

A COMMENTARY ON SUETONIUS'

GALBA

By

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## ABSTRACT

It is difficult to ascertain the reason why the Lives of Suetonius have been so neglected by English-speaking scholars. In the historical significance of the period they cover, in the light they throw upon Roman life and manners and as a rich mine of anecdotes concerning Roman emperors, they have always been regarded as a most important source of information. There have been, however, few commentaries devoted to the Lives. The Galba has been particularly disregarded. Not since Mooney's edition of 1930 has there been any complete English commentary on the Life. However, other factors than the lack of a recent edition contributed to the choice of the Galba as the subject of this thesis. The Life deals with one of the most remarkable periods of Roman history, with the decline of the Julio-Claudian line and the subsequent political upheaval. It is also typical of Suetonius' style of biography in its impartiality, the structure and organization of its narrative, and its linguistic style. Finally, in the parallel accounts of Galba's life by Tacitus, Dio and Plutarch there exist constant points of reference that are vital for reasons of characterisation and historical value. It has been my aim in this thesis to produce a critical commentary on the Galba that both demonstrates the peculiar characteristics of the work and evaluates the contributions of modern scholarship.

The thesis falls into three parts. The first chapter deals with the life of Suetonius and includes a discussion of the problems caused by the discovery of the Hippo Inscription. Subsequent sections are devoted to the date of composition of the Lives, the contentious question of Suetonius' sources and, finally, the manuscript tradition.

Chapter two consists of a text of the Galba based on that of Ihm (1958). Some variations have been made and defended in the Commentary.

Chapter three, the Commentary, constitutes the bulk of the thesis and is a section-by-section discussion of historical, textual and linguistic points arising from the text.

The method of citation, through out, is by name of author and year of publication only. Full details can be found in the bibliography at the end of the thesis.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- CIL: Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, ed. by W. de Gruyter et al.
- DS: Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines, ed. by C. Daremberg and E. Saglio (2nd ed., 1962)
- Ges. Schrift: Gesammelte Schriften, T. Mommsen (Berlin 1904, reprinted 1965)
- HRR: Historicum Romanorum Reliquiae, ed. by M. Peter (Stuttgart, 1967)
- PECS: Princeton Encyclopaedia of Classical Sites, ed. by R. Stillwell, W. L. MacDonal and M. H. McAllister (Princeton University Press, 1976)
- PIR: Prosopographia Imperii Romani Saec I, II, III, ed. by E. Groag and A. Stein (Berlin 1933)
- Provs: Provinces of the Roman Empire, T. Mommsen, trans. W. P. Dickson (New York, 1887)
- RE: Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, ed. by G. Wissowa et al.
- RIC, I: Roman Imperial Coinage vol. I, Augustus to Vitellius, H. Mattingly and E. Sydenham (London, 1923)
- Staats: Römisches Staatsrecht, T. Mommsen (Leipzig, 1887)
- Straf: Römisches Strafrecht, T. Mommsen (Berlin 1899, reprinted 1955)
- TLL: Thesaurus Linguae Latinae.

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## CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

I. Life of Suetonius

Although we have what appears to be a significant amount of knowledge for the life of Suetonius, its fragmentary and disputed nature does not easily produce a consistent chronological framework. The evidence falls into two categories: ancient literary testimony and recently discovered epigraphic information. Paradoxically, however, the inscription found at Hippo Regius (Bône, Algeria) in 1951 has served only to introduce more uncertainty into the theories for Suetonius' life based on references to him in his own writings, the letters of Pliny, the S.H.A. and the Byzantine encyclopaedia, Suda.

Material for Suetonius' family background is scanty. His grandfather (it is not clear whether maternal or paternal) had connections with Caligula's courtiers (Cal. 19.3), but there is no strong evidence to suggest that he was a member of the imperial household himself. If it is assumed that he was Suetonius' paternal grandfather, then he may well have been a soldier. Suetonius' father, Suetonius Laetus, whom we know was a soldier, would then have followed in his father's military footsteps. Laetus was an equestrian tribune with



the legio XIII in 69 A.D. and witnessed Otho's defeat at the battle of Bedriacum (Otho 10.1). It is not clear whether Suetonius was born before or after this battle. The approximate date of his birth, as originally calculated by Macé (1900: 35-74) was 69 or 70 A.D. This date, deduced primarily from the testimony at Nero 57.2, has been accepted inter alios by Rolfe (1914a: vol I, p. IX), Alloud (1967: tome I, p. II) and Townend (1961a: 99). Syme (1977: 44) more precisely suggested 70 A.D. on the basis of the aptitude of the name "Tranquillus" for that peaceful year. If it is assumed that Suetonius was indeed born in one of these two years, a stronger argument than that of Syme for the later year is the absence of any Suetonian testimony linking his year of birth with the revolutionary events of 69.<sup>1</sup>

His place of birth is equally disputed. The traditional theory was that he was actually born in Rome (see Rolfe 1914a: vol. I, p. IX). This was, however, conjecture based on the lack of any evidence to the contrary. Since the discovery of the Hippo inscription more exotic suggestions have been made. Townend (1961a: 105) states that the dedicatory inscription must indicate that Suetonius was a native of Hippo, while Crook (1957: 21), followed by Gascou (1978: 440), argues that he merely visited the area and was probably born in Rome. However, the erection of such an inscription, (and probably a statue), to a visitor, regardless of any favours he may have bestowed upon the natives, seems implausible, and logic favours Townend's theory.

Whatever his date and place of birth, it has always been assumed that Suetonius spent his childhood in Rome. This hypothesis persists even among the most recent scholars (see Wallace-Hadrill 1983: 3, Birley 1984: 245-251) although it is based on three unconvincing passages. First, Suetonius' grandfather knew the story of Caligula's courtiers' explanation for the bridge at Baiae (Cal. 19.3). This, however, need not imply that he heard it personally at Rome. Such gossip travelled fast, especially in military circles. Secondly, Suetonius says that, as a boy, he heard a man called Princeps teach in the morning and declaim in the afternoon (de gramm. 4.9). While it is true that most reputable teachers of grammar and rhetoric resided in Rome, it should not be taken for granted that Suetonius was educated there. Finally, during the reign of Domitian, he witnessed the stripping of a ninety-year-old Jew before a procurator (Dom. 12.2).<sup>2</sup> Why need this be at Rome? The majority of procuratorial posts with legal responsibilities were held in the provinces. In addition, there were large Jewish communities in many other Mediterranean cities, and if one assumes that Suetonius was born in Hippo, a more natural location for his observing such an incident would be Carthage, ninety miles east of Hippo. On the basis of its proximity and reputation as a cultural centre it is also fair to suggest that Suetonius may have been educated there rather than at Rome. A North-African education would strengthen his links with Hippo beyond the mere accident of birth and support the theory that the Hippo inscription is an honour for the "local boy made good".<sup>3</sup>

With the death of Domitian ends the evidence garnered from the Suetonian corpus. The story of Suetonius' early manhood must be pieced together from references to him in the correspondence of his friend, the younger Pliny. The letters<sup>4</sup> tell us more of the cultured circle in which Suetonius moved than of the man himself, but they do indicate his entry onto the Roman social scene and his rise in public life.

Like most educated men of the Imperial period, Suetonius contemplated a life at the bar but, in a letter dated to 90, his hesitancy is obvious; he asks Pliny to arrange a postponement of a court case because he had suffered a bad dream (Epist. 1.18). Soon afterwards he resigned himself to a scholarly life. Pliny wrote to Baebius Hispanus, a member of his clientela, and arranged a cheap price for an estate where Suetonius could continue his studies (Epist. 1.24). This was not, however, the end of his public life. About 101, Pliny secured for him a military tribunate, but Suetonius refused the post, recommending a kinsman, Caesennius Silvanus, in his stead (Epist. loc. cit.)<sup>5</sup>.

By 105, Suetonius' failure to publish was beginning to disappoint his friends (Pliny, Epist. 5.10). It is fair to assume that in the following five years he published his first works, since from 110 onwards it seems he held a variety of administrative posts. In that year Pliny became special legate to Bithynia-Pontus, and Suetonius probably joined his staff (see Syme 1981: 107). Pliny wrote to Trajan from his province to secure the ius trium liberorum for Suetonius as a

compensation for his childless marriage (Epist. 10.94).<sup>6</sup>

By this stage, Suetonius had earned a reputation as an erudite scholar ("Suetonium Tranquillum, probissimum, honestissimum, eruditissimum virum", Epist. 3.8), and the backing of an influential circle of friends. It must be shortly after this that he embarked upon the career indicated by the Hippo inscription.

The problems raised by this inscription, first published by Marec and Flaum (1952: 76-85), are manifold. It does, however, give invaluable information about the direction of Suetonius' administrative career:

C. Suetoni[o  
 .fil(tribus)] Tra[nquillo  
 f]lami[ni .....  
 adlecto i]nt[er selectos a]di]vo Tr[a  
 iano Parthico p]on[t(ifici) Volca[nal]i  
 ..... a] studiis a byblio[thecis  
 ab e]pistulis'  
 [imp. Caes. Trai]ani Hadrian[i Aug]  
 Hipponienses Re[gii d.d.p.p.

This reconstruction, supplied by the first editors, has been universally accepted. It has remained for scholars to argue over the details.

The minor offices, held, presumably, at the start of his career, have caused few problems. Syme's suggestion

(1958: 780) that the flamine was a local one is generally approved. Townend (1961a: 107) further volunteers that if the priesthood is indeed from the Hippo region it is likely that Suetonius was native to that area. Subsequently he was appointed by Trajan to the 'selectos iudices', an equestrian body of travelling magistrates, that was regarded as a stepping stone to a career in imperial administration. Suetonius' scholarly reputation and the support of Pliny would have been qualification enough.

Shortly afterwards he was ordained Pontifex Volcanalis. However, Marec and Pflaum have pointed out that this office is never recorded at Rome, but found only at Ostia. They claim that 'pontifex' is an epigraphic error and that Suetonius was actually Flamen Volcanalis at Rome.<sup>7</sup> Others preferred to believe that he held the well-documented post of Pontifex Volcanalis at Ostia.<sup>8</sup> However, in 1972 new inscriptional evidence showed that the previous Pontifex Volcanalis of Ostia had not died in 118, as originally thought, but was still alive in 126. Therefore the suggestion that Suetonius was Pontifex there from 118 to 122 had to be abandoned in favour of the theory of the first editors (see Meiggs 1973: 584).

The real problem of the inscription follows the priesthood. There is a gap of at least sixteen letters before 'a studiis' for which several conjectures have been made (see Townend 1961a: 102). The context suggests that one, or possibly two, minor administrative posts led up to the office of



In the wake of the publication of the Hippo inscription, this somewhat obscure story immediately became the centre of a scholarly controversy. Crook (1957: 18-23) was the first into the fray. The testimony appears during an account of Hadrian's visit to Britain in 122, and the dismissal was naturally dated to that year. However, in an analysis of the Life of Hadrian, Crook demonstrates that it relies on two distinct sources, one narrative and one moralizing. He sensibly suggests that the story of the dismissal of Septicius and Suetonius came from the latter, but his reason for its insertion into the narrative at this point ("... for variety's sake ...", 1957: 21) is weak. He concludes that Suetonius was not dismissed in 122, and it is impossible to say when he was.<sup>12</sup> Townend (1961a: 107-109) has refuted this hypothesis. While accepting that there are two sources, he suggests that the only plausible reason for an excursus on the dismissal of two officers during an account of a tour of Britain is that that was precisely when the event occurred. The narrative source mentioned the sacking and the inserted moralizing source gave it its lurid details. Furthermore, a tenure of at least nine years as ab epistulis cannot be paralleled, nor is it a credible suggestion in the light of the frequent changes of office experienced by most imperial administrators, including Suetonius himself.<sup>13</sup>

It is easier to plot a systematic chronological course for Suetonius' career if his dismissal falls in 122. Minor posts suiting his scholarly reputation are followed by junior

administrative offices under Trajan, won for him by Pliny, an imperial secretariat rôle in 119 coinciding with the promotion of Septicius Clarus, his new patron, to the prefecture and his subsequent downfall with the same person in 122. The consensus of modern opinion has concurred with such a theory.<sup>14</sup>

A brief flurry of excitement was caused by the discovery of a Roman military diploma in Romania in 1978. It seemed to show that Marcus Turbo, Septicius' colleague as prefect in 119, was still in charge of Danubia in 123. It was therefore claimed that Septicius' appointment as prefect and Suetonius' as ab epistulis must be dated after 123. Explanation, however, was soon at hand. Roxan (1978: 50-51 and n.9) agrees that the diploma should be dated to August 123, but shows that it was issued at least four years after Turbo's discharge from his Danubian commission. The theory of appointment in 119 and dismissal was allowed to stand.

Subsequent to his dismissal, nothing is known of Suetonius. The Suda records a long list of works attributed to 'Τραγκυλλος', which led Macé (1900: 220 ff.) to calculate that he lived to circa 141, thus allowing time for a large literary output. Such a calculation is, however, faulty. It is known neither how quickly Suetonius worked nor how many of his treatises were published prior to or during his administrative career (see Baldwin 1975: 70, Wallace-Hadrill 1983: 7). In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, it can only be assumed that after his dismissal, Suetonius spent the remainder of his life in scholarly retirement.



## II. Date of Composition

The only explicit evidence for the date of composition of the de vita Caesarum is the statement of Iohannes Lydus, a sixth-century Greek writer, that Suetonius dedicated the work to Septicius Clarus while that man was praefectus praetorio (de. mag. pop. Rom. 2.6). Therefore, following Townend's convincing chronological scheme (1961a: 108-109), the dedication must have been made sometime between Septicius' appointment as prefect in 119 and his dismissal, while Hadrian was in Britain, in 122 (see section I). It is, however, far from certain that the Galba was published at this time.

The dedication, along with the account of Julius Caesar's childhood, is lost and some scholars suggest that the Lives were published in serial form and that the dedication was attached only to a part of the corpus of Suetonius' biographies.<sup>15</sup> The evidence for this theory is based on radical differences in style between the early and late Lives. Furthermore, it is claimed that at the time of the dedication, most of the later biographies, including the Galba, had not yet even been written, far less published.<sup>16</sup> In 1969, a revolutionary theory proposed that the Lives from Galba to Domitian were composed and published first, with those of the Julio-Claudians following (see Bowersock, 1969: 120-124). However, as it has been subsequently shown, there is no satisfactory evidence to suggest that Suetonius followed any sequence other than a chronological one (see Bradley 1973:

257-263). The terminus post quem for the publication of the Divus Iulius is 119 (see above), while the evidence for a considerably later date for the Galba is persuasive. The earlier Lives include a plethora of documentary evidence, presumably culled from the imperial archives, of which there is none in the Galba. Also, in comparison to the Divus Iulius and Augustus in particular, the Galba shows a remarkable tendency to generalization. Suetonius refrains from identification of sources (see quidam putant ... alii ... nonnulli, 3.1) and is increasingly inaccurate over details (see note on legiones, 10.2). Such shortcomings might indicate faults in Suetonius' main source if there were similar problems in the account of Galba's career given by Tacitus. However, that historian does not suffer from such deficiencies. The decline in archival evidence and increase in vagueness may rather indicate Suetonius' inability to refer to material still available to other authors. In short, they suggest that, at the time of his composition of the Galba, he had already been dismissed from his imperial administrative positions.<sup>17</sup>

A terminus ante quem is more difficult to propose, and any conjecture relies only on circumstantial evidence. Syme (1958: 780) suggests that the story of Titus' alleged adultery with Domitian's wife, Domitia (Tit. 10.2), indicates that Suetonius wrote that biography after her death circa 130. The passages in the Vespasian, Titus and Domitian, located by Carney (1968: 7-21), that may express anti-Hadrianic sentiments

also tend to point to their composition in a period considerably after Suetonius' dismissal. Added to this is his known hesitancy towards publication (see Pliny Epist. 5.10). None of this evidence on its own indicates a particular year of publication for the later biographies. However, taken together they imply that Suetonius was working on the Flavians circa 129/130. If this is correct, it is then fair to assume that he composed the Galba in the preceding years (127/128?) and published it, maybe with the Otho and Vitellius, but more likely with all the remaining Lives, in the early part of the next decade.

### III. Sources for the Galba

The question of Suetonius' sources for the Galba, and especially for the events of 69 and 70, has been exhaustively discussed but remains unresolved. The fact that Suetonius has declined to name any of his authorities for the biography means that only tentative identification can be proposed.

What seems certain is that Suetonius had access to a source that was also used by Tacitus, Plutarch and Dio. There are parts of the Galba which resemble Tacitus' Histories I, Plutarch's Life of Galba and Dio's books 63 to 65 so closely that the dependence of all of them on a common source, either directly or via each other, is obvious.<sup>18</sup> Close verbal parallels between the various accounts guarantee the existence of this common source; cf "quod se aegros et invalidos magnopere fovisset", Suet. Galba 20.1, and "quod eos ... aegros impen-

sione cura Galba refovebat", Tac. Hist. 1.31.3. Details particular to one account but not to another negate the possibility that any one author used any of the others as his main source.

Various identifications for the common source have been proposed. Suetonius had obviously read the Histories of Pliny the Elder, (See Cal. 8.1-3), and cases can also be made for his using Cluvius Rufus (mentioned explicitly, though not as a source, at Nero 21.2), and Fabius Rusticus, both of whom wrote histories that concentrated on the reign of Nero. There has, however, been no decisive argument for one in favour of another.<sup>19</sup>

Nevertheless, the controversy surrounding the common source should not be allowed to conceal the fact that Suetonius used more than one authority in his composition of the Galba. Certain sources introduced by references to unidentified authorities ("sunt qui tradant ... plures autem prodiderunt ...", 20) indicate that he included a variety of evidence. It should not be automatically assumed that those sources are Pliny, Cluvius Rufus and Fabius Rusticus. There must have been other authors, whose work is now lost, on whom Suetonius could draw.<sup>20</sup> For his account of Galba's genealogy (3.2-4.1). Suetonius probably had access to family records, histories and obituaries.<sup>21</sup> The etymological examination of the name Galba (3.1) implies that there already existed a written record of theories for its origin.

Despite the fact that Suetonius was probably no longer employed in the imperial archives while working on the Galba (see section II), the published acta diurna would have been available to him. These would have provided contemporary literary evidence for events during Galba's life.<sup>22</sup>

Moreover, some of Suetonius' sources may not have been written down at all. His childhood was spent in the immediate aftermath of 69, and he may have heard stories and anecdotes about Galba. In addition, during his time in Rome, Suetonius would surely have met people who had lived there while Galba was emperor, and who may have provided him with accounts of, for example, the entry into Rome (12.2) and the assassination (19-20). Verses such as the one recorded at Galba 13, and apocryphal stories of his gluttony and sexual desire (22) were probably also transmitted orally (see "ferebant ...", 22).

Direct eye-witness experience and research may also have been employed by Suetonius. Indications of location often suggest that he had visited the place himself ("...prope Tarracinam sinistrorsus Fundos petentibus ...", 4.1). While there is no explicit reference to inscriptions or coinage issues in the Galba, epigraphic and numismatic evidence may have been used as secondary sources for names (see 4.1) or family history (see 2)<sup>23</sup>. Finally, the section on Galba's physical appearance (21) could have been the result of Suetonius' personal study of portraits and busts of the emperors.

Such a variety of non-literary sources does not

necessarily mean that Suetonius made regular use of all of them. Nevertheless, it is clear that within the context of his composition of an original Galba, sources other than the "common source" were used by Suetonius to contribute to its content, style and structure.

#### IV. Manuscripts of the de vita Caesarum

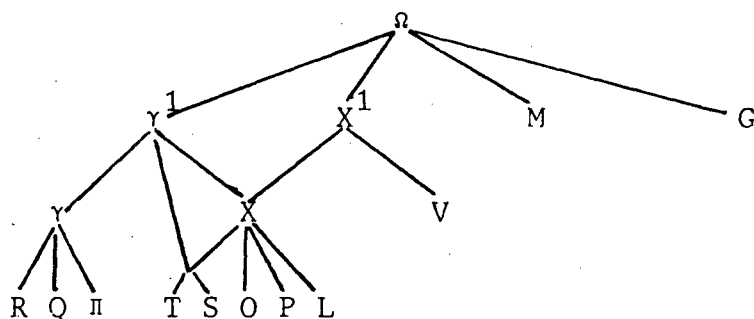
The definitive study of the manuscripts of the de vita Caesarum and their relation to each other was published in 1908 by Ihm (reprinted 1958: p. iii - ix) in the preface to his Teubner edition.<sup>24</sup> He showed that all the extant manuscripts are derived from one archetype, generally agreed to have been stored at Fulda in Germany. The abbot of Ferrières, Servatus Lupus, in a letter dated to 884, requested a copy of this manuscript as none existed in his area. It is from this copy that the oldest and most reliable manuscript of the de vita Caesarum, the ninth century codex Memianus, is alleged to be directly derived.<sup>25</sup> Subsequently, further copies were made which, in turn, led to other versions, each suffering from error and interpolation.

Apart from the codex Memianus, Ihm (1958: p.v) specifies the eleventh-century codices Gudianus and Vaticanus as trustworthy manuscripts.<sup>26</sup> Both are derived from the same original as M but have their own particular problems. G suffers from the mistaken corrections of a scribe while V stops at chapter three of the Caligula.

Other manuscripts used by Ihm are divided by him into two groups. The first, derived from a lost archetype X, keeps close to the readings of M. The other, copied from a lost archetype of the same period as X, denoted by  $\gamma$ , contains more faults, lacunae and interpolations, and is generally less reliable.<sup>27</sup>

With regard to the numerous fifteenth-century manuscripts, Ihm declares that they are of little value and were not used in his reconstruction of the text. This theory has been challenged<sup>28</sup>, but the fact remains that the methods of textual criticism employed by the scribes of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were not scientific and, consequently, their emendations ought to be treated with caution.<sup>29</sup>

Stemma



Notes to Chapter One

<sup>1</sup>Baldwin (1975:61) proposed a birthdate as early as 62, on the grounds that 'adulescentulus' (de. gramm.4.9, Dom. 12.2) refers not to youth, but to early manhood. He has, however, won little support; Suetonius gives no indication of any pre-Flavian personal recollections.

<sup>2</sup>Suetonius' use of 'adulescentulus' at both de. gramm. 4.9 and Dom. 12.2 suggests that the events are closely related chronologically.

<sup>3</sup>See Birley (1984: 247).

<sup>4</sup>Epist. 1.18;1.24;3.8; 5.10; 9.34; 10.94; 10.95.

<sup>5</sup>Despite the lack of any evidence that Suetonius ever subsequently pursued a military career, Della Corte (1967: 143) regards it as a certainty that he held the office of tribune. This is extremely unlikely. By this stage of his career Suetonius was settled on an academic career and as Syme (1981: 106) and Wallace-Hadrill (1983: 5) suggest, the offer of a military office would have recognition enough for him.

<sup>6</sup>The date of Suetonius' marriage and the identity of his wife remain unknown.

<sup>7</sup>In support of their theory, Marec and Pflaum (1952: 78) cite a parallel confusion between pontifex and flamen in epigraphic citations of the Pontifex Palatualis.



<sup>7</sup>(cont.) For the office of the Flamen Volcanalis at Rome see Varro L.L 5.84.

<sup>8</sup>See Meiggs (1973: 516). Cf. Townend (1961a: 101) who finds it hard to believe that an inscription from Hippo would include details of a priesthood from anywhere other than Hippo itself.

<sup>9</sup>Supported by Crook (1957: 19) and Syme (1958: 780).

<sup>10</sup>See inter alios Gascou (1978: 439-440) and Wallace-Hadrill (1983: 5).

<sup>11</sup>Van't Dack (1963: 183-184) has revived Syme's implausible theory (1958: 780) that the posts a studiis and a bybliothecis were held as one position under Hadrian. Such a combination of offices is found only in extraordinary situations and would, in addition, be indicated epigraphically by the conjunction 'et' (see Townend 1961: 103).

<sup>12</sup>According to Crook (1957: 22) the Hippo inscription indicates that Suetonius was still in office in at least 128, when he would have visited Africa with Hadrian. The inscription would have been the reward for benefits he bestowed on the natives.

<sup>13</sup>Townend does not even feel it necessary to point out that there is absolutely no evidence for Suetonius' visiting Africa with Hadrian, much less bestowing favours upon North-Africans with whom, according to Crook's theory, he would have had no previous connection.

<sup>14</sup>Other valuable suggestions have been made. Baldwin (1975: 68-69) claims that the real reason for the dismissal was not impropriety on the part of Septicius and Suetonius, but Sabina's enmity towards them and her influence over Hadrian. Syme (1981: 111) suggests that all three participants in the scandal were actually in Britain at the time and not, as previously supposed, in Rome. Interesting points of argument both but, from a chronological point of view, of little importance.

<sup>15</sup>See inter alios Townend (1959: 285-289).

<sup>16</sup>See Townend (1959: 285). The same scholar goes on to suggest that only the Divus Iulius and the Augustus were published and dedicated to Septicius at this time. Syme (1980: 117) agrees that the dedication was not attached to all twelve Lives, but thinks that the first batch published included the Lives from Divus Iulius to Nero, and that the remaining six were also published together at an unknown later date.

<sup>17</sup>First proposed by Townend (1959: 290) and supported by Syme (1981: 116).

<sup>18</sup>See commentary on chapters 9 - 20, passim.

<sup>19</sup>Macé's tentative suggestion (1900: 360-364) that the "common source" was Pliny the Elder has been accepted by, inter alios, Momigliano (1932: 237-8) and Townend (1960: 105; 1961b: 227; and 1964: 337-344). Syme (1958:180-181) prefers to suspend judgement, but states "that there is not a little

<sup>19</sup>(cont.) to be said for Fabius Rusticus". Della Corte (1967: 114-116) admits the impossibility of positive identification, and proposes that the source be known only as "ignotus". The nineteenth-century theory that Cluvius Rufus was the common source is no longer accepted; Townend (1960: 98-119) has shown that he was rather the source for Suetonius' Greek.

In general, on the problem of identification see Syme, 1958: App. 29, p. 674-676.

<sup>20</sup>See the testimony of Josephus (BJ 20: 154-157), who tells of the large number of historians who wrote about the Neronian period. It is hard to believe that information on Galba would not have been included in these. In addition, the turbulent events of 68 and 69 would surely have inspired a similarly large literary output.

<sup>21</sup>Individual family histories were published (see Pliny N.H. 35.7) and works such as the De familiis of M. Valerius Messalla Rufus were available. Suetonius could have also used the laudatory obituaries written by, for example, Titinius Capito and C. Fannius, that were popular in the Flavio-Trajanic period. On this type of exitus literature and its authors see Pliny Epist. 5.5.3; 8.12.4 of Sherwin-White (1966: ad loc. and p. 239).

<sup>22</sup>Suetonius himself records that Julius Caesar instituted the publication of the acta diurna circa 59 B.C. (Suet. Div. Iul. 20.1). For Tacitus' use of the acta diurna, see Ann. 332

<sup>23</sup>See Dennison (1898: 59-63 and 66).

<sup>24</sup>Other detailed discussions of the manuscript tradition were produced by Smith (1901: 19-58) and Alexander (1908: 1-6).

<sup>25</sup>Both the Fulda original and its Ferrières copy are now lost.

<sup>26</sup>Hereafter, the codices will be referred to as M, G and V respectively.

<sup>27</sup>Partial reconstructions of archetypes are possible from the agreement of manuscripts. The consensus of L, P, O, S and T produce X; X and V produce  $X^1$ . Similarly,  $\Pi$ , Q and R produce  $\gamma$ , which combines with S and T to give  $\gamma^1$ . Finally, the agreement of  $X^1$  and  $\gamma^1$  provides the partial restoration of an archetype for all codices,  $\alpha$ . This archetype must represent part of the Fulda original or its Ferrières copy.

<sup>28</sup>Notably, prior to Ihm's Teubner text, by Howard (1901: 261-265).

<sup>29</sup>On the faulty methods employed by textual critics during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, see Reynolds and Wilson (1974: 125).

## CHAPTER TWO

## THE TEXT

The text retyped here is principally that of Ihm (1958: 260-273) in his Teubner edition. In the few places where I have not agreed with his readings I have made changes. These alterations and any other significant textual problems are discussed fully in the commentary.

SIGLA

- Ω : The reading of all existing codices
- M : codex Memianus, Parisinus 6115
- G : codex Gudianus 268
- V : codex Vaticanus 1904
- L : codex Laurentianus 68.7
- P : codex Parisinus 5801
- X O : codex Laurentianus 66.39
- S : codex Montpessulanus 117
- T : codex Berolinensis 337
- Π : codex Parisinus 6116
- γ Q : codex Parisinus 5802
- R : codex Regius musei Britannici 15C111
- ς : all codices not included in the above list.  
Most dated to the fifteenth century.

1 Progenies Caesarum in Nerone defecit: quod futurum compluribus quidem signis, sed uel euidentissimis duobus apparuit. Liuiæ olim post Augusti statim nuptias Veientanum suum reuisenti præteruolans aquila gallinam albam ramulum lauri rostro tenentem, ita ut rapuerat, demisit in gremium; cumque nutriri alitem, pangi ramulum placuisset, tanta pullorum suboles prouenit, ut hodieque ea uilla ad Gallinas uocetur, tale uero lauretum, ut triumphaturi Caesares inde laureas decerperent; fuitque mos triumphantibus, alias confestim eodem loco pangere; et obseruatum est sub cuiusque obitum arborem ab ipso institutam elanguisse. ergo nouissimo Neronis anno et silua omnis exaruit radicitus, et quidquid ibi gallinarum erat interiit. ac subinde tacta de caelo Caesarum aede capita omnibus simul statuis deciderunt, Augusti etiam sceptrum e manibus excussum est.

2 Neroni Galba successit nullo gradu contingens Caesarum domum, sed haud dubie nobilissimus magnaue et uetere prosapia, ut qui statuarum titulis pronepotem se Quinti Catuli Capitolini semper ascripserit, imperator uero etiam stemma in atrio proposuerit, quo paternam originem ad Iouem, maternam ad Pasiphaam Minonis uxorem referret.

3 Imagines et elogia uniuersi generis exequi longum est, familiae breuiter attingam. qui primus Sulpiciorum cognomen Galbae tulit cur aut unde traxerit, ambigitur. quidam putant, quod oppidum Hispaniae frustra diu oppugnatum inlitis demum

1 eas Lipsius, illas Burman

2 minois codd. præter M L Rd

- galbano facibus succenderit; alii, quod in diuturna ualetudine galbeo, id est remediis lana inuolutis, assidue uteretur; nonnulli, quod praepinguis fuerit uisus, quem galbam Galli uocent; uel contra, quod tam exilis, quam sunt animalia quae
- 3.2 in aesculis nascuntur appellanturque galbae. familiam illustravit Seruius Galba consularis, temporum suorum<sup>t</sup> et eloquentissimus, quem tradunt Hispaniam ex praetura optinentem, triginta Lusitanorum milibus perfidia trucidatis, Viriat[h]ini belli causam extitisse. eius nepos ob repulsam consulatus infensus Iulio Caesari, cuius legatus in Gallia fuerat, conspirauit cum Cassio et Bruto, propter quod Pedia lege damnatus est.
- 3.3 ab hoc sunt imperatoris Galbae auus ac pater: auus clarior studiis quam dignitate - non enim egressus praeturae gradum - multiplicem nec incuriosam historiam edidit; pater consulatu functus, quanquam breui corpore atque etiam gibber modicaeque in dicendo facultatis, causas industrie actitauit.
- 3.4 uxores habuit Mummiam Achaicam, neptem Catuli proneptemque L. Mummi, qui Corinthum excidit; item Liuiam Ocellinam ditem admodum et pulchram, a qua tamen nobilitatis causa appetitus ultro existimatur et aliquanto enixius, postquam subinde instanti uitium corporis secreto posita ueste detexit, ne quasi ignaram fallere uideretur. ex Achaica liberos Gaium et Seruium procreauit, quorum maior Gaius attritis facultatibus urbe cessit prohibitusque a Tiberio sortiri anno suo proconsulatum uoluntaria morte obiit.

4 Ser. Galba imperator M. Valerio Messala Gn. Lentulo cons. natus est VIII. Kal. Ian. in uilla colli superposita prope Tarracinam sinistrorsus Fundos petentibus, adoptatusque a nouerca sua Liuium nomen et Ocellare cognomen assumpsit mutato praenomine; nam Lucium mox pro Seruio usque ad tempus imperii usurpauit. constat Augustum puero adhuc, salutanti se inter aequales, apprehensa buccula dixisse: καὶ σὺ τέκνον τῆς ἀρχῆς ἡμῶν παρατρέξῃ. sed et Tiberius, cum comperisset imperaturum eum uerum in senecta: uiuat sane, ait, quando id

4.2 ad nos nihil pertinet. auo quoque eius fulgur procuranti, cum exta de manibus aquila rapuisset et in frugiferam quercum contulisset, responsum est summum sed serum imperium portendi familiae; et ille irridens: sane, inquit, cum mula pepererit nihil aequae postea Galbam temptantem res novas confirmauit quam mulae partus, ceterisque ut obscaenum ostentum abhorrentibus, solus pro laetissimo accepit memor sacrificii dictique aui.

4.3 Sumpta virili toga somniauit Fortunam dicentem, stare se ante fores defessam et nisi ocius reciperetur, cuicumque obuio praedae futuram. utque euigilauit, aperto atrio simulacrum aeneum deae cubitali maius iuxta limen inuenit idque gremio suo Tusculum, ubi aestiuare consueuerat, auexit et in parte aedium consecratum menstruis deinceps supplicationibus et peruigilio anniuersario coluit.

4.4 Quanquam autem nondum aetate constanti ueterem ciuitatis exoletumque morem ac tantum in domo sua haerentem

4.1 sinistrorsus M R, sinistros Π, -rsum G T  
Livianum Bentley, Livia Ihm, Livium Heinsius, Livii Beroald. (s)



obstinatissime retinuit, ut liberti seruique bis die frequen-  
tes adessent ac mane saluere, uesperu ualere sibi singuli  
dicerent.

5 inter liberales disciplinas attendit et iuri. dedit  
et matrimonio operam; uerum amissa uxore Lepida duobusque ex  
ea filiis remansit in caelibatu neque sollicitari ulla con-  
dicione amplius potuit, ne Agrippinae quidem, <quae> uiduata  
morte Domiti[i] maritum quoque adhuc necdum caelibem Galbam  
adeo omnibus sollicitauerat modis, ut in conuentu matronarum  
correpta iurgio atque etiam manu pulsata sit a matre Lepidae.

5.2 Obseruauit ante omnis Liuiam Augustam, cuius et uiuae  
gratia plurimum ualuit et mortuae testamento paene ditatus  
est; sestertium namque quingenties praecipuum inter legata-  
rios habuit, sed quia notata, non perscripta erat summa,  
herede Tiberio legatum ad quingenta reuocante, ne haec quidem  
accepit.

6 Honoribus ante legitimum tempus initis praetor commis-  
sione ludorum Floraliu nouum spectaculi genus elephantos  
funambulos edidit; exim prouinciae Aquitaniae anno fere prae-  
fuit; mox consulatum per sex menses ordinarium gessit, euenit-  
que ut in eo ipse L. Domitio patri Neronis, ipsi Saluius Otho  
pater Othonis succederet, uelut praesagium insequentis casus,  
quo medius inter utriusque filios extitit imperator.

5.1 quae Becker. Domitii quae II Q. uiduatae codd. praeter M G.  
uiduata <ea> Bentley

5.2 quinquagies Casaub.

6.2 A Gaio Caesare <..... in locum Gaetu>lici substitutus, postridie quam ad legiones uenit, sollempni forte spectaculo plaudentes inhiuit data tessera, ut manus paenula[s] continerent; statimque per castra iactatum est disce miles militare: Galba est, non Gaetulicus. pari seueritate interdixit commeatus peti. ueteranum ac tironem militem opere assiduo corroborauit matureque barbaris, qui iam in Galliam usque proruperant, coercitis, praesenti quoque Gaio talem et se et exercitum approbavit, ut inter innumeras contractasque ex omnibus prouinciis copias neque testimonium neque praemia ampliora ulli perciperent; ipse maxime insignis, quod camp-estrem dexursionem scuto moderatus, etiam ad essedum imperatoris per uiginti passuum milia cucurrit.

7 Caede Gai nuntiata multis ad occasionem stimulantibus quietem praetulit. per hoc gratissimus Claudio receptusque in cohortem amicorum tantae dignationis est habitus, ut cum subita ei ualitudo nec adeo grauis incidisset, dilatus sit expeditionis Britannicae dies. Africam pro consule biennio optinuit extra sortem electus ad ordinandam prouinciam et intestina dissensione et barbarorum tumultu inquietam; ordinavitque magna seueritatis ac iustitiae cura etiam in paruulis rebus. militi, qui per expeditionem artissima annona residuum cibariorum tritici modium centum denariis uendidisse arguebatur, uetuit, simul atque indigere cibo coepisset, a quoquam opem ferri; et is fame extabuit. at in iure dicendo

6.2 lici M X, licio G, lici  $\gamma$ . <in locum Gaetu>lici Roth.  
 <in administratione exercitus Germanici Gaetu>lici Madvig.  
 <legatus Germaniae superans Gaetu>lici Ihm.

cum de proprietate iumentum quaereretur, leuibus utrimque argumentis et testibus ideoque difficili coniectura ueritatis, ita decreuit ut ad lacum, ubi aduari solebat, duceretur capite inuoluto atque ibidem reuelato eius esset, ad quem sponte se a potu recepisset.

8 Ob res et tunc in Africa et olim in Germania gestas ornamenta triumphalia accepit et sacerdotium triplex, inter quindecimuiros sodalesque Titios item Augustales cooptatus; atque ex eo tempore prope ad medium Neronis principatum in secessu plurimum uixit, ne ad gestandum quidem umquam aliter iter ingressus quam ut secum uehiculo proximo decies sestertium in auro efferret, donec in oppido Fundis moranti Hispania Tarracoenensis oblata est. acciditque, ut cum prouinciam ingressus sacrificaret, intra aedem publicam puero e ministris acerram tenenti capillus repente toto capite canesceret, nec defuerunt qui interpretarentur significari rerum mutationem successurumque iuueni senem, hoc est ipsum Neroni. non multo post in Cantabriae lacum fulmen decidit repertaeque sunt duodecim secures, haud ambiguum summae imperii signum.

8.2

9 Per octo annos uarie et inaequabiliter prouinciam rexit, primo acer et uehemens et in coercendis quidem delictis uel immodicus. nam et nummulario non ex fide uersanti pecunias manus amputauit mensaeque eius adfixit, et tutorem, quod pupillum, cui substitutus heres erat, ueneno necasset, cruce adfecit; implorantique leges et ciuem Romanum se testificantem, quasi solacio et honore aliquo poenam leuaturus,

8.1 aliter iter ingressus Torr, iter ingressus Ihm, <al>iter egressus Lipsius.

mutari multoque praeter ceteras altiore et dealbatam statui crucem iussit. paulatim in desidiam segnitiamque conuersus est, ne quid materiae praeberet Neroni et, ut dicere solebat, quod nemo rationem otii sui reddere cogeretur.

9.2 Carthagine noua conuentum agens tumultuari Gallias comperit legato Aquitaniae auxilia implorante; supervenerunt et Vindicis litterae hortantis, ut humano generi assertorem ducemque se accommodaret. nec diu cunctatus condicionem partim metu partim spe recepit; nam et mandata Neronis de nece sua ad procuratores clam missa deprenderat et confirmabatur cum secundissimis auspiciis et ominibus uirginis honestae uaticinatione, tanto magis quod eadem illa carmina sacerdos Iouis Cluniae ex penetrali somnio monitus eruerat ante ducentos annos similiter a fatidica puella pronuntiata. quorum carminum sententia erat oriturum quandoque ex Hispania principem dominumque rerum.

10 Igitur cum quasi manumissioni vacaturus conscendisset tribunal, propositis ante se damnatorum occisorumque a Nerone quam plurimis imaginibus et adstante nobili puero, quem exulantem e proxima Baliari insula ob id ipsum acciuerat, deplorauit temporum statum consalutatusque imperator legatum se

10.2 senatus ac populi R. professus est. dein iustitio indicto, e plebe quidem prouinciae legiones et auxilia conscripsit super exercitum ueterem legionis unius duarumque alarum et cohortium trium; at e primoribus prudentia atque aetate praestantibus uel instar senatus, ad quos de maiore re quotiens opus

10.2 legionem Heraeus.

10.3 esset referretur, instituit. delegit et equestris ordinis iuuenes, qui manente anulorum aureorum usu euocati appellarentur excubiasque circa cubiculum suum uice militum agerent. etiam per prouincias edicta dimisit, auctor in singulis uersisque conspirandi simul et ut qua posset quisque opera communem causam iuarent.

10.4 Per idem fere tempus in munitione oppidi, quod sedem bello delegerat, repertus est anulus opere antiquo, sculptura gemmae Victoriam cum tropaeo exprimente; ac subinde Alexandrina nauis Dertosam appulit armis onusta, sine gubernatore, sine nauta aut uectore ullo, ut nemini dubium esset iustum piisque et fauentibus diis bellum suscipi: cum re-

10.5 pente ex inopinato prope cuncta turbata sunt. alarum altera castris appropinquantem paenitentia mutati sacramenti destituere conata est aegreque retenta in officio, et serui, quos a liberto Neronis ad fraudem praeparatos muneri acceperat, per angiportum in balneas transeuntem paene interemerunt, nisi cohortantibus in uicem ne occasionem omitterent, interrogatisque de qua occasione loquerentur, expressa cruciatu confessio esset.

11 <sup>accesimilis</sup> tanta discrimina mors Vindicis, qua maxime consternatus destitutoque similis non multum afuit quin uitae renuntiaret. sed superuenientibus ab urbe nuntiis ut occisum Neronem cunctosque in uerba sua iurasse cognouit, deposita legati suscepit Caesaris appellationem iterque ingressus est paludatus ac dependente a ceruicibus pugione ante

pectus; nec prius usum togae reciperauit quam oppressis qui nouas res moliebantur, praefecto praetori Nymphidio Sabino Romae, in Germania Fonteio Capitone, in Africa Clodio Macro legatis.

12 Praecesserat de eo fama saeuitiae simul atque auaritia, quod ciuitates Hispaniarum Galliarumque, quae cunctantibus sibi accesserant, grauioribus tributis, quasdam etiam murorum destructione punisset et praepositos procuratoresque supplicio capitis adfecisset cum coniugibus ac liberis; quodque oblatam a Tarraconensibus e uetere templo Iouis coronam auream librarum quindecim conflasset ac tres 12.2 uncias, quae ponderi deerant, iussisset exigi. ea fama et confirmata et aucta est, ut primum introiit. nam cum classarios, quos Nero ex remigibus iustos milites fecerat, redire ad pristinum statum cogeret, recusantis atque insuper aquilam et signa pertinacius flagitantis non modo inmisso equite disiecit, sed decimauit etiam. item Germanorum cohortem a Caesaribus olim ad custodiam corporis institutam multisque experimentis fidelissimam dissoluit ac sine comodo ullo remisit in patriam, quasi Cn. Dolabelliae, iuxta 12.3 cuius hortos tendebat, prouinciam. illa quoque uerene an falso per ludibrium iactabantur, adposita lautiore cena ingemuisse eum, et ordinario quidem dispensatori breuiarium rationum offerenti paropsidem leguminis pro sedulitate ac diligentia porrexisse, Cano autem choraulae mire placenti denarios quinque donasse prolatos manu sua e peculiaribus oculis suis.

12.3 rationem MLPT, breuiarium rationem Buch.

13 Quare aduentus eius non perinde gratus fuit, idque proximo spectaculo apparuit, siquidem Atellanis notissimum canticum <com..frg. p. 333> exorsis:

uenit[i] Onesimus a uilla

cuncti simul spectatores consentiente uoce reliquam partem ret<t>ulerunt ac saepius uersu repetito egerunt.

14 maiore adeo et fauore et auctoritate adeptus est quam gessit imperium, quanquam multa documenta egregii principis daret; sed nequaquam tam grata erant, quam inuisa quae secus fierent.

14.2 Regebatur trium arbitrio, quos una et intra Palatium habitantis nec umquam non adhaerentis paedagogos uulgo uocabant. ii erant T. Vinus legatus eius in Hispania, cupiditatis immensae; Cornelius Laco ex assessore praefectus praetorii, arrogantia socordiaque intolerabilis; libertus Icelus, paulo ante anulis aureis et Marciani cognomine ornatus ac iam summae equestris gradus candidatus. his diuerso uitiorum genere grassantibus adeo se abutendum permisit et tradidit, ut uix sibi ipse constaret, modo acerbior parciorque, modo remissior ac neglegentior quam conueniret principi electo atque illud aetatis.

14.3 Quosdam claros ex utroque ordine uiros suspicione minima inauditos condemnavit. ciuitates R. raro dedit,

13 venit onesimus d, venitione simus (simul G) Ω, venit Dorsennus Schmidt

iura trium liberorum uix uni atque alteri ac ne is quidem nisi ad certum praefinitumque tempus. iudicibus sextam decuriam adici precantibus non modo negauit, sed et concessum a Claudio beneficium, ne hieme initioque anni ad iudicandum euocarentur, eripuit.

15 existimabatur etiam senatoria et equestria officia bienni spatio determinaturus nec daturus nisi inuitis ac recusantibus. liberalitates Neronis non plus decimis concessis per quinquaginta equites R. ea condicione reuocandas curauit exigendasque, ut et si quid scaenici ac xystici donatum olim uendidissent, auferretur emptoribus, quando  
 15.2 illi pretio absumpto soluere nequirent. at contra nihil non per comites atque libertos pretio addici aut donari gratia passus est, uectigalia immunitates, poenas innocentium impunitates noxiorum. quin etiam populo R. deposcente supplicium Haloti et Tigillini solos ex omnibus Neronis emissariis uel maleficientissimos incolumes praestitit atque insuper Halotum procuratione amplissima ornauit, pro Tigillino etiam saeuitiae populum edicto increpuit.

16 Per haec prope uniuersis ordinibus offensis uel praecipua flagrabat inuidia apud milites. nam cum in uerba eius absentis iurantibus donatium grandius solito praepositi pronuntiassent, neque ratam rem habuit et subinde iactauit legere se militem, non emere consuesse; atque eo quidem nomine omnis, qui ubique erant, exacerbauit. ceterum praetorianos etiam metu et indignitate commouit, remou-  
 16.2 ens subinde plerosque ut suspectos et Nymphidi socios. sed



maxime fremebat superioris Germaniae exercitus fraudari se praemis nauatae aduersus Gallos et Vindicem operae. ergo primi obsequium rumpere ausi Kal. Ian. adigi sacramento nisi in nomen senatus recusarunt statimque legationem ad praetorianos cum mandatis destinauerunt: displicere imperatorem in Hispania factum; eligerent ipsi quem cuncti exercitus comprobarent.

17 quod ut nuntiatum est, despectui esse non tam senectam suam quam orbitatem ratus, Pisonem Frugi Licinianum nobilem egregiumque iuuenem ac sibi olim probatissimum testamentoque semper in bona et nomen adscitum repente e media salutantium turba adprehendit filiumque appellans perduxit in castra ac pro contione adoptauit, ne tunc quidem donatiui ulla mentione facta. quo faciliorem occasionem M. Saluio Othoni praebuit perficiendi conata intra sextum adoptionis diem.

18 Magna et assidua monstra iam inde a principio exitum ei, qualis euenit, portenderant. cum per omne iter dextra sinistraque oppidatim uictimae caederentur, taurus securis ictu consternatus rupto uinculo essedum eius inuasit elatisque pedibus totum cruore perfudit; ac descendentem speculator impulsu turbae lancea prope uulnerauit. urbem quoque et deinde Palatium ingressum excepit terrae tremor et assim-

18.2 ilis quidam mugitui sonus. secuta sunt aliquanto manifestiora. monile margaritis gemmisque consertum ad ornandam Fortunam suam Tusculanam ex omni gaza secreuerat; id repente

17 insuper Torr, nuper Cornelissen

quasi augustiore dignius loco Capitolinae Veneri dedicavit, ac proxima nocte somniauit speciem Fortunae querentis fraudatam se dono destinato, minantisque erepturam et ipsam quae dedisset. cumque exterritus luce prima ad expiandum somnium, praemissis qui rem diuinam appararent, Tusculum excucurrisset, nihil inuenit praeter tepidam in ara fauillam atratumque iuxta senem in catino vitreo t[h]us tenentem  
 18.3 et in calice fictili merum. obseruatum etiam est Kal. Ian. sacrificanti coronam de capite excidisse, auspicanti pullos auolasse; adoptionis die neque milites adlocuturo castrensem sellam de more positam pro tribunali oblitis ministris et in senatu curulem peruerse collocatam.

19 prius vero quam occideretur sacrificantem mane haruspex identidem monuit, caueret periculum, non longe percussores abesse.

Haud multo post cognoscit teneri castra ab Othone, ac plerisque ut eodem quam primum pergeret suadentibus - posse enim auctoritate et praesentia praeualere - nihil amplius quam continere se statuit et legionariorum firmare praesidiis, qui multifariam diuerseque tendebant. lorica  
 19.2 tamen induit linteam, quanquam haud dissimulans parum adversus tot mucrones profuturam. sed extractus rumoribus falsis, quos conspirati, ut eum in publicum elicerent, de industria dissiparant, paucis temere affirmantibus transcriptum negotium, oppressos, qui tumultuarentur. aduenire frequentis ceteros gratulabundos et in omne obsequium paratos, iis ut occurreret prodiit tanta fiducia, ut militi

cuidam occisum a se Othonem glorianti: quo auctore? responderit, atque in forum usque processit. ibi equites, quibus mandata caedes erat, cum per publicum dimota paganorum turba equos adegissent, uiso procul eo parumper restiterunt; dein rursus incitati desertum a suis contrucidarunt.

20 Sunt qui tradant, ad primum tumultum proclamasse eum: quid agitis commilitones? ego uester sum et uos mei, donatium etiam pollicitum. plures autem prodiderunt optulisse ultro iugulum et ut hoc agerent ac ferirent, quando ita videretur, hortatum. illud mirum admodum fuerit, neque praesentium quemquam opem imperatori ferre conatum et omnes qui arcesserentur spreuisse nuntium excepta Germaniciorum uexillatione. ii ob recens meritum, quod se aegros et inualidos magno opere fouisset, in auxilium aduolauerunt, sed serius itinere deuo per ignorantiam locorum retardati.

202 Iugulatus est ad lacum Curti ac relictus ita uti erat, donec gregarius miles a frumentatione rediens abiecto onere caput ei amputauit; et quoniam capillo arripere non poterat, in gremium abdidit, mox inserto per os pollice ad Othonem detulit. ille lixis calonibusque donauit, qui hasta suffixum non sine ludibrio circum castra portarunt adclamantes identidem: Galba Cupido, fruaris aetate tua, maxime irritati ad talem iocorum petulantiam, quod ante paucos dies exierat in uulgus, laudanti cuidam formam suam ut adhuc floridam et uegetam respondisse eum

ἔτι μοι μένος ἔμπεδόν ἐστίν.

203 ab is Patrobii Neroniani libertus centum aureis redemptum eo loco, ubi iussu Galbae animaduersum in patronum suum fuerat, abiecit. sero tandem dispensator Arguius et hoc et ceterum truncum in priuatis eius hortis Aurelia uia sepulturae dedit.

21 Statura fuit iusta, capite praecaluo, oculis caeruleis, adunco naso, manibus pedibusque articulari morbo distortissimis, ut neque calceum perpeti neque libellos euoluere aut tenere omnino ualeret. excreuerat etiam in dexteriore latere eius caro praependebatque adeo ut aegre fascia substringeretur.

22 Cibi plurimi traditur, quem tempore hiberno etiam ante lucem capere consuerat, inter cenam uero usque eo abundantis, ut congestas super manus reliquias circumferri iuberet spargique ad pedes stantibus. libidinis in mares pronior et eos non nisi praeduros exoletosque; ferebant in Hispania Icelum e ueteribus concubinis de Neronis exitu nuntiantem non modo artissimis osculis palam exceptum ab eo, sed ut sine mora uelleretur oratum atque seductum.

23 Periit tertio et septuagesimo aetatis anno, imperii mense septimo. senatus, ut primum licitum est, stauam ei decreuerat rostratae columnae superstantem in parte fori, qua trucidatus est; sed decretum Vespasianus aboleuit, percussores sibi ex Hispania in Iudaeam submitnisse opinatus.

22 abundantis Graev, abundanti Ω, abundans Ss, abundanter Grut.  
libidini Torr.

## CHAPTER THREE

## COMMENTARY

Section One

- 1.1 Progenies Caesarum in Nerone: Suetonius has failed to distinguish between the closely connected yet distinct families of the Julian and Claudian Caesars.

Technically, the house of the Julian Caesars ended with the death of Gaius; his successor Claudius was never adopted into the Julian gens, though he tried to associate himself as closely as possible with the previous ruling family (Suet. Claud. 11). From this time on, 'Caesar' became an imperial title rather than a family name. For a similar loose statement concerning Nero see Eutropius 7.15.

defecit: None of Nero's wives bore him a son nor did he adopt a potential heir. 'Deficere' is commonly used by Suetonius of the deaths of emperors; see Aug 99.1, Claud 44.3 and Nero 49.4.

quod futurum ... signis: Perhaps the most striking feature of Suetonius' Lives is the repeated description of dreams and omens and the obvious importance the biographer attaches to them. In each of the twelve Lives Suetonius relates prodigies or dreams that he supposes predicted

important events in the career of the emperor.

The cause of Suetonius' interest in this subject is to be found in his own nature as a superstitious man. A letter from Pliny shows that Suetonius refused to plead a case after being scared by a dream (Epist. 1.18 and see Introduction, i). In addition, Suetonius' employer, the emperor Hadrian, conducted a study into the meaning of omens (S.H.A. 2.4 - 8).

However, Suetonius is quite often at his most careless in accounts of these presages. Dating and circumstances are at variance with other author's accounts. (See notes on καὶ οὐ τέκνον 4.2, sumpta ... dicentem 4.3.) Suetonius does not analyse omens and dreams for their veracity but uses them as informative anecdotes. Because of this apparent lack of investigation, each account should be approached with a critical eye.

Veientanum: Understand a noun such as 'ager', 'fundus', or 'praedium'. Veii was the most southern of the Etruscan cities, nine miles north of Rome. It was a popular holiday resort for wealthy Romans.

praetervolans aquila ... eodem loco pangere: Pliny (NH 15, 136-7) includes this story as a historical anecdote with his description of the properties of the laurel tree. See also Dio 48.52.

gallinam albam: The scholion on Suetonius says that a white hen was a favourable omen and compares it with "gal-  
linae filius albae" (Juvenal 13.141), where the phrase is  
used proverbially to describe a noble birth.

demisit in gremium: According to Dio (loc. cit.), this  
meant that Livia would have control over Galba in every  
sphere, ἡ τε Λιουία ἐγκομπώσασθαι καὶ τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος  
ἰσχὺν καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν αὐτοῦ κρατήσειν ἔμελλε.

placuisset: It is unclear from Suetonius' account who de-  
cided to have these two acts performed, although it seems  
probable that Liviae ought to be supplied from the pre-  
vious sentence. This is supported by the evidence of Dio  
where Livia, though unstated, is clearly the subject of  
two verbs, "τό τε τῆ Λιουία συμβᾶν ... ἐγένετο... καὶ  
ἐδόκει γὰρ οὐ μικρὸν τὸ σημεῖον εἶναι , τὴν τε ὄρνιθα  
ἐν ἐμελείᾳ ἤγε καὶ τὴν δάφνην ἐφύτευσε." However, both  
statements are less explicit than that of the normally  
reliable Pliny, who clearly names the haruspices as the  
decision-makers: "conservari alitem et subolem iussere  
haruspices ramumque eum seri ac rite custodiri." (NH 15.137)

Several points indicate that Pliny is correct: first-  
ly, divination of the future from planned or chance events,  
as well as advice on the outcome, was the exact duty of  
haruspices. Secondly, Pliny is the only writer explicitly  
to name who did what, and, finally, Pliny is merely inter-

ested in telling the story as it happened; unlike Suetonius and Dio, his aim is not to put emphasis on Livia's power over Galba.

Ad Gallinas: According to Pliny (NH 15.137), the villa stood on the banks of the river Tiber about nine miles out on the Flaminian road. For further identification, see Ashby (1921: 145).

alias: Suetonius' account differs from that of Pliny, where it is stated that the Caesars planted the same branches that they had carried during the triumph (NH 15.137). Following Pliny, Burman emended alias to illas, and Lipsius suggested eas. Of the two, illas is the more attractive and may well be correct. However, due to the lack of any other evidence for this ritual, the mss. reading of alias ought to be retained.

novissimo Neronis anno: 68 A.D. See Suet. Nero 57.1.

silva omnis ... erat interiit: See Dio (Xiphilinus) 63.29.2, Aurelius Victor de. Caes. 5.17 ff.

Caesarum aede: Most commentators have identified this building as the templum (divi) Augusti on the Palatine (Venini 1977:14, Mooney 1930: 191, Rolfe 1914a: vol. 2, 192). However, nowhere else in Latin literature is this templum called an aedes; its only other designation is the templum novum (Martial 4.53.2, Suet. Tib 74).



In a technical sense there was a difference between an aedes and a templum; an aedes is a building set aside for the worship of gods; a templum need not be a construction, but is sacred ground, marked out by augurs, that may or may not be surrounded by a building (T.L.L. vol. 1, 911-913). By the time of Augustus, a templum described a large shrine and aedes a smaller building. However, contemporaries of Suetonius were still aware of the technical difference. See "non omnes aedes sacras templa esse", Aulus Gellius 14.7.7.

Because of this basic difference, and since there is no example of the templum (divi) Augusti being called an aedes at any time, it must be assumed that Suetonius is talking about some yet to be identified construction.

For further discussion see Platner and Ashby (1965:62).

## Section Two

- 2.1 nullo gradu contingens Caesarum domum: (See note on progenies Caesarum, 1.1). Suetonius' statement conflicts with the remark in Plutarch's Life of Galba, where it is stated that the emperor was related "in some way" to Livia Drusilla, ἦν δέ τι καὶ Λιβία τῆ Καίσαρος γυναικὶ κατὰ γένος προσήκων ὁ Γάλβας (3.2).

Plutarch had perhaps assumed a family relationship between the virtual contemporaries Livia Drusilla and Livia Ocellina, Galba's stepmother. See Venini (1977: 15),

who suggests that Suetonius' strong language shows a desire to correct Plutarch's mistake.

contingens: One of Suetonius' favourite words to describe family relationships. See Aug 4.1 "a matre magnum Pompeium artissime contingebat gradu"; Nero 32.2 "quo fuissent illae familiae quas ipse [sc. Tiberius] contingeret".

haud dubie nobilissimus ... prosapia: Suetonius has followed the tradition that Galba had an extremely aristocratic background; "vetus in familia nobilitas", Tac. Hist. 1.49.1; "Galba haud secus nobilis e gente clarissima Sulpicorum", Aur. Vic. de Caes. 6.1.

Tacitus characterizes Galba's reign by his reliance on ancestry; "cessisti [sc. Vespasianus] etiam Galbae imaginibus", Hist 2.76.2, and the emperor's family was used by Juvenal as an example of Roman aristocracy, Sal 8.1 - 5.

ut qui statuarum ... semper ascripserit: Suetonius (3.4) states that Galba's mother, Mummia Achaica, was the granddaughter of Catulus. According to Plutarch, Galba 3.1, Galba had great respect for Catulus and it is quite possible that such inscriptions were written; none however are extant. Catulus was chosen as consul of 78 B.C. with Aemilius Lepidus as his colleague (Appian Bell. Civ. 1.105). He earned the name Capitolinus because of his long association with the rebuilding and dedication of the temple of Juppiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitol (Livy ep. 98,

Appian Bell. Civ. 1.83 ff, Platner and Ashby 1965: 297-302).

For his later career, see Cic. Verr. 1.44, pro leg. Man. 51 ff., Plutarch, Pompey 25.5.

stemma: Pliny (N.H. 35.6) shows that stemmata were made by linking painted busts of ancestors with lines of thread; "stemmata vero lineis discurrebant ad imagines pictos".

quo paternam originem ... referret: Suetonius is fond of relating mythical pedigrees of the emperors. The Julians claimed descent from Venus, "a Venere Julii, cuius gentis familia est nostra", Div. Jul. 6.1, and the Vitelli were said to be descended from a legendary king and goddess, "... libellus, quo continetur, Vitellios fauno Aboriginum rege et Vitellia ... ortos." Vit. 1.2.

Minonis: All the manuscripts except MLRd read the more usual Minois. However, three points can be made in favour of retaining Minonis. First, M is the oldest and most reliable manuscript. Secondly, in section 70 of the Life of Tiberius, Minonis exemplo is found with only two manuscripts reading Minois; and finally, by the principle of lectio difficilior, the more rare form Minonis ought to be retained.

### Section Three

- 3.1 imagines: Imagines was a technical term used of ancestors who had held curule office, that is, attained the rank of

aedile. Cicero, on his election as aedile, outlines the privileges the office brought, "antiquiorem in senatu sententiae dicendae locum, togam praetextam, sellam curulem, ius imaginis ad memoriam posteritatemque prodendae", Verr 5.14.36.

For imagines personified as ancestors see Cal 23.1.

elogia: Suetonius often uses this word to describe sepulchral inscriptions or epitaphs (Claud 1.5). However, in this passage, he extends its meaning to any type of inscription dedicated to Sulpicii during their lives.

familiae: In this case, familiae indicates the Sulpicii who had borne the name Galba.

Qui primus ... appellantur galbae: Suetonius provides four possible etymologies for the name Galba without stressing any particular one. In a style similar to that of Thucydides, he lays out the results of his research and allows the reader to make his choice. This type of research reflects Suetonius' grammatical background; see Della Corte (1967: 32).

It is difficult to know which is the correct derivation of the name, if any, but it is clear that Galba was originally a nickname earned by one of the Sulpicii, either for something he did (galbano, galbeo) or for some physical peculiarity (praepinguis ... vocent, animalia ... galbae), and subsequently passed on to his descendants.

quidam putant ... appellanturque galbae: Note the careful sentence structure; for each of the four different answers to cur aut unde traxerit Suetonius employs a different introduction: quidam putant ... alii ... nonnulli ... vel contra ... Each of the four is followed by an explanatory quod clause. Furthermore, answers two and three are more accurately defined within their quod clauses: "... id est remediis lana involutis ... quem galbam Galli vocent."

The balanced structure gives each answer equal credibility.

galbano: Galbanum was a resin obtained from a species of ferula. When it burned it had a very pungent smell, which may have been the reason for its use by Sulpicius. Pliny (NH 12.126) says that burning galbanum wards off snakes and midges (NH 19.180). Its medical uses include a cure for lethargy (Celsius 3.20.2) and the removal of boils (ibid. 5.3).

galbeo: A galbeus was an armband that was awarded as a military decoration (Paul Fest. p96m.). In this passage, the galbeus was used to keep the healing agent on Sulpicius' body.

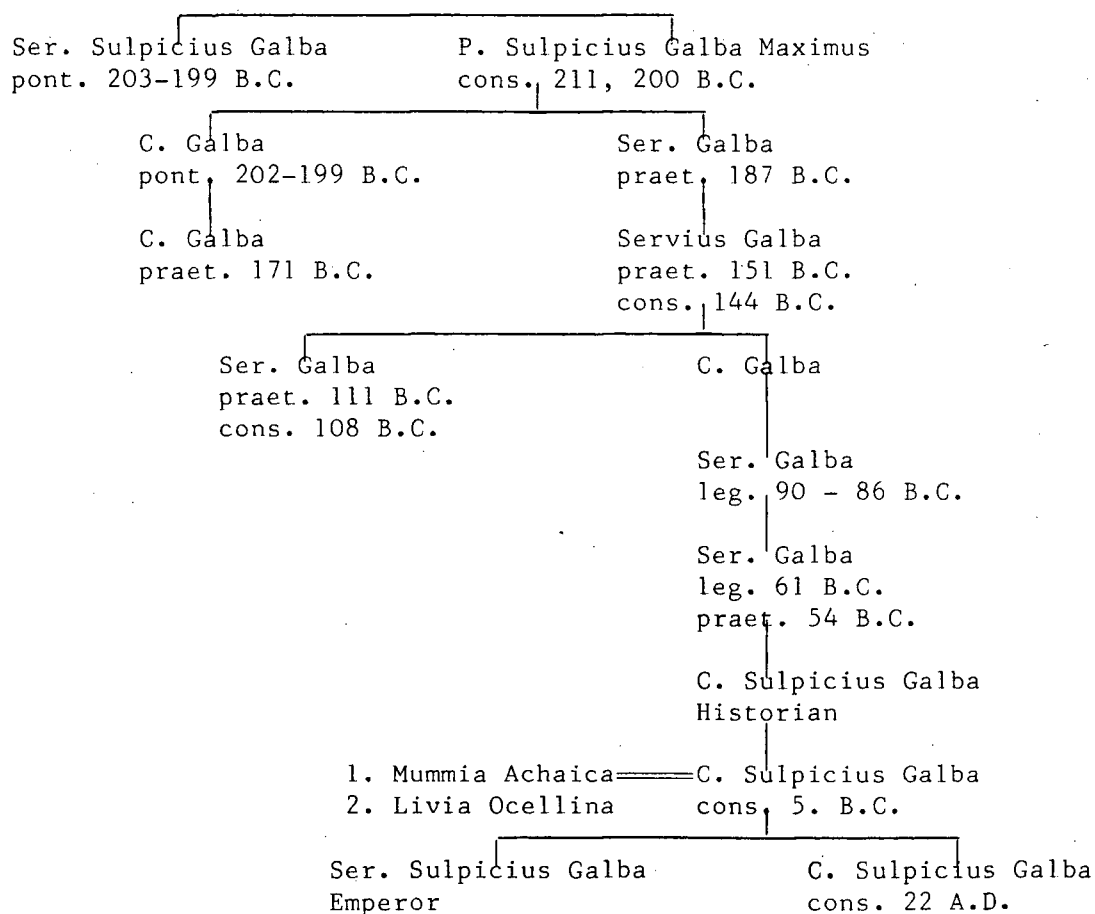
praepinguis ... galbam Galli vocent: The suggestion that Galba is originally a Gallic word is supported by the evidence of Caesar (Bell. Gall. 2.4), where the king of the Suessiones, a Gallic tribe, bears the name: "nunc esse

regem Galbam".

For Suetonius' interest in foreign words see Della Corte (1967: 32 ff.).

sunt animalia ... galbae: There does not seem to be any other citation of this 'ash-borer' in extant Latin literature.

3.2-3.4 In his history of the Sulpicii Galbae, Suetonius chose to omit some of the earlier family members who had held curule office. See Jucker (1975: 356 - 7).



The five ancestors about whom Suetonius chooses to talk are significant not only for the intrinsically inter-

esting stories concerning them but for their relevance to the structure of sections 3.2 to 3.4. Beginning with the disreputable Servius, each ancestor is more admirable than his predecessor. Servius' grandson had been a conspirator, but only because of Caesar's personal hostility towards him; Galba's grandfather, although no politician, exemplified the Roman qualities of industria and studia. Galba's father was politically successful and beyond that was a man of complete honesty. Finally, Suetonius relates the tragic story of the suicide of Galba's brother after he had been publically humiliated by his emperor.

- 3.2 familiam illustravit: Suetonius is here using the verb illustrare to mean 'embellish', 'decorate', or 'bring into new light something already well known'. See "illustraverunt hoc opus [sc. tragoediam] Sophocles atque Euripides," Quint Inst. 10.1.67; "Capitolium illud tribus templis illustratum", Cic. Scaur. 4.7.

Several Sulpicii Galbae had become famous in the political arena prior to Servius.

et: As the text stands, et, the reading of all the manuscripts except II, is redundant in its clause. Bentley, followed by Rolfe (1914a: vol 2, 192) and Mooney (1930: 54) emended et to vel, which is often found with the superlative to mean "the most ... possible". See "patre mea sententia vel eloquentissimo temporibus illis", Cic. de.or. 2.23. Burman thinks there is a lacuna and suggests ditis-

simus et eloquentissimus on the basis of Appian Bell. Hisp. 6.10.60, where Servius is described as "Λευκόλλου φιλοχρηματώτερος" and "πλουσιώτατος ... ῥωμαίων ". It is possible, however, that an early scribe might have committed a ditto-graphical error, writing 'el' from eloquentissimus and compounding the error by changing the meaningless 'el' to 'et'. In that case et is corrupt and should be omitted; the clause would read "temporum suorum eloquentissimus, quem..."

temporum suorum et eloquentissimus: Suetonius follows the Ciceronian tradition: "divinus homo in dicendo", de. or. 1.4.0; "summus ille orator", Brutus 98; "sed inter hos aetate paulum his antecedens sine controversia Ser. Galba eloquentia praestitit", Brutus 82.

tradunt: The only extant evidence for Servius' career are brief references in Cicero, Livy and Cornelius Nepos. For other possible sources of information for this man, see Introduction, section iii.

triginta Lusitanorum ... trucidatis: In the spring of 150 B.C. Servius invaded Lusitania with Marcus Attilius and, having induced the natives to surrender, treacherously killed several thousand and sold the rest into slavery (Appian Bell. Hisp. 6.58-60, Livy ep. 48-49, Cic. Brutus 89, Orosius 4.21 ff., Val. Max. 9.6.2. ff.). He was later put on trial for his crimes but managed to secure an infamous acquittal (Val. Max. 8.1.2, Fronto ad M. Caes. 3.20).



The number of victims as given by Suetonius is disputed by Valerius Maximus (9.6.2), who says that eight thousand were executed or sold, and by his epitomator Julius Paris, who puts the figure at 108,000. As none of these figures is corroborated it is impossible to say which, if any, is correct.

Viriat[h]ini belli causam: According to Appian (Bell. Hisp. 6.60), Viriathus was one of the few to escape from the slaughter of Servius. In the following years he led the Lusitanians in guerilla warfare against Roman envoys. In 139 B.C. three of his own men were bribed and murdered him during the night. After his death the resistance of the Lusitanians crumbled and they were compelled to sue for peace (Appian Bell. Hisp. 6.63 - 72, Dio. Sic. 32.1-2).

The name is written Viriathus or Viriatus; for the appearance of each in inscriptions and manuscripts, see RE 9A 203f.

ei<sup>s</sup> nepos: Suetonius has missed a generation of the family tree and incorrectly uses nepos rather than pro-nepos. The reference is to Ser. Sulpicius Galba, urban praetor in 54 B.C., born in 94 B.C.; Servius Galba, the praetor of 151 B.C., was, however, born approximately a century before and was Ser. Sulpicius Galba's great grandfather. The generation Suetonius omits is that of C. Galba, Servius' son. (See RE 4A 754).

ob repulsam consulatus: The technical term for an election defeat is repulsam ferre: "priore anno repulsam tulerat", Livy 35.24.4; "iam repulsam tulit", Cic. Phil. 8.27.

infensus Iulio Caesari: Suetonius wrongly implies that Galba was opposed and not supported by Julius Caesar in his candidacy for the consulship of 49 B.C. The power of Caesar's enemies in Rome was growing, and it was imperative that he have an ally as consul. Galba was his choice (Hirtius Bell. Gall. 8.50.4); he was from a distinguished family and had served under him in Gaul. In any normal year Galba would have been a powerful candidate but his opponents, C. Marcellus and L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus, were both related to the previous consuls, had impressive support from family and clientela and were openly anti-Caesarian. It is doubtful whether Galba would ever have been able to defeat such opponents but, with Caesar's support being a hindrance rather than an aid, he was badly beaten. It is clear that Suetonius here gives the wrong reason for Galba's becoming "infensus Iulio Caesari". One of three things must have happened. Either Suetonius has misinterpreted his sources and simply given the wrong reason for Galba's hostility to Caesar, or Galba believed that his defeat was caused by his association with Caesar and, angry at missing his only opportunity for the consulship, switched his allegiance. The third possibility is that at some unknown later date, possibly when Caesar was dictator, he refused to award the consulship to Galba. This final

suggestion could, of course, merely be a manifestation of Suetonius' misinterpretation of his sources.

legatus in Gallia: In 57 B.C. Caesar sent Galba with the twelfth legion to the Alpine region of Gaul to open up a safe route for traders (Caes. Bell. Gall. 1.1 - 6, Dio 37.5).

conspiravit cum Cassio et Bruto: Suetonius provides the only extant statement that explicitly names Galba as a conspirator. There is, however, the curious warning of Cicero to Antony that Galba will use "eodem pugione" against him (Phil. 13.33), and in a list of conspirators, Appian has the otherwise unknown name Σερούλιον Γάλβαν (Bell. Civ. 2.11.3), which could be a corruption of Σούλ-πικιον Γάλβαν .

Pedia lege damnatus est: A law introduced by Q. Peditus in 43 B.C. providing for the trial and execution of Caesar's murderers (Vell. Pat. 2.69.5). There are no details of Galba's death.

Della Corte (1967: 118-119) sees a parallel between the two ancestors on whom Suetonius expands and the emperor himself: Servius Galba, who massacred the Lusitanians, possessed the same vicious nature as the emperor who ordered the senseless decimation of a group of marines (Galba 12.2). Furthermore, Servius Sulpicius Galba conspired to bring down the first Caesar, and many years

later his great-grandson would be part of a conspiracy against the last of the Julio-Claudian line.

- 3.3 avus clarior studiis: As an indication of C. Sulpicius' Galba's scholarship, he is cited as a source for book 36 of Pliny's Natural Histories.

dignitate: Dignitas is commonly used of 'political office or magistracy'. See "primum tibi (sc. Caelio Rufo) ut de-beo, gratulor laetorque, cum praesenti, tum etiam sperata tua dignitate." (Cic. ad fam. 2.9.)

egressus: This meaning of egredi, 'to exceed, surpass', is frequent in the historians, particularly those after the Augustan era. It is not found in ante-classical literature nor in Cicero. See "per omnia fortunam hominis egressus", Vell. Pat. 2.40.2; "familia neque tamen praetoram egressa", Tac. Ann. 3.30.

praeturae: There is no evidence indicating when he held this office.

multiplicem nec ... edidit: None of this history is extant; there are however two references to it. One indicates its comprehensive size ("multiplicem"), "ἐάλω δὲ καὶ ταρπηῖος προδοσᾶς ὑπὸ ῥωμύλου διωχθεῖς ὡς ἰοβας φησὶ Γάλβαν Σουλπίκιον ἱστορεῖν" (Plut. Rom. 17) and the other, its accuracy and detail ("nec incuriosam"), "fuisse tunc Pompeio triginta milia peditum mille equites Galba scribit, Sertorum autem sexaginta milia peditum, octo

milia equitum habuisse commemorat", (Orosius 5.23.6).

pater consulatu functus: Galba's father was actually consul suffectus in 5 B.C. See CIL I<sup>2</sup> 69.4.

modicae in dicendo facultatis: There is a difference in opinion concerning Galba's eloquence. Macrobius, writing at a much later date, had a high opinion of it: "in Galbam eloquentia clarum" (2.6.3). However, no other extant author mentions him as an outstanding speaker.

- 3.4 Mummiam Achaicam: The daughter of Lutatia Catula and L. Mummius, Crassus' military legate in the war against Spartacus (Plut. Crassus 10). See RE XVI, 1, 533.

Catuli: See note at section 2, p. 43.

L. Mummi ... excidit: Consul of 146 B.C. and responsible, in the same year, for the sack of Corinth (Livy ep 52, Vell. Pat. 1.12.1). The cognomen 'Achaicus' was given him on his return (Vell. Pat. 1.13.2), and, though never an official name, was retained by his descendants. See Venini (1977:19).

Liviam Ocellinam: This woman has been tentatively identified as the daughter of a quaestor L. Livius Ocella, to whom the Suessetanei and Segobrigenses dedicated an inscription (CIL 6.1446, Dessau 1962:936).

quasi ignaram: Suetonius uses quasi in a causal sense with both a subjunctive verb or a noun-participle phrase:

"perseveraverunt, quasi rumori minus crederent", Vesp 6.2;

"increpat Antonium, quasi scribentem ea", Aug 86.2.

Gaium: Consul of 22 A.D. with D. Haterius (Tac. Ann 3.52).

facultatibus: For facultas used in the concrete sense of opes see Aug 29.4: "sed et ceteras principes viros saepe hortatus est, ut pro facultate quisque monumentis vel novis vel relictis et ex cultis urbem adornarent".

prohibitique ... sortiri: An extraordinary decree by Tiberius which would have shamed Gaius. His poverty and retirement from Rome were the reasons behind it. Tiberius would not have wanted to see a senatorial province awarded to one so financially irresponsible. For other ex-consuls disqualified from the allotment of provinces see Tac. Ann. 3.71.3 and 3.32.2.

anno suo: In 27 B.C. Augustus renewed the Pompeian decree of 52 B.C. which declared that there was to be a period of five years between the consulship and the allotment of province (Dio 53.42). Thus "Gaius' year" would have been 27 A.D.

voluntaria morte obiit: See Tac. Ann. 6.40.3.

#### Section Four

- 4.1 M. Valerio Messala: M. Valerius Corvinus Messala Messalenus was later the governor of Dalmatia and Pannonia (Dio 55.29). He was the son of M. Valerius Messala Corvinus,

the literary patron of Tibullus and Ovid.

Cn. Lentulo cons: 3 B.C. Dio, in his summary of book 55, gives the praenomen as Lucius and not Gnaeus; there is, in addition, epigraphical support for Lucius (CIL IV, 2450). The confusion has arisen because of the two earlier consuls named Cn. Lentulus in 14 B.C. and 18 B.C. See Mooney (1930: 198).

natus est VIII Kal. Ian.: 24 December 3 B.C.

The date usually accepted as the birthdate of Galba is 24 December 5 B.C., on the basis of numerous statements, including one by Suetonius, that the emperor was 73 at the time of his death (Suet. Galba 23.1, Aur. Vic. Epit. de. Caes. 6.4, Tac. Hist. 1.49.4, Dio [Xiphilinus and Zonaras] 64.6); since Galba died on 15 January 69 A.D., he must have been born late in 5 B.C. There is, however, an additional problem caused by the evidence that says Galba was 73 when he became emperor, making him 74 at the time of his death and giving a birthdate of 6 B.C. (Plut. Galb. 8.1, Eutrop. 8.16).

However, nowhere in the above evidence is it explicitly stated that Galba was born in 5 or 6 B.C. The present passage is the only extant reference to Galba's year of birth per se, suggesting that Suetonius had researched the point to some extent. Suetonius is also using annalistic sources, as is shown by the use of the consular names, which are normally reliable. On the whole, the

explicit reference to 3 B.C. must carry more weight than the other calculated dates. For further discussion see Tongue (1938: XLIX) and Holzapfel (1912: 491 ff.).

in villa ... prope Tarracinam: Suetonius often provides "tourist-guide" notes for places of interest connected with the emperors. See Della Corte (1967: 146).

Tarracinam: Tarracina was previously known as Volscian Anxur, on the west coast of Italy, 65 miles south of Rome. An inscription dedicated by a consul Ser. Sulpicius Galba (144 or 108 B.C.) shows the family connection (CIL I<sup>2</sup> 694).

sinistrorsus: Manuscript Π has sinistros and GT have sinistrorsum; the errors are caused by scribes who did not recognize the unusual adverb sinistrorsus.

Fundos: Fundi was a municipium on the Via Appia. Horace mentions both Tarracina and Fundi when describing his journey to Brundisium (Sat. 1.5.25 - 35).

petentibus: This absolute use of the dative is found in descriptions of location: "a Nursia Spoletum euntibus", Suet. Vesp. 1.3; "oppidum primum Thessaliae venientibus ab Epiro", Caes. Bell. Civ. 3.80. See also Introduction, section iii.

adoptatus a noverca: This adoption would have had to be an adoptio per testamentum, since adoption was a method of acquiring patria potestas and could originally be performed by men only (Institutes of Gaius 1.104). This form



of adoption created only an obligation to take the adoptor's name, though it was not legally binding. See Cic. ad Att. 7.8.

Livia nomen: Suetonius has already given the name of Galba's stepmother at 3.4 and, after 'noverca sua', "Livia" is redundant, leaves "nomen" bare and the phrase "nomen et Ocellare cognomen" unbalanced. Rather than "Livia", a neuter adjective "Livium" (Heinsius) or even better "Livianum" (Bentley) ought to be read. The error is easily explained as a simple homoioteleuton after "noverca sua". The emendation of Bentley is especially attractive as "-num" could easily be lost before "nomen".

nomen et Ocellare ... usurpavit: A change of name to gain career advantage was a wise political manoeuvre by Galba; the patronage of Livia would have outweighed even the advantages his own well-known name gave him. Galba was still using Livia's name at least four years after her death, when he appears on the consular lists of 33 A.D. as L. Livius Ocella Sulpicius Galba.

The change of praenomen is more difficult to understand. If it is assumed that the tentative identification of Livia Ocellina as the daughter of L. Livius Ocella is correct (see 3.4, "Liviam Ocellinam"), then Galba may have been showing respect for his ancestry by assuming the praenomen of his maternal grandfather.

His titulature at the time he took power and under which he issued coinage was Ser. Galba imp. Caesar Augustus. Dessau (1962: n 1988), Kraay (1956: passim).

constat Augustum ...: The rest of section four is concerned with relating a series of prophecies, omens and anecdotes that point towards Galba's eventual supreme power. At least one such prophecy can be found in each of the Lives except those of Caligula and Domitian. See Della Corte (1967: 58-9), Gugel (1977: 23.72 for Galba 60 - 64). However, Suetonius' aim in providing a "package" of omens and stories has caused problems in both subject matter and dating. His intention is to trace Galba's life from childhood (puero adhuc) to the period prior to his emperorship (nondum aetate constanti), giving an interesting and lively story for each period regardless of chronological accuracy (note on sumpta virili toga) or complete veracity (notes on καὶ σὺ τέκνον ... παρατρῶξῃ and avo quoque ... portendi familiae).

For further examples of Suetonius' favourite device of linking omens and prophecies with significant events in Galba's life, see 8.2, 9.2, 10.4, 18 - 19.1.

καὶ σὺ τέκνον ... παρατρῶξῃ: Suetonius alone attributes these words to Augustus and not Tiberius. Tacitus, under the year 33 A.D., says "non omiserim praesagium Tiberii de Servio Galba tum consule; quem accitum et diversis sermonibus pertemptatum postremo Graecis verbis in hanc senten-

tiam adlocutus est; 'et tu, Galba, quandoque degustabis imperium' seram ac brevem potentiam significans", Ann. 6.20.3. Dio, under the year 20 A.D., while discussing Tiberius' interest in prophecies, gives the quotation "καὶ σὺ ποτε τῆς ἡγεμονίας γεύσῃ", 57.19.4.

The problem has been satisfactorily solved by Townend (1960: 114), who suggests that there were two different versions of the story. The first concerned Augustus during Galba's childhood, and recorded the words in idiomatic Greek; the second concerned Tiberius with the words in Latin, which Dio has translated into prosaic Greek, putting the emphasis on Tiberius' interest in horoscopes.

Suetonius would have had at his disposal both these stories and preferred the former for its lively, idiomatic style. It is also possible that a prophecy from Augustus would be more impressive. He does, however, quote the latter, "cum comperisset ... in senecta ", and adds Tiberius' further comment ("vivat sane ...") since the story fits into a sound chronological scheme and confirms Tiberius' interest in omens and horoscopes.

cum comperisset ... nihil pertinet: Suetonius follows the tradition of Tiberius' great faith in horoscopes. He would have men killed if their horoscopes showed them to be potential rivals (Dio [Xiph. Zon] 57.19.3).

- 4.2 Avo quoque ... familiae: Suetonius relates an omen that involves three of his standard elements; the eagle, the oak

and lightning can each be paralleled within the Lives when referring to future power (Claud 7, Vesp 5.2 and Aug 94.2 respectively).

Owing to the lack of any other report of this story in Plutarch, Tacitus or Dio, and its generic nature, the authenticity of Suetonius' account must be questioned.

procuranti: Procurare was the technical term for warding off by sacrifice the evil effects of lightning: "sacrificio, quo etiam ostentorum ac fulguram denuntiationes procurantur", Val. Max. 1.11.1.

responsum est ... portendi familiae: The eagle flying to the top of the oak tree indicated the height of power Galba would attain; the fact that the tree was already bearing fruit showed that he would be old before taking power. See Mooney (1930: 201).

cum mula pepererit: Although Pliny (N.H. 8.173) states that mules did occasionally bear offspring, this phrase is used proverbially for 'never'. It has its roots as an ἀδυνατον in Greek - "ἐπεὶ ἡμίονοι τέκωσι", Hdt. 3. 151 - and is regularly found in Classical Latin (Cic. de Div. 2.28.61, Juv. 13.64).

4.3 Galba's cultivation of the cult of Fortuna is reflected by the legends fortuna and fortuna Augusta on his coinage. See RIC vol.I, p. 213 n. 140-141.

sumpta virili toga ... dicentem: Suetonius places the dream at the time Galba assumed the toga virilis which, on the basis of Dio 56.29.5, was 14 A.D. However, this cannot be reconciled with Dio 64.1.2, which states the dream occurred shortly before Galba's accession of power.

It is probable that Suetonius' dating is wrong. He would have been aware of this story and wanted to use it because of its intrinsic interest as well as an illustration of Galba's devotion to Fortuna. For the sake of consistent chronological progression, Suetonius has inserted the story earlier than he ought and, though not able to give a specific date, he matches it with a significant event between puero adhuc and nondum aetate constanti.

ocius: 'at once'. A strange word for Suetonius to use; it is otherwise found only in comedy and poetry - "heus Phaedrome exi, exi, exi, inquam, ocius!", Plaut. Curc. 2.2.26. It is likely that the whole phrase is a paraphrase of the reported words of Fortuna.

simulacrum: The statue is mentioned at 18.2, shortly before Galba's death.

Tusculum: It would be natural for the Sulpicii Galbae to have a villa at this popular city, fifteen miles southeast of Rome. Other notable property owners included Pompey (Cic. Phil. 13.11) and Cicero (De.Div. 1.5, Tusc. passim).

4.4 aetate constanti: 'middle age'. See "num ea constans iam requirit aetas quae media dicitur", Cic. De Sen. 20.76.

veterem civitatis ... singuli dicerent: Suetonius climaxes his chapter by diverging from his pattern of omens and prophecies: he relates a story that illustrates Galba's sense of tradition, loyalty to family custom and strictness.

The custom's uniqueness (it is not mentioned elsewhere in extant Latin literature) attracted the biographer and has outweighed any need for total consistency in subject matter.

#### Section Five

5.1 liberales disciplinas: Attention to 'liberal studies' impressed Suetonius; five of the other emperors are mentioned in the same regard (Aug. 84.1, Cal. 53.1, Claud. 3.1, Nero 52, Dom. 20), although Galba alone is mentioned as studying law. His father's career would have made it natural for him to pursue this subject. Cicero indicates what 'liberal studies' entailed: "has artis, quibus liberales doctrinae atque ingenuae continerentur, geometriam, musicam, litterarum cognitiorem et poetarum", De. Or. 3.127.

dedit et matrimonio operam: The position of Suetonius' discussion of Galba's marriage, between his studies and

his early career, reflects the social and political importance of the act for young Roman men.

Lepida: There is no other reference to Galba's wife by name and therefore identification can only be tentative.

Most commentators believe she is Aemilia Lepida, daughter of Manius Aemilius Lepidus, who is described by Tacitus as "nubilis" in the year 21 A.D. (Ann. 3.35). See RE 1, 592, Mooney (1930: 203), Venini (1977:24). The dates are attractive, as one would expect Galba to be married prior to his public career, but the identification is pure conjecture.

duobusque ex ea filiis: Unless "amissis" is supplied, this ablative phrase is meaningless. The sense, therefore, dictates that Galba's sons died while they were young, and explains why there is no subsequent reference to them. See "non ... orbitatem", 17.

neque sollicitari ... a matre Lepidae: This story is told only here, but falls into the category of other Agrippina 'temptress' stories. See Tac. Ann. 13.12 - 13, where she tries to seduce her son, Nero.

<quae> viduata: quae is an emendation by Becker to provide a subject for "sollicitaverat". All the manuscripts read viduatae (genitive with Agrippinae) except M and G, which have the bare nominative viduata. The scribes of manuscripts Π and Q saw the necessity of a feminine nominative

and added quae after Domitii, retaining viduatae. Becker's emendation is ingenious (quae could be omitted after Agrippinae quidem), and may well be right.

morte Domiti[i]: Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, the father of Nero, died in 40 A.D. (Suet. Nero 6.3).

conventu matronarum: At this time the conventus was nothing more than a social club for wealthy Roman women. See Straub (1964:227-228 and n. 20).

- 5.2 observit ante ... plurimum valuit: Plutarch (Galb. 3.2) supports Suetonius' statement that Galba owed a lot to Livia, erroneously adding that it was because of her that Galba won his consulship; Galba held the consulship in 33 A.D., four years after the death of Livia. Livia's support would have started with her adoption of Galba (4.1) and was emphasized by the emperor who, as well as using her name (4.1), issued coinage with the image of Livia and the legend Augusta or Diva Augusta (RIC I p. 200, Kraay (1956: 14)).

paene ditatus est: Suetonius must have been aware that Galba was an extremely rich man in his own right. See Tac. Hist. 1.49.2, "magnae opes"; Plut. Galb. 3.1, "Γάλβας Σουλπίκιος ὅτι μὲν ἰδιώτης πλουσιώτατος ἀπάντων εἰς τὸν Καيسάρων παρῆλθεν οἶκον ὁμολογεῖται". Suetonius has however chosen to ignore this fact to emphasize Galba's debt to Livia.



praecipuum inter legatarios habuit: To add credence to his account Suetonius uses precise legal language.

The noun praecipuus denotes 'first charge on an estate' and is found only in the legal writings of Gaius, Q. Cervidius Scaevola, and Domitius Ulpianus; legatarius, 'the recipient of a legacy', is attested only one other time in Latin literature, in the writings of the jurist Javolenus Priscus.

sed quia ... quingenta revocante: The amount of the legacy would have been written in symbols rather than words, and would thus have been very easy to forge; 50,000,000 sesterces was denoted as HS  $\overline{\text{D}}$ , while 500,000 was HS  $\overline{\text{D}}$ . The ease with which this forgery could have been performed makes Casaubon's emendation of quingenties to quinquagies (HS  $\overline{\text{L}}$ ) doubtful.

ne haec quidem accepit: Another example of inconsistency within the Lives is furnished by this story. At Tib. 51.6 Suetonius says that Tiberius annulled the will and paid none of the legacies (see also Dio 59.1.4, Tac. Ann. 5.1.5); however, at Cal. 16.3, Suetonius says the emperor paid the legacies of both Tiberius and Livia in full, "legata ex testamento Tiberi quanquam abolito, sed et Iuliae Augustae, quod Tiberius suppresserat, cum fide ac sine calumnia repraesentata absolvit". If the latter passage were accurate, Galba would have received the whole fifty million sesterces, something that Suetonius blatantly denies here.

A solution to the problem can be based on two pieces of evidence. Firstly, "paene ditatus est" without doubt suggests that Galba did not receive the whole sum, nor probably even a forged figure of five hundred thousand sesterces, with which Caligula may or may not have been faced. Secondly, the Caligula passage is included in a section that eulogises the initial months of his reign and as such is open to exaggeration. If Galba received less than he was entitled to, this could easily be ignored by a biographer intent on emphasizing the fact that Caligula chose to honour the will at all.

#### Section Six

6.1 ante legitimum tempus: Galba's accelerated career is attested here and in the Fasti Consulares, where he is recorded as the consul for 33. Although the republican age limits for curule offices were, in principle, retained under the Principate, they were waived for patricians such as Galba (Morris 1964: 327,332). For the political effects of this policy see Morris (1965: 22-31). Additional factors such as his wealth and the patronage of Livia would have enabled Galba to acquire posts while still a young man.

praetor ... edidit: In 22 A.D. Augustus transferred the cura ludorum from the aediles to the praetors (Dio 54.2.3). Because of Suetonius' unspecific dating scheme it is difficult to say in which year Galba held the praetorship.

The only clues are in the next sentences; Suetonius says that exim (in the very next year?) Galba was governor of Aquitania for 'almost a year' and then mox became consul ordinarius. It is impossible to say exactly how long mox indicates; within the Lives it can mean as little as a few minutes (Galba 20.2), a period of four years (Nero 2.2), or up to a quarter of a century (Claud.45). However, the use of exim, anno fere and mox suggest that the three offices came in close succession, possibly in 31, 32 and 33 A.D. This chronology is supported by Morris (1964: 336), who shows that some patricians became consul with only a biennium intervening after the praetorship. In Galba's case the biennium would have been partly spent in Aquitania.

ludorum Floralum: An annual festival consisting mainly of theatrical events; it was notorious for its licentious nature (Martial 1.35.8).

novum ... elephantas funambulos: Galba's tightrope-walking elephants were evidently popular; Nero exhibited them at his Ludi Maximi (Suet. Nero 11.2), an event of which Dio gives a detailed account: "ὅτε δὴ καὶ ἐλέφας ἀνήχθη ἐς τὴν ἀνωτάτω τοῦ θεάτρου ἀίριδα, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ σχοινίων κατέδραμεν ἀναβάτην φέρων", 61.17.2 - 3.

Other reliable sources, such as Pliny (NH 8.3), mention the act, and so its veracity cannot be doubted; however, due to the lack of any iconographic evidence, the method

used to raise the elephants to the heights of the theatre and then lead them down remains unclear.

provinciae ... praefuit: Aquitania was one of the three Gallic provinces that remained under the jurisdiction of imperial legati. Galba would have served as legatus Augustus pro praetore, an office that shows he was a great favourite.

anno fere: 'almost a year'.

The suspicion that Galba's consulship immediately followed his governorship is reinforced by the statement that he did not complete the year; he would probably have had to return to Rome to make preparations.

The ablative of duration of time is used freely by Suetonius: "vixit annis viginti novem, imperavit triennio et decem mensibus diebusque octo", Cal. 59.

consulatum .... gessit: The consuls elected at the beginning of the year were called consules ordinarii and gave their name to the year. By the time of Galba the tradition had become established that the consules ordinarii would resign and be replaced by consules suffecti.

L. Domitio: The correct praenomen of Domitius Ahenobarbus was Gnaeus, as is attested by both epigraphic (Dessau 1962: n 2696) and literary evidence (Dio 58.17.1). For a similar careless error committed by Suetonius himself or

by the scribes see note on Cn. Lentulo cons., 4.1.

- 6.2 ... in locum Gaetuli: In 39, Caligula appointed Galba legatus Augusti pro praetore for Upper Germany in place of G. Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus (Plut. Galb. 3.2, Tac. Hist. 1.49.4). The lacuna must refer to this appointment.

Ihm's text gives Roth's conjectural emendation, although the suggestions of Madvig and Ihm himself are equally acceptable.

Gaetulici: In addition to commanding the legions in Upper Germany for ten years, Gaetulicus was consul in 26 A.D. He had been a poet (Pliny Ep. 5.3) and possibly a historian (H.R.R. vol. 2, p. CXVII). Caligula had him killed in 39 A.D., accusing him of conspiring to bring about a revolution (Suet. Claud. 9.1, Dio 59.22.5, Tac. Ann. 6.30.2). See RE 4,1, 1384f.

data tessera: A tessera was a small tablet of stone circulated among the soldiers containing the password or orders of the day (Livy 9.32.4, Statius Theb. 10.17).

Disce ... non Gaetulicus: The metre of this verse, a trochaic septenarius, was the usual rhythm of soldiers' chants. See Suet. Div. Iul. 49.4, 51.

Gaetulicus was very popular among his soldiers for the mildness of his discipline: "Gaetulicus ea tempestate ... mirumque amorem adsecutus erat, effusae clementiae, modicus severitate", Tac. Ann. 6.30.3. His popularity

among the legions was used as evidence against him when accused of the conspiracy (Dio 59.22.6 - 7).

For the appearance of rhymes and chants in Suetonius, see Della Corte (1967: 157).

- 6.3 pari severitate: From this point on in the biography severitas is the most prominent characteristic of Galba's period of power. It was a trait carried over from his successful military career into all aspects of his life. See 7.1, 9.1, 12.2, 14.3, 16.1.

commeatus peti: It is harsh to describe Galba's stopping of requests for leave as severitas; soldiers had been able to purchase leave from centurions, even to the extent that the depleted Roman army could be defeated in battle (Tac. Ann. 15.9.2).

barbaris ... coercitis: Galba defeated the Chatti in 41 A.D. (Dio 60.8.7). His career in Germany was a notable success: "militari laude apud Germanias floruit", Tac. Hist. 1.49.4; "λέγεται δὲ καὶ στρατεύματος ἐν Γερμανίᾳ καλῶς ἄρξαι", Plut. Galb. 3.3.

innumeras ... copias: For an equally large but unspecific estimate see Suet. Cal. 43.

According to Dio (59.22.1) the number of troops was 200,000 or 250,000.

It is likely that Suetonius is exaggerating when he

says omnibus provinciis , but legions from different provinces were gathered on the Rhine in that year. See Bicknell (1968: 497 ff.)

decursionem: The decursiones, or practice battle marches, were part of a huge programme of military manoeuvres directed by Caligula to try to restore discipline among the legions. However, the ancient sources agree in deriding the programme as farcical and unsuccessful (Tac. Hist. 4.15.2, Germ. 37.4, Dio 59.21.1 - 2, 25.2, Suet. Cal. 43 ff.). See Bicknell (1968: 496-499), Balsdon (1965: 76 ff.).

### Section Seven

A section in which Suetonius praises Galba's administration of Africa and, in doing so, emphasizes a special Claudius-Galba relationship. (See caede Gai, gratissimus Claudio and tantae dignitationis).

- 7.1 Caede Gai ... quietem praetulit: In no other source is Galba named as a prospective candidate for the position of emperor at this time.

Caligula was assassinated on 24 January 41 (Suet. Cal. 58.1), and in the confusion of the following two days various candidates were nominated as his successor; Claudius was discovered in the palace and acclaimed as emperor by the army (Suet. Claud. 10.1 - 2, Dio 60.1.1 ff., 60.3.2, Josephus BJ II, 204 f).

A case can be made to support Suetonius' implication that Galba was a potential rival of Claudius; he was the leader of a powerful army and no doubt would have had some support in Rome. However, Suetonius is guilty of exaggerating the threat Galba posed; he was still at this stage primarily a soldier, albeit a very good one, and seems to have harboured no ambition for the rôle of emperor. He was also resident in Germany, far away from the political game being played within the senate.

The implication in multis ... stimulantibus that there was an active party in Rome and Germany working to get Galba as emperor is unsubstantiated and is mentioned by Suetonius merely to emphasize the debt Claudius owed to Galba.

gratissimus Claudio: Suetonius is guilty of slightly misleading his reader as Claudius did not specifically honour Galba. According to Dio, Claudius gave offices to all those who wanted to be emperor after Caligula's death, as well as those who called for a return to a republic (60.3.5).

cohortem amicorum: Cohors amicorum means nothing more than Claudius' "circle" or "entourage" and is not synonymous with comites, who were the amici that accompanied the emperor on official journeys or expeditions. (Crook 1955: 24 ff, 185; for the opposite view cf Mooney 1930: 209). This being the case, this passage ought not be used as



evidence that Galba accompanied Claudius to Britain in 43 A.D. (see below).

tantae dignitationis ... Brittanicae dies: Suetonius implies that Galba took part in this expedition, but there is no evidence to support the implication. Indeed the opposite is more probable; in a detailed account of the invasion, Dio does not mention Galba once, a remarkable fact if such a successful soldier was present (60.20 - 23).

It has been argued that Galba was still in Germany and that his illness destabilized the situation there. Claudius would then have delayed the British invasion, not wishing to leave Germany open to revolt. (Barrett 1983: 243 - 245.)

The scenario is credible, as there seems no reason why Suetonius should fabricate the story of a delay. However, it is fair to assume that an illness of Galba that had such far-reaching effects would be reported elsewhere; there is no such evidence.

The problem is caused by Suetonius' exaggeration of the Claudius-Galba relationship, two examples of which have already been given in this chapter (see above). The invasion of Britain was a large undertaking and not one of the Roman soldiers were keen to carry it out (Dio 60.19.2); at least one delay could be expected, and Dio gives an account of a temporary delay in Gaul (60.19.3). It is unimportant whether Suetonius is referring to this or to an

initial delay in Rome. The fact is that to maximize the Claudius-Galba relationship Suetonius gives the unlikely cause of an illness of Galba as the reason for the delay.

Africanam pro consule ... tumultu inquietam: The assignment of the two senatorial provinces of Africa and Asia was by lot to the senior consules (see 4.3 anno suo). However, an extraordinary appointment, particularly if it was for more than one year, could be made by the emperor himself.

The special nature of Galba's governorship, the extra-long tenure (biennio) and direct appointment (extra sortem electus) suggests Claudius appointed Galba directly. The justification lay in Galba's successful military reputation and the critical situation in Africa. For a precedent see Tac. Ann. 3.32.1, 3.35.

A dedicatory inscription discovered in 1941 suggests that Galba had command of the whole province, not just Africa Nova, nor was he subject to a legatus legionis, as had been the custom in Africa since Caligula (Tac. Hist. 4.48, Dio 59.20.7). This again could only have been brought about by a personal concession of Claudius. (Le Glay 1966: 629 ff.)

intestina dissensione: This could refer to a minor internal revolt or, more likely, in the light of the evidence from the 'Caesarean' inscription (see above), a clash between proconsul and legate (Le Glay 1966: 633).

barbarorum tumultu: The revolt of the Musulanii. See "Caesa Musulamiorum manus est", Aur. Vict. Epit. de Caes. 4.4.

ordinavit: The ancient sources concur in praising Galba's administration of Africa: "proconsule Africam moderate, iam senior citeriorem Hispaniam pari iustitia continuit", Tac. Hist. 1.49.4; Λιβύης ἀνθύπατος γενόμενος συν ὀλίγοις ἐπαινεθῆναι, Plut. Galb. 3.3. His influence is also attested by the naming of a settlement in Numidia "Castra Galbae" (RE 3.2, 1768).

magna severitatis: Both Suetonius and Tacitus (Hist. 1.49.4) mention Galba's sense of iustitia in his administration, but Suetonius prefers to emphasize the characteristic of severitas rather than the Tacitean moderatio (see 6.3 pari severitate).

in parvulis rebus: Suetonius admires attention paid by the emperors to 'matters of little importance'; see Div. Iul. 48, Tib. 32.2, Claud. 34.1.

7.2 militi ... a potu recepsit: The two anecdotes illustrate respectively the characteristics of severitas and iustitia.

artissima annona: The anecdote related by Suetonius is particularly suitable as Africa was vitally important to Rome as a source of grain. Any personal profit made from grain caused resentment and hostility: "ex annonae quoque caritate lucritanti[a] adcrevit invidia", Suet. Nero 45.1.

For arta in the sense of 'scarce', see Suet. Tib. 8, Claud. 18.2.

tritici: The Roman soldier received his daily rations in grain rather than bread. (Watson 1969: 64, Venini 1977: 30).

centum denariis: '400 sesterces'. From epigraphic evidence, it seems that the usual price was 40 or 50 sesterces. See CIL VIII 25703.4, XI 2861, Duncan Jones (1974: 252 ff).

at: Suetonius uses at in its weak sense to mark a transition to a new story. Its use is similar to that of δε in Greek.

cum de proprietate ... a potu recepisset: For a similar practical solution to a legal problem see Claud. 15.2.

### Section Eight

8.1 res ... in Africa ... in Germania gestas: See respectively 7.1 and 6.2 - 3.

ornamenta triumphalia accepit: Galba received the ornamenta in 47 (Gordon 1952: 319)<sup>1</sup> The ornamenta triumphalia consisted of a distinctive triumphal uniform, including the toga picta and the tunica palmata, which could be worn at all ceremonial occasions. (Barini 1952: 14).

They were conferred by emperors from Augustus to Hadrian but were eventually reserved for members of the imperial

family alone.

For a list of all recipients see Barini (1952: 201 - 204).

sacerdotum triplex: Galba was awarded one of the major priesthoods, the quindecimviri (sacris faciundis), and two sodalitates, of Titius and of Augustus. The rarity of this triple honour is evident; there were only four other such recipients in the Julio-Claudian age; see Lewis (1955: 157. For the honours awarded to Galba see 52.) For the importance of priesthoods as honours in the imperial age see Lewis (1955: 17 ff.)

quindecimviros: The quindecimviri, originally custodians of the Sibylline books (Livy 5.13.5 - 6), supervised all foreign cults in Rome. The priests supervised the games of Apollo (Livy 10.8.2) and the Ludi Saeculares (Tac. Ann. 11.11.1, Suet. Claud. 21.2).

sodales Titios: Almost nothing is known of this priesthood apart from its name. Tacitus gives two versions of its origin, both linked with the Sabine king Tatius (Hist. 2.95.1, Ann. 1.54.1); the theory in the Annals that the purpose of the priesthood was to preserve Sabine rites is supported by Varro L.L. 5.85.

Other theories link the sodales with the Etruscan god Mutinus Titinius; see RE 16,1,980 ff.

Augustales: This priesthood was instituted by Tiberius in honour of the gens Iulia (Tac. Hist. 2.95.1). Other sodalitates instituted in honour of gentes included the Flaviales and Hadrianales.

For comparison of sodalitates see Lewis (1955: 155-159).

atque ex eo tempore ... plurimum vixit: Galba, at this stage in his career, a successful and eminent man, feared that Nero would view him as a prospective rival.

secum ... efferret: See 9.3 ne quid ... Neroni, and for a similar retirement on grounds of fear Suet. Vesp. 4.2 (Vespasian's fear of Agrippina).

There is no evidence indicating where Galba spent his retirement.

ne ad gestandum ... quam ut: As Ihm's text stands there is no antecedent for quam. Torrentius may well have solved the problem by adding aliter before iter (see my text); homoioteleuton would make its omission a simple error. Seutonius uses the aliter ... quam construction (see Tib. 15.3 and 24.2) and the inclusion of the adverb would make the sentence run more smoothly. Ihm, however, prefers to assume an ellipse. Against aliter see Hofstee (1898: 20) and Mooney (1930: 212).

secum ... in auro efferret: In case Galba needed to flee suddenly, he travelled with 10,000 aurei worth 1,000,000

sesterces.

For this use of in see "quod partem rei familiaris in pecunia haberet", Tib. 49.2; "habet ... in nummis ... habet in urbanis praediis", Cic. Verr. 2.3.199.

Fundis: Suetonius is guilty of being slightly careless in his geography; he must be talking of the same villa mentioned at 4.1 under Tarracina.

Venini (1977: 32) is surely wrong in assuming that there were two homes; there would be no need for two residences so close together.

Hispania Tarroconensis oblata est: Galba was sent to Spain in 60 (Tac. Hist. 1.49.4, Dio 63.23, Plut. Galb. 3.5).

Vespasian's retirement was followed by a similar offer of a provincial appointment (Suet. Vesp. 4.8).

8.2 puero ... canesceret: Dio (64.1.3) relates the same prodigy but places it in 68, immediately prior to Galba's taking power.

It is difficult to decide which year, if any, is correct; Suetonius prefers to link prodigies with important events in Galba's life; Dio, on the other hand, gathers the omens together and tells them as the events of one year. It is a distinct possibility that both have sacrificed accurate chronology for reasons of structure and style.

hoc est ipsum Neroni: According to Suetonius' chronology, Galba would be between 63 and 65 and Nero, born in 37 (Nero 6.1), 23.

fulmen: For lightning as an omen of future power see 4.2.

duodecim secures ... imperii signum: Since the time of the kings of Rome, the twelve fasces and consequently the twelve axes had been signs of supreme power (Livy 1.8.3).

### Section Nine

The pivotal section in Suetonius' account of Galba's rise to power; the initial industry and zeal shown in his administration gives way to inactivity in order to avoid the jealousy of Nero. However, with the introduction of Vindex Suetonius begins to relate the events that lead directly to Nero's downfall and Galba's assumption of power. the transformation of Galba from aging soldier to prospective emperor is accomplished within this one section.

In addition, there is a subtle change in Suetonius' attitude towards Galba: for the first time, characteristics towards which Suetonius had previously been neutral assume a negative connotation (see varie et inaequaliter, in ... immodicus).

octo annos: 60 to 68 A.D. According to Tacitus (Ann. 1.80), the tenure of office for a legatus Augusti pro praetore was left to the decision of the emperor alone.



An eight-year career reflects satisfaction in Rome with Galba's administration.

varie et inaequabiliter: Suetonius' account compares unfavourable with those of Tacitus (Hist: 1.49.4), Dio (63.23), and, especially, Plutarch (Galb. 4.1ff); the impression given by those three sources is that Galba's administration was fair and popular with the locals.

Della Corte (1967: 119-142) suggests that Suetonius deliberately placed Galba in a less favourable light to maximise the effect of the pro-Otho biography that was to follow. See also Koestermann (1956: 199).

However, such a simplified attempt at contrast by antithesis seems out of character with the rest of the Lives. In each biography, Suetonius limits himself to his particular subject, even to the point of surprising omissions (see 19.1 sacrificantem ... monuit) and to assume interrelationships between the Lives seems unwarranted.

in ... immodicus: See 6.3 pari severitate.

Suetonius does not object to the severitas itself, but to its immoderate use exemplified in the two following examples.

versanti pecunias: 'Handling money'; the explanation provided by the scholion is tractanti.

manus amputavit: Although Roman law did not specifically forbid bodily mutilation, this type of punishment was inflicted very rarely. For other examples see Claud. 15.2; Tac. Hist. 3.84.

substitutus heres: Substitutere heredem was a common legal practice; if the heir died before puberty the substitutus would receive the inheritance. See Quint. 7.6.10.

implorantque ... testificanti: There is a disagreement among commentators about the exact rights of governors with regard to the ius gladii over Roman citizens. Some say that provincial governors did not have the power to execute a Roman citizen until the end of the third century (Staats. II<sup>3</sup> p. 269, Mooney 1930: 214). Under the lex Iulia de vi the Roman citizen would have had the right to appeal to Rome (Paulus 5.26.1), and was denied by Galba. Others, however, believe that Galba as governor had complete judicial powers and was empowered to order the death penalty (Gamsey 1968: 51ff.); the method of execution would then be the example of Galba's extreme severitas of which Suetonius disapproved. Crucifixion was usually reserved for foreigners and slaves (Berger 1953: 419). Regardless, however, of Galba's exact judicial powers, the punishment would be considered almost unparalleled in severity.

civem Romanum ... iussit: For similar futile invocations of Roman citizenship see Cic. Verr. 5.16.2, Fam. 10.32.3.

desidiam segnitiamque: Suetonius gives as an excuse for Galba's sloth the fear of exasperating Nero; Tacitus, however, accuses Galba of being lazy by nature: "quod segnitia erat, sapientia vocaretur", Hist. 1.49.3.

ne quid ... Neroni: See 8.1 secessu and introduction to section nine. Both Agricola and Memmius Regulus spent periods of retirement under Nero for the same reason (Tac. Agr. 6; Ann. 14.47).

rationem otii: Suetonius is referring to the words of Cato the Censor quoted by Cicero, "M. Catonis illud ... clarorum virorum atque magnorum non minus otii quam negotii rationem exstare oportere", Planc. 27.66.

- 9.2 Carthagine ... agens: Suetonius alone gives the name of the city where the conventus and subsequent acclamation took place. A conventus was a travelling court chaired by the provincial governor in certain cities. Carthago Nova was one of seven such cities in Hispania Tarraconensis (Pliny N.H. 3.18).

legato ... implorante: It has usually been assumed that the appeal was one for help against Vindex (Brunt. 1959: 535). However, it has been suggested that there is nothing to preclude its being an appeal by a supported on behalf of Vindex. (Shotter 1975: 62). The problem lies in the non-identification of the legate of Aquitania. There are two possible candidates; Q. Julius cordus (RE X 570 and PIR<sup>2</sup> 4, 272) was the legate of the province at the

beginning of 69 A.D. (Tac. Hist. 1.76.1), while Betuus Cilo (RE III, 375) is said to have been murdered by Galba in Gaul (Tac. Hist. 1.37.3). The speech in which this allegation is made tells of the deaths of several provincial legates.

If Cilo was the legate, the only possible explanation for the letter is a plea for aid against Vindex. Galba would have turned down the request and, recognising Cilo as an opponent of Vindex, arranged for his murder.

If, however, Cordus was the legate, he could have asked for help on behalf of Vindex. The balance of evidence, however, weighs against this theory; Cordus is not mentioned as legate of Aquitania until the start of 69 A.D., while the appeal was made at least eight months before and, even if he was in command, there is no evidence to suggest he was a supporter of Vindex. In addition, implorante suggests an urgent request that would better suit a legate trying to subdue a sudden rebellion than one who was attempting to organise support for it.

Vindicis: C. Julius Vindex came from an aristocratic background. He was descended from a royal family of Aquitania and his father was a Roman senator (Dio 63.23.1<sup>2</sup>). In February, 68, as governor of Gallia Lugdenensis, he led a revolt against Nero (Suet. Nero 40.1 ff; Plut. Galb. 4.3 ff; Dio 63.23 ff.). However, he failed to win full support from the Gallic tribes and at the beginning of June, having

been defeated at Vesontio by Verginius Rufus, his revolt was crushed. He was killed (Tac. Hist. 1.51.1), or committed suicide (Dio 63.24.4; Plut. Galb. 6.3) soon afterwards. See RE 10.1, 879 ff.

On the revolt, its chronology, and ideology, see inter alios Manni (1946: 122 ff.), Chilver (1957: 29 ff.), Brunt (1959: 531 ff.), Hainsworth (1962: 86 ff.), Shotter (1975: 59 ff.), and Daly (1975: 75 ff.)

litterae: According to Plutarch (Galb. 4.2), Galba had received letters of entreaty from Vindex before the start of the revolt, but neither replied to them nor, as other governors did, passed them on as information to Nero. It may well have been this decision not to reveal the rebellious intentions of Vindex that caused Nero to order his murder. See mandata ... missa below, Bradley (1978: 254 - 256).

ut ... accommodaret: Vindex's offer of the Principate to Galba.

The revolt required a leader more distinguished than Vindex himself and Galba was suitable for many reasons, not though, as Dio (63.23) erroneously states, because he had 'no small military strength'; Galba had, in fact, just one legion at his disposal (10.2). He was nonetheless well-respected for his noble background (nobilissimus, section 2), had been successful in Germany (6.2), and alone had not betrayed Vindex to Nero (litterae, above). On this

last point it has been suggested that Vindex would not have chosen Galba had not all other potential allies deserted him. See Brunt (1959: 534-535).

humano generi: The words Dio (63.23.6) puts in the mouth of Vindex are similar to those used by Suetonius: "ἐλευθερώσατε πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην".

The phrases humano generi and πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην can be used as evidence against the theory that the revolt was a nationalistic movement for Gallic independence (Shiller 1872: 261 ff., Momigliano C.A.H. 10, p. 739). For a complete refutation of the theory see Kraay (1969: 129 ff.).

assertorem: 'liberator'. See "Iulium Vindicem assertorem illum a Nerone libertas", Pliny NH 20.160.

According to Mommsen, libertas for Vindex meant the restoration of the Republic; it was not the Principate he was offering Galba, but the leadership of the revolt with the dual aim of bringing down Nero and re-instituting republicanism throughout the Roman world (Ges. Shrift IV, p. 333 ff.). It is, however, extremely unlikely that anyone, least of all the uninfuential Vindex, would have thought of restoring the Republic as late as 68 (Brunt 1959: 535 ff.). For arguments against Mommsen's numismatic evidence, see Kraay (1949: 130 - 142). Rather, the aim of the assertor was to free Rome from the murderous régime of Nero and bring about a return of personal freedom

and security. For this concept of libertas see Wirszubski (1950: 160 ff.) and for its use as the watchword of the revolt see RIC I p. 182 - 210 passim (especially p. 184 n.1).

nec diu cunctatus: Suetonius is often imprecise in giving chronological details (see 6.1 mox). According to Plutarch (Galb. 4.3 - 4), Galba conferred with his friends and was influenced to join the revolt by T. Vinius.

mandata ... missa: "creditur destinasse: successores percussoribus summittere exercitus et provincias regentibus", Suet. Nero 43.1.

By killing Galba, Nero hoped to crush the revolt before it started; he would have removed its proposed figurehead and deprived Vindex of his sole source of military support. See also litterae above.

secundissimis auspiciis: In Suetonius' account, Galba's hopes of winning the Principate are based not on military or tactical superiority (Plut. Galb.4.3), but on the presence of auspicious omens (see 4.2).

For other emperors encouraged by portents to hope for power, see Div. Iul. 7.2, Aug. 94.10, Tib. 14.1, Otho 4.1.

Cluniae: This town in Tarraconensis may have been Galba's headquarters (see 10.4 oppidi). On the coinage of his Principate it is named Clunia Sulpicia. (RIC I p. 215, n. 131).

Section Ten

Sections ten and eleven narrate the events from the beginning of April 68 to Galba's arrival in Rome as emperor, in late July. for chronological details see Shotter (1975: 73 - 74).

Venini (1974: 1112 ff.; 1977: 38) has identified a distinct artificial structure in Suetonius' account. Two positive notes, the sensible precautions taken by Galba (10.2 - 3) and the favourable omens (10.4) are followed by three negative events, the attempted desertion of the cavalry, the plot to assassinate Galba (10.5) and the death of Vindex (11). The balance then swings back in Galba's favour with the death of Nero (11). Suetonius' structure reflects the delicate nature of the revolt with the advantage going from one party to another. However, his silence on the events of Vesontio and the crucial decisions of Verginius Rufus and Clodius Macer expose its artificiality.

- 10.1 igitur cum ... professus est: The same story of a supposed manumission ceremony is told by Plutarch (Galba 5.1). Suetonius, however, puts the initiative fore the acclamation on Galba himself. Plutarch says that he was acclaimed as soon as he stepped onto the platform, whereas Suetonius, giving details of the images, the young noble exile and the caustic speech, leaves the impression that Galba orchestrated the whole affair, creating an anti-Neronian frenzy



that manifested itself in his acclamation.

manumissioni: The passage suggests a formal ceremony of manumissio per vindictam. The other two forms of manumission, censu and testamento, did not require the presence of an official magistrate. (Gaius, Instit. 1.17).

ex proxima ... insula: From Galba's position in Carthago Nova (9.2) the nearest Balearic island was the insula maior (modern Majorca). Under the Principate the islands served as places of exile; see Tac. Ann 13.43, RE 2, 2827.

ob id: Evidence of Galba's pre-meditated orchestration of his acclamation (see igitur cum ... professus est, above).

deploravit ... statum: Suetonius' testimony that the speech led up to the acclamation is at variance with Plutarch (Galb. 5.2), who says that Galba, although already acclaimed, refused to accept the nomination until he delivered his speech. The maladministration of Nero constituted for Vindex the very cornerstone of his revolt. See his speech in dio (63.22 ff.).

consulatusque .... professus est: See Plut. Galb. 5.1, Dio 63.23.

An event of great significance; for the first time Galba publically renounced his allegiance to Nero and, in so doing, escalated the revolt to the status of a civil war. The refusal of the title imperator was a prudent

move. Nero would not be able to accuse him of usurping the Principate and yet Galba was marked out as the leading candidate for the succession. The coinage issued by Galba and Vindex reflects this cautious attitude; while neither Galba's name nor portrait appear there are constant references to 'the people', 'the senate and people of Rome', Libertas and Roma (RIC I, p. 178 - 187). The wisdom of Galba's caution is evident; the war with Nero still had to be won and Galba could not afford to alienate any prospective supporters by prematurely claiming to be emperor. In addition the title chosen reflected the ideology of the rebels; it indicated a new programme of collaboration with the Senate and a move away from the Neronian tyranny back to an Augustan Principate. It was Galba's refusal of usurpation and decision to await the constitutional confirmation of the Senate and People of Rome that reveals his ideology most clearly of all. See Chalon (1964: 50 - 51), Syme (1958: vol. I, 207).

For the political advantages of 'le refus de pouvoir', see J. Beranger (1953: 149). For the significance of the title imperator, see Lesuisse (1961a: 145).

10.2 iustitio indicio: A iustitium was a temporary suspension of all judicial affairs and public business in times of national crises. (Gellius 20.1.143 - 44).

e plebe ... primoribus ... equestris: Suetonius is fond of classification by social status (see Vit. 14.1 - 4).

This passage shows the distinct hierarchical nature of Roman society with each class fulfilling its appropriate function.

legiones ... legionis unius: At the start of the revolt Galba had at his disposal just one legion, the VI Victrix, which had acclaimed him (Tac. Hist. 5.16.3). His conscriptions in Spain led to the formation of the VII Galbiana, later called the VII Gemina (Tac. Hist. 2.11.1, 2.86.1).

The emendation of Heraeus, legionem, on the basis that only one additional legion was formed is unnecessary. Suetonius aims at symmetry in construction (3.1), and may have used the plural to balance auxilia (Venini 1977: 38). In addition, Suetonius' inattention to detail (see 1.1 progenies Caesarum, 8.1 fundis) may have led him to talk of the two legions Galba had under his command, though accurately only one had been conscripted by him. Alternatively he could be referring to the levy of Vasconi mentioned by Tacitus (Hist. 4.33.3) as a legion. For Suetonius' use of vague plurals see Townend (1959: 289).

instar senatus: An indication of his desire for constitutionality. Galba set up an advisory council on the lines of the Roman senate. This served as an advertisement for the type of Principate he envisioned. For the identification of some of the members of this senate see Syme (1958: 592 notes 6 - 9).

10.3 manente ... usu: Use of the gold ring indicated retention of their rank as equites. Any eques who became a legionary rather than a 'civil servant' automatically lost his rank (see Staats III<sup>1</sup> p. 504 n.2). The evocati would thus have been disqualified had Galba not granted special dispensation.

The gold ring was the visible mark of status of eques. See Div. Iul. 39.2, Galba 14.2.

evocati ... agerent: Since Suetonius has stated that the bodyguards were young equites the title of evocati can here only be honorary. The original evocati (veteran volunteers) had been the bodyguards of Octavian (Appian Bell. Civ. 3.40) but there is no evidence of equites performing this duty.

edicta per provincias: The edicts were successful. According to Plutarch (Galb. 6.1) all the provincial governors except Clodius Macer and Verginius Rufus came over to Galba's side. The legend concordia provinciarum is found on Galba's coinage (see RIC I p. 199 n. 1,2).

Edicts played an important rôle in the revolt of Vindex; see Suetonius Nero 41.1 and for their use as propaganda weapons in this period Benner (1975: 127), Jal (1963: 162 - 5).

10.4 oppidi ... delegerat: Venini (1977: 40) assumes that the unnamed town is Clunia on the testimony of Plutarch

(Galb. 6.4), who states that Galba was in that town when he contacted Verginius Rufus. Her identification is, however, misleading; Plutarch actually says that Galba retired to Clunia to relax (εἰς κλουνίαν... ἀναχωρήσας), implying that his military headquarters were elsewhere.

anulus: Suetonius relates prodigies connected with archaeological remains at Div. Iul. 81.1 and Vesp. 7.3. For the significance of prodigies see 4.2.

Alexandram ... suscipi: Dio (64.1.2) gives a more general version of the story; there is more than one ship and the points of arrival and departure are not specified.

Some scholars have seen in Suetonius' account a distortion of an important message of support for Galba. The theory is that the explicit reference to Alexandrina suggests that a ship full of armed men was sent as aid by Tiberius Julius Alexander in response to Galba's letter of request (see 10.3 edicta per provincias, Chalon 1964: 51 and n. 48). The details of such a shipment would no doubt have been sketchy and Suetonius has accounted for the story with an omen. In so doing he satisfies his aim of linking prodigies with times of crisis in Galba's life (see 4.2).

Dertosa: A harbour town on the left bank of the Iberus, three miles inland. It served as an important port for Hispania Tarraconensis. See RE.5, 246 ff.

faventibus dies: The favour of the gods was vital in the undertaking of a war. See Béranger (1953: 154 - 155).

mutati sacramenti: This oath may be the oath of loyalty to the princeps that was renewed every January 1st (see Tac. Hist. 1.55.1, Dessau 1962: n. 8781) or the oath of loyalty taken by recruits on enlistment (Livy 22.38.3, Dion. Hal. 10.18.2).

expressa ... confessio est: Galba's action was characteristically excessive (see 6.3 pari severitate).

The use of torture against slaves was widespread in early Rome but was gradually restricted until by the time of Tiberius it was used only when guilt was obvious. See 'fuit sola confessio servorum deesse videatur', Dig 48.18 (quoted by Berger in article on 'torture', OCD 1st Ed. p. 914).

#### SECTION ELEVEN

mors Vindicis: See 9.2 Vindicis.

maxime consternatus: According to Plutarch (Galb. 6.4) it was not just the death of his ally Vindex that alarmed Galba but the encouragement Verginius Rufus received from his soldiers to assume the Principate. To avoid the possibility of his seizing power Galba wrote to Verginius asking him to join in an alliance 'to preserve the empire and the freedom of the Romans'; the implication was that they would overthrow Nero and await senatorial confirmation

of a new emperor. It is at this point that the sources become vague concerning Verginius. There is no evidence of a reply to Galba nor a movement towards Nero. Suetonius in particular refrains from passing any comment on Verginius, a remarkable omission since, due to the opposition to Nero and the defeat of Vindex, he was at this time the most influential person on the military and political scene. The reason traditionally given for Verginius' inactivity is his ideological belief that sovereignty lay with the Senate and People and ought not to be assumed by anyone (Dio 63.25.2, Plut. Galb. 6.3). His firm proclamation of loyalty to Rome displayed on his tombstone has helped promote the view of Verginius holding back from taking control because of a deep political conviction: "hic situs est Rufus, pulso qui Vindice quondam imperium adseruit, non sibi sed patriae" (Pliny Epist. 6.10.4. However, the sincerity of Verginius' declarations can be impugned. In Dio's version (63.25 ff.) Verginius and Vindex met prior to the battle of Vesontio. What passed between them is unknown but it seems likely that Verginius had hoped to abandon Nero once satisfactory arrangements for his own future well-being were secured. Although Verginius realised he could easily defeat the forces of Vindex, he was conscious that his weak personal claims (*merito dubitasse Verginius equestri familia ignoto patre*", Tac. Hist. 1.52.1) precluded any chance of his gaining support in Rome and assuming the Principate. However, the over-exuberance of his soldiers and the massacre at Vesontio

paradoxically left Verginius impotent. All he could do was to wait for the outcome of the civil war hiding behind a smokescreen of ideological convictions.

For Suetonius' reasons for omitting information see 1 7 quo ... conata, Venini (1974: 1001 ff.).

On the decisions and activity of Verginius at this time see Daly (1975: 84 - 86), Brunt (1959: 562 - 563), Mainsworth (1962: 89 - 96), Syme (1958: 179).

nuntius: Suetonius' account is at variance with both Plutarch (Galb: 7.1) and his own testimony (Galba 22) where it is stated that Galba's freedman Icelus brought the news of Nero's death. The only possible explanation of the discrepancy is that Icelus was accompanied by other messengers and that in this passage Suetonius has chosen not to specify him by name.

occisum Neronem: Nero stabbed himself on hearing that he had been declared a 'hostis' and sentenced to death (Suet. Nero 49.2 - 4).

cunctos curasse: Suetonius' order of events is not as specific as that of Plutarch (Galb 7.2) or Dio (63.27.26), who both make it clear that Nero was still alive when Galba was universally recognised as emperor. Suetonius' account does not explicitly reverse the order of events but implies that Nero died before the Senate chose Galba.



deposita ... appellationem: Galba's official acceptance of the Principate. 'Caesar' was by this time merely an honorary title for emperor (see 1.1 progenies Caesarum), and all the emperors apart from Vitellius adopted the name. For the history and significance of the title see Lesuisse (1961b: 271 ff.).

iterque ingressus est: Suetonius' chronology is suspect; both Dio (63.29.6) and Plutarch (Galb 7 - 11) state that Galba did not assume the title Caesar until he met with a senatorial embassy during his journey; Plutarch names the meeting place as Narbo.

Since there is no reason to suppose Suetonius deliberately fabricated the order of events, it must be assumed that he was working from another source. Venini (1977: 41), however, suggests that for reasons of structural linearity Suetonius has deliberately omitted the story of the embassy; the journey to Rome could then be presented without interruptions.

paludatus: The paludamentum was the cloak worn by generals when going out to battle (Varro L.L. 7.37). Galba was thus giving notice of the danger he faced due to the activities of the three rebels, Nymphidius Sabinus, Fonteius Capito and Clodius Macer.

dependente ... pugione: Dio (64.3.4<sup>2</sup>) says Galba's attire caused hilarity amongst those who saw him.

For the pugio as an emblem of military command see Val. Max. 3.5.3.

nec prius...reciperaverit: The exact time of the deaths of the three rebels and Galba's resumption of the toga prae-texta are unclear. Plutarch (Galb. 15.2) reports the deaths of Macer and Capito but does not give a date; Dio (64.2.3) is equally vague concerning Capito and Sabinus. It must be assumed, however, that the three died before Galba reached Rome, sometime in the late summer of 68 A.D. Otherwise Galba would have entered Rome in full military uniform, an event that would, without doubt, have been recorded. See Suet. Vit. 11.1.

Nymphidio Sabino: Nymphidius Sabinus had been made prefect of the praetorian guard and received the consularia insignia from Nero after the conspiracy of Piso in 65 (Tac. Ann. 15.72). In 68 he persuaded the praetorians to attach themselves to Galba's cause by the promise of a huge donativum (Tac. Hist. 1.5.1, see donativum 16.2). The fact that Nymphidius chose to work on behalf of Galba points to the existence of an active pro-Galba faction in Rome. As far as is known Nymphidius had no previous connection with Galba and could only have been induced to work for him by a third party that contacted him in the city. It is also likely that the knowledge that this influential party, probably involving Icelus and Laco, persuaded Vindex that Galba was the ideal man to lead the revolt. However, when Galba made it clear that Cornelius Laco and not Nymphidius

would be his choice as praetorian prefect, Nymphidius tried to bully the praetorians into proclaiming him emperor; they refused and killed him as he tried to force an entry into the camp. (Plut. Galb. 8 - 10, 13 - 15).

Although Suetonius implies, (oppressis is translated by both Rolfe and Mooney as 'he had overthrown Sabinus'), and Tacitus explicitly states (Hist. 1.37.3), that Galba was directly responsible for Nymphidius' death, the detailed testimony of Plutarch (loc. cit.) makes his involvement only indirect. For a discussion of the machinations of Nymphidius Sabinus see Manfré (1942: 118 ff.).

Fonteio Capitone: Fonteius Capito was consul in 67 and legatus pro praetore for Lower Germany in the following year. Despite a reputation for greed and severity he was popular with his soldiers. Details of his death are confused; he was executed ostensibly on the grounds of seditious intentions. Plutarch (Galb. 15.3) and Dio (64.2.3) give the initiative to Galba, while Tacitus (Hist. 1.7.1) says Fonteius was innocent and Cornelius Aquinus and Fabius Valens executed him without Galba's knowledge. The evidence gathered from Suetonius is all circumstantial; oppressis (see Nymphidio Sabino above) implies Galba's involvement while the reference to Fonteius with Nymphidius and Clodius Macer, two known rebels, implies that Suetonius thought him guilty of sedition. For Fonteius as a supporter of Nero see Bradley (1978: 259), Chilver (1957: 32).

Clodio Macro: Legatus legionis of Africa in 68 (Tac. Hist. 4.49.4). On hearing of the revolt of Vindex and Galba, Clodius followed their example; he supported their ideology but remained independent, disassociating himself from the other rebels (see Brunt 1959: 537). The legends on his coinage declared a desire for libertas and support for the Senate (RIC I, p. 193 ff.) He attempted to gain control of the Principate by stopping grain supplies from Africa to Rome but according to Plutarch (Galb. 15.2) and Tacitus (Hist. 1.7.1) was killed, on Galba's orders, by the procurator Trebonius Garutianus. For Clodius' attempt at the Principate see Bradley (1972: 451 ff.).

#### SECTION TWELVE

Section twelve relates the events of Galba's entry to Rome in July 68. Suetonius uses the section as an illustration of Galba's cruelty and avarice. The extent of his severitas was shown earlier in the biography (see 6.3 pari severitate) but now Suetonius links it with a reputation for greed; the two characteristics constitute for Suetonius the theme of the early part of Galba's principate.

The spendthrift nature of Nero's reign provides a foil for a discussion of Galba's greed and parsimony; Suetonius is as emphatic about Nero's extravagance (Nero 30.1 - 3) as he is about Galba's thrift.

The chapter is also an illustration of Suetonius' desire for a balanced structure that ends by emphasizing

its theme; two examples of avaritia , with traces of saevitia (supplicio ... ac liberis) are related concerning the provinces; they are immediately followed by two examples of saevitia, with traces of avaritia (sine commodo ullo) concerning the entry to Rome. The climax is reached with three increasingly bad examples of avaritia (cena, paropsidem leguminis, Cano).

The three different phases of the chapter are made distinct by their separate introductions, each inspired by fama ("praecesserat ... fama"; "fama ... aucta est"; "illa quoque ... iactabantur"). See Venini (1974: 1006 ff.).

- 12.1 saevitiae atque avaritiae: Both saevitia and avaritia as characteristic of Galba have ample support in the ancient sources. For saevitia see Tac. Hist. 1.37.2, 1.87.1; Orosius 7.8.1. For avaritia see Tac. Hist. 1.5.2, 1.18.3, 1.37.4; Plut. Galb. 3.4; Dio 64.2.1.

civitates ... punisset: Although Suetonius' language implies that all the cities in Spain and Gaul were punished, only a few were; some were even allowed a tribute reduction (Tac. Hist. 1.8.1, 1.51.4; Plut. Galb. 18.1). Spanish coinage issued by Galba bearing the legend quadrigensima remissa also indicates a tax reduction. See RIC I p. 198, p. 209 n. 101 - 103, Braithwaite (1927: 60).

Among the punished tribes were the Treviri, the Lingones and the Lugdunenses (Tac. Hist. 1.53.3, 1.65.1).

praepositos procuratoresque: Praepositus is a vague title (LSJ 'person placed in charge'), and probably refers to all types of Roman personnel in the provinces; some praepositi were military officers (Suet. Galba 16.1, Tac. Hist. 1.36.1, Hofstee 1898:32). Procuratores were administrators of finance and the emperor's affairs in the provinces; for Galba's clashes with them see 9.2.

The executions in question have been linked with those of Obultronius Sabinus and Cornelius Marcellus in Spain and Betuus Cilo in Gaul; see Shotter (1975: 63).

quodque ... exigi: Suetonius emphasizes the impropriety of Galba's act; not only did he melt down a gold crown, and one, moreover, that had been given as a gift and was from an ancient, presumably revered temple, but he went so far as to reclaim the weight of gold that was missing.

templo: Probably the temple of Jupiter Amon on the site of the modern cathedral. See PECS p. 882 ff., Venini (1977: 44).

12.2 cum ... decimavit: Suetonius alone gives the initiative for the decimatio to Galba. It is stated only in this account that Galba ordered the marines, whom Nero had hurriedly conscripted as a legion in the wake of the revolt of Vindex, to resume their former rôles. He was met by a refusal and consequently ordered the executions. According to Plutarch (Galb. 15.3 - 4) and Dio (64.3.1 - 2) the marines surrounded Galba as he entered the city and,

refusing to accept his offer of discussion at a later date, harassed and shouted at him. When some of the marines drew their swords Galba ordered an attack.

Suetonius' testimony serves to accentuate Galba's saevitia, especially since acts of decimatio were very rare under the Principate. See Watson (1969: 119 - 120).

remigibus ... milites: Commentators have disagreed whether the classiarii mentioned here constitute the legio I Adiutrix formed by Nero (s.v. legio I Adiutrix, RE 12, 1382 ff.).

On the evidence of Tacitus (Hist. 1.6.2 and 1.87.1) it has been maintained that the people who met Galba were an assorted group of marines not militarily associated with the already formed legio I Adiutrix. The slaughter of this 'marine-rabble', however, turned the formal legio against Galba, and they subsequently supported Otho in 69. See Spooner (1891: 41).

However, the statements of Suetonius and Plutarch (Galb. 15.4) that the marines were actual members of the legio I Adiutrix is generally accepted as being correct; see Mooney (1930: 226).

Dio's statement (55.24.2) that the legion was formed by Galba and not Nero is a result of his not understanding the bureaucratic technicalities of forming a legion. Nero organized the marines into a legion, but Galba subsequently

awarded it a standard and insignia, thus conferring on it legitimate military status; see the three bronze tablets inscribed by Galba on 22 Dec. 68 A.D., CIL XVI, 7 - 9; Dessau (1962; n. 1988). For the episode of the classiarii see Starr (1960: 180 - 181, 202 n. 43).

item Germanorum ... institutam: These slaves, recruited from German tribes subject to Rome, such as the Batavi and Frisii, were the emperor's personal bodyguard under the Julio - Claudians. (Suet. Calig. 43.58.3; CIL VI, 4337 - 4345.) They had previously been sent home by Augustus in 15 A.D. (Tac. Ann. 1.24.2, Suet. Aug. 49.1), and after their dismissal by Galba are not heard of again.

They were unique since, although they constituted a military body, they were imperial slaves and freedmen and they organized themselves as a collegium. See Weaver (1972: 83).

sine commodo: Commodum was the technical term for the grant of money or land received by veterans on their discharge (Suet. Nero 32.1, Vit. 15.1). Because of their special status the slaves in question would have qualified for commoda.

Cn. Dolabellae: Cn. Cornelius Dolabella was related to Galba (Tac. Hist. 1.88.1) and recommended as a potential successor by his friends (Plut. Galb. 23.1). He was banished to Aquinum by Otho (Tac. loc. cit., Plut. Otho 5.1). He returned after Otho's death but was killed on the orders



of Vitellius (Tac. Hist. 2.63.1 - 2). There is no other evidence of Galba's hostility towards Dolabella at this time.

For Dolabella's career and background see RE 4, 1298 ff.).

iusta ... tendebant: The location of these gardens is unknown; see Platner and Ashby (1965: 266).

12.3 verene an falso: Suetonius, like Tacitus, uses innuendo (Otho 1.1, Div. Iul. 18.1).

There is almost certainly no truth in these rumours; Suetonius, however, reports them, presumably realising that the innuendo will nevertheless leave its mark.

lautiore cena: This passage does not contradict Suetonius' statement at 22.1 that Galba was a heavy eater; here it is not the food but the expense to which Galba objects.

ordinario ... dispensatori: In the imperial administration a dispensator was the head of a department, with complete control over its funds (Weaver, 1972: 202). Although nominally imperial slaves, some dispensatores became extremely wealthy (Suet. Otho 5.2, Pliny N.H. 7.129 [where a dispensator pays Nero 13,000,000 sesterces]); such huge personal fortunes were probably the result of corruption; see Brunt (1961: 222).

Ordinarius denotes a slave who owned other slaves (Weaver, 1972: 200 ff.). The stinginess of Galba's reward is thus accentuated by both ordinario and dispensatori; both details indicate an important and probably wealthy slave.

breviarum rationum: 'Summary of accounts'. Probably the correct reading despite the deletion of breviarum and reading rationem in several manuscripts. The scribes of these manuscripts, realising that ratio can mean 'accounts', have omitted the unusual noun breviarum, unaware of its technical meaning. The emendation of Bücheler merely compounds the error.

Cano: A famous flute-player, who claimed that if his audience knew how much more pleasure he got from his music than they did, then they would ask for payment rather than giving it (Plut. Moralia: an seni respublica gerenda sit 786C. See also Martial 4.5.8). S.V. Cano RE 3, 1501.

denarios quinque: According to Plutarch (Galb. 16.1), Galba gave Canus some gold pieces. Venini (1977: 46) assumes that since Suetonius fails to identify the denarii as gold, they were of the considerably cheaper silver type. For Galba's miserly attitude towards gifts see Dio 64.2.1.

prolatos ... oculis suis: According to Plutarch (Galb. 16.1), Galba said the money came from his own funds and not that of the state; this suits Plutarch's aim of contrasting Galba's deliberate policy of parsimony with Nero's

extravagance (see 15.1 liberalitates ... nequirent). Suetonius, however, concentrates on Galba's tight-fistedness and his repeated insistence that it was his own money (manu sua ... loculis suis) makes the stingy gift of five denarii appear even more miserly and ironic.

### SECTION THIRTEEN

non perinde gratus: 'Not as welcome [sc. as it might have been]'; the logical conclusion of section twelve.

There are several instances in Suetonius where, after a negative and perinde, the implied comparison is omitted: see Aug. 80, Tib. 52.1.

notissimum canticum ... a villa: Although the origin of this fragment is unknown (Frasinetti 1955: 81 - 2 n. 3), the character is presumably, like Galba, returning to the city after a long absence; he must have shared with Galba a negative characteristic, probably that of a stingy old man. The name is, in all likelihood, of Greek origin, and probably connected with ἀνέομαι, to buy, or ὄνησις, 'profit' or 'advantage'. The point of the anecdote may be that Galba's reputation as a miser had preceded him.

The Atellan farces were given great licence for political lampoons; see Suet. Aug. 68 (allusion to effeminacy), Tib. 45 (satire on lust). Caligula, however, had a writer of Atellae burnt to death for a double-entendre (Cal. 27.4).

For the use of Atellae as political satire see

Frassinetti (1967: 15 ff.)

venit Onesimus: This reading is found only in the fourteenth century manuscript δ while the remaining manuscripts have ventione simus (simul - G). Onesimus has been accepted by most modern editors (Ihm, Mooney, Rolfe, Aillond). Hofstee (1898: 35) says "aptissimum est ad designandum hominem avarum", linking it with the Greek verb οὐρίναται, 'to profit'. Despite the strong evidence supporting Schmidt's emendation Dorsennus (adopted by Frassinetti 1955: 81), a stock figure in Atellan farce (Frassinetti 1967: VII), its distance from the existing manuscript readings makes it difficult to accept.

#### SECTION FOURTEEN

In section fourteen Suetonius moves from Galba's assumption of power to an examination of the Principate itself.

14.1 maiore ... imperium: Tacitus (Hist. 1.49.4) has a similarly biting summary of Galba's Principate: "maior privato visus, dum privatus fuit, et omnium consensu capax imperii, nisi imperasset".

quanquam ... daret: A vital passage in evaluating Suetonius' view of the Principate of Galba. Suetonius admits that there was evidence that Galba was a good emperor but does not give any examples. The reign is reduced to a series of errors in judgement and outrageous acts (14.2 -

15.2), with each of Galba's personal shortcomings (acerbior, parcior, remissior, neglegentior) making matters worse. The culmination is found in the hatred of the soldiers (16.1) that ultimately leads to his downfall. Suetonius, although obviously aware of their existence, does not elucidate the documenta egregii principis. Plutarch (Galb. 17.1), however, tells of Galba's executing the worst of Nero's adherents while Tacitus (Hist. 1.20.1) testifies that he demanded the return of Nero's extravagant gifts, and Dio (64.3.4c) states that he pardoned exiles and placed the corpses of murdered members of the imperial family in Augustus' mausoleum.

quanquam: Suetonius always uses quanquam with the subjunctive, never the indicative. The construction is attested for the first time in Cornelius Nepos: "nec praeteribo, quamquam nonnullis leve visum iri putem", Atticus 13.6.

invisa: Tac. Hist. 1.7.1: "et invisio semel principi seu bene seu male facta parem invidiam adferebant". For the same view of Galba as emperor see Plut. Galb. 18.1, Dio 64.2.2.

- 14.2 negebatur ... vocabant: The irony in the nickname paedagogi was all the more evident because of Galba's advanced age. For their power over and influence exercised on Galba by these three men see Tac. Hist. 1.6.1; 1.12.3; 1.13.1 - 4; Plut. Galb. 7.3; 11.2; 13.2 - 3. For Galba's general weakness in dealing with friends see 15.2 comites atque libertos.

T. Vinius ... in Hispania: T. Vinius Rufinus had been proconsul of Gallia narbonensis (Tac. Hist. 1.48.4) and was subsequently the legatus of the legio I Adiutrix under Galba in Spain (Plut. Galb. 4.4). He became consul with Galba on 1st January 69 (McCrum and Woodhead 1966: 14) and was murdered in the aftermath of the emperor's assassination fifteen days later. He attempted to avoid his death by claiming to be an agent of Otho (Plut. Galb. 27.4). See Sumner (1976: 430 - 36). S.V. T. Vinius Rufinus RE 9A, 124 ff.

cupiditatis immensae: Vinius' greed and rapaciousness were well-known to Plutarch: "ἦν δὲ Οὐίνιος ἀργυρίου μὲν ἐσχάτως καὶ παρ' ὀντινοῦν ἤτιων", Galb. 12.1, 17.3 - 4 (accepted bribes from Tigellinus), 18.1 (corrupted by Gallic tribes).

Cornelius Laco: For the repercussions of Laco's appointment as prefect see 11 Nymphidio Sabino.

There is no evidence of Laco's career prior to his offices as assessor and prefect (Plut. Galb. 13.1; Tac. Hist. 1.19.2). After the fall of Galba he was put to death on the orders of Otho, whose adoption as heir he had opposed (Tac. Hist. 1.13.2; 1.46.5; Plut. Galb. 27.4). S.V. Cornelius Laco 4, 1, 1355 ff.

assessore ... praetorii: The prefect of the praetorian guard normally had a long military background and the apparently direct appointment of Laco cannot be paralleled.

Assessores were legally trained subordinates who were appointed to assist state officials in the administration of justice (D.S. I p. 474 - 5; S.V. Assessor RE 1, 423 ff.).

Icelus: The freedman and lover of Galba (22); he was imprisoned by Nero at the outbreak of the revolt but was released soon afterwards (Nero 49.4). He conveyed the news of Nero's death and the proclamation of Galba by the people to Spain (11 nuntius). As a reward he received a gold ring and equestrian status (Tac. Hist. 1.13.1; Plut. Galb. 7.3); he was killed on the orders of Otho because he opposed Otho's adoption (Tac. Hist. 1.13.2; 1.46.5). S.V. Icelus RE 9, 820.

anulis aureis: For the gold ring as the visible badge of the eques see 10.3 manente ... usu.

The use of the plural anulis aureis, used also by Tacitus (Hist. 1.13.1) and Plutarch (δακτυλίου χρυσοῦ Galb. 7.3) has been the subject of much discussion. Wölfflin (1868: 128 ff.) suggested the plural was 'technical' to denote equestrian rank but gave no further explanation. The theory was challenged by Nutting (1928: 172) who proposed that the plural was genuine and that the eques received several rings. However, in the light of a new theory that the plural was used in place of the phrases ius anulorum or usus anulorum, the traditional view of a technical plural is preferable. See Vassileiou (1971: 649 - 51).

Marciani ... ornatus: Suetonius' account differs in emphasis from those of Tacitus (Hist. 1.13.1) and Plutarch (Galb. 7.3), who agree that Icelus chose the name Marcianus himself. His intention was to drop his servile name for a cognomen equestre. (Staats . III<sup>1</sup> p. 209; p. 426). While Suetonius implies that there was an official confirmation of the name, thus exaggerating Icelus' status and emphasizing his close link with Galba, both Plutarch (καλούμενος, Galb. 7.3) and Tacitus (vocitabant, Hist. 1.31.1) indicate that the name was little more than a pseudonym.

summae candidatus: The highest office open to equites was the praefectum (Venini 1977: 49). Icelus' swift rise to the highest equestrian rank could only be the result of Galba's influence.

diverso vitiorum genere: According to Suetonius, the personal vices of Vinus, Laco and Icelus resulted in the wild inconsistencies and extremes exhibited by Galba in his Principate (ut ... conveniret). In Plutarch and Tacitus, however, the various temperaments and characters lead to dissension among the three, with Vinus usually opposed by Laco and Icelus (Tac. Hist. 1.13.1 - 2; 1.33.1 - 2; Plut. Galb. 26.1).

grassantibus: Tacitus (Hist. 1.37.2) uses the same word to describe the behaviour of Vinus: "minore avaritia ac licentia grassatus esset T. Vinus si ipse imperasset".



modo acerbior ... conveniret: The beginning of Suetonius' account of the Principate itself. The passage displays as balanced a structure as did the description of Galba's entry into Rome (see note at Section 12). The actions described in 14.3 - 15.1 exemplify acerbior parciorque and those in 15.2 ff., remissior ac neglegentior; their logical conclusion is reached in 16.1. See Venini (1974: 1007ff).

parciorque: Rather than an amplification of the avaritia that characterised his assumption of the Principate (12.1), the antithesis with remissior suggests that Suetonius is using parcior in the sense of 'more sparing' or 'more controlled', without necessarily giving the word an economic character (see, however, 14.3 iuratrium ... tempus , civitates ... dedit); Galba's primary aim was to limit openings to ambitious rivals. Ailloud (1964: XIII) gives the overly harsh translation 'trop avare' for parcior.

principi electo: The fact that Galba had been the first emperor to have assumed the Principate by military acclamation followed by constitutional senatorial approval rather than through hereditary transmission naturally increased people's expectations and exposed him to severe criticism. The same concept is found in a speech that Tacitus puts into Galba's mouth: "nos bello et ab aestimantibus adscitum cum invidia quamvis egregii erimus", Hist. 1.16.3.

14.3 suspicione ... condemnavit: Among those condemned to death without a hearing were Cingonius Varro and Petronius

Turpilianus ("inauditi atque indefensi", Tac. Hist. 1.6.1; Plut. Galb. 15.2).

There is a trace of exaggeration in minima suspicione, since Varro had been an ally of Nymphidius (Tac. loc. cit.) and Petronius the leader of an army sent to combat Galba and Vindex (Dio 63.27.1a). Both could be considered legitimate enemies.

civitates ... dedit: Among those who were given citizenship were the Gallic tribes who had been allies of Vindex (Tac. Hist. 1.8.1; Plut. Galb. 18.1; see 14.1 cupiditatis immensae) and Sulpicius Florus who participated in the murder of Piso (Tac. Hist. 1.43.2).

Although the infrequent bestowal of Roman citizenship by Galba is used by Suetonius as an example of Galba's parcitas there may also be an indirect reference to his reputation for avaritia. Roman citizens were exempt from paying tribute and thus enfranchisement meant a drop in state revenue; cf Calig. 38.1, where disenfranchisement is used to increase funds.

iura trium... tempus: The ius trium liberorum conferred the benefits awarded to parents of three or more children under the provisions of the lex Poppia Poppaea of 9 A.D. The most important of these, and the one that Galba sought to limit, was exemption from the cursus honorum. However, Galba could also have had a financial motivation. Under the lex Poppia Poppaea the unmarried could not receive an

inheritance and the childless could only receive half a legacy; the outstanding money went to the State treasury. Tacitus (Ann. 3.25) says that Augustus instigated the law to improve Rome's finances ("augendo aerario sanxerat"). Limitation of the ius would thus ensure that more people contributed money. See D.S. vol 3.2 p. 1193 - 98.

sextam ... negavit: To the three existing decuriae of judges Augustus had added a fourth, the ducenarii, who sat on minor cases (Aug. 32.3). Caligula instituted a fifth, to lighten the workload of the four. The request for a sixth decuria would presumably have been made in order to lessen the labour of each even further. (Jones 1972: 88ff.).

concessum a Claudio ... eripuit: This passage is difficult to reconcile with both Aug. 32.3, "solitae agi Novembri ac Decembri mense res omitterentur", and Claud. 23.1, "rerum actum divisum antea in hibernos aestivosque menses coniunxit". Augustus granted all four decuriae exemption from duty for two months. Subsequently Claudius seems to have extended this winter break and required the judges to sit continually from early spring until the end of October (Straf. p. 363). Galba's abrogation of the Claudian concession would have served to lengthen the judicial year.

#### SECTION FIFTEEN

15.1 senatoria ... determinaturus: Although such a measure would, in fact, have served to limit corruption and rapa-

city by imperial appointees, Suetonius uses it merely as an illustration of Galba's excessive severity.

Appointments to Imperial offices did not, as far as it is known, have a legally binding length of tenure (Staats II<sup>2</sup>, p. 932 n. 1).

nec ... recusantibus: This method of appointment was based on a sound principle; by giving popular Imperial offices to those who had not openly sought them, Galba would be more likely to avoid promoting an ambitious rival or a corrupt official. His appointees would presumably be wealthy, content individuals. Suetonius, however, does not seem to be praising Galba's common sense and good intentions, but accusing him of being self-contradictory.

The same method of promotion was allegedly used by both Trajan (Pliny Paneg. 86.2) and Alexander Severus (S.H.A. 19.1). although the suspect nature of both sources leads one to suspect that these may be examples of Imperial propaganda.

liberalitates ... nequirent: See Tac. Hist. 1.20.1 ff.; Plut. Galb. 16.2 ff.; Dio 64.3.4c.

According to Tacitus, Nero had spent the enormous sum of 2200 million sesterces on gifts. Although the accuracy of Tacitus' figure cannot be verified, the evidence of known gifts presents a formidable outlay: a gift of ten million sesterces to Dorphyrus (Suet. Nero 30.2) and a

gift of one million sesterces to the judges of the Olympic Games (Dio 63.14.1). In addition, the huge landed estates owned by Acte and the enormous wealth of Seneca indicate imperial favour. See Bradley (1978: 167-8).

Unlike Tacitus, Suetonius views the recall of Nero's gifts as a feature of Galba's acerbitas and parcitas. The real initiative, however, for the measure lay in the poor state of Rome's finances owing to the expenses incurred by Nero's Principate. Even if Tacitus' figure is not correct, anything approaching it would have caused a grave fiscal crisis. Suetonius, notably, fails to mention that the recall was extremely popular (Tac. Hist. 1.20.2).

For sums successfully recovered see Dio 63.14.1-2.

quinquaginta equites: According to Tacitus (Hist. 1.20.2) this group of 'debt-collectors' consisted of just thirty equites. The organization had a reputation for being extremely corrupt (Tac. loc. cit.).

ea condicione ... nequirent: While Tacitus does not mention this further demand, Plutarch (Galb. 16.2-3) says it was taken as a second step only when the original measure proved ineffective. The inevitable result was that more people than merely Nero's friends were affected. It is likely that these people contributed to the discontented universi ordines (16.1) that helped eventually to bring down Galba.

scaenici ac xystici: This same specification is made by Plutarch (Galb. 16.3). For Nero's association with these two professions, members of which constituted a large part of his beneficiaries, see Suet. Nero 21.2; 12.3 ff.

- 15.2 comites atque libertos: Suetonius is here using comites in its wider sense of 'friends or associates', rather than 'companions on journeys' (see 7.1 cohortem amicorum). The reference to libertos indicates that Suetonius is referring specifically to the freedman Icelus, Laco and Vinius.

pretio ... noxiorum: Tacitus and Plutarch give the same summary of Galba's Principate; "venalia cuncta" (Hist 1.7.3), "Οὐνίψ δὲ καὶ Λάκωνι καὶ τοῖς ἀπελευθέροις πάντα τὰ πράγματα πωλοῦσι παρέχων ἑαυτόν" (Galb. 29.4).

Although Suetonius does not elucidate the vectigalia immunitates, Plutarch (Galb. 18.1) tells of the remission of tribute earned by the Gauls by bribing Vinius. See 14.2 cupiditatis immensae and Vesp. 16.1, "omissa sub Galba vectigalia revocasse".

populo Romani deposcente: Tacitus and Plutarch say that the populus demanding the death of Halotus and Tigillinus are the crowds at the circus and theatre: "... in circum ac theatra effusi seditiosis vocibus strepere" (Hist. 1.72.2); "ου δὲ παυσάμενος ἐν πᾶσι θεάτροις καὶ σταδίοις αἰτούμενος ἐκεῖνον [sc. Τιγελλῖνον]" (Galb. 17.4).

Haloti: Halotus was a eunuch and held the post of prae-gustator under Claudius. He was rumoured to have administered the poison that killed him (Suet. Claud. 44.1, Tac. Ann. 12.66). He is mentioned on an inscription discovered at Rome (McCrum and Woodhead 1966: 66 n. 198).

The stories of Halotus and Tigillinus exemplify the impunitates noxiorum.

Tigillini: Ofonius Tigillinus had been prefect of the praetorian guard under Nero and shared with the emperor a reputation for crime and vice (Tac. Ann. 14.51 ff.; 14.61; Hist. 1.72.1 ff.). After Nero's death both the friends and enemies of Nero called for Tigillinus death (Tac. Hist. loc. cit.). According to Dio (64.3.3), Galba refused so as not to appear too accommodating, though Tacitus (Hist. loc. cit.) says his pardon was due to the influence of Vinius. He was eventually killed during the Principate of Otho (Plut. Otho 2.1). See RE, 18. 2056 ff.

solos: The arguments of Nutting (1936: 182) that solos should not be taken in its literal sense but as a reinforcement of maleficentissimos ('... the most utterly abandoned of all Nero's creatures', Rolfe 1914a: vol 2, p. 215) ought not to be accepted. Such an interpretation would destroy the antithesis of solos with omnibus, which gives to the account of the acquittal its whole ironic point. In addition, maleficentissimos is already reinforced by vel. A literal translation of solos is preferable.

See Aillond (1964: tome 3, p. xiv), "ils furent, quoique les plus coupables parmi les agents de Neron, les seuls auxquels il laissa la vie".

procurazione amplissima: By 68, procuratorships were awarded not only to equites but also to freedmen.

For the importance of these freedmen procurators see Weaver (1967: 14 ff.) and (1972: 267-281, where he suggests Halotus held a procuratorial post away from Rome).

Amplissima suggests a position of high importance, perhaps in one of the large senatorial provinces or a post in Rome with important financial responsibilities, such as the procurator annonae.

saevitiae ... increpuit: According to Plutarch (Galb. 17.4) the edict defended Galba's actions, invoking the fact that Tigillinus was suffering from a terminal disease. It charged the people with forcing the Principate to behave like a tyranny. See Benner (1975: 135 - 6).

Galba's charge of saevitia on the part of the people is particularly ironic in the light of his character as portrayed by Suetonius. See Suet. Galb. 6.3, 9.1, 12.1-2.

#### SECTION SIXTEEN

per haec ... apud milites: Having summarised the animosity incurred by Galba during the main part of his Principate (14 -15) Suetonius identifies military dissatisfaction as



the ultimate reason for his downfall. The grievances of the soldiers constitute the theme of section sixteen. For causes of military discontent not mentioned by Suetonius see Tac. Hist. 1.5.2; 1.23.2.

in verba ... iurantibus: For oaths sworn to the emperor see 10.4 mutati sacramenti.

donativum ... praepositi: Donativa were originally paid from the booty of a successful campaign (Watson 1969: 108). However, both Augustus (Tac. Ann. 1.8, Aug. 101) and Tiberius (Dio 59.2.2, Tib. 48) gave donativa in peacetime. Claudius began the tradition of paying the praetorians on the accession of an emperor (Claud. 10), a practice which deteriorated into a sale by auction of the empire to Didius Julianus by the soldiers in 193.

Plutarch (Galb 2.2) says that Nymphidius Sabinus promised, in Galba's name, to pay 7,500 denarii to each praetorian and 1,250 to each legionary. This sum was at least twice as much as the largest previous donativum (Suet. Claud. 10.4; Tac. Ann. 12.69) and one that Galba, under the financial circumstances, could not or would not pay (Plut. Galb. 2.3 ff., 18. 2 - 3; Tac. Hist. 1.5.1; Dio 64.3.3). Hardy (quoted by Mooney 1930: 238) makes the plausible suggestion that Nymphidius knew Galba would not be able to pay the donativum and hoped to benefit from the soldier's subsequent anger by being acclaimed emperor.

On the importance of donativa in general see Watson (1969: 108-110).

legere ... emere ... consuesse: The words reflect the harsh military discipline Galba inflicted upon his soldiers (see 6.3 pari severitate) and his equally notorious parsimony (12.1 saevitiae et avaritiae).

Both Tacitus (Hist. 1.5.2) and Plutarch (Galb. 18.2) make personal reflections on the anecdote, ("Galbae, vox pro re publica honesta, ipsi anceps ...": "ἀφῆκε φωνὴν ἠγεμίονι μεγάλῳ πρέπουσαν ..."). Suetonius, on the other hand, limits himself to reporting the military discontent that it caused. For Suetonius' tendency to refrain from moralizations and explicit evaluations of conduct see Della Corte (1967: 160, 198 "evita del pari lo stile moralizzante e i giudizi").

metu ... plerosque: Tacitus (Hist. 1.20.2-3) names Antonius Taurus and Antonius Naso as two of the discharged praetorians and mentions the fear of the rest: "metus initium, tamquam per artem et formidine singuli pellerentur, omnibus suspectis."

superioris Germaniae exercitus: During his account of the rebellion, Suetonius generalises by attributing involvement to the whole army of Germania Superior (see ergo primi below). Tacitus (Hist. 1.55.3) is more precise and names legiones IV Macedonia and XXII Primigenia as the instigators, with XXI Rapaxuninvolved. Galba had replaced

Verginius Rufus as commander with Hordeonius Flaccus, an old and weak man (Tac. Hist. 1.9.1; Plut. Galb. 10.3, 18.4; s.v. Hordeonius Flaccus, RE 8, 2, 2405 ff., PIR, vol. 4.2 n. 202).

fraudari ... operae: The primary reason for the German soldiers' discontent: the elevation of Galba to emperor had nullified their victory over Vindex (see 9.2 Vindicis) and cheated them (fraudari) of their financial reward (Plut. Galb. 18.3; Tac. Hist. 1.8.2). For other causes of dissatisfaction see Tac. Hist. 1.9.1, 1.51.2 ff., 1.53.2 ff., Plut. Galb. 22.1-2.

Ergo primi: It should be noted that in his account of the January 1st revolt Suetonius confines himself to the actions of the army in Germania Superior. He omits any reference to Germania Inferior and the acclamation of Vitellius as emperor.

Venini (1974: 998 ff.) suggests that such omissions are due to Suetonius' particular technique of composition, that demands linearity and concentration on the life of his subject (see sections ten and twelve). For Suetonius the events in Germania Superior are sufficient to explain Galba's downfall. Significantly, in the life of Vitellius (8.2 ff.), Suetonius omits all details concerning Germania Superior. Both Tacitus (Hist. 1.12 ff., 1.14 ff., 1.51-60) and Plutarch (Galb. 22 ff.) furnish full accounts of the revolt.

obsequium rumpere: The legions in Germania Inferior had also adopted a hostile stance. Although they reluctantly took the oath, legio I Germanica and V Alaudae stoned Galba's statues, while XVI Gallica shouted their discontent. (Tac. Hist. 1.55.1).

adigi ... recusarunt: The legionaries tore down his statues and, using a formula that Galba had once used for himself (see 10.1 consulatusque ... professus est) declared that they would swear only to the Senate and People of Rome (Tac. Hist. 1.55.4; Plut. Galb. 22.4). Suetonius speaks only of the Senate.

Rather than a call for a return to the Republic, the declaration indicated legionary dissatisfaction with Galba and that, considering the lack of an obvious successor, the choice of princeps lay with the Senate and people. See Chilver (1979: 117).

legationem ... destinaverunt: The veracity of this statement has been doubted on the grounds that it contradicts the oath taken to the Senate (and People). It has been suggested that Suetonius has confused this letter with one sent at a later date to the praetorians by Fabius Valens (Fabia 1904: 52 n. 1). See 17 quod ... nuntiatum est.

However, the succinct reported language used by Suetonius suggests that he has summarized the contents of a letter or copy of a letter that he has seen himself. Della Corte's theory (1967: 121 2), that, unlike Tacitus,

Suetonius does not seek to put a veil of legality over the events of 69, would account for the biographer's inclusion and historian's exclusion of this extraordinary and revolutionary request to the praetorians.

displicere ... factum: Galba's acclamation as emperor in Spain had been unique and exposed him to the criticism that he was the emperor of Iberians rather than Romans (Plut. Galb. 22.2).

For the vital importance of support in Rome to emperors see Jal (1963: 158).

#### SECTION SEVENTEEN

quod ... nuntiatum est: In Suetonius and Dio (64.5.1) the announcement of the January 1st revolt prompts the adoption, while in Plutarch (Galb. 23.1) and Tacitus (Hist. 1.22.2) it merely precipitates a decision taken earlier (Plut. Galb. 19.1; Tac. Hist. 1.12.2).

Tacitus states that the revolt was announced by a letter from Pompeius Propinquus, procurator of Belgica, a few days after January 1st (Hist. 1.12.1; Fabia 1904: 42ff.).

non ... orbitatem: Plut. Galb. 19.1, "ὁ δὲ φοβηθεὶς ὡς μὴ μόνον διὰ τὸ γῆρας ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀπαιδίαν καταφρόνυμενος".

Galba's children by Aemilia Lepida had died while young (see 5.1 duobus ex ea filiis).

Although Galba claimed to be following a sound principle ("optimum quemque adoptio inveniet", Tac. Hist. 1.16.1), his adoption of Piso was a desperate attempt to solve a crisis. See Tac. Hist. 1.14.1 "remedium unicum", Syme (1958: 207).

For the importance of adoption in the Principate see Béranger (1953: 145 -6).

Pisonem ... probatissimum: The son of Scribonia and M. Licinius Crassus Frugi, the consul of 27 A.D., L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi Licinianus came from a highly aristocratic background (Tac. Hist. 1.14.2). He was related to Pompey on his maternal side (Scribonia was his granddaughter ) and Crassus on his paternal (Tac. Hist. 1.15.1). he had been exiled by Nero and had held no magistracies at Rome (Tac. Hist. 1.48.1). His reputation as a serious and austere young man endeared him to Galba (Tac. Hist. 1.14.2, Plut. Galb. 23.2). He was killed by Otho six days after his adoption, at the age of 30 (Tac. Hist. 1.48.1; RE, 3, 1399 ff.).

testamento ... adscitum: A technical formula indicating adoptio per testamentum (see Suet. Claud. 39.2, Tac. Ann. 3.30).

For the terms of this type of adoption see 4.1 adoptatus a noverca. Piso took the name Servius Sulpicius Galba Caesar (McCrum and Woodhead, 1966: 13).

semper: Since there is no other evidence of Piso's being previously named as heir in Galba's will commentators have found difficulty in accepting semper; Torrentius suggested insuper ("in addition was named as heir ..."), and Cornelissen, nuper ("recently was named as heir ..."), both of which are sensible emendations. A corresponding passage at Claudius 1.5, however, verifies the authenticity of semper; "coheredem semper filius instituerit". Galba would have rewritten his will from time to time without changing Piso's status as heir.

repente ... adprehendit: Suetonius' testimony differs from that of Tacitus (Hist. 1.14.1), which states explicitly that Galba, having decided to adopt an heir, called a comitia imperii of his closest advisors to choose a successor. Plutarch (Galba 23.1), however, supports Suetonius with an explicit denial of any consultation ("μηδὲν προειπῶν").

Since Tacitus' detailed account, including the names of the four members of Galba's comitia, is unequivocal and contains nothing that might have persuaded him to invent it, once must assume that he was working from a more accurate source than that of Suetonius and Plutarch, and decided to include the details he found; see Chilver (1979: 72), Townend (1964: 354).

pro contione adoptavit: The adoption, carried out in front of the praetorians, did not conform to the exact

legal requirements: "si te [sc. Pisonem] privatus lege curata apud pontifices, ut mors est, adoptarem", Tac. Hist. 1.15.1.

This is the only ceremony Suetonius explicitly mentions, omitting details of the subsequent senatorial confirmation (Tac. Hist. 1.19.1 ff.); there is, however, an indirect reference to it in 18.3, see milites ... in senatu. For the stylistic reasons for the omission see Venini (1974: 1000 n. 19).

ne tunc ... facta: The soldiers were already irritated with Galba because of his failure to pay the donative promised in his name (see 16.1 donativum ... praepositi). It was a further insult that he did not distribute a largess on the occasion of an acoption, contrary to the custom. See S.H.A. Hadrian 23.12.

quo ... conata: The parsimony displayed by Galba on this occasion destroyed any opportunity he had of keeping the support of the praetorians (Tac. Hist. 1.18.3 clearly indicates the existence of such an opportunity), and allowed Otho to win them over with considerable ease (Plut. Galb. 23.2-3; 24.1).

From this point on Suetonius refrains from mentioning the affairs of Otho until he wins possession of the praetorian camp (19.1) and even then the reference is made only to indicate the seriousness of Galba's situation. Suetonius is interested only in Galba and narrates events



from his point of view; the information relevant to Otho is given in the biography dedicated to him (Otho 5.1 ff.); see 16.2 ergo primi. For the subdivision of information between Galba 17 - 19 and Otho 5 ff., see Venini (1974: 1001 ff.).

intra ... diem: The murder of Galba took place on January 15th (Tac. Hist. 1.27.1; Plut. Galb. 24.1). The adoption is dated to January 10th (McCrum and Woodhead 1966: 12-13); the inclusive method of counting led to a calculation of six days ('sextus dies', Tac. Hist. 1.29.2; "ἕκτη γὰρ ἀνῆρέθησαν", Plut. Galb. 24.1).

#### SECTION EIGHTEEN

18.1 Portents associated with the death of an emperor are an omnipresent element in Suetonian biography: see Div. Iul. 81.1, Aug. 97.1, Tib. 74.1 ff., Calig. 57.1, Claud. 46.1, Nero 46.1, Otho 8.3, Vit. 9, Vesp. 23.4, Tit. 10.2, and Dom. 14.1 ff., 15.3. See Venini (1977: 59), Mouchová (1968: 35 - 37).

The portents related by Suetonius in 18.1 - 19.1 follow a strict chronological order covering the period from the summer of 68 to January 15th, 69 (Galba's journey to Rome, entry to the city, period of Principate, the significant events of January 1st 69, the adoption of Piso, and the day of his assassination). For a similar connection between omens, chronological sequence and important events

in Galba's life see section four.

iter: The journey from Spain to Rome. See 11 iterque ingressus est".

victimae caederentur: Victims were customarily slaughtered on the arrival of an emperor. (Suet. Calig. 13; Tac. Hist. 2.70.2).

rupto vinculo: The ox would have been tied to an altar or sacrificial table and its escape was an inauspicious omen, probably indicating chaos and the emperor's loss of control over the people (see Div. Iul. 59).

In the account of omens indicating Galba's death, none of which are reported by Plutarch, Tacitus or Dio, Suetonius includes generic details that can be paralleled within the Lives and which cast doubt on the authenticity of the omens. See 4.2 avo quoque ... familia and following notes.

cruore perfudit: For the splashing of blood as an unfavourable omen see Calig. 57.4.

This no doubt indicated a violent death for Galba.

speculator ... lancea: The lance was the weapon used by the speculatores, who were chosen from the praetorian guard to form the emperor's bodyguard. See Suet. Claud 35.1, Watson (1969: 85 ff.). For the lance as their particular weapon see Josephus, B.J. III 95.

terrae tremor: For earthquakes as omens of impending doom see Tib. 74, Nero 48.2.

mugitui sonus: A sound obviously associated with the phenomenon of earthquakes. Seneca (N.Q. 6.13.5) uses the same phrase to describe winds prior to an earthquake.

- 18.2 ad ornandam fortunam: The initial appearance of the statue in this biography was also in connection with a dream and an omen (4.3). In that case, however, it pointed to Galba's future greatness.

Statues are referred to in connection with the deaths of emperors at Tib. 74, Calig. 57.1 and Vit. 9.

Tusculanam: See 4.3.

Capitolinae Veneri: The necklace was so precious that Galba thought it would be better served by honouring the cult of Venus than that of Fortuna.

Commentators disagree about the location of Galba's dedication; according to some it was in the aedes Venus Erucina on the Capitoline (Platner and Ashby 1965: 551). Although others associate it with the temple of Venus Victrix, also on the Capitoline (Mommsen in CIL I<sup>2</sup> p. 331). Since Suetonius gives no further information on the aedes Capitolinae Veneri apart from the fact that Livia placed a statue of one of Germanicus' sons there (Calig. 7), it is impossible to establish its true identity.

quae dedisset: That is, wealth, power and, ultimately, the Principate. Galba's adoption of Fortuna as a young man (4.3) had been rewarded in his later career.

nihil ... mērum: All the preparations for the sacrificial expiatory rite were the direct opposite of what they should have been; rather than ashes on the altar there should have been a fire in the hearth; instead of an old man dressed in black the requirement was a youth clad in white; the incense should have been carried in a special box, an acerra, and the wine poured from a gold or silver vessel. See Mooney (1930: 245).

For the correct ritual preparations see D.S. vol. 4 p. 973 - 80.

18.3 Kal. Ian. sacrificanti: On January 1st, 69, Galba became consul for the second time (McCrum and Woodhead 1966: 4) and as part of the traditional January rites made a sacrifice to Jupiter Optimus Maximus.

For the rituals enacted on January 1st during this era see Meslin (1970: 23 - 34).

coronam excidisse: The same omen foreshadowed the death of Vitellius as he embarked on his journey from Germany to Rome (Suet. Vit. 9).

auspicanti ... avolasse: Augurs made their prophecies after an examination of the way in which chickens ate their grain (Mooney 1930: 245). For the escape of animals

see 18.1 rupto vinculo, Div. Iul. 59 and Tit. 10.1.

adoptionis die: It is strange that in his account of evil omens Suetonius does not mention the violent storm that occurred on the day of Piso's adoption. Plutarch (Galb. 23.2) explicitly states that this signified that the adoption was not blessed by the gods (see also Tac. Hist. 1.18.1).

As Suetonius must have been aware of the storm, the only reason for its omission can be that it did not refer directly to Galba's downfall, the theme of section eighteen. Rather, the storm indicated heavenly disapproval of the adoption.

milites ... in senatu: The only indication in Suetonius' account of the second ceremony involved in Piso's adoption (see 17 pro contione adoptavit).

For the address to the soldiers see Plut. Galb. 23.2, Tac. Hist. 1.18.2.

castrensem ... curulem: The sella curulis, of which the sella castrensis was a more simple copy used on expeditions (DS 4, 1180), was the emperor's seat in the Senate, between the two consuls; Suet. Claud. 23.2.

perverse: 'Back to front' (Rolfe 1914a: vol2, p. 221, Gavorse 1931: 294), or 'awry' (Mooney 1930: 73, Ailloud ('de travers') 1964: tome 3, p. xviii). The Roman requirement of exact compliance with detail would have

rendered the misplacement of chairs a bad omen. (See 18.2 nihil ... merum).

#### SECTION NINETEEN

Sections nineteen and twenty relate the events of January 15th 69. In these sections Suetonius shows clearly he is a biographer rather than a historian; he refrains from a discussion of the political motives for and results of the murder while unfolding the day with the spotlight firmly on Galba; he gives curious details of Galba's actions (see loricam ... linTEAM ) but omits significant characters (see sacrificantem ... abesse). The repercussions of the assassination are discussed only in the life of Otho (6.1 ff.). See 17 quo ... conata.

The structure of section nineteen reflects the irresolution of Galba and the vagaries of fortune experienced by him during the day. Suetonius deliberately juxtaposes his despair, his elation and, finally, his death. The account vacillates between his resignation to death (haud dissimulans ... profuturam) and his supposed victory (prodiit tanta fiducia). For a detailed account of the events of the day see Welledey (1975: 22 ff.).

sacrificantem ... monuit: Suetonius has omitted both the name of the haruspex, Umbricius (Tac. Hist. 1.27.1; Plut. Galb. 24.2) and the location of the sacrifice ("pro aede Apollonis", Tac. loc. cit.; "εν Παλατίῳ"; Plut. loc. cit.). However, more notable is the fact that Suetonius says

nothing of the attendance of Otho, especially if, as Dio (64.5.2) says, he was the only senator present (see also Suet. Otho 6.3). Suetonius has chosen to concentrate solely on Galba. See introduction to section nineteen and note on quo ... conata, 17.

non longe ... abesse: Although the words would naturally refer to the eventual murderers of Galba who were waiting at the Golden Milestone (Suet. Otho 6.1), the warning would be all the more ironic had Suetonius made reference to the presence of Otho.

haud multo post: According to both Tacitus (Hist 1.29.1) and Plutarch (Galb. 25.4), Galba received news of Otho's seizure of the camp before the sacrifice had ended.

cognoscit: A rare example of Suetonius' use of the historic present. See Mooney (1930: p. 625 App. 1, 9a).

castra: Although none of the sources (Tac. Hist 1.29.1; Plut. Galb. 25.3; dio 64.6.2) give any explicit specification, the castra is the castra praetoria in the north-east of the city; the support of the praetorian guard was essential to Otho's coup d'état.

For the history and location of the castra praetoria see Platner and Ashby (1965: 106 - 8).

ac plerisque ... praevalere: According to Tacitus (Hist. 1.32.2, 1.33.1 ff.) and Plutarch (Galb. 26.1), Vinius advised Galba to stay within the palace and ward off any

attack, while Laco and Icelus (Laco and Marius Celsus in Plutarch) encouraged him to be aggressive and march into the city in an attempt to regain control. Suetonius, who regards identification of the two factions as of little importance, merely mentions the difference in opinion.

continere ... statuit: The sources differ in their accounts of Galba's decision. Suetonius says that Galba decided to stay in the palace and was only lured out "rumoribus falsis" (19.2). Tacitus (Hist. 1.34.1 ff.), however, states that Galba at once chose the more aggressive policy but agreed to send out Piso first. Plutarch (Galb. 26.1) says that Galba wanted to leave the palace but implies that no definite decision had been taken until the false reports were heard. In addition, neither Suetonius nor Plutarch mentions the prior exit of Piso. The confusion must indicate a plurality of sources. Suetonius may well have had two sources, one indicating that Galba chose the defensive policy, the other stating the opposite; the turmoil of January 15th could not have aided accurate reporting. Suetonius has probably tried to incorporate both sources, using the rumours of Otho's death as the turning point between the two. The embassy of Piso would have been omitted on the grounds of its unsuccessful outcome and consequent irrelevance to Galba's situation. For the likelihood of different sources for Suetonius, Plutarch and Tacitus see Townend (1964: 356 - 358).



There has been a disagreement concerning the usefulness of the advice offered to Galba. Tacitus' opinion that Vinius was a traitor (Hist. 1.42) has led some modern commentators to suppose that his advice was deliberately treacherous (Greenhalgh 1975: 48), while others see it as prudent and flexible enough to be adapted should circumstances require (Wellesley 1975: 24). However, the truth is that Galba probably realized he was in a hopeless situation; the advice of Laco represented his sole realistic option. Galba was a successful, respected soldier and his only hope was to appear in public with his few remaining loyal troops and to appeal to the loyalty of the people; for a similar view see Chilver (1979: 94).

legionarum ... tendebant: Tacitus (Hist. 1.31.1 - 2) specifies that Galba sent for a group of Illyrian soldiers and a detachment of Germans. Meanwhile he dispatched tribunes into the castra praetoria (see Plut. Galb. 25.5; Dio 64.6.1). The legion of marines, I Adiutrix (see 12.2 remigibus ... milites) was not trusted because of the hostility they felt towards Galba since the slaughter on his entry to the city. Suetonius claims that all but a German vexillatio turned down his entreaties (see 20.1 omnes ... vexillatione) .

loricam ... linteam: Although both Tacitus (Hist. 1.35.1) and Plutarch (Galb. 27.1) indicate that Galba was wearing a cuirass ( "sumpto thorace"; "τεθρωκισμένος"), only Suetonius says it was made of linen and would thus provide

little protection. The reasons for Galba's assuming such a useless mode of protection are unclear. If it was out of genuine fear then a more solid piece of armoury could have been found; if, however, it was a gesture of arrogance then one has to assume a characteristic of Galba not shown previously by Suetonius. The tone of the passage suggests, most of all, a final pathetic gesture by a man who realised that any serious resistance was futile; Galba had accepted the inevitable.

On the lorica see D.S. vol. 3.2 p. 1302-16.

quanquam ... dissimulans: Suetonius in addition to using quanquam with the subjunctive (see 14.1 quanquam) regularly uses it with a participle; see Div. Iul. 11, Tib. 25.2, Calig. 16.3.

19.2 rumoribus falsis: The rumours were that Otho had been killed in the praetorian camp (Tac. Hist. 1.34.2; Plut. Galb. 26.1).

Suetonius has no doubt that the false story was circulated deliberately to lure Galba out of the palace, while Tacitus merely states that many people suspected it was a ruse by Otho's partisans.

paucis ... negotium: Suetonius does not make it clear whether the false witnesses were part of a deliberate Othonian plot or whether people just got caught up in the hysteria of the situation. Tacitus (Hist. 1.34.2) prefers

the latter theory: "ut in magnis mendaciis, interfuisse se quidam et vidisse adfirmabant iis ... prodiit".

Plutarch (Galb. 26.2) states that Galba's intention in leaving the palace was to meet the people and offer sacrifice to Jupiter in gratitude for his deliverance (see Dio 64.6.3). This shows the extent to which Galba had been convinced of the truth of the rumours.

militi ... responderit: Suetonius has omitted several details of this incident; the soldier was called Julius Atticus, he was a speculator (see 18.1 speculator ... lancea) and he approached Galba waving a bloodied sword; see Tac. Hist. 1.35.2; Plut. Galb. 26.1-2; Dio 64.6.2.

'quo auctore?': The question, which corresponds to Tacitus' "commilitio quis iussit?" (Hist. 1.35.2), Plutarch's "τίς σε ἐκέλευσε" (Galb. 26.2) and Dio's "καὶ τις σοι τοῦτο ποιῆσαι ἐκέλευσεν" is a clear illustration of Galba's severe attitude towards military discipline; see 6.3 pari severitate.

mandata caedes erat: Even at this point Suetonius declines to involve Otho; it was he who gave the order (Tac. Hist. 1.40.1). See 17 quo ... conata.

paganorum: 'Civilians'. This meaning, where paganus is contrasted with military ranks, is found both elsewhere in Suetonius and in other authors. See Aug. 27.3; Pliny Ep. 7.25.6.

parumper restiterunt: This momentary halt is not found in any other account and must have been added by Suetonius to signify the end of the various shifts in fortune. It is unlikely that Suetonius included details of this interruption in events for dramatic reasons; his style of reporting eschews sensation and exaggeration. See contrucidarunt, below.

desertum a suis: Suetonius' testimony that Galba was deserted by both his military escort and the civilian onlookers is confirmed by Tacitus (Hist. 1.14.1). Plutarch (Galb. 26.5) and Dio (64.6 4 - 5) both record the efforts of a centurion, Sempronius Densus, to defend Galba. Tacitus, however, makes Densus the defender of Piso (Hist. 1.43.1) while Suetonius omits the story completely.

The discrepancy indicates the existence of two different sources, one of which had Densus defending Galba and the other, Piso. Plutarch and Dio have used the former with Tacitus and Suetonius using the latter; Suetonius has subsequently omitted the incident because of its lack of success (for a similar omission see 19.1 continere ... stautit). It is difficult to accept Townend's suggestion (1964: 358-9) that the source used by Suetonius and Tacitus did not contain the story of Densus but the historian admired it "sufficiently to incorporate it in an entirely different setting".

Such indifference on the part of the people in the face of civil strife is characteristic during the Imperial Age; see Jal (1963: 494-5 , "il ne s'agissait même plus d'un 'désir de neutralité' ... mais bien d'une totale indifférence.")

For the attitude of the bystanders see Husband (1915: 321 ff.).

contrucidarunt: Suetonius refrains from naming the reported assassin, Camurius, or any of the other three suspects, Terentius, Laecanius and Fabius Fabullus (Tac. Hist. 1.41.3; Plut. Galb. 27.2).

The tone of Suetonius' account of the murder itself is distant and factual; he maintains his aloof stance and does not colour his evidence with the emotion and pathos employed by Tacitus (Hist. 1.40.2 ff.) and Plutarch (Galb. 27.1 ff.). See Venini (1977: 64).

For Suetonius' avoidance of emotion and prejudice see Della Corte (1967: 196 ff.), Wallace Hadrill (1983: 19).

## SECTION TWENTY

In 20.1 Suetonius interrupts the chronological sequence of events to give details of Galba's death; the narration is resumed at iugulatus est, 20.2.

20.1 sunt qui ... hortatum: Both versions, the first favourable and the second unfavourable towards Galba, also appear in Tacitus (Hist. 1.41.2); "alii suppliciter interro-

gasse, quid mali meruisset, paucos dies exsolvendo donativo deprecatum; plures obtulisse ultro percussoribus iugulum; agerent ac ferirent, si ita <e> re publica videatur. Dio (64.6.3) gives only the first version and Plutarch (Galb. 27.1) the second.

It is difficult to ascertain whether the vital words "e re publica" ("τῷ δῆμῳ ῥωμαίων", Plutarch) were added by Tacitus or omitted by Suetonius; however, due to Suetonius' tendency for omissions the latter is more likely. In addition, it has been suggested that Suetonius deliberately suppressed both the most favourable ("e re publica") and least favourable ("suppliciter", "deprecatum") aspects of Galba's final words (Venini 1977: 64). Suetonius' habit of simplification lends weight to this theory (see 19.1 plerosque ... praevalere).

commilitones: Galba's use of this familiar and friendly appellation contrasts with his characteristic severity towards soldiers; see 6.3 pari severitate, 19.2 quo auctore.

ego ... mei: Emphasis on the alliance and partnership hinted at in commilitones. In reality the army was a possession of the emperor but, given the situation, Galba insists on reciprocity.

As has been observed by Lane (1898: 19), this phrase forms a trochaic septenarius. Mooney's suggestion (1930: 250) that Galba gave a direct poetical quotation seems out of place given the critical situation in which he found

himself. It is more credible to suppose that Galba's final words reminded Suetonius of this poetical phrase and, since it particularly suited the situation, he put it into Galba's mouth.

donativum ... pollicitum: For donativa as causes of military discontent see 16.1 donativum ... praepositi, 17 quo ... conata.

ut hoc ... ferirent: Hoc age (Do your duty!) was originally the answer given by a sacrificial victim to the executioner's question agone? Galba evidently considered his murder a sacrifice on behalf of the state. See Tac. Hist. 1.41.2.

For the use of this formula by Suetonius see Rolfe (1914b: 38-39).

neque ... conatum: See 19.2 desertum a suis.

omnes ... vexillatione: See 19.2 legionarum ... tendebant. Tacitus (Hist. 1.31.2) says that of the three tribunes who when into the castra praetoria to enlist aid for Galba, Subrius Dexter and Cetrius Severus were attacked and Pompeius Longinus disarmed. Celsus Marius, who had been sent to the Illyrian detachment, was driven away by a hail of spears.

It is unclear to which legions these German troops belonged, although the involvement of Camurius (see 19.2 contrucidarunt), a member of XV Primigenia, in the day's

events, would suggest that that legion was at least aware of what was happening. Other possible German legions with vexillationes at Rome have been listed by Saxer (1967: 13).

Germanici(an)orum: A correction by Turnebus of the impossible manuscript reading; for the use of this adjective see Otho 8.1, "Germaniciani exercitus in Vitelli verba iurarant".

ii ob ... fovisset: Tacitus (Hist. 1.31.3) specifies that their illness was caused by the long journey to which Nero had subjected them; he had sent them to Alexandria to fight a war, possibly in Ethiopia (Provs. vol. 2 p. 65 n.2) or the Caucasian region (Chilver 1979: 8 - 10); they were recalled on the outbreak of the revolt of Vindex (Saxer 1967: 13).

Despite the verbal parallels between Suetonius and Tacitus (Hist. 1.31.3: invalidis ... aegros ... refovebat) and the fact that 're-' could easily be lost after 'opere', Wölflinn's emendation of fovisset to refovisset is both unnecessary and lacks manuscript support. For fovere in the sense of 'caring for' or 'tending' see Tac. Agr. 45.4, Apul. Met. 7.13.

in auxilium ... retardati: The plausibility of this excuse for the late arrival of the German detachments has been variously argued. Fabia (referred to by Chilver 1979: 93) found the scenario incredible while Venini



(1977: 65-66) says that given the irregular arrangement of buildings in that part of Rome, anyone unfamiliar with the area could easily get lost. However, in the light of Galba's weak position and the known defection of at least one German soldier (see omnes ... vexillatione above), Tacitus' statement (Hist. 1.31.3) that the detachments hesitated for a long time, thus causing their late arrival, is more plausible.

20.2 lacum Curtii: See Tac. Hist. 1.41.1; Plut. Galb. 27.1; Aur. Vic. 6.3, Epit. de Caes. 6.4.

The lacus Curtius was, by 69, a drained area in the centre of the Forum. See Ovid Fasti 6.403-4; Platner and Ashby (1965: 310 ff.).

gregarius ... amputavit: In addition to the three other suspected murderers of Galba (see 19.2 contrucidarunt), Plutarch (Galb. 27.3) says that Fabius Fabullus cut off Galba's head and pranced through Rome carrying it on a spear. Suetonius' gregarius miles must be Fabius Fabullus and Plutarch has erroneously included him in the list of possible killers; Tacitus' omission of him from the 'percussores' (Hist. 1.41.3) supports the theory.

The appellation gregarius, like lixis calombusque, underlines the sordidness of Galba's death.

et quoniam ... detulit: Suetonius alone adds the macabre touch of the thumb in the mouth. Plutarch (Galb. 27.3)

gives a vivid account, describing Fabullus as a 'bacchanal'. Tacitus, however, omits all these details, limiting himself to a general comment on the abuse of Galba's head (Hist. 1.49.1). The various treatments of this story is a good illustration of the kind of detail that interests each of the three authors. See Syme (1958: 189 n. 6), Townend (1964: 357 n. 48).

capillo: Galba was, in fact, completely bald; see 21, praecalvo.

lixis ... identidem: See Tac. Hist. 1.49.1; Dio 64.6.4-5a. The lixae and calones constituted the lowest rank of the army; they were baggage handlers and cleaners. See 20.2 gregarius ... amputavit; D.S. vol. 3.2 p. 1279.

"Galba ... tua": The derisive jibe may have been caused by the soldier's misunderstanding of a sarcastic response made by Galba (see ἐπι ... ἐστιν below).

The joke is primarily aimed at Galba's old age (Nutting, 1928: 287). For aetas in the sense of 'youth', see Livy 26.50.5; Sen. Phaedra 446. However, the joke also has an erotic nuance; the nickname Cupido for Galba is not recorded elsewhere, while the word frui has the connotation 'to enjoy sexually'; see "ut sinat sese alternas cum illo noctes hac frui", Plaut. Asin. 918, and Adams (1982: 198). For Galba's sexual predilections see 22 libidinis ... pronior.

ἔτι ... ἔστιν: The verse is spoken both by Diomedes (Iliad 5.254) and Odysseus (Od. 21.426).

Nutting (1934: 45) must be right in suggesting that the Homeric citation was a sarcastic response to a "piece of disgusting and transparent adulation". Given Galba's advanced age and poor physical condition, the flattery of his interlocutor was nothing more than a veiled insult. Since Suetonius gives no indication that Galba encouraged the hollow adulation heaped upon other emperors, a sarcastic response is more likely. The soldiers, however, misunderstanding Galba's remark, took it as an indication of his arrogance and vanity.

ab is ... dedit: Suetonius omits any reference to the maltreatment of the bodies of Piso, Vinius and Laco reported by Plutarch (Galb. 27.5; 28. 1 - 3) and Tacitus (Hist. 1.44.1; 1.47.2); see 16.2 ergo primi.

Patrobii Neroniani libertus: There is no evidence of the name of this freedman. Patrobius was an infamous freedman and confidante of Nero (Tac. Hist. 2.95.2; Pliny N.H. 35. 168) who was put to death by Galba (Plut. Galb. 17.1; Tac. Hist. 1.49.1; Dio 64.3.4; see 14.1 quanquam ... daret.)

Suetonius has used the adjective Neronianus to avoid the clumsy phrase 'Neronis liberti libertus'. Mooney's suggestion (1930: 253) that this Patrobius was really called 'Patrobius Neronianus' is probably erroneous; the

name is not attested anywhere else.

On the status of the liberti libertus, see Weaver (1972: 207 ff.).

centum aureis: "Centum aureis" was the equivalent of ten thousand sestertii. Plutarch (Galb. 28.2), however, says Galba's head was given to Patrobius' slaves. Whatever the case, it would be a great insult to the memory of Galba had his head not been wanted by anyone but slaves or freedmen.

eo loco ... fuerat: See "ἔρριψαν ἡ τοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν καισάρων κολαζομένους θανατοῦσιν· ὁ δὲ Σεσσώριον καλεῖται", Plut. Galb. 28.3, where "Σεσσώριον" is an emendation for the unknown "Ἐπιστέριον".

The Sessorium was located in the Esquiline area, a region in which executions were carried out under Claudius (Suet. Claud. 25.3); see Platner and Ashby (1965: 488).

The throwing of Galba's head onto the spot of Patrobius' death is an example of talio, the ancient law of retribution that originated in the Twelve Tables. See Jolowicz (1965: 174), Gaius Instit. 3.223.

sero: The evening of January 15th; see Plut. Galb. 28.3, νυκτός; Tac. Hist. 1.49.1, "licentia tenebrarum."

For Suetonius' imprecise chronology see 6.1, praetor ... edidit.

dispensator: See 6.1 ordinario ... dispensatori.

Argivus: Plutarch (Galb. 28.3) says Argivus was a freedman. However, if Koestermann's text of Tacitus Hist. 1.49.1 is correct (e pri(m)oribus servis), he may have been one of Galba's most important slaves. See PIR<sup>2</sup> vol. 1, n. 1041.

privatis ... dedit: See Tac. Hist. 1.49.1, Eutrop. 7.16.3.

The Horti Galbae are not mentioned anywhere else in Latin literature and, apart from the reference to the Via Aurelia by Suetonius, cannot be more accurately located. See Platner and Ashby (1965: 267), RE 8, 2, 2484.

#### SECTION TWENTY-ONE

A description of the personal appearance, personality, and habits of an emperor is always found in Suetonius' Imperial biographies. His sources would have been verbal, derived from oral or literary tradition, or iconographic, obtained from a study of statues, paintings and imagines. For Suetonius' research into imagines see section three.

The argument concerning the influence of physiognomy, the art of interpreting character from personal appearance, on Suetonius' biographies has attracted many scholars; some suppose that he was a faithful disciple of physiognomics (Couissin 1953: 234 ff.), while others think his indebtedness to such theories was almost non-existent (Wardman, 1967: 414 ff.). The work of Evans, however,

seems to strike the correct balance (1935:43ff.; 1950:277ff.); Suetonius was no doubt aware of physiognomical interpretation (1935: p. 62), but it was only one of several influences that helped to formulate the accounts he furnishes of the emperors' physical appearances and personalities; see also Della Corte (1967: 158 ff.).

The description of Galba is brief, concentrating on his physical deformities and paying only lip service to the principles of physiognomy.

On the physical appearance of emperors in general see Cantner (1928: 385 ff.).

statura ... iusta: The same phrase introduces the physical descriptions of Caligula (50.1), Vespasian (20.1) and Domitian (18.1). Physiognomists placed great importance on bodily proportion; Evans (1935: 54 - 7, 1950: 280).

praecalvo: 'Very bald'; attested only in this passage. See, however, Plut. Galb. 13.4 and 20.2 capillo.

Galba's baldness is not supported by iconographic evidence; see the bust of Galba in the Archives Nationales de Paris reproduced by McCrum and Woodhead (1966: facing p.32) and his representation on coinage (Kraay 1956: plates I - XXVII, passim).

The representation of an hirsute Galba, however, is probably due to reasons of courtesy; Julius Caesar was ribbed because of his baldness (Div. Iul. 45.2).

adunco naso: Although aduncus nasus can mean 'snub-nosed' (see Mooney 1930: 255; Couissin 1953: 252 n. 1), Suetonius is here describing Galba's aquiline, hooked nose that is generally confirmed by the iconographic evidence; see Bandinelli (1970: 350, plate 409).

manibus ... valeret: Articulari morbo was a paralysis caused by gout. See "τῆ τε νόσῳ ἐκεκμήκει", Dio 64.3.2 and "ἀσθενῆς τὰ νεῦρα ὄν", 64.3.4<sup>2</sup>.

Venini (1977: 69) incorrectly quotes Tacitus, Hist. 1.35.1 as an illustration of the debilitating effect of the disease on Galba; in that passage the point is that the crowd of well-wishers was so huge that Galba could not stand fast against it.

Suetonius regularly comments on the health of emperors; see Div. Iul. 45.1; Aug. 80, 81; Tib. 68.4; Calig. 50.2; Claud. 31; Nero 51; Vesp. 20.

dexteriore: For Suetonius' habit of using the comparative dexterior instead of the positive dexter see Claud. 7 and Mooney's note (1930: 589) on sinisteriore, Dom. 17.1.

#### SECTION TWENTY-TWO

cibi plurimi: See "ad vescendum intemperans [sc. Galba] fuit, Epit. de Caes. 6.2.

For a similar use of the genitive of description see "cibi minimi fuit", Aug. 76.1.

abundanti<s>: All the manuscripts read abundanti, agreeing with eo; there, however, no parallels for such an absolute use of abundans. The emendation of Graevius, abundantis [sc. cibi] is preferable to the reading of the medieval manuscript abundantem, or Grutenus' suggestion abundanter; the construction usque eo ... ut is regularly found with a genitive. See "is usque eo vitae statum commutatum ferre non potuit ... ut ... interierit", Nep. Dion. 4.5; Sen. de Ben. 2. 29.7.

congestas ... stantibus: The meaning of this obscure passage has provoked more discussion than any other in the Life of Galba. The traditional theory of Baumgarten-Crusius (quoted by Mooney, 1930: 256) was that Galba ordered the remains of his huge meals to be divided ("spargi") amongst the servi a pedibus. Hofstee (1898: 52) and Rolfe (1914a: 224-5) support this view which necessitates taking super manus as ante se. D. C. Grimm (see Mooney 1930: 256) preferred to change super to per, altered circumferri to circum se ferri, and suggested that Galba had the remnants from each plate passed to him and when satisfied he divided the rest amongst the slaves. Most recently Venini (1977: 69) has attacked the traditional theories on the grounds that she could find no parallels for spargi in the sense 'to be distributed', or super manus as ante se. Venini suggests that the whole passage indicates the extreme boorishness of Galba's court; taking super manus as an amplification of in manibus and spargi in its usual sense of 'to



be scattered around', she suggests that the meals were so huge that the courtiers took fistfuls of the remains and flung them around the room for the slaves to fight over.

None of these explanations is completely satisfactory: Venini has shown the traditional theory is based on flimsy evidence, yet her own suggestion clashes with what we know of Galba's careful nature (see especially 12.3 lautiore ... cena). Grimm's suggestion seems the most plausible but the objection to spargi remains. If the text is correct, and there is no reason to think that it is not, the only reasonable assumption is that super manus is a proverbial expression for 'high' or 'deep'. The point of the passage is then that Galba's meals were so huge that the remnants created a huge pile ("super manus"). In keeping with his parsimonious nature Galba then ordered the food 'to be given indiscriminately' ("spargi") to the slaves instead of being wasted. For this meaning of spargo see Hor. Epis. 2.2.195, "spargas tua prodigus"; Sen. Epis. 19.1, "satis multum temporis sparsimus".

libidinis ... pronior: The only example of Suetonius' using pronior with the genitive; he uses the adjective with ad (Nero 52), in (Div. Iul. 50.1), and the dative case (Nero 40.2).

Torrentius suggested the unnecessary emendation libidini ... pronior; however, pronus with the genitive is found in other authors (see "ruendi in ferrum mens prona",

Lucan 1.460.1), nor does Suetonius seem to prefer to use it with any particular construction.

praeduros exoletosque: "in adulescentes infamis", Epit. de Caes. 62. The implication seems to be that Galba preferred his lovers to be robust, healthy male adults. For praedurus as 'robust' see "pradurum viribus Orsen", Aen. 10.748.

However, it is probable that there is some sexual innuendo involved: exoletus was sometimes used as a noun to describe male prostitutes (see Cic. pro. Mil. 55; Div. Iul. 49.1). It is also possible that praedurus was a euphemism for particular physical attributes. For the use of sexual euphemisms, see Adams (1982: 226-227). For Suetonius' researches into the sexual tastes of the emperors see Gugel (1977: 71 - 95).

Icelus ... nuntiantem: See 11 nuntiis and 14.2 Icelus.  
velleretur: Depilation was widely practised in Roman society; see Div. Iul. 45.2.

#### SECTION TWENTY-THREE

Suetonius concludes his biography of Galba without any summary or judicious comment; he refrains from any criticism or praise and gives a clinical account of Galba's age and duration of rule. The only flourish he allows himself is the inclusion of an apocryphal story concerning a death threat to Vespasian. The contrast with Tacitus'

famous obituary (Hist. 1.49.4), "omnium consensu capax imperii, nisi imperasset" and Plutarch's philosophical moralizations (Galb. 1-2; 29) is striking. For Suetonius' abstention from personal judgements see 16.1 legere ... emere ... consuesse.

periit ... septimo: Suetonius gives the age of each emperor at the time of his death and, in seven of the Lives, the duration of his Principate. For the same formula see "periit sexto et quinquagesimo aetatis anno", Div. Iul. 88.1.

tertio ... anno: For the problems concerning Galba's age and date of birth see 4.1 natus est VIII Kal. Ian.

imperii ... septimo: See Eutrop. 7.16.3.

Josephus (B.J. 4.499). Aur. Victor (de Caes. 63) and the Epit. de Caes. 6.1 all state that Galba reigned for seven months and seven days. The calculation is from Nero's death on June 9th 68 (see Holzapfel 1912: 489) to Galba's death on 15th January 69 the inclusive method of counting renders the calculation correct. The ingenious arguments of Reece (1969: 72 ff.), however, for Nero's dying on 11th June 68, suggest that these three authors have made a genuine mistake.

The testimony of Dio (64.6.5<sup>2</sup>) that Galba reigned for nine months and thirteen days is calculated from the date of his acclamation in Spain on the 3rd of April (Hozapfel 1912: 489).

senatus ... decreverat: Tacitus (Hist. 4.40.1) says that early in 70, at the suggestion of Domitian who was then praetor, the senate approved the motion de restituendis Galbae honoribus. Although the images of Galba had been paraded through Rome on the accession of Vitellius in June, 69 (Hist. 2.55.1), and Antonius Primus had ordered statues of the dead emperor to be replaced in all the provincial towns during August, 69, Suetonius must be referring to the official decree of 70; Hofstee (1898: 53) and Mooney (1930: 259) have erroneously suggested that the earlier unofficial restorations of Galba's statues were ordered by a now lost senatorial decree.

rostratae columnae: Columns adorned with the rostra of ships were erected in honour of naval battles; although there is no evidence indicating Galba's involvement in a naval battle, the columns could have been erected to indicate Galba's respect for his ancestry (see section two). One of his ancestors, Q. Lutatius Catulus, brought the first Punic War to an end with a naval victory over the Carthaginians off the Aegates Insulae (Polybius 1.59.63).

Significantly, Dio (51.3.7) says that, unlike all the other emperors, Galba used a seal that showed a dog looking out from a ship's prow.

For possible associations between Galba and the naval victories of his ancestors see Jucker (1975: 349 ff.).

in ... trucidatus est: Near the lacus Curtius (see 20.2).  
decretum ... abolevit: The emperor had the right to annul any senatorial decree (Tac. Ann. 3.28, Staats III<sup>2</sup> p. 879 ff.). For Vespasian's attitude to the Principate of Galba see Gag  (1952: 290 - 293).

percussores ... opinatus: This story is not mentioned in any other source, nor does Suetonius mention it in his Life of Vespasian (see Braithwaite 1927: 33). The aim of Galba, if genuine, would have been to remove a potential rival; however, in the light of Tacitus' statement (Hist. 1.10.3) that, at the time of Galba's acclamation, Vespasian was "nec ... adversus Galbam votum aut animus" and the fact that he sent his son Titus to meet the new emperor it is probable that the story was, at most, a malicious rumour.

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