

The Roman Emperor and His Court c. 30 BC–c. AD 300

Volume 2: A Sourcebook

At the centre of the Roman empire stood the emperor and the court surrounding him. The systematic investigation of this court in its own right, however, has been a relatively late development in the field of Roman history, and previous studies have focused on narrowly defined aspects or on particular periods of Roman history. This book makes a major contribution to understanding the history of the Roman imperial court. The first volume presents nineteen original essays covering all the major dimensions of the court from the age of Augustus to the threshold of Late Antiquity. The second volume is a collection of the ancient sources that are central to studying that court. The collection includes: translations of literary sources, inscriptions, and papyri; plans and computer visualizations of archaeological remains; and photographs of archaeological sites and artworks depicting the emperor and his court.

BENJAMIN KELLY is an associate professor in the Department of History at York University, Toronto. He is the author of *Petitions, Litigation, and Social Control in Roman Egypt* (2011).

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Edited by Benjamin Kelly , Angela Hug

Frontmatter

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VOLUME 2

A Sourcebook

Edited by

BENJAMIN KELLY

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FOR OUR MOTHERS

Anne Louise Kelly

and

Frances Anne Burton

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Contributions

xii While most chapters of this book were collaborative enterprises, individuals took initial responsibility for authoring the chapter introductions, as

well as the translations, introductions, and commentaries for each source. The sections for which each individual had primary responsibility are listed below; sections in relation to which two individuals played a substantial role are attributed to both.

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RG: 5 14

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4 3b, 6b–c, 6f; 5 11; 6 Intro., 3–4

DL: 2 Intro.

KO: 5 1, 4, 7, 8, 13, 20, 21, 24–5

MR: 4 22–31

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Given the nature of this project, many of the acknowledgements made in Volume 1 apply equally to this volume. Here we have confined ourselves to acknowledging those who made specific contributions to this second volume, beginning with our contributors. Their willingness to embrace the challenge of this second, very different approach to the court and their continuing tolerance for our (many) editorial interventions were very much appreciated. The majority of contributions to this second volume were finalized in early 2020, so the reader will find that works published later than 2018 are referred to only sporadically.

We are very grateful to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for the award of an Insight Grant. This allowed us to run a second workshop in February 2018, at which this sourcebook volume began to take shape. The grant also allowed us to employ several research assistants, two of whom worked on this volume: Chris Dawson, who helped with the bibliography and with securing image permissions, and Samantha Rohrig, who compiled the indices and assisted with editing the translations and checking the bibliography.

We are also thankful for the generosity of colleagues who assisted us in obtaining images and permissions relating to archaeological sites and items of material culture. The creators of the images are acknowledged in the list of images above. In addition, we thank the colleagues who gave advice about images and facilitated the process of obtaining permissions: Heinz-Jürgen Beste; Maria Carmen D'Onza; Elizabeth Fentress; Marko Kiessel; Ann Kuttner; Daria Lanzuolo; Karl-Uwe Mahler; Goran Nikšić; Katja Piesker; Christian Rollinger; and Elena Stolyarik. Special thanks are also due to Jens Pflug, who not only helped us obtain permissions for most of the images in Chapter 2 relating to the imperial palaces in Rome, but also spent significant time updating some of these to ensure they reflect the latest archaeological findings.

At an early stage, our York colleagues Sarah Blake, Jonathan Edmondson, Rob Tordoff, and Ryan Wei gave invaluable advice about the structure and format of this sourcebook. Benjamin Kelly also profited from discussions with Jaclyn Neel, Jens Pflug, and Rolf Strootman about

the appropriate combination of sources for Chapter 2. We would like to express our deepest thanks to one of the Press's anonymous referees, who gave sympathetic and constructive advice about the structure of the source-book, encouraging us to avoid making it a mirror image of Volume 1, and to instead use it as an opportunity to draw out themes that cut across the chapters of the first volume. The process of peer review can be imperfect, but this was a genuinely fruitful interaction.

We would like to dedicate this volume to our mothers, Anne Kelly and Frances Burton. Both spent their careers teaching in schools in Australia and Canada respectively; Anne Kelly in fact found herself teaching Ancient History in her first post – much to her surprise. Since we have designed this book partly with pedagogical uses in mind, it seemed appropriate to dedicate it to the first teachers in our lives.

Conventions

All translations are the authors' own and dates are AD unless otherwise marked. We have not striven to be hypercorrect with names. Where English place names exist, we use these. Otherwise, we tend to use Roman place names, but we also mention the modern name the first time a place is mentioned in a chapter, so that the location may be found easily using mapping applications. All places are in Italy, unless otherwise indicated. With personal names, we have used anglicized versions where they are conventional (e.g. Julia Domna, Pliny the Younger); otherwise, we use Latin spellings (e.g. Iulius Montanus, *PIR*² I 434).

Figures in **bold** type refer to other sources within this volume (e.g. **3.21**) or pages in Vol. 1 of this work (e.g. **Vol. 1, 123–4**).

- () enclose words added by the translator to clarify the author's meaning; we have avoided using round brackets to enclose parenthetical statements by the ancient author.
- < > enclose words conjectured by a modern editor when text is clearly missing from an extant manuscript due to a scribal error.
- [] enclose words that are missing due to damage to the extant manuscript or inscription and that have been reconstructed by a modern editor.
- [---] mark a gap in the manuscript or inscription that cannot be reconstructed; we have not attempted to provide estimates of the number of letters missing.
- ... mark points where the ancient text in a passage continues, but we do not translate it because it is not relevant to the issue at hand.
- Italics* have been used for Latin and transliterated Greek words; these are either translated or glossed where they stand, or explained in the Glossary (in the case of words appearing repeatedly).

When ancient texts have been excerpted, we have added a summary of the material that was excised, if this is necessary to allow the reader to follow the thread of the narrative. We have set those summaries in italics and enclosed them in round brackets.

Abbreviations

Journal titles are abbreviated according to the system in *L'Année philologique* and authors of ancient literary works and titles of their books are abbreviated using the conventions of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Epigraphic publications are abbreviated using the system of *L'Année épigraphique* and abbreviations for papyrological publications follow the conventions of the *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca, and Tablets* (available at <https://papyri.info/docs/checklist>).

In addition, we have used the following abbreviations in this volume:

- ANRW Temporini, H. and Haase, W. (eds.) (1972–92) *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- BL Preisigke, F. et al. (eds.) (1922–) *Berichtigungsliste der griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten*.
- BNP Cancik, H. et al. (eds.) (2002–10) *Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World. Antiquity* (22 vols.). Leiden and Boston, Mass.: Brill. [Ger. orig. (1996–2003) *Der Neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike* (16 vols.). Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler.]
- EU *Excerpta Ursiniana*
- EV *Excerpta Valesiana*
- Haines Haines, C. R. (1928–9) *Fronto: Correspondence*, rev. ed. (2 vols.). Loeb. Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press.
- JA Joannes Antiochenus
- LIMC Ackermann, H. C. and Gisler, J.-R. (eds.) (1981) *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae*. Zurich: Artemis.
- LTUR Steinby, E. M. (ed.) (1993–9) *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* (6 vols.). Rome: Edizioni Quasar.
- OLD Glare, P. G. W. (ed.) (1982) *Oxford Latin Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- PIR² Groag, E. et al. (1933–2015) *Prosopographia Imperii Romani saec. I. II. III.* (8 vols.), 2nd ed. Berlin, Leipzig, and New York: de Gruyter.
- PLRE Jones, A. H. M., Martindale, J. R., and Morris, J. (1971–92) *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* (3 vols.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- PP Petrus Patricius, *Excerpta Vaticana*
RE Pauly, A. et al. (eds.) (1893–1980) *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Stuttgart: A. Druckenmüller.
RIC Mattingly, H. et al. (eds.) (1923–) *Roman Imperial Coinage* (10 vols.). London: Spink.
SCPP *Senatus Consultum de Pisone Patre*
ShB Shackleton Bailey, D. R. (1977) *Epistulae ad familiares* (2 vols.). Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries, 16–17. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
vdH van den Hout, M. P. J. (1988) *M. Cornelii Frontonis Epistulae*. Bibliotheca Teubneriana. Leipzig: Teubner.
Xiph. Xiphilinus

List of Roman Emperors to c. AD 300

27 BC–AD 14	AUGUSTUS	<i>PIR</i> ² I 215; <i>BNP</i> Augustus 1
14–37	TIBERIUS	<i>PIR</i> ² C 941; <i>BNP</i> Tiberius II 1
37–41	CALIGULA (GAIUS)	<i>PIR</i> ² I 217; <i>BNP</i> Caligula
41–54	CLAUDIUS	<i>PIR</i> ² C 942; <i>BNP</i> Claudius III 1
54–68	NERO	<i>PIR</i> ² D 129; <i>BNP</i> Nero 1
68–9	GALBA	<i>PIR</i> ² S 1003; <i>BNP</i> Galba 2
69	OTHO	<i>PIR</i> ² S 143; <i>BNP</i> Otho
69	VITELLIUS	<i>PIR</i> ² V 740; <i>BNP</i> Vitellius II 2
69–79	VESPASIAN	<i>PIR</i> ² F 398; <i>BNP</i> Vespasianus
79–81	TITUS	<i>PIR</i> ² F 399; <i>BNP</i> Titus II 1
81–96	DOMITIAN	<i>PIR</i> ² F 259; <i>BNP</i> Domitianus 1
96–8	NERVA	<i>PIR</i> ² C 1227; <i>BNP</i> Nerva 2
98–117	TRAJAN	<i>PIR</i> ² V 865; <i>BNP</i> Traianus 1
117–38	HADRIAN	<i>PIR</i> ² A 184; <i>BNP</i> Hadrianus II
138–61	ANTONINUS PIUS	<i>PIR</i> ² A 1513; <i>BNP</i> Antoninus 1
161–80	MARCUS AURELIUS	<i>PIR</i> ² A 697; <i>BNP</i> Marcus II 2
161–9	LUCIUS VERUS	<i>PIR</i> ² C 606; <i>BNP</i> Verus
177–92	COMMODUS	<i>PIR</i> ² A 1482; <i>BNP</i> Commodus
193	PERTINAX	<i>PIR</i> ² H 73; <i>BNP</i> Pertinax
193	DIDIUS IULIANUS	<i>PIR</i> ² D 77; <i>BNP</i> Didius II 6
193–211	SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS	<i>PIR</i> ² S 487; <i>BNP</i> Septimius II 7
197–217	CARACALLA	<i>PIR</i> ² S 446; <i>BNP</i> Caracalla
209–11	GETA	<i>PIR</i> ² S 454; <i>BNP</i> Geta 2
217–18	MACRINUS	<i>PIR</i> ² O 108; <i>BNP</i> Macrinus
218–22	ELAGABALUS	<i>PIR</i> ² V 273; <i>BNP</i> Elagabalus 2
222–35	SEVERUS ALEXANDER	<i>PIR</i> ² A 1610; <i>BNP</i> Severus II 2
235–8	MAXIMINUS THRAX	<i>PIR</i> ² I 619; <i>BNP</i> Maximinus 2
238	GORDIAN I	<i>PIR</i> ² A 833; <i>BNP</i> Gordianus 1
238	GORDIAN II	<i>PIR</i> ² A 834; <i>BNP</i> Gordianus 2
238	PUPIENUS	<i>PIR</i> ² C 1179; <i>BNP</i> Pupienus
238	BALBINUS	<i>PIR</i> ² C 126; <i>BNP</i> Balbinus 1
238–44	GORDIAN III	<i>PIR</i> ² A 835; <i>BNP</i> Gordianus 3

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244–9	PHILIPPUS ARABS	<i>PIR</i> ² I 461; <i>BNP</i> Philippus II 2
249–51	DECIUS	<i>PIR</i> ² M 520; <i>BNP</i> Decius II 1
251–3	TREBONIANUS GALLUS	<i>PIR</i> ² V 579; <i>BNP</i> Trebonianus Gallus
253	AEMILIUS AEMILIANUS	<i>PIR</i> ² A 330; <i>BNP</i> Aemilianus II 1
253–60	VALERIAN	<i>PIR</i> ² L 258; <i>BNP</i> Valerianus 2
253–68	GALLIENUS	<i>PIR</i> ² L 197; <i>BNP</i> Gallienus
268–70	CLAUDIUS II GOTHICUS	<i>PIR</i> ² A 1626; <i>BNP</i> Claudius III 2
270	QUINTILLUS	<i>PIR</i> ² A 1480; <i>BNP</i> Quintillus
270–5	AURELIAN	<i>PIR</i> ² D 135; <i>BNP</i> Aurelianus 3
275–6	TACITUS	<i>PIR</i> ² C 1036; <i>BNP</i> Tacitus 2
276	FLORIANUS	<i>PIR</i> ² A 649; <i>BNP</i> Annius II 4
276–82	PROBUS	<i>PIR</i> ² A 1583; <i>BNP</i> Probus 1
282–3	CARUS	<i>PIR</i> ² A 1475; <i>BNP</i> Carus 4
283–5	CARINUS	<i>PIR</i> ² A 1473; <i>BNP</i> Carinus
283–4	NUMERIANUS	<i>PIR</i> ² A 1564; <i>BNP</i> Numerianus 2
284–305	DIOCLETIAN	<i>PIR</i> ² A 1627; <i>BNP</i> Diocletianus
286–310	MAXIMIAN (Caesar 285)	<i>PIR</i> ² A 1628; <i>BNP</i> Maximianus 1
305–6	CONSTANTIUS I (Caesar 293–305)	<i>PIR</i> ² F 390; <i>BNP</i> Constantius 1
305–311	GALERIUS (Caesar 293–305)	<i>PIR</i> ² V 126; <i>BNP</i> Galerius 5

Register of Prominent Courtiers

We include in this list prominent courtiers who are mentioned repeatedly in one or both volumes using the customary short forms of their names. When describing relationships, we give emperors' names in capitals.

Acte	Claudia Acte. Freedwoman mistress of NERO. <i>PIR</i> ² C 1067; <i>BNP</i> Claudia II 4.
Agrippa	M. Vipsanius Agrippa (64/3–12 BC). <i>Cos. ord.</i> I 37 BC, II 28 BC, III 27 BC. Close supporter of Octavian/AUGUSTUS; married to Julia, daughter of AUGUSTUS, 21–12 BC. <i>PIR</i> ² V 674; <i>BNP</i> Agrippa 1.
Agrippa Postumus	Agrippa Iulius Caesar [originally: M. Vipsanius Agrippa Postumus] (12 BC–AD 14). Son of Agrippa and Julia; adopted as son by AUGUSTUS (AD 4), then exiled (AD 6). <i>PIR</i> ² I 214; <i>BNP</i> Agrippa 2.
Agrippina the Elder	Vipsania Agrippina (c. 14 BC–AD 33). Daughter of Agrippa and Julia; married to Germanicus (c. AD 5–19). <i>PIR</i> ² V 682; <i>BNP</i> Agrippina 2.
Agrippina the Younger	Iulia Agrippina (AD 15–59). Daughter of Germanicus and Agrippina the Elder; wife of CLAUDIUS (49–54); mother of NERO. <i>PIR</i> ² I 641; <i>BNP</i> Agrippina 3.
Antinous	(d. 130). A Bithynian youth who was the lover of HADRIAN. He mysteriously drowned in the Nile, provoking extravagant demonstrations of grief by HADRIAN. <i>PIR</i> ² A 737; <i>BNP</i> Antinous 2.
Antonia the Elder	Antonia (maior) (b. 39 BC). Elder daughter of Mark Antony and Octavia. <i>PIR</i> ² A 884; <i>BNP</i> Antonia 3

- Antonia the Younger** Antonia (minor) [later: Antonia Augusta] (36 BC–AD 37). Younger daughter of Mark Antony and Octavia; wife of Drusus the Elder; mother of Germanicus and CLAUDIUS; grandmother of CALIGULA. *PIR*² A 885; *BNP* Antonia 4.
- Berenice** Iulia Berenice (b. c. 28). Daughter of Herod Agrippa I. Mistress of TITUS before he became emperor. *PIR*² I 651; *BNP* Berenice 7b.
- Britannicus** Ti. Claudius Caesar Britannicus [earlier: Ti. Claudius Caesar Germanicus] (41–54/5). Son of CLAUDIUS; brother by adoption of NERO, who allegedly murdered him. *PIR*² C 820; *BNP* Britannicus.
- Burrus** Sex. Afranius Burrus (d. 62). Influential praetorian prefect of NERO (51–62). *PIR*² A 441; *BNP* Afranius 3.
- Caenis** Antonia Caenis. Freedwoman of Antonia the Younger. Concubine of VESPASIAN. *PIR*² A 888; *BNP* Antonia 6.
- Callistus** C. Iulius Callistus. Reportedly powerful at the courts of CALIGULA and CLAUDIUS; freedman *a libellis* of the latter. *PIR*² I 229; *BNP* Iulius II 36.
- Cleander** M. Aurelius Cleander. Influential freedman at the court of COMMODUS. *PIR*² A 1481; *BNP* Aurelius II 10.
- Cocceius Nerva** M. Cocceius Nerva (d. 33). *Cos. suff.* 21 or 22. A distinguished jurist and close associate of TIBERIUS, who sojourned with that emperor on Capreae. *PIR*² C 1225; *BNP* Cocceius 5.
- Domitia Lucilla** Domitia Lucilla (minor) (d. 155–61). The mother of MARCUS AURELIUS. *PIR*² D 183; *BNP* Domitia 8.
- Drusus the Elder** D. Claudius Drusus [later: Nero Claudius Drusus Germanicus] (38–9 BC). Son of Livia; stepson of AUGUSTUS; brother of TIBERIUS. *PIR*² C 857; *BNP* Claudius II 24.
- Drusus the Younger** Nero Claudius Drusus [later: Drusus Iulius Caesar] (c. 15–14 BC–AD 23). Son of the emperor TIBERIUS. *PIR*² I 219; *BNP* Drusus II 1.

- Eclectus** (d. 193). The *a cubiculo* of **COMMODUS**, who was allegedly involved in that emperor's murder. *PIR*² E 3; *BNP* Eclectus.
- Faustina the Elder** Annia Galeria Faustina (d. 140). Wife of **ANTONINUS PIUS** and mother of Faustina the Younger. *PIR*² A 715; *BNP* Faustina 2.
- Faustina the Younger** Annia Galeria Faustina (c. 130–175/6). Daughter of **ANTONINUS PIUS**, wife of **MARCUS AURELIUS** (145–175/6), mother of **COMMODUS**. *PIR*² A 716; *BNP* Faustina 3.
- Fronto** M. Cornelius Fronto (c. 110–after 176). *Cos. suff.* 143. Tutor of **MARCUS AURELIUS** and **LUCIUS VERUS**, and influential at their courts. A corpus of letters to and from Fronto survives. His correspondents included **ANTONINUS PIUS**, **MARCUS AURELIUS**, and **LUCIUS VERUS**, as well as several important courtiers. *PIR*² C 1364; *BNP* Fronto 6.
- Gaius (Caesar)** C. Iulius Caesar (20 BC–AD 4). Grandson, and later adoptive son, of **AUGUSTUS**. Until his early death, the presumptive successor to **AUGUSTUS**' position, along with his brother, Lucius Caesar. *PIR*² I 216; *BNP* Iulius II 32.
- Ti. Gemellus** Ti. Iulius Caesar Nero (19 or 20–37). The natural grandson of **TIBERIUS**. Despite his grandfather's wishes, **CALIGULA** excluded him as successor and later allegedly had him murdered. *PIR*² I 226.
- Germanicus** Germanicus Iulius Caesar [originally: Nero Claudius Drusus] (15 BC–AD 19). Son of Drusus the Elder and Antonia the Younger; adoptive son of **TIBERIUS**. *PIR*² I 221; *BNP* Germanicus 2.
- Herod Agrippa** M. Iulius Agrippa (I) (10 BC–AD 44). Grandson of Herod the Great (king of Judaea); moved in Roman court circles in his youth; eventually ruled his grandfather's kingdom. *PIR*² I 131; *BNP* Herodes 8.

- Julia Domna** Iulia Domna (d. c. 217). Wife of SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS and mother of CARACALLA and GETA. *PIR*² I 663; *BNP* Iulia 12.
- Julia Maesa** Iulia Maesa (d. 226). Sister of Julia Domna; mother of Julia Mamaea and Julia Soaemias; grandmother of ELAGABALUS and SEVERUS ALEXANDER. *PIR*² I 678; *BNP* Iulia 17.
- Julia Mamaea** Iulia Avita Mamaea (d. 235). Mother of SEVERUS ALEXANDER; niece of Julia Domna. *PIR*² I 649; *BNP* Iulia 9.
- Julia Soaemias** Iulia Soaemias Bassiana (d. 222). Mother of ELAGABALUS; niece of Julia Domna. *PIR*² I 704; *BNP* Iulia 22.
- Livia** Livia Drusilla [later: Iulia Augusta] (58 BC–AD 29). Wife of Octavian/AUGUSTUS; mother of TIBERIUS. *PIR*² L 301; *BNP* Livia 2.
- Livilla** (Claudia) Livia Iulia (c. 14–11 BC–AD 31). Daughter of Drusus the Elder; wife (AD 4–23) of Drusus the Younger; niece and daughter-in-law of TIBERIUS. *PIR*² L 303; *BNP* Livilla 1.
- Lollia Paulina** (d. 49). The third of CALIGULA's four wives. She survived his reign, but was exiled then murdered as a potential rival to CLAUDIUS' wife, Agrippina the Younger. *PIR*² L 328; *BNP* Lollia 1.
- Lucius (Caesar)** L. Iulius Caesar (17 BC–AD 2). Grandson, and later adoptive son, of AUGUSTUS. Until his early death, the presumptive successor to AUGUSTUS' position, along with his brother, Gaius Caesar. *PIR*² I 222; *BNP* Iulius II 33.
- Macro** Q. Naevius Cordus Sutorius Macro (d. 38). Praetorian prefect (31–8); influential at the courts of TIBERIUS and CALIGULA. *PIR*² N 12; *BNP* Naevius II 3.
- Maecenas** C. Maecenas (c. 70–8 BC). A close friend of AUGUSTUS and a patron of literature. *PIR*² M 37; *BNP* Maecenas 2.
- Marcellus** M. Claudius Marcellus (42–23 BC). The son of Octavia the Younger and nephew of AUGUSTUS. *PIR*² C 925; *BNP* Claudius II 42.

Marcia	Concubine of COMMODUS. <i>PIR</i> ² M 261; <i>BNP</i> Marcia 7; Flexsenhar 2016.
Messalina	Valeria Messalina (b. 20–5, d. 48). Wife of CLAUDIUS (c. 38/9–48). <i>PIR</i> ² V 241; <i>BNP</i> Messalina 2.
Narcissus	(d. 54). Freedman <i>ab epistulis</i> of CLAUDIUS, and reportedly a powerful figure at his court. <i>PIR</i> ² N 23; <i>BNP</i> Narcissus II 1.
Octavia	Claudia Octavia (c. 40–62). Daughter of CLAUDIUS; wife of NERO (53–62). <i>PIR</i> ² C 1110; <i>BNP</i> Octavia 3.
Octavia the Younger	Octavia (minor) (69–10/11 BC). The sister of Octavian/AUGUSTUS. <i>PIR</i> ² O 66; <i>BNP</i> Octavia 2.
Pallas	M. Antonius Pallas (d. 62). Freedman of Antonia the Younger. <i>A rationibus</i> under CLAUDIUS. Reportedly powerful at the courts of CLAUDIUS and NERO. <i>PIR</i> ² A 858; <i>BNP</i> Antonius II 10.
Paris	(d. 83). Pantomime actor influential at the court of DOMITIAN, and allegedly a lover of the emperor's wife, Domitia Longina. <i>PIR</i> ² P 128; <i>BNP</i> Paris 3.
Parthenius	Ti. Claudius Parthenius (d. 97). Influential <i>a cubiculo</i> of DOMITIAN. <i>PIR</i> ² C 951a; <i>BNP</i> Claudius II 51.
C. Piso	C. Calpurnius Piso (d. 65). <i>Cos. suff.</i> under CLAUDIUS. Figurehead of the failed conspiracy to assassinate NERO in 65. <i>PIR</i> ² C 284; <i>BNP</i> Calpurnius II 13.
Cn. Piso	Cn. Calpurnius Piso (c. 42 BC–AD 20). <i>Cos. ord.</i> 7 BC; governor of Syria AD 17–19. Confidant of the emperor TIBERIUS. Tried in the Senate in connection with events surrounding Germanicus' death in 19, he pre-empted the verdict with suicide. <i>PIR</i> ² C 287; <i>BNP</i> Calpurnius II 16.
Plautianus	M. Fulvius Plautianus (d. 205). Close friend and praetorian prefect (197–205) of SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS. <i>PIR</i> ² F 554; <i>BNP</i> Fulvius II 10.

- Plautilla** Publia Fulvia Plautilla (d. 212). Daughter of Plautianus and wife (202–5) of CARACALLA. *PIR*² F 564; *BNP* Fulvia 3.
- Pliny the Younger** C. Plinius Caecilius Secundus (c. 61/2–112), from Novum Comum (modern Como), nephew of Pliny the Elder. *Cos. suff.* 100, and holder of multiple administrative positions, including governor of Bithynia-Pontus. A collection of his letters and his panegyric for TRAJAN have survived. *PIR*² P 490; *BNP* Plinius 2.
- Plotina** Pompeia Plotina (b. 62–72, d. 123). Wife of TRAJAN and adoptive mother of HADRIAN. *PIR*² P 679; *BNP* Plotina.
- Poppaea** Poppaea Sabina (31–65). Wife of NERO (62–5). *PIR*² P 850; *BNP* Poppaea 2.
- Sabina** Vibia Sabina (c. 85–c. 137). Wife of HADRIAN. *PIR*² V 600; *BNP* Sabina.
- Sejanus** L. Aelius Seianus (b. c. 23–20 BC, d. AD 31). Influential praetorian prefect (14–31) of TIBERIUS. *PIR*² A 255; *BNP* Aelius II 19.
- Seneca the Younger** L. Annaeus Seneca (c. 1–65). *Cos. suff.* 56. Close adviser of NERO. Author of works of drama, philosophy, natural history, and satire. *PIR*² A 617; *BNP* Seneca 2.
- C. Silius** (d. 48). *Cos. design.* 49 (?). A lover of Messalina, wife of CLAUDIUS. Reportedly Silius married her in CLAUDIUS' absence, perhaps planning usurpation, and was executed. *PIR*² S 714; *BNP* Silius II 1.
- Sporus** (d. 69). A favourite eunuch catamite of NERO and (briefly) OTHO. *PIR*² S 805; *BNP* Sporus 2.
- C. Stertinius Xenophon** The influential personal physician of CLAUDIUS. *PIR*² S 913; *BNP* Stertinius 4.
- Sura** L. Licinius Sura (c. 56–c. 108). *Cos. I suff.* c. 93, II *ord.* 102, III *ord.* 107. A close friend of the emperor TRAJAN. *PIR*² L 253; *BNP* Licinius II 25.
- Thrasyllus** (d. 36). Astrologer. Reportedly influential at the court of TIBERIUS. *PIR*² T 190; *BNP* Thrasyllus 2.

Tigellinus

Ofonius Tigellinus. Influential praetorian prefect of NERO (62–8). *PIR*² O 91; *BNP* Ofonius Tigellinus.

L. Vitellius

L. Vitellius (c. 10 BC–c. AD 51). *Cos. ord.* I 34, II 43, III 47. Father of VITELLIUS. Important figure in the courts of CALIGULA and CLAUDIUS. *PIR*² V 741; *BNP* Vitellius II 3.

Major Authors and Literary Works Translated in this Volume

- Arrian** L. Flavius Arrianus (b. 85–90, d. 160). *Cos. suff.* 129 or 130 and a friend of HADRIAN. Originally from Nicomedia (Bithynia; modern İzmit, Turkey), Arrian studied under the philosopher Epictetus, whose thought he has preserved (in Greek) in his *Discourses of Epictetus* and the *Encheiridion*. Also an author of works on a variety of other topics, including biography and history, many of which survive. *PIR*² F 219; *BNP* Arrianus 2.
- Aulus Gellius** A. Gellius (b. 125–8). A miscellanist who lived in Rome and in c. 180 published his *Attic Nights*. The work collects assorted information on topics including grammar, literature, law, history, and philosophy, and quotes many passages from now-lost works. *PIR*² G 124; *BNP* Gellius 6.
- Aurelius Victor** Sex. Aurelius Victor (b. c. 320), from Africa. Governor of Pannonia Secunda (361) and urban prefect (c. 389). He published his series of short imperial biographies, *On the Caesars*, in c. 361. His sources included a lost series of mid-fourth-century imperial biographies, called the *Kaisergeschichte* by modern scholars. *PLRE* 1.960; *BNP* Victor 7.
- Cassius Dio** L. Cl. (?) Cassius Dio Cocceianus (?) (c. 164–after 229), from Nicaea (Bithynia; modern İzmit, Turkey). *Cos. I suff. c.* 204, *cos. II ord.* 229; enjoyed a distinguished senatorial career. Wrote the *Roman History* (in Greek), which records events from the foundation of the city to AD 229 in annalistic form. Of the original 80 books, Bks. 46–60 are extant; for the rest we rely on later epitomes and excerpts, especially those of Xiphilinus for the later books. *PIR*² C 492; *BNP* Cassius III 1.

- Cicero** M. Tullius Cicero (106–43 BC), from Arpinum (Italy). *Cos. ord.* 63 BC, and an important late Republican statesman. Very many of his letters and works on rhetoric and philosophy (including *On Laws* and *On Duties*) survive, as do numerous written versions of his speeches. *RE* 29; *BNP* Cicero.
- Fronto**
Historia Augusta See above, xxiii.
A collection of biographies of the emperors (and usurpers) from HADRIAN to CARINUS and NUMERIANUS. The collection presents as the work of six authors in the era from DIOCLETIAN to CONSTANTINE I, but was likely written by a single author c. 400. Reliable sources lie behind parts of some of the biographies, but they contain many inaccuracies and outright fabrications.
- Josephus** Flavius Iosephus (37/8–100), from Jerusalem (Judaea). Initially a general on the Judaeian side in the war of 66–72/3 against Rome, he was captured but spared, and moved to Rome in 71. His extensive surviving works (all in Greek) include his autobiographical *Life*, and the *Jewish Antiquities*, which covers Jewish history from Creation to AD 66. *PIR*² F 293; *BNP* Iosephus 4.
- Juvenal** D. Iunius Iuvenalis (b. c. 67), probably from Aquinum (modern Aquino). Little is known about his biography; he wrote in the early second century. Sixteen of his *Satires* survive, attacking the corruption and hypocrisy of contemporary society. *PIR*² I 765; *BNP* Iuvenalis, D. Iunius.
- Lactantius** L. Caelius Firmianus Lactantius (c. 250–325), from Africa. A teacher of rhetoric at Nicomedia (Bithynia, modern İzmit, Turkey), where he converted to Christianity. Eventually he became tutor to the emperor CONSTANTINE'S son, Crispus (c. 317). His surviving works include *On the Deaths of the Persecutors*, which takes as its theme God's vengeance on persecutors of Christians – and in the process preserves significant historical information about the poorly documented Tetrarchic period. *PLRE* 1.338; *BNP* Lactantius 1.

- Latin Panegyrics** *XII Panegyrici Latini*. A collection of orations given before emperors, consisting of Pliny's *Panegyric* for TRAJAN (AD 100), and then eleven orations delivered to emperors in Gaul from 289 to 389. Some of the orators are identified by name, others are not.
- Marcus Aurelius** M. Aurelius Antoninus (121–80), Rome. Emperor 161–80. His *Meditations*, which are a collection of his philosophical reflections (in Greek), contain some hints of his thoughts on the court and the imperial family. *PIR*² A 697; *BNP* Marcus II 2.
- Martial** M. Valerius Martialis (b. 38–41, d. 101–4), from Bilbilis (Hispania Tarraconensis, near modern Calatayud, Spain). He had relationships of literary patronage with DOMITIAN and various members of his court. Many of his epigrams survive, often giving witty insights into contemporary society and (sometimes) the court. *PIR*² V 123; *BNP* Martialis 1.
- Ovid** P. Ovidius Naso (43 BC–AD 17), from Sulmo (modern Sulmona). Held some minor judicial offices at Rome, but mostly devoted himself to poetry, leaving behind a large corpus of work, much of it extant. Exiled in AD 8 by AUGUSTUS to Tomi (modern Constanța, Romania), where he continued to write works, including the *Tristia* and *Letters from Pontus*. *PIR*² O 180; *BNP* Ovidius Naso, Publius.
- Philo** Philo of Alexandria/Philo Iudaeus (c. 15 BC–c. AD 50). Member of a distinguished Jewish family in Alexandria (Egypt). Led an embassy of Alexandrian Jews to CALIGULA in AD 39. An extensive corpus of his works (all in Greek) survives; there are philosophical, exegetic, and historical/apologetic works, including the *Embassy to Gaius*. *PIR*² P 370; *BNP* Philo I 12.
- Philostratus** L. Flavius Philostratus (b. c. 170), from Athens. Moved in court circles under SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS, having close contact with Julia Domna.

- His surviving works (all in Greek) include the biography-cum-historical novel *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana* (published after 217), and the *Lives of the Sophists* (completed c. 242). *PIR*² F 332; *BNP* Philostratus 5.
- Pliny the Elder** C. Plinius Secundus (23/4–79), from Comum (modern Como), uncle of Pliny the Younger. An *amicus* of VESPASIAN and TITUS, he had a distinguished equestrian career, ending as the commander of the fleet at Misenum (modern Miseno). A prolific author in several genres, his encyclopaedic *Natural History* has survived. *PIR*² P 493; *BNP* Plinius 1.
- Pliny the Younger** See above, xxvi.
- Seneca the Younger** See above, xxvi.
- Statius** P. Papinius Statius (b. c. 40–50, d. c. 96), from Naples. A professional poet, his surviving works include epics on mythological themes (the *Thebaid* and the unfinished *Achilleid*), and the thirty-two shorter *Silvae*, which touch on aspects of society under DOMITIAN, including the court. *PIR*² P 104; *BNP* Plinius 2.
- Strabo** Strabo of Amaseia (c. 64 BC–c. AD 24), from Amaseia, Pontus (modern Amasya, Turkey). Lived in both Rome and Alexandria. Historical and geographical writer (in Greek); only his *Geography* has survived. *PIR*² S 922; *BNP* Strabo 1.
- Suetonius** C. Suetonius Tranquillus (b. c. 70). Had a distinguished equestrian career, culminating in tenure of the post of *ab epistulis* under HADRIAN. A prolific writer of antiquarian and biographical works. His *Lives* of Julius Caesar and the emperors from AUGUSTUS to DOMITIAN survive, as do some of his *Lives* of prominent grammarians and literary figures. *PIR*² S 959; *BNP* Suetonius 2.
- Tacitus** P.(?) Cornelius Tacitus (c. 55–c. 120). *Cos. suff.* 97, he had a distinguished senatorial career. Author of works on history, biography, ethnography, and rhetoric. His *Annals*, some parts of which are lost,

covered Roman history from AD 14 to 68; his *Histories* covered the period 69 to 96, but only the parts dealing with 69 to mid-70 survive. *PIR*² C 1467; *BNP* Tacitus 1.

Valerius Maximus

Author of a book of *Memorable Deeds and Sayings*, written c. AD 27–31, which collected historical examples (*exempla*). Apparently a close associate of Sex. Pompeius (*cos.* 14; *PIR*² P 584). *PIR*² V 127; *BNP* Valerius III 5.

Glossary

<i>ab admissione</i>	The head of the department (<i>ratio</i>) of admissions in the imperial household, which controlled access to the emperor.
<i>ab epistulis</i>	An imperial secretary whose responsibilities related to the drafting of the emperor's letters. At various times there was both an <i>ab epistulis Latinis</i> (for letters in Latin) and an <i>ab epistulis Graecis</i> (for letters in Greek).
<i>a cubiculo</i>	The emperor's chief bedroom attendant, whose constant access to the emperor often made him influential. Typically an imperial freedman.
<i>adoratio</i>	An act of obeisance performed before a god or ruler. In the Roman court of the Tetrarchic period and later, it involved lowering oneself before the emperor and kissing his purple robe.
<i>adventus</i>	The emperor's ceremonial entry into a city.
<i>a libellis</i>	An imperial secretary whose responsibilities related to the drafting of the emperor's responses to petitions.
<i>a rationibus</i>	An imperial secretary who oversaw the imperial financial administration.
<i>amicus,</i> <i>amicitia</i>	'Friend, friendship'. Used of genuine friends of the emperor, but also (in certain contexts) in relation to men of high rank with whom the emperor was interacting.
<i>atrium</i>	A large, open space near the entrance in an elite Roman house. Typically used as the setting for the morning <i>salutatio</i> ritual, amongst other functions. See 2.3, fig. 2.2.1 , Room B.
<i>auctoritas</i>	'Authority' that did not necessarily rest on a formal position or office.
<i>aula</i>	Latin loan word from the Greek <i>aulē</i> , which originally meant 'courtyard'. <i>Aula</i> came to refer to a palace, but also to the circle of people around a monarch – the court.

<i>civilis</i>	The ideal emperor (in the eyes of the aristocracy), who behaved with <i>civilitas</i> .
<i>princeps</i>	
<i>civilitas</i>	The unassuming behaviour expected of an ordinary citizen, when interacting with other citizens. Emperors in the Principate who showed such behaviour are much praised in the sources.
<i>cliens</i>	‘Client’. The subordinate party in a relationship of patronage.
<i>comitatus</i>	Originally the group of people who travelled with the emperor. In the third century, it came to refer to the court in general, even when stationary.
<i>comites</i>	The members of the emperor’s <i>comitatus</i> . Singular: <i>comes</i> .
<i>consilium</i>	A council that gave advice to the emperor.
<i>consistorium</i>	The late-antique descendant of the <i>consilium</i> . Its membership and proceedings were more formalized than those of its predecessor.
<i>consul</i>	(<i>Cos. ord.</i>) One of the two consuls who took office at the start of a year. The consul had been the highest regular magistrate under the Republic. Under the Principate, the consulship entailed much less real power, but was still a very important honour in the career of a senator.
<i>ordinarius</i>	
<i>consul</i>	(<i>Cos. suff.</i>) A consul appointed to come into office later in a year, after one or both of the <i>consules ordinarii</i> had stepped down. A suffect consulship was a lesser honour than an ordinary consulship, but still very prestigious.
<i>suffectus</i>	
<i>convivium</i>	A banquet.
<i>corona civica</i>	A crown of oak leaves, traditionally awarded for saving the life of a citizen in battle.
<i>cubicularius</i>	A bedroom attendant in an elite house or the imperial court.
<i>damnatio</i>	‘Condemnation of memory’. A modern coinage referring to the process of damning the memory of prominent individuals who had fallen from grace, which could include the destruction of their images and removal of their names from inscriptions and coins.
<i>memoriae</i>	
<i>domus</i>	Can refer to the house as a building, and also to a person’s ‘house’ in the sense of their relatives, slaves, and freedmen and -women.

<i>equites</i>	Members of the equestrian order, the stratum of society below senators. They were not necessarily as wealthy as senators and did not sit in the Senate, but were eligible for important administrative and military posts.
<i>familia</i>	‘Family’. A flexible word that could cover a group of relatives related by blood and (occasionally) marriage, as well the slaves of a particular household, or the slaves, freedmen, and freedwomen of a single owner in a particular place.
<i>fiscus</i>	Originally the private funds and property of the emperor, the <i>fiscus</i> came to operate as a central imperial treasury. Its relationship to the <i>aerarium</i> , the treasury that had existed since the Republic, is unclear and much debated.
<i>fratres arvales</i>	‘The Arval Brethren’. A college of twelve priests mainly concerned with worshipping the Dea Dia. The college included the emperor, men of the imperial family, and other courtiers.
<i>gens</i>	An extended kinship group or clan.
<i>grammaticus</i>	A teacher of literature and philology.
<i>imperator</i>	A title originally given to a successful general by his soldiers. Under the Principate, it came to be a title used by emperors. The earlier custom also continued, since emperors were saluted as <i>imperatores</i> after victories.
<i>imperium</i>	The legal power to give orders and be obeyed inherent in the positions of some magistrates, of provincial governors, or of emperors.
<i>lares</i>	The gods deemed important to the household and worshipped in a household shrine (the <i>lararium</i>).
<i>nomenclator</i>	A freedman or slave tasked with reminding a householder or emperor of the names of people, for instance at the <i>salutatio</i> .
<i>ornamenta triumphalia</i>	Insignia awarded to successful generals, who could no longer celebrate a triumphal procession in the Principate unless they were members of the emperor’s family.
<i>otium</i>	‘Active leisure’. In Roman elite culture, this entailed withdrawal from daily business (<i>negotium</i>) to engage in contemplation, philosophical discussion, writing, and the enjoyment of nature.
<i>paedagogiani</i>	Servile ‘page boys’ who worked as domestic servants in the imperial house.

<i>paedagogium</i>	An establishment for training <i>paedagogiani</i> .
<i>palatium</i>	Originally referred to the Palatine Hill in Rome. In time, the word came to refer to the imperial palace complex on the hill, and also the court within it.
<i>paterfamilias</i>	The head of a family, who had certain legal powers over those under his control.
<i>pater patriae</i>	‘Father of the Fatherland’. An honorific title given to emperors.
<i>philos</i>	(Greek) ‘Friend’. Plural: <i>philoī</i> .
<i>pontifices</i>	A college of priests at Rome. The emperor typically held the position of chief pontiff (<i>pontifex maximus</i>).
<i>princeps</i>	‘The first man’. Under the Principate, it came to be used to describe the emperor.
<i>proskynēsis</i>	(Greek) An act of obeisance to a god or a ruler.
<i>pulvinar</i>	The imperial box reserved for the emperor and members of his court in the Circus Maximus.
<i>recusatio</i>	The semi-ritualized refusal of a position or honour. In the case of writers, <i>recusatio</i> involved refusing a request from a prominent person (such as the emperor) to write a work.
<i>res publica</i>	The body politic or state. It can refer to the ‘Republic’ that existed before the Principate, but not necessarily.
<i>salutatio</i>	The morning greeting ritual. At the house of a Roman aristocrat, clients would greet their patron. At the emperor’s court morning greeters (<i>salutatores</i>) would include senators and high-ranking equestrians.
<i>tab(u)linum</i>	A room in a Roman elite house between the <i>atrium</i> and the peristyle courtyard behind it. See 2.3, fig. 2.2.1, Room D.
<i>toga virilis</i>	‘The toga of manhood’, the assumption of which marked a boy’s transition to manhood.
<i>triclinium</i>	A dining room.
<i>Vestal Virgins</i>	<i>Sacerdotes vestales</i> . Priesthood of six (usually aristocratic) women, expected to remain chaste during their thirty years of service. Devoted to the goddess Vesta, their duties included tending the goddess’ sacred fire.