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Abbreviations

<i>AE</i>	<i>L'Année épigraphique</i>
Birley	A.R. Birley, <i>The Roman Government of Britain</i> (Oxford 2005)
BM	The British Museum, London
<i>BMCRE</i> ²	H. Mattingly, <i>Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum</i> , volume II: <i>Vespasian to Domitian</i> , (2 nd ed. London 1976)
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
Claridge, <i>Rome</i>	A. Claridge, <i>Rome, an Oxford Archaeological Guide</i> , (2 nd ed. Oxford 2010)
Cooley ²	A.E. and M.G.L. Cooley, <i>Pompeii and Herculaneum</i> (London 2014)
EDCS	Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss / Slaby http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/epi_de.php
<i>IGRR</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes</i>
<i>ILS</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> (ed. Dessau) http://www.archive.org/details/inscriptionesla01dessgoog
<i>InscrIt</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Italiae XIII – Fasti et Elogia</i> , fasc. 2, <i>Fasti Anni Numani et Iuliani</i> , ed A. Degrassi (1963)
<i>IRT</i>	<i>Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania</i> , by J. M. Reynolds & J. B. Ward-Perkins, electronic reissue by Bodard & Roueché (2009) http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/
Jones	B.W. Jones, <i>The Emperor Domitian</i> (London 1992)
Jones, <i>Suetonius</i>	B.W. Jones & R. Milns, <i>Suetonius: The Flavian Emperors, A Historical Commentary</i> (Bristol 2002)
LACTOR 15	J. Edmondson, <i>Dio: the Julio-Claudians</i> (1992)
LACTOR 17	M.G.L. Cooley & B.W.J.G. Wilson, <i>The Age of Augustus</i> (2003)
LACTOR 19	M.G.L. Cooley & B.W.J.G. Wilson, <i>Tiberius to Nero</i> (2011)
Levick, <i>Vesp.</i>	B.M. Levick, <i>Vespasian</i> (London 1999)
Millar, <i>ERW</i>	F.G.B. Millar, <i>The Emperor in the Roman World, 31 BC – AD 337</i> (2 nd edition London 1992)
Murison	C.L. Murison, <i>Rebellion and Reconstruction Galba to Domitian, An Historical Commentary on Cassius Dio's Roman History books 64–67 (AD 68–96)</i>
MW	M. McCrum & A.G. Woodhead, <i>Select Documents of the Principates of the Flavian Emperors</i> (Cambridge 1961)
<i>OCD</i>	S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth, edd., <i>The Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> (3 rd edition, Oxford 1996)
<i>PIR</i>	<i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani</i> (ed. E. Klebs <i>et al.</i> Berlin 1897–8; 2 nd edition 1933 and ongoing)
<i>RIC</i>	I.A. Carradice & T.V. Buttrey, <i>The Roman Imperial Coinage</i> , volume II – part 1 second fully revised ed. (London 2007)
<i>RPC</i>	A. Burnett, M. Amandry & P.P. Ripollès, <i>Roman Provincial Coinage I: From the Death of Caesar to the Death of Vitellius</i> (London/Paris, 1992)
Rüpke	J. Rüpke, <i>Fasti Sacerdotum</i> (Oxford 2008)

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<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
Sherk	R.K. Sherk, <i>The Roman Empire: Augustus to Hadrian</i> (1988)
<i>SIG</i>	<i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i>
Syme, <i>RP</i>	R. Syme, <i>Roman Papers</i> , ed. A.R. Birley (Oxford)
Syme, <i>Tacitus</i>	R. Syme, <i>Tacitus</i> (Oxford 1958)

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 Wirszubski, C., *Libertas as a Political Idea at Rome during the Late Republic and Early Principate*, (Cambridge 1950).

Preface

This volume aims to provide source material for students of the Roman Empire under the Flavian emperors. For fear of making a long book longer, it includes nothing of Suetonius' *Lives of the Caesars*, and only a few passages from Tacitus, *Histories*. Instead it concentrates on a much greater range of literary, epigraphic and numismatic material, which is far less readily available in translation. I hope that the resulting volume will be of use to students and teachers of the A2 level Roman History option in the UK (or whatever succeeds it), and also to students at English-speaking universities.

The material has been structured in a similar way to LACTORs 17 and 19. Part I consists of texts of various genres which make more sense presented whole than in pieces. Part II is arranged by themes most relevant to the fairly traditional approach of a political history concentrating on the emperors (as currently required by A level). Sections in part two deliberately follow the numbering of LACTORs 17 and 19, e.g. Section N is about war, P about conspiracies etc. This sourcebook is not intended as a textbook for social history and it deliberately avoid using much material from Pompeii and Herculaneum.

It is a great pleasure to thank the many people who have spent a great deal of their free time on this book. Brian Wilson translated Dio and Juvenal; Andrew Harker translated and commented on Josephus; Terence Edwards translated the letters of Pliny. I have made use of some material from previous LACTORs by Barbara Levick (LACTOR 18) and B.H. Warmington & S.J. Miller (LACTOR 8). Remaining translations are my own, with the significant exception of the Flavian Municipal Law which appears in Michael Crawford's translation for *JRS*, by kind permission of the translator and of Cambridge University Press. All the coins pictured are from the British Museum, and its marvellous website. That this volume is well-illustrated without being prohibitively expensive is entirely due to the British Museum's generous and superb non-commercial image service. All coin images remain copyright of the trustees of the British Museum.

This book will certainly contain inconsistencies, sometimes due to the ancient evidence, sometimes due to the number of contributors to the book and the oversight of the editor. For these and for other mistakes of fact, interpretation, or proof-reading, I most sincerely beg the reader's pardon.

The book has benefited greatly from being tried out on students at Warwick School over the last few years. By far my greatest debt, however, is due to my wife Alison, without whose unfailing support in so many ways, this book would never have been produced. So it is dedicated with love to her and to our children, Emma and Paul.

June 2015

M.G.L. Cooley
Head of Scholars, Warwick School

Notes on Sources

Minor authors are given brief introductions where passages from their works are given.

Censorinus: a Roman grammarian of the third century whose work preserves a great deal of accurate information on time and the Centennial Games.

Chronicle of 354: see note on **K2**.

Dio (Cassius): see introduction to Section C

Dio of Prusa (Dio Chrysostom): c. AD 40/50 to after 110. Popular philosopher and lecturer, born to a wealthy family in Prusa, Bithynia. Exiled from Rome by Domitian he went on lecture tours throughout the Greek East.

Epitome: a short history of the emperors from Augustus to Theodosius by an unknown author probably at the end of the fourth century. Much of the information is very similar to the histories of Aurelius Victor and Eutropius, and all three texts derive from a common source, known as the *Kaisergeschichte* (Caesar-history or *KG*), though with the Epitomator showing especial interest in the character of the emperors. The *Epitome* preserves the general tradition about the emperors, but is very weak on analysis or interpretation.

Eutropius: chief secretary of the emperor Valens (364–78), published a *Brief History from the Foundation of Rome* (to 364), described as ‘well-balanced, showing good judgement and impartiality’ (*OCD*). But it inevitably relies on the available sources, especially the *KG* (see on *Epitome*).

Frontinus: Sextus Julius Frontinus lived from about AD 30 to 104, and was given important positions by the emperors Vespasian, Domitian, Nerva and Trajan, including three consulships and the post of Water Commissioner for which he wrote a detailed account of Rome’s aqueducts. His *Stratagems*, written after AD 84, give examples of military tactics from Greek and Roman history and a few from his own experience (see note to **N18–N22**).

Gellius: Aulus Gellius published his ‘Attic Nights’ around AD 180 repeating material on a great variety of topics which he read during the long nights in Attica (Athens).

Jerome: St. Jerome’s *Chronicle* is a year by year compendium of world history from the birth of Abraham to AD 378. Jerome shows particular interest in Roman history, literature and scholarship, and despite an ‘apparent indifference to exact dating’ (J.N.D. Kelly, *Jerome* 1975) he preserves many interesting items of information and is often our only means of dating Flavian events.

Josephus: Flavius Josephus, Jewish leader and historian, AD 37/8 – c. 100. See introduction to Section E.

Juvenal: Decimus Junius Juvenalis, Roman satirist, active c. AD 120. His 16 poems satirise and exaggerate aspects of contemporary Roman life. Juvenal often uses historical examples to back up his point. These are often explained in ancient commentaries which sometimes completely misidentify figures, and occasionally provide important historical information.

Macrobius was probably praetorian prefect of Italy in AD 430. His *Saturnalia* is set as a dialogue taking place in 383 with pagan scholars discussing a variety of topics.

Martial: Marcus Valerius Martialis, AD 38/41 to 101/4, was born and died at Bilbilis in Spain. He moved to Rome c. AD 64, as a protégé of Seneca the Younger. He published 15 books of epigrams on a huge variety of themes, beginning in AD

80 with a *Book on the Shows* for the inauguration of the Flavian Amphitheatre and thereafter almost a book each year during Domitian's reign, thus proving an important source, not least because we can date his books to within a year. He received favour from the Flavians and frequently flattered Domitian and many others of wealth and power. Attempts to change sides after Domitian's fall seem to have failed and effectively ended his career.

Orosius: fifth-century historian who wrote from an explicitly Christian viewpoint and was able to use a still complete text of Tacitus, *Histories*.

Pausanias: Greek writer of mid-second century who wrote a *Guide to Greece* for Roman tourists.

Philostratos: member of the court circle of Julia Domna, wife of Septimius Severus (reigned 193–211). She commissioned his *Life of Apollonius*, presenting the philosopher as a holy man. The work 'remains suspect both in sources and details' (*OCD*).

Pliny the Elder (Gaius Plinius Secundus), c. AD 23/4–79, was a prominent equestrian and author, who famously died while commanding the Roman fleet at Misenum, in the eruption of Vesuvius. His 37-book *Natural History*, in his words, 'tells the story of nature, that is to say, life.' It is a priceless source about his day and what was thought and known in his day, relating 20,000 facts derived from 2,000 books (his reckoning, certainly an under-estimate). Historical works are lost. He was favourable to the Flavians and a member of Vespasian's council (see **R13**, **R14**).

Pliny the Younger: (Gaius Plinius Secundus), c. AD 61 to c. 112). Nephew and heir of Pliny the Elder. Originally from Comum in N. Italy, his career (**U33d**) progressed rapidly under Domitian, which explains his bitter denunciation in the nauseous *Panegyric to Trajan*. After Domitian's death he edited and published (**R28**) 9 books of letters to friends on a variety of literary, social, political and historical matters intended to portray him in a good light to other members of the upper classes. A tenth book contains letters to Trajan and his replies on questions concerning his governorship of Bithynia-Pontus where he died in office.

Plutarch c. AD 45–120 is best known for his biographies of Greek and Roman leaders, *Parallel Lives* linking the lives of Greeks and Romans, and often drawing moral conclusions. His *Moralia* includes moral and philosophical essays, literary criticism. It also includes a section on famous sayings of kings and emperors.

Quintilian: Marcus Fabius Quintilianus born c. AD 35 in Spain. Vespasian made him the first 'regius professor' (**R15**, **R16**) and Domitian made him tutor to his heirs (**J18b**). *The Orator's Education* (*Institutio Oratoria*) gives lengthy and detailed advice on writing speeches, including many famous remarks of historical figures and judgements on Roman authors.

'*Regionary Catalogues*' two catalogues listing (with minor differences) the buildings in each of the 14 city-districts of Rome at the time of Constantine (312–337).

Statius: (Publius Papinius Statius), Roman poet, born around AD 50 in Naples. He wrote a surviving epic poem, *Thebaid*, a poem on Domitian's German War now lost (see **G2**) and a collection of poems, *Silvae*, published in the 90s, which celebrate, in learned and encomiastic style, various occasions in the lives of a circle of upper-class acquaintances, including Domitian.

Suetonius (Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus), born c. AD 69, died after AD 130, author of *Lives of the Caesars*. He was an equestrian who worked as imperial secretary for Trajan and Hadrian in the AD 110s, involving him in administrative tasks such as helping to handle the emperor's correspondence. Thus Suetonius had direct access to the imperial archives, which he was able to use in his early *Lives*. However he lost this privileged access for *Lives* from *Nero* onwards after being dismissed from the imperial staff in AD 122 and had to rely on publicly-available source material. Despite Suetonius having lived in Rome for Domitian's reign, *Life of Domitian* is 18 pages, compared to the slightly shorter reigns of Nero (38 pages) and Claudius (31 pages). The inevitable impression is that Suetonius wanted to finish his project. Suetonius wrote biography, not history. So while the structure of the *Lives* is very broadly chronological, the bulk of each biography is usually thematic. Suetonius also places greater emphasis on the private lives and personalities of the emperors centre often from a very 'gossipy' perspective.

Tacitus (Publius Cornelius Tacitus) was born c. AD 56 probably in Gaul. He came to Rome by AD 75 and had a senatorial career of rapid advancement under the Flavian emperors (see **U32a**, **U33f**) including a consulship in 97 which may well have been already allocated by Domitian before his death. Tacitus began his literary career around AD 98, with various minor works, including a dialogue on oratory set in Vespasian's reign and a biography of his father-in-law, Agricola who felt undervalued by Domitian. His *Histories* covered the period AD 69–96: only the first five books survive, covering only a little more than the year 69. He then went back to cover the period AD 14–68 in his *Annals*.

Xiphilinus: 11th century monk whose abridgement of Dio's history survives for the Flavian period, see introduction to Section C.

Zonaras: 12th century epitomator of Dio, see introduction to Section C.

Notes on Inscriptions

The Flavian period is incredibly rich in epigraphy, with all areas of the empire and all classes of people seemingly in the grip of the ‘epigraphic habit’ – a desire to create a permanent written record to be seen by others. What is recorded is not just the obvious building or funerary inscriptions, but ranges from the incredibly detailed regulations on local life and government beautifully inscribed on bronze from an otherwise completely unknown small town in Spain (Section **F**) to discharge diplomas attesting Roman citizenship. Or, to give another example, around 10,000 examples of epigraphy have been found at Pompeii, a perfectly normal Roman town. Bricks were stamped with their place of origin, so too, it seems were loaves of bread. Inscriptions are therefore far more representative of Roman life than literary texts which were produced by and for the upper classes. In addition, many types of inscriptions are exactly dated by reference to the consuls of the day. Inscriptions seem to convey authority and reliability (‘set in stone’), though it should be remembered that someone has chosen and paid for the inscription to be made. Many inscriptions survive broken, battered, eroded or even reused, so gaps may have to be restored with varying degrees of confidence.

Editorial Conventions for Texts

- [] square brackets enclose words which are missing in the original text and have been restored by the editor or translator.
- [...] dots in square brackets indicate words or letters missing in the original text.
- () round brackets are used to expand words abbreviated in the original text.
- ... dots outside brackets mark where the translator has omitted part of the text.
- [5] numbers in square brackets indicate chapter or section numbers of the text.
- ~~Name~~ text struck through indicates a deliberate deletion or erasure of a text in antiquity.
- < > words or letters in angled brackets were mistakenly included in antiquity.
- * * asterisks indicate a dubious or corrupt text.

Notes on Coins

Almost all Roman coins were produced at the official mint in Rome or Lugdunum (Lyons, in France). Messages that appear on coins therefore represent imperial policy. Gold coins give the best photographic images but similar images would also have appeared on coins of very low value, such as the poorest would need to use to buy their daily food. Lower value coins in widespread circulation are as close to state propaganda as anything in the ancient world, conveying a chosen image and message. The great majority of coins can be closely dated by imperial titles.

Roman Coin	HS equivalent	material	diameter	weight*	notes
<i>aureus</i>	100 HS	gold	18mm	8g	Augustan
<i>denarius</i>	4 HS	silver	18mm	4g	3 rd century BC
<i>sestertius</i>	1 HS	brass	35mm	28g	Augustan
<i>dupondius</i>	½ HS	brass	28mm	14g	
<i>as</i>	¼ HS	copper	28mm	10g	traditional unit
<i>semis</i>	⅛ HS	brass	17mm	3g	
<i>quadrans</i>	1/16 HS	copper	17mm	3g	

* notional weights – in practice coins staying in circulation become slightly worn and lighter.

HS: the usual Roman abbreviation of *sestertius* – the basic unit of currency, anglicised to sesterce(s).

Obv: obverse, the ‘heads’ side of a coin: usually the head of the emperor.

Rev: reverse, the ‘tails’ side of a coin.

Legend: term used for any text on a coin.

A guide to monetary values

	Sesterces
Augustus claimed to have given away, in his principate	2,400,000,000
Vibius Crispus was worth (U4a)	300,000,000
Pliny the Younger bought one estate (<i>Letter</i> 3.19.7) for	3,000,000
The property qualification for a Roman senator was	1,000,000
The property qualification for a Roman equestrian was	400,000
The annual salary for Vespasian’s professors of rhetoric was	100,000
The annual pay of a Roman legionary was	900
Domitian increased this to	1,200
Discharge payment for Roman legionary veterans was	12,000
The town council at Pompeii occasionally allocated, for funerals of local dignitaries,	2,000
The annual corn dole of 60 <i>modii</i> (measures) was worth around	300–360
Domitian gave two cash gifts to Roman citizens in of AD 84 and 93 (H61), of	300
One book of Martial poems cost (<i>Epigram</i> 1.117.17)	20
A tunic (of unknown quality) at Pompeii cost	15
A cup of Falernian (high quality) wine at a bar in Pompeii cost	4
A cup of cheap wine from the same bar cost	1

Glossary

aedile: a junior magistrate in Rome and also in local government.

as (pl. asses): the base-unit of Roman currency, a small value coin.

augur: a priest, especially responsible for predictions based on flights of birds.

Augustalis: a priest, usually a freedman, involved in emperor-worship.

Augustus: (1) the name adopted by Octavian (2) part of the title adopted by Julio-Claudian and Flavian emperors, and meaning ‘emperor’ (3) as a Latin adjective, meaning ‘imperial’.

aureus: the highest value coin, made of gold, worth 100 sesterces.

beneficiarius: soldier or sailor given special privileges by his commanding officer.

ensor: traditionally one of two senior senators, elected for eighteen months every five years, responsible for revising the roll of the senate, according to financial and moral standards.

civic crown: (*corona civica*) an honour traditionally awarded for saving the life of a citizen in battle, but usurped by the emperors.

client: a citizen who voluntarily paid his respects to a richer, more powerful patron, in return for his protection.

cognomen: the last of a Roman’s names, sometimes a type of ‘nickname’, but often distinguishing not just an individual, but a branch of a large family.

colony: a settlement of Roman citizens (often army veterans) with its own local constitution.

consilium principis: the emperor’s advisory council.

consul: the highest political office in the republic. Two consuls were elected each year to serve for one year.

cursus honorum: the ‘career path’ of a member of the senatorial classes.

denarius: small silver coin worth 4 sesterces.

dictator: magistrate appointed in time of emergency in the Roman republic.

Divus/Diva: ‘God(dess)’, especially of those officially deified

equestrian: (1) a member of this class in Rome, almost equal in status to the senatorial class (2) equestrian statue: statue of a man on horseback (compare *pedestrian*)

fasces: symbols of the authority of a magistrate carried by his attendants

fasti: publicly inscribed lists of various sorts: dates, consuls, etc.

flamen: prestigious priesthood (translated ‘high priest’).

Flavialis: a priest, usually a freedman, involved in emperor-worship.

freedman: a slave, formally set free by his master, automatically becoming a Roman citizen (and the client of his former master).

genius: the spirit of a person (or place).

imperator: originally a title given by Roman troops to their general after a major victory, such as would merit a triumph, adopted by Augustus as part of his name and used as part of the emperor’s official title, though also to mark military victories.

imperium: the power invested in a magistrate (e.g. consul, praetor or governor)

laurel crown: originally worn by a general in his triumph, but adopted as a symbol of the emperor.

legate: (1) anyone to whom authority is delegated, e.g. a military officer (2) **legatus Augusti propraetore** (propraetorian legate of Augustus) – the official term for someone appointed to govern a (major) imperial province.

libation: liquid (usually wine) poured as an offering to gods or spirits of the dead
ludi saeculares: (Centennial Games) games held every 100/110 years, to celebrate a new age.

magistrate: an official elected for a year both at Rome and in local government.

manumission: the formal freeing of a slave, resulting in his attaining citizenship.

military tribune: one of 6 officers in a Roman legion subordinate to the legionary commander. Usually one was of senatorial class, the other five equestrians; so the post was effectively a step on the *cursus honorum*. Occasionally centurions were promoted to this post.

municipium: a city within the Roman empire whose citizens were also Roman citizens and which was allowed to govern itself on a Roman model.

optio: an adjutant or assistant to a centurion.

pater patriae: Father of the Fatherland. Title granted to Augustus in 2 BC and taken by most subsequent emperors, suggestive of absolute authority over the empire similar to that of a father over his family.

patron: a more wealthy and important citizen who looked after the interests of poorer clients in return for their support and public deference.

pedestrian: pedestrian statue: statue of a man standing up (compare *equestrian*)

plebs: the proper term for the ordinary citizen body of Rome.

pontifex maximus: chief priest, a post taken on accession by all emperors after Augustus.

portico: a colonnade around a central (open-air) area.

praetor: annually 'elected' magistrate ranking between consul and quaestor. Ex-praetors governed the less important public provinces.

Praetorian guard: elite bodyguard of the emperor. The only troops stationed in Italy.

Praetorian prefect: commander of the guard, an increasingly powerful position.

prefect: someone 'put in charge of' something: often an appointee of the *princeps*.

primipilus: chief centurion of a legion.

princeps: the word, meaning 'leader' of 'chief' was the one chosen by Augustus to designate his position.

princeps iuventutis: (leader of the younger generation) – title invented by Augustus for his grandsons to show that they would become *princeps*.

proconsul: a former consul, retaining his former official power, usually as governor of a major public province.

procurator: someone taking care of something for the *princeps*, from an estate to a minor imperial province.

propraetor: someone granted the power of a praetor, usually as governor of a minor public province.

quaestor: junior member of the senate: being quaestor of the emperor was a great privilege (U33d).

quindecimvir: a member of a college of fifteen priests in charge of sacrifices, chosen by the *princeps* as a permanent honour.

republican: modern usage to refer to the period when Rome was governed by elected magistrates (rather than emperors), roughly 510–50 BC

Salii: an archaic college of priests who sang a hymn on public occasions.

septemvir: a member of board of seven priests responsible for feasts put on in honour of Jupiter at Games. A signal honour, chosen by the *princeps*.

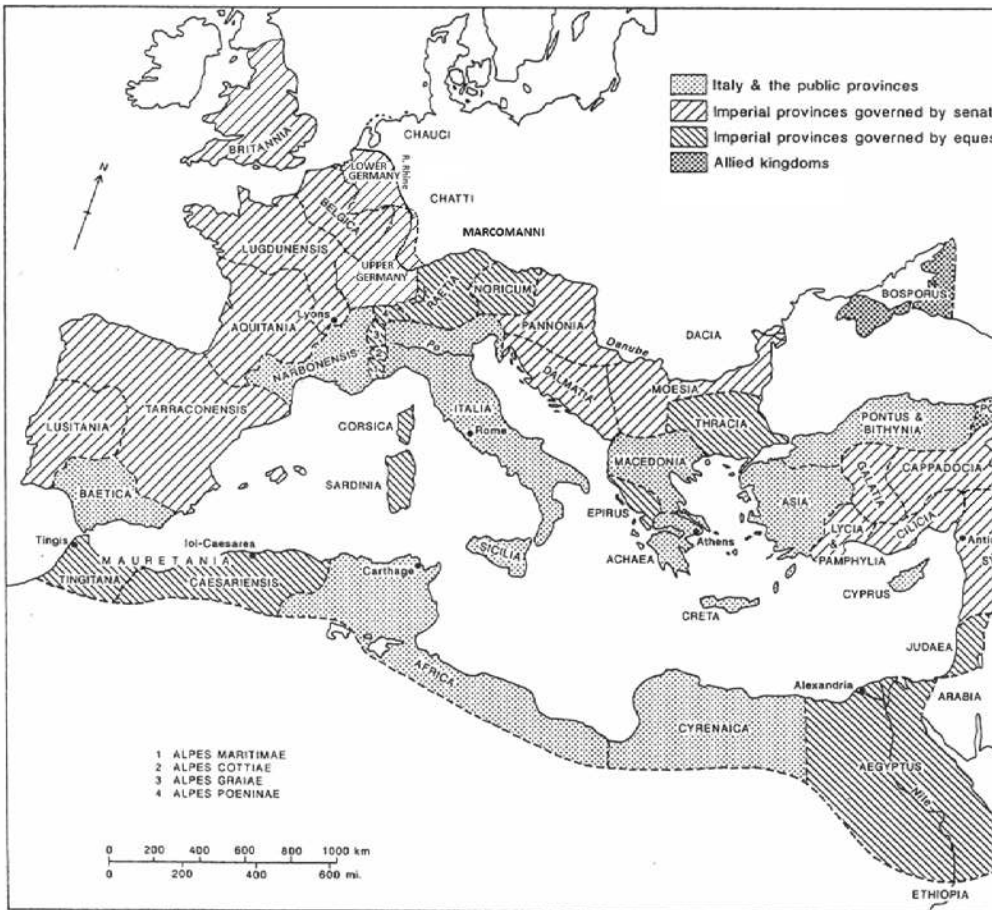
sesterces: the unit of currency in Rome.

Sodalis: member of prestigious brotherhoods relating to worship of deified emperors.

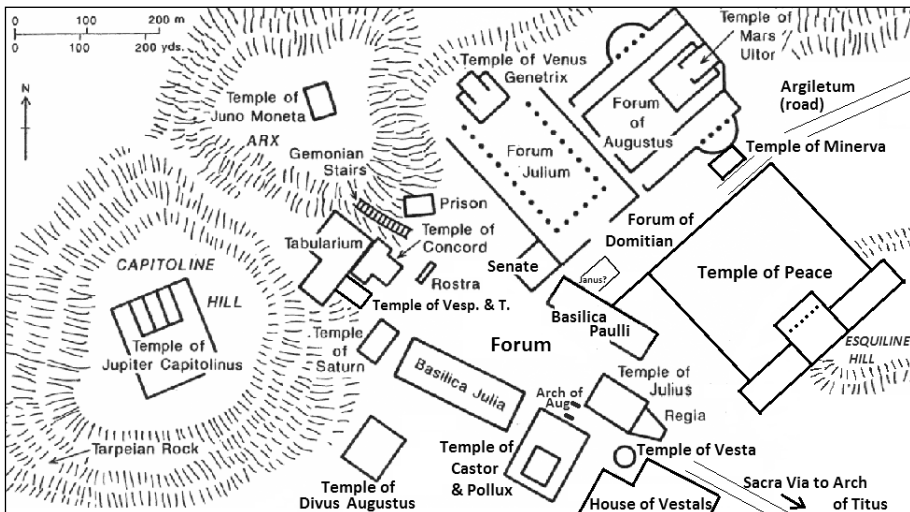
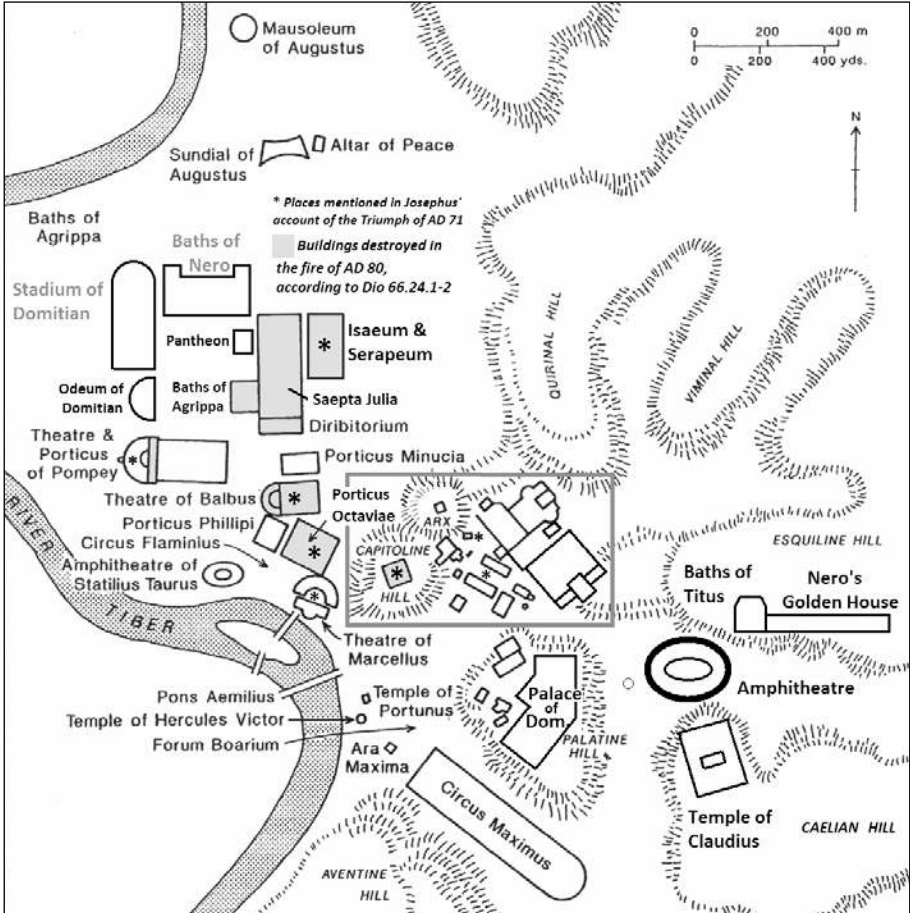
suffect: replacement magistrate, especially consul, appointed in the republic after death of an incumbent, but under the principate, pairs of suffect consuls were usually appointed as a way of sharing the honour of a consulship more widely.

tribe: all citizens were formally a member of one of 35 tribes, by this period of no discernible significance.

tribunician power: a power created by Augustus, adopted by all later emperors as the mark of imperial power which marked an emperor's regnal years but could also be shared.



Map 1: The Roman Empire, AD 96



Map 2: Rome in the Flavian Period