© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

CONTENTS

Foreword ix
Abbreviations xiii

PART I. REPRESENTATION AND SELF-FASHIONING 1

1 Tiberius the Wise 3
2 Tiberius and the Heavenly Twins 21
3 The Odyssey of Tiberius Caesar 47
4 The Death of the Phoenix 74

PART II. SEX AND THE SOURCES 99

5 Sex on Capri 101
6 Mallonia 114

PART III. IN THE EMPEROR'S ORBIT 121

7 Asellius Sabinus: Culture, Wit, and Power in the Golden Age of Gastronomy 123
8 Marcus Apicius: A Sense of Place 150
9 Seianus Augustus 176

Notes 197
Bibliography 241
Index 255

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

1

Tiberius the Wise

THE PARANOIA AND the cruelty of the aged tyrant in his island fortress are stunningly captured in the horrific tale of the fisherman:

> A few days after Tiberius reached Capri, a fisherman found him alone and surprised him with the gift of a large mullet. He was terrified because the man had crept up to him through the rough on the inaccessible back side of the island, and so he ordered the fish scrubbed over his face. When the fisherman was congratulating himself during his punishment because he had not offered the emperor the particularly large crab that he had caught, Tiberius ordered his face lacerated by the crab as well.[1]

Tiberius the Monster. But what kind of monster?

A century later, the emperor Hadrian ("His bones be ground to dust!") was on his way to Tiberias in Judaea when he passed an old man planting fig-tree shoots. He mocked him for thus investing in the future, especially when he learned that he was one hundred years old. The man calmly replied that if he was worthy, he would eat the figs; if not, he was working for his children as his ancestors had worked for him. Hadrian told him to let him know if he did eat the figs. In due course the trees produced and the old man set off with a basket of figs to see "the king." Hadrian ordered that he be seated on a chair of gold and that his basket be emptied and filled with denarii, saying to detractors: "His Creator honors him, and shall I not honor him too?" When she heard this, the wife of the old man's neighbor ("a woman of low character") prodded her husband into going with another sack of figs to the palace, in hopes of likewise exchanging them for denarii. But the king ordered this man to stand before the palace gate, where everyone coming in or out was to pelt his face with a fig. When he reproached his wife later that evening, she replied, "Go and tell your mother the gladsome tidings that they were figs and not citrons, or that they were ripe and not hard!"[2]

Some 1,200 years later and much further east, an even more frightening conqueror, Timur (Tamerlane), was preparing to attack the city where dwelt

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

the holy fool, Khoja Nasr-ed-Din Efendi. The Khoja offered himself as ambassador to the emperor and asked his wife which would be the better present to take, figs or quinces. Quinces, she assured him, but, ever dubious of a woman's advice, he filled a basket with figs and hurried off to Timur. Timur had him brought in and ordered his servants to throw the figs at his bald head—and as each one struck him the Khoja called out, "Praised be Allah!" When the emperor asked why, he replied, "I thank Allah that I followed not my wife's advice; for had I, as she counseled me, brought quinces instead of figs, my head must have been broken."[3]

About a hundred years earlier, the tale was told in Italy of a vassal who had brought his lord a basket of figs, knowing that he was fond of them, but unaware that figs were plentiful after a large harvest. Insulted, the lord had his servants strip the man and bind him and throw the figs one after another into his face. When one almost hit him in the eye, he cried out, "May the Lord be praised!" When the signore inquired why, he replied, "Sire, because I had been encouraged to pick peaches instead, and if I had picked them I would be blind by now." Laughing, his lord had him untied and dressed, and rewarded him for the novelty of what he had said.[4]

The tale passed into proverb. The people of Poggibonsi paid an annual tribute of peaches to the court of Tuscany, to be enjoyed by the ladies-in-waiting and the pages. One year, peaches being scarce and expensive, they sent some juicy figs instead. Outraged, the pages dumped the pulpy figs over the ambassadors from Poggibonsi, who recalled, as they ran away, that peaches would have had pits in them, and they cried out, "Luckily they weren't peaches!"[5]

In brief, the story of the fisherman is a dark variant of the comic motif, number J2563, in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index of Folk Literature* (*MI*), "Thank God they weren't peaches!" Even better, it is a variant not merely of a motif but of a whole tale, number 1689 in Aarne-Thompson-Uther's *The Types of International Folktales* (*ATU*), "Thank God They Weren't Peaches":

> A poor man (fool) plans to bring peaches (beets) to the king (another high-placed person) as a present. His wife persuades him to bring figs (plums, onions) instead. (Because they are not ripe,) the king throws them at the man's head. He is glad (thanks God) that they were not peaches.[6]

ATU lists variants reported in some twenty-two countries, regions, and cultures, spread from Southern and Southeastern Europe through the Near and Middle East, with outliers in North and South America.[7] Obviously details vary considerably, misogynism seems to intrude, and the story may intertwine with others;[8] but the soft fig is ubiquitous and the essential elements are the same: a powerless man presents a powerful one with an edible gift; the powerful man takes offense and punishes the head of the offender

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

with the food itself; whereupon the unfortunate victim unexpectedly gives thanks that the present was not a similar but harder, more damaging edible that he had almost given in its stead. All of which must cast real doubt on the story of Tiberius and the fisherman: it looks as if a hostile source has reached not into history to blacken the princeps, but into folklore. Tiberius the Monster might be a fantasy.[9]

The lens of folklore, if we choose to use it, offers a rather different view of his career. First, some examples wherein his alleged adventures can be seen in a different context:

When the young Tiberius was a student on the island of Rhodes, according to Plutarch's lost biography, a donkey gave off large sparks while it was being groomed, thus predicting his future rule.[10] *MI* H171, "Animal (object) indicates election of ruler"; particularly, *MI* H171.3, "Horse indicates election of emperor."

After his accession, "when a funeral was passing by and a jester called aloud to the corpse to let Augustus know that the legacies which he had left to the people were not yet being paid, Tiberius had the man hauled before him, ordered that he be given his due and put to death, and bade him go tell the truth to his father" (Suet. 57.2; cf. Dio 57.14.1, dating the incident to the year 15). A classical scholar rightly drew attention to the similarity between this most unlikely tale and the scene in Book 2 of the Aeneid, where Priam bitterly reproaches the cruel Pyrrhus as no true son of Achilles—Pyrrhus bids Priam go as a messenger to the dead, to tell Achilles of his degenerate son, and kills him.[11] In fact, both are unheroic versions of *MI* H1252.4, "King sends hero to otherworld to carry message to king's dead father."

Likewise, early in the reign, a slave named Clemens masqueraded as his recently dead master, Agrippa Postumus, the last grandson of Augustus, and stirred up trouble in Italy. Tiberius had him captured by a trick and brought to the Palatine. After torturing him, the princeps asked how he had become Agrippa. Clemens is said to have replied, "The (same) way in which you became Caesar." Tiberius had him executed and the body disposed of (Tac. 2.39–40, cf. Dio 57.16.3–4: all of this supposedly in private). Centuries earlier, when Alexander the Great had asked a prisoner, "Why are you a pirate on the sea?," the man replied, "Why are you a pirate for the whole world?" And, two hundred years after Tiberius, the praetorian prefect Papinian asked the notorious brigand Bulla Felix, "Why did you take to robbing?," only to receive the by-now inevitable, provocative reply, "Why are *you* prefect?"[12] All three anecdotes are versions of *MI* U11.2, "He who steals much called king; he who steals little called thief." In each of the three examples here, the notably awkward question is predicated on the answer. In the Tiberian anecdote, we can see how the interchange was grafted onto the supposed interrogation.

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

Another tale concerns the inventor of unbreakable glass, which appears in various versions. Petronius has him bring it to "Caesar," drop it on purpose, and hammer out the resulting dent. He thinks his fortune is made, but Caesar, after carefully inquiring whether anyone else knows the secret, has the man executed for, if word got out, gold would be worthless. The Elder Pliny was skeptical. "They say" that a method for making glass flexible was invented *Tiberio principe*. Without actually implicating the princeps, he reports that the artisan's workshop was destroyed so as not to devalue copper, silver, and gold, "but the story has for long been more repeated than certain." Much later, Cassius Dio (via Zonaras) relates a quite different version under the year 23. An architect devised a brilliant method for shoring up a large portico that had begun to lean (details are given): his name is unknown because the jealous Tiberius would not let it be entered in the records. The resentful princeps simultaneously rewarded the man and exiled him. The inventor later approached him to beg pardon, purposely dropping a glass cup and miraculously restoring it—for which the princeps had him executed.[13] The tale has been garbled in Dio's transmission, and has surely been influenced by Hadrian's supposedly lethal jealousy of the architect Apollodorus, to weave together two separate stories. It does not appear in *MI* or *ATU* but has been identified as the earliest example of a new motif, "The Impossible Product."[14]

When Tiberius withdrew at the height of power into self-imposed retirement on Rhodes and later on Capri, he allegedly did so in time-honored fashion. Tacitus tells us of Lucilius Longus, "a sharer in all his sadnesses and delights and from among the senators the only companion in his Rhodian withdrawal" (4.15.1), and of the single senator, Cocceius Nerva, learned in the law, and the single knight, Curtius Atticus, who accompanied him to Capri (4.58.1). In fact, however few may have joined him on the initial journeys, he certainly dwelt on those islands surrounded by a large retinue and with many friends and relatives, including senators and equestrians, among his long-term guests.[15] The misleading impression of the single faithful companion following his king into exile reflects not reality but romance, as with *MI* J1634, "To follow the king." Not surprisingly, after naming Nerva and Atticus, Tacitus adds that the rest of his company on Capri "were endowed in liberal studies, mostly Greeks, in whose conversations he might find alleviation": *MI* J146.1, "King prefers educated men as company."

During his final illness, Tiberius suspected that Macro, his praetorian prefect, was currying favor with his likely successor, Gaius Caligula. According to Dio, he commented to Macro, "You do well, indeed, to abandon the setting and hasten to the rising sun." A century and a half later, likewise near death, when a tribune asked him for the watchword, Marcus Aurelius replied to him, "Go to the rising sun, I am already setting." And long before, when the elderly Sulla had opposed the granting of a triumph to the young Pompey, who was

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

not even a senator at the time, Pompey observed to him that more people worship the rising than the setting sun.[16] Although the motif is not to be found in *MI*, the setting and the rising suns offer a natural metaphor for the passing of power from the old ruler to his young successor, with the focus in all three examples here on the actions and attitudes of their servants and subjects.

And, to return to the fisherman and Tiberius' love of high places, there is the marvelous story of the astrologer and Platonic philosopher Thrasyllus. Our three sources give confusing accounts. According to Tacitus, Tiberius—as he became adept in the art of astrology on Rhodes—would have its practitioners brought to him in his house high on the cliffs, to consult about the future. If he suspected any fraud, he would have a strong freedman throw the offender into the sea on their return journey. Thrasyllus was thus brought to him over the rocks and Tiberius, impressed with the astrologer's knowledge of his future greatness, asked him if he could comment on his own situation. After some calculation, Thrasyllus fell into a panic and cried out that an uncertain and almost final crisis was upon him. Whereupon the princeps embraced him, congratulated him on his knowledge, assured him of his safety, and took him among his most intimate friends.

So Tacitus. Suetonius tells a very different story, placing it just before Tiberius' return from his Rhodian exile. Among different omens of his good fortune, Thrasyllus, one of his learned friends, predicted that the ship coming into view was bringing good news. This at the moment that Tiberius had decided to throw him into the sea, because his prophecies were false and he knew too many secrets. And Dio, in his turn, had both tales. Once in Rhodes, Tiberius was about to push Thrasyllus off the walls, because he was the only one who knew all his thoughts, when he noticed and commented on the astrologer's depressed demeanor, and Thrasyllus replied that he felt some danger loomed over him, whereupon Tiberius valued him even more and spared him. Then, apparently separately, Dio related the story of the ship.[17]

There are significant differences among the three versions, but the bones of the story are clear: in a high place, a seer foresees his own imminent danger at the hands of his master, who spares him at the last moment, impressed by his skill. Although it may not appear so at first glance, this is closely related to *MI* J2133.8, "Stargazer falls into well," and *ATU* 1871A, "Star Gazer Falls into Well," and hence is folkloric:

> A philosopher (Thales) always looks up in order to observe the stars. He falls into a well. An old woman asks him why he wants to learn about the stars, when he cannot even walk on earth without stumbling.[18]

The missing link here, as A. H. Krappe saw, is the death of Nectanebus in the *Alexander Romance* (1.14). Nectanebus—magician, astrologer, trickster, and former king of Egypt—was, of course, the real father of Alexander the

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

Great, unbeknownst to Alexander and his putative father Philip. When the young man asked him about the stars, Nectanebus took him to an out of the way place in the country and showed him the night sky. Alexander led him to a pit and let him fall into it, and when the grievously injured astrologer asked why, Alexander replied: because his teacher concerned himself with the heavens but knew nothing of what happened on earth. Nectanebus exclaimed that no man could avoid his fate: his art had told him that he would be slain by his son, and he explained to the amazed Alexander the complicated tale of how this had come to pass. Grieving, Alexander carried the body back to his mother, and together they raised a great tomb for him. In short, the Nectanebus tale combines the story of the comical Thales, the philosopher so intent on the stars that he falls into a ditch, a wise man unable to see his own fate, and the story of the murderous prince who throws down the astrologer, or means to throw him down, from a height—a wise man who can do nothing to alter his fate, whether he perceives the danger or not.[19] The common elements are the seer who cannot see or cannot avoid his fate, and the danger from falling down while looking up at the stars—which leads us back to Thrasyllus.

Two consistent elements in the stories thus far catch one's attention. First, some of the bad ones, while casting Tiberius in a harsh light, are not intrinsically, or at least in other variants, negative. Where Tiberius is cruel and suspicious, Hadrian recognizes his error and rewards the old man, or the lord laughs and rewards his vassal—and in general, pelting with squashy figs is intended to be comical and humiliating, not lethal. Where Tiberius is merely jealous of the craftsman he executes, the prudent "Caesar" acts in statesman-like manner to save the economy of his empire from collapse. And while Tiberius at first doubts the prophecies of Thrasyllus and fears his knowledge, he comes to recognize his abilities. Indeed, the story of the paranoid princeps has a happy ending: on an objective reading, it would have been dangerous for a wise monarch to let a real seer live, and it is a tribute to his learning and perspicacity that the princeps who preferred to converse with other men of learning saw through charlatans and recognized the genuine article. It is well enough established that one at least of our lost sources, behind Tacitus, Suetonius, and Dio, was violently hostile to Tiberius: we might suspect that the dark cast of stories, which are in other contexts more positive or at least neutral, can be attributed to someone who did not like the princeps, and in some cases they have obviously been tacked on to Tiberian anecdotes.

Second, these tales are all concerned with power, its use, and its abuse: the lord's overhasty reaction to the underling's gift; the omen of future rule; the similarity between rule and banditry; the role of the companions of the king in exile and in daily conversation; above all, the removal of danger through summary violence (the public critic, the pretender to the throne, the

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

thoughtless craftsman, the wise man who knows too many secrets); and the passing of the torch to a successor. Tales of power gravitate naturally to a princeps: the cumulative effect of these monarchical stereotypes must be to cast doubt on the historical truth of any single item.

Three extraordinary stories should be added to this account, anecdotes told of Tiberius Caesar that raise him far above any stereotype. Each one is marvelous; taken together, they make him a figure unique in ancient folklore. *Assem para et accipe auream fabulam, fabulas immo*, as the storyteller says: give me a penny and you will hear a golden tale, or rather tales.

First, there is the haunting story told by Plutarch, in his essay on the decline of oracles. It was related to him by a historian named Philippus, who had in turn heard it from an eyewitness:

> The father of Aemilianus the orator, to whom some of you have listened, was Epitherses, who lived in our town and was my teacher in grammar. He said that once upon a time in making a voyage to Italy he embarked on a ship carrying freight and many passengers. It was already evening when, near the Echinades Islands, the wind dropped, and the ship drifted near Paxi. Almost everybody was awake, and a good many had not finished their after-dinner wine. Suddenly from the island of Paxi was heard the voice of someone loudly calling Thamus, so that all were amazed. Thamus was an Egyptian pilot, not known by name to even many on board. Twice he was called and made no reply, but the third time he answered; and the caller, raising his voice, said, "When you come opposite Palodes, announce that Great Pan is dead." On hearing this, all, said Epitherses, were astounded, and reasoned among themselves whether it were better to carry out the order or to refuse to meddle and let the matter go. Under the circumstances Thamus made up his mind that if there should be a breeze, he would sail past and keep quiet, but with no wind and a smooth sea about the place he would announce what he had heard. So when he came opposite Palodes, and there was neither wind nor wave, Thamus from the stern, looking toward the land, said the words as he had heard them: "Great Pan is dead." Even before he had finished there was a great cry of lamentation, not of one person, but of many, mingled with exclamations of amazement.

The proximity in time of the death of the god Pan to the death of Jesus excited comment in later antiquity, but its significance here lies in the immediate sequel:

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

> As many persons were on the vessel, the story was soon spread abroad in Rome, and Thamus was sent for by Tiberius Caesar. Tiberius became so convinced of the truth of the story that he caused an enquiry and investigation to be made about Pan; and the scholars [*philologoi*], who were numerous at his court, conjectured that he was the son born of Hermes and Penelope.[20]

Plutarch reports the story with a wealth of circumstantial detail and on the basis of irrefutable eyewitness evidence: a character in one of his dialogues reports having heard it from a man who happened to be sailing with Thamus. Nevertheless, the uncanny tale of the wanderer who is ordered by a (supernatural) voice to announce that a superhuman figure has died, and who is then greeted by loud (supernatural) mourning when he does so, is undeniably folkloric, and often vouched for by what folklorists call a FOAF, the Friend of a Friend. Plutarch's tale, beautifully told, is a version of *MI* F442.1, "Mysterious voice announces death of Pan" (cf. B342, "Cat leaves house when report is made of death of one of his companions"), and indeed one version of a folktale type in itself, *ATU* 113A, "Pan is Dead":

> A man (dwarf) hears a voice (of a cat) that tells him to announce that a third figure (the god Pan, the king of the cats) is dead. The man does not recognize either the voice or the name of the dead person. When he comes home he tells what happened. When the maid (cat) hears this, she says she has to leave (is now king of the cats), goes away, and never comes back.[21]

The arresting aspect of Plutarch's account is not that a folk motif or tale is applied to Tiberius, but rather that it is a tale told to Tiberius. A supernatural mystery is presented to the princeps, who turns to his wise men for a rational explanation. It is a curiously liminal situation, as if a flesh-and-blood American president were one day confronted with strong evidence that a folk belief turned out to be real—the return of Elvis Presley, for instance. Why the tale should attach itself to the passionately intellectual Tiberius is worth considering. For a start, his obsession with mythology was notorious, and marvels were reported to him (as they were to other rulers): an embassy from Olispo recounted that a triton had been seen in a nearby cave and was heard to play on a conch shell; various monsters, *beluae*, and many Nereids turned up on the coast of the Santones; and the enormous tooth, over a foot long, from the skeleton of a giant hero was brought to the princeps for measurement after an earthquake.[22]

Here is the second tale. In his *Jewish Antiquities*, Josephus discussed Tiberius' legendary procrastination in receiving embassies, replacing governors, and

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

conducting trials. When the princeps' friends questioned his slowness, he replied, in the matter of governors, that those who stayed in their provinces for short terms worked hard at extortion from the provincials, but those who remained for a long time grew sated with their profits:

> He told them this fable by way of illustration. Once a man lay wounded, and a swarm of flies hovered about his wounds. A passer-by took pity on his evil plight and, in the belief that he did not raise a hand because he could not, was about to step up and shoo them off. The wounded man, however, begged him to think no more of doing anything about it. At this the man spoke up and asked him why he was not interested in escaping from his wretched condition. "Why," said he, "you would put me in a worse position if you drove them off. For since these flies have already had their fill of blood, they no longer feel such a pressing need to annoy me but are in some measure slack. But if others were to come with a fresh appetite, they would take over my now weakened body and that would be the death of me." He too, he said, for the same reason took the precaution of not dispatching governors continually to the subject-peoples who had been brought to ruin by so many thieves; for the governors would harry them utterly like flies.[23]

The fable told by Tiberius is a classic version of *MI* J215, "Present evil preferred to change for worse," and specifically of J215.1, "Don't drive away the flies." As a tale, it is one of three different forms taken by *ATU* 910L, "Do Not Drive the Insects Away":

> A sick (injured) man covered with sores is bothered by flies. He refuses any help, saying that hungry flies bite twice as hard as full ones.

Another of the three main versions is assigned to Aesop in Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (2.20), and later variants appear across Southern and Central Europe, from Portugal to Bulgaria. But the real Tiberius is not the fictional Aesop. An exhaustive survey of "Fables in Ancient Historiography" produced a striking observation: all known fables related by ancient historians are embedded by them in speeches from a leader to his people or to his friends, usually to dissuade them from a foolish course of action by pointing out the inevitable consequences that only he is wise enough to foresee.[24] The overwhelming majority of these wise leaders are Greeks: Aesopean fables were traditionally the refuge of the downtrodden, often slaves, allowing them to say things they couldn't say openly. But, however such foreigners might act, fables weren't quite the thing for a proud Roman nobleman—the only other secure historical example is a chilling tale attributed to Sulla (App. *BC* 1.101), the blood-drenched dictator of the old Republic, a patrician like Tiberius, who shared

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

several of his cultural interests. Why the princeps Tiberius should relate an Aesopean fable is a question worth considering.

Tiberius the good governor joins Tiberius the curious intellectual as a figure of folkloric interest. A remarkable cluster of popular proverbs about government adheres to him. Soon after taking over sole rule, he told his friends that the empire was a monster, and so beset was he by dangers that he often, we are told, repeated the old maxim that he had a wolf by the ears.[25] (The problem is that you don't know whether to hold on or to let go.) On another famous occasion, when his governors wanted to load the provinces with new taxes, the wise princeps, again the people's champion, famously wrote back to them, in the words of another beloved proverb, that it was the job of a good shepherd to shear his flock, not skin it.[26] As chance would have it, the imperial shepherd had learned about the rapacity of lupine governors from an astute barbarian who had surrendered to him some years before. He asked why the man's newly conquered people had rebelled and fought against the Romans for so long, and the barbarian replied, recalling yet another old proverb, "You Romans are to blame for this; for you send as guardians of your flocks, not dogs or shepherds, but wolves."[27] Sometimes people criticized his actions, not realizing that they were for the common good. To these he replied mildly with another proverb, taken from the most famous half-line in Latin popular drama, *oderint dum metuant*, "Let them hate me so long as they fear me." The melodramatic words of a stage tyrant he cleverly molded into a virtuous new form: *oderint dum probent*, something like: "Let them hate me so long as they approve of my deeds."[28]

This is the third golden tale:

> Once Tiberius Caesar on his way to Naples had reached his country seat at Misenum, which, built on the summit of a mountain by the hand of Lucullus, commands a view of the Sicilian sea in front and the Tuscan sea behind. Here one of the high-girt flunkeys, whose shirt of Egyptian linen was drawn smoothly down from his shoulders and embellished with hanging fringes, began, while his master was strolling through the cheerful shrubbery, to sprinkle the scorching earth with a wooden watering-pot, making a display of his function as an attendant upon the emperor; but he was laughed at. Thereafter, by detours well known to himself, he runs ahead into another promenade and proceeds to lay the dust there. Caesar recognizes the fellow and realizes what he is after. "Hey, you!," says the master. Whereupon the fellow, as you might know, bounces up to him, propelled by the thrill of a

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

sure reward. Then in jesting mood his mighty majesty, the *princeps*, thus spoke: "You haven't done much, and your efforts are labour lost; manumission with me stands at a much higher price."[29]

So Phaedrus in the fifth fable of his second book, with a promythium more pointed than usual: this is a "true story," *vera fabella*, intended to correct the behavior of the flocks of busybodies, *ardaliones*, at Rome. But *vera fabella* is ambiguous: it is also a "true fable," that is, "truly a fable," and it is also *MI* J554, "Intemperance in service." But the point here is that Tiberius is for the third time to be discovered in a highly unusual, if not quite unique, situation: not just that a folkloric theme is applied to him and presented as if it were history, but that soon after his death he has passed over into folklore and become explicitly the subject of a fable, an honor accorded to very few historical figures.[30]

Common to these three extraordinary tales is the striking quality of liminality noticed in the first: in each, Tiberius Caesar is poised between the world of popular belief and the world of historical action, investigating the death of a minor deity, explaining his policy by means of a proverbial fable, rebuking an obnoxious servant within a fable. What binds them together is the supreme virtue of wisdom, or at least shrewdness, and it is not just wisdom in daily life, but precisely that statesmanlike wisdom in the public service that we have already seen in the tale of unbreakable glass and, perhaps, the testing of Thrasyllus: Caesar consults with his wise men to reassure the people on a matter of religion, he explains to his less perceptive friends why he acts in the public interest by prolonging governors, he curbs the antics of a servant in the imperial household. Tiberius the tyrant is a familiar figure from the histories of the period—we are told that when news of his death reached Rome, some ran around crying out, "Tiberius to the Tiber"—but we can now see that the "people" may have enjoyed another quite different image as well: an image of Tiberius the wise king.

There is a Bad Tiberius and a Good Tiberius. Tiberius the Monster is all too familiar. Notorious for the cruel persecution and the murders of his nearest kin; notorious for lethal assaults on the aristocracy through the revival of the treason law and the machinations of Sejanus, the all-powerful prefect of his praetorian guard; notorious for the bloodbath after the fall of Sejanus in 31 CE: he was perhaps most infamous for his escape from Rome during the last eleven years of his life, to his massive cliff-top palace on the island of Capri, the so-called Villa of Ino[31] with its sheer drop of one thousand feet to the sea, there to live out his old age in a wild fantasy of scholarship, sadism, and sex. Tiberius

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

is not an attractive figure. This is thanks above all to the attacks of the three Furies of early imperial historiography: Tacitus, Suetonius, and Cassius Dio. In their indelible portrait of the second princeps, he will forever be for us the old monster who hounds to death family, friends, and enemies alike: cold, proud, bitter, gloomy, secretive, duplicitous, savage, depraved.

And yet no modern historian would accept this picture. At a glance, we can see that Suetonius is at his worst in his biography of Tiberius, constantly contradicting himself and repeatedly misunderstanding his sources, whether intentionally or inadvertently; while Tacitus is at his most ambivalent, portraying a man at once noble and vicious, simple and devious. The crucial question is: what were the sources on which Tacitus, Suetonius, and Dio depend? There is staggeringly little evidence, and the nature of these lost sources has been hotly debated, with no conclusion in sight. This is not the place to go into the matter, so let me state a central hypothesis here, leaving discussion for elsewhere. As Eduard Schwartz saw over a century ago, chief among the now lost writers was "an unknown annalist of great talent, probably writing soon after Tiberius' death."[32] This man was extremely well informed about the principate of Tiberius, which he obviously experienced firsthand. I believe that he knew Tiberius well and disliked him intensely.

More specifically, he was intimately familiar with Tiberius' complex character and with his tastes in literature, mythology, and popular culture—in fact, he was rather like Tiberius—and he was able brilliantly to distort and even to fabricate evidence to paint the portrait of a monstrous human being.[33]

As a popular modern biographer of the second princeps asserted long ago, vividly but not inaccurately:

> he has always been, and he remains, the greatest psychological problem in history. He is Hamlet and Lear and Othello rolled into one; and he is more than this. We have a mass of evidence about Tiberius that for nearly nineteen hundred years baffled any attempt to understand him. We can easily construct two men out of the material, both of which are perfectly credible. . . .[34]

This schizophrenia is easily visible in any of our three main sources, and quite understandable. We know that they had access to at least two annalistic histories written within a generation of Tiberius' death, not to mention minor commentaries (including the memoirs of the younger Agrippina, who had good reason to abhor her great-uncle), the *acta senatus* (a major source, as Syme argued, for Tacitus), and even (for Suetonius and Tacitus) the memories of old men. Not all of these were necessarily inimical. But there is also something else, quite different from them. Consider the following three items:

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

First, our surviving sources offer a cluster of standard charges against the second princeps. According to Suetonius' catalog of Tiberian vices, the floodgates of *maiestas* charges were opened by the denunciation of a man (unnamed) for removing the head of Augustus from a statue and substituting another (unidentified): the senate heard the case, witnesses were examined under torture, and the defendant was condemned. Thereafter it became a capital crime to beat a slave or even to change one's clothes (!) near a statue of Augustus, to carry a ring or a coin with his image on it into a latrine or a brothel, or to express an adverse opinion about any word or deed of his—indeed, a man died for having an honor decreed him by his *colonia* on a day honors had been decreed to Augustus. Thus Suetonius, not in control of his absurd material; in fact, according to Tacitus' fuller and much clearer account, the case of the substituted head (Tiberius for Augustus) actually resulted in the *acquittal* of the defendant (Granius Marcellus) on the charge of *maiestas*.[35] The supposed pollution caused by the contact of a ring or coin bearing the *princeps'* image with latrine or brothel finds an echo in what appears to be a fragment of Dio, to the effect that a noble ex-consul lost his life and his fortune for carrying a coin with the princeps' image on it into a latrine. Tiberius the stage tyrant is made to explain, ploddingly, "With my coin in your bosom you turned aside into foul and noisome places and relieved your bowels" (Dio 68 fr. 2). Again, this appears to be free embroidery of the truth. According to Seneca, an informer had observed a senator reaching for a chamber pot at dinner while wearing a ring with the image of Tiberius Caesar. The informer called on their fellow diners to note that it had been brought near to his private parts and was, as it were, already preparing the accusation, when a quick-thinking slave showed that the ring was on his own hand—he had removed it from his drunken master (*Ben.* 3.26.1–2).

So: an atmosphere of paranoia and persecution. No one today would believe the nonsense retailed by Suetonius and Dio (Tacitus corrects the headless statue story, and Seneca makes no claim that his ring anecdote is representative of any law); the legal basis of the charges is nonexistent; and, most importantly, another tale offers a markedly alternate view of one of the allegations. It was said that, in his travels, the sage Apollonius of Tyana once arrived at the city of Aspendus in Pamphylia in the middle of a famine, which had been caused by powerful men hoarding grain for export. The people blamed their magistrate and wanted to burn him alive, but they held back, giving time for Apollonius to arrive and save the situation. The mob had hesitated because the magistrate clung to statues of the emperor, and images of Tiberius were even more feared and inviolable than the great statue of Zeus at Olympia. It was even said, Philostratus continues in his biography of Apollonius, that a man was held guilty of treason simply for striking his own slave when the slave

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

was carrying a silver drachma with the princeps' image on it.[36] That is, a Greek novel of the third century preserves an echo of the same fanciful tales but, as often in the folkloric versions of charges leveled against Tiberius, the view of him is *positive*. As a protector of the persecuted high and low, the godlike *princeps* was unmatched, for not only did his great statues provide sanctuary surer than that of Zeus himself, his smallest image on a coin was not an instrument for oppression but a talisman against it.

Second, there are the stunning judgments of Tiberius offered within ten or fifteen years of his death by a man who had little reason to love him:

> He held sway over land and sea for twenty-three years without allowing any spark of war to smoulder in Greek or barbarian lands, and he gave peace and the blessings of peace to the end of his life with ungrudging bounty of hand and heart. Was he inferior on birth [to Gaius Caligula]? No, he was of the noblest ancestry on both sides. Was he inferior in education? Who among those who reached the height of their powers in his time surpassed him in wisdom or learning? Was he inferior in age? What other king enjoyed a happier old age? Why, even when still young he was called "the elder" because of his diffidence about quick-wittedness.

and

> Tiberius detested childish jokes; he had been inclined to seriousness and austerity since childhood.

and

> Tiberius was a man of profound common-sense and the cleverest of all his contemporaries at knowing a person's secret intentions, and he surpassed them as much in sagacity as in rank.[37]

This admiration comes from Philo of Alexandria, a scholar whose estimate of another man's learning is not to be taken lightly. It has been asserted that Philo writes like this to make the contrast with Caligula, but there was nothing to be gained by it, and he could just as easily have condemned Tiberius for paving the way for his successor. More to the point: how could he possibly have published this sort of panegyric so soon after the death of Tiberius if it were patently absurd?

And third, there is the arresting glimpse of Tiberius in, of all places, the *Apology* of the pugnacious Christian polemicist, Tertullian (5.2):

> It was in the age of Tiberius, then, that the Christian name went out into the world, and he referred to the Senate the news which he had received from Syria Palestine, which had revealed the truth of his [Christ's] divinity;

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

> he did this exercising his prerogative in giving it his endorsement. The Senate had not approved beforehand and rejected it. Caesar held to his opinion and threatened danger to accusers of Christians.

Again, the context is one of piety.

The stories of Philostratus and Tertullian, and the opinions of Philo, join the golden tales passed on by Plutarch, Josephus, and Phaedrus. All six authors record material not found elsewhere, and all but Josephus stand outside the historiographical tradition (Philo and Phaedrus were contemporaries of Tiberius, Josephus and Plutarch born soon after his death). What their vignettes combine to offer us is a consistent sketch of a good monarch, marked by his now familiar twin virtues, wisdom and piety. Along with his learning, Philo praises his wisdom, his commonsense and, twice, his shrewdness, the ability to see farther than others into affairs and the hearts of men, and to act appropriately: this accords with what we have already seen, his ability to distinguish true men of learning from false, to see the virtue in retaining governors (all were bad shepherds, as he well knew, but the older ones were less harmful), to discern the fatal effects of a marvelous new invention, to find the rational (and comforting) explanation for the death of a deity, to see through the falseness of a servant. And allied with this vision is a religious authority, reflected in his judgment of Pan, or the power of his statues greater than that of Zeus' image at Olympia.

Tiberius' interest and skill in religious matters is well attested in our mainstream sources, but it is the outsiders who bear powerful witness to the princeps' piety. Just as Tertullian offers us the protector of the Christians against the senate, so Philo offers us the protector of the Jews against his own governor, Pontius Pilate (*Leg*. 304–5): when Pilate set up gilded shields in Herod's palace and the Jews sent a complaint to Rome,

> what words, what threats Tiberius uttered against Pilate when he read it! It would be superfluous to describe his anger, although he was not easily moved to anger, since his reaction speaks for itself. For immediately, without even waiting until the next day, he wrote to Pilate, reproaching and rebuking him a thousand times for his new-fangled audacity and telling him to remove the shields at once.

And perhaps most revealing of this imperial piety is the story of the giant's bones in yet another historiographical outsider, Phlegon. An embassy brought Tiberius an enormous tooth and offered to deliver the rest of the bones. Wishing to know the size of the dead hero but feeling it a sacrilege (*anosia*) to disturb the body, he had a geometor estimate the size of the body from the tooth, and then sent the tooth back. A brilliant example of the combination of punctilious

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

piety and extraordinary shrewdness that is so Tiberian, signalled by a typical consultation of his wise men by the learned princeps on an intellectual problem with political consequences: "He summoned a certain geometor, Pulcher by name, a man of some renown whom he respected for the man's skill."[38]

Imperial wisdom and imperial piety are not mere abstract attributes but potent weapons for the public good. They make Tiberius the champion of the people against oppression by his own governors (repeatedly), by the senate, and by private citizens. This is not to say that the historical Tiberius was or was not a good princeps—although there is indeed a great deal of evidence in the mainstream tradition to show his public concern for good government and the *pax deorum*, his modesty and restraint, above all his *providentia* for the empire (a major slogan), his constant vigilance.[39] Good man or bad, there was a potent *image* of him, all but forgotten now, as the good old ruler, wise and clever, pious and just, an image rooted in folklore, fable, and anecdote. Strange as it may seem, no Roman emperor comes near to matching him.

There is a curious balance between the beginning of Tiberius' sole rule and its end, as they are presented by Suetonius. For two years after taking over the empire, the princeps did not set foot outside the gates of the city (*pedem porta non extulit*); thereafter he went no further than the neighboring towns (*propinqua oppida*), and then but rarely and for a few days only. However, after the deaths of his sons Germanicus and Drusus (in 19 CE and 23 CE, respectively), he sought retirement in Campania, and he never returned to Rome for the rest of his life, although twice he came very near.[40] The years of not leaving are strikingly true: we can place the princeps outside the city only twice in his first twelve years, once in 16 CE with the dedication of suburban temples in the *Horti Caesaris* and at Bovillae (that is, just around the end of the two-years-within-the-gates period), and once in 21 CE with a long visit to Campania, allegedly in contemplation of retiring there.[41] But his not returning for his last eleven years is strikingly untrue, or rather deeply misleading. Indeed, Tacitus writes of a princeps not secluded on Capri but spending "his extreme old age nearby [Rome] in the countryside or on the shore, often encamping at the walls of the City" (under the year 26), "on frequent detours encircling and dodging his fatherland" (under 33), while we know that Tiberius came up to the very outskirts of the city not merely twice, as Suetonius would have it, but in each of his last six years, after the fall of Sejanus.[42] That is to say, the reign has been neatly bifurcated between "Rome only" for its first half and "not Rome" for its second: the former somewhat, the latter considerably exaggerated for effect, by Suetonius or (more likely)

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

his source. And in each half, Tiberius, we are told, acquired an appropriate nickname.

In his account of the princeps' time in Rome, before the account of his final departure to Campania with which it is balanced, Suetonius describes Tiberius' repeated and elaborate preparations for a visit to the provinces and the armies, various logistics arranged, vows undertaken for his safe return. Eventually, people joked about the matter, calling him Callipides, who was known (as the biographer glosses helpfully) from the Greek proverb, for his running and not getting even a foot forward.[43] Who Callipus (the proper form) may have been is unknown, but the original image has survived elsewhere, and it is referred to by Cicero in a letter to Atticus.[44] The point here is that the new princeps Tiberius was compared to a proverbial figure, bringing him again into the realm of folklore, and it should be noted that the nickname, while mocking, is not necessarily unfavorable; indeed, it might be affectionate.

Which brings us back to Capri and the fictitious fisherman in the latter half of Tiberius' reign. Unregarded by classicists, it has long been clear that the anecdote was an exceedingly hostile version of a standard and humorous folktale about figs, known from very widespread (if later) sources elsewhere. The raw material for this attack can be found in two places.

First, the fish. Had the fisherman been literate and familiar with the *acta diurna* published in the capital, he might have known better than to present a *grandis mullus* to this particular princeps. For some years earlier, a *mullus ingentis formae* had been sent to Tiberius Caesar, who ordered it to be sold at the market (in Rome). "Unless I am mistaken, friends," he said, "either Apicius or P. Octavius will buy it." And sure enough, one of the two epicures, Octavius, bought the four-and-a-half-pound mullet for five thousand sesterces.[45] That is to say, the horrific fisherman story at Capri is surely a doublet—princeps rejects large mullet—inspired by an incident set at Rome, real or fictitious. It is a hostile counterpart to a tale that actually presented Tiberius in favorable fashion as shrewd, witty, and moderate.

At the same time, the creator of the Tiberian fisherman has been inspired by one of the best-known folktales in the world, *ATU* 736A, "The Ring of Polycrates":

> When King Amasis learns about the military success of Polycrates he advises him not to provoke the jealousy of the gods. As sign of his humility he should throw away the thing he likes most. Thereupon Polycrates throws his most precious ring into the sea. Some days later a fish is given to him in which the ring is found.

Of the many accounts and references in ancient authors, Herodotus offers the classic version.[46] A few days after Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos, had

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

solemnly thrown his ring into the sea, a fisherman caught an enormous fish and decided to present it to him. On being granted an audience, the fisherman explained that he had decided not to sell such a treasure in the market but to bring it as gift truly worthy of Polycrates and his rule. Pleased as much with the compliment as with the gift, Polycrates invited the man to dine with him. It was while preparing the fish that the cooks found the ring in its stomach. Realizing that Polycrates is doomed, Amasis, the king of Egypt, renounces his friendship so as not to be saddened by his imminent end. What has this to do with Tiberius?

Again, the creator of the horrific story of Tiberius and the fisherman has given us an adaptation of another tale, but here he cleverly inverts it. In both, a fisherman honors his ruler with a fish of marvelous size. Polycrates accepts it with pleasure and grace, and disaster ensues for him, in the form of crucifixion by a treacherous Persian satrap. But Tiberius rejects the fish with fear and brutality, and disaster follows not for him but for the donor. The moral of the story is that Tiberius died in full possession of his power, a luckier and a wiser Polycrates who had outwitted fate to the end.

It would not be surprising if this comparison with a figure of legend occurred to the contemporaries of Tiberius, friends or foes. Like Polycrates, Tiberius was a conqueror in war and a patron of the arts who surrounded himself with the leading Greek intellectuals, and he was rumored to be a monster of vice. Like Polycrates, "tyrant of the islands and the shores," Tiberius had a notorious penchant for islands, basing himself for seven years on Rhodes and eleven on Capri, earning in his last years a new nickname: he was now *nesiarchos*, Lord of the Island.[47] And as it happens, he actually *had* the ring of Polycrates. But the princeps of Rome had learned from the fabled unhappy end of the tyrant of Samos. He kept the ring safe and not much valued in the Temple of Concord, which he had vowed in 7 BCE to restore, and which he had long ago dedicated in his own name and that of his dead brother Drusus, on January 16, 10 CE.[48] This retention and neutralizing of the ring of fate irresistibly recalls the last scene in *Raiders of the Lost Ark*. In the realm of folklore, Tiberius was, indeed, *sagacissimus senex*, an extremely shrewd old man.[49]

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

INDEX

This index lists Roman males according to the names used in this book, not their formal nomenclature or titles, with brief additions in parentheses to distinguish homonyms: thus "Tiberius (emperor)" (not "Claudius Nero, Tiberius" or "Iulius Caesar Augustus, Tiberius") and "Drusus (brother of the emperor Tiberius)" (not "Claudius Drusus, Decimus" or "Claudius Drusus, Nero").

Aarne-Thompson-Uther folktale types. See *The Types of International Folktales (ATU)*
Abydus, 134
Acarnania, 73
Accius, 80
Achilles, 5, 49, 55, 57, 80, 138, 198n18
Adams, J. N., 107
adiutor imperii, 183
adultery, 71, 189, 215n88
Aeaea, 59
Aegospotami, 22
Aelian, 158
Aelii Tuberones, 236n17
Aelius, Lucius, 237n19
Aelius Gallus, 188, 237n19
Aelius Lamia, 210n12, 237n27
Aelius Seianus, Lucius. See Sejanus
Aelius Tubero, Quintus, 236n17
Aemilia Lepida, 239n45
Aemilianus, 9
Aemilianus Rectus, 198n26
Aemilius Paullus, 195
Aemilius Regillus, Lucius, 206n46
Aemilius Scaurus, 239n42
Aeneas, 48, 49, 59, 73
Aeneid (Vergil), 5, 49, 80, 140
Aesopean fables, 11–12
Agamemnon, 138
Agesander, 51
Agrippa, 182, 185, 202n24, 213n46
Agrippa Postumus, 5
Agrippina major (wife of Germanicus), 126–27, 144–45, 177
Agrippina minor (daughter of Germanicus), 14, 135
Ailloud, H., 102–3
Ajax, 49
Alban villa, 52
Alexander Romance, 7–8
Alexander the Great, 5, 7–8, 45
Alexandria, Pharos of, 38–39, 42–44, 111
alexikakoi (averters of evil), 22
Alfidia, 50
Alfidius, 209n9
Alföldy, G., 30–32, 37–38, 204n40
allec (fish paste), 172
Altars: of Athene, 59; of Clemency, 183; of Friendship, 183; of the Sun, 82, 84, 86; of Zeus the Guardian, 80
Amasis, King, 19–20
Ambivius, Marcus, 140–41, 170
Amicitia, 183
Amyclae, 50, 53
anal intercourse, 107
André, J., 107
Andreae, B., 55–56

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

Andrews, A., 168
Andromeda, 58
Antikythera shipwreck, 210n17
Antium, 51
Antonia major, 132
Antonia minor, 25, 144
Antony, Mark, 76, 132, 139–40
Apeicius, Marcus, 161, 163, 165
Apelles, 45
Apicata, 157, 189, 236n19
Apicatus Sabinus, Titus, 157, 236n19
Apicius, Caelius (API CAE), 157
Apicius, Marcus, 150–75; cabbage rejected by, 142, 167; cookbooks by, 136, 172–75; dates, 156–57; false sources, 158–61; luxury of, 173–75; as moralists' target, 136; name, 157–58; reputation of, 153–55; Sejanus' affair with, 156–58, 189, 191; speculative biography of, 165; Tiberius' interactions with, 19, 142, 167–68; true sources, 161–65; wealth and power of, 166–71
Apicius Quadratus, Marcus, 165
Apinius Tiro, 163–65
Apion of Alexandria, 169–70
Apocalypse of Baruch, 90
Apollo, statue of, 42
Apollodorus, 6
Apollodorus of Pergamum, 141
Apollonides of Nicaea, 68, 143, 217n12
Apollonius of Tyana, 15–16
Apology (Apuleius), 138
Apology (Tertullian), 16–17
Appius Claudius (decemvir), 118, 226n22
Appius Claudius Sabinus, 204n37
Apragopolis (City of Leisure), 111
Apuleius, 138
Archestratus of Gela, 137–38, 141, 174
Argo (ship), 58, 212n41
Aristippus of Cyrene, 234n65
Aristotle, 11, 91, 140, 173
Arsenale grotto, 62
artworks: obscene, 111; sculpture, 62 (*see also* Sperlonga sculptures; statues)
Asellii family, 133, 146–49
Asellio, Sempronius, 147
Asellius, Lucius, 133
Asellius, Marcus, 133
Asellius Sabinus, 123–49; dates, 128–29; death of, 144–46; diet of, 133–44; as jokester, 123, 125–27, 130–33, 135, 141, 144; life of, 129–33; name, 125–28; rewarded by Tiberius, 126–27, 133, 141–42; speculative biography of, 143–44
Asinius Celer, 168
Asinius Gallus, 144
Aspendus, 15
astrology, Tiberius' interest in, 7, 51, 92–93
Atedius Melior, 88
Atellan farce, 118–20
Athamas, 64
Athanodoros son of Hagesandros, 51, 62
Athena, 65
Athenaeum, 61
Athenaeus, 136, 137, 154, 158–63
Athenodorus, 51
Atreus, 80
Atreus (Accius), 80
Attic Banquet (Matro of Pitane), 137–38
Atticus, Curtius, 6, 19, 139
Aufidius Bassus, 158
Aufidius Lurco, 209n9
Augustan Forum, 27
Augustus: adultery by, 189; Asellius Sabinus known to, 126–28, 132; death of, 145, 180; Drusus Germanicus honored by, 27–28, 37; Gaius and Lucius as heirs to, 46; Greek/Roman transposition ordered by, 112; images of, disrepect for, 15–16; Julia disinherited by, 71; monuments and temples built by, 29, 33, 45 (*see also specific sites*); names of, 34; Philippi victories, 76; political situation facing, 39–42; Tiberius adopted by, 23, 29–30, 32, 40, 75; on Tiberius and fire, 75; Tiberius linked to Odysseus by, 68–69; Tiberius summoned home by, 71, 75; tidbit dialogue, 135
Augustus Germanicus, Gaius Caesar. *See* Caligula

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

Aurelius, Marcus, 6, 77
Auson, 61
Ausonius, 170
Aventine Hill, 193–94
Avius, 165

Badian, E., 147–48
Baiae, 52, 60, 134
Baius, 60
banquets, 139–40, 154–56, 166. *See also* Roman cuisine
Baruch, 90
Basilica Julia, 33
Basilica Paulli, 33
Battle of Lake Regillus, 22, 35, 204n37
Bay of Naples, 61, 88
bench *(sella),* 103–6
Bergmann, B., 54
Berossus, 91
Bibulus, Marcus, 34
Birley, A. R., 176
birthdays, as public holidays, 183–84, 194
Black Stone, 33
Blessed Islands, 87–88
Blue Grotto, 62
Bober, P. P., 156
botany, Tiberius' interest in, 92–93
Bovillae, 18
Brandt, E., 174
brothels, 104–6, 108, 110–12
brotherly love. *See* Castor and Pollux
Brundisium, 134
Bruttedius Niger, 186–88
Buecheler, F., 140
Bulla Felix, 5
The Butchery *(Carnificina),* 111

cabbage, 142, 167
Caelian Hill fire, 74–75
Caesarea Maritima, 37–39
Caligula (Gaius Caesar Augustus, emperor): on Livia's ancestry, 209n9; murder of, 27; savage nature of, 78–79, 112–13, 128, 145; Tiberius contrasted with, 16; as Tiberius' successor, 6, 25, 61, 77–79; undermined by Sejanus, 187; villas of, 104–6, 112
Callimachus, 141
Callipides (nickname of Tiberius), 19, 215n90
Calpurnius Piso, Gnaeus, 28
Calypso, 61, 65, 71
Camillus, 58
Campania: Odysseus in, 60–61, 66; Tiberius' retirement in, 18–19, 72, 74
Capito Aelianus, 236n19
Capri: Castiglione villa, 51, 62; fisherman folktale, 3–5, 19–20, 143; as Greek island, 73; grottoes on, 62; myths linked to, 61–62, 214n68; Pharus of, 21, 42–44, 93–94, 111; Tiberius' company on, 6, 69, 142–43; after Tiberius' death, 61; Tiberius' debauchery on (*see* debauchery on Capri); Tiberius' retirement on, 20, 72–74, 116, 178; Villa of Ino (Io; Jupiter), 13, 62–66, 111
Caprineum (The Shrine of the Goat), 106, 111–12
Captives (Plautus), 134
Carnificina (The Butchery), 111
Cassius Damasippus, 165
Cassius Dio. *See* Dio, Cassius
Cassius Longinus, Gaius, 238n41
Castiglione villa (Capri), 51, 62
Castor and Pollux: Claudian dynasty associated with, 40–42, 46; Gaius and Lucius Caesar associated with, 44–46; myth of, 21–22; as protectors of sailors, 22, 38, 43–44; in Roman history, 22–23; Roman oaths about, 23; subordination of Pollux, 34–37; temples dedicated to, 23, 29–39, 41, 44–46; Tiberius and Drusus' association with, 23–24, 29–30, 34–42, 46, 69; visitations by, 22–24, 38–39
Catullus, 119
Caupona of Euxinus, 88
caves: significance of, 57–58; statues in, 60, 62 (*see also* Sperlonga sculptures)
Celsus, 142
Cena Nasidieni (Horace), 171
Cena Trimalchionis, 171, 173

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

Cephallenia, 73
Certamen (Asellius Sabinus), 141, 143
Charybdis, 57
Christians, Tiberius as protector of, 16–17
Chrysippus, 91
Cicero: on Apicius, 163; Callipides mentioned by, 19; death of, 187; at Formianum, 151, 153; jokes about, 144; Papirius Paetus' correspondence with, 139–40; Sebosus as visitor of, 153; on Sempronius Rufus, 147; *talarius* used by, 128; Tusculum villa, 111
Circaeum, 59–60
Circe, 59–60
City of Leisure *(Apragopolis),* 111
Claudian, 88, 90
Claudian family: Drusus Germanicus in, 25–28; fire traditions of, 44, 75, 76–77; heavenly twins associated with, 40–42, 46 (*see also* Castor and Pollux); Tiberius in, 34, 37, 75, 216n5
Claudianus (name), Tiberius' adoption of, 29–30, 32, 34, 37
Claudius (emperor), 52, 61, 238n41; called Tiberius Claudius Nero Germanicus on inscriptions, 25
Claudius Julianus, 164
Claudius Marcellus, 205n46
Clemens, 5
clothing, 87
Clutorius Priscus, 201n17, 239n47
Coarelli, F., 195
Cocceius Nerva, 6
coins, 15, 40, 45, 235n14
Columella, 136, 140
Commentator Cruquianus, 147–48
Commodus, 77
Consolation (anonymous), 26
Consolation to Livia, 27, 38, 39
consulships: Sejanus, 179–84, 193–94; Tiberius, 28–29, 33
Contest of the Tidbits, 126–27, 133–35, 141–42
Controversiae (Seneca), 123–28
The Cook (Apollodorus of Pergamum), 141
Corinth, 46
Cornelii, Lucii, 151
Cornelius Valerianus, 217n25
Cratinus, 107
Cremutius Cordus, 183, 188
Cretarchy, 130–31
criminal trials, 115–16
Crinagoras, 77
cruelty of Tiberius: evidence of, 144–45; regarded as fictional, 5–9, 13–17
cuisine: Greek literature on, 137–38, 158–60; Roman (*see* Roman cuisine)
cultural imperialism, 53–54, 111
cunnilinctio, 116, 118–19
Curia, 33
Curtius Rufus, Quintus, 238n41, 239n52
Cyclops (Polyphemus), 48–49, 52, 54–55, 57, 61
Cytheris, 140

Damecuta villa, 62
Damigeron-Evax *(De Lapidibus),* 92–93
D'Arms, J., 139
De Lapidibus (Damigeron-Evax), 92–93
death: Asellius Sabinus, 144–46; Augustus, 145, 180; immortal beings, 81–85, 90–91, 97 (*see also* phoenix); Sejanus, 180; Tiberius, 42–44, 61, 76–77, 84–85, 91, 93–94, 97
debauchery on Capri, 13–14, 101–13; Mallonia tale, 114–20; primary sources on, 101–2; as role-playing, 112–13; *Sellaria* (The Brothel), 106, 108, 110–12; *sellarii (sellaria)* translations, 102–6, 110; *spintriae* translations, 102–3, 106–10
declaimers, 123–25, 129
Degani, E., 137–38
Deipnosophists (Athenaeus), 154, 158
Demeter, 57
Diana, 193
diet: Greek literature on, 137–38, 158–60; Roman (*see* Roman cuisine)
Dinner of the Twelve Gods, 139
Dio, Cassius: on Apicius, 155, 157–58; on Aselii, 146; on Claudianus name, 32; death of Asellius Sabinus not mentioned by, 144; on Drusus Germanicus, 27–30, 38; on great fire of 64 CE, 79–80; hostility

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

toward Tiberius, 8, 14–17; phoenix story, 83–85; on Sejanus, 176–85, 189, 191–94; setting sun (anecdote), 77–78; sources of, 199n33; on Thrasyllus, 7; on Tiberius Gemellus, 79; on Tiberius' night vision, 77; unbreakable glass tale, 6
Dio Chrysostom, 92, 93
Diodorus Siculus, 146–47
Diomedes, 49, 55, 56, 68, 138, 216n4
Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 45, 193, 200n5
Dionysus, 64, 212n34, 216n8
Dioscuri. *See* Castor and Pollux
Dioscurides, 95
La Dolce Vita (Archestratus of Gela), 137–38
Domitian (emperor), 190
Domitius Ahenobarbus, 129, 132
domus Caesarum: Asellius Sabinus' familiarity with, 132–33; Sejanus' familiarity with, 180–81, 184–85
donkey folktale, 5, 76
Dorion, 127, 135–36
Douglas, N., 61
Drusion/Druseum (tower), 38
Drusus (brother of Tiberius): association with Castor, 20, 23–24, 29–30, 34–42, 46, 69 (*see also* Castor and Pollux); as Claudian, 25–28; death and funeral of, 23–28, 38–39; honored as "Germanicus," 25; as Julian, 28; memorial games for, 39–40; posthumous fame of, 25–28, 76; temples dedicated to, 23, 28–39
Drusus (son of Germanicus), 190
Drusus Caesar (son of Tiberius), 18, 40–42, 142, 156, 167, 177, 179, 181, 183, 189
dying flame (omen), 44, 76–77

Echinades Islands, 73
Eck, W., 38
ecpyrosis (cosmic conflagration), 91, 93, 95
Edwards, C., 103
Elder Pliny. *See* Pliny the Elder
Elephantis, 102, 109, 111
Elysium, 87–88
Encolpius, 171
Ennius, 138, 141
Ephesus, 40, 45
Epitherses, 9
Ergasilus, 134
eruditi (learned men), 67, 69
Eugammon of Cyrene, 216n94
eunuchs, 190–91, 239n52
Euphorion, 67–68, 143
Euphron, 160, 174
eutrapelia (cultured insolence), 140
Eutrapelus (Publius Volumnius), 139–42, 167
Evax *(De Lapidibus),* 92–93
The Experience of Pleasure (Archestratus of Gela), 137–38
eyes of Tiberius, 77, 87

Fabius, 166
Fabius Maximus, Africanus, 157
Fabius Maximus, Paullus, 157, 166
Fabius Persicus, Paullus, 156–57, 166
Fabius Valens, 190
fables, 11–12
fabula palliata, 131
Fasti (Ovid), 39–40
Favorinus, 142
feasts, 139–40, 154–56, 166. *See also* Roman cuisine
felicitas (felicity), 88–90, 94
fellatio *(irrumatio),* 115, 117–18
female prostitutes, 104–9
Festus, 107, 135
Fidculenses, 134
Fidenae amphitheater, 74–75, 88
fig pelting folktale, 3–4, 8, 19
figpecker dialogue, 126–27, 133–35
fire: bird associated with (*see* phoenix); disasters at Rome, 74–75, 79–80; dying flame omen, 44, 76–77; earth consumed by (quotation), 79–81, 97; Greek beliefs about, 91, 93; Persian beliefs about, 91–95; spontaneous combustion, 5, 42, 76–77, 93–95; temples destroyed by, 30; Theater of Pompey damaged by, 182–83; Tiberius' relationship with, 75–81, 93–96
fish, 159–60, 165–74. *See also* mullets
fish sauces, 170–73

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

fisherman folktales, 3–5, 19–20, 143
The Fishmonger (Apollodorus of Pergamum), 141
flaring ashes (omen), 42, 44, 76–77
Flavius, Lucius, 165
flies (folktale), 11
FOAF (Friend of a Friend), 10
folklore, 3–9; Tiberius as figure in, 9–13, 19–20. *See also* mythology; *specific tales*
food: Greek literature on, 137–38, 158–60; Roman (*see* Roman cuisine)
Forcellini, E., 104
Formiae, 59
Formianum, 151, 153
Fortuna Augusti, 191
Fortuna Caesaris, 191
Fortuna Praesens, 194
Fortuna Respiciens, 194–95
Fortune, oaths by, 191–95
Fortune, personal, 191–95
Forum (Roman), 33–34, 41
Forum Augustum, 27
Friedländer, L., 136
Fulvia, 112
Fundi, 50, 53, 89–90
Furius Camillus, Marcus, 58

Gabius Apicius, Marcus, 157–58
Gaius Caesar (grandson of Augustus), 27, 29, 33, 34, 44–46, 156, 167, 181, 189
Gaius Julius Caesar. *See* Augustus
Galen, 168, 172
Ganymede, 58
Gardens of Maecenas, 51
garum sociorum (fish sauce), 170–73
gastronomy: Greek literature on, 137–38, 158–60; Roman (*see* Roman cuisine)
Gellius, Marcus, 148
Gemini (heavenly twins). *See* Castor and Pollux
Geminius, 189–91
Geminius of Tarracina, 151
gems: Tiberian intaglio, 95–96; Tiberius' interest in, 92–93
Germanicus (nephew of Tiberius), 39–42, 76, 89, 128; called Germanicus Caesar, 26–27, 39–42, 76; called Germanicus Julius Caesar, 25; death of, 18; relations with Tiberius, 177
Germanicus Julius Caesar (grandson of Tiberius), 40
Germany: Drusus in, 23–25, 38–39; Nazi Party, 152–53; Tiberius in, 28–29
giant's bone story, 10, 17–18
gladiatorial games, 39–40
The Glutton. *See* Apicius, Marcus
goats: mock shrine to, 106, 111–12; sexual puns about, 116–20
Golden House, 52, 104–6, 192
Gortyn, 130
Gracchus, Gaius, 29
Gradola villa, 62
Graeculi, 67, 142–43
grammarians, 67, 142–43
Granius Marcellus, 15
Graves, R., 103
Great Year *(Magnus Annus),* 91, 93, 95
Greek (language): fables, 11–12; gastronomic literature, 137–38, 158–60; Latin development from, 107; poetry, 143
Greek mythology: fire beliefs, 91, 93 (*see also* phoenix); in Roman culture, 53–54, 112; Tiberius' interest in, 10, 36–39, 46, 67–70, 73, 81, 143. *See also specific myths*
Groebe, P., 148
grottoes: significance of, 57–58; statues in, 60, 62 (*see also* Sperlonga sculptures)
group sex, 108–9
Grove of the Sun, 90
Guardian of the World, 90–91

Hadrian, 3, 6, 8, 52, 111, 142, 197n8, 211n34
Hadzsits, G. D., 204n42
Hagesandros son of Paionios, 51
hate/fear proverb, 12, 80, 217n21
Hector, 80
Hedupatheia (Archestratus of Gela), 137–38
Hedyphagetica (Ennius), 138

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

Hegio, 134
Helen of Troy, 21, 36
Hera, 58, 64
Herakles (Heracles), 22, 48, 56, 59
Hercules Furens, 235n3
Hermes, 65, 67, 71
Herod, King, 37–38, 239n52
Herodotus, 19–20, 127, 137
Hestia, 29
Hesychius, 107
heterosexuality: fellatio, 115; female prostitutes, 104–9; Tiberius' interest in, 109
high places: Tiberius' love for, 7–8; Zoroastrian sacrifices in, 93
Historia Augusta, 160
Histories (Herodotus), 137
histories of Tiberius, 14–17
History of Rome (Rutilius), 161–62
Homer, 21, 47, 68, 80–81, 136
Homeric parody, 137–38, 143
homosexuality: male prostitutes, 102–3, 106–10, 190–91; Tiberius' alleged interest in, 109
Horace: on Asellii, 146–47; on goatish men, 119; on Roman cuisine, 138, 141, 171; on Tiberius' victory over Raeti, 75
Horti Caesaris, 18
Horti Lamiani, 210n12
Horti Maecenatis, 51
Hostius Quadra, 109
humor. *See* jokes
Hurley, D. W., 102–3, 107

Ihm, M., 63–64, 114
Iliad (Homer), 21, 68, 80–81; gastronomic parody of, 137–38
images of Tiberius, power of, 15–17
immortal beings, death of, 81–85, 97. *See also* phoenix
imperial villas, 51–52, 111, 145–46. *See also* *specific sites*
"The Impossible Product" (folklore motif), 6
Ino (Leucothea; White Goddess), 64–66
intaglio, 95–96
"intemperance in service" (fable), 12–13
Iran, Zoroastrianism, 91–96
irrumatio (fellatio), 115, 117–18
Isidore of Seville, 155
Isis, 64
islands, Tiberius' penchant for, 20. *See also* Capri; Rhodes
Islands of the Sirens, 61
Isles of the Blest, 87–88
Italy: Greeks and Trojans in, 47–48. *See also* Rome; *specific sites*
Ithaca, 73
Iunius Blaesus, Quintus, 156, 166, 238n41
Iunius Gallio, 187
Iunius Silanus, Gaius, 186–87

Jason and the Argonauts, 58, 212n41
Jeppesen, K. K., 183
Jesus, 9
Jewish Antiquities (Josephus), 10–11
Jews: Nazi persecution of, 152–53; Tiberius as protector of, 17
Johnson, J., 150–52
jokes: about Apicius, 159–60, 170–71, 173–74; by Asellius Sabinus, 127–28, 130–33, 135, 141, 144; in Mallonia tale, 116–20
Jonson, Ben, 176
Josephus, 10–11, 17, 37–38, 147–48
Julia (daughter of Augustus), 70–71, 144–45, 215n88
Julia (granddaughter of Tiberius), 130
Julia Augusta. *See* Livia
Julian Curia, 33
Julian family: Drusus Germanicus associated with, 28; monuments built by, 33–34 (*see also specific sites*)
Julius Africanus, 170
Julius Caesar, 33–35, 117, 191, 226n26
Julius Montanus, 188
Jupiter (Zeus), 15–17, 21–22, 36, 57, 64–65, 71, 79, 183
Juvenal: on Apicius, 155; on poetry, 141; on Sejanus, 178, 184, 192, 194; on *sellaria,* 104–5; on Silanus affair, 186

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

Keppie, L., 181
Khoja Nasr-ed-Din Efendi, 4
khwarnah, 94
Kind Hearts and Coronets (Mazzini), 189
Krappe, A. H., 7–8
Krause, C., 42

Labienus, Titus, 239n52
Lactantius, 87–88, 90
Lacus Iuturnae (Pool of Juturna), 22, 33
Laelia, 151
Laelius, Gaius, 151
Laertius, Diogenes, 67, 143
Laestrygones, 59
Lake Avernus, 61
lamp dying out (omen), 44, 76–77
landscape of allusion, 53–54, 57–61, 111
Landschaftskunst, 51–52
Laöcoon, 48, 51, 62
Larcius, Aulus, 153
Larcius, Publius, 153
Larcius Licinus, 153
Latin (language), Greek roots of, 107
Latium Adiectum, 60, 66
latrines *(sellaria),* 103–6, 110
Lausus, 49
Lauter, H., 51–52
Lautumiae (Stone-Quarries), 125, 135
Lavinium, 22
Laws (Plato), 132
Learchus, 64
Leda, 21
Lentulus, 151
Lentulus Crus, Lucius Cornelius, 151
Lentulus Gaetulicus, 187–88
Leonidas, King, 126–27, 135–36
Letters to Lucilius (Seneca), 126–27
Leucosia, 61, 214n68
Leucothea (Ino; White Goddess), 64–66
Lewis, C. T., 104, 107
Libo Drusus, 230n57
Licinius Mucianus, 132
Licinus (slave), 153
Life of Gaius (Suetonius), 126
The Life of Luxury (Archestratus of Gela), 137–38
“Life of Tiberius” (Plutarch), 76
Life of Vitellius (Suetonius), 107
Ligeia, 214n68
lighthouses: Alexandria, 38–39, 42–44, 111; Caesarea Maritima, 37–39; Capri, 21, 42–44, 93–94, 111
liminality, 13
Linderski, J., 145
liquamen, 172
Lives of the Caesars (Suetonius), 114. *See also* Ihm, M.
Livia (Julia Augusta; wife of Augustus), 25–26, 29, 40, 75, 183, 209n9
Livia (Livilla; niece of Tiberius), 144, 189–90
Livian shrine, 28–29
Livy, 24–25, 58
loca sancta (earthly paradise), 87–88
locus felix, 88
Loggia della Marina, 42
Longus, Gaius, 147
Lucian, 43–44
Lucilius, 134, 138, 141, 142, 167
Lucilius Longus, 6
Lucinius Fronto, 93, 220n67
Lucinius Mena, 140–41
Lucius Caesar (grandson of Augustus), 27, 29, 33, 34, 44–46
Lucretia, 118–19
Lucrine Lake, 134, 213n46
Lucullus, 12
ludus talarius (dance), 128
lupatria (prostitute), 107–8
luxus mensae, 136
Lycus, 235n3
Lygdus, 190

Macellus, 202n24
Macro, 6, 77, 186
Maecenas, 141, 191
Maenas Licinius, 140–41, 170
magistral list (Minturnae), 150–53, 161

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

Magnus Annus (Great Year), 91, 93, 95
maiestas, charges of, 15–16
Mainz, 89
Mallonia tale, 114–20
Mamercus Scaurus, 186–88
Manilius, 220n59
Manlius Torquatus, 161
Marius, 151
Mars the Avenger, 89
Martial, 109, 119, 141, 155, 170
Martin, R., 103
Mastarna, 194
Matermania grotto, 62
Matius, Gaius, 140–41
Matius, Gaius (gastronome), 170
Matro of Pitane, 137–38, 141
matteae (tidbits), 127, 133–35, 141–42
Mazzini, L., 189
Medusa, 58
Melicertes, 64–65
memorial games, 39–40
memory, places of, 58–60
Menelaus, 49
Mercator (Plautus), 119
Mercury, 128
Messalina, 222n15, 224n38
Messalla Corvinus, 187
Metellus Delmaticus, Lucius Caecilius, 23
Metellus Pius, 139
Metellus Scipio, 112, 195
Mihrag's gem, 96
military accomplishments of Tiberius, 28–29, 50, 70, 75
Minturnae, 150–54, 161, 164, 165
Misenum, 12–13, 21, 60; flaring ashes omen at, 42, 44, 76–77
Misenus, 60
Mitford, T. B., 45
Mithra, 96
Mons Circeius (Monte Circeo), 59
Motif-Index of Folk Literature (MI): adultery tale, 189; donkey tale, 5; fisherman tale, 4; flies tale, 11; friend of a friend tale, 10; king's company tales, 6; message to otherworld tale, 5; stargazer tale, 7–8; theft tale, 5
Mucia, 112
mullets, 19, 142–43, 156, 166–71. *See also* fish
Münzer, Friedrich, 147–48, 151–53, 161
muria (brine), 172
mushroom dialogue, 126–27, 133–35
mythology: in Roman culture, 53–54, 58–60, 112; Tiberius' interest in, 10, 36–39, 46, 67–70, 73, 81. *See also specific myths*

Naples (Parthenope), 61, 65, 214n68
Natural History (Pliny), 41, 65, 77, 83–84
Natural Questions (Seneca), 168–69
Nazi Germany, 152–53
Nectanebus, 7–8
Neoptolemus, 56, 80
Nero (emperor), 25, 79–80, 112, 177, 190; Golden House of, 52, 104–6, 192
nesiarchos (Lord of the Island), 20, 73, 178
Nicomedes, 159–60, 173
night vision of Tiberius, 77, 87
Nigidius Figulus, 93
nomenclature, 32, 34, 153
Nortia, 192, 194
nymphaeum, 51, 57, 60
Nymphidius Sabinus, 190

oaths, 191–95
Occius, Flamma, 124, 127–29
Octavia, 28–29, 132, 202n24
Octavian, 34, 112, 139, 185. *See also* Augustus
Octavius, Gaius. *See* Augustus
Octavius, Publius, 19, 142, 167
oderint dum metuant (proverb), 12
Odysseus: myth of, 47–48, 59–61; sculptures of (*see* Sperlonga sculptures); Spelunca linked to, 66–70; Tiberius' identification with, 67–73
Odyssey (Homer), 47, 68, 81, 136
Oebalus, 73
Ogygia, 65
On Clemency (Seneca), 80
On Edibles (Varro), 138

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

On Fishes (Athenaeus), 136
On the Luxury of Apicius (Apion of Alexandria), 170
On the Luxury of the Ancients (Aristippus of Cyrene), 234n65
oral sex, 115–20
ornamenta praetoria, 185, 236n15
Otho, Junius, 186–88, 190
Outlines of Pyrrhonism (Sextus Empiricus), 77
Ovid, 28, 35, 39–40, 187, 211n27, 238n41
oyster dialogue, 126–27, 133–35

Paconius, Marcus, 230n57, 238n39
Paezon, 190
Palaemon, 65
Pan (god), 9–10, 17, 67, 71, 215n88
Papinian, 5
Papirius Paetus, 139
paradise, 87–88
Parion, 165
Paros, 29
parricides, 129
Parthenius, 67–68, 143
Parthenope (Naples), 61, 65, 214n68
Pasquino sculptures, 49
Patroclus, 49
Paxi, 9
Penelope, 60, 67, 71
Perseus, 58
Persians, Zoroastrianism of, 91–96
Petronius, 6, 106, 107
Phaedrus, 13, 17
Phaethon, 78–79, 90
Pharos of Alexandria, 38–39, 42–44, 111
Pharsalus, 23
Pharus of Capri, 21, 42–44, 93–94, 111
phengites (mineral), 192
Philippi, victory altars at, 76, 93–94
Philippica (Theopompus), 94
Philippus, 9
Philo of Alexandria, 16, 17, 90, 188
Philoctetes, 56, 57
Philostratus, 15, 17
Phlegon, 17–18
phoenix: story of, 81–86; Tiberius associated with, 86–91
Phoenix (Lactantius), 87–88
Photius, 107
Phraates, 96
The Pickle-Maker (Apollodorus of Pergamum), 141
piety, 17–18, 37
Pighius, 148
Pinarii Nattae, 188, 238n41
Pistellato, A., 240n58
Pithecusa, 60
places of memory, 58–60
plants, Tiberius' interest in, 92–93
Plato, 91, 132, 198n18
Plautus, 107, 119, 134, 190
Pliny the Elder: on Apicius, 158, 167, 169–70; Drusus dream, 26; Italian islands listed by, 65; on Laocoön sculptors, 51; on luxury, 136; on phoenix, 83–84; on Roman cuisine, 134; on Sebosus, 153; on Sejanus, 190–92; *sellarium* cited by, 104–6; talking bird tale, 41–42; on Tiberius' interest in cuisine, 142; on Tiberius' night vision, 77; unbreakable glass tale, 6
Plutarch, 5, 9–10, 17, 71, 76, 88, 193
poetry, 141–43, 167, 187
Poggibonsi (Tuscan town), 4
Poliorcetes, Demetrius, 235n7
political situation, 39–42, 176
Pollux (Polydeukes). *See* Castor and Pollux
Polycrates, 19–20
Polydorus son of Polydorus, 51
Polyphemus (Cyclops), 48–49, 52, 54–55, 57, 61
Pompeii, 88, 145, 170, 172–73
Pompey, 6–7, 77, 185
Pomponius Secundus, 188
Ponticus, 165
Pontius Pilate, 17, 37–38
Pool of Juturna (Lacus Iuturnae), 22, 33
pornography, 111
Porphyrogenitus, Constantine, 146
Porticus Liviae, 28–29

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

Porticus Octaviae, 28–29
portraits of Tiberius, 95–96
Poseidon, 22, 57, 62, 65, 73
Posidonius, 161–62
Posthomerica (Quintus of Smyrna), 217n22
Postumius, Aulus, 22
Poulsen, B., 44–45
power: folktales about, 8–9; gastronomy related to, 139–40, 155, 166–71; of Sejanus, 179–85; of Tiberian images, 15–17
Praetorian Guard, 177, 181
precious stones: Tiberian intaglio, 95–96; Tiberius' interest in, 92–93
Priam, 5, 79–81, 97
Priapos, 165
private life of Tiberius, 69–71, 88, 112–13
procrastination, Tiberius' notoriety for, 10–12
Propertius, 35
prostitutes: female, 104–9; male, 103, 106–10
proverbs. *See* folklore; *specific tales*
Ptolemy the Quail (Pseudo-Plutarch), 160
public holidays, birthdays as, 183–84, 194
Publii Avii, 165
Publilius Syrus, 131
Pulcher (geometor), 18
puns. *See* jokes
Punta della Campanella, 61
Pydna, 22
Pyrrho of Elis, 68
Pyrrhus, 5

Quinctilius Varus, 24
Quintilian, 226n3
Quintus of Smyrna, 217n22

Raiders of the Lost Ark (film), 20
rape, in Mallonia tale, 114–20
raven, story of, 41–42
rebirth (resurrection), 90–91, 93–97
religious authority, 17–18
Rhetoric (Aristotle), 11
rhetors, 129–30
Rhianus, 67–68, 143
Rhodes: Sperlonga statues influenced by, 51–52; Tiberius as student on, 5, 7, 50, 53, 76, 93; Tiberius' retirement on, 29, 46, 50–51, 69–71, 75, 77–78; Tiberius' time on, 20; Tiberius' tunic catching fire on, 75–76
Ribbeck, O., 131
Rice, E. E., 210n15
ring of fate (tale), 19–20
rising sun (metaphor), 6–7, 77–78
Rives, J. B., 103
role-playing, 112
Rolfe, J.C., 102
Roman cuisine: Apicius on (*see* Apicius, Marcus); Asellius Sabinus on, 133–44; baby storks, 133, 135, 146–49, 229n48; banquets, 139–40, 154–56, 166; cultural significance of, 139–40, 155, 166–71; fish, 19, 142–43, 156, 159–60, 165–74; fish sauces, 170–73; Golden Age of, 136; sources on, 136–41; Tiberius' interest in, 142–45; tidbits *(matteae),* 127, 133–35, 141–42
Roman nomenclature, 32, 34, 153
Roman trials, 115–16
Rome: Aventine Hill, 193–94; Castor and Pollux's appearance in, 22–23; disasters in, 74–75, 79–80, 88; Drusus Germanicus honored in, 27–30, 41–42, 76; monuments and temples in, 33–34 (*see also specific sites*); places of memory in, 58–59; Tiberius' time in, 18–19, 72
Rose, C. B., 45
Rostra, 33
Rubellius Blandus, 129–30
Rufus, Gaius, 171
Rufus of Porphyrio, 147–48
Rutilius Rufus, 161–63

Saepinum, 36
sagacissimus senex (Suetonius' description of Tiberius), 20
sailors, protectors of, 22, 38, 43–44
Salamis, 45
Sande, S., 31

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

Satires (Horace), 138, 146–47
Satires (Lucilius), 134
Saturninus, 112
Scaevola, 162
Scheria, 65
Schwartz, E., 14
sculpture, in caves, 62. *See also* Sperlonga sculptures
Scylla, 48–49, 52, 54–55, 57, 58, 62
sea anemones, 173
seat *(sella),* 103–6
Sebethis, 73
Secundus, 165
Seius Strabo, 43, 52, 59, 156, 177, 182
Seius Tubero, Lucius, 236n17
Sejanus (Lucius Aelius Seianus), 176–96; Apicius' affair with, 156–58, 189, 191; death of, 180, 240m56; fall of, 13–14, 62–64, 72, 84, 129, 157, 179–80, 195; Fortune of, 191–95; honors bestowed on, 179, 183–85; literary men around, 186–88; mystery of, 176–77; power of, 179–85; Seianus Augustus, 196; sex life of, 188–91; speculative biography of, 195–96; at Spelunca, 50, 178; story of, 177–80; virtues of, 182–83; wife of, 182, 184, 189, 237n28
Sejanus, His Fall (Jonson), 176
Seleucus, 67–68, 142
sella (seat/bench), 103–6
Sellaria (The Brothel), 106, 108, 110–12
sellarii (sellaria), 102–6, 110
Semele, 64
Sempronii Asselliones, 147–48
Seneca the Elder: on Asellius Sabinus, 125–32, 135–36, 144; on declaimers, 123–28; on Junius Gallio, 187
Seneca the Younger: on Apicius, 154–55, 158, 166, 167–70; *On Clemency,* 80; on Drusus Germanicus, 25–27; Hostius Quadra denounced by, 109; ring with Augustus' image (tale), 15
Servilius Nonianus, 158, 222n11
Servius Tullius, 192–96
setting sun (metaphor), 6–7, 77–78
sex workers, 102–10, 190–91
Sextilius Ena of Corduba, 238n39
Sextilius Paconianus, L., 187, 188
Sextius Paconianus (mistaken form of "Sextilius Paconianus"), 187
Sextus Empiricus, 77
sexual abuse, in Mallonia tale, 114–20
sexual customs, Roman, 111, 116
Seyrig, H., 96
shepherd proverb, 12
Short, C., 104, 107
shrewdness, 17–20, 39
The Shrine of the Goat *(Caprineum),* 106, 111–12
Silloi (poem by Timon of Phlius), Apollonides of Nicaea's commentary on, 68, 143
Sirens, 61, 214n68
Sittius, 161
slaves, 150–53
socius laborum, 183
Sogdiana, 94
Sophocles, 56
Sostratus, 43–44
soteres (savior gods), 22
Soterides, 160
Spartans, 126–27, 135
Spelunca (Sperlonga): myths linked to, 59–60, 66; rock fall at, 71, 178; Tiberius' ties with, 53, 66, 69, 89; villa complex at, 48
Sperlonga sculptures: description of, 48–49; distinctiveness of, 52–53; meaning of, 53–54; missing group of, 55–57; physical context of, 51–52, 57–60; as place of memory, 58–60; Rhodian influence on, 51–53; sculptors of, 51; Tiberius linked to, 49–53, 60, 66–70, 73
spintriae, 102–3, 106–10
spontaneous combustion, 5, 42, 76–77, 93–95
Sporus, 190
St. Elmo's Fire, 43
Staedler, E., 152–53

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

starvation, 144–45, 215n88
Statilius Crito, Titus, 45
Statius, 88
Statius Sebosus, 153
statues: Apollo, 42; in caves, 60, 62 (*see also* Sperlonga sculptures); Fortuna, 192; Sejanus, 183–84, 194; Tiberius, 183–84
Stewart, A. F., 55, 66–67, 69–70
Stoic theory of cosmic conflagration, 91, 93, 95
Stone-Quarries *(Lautumiae)*, 125, 135
storks, 133, 135, 146–49, 229n48
Stratius Secundus, 188
Suasoriae (Seneca), 125, 135–36
Suda, 132, 154, 158–60
Suetonius: on Apicius, 158; on Asellius Sabinus, 126; on balance of Tiberius' rule, 18–19, 72; on Caligula, 78–79, 112–13; on Capri Pharus collapse, 21, 42; on Capri villa, 62–63, 88; on Drusus Germanicus, 27–28; on great fire of 64 CE, 79–80; hostility toward Tiberius, 8, 14–17; *Life of Gaius*, 126; *Life of Vitellius*, 107; Mallonia tale, 114–16; on Rome disasters, 74–75; on Sejanus, 62–64, 176, 183–84; sources of, 199n33; on Sperlonga villa, 50, 52; on temples dedicated by Tiberius, 34, 38; on Thrasyllus, 7; on Tiberius' death, 42–44, 76; on Tiberius' debauchery, 102, 109–10, 113 (*see also* debauchery on Capri); on Tiberius' felicity, 89–90; on Tiberius Gemellus, 79; on Tiberius' immunity to fire, 76; on Tiberius' interest in astrology, 92; on Tiberius' night vision, 77; on Tiberius' wanderings, 72
suicide, 116
Sulla, Lucius, 6, 11–12, 77–78, 162
Sulpicii Galbae, 151, 161, 191
Sun, 78–79, 90; bird sacred to (*see* phoenix)
Surrentum, Cape of, 60
Sutorius Macro, 179, 239n47
Sutorius Priscus, 190
swords, 89, 116
Syme, R., 14, 70, 142, 182, 220n66, 240n58
tableaux vivants, 112, 171
Tabula Hebana, 45, 201n18
Tabula Siarensis, 45, 201n18, 202n20, 203n27
Tacitus: on Apicius, 158; on Apinius Tiro, 163–64; on Capri retreat, 88, 178; death of Asellius Sabinus not mentioned by, 144; on disasters at Rome, 74–75; on Drusus Germanicus, 26–27; hostility toward Tiberius, 8, 14–17; on luxury, 136; phoenix story, 81–84; on Sejanus, 129, 176–84, 188–90; on Silanus affair, 186–87; sources of, 199n33; on Sperlonga villa, 50, 52; on Thrasyllus, 7; on Tiberius' debauchery, 101, 110, 113 (*see also* debauchery on Capri); on Tiberius' retirement, 18; on Tiberius' wanderings, 72–73
talaria (winged sandals), 128
Talarius, 126–28
talking bird (story), 41–42
Tamerlane (Timur), 3–4
Taphos, 73
Tarquin the Proud, 118
Tarracina, 50, 52–53, 151, 164
Tarraco, 45
Teiresias, 73
Teleboas, 73
Teleboi, 73
Telegoneia, 59–60, 216n94
Telegonus, 59–60
Telemachus, 60
Telon, King, 73
Temples: of Castor (and Pollux), 22–23, 29–39, 41, 44–46; of Concord, 20, 28–30, 34, 38–39, 41, 46; of Divine Julius, 33; of Fortune, 192; of Janus, 33; of Vesta, 22, 203n30
Terence, 190
Terentius (friend of Sejanus), 235n12
Tertullian, 16–17
Testamentum Porcelli, 234n78
Teuffel, W., 141
Thales, 7–8
Thamus, 9–10

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

"Thank God They Weren't Peaches" (folktale), 4
Theater of Pompey, 182–83
Theodorus of Gadara, 50
Theopompus, 94
thiasos (assembly of sea gods), 62
Thompson, S., 4, 189. See also *Motif-Index of Folk Literature (MI)*
Thrasyllus, 7–8, 13, 51, 79, 84–85, 226n28
Three Hundred Spartans, 126–27, 135
The Thrush, 127
thrush dialogue, 126–27, 133–35
Tiberieum (tower), 38
Tiberius (emperor): Asellius Sabinus rewarded by, 126–27, 133, 141–42; adopted by Augustus, 23, 29–30, 32, 40, 75; adoption of Claudianus (name), 29–30, 32, 34, 37; alleged debauchery of (*see* debauchery on Capri); alleged interest in homosexuality, 109; Caligula as successor to, 6, 25, 61, 77–79; Caligula contrasted with, 16; Callipides (nickname), 19, 215n90; Castor and Pollux associated with, 23–24, 29–30, 34–42, 46, 69; in Claudian family, 29–30, 32, 34, 37, 75, 216n5; consulships of, 28–29, 33; cruelty of, 5–9, 13–17, 144–45; death of, 42–44, 61, 76–77, 84–85, 91, 93–94, 97; eyes of, 77, 87; felicity of, 89–90; as figure in folklore, 9–13, 19–20; and Germanicus, 177; in Germany, 28–29; historian's hostility toward, 8, 14–17; histories of, 14–17; images of, 15–17; immunity to fire, 76; interest in astrology, 7, 51, 92–93; interest in cuisine, 142; interest in gems, 92–93; interest in heterosexuality, 109; interest in mythology, 10, 36–39, 46, 67–70, 73, 81, 143; interest in Odysseus, 67–73; interest in plants, 92–93; love for high places, 7–8; and Marcus Apicius, 19, 142, 167–68; military accomplishments of, 28–29, 50, 70, 75; night vision of, 77, 87; notoriety for procrastination, 10–12; penchant for islands, 20 (*see also* Capri; Rhodes); phoenix associated with, 86–91; portraits of, 95–96; private life of, 69–71, 88, 112–13; as protector of Christians, 16–17; as protector of Jews, 17; relationship with fire, 75–81, 93–96; retirement in Campania, 18–19, 72, 74; retirement on Capri (*see* Capri); retirement on Rhodes, 20, 29, 46, 50–51, 69–71, 75, 77–78; as *sagacissimus senex* (Suetonius' description), 20; Sperlonga sculptures linked with, 49–53, 60, 66–70, 73, 89; statues of, 183–84; as student on Rhodes, 5, 7, 50, 53, 76, 93; summoned home by Augustus, 71, 75; time in Rome, 18–19, 72; tribunician power of, 29, 36; triumphs of, 87, 96; tunic catching fire (tale), 75–76; victory over Raeti, 75; visit to Troy, 50; as voyeur, 110–11
Tiberius Caesar, 167
Tiberius Julius Caesar (Tiberius Gemellus), 40, 79
Tiberius Nero (father of the emperor), 75
Tibur, 211n34
tidbits *(matteae),* 127, 133–35, 141–42
Timon of Phlius, 68, 143, 226n27
Timur (Tamerlane), 3–4
Tiresias, 229n40
Titinius, Gaius, 151
titulus pictus, 171
Titus (emperor), 190, 239n52
Tivoli villa, 52
toga picta, 87
Tongilius, 165
tooth story, 10, 17–18
Torre del Faro, 42
Trajan, 159–60
translations: *sellarii (sellaria),* 102–6, 110; *spintriae,* 102–3, 106–10
transvectio equitum (equestrian parade), 23
trials, criminal, 115–16
Tribal Assembly, 194
tribesmen speech, 193–94
tribunician power: Sejanus' aim of, 179–80, 184–85; of Tiberius, 29, 36

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

Trimalchio Maecenatianus, C. Pompeius, 155, 171, 239n52
triumphal arches, 33
triumphs of Tiberius, 87, 96
Trojan War, 47–48; sculptures of (*see* Sperlonga sculptures)
Troy, Tiberius' visit to, 50
Tubellius, 165
Tuccius Galeo, 231n5
Tullius, 191
Tullius Cicero, Marcus. *See* Cicero
tunica palmata, 87
tunica talaris, 128
Turdetani, 134
Turdus, 124, 127, 130
turnips, 159–60, 173, 197n8
Turnus, 73
Tusculum, 59, 111, 200n4, 204n37
"the twin Caesars," 40
Tyndaridai. *See* Castor and Pollux
Tyndaros, 21
The Types of International Folktales (ATU): flies tale, 11; friend of a friend tale, 10; peaches tale, 5; ring of fate tale, 19–20; stargazer tale, 7

Umbricius Scaurus, Aulus, 172–73
unbreakable glass (folktale), 6, 13
urbanitas (urbanity), 123, 130, 132–33, 155

Valerius Maximus, 24–26, 28, 39, 90
Vallius Syriacus, 124, 129
Varia Historia (Aelian), 158
Varian disaster *(clades Variana)*, 24
Varius Geminus, 127, 129
Varro, 138, 141
Velleius Paterculus, 26, 78, 90, 181–82
Venus of the Sewers, 33
venustas (charm), 123
Vercellae, 23
Vergil, 5, 49, 80, 140
Verginia, 118–19
Verres, Gaius, 23
Verrius Flaccus, 218n40
Vescularius Flaccus, 198n15
Vespasian (emperor), 163–64, 229n32
Via Valeria, 210n18
victory, announcement of, 22–23
Villa of Ino, 13; name of, 62–66, 224n35
Villa of Jupiter, 111. *See also* Villa of Ino
Vinicius, Publius, 127, 129, 131
Vipsanius Agrippa, Marcus, 34
Vistilia, 224n38
Vitellius, Aulus (emperor), 107, 108, 163–64, 190
Vitellius, Lucius, 164
Volumnius (Eutrapelus), Publius, 139–42, 167
voyeur, Tiberius as, 110–11

Weinstock, S., 191
White Goddess (Ino; Leucothea), 64–66
wisdom, 17–20
wolf by the ears proverb, 12
Woodman, A. J., 101–2, 107, 186
Wuilleumier, P., 102–3

Xerxes, 126–27

Yardley, J. C., 103

Zarathustra (Zoroaster), 91–92
Zeus (Jupiter), 15–17, 21–22, 36, 57, 64–65, 71, 79, 183
Zoroastrianism, 91–96

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu