

## REPERTORIUM FAMILIAE CAESARIS

### I. IULII AUGUSTI LIBERTI

1	<p><b>Acastus Caesaris Aug. I. Agrippianus</b> 6.5849 = 828* A[c]ASTUS / CAESARIS / AUG L / OSTIARIUS / AGRIPPIANUS</p>	Rome I S
2	<p>Acratus Ti. Iuli Aug. liberti Himeri lib. 6.10547 = 14.2671 See 136</p>	Rome / Tusculum: I G H
3	<p><b>Actius (1) Divi Aug. I.</b> 6.5289 STROBILUS / ACTI / DIVI AUG L L C IULIUS / CLITUS</p>	Rome G
4	<p><b>C. Iulius Aug. lib. Actius (2)</b> 6.33966 = 3217* = D 5182 C IULIO AUG LIB / ACTIO PRIORI / PANTOMIMO / CUCUMAE VIXIT / ANNIS XIX ET / MENSES V *4: 'cucuma' is not an <i>agnomen</i> of Actius, although it occurs as <i>cognomen</i> elsewhere (2.3681, 13.11340.3; cf. Kajanto 344), and is unlikely as a <i>signum</i> at this date (cf. Chantraine 383 + n. 120); it possibly has occupational significance, following or with 'pantomimo'.</p>	Rome H I
5	<p><b>Actius (3)</b> (freedman of Tiberius; <i>PIR</i><sup>2</sup> A 96) Suetonius, <i>Tib.</i> 47 neque spectacula omnino edidit; et iis quae ab aliquo ederentur rarissime interfuit, ne quid exposceretur, utique postquam comoedum Actium coactus est manumittere.</p>	I
6	<p><b>Acutus Aug. lib.</b> 6.5264 IULIA RESTITUTA / ACUTI AUG LIB LIBER</p>	Rome G
7	<p><b>Admetus Aug. lib.</b> 3.2097 C IULIUS SCEPTUS ADMETI AUG LIB [i]IB IIIII AUGUSTAL V F SIBI ET / IULIAE COETONIDI UXORI / C IULIO C F TRO ADMETO F / C IULIO C F TRO AQUILAE F / L IULIO C F TRO SCEPTO F / IULIAE C F TRO ADMETIDI F / C IULIO φ L TR[iu]MPHALI F / IULIAE C L RO[m]ANAE F / IULIAE φ L S[ce]PSIDI F / IULIAE φ L PR[im]AE UXORI / DEFUN[cta]E / NISO TI CLAUDI AUG SER GENERO / DEFUNCTO / IN H M VETO ALITER OSSUA / DEPONI QUAM PRIMAE ET NISI SUNT / [---] / IN FRONTE P XX I[n a]GRO P XXX</p>	Salonae: Dalmat. G

	<p>*The freedman of Admetus, C. Iulius Sceptus, records two wives, Iulia <math>\phi</math>. I. Prima (deceased) and Iulia Coetonis, with three and four children respectively. Prima, not an Imperial slave, had not been freed by the time all three of her children were born. Nisus, a slave of Claudius (or possibly Nero) and now deceased, had presumably married one of these children — whether before or after the latter's manumission cannot be determined. Sceptus' second wife, Coetonis, was certainly free and a citizen, as was Sceptus himself, when all four of their children were born. Even the daughter, Admetis, has a tribal attribution, erroneously for a woman, but indicative of the father's pride in the freeborn citizen status of his second family. Sceptus, the freedman of an Imperial freedman, went on to become a <i>sevir Augustalis</i>, exceptionally for an <i>Aug. lib. libertus</i>.</p>	
8	<p><b>Ti. Caesaris Aug. I. Aegle</b>  AE 1930, 66 = Marek 14  M IULIUS AUGUSTAE L CNISMUS / SIBI ET UXORI / LIVIAE M L HELPIDI ET / SECUNDO ET / IULIAE AUGUSTAE L ACTE ET / TI CAESARIS AUG L AEGLE / LIBERTIS LIBERTABUS POSTERISQUE EORUM  *Dated to AD 14 or later, after the adoption of Livia into the Julian gens by the will of Augustus; cf. Chantraine 18 n. 11; Weaver 28–9; for commentary, Marek, pp. 50–3.</p>	Rome E N
9	<p><b>[C. Iulius] Aeschinus Caes. I.</b>  F Imhoof-Blumer, <i>Monnaies grecques</i> (Paris 1883) 214 n. 10 = M Grant, <i>From Imperium to Auctoritas</i> (Cambridge 1946) 262 (3) – <i>aes obverse</i>: [c. iulio] AESCHINO CAES L [ii vir] ITER L PLOTIO PLEB II VIR  <i>reverse</i>: C.N.I.GNO[S] EX D D  *<i>rev.</i>: 'C(olonia) N(obilis) I(ulia)'. Cnossus became <i>colonia Iulia Nobilis</i> in 36 BC (Cassius Dio 49.12.4; Strabo 10.478; Appian, <i>BC</i> 5.131), about the same time as (and perhaps connected with) the grant of the so-called 'Capuan lands' in the territory of Cnossus in Crete by Octavian to the people of Capua as compensation for the settlement of veteran colonists at Capua in Campania (Appian, <i>BC</i> 4.3; Cassius Dio 49.14.5; Vell.Pat. 2.81.1; see AE 1969/70, 635 commentary).  Aeschinus is the only Imperial freedman to appear on coinage, albeit a local bronze issue, and for that matter the only one to be recorded as a local magistrate in office and that for a second time. It is conjectured by M W Baldwin Bowsky (in <i>Preatti</i> of the XI International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy [Rome, 1997], 480) that the establishment of the Capuan lands may have taken place while Aeschinus was duumvir at Cnossus. A homonym (and presumably descendant) of Aeschinus' fellow duumvir, Plotius Plebeius, was party to a dispute with the colony of Capua over the demarcation of these lands in AD 84 (AE 1969/70,635). see Baldwin Bowsky, op. cit. 479-87 for full references and discussion).</p>	Cnossus: Crete F K
10	<p><b>C. Iulius Agamemno</b>  6.10395 = 1<sup>2</sup>, p. 69 = <i>I. It.</i> 13.1, p. 294f.  See 82</p>	Rome N Q
11	<p><b>Iul(ius) Agathemerus Aug. lib.</b>  14.3565  <i>in fronte</i>: GENIO NUMIN[i]S PRIA[pi] / POTEN[t]IS POLLEN[t]iS [inv]ICTI / IUL AGATHEMERUS AUG LIB A / CURA AMICORUM / SOMNO MONITUS  <i>in parte postica</i>: SALVE SANCTE PATER PRIAPE etc.</p>	Tibur: I L M
12	<p>C. Iulius Nedymi Divi Aug. lib. I. Agathopus  5.1251  See 180</p>	Aquileia: X A G

13	<b>Iulius Alcides (1)</b> (Claudi Aug. lib. Thaletis Viniciani coll.) 6.8938 = D 1690 See <b>621</b>	Rome F
14	<b>Ti. Iulius Aug. I. Alcides (2)</b> 6.19816 TI / AUG L / ALCIDI / IULIA PRONOE / PATRONO / BENE MERENTI / FACIUNDUM / CURAVIT / EX TESTAMENTO EIUS	Rome F G
15	Alcides (3) Eupol[i]dis Divi Aug. I. I. 6.11377 See <b>101</b>	Rome G
16	<b>Alcimus Aug. [I. ?]</b> 6.3956 PANNYCHUS NERONIS AU[g f] / IMMUNIS DAT ALCIMO AUG [I?] / CUBUC FRATRI SUO ET ALEXANDRO [---] / CORINTHO L EIUS [---] / POSTERISQUE EORUM [---] *For the early 1st C. date: Chantraine 36 n. 77 & 37 n. 81, citing the location in the <i>monumentum Liviae</i> . Pannychus would then be a slave of Tiberius before his accession. Freed (rather than slave) status is preferred for his brother Alcimus because (i) 'Aug(usti)' is much more likely as part of the Imperial freed indication than the Imperial slave indication at this date; (ii) Corinthus 'libertus eius' (who cannot in any case be a freedman of Pannychus) is likely to be a freedman of Alcimus (not of Alexander); (iii) there are other 1st C. examples of freedman <i>cubicularii</i> in the Fam. Caes., e.g. 6.8783: Ti. Claudius Neronis Augusti I. (H)icelus ( <b>498</b> ); 6191: T. Flavius Aug. I. Alcimus ( <b>714</b> ). The possibility of the two Alcimi <i>cubicularii</i> ( <b>714</b> & <b>16</b> ) being identical (and the consequent dating of 6.3956 to the period of Nero, as proposed by Mommsen, <i>CIL</i> 6, p. 878) is remote.	Rome D G I M N
17	<b>Alcyoneus Divi Aug. I.</b> 6.11381 [---] ALCYONEI / DIVI AUG L OSSA / CALAIS L PATRONO L ACILI EROTIS ET / CISVITIAE MUSAE / OSSA IN UNO	Rome G
18	<b>Alexio August. lib.</b> 6.24191 P PINARIUS / C(h)RYSEROS / OLLAM DEDIT / M PETILLIUS M L / HERACLIDA IULIA FAUSTA / ALEXIONIS / AUGUST LIB LIB	Rome G
19	<b>Ti. Iulius Aug. I. Alimnos</b> 6.19860 C IULIUS C L / ATIMETUS / HIERONYMIANUS / FECIT SIBI ET / IULIAE EUTYCHIAE / COLLIBERTAE / POSTERISQUE / SUIS / TI IULIUS AUG L / ALIMNOS / LOCUM DEDIT	Rome F
20	C. Iulius Aug. I. Amaranthus 6.1963 = 5180 = D 1948 See <b>186</b>	Rome A B E H N
21	Iulia Principis (Caesaris ser. Anterotiani) I. Amaryllis 6.25033 See <b>3902</b> *Chantraine 300, no. 43.	Rome G H

22	Amoena C. Iuli Lyri (Diony[siani ?] Divi Augusti [I.] I. = Amoena Lyri et Soteridis (ser.) 6.11562; 11563 = 33242; cf. 21748; 30556.146 See <b>160 (1), (2)</b> * Solin 1159.	Rome G
23	<b>C. Iulius Caesar. I. Amphio</b> 6.11320 C IULIUS CAESAR L / AMPHIO OLLAS II / C IULIUS C L LUCRIO	Rome F
24	<b>Anteros</b> (freedman of Tiberius; <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> A 734) Scribonius Largus 162 Anteros Tiberii Augusti libertus supra hereditates *Chantraine 300, no. 43.	I
24	<b>Anthemus Ti. Caesaris Aug. I.</b> 6.8409 (a) STAPHYLO / AUG A MANU / VERNAE / CAPRINE / MUNATIA / [I]YCNIA / UXOR EADEM / SOROR PATRUELIS / FECIT (b) MUNATIAE / LYCHNIDI / SCAEVAE [f] / ANTHEMI / UXORII (c) ANT(h)EMO TI / CAESARIS AUG L / A RATIONI[b] / ACCENSO DELAT / AB AUG (d) Q MUNATIO / SALUTARI / QUEM PRO FILIO / HABUERUNT / ANTHEMUS / ET LYCINIA / VIXIT ANN / XIIX	Rome A B C E H I N
	*a4: 'Caprine' = 'Caprien(si)'; 'verna Capriensis' = 'a slave born on Capri' (cf. Chantraine 306f., no. 87; 355f.); a8: 'soror patruelis' = 'cousin on the father's side'. Munatia Lycnia/Lychnis/Lycinia, the wife successively of two members of the Fam. Caes. (Staphylus <i>a manu</i> , Anthemus <i>a rationibus</i> ), if she was freeborn (b3: 'Scaevae [f.]'), can only be related to her first husband through her father, (Q.) Munatius Scaeva, as Staphylus' mother must have been an Imperial slave. On <i>accensi</i> (c 4): see Mommsen 356ff.; Purcell 146.	
26	<b>Anthus (1) Aug. I.</b> 6.4281 TI IULIUS / DEMETRIUS / ANTHI AUG L LIB / TI IULIUS / ANTHI AUG L LIB / HILARIO / IULIA SECUNDA	Rome F G
27	C. Iulius Polybi Div[i] Augusti liberti I. Anthus (2) 14.3539 = <i>I. It.</i> 4.1.41 See <b>216</b>	Tibur: I c G K
28	<b>C. Iulius Antigon(us) Augusti I.</b> 6.33270 C IULIUS ANTIGON / AUGUSTI L	Rome
29	<b>Apella Divi Aug. I.</b> NS 1896, 332 APELLA DIVI AUG L AUGUSTALIS / SIBI ET PHOEBE CONL{L}IBERT ET LIVIAE MELIE ET ARATO F / H M S S E H N S *Chantraine 119 n. 45.	Meta: I A F K
30	<b>Iulia Divi Augusti liberta Aphrodisia</b> <i>EE</i> 8, p. 164, no. 671 IULIA DIVI AUGUSTI / LIBERTA APHRODISIA / VENERIA *On the significance of <i>Veneria</i> : Chantraine 385ff.	Capri: I I

31	Iulia Apollonia (1) C. Iuli Aug. I. Mendi liber. 6.20375 See 168 *‘Mendus’: Vidman 292; Kajanto 267. For a second Iulia Apollonia in the same inscription, see 32 below.	Rome F G
32	Iulia Menippi Caesaris Augusti liberti liberta Apollonia (2) 6.20375 See 168	Rome F G
33	<b>C. Iulius Divi Aug. I. Apollonius</b> Unpublished, <i>Antiquarium Comunale</i> Cf. Solin 276.	Rome
34	<b>Γάιος Ιούλιος Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος ἀπελεύθερος Ἀπολλοφάνης</b> <i>Arch. Eph.</i> 1910, col. 354–61, no. 6 [Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι   θεῷ θεοῦ [ιῷ Σε]βαστῷ   καὶ Τιβερίῳ Καίσαρι καὶ Γερμανικῷ Καίσαρι καὶ   Δρούσῳ Καίσαρι Γάιος Ἰούλιος Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος ἀπελεύθερος Ἀπολλοφάνης ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν κληρονομιῶν φροντιστῆς   τε ὄν] τὰς τοῦ [Σε]βαστοῦ χρῆσας [ἀνέθη]κεν [ἱερὰν κ]τήσιν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐ]τῇ σώματα καὶ θρέμματα καὶ τᾶλλα ἐπι]πλα καὶ τὰ προσό[ν]τα πάντα τῷ τε ἀγρῷ   καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα τὰ ὄν]τα τὰ ἐσόμενά τε τῆς   Φεραϊκῆς <γῆς> *For commentary: <i>SEG</i> 32, 1982, 567.	Larissa: Achaia I L N
35	<b>C. Iulius Caesaris I. Appa</b> 6.7793 C IULI CAESARIS / L APPAES	Rome
36	Iulia Arescusa (Elegantis Aug. I.) I. 6.8912 See 91	Rome G
37	<b>Ti. Iulius Aug. et Aug. I. Artimidorus (1)</b> 6.8656 C IULIO AUG L EUTYCHO MEDIC DOM PAL IX D P / TI IULIUS AUG / ET AUG L / ARTIMIDORUS / LIVIA LIVIAE L AGILEIA / M LIVIUS / FORTUNATUS / VIXIT ANN / XXIII / LIVIA / AGILEIAE / L / HELPIS *‘Artimidorus’ = ‘Artemidorus’: cf. Solin 27f.; Vidman 224.	Rome a b c d H
38	<b>Ti. Iulius Aug. lib. Artemidorus (2)</b> 6.19784 C IULIO AUG LIB / [---] / TI IULIUS AUG LIB / ARTEMIDORUS / F	Rome B
39	<b>Athamas Divi Augusti libertus</b> 6.12595 DIS MANIBUS / ATHAMANTIS / DIVI AUGUSTI / LIBERTI	Rome
40	<b>Ti. Iulius Aug. et Aug. I. Athenio</b> 6.19857 TI IULIUS AUG ET / AUG L ATHENIO / VIX ANN L / I *4: I = number of burial niche in <i>columbarium</i> ; cf. 6.7997–8011.	Rome H

41	<p>Atimetus Pamphili Ti. Caesaris Aug. I. I. Anterotianus  6.12652 = IG 14.1892 = Moretti 1250  ATIMETUS PAMPHILI / TI CAESARIS AUG L L / ANTEROTIANUS SIBI ET /  CLAUDIAE HOMONOEAE / CONLIBERTAE ET / CONTUBERNALI  (7–12: Greek epigram)  PERMISSU PATRONI / IN FRONTE LONGUM P V LATUM P IV  (15–40: Latin epigram)</p> <p>*CIL ad loc.; Buecheler, <i>Carm. Lat. Epig.</i> 2.995; <i>PIR</i><sup>2</sup> A 1314 (Atimetus); A 734 (Anteros); Chantraine 344, no. 356; Weaver 215 n. 10, 218. [I fail to see the contradiction alleged by Chantraine, loc. cit.; the reference there given to Boulvert is contradicted by Boulvert (2) 16 n. 46.]</p>	Rome A G S
	<p>Perhaps this Atimetus is the same as the slave Atimetus bequeathed by Cassius <i>medicus</i> to 'Tiberius Caesar' (Scribonius Largus 120). If so, his was a mobile ownership as a slave, having passed from Cassius to Tiberius, then by gift (or sale?) to Anteros [24], and finally to Pamphilus [195], who set him free at last. He would then be the only surviving example not only of the freedman of an emperor's freedman (<i>liberti libertus</i>) with an <i>agnomen</i> (Anterotianus), but also the only clear example of an emperor's slave who entered the Familia Caesaris from outside and then was passed by an emperor (Tiberius) to one of his own freedmen (Anteros). It is just possible that Atimetus was the <i>vicarius</i> of Anteros before the latter was manumitted to become <i>supra hereditates</i> (Scribonius Largus 162).</p>	
42	<p><b>C. Iulius Aug. I. At[t]alus</b>  6.19863  C IULIUS AUG L AT[t]ALUS</p>	Rome
43	<p><b>Ti. Iulius Aug. I. Augustianus</b>  6.19870  TI IULIUS AUG L AUGUSTIANUS / CUM DYNAMINE F SUA ET / I{I}JULIA  HIERIA CONIUGE / COLLIBERTIS CONLIBERTABUS DE SUO D D</p>	Rome A B
44	<p><b>C. Iulius Caesaris I. Automatus</b>  10.3357 = D 2817  C IULIO CAESARIS / L AUTOMATO TRIERAR / IULIA C L PLUSIA SOROR /  FECIT ET SIBI ET SUIS</p>	Misenum: I D I
45	<p><b>C. Iulius Aug. I. Bathyllus</b>  (1) 6.4222 = D 4995;  DIS MANIBUS / [---] AUG LIB BATHYLLUS AEDITUS TEMPLI DIVI AUG / [et]  DIVAE AUGUSTAE QUOD EST IN PALATIUM IMMUNIS ET HONORATUS</p>	Rome: mon. Liv. I L q
	<p>(2) 6.4223  DIS MANIB / IULIAE SEDATAE / DEC / CONTUBERN / C IULI BATHYLLI /  IMMUNIS</p>	A
	<p>(3) 6.20216 = 34128a  HONO[---] / M IULIUS AUG L POSIDES [---] / M IULIUS AUG L HEBER[---] / TI  CLAUD AUG L ACTIUS CUR GE[r ---] / ARATUS BITHI FRAT[er ---] / C IULIUS  AUG L BATHYLLUS [---] / M LIVIUS BITHUS [---]</p>	F Q
	<p>*(3) 1: <i>hono[rati]</i>: from members of a <i>collegium</i> of the household of Livia Augusta. 3: <i>Neber(?)</i> Solin, <i>Arctos</i> 29, 1995, 179f.; cf. <i>Namenb.</i>1063. 4: <i>cur(ator) Ge[r(manorum)]</i>: the same Actius also appears in 6.4305 (289 [1]). See note ad loc.</p>	
46	<p><b>Bebryx Aug. I. Drusianus</b>  6.103 = 30692 = D 1879  (a) C AVILLIUS LICINIUS TROSIUS CURATOR / SCHOLAM DE SUO FECIT</p>	Rome (AD 214)

	(b) BEBRYX AUG L DRUSIANUS A FABIUS XANTHUS CUR SCRIBIS LIBRARIIS ET PRAECONIBUS AEDIL CUR SCHOLAM / AB INCHOATO REFECERUNT MARMORIBUS ORNAVERUNT VICTORIAM AUGUSTAM ET SEDES AENEAS ET CETERA ORNAMENTA DE SUA PECUNIA [dederunt]	F I K N Q S
	(c) A FABIUS XANTHUS BEBRYX AUG L DRUSIANUS CUR SCRIBIS LIBRARIIS ET PRAECONIBUS AEDIL CUR SCHOLAM / AB INCHOATO REFECERUNT MARMORIBUS ORNAVERUNT VICTORIAM AUGUSTAM ET SEDES AENEAS ET CETERA ORNAMENTA DEDERUNT	
	(d) BEBRYX AUG L DRUSIANUS A FABIUS XANTHUS CUR IMAGINES ARGENTEAS DEORUM SEPTEM POST DEDICATIONEM SCHOLAE / ET MUTULOS CUM TABELLA AENEA DE SUA PECUNIA DEDERUNT	
	* (a): C. Avillius Licinius Trosius appears as 'scrib(is) libr(ariis) aedil(ium) curul(ium) cur(ator) II' in 6.1068 = D 1880, dated to AD 214. For the date (Tiberius–Nero) of (b)–(d): Chantraine 311; Solin 467. Boulvert (2) 14 + n. 29 opts for a Claudian date, based on a later Drusus than Livia's son as the previous owner of Bebryx.	
47	<b>C. Iulius Aug. I. Bithus</b> 6.20666 IULIA / SALVIA C IULI AUG L / BITHI	Rome A
48	Calais (Alcyonei Divi Aug. I.) I. 6.11381 See 17	Rome G
49	<b>C. Iulius Callistus</b> (freedman of Gaius; <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> I 229) (1) Scribonius Largus, <i>Compositiones</i> , praef. (cf. ib. 151) Cai Iuli Calliste	
	(2) Josephus, <i>AJ</i> 19.64f. Κάλλιστος ἀπελεύθερος ἦν Γαίου πλειστά τε ἀνὴρ εἰς οὗτος ἐπὶ μέγιστον δυνάμει ἀφίκετο καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ἰσοτύραννον εἶχε τὴν δύναμιν φόβῳ τε τῶν πάντων καὶ μεγέθει χρημάτων, ἅπερ ἐγένετο αὐτῷ· (65) δωροδοκώτατος γὰρ ἦν καὶ ὑβριστότατος παρ' ὀντινοῦν γίνεται, ἐξουσία χρησάμενος παρὰ τὸ εἶκος.	
	(3) Pliny, <i>NH</i> 36.60 nos [columnas] ampliores xxx vidimus in cenatione quam Callistus Caesaris Claudii libertorum, potentia notus, sibi exaedificaverat.	
	(4) Seneca, <i>Epist.</i> 47.9 stare ante limen Callisti dominum suum vidi et eum, qui illi inpegerat titulum, qui inter reicula mancipia produxerat, aliis intrantibus excludi. rettulit illi gratiam servus ille in primam decuriam coniectus, in qua vocem praeco experitur; et ipse illum invicem apologavit, et ipse non iudicavit domo sua dignum. dominus Callistum vendidit; sed domino quam multa Callistus!	
	(5) Dio 59.19.6 [Gaius] καὶ διὰ τε τοῦτο καὶ διὰ Κάλλιστον τὸν ἀπελεύθερον, ὃν αὐτὸς τε ἐτίμα καὶ ὁ Δομίτιος ἐτεθεραπεύκει, ἐπαύσατο ὀργιζόμενος. καὶ τῷ γε Καλλίστῳ αἰτιασαμένῳ αὐτὸν ὕστερον ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ κατηγορήσεν, ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι "οὐκ ἔδει με τοιοῦτον λόγον ἀποκεκρῖσθαι."	AD 39

	<p>(6) <i>ib.</i> 25.7f. (= Zonar. 11.6)  καὶ Ἰαπιδὸν ὠνόμασε τοὺς τε ἑταίρους τοὺς τοῦ Γαίου καὶ τοὺς συνεργοὺς τῆς ἀσελγείας καὶ τῆς ὀμότητος. καὶ πολλοὺς ἂν ἀπώλεσεν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς ὑπάρχους καὶ τὸν Κάλλιστον καὶ τὴν Καισωνίαν προσδιαβαλὼν ἠπιστήθη. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀπέθανεν, τῷ δὲ Γαίῳ τὸν ὄλεθρον αὐτὸ τοῦτο παρεσκεύασεν. ἰδίᾳ γὰρ τοὺς ὑπάρχους τε καὶ τὸν Κάλλιστον προσκαλεσάμενος "εἰς εἰμί," ἔφη, "τρῆς δὲ ὑμεῖς, καὶ γυμνὸς μὲν ἐγώ, ὀπλισμένοι δ' ὑμεῖς· εἰ οὖν μισεῖτέ με καὶ ἀποκτείνειν θέλετε, φονεύσατε."</p>	AD 40
	<p>(7) Suetonius, <i>Calig.</i> 56.1  duo consilium communicaverunt perfeceruntque, non sine conscientia potentissimorum libertorum praefectorumque praetori; quod ipsi quoque etsi falso in quadam coniuratione quasi participes nominati, suspectos tamen se et invisos sentiebant.</p>	
	<p>(8) Dio 59.29.1  συνώμοσαν μὲν γὰρ πλείονες καὶ συνήδεσαν τὸ πραττόμενον, ἐν οἷς ἦν ὁ τε Κάλλιστος καὶ ὁ ἑπαρχος.</p>	AD 41
	<p>(9) Josephus, <i>AJ</i> 19.65–9  ἐξεπιστάμενος... αὐτῷ τε πολλὰς μὲν καὶ ἄλλας αἰτίας τοῦ κινδυνεύειν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν χρημάτων· (66) ὥστε δὴ καὶ Κλαύδιον ἐθεράπευε κρυπτῶς... (68) δοκεῖν δὲ προσποιεῖτο Κάλλιστος ἐπὶ θήρᾳ τῇ Κλαυδίου τὸν λόγον τοῦτον, ἐπεὶ τε οὔτε Γάιος ὠρμηκῶς μεταχειρίσασθαι Κλαύδιον ἠνείχετο τῶν Καλλίστου προφάσεων οὔτε Κάλλιστος κελευσθεὶς πού τὴν πράξιν ἀπευκτὸν ὑπελάμβανεν ἢ κακουργῶν εἰς τοῦ δεσπότητος τὰς ἐπιστολάς οὐκ ἂν ἐκ τοῦ παραχρήμα τὸν μισθὸν ἐκομίζετο... (69) Καλλίστῳ δὲ προσποιήσασθαι χάριτος κατάθεσιν μηδαμῶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γενομένης.</p>	
	<p>(10) Tacitus, <i>Ann.</i> 11.29  ac primo Callistus, iam mihi circa necem G(ai) Caesaris narratus, et Appianae caedis molitor Narcissus flagrantissimaque eo in tempore gratia Pallas agitavere num Messalinam secretis minis depellerent amore Sillii, cuncta alia dissimulantes. dein metu, ne ad perniciem ultro traherentur, desistunt, Pallas per ignaviam, Callistus prioris quoque regiae peritus et potentiam cautis quam acribus consiliis tutius haberi.</p>	AD 48
	<p>(11) <i>ib.</i> 38.4  decreta Narcisso quaestoria insignia, levissimum fastidio eius, cum super Pallantem et Callistum ageret.</p>	
	<p>(12) Dio 60.30 6<sup>b</sup> (= Zonar 11.9)  ἡ δὲ Μεσσαλίνα καὶ οἱ ἐξελεύθεροι αὐτοῦ ἐξώγκωντο. ἦσαν δὲ τρεῖς οἱ μάλιστα τὸ κράτος διειληφότες· ὁ τε Κάλλιστος, ὃς ἐπὶ ταῖς βίβλοις τῶν ἀξιώσεων ἐτέτακτο, καὶ ὁ Νάρκισσος, ὃς τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἐπεστάτει, διὸ καὶ ἐγχειρίδιον παρεζώννυτο, καὶ ὁ Πάλλας, ᾧ ἡ τῶν χρημάτων διοίκησις ἐμπεπίστευτο.</p>	
	<p>(13) <i>ib.</i> 33.3<sup>a</sup> (= Zonar. 11.10)  ὁ γὰρ Κάλλιστος ἐπὶ πολὺ προχωρήσας δυνάμειος ἐτελεύτησεν.</p>	
	<p>(14) Pliny, <i>NH</i> 33.134  multos postea cognovimus servitute liberatos opulentiores, pariterque tres Claudii principatu paulo ante Callistum, Pallantem, Narcissum.</p>	

	(15) Plutarch, <i>Galba</i> 9 ἐγνώκει γὰρ ὁ Γάιος, ὡς ἔοικε, τὴν τεκοῦσαν αὐτὸν [Νυμφίδιον] ἔτι μειράκιον ὣν οὐκ ἀειδῆ τὴν ὄψιν οὔσαν, ἐκ δ' ἀκεστρίας ἐπιμισθίου Καλλίστῳ, Καίσαρος ἀπελευθέρῳ, γεγενημένην.	AD 51
50	<b>Divi Aug. libertus Calyx</b> SEG 32, 1982, 1613 = AE 1984, 951 DIVI AUG LIBERTI / CALYCIS L HYGIAE Θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ   ἀπελευθέρου   Κάλυκος ἀπελευθέρᾳ Ὑγείᾳ *Iota subscript omitted from the last two words of Greek. Cf. S. Treggiari, <i>J. Paul Getty Museum Journal</i> 10, 1982, 185f.	provenanc e unknown G
51	<b>Carnius Ti. Caesaris Aug. I.</b> 6.4312 = D 1733 CARNIUS TI CAESARIS / AUG L A CUBICULO / VIXIT ANNIS XXXII	Rome: mon. Liviae H I
52	<b>Castor Ti. Caesa(ris) et Aug(ustae) I. Agrippi(anus)</b> 6.5223 CASTOR TI CAESA / ET AUG L AGRIPPI *Chantraine 296f., no. 12.	Rome: mon. vin. Codin. 2 S
53	<b>C. Iulius Caesar(is) I. Castus</b> AE 1995, 137 C IULIUS CAESAR / L CASTUS SIBI ET / MAGULNIA<e> L ET / (Gaiae) L PHILUMENE / ET SUEIS (!) LIBERTIS / LIBERTABUS / IN FR P XVIII / IN AG P XXII *3: L(ucii).	Rome A M
54	<b>Celadus</b> (freedman of Augustus; <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> C 616) (1) Suetonius, <i>Aug.</i> 67.1 patronus dominusque non minus severus quam facilis et clemens multos libertorum in honore et usu maximo habuit, ut Licinum et Celadum aliosque.	
	(2) Josephus, <i>AJ</i> 17.332 [Augustus] διδοὺς δέ τι τῇ ἐλπίδι, Κέλαδον τῶν αὐτοῦ τινα ἐξελευθέρων, ὠμιληκότα τοῖς μειρακίοις, πέμπει κελεύσας ἀγαγεῖν εἰς ὄψιν αὐτῷ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. ὁ δὲ ἀνήγεν, οὐδέν τι βελτίων ἐπὶ τῇ κρίσει τῶν πολλῶν γενόμενος.	c. 4 BC – AD 4 I N
	(3) id. <i>BJ</i> 2.106–9 Καίσαρ δέ... Κέλαδόν τινα πέμπει τῶν σαφῶς ἐπισταμένων Ἀλέξανδρον, κελεύσας ἀγαγεῖν αὐτῷ τὸν νεανίσκον. (107) ὁ δὲ ὡς εἶδεν, ἐτεκμήρατο μὲν τάχιστα καὶ τὰς διαφορὰς τοῦ προσώπου, τὸ δὲ ὅλον σῶμα σκληρότερόν τε καὶ δουλοφανὲς καταμαθὼν ἐνόησεν πᾶν τῷ σύνταγμα...(109) ἀπολαβόμενος οὖν αὐτὸν κατ' ἰδίαν "μισθόν," ἔφη, "παρὰ Καίσαρος ἔχεις τὸ ζῆν τοῦ μηνῦσαι τὸν ἀναπέισαντά σε πλασᾶσθαι τηλικαῦτα." κάκεινος αὐτῷ δηλώσειεν εἰπὼν ἔπεται πρὸς Καίσαρα καὶ τὸν Ἰουδαῖον ἐνδείκνυται καταχρησάμενον αὐτοῦ τῇ ὁμοιότητι πρὸς ἐργασίαν.  *Not the same as Celadus Divae Augustae I. (3065)	

55	<b>Iulia Aug. liberta Charmosyne</b> 10.6499 IULIA AUG LIBERTA / CHARMOSYNE FECIT / LIBERTIS ET LIBERTABUS / ET FAMILIAE SUIS POSTERIS/QUE EORUM / IN FRONTE P XXXXVIII / IN AGRO P LXIII	Ulubrae: I M
56	C. Iulius (C. Iuli Augus[ti I.] Industr[i I.] Chr[---] 6.35559 See 144	Rome G
57	Ci[n]namus (Thesei Hilarionis Divi Aug. liberti liberti) conlib. 5.236 = <i>l. It.</i> 10.1.53 See 127	Pola: X F
58	<b>Cissus Aug. li[b.]</b> 6.4777 [---] IULIAE MELIS[SAE --- / ---]XXIIX M II D[--- / ---] C IULIO CISSO [--- / ---] D XII CISSUS AUG LI[b ---]	Rome: mon. Marcellae A B H
59	<b>C. Iulius Aug. I. Clarus</b> 6.1957 C IULIUS AUG L CLARUS / SIBI ET SUIS ET / DAPHNINI CONIUGI SUA[e] / INTER APPARITORES	Rome A I
60	<b>C. Iulius Aug. I. Clonius</b> 6.38489 C IULIUS AUG L / CLONIUS / PAT IULIA MAGNA / VIX AN XXX / FIL IULIA / NOTHIS / MAT	Rome A B H
61	<b>Coetus Herodian(us)</b> 6.9005 = D 1795 GENIO / COETI HERODIAN / PRAEGUSTATOR / DIVI{I} AUGUSTI / IDEM POSTEA VILICUS IN / HORTIS SALLUSTIANIS / DECESSIT NON AUGUSTIS / M COCCEIO NERVA / C VIBIO RUFINO / COS / IULIA PRIMA PATRONO SUO *Clearly a 'Iulius', as the <i>nomen</i> of his freedwoman Iulia Prima indicates, and an Imperial freedman, despite the occupational title <i>vilicus</i> . Cf. Chantraine 317, no. 175, with further refs. to <i>vilici</i> of freed status.	Rome G I M N S  AD 42
62	Corinthus (Alcimi Aug. [lib.] I. 6.3956 See 16	Rome F G M N
63	<b>C. Iulius Divi Aug. I. Cozmus Agrippianus</b> (1) 6.5202 = D 1778 C IULIUS DIVI AUG L / COZMUS SPEC(u)LARIA / AGRIPPIANUS HIC SITUS EST / C IULIUS COSMI L / SABINUS  (2) 6.5203 C IULI DIVI / AUG L COZMI / SPECULARIARI / AGRIPPIANI / IULIAE / C L / FAUSTAE	Rome: mon. vin. Codin. 2 G I S  Rome A I
64	<b>Ti. Iul(ius) Augusti I. Craeno</b> 6.5185 IULIA CINURA / VIX A XXV TI IUL AUGUSTI / L CRAENO AB / ARGENTO PATER	Rome B H I

65	<b>C. Iulius Aug. lib. Crescens Claranus</b> EE 9.431, no. 737 C IULIO C F PAL / SEVERO VIXIT / ANNIS XXVIII ET / C IULIO AUG LIB / CRESCENTI CLARANO / PATRI IN FRO P L / IN AGR P LXV *Chantraine 308, no. 95.	Praeneste: I B H M
66	Crispinilla Euhodi Divi Aug. I. liberta 6.16586 See 99	Rome A F G H
67	<b>Ti. Iulius Aug. I. Cytisorus</b> 6.5854 = 6.834* (a) C IULIO TYRANNO / TI IULIUS AUG L / CYTISORUS OLL DED (b) C IULI ϕ L / FELICIONIS / VIX AN V	Rome F H
68	<b>Ti. Iulius Augusti I. Daduchus</b> 6.19919 TI IULIO AUGUSTI L / DADUCHO / IULIA AUGUSTI L ECLOG[e] / VIRO SUO ET SIBI	Rome A
69	[C. Iuli]us Malchio[nis Caes]aris [Augus]ti lib. lib. Dama AE 1913, 216 See 164 (1)	Puteoli: I A G M O
70	<b>Ti. Iulius Aug. I. Daphnus (1)</b> 6.19922 OLLA / TI IULI AUG L / DAPHNI VIX ANN LXXX	Rome H
71	[Ti. I]ulius Daphnus (2) AE 1980, 57 = 1953, 24 = Gordon 90 See 647	Rome F I K N Q
72	<b>D[e]lphus (1) Div. Aug. lib.</b> 6.38419 (a) GEMELLA / V A I M V / OL DAT AB C / MARC EPAPHR (b) D[e]LPHI / DIVI AUG / LIB	Rome
73	<b>C. Iulius Divi Aug. I. Delphus (2) Maecenatianus</b> 6.19926 = Gordon 59 C IULIUS DIVI AUG L DELPHUS / MAECENATIANUS / IULIA C L CHRONIA / IULIA C F SECUNDA / C IULIUS TROPHIMAS REFECIT SIBI ET SUIS / LIB LIBERTABUSQUE POSTERISQUE EOR *4: CIL ad loc. reads '(liberta)' for '(ilia)' (Gordon).	Rome A B E S
74	<b>C. Iulius Caesaris I. Demetrius (1)</b> 6.5871 = 6.865* (a) LONGINUS / OSTIARIUS (b) C IULIUS CAESARIS L / DEMETRIUS	Rome: mon. vin. Codin. F
75	<b>[Iulius] Aug. I. Demetrius (2)</b> 6.34005 [---] POMPONIO COS [--- / ---] AUG L DEMETRIUS DEC ¥ L[--- / ---]A SABINA DEC ¥ [--- / ---]ARIO TI CAESARIS OST DEC ¥ L[--- / ---] cet]HEGO ET VARRONE COS [--- / --- pri]MIGENIUS AUG VERN[---]	Rome AD 17 F I N AD 24
76	Ti. Iulius Demetrius (3) Anthi Aug. I. lib. 6.4281 See 26	Rome F G

77	<b>Didymus</b> (freedman of Tiberius; <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> D 83) Tacitus, <i>Ann.</i> 6.24 adstitisse tot per annos qui vultum, gemitus, occultum etiam murmur exciperent, et potuisse avum audire, legere, in publicum promere vix fides, nisi quod Attii centurionis et Didymi liberti epistulae servorum nomina praeferebant, ut quis egredientem cubiculo Drusum pulsaverat, exterruerat.	AD 33
78	<b>Ti. Iulius Aug. lib. Diocles Stabilianus</b> 6.19933 TI IULIUS AUG / LIB DIOCLES / STABILIANUS / FECIT SIBI VIV<u>S	Rome S
79	<b>Ti. Iulius Aug. et August(ae) I. Diogenes (1)</b> 10.3358 = D 2818 TI IULIUS AUG ET / AUGUST L DIOGENES TR / SIBI ET NIGIDIAE EUTYCHIAE / CONIUGI ET SUIS NIGIDIA EUTYCHIA / S[ta]BERIAE C L MARGARITAE AMICAE / SUAE H M H N S	Misenum: I A F I
80	<b>Ti. Iulius Diogenes (2) Remothalcianus</b> (1) <i>AE</i> 1923, 70 TI IULIO / DIOGENI / REMOTHALCIANO	Rome S
	(2) <i>AE</i> 1923, 71 TI IULI VIPSANIAE / FAUSTI URBANAE / OLLAE QUAE FUERUNT DIOGENIS / REMOTHALCIANI	Rome F S
	*Included among the Imperial freedmen in Ehrenberg & Jones <sup>2</sup> , p. 100, no. 156, but rejected by Chantraine, p. 349, no. 343. Despite the absence of status indication, his inclusion is supported, on balance, by the <i>agnomen</i> derived from Remothalces, one of the Thracian dynasts of the Tiberian period, together with the Vipsanian connection, either through the inheritance by Augustus of Agrippa's <i>familia</i> in the Thracian Chersonese or, preferably, through Tiberius' first wife Vipsania.	
81	<b>Ti. Iulius Aug. et Augustae I. [D]iomedes (1)</b> 6.4770 TI IULI AUG ET / AUGUSTAE L / [d]IOMEDIS / IULIA C L / GRAPHIS	Rome: mon. Marcellae A
82	<b>C. Iulius [C]a[es]ar. I. Diomedes (2) Campanus</b> <i>AE</i> 1987, 260 C IULI [c]A[es]AR / L DIOMEDIS / CAMPANI / [in front]E PEDE[s ---/ in agro p]EDES[---] *For 'Campanus' as indication of origin: 10.4747 (Suessa) (= <b>948</b> ); Chantraine 306, no. 83; 355f.	Capua: I S
83	<b>C. Iulius Divi Aug. I. Dionysius (1)</b> 6. 5870 = 33081 = 6.864* C IULIUS / DIVI AUG L / DIONYSIUS C IULIUS / STYRAX	Rome F
84	<b>C. Iulius Divi Aug. I. Dionysius (2)</b> 6.10395 = 1 <sup>2</sup> p. 69 = <i>I. It.</i> 13.1, p. 294 [I passieno] C CALV[isio cos] / [---er--- / --- / ---]V[--- / ---] EUO[dus---] / [dec]UR EMIT / [---]SY[---] L LENTV[io] M MESSA[lla cos] / ZOILUS / HERMES IULIAN[us] / LIVIUS ALEX[ander] / EROS [---] / DECUR [emit] / NICEROS[---] IMP CAESARE XIII M [plautio cos] / ANOPTES [---] / LUCRIO ANTON[ian] / C IULIUS HY[---] / <b>C IULIUS DIVI AUG L DIONYSIUS</b>	Rome 4 BC  3 BC  2 BC

	COSSO CORNELIO L PISONE C[os] / AMPHIO PHILOTEE / FLORUS SP[e]NDONT / GAA AMYNT / APOLLONIUS AMYNT / DECUR EMIT / C IULIUS HILARIO C CAESARE L PAULO COS / EROS ANTONIAN / DAMOCRATES AMYNT / PSES VEDIAN / ONESIMUS ISOCHRYSIAN / DECUR EMERUNT / C IULIUS AGAMEMNO / ORESTES / C IULIUS PARTHENIO / C OCTAVIUS CLEMENS / AMIANTHUS ARCHITECT NICANORIANUS	1 BC  AD 1  F I N Q
	<i>*Fasti</i> for the years 4 BC – AD 1 of a <i>collegium</i> formed of slaves and freedmen belonging to or associated with the Imperial <i>familia</i> to support the costs of their burial (cf. <i>CIL</i> ad loc.; Chantraine 300ff., 343) . Four officers of the college are listed for each year — all slaves except two Iulii in 2 BC — followed by one or more who have contributed an entrance fee ( <i>decur[iam] emit / emerunt</i> ), a majority of whom (4/7) are not slaves.	
	Only one of the 23 names carries a status indication, viz. C. Iulius Divi Aug. I. Dionysius (2 BC), a form which shows that these <i>fasti</i> were inscribed not before AD 14. As use of the Imperial status indication was firmly established well before that date, it is interesting that it is not recorded for any of the others. On the other hand, most of the slaves (11/16) have an <i>agnomen</i> (e.g. Iulianus, Antonianus), whereas none of the 7 with <i>nomen gentilicium</i> (Livius, Iulius, Octavius) has an <i>agnomen</i> (are some perhaps freeborn?). For discussion of the likely origins of the <i>agnomina</i> : Chantraine 300ff.	
85	Donata (C. Iuli Licini I. Tyrrheni) liberta 6.20311 See 155 (14)	
86	<b>Ti. Iulius Donatus</b> 6.5181 = D 1676 TI IULI DONATI / ACCEPTORIS A SUBSCR / OLLAE N XXXVI / PROPRIAE IURIS EIUS FAUSTUS / AUGUSTI / ET AUGUSTAE / FRONTONIANUS *Chantraine 218	Rome: mon. vin. Codin. 2 F I M N
87	<b>C. Iulius Caesaris Augusti I. Dosa</b> 5.3404 C IULIUS CAESARIS / AUGUSTI L DOSA / SEX VIR VIVUS SIBI ET / NUMISIAI T F UXORI	Verona: X A K
88	<b>Dymas</b> (freedman of Octavian; <i>PIR</i> <sup>1</sup> T 325) <i>Suda</i> T 1185 <i>Adl.</i> Τυραννίων, ὁ νεώτερος... ὑπὸ τινος Δύμαντος ὠνήθη, τοῦ Καίσαρος ὄντος ἀπελευθέρου, εἶτα ἐδωρήθη Τερεντία τῇ τοῦ Κικέρωνος γυναικί. ἐλευθερωθεὶς δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῆς... *See also 3942	G
89	<b>Iulia Augusti I. Eclog[e] (1)</b> 6.19919 See 67	Rome A
90	<b>Iulia Egloge (2) Caesaris I.</b> 6.20432 IULIA EGLOGE CAESARIS / L APIONIS AN<n>OS VIXI XXII	Rome A H
91	<b>C. Iulius Divi Aug. I. Elainus</b> 6.8893 C IULIUS DIVI AUG L HILARUS / MANCEPS HUIUS MONIMENTI / ANTEROS MARMOR VEDIAN / C IULIUS DIVI AUG L ELAINUS	Rome F G M

92	<b>Elegans Aug. I.</b> 6.8912 OSSA / ELEGANTIS AUG / L MENSORIS / IULIA ARESCUSA / L EIUS	Rome G I
93	<b>C. Iulius Epagathus</b> 6.1934 C IULIUS EPAGATHUS VIATOR / TRIB ACCENS CAESARIS / PATRONI PROCUR <i>*Viatores: Purcell 152–4, to which add the above.</i>	Rome I
94	<b>C. Iulius Epaphra Divi Augusti I.</b> 6.8980 C IULIUS EPAPHRA / DIVI AUGUSTI L / VIXIT ANN LX / CARUS ALUMNO SUO / (5) REGIS PAEDAGOGUS <i>*5: 'Regis' most likely the genitive of a cognomen 'Rex'. See further, Chantraine 275-7.</i>	Rome B H I
95	<b>Epaphroditus (freedman of Octavian; PIR<sup>2</sup> E 68)</b> (1) Dio 51.11.4f. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο [Καίσαρ] ἔπεμψε πρὸς αὐτὴν Γαίον τε Προκουλείον ἱππέα καὶ Ἐπαφρόδιτον ἐξελεύθερον, ἐντειλάμενός σφισι ὅσα καὶ εἰπεῖν καὶ πράξει ἐχρήν. καὶ οὕτως ἐκεῖνοι συμμίξαντες τῇ Κλεοπάτρα καὶ μέτριά τινα διαλεχθέντες, ἔπειτ' ἐξαίφνης συνήρπασαν αὐτὴν πρὶν τι ὁμολογηθῆναι. (5) ἔπειτα δὲ ἐς τὰ Βασίλεια αὐτὴν ἤγαγον...	30 BC N
	(2) ib. 13.4f. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οἱ τε ἄλλοι καὶ ὁ Ἐπαφρόδιτος, ὧπερ ἐπετέτραπτο, πιστεύσαντες ταῦθ' ὡς ἀληθῶς φρονεῖν, τῆς ἀκριβοῦς φυλακῆς ἠμέλησαν, παρεσκευάζετο ὅπως ὡς ἀλυπότατα ἀποθάνη. καὶ γραμματεῖόν τι... αὐτῷ τῷ Ἐπαφροδίτῳ σεσημασμένον, (5) ὅπως προφάσει τῆς ἀποκομιδῆς αὐτοῦ ὡς καὶ ἄλλο τι ἔχοντος ἐκποδῶν οἱ γένηται, δοῦσα ἔργου εἶχετο.	
	(3) Plutarch, <i>Ant.</i> 79.6 ἐπέμφθη δὲ καὶ παρὰ Καίσαρος τῶν ἀπελευθέρων Ἐπαφρόδιτος, ᾧ προσετέτακτο ζῶσαν αὐτὴν φυλάττειν ἰσχυρῶς ἐπιμελόμενον, τᾶλλα δὲ πρὸς τὸ ῥᾶστον ἐνδιδόναι καὶ ἥδιστον.	
96	<b>Epitychus C. Iuli Lyri (Diony[siani?] Divi Augusti [I.] I.</b> 6.17237 See <b>163 (4)</b> <i>*Solin 1159</i>	Rome G
97	<b>Eros (1) (freedman of Augustus; PIR<sup>2</sup> E 86)</b> Plutarch, <i>Moralia</i> 207b [Καίσαρ] ἀκούσας δὲ ὅτι Ἔρος ὁ τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ διοικῶν ὄρτυγα τὸν κρατοῦντα πάντων ἐν τῷ μάχεσθαι καὶ ἀήττητον ὄντα πριάμενος ὀπτήσας κατέφαγε, μετεπέμψατο αὐτὸν καὶ ἀνέκρινεν· ὁμολογήσαντα δὲ ἐκέλευσεν ἰσθῶ νηὸς προσηλωθῆναι.	

98	<p>C. Iulius Aug. liberti libertus Eros (2) 14.2302 = D 7462 C IULIUS AUG LIBERTI / LIBERTUS EROS / PISTOR CANDIDARIUS / PER ANNOS QUOS INTER / MORTALES FUIT ANTE EUM DIEM / QUI FUIT VI IDUS MAI VIXIT / ANNOS L HUIUS SACRAVIT / IULIA GLAPHYRA COLLIBERTA / ET PRAESTITIT OFFICIA / M' AEMILIO LEPIDO T STATILIO TAURO COS</p> <p>*On <i>lib. liberti</i> in the early Fam. Caes. who omit the name of their immediate patron: Weaver 208f.; Chantraine 393 n.35.</p>	<p>ager Albanus: I F G H I M N</p> <p>AD 11</p>
99	<p><b>Ti. Iulius Augusti libert. Euenus Primianus</b> (= Ti. Iulius Augusti [l. Eue]nus = Euenus Ti. Cessaris Augusti lubertus Primianus = Eunos/Eunnus Ti. Cessaris Augusti l. Primianus)</p> <p>(1) <i>TP 15</i> = Wolf &amp; Crook 1 (pp. 26–7); cf. <i>AE</i> 1972, 86 <i>scriptura exterior</i>: CN ACCERONIO PROCULO C PETRONIO PONTIO NIGRINO COS / QUARTUM KALENDAS IULIAS / C NOVIUS EUNUS SCRIPSI ME ACCEPISSE MUTUA AB EUENO / TI CAESARIS AUGUSTI LIBERTO PRIMIANO APSENTE PER / HESYCHUM SERVUM EIUS ET DEBERE EI SESTERTIUM / DECEM MILLIA NUMMUM QUAE EI REDDAM CUM / PETIERIT ET EA HS X M N Q S S S P R D STIPULATUS EST / HESYCHUS EUENI TI CAESARIS AUGUSTI L PRIMIANI / SERVUS SPOPONDI EGO C NOVIUS EUNUS PROQUE / IIS SESTERTIIS DECEM M[ill]IBUS NUMMUM DEDI / EI PIGNORIS ARRABO[n]ISVE NOMINE TRITICI ALEXANDRINI / MODIUM SEPTEM MILLIA [plus mi]NUS ET CICERIS FARRIS MONOCOPI / LENTIS IN SACCIS DUC[en]TIS [mod]IUM QUATTUOR MILLIA P M / QUAE OMNIA. REPOSITA HABEO PENES ME IN HOREIS / BASSIANIS PUBLICIS PUT[eo]LANORUM QUAE AB OMNI VI / PERICULO MEO ESSE FAT[e]OR ACT PUTEOLIS</p>	<p>Murecine, Pompeii: I 28 June, AD 37 F G K N S</p>
	<p>(2) <i>TP 16</i> = Wolf &amp; Crook 2 (pp. 28–9); cf. <i>AE</i> 1972, 87 <i>scriptura interior</i>: C CESSASARE GERMANICO AUG / TI CLAUDIO GERMANICO COS / VI NONAS IULIAS C NOVIUS EUNUS / SCRIPSSI ME ACCEPISSE MUTA AB / HESSCO EUNNI TI CESSARIS AUGUSTI / L PRIMIANI SER MUTA ET / DEBERE EI SESTERTIA TRA MILIA / NUMMU PRET ALIA HS X N / QUE ALIO CHIROGRAPHO MEO / EIDEM DEBO ET EA SESTERTIA / TRA MILIA NUM NUMMU / Q S S S P R RECETE DARI</p> <p>STIPULATUS ETS HESSUCUS EUNI / TI CESSARIS AUGUSTI L PRIMIANI / SER SPEPODI EGO C NOVIUS EUNUS / IN QUA OMINIS SUMA DEDI EI / PIGNORIS TRIDIGI ALXADRINI MODIUM SEPT MILA QUOT EST POSSIT[um] / IN HOREIS BASSIANIS PUPUBLICIS PUTOLA[nor] / MEDIS HOREO DUODE[cimo] ET SACOS DUCEN[t]OS LENTIS C[ice]R[is] ...ISSI MONOCOPI / ET FARIS IN QUIBUS SUNT MODIUM QUATOR MILIA QUI SUNT POSSITI IN / ISDEM HOREIS QUE OMINIA AB OMINI / VI PRICULO MEO EST FATOR / ACTUM PUTOLIS</p>	<p>2 July, AD 37</p>
	<p>(3) <i>TP 7</i> = Wolf &amp; Crook 3 (pp. 30–1); cf. <i>AE</i> 1973, 143 = 1969–70, 100 <i>scriptura exterior</i>: C CAES[a]RE GERMANICO AUGUSTO / TI CLAUDIO NERON[e] GERMANICO COS / SEXTUM NONAS IULIAS DIOGNETUS C NOVI / CYPAERI SERVUS SCR[i]PSI IUSSU CYPAERI DOMINI / MEI CORAM IPSO / ME LOCASSE HESYCH[o] / TI IULI AUGUSTI [i] E[ue]NI SER HORREUM / DUODECIMUM IN HORR[e]IS BASSIANIS PUBLICIS / [p]UTEOLANORUM MEDIS IN QUO REPOSITUM / EST TRITICUM ALEXAN[drinu]M QUOD PIGNORI / ACCEPIT HAC DIE A C [novi]O EUNO ITEM / IN IISDEM HORREIS HORREIS IMIS INTER / COLUMNIA UBI REPOSIT[o]S HABET SACCOS / LEGUMINUM DUCENTOS QUOS PIGNORI ACCEPIT AB / EODEM EUNO EX KAL IULIS IN MENSES / SINGULOS SESTERTIIS SINGULIS NUM ACT PUT</p>	<p>2 July, AD 37</p>

	<p>(4) <i>TP</i> 17 = Wolf &amp; Crook 4 (p. 32); cf. <i>AE</i> 1972, 88  <i>scriptura interior</i>: SER ASSINIO CELERE SEX NONIO COS / IV KAL SEPTEBRES / C NOVIUS [eu]NUS SCRIPSSI ME / DEBERE H[es]UCO C CESSAR[i]S AUG / GERM[anici se]R EUENIANO / SESTERTI[os mile] CENTUM TRIGINA / NIMM[os] QUOS AB EO MUTUOS / SU[p]SSI ET [reddam] IPSSI AUT / C SULPICIO [fausto] CUM PETIARIT / EOSQUE SESTERTIOS MILE CENT</p> <p>TRIGINA NU[m]MOS Q S S S / PROBA R[ecte da]RI STIPULATUS / ETS HE[sucus c c]ESSARIS AUGUST[i] / GERM[anic] SER EUENIANU[s] / SPEPODI E[go c no]VIUS EUNUS / ACTUM PUTOLIS</p>	<p>29 Aug. AD 38</p> <p>F G I N S</p>
	<p>(5) <i>TP</i> 18 = Wolf &amp; Crook 5 (pp. 34–5); cf. <i>AE</i> 1973, 138  <i>scriptura exterior</i>: CN DOMITIO AFRO A DIDIO GALLO COS / XVII K O[c]TOBRES C N[o]VIUS EUNUS SCRIPSI / ME DEBERE HESYCHO C CAESARIS AUGUSTI GERMA/NICI S[e]R [euenia]NO SESTERTIOS MILLE DUCENTOS / QUINQUAGINTA NUMMOS RELIQUOS RATIONE / OMNI PUTATA QUOS AB EO MUTUOS ACCEPI / QUAM SUMMAM IURATUS PROMISI ME A[u]T / IPSI HESYCHO AUT C SULPICIO FAUSTO REDDITURUM K NOVEMBRIBUS PRIMIS PER IOVEM OPTU/MUM MAX ET NUMEN DIVI AUG ET GENI/UM C CAESARIS AUGUSTI QUOD SI EA DIE NON / SLVERO ME NON SOLUM PEIURIO TENERI / SED ETIAM POENAE NOMINE IN DIES SING / HS XX NUMMOS OBLIGATUM IRI ET EOS HS MCCL / Q S S S PRD STIPULATUS EST HESYCHUS C CAESARIS SER / SPOPONDI C NOVIUS EUNUUS ACT PUTEOLIS</p>	<p>15 Sept. AD 39</p>
	<p>*Text as in Wolf &amp; Crook. In (1), (3) &amp; (5) only the <i>scriptura exterior</i>, which uses the standard Latin forms, is given. Where this is not available, as in (2) &amp; (4), the 'vulgar' forms of the <i>scriptura interior</i> are printed. For full text, with an excellent legal and linguistic commentary, and a German translation, see the edition of Wolf &amp; Crook (Heidelberg 1989). On Euenus Primianus: Boulvert, <i>RD</i> 51, 1973, 54-61. Included under this item are also the tablets relating to Hesychnus C. Caesaris Augusti Germanici servus Euenianus (3835), the former slave of Euenus.</p>	
100	<p><b>Euhodus (1) Divi Aug I.</b>  6.16586  CRISPINILLAE / EUHODI DIVI AUG L / LIBERTAE / VIX ANN XXIII / C CALVIUS LOGUS / CONLIB CONIUGI</p> <p>*For the names, cf. Calvia Crispinilla, Nero's 'magistra libidinum' (<i>PIR</i><sup>2</sup> C 363), but (Iulia) Crispinilla and Calvius Logus can scarcely be her parents, as hinted at by Krebs in <i>PIR</i><sup>1</sup> C 297.</p>	<p>Rome G H</p>

101	<p><b>Euodus (2)</b> (freedman of Tiberius; <i>PIR</i><sup>2</sup> E 114) Josephus, <i>AJ</i> 18.205–13 Τιβέριος δ' ἐπανελθὼν εἰς τὰς Καπρέας ἐμαλακίζετο τὰ μὲν πρῶτα μετρίως, ἐπιδοῦσης δ' εἰς τὸ μᾶλλον τῆς νόσου ποιηρὰς ἔχων περὶ αὐτῷ τὰς ἐλπίδας Εὐδοῦν, ὅς ἦν αὐτῷ τιμιώτατος τῶν ἀπελευθέρων, κελεύει τὰ τέκνα προσαγαγεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν· χρήζειν γὰρ ἀφικέσθαι σφίσι διὰ λόγων πρὶν ἢ τελευτᾶν...(211) ὁ δὲ Τιβέριος Εὐδῶ πρόσταγμα ποιησάμενος κατὰ τὴν ὑστεραίαν ὑπὸ τὴν ἑὼ εἰσαγαγεῖν τοὺς παῖδας εὐχεται τοῖς πατρίοις θεοῖς σημείον τι πρόφαντον αὐτῷ δεῖξαι περὶ τοῦ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν διαδεχομένου...(213) ἐπεὶ τάχιστα ἡμέρα ἦν, κελεύει τὸν Εὐδοῦν εἰσκαλεῖν τῶν παίδων τὸν παρόντα πρότερον. ἔξελθὼν δ' ἐκεῖνος καὶ τὸν Γάιον πρὸ τοῦ δωματίου καταλαβὼν, ὁ γὰρ Τιβέριος οὐ παρῆν... ἤδει δὲ οὐδὲν ὧν ἐβούλετο ὁ δεσπότης, "καλεῖ σε," φησὶν, "ὁ πατήρ," καὶ εἰσήγαγεν αὐτόν. *Perhaps the same Euodus as in <b>429</b>; cf. <i>PIR</i><sup>2</sup> E 115/116.</p>	AD 37
102	<p><b>Eupol[i]s Divi Aug. I.</b> 6.11377 ALCIDES EUPOL[i]DIS / DIVI AUG L L / DE SUO</p>	Rome G
103	<p><b>C. Iulius Aug. I. Eutychus</b> 6.8656 See <b>38</b></p>	Rome a b H I
104	<p>Iulia Fausta Alexionis August. lib. lib. 6.24191 See <b>18</b></p>	Rome G
105	<p><b>Faustus (1) Caesaris I.</b> 6.4199 XUTHE LIVIAE L / DAT FAUSTO / CAESARIS L / OLLAM</p>	Rome E M N
106	<p><b>Faustus (2) Ti. Caesaris I.</b> 6.17900 FESTUS FAUSTI / TI CAESARIS L SER</p>	Rome G
107	<p><b>C. Iulius Divi Aug. I. Felix (1) I(u)vatianus</b> 6.5747 = D 1743 C IULIUS SYRIANTHI L / AMERYMNUS / VIXIT ANN XVII / IULIA ATTIA ANNCYLA / C IULIUS DIVI / AUG L FELIX / I(u)VATIANUS DECURIO / CUBICULARIUS *I(u)vatianus' = 'Iubatianus': cf. 6.9046; Chantraine 319f., nos. 195–6. <i>Cubicularii</i> in the imperial household are mostly slaves but freedmen are sometimes found among the Iulii and Claudii, e.g. <b>166</b>: Iulius Marus, <b>376</b>: Claudius Chius (see the lists in Boulvert (1) 30f. n.91 &amp; 82f. n.476 ), As a senior (<i>decurio</i>) <i>cubicularius</i>, Felix is appropriately of freedman status. On the distinction between <i>cubicularius</i> and a <i>cubiculo</i>, see Boulvert (1) 241-7.</p>	Rome b E H I S
108	<p><b>C. Iulius Caes. I. Felix (2)</b> 6.19968 C IULIUS / EUCHRESUS / THRASIAE L C IULIUS / CAES L / FELIX</p>	Rome F

109	<p><b>C. Iulius Aug. I. Felix (3) Accavonis f.</b>  AE 1979, 656  C IULIUS AUG L FELIX / ACCAVONIS F PIUS / VIXIT ANNIS LXV H S E / C IULIUS C L FELIX F PATRI / POSTERISQ EIUS D S P F</p> <p>*The status indications of both C. Iulius Felix father and son are unusual, at least in the Fam. Caes. The father has both filiation and freed-indication; the homonymous son (see 111), born a slave, appears to have been freed by his father, not by the emperor. Hence his inclusion as a <i>lib. libertus</i>.</p>	Messaouer: Afr. B C H
110	<p>C. Iulius Caesar. I. I. Felix (4)  6.20002  C IULIUS / CAESAR L L FELIX  *See 97*</p>	Rome G
111	<p>C. Iulius C. I. Felix (5)  AE 1979, 656  See 109</p> <p>*Son (and freedman?) of C. Iulius Aug. I. Felix Accavonis f. above. Cf. AE 1980, 912: [---] ROMULUS / [--- acc]AVONIS F / [---], who was perhaps a brother of the same C. Iulius Aug. I. Felix Accavonis f.</p>	ibid. B
112	<p>Fusca (C. Iuli Nedymi Divi Aug. lib. I. Agathopi) lib.  5.1251  See 181</p>	Aquileia: X A G
113	<p><b>Ti. Iulius Aug. I. Fuscus Cornifician(us)</b>  6.5245  TI IULIUS AUG L / FUSCUS CORNIFICIAN / PRIMIGENIUS FUSCI VERNA / VIX AN VIII</p>	Rome: mon. vin. Codin. B H S
114	<p><b>C. Iulius Divi Augusti I. Gelos</b>  (1) 11.3805 = D 6579  CENTUMVIRI MUNICIPII AUGUSTI VEIENTIS / ROMAE IN AEDEM VENERIS GENETRICIS CUM CONVENIS / SENT PLACUIT UNIVERSIS DUM DECRETUM CONSCRIBERETUR / INTERIM EX AUCTORITATE OMNIUM PERMITTI / <b>C IULIO DIVI AUGUSTI L GELOTI</b> QUI OMNI TEMPORE / MUNICIP VEIOS NON SOLUM CONSILIO ET GRATIA ADIUVERIT / SED ETIAM INPENSIS SUIS ET PER FILIUM SUUM CELEBRARI / VOLUERIT HONOREM EI IUSTISSIMUM DECERNI UT / AUGUSTALIUM NUMERO HABEATUR AEQUE AC SI EO / HONORE USUS SIT LICEATQUE EI OMNIBUS SPECTACULIS / MUNICIPIO NOSTRO BISELLIO PROPRIO INTER AUGUS/TALES CONSIDERE CENISQUE OMNIBUS PUBLICIS / INTER CENTUM VIROS INTERESSE ITEMQUE PLACERE / NE QUOD AB EO LIBERISQUE EIUS VECTIGAL MUNICIPII / AUGUSTI VEIENTIS EXIGERETUR</p>	Veii: VII B K N Q
	<p>ADFVERUNT / C SCAEVIUS CURIATIUS / L PERPERNA PRISCUS IIVIR / M FLAVIUS RUFUS Q / T VETTIUS RUFUS Q / M TARQUITIUS SATURNIN / L MAECILIUS SCRUPUS / L FAVONIUS LUCANUS / CN OCTAVIUS SABINUS / T SEMPRONIUS GRACCHVS / P ACUVIUS P F TRO / C VEIANIUS MAXIMUS / T TARQUITIUS RUFUS / C IULIUS MERVLA ACTUM / GAETULICO ET CALVISIO SABINO COS</p>	AD 26
	<p>(2) 11.3806 = 6.10399  GELOS DIVI AUGUSTI L EX DEC[reto decurionum] / POST MORTEM FILII SUI NO[mine eius] / FECIT ET DEDICA[vit] / IIII NONAS MAIAS T STATILIO TAURO P POMPO[nio secundo] cos]</p> <p>* (2) is dated some 18 years after (1) in which the son's death is not implied. Gelos, a freedman of Augustus, by AD 44 had survived at least 30 years after manumission.</p>	Veii: VII B K N AD 44

115	Iulia Glaphyra (C. Iuli Aug. liberti liberti Erotis) colliberta 14.2302 = D 7462 See 96	ager Albanus: I F M N
116	<b>Ti. Iulius Aug. I. Glycon</b> 6.16663 CURTIA C L PRAPIS / CUI PARS DIMIDIA HUIUS / MONIMENTI CONCESSA EST AB / C MAECENATE HELIO SIBI ET / P CURTIO SP F COL / MAXIMO FILIO ET / TI IULIO AUG L GLYCONI / ET SUIS POSTERISQUE EORUM	Rome a b F M
117	Gorgias Thyrsi Divi Augusti l. l. 6.19060 See 250	Rome A B G
118	<b>Graptus</b> (freedman of Tiberius; <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> I 347) (1) Tacitus, <i>Ann.</i> 13.47 [Nero] suspectabat maxime Cornelium Sullam ... quem metum Graptus ex libertis Caesaris, usu et senecta Tiberio abusque domum principum edoctus, tali mendacio intendit...	AD 58 N
	(2) 10.6638.c.1 = <i>I. It.</i> 13.2.26 TI IULIUS GRAPTI F NATA[is] *Probably the freeborn son of (1) above. His is the only entry with filiation in the surviving <i>fasti</i> of a <i>collegium</i> at the Imperial villa at Antium (314) covering most of the reign of Claudius.	Antium: I AD 48 B
119	<b>Gratus Caesar. I.</b> <i>NS</i> 1890, 44, 391 = <i>EE</i> 8.316 = D 6387 A A P R D D / GRATUS CAESAR / L MINIST IUSSU / Q COTRI D V I D / C ANNI MARULI / D ALFIDI HYP SAI / D V V A S P P / M SERVILIO L AELIO / COS *1: 'a(nnonae) A(ugustae) p(opuli) R(omani) d(onum) d(at)' (Mommsen); 4: 'd(uo)v(iri) i(ure) d(icundo)'; 7: 'd(uum)v(irorum) v(iis) a(edibus) s(acris) p(ublicis) p(rocurandis)'; but cf. Dessau 6403 & 6357 n. 3.	Pompeii: I F I M N  AD 3
120	<b>C. Iulius Divi Aug. I. Halys</b> 6.35612 IULIA C L TRYPHERA PIA SIBI ET / C AUFIDIO C L DAVO CONIUGI SUO / ET C IULIO DIVI AUG L HALYT (!) FRATRI / SUO ET LIBERTIS POSTERISQUE EORUM *3: 'Halyt' = 'Halyi' <i>CIL</i> ; 'Halyi?' Solin 643; but see id. <i>Arctos</i> 31, 1997, 144.	Rome D E
121	<b>C. Iulius Aug. I. Helen</b> 6.20042 C IULIUS AUG L HELEN / SIBI ET / EROTI PATRI ET / ZMYRNAE MATRI ET / TRYPHAENAE NUTRICI ET / PHOEBE ET / EUPATORIDI ET / SECUNDO ET / AEQUALI ET / (h)ILAIRAE / CAESARIS VERNIS / ET / LIBERTIS ET LIBERTABUS ET POSTERISQUE EORUM / IN FR P XII IN AGR P XII	Rome C D E F M
122	<b>Iulia Aug. I. Helena</b> <i>AE</i> 1924, 118 IULIA AUG L / HELENA / VENERIA EX HORT / SALLUSTIANIS / SIBI ET SUIS / IN FRO P XII / IN AGR P XII *On 'Veneria': Chantraine 385–8.	Rome I M
123	<b>C. Iulius Augusti I. Helenus</b> (1) 10.5808 = D 6267 C IULIO AUGUSTI L / HELENO / EX DECRETO DECUR / MUNICIPII ALETRINAT / ET POLLICITATIONE SEVIR / ET MUNICIPIUM ET INCOLAR / OB MERITA EIUS	Aletrium: I K

	(2) Dio 48.30.8 τῶν γε μὴν ἀλόντων ἄλλους τε καὶ Ἑλενον, ἐξελεύθερόν τε τοῦ Καίσαρος ὄντα καὶ ἀρέσκοντα αὐτῷ τὰ μάλιστα, [Μηνᾶς] ἀφήκεν ἄνευ λύτρων, εὐεργεσίαν τε ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα πόρρωθεν προκατατιθέμενος...	
	(3) ib. 45.5 ὁ Μηνᾶς ἐν τῇ Σαρδοῖ καὶ τότε ἔτι καθάπερ τις στρατηγὸς ὦν ὑπωπτεύθη τε ὑπὸ τοῦ Σέξτου διὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἑλένου ἄφεσιν καὶ ὅτι καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι ἐκεκοινολόγητο...  *On the likely identification of (1) with (2) & (3): RE 7.2848 (8).	
<b>124</b>	<b>Helico</b> (freedman of Gaius; <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> H 49) (1) Philo, <i>Leg. ad Gaium</i> 166–78 ἡγεμῶν δὲ οἷά τις ἦν χοροῦ τοῦ Αἰγυπτιακοῦ θιάσου παντὸς Ἑλικῶν, ἐπάρατον καὶ ἐξάριστον ἀνδράποδον παρεισφθαρέν εἰς τὴν αὐτοκρατορικὴν οἰκίαν· ἀπεγεύσατο γὰρ τῶν ἐγκυκλίων κατὰ φιλοτιμίαν τοῦ προτέρου δεσπότη, ὃς αὐτὸν ἐδωρήσατο Τιβερίῳ Καίσαρι. (167) τότε μὲν οὖν οὐδεμιᾶς ἐτύγχανε προνομίας, ὅσα μειρακιώδη χαριεντίσματα Τιβερίου διαμεμισθηκότος... (168) ἐπεὶ δε;... Γάιος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν διεδέξατο, νέῳ δεσπότη παρεπόμενος εἰς ἀνέσεις καὶ τρυφὴν τὴν διὰ πάσης αἰσθήσεως ἐπιχαλῶντι, "σός," εἶπε, "νῦν ὁ καιρὸς ἐστίν, Ἑλικῶν, ἐπέγειρε σαυτόν... "	
	(171) τούτοις τοῖς παραλόγοις καὶ ἐπαράτοις λογισμοῖς ἐπάρας καὶ συγκροτήσας ἑαυτὸν συνείχε καὶ περιείπε τὸν Γάιον, οὐ νύκτωρ, οὐ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἀφιστάμενος, ἀλλὰ πανταχοῦ συμπαρών... (172) φασὶ δὲ ὅτι καὶ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων οἱ πρέσβεις εἰς τοῦτο εἰδότες ἀφανῶς ἐμεμίσθωντο αὐτὸν μεγάλοις μισθοῖς, οὐ διὰ χρημάτων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τιμαῖς ἐλπίδων, ἃς ὑπέσπειραν αὐτῷ παρέξειν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν, ἐπειδὴν ἀφίκηται Γάιος εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. (173) ὁ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνῳ ὄνειροπολῶν, ἐν ᾧ παρόντος τοῦ δεσπότη καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ σχεδόν τι τῆς οἰκουμένης... ὑπὸ τῆς μεγίστης καὶ ἐνδοξοτάτης πόλεως τιμηθήσεται, πάντα ὑπισχνείτο...	
	(175) καὶ συνεσφαίριζε γὰρ καὶ συνεγυμνάζετο καὶ συνελούετο καὶ συνηρίστα καὶ μέλλοντι κοιμᾶσθαι παρῆν Γαίῳ, τὴν τοῦ κατακοιμιστοῦ καὶ κατ' οἰκίαν ἀρχισωματοφύλακος τεταγμένος τάξιν, ὅση μηδενὶ προσῆν ἄλλῳ, ὡς μόνος ἔχειν εὐκαιρούσας καὶ σχολαζούσας ἀκοᾶς αὐτοκράτορος τῶν ἔξω διαφειμένας θορύβων εἰς ἀκρόασιν ὧν μάλιστα ἐπόθει.	
	(178) ἐπειδὴ πάντα λίθον κινούντες ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὸν Ἑλικῶνα ἐξευμενίσασθαι πάροδον οὐδεμίαν ἀνευρίσκομεν, μηδενὸς μήτε εἰπεῖν μήτε προσελθεῖν τολμώντος ἕνεκα τῆς ἀλαζονείας καὶ βαρύτητος, ἣ πρὸς πάντας ἐκέχρητο, καὶ ἅμα διὰ τὸ ἀγνοεῖν εἴ τίς ἐστίν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ Ἰουδαίων γένος ἀλλοτρίωσις ἀλείφοντι τὸν δεσπότην αἰεὶ καὶ συγκροτοῦντι κατὰ τοῦ ἔθνους, τὸ μὲν ἔτι πονεῖσθαι περὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος εἰάσαμεν...	

	(2) <i>ib.</i> 203–6 ὁ δὲ [Γάιος] κελεύει κολοσσιαῖον ἀνδριάντα ἐπίχρυσον ἐν τῷ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἱερῷ καθιδρυθῆναι, συμβούλοις χρησάμενος τοῖς ἀρίστοις καὶ σοφωτάτοις, Ἑλικῶνι τῷ εὐπατρίδῃ δούλῳ, σπερμολόγῳ, περιτρίμματι, καὶ Ἀπελλῇ τιμὴ τραγωδῶ... (205) ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἑλικῶν, σκορπιῶδες ἀνδράποδον, τὸν Αἰγυπτιακὸν ἰὸν εἰς Ἰουδαίους ἤφιεν, ὁ δὲ Ἀπελλῆς τὸν ἀπὸ Ἀσκάλωνος... (206) ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν καλῶν πράξεων καλοὶ σύμβουλοι μικρὸν ὕστερον τὰ ἐπίχειρα εὗρον τῆς ἀσεβείας, ὁ μὲν ὑπὸ Γαίου σιδήρῳ δεθεῖς... , ὁ δὲ Ἑλικῶν ὑπὸ Κλαυδίου Γερμανικοῦ Καίσαρος ἀναιρεθεῖς, ἐφ' οἷς ἄλλοις ὁ φρενοβλαβῆς ἠδίκησεν.	
	*Solin 631. Although Helico is repeatedly referred to as δούλος or ἀνδράποδον by Philo, this is no doubt contemptuous. His intimacy with the emperor makes it at least likely that he was of freedman status. Cf. Chantraine 7 n. 3; Smallwood 246f.	
125	<b>Ti. Caeseris I. Iulia Hellas</b> 6.20497 TI CAESERIS (!) / L IULIA HELLAS / C IULI AUG L / HILARIO / IULIA ICOMIO (!) *3: 'Iuli(us)'; 5: 'Icomio' = 'Iconio' (not registered in Solin 1175). For the irregular position of the status indication, originally omitted and then added where space was available: Chantraine 18 n. 12; 282.	Rome A B
126	Herodias Pinyti (Divi Augusti I.) I. AE 1965, 335 = Gordon 51 See 211	Rome G
127	<b>C. Iulius Caesaris Augusti I. Hiberus</b> 6.38494 C IULIUS CAESARIS / AUGUSTI L HIBERUS / IULIA C L PLATE	Rome A
128	<b>Hilario (1) Divi Aug. libertus</b> 5.236 = <i>I. It.</i> 10.1.53 THESEO HILARIONIS / DIVI AUG / LIBERTI LIBERTO / CI[η]NAMUS CONLIB	Pola: X F G
129	<b>C. Iulius Hilario (2)</b> 6.10395 = 1 <sup>2</sup> p. 69 = <i>I. It.</i> 13.1, p. 294f. See 82	Rome 1 BC F N Q
130	<b>C. Iuli(us) Aug. I. Hilario (3)</b> 6.20497 See 124	Rome A B
131	<b>Hilario (4) Divi Aug. I.</b> 6.24223 PITHECAE L / HILARIO DIVI AUG L ET / DOMITIA ATTHIS / PATRONI	Rome A G
132	<b>[Hi]lario (5) Divi Aug. I.</b> <i>Epigraphica</i> 27, 1965, 129, no. 4 [hi]LARIONIS DIVI AUG L / [---] T L ARCHITECTUS *On <i>architectus</i> as occupational title and <i>Architectus</i> as <i>cognomen</i> , see H. Solin, <i>Arctos</i> 31, 1997, 135-42.	Rome F

133	<b>Hilario (6)</b> (freedman of Augustus; <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> H 177) Suetonius, <i>Aug.</i> 101.1 testamentum L. Planco C. Silio cons. III Non. Apriles, ante annum et quattuor menses quam decederet, factum ab eo ac duobus codicibus partim ipsius partim libertorum Polybi et Hilarionis manu scriptum depositumque apud se virgines Vestales cum tribus signatis aequae voluminibus protulerunt. quae omnia in senatu aperta atque recitata sunt. *Cf. ib. 4: adiecit et libertorum servorumque nomina a quibus ratio exigere posset.	AD 13
134	Ti. Iulius Anthi Aug. I. lib. Hilario (7) 6.4281 See 26	Rome F G
135	<b>C. Iulius Divi Aug. I. Hilarus (1)</b> 6.8893 See 90	Rome F M
136	<b>Ti. Iulius Aug. I. Hilarus (2)</b> 6.8927 = D 2823 TI IULIO AUG L HILARO / NAVARCHO TIBERIANO / CLAUDIA BASILEA / VIRO SUO *For a freedman of Tiberius the <i>agnomen</i> 'Tiberianus' referring to a <i>previous</i> master is otiose as part of his personal nomenclature (unless perhaps he was originally a slave of Tiberius transferred to Augustus before AD 14 and, on the death of the latter, inherited back and freed by Tiberius). Its position following the occupational title 'navarchus' makes it probable that it refers to this, and indicates that Hilarus first held the position of squadron commander under Tiberius but that the epitaph was erected by Claudia Basilea to her husband after his death in a subsequent reign. For discussion, see Chantraine 365.	Rome A I
	For freedman officers in the Imperial fleets in the 1st C, see Boulvert (1) 62-3 + nn. 322-3. These are mostly <i>trierarchi</i> (captains of individual ships) but include among more senior officers, hitherto, one <i>navarchus</i> (squadron commander), besides three <i>praefecti classis</i> , in charge of whole fleets (Boulvert (1) 141-2 + n. 327). Curiously, only the second known freedman <i>navarchus</i> , recently discovered, has an almost identical name to that of Hilarus above, C. Iulius Aug. I. Hilarus, a freedman of either Augustus or Gaius. (See 137 below).	
137	<b>C. Iulius Aug. I. Hilarus (3)</b> AE 1995, 254 = G. Cecere, <i>ZPE</i> 109, 1995, 289-97 C IULIUS AUG L / HILARUS / NAVARCHUS / SIBI ET / IULIAE NICE / CONIUGI SUAE / POSTERISQUE SUIS *See comment on Ti. Iulius Aug. I. Hilarus (136 above).	? A I
138	<b>Ti. Iulius Aug. libertus Himerus</b> 6.10547 = 14.2671 ACRATUS / TI IULI / AUG LIBERTI / HIMERI LIB / VIX ANN XXXXI *Chantraine 18 n. 13.	Tusculum: I G H
139	<b>Homilus</b> (freedman of Gaius; <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> H 191) Philo, <i>Leg. ad Gaium</i> 181 δεξιωσάμενος γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ πρὸς Τιβέρει πεδίῳ τὸ πρῶτον... τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν πρεσβειῶν, "Ὀμιλον ὄνομα, προσπέμψας, "αὐτός," ἔφη, "τῆς ὑμετέρας ὑποθέσεως ἀκούσομαι προσευκαιρήσας"...	I
140	<b>C. Iulius Hy[----]</b> 6.10395 = 1 <sup>2</sup> p. 69 = <i>I. It.</i> 13.1 p. 294f. See 83	Rome F N Q

141	Iulia (C. Iuli Aug. I.) Papae I. Hygia (1) 6.20173 See 195	Rome a G H
142	Divi Aug. liberti Calycis I. Hygia (2) SEG 32, 1982, 1613 = AE 1984, 951 See 50	provenanc e unknown G
143	<b>C. Iulius Hyginus</b> (freedman of Augustus; <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> I 357) (1) Suetonius, <i>De Gramm.</i> 20 C. Iulius Hyginus, Augusti libertus, natione Hispanus, (nonnulli Alexandrinum putant et a Caesare puerum Romam adductum Alexandria capta) studiose et audiit et imitatus est Cornelium Alexandrum grammaticum Graecum, quem propter antiquitatis notitiam Polyhistorem multi, quidam Historiam vocabant. praefuit Palatinae bibliothecae, nec eo secius plurimos docuit; fuitque familiarissimus Ovidio poetae et Clodio Licino consulari, historico, qui eum admodum pauperem decessisse tradit et liberalitate sua, quoad vixerit, sustentatum. huius libertus fuit Iulius Modestus, in studiis atque doctrina vestigia patroni secutus.	G I K O
	(2) Hieronymus, <i>Chron.</i> a. Abr. 2008 = 9 BC (Euseb. p. 167H) Caius Iulius Hyginus, cognomento Polyhistor, grammaticus habetur inlustris.	
	(3) Columella 1.1.13 nec postremo quasi paedagogi eius [agricolationis Romanae] meminisse dedignemur Iuli Hygini...	
	(4) id. 9.2.1f. venio nunc ad alvorum curam, de quibus neque diligentius quidquam praecipere potest, quam ab Hygino iam dictum est, nec ornatius quam Vergilio, nec elegantius quam Celso. Hyginus veterum auctorum placita secretis dispersa monumentis industrie collegit: Vergilius poeticis floribus illuminavit: Celsus utriusque memorati adhibuit modum... (2) atque ea, quae Hyginus fabulose tradita de originibus apum non intermisit, poeticae magis licentiae quam nostrae fidei concesserim.	
	*Further references to Hyginus' literary works and opinions: Gellius 1.14.1, 1.21.2, 5.8.1–3, 6.1.2, 7.6.2, 10.18.7, 16.6.14; Charisius p. 134K, 142K; Macrobius, <i>Sat.</i> 1.7.19, 3.4.13, 3.8.4, 5.18.16; Asconius, in Pison. 12; Servius, ad Aen. 3.553, 5.389; Pliny, <i>NH</i> 13.134; cf. 16.230; 18.232; 19.88; 20.116; 21.53.	
	Text of the <i>fragmenta</i> and <i>testimonia</i> : Funaioli (ed.) <i>Grammaticae Romanae Fragmenta</i> (1907, repr. 1969), 525–37; on his life and works: Diehl, <i>RE</i> 10.628–36; Christes 72–82.	
144	<b>Iulia Ti. Caesar. Aug. I. Iconio</b> 6.10449 = D 7909 ABENNIA / SYMPOSIO / IULIA TI CAESAR / AUG L ICONIO / A TURRANIUS SYNETHUS LOCU / DEDIT ICONIONI SORORI SVAE / AB IMO ORDINE SUMO OLLAS VI	Rome D F M
145	[C.] Iulius Licini I. Inachus 12.4892 See 155 (15)	Narbo: Gall. Narb. A G
146	<b>C. Iulius Augus[ti I.] Induster</b> 6.35559 C IULIUS AUGUS[ti I] / INDUSTER / C IULIUS INDUSTR[i I] / CHR[---]	Rome G

147	<b>? C. Iulius C. Caesaris libert. Ingenuus</b> 6.2084* = Muratori, p. 1007, n. 6 C IULIUS C CAESARIS LIBERT INGENUUS VIXIT ANNOS XXV *One of the <i>falsae Ligoriana</i> ; for the status indication and <i>cognomen</i> : Chantraine 19 n. 17; 138.	Rome H
148	Iulia Thyrsi (Divi Augusti l.) l. Iole 6.19060 See 250	Rome A B G
149	<b>Isidorus Ti. Caesaris Augusti l.</b> AE 1972, 83 IULIA SOPHIA / ISIDORI TI CAESARIS / AUGUSTI L L MEDIC / VIXIT ANNOS XXII	Anacapri: I G H I
150	<b>C. Iulius Caesar l. Isochrysus</b> 11.3083 = D 5373 HONORIS / IMP CAESARIS DIVI F / AUGUSTI PONT MAXIM / PATR PATRIAE ET MUNICIP / MAGISTRI AUGUSTALES / C EGNATIUS M L GLYCO / C EGNATIUS C L MUSICUS / C IULIUS CAESAR L ISOCHRYSUS / Q FLORONIUS Q L PRINCEPS / VIAM AUGUSTAM AB VIA / ANNIA EXTRA PORTAM AD / CERERIS SILICE STERNENDAM / CURARUNT PECUNIA SUA / PRO LUDIS	Falerii: VII K n
151	<b>Ti. Iulius Aug. l. Iucundus (1)</b> 6.5121 TI IULIUS / AUG L / IUCUNDUS / TI IULIUS AGAT(h)O PATE[---]	Rome: mon. vin. Codin. B
152	<b>Iucundus (2) Aug. l. Augustianus</b> 6.19746 DIIS MANIBUS / IUCUNDO AUG L / AUGUSTIANO / Q P P C GAVIS *4: possibly 'Q(uintus) P(ublius) P(ublius) C(aius) G(avii)' Mommsen, <i>CIL</i> ad loc.; preferably of Julian date, but see Chantraine 305, no. 75.	Rome F S
153	Lamyros (Ti. Iuli Aug. lib. Xanthi) l. 6.32775 = 6.33131 = D 2816 See 258	Rome G
154	<b>[Iuli]a Divi l. [Lan]thanu[sa]</b> 6.21082 [iuli]A DIVI L / [lan]THANU[sa / q v] ANNO[---]	Rome h
155	<b>C. Iulius Aug. lib. Libanus (1)</b> 6.20109 C IULIUS AUG LIB / LIBANUS V A LV / M VIPSIANUS SP F / TER GALLICANUS / NEPOS LIBANI AUG L / V A XXXV	Rome B H
156	<b>C. Iulius Caesaris l. Libanus (2)</b> <i>Epigraphica</i> 16, 1954, 31f. C IULIUS / CAESARIS / L LIBANUS C IULIUS C L / BOTRUS ME[---] / LIVI[---]	Rome F
157	<b>Licinus</b> (freedman of Augustus; <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> I 381) (1) Juvenal 1.106–9 quid confert purpura maior / optandum, si Laurenti custodit in agro / conductas Corvinus ovis, ego possideo plus / Pallante et Licinis?	I K N O

	(2) id. 14.305–8 dispositis praedives amis vigilare cohortem / servorum noctu Licinus iubet, attonitus pro / electro signisque suis Phrygiaque columna / atque ebore et lata testudine.	
	(3) Schol. (Vallae) ad Juv. 1.109 (p. 11f. Wessner) Licin(i)us (inquit Probus) ex Germania puer captus tantae industriae fuit, ut reliquias cibariorum inter conservos faeneraret et cui quid credidisset, quali poterat chirographo pugillaribus subnotaret. quos cum expeditione quadam transiturus flumen in vestimentis recondidisset, C. Iulio Caesari quodam denegante ei pugillaribus quicquam annotatum barbarus legendos obtulit. statim ad dispensationem est admissus, non multo post manumissus et deinde curationi Galliarum ab Augusto praepositus eas spoliavit et, cum flagraret invidia, basilicam sub nomine Gaii Iulii aedificavit. decessit sub Tiberio. proinde dives fuit, quasi Crassi opes etiam exhausisset, et dictus est habuisse fundos, quantum milvi volant. unde Persius... [2.36 = (9) below]	
	(4) Suetonius, Aug. 67 patronus dominusque non minus severus quam facilis et clemens multos libertorum in honore et usu maximo habuit, ut Licinum et Celadum aliosque.	
	(5) Dio 54.21.2–8 πολλά μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ Λικινίου τινος ἐπεπόνηντο... (3) ὁ δὲ Λικίνιος τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον Γαλάτης ἦν, ἀλοῦς δὲ ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους καὶ δουλεύσας τῷ Καίσαρι ὑπὸ μὲν ἐκείνου ἠλευθερώθη, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἐπίτροπος τῆς Γαλατίας κατέστη.	
	(4) οὗτος οὖν πλεονεξία μὲν βαρβαρικῇ ἀξιώσει δὲ Ῥωμαϊκῇ χρῶμενος, πᾶν μὲν τὸ κρεῖττον ποτε αὐτοῦ νομισθὲν καθήρει, πᾶν δὲ τὸ ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἰσχυρὸν ἠφάνιζε, καὶ συχνὰ μὲν καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα τῆς προστεταγμένης οἱ διακονίας ἐξεπόριζε, συχνὰ δὲ καὶ ἑαυτῷ τοῖς τε οἰκείοις παρεξέλεγε.	
	(5) καὶ ἐς τοσοῦτόν γε κακοτροπίας ἐχώρησεν ὥστε, ἐπειδὴ τινες ἐσφοραὶ κατὰ μῆνα παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐγίνοντο, τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα αὐτοὺς ποιῆσαι, λέγων τὸν μῆνα τοῦτον τὸν Δεκέμβριον καλούμενον δέκατον ὄντως εἶναι, καὶ δεῖν διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ὑστάτους, ὧν τὸν μὲν ἐνδέκατον τὸν δὲ δωδέκατον ὠνόμαζε, νομίζειν, καὶ τὰ χρήματα τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντα αὐτοῖς ἐσφέρειν.	
	(6) διὰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα τὰ σοφίσματα ἐκινδύνευσεν· οἱ γὰρ Γαλάται τοῦ Αὐγούστου λαβόμενοι δεινὰ ἐποίησαν, ὥστε καὶ ἐκείνον τὰ μὲν συνάχθεσθαι σφισι τὰ δὲ καὶ παραιτεῖσθαι· ἀγνοεῖν τέ τινα ἔλεγε, καὶ προσεποιεῖτο ἕτερα μὴ πιστεύειν, καὶ ἔστιν ἃ καὶ συνέκρυπτεν, αἰσχυνόμενος ὅτι τοιούτῳ ἐπιτρόπῳ ἐκέχρητο·	
	(7) ἄλλο δὲ τοιόνδε τι τεχνασάμενος καὶ πάνυ πάντων αὐτῶν κατεγέλασεν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ χαλεπῶς οἱ τὸν Αὐγούστον ἔχοντα ἤσθετο καὶ κολασθῆσεσθαι ἔμελλεν, ἔς τε τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτὸν ἐσήγαγε, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν καὶ ἀργυρίου καὶ χρυσίου θησαυροὺς πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τᾶλλα σωρηδὸν συννηνημένα αὐτῷ δείξας,	
	(8) "ἐξεπίτηδες," ἔφη, "ταῦτα, ὦ δέσποτα, καὶ ὑπὲρ σοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων Ῥωμαίων ἠθροισα, ἵνα μὴ τοσοῦτων χρημάτων ἐγκρατεῖς οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ὄντες ἀποστῶσιν. ἀμέλει καὶ ἐτήρησά σοι πάντα αὐτὰ καὶ δίδωμι." καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως, ὡς καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Αὐγούστου τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων ἰσχὺν ἐκνευρικῶς, ἐσώθη.	

	(6) Seneca, <i>Apocoly.</i> 6 hunc [Claudium] ego tibi recipio Luguduni natum, ubi Licinus multis annis regnavit.	
	(7) id. <i>Epist. Mor.</i> 119.9 ad summam, quem voles mihi ex his, quorum nomina cum Crasso Licinoque numerantur, in medium licet protrahas. adferat censum, et quicquid habet et quicquid sperat, simul computet; iste, si mihi credis, pauper est, si tibi, potest esse.	
	(8) ib. 120.19 quidam alternis Vatirii, alternis Catones sunt; et modo parum illis severus est Curius, parum pauper Fabricius, parum frugi et contentus vilibus Tubero; modo Licinum divitiis, Apicium cenis, Maecenatem deliciis provocant.	
	(9) Persius 2.35f. tunc manibus quatit et spem macram supplice voto / nunc Licini in campos, nunc Crassi mittit in aedis.	
	(10) Schol. ad Pers. 2.36 alii volunt Licinum tonsorem ac libertum Augusti Caesaris significari praedivitem, cuius monumentum est pretiosi operis via Salaria prope urbem, ad lapidem secundum. de hoc [homine] non invenustum Varronis epigramma fertur: 'marmoreo Licinus tumulo iacet, at Cato parvo, / Pompeius nullo. quis putet esse deos?' [Baehrens, <i>Poet. Lat. Min.</i> 4.64]	
	(11) Martial 8.3.5–7 et cum rupta situ Messallae saxa iacebunt / altaque cum Licini marmora pulvis erunt, / me tamen ora legent...	
	(12) Macrobius, <i>Sat.</i> 2.4.24 solebat Licin[us]us libertus eius [Augusti] inchoanti opera patrono magnas pecunias conferre; quem morem secutus centum promisit per libellum in quo virgulae superductae pars ultra pecuniae defectionem protendebatur, vacante infra loco. Caesar, occasione usus, priori alterum centies sua manu iunxit, spatio diligenter expleto et affectata litterae similitudine, geminatamque accepit summam, dissimulante liberto, qui postea coepto alio opere leniter factum suum Caesari obiecit libello tali dato: 'confero tibi, domine, ad novi operis impensam quod videbitur.'	
	(13) Sidonius Apollinaris, <i>Ep.</i> 5.7.3 hi [delatores] sunt, quorum comparationi digitum tollerent Narcissus Asiaticus, Massa Marcellus, Carus Parthenius, Licinus et Pallas.	
	(14) 6.20311 OSSA / C IULI LICINI L / TYRRHENI / ET DONATAE LIBERTAE	Rome G
	(15) 12.4892 [c] IULIUS LICINI L / INACHUS SIBI ET / USULENAE UDETONIS L / QUARTAE CONIUG  *On Licinus: <i>RE</i> 13.501f.; Treggiari 190f.	Narbo: Gall. Narb. G
158	<b>Ti. Iulius Aug. lib. Limen Stablianus</b> 6.8705 TI IULIUS AUG LIB LIMEN STABILIANUS AEDITUUS / FORTUNAE REDUCIS SIBI ET LIBERTIS / LIBERTABUSQUE POSTERISQUE EORUM / IN AGRO P XIIIS IN FRONTE P XIIIS / MESURA ACTA ACCEPIT PORTIONEM OMNIUM / HS CCCCXXXVIII N TI IULIUS DIOCLES CURATOR *6: Diocles = Ti. Iulius Aug. lib. Diocles Stablianus (77); cf. Chantraine 336.	Rome F I L M S

<b>159</b>	<b>C. Iulius Aug. I. Linus</b> Pais 185 = D 2703 TI IULIO C F / FAB VIATORI / SUB PRAE[f] COH III / LUSITANORUM / IIII VIR IUR DIC / PRAEF COH UBIOR / EQUITATAE / ERBONIAE SEX F / GRATAE UXORI / C IULIUS AUG L / LINUS FILIO ET / NURUI	Aquileia: X B
<b>160</b>	<b>C. Iulius August. I. Lochus Quinctilianus</b> 6.20112 OSSA / C IULI AUGUSTI L LOCHI / QUINCTILIANI	Rome M S
<b>161</b>	<b>Lyde Aug. I.</b> 6.4237 URBANUS LYDES AUG L DISPENS / INMUNIS DAT HERMAE FRATRI ET / CILICAE PATRI	Rome G I M
<b>162</b>	<b>C. Iulius Lyrus Diony[sianus?] Divi Augusti I.</b> (1) 6.11562 AMOENA / C IULI LYRI L	Rome G
	(2) 6.11563; cf. 7245, 33242 C MAECENAS / CHRESTUS / AMOENA / LYRI ET SOTERIDIS	ib. G
	(3) 6.16822 DEUTER / C IULI LYRI	ib. G
	(4) 6.17237 EPITYCHUS / C IULI LYRI L	ib. G
	(5) 6.21747 LYRI D[--- / ---]I [---]	ib.
	(6) 6.21748 LYRI DIONY[siani?] / DIVI AUGUSTI [---]/LIAE MA[---]	ib. F S
	(7) 6.23581 ORIO C IULI / LYRI L	ib. G
	(8) 6.27509 C TITIUS C L / STORAX / FRATER / C IULI LYRI / IULIA C F / MAGNA / VIX AN XII	ib. D E H
	(9) 6.30556.146 [---] DION[---] DIVI AUG L[---]  *Cf. Solin 1159.	ib.
<b>163</b>	<b>Malchio [Caes]aris [Augus]ti lib.</b> (1) AE 1913, 216 [c iuli]US MALCHIO[nis caes]ARIS / [augus]TI LIB LIB DAMA C[---]SIS SIBI / [et---] TERTIAE CONI[ugi s]ANCTAE / [--- et suis I]IBERTI[s lib]ERTABUSQUE / [posterisque eorum --- / in fronte pedes --- in agr]O PEDES L	Puteoli: I A G I M
	(2) 9.41 + p. 652 = D 2819 IULIA CLEO/PATRA QUAE ET / LEZBIA C IULI MEN/OETIS F ANTIOCHENSIS / SYRIAE AD DAPHNEM / UXOR MALCHIONIS / CAESARIS TRIERARCHI DE / TRIERE TRIPTOLEMO  *On the status of Malchio: Chantraine 177 n. 155; Weaver 52, 219 n. 2; Boulvert (1) 62; with refs. to previous literature.	Brindisium :II

164	<p><b>Iulius Marathus</b> (freedman of Augustus; <i>PIR</i><sup>2</sup> I 402)  (1) Suetonius, <i>Aug.</i> 79.2  [Augusti] staturam brevem, quam tamen Iulius Marathus libertus et a memoria eius quinque pedum et dodrantis fuisse tradit.  *et a memoria': 'etiam memoriam' <i>mss</i>; on the office <i>a memoria</i>: Hirschfeld 334 n. 6.</p>	I
	<p>(2) <i>ib.</i> 94.3  auctor est Iulius Marathus, ante paucos quam nasceretur menses prodigium Romae factum publice, quo denuntiabatur regem populo Romano naturam parturire...</p>	
165	<p>? Λούκιος Μάρκιος ἀπελεύθερος... τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ  <i>P.Lond.</i> 2. 256a = Wilcken, <i>Chrest.</i> 443 (p. 521)  (4) ...Ἀκουσιλάω σιτολόγῳ δημοσίῳ Λυσιμαχίδ[ων β τῶ παρὰ Λουκίου Μάρκιου ἀπελευθέρου κριτοῦ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ   [---]ος χαίριν...  *Despite Boulvert (2) 37 n. 215, both the personal nomenclature and the status indication make the inclusion of this item doubtful.</p>	Fayum: Egypt AD 15
166	<p><b>[-- Iu]lius Aug. I. Marus Titianus</b>  6.5194  [-- iu]LIUS AUG L / MARUS / TITIANUS CUBICUL / SEX POPPAEDIUS / φ L OPTATUS  *2: '...marus' Vidman 355; cf. Chantraine 338, no. 320. <i>Cubicularii</i> in the imperial household are mostly slaves but freedmen are sometimes found among the Iulii and Claudii, e.g. <b>166</b>: Iulius Marus, <b>376</b>: Claudius Chius (see the lists in Boulvert (1) 30f. n.91 &amp; 82f. n.476 ),</p>	Rome F I S
167	<p><b>[Ti. I]ulius Ti. Iuli Aug. lib. Medates</b>  <i>AE</i> 1923, 72  [ti i]ULIUS TI IULI AUG LIB MEDATES / FECIT SIBI ET IULIAE PRYNENI / CONIUGI SUAE GALLINARIUS  *1: 'Ti. Iulius Ti. Iuli Aug. lib. [lib.] Medates' Chantraine (18 n. 13).</p>	Rome A G I
168	<p><b>C. Iulius Caesaris I. Meges</b>  (1) <i>AE</i> 1982, 765  L GAVIARIUS L F T N AUG C [iuliu]S / CAESARIS L MEGES II VIRI QUQUE POR[tam] / ET TURRIM EX D D D P P REFICIU[ndas] / COERAVERUNT EIDEMQUE PR[o]/BAVERUNT CONSTAT H S III MD  *2: 'qu(in)que(nnales)'.  (2) <i>AE</i> 1982, 766  L GAVIARIUS L F T N / AUG C IULIUS CAES/ARIS L MEGES II VIR QUINQUE / MURUM EX D D REFICIUNDUM C / I{S}DEMQUE PROBAVERUNT C HS IIII MCC</p>	Lissus: Dalm. K
169	<p><b>Ti. Iulius Aug. I. Mellon</b>  <i>AE</i> 1948, 141  IULIA GRATA / TI IULII AUG L / MELLONTIS PROC  *Iulia Grata is the wife of Ti. Iulius Mellon, rather than his daughter, as stated in <i>PIR</i><sup>2</sup> I 429.</p>	Iamnia: Iudaea A I
170	<p><b>C. Iulius Aug. I. Mendus</b>  6.20375  IULIAE APOLLONIAE / C IULI AUG L MENDI LIBER / IULIAE MENIPPI / CAESARIS AUGUSTI / LIBERTI LIBERTAE APOLLONIAE  *Mendus': Vidman 292; Kajanto 267.</p>	Rome F G

171	<b>Menippus Caesaris Augusti libertus</b> 6.20375 See 168	Rome F G
172	<b>Merops Ti. et Aug. I. Demosth(enianus)</b> 6.4173 MIMA L MARONIA / DAT / MEROPI TI ET AUG L / DEMOSTH VIR FIL SUAE / TIMOTHEO AUG L / MARON FILIO SUO *1: 'Maronia(nus)', cf. 6: 'Maron(iano)'; 3: 'vir(o) fil(iae) suae'. Merops Demosth(enianus) was manumitted jointly by Tiberius and Livia between AD 14 and 29, i.e. after she became (Iulia) Augusta on the death of Augustus. His <i>agnomen</i> is taken by Stein ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> D 47) to derive from the Demosthenes named as an <i>adulter</i> of Julia (the Younger?) in Macrobius, <i>Sat.</i> 1.11.17: 'Aesopus libertus Demosthenis, conscius adulterii quod cum Iulia patronus admiserat, tortus diutissime perseveravit non prodere patronum, donec aliis coarguentibus consciis Demosthenes ipse fateretur.' This is possible, but unnecessary as the cognomen, which is not, however, exclusively servile (cf. Solin 235-6) already occurs in the <i>familia</i> of Livia (Chantraine 310, no. 109).  Timotheus Maron(ianus) (253) is most probably a freedman of Tiberius; Mima I. Maronia(nus), the father of Timotheus and of a daughter who is not named, is also most likely to be a freedman of Tiberius, despite the absence of the full Imperial status indication. Cf. Chantraine 324 no. 228.	Rome C D S
173	<b>C. Iulius Divi Aug. I. Messius</b> 6.5254 IULIA EROTIS FEMINA OPTIMA HIC SITAST / NULLUM DOLOREM AD INFEROS MECUM TULI / VIRO ET PATRONO PLACUI ET DECESSI PRIOR / C IULIUS BLASTUS / C IULIUS CELADUS / C IULIUS / DIVI AUG L / MESSIUS	Rome A E G
174	<b>C. Iulius Caesaris I[---] Metrobius</b> 6.26254 IVIVA[---]A / VIVAT C[---]S L / HILAR[---]A / C SEPTUMIO C L HILARO / TIBURTIAE ꝯ L CHELIDO[ni] / SEPTUMIAE C L POTES[tati] / C IULIO CAESARIS L[---] / METROBIO / L BAEBIAE T L LYCCIR	Rome F
175	<b>Mima I. Maronia(nus)</b> 6.4173 See 171, 253	Rome: mon. Liviae B
176	<b>Ti. Iulius Aug. I. Mnester (1)</b> 6.20139 = 37874 = 5.1121* = D 5181 (a) TI IULIO / AUG L / MNESTERI (b) S P Q R / D L *Identified in <i>PIR</i> <sup>1</sup> M 462 with Mnester the <i>pantomimus</i> , favourite of the emperor Gaius, who was put to death by Claudius in AD 47 for involvement with Messalina (cf. Dessau ad loc.). This identification is uncertain (cf. Solin 957; <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> M 646) as, indeed, is the assumption that the <i>pantomimus</i> is an Imperial freedman in the first place (see 175). For another Mnester of the period in the Imperial <i>familia</i> (0000), a freedman of Agrippina the Younger, who killed himself in AD 59 at her funeral pyre, see Tacitus, <i>Ann.</i> 14.9.2.	Rome
177	<b>? Mnester (2) (pantomimus; PIR<sup>2</sup> M 646)</b> Dio 60.22, 28, 31; Suetonius, <i>Calig.</i> 36, 55, 57; Tacitus, <i>Ann.</i> 11.4, 36; Seneca, <i>Apocoly.</i> 13. *Possibly a <i>libertus</i> of Tiberius or Gaius, but unlikely: there is no reference at all in the sources to his formal status.	

178	<p><b>C. Iulius [A]ugusti libertus Mod[---]</b>  AE 1935, 47  TI C[aea]R DIVI AUGUSTI F / DIVI [iuli] N TRIB POTES[t] XXXIIX / DRU[sus]  CAESAR TI AUG F / DIVI [aug n] DIVI IULI PRO[n] TR POT II  CAD[m]US ATIMETUS MARTI[alis?] / C IULI [a]UGUSTI LIBERTI MOD[---]  *Chantraine, 15f. n. 4, who supplements in the last line: 'Mod[esti (servi) / ser(vi) / l(iberti)]'. This is clearly better than the implausible: 'mo(numentum) d(e) [s(uo) f(aciendum) c(uraverunt)]' AE ad loc.</p>	Philippi: Macedonia AD 37 G N
179	<p>C. Iulius Modestus (freedman of C. Iulius Hyginus [141]; <i>PIR</i><sup>2</sup> I 432)  (1) Suetonius, <i>De Gramm.</i> 2  huius [Hygini] libertus fuit Iulius Modestus, in studiis atque doctrina vestigia  patroni secutus.</p>	G
	<p>(2) Macrobius, <i>Sat.</i> 1.4.7  item Iulius Modestus de feriis <i>Saturnaliorum</i>, inquit, <i>feriae</i>...  Cf. ib. 1.10.9, 16.28.</p>	
	<p>(3) Gellius 3.9.1  Gavius Bassus in <i>Commentariis</i> suis, item Iulius Modestus in secundo  <i>Quaestionum Confusarum</i>, historiam de equo Seiano tradunt dignam memoria  atque admiratione...</p>	
	<p>(4) Quintilian 1.6.36  nec ei [Gavio] cedit Modestus inventione nam, quia Caelo Saturnus genitalia  absciderit, hoc nomine appellatos [caelibes], qui uxore careant, ait.</p>	
	<p>(5) Charisius 101.1K = 204.22 = Beda, [<i>Gram. Lat.</i> 7] 277.20K  large et largiter: Iulius Modestus utrumque recte dici ait, sed large esse  qualitatis, largiter quantitatis. Cf. 73.12; 75.13; 103.28; 125.4.</p>	
	<p>(6) Diomedes, [<i>Gram. Lat.</i> 1] 365K  inchoo inchoavi: sic dicendum putat Iulius Modestus, quia sit compositum a  chao, initio rerum.   *On Modestus: Christes 94–6.</p>	
180	<p><b>C. Iulius Aug. I. Narcissus</b>  6.9044 = D 7355  C IULIUS AUG L / NARC[issus] A SPECULARIS DECU[r---] / SAC[erdos in  a]RCAM PUBLICAM O[b] / CERT[amina? c]ONTULIT HS X ET CENA/TICUM  DEDIT SACERDOTIBUS ET HONO/[ra]TIS ET DECURIONIB DUPLUM ITEM /  [ob de]DICATION IMAGINIS SUA[e cenati/cu]M DUPLUM DEDIT HUIC  SACER/DOTALES DECURIONES DECREVERUNT / UTI IU[lia eg]I OGE  CONTUBERNALIS / EIUS [in numero] DECURIONUM / RECIT[aretur]</p>	Rome A I K M Q
	<p>IUL[ia] / NARCIS[si egloge] / HUIC SACER[dotales decuriones] / IN  HONORE[m narcissi decurio] / NATUM GRAT[uitum decreverunt] / HONORE  AC[cepto sacerdotibus] / ET HONORAT[is et decurionibus] /</p>	
	<p>CENATICUM [duplum dedit et hs x] / IN SACERD[otio ob certamina?] / IN  ARCAM [publicam contulit et] / SACERDOTIB[us et honoratis / e]T  DECURION[ibus cenaticum duplum / de]DIT ET PLEBI [ob dedicationem  imaginis / i]TEM SACER[dotibus et honoratis et] / DE[curio]NIB CENAT  [duplum dedit]  *Cf. 6.10348.</p>	
181	<p><b>Ti. Iulius Aug. [I.] Naus</b>  6.20148  TI IULIUS AUG [I] / NAUS H S E[---] / VENERIA L PATRO[---] / B M FE[c---]  *2: 'Naus' = 'Na(v)us'; cf. Vidman 296.</p>	Rome G M

182	<b>Nedymus Divi Aug. lib.</b> 5.1251 C IULIUS / NEDYMI / DIVI AUG LIB L / AGATHOPUS / V F SIBI ET FUSCAE / LIB ET IULIAE / SPERATAE CONIUGI / LIB LIBQ SUIS	Aquileia: X G
183	<b>[Ti. I]ulius Aug. et Aug. I. Nereus</b> 6.5248 [ti i]IULIUS AUG ET AUG L / NEREUS PATERNUS / VESTA CASTRENSIS *Chantraine 327, no. 258.	Rome: mon. vin. Codin. 2 G I M
184	<b>C. Iulius Caes. I. Nicander</b> 6.4771 C IULI CAES L / NICANDRI	Rome: mon. Marcellae
185	<b>Ti. Iulius Aug. I. Nicephor</b> 6.9647 = D 7670 TI IULIUS AUG.L / NICEPHOR MUSEIAR / FECIT SIBI ET LIBERTIS LIBERTABUSQUE SUIS / POSTERISQUE EORUM *2: 'museiar(ius)' = 'worker in mosaic'.	Rome I
186	<b>Γάιος Ἰούλιος Σεβαστοῦ ἀπελεύθερος Νεικήφορος</b> <i>I. Eph. 859</i> Γάιον Ἰούλιον   Σεβαστοῦ ἀπελεύθερον Νεικήφορον   [ἐ]πανγειλάμενον [πρυ]τανείαν διὰ βίου πρυ[τα]μεύειν ---] *Possibly the same as in the fragmentary <b>273</b> = <i>I. Eph. 859a</i> .	Ephesus: Asia K
187	<b>C. Iulius Divi Aug. lib. Niceros Vedianus</b> 6.1963 = 5180 = D 1948 C IULIUS DIVI AUG L / NICEROS VEDIAN ACCES / GERMANICO CAISAR COS ET / CALVISIO SABINO COS / IULIA L F HELICE VIX AN XX C IULIUS AUG L AMARANTHUS / SIBI ET IULIAE C L CLARIE ET / IULIAE C L MERCATILLAE / DELICIO MEO / IULIA EUHETERIA / HELICES MATER	Rome AD 26 A C I S N
	*Chantraine 339f. no. 326. Niceros Vedianus was <i>accensus (consulis)</i> to Germanicus in AD 18 and to Calvisius Sabinus in 26. As a former slave of Vedius Pollio, he must have been born before the death of Pollio in 15 BC (Dio 54.23.5) and, as a freedman of Augustus, was freed no later than AD 14. By AD 26, therefore, he was at least 41 years old and had been freed for at least 12 years.	
	If Helice was his spouse and died at the age of 20 after AD 26, she was born in AD 6 or later, i. e. she was at least 20 years younger than Niceros whom she had married as a freeborn woman no earlier than AD 18, i. e. after his manumission, perhaps a second marriage for him. On the other hand, Amaranthus ( <b>20</b> ), also a freedman of Augustus, could not have been Helice's father, at least after his manumission (she was <i>L(ucii) f.</i> ) and was probably the second husband of Euheteria, the mother of Helice.	
188	<b>Nomius</b> (freedman of Tiberius; <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> N 110) Pliny, <i>NH</i> 13.93f. magnitudo amplissimis [mensis] adhuc fuit...solidae autem a Nomio Caesaris liberto cognomen trahenti tribus sicilicis infra quattuor pedes totidemque infra pedem crassitudinis. (94) qua in re non omittendum videtur Tiberio principi mensam quattuor pedes sextante et sicilico excedentem, tota vero crassitudine scunciali, operimento lamnae vestitam fuisse, cum tam opima Nomio liberto eius esset.	

189	<p><b>Nymphodotus (1) Aug. lib.</b>  AE 1913, 194  NYMPHODOTO AUG LIB / TABULARIO / STATORIA NEPHELE CONIUGI OPTIM[o] / ET IIII TI IULI IULIANUS PRAEF / FABRUM TRIB COH VIII / VOLUNTARIORUM QUAE EST / IN DALMATIA IUSTUS PROBUS / PIUS ET IULIA STATORINA / ET IULIUS PRIMIANUS IULIANI / NEPOS EIUS PATRI OPTIMO ET INDULGENT[ij] / ET SIBI POSTERISQUE SUI[s]</p> <p>*An unusual freedman's family of four sons, a daughter and a grandson, all freeborn, of whom the eldest son, Ti. Iulius Iulianus, exceptionally for the son of a <i>tabularius</i>, attained equestrian rank. This was probably a second marriage, and the wife, Statoria Nephele, freeborn.</p>	Rome A B I R
190	<p>C. Iulius Nymphodotus (2)  AE 1945, 113  C IULIUS NYMPHODOTUS / ACCENS CAESARIS PATRONI / PROCURAT</p> <p>*Cf. 186. On accensi: Mommsen 356ff.; Purcell 146.</p>	Rome I
191	<p>Ti. Iulius Aug. I. Optatus Pontianus  (1) 10.6318 = D 2815  TI IULIO AUG L / OPTATO / PONTIANO / PROCURATORI ET / PRAEFECT CLASSIS / TI IULIUS / TI F FAB / OPTATUS II VIR</p>	Tarracina: I: B I S R
	<p>(2) 10.769 = 16.1 = D 1986  TI CLAUDIUS CAESAR AUGUSTUS / GERMANICUS PONTIFEX MAXIM / TRIB POTESTATE XII IMPER XXVII / PATER PATRIAE CENSOR COS V / TRIERARCHIS ET REMIGIBUS QUI MILI/TAVERUNT IN CLASSE QUAE EST MISENI / SUB TI IULIO AUGUSTI LIB OPTATO ET / SUNT DIMISSI HONESTA MISSIONE / QUORUM NOMINA SUBSCRIPTA SUNT / IPSIS LIBERIS POSTERISQUE EORUM / CIVITATEM DEDIT ET CONUBIUM CUM /</p>	Stabiae: I 11 Dec. AD 52 F I N R
	<p>UXORIBUS QUAS TUNC HABUISSENT / CUM EST CIVITAS IIS DATA AUT / SI QUI CAELIBES ESSENT CUM IIS QUAS POSTEA DUXISSENT DUM/TAXAT SINGULI SINGULAS / A D III IDUS DECEMBR / FAUSTO CORNELIO SULLA FELICE / L SALVIDIENO RUFO SALVIANO COS / GREGALI / SPARTICO / DIUZENI F DIBPSCURTO / BESSO /</p>	
	<p>DESCRIPTUM ET RECOGNITUM EX TABULA / AENEA QUAE FIXA EST ROMAE IN CAPITOLIO AEDIS FIDEI POPULI ROMANI / PARTE DEXTERIORE L MESTI L F AEM PRISCI DYRRACHINI / L NUTRI VENUSTI DYRRACHINI / C DURRACHINI ANTHI DYRRACHINI / C SABINI NEDYMI DYRRACHINI / C CORNELI AMPLIATI DYRRACHINI / T POMPONI EPAPHRODITI DYRRACHINI / N MINI HYLAE THESSALONICENSIS</p>	
	<p>(3) Pliny, NH 9.62  inde advectos [scaros] Tiberio Claudio principe Optatus e libertis eius praefectus classis inter Ostiensem et Campaniae oram sparsos disseminavit, quinquennio fere cura adhibita ut capti redderentur mari.</p>	
	<p>(4) Macrobius, Sat. 3.16.10  nec contenta illa ingluvies fuit maris sui copiis. nam Optatus praefectus classis sciens scarum adeo Italicis littoribus ignotum ut nec nomen Latinum eius piscis habeamus, incredibilem scarorum multitudinem vivariis navibus huc advectam inter Ostiam et Campaniae litus in mare sparsit miroque ac novo exemplo pisces in mari tamquam in terra fruges aliquas seminavit, idemque tamquam summa in hoc utilitatis publicae verteretur, quinquennio dedit operam ut, si quis inter alios pisces scarum forte cepisset, incolumem confestim et inviolatum mari redderet.</p>	

	(5) John Lydus, <i>De Magistr.</i> 3.63 Κορνήλιος δὲ Νέπων καὶ Λαβέριος ὁ ποιητής, ἄμφω Ῥωμαῖοι, φασὶν Ὀπτάτον τινα ναύκληρον τοῦ Καρπαθίου στόλου, οἰκεῖον Κλαυδίου βασιλέως, ἐνεγκόντα ἐκ τῆς κάτω θαλάσσης ἔλοπας ἀνα μέσον τῆς Ὀστίας καὶ Καμπανῆς περισπεῖραι θαλάσσης.	
	*PIR <sup>2</sup> I 443. On the agnomen 'Pontianus' (1): Chantraine 329f. no. 272 opts, most plausibly, for a derivation from the nomen of a former master 'Pontius'. Optatus, whose career culminated as prefect of the fleet at Misenum, still a freedman, in the latter part of the reign of Claudius, was freed by Tiberius at least 15 years prior to the date of (2). For two other freedmen who were prefects of the Misene fleet in the following period, see Anicetus (309) under Nero, and Moschus (677) under Galba and Otho. This Optatus Aug. I. is not to be identified with Claudius Optatus Aug. I. (553), <i>proc(urator) portus Ostie(n)sis</i> .	
	This Optatus is generally assumed to have been also proprietor of the <i>figlinae Ocianae</i> on the basis of a brick stamp, 15.387, which reads: TI IULI OPTATI / DE FIG OCIANIS (cf. Steinby 69). The stamp, which is of a semicircular early to mid-1st C. type, is dated by Bloch to construction during the reign of Gaius, some twelve to fifteen years earlier than the attested refs. above (Bloch 222, 336). The identification is at best speculative. Apart from the absence of the Imperial freedman status indication, <i>Aug. I./Augusti lib.</i> , prominently used in (1) and (2) above, and not noticeably eschewed by Imperial freedmen in brick stamps of the period or later (e.g. 573 below), there is no reason to suppose from an early first-century brick stamp that the person named thus in the genitive was other than <i>offinator</i> , at this period the brick-yard manager, and not the property owner of the 'clay district' comprising the <i>figlinae Ocianae</i> (see Helen 47-53). <i>Optatus</i> is a very common slave and freedman name at all periods (Kajanto 77, 296), not least in the <i>Fam. Caes.</i> where there are 23 examples.	Ocium: I I
192	<b>Iulia Aug. I. Orge</b> 6.20588 DIS MANIB / IULIAE AUG L / ORGE / PIISIMMAE (!) PATRON / REGILLUS L F *4-5: 'piissimae patron(ae) Regillus I(ibens) f(ecit)'.	Rome G
193	Orio C. Iuli Lyri (= Lyri Diony[siani?] Divi Augusti I.) I. 6.23581 See 160 (6)	Rome G
194	<b>Orodes Ti. Caesaris libertus</b> 6.33130 INGENUUS ORODIS / TI CAESARIS LIBERTI / SERVUS	Rome G N
195	<b>Palmus August. lib.</b> 6.4117 DAPHNO PALMI / AUGUST LIB	Rome: mon. Liviae G
196	<b>Pamphilus Ti. Caesaris Aug. I.</b> 6.12652 = IG 14.1892 = Moretti 1250 See 41	Rome G
197	<b>C. Iulius Aug. I. Papa</b> 6.20173 C IULIUS / AUG L / PAPA IULIA PAPAE L / HYGIA / VIXIT ANN XXII	Rome a G H

198	<b>C. Iulius Parthenio</b> 6.10395 = 1 <sup>2</sup> p. 69 = <i>I. It.</i> 13.1 p. 294f. See 82	Rome AD 1 F N Q
199	<b>Pastus Augusti et Augustae I.</b> 6.14843 CLADO / TI CAESARIS AUG / SER IULIA PASTI / AUGUSTI ET / AUGUSTAE L L / RHODINE	Rome G N
200	<b>Ti. Iulius Aug. et Aug(ustae) I. Pelagius</b> 6.8913 TI IULIUS AUG ET AUG L / PELAGIUS MENSOR / SIBI ET SUIS / CISPIAE C L MYCLAE / C IULIO C L ILISSO / C CISPIO φ L OPTATO	Rome A B I
201	<b>Ἰούλιος Πελάγων Σεβαστοῦ ἀπελεύθερος</b> (1) <i>IGR</i> 1.429 = <i>IG</i> 14.714 Τιβέριος Ἰούλιος Τάρσος Διοσκούριος   καὶ τῇ πόλει τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ ναῷ   Πελάγων Σεβαστοῦ ἀπελεύθερος καὶ   ἐπίτροπος συντελέσας ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων καθιέρωσεν	Neapolis: I I K L O
	(2) <i>I. Strat.</i> 631 = <i>BCH</i> 44, 1920, 91 no. 21 [? Ἱεροκλήης Ἰάσονος] ἱερεὺς   [ἐπα]νγειλάμενος ἐν πεντα[ε]τηρίδι ἐ[πι]τυχῶν πρεσβεία [τῆ] εἰς Ἰώμη   τὰ [---α] καταλει[φθέντα τῆ] πατρίδι χρήματα   [ὑπὸ] Ἰουλίου Πελάγοντος]	ib. K L
	(3) <i>I. Strat.</i> 1011 [Ἰούλιος Π]ελάγων Καίσαρος ἀπελεύθερος   καὶ ἐπίτροπος ἐκ τῶν [ιδίων]	Stratonicaea: Asia I K L
	(4) <i>I. Eph.</i> 862 PELA[go caesaris] / AUGU[sti libertus et procurator]	Ephesus: Asia I
	(5) Tacitus, <i>Ann.</i> 14.59 [Rubellium Plautum] centurio trucidavit coram Pelagone spadone, quem Nero centurioni et manipulo, quasi satellitibus ministrum regium, praeposuerat.	AD 62
	(6) <i>I. Strat.</i> 529 = <i>LBW</i> 541 [---] δαπάνη ---   ---] ἐν τῷ περιπολείῳ ἀλλ[---   ---] Πελαγοντιανὸν ἀπαλλ[---   ---] χεῖλια πεντακόσια Ἰξί[ων ---   ---Ταυροπ]ολίους τὸ δεύτερο[---] (Cf. L. Robert, <i>Etud. Anatol.</i> 542.)	ib. K L
	* <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> I 455. The identity of Pelago <i>spado</i> (5) with Iulius Pelago (2), who was <i>Aug. lib.</i> and <i>procurator</i> (1, 3, 4), is probable, given the origin of Pelago in Stratonicaea and his activities in Asia under Nero. He would then have been manumitted by Tiberius or Gaius at least 21 years earlier than the murder of Plautus described by Tacitus. 'Pelagontianus' (6), conjectured by Robert ( <i>loc.cit.</i> ), would most likely be the <i>agnomen</i> of a former slave of Pelagon.	
202	<b>Phaedrus</b> (? freedman of Augustus; <i>PIR</i> <sup>1</sup> P 246) (1) Phaedrus 3. <i>prol.</i> 17–20 ego, quem Pierio mater enixa est iugo, / in quo Tonanti sancta Mnemosyne lovi, / fecunda novies, artium peperit chorum, / quamvis in ipsa paene natus sum schola ...	
	(2) <i>ib.</i> 40–4 ...in calamitatem deligens quaedam meam. / quodsi accusator alius Seiano foret, / si testis alius, iudex alius denique, / dignum faterer esse me tantis malis, / nec his dolorem delenirem remediis.	

	(3) <i>ib. epil. 33–5</i> ego, quondam legi quam puer sententiam / "palam muttire plebeio piaculum est," / dum sanitas constabit, pulchre meminero.	
	(4) Seneca, <i>ad Polyb. 8.3</i> non audeo te eo usque producere ut fabellas quoque et Aesopeos logos, intemptatum Romanis ingeniis opus, solita tibi venustate conectas.	
	(5) Martial 3.20.1–5 dic, Musa, quid agat Canius meus Rufus: / utrumne chartis tradit ille victuris / legenda temporum acta Claudianorum? / an quae Neroni falsus adstruit scriptor, / an aemulatur improbi iocos Phaedri?	
	(6) Avianus, <i>Epist.ad Theodos.</i> quas [fabulas] Graecis iambis Babrius repetens in duo volumina coartavit. Phaedrus etiam partem aliquam quinque in libellos resolvit.	
	(7) <i>Codex Pithoeanus</i> , Title, Lib. 1 FEDRI AUGUSTI LIBERTI LIBER FABULARUM ib. Title, Lib. 2 PHAEDRI AUG LIBERTI LIB SECUNDUS	
	*Despite the fact that Phaedrus is universally cited as a freedman of Augustus, there arise more than residual doubts. The only explicit evidence comes from the title of the principal manuscript, the <i>Codex Pithoeanus</i> (7), which is IX Century. This simply names him 'Phaedrus Augusti libertus', which does not imply any specific connection with the emperor Augustus; 'Divi Augusti libertus' would have been more compelling. Seneca's testimony (4), by ignoring Phaedrus, is negative, whilst Martial's (5) is at best opaque. Everything else about the life of the fabulist comes from the internal evidence of his writings themselves. On questions of status, as on a good deal else, the internal evidence is at best imprecise, even evasive; cf. H. MacL. Currie, <i>ANRW</i> II 32.19, at 500ff.	
203	<b>Iulia Aug. I. Phaenomene</b> 6.20601a IULIAE AUG L / PHAENOMENE / ET M FABI FAU/STINI NEPO EIUS *4: 'nepo(tis)'.	Rome B
204	<b>Philager Divi Aug. I. Agrippianus</b> 6.8012 = D 8436 V C GARGILIUS HAEMON PROCULI / PHILAGRI DIVI AUG L AGRIPPIANI F / V / PAEDAGOGUS IDEM L / PIUS ET SANCTUS / VIXI QUAMDIU POTUI SINE LITE / SINE RIXA SINE CONTROVERSIA / SINE AERE ALIENO AMICIS FIDEM / BONAM PRAESTITI PECULIO / PAUPER ANIMO DIVITISSIMUS / BENE VALEAT IS QUI HOC (!) TITULUM / PERLEGIT MEUM *1: 'v(ivus)'; cf. 3.	Rome B I S M
205	<b>Ti. Iulius Aug. I. Philantropus</b> 6.6520 SESTILIAE APTAE / VIX A XL / TI IULIUS AUG L / PHILANTROPUS / CONIUGI CARISSIMAE	Rome A H

206	<b>Philippus Augusti libert.</b> 11.3200 = D 89 IMP CAESARI DIVI F / AUGUSTO / PONTIF MAXIM COS XI / TRIBUNIC POTESTAT XI / MAGISTRI AUGUSTAL PRIM / PHILIPPUS AUGUSTI LIBERT / M AEBUTIUS SECUNDUS / M GALLIUS ANCHIA[I]US / P FIDUSTIUS ANTIGONUS *5: 'Augustal(es) prim(i)'. On <i>Augustales</i> in the Fam. Caes., see Boulvert, <i>DF</i> 226-8.	Nepete: VII 12 BC K N Q
207	<b>C. Iulius Aug. I. Philocalus Leonidianus</b> AE 1951, 156 C IULIO AUG L PHILOCALO / LEONIDIANO / EX TESTAMENTO / ARB[I]TR[ATU] / IULIAE AUR[--- et] / TI CLAUDI[---] / LEON[idiani?] *Chantraine 321, no. 203.	Morlupo: VII A. b S
208	Iulia (C. Iuli Caesar. I.) Zethi I. Philusa 6.20335 See 260	Rome A G
209	Phoebe (Apellae Divi Aug. I.) con[?]ibert. NS 1896, 332 See 29	A F
210	<b>C. Iulius Aug. I. Phoebus Rufioninus</b> 6.20201 = IG 14.1694 = Moretti 618 C IULIO AUG L PHOEBO / RUFIONINO / CESTUS DE SUO FECIT τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς καὶ θανόντας   εὐεργετεῖν δεῖ	Rome F S
211	<b>Pinus Ti. Caesaris I.</b> 6.10383 SCIRTUS PINI TI / CAESARIS L / SERVO DECURIONI	Rome G N
212	<b>Pinytus Divi Augusti I.</b> AE 1965, 335 = Gordon 51 PINYTUS / DIVI AUGUSTI L HEROD/IAS PINYTI L	Rome G
213	Pitheca (Hilarionis Divi Aug. I. et Domitiae Atthidis) I. 6.24223 See 130	Rome G
214	[?] P[?]autus [--- C]aesaris [Augu]sti I. I. AE 1985, 229 See 272	Ostia: I A G
215	<b>Plocamus Divi Aug. I.</b> 5.1319 NYMPHIO / FILIO ANN III / NYMPHODOTUS / PLOCAMI DIVI / AUG L SER	Aquileia: X G H
216	<b>Polus</b> (freedman of Augustus; <i>PIR</i> <sup>1</sup> P 421) Suetonius, <i>Aug.</i> 67.2 idem Polum ex acceptissimis libertis mori coegit compertum adulterare matronas.	
217	<b>Polybius (1) Caesaris I.</b> 6.20252 C IULII SABBIONIS / POLYBI CAESARIS L L *Probably Augustan, from the status indication 'Caesaris I.': Weaver 49; Chantraine 143f.; cf. Solin 248.	Rome G

218	<p><b>Polybius (2) Div[i] Augusti libertus</b>  14.3539 = <i>I. It.</i> 4.1.41  C IULIUS POLYBI DIV[i] / AUGUSTI LIBERTI L ANTHUS / SALTUM  FORTUNAE OPIFERAE / RESTITUIT PRO SALUTE / POLYBI F LIBERALIS  PAT[roni ?]  *Perhaps the same as 219 below; cf. Chantraine 394f. n. 44.</p>	Tibur: I G
219	<p><b>Polybius (3)</b> (freedman of Augustus; <i>PIR</i><sup>1</sup> P 426)  (1) Suetonius, <i>Aug.</i> 101.1  See 132</p> <p>(2) Dio 56.32.1 (= Xiphil. 120.7f.)  τὰς διαθήκας αὐτοῦ Πολύβιος τις καισάρειος ἀνέγνω ὡς μὴ  πρέπον βουλευτῇ τοιοῦτόν τι ἀναλέγεσθαι.</p> <p>*Cf. 218*.</p>	AD 13
220	<p><b>C. Iulius Pothinus Caesaris (I.)</b>  6.3970  (a) ROMANUS / LIVIAE DEC / A TABULIIS (!)  (b) C IULIUS / POTHINUS / CAESARIS FULLO</p>	Rome: mon. Liviae F I
221	<p>C. Iulius Augusti l. l. Priamus  6.5909  C IULIUS AUGUSTI L L / PRIAMUS ET / BAEBIA φ L PARHALIA / CONIUNX  *See 97*.</p>	Rome A G
222	<p><b>Prima Augusti et Augustae I.</b>  6.4352  PRIMA AUGUSTI / ET AUGUSTAE L / NUTRIX IULIAE GERMA/[nici] FILIAE</p>	Rome I
223	<p>Iulia Prima (Coeti Herodian[i] lib.)  6.9005 = D 1795  See 60</p>	Rome G M N
224	<p>Iulia Pronoe (Ti. Iulii Aug. l. Alcidis l.)  6.19816  See 14</p>	Rome G
225	<p><b>Protogenes</b> (prob. freedman of Gaius; <i>PIR</i><sup>1</sup> P 757)  (1) Dio 59.26.1f. (= Xiphil. 167f.)  ἦν δέ τις Πρωτογένης πρὸς πάντα αὐτῷ τὰ χαλεπώτατα  ὑπηρετῶν, ὥστε καὶ βιβλία αἰεὶ δύο περιφέρειν καὶ αὐτῶν τὸ  μὲν ξίφος τὸ δὲ ἐγχειρίδιον ὀνομάζειν. (2) οὗτος ἐσηλθέ ποτε  ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ὡς καὶ κατ' ἄλλο τι, καὶ πάντων, οἷα εἰκός,  προσειπόντων τε αὐτὸν καὶ δεξιουμένων δριμύ τέ τι Σκριβωνίῳ  Πρόκλῳ ἐνεῖδε καὶ ἔφη "καὶ σύ με ἀσπάζῃ, μισῶν οὕτω τὸν  αὐτοκράτορα;" ἀκούσαντες δὲ τοῦτο οἱ παρόντες περιέσχον τε  τὸν συμβουλευτὴν καὶ διέσπασαν.</p>	AD 40 N
	<p>(2) id. 60.4.5  [Claudius] τὰ βιβλία τὰ τοῦ Πρωτογένους, ὃν καὶ ἀπέκτεινε...  τοῖς τε βουλευταῖς ἐπέδειξε... καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο κατέφλεξε.</p> <p>(3) Juvenal 3.119f.  non est Romano cuiquam locus hic, ubi regnat / Protogenes aliquis vel Diphilus  aut Hermarchus...</p>	AD 41

226	<p>[Ἰούλιος Καίσαρος ἀπελεύθερος Κοάρτιων (Quartio)  <i>SB 5.8797 = IGR 1.1101 = SEG 1986. 1398 = ZPE 65, 1986, 154f</i>  [--- Λο]κίω Ἀντωνίω Πέδω   [παρὰ --- Ἰουλί]ου Καίσαρος ἀπελευθέρου Κοαρτίωνος   [ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει τοῦ Μενελαίου πλησίον τοῦ   [--- ἔτι πρό]τερον Ἀφροδίσιον καὶ ἐργαστήρια   [ὑπῆρχε ἀτελῆ ὄντα] ἀπὸ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνων μέχρι   [τῆς εὐεστῶσης ἡμέρας βουλόμενος δὲ προσκτίσαι   [νῦν ἐνταῦθα καὶ ζ]υτοπολίον ἐπ' εὐεργεσία τοῦ   [ἱεροῦ ἀξιῶ ἐπιχ]ωρηθῆναι καὶ τοῦτο εἶναι ἀτελές   [---]</p>	AD 11–14 Menelais: Egypt F I K L N
	<p>*The date derives from L. Antonius Peto who is identified by Sijpesteijn (<i>ZPE</i> loc. cit.) with the prefect of Egypt, [---] Peto, known to have been in office between AD 11 and 14. The other official involved would in that case have been a freedman of Augustus, i.e. C. Iulius Quartio.</p>	
227	<p><b>C. Iulius Aug. lib. Regillus (1)</b>  6.5262  IULIA PRIMA / INGENUO AUGUSTAE / SPONS FRATRI V A XIX / C IULIO AUG L REGILLO VIRO / C IULIO CARO FILIO  CONIUGE SI QUA CARET FRATREMQUE MISERRUMA SI QUA / FLET RAPTUM ET NATUM PERDIDIT A GREMIO / HUNC TITULUM ASPICIAT FUNUS NON QUARERET IN ISTO / QUO DOLET ET FLEBIT TOT MEA DAMNA MAGIS</p>	Rome: mon. vin. Codin. 2 A B D H M
228	<p>Regillus (2) (Iuliae Aug. l. Orgetis) l.  6.20588  See <b>190</b></p>	Rome G
229	<p>Iulia Restituta Acuti Aug. lib. liber.  6.5264  See <b>6</b></p>	Rome G
230	<p>Iulia Pasti Augusti et Augustae l. l. Rhodine  6.14843  See <b>197</b></p>	Rome A G N
231	<p>C. Iulius Sabbio Polybi Caesaris l. l.  6.20252  See <b>215</b></p>	Rome G
232	<p>C. Iulius (C. Iuli Divi Aug. l.) Cosmi (Agrippiani) l. Sabinus  6.5202 = D 1778  See <b>62 (1)</b></p>	Rome G
233	<p><b>C. Iulius Caesaris l. Salvius</b>  11.7802 = D 9039  (a) T LICINIO T F POST IIII VIR AED / APPARITORES  (b) C IULIO CAESARIS L SALVIO / ACCENSO MAG LUPERC VIAT TRIB / POSTUMUS IIII VIR AED  *(b)2: 'accenso, mag(istro) Luperc(or)um, viat(ori) trib(unicio)'; 3: 'IIIIvir aed(ilis)' An <i>accensus</i> was the personal assistant appointed by a particular magistrate, especially a consul, for the term of his office (Mommsen, <i>StR</i> 1<sup>3</sup>.356-8). A freedman was often, but by no means always, so appointed by his own patron; e.g. C. Iulius Niceros (<b>187</b>), who under Tiberius was the <i>accensus</i> of Germanicus Caesar (<i>cos.</i> AD 18) and of Calvisius Sabinus (<i>cos.</i> AD 26); see also C. Iulius Epagathus (<b>93</b>), C. Iulius Sam[ius] (<b>234</b>). The magistrate to whom Salvius was attached is not mentioned, but is most likely Augustus or one of the Julian emperors under whom the status indication 'Caesaris l.' was commonplace (but not Julius Caesar, as stated by Purcell 140).</p>	Ocriculum: VI F I L Q

	<p>Salvius, as <i>magister Lupercorum</i>, also held one of the few priesthoods open to freedmen, but who were usually freeborn, including equestrians (Mommsen, <i>StR</i> 3<sup>3</sup>.566f.). These celebrated the fertility festival of the Lupercalia near the Palatine on 15 February.</p> <p>For <i>viatores</i>, see Mommsen 360ff.; Purcell 152f., and for <i>apparitores</i> generally, Mommsen 332ff.; Purcell 125ff.</p>	
234	<p><b>C. Iulius Aug. I. Sam[ius]</b>  14.3644 = D 1942 = <i>I. It.</i> 4.1.179  C IULIUS AUG L SAM[ius] / PROC / ACCENSUS DIVI CLAUDII E[t] /  NERONIS AUGUSTI / PATRONORUM  *Manumitted by Gaius, despite the fact that both Claudius and Nero are referred to as <i>patroni</i>. On the inheritance of Imperial patronal rights: Chantraine 78; on <i>accensi</i>: see 233 above.</p>	Tibur: I I M N
235	<p><b>Iulia Aug. I. Saturnina</b>  6.20669  IULIAE AUG L / SATURNINAE</p>	Rome
236	<p><b>Ti. Iulius Augusti lib. Satyrus</b>  14.3787  TI IULIUS / AUGUSTI LIB / SATYRIO</p>	Tibur: I
237	<p>? <b>C. Iulius Aug. lib. Satyrus</b>  6.376 = D 3670  (a) IOVI CUSTODI / ET GENIO / THESAURORUM / ARAM / C IULIUS AUG  LIB / SATYRUS / D D  (b) DEDIC XIII K FEBR / M CIVICA BARBARO / M METILIO REGULO / COS  *While the content of the dedication in (a) does not exclude a 1<sup>st</sup> C. date (cf. D 3671-3673), the consular date in (b) is late in the reign of Antoninus Pius. On the assumption that, because of the similarity of lettering, both parts of the inscription were put up at the one time, either the <i>nomen</i> of Satyrus in (a) or the date in (b) is irregular. For possible solutions: Weaver 30 n. 4, 35f.; Chantraine 77ff.</p>	Rome L N  (AD 157)
238	<p>C. Iulius Sceptus Admeti Aug. lib. [I]ib.  3.2097  See 7</p>	Salonae: Dalm. A B G K
239	<p><b>Ti. Iulius Caesar. I. Scymnus</b>  6.20259  TI IULIUS CAESAR L / SCYMNUS</p>	Rome
240	<p><b>Iulius Secundus (1) Aug. lib.</b>  2.4185 = <i>RIT</i> 247  D M / IUL PAM/PHILI IULI SECUN/DUS AUG / LIB ET IUL/IANA MATER / A  XIII M I</p>	Tarraco: Hisp. Tarr. A B H
241	<p><b>Ti. Iulius Aug. I. Secundus (2)</b>  6.37752  TI CLAUDIO AUG L EUNO / NERONIS AUG CUNARIO / TI IULIO AUG L  SECUNDO / MEDICO AURICULARIO / CLAUDIAE AUG L CEDNE MAMMAE /  CLAUDIAE HERMIONE VERNAE SUAE / TI IULIUS EUNUS TI CLAUDIUS /  DEUTER FECERUNT PARENTIBUS SUIS / TI CLAUDIO FELICI VERNAE  SUO / LIBERTIS LIBERTABUSQUE POSTERIS SUIS</p>	Rome A B I N
242	<p>Iulia Sophia Isidori Ti. Caesaris Augusti I. I.  AE 1972, 83  See 147</p>	Anacapri: I G H

243	<b>C. Iulius Divi Augusti I. Sosthenes</b> 6.29681 (a) [---] SESTULEIO[--- / --- c]APITO HUNC VI VIR[ji et ---] / HONORE FUNCTI ROGARUNT UT EO / HONORE FUNGERETUR / C IULIUS DIVI AUGUSTI L SOSTHENES / M IUNIUS FELIX / METRILIUS EROS / L FADIUS HETARIO / K AUG HONOR PD LUDOS IN FORO / PER ###FECERUNT	Rome F N Q
	C ASINIO C ANTISTIO COS / L MANLIO M PLUTIO II VIR / Q CALVIUS AUCTUS / L TRIBULANUS PAMPHILO / METRILIUS ONOMASTUS / Q URSIUS SECUNDIO / T TRAEBULANUS FELIX PRAEC / K AUG HONOREM EDERUNT LUD[os in foro] / PER ###FECERUNT IIII PRIMI [---] / NATALE IULIAE AUGUST IN PU[blic---] / CENAM DECURION ET AUGU[stalib---] / DEDERUNT EORUM SEVIR[atu---] / FAMILIA GLADIAT[---] APPIO ANNIO GALLO M ATIL[io bradua cos]	AD 23  (AD 108)
	(b) ANTONIUS [---] / M TREBULAN[US ---] / K AUG HONOR[---] / L CASSIO LONG[INO M VINICIO COS] / M URSEIO RUFO[---] / SABINO [---] / C IULIUS [---] / C GEMIN[---] / SEX RUBR[---] / TI PLAUTIUS [---] / K AUG [---]  *Fragment of municipal <i>fasti</i> of Trebula.	AD 30
244	<b>Spendo Augusti et Augustae libertus</b> 6.26674 DIS MANIBUS / SPENDONTIS / AUGUSTI ET / AUGUSTAE LIBERTI	Rome N
245	<b>Stephanus Caesaris I.</b> 6.4589 IULIA FAUSTA STEPHANI / CAESARIS L.	Rome: mon. Marcellae A
246	Strobilus Acti Divi Aug. I. I. 6.5289 See 3	Rome F G
247	<b>Iulia Syntyche Au[g. I.]</b> 6.35609 (a) IULIA SYN[tyche] / AU[g I] / FECIT [sibi et] / Q AGILL[i]O FOR[tunato] / CONIUG[i] / IN F P X[iv] / IN AGR P[xx] (b) [iulia aug I s]YNTYCHE / [fecit si]BI ET / [q agill]IO FORTUNATO / [coni]UGI BENEMER ] [in fro]NT P XIV IN A P XX	Rome A M
248	<b>Ti. Iulius Aug. I. Tertius</b> 6.5436 TI IULIUS / AUG L TERTIUS IRENA / LIVIAE L	Rome: mon. vin. Codin. 2 A
249	<b>? C. Iulius Thallus (1)</b> 6.8461 = D 1637 D M / FECIT MINDIA HELPIS C IULIO THALLO / MARITO SUO BENE MERENTI QUI EGIT / OFFICINAS PLUMBARIAS TRASTIBERINA / ET TRIGARI SUPERPOSITO AURI MONETAE / NUMULARIORUM QUI VIXIT ANN XXXIII M VI / IT C IULIO THALLO FILIO DULCISSIMO QUI VIXIT / ME(n)SES IIII DIES XI ET SIBI POSTERISQUE SUIS *4: '(regione) Tra(n)stiberina', cf. Frontinus, Aqu. 1.11 & 18, referring to the supply of the aqua Alsietina from southern Etruria; 5: 'Trigari' (locative?) in the Campus Martius area of Region IX; 7: 'it(em)'.	Rome A B H I

	<p>Dessau includes Thallus in <i>ILS</i> as an Imperial freedman, with the implication that he belongs in the Julian period of the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> C. This is doubtful. He is accorded no imperial freed indication in the context of a sepulchral dedication where this might be expected, and his career is unusual, if not anomalous. It embraces two distinct occupations, neither of which are patently imperial in this period.</p> <p>The first involved running, presumably as manager rather than as private owner, two factories in separate regions of Rome which manufactured lead pipes for the water supply. This presupposes an organisation of some complexity but not one explicitly or necessarily connected with imperial ownership. (For the linkage or otherwise between the manufacturers of the <i>fistulae</i> and the names in the stamps thereon, see Bruun 345ff.)</p>	
	<p>The second post was as supervisor (<i>superpositus</i>) of the mint workers (<i>nummularii</i>) responsible for testing the standard of the gold coinage in this case. Both terms are very rare in the early empire, at least before the 3<sup>rd</sup> C. For 'superpositus' the only parallel is T. Fl. Paederos Aug. lib. Alcimianus (915) <i>superpositus medicorum</i> in the <i>patrimonium</i> administration.</p> <p>'Praepositus' is the regular title in the domestic service of the Fam. Caes. to indicate seniority within the freedman hierarchy, followed by 'optio' and 'decurio'. The earliest cases are Ti. Cl. Thallus (626)—another Thallus without status indication—and Diadumenus Aug. l. (776) under Titus, and then from the early 2<sup>nd</sup> C. throughout all the departments of the domestic service. (For full references: Boulvert (1) 182-3, 239-41; for the military connotation of titles within the <i>familia castrensis</i>: Weaver 228.)</p>	
	<p>'Nummularius' is almost as rare throughout the same period up to the 3<sup>rd</sup> C. The only example is a freedman of Trajan, M. Ulpius Secundus (1258), who calls himself 'off(icator) mon(etae) in one dedication but is called 'nummularius offic(inator)/offic(inarum?) monetae' in another. That there was at some time a distinction between the <i>nummularii</i> and the <i>officinatores</i>, the general term for mint workers, is clear from the undated dedication 'Herculi Aug. sacrum, officinatores et nummulari officinarum argentariarum familiae monetari[ae]' (6.298 = D 1636). (Cf. Boulvert (1) 266 n. 21). The earliest evidence for direct imperial control involving imperial freedmen and slaves in the actual production of coins at the mint is also during the reign of Trajan (6.43 &amp; 44, dated to AD 115; see 1142: Felix Aug. lib. optio et exactor auri argenti aeris); cf. 6.239 = D 1633, a dedication 'Genio familiae monetar(is)' by Demetrius Caesaris n. ser. Epaphroditianus (3587a), which, from his status indication and <i>agnomen</i>, is possibly also Trajanic (cf. Chantraine 312 no. 132).</p>	
	<p>A date for the inscription of C. Iulius Thallus is thus likely to be closer to the early 3<sup>rd</sup> C. than the early 1<sup>st</sup> C. in which case Thallus cannot be an imperial freedman but freeborn or even an equestrian and gives us no guidance on the involvement of the early emperors and the production of the coinage, still overseen no doubt well into the 1<sup>st</sup> C. by the <i>III viri aere argento auro flando feriundo</i> (see Hirschfeld 181-9; Boulvert (1) 66; Bruun 356).</p>	

250	<p>(Θ)άλλος (2) Καίσαρος ἀπελεύθερος  Josephus, <i>AJ</i> 18. 167  καὶ γὰρ ἦν Θάλλος* Σαμαρεὺς γένος Καίσαρος δὲ ἀπελεύθερος·  <b>(Agrippa)</b> παρὰ τούτου δάνεισμα μυριάδας ἑκατὸν εὐρόμενος τῆς  τε Ἀντωνία καταβάλλει το ὀφειληθὲν χρέος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν  ἀναλώματι θεραπεύων τὸν Γάιον μειζόνως ἐν ἀξιώματι ἦν παρ'  αὐτῶν.  * ἄλλος mss. om. E: Θάλλος Hudson. The manuscript reading ἄλλος,  apart from the difficulty of its meaning 'another' in this context (what other?),  would be extraordinary in not containing the the name, while at the same time  recording the origin, of an imperial freedman of either Augustus or Tiberius who  saved the financial situation of Herod Agrippa with a (nonchalant) loan of no less  than one million drachmas! The date is in the latter part of Tiberius' reign when  he was living on Capri. <i>Thallus</i> is a common slave name in the Fam. Caes. and  elsewhere (see, e.g. from Rome, Vidman 341; Solin (2) 517). Agrippa, the  grandson and eventual successor of Herod the Great, was a protégé of Antonia  Minor and close friend of the future emperor Gaius.</p>	
251	<p><b>Theseus Hilarionis Divi Aug. liberti libertus</b>  5.236 = <i>I. It.</i> 10.1.53  See 127</p>	Pola: X G
252	<p><b>C. Iulius Augusti I. Thoas</b>  6.4053  ALTES LIVIAE LIB / DEC DAT LIVIAE ELEUTHERIDI SORORI ET / LIVIAE  CERIALI FIL EIUS OLL I / C IULIO AUGUSTI L THOANTI FRATRI / OLLAM I</p>	Rome: mon. Liviae D E
253	<p><b>C. Iulius Caesar[is] Augusti I. Thyrsus (1)</b>  6.1261; cf. 8, p. 448  (a) [---]AUGUSTI L THYRSI / [--- A]QUAE DECEM DUAE / [--- sec]UNDA AD  HORAM / [---] QUARTO PRIDIE  (b) C IULI CAESAR[IS ---] / C BICOLEI RUFII / SQUATERIAN / AQUA UNA / C  IULI HYMETI / AUFIDIANO / AQUAE DUAE / AB HORA SECUNDA / AD  HORAM SEXTAM  (c) AC[---] / M VIB[---] / C IULI CAESAR[IS ---] / C BICOLEI [---] / AQU[ae ---] /  SEX[ta ad ] / OCCA[sum solis]</p>	Rome F I
254	<p><b>Thyrsus (2) Divi Augusti I.</b>  6.19060  GORGIAE THYRSI DIVI / AUGUSTI L L ET / IULIAE THYRSI L IOLE / C  IULIUS SYMBIUS F FECIT</p>	Rome G
255	<p><b>Thyrsus (3)</b> (freedman of Octavian; <i>PIR</i><sup>1</sup> T 141a)  (1) Dio 51.8.6  Θύρσον ἐξελεύθερον ἑαυτοῦ ἔπεμψεν ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ  φιλόφροντα αὐτῆ ἐροῦντα, καὶ ὅτι καὶ ἐρῶν αὐτῆς τυγχάνει...</p>	30 BC N
	<p>(2) <i>ib.</i> 9.5  ἐκείνη [Χλεοπατρα] γὰρ ὡς οὔτε τις ἐβοήθησέ σφισι καὶ τὸν  Καίσαρα ἀνανταγώνιστον ὄντα ἤσθετο, τό τε μέγιστον  ἀκούσασα τοὺς διὰ τοῦ Θύρσου πεμφθέντας οἱ λόγους,  ἐπίστευσεν ὄντως ἐρᾶσθαι...</p>	
256	<p><b>Iulia Augusti I. Tima</b>  AE 1974, 230  M TITTIO C F TE[r] / URSANO IULIAE AUGUSTI / L TIMAE</p>	Val di Comino: I A

257	<b>Timotheus Aug. I. Maron(ianus)</b> 6.4173 See 170	Rome: mon. Liviae C D S
258	<b>Ti. Iulius Aug. I. Trucunda</b> 6.20310 TI IULIO AUG L / TRUCUNDAE	Rome
259	C. Iulius Licini libertus Tyrrhenus 6.20311 See 155 (14)	Rome G
260	Veneria (Ti.Iuli Aug. [I.] Na(v)i ) I. 6.20148 See 179	Rome G M
261	<b>[Iulia Di]v[i] Aug. I. Vitalis</b> 6.29069 [d]IS MAN / [iuliae di]V[i] AUG L VITALI / [--- v]IXIT ANN XXV / [---]JUS SYMMACHUS ET / [---] ELEGANS FECERUNT FIL / [---]MAE ET SIBI ET SUIS POS/TERISQUE EORUM * 2: '[Iulio?]' C/L, but the age-at-death figure, and especially the feminine adjectival termination '[---]mae' in line 6, indicate a <i>liberta</i> .	Rome B H
262	<b>Ti. Iulius Aug. lib. Xanthus</b> 6.32775 = 33131 = D 2816 TI IULIO AUG LIB / XANTHO TRACTATORI / TI CAESARIS ET / DIVI CLAUDI / ET SUB PRAEF CLASSIS / ALEXANDRIAE / ATELLIA PRISCA VXOR / ET LAMYRUS L HEREDES / V A LXXXX *PIR <sup>2</sup>   633.	Rome A G H I
263	<b>C. Iulius Caesaris I. Xystus</b> 6.4479 C IULIUS / CAESARIS L / XYSTUS UNCTOR	Rome: mon. Marcellae I
264	<b>C. Iulius Caesar. I. Zethus</b> 6.20335 C IULIUS CAESAR L ZETHUS / IULIA ZETHI L PHILUSA	Rome a G
265	<b>Γάιος Ίούλιος Ζώιλος Θεοῦ Ίουλίου υἱοῦ Καίσαρος ἀπελεύθερος</b> (= Γάιος Ίούλιος Ζώιλος = Ζώιλος)	
	(1) Reynolds, AR 10 Καίσαρ Στεφάνω χαίρειν.   Ὡς Ζώιλον τὸν ἐμὸν φιλῶ ἐπίστασαι· τὴν πατρίδα αὐτοῦ ἠλευθέρωσα καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ συνέστησα.   Ὡς Ἀντώνιος ἄπεστιν δὸς ἐργασίαν μὴ τις αὐτοῖς ἐπιβάρησις γένηται· μίαν πόλιν ταύτην   ἐξ ὅλης τῆς Ἀσίας ἐμαυτῷ εἴληψα. τούτους οὕτω θέλω φυλαχθῆναι ὡς ἐμοὺς πολείτας.   ὄψομαι ὡς τὴν ἐμὴν σύνστασιν ἐπὶ πέρας ἀγάγῃς.	Aphrodis- ias: Asia  BC 39/38 F K
	(2) ib. 33 [ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτρέιψεν   [Γάγιον Ίούλιον Ζώιλον τὸν   [ιερέα τῆς Ἀφροδίτης καὶ τῆς   [Ἐλευθερίας διὰ βίου cf. id. 39 [--- ἱερεὺς --- τῆς] Ἐλευθερίας διὰ [βίου ---]	ib. c. BC 38 I K

	<p>(3) <i>ib.</i> 35  [οὔτος ὁ τόπος ἱερὸς ἄσυλλος ὡς ἔκριναν] ὁ μέγας   [Καῖσαρ ὁ δικ]τάτωρ καὶ   [ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Αὐ]τοκράτωρ   [Καῖσαρ καὶ ἡ σύ]νκλητος   [καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ῥ]ωμαίων   [καθὼς καὶ τὰ ] φιλάνθρω[πα καὶ δελτογρα]φή[ματα καὶ ἐπικρίματα   περιέχει, ἀνέστησεν   δὲ τοὺς ὄρους Γάιος   Ἰούλιος Ζώιλος ὁ ἱερεὺς   τῆς Ἀφροδείτης]</p>	<p><i>ib.</i>  c. BC 38  I L</p>
	<p>(4) <i>ib.</i> 36  <b>(a)</b> Γάιος Ἰούλιος Ζώιλος Θεοῦ Ἰουλίου υἱοῦ Καίσαρος ἀπελεύθερος στεφανηφορήσας τὸ δέκατον ἐξῆς τὸ λογήιον καὶ τὸ προσκήμιον σὺν τοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ προσκοσμήμασιν [πάσιν Ἀφροδίτη καὶ τῷ] Δήμῳ</p>	
	<p><b>(b)</b> Γάιος Ἰούλιος Ζώιλος [Θε]οῦ Ἰουλίου υἱ[ο]ῦ Καίσαρος ἀ[πελεύθερο]ς στεφανηφορήσας τὸ δέκατον ἐξῆς [τὸ] λογ[ή]ιον καὶ τὸ προσκή[μι]ον σὺν τοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ π[ροσκοσμή]μασιν π[ά]σιν Ἀφροδίτη καὶ τ[ῷ] Δήμῳ]</p>	<p><i>ib.</i>  BC 30/28  I L</p>
	<p>(5) <i>ib.</i> 37  Γάιος Ἰούλιος Ζώιλος ὁ ἱερεὺς θεοῦ Ἀφροδείτης ---   σωτῆρ καὶ εὐεργέτης τῆς πατρίδος τὸ ἱερὸν Ἀφροδείτης [---]</p>	<p><i>ib.</i>  c. BC 38  I L</p>
	<p>(6) <i>ib.</i> 38  [? ἢ βουλή καὶ ὁ] δῆμος [ἐτείμησαν]   Γάιον Ἰούλιον Ζώιλον ---]</p> <p>(7) <i>ib.</i> 34; cf. p. 159 (the Zoilus frieze)  Ζώιλος</p>	<p><i>ib.</i>  BC 38/28</p>
	<p>*On the remarkable social and civic significance of Zoilus in Aphrodisias, see Reynolds, <i>Aphrodisias and Rome</i>, pp. 156–64; cf. also the discussion by L. Robert in <i>L'Antiquité Classique</i> 36 (1966), 408f., written before the discovery of (4), which revealed that Zoilus was in fact an Imperial freedman. On the sculpture: R. R. R. Smith, <i>Aphrodisias 1: The Monument of C. Iulius Zoilus</i> (1993).</p> <p>It is surprising that in the earliest document (1), dated to late 39 or early 38 BC, no mention is made of his status by Octavian, who refers to him simply as Ζώιλον τὸν ἐμὸν, whereas in (4) — the impressive entablature across the centre of the theatre stage — not only does his freed status indication appear for the only time but also reference is made to his <i>tenth</i> stephanephorate. He also held two priesthoods for life, those of Aphrodite, whose sanctuary at Aphrodisias he was entrusted with delimiting, and of the restored cult of Eleutheria (2); cf. (3) &amp; (5). The stephanephorates are not mentioned in these inscriptions commemorating the priesthoods, but as they are the more prestigious honour it is unlikely that the long series of them began early in Zoilus' career and highly unlikely that the tenth, recorded in (4), could have occurred before c. 30–28 BC (cf. Reynolds, p. 162).</p>	
	<p>At what point did Zoilus become a slave? He could have been born a slave. I prefer Reynolds' suggestion (p. 162) that he was probably a captive and slave of Julius Caesar, then freed by Octavian in accordance with Caesar's will in 44 BC. As a freedman of Octavian, who is referred to as 'Caesar Divi (Iulii) filius', he exhibits the earliest known form of the freed status indication in the Fam. Caes.; cf. Weaver 22 n. 3. He was both a casualty and a beneficiary of the civil war period. His evident wealth and social standing in his native city could not have accumulated overnight, but by 38 BC at the latest he had won support from the triumvir Octavian and favours for his native city. His record with posterity can now be favourably compared with his contemporary and fellow freedman, C. Iulius Licinus (155).</p>	

266	<b>C. Iulius Au[g. I. ---]</b> 6.4068 IULIAE / HALINE / TI IULI[---] / IANUAR[---] / DEC / C IULIO AU[g I --]	Rome: mon. Liviae a E
267	<b>C. Iulius Aug. lib. [---]</b> 6.4230 C IULIUS AUG.LIB [---] / ALTILIAR[---] / NUNNIA TYCHE DAC[---]	Rome: mon. Liviae A I
268	<b>[? C. Iulius ---]us C. Caesaris [---] I.</b> 6.5196 [---]JUS C CAESARIS / [---] L DIAETARC / [---]D HIBERNA *Cf. 267.	Rome: mon. vin. Codin. 2 I N
269	<b>C. Iulius Divi Aug. [I. ---]</b> 6.10410 C IULIO DIVI AUG [I ---] / IMAGIN MARMORI[---] / PEC PUBLIC UNIVERSI EI D[---]	Rome K M
270	<b>C. Iulius Aug. lib. [---]</b> 6.19784 See 37	Rome C
271	<b>[C. Iul]ius C. Caesaris [I. ---]</b> 6.19785 [c iul]IUS C CAESARIS / [I ---] / --- IULIAE EUCHE / [---] DEDIT BENIGNA *Possibly a freedman of C. Caesar, adoptive son of Augustus; cf. Chantraine 19 n. 17.	Rome A M
272	<b>C. Iulius Augusti [I ---]</b> 10.710 C IULIUS AUGUSTI [I ---]	Surrentum : I
273	<b>Iulia [---]orion Aug. I.</b> 10.2037 [---]IUS ALEXANDER / [---]VIDIAE CYTHERID / [---]VAE ET IULIAE / [---] ]ORIONIS AUG L / [---] ET SUIS	Puteoli: I G
274	<b>[C. I]ulius [C]aesar. I. [---]ntus</b> 12.3625 [c i]ULIUS / [c]AESAR L / [---]NTUS	Nemausus : Gall. Narb.
275	<b>[--- C]aesaris [Augu]sti I.</b> AE 1985, 229 [? pl]AUTUS / [--- c]AESARIS / [augu]STI L L / [---]LIAE COLLIB	Ostia: I G
276	<b>[? Iu]lia ([? Pl]auti [--- C]aesaris [Augu]sti I. I.) collib.</b> AE 1985, 229 See 271 *The <i>nomen</i> '[Iu]lia' is preferred to '[Ae]lia' or '[Aure]lia' on the basis of the early 1st C. status indication '[C]aesaris [Augu]sti I.' of 271. It follows that all three persons in this fragmentary inscription belong with the <i>Iulii Aug. I.</i>	Ostia: I a G
277	<b>Γάιος Ἰούλιος Καίσαρος ἀπελευθέρως ---]</b> <i>I. Eph. 859a = AE 1990, 904 = ZPE 84, 1990, 92ff.</i> Γάιον Ἰούλιον Καίσαρος ἀπελευθέρων --- πρώτον τῶν Ῥωμαίων καθιερῶσαν[τα δηνάρια] ---   τῆι συνόδωι εἰς τὴν ἐπιτελεσθεῖσαν τῆι Ῥώμῃ καὶ   τῆι θεῶι θυσίαν ἐπὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐστίας τῆς πόλεως τοῖς   κατ' ἐναυτὸν Ἐφεσίοις	Ephesus: Asia K

	<p>*Revised text and commentary by H. Engelmann, <i>ZPE</i> ad loc. Conjectured (<i>I. Eph.</i> ad loc.) to be identical with C. Iulius Augusti (Σεβαστοῦ) libertus Nicephorus (184), but the status indications differ. Engelmann dates this inscription to 29 BC on the basis of the indication 'Caesaris libertus' which was then changed to 'Augusti libertus' in 27, when Octavian took the title 'Augustus'. It would then be one of the earliest in the Fam. Caes. This distinction, however, is not conclusive: there are no strong grounds for assuming that 'Caesaris l(ibertus)' <i>tout court</i> indicates manumission before 27 BC: C. Iulius Zoilus (261) of the same date is 'Divi Iulii filii Caesaris libertus'. For later <i>Caesaris liberti</i> /Καίσαρος ἀπελεύθεροι see Weaver 49, 54 n. 1, and esp. Chantraine 143ff., 170; in discussing the Greek versions (at 146f.), however, his observation that where <i>praenomen</i> and <i>nomen</i> occur, the status indication regularly follows the <i>cognomen</i> cannot be true for this inscription.</p>	
278	<p>Ιούλιος Σεβαστοῦ ἀπελεύθερος ---]  <i>I. Eph.</i> 863  [---]λο[---   ---] Ἰούλιος   Σεβαστοῦ ἀπελεύθερος ---]  *<i>I. Eph.</i> ad loc; cf. <i>ib.</i> 868.</p>	Ephesus: Asia
279	<p>Γάιος Ἰούλιος Κλαίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ ἀπελεύθερος ---]  <i>I. Eph.</i> 2272b  [c iulius caesaris augusti l --- / c iulio ---]DITO F SUO [et spendusae uxori /  Γάιος Ἰούλιος Κλαίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ ἀπελεύθερος   --- ἐαυτῷ  καὶ Γαίῳ Ἰουλίῳ Ἰ'Επαφροδίτῳ   υἱῷ καὶ Σπενδούσῃ γυναικὶ  ἰδ[ια]  *2: '[? Epaphro]dito'.</p>	Ephesus: Asia A B
280	<p>[Iul]ia Aug. I. [---]asis  <i>I. It.</i> 10.1.593  [iul]IA AUG L [---]ASIS / V F SIBI ET / C IULIO APLO SEXVIR F / C IULIO  CUPITO F / IULIAE PHYLLIDI F / IULIAE APULAE F / CARISTO DELICATO</p>	ager Polensis: X B K
281	<p>(Ti. Iulius Aug. I. [---]), pater Claudi Etrusci (<i>PIR</i><sup>2</sup> I 114a = C 763)</p> <p>(1) Statius, <i>Silv.</i> 3.3.43ff.  non tibi clara quidem, senior placidissime, gentis / linea nec proavis demissum  stemma, sed ingens / supplevit fortuna genus culpamque parentum / occuluit.  nec enim dominos de plebe tulisti, / sed quibus occasus pariter famulantur et  ortus. / nec pudor iste tibi...</p> <p>(2) <i>ib.</i> 59ff.  sed neque barbaricis Latio transmissus ab oris: / Smyrna tibi gentile solum  potusque verendo / fonte Meles Hermique vadum, quo Lydius intrat / Bacchus  et aurato reficit sua cornua limo. / laeta dehinc series variisque ex ordine curis /  auctus honos; semperque gradi prope numina, semper / Caesareum coluisse  latus sacrisque deorum / arcanis haerere datum. Tibereia primum / aula tibi  vixdum ora nova mutante iuventa / panditur. hic annis multa super indole victis /  libertas oblata venit...</p>	
	<p>*For a full discussion of <i>Silvae</i> 3.3 and of the career and family of the 'father of Claudius Etruscus': Weaver 284ff.; J. K. Evans, <i>Historia</i> 27, 1978, 102ff.; cf. Jones, <i>Domitian</i> 68f. On the <i>nomen</i> 'Iulius': Weaver 285 n. 3, cf. <i>PIR</i><sup>2</sup> I 114a; Chantraine 89f. On the family and status of Etrusca, the mother of Claudius Etruscus: Evans, <i>op. cit.</i></p>	