

A P P E N D I X.

I.

EMPERORS.

THE years of the Roman emperors and the fractions of months and days are carefully noted by Dio and other historians. But yet even if the genuine numbers were always preserved, which is not to be expected, the sum of all the reigns would not express the exact amount of time; for sometimes the reigns are in part contemporary; as the last 4 months of *Justin* were also the first 4 months of *Justinian*; the last 10 days of *Justin II* were the first 10 of *Tiberius II*; the two last days of the same *Tiberius* were the first two of *Mauricius*. *Galba* *Otho* and *Vitellius* were in part contemporary with *Nero* and *Vespasian*. The elder *Gordians* *Pupienus* and *Balbinus* were included for the most part in the reign of *Maximin*. The last day of an emperor was sometimes counted again as the first of his successor; thus Aug. 19 A. D. 14 was both the last day of *Augustus* and the first of *Tiberius*. Sometimes a short interval occurred; as 10 days after the death of *Jovian*; 3 days at the least after the death of *Trajan*; a day between *Caligula* and *Claudius*, called by Suetonius^a two days (current) of liberty. Sometimes the life or reign of an emperor was reckoned exclusive of the day of his death; as the life of *Caracalla* by Dio^b, and the reign of *Heraclius* by Nicephorus^c.

But on the other hand the chronographers give erroneous accounts because they often omit fractions of years that they may obtain a more convenient measure of time. They adapt the reigns to their own scheme of reckoning by assigning a fictitious beginning to the years of the emperors. Thus Theophanes places the years of *Justinian* each 5 months below the true time; on the contrary he throws back the years of *Justin II* 74 days, and of *Heraclius* 34 days, above the true position, that each year of every reign may begin with the indiction, at Sept. 1, from whence all the years of Theophanes are computed. The Astronomical Canon omits the reigns which are less than a year, neglects fractions, and assigns a fictitious beginning to almost every reign. In the Paschal Chronicle the reigns are sometimes shorter and sometimes longer than the truth. Eusebius and Hieronymus also in their Canon deviate from the true amount of reigns in many cases.

The numbers of Theophilus Clemens Alexandrinus and Dio, and of the Paschal Chronicle and Cassiodorus, are annexed to this list of the reigns, that the variations may be seen at once. The sums of the reigns in each of their accounts may be compared with the true amounts as exhibited below. The accounts of Eusebius and Hieronymus, of Syncellus and Theophanes, are examined in the Tables^d.

^a Claud. c. 11.

^b Quoted in the Tables 217. 2 p. 226 and 854.

^c See Pagi tom. 2 p. 824.

^d See for Eusebius and Hieronymus the years

276. 4 p. 313, 283. 4 p. 325; for Hieronymus 346. 2 p. 410. for Syncellus and Theophanes the years 284. 4 p. 327, 325. 4 p. 381. for Theophanes 491. 4 565. 4. 577. 4.

N.E. y.	Theoph. Ant.			Clemens Al.			Dio Cassius			Emperors			Chron. Pasch.			Cassiodorus								
	y	m	d	y	m	d	y	m	d	y	m	d	A.M.	y	m	d	y	m	d					
762.	22			22.	6.	19	22.	7.	7	Tiberius	22.	6.	26	5522.	22.	0.	0	23.	0.	0				
784.	4			3.	8.	7	3.	10.	8	Caligula	3.	10.	8	5544.	4.	0.	0	3.	10.	0				
788.	14	(23)	13.	8.	24	13.	8.	28	13.	8.	20	Claudius	13.	8.	18	5549.	14.	0.	0	13.	8.	28		
802.	14		13.	6.	28	13.	8.	28	13.	8.	0	Nero	13.	7.	28	(5563)				13.	7.	27		
816.	10	(2)	7.	6	0.	7.	6	(0.	9.	13)	Galba	0.	7.	6										
		0.	9.	27	1.	0.	2	1.	0.	22	Otho	0.	3.	2	*	(14 y.)				1.	6.	6		
			9.	11.	22	11.	11.	22	9.	11.	24	Vitellius (11 ^m 20 ^d)	0.	8.	5									
826.	3		2.	0.	22	2.	2.	0	2.	2.	20	Vespasianus	9.	11.	23	5577.	9.	11.	22	9.	11.	22		
829.	15		2.	0.	22	2.	2.	0	2.	2.	20	Titus	2.	2.	22	5587.	2.	0.	0	2.	2.	0		
844.	1		15.	5.	6	15.	8.	5	15.	0.	5	Domitianus	15.	0.	5	5589.	16.	0.	0	15.	5.	0		
845.	19		1.	4.	10	1.	4.	10	1.	4.	9	Nerva	1.	4.	8	5605.	1.	0.	0	1.	4.	0		
864.	21		19.	6.	16	19.	7.	15	19.	6.	15	Trajanus	19.	6.	15	5606.	19.	0.	0	19.	6.	15		
885.	23		20.	10.	28	20.	10.	28	20.	11.	0	Hadrianus	20.	11.	0	5625.	21.	0.	0	20.	10.	19		
908.	—		22.	7.	6	22.	3.	7	22.	7.	26	Antoninus	22.	7.	26	5646.	23.	0.	0	21.	0.	0		
			19.	0.	10	19.	0.	11	19.	0.	11	M. Aurelius	19.	0.	11	5669.	19.	0.	0	19.	0.	0		
146		165.	4.	0 ^e								Commodus	12.	9.	15	5688.	12.	0.	0	13.	0.	0		
					12.	9.	14	12.	9.	14		Pertinax	0.	2.	28	5699.	0.	2.	0	0.	6.	0		
					185.	3.	23				0.	5.	0	Didius Julianus	0.	2.	5	5700.	0.	7.	0			
											17.	8.	3	Severus	17.	8.	4	5701.	19.	0.	0	18.	0.	0
											6.	2.	4	Caracalla	6.	2.	4	5720.	7.	0.	0	7.	0.	0
											1.	1.	28	Macrinus	1.	1.	28	5727.	1.	0.	0	1.	0.	0
											3.	9.	4	Elagabalus	3.	7.	24	5728.	4.	0.	0	4.	0.	0
											208.	4.	13	Alexander	13.	0.	9	5732.	13.	0.	0	13.	0.	0
														Maximinus	3.	3.	0	5745.	3.	0.	0	3.	0.	0
														Gordiani	0.	1.	6							
														Pupienus										
														Balbinus										
														Gordianus III	5.	9.	0	5748.	6.	0.	0	6.	0.	0
														Philippus	5.	6(or 7)	0	5754.	6.	0.	0	6.	0.	0
														Decius	2.	2.	0	5760.	1.	0.	0	1.	3.	0
														Galli	2.	4.	0	5761.	3.	0.	0	2.	4.	0
														Æmilianus	0.	3.	0							
														Valerianus	7y									
														Gallienus	7.	6		5764.	14.	0.	0	15.	0.	0
														Claudius	2.	2.	0	5778.	2.	0.	0	1.	9.	0
														Quintillus	0.	0.	17							
														Aurelianus	5.	0.	0	5780.	6.	0.	0	5.	6.	0
														Interregnum	0.	6.	0							
														Tacitus	0.	6.	18					0.	6.	0
														Florianus	0.	2.	20					0.	0.	84
														Probus	6.	5.	0	5786.	6.	0.	0	6.	3.	0
														Carus										
														Carinus	1.	11.	0	5792.	3.	0.	0	2.	0.	0
														Numerianus										
														Diocletianus	20.	7.	14	5795.	20.	0.	0	20.	0.	0
														Constantius (14. 4. 24)	1.	2.	24							
														Constantinus	30.	9.	28	5815.	31.	10.	0	30.	10.	0
														Constantius II	24.	5.	12	5847.	24.	0.	0	24.	5.	23
														Julianus .. (3 3 0)	1.	7.	24	5871.	2.	0.	0	1.	0.	0
														Jovianus	0.	7.	21	5873.	0.	10.	15	0.	3.	0

^e True interval 165. 6. 28.

EMPERORS.

WEST.	Emperors			Chron. Pasch.	Cassiodorus		
	y	m	d	A.M. y m d	y m d		
Valentinianus	11.	8.	24	Valens	14. 4. 13	5874. 14. 0. 0	14. 5. 0
Gratianus	16.	0.	2	Theodosius	15. 11. 30	5888. 16. 0. 0	16. 0. 0
Valentinianus II	16.	4.	23	Arcadius	13. 3. 15	5904. 14. 0. 0	13. 0. 0
Honorius .. (28 6 30)	28.	7.	11	Theodosius II	42. 2. 28	5918. 42. 0. 0	42. 0. 0
Valentinianus III	29.	4.	22	Marcianus	6. 5. *	5960. 7. 0. 0	7. 0. 0
Maximus	0.	2.	27	Leo	} 16. 11. 28	{ 5967. 16. 0. 0	{ (17) 0. 0
Avitus .. (1 3 0)	1.	1.	0	Leo minor			
Majorianus	4.	4.	2	Zeno	17. 2. 0	5984. 17. 0. 0	17
Severus	3.	11.	27	Anastasius	27. 2. 29	6001. 27. 0. 0	(27)
Anthemius	5.	3.	0			506. 504. 8. 14	501. 9. 14
Olybrius .. (0 7 0)	0.	6.	0	Justinus	9. 0. 24	6028. 9. 0. 0	
Nepos	1.	7.	0	Justinianus	38. 7. 13	6037. 38. 11. 0	
Romulus	0.	9.	23	Justinus II	12. 10. 22	6076. 11. 8. 0	
Odoacer	16.	6.	12	Tiberius II	3. 10. 20	6088. 4. 0. 0	
Theodericus	33.	5.	26	Mauricius	20. 3. 10	6092. 20. 0. 0	
				Phocas	7. 10. 12	6112. 8. 0. 0	
						598. 596. 3. 14	
				Heraclius	30. 4. 6	6120. 20 first.	

The collected years in the Paschal Chronicle are

	A.M.	y.	y.
to the death of <i>Augustus</i> ..	5521.		
—— <i>Tiberius</i> ..	5543.	22.	
—— <i>Caius</i>	5548.	5.	27
—— <i>Elagabalus</i>	5731.	183.	210
—— <i>Constantine</i>	5846.	115.	325
—— <i>Anastasius</i>	6027.	181.	506
—— <i>Phocas</i>	6119.	92.	598
to the 20th of <i>Heraclius</i> ..	6139.	20.	618

True intervals

	y	m	d
to the death of <i>Antoninus</i> 7 March 161	146.	6.	17
—— of <i>Commodus</i> 31 Dec. 192	178.	4.	13
—— of <i>Elagabalus</i> 31 Jan. 222	207.	5.	13
—— of <i>Constantine</i> 22 May 337	322.	9.	4
—— of <i>Theodosius II</i> 28 July 450	435.	11.	10
—— of <i>Anastasius</i> 9 July 518	503.	10.	21
—— of <i>Phocas</i> 4 Oct. 610	596.	1.	16
to the 20th inclusive of <i>Heraclius</i> ending 4 Oct. 630.	616.	1.	16

TIBERIUS. TIBERIUS.

To the inscriptions quoted in the Tables may be added the following.

1 Muratori p. 443. 1 in Hispania: *Imp. Cæsar divi Aug. f. Aug. cos. II trib. potest. XVI imp. VII pont. max. M. II.* He was *pont. max.* March 10 and his 16th tribunician year ended June 26 A. D. 15. See the Tables. This inscription falls within these limits. 2 Muratori p. 223. 3 Nonæ in Delmatia: *Ti. Cæs. divi Aug. f. Augustus pont. max. imp. trib. potest. XVIII cos. desig. tert.* Within Jan. 1—June 26 A. D. 17. 3 Cærete apud Gruterum p. 235. 9 et plenius apud Muratorium p. 519. 2 *Ti. Claudio divi Aug. f. Aug. pont. max. trib. pot. XX L. Paullus L. f. Clu. Atticus præfectus fabrum Cær. S. P. ejus C. C. Q. Q. corpor. magnar. corp. tignariorum et corp. dendrophor. et ferrariorum stat. ex ære pr. imm. et corpor. sua pecun. in ded. epul.* 4 Grut. p. 153. 3 Muratori p. 443. 2 Nemausi: *Ti. Cæsar divi Aug. f. Aug. pontif. max. trib. pot. XXI refecit et restituit. IIII.* see below, N^o. 10. 5 Muratori p. 2006. 2 In ponte Arimini: *Imp. Cæsar divi f. Augustus &c.—trib. pot. XXXVII p. p. Ti. Cæsar divi Augusti filius divi Juli n. August. pontif. maxim. cos. IIII imp. VIII trib. potest. XXII dedere.* The former part is given from Noris in F. H. III at A. D. 14. The latter part was added within Jan. 1—June 26 A. D. 21. 6 Gruter. p. 187. 13 post Panvinium p. 304 Romæ: *Ti. Cæsar divi Augusti f. Augustus pontif. maxim. imp. VIII trib. pot. XXVIII dedit C. Vibio Rufino M. Cocceio Nerva cos. ex S. C. sc. coss. suffectis.* conf. Panvinium p. 304. Within June 27—Dec. 31 A. D. 22. 7 Gruter. p. 235. 10 Panvin. p. 304 Muratori p. 223. 6 In Hispan. Bætica: *Ti. Cæsari divi Aug. f. divi Juli nep. Augusto pontif. max. trib. pot. XXIX cos. IV imp. VIII Auguri XV viro S. F. VII viro epulon. Papirius Severus decreto ordinis Ilurconiensis * Q. Marcio Barea T. Rustio Nummio Gallo coss. sc. suffectis.* conf. Panvin. l. c. Within June 27—Dec. 31 A. D. 26. 8 Muratori p. 223. 4 Orsovæ in Servia: *Ti. Cæsare Aug. f. Augusto imperato . . . pont. max. tr. pot. XXX leg. IIII Scythic. V Maced.* 9 Muratori p. 206. 6 Puteolis: *Ti. Cæsar divi Augusti f. divi Juli n. August. pontif. maxim. cos. V imp. VIII trib. potest. XXXII Augustales reipublicæ restituit.* 10 Muratori p. 2006. 4 Nemausi: *Ti. Cæsar divi Aug. f. Aug. pontif. max. trib. pot. XXXII refecit et restituit.* Given in Gruter with *trib. pot. XXI.* See above N^o. 4. and yet repeated with *trib. pot. XXXII* in Gruter p. 153. 6. Given again by Muratori p. 443. 5 Gruter p. 187, 15 with the date *trib. pot. XXXIII.* 11 Gruter p. 153. 7 Juxta Herream Hispan. *Ti. Cæsar divi Aug. f. divi Jul. n. Aug. pont. max. trib. pot. XXXV imp. IIX cos. V a Pisoraca.* 12 Gruter p. 153. 4 Cordubæ: *Ti. Cæsar divi Augusti f. divi Juli nepos Augustus pontif. max. * cos. V imp. trib. potest. XXXVII ab Jano Augusto qui est ad Bættem usque ad Oceanum. LXIII.* 13 Muratori p. 442. 7 Romæ: *Virg. Ti. Cæsar Aug. pontif. maxim. trib. pot. XXXVIII cos. V imp. VIII. I. P. CXL.* Within June 27 A. D. 36—March 16 A. D. 37.

14 Gruter p. 101. 1 *Pietati Augustæ ex S. C. quod factum est D. Haterio Agrippa C. Sulpicio Galba cos. Tib. Cl. Cæs. Aug. Germ. pont. max. tribun. pot. III cos. IIII imp. III p. p. dedicavit.* These numbers are corrupt. We may read *trib. pot. XXIII imp. VIII.* Gruter reads *XXVIII, imp. VIII.* 15 Gruter p. 235. 7 Romæ: *Saluti perpetuæ dom. August. Ti. Claudii divi Augusti fil. divi Juli nep. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. XIII imp. II cos. III C. Julius Successus præf. corp. fabrum tignar. et tabular. Portuen. D. S. P. P.* These numbers (unnoticed by Gruter) are also corrupt. In *trib. pot. XIII Augustus* was still living. At the death of *Augustus Tiberius* was already *imp. VII.* We must therefore read *trib. pot. XIX imp. VII cos. III.* Sc. A. D. 18 within Jan. 1 and June 26. 16 Gruter p. 235. 8 Albæ: *Ti. Caisari divi Aug. f. divi Juli n. Augusto pont. max. cos. V imp. VIII tribun. potest. XVIII pontifices Albani Q. Julius Q. f. Fab. Rufus &c.* Quoted by Norisius cen. Pisan. tom. 2 p. 265 as “insignis inscriptio Albæ.” But *trib. pot. XVIII* (unnoticed by Noris and Gruter) is inconsistent with *cos. V*, which requires *trib. pot. XXXII* or *XXXIII.*

EMPERORS.

5

17 Gruter p. 226. 2 Romæ: *Senatus populusque Romanus imp. Cæsari divi Augus. f. pont. max. TIBERIUS. imp. cos. trib. pot. . . .* 18 Gruter p. 235. 5 et Muratori p. 222. 5. 1992. 3 . . . *o Cæsari nepoti divi Juli pontifici auguri C. Julius C. Juli Otuanæuni f. Rufus C. Juli Gedemonis nepos Epotsorovidi pron. sacerdos Romæ et Augusti ad aram quæ est ad confluentem præfectus fabrum D.* 19 Gruter. p. 447. 4. 492. 8. 497. 14 *Sex. Palpeio P. f. Vel. Histro leg. Ti. Claudii Cæsaris Aug. pro cos. pr. tr. pl. X vir. stl. judic. tr. mil. leg. XIII Geminae comiti Ti. Cæsaris Aug. dato a divo Aug. C. Precius Felix Neapolitanus memor beneficii.* 20 Gruter p. 1073. 7 *L. Mumius Achaicus præf. Coh. trib. mil. ab epist. T. Cæs. divi Aug. f. item a rat. D. Cæs. donatus statua equ. item hast. pur. item cor. civ. et divis Augg. auctorib. omnib. ornam. præf. ex S. C. donatus Neptuno D. D.* 21 Gruter p. 1084. 3 *Chalcide in Eubœa: Τιβέριος Καῖσαρ Θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ υἱὸς Σεβαστός.* 22 Muratori p. 40. 5 *Patavii: Jano patri Aug. sacrum C. Julius C. f. strator cæd. donatus ab Ti. Cæs. Aug. f. Augusto torque majore bello Delmatico ob honorem Iiviratus cum liberis suis posuit.* 23 Muratori p. 441. 4 *Brixia: Divus Augustus Ti. Cæsar divi Augusti f. divi n. Augustus aquas in coloniam perduxerunt.*

24 Gruter p. 236. 1 Romæ: *Ossa Ti. Cæsaris divi Aug. f. Aug. pont. max. tr. pot. XXXIX imp. VIII cos. V.* The 38th tribunician year was current at his death.

CALIGULA.

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Inscriptions. 1 Muratori p. 225. 2 *Cordubæ: C. Cæsar Aug. Germanic. imp. p. m. tr. p. cos. Cn. Atei. Flac. Cn. Pomp. Flac. Iivir. Quinq. [sic Muratorius] Sal. Aug. Within July 1 A. D. 37—March 15 A. D. 38.* 2 Muratori p. 444. 2 * * * * *Germanici Cæ. . . Ti. Aug. nep. divi Aug. pronep. divi Juli abn. Aug. pater patriæ cos. II imp. trib. potestate II pontifex max. a Bæte et Jano Augusto ad Oceanum LXXIII.* Within Jan. 1—March 15 A. D. 39. 3 Muratori p. 134. 1 * * * * *divi Aug. n.^a divi Juli . . n. tribunicia potestate I [Muratori “Scribendum II”] cos. II pontyf. . . Cornelius Bassus pontyfex Cæsareum D. S. F.* We may either read *trib. pot. II* (within Jan. 1 and March 15) or *trib. pot. III*, within March 16—Dec. 31 A. D. 39. 4 an inscription apud Muratorium p. 1992. 4. 5 bearing *consul tertio, trib. pot. quarto* (within March 16—Dec. 31 A. D. 40) appears to Eckhel tom. 6 p. 224 and to Muratori himself of doubtful authority.

The works of *Caligula* at Baia are noticed by Eumenius Panegyri. Constantin. c. 13 p. 387 *Simili navium continuatione Baianum sinum straverit ab Augusto tertius Cæsar. delicata fuit illa vectatio principis otiosi.*

CLAUDIUS.

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Inscriptions: 1 Gruter p. 188. 3 *Monpeli in Gallia: Ti. Claudius Drusi f. Cæsar Aug. German. pont. max. trib. potestate cos. desig. II imp. II refec.* 2 Muratori p. 445. 1 and p. 2006. 5 in agro Nemausensi: *Ti. Claudius Drusi f. Cæsar Aug. Germanicus pontif. max. trib. pot. cos. desig. II imp. II refecit.* Within A. D. 41. 3 Panvinus p. 314 Gruter p. 166. 4 *Ravennæ: Ti. Claudius Drusi f. Cæsar Augustus Germanicus pont. max. trib. pot. II cos. desig. III imp. III p. p. dedit.* Less accurately given in Muratori p. 225. 6. More fully in Gruter p. 237. 5 *Ti. Claudius Drusi f. Cæsar &c.—dedit ob memoriam patris sui dec. VII collegi fabrum M.R.H.S. CION. liberalitate donavit sub hac conditione ut quotannis rosas ad monumentum ejus deferant et ibi epulentur dumtaxat in V Id. Julias. quod si neglexerint, tunc ad VIII ejusdem collegii pertinere debbit condicione supra dicta.*

4 Panvinus p. 314 Gruter p. 188. 4 *Ti. Claudius Cæsar Aug. Germanicus pont. max. trib. pot. III cos. III imp. III p. p. D. D.* 5 *Viennæ prope Lugdunum apud Gruterum p. 188. 8 et*

^a For *Aug. n.* perhaps *Aug. . . n. sc. Aug. pron.*

CLAUDIUS. emendatius apud Muratorium p. 444. 5 *Ti. Claudius Drusi f. Cæsar August. Germanicus pont. max. trib. pot. III imp. III cos. III* [male Gruter II] p. p. VII. 6 Muratori p. 225. 9 Faleronæ: *si f. Cæsari August. manico . . . rib. potest. III cos. III imp. III p. p. nomine filii et suo testamento fieri jussit adjecta pecunia faciendum curavit.* 7 Idem p. 2006. 6 In agro Bracarensi: *Ti. Claudius Aug. Germanic. pont. max. imp. III trib. pot. III Brac. Aug. XX.* 8 p. 2006. 7 ad ripas Minii in Lusitania: *Ti. Claudius Cæsar Aug. Germanicus pontifex max. imp. V cos. III trib. potest. III p. p. Braca. XLII.* 9 p. 2007. 1 In agro Bracarensi: *Claudius Cæsar Aug. Germanicus pont. max. imp. V cos. III trib. pot. III p. p. Brac. Aug. XXXV.*

10 Gruter p. 176. 4 Muratori p. 445. 3 Romæ: *Virg. Ti. Claudius Drusi f. Cæsar Aug. Germanicus pontifex maximus tribunic. potestat. IIII cos. III imp. VIII p. p. I. P. CCXL.*

11 Muratori p. 2007. 2 Bilboinii in Gallia: *Ti. Claudius Drusi f. Cæsar Aug. Ger. pont. max. trib. potest. V imp. XI p. p. cos. III design. IV Aug. M. P. XXI.* 12 Gruter p. 39. 1 In castro Apolliniaco Galliæ: *Ti. Claudius Cæsar Aug. Germanicus pont. max. trib. potest. V imp. XI p. p. cos. IIII* [lege cum Eekhel tom. 6 p. 249 *cos. desig. IIII*]. 13 Gruter p. 188. 5 ex Panvinio p. 314 *Ti. Claudius Drusi f. Cæsar Aug. Germ. pont. max. trib. pot. V imp. VI cos. des. IIII.* But as he was already *imp. VIII* in the preceding year (see N^o. 10), we may read *imp. IX* or *imp. X*.

14 Gruter p. 237. 8 Romæ: *Ti. Cl. Drus. f. Cæs. Aug. Germ. pont. max. trib. pot. V cos. III des. IIII imp. II p. p. ex S. C. Cn. Calpetanus Staius Sex. Metrobius M. Perpenna Lurco T. Satrius Decianus curat. tabul. publ. fac. cur.* Here also we may read *imp. IX* or *imp. X*. or *imp. XI*.^a

15 Muratori p. 972. 7 Romæ: *Pro salute Ti. Claudi Cæsaris Aug. pontif. max. tr. pot. III cos. III design. IIII Præsens Aug. lib. ex voto suscepto viat. et scr. libr. et A. Larcus Lydus dedic.* Read with Muratori *tr. pot. VI.*

16 Panvinus p. 315 Gruter p. 113. 1 Romæ: *Pro salute Ti. Claudi Cæsaris Aug. Germanici pont. max. trib. pot. VII cos. IIII imp. XV p. p. censoris * * * * liberorumque * * * * ex voto suscepto C. Julius Sex. f. Cor. Postumus præf. Ægypti Ti. Claudi Cæsaris Aug. Germanici ex auri. P. XVI.*

17 Gruter p. 238. 5 In Anglia: *Ti. Claudius Cæsar Aug. p. m. trib. p. VIIII imp. XVI de Britan.*

18 Gruter p. 113. 3^b ex Panvinio p. 316 *Pro salute Ti. Claudi Cæs. Aug. Germanici pont. max. trib. potest. X imp. XIIII cos. IIII design. V sign. argenti P. X et pro salute Neronis Cæsaris f. Agrippinæ Aug. sign. arg. P. V. voto suscep. viatores et scribæ libr. et præf. Princeps et Latinus Felix ded.* 19 Panvinus p. 316 Gruter p. 153. 9 Emeritæ: *Imp. divus Claudius Drusi f. Cæs. Aug. Germ. pont. max. trib. pot. X cos. IIII imp. XXI iter. reparavit.* Male Gruter *imp. XI.*

20 Muratori p. 1041. 1 * * * *imp. XXVI cos. V p. p. civitas Conven.* In the 11th tribunician year, or beginning of the 12th.

21 Muratori p. 225. 7^c Cartimæ in Hispania: *Ti. Claudio Cæsari Augusto pontifici max. trib. potest. XIII imp. XXVII cons. V p. p. cens. Vestinus Rustici f. Xvir et Rusticus F. D. S. P. D. D. cujus basis cum vetustate corrupta esset in vice ejus Vibia Rusticana nurus novam restituit.*

The inscription quoted in the Tables A. D. 48 p. 30 from Gruter p. 301. 1 upon the *Census of Claudius* is justly rejected as spurious by Lipsius ad Tacit. Ann. XI. 25. The numbers are too large and probably derived from erroneous copies of Tacitus. The author however rightly collects that the numbers were intended to express *homines armigeros*^d.

^a In the inscription in the Tables p. 28 A. D. 45 from Sueton. N^o. 2 Panvinus p. 314 and Gruter p. 176. 5, who give that inscription, read *imp. XI* for *imp. X*.

^b Partly quoted in the Tables A. D. 50. 2 p. 34.

^c Referred to in the Tables A. D. 53. 2 p. 36.

^d The genuine numbers of Tacitus appear to give 5,984,072, or a total of about 25,419,000. See F. H. III p. 457, 461.

The census of *Augustus* 4,063,000 and the census of *Claudius* 5,984,072, as computed in another CLAUDIUS. work^e, contained only the men of military age, to whom the men above the age of 60, the women and children are to be added. Against this mode of reckoning it has been argued as follows^f.

“The census of *Claudius*, bearing 5,984,072 free male adults, would make the free population amount to 23,936,288. Taking that to be the number of free citizens, allowing for but one slave to each, the inhabitants exclusive of strangers would be 47,872,876, which is infinitely too large a population for Italy itself; and the number of citizens beyond it no where appears to be great. (p. 11 probably but a small part of the citizens was composed of persons out of Italy.) We meet another difficulty in the astonishingly rapid growth of population shewn by Mr. Clinton’s table. In the census in B. C. 86 the males being 463,000, the total is 1,852,000. In the lustrum of *Augustus* B. C. 28 the male adults being 4,063,000, the whole free classes amount to 16,252,000.”

The numbers of the census had advanced, not in “114 years only,” as Mr. Blair states it^g, but in 58 years, from B. C. 86 to B. C. 28. But the increase was made in a still shorter period; in *forty two* years, from B. C. 70 to B. C. 28^h. In that space of 42 years their numbers had multiplied from 450,000 to 4,063,000. This vast addition was produced by the large admissions to the class of citizens which had been granted within that period. Of these admissions many incidental records remain. The whole of *Gallia transpadana* received this privilege from the dictator *Cæsar*ⁱ. His legion called *Alauda* was composed of natives of *transalpine Gaul*, and the soldiers of this legion were made Roman citizens^k. Eighty thousand citizens were planted by *Cæsar* in colonies beyond the seas^l. And we are quite sure from the facts which modern enquiries have collected, that the numbers which were thus withdrawn from Italy would be replaced in Italy by the increase of population in a very few years^m. After the last war in Spain *Cæsar* conferred the privilege of citizenship upon some towns in Spainⁿ. *Pompey* had the power granted to him of creating Roman citizens^o. The triumvir *Antony* raised the inhabitants of whole cities^p and even all the Sicilians^q to the rank of Roman citizens. *Augustus* himself granted this privilege to *Utica*^r: and to some of the *Salyses* and *Cavari*^s. In Gaul and Spain he withdrew this privilege from some, but granted it to others^t. The highest class among the natives of *transalpine Gaul* were made citizens of

^e F. H. III p. 457. 461.

^f See Blair’s Inquiry into the state of Slavery among the Romans p. 212. Edinburgh 1833. I give the substance of his argument.

^g P. 213.

^h See F. H. III p. 454.

ⁱ Dio 41. 36 τοῖς Γαλάταις τοῖς ἔντος τῶν Ἀλπεων ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἡριδανῶν οἰκοῦσι τὴν πολιτείαν, ἅπε καὶ ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν, ἀπέδωκε. noticed by *Claudius* apud Tacit. Ann. XI. 24 *Transpadani in civitatem recepti*.

^k Sueton. Cæs. c. 24 *Unam (legionem) et ex Transalpinis conscriptam, vocabulo quoque Gallico, (Alauda enim appellabatur,) quam disciplina cultuque Romano institutam et ornatam postea universam civitate donavit*.

^l Sueton. Cæs. c. 42 *Octoginta civium millibus in transmarinas colonias distributis*.

^m See F. H. II p. 468. 477 ed. 3.

ⁿ Dio 43. 39 τοῖς εἰνοῖαν τινα αὐτοῦ σχοῦσιν ἔδωκε μὲν καὶ χῶρια καὶ ἀτέλειαν, πολιτείαν τέ τισι, καὶ ἄλλοις ἀποίκους τῶν Ῥωμαίων νομίζεσθαι.

^o Cic. pro Balbo c. 8. 14.

^p Dio 44. 53 συχὰ δὲ καὶ παρ’ ἰδιωτῶν τῶν τε δῆμων καὶ τῶν βασιλέων ἠργυρολόγησε, τοῖς μὲν χῶραν τοῖς δὲ

ἐλευθερίαν, ἄλλοις πολιτείαν, ἄλλοις ἀτέλειαν πωλῶν. Cic. Phil. II. 36 *Neque solum singulis veniebant immunitates, sed etiam populis universis civitas non jam sigillatim sed provinciis universis dabatur*.

^q Cic. Ep. Att. XIV. 12 *Scis quam diligam Siculos. — Multa illis Cæsar, neque me invito. etsi Latinitas [sc. jus Latii] non ferenda; veruntamen. ecce autem Antonius accepta grandi pecunia fixit legem, a dictatore comitiis latam, qua Siculi cives Romani*.

^r Dio 49. 16 καὶ τοὺς Οὐτικησίους πολίτας ἐποίησατο. Hence Pliny H. N. V. 4 *Utica civium Romanorum*.

^s Strabo IV p. 186 τοὺς Σάλυας—καὶ τοὺς Καουάρους. ἐπικρατεῖ δὲ τὸ τῶν Καουάρων ὄνομα—οὐδὲ βαρβάρους ἔτι ὄντας ἀλλὰ μετακειμένους τὸ πλέον εἰς τὸν τῶν Ῥωμαίων τύπον, καὶ τῇ γλώττῃ καὶ τοῖς βίοις. τινὰς δὲ καὶ τῇ πολιτείᾳ.

^t Dio 54. 25 ὁ γοῦν Αὔγουστος ἐπειδὴ πάντα τὰ τε ἐν ταῖς Γαλατίας καὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς Γερμανίαις ταῖς τ’ Ἰβηρίας, πολλὰ μὲν ἀναλώσας ὡς ἐκάστους πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παρ’ ἐτέρων λαβῶν, τὴν τε ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν τοῖς μὲν δοὺς τοῖς δ’ ἀφελόμενος διφκήσατο κ. τ. λ. Sueton. Aug. c. 47 *Urbiūm quasdam fæderatas—libertate privavit: alias—levavit—aut merita erga populum Romanum allegantes Latinitate vel civitate donavit*.

CLAUDIUS. Rome^v. *Augustus* however advised *Tiberius* to be sparing of this honour, and rarely bestowed it^w. Hence in the last 40 years of his reign their numbers did not much advance.

In the 34 years which passed between the last *Iustrum* of *Augustus* and the 8th year of *Claudius* about 1,887,000 citizens had been added to the number. In some degree this addition might be produced by the increase of population; but it must have chiefly proceeded from the same cause as the increase in the period which preceded the first census of *Augustus*. For we cannot doubt that the policy which had so long been pursued, and which was inherent in the Roman institutions, still continued^x, as we find in a few years after the reign of *Claudius* the rank of Roman citizen, which had been already before the year 48 conferred on the higher class of persons in Gaul, was in the year 68 extended to the whole Gallic nation by *Galba*^y. In the year 63 *Nero* admitted the Alpine nations to the *jus Latii*^z. A few years later *Vespasian* conferred the same privilege upon Spain^a. But the effect of this gift was to advance gradually all the chief families to the order of Roman citizens^b. It is unnecessary to pursue this topic through later times, or to shew that *Caracalla* finally made all the free subjects of the empire Roman citizens.

If the population of Italy in the time of *Augustus* was equal to that of modern Italy, it contained about 20,400,000 inhabitants^c. And if we assume with Mr. Blair as an average for all Italy that the slaves were equal in number to the free, we obtain about 10,200,000 for the free population and about 2,349,634 for the number of freemen of military age, at the proportion of 2322 in 10,080 persons^d. It follows then that, when allowance is made for strangers in Italy, the numbers of the first census of *Augustus*, 4,063,000, would contain probably 1,760,000 citizens supplied from the other provinces of the empire. But testimonies remain which justify this con-

^v Tacit. Ann. XI. 23 *Primores Galliae quæ Comata appellatur fœdera et civitatem Romanam pridem assecuti jus adipiscendorum in urbe honorum expeterent*. sc. in A. D. 48. As in the year 48 they had long possessed the rank of Roman citizens, their admission to that privilege may be referred to *Augustus*.

^w Dio 56. 33 *ἐπισκήψεις τῷ Τιβερίῳ καὶ τῷ κοινῷ ἄλλας τε καὶ ὅπως μὴτ' ἀπελευθερώσει πολλοὺς, ἵνα μὴ παντοδαποῦ ὄχλου τὴν πόλιν πληρώσωσι, μὴτ' αὖ ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν συχνοὺς ἐσγράψωσι*. Sueton. Aug. c. 40 *Civitatem parcissime dedit et manumittendi modum terminavit*.—*Liviæ pro quodam tributario Gallo roganti civitatem negavit, immunitatem obtulit, affirmans se facilius passurum fisco detrahi aliquid quam civitatis Romanæ vulgari honorem*.

^x That policy, which was the source of the Roman power, is described by Cicero pro Balbo c. 13. 14 *Illud vero sine ulla dubitatione maxime nostrum fundavit imperium—quod princeps ille creator hujus urbis Romulus fœdere Sabino docuit etiam hostibus recipiendis augeri hanc civitatem oportere. cujus auctoritate et exemplo nunquam est intermissa a majoribus nostris largitio et communicatio civitatis. Itaque et ex Latio multi et Tusculani et Lanuvini et ex ceteris generibus gentes universæ in civitatem sunt receptæ; ut Sabinorum Volscorum Hernicorum*.—*At enim quædam fœdera existant, ut Germanorum, Insubrium, Helvetiorum, Japidum, nonnullorum etiam ex Gallia barbarorum, quorum in fœderibus exceptum est ne quis eorum a nobis civis recipiatur. Quodsi exceptio facit ne liceat, ibi necesse est licere ubi non est exceptum*. Dionysius Ant. II. 17 contrasts the wisdom of the Romans in this re-

spect with the narrow policy of the Greek republics. Aristides Encom. Rom. p. 214 though in a later age yet describes the early practice: *μεγάλοι μεγάλως ἐμετρήσατε τὴν πόλιν, καὶ οὐκ ἀποσεμνυνόμενοι τούτῳ θαυμαστὴν ἐποιήσατε, τῷ μηδεὶ τῶν ἄλλων αὐτῆς μεταδιδόναι, ἀλλὰ τὸ πλήρωμα αὐτῆς ἄξιον ἐζητήσατε, καὶ τὸ Ῥωμαίων εἶναι ἐποιήσατε οὐ πόλεως ἀλλὰ γένους ὄνομα κοινῷ τινος* κ. τ. λ.

^y Plutarch. Galba c. 18 *διαβολὴν εἶχεν—τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Γαλάτας Οὐίνδικο συναραμένους. ἐδόκουν γὰρ οὐ φιλανθρωπία τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος [sc. Galbæ] ἀλλ' ὠνούμενοι παρὰ Οὐίνιου τυγχάνειν ἀνείσεως τε δασμῶν καὶ πολιτείας*. Tacit. Hist. I. 8 *Galliæ, super memoriam Vindicis, obligatæ recenti dono Romanæ civitatis*.

^z Tacit. Ann. XV. 32 *Nationes Alpium maritimarum in jus Latii transtulit*.

^a Plin. H. N. III. 3 *Universæ Hispaniæ Vespasianus imperator Augustus—Latii jus tribuit*.

^b Asconius in Pisonianam Cic. Cn. *Pompeius Strabo—jus dedit Latii, ut possent habere jus quod cætera Latina colonia, id est, ut petendi magistratus gratia civitatem Romanam adipiscerentur*. Appian. Civ. II. 26 *πόλιν δὲ Νεόκομον ὁ Καῖσαρ [conf. Strabonem V p. 213 Plutarch. Cæs. c. 29 Suetonium Cæs. c. 28] ἐς Λατίου δίκαιον ἐπὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἤρκει· ὧν ὅσοι κατ' ἔτος ἤρχον ἐγίνοντο Ῥωμαίων πολῖται· τότε γὰρ ἰσχύει τὸ Λάτιον*. Plin. Panegy. c. 37, 3 *Novi (cives), seu per Latium in civitatem seu beneficio principis venissent* &c. Idem c. 39, 2 *His quoque, quibus per Latium civitas Romana patuisset, idem indulsit* &c.

^c The population of Italy from actual enumeration is thus given:

clusion. Cicero attests that in his time the commanders of armies conferred the gift of citizenship CLAUDIUS. upon those who had deserved well of the republic^e. This gift was bestowed indifferently upon men of all countries, upon natives of Africa or Sardinia or Spain^f. By the law already noticed *Pompey* received the power of creating citizens with the consent of his council of officers. That law was passed in B. C. 72^g when he was conducting the war in Spain, and *Pompey* doubtless exercised that power not only in Spain but afterwards in Asia, where he held the supreme command for five years B. C. 66—62. We have seen that *Cæsar* advanced some towns in Spain to this honour; that *Antony* conferred it upon whole provinces and upon the island of Sicily. Sicily alone, if we compute its population to be equal to that of modern Sicily, might supply to the first census of *Augustus* 235,000 citizens^h. The inhabitants of Utica were made Roman citizens by *Augustus*. The inhabitants of Trapezus were Roman citizensⁱ. We have seen that the leading class among the Transalpine Gauls were citizens of Rome. Hence the father of *Vindex* was a

To Austria	
Lombardy	2,600,760
Venice	2,202,529
	4,803,289
To Sardinia	
Turin	873,310
Cuneo	566,181
Alessandria	595,563
Novara	542,728
Aosta	78,110
Nizza	230,718
Genoa with Copraja	674,988
	3,561,598
Duchy of Parma in 1846	496,803
Duchy of Modena	515,343
Lucca in 1839	168,198
Tuscany in 1846	1,565,751
	11,110,982
San Marino	7,600
Pope's dominions in 1843	2,898,115
Naples in 1845 including the city	6,382,706
of Naples 379,621	
Total, exclusive of the Islands	20,399,403

The ancient Neapolis was less populous than the modern capital; but this is more than compensated by the greatness of ancient Rome, which contained according to the moderate estimate of Gibbon 1,200,000 inhabitants, while Rome in 1827 had only 140,673. Northern Italy included the three districts *Venetia*, *Carnia* and *Istria*. The two former were in Cisalpine Gaul: Mela 2. 4, 2 *Carni et Veneti cohunt Togatam Galliam*. *Istria* was already when Strabo wrote annexed to Italy: Strabo VII p. 314 ἔφαμεν ἐν τῇ περιοδείᾳ τῆς Ἰταλίας [V p. 215]—διότι μέχρι Πόδας, Ἰστρικῆς πόλεως, προήγαγον οἱ νῦν ἡγεμόνες τοὺς τῆς Ἰταλίας ὄρους. Daru Histoire de Venise tom. 6 p. 258 assigns to Venice in 1788 Terra Firma, Friuli, and Istria, with rather a larger population than the amount here given. But at present Istria belongs to another province, and the Venetian territories

have their limit at Udine and at a point to the west of Trieste. As however in ancient times Venice itself did not exist, the modern population may be assumed to represent the inhabitants of those three districts.

^d See F. H. III p. 460.

^e Cic. pro Balbo c. 9 *Stipendiarios ex Africa Sicilia Sardinia ceteris provinciis multos civitate donatos videmus; et qui hostes ad nostros imperatores per fugissent et magno usui reipublicæ nostræ fuissent scimus civitate esse donatos; servos denique, quorum jus et fortunæ conditio infima est, bene de republica meritos, persape libertate, id est, civitate, publice donari videmus.*

^f Cic. pro Balbo c. 18 *Quod si Afris, si Sardis, si Hispanis, agris stipendioque multatis, virtute adipisci licet civitatem, &c.* How largely this privilege was conferred may be gathered from Cicero pro Balbo c. 22, although the examples in part occurred in Italy: *Quid? Cn. Pompeius pater, rebus Italico bello maximis gestis, P. Cæsium equitem Romanum, virum bonum, qui vivit Ravennæ,—nonne civitate donavit? quid? cohortes duas universas Camertium? Quid? Heraclensium legionem P. Crassus?—Quid? Massiliensem Aristonem Sulla? quid? idem heros novem Gaditanos? Quid?—Q. Metellus Pius Q. Fabius Saganinum? Quid? hic qui adest—M. Crassus, non Aletrinensem federatum civitate donavit? homo tum gravitate et prudentia præstans, tum vel nimium parvus in largienda civitate?*

^g Cic. pro Balbo c. 8 *Lege quam C. Gellius Cn. Cornelius ex senatus sententia tulerunt—uti cives Romani sint ii, quos Cn. Pompeius de consilii sententia [conf. c. 17 Cn. Pompeium de consilii sententia civitatem huic dedisse] sigillatim civitate donavit. c. 14 Lex Gellia et Cornelia, quæ definite potestatem Pompeio civitatem donandi dederat.* These were consuls in B. C. 72.

^h Population of Sicily, from an enumeration made in 1845, 2,040,610. If we assume for Sicily one slave to every free inhabitant, we have 1,020,300 free inhabitants, and these would give for the men of military age about 235,000.

ⁱ Tacit. Hist. III. 47 *Donati civitate Romana signa armaque in nostrum modum, desideriam licentiamque Græcorum retinebant.*

CLAUDIUS. senator^k. That some Jews were made citizens we know from Josephus^l and Philo^m. The father of *St. Paul* was a Romanⁿ. These specimens shew that no nation was excluded.

If the advance of the numbers in those 42 years^o from 450,000 to 4,063,000 shall appear to be explained by the testimonies here produced, the increase in the 34 years^p from 4,097,000 to 5,984,000 will not excite surprise. The increasing wealth and prosperity not only of Italy but of the whole empire within that period would produce an increase in the population; and the numbers of the citizens would advance with the numbers of the other classes. The numerous colonies beyond the limits of Italy which enjoyed the *jus Latii* were annually adding new citizens to the empire; and (as already remarked) additional grants of the rights of citizenship continued to be made. We collect from Philo that *Caligula* was lavish of this gift^q.

NERO. NERO.

Inscriptions. 1 Muratori p. 445. 4 In Hispania: *Ti. Claud. Nero imp. Aug. pont. m. tr. p. cos. XVIII Augustobrigam M. P. XXII*. Omit the erroneous number *XIII*, and this inscription falls within Jan. 1—Oct. 12 A. D. 55. 2 Muratori p. 445. 5 In agro Forojuliensi: *Nero Claudius Divi Claudi f. Germanici Cæsar. n. Ti. Cæsar. Aug. pronep. Divi Aug. abnepos Cæsar Aug. Germanicus pontifex max. tr. pot. IIII imp. iter. cos. III p. p. restituit*. Within Jan. 1—Oct. 12 A. D. 58. 3 Murat. p. 227. 1 In Sancti Germani Civitate: *Neroni Claudio Cæsari Aug. Germ. pont. max. trib. pot. XIII imp. IIII cos. IIII p. p. L. Stenius Silvanus ex testamento*. The number *imp. IIII* is defective; for *Nero* was already *imp. VII* in A. D. 60, and is *imp. XI* in another inscription of the 13th tribunician year^r. 4 Murat. p. 227. 4 Cæcinæ in agro Lunensi tabula marmorea: partly quoted in the Tables at A. D. 66 p. 48 of the 13th tribunician year. The other division of this Tablet is as follows: *Divæ Poppææ Augustæ imp. Neronis Cæsaris August. L. Licinius L. f. Gal. Glaucus Lucretianus flam. Romæ et Aug. IIvir IV P. C. sevir eq. R. Curio præf. fabr. cos. tr. milit. leg. XXII Primig. præf. prolegat. insular. Balarum tr. mil. leg. VI Victricis ex voto suscepto pro salute imp. Neronis quod Balaribus coverat anno A. Licinio Nerva cos. [sc. A. D. 65] IIvir A. Ufeto Vegeto et Q. Aburio Nepote ube vellet ponere V. compos posit Jovi Junoni Minervæ Felicitati Romæ Divo Aug. Poppæa died in the 12th tribunician year (Tables A. D. 65), and this inscription is erected in the 13th. 5 Murat. p. 916. 10 extra Romam: *Dis Manibus Taurionis opsonatoris Poppææ Aug.* 6 Murat. p. 228. 1 ὁ δῆμος Νέρωνα Ἰούλιον Καίσαρα παῖδα θεοῦ νέου Γερμανικοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ θεῶς Αἰολίδος καρποφόρας Ἀγριππένας.*

GALBA. GALBA.

Tabulæ æneæ apud Muratorium p. 306. 307 Florentiæ et in Castello a mare: 306. 3 in prima facie: *Ser. Galba imperator Cæsar August. pontif. max. tr. pot. cos. des. II veteranis qui militaverunt in legione I Adjutrice honestam missionem et civitatem dedit quorum nomina subscripta sunt ipsis liberis posterisque eorum et conubium cum uxoribus quas tunc habuissent cum est civitas vis data aut si qui cælibes essent cum vis quas postea duxissent, dumtaxat singuli singulas A. D.* In secunda facie:

^k Dio 63. 22 Ἰούλιος Βίνδιξ ἐκ μὲν προγόνων Ἀκυτανὸς τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γένους, κατὰ δὲ τὸν πατέρα βουλευτὴς τῶν Ῥωμαίων.

^l Joseph. Bell. II. 14, 9 Φλώρος ἐτόλμησεν ἄνδρας ἰππικοῦ τάγματος μαστιγῶσαι πρὸ τοῦ βήματος καὶ σταυρῶ προσηλαῶσαι. ὃν εἰ καὶ τὸ γένος Ἰουδαῖον, ἀλλὰ τὸ γοῦν ἀξίωμα Ῥωμαϊκὸν ἦν. Quoted by Lardner Vol. I p. 224, who gives other examples.

^m Philo leg. ad Caium c. 23. partly quoted by Lardner.

ⁿ From whom *St. Paul* inherited this privilege: Acts XXII. 25—28.

^o B. C. 70—28.

^p A. D. 14—48.

^q Agrippa apud Philonem Leg. ad Caium c. 36 addressing *Caligula* remarks φίλων ἐνίων πατρίδας ἄλλης τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἡξίωσας πολιτείας. Not individuals only but the whole people were made citizens.

^r See the Tables A. D. 60. 2. 66. 2.