompey's supporters, recalled from exile in 46.
- 36 *heart*: Caesar here plays on the double meaning of *cor*, 'heart', which was also regarded as the seat of intelligence. On Caesar's disregard for omens more generally, see ch. 59 above.  
*Pontius Aquila*: later involved in the conspiracy against Caesar.  
*the Latin festival*: an ancient festival of the Latin league in honour of Jupiter, held on the Alban Mount outside Rome.  
*a white ribbon*: an emblem of royalty.  
*not King but Caesar*: 'Rex'—'King'—was also a Roman family name.  
*the Lupercalia*: on 15 February. The festival was by this time particularly associated with Caesar. See ch. 76 above.  
*the consul Antony . . . Jupiter Best and Greatest*: other sources give somewhat different accounts of this incident. Appian (2. 109) and Plutarch (*Caesar* 61) record that Caesar twice refused the crown, Nicolaus of Damascus (21) that a man called Licinius first put the crown at Caesar's feet and Cassius put it on his knee. In Dio (49. 19. 4) Antony is made to offer the crown to Caesar as a way of forcing Caesar to turn it

- down. Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* offers a memorable reworking of the incident.
- 37 *the Board of Fifteen*: the college of priests who had charge of the oracular Sibylline books.  
*the Parthians . . . 'king'*: Caesar was planning a campaign against Parthia in 44.  
*the broad stripe*: an emblem of senatorial rank.  
*Lucius Brutus*: famous for driving out the kings of Rome and becoming the republic's first consul.  
*the bridge*: the raised gangway over which the voters passed.  
*on the Sacred Way*: Caesar's official residence as Pontifex Maximus was located here.  
*Pompey's Senate Chamber*: part of the theatre complex Pompey had constructed in 55 with the spoils of his eastern triumphs.
- 38 *the colony of Capua*: founded under Caesar's law of 59–58.  
*Capys*: Virgil makes Capys a companion of Aeneas from Troy and founder of Capua (*Aeneid* 10. 145); Livy makes him king of Alba Longa (1. 3. 8).  
*a king's bird*: probably a wren.  
*a dream . . . Jupiter*: cf. the dream of Caligula described in *Cal.* 57.  
*pediment*: usually only temples had pediments but one of the honours bestowed on Caesar (according to Florus, *Epitome* 4. 2. 91) was that of having one on his house.  
*the fifth hour*: around 11 a.m.—the senate usually met earlier.
- 39 *into the Tiber*: cf. *Tib.* 75 and *Vit.* 17.  
*the Ides of September of the previous year*: 13 September 45.  
*his sisters' grandsons . . . the rest*: Gaius Octavius (later Augustus) was the grandson of Caesar's younger sister; Lucius Pinarius and Quintus Pedius were the grandsons of two different husbands of Caesar's elder sister.
- 40 *heirs of the second rank*: these would only inherit if the first-rank heirs died or refused the inheritance. Cf. *Aug.* 101 and note to p. 78.  
*Julia*: Caesar's daughter and Pompey's wife (see chs. 21 and 50 above). Burial within the Campus Martius was a signal honour. That of Julia was apparently highly controversial (cf. Plutarch, *Pompey* 53).  
*the temple of Venus Genetrix*: the temple in the Forum Julium, built by Caesar, whose family claimed descent from Venus.  
*some songs . . . from Atilius' 'Electra'*: the text is uncertain here. The author referred to may be Acilius or Atilius. The latter, known to have been a writer of plays, is perhaps more likely. Roman audiences were highly sensitized to the potential of plays, even those written long previously, to resonate with contemporary events.

- 40 *the flute-players and the actors*: musicians usually led the funeral procession, which would also include actors and dancers. For an example of the entertainment actors might offer on such an occasion see *Vesp.* ch. 19.
- 41 *the Jews*: Caesar had allowed the Jews special privileges, according to Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 14. 8–10.  
*Helvius Cinna*: tribune of the plebs and a supporter of Caesar. Cf. ch. 52 above.  
*Xenophon: Education of Cyrus* 8. 7. Cyrus was founder of the Persian empire.  
*the fifty-sixth year of his life*: sources disagree about Caesar's exact age.
- 42 *the eleventh hour*: about an hour before sunset.

### THE DEIFIED AUGUSTUS

- 43 *Velitrae*: about 20 miles south of Rome (modern name Velletri).  
*minor families*: i.e. those who were not patricians but of plebeian rank.  
*The family . . . to the patriciate*: Suetonius' account here is inconsistent with what is known of the senatorial élite in the earliest period of Roman history from other ancient sources. Livy's account implies that in the time of the kings only patricians could be senators. It is also highly unlikely that an entire family could change status from patrician to plebeian.  
*during the Second Punic War*: 205 BCE.
- 44 *other services . . . elections in the Campus Martius*: presumably these related to the conduct of elections and were not wholly respectable.  
*the gang of runaway slaves . . . around Thurii*: 60 BCE. Spartacus led a rebellion of slave gladiators in 73–71 BCE; the aristocrat Catiline was leader of a conspiracy suppressed 63–62.  
*Bessi*: a mountain tribe in Thrace.  
*Cicero . . . our allies*: Cicero, *To his Brother Quintus* 1. 2. 7.  
*displayed many senatorial portraits*: a family with senatorial ancestors would display portraits of them in the entrance hall of the house.  
*the twenty-man commission . . . the Julian law*: 59 BCE. Cf. *Jul.* 20.
- 45 *eight days before the Kalends of October*: 23 September 63. It is not known which part of the Palatine was known as Ox Heads.  
*the emperor*: Hadrian.
- 46 *Ennius*: Quintus Ennius (239–169) was one of Rome's leading epic poets before Virgil. The line is from his *Annals* (502, Vahlen, edn. 2).  
*when his great-uncle . . . a serious illness*: in 46.
- 47 *tribunes of the plebs . . . not a senator*: this magistracy was restricted to those of plebeian family. Since the time of Sulla only senators were eligible.

- 48 *he should be honoured then disposed of*: Cicero, *Letters to his Friends* 11. 20. 1. Cicero seems to have been punning on the double meaning of the Latin verb *tollo*, 'to raise' and 'to put out of the way'.  
*in two battles . . . Antony's wing*: in 42.  
*mora*: a game whereby one person suddenly raises his fingers and the other must at once guess how many.
- 49 *Perusia*: modern Perugia, a town in Umbria.  
*both before the war and during it*: in 41.  
*the orders*: i.e. senators and knights.  
*the capture of Perusia*: in 40.  
*the Sicilian war*: 43–35 BCE.
- 50 *Others criticize . . . festival procession*: it is no doubt relevant that Sextus Pompeius presented himself as the 'son of Neptune' according to Dio 48. 48.  
*Paulus' father*: Marcus Lepidus the triumvir's elder brother, Lucius Aemilius Paulus, proscribed by the triumvirs in 43.  
*Circeii*: a seaside town south of Rome.
- 51 *Gnaeus*: the name wrongly appears as Titus in the manuscripts.  
*Bononia*: modern Bologna.  
*Actium*: in 31.  
*the Ceraunian mountains*: in northeastern Epirus.  
*Psylli*: an African people known for their skill in dealing with snakes.
- 52 *Alexander the Great . . . for him to see*: compare the references to Alexander in *Jul.* 7, also *Aug.* 50 and 94.  
*Lepidus*: Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, son of the triumvir Lepidus.  
*the emperor's granddaughter*: Julia, daughter of Augustus' daughter Julia.  
*the foreign wars . . . the defeat of Antony*: in 35–33 and 26–25.
- 53 *the River Albis*: the River Elbe.  
*Marcus Crassus and Mark Antony*: Crassus lost his standards at Carrhae in 53, Antony his when his officers were defeated in 40 and 36.  
*on only two occasions*: the doors of the temple of Janus Quirinus were believed to have been closed in the time of the legendary King Numa and in 235 with the conclusion of the First Punic War.
- 54 *Lollius . . . Varus*: in 17 or 16 BCE, and 9 CE respectively.  
*every tenth man . . . barley*: 'decimation' was a traditional form of punishment in the Roman army. Soldiers' rations normally included wheat rather than barley.  
*ten-foot measuring poles or even a lump of turf*: these were associated with the common soldiers' tasks of measuring off the camp or building the ramparts and thus would have been humiliating for officers.