

MARCUS AGRIPPA

A
BIOGRAPHY



REINHOLD

MARCUS AGRIPPA

A

BIOGRAPHY



MARCUS AGRIPPA

(From a coin in the British Museum)

(Enlarged)

MARCUS AGRIPPA

A Biography

BY

MEYER REINHOLD

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, in the Faculty
of Philosophy, Columbia University.

No. in the "Studies in History, Economics and
 Public Law" of Columbia University.

GENEVA, NEW YORK
THE W. F. HUMPHREY PRESS

1933

COPYRIGHT 1933
BY MEYER REINHOLD
PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES

TO

MY MOTHER AND FATHER

PREFACE

If Augustus was the 'architect of the Roman Empire', Marcus Agrippa was his superintendent of construction. In the history of the foundation of the Roman Empire the figure of Augustus is dominant. About him move various personalities, interesting not only in themselves, but also because they help to throw light upon the elusive character of the leading personality. Of those who believed in the monarchy because Augustus was the monarch the most important are Agrippa and Maecenas, both men of extraordinary capabilities. Yet, while the name of Maecenas, the *dulce praesidium* of the great poets of the Augustan Age, has become proverbial for literary patronage, the important contributions of Agrippa to the new political and social order which rose out of the chaos of the civil wars of the last century of the Republic and with which the name of Augustus is associated have rarely received the attention which they justly merit.

The first biography of Marcus Agrippa based upon modern methods of scholarship was written by Frandsen,¹ a sound, scholarly piece of work, if one takes into consideration the few instruments of research available to the scholar a hundred years ago.² No advance was made by the study of Motte, which, while it has the merit of correcting Frandsen's fault of treating the life of his subject, not chronologically, but under the various phases of his career, is characterized by the inclusion of much irrelevant matter and by a lack of historical breadth.³ The

¹The previous bibliography is given by Motte, VIII. The monograph of R. Mecenat, *De Vita Rebusque Gestis M. Vipsanii Agrippae Commentarius Testimoniis Scriptorum Veterum Concinnatus* (Rome, 1821), which was not available to me, appears to have been unimportant.

²The two dissertations, by Matthes and by Van Eck, which appeared shortly after Frandsen's biography, contain little more than a few corrections, qualifications, and additions to Frandsen's work.

³C. Nispi-Landi's book, *Marco Agrippa, I Suoi Tempi e il Suo Pantheon* (Rome, 1901), is worthless. See Hülsen's estimate (in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 1.899) of the archeological material in this book.

recent monograph of Dahlman is based chiefly upon secondary works, not upon a re-evaluation of the sources. Among the incidental treatments of Agrippa's influence, in histories of the Empire and of the Augustan Age, Gardthausen's appraisal of Agrippa's relations to his times⁴ is the most valuable.

None of the foregoing treatments of the life of Agrippa is based upon a complete collection of all the sources, literary, inscriptional, numismatic, archeological, relevant to Agrippa. I have attempted in my biography to include every piece of evidence which bears upon the life of Agrippa, to fix the chronology of his life as closely as possible, and to trace the influence of Agrippa upon Augustus and upon the foundation of the Roman Empire. I am aware of unevenness of emphasis in parts of my treatment of Agrippa's life. It seemed to me wiser at times to refer the reader to adequate discussions of certain topics which have engaged the attention of others, especially of military history and of archeological remains, than to present the details anew. In other cases, where I thought I could present a new fact or a new point of view, I have not hesitated to elaborate the details.

To Professor Charles Knapp, who suggested the topic of this dissertation, and read the book several times in manuscript and in proof, I am under heavy obligations. I am indebted also to Professor W. L. Westermann, who has always made himself accessible to me. I have, finally, to thank Professor M. B. Ogle, of the American Academy in Rome, and Mr. H. Mattingly, of the British Museum, for communications concerning specific points in my dissertation.

MEYER REINHOLD

New York,

April 22, 1933

⁴1.735-761, 2.409-431, *et passim*.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
I. Birth, Ancestry and Family	1
II. Early Years	12
III. Agrippa's Praetorship. His Governorship of Gaul	21
IV. Agrippa's First Consulship. The Sicilian War.....	28
V. The Illyrian War. Agrippa's Aedileship.....	45
VI. Actium.....	53
VII. The Principate.....	63
VIII. Son-in-Law of Augustus.....	78
IX. Co-Regent.....	98
X. Regent of the Orient.....	106
XI. Death and Influence.....	124
XII. The Writings of Agrippa.....	141
XIII. The Personality of Agrippa.....	149
Appendix: The Powers of Agrippa in the East....	167
List of Abbreviations.....	176
Index.....	185

INDEX

(NOTE: References are to the text or to the notes on the pages cited, without distinction; 'Caesar' always denotes Julius Caesar; 'Pompey' always denotes Sextus Pompey).

- Acastus Agrippianus, slave of Agrippa, 129
- Achaia, province of, 110; Agrippa's *maius imperium* over, 122, 170, 175; Augustus's measures in, 171; pro-consuls of, 174
- Achilles, sulking of, 83
- Acropolis, of Athens, 108
- Acrostolium*, figured on coins, alludes to Agrippa's naval victories, 60, 94
- Actium, Battle of, 34, 55-58, 74, depicted on shield of Aeneas, 67; Augustus moves upon, 54; victory of Agrippa and Augustus at, 60, 63, 71; captives taken at, 72; decoration given to Agrippa after, 43 (see also *Vexillum caeruleum*); position of Agrippa after, 56, 150-151; Agrippa's military inactivity after, 89, 162; legions settled in Berytus after, 111
- Aedes Agrippae: see Tomb
- Aedileship of Agrippa, 46-52, 53, 95, 141, 155; importance of, to cause of Augustus, 46-47, 51, 150; Agrippa writes *Commemoratio* of, 142
- Aemilia Lepida, granddaughter of Agrippa, 130, erects statue of Agrippa, 139, 157
- L. Aemilius Paullus, husband of Julia, daughter of Agrippa, 139
- M. Aemilius Scaurus, aedileship of, 48
- Aeneas, Battle of Actium depicted on shield of, 67
- Aequum, Vipsanii at, 8
- Aequum Tuticum, Vipsanii at, 9
- Africa, Vipsanii in, 9
- Age, carelessness in expressions of, 1-3
- Ager publicus*, Thracian Chersonese part of, 109
- Agrigentum, Agrippa's portrait on coins of, 102-103
- Agrippa, legendary King of Alba, 10
- Agrippa, Marcus, birth of, date of, 1-4, place of, unknown, 9, manner of, 10; natal sign of, 4; ancestry of, obscure, 4-8; family of, 10-11; *nomen* (*Vipsanius*) of, suppressed in his official name by Agrippa: see *Nomen*; earliest years of, unhappy, 12; education of, 1, 12-13, 149, 159; begins military career early, 13, 149; with Caesar in Spain, 13-14; accompanies Augustus to Apollonia, 13-15; at Mutina, 16; prosecutes Cassius, 16; intercedes for a certain Marcus, 16; at Philippi, 17; general of Augustus in Perusine War, 17-20; becomes *eques, quaestor* (?), *tribunus plebis*, 21; *praetor urbanus*, 40 B. C., 21-22, 24, 49; defends Italy against Pompey, 22, against Antony, 23; intermediary at Peace of Brundisium, 23; Governor of Gaul, 39-38 B. C., 25-26; conquers Aquitani, 25, 27; crosses Rhine into Germany, 26-27, 160-161; *consul designatus*, 25-26; declines triumph, 27, 28-29; consul, 37 B. C., 21, 28; preparations of, for war against Pompey, 29-35; at Peace of Tarentum, 35; breaks power of Pompey in Sicilian War, at Mylae and Naulochus, 37-41; Illyrian campaign of, 45; celebrated aedileship of, 33 B. C., 46-52, 95; breaks power of Antony, at Actium, 53-58; sent back to Italy by Augustus, 58-59; summons Augustus to Italy, 59; Augustus heaps rewards on, 60-62; speech of, attributed to him by Dio, 64-65; consul II, III, 28-27 B. C., 68-70, 73, 75; aids Augustus in *lectio senatus*, 68-69, in census, 71; celebrates *ludi pro valetudine Caesaris*, 71-72, 106; officiates at marriage of Julia to Marcellus, 77; moves into *Domus Augusti*, 77; Augustus presents seal-ring to, recommends as successor, 78, 80, 83; rivalry with Marcellus for succession, results in misunderstanding with Augustus, 78-83, 86; retires to Mytilene, after receiving *proconsulare imperium*, 79-85, 142; recalled by Augustus, marries Julia, 86-87; governs Rome and Italy, 86-88, 168; pacifies Gaul, 88; transplants Ubii, 88-89, 161; builds network of roads in Gaul, 89-90; sub-

- Agrippa, Marcus—*Continued*
 duces Cantabri, 92-93; declines triumph, 93; raised to co-regency, 98-103; presumptive successor of Augustus, 101-102, 136, 155; celebrates Ludi Saeculares, 104-105, 152, 163; regent of Orient, 106-123; powers of, in Orient, 167-175; journeys through Greece, 106-108; in Troad, restores freedom to Cyzicus, 109; settles veterans in Orient, 109-111; invited by Herod to Jerusalem, 112-113; Bosporan campaign of, 113-115; declines triumph, 116; protects privileges of Jews, 118-121; co-regency renewed, 124-125; Pannonian campaign of, 124-125; death and burial of, 115, 125-128, 161; will of, 128-130, 135; Augustus principal heir of, 128-130; honors to, after death, 130-137; cult of, in Lesbos, 133; end of house of, 137-140; Augustus deploras loss of, 165; writings of, 141-148; prepares map of world: see *Commentarii Geographici*, Map of world; personality of, 1, 149-166; portraits of, 156-158; see also Coins; popularity of, with people; see Popularity; political views of, adherent of monarchy, 12, 64-65, 165; conservatism of, 89, 124, 161-162; ability of, as military leader and strategist, 19, 63, 66, 67, 74, 149, 152, 159-160, as admiral, 41, 45, 53, 55, 160, as administrator and organizer, 63, 149, 154, 160-161; not a diplomat, 23, 59, 63, 160; devotion of, to Augustus, 25, 29, 65, 83, 149-150, 154, 155; self-effacement of, before Augustus, 79, 82, 93, 99, 134, 151-154, 167; modesty of, 152-154, 165; practical-mindedness of, 154, 162; private life of, 7, 163; friends of, 163-164; lover and collector of art, 72, 141, 155, 159; foot-ailment of, 107-108, 126, 150; tile-kilns, quarries of, 130; marriages of: see Caecilia Attica, Marcella, Julia; architectural and engineering works of, practical nature of, 155, 162, in Rome: see Aqua Iulia, Aqua Virgo, Campus Agrippae, *Castella*, *Diribitorium*, *Euripus*, Fountains, Horrea Agrippiana, Horti Agrippae, Pantheon, Pons Agrippae, Porticus Argonautarum, Saepa Iulia, *Stagnum*, Thermae Agrippae, Tiber, Tomb, in Italy: see Brixia, Portus Iulius, Septempeda, in provinces: see Antioch, Athens, Emerita, Maison Carrée, Nemausus, Pont du Gard; military decorations of: see *Corona muralis*, *Corona navalis*, *Vexillum caeruleum*. See also Aedileship, Ancestry, Anniversaries, Aqueducts, Army, Augustus, Autobiography, *Censoria potestas*, Coins, Conspiracy, *Consulare imperium*, Consulships, Co-regency, Empire, Estates, Freedmen, Friendship, *Gens Vipsania*, Horace, Imperialism, Inscriptions, Inventions, *Lares*, Maecenas, Motto, Navy, Nobles, Patron, Priesthoods, *Proconsulare imperium*, *Quindecimvir*, Rome, Senate, Slaves, Succession, Tiberius, *Tribunicia potestas*, Triumphs, Vergil, Water supply
- Agrippa I, King of Jews, 121; his letter to Caligula, 5; named after Agrippa, 134, 164
- Agrippa II, King of Jews, 121, 134
- Agrippa Postumus, 9, 61, 107; birth of, 131; fate of, 138
- Agrippaios, honorary month in calendar of Cyprus, 112
- Agrippea, games at Cos in honor of Agrippa, 134
- Agrippeion, lecture hall at Athens, perhaps built by Agrippa, 108
- Agrippenses, in Bithynia, named after Agrippa, 134
- Agrippesioi, synagogue at Rome, 121
- Agrippeum, halls in Herod's palaces, 85
- Agrippia Tribus: see Tribus Agrippia
- Agrippias (Anthedon), in Judea, named after Agrippa, 84, 133-134
- Agrippias (Phanagoria) in Cimmerian Bosphorus, named after Agrippa, 115, 134
- Agrippiastae, honorary college at Corinth, 107
- Agrippina, daughter of Agrippa, birth of, 123; statues of, at Thespieae and Delphi, 123; freedman of, 130; children of, 139; ashes of, in Mausoleum, 5
- Agrippina, granddaughter of Agrippa, 10, 130; fate of, 139-140
- Ajax, painting of, purchased by Agrippa, 72, 109
- Ala Agrippiana, named after Agrippa, 154

- Alabanda, Agrippa's portrait on coins of, 135
- Alba Fucens, inscription of Agrippa at, 102
- Alba Longa, legendary kings of, 10
- Alexandria Troadis*, colony founded at, 110
- Alexandreum, in Judea, Agrippa in, 113
- Allifae, Vipsanii at, 9
- Ambracian Gulf, forces of Antony in, 53
- Amisus, Agrippa in, 116; Agrippa's portrait on coins of, 135
- Amorium, Vipsanii at, 134
- Amphiareion, at Oropus, statue of Agrippa in, 107
- Ancestry of Agrippa, obscure, 1, 4-8, 12, 68, 103, 127, 150, 156, 164-165. See also *Gens Vipsania*
- Anchises, prophecy of, 67
- Andros, statue of Julia at, 117
- Anniversaries, of Agrippa's birth, commemorated by issues of coins, 132, 136, 166; of Agrippa's death, games on, 131, 135
- Anthedon: see Agrippias (Anthedon)
- Antioch, in Syria, visits of Agrippa to, public structures of Agrippa in, 84, 111, 162, 169
- Antipatros, sent to Rome by Herod, 123
- C. Antistius Vetus, Spanish campaign of, 92, 169
- Antonia Tryphaena, inscription of, 109
- L. Antonius, incites Perusine War, 17-19, 21
- Antonius Musa, physician of Augustus, 164
- Antony, hostile to Augustus after assassination of Caesar, 15; Macedonian legions of, 16; victor of Philippi, 17; lieutenants of, in Gaul, 17-19, 22; besieges Brundisium, 22, 23; reaches understanding with Augustus at Brundisium, 23-24; reveals overtures of Salvidienus, 24; cedes Gaul to Augustus, 25; refuses to support Augustus against Pompey, 29, but finally promises aid, 25, 27; reaches understanding with Augustus at Peace of Tarentum, 35; arranges match of Agrippa and Caecilia Attica, 36-37; Parthian campaign of, 27, 35; inactivity of, in East, 51; Herod ally of, 84; disparages Agrippa's victories over Pompey, 41; his struggle with Augustus, 22, 46, 51, 83; final defeat of, by Agrippa, at Actium, 53-59, 63, 160-161; suicide of, 59; his son, 87; consulship of, 144
- Apollodorus of Pergamum, teacher of Augustus, 10, 13, 14
- Apollophanes, lieutenant of Pompey, at Mylae, 39; deserts to Augustus, 41
- Apoxyomenus, of Lysippus, before Agrippa's *Thermae*, 72, 95
- Apulia, Sipontum in, 23
- Aqua Anio Vetus, rebuilt by Agrippa, 49
- Aqua Appia, rebuilt by Agrippa, 49
- Aqua Augusta, original name of Aqua Virgo, 152
- Aqua Iulia, built by Agrippa, 49, 95, 152
- Aqua Marcia, repaired by Agrippa, 45, 47
- Aqua Tepula, joined to Aqua Iulia, 49
- Aqua Virgo, built by Agrippa, 75, 95, 152
- Aqueduct(s), in Rome, interest of Agrippa in, 130, 162; near Portus Iulius, ascribed to Agrippa, 32; at Lugdunum, ascribed to Agrippa, 90; at Nemausus, ascribed to Agrippa, 91. See also Aqua, Water supply
- Aquileia, Vipsanii at, 8
- L. Aquilius Florus, proconsul of Achaia, 174
- Aquitani, Agrippa's victory over, 25, 27, 29, 63, 160
- Aquitania, Agrippa's road through, 89
- Ara Pacis, Agrippa not represented on, 158
- Arar River, Lugdunum on, 89
- Arco Felice, ascribed to Agrippa, 32
- Argonauts, painting of, in *Porticus Argonautarum*, 75
- Argos, letter of Agrippa to *gerousia* of, 122, 142, 170; Agrippa at (?), 108
- Ariminum, headquarters of Ventidius, 19
- Arius of Alexandria, teacher of Augustus, 13
- Army, minimum age of recruits in, 13; builds roads, 89; imperial, Agrippa organizer of, 73-74, 150, 161; allegiance of, to State, restored through Agrippa's influence, 93, 153. See also Mutiny, Veterans
- Arpinum, legendary birthplace of Agrippa, 9; birthplace of Cicero and Marius, 9

- L. Arruntius, lieutenant of Augustus, at Actium, 57
- Artemisium, captured by Augustus, 40
- Asander, Scribonius usurps power of, 113-114; commits suicide, 114
- Asclepius, Agrippa visits shrine of, at Epidaurus, 108
- Asia, province of, 121, 167-169, 174; ships of Antony from, 53; Agrippa's *maius imperium* over, 170, 175; Augustus's measures in, 171
- Asia Minor, Sinope in, 73; visit of Agrippa to, 106, 108-109; toured by Julia, 117
- C. Asinius Gallus, husband of Vipsania Agrippina, 137
- Astracalus, slave of Agrippa, 96
- Astrologers, expelled from Rome by Agrippa, 51, 163
- Asylum, right of, denied to those who steal sacred money, 121
- Athens, 126; echo of Ludi Saeculares at, 105; visit of Agrippa to, honors to Agrippa at, 108
- M. Atilius, naval crown of, 43
- Atlantic Ocean, 89
- Atticus, father-in-law of Agrippa, 7, 36-37, 42, 47, 71, 151; corresponds with Antony, 37; death of, affection of Agrippa for, 36-37, 53, 71, 159; Drusus II ashamed of descent from, 137
- Atticus Agrippianus, slave of Agrippa, 129
- Auctoritas*, of Augustus, 101, 172
- Aufinum, Vipsanii at, 9
- Augures*, celebrate *ludi pro valetudine Caesaris*, 71-72
- Augustodunum, map of, 148
- Augustus (Octavius, Octavian), birth of, date of, 1; natal sign of, 4; ancestry of, 5; education of, 10, 12-13; intercedes with Caesar for Agrippa's brother, 11, 12; joins Caesar in Spain, 13-14, 77; sent by Caesar to Apollonia, 13-15; heir of Caesar, 12, 15; rise to power, 15-16; discards *nomen*, 8; illness of, at Philippi, 17, 142; in Perusine War, 17-19; in Gaul, 40 B. C., 21-22, where he seizes Antony's legions, 23; reconciled with Antony at Brundisium, 23-24; escorts Agrippa to Gaul, 25; defeated by Pompey's forces, 29; recalls Agrippa from Gaul, 26; reconciled with Antony at Tarentum, 35; Sicilian War against Pompey, 37-41; strips Lepidus of powers, 42; triumph of, 36 B. C., 42; Illyrian campaigns of, 45; war against Antony and Cleopatra, at Actium, 46, 51, 53-59; sends Agrippa back to Italy, 58-59; annexes Egypt, 59; triple triumph of, 29 B. C., 60; asks advice of Agrippa and Maecenas, 64-65; purges Senate, 68-69, 103; takes census, 71; restores external machinery of Republic, 70; establishes principate, 73; entrusts Agrippa with Julia's wedding to Marcellus, 77; illness of, 23 B. C., 78-79; presents seal-ring to Agrippa, 78, 80, 83; has misunderstanding with Agrippa concerning succession, 79-83; marries Julia to Agrippa, 86-87; tours Orient, 85-86; raises Agrippa to co-regency, 98-103; adopts Gaius and Lucius, 101-102; celebrates Ludi Saeculares, 104-105; establishes veterans in Gaul and Spain, 110; renews co-regency, 124-125; hastens to Agrippa's deathbed, 126; buries Agrippa, 126-127; principal heir of Agrippa, 128-130; distributes *congiarium* in Agrippa's name, 130-131; honors memory of Agrippa, 130-133, 135, 136; completes Campus Agrippae, *diribitorium*, Porticus Vipsania, 135-136, 144; edits *Commentarii Geographici* of Agrippa, 146; depletes loss of Agrippa, 165; honors and rewards Agrippa, 25, 42-43, 60-61, 150-151; autobiography of, 5, 58, 83, dedicated to Agrippa and Maecenas, 159; statesman and diplomat, 23, 55, 59, 63, 160; greatness of, 149; allegiance of all classes to, 155; self-effacement of Agrippa before, 151-154; Agrippa directs military policy of, 124, 148, 161-162; conservative influence of Agrippa upon, 161-162; credited with Agrippa's deeds, 57-58, 152; acknowledges Agrippa's superior military skill, 160; conduct of, toward faithless friends, 24, 83; *praenomen Imperator* of, 26; honorary month of, 112; protects privileges of Jews, 121; gateway of *agora* at Ephesus dedicated to, 135; Res Gestae of, 136, 144; encourages adornment of Rome, 162; restores temples of gods, 163. See also Agrippa, *Auctoritas*, *Censoria potestas*, Conspiracy, Co-regency, *Cura aquarum*, Cyrene, Dynasty, Friend-

- ship, Gaius Caesar, Lucius Caesar, Mausoleum, Monarchy, *Pontifex maximus*, *Princeps*, Principate, *Proconsulare imperium*, Senate, Succession
- Autobiography of Agrippa, 5, 30, 83, 95, 142, 159
- Avernus, tunnel to, from Cumae, 32. See also Lake Avernus
- Baetica, province of, 94
- Baiae, connected with Puteoli by Via *Herculanea*, 30-31; headquarters of Agrippa, 33
- Barbula, intercedes for certain Marcus, 16
- Basilica Aemilia, statue of Agrippa in, 139, 157
- Basilica Iulia, in Rome, 49
- Basilica Iulia, in Corinth, imperial portraits in, 157-158
- Basilica Neptuni, identified with Porticus Argonautarum, 75
- Baths: see *Thermae*
- L. Bennisius, *praefectus* of Nova Carthago, 94
- Bepsanius*, variant spelling of *nomen Vipsanius*, 4
- Berytus, legions settled by Agrippa in, 110-111
- Bismarck, career of, similarity to that of Agrippa, 154
- Bithynia, province of, Agrippenses in, 134; Agrippa's *maius imperium* over, 170, 175; Augustus's measures in, 171
- Black Sea: see *Euxine*
- Bogudes, King of Mauretania, put to death by Agrippa, 53-54
- Bosco Reale, gold cups from, portrait of Agrippa on, 158
- Bosporus (Cimmerian), kingdom of, Agrippa's campaign against, and reorganization of, 110, 113-115, 117, 160, 169-170; vassal of Rome, 114; Agrippias (Phanagoria) in, 115, 134
- Bridge, built by Agrippa over Tiber: see *Pons Agrippae*
- Britain, conquest of, advocated in Rome, 161
- Brixia, public building of Agrippa at, 97
- Brother of Agrippa, 71; *praenomen* of, unknown, 11; spared by Caesar after Battle of Thapsus, 11, 12, 13, 65; associate of Cato Uticensis, 4-5, 11
- Brundisium, besieged by Antony, 23; Augustus's landing at, in 44 B. C., 15, in 30 B. C., 59; Peace of, 23-24, 25, 28, 36; Augustus's forces at, 53; Agrippa at, 23, 63
- Bruttium, tile-kilns of Agrippa in, 130
- Brutus, Decimus, at siege of Massilia, 34
- Brutus, Marcus, prosecuted as assassin of Caesar, 16, 67; uses *simus* for *sumus*, 141
- Building trades, stimulated by Agrippa, 47
- Cádiz: see *Gades*
- Caecilia...., mentioned on *tabella columbarii*, 71
- Caecilia Attica, first wife of Agrippa, 7, 35-37, 47, 137, 151; fate of, 71. See also *Atticus*
- Q. Caecilius Epirota, tutor of Caecilia Attica, banished, 71
- Caesar, Julius, spares Agrippa's brother, 11; Agrippa's education perhaps subsidized by, 12-13, 149; Spanish campaign of, 13-14, 77; assassination of, 15, 16, 141, 149; projected Parthian campaign of, 13-14; Licinius Crassus lieutenant of, 25; crosses Rhine, 26, 160; repairs Via *Herculanea*, 31; plans new voting precinct, 74; statue of, in Pantheon, 76; Agrippa heir of his plans for reconstruction of Rome, 96, of his military ability, 160; despises title *imperator*, 153; begins conquest of Britain, 161; natal sign of, 4; portrait of, on coins issued by Agrippa, 26; comet at time of death of, 128; consulship of, 144
- Caesaraugusta, Agrippa's portrait on coins of, 95, 132, 137
- Caesarea, in Judea, Agrippa in, 113
- Caesarea (Panticapaeum), in Cimmerian Bosphorus, named after Augustus, 115
- Caesareum, halls in Herod's palaces, named after Augustus, 85
- Calendar of Cyprus, honorary months in, 112
- Caligula, Emperor, grandson of Agrippa, 5, 139; reign of, 70, 132
- C. Calvisius Sabinus, admiral of Augustus, 29; replaced by Agrippa, 27, 33
- Camera, Agrippa intercepts Planus's legions at, 19
- Campania, Augustus levies troops in, 16; scene of Agrippa's death, 125

- Campus Agrippae, dedicated by Augustus, 135-136
- Campus Martius, 104; Agrippa's buildings in, 74, 96, 136; Agrippa's body cremated in, 127
- Cantabri: see Spain
- Capito, aids Agrippa in prosecution of Cassius, 16
- Capitol, sacrifices on, during Ludi Saeculares, 105
- Cappadocia, Agrippa's tour through, 117
- Capricorn, natal sign of Augustus, 4
- Carales, inscription of Agrippa at, 102
- Caria, Alabanda in, 135
- Carmen Saeculare*, composed by Horace, 105
- Cartography: see *Commentarii Geographici*, Map of world
- Casa Romuli, destroyed by fire, 127
- Casca, prosecuted as assassin of Caesar, 16
- Casinum, inscription of Agrippa at, 102
- Cassius, prosecuted as assassin of Caesar by Agrippa, 16, 67, 141, 159; at blockade of Rhodes, 35
- L. Cassius Longinus, husband of Julia Drusilla, 139
- Castella*, constructed by Agrippa, 49, 52
- Castor Agrippianus, slave of Agrippa, 129
- Catapult, used by Agrippa to shoot *harpax*, 34
- Catina (Catania), in Sicily, estates of Agrippa at, 42; Vipsanii at, 42
See also Sicily
- Cato Maior, age of, mentioned by Pliny, 2-3; Roman virtues of, 165
- Cato Uticensis, Agrippa's brother associated with, 4-5, 11
- Celti, 8; = Germans, in Dio, 88
- Censor, office of, not assumed by Augustus, 69
- Censoria postestas*, of Augustus and Agrippa, 68-69, 72, 103, 127
- Census, taken by Augustus and Agrippa, 68-69, 71; wrongly connected with survey of world, 144-145
- Ceramicus, in Athens, Agrippaion in, 108
- Ceramus, statues of Agrippa and Julia at, 117
- L. Cestius, brother of following, 164
- C. Cestius Epulo, Agrippa one of heirs of, 164
- Charax, shown on map of Agrippa, 144
- Charioteers, of Agrippa, 105
- Chersonese (Thracian), Agrippa owner of, 109; willed to Augustus, 129
- Chersonesus, in Bosphorus, subjected to kingdom of Bosphorus, 114-115
- Chios, 116, 118
- Cicero, consulship of, 1; born at Arpinum, 9; affection for Caecilia Attica, 36; friend of Atticus, 151
- Cicero, son of preceding, strikes Agrippa with wine goblet, 163
- Cilicia, 175; governed by *legati* of Agrippa, 173, 174
- Cimbri, 88
- Circus Maximus, 51; adorned by Vipsania Polla, 11; dolphins set up by Agrippa in, 49-50, 61; games in, 46, 72
- Citizenship: see Jews
- Civil war(s), at Perugia, 17-19, 21; numerous in last century of Republic, 13; after assassination of Caesar, 21, 149; neglect of Rome during, 46; deterioration of Senate during, 68; causes of, 93; rise of obscure men during, 166
- Claternae, inscription of Agrippa at, 102
- Claudius, Emperor, establishes company of slaves to care for water supply, 52; marries Agrippina, granddaughter of Agrippa, 140; reign of, 132, 174
- Tib. Claudius Coinnagus Atticus Agrippianus, former slave of Agrippa, 129
- Clemens, pseudo-Agrippa Postumus, 9
- Cleopatra, Antony's dalliance with, 51; Augustus's war against, 53-59; at Actium, 56-57; suicide of, 59; pearls of, 76
- Clivus Victoriae, 97
- Cloaca Maxima, cleaned by Agrippa, 49
- Clusium, Etruscan inscription from, 8
- L. Cocceius Auctus, architect, builds tunnel from Avernum to Cumae, 32
- Cocceius Nerva, intermediary at Peace of Brundisium, 23
- Cohors Bosporanorum, 114
- Coins, struck by Agrippa in Gaul, 25-26, 27, 28, 71; not issued by Agrippa as co-regent, 99, 153-154; portrait of Agrippa on, struck at Rome, 99-100, 131-132, 136, 156, struck in provinces, at Nicopolis, 60, at Nemausus, 63-64, 90, at Sinope, 73, 153, in Spain, at Gades, at Nova

- Carthago, 94, at Caesaraugusta, 137, in Cyrene, 99, at Agrigentum, 102-103, at Sparta, 107, at Parium, 109, in Bosphorus, 115, at Ephesus, 117, at Alabanda, at Amisus, 135
- Collegium Agrippianum, relation to Agrippa uncertain, 130
- Colonia Agrippinensis (Köln), not named after Agrippa, 89
- Colonies, of Caesar, 15, 23; of Augustus, 8; founded by Agrippa, 110-111
- Comet: see Halley's comet, *Sidus Iulium*
- Commemoratio Aedilitatis, part of Agrippa's autobiography, 142
- Commentarii de Aquis, record kept by Agrippa, 141
- Commentarii Geographici, of Agrippa, 142-148; practical nature of, 147-148; importance of, 148. See also Map of world
- Congiarium, distributed by Augustus in name of Agrippa, 130-131
- Consentia, besieged by Pompey, 23
- Conservatism, of Agrippa, 89, 124, 161-162
- Conspiracy, against Caesar, 16; against Augustus, 58, 85, 98; against Augustus and Agrippa, 103
- Consul designatus, Agrippa as, 7, 25-26
- Consulare imperium, important to Agrippa in 37 B. C., 28; of Agrippa, 69, 103; Augustus conducts census with, 69
- Consulships of Agrippa, first, 37 B. C., 21, 28, 46, 150-151; second, 28 B. C., 68-70, 151; third, 27 B. C., 73, 75, 151
- Controversia, delivered by Latro, 5-6
- Corcyra, forces of Antony at, 53; seized by Agrippa, becomes naval base of Augustus, 54; statue of Agrippa at, 107, 108
- Co-regency, of Agrippa and Augustus, 1, 7, 87, 98-103, 109, 124, 127, 151, 153, 161, 169, 170, 172; *proconsulare imperium* first step to, 83; *tribunicia potestas* essential basis of, 99
- Co-regent, powers of, 101; *auctoritas* of, 101; *proconsulare imperium* of, 170-171
- Corinth, 134; captured by Agrippa, 58; P. Vipsanius Agrippa, duumvir of, 70-71; statue of Agrippa at, 107, 108; Tribus Agrippia at, 107
- Corinthian Gulf, naval victory of Agrippa in, 54
- L. Cornelius Balbus, triumph of, 93
- Cornelius Gallus, early friend of Augustus, 13; consoled by Vergil, 27; gives refuge to Q. Caecilius Epirota, 68, 71; fate of, 83
- Cornelius Lentulus, Cossus, *IIIvir Monetalis*, strikes coins with Agrippa's portrait, 100, 131
- Cn. Cornelius Piso, consul 23 B. C., 78
- L. Cornélius Piso, Governor of Syria, 175
- L. Cornificius, prosecutes Brutus, 16; lieutenant of Augustus, in Sicilian War, 40
- Corona muralis, military decoration of Agrippa, 93, 100, 116, 153, 156, 158
- Corona navalis (classica, rostrata), distinctive military decoration of Agrippa, 42-44, 60, 64, 73, 94, 116, 131, 153, 156, 158; combined with *corona muralis*: see preceding
- Cos, Island of, statue of Julia at, 117; games (Agrippea) in honor of Agrippa at, 134
- Cottius, friend of Agrippa, 164
- Crete and Cyrene, province of, Agrippa's *maius imperium* over, 170, 175; Augustus's *maius imperium* over, 172
- Crown: see *Corona muralis*, *Corona navalis*
- Cubulteria, inscription of Agrippa at, 102
- Cult, of Agrippa, in Lesbos, 133
- Cumae, Bay of, 30; tunnel to Avernus from, 32
- Cura aquarum, organized by Augustus, 130
- Cyprus, Paphos in, 111, 117; calendar of, 112; Agrippa's power over, 173, *maius imperium* over, 175; P. Paquius Scaeva, proconsul of, 173
- Cyrene, constitutional edicts of Augustus at, 119-120, 172, 174; letter of Agrippa to, 119-121, 142, 170; Scato proconsul of, 99, 173-174. See also Crete and Cyrene
- Cyzicus, sells paintings to Agrippa, 72; Agrippa restores freedom to, 109, 169; Agrippa honored at, 134-135
- Dalmatia, Vipsanii in, 8; Agrippa's campaign in, 45
- Danube, Augustus's imperialistic policy on, 162
- Dareius, speeches before, 65
- Delos, statue of Agrippa at, 107, 108; statue of Julia at, 117

- Delphi, statues of Agrippa's family at, 123
- Demochares, freedman lieutenant of Pompey, 29; at Mylae, 39; commits suicide after Naulochus, 41
- Diana, temple of, at Nemausus, ascribed to Agrippa, 91; *sellisternia* of, sacrifices to, in Ludi Saeculares, 104-105
- Diaspora, religious privileges of Jews in, 120
- Dicuil, *De Mensura Orbis Terrae* of, 146, 147
- Didymus, surveyor, 144
- Dimensuratio Provinciarum, relation of, to Agrippa's *Commentarii Geographici*, 146-147
- Dio Cassius, imitator of Thucydides, 64
- Diogenes of Athens, decorator of Pantheon, 76
- Dionysus, Theatre of, at Athens, 57, 108
- Diribitorium*, left unfinished by Agrippa, completed by Augustus, 136
- Divisio Orbis Terrarum, relation of, to Agrippa's *Commentarii Geographici*, 146-147
- Dolphin(s), set up by Agrippa in Circus Maximus, 50; on frieze of Thermae Agrippae, 95; on coins of Berytus, 110; on coins with Agrippa's portrait, 132; on statue of Agrippa, 157; allude to Agrippa's naval victories, 60-61
- Domitian, Emperor, restores coins with Agrippa's portrait, 73, 132
- Domitius Ahenobarbus, aids Antony, 23
- Domus Augusti*, Agrippa moves into, 77
- Dona militaria*, under Empire, 43
- Drainage system, of Rome, cleaned by Agrippa, 49, 155
- Drusus I, son of Livia, 86, 112; military training of, 89; German campaign of, 124, 162; receives *ornamenta triumphalia*, 116
- Drusus II, grandson of Agrippa, 70; poisoned by Sejanus, 137-138
- Drusus III, son of preceding, fate of, 139
- Ducato, Cape, captured by Agrippa, 54
- Dying Lion, of Lysippus, in Horti Agrippae, 96, 109
- Dynamis, Queen of Bosphorus, marries Scribonius, 113; marries Polemon, 114; issues coins with Agrippa's portrait, 115
- Dynasty, ambitions of Augustus for, 82, 86, 87, 98, 102, 151
- Earthquake, in Syria in 15 B. C., 111
- East: see Orient
- Egypt, ships of Antony from, 53; objective of Antony and Cleopatra, 55; annexed by Augustus, 59, 60, 64; estate of Agrippa in, 61, 129; Cornelius Gallus, first Prefect of, 71, 83; religious rites of, forbidden in Rome by Agrippa, 87
- Emerita (Mérida), theatre built by Agrippa in, 94, 162; statue of Agrippa in, 94
- Emperor-worship, connection of Pantheon with, 76
- Empire, Roman, influence of Agrippa upon foundation of, vii, 1, 63, 142, 149-151; Agrippa second man in, 25, 56, 63, 79, 84, 103, 131, 150; buildings of Agrippa in large cities of: see Antioch, Athens, Emerita, Nemausus; extent of, 148. See also Army, Imperialism, Provinces
- Epetium, Vipsanii at, 8
- Ephesus, *agora* of, dedicated to Agrippa and Augustus, 98, 135; Agrippa at, 117; letter of Agrippa to, 119, 120-121, 142, 169, 174
- Epidaurus, Agrippa visits shrine of Asclepius at, 108
- Epirus, Nicopolis in, 60
- Epulones*, celebrate *ludi pro valetudine Caesaris*, 71
- Equestrian Order, Agrippa becomes member of, 21; supports Augustus, 155
- Eratosthenes, Greek geographer, 147
- Eresus, Agrippa intervenes in affairs of, 122, 169
- Estates of Agrippa: see Chersonese (Thracian), Egypt, Sicily
- Etruria, defiles of, 18
- Etruscans, name *Visanie* in inscription of, 8; intermingle with Venetians, 9
- Euripus*, built by Agrippa, 95-96
- Euxine, Agrippa in, 110, 114, 117
- Fabius: see Flavius
- Fannius Caepio, conspiracy of, 85
- Fasces*, yielded to Agrippa by Augustus, 70
- Fasti Triumphales, end in 19 B. C., 93
- Father of Agrippa: see L. Vipsanius
- Feriae Latinae, 127
- Fisheries: see Lake Lucrinus

- Flanona, Vipsanii at, 8
 Flavius, Governor of Cyrene, 174
 Fleet(s), of Agrippa and Augustus in Sicilian War, 29-30, 33, 37; of Pompey, 40; of Augustus in Illyrian War, 45; of Agrippa at Actium, 55-56; of Antony at Actium, 55-56, captured by Agrippa, 57, 61, 162. See also Vessels
 Forum, Agrippa's body in state in, 126; *miliarium aureum* in, 145
 Forum Novum, inscription of Agrippa at, 102
 Fountains, built by Agrippa in Rome, 49, 130, 162
 Freedmen, of Agrippa, 8, 42, 105, 121, 129-130, 137; of Augustus, 8, 129; of Tiberius, 129; lieutenants of Pompey, 29
 Freedom of speech, under Augustus, 6
 Friendship of Agrippa and Augustus, 1, 11, 12-14, 22, 24, 61, 63, 73, 83, 149-151
 Fufius Calenus, Antony's lieutenant in Gaul, 17; opportune death of, 22, 24, 25
 Fulginium, besieged by Agrippa, 19
 Fulvia, incites Perusine War, 17-19, 21; death of, 23
 Funeral society: see Collegium Agrippianum
 C. Furnius, Spanish campaign of, 92, 169
 Gadara, complaint of, before Agrippa, 85
 Gades (Cádiz), Agrippa's portrait on coins of, Agrippa patron of, 94
 Gaius, Emperor: see Caligula
 Gaius Caesar, son of Agrippa, birth of, 87-88, 98; Maison Carrée dedicated to, 90-91; adopted by Augustus, 6, 68, 101-102, 103; groomed as successor of Augustus, 102, 138, 166; statues of, at Thespieae and Delphi, 123; patron of Jews, 122; Augustus gives games in name of, 126; tile-kilns of, 130; regent of Orient, 170; death of, 91, 138; portrait of, on coins of Alabanda, 135
 Galatia, province of, power of Agrippa over, 173
 Games, given by Agrippa, splendor of, 46-47, 50, 155; given by Augustus in name of adopted sons, 126. See also Agrippea, Anniversaries, Ludi, Lusue Troiae
 Gardens: see Horti
 Gaul, lieutenants of Antony in, 17-18; Augustus seizes Antony's legions in, 22; ceded by Antony to Augustus, 25; Salvidienus, Governor of, 24; Agrippa, Governor of, 39-38 B. C., 25-26, 36; coins struck by Agrippa in, 25-26, 28; second visit of Agrippa to, 20-19 B. C., 26, 88-91, 168; roads of Agrippa in, 26, 89-90, 162; Augustus in, 22-23, 106, 115, 124; veterans established in, 110
 L. Gellius Publicola, lieutenant of Antony, at Actium, 56
Gens Vipsania, 136; obscurity of, 4-8; provenance of, Illyro-Venetian, 8-9; members of, in Amorium, 134. See also Vipsanii
 Geography: see *Commentarii Geographici*, Map of world
 Germanicus, natal sign of, 4; husband of Agrippina, 5, 70, 139; *maius imperium* of, 170, 171, 174
 Germans, incursions into Gaul, 88
 Germany, penetrated by Agrippa, 26-27, 29, 161; invaded by Tiberius and Drusus, 124, 162
Gerousia of Argos: see Argos
 Gnathia, inscription of Agrippa at, 102
 Grain supply, of Rome, disrupted by Pompey, 22, 38; scarcity of, in Dalmatian campaign, 45
 Grapnel: see *Harpax*
 Greece, 'university' cities of, 14; Antony's forces in, 53; descents of Agrippa upon, 53-54; honors to Agrippa in, 103; Agrippa's journey through, 106-108
 Greeks, offenses of, against religious privileges of Jews, 118-121
 Grotta, della Sibilla, di Pietro la Pace, di Seiano, ascribed to Agrippa, 32. See also Piedigrotta
 Gythium, statue of Agrippa at, 107, 108
 Hadrian, Emperor, restores Basilica Neptuni, 75, Pantheon, 76, building of Agrippa at Brixia, 97
 Halley's comet, appears at time of Agrippa's death, 128
 Harbor: see Portus Iulius
Harpax, improved grappling iron, invented by Agrippa, 34, 39
 D. Haterius Agrippa, connection with M. Agrippa doubtful, 70
 Heliopolis, colony at, 111
 Hellespont, 109
 Herod, friendship of, with Agrippa, 84-85, 112-113, 133-134, 163; visits

Herod—Continued

- Agrippa at Mytilene, 84; pays respects to Agrippa in Syria, 106, 112; invites Agrippa to Jerusalem, 112-113; assists Agrippa in Bosporan campaign, 114; intercedes for Ilium, 116; accompanies Agrippa through Asiatic provinces, 117; intercedes for Jews of Ionia, 118; returns to Judea, 122; sends Antipatros to Rome, 123; supervises Syria, 171; visits Italy, 84, 133
- Herodeum, Agrippa in, 113
- Hiberus, *praefectus* of Agrippa in Nova Carthago, 94
- Hiera, occupied by Agrippa, 38; base of Agrippa, 39
- Hierapolis, inscription found at, 175
- Hieron of Muses, at Thespieae, statues of Agrippa and his family in, 123
- Hipparchus, Greek geographer, 147
- Histria, 126
- Homer, heroes in, 67
- Horace, early Republican sentiments of, 67; ode of, to Agrippa, 67, 142, 159; composes *Carmen Saeculare*, 105
- Horoscope, of Agrippa, 4
- Horrea Agrippiana, 97
- Horrea Agrippiniana, to be distinguished from preceding, 97
- Horti Agrippae, 96; willed by Agrippa to people, 128
- Hydra, figure of, erected by Agrippa, 49
- P. Hypsaesus, aedileship of, 48
- Hyrkania, Agrippa in, 113
- Iader, Vipsanii at, 8
- Iapydes, campaign of Augustus against, 45
- Iccius, manager of Agrippa's Sicilian estates, 42
- Ilithyia, sacrifices to, in Ludi Saeculares, 104
- Ilium, fined by Agrippa, 116, 169
- Illyria, *gens Vipsania* in, 8; spread of influence of, in Venetia, 9; campaign of Agrippa in, 45, 47, 63, 160; victory of Augustus in, 60
- Impensae*, of Augustus, 131
- Imperator*, title, refused by Agrippa, reserved for *princeps*, 153; Augustus hailed as, for third time, 28; *praenomen*, not invented by Agrippa, 26, refused by Tiberius, 153
- Imperatores*, influence of, under Republic, 153
- Imperialism, Agrippa no advocate of, 124, 161-162
- Imperium proconsulare*: see *Proconsulare imperium*
- Inscriptions, honoring Agrippa, in which Agrippa is mentioned, at Rome, 28, 48, 70, 73, 76, 95, 96, 98, 104-105, 127, 129-130, 139, 164; in Italian cities, 28, 69, 70, 73, 97, 100, 102, 133, 137, 139; in Sardinia, 102; in the provinces, at Athens, 57, 108, at Nemausus, 90-91, at Emerita, Ullia, 94, at Corcyra, Taenarum, Gythium, Corinth, Oropus, Delos, Sparta, Epidaurus, 107-108, at Sestos, Cyzicus, 109, at Berytus, 111, at Ilium, 116, at Ceramus, 117, at Eresus, Argos, 122, at Thespieae, 123, in Lesbos (Mytilene, Thermae), 133-134, at Ephesus, 135, at Myra, 152, at Susa, 164; *Res Gestae*, 69, 104
- M. Insteius, lieutenant of Antony, at Actium, 56
- Inventions of Agrippa: see *Harfax*, *Quinaria*, Towers
- Ionia, Jews of, 113
- Ionian Sea, divides eastern and western provinces, 106, 167, 168, 170-175
- Iron hands, on Antony's ships, 56. See also *Harfax*
- Isauria, power of Agrippa over, 173
- Itineraries, used by Agrippa to prepare map of world, 145
- Jericho, castle of Herod in, 85
- Jerusalem, palace of Herod in, 85; visit of Agrippa to, 112-113, 117; sacred money sent to, 118-121
- Jews, Herod, King of, 84, 164; Agrippa's reception by, in Jerusalem, 113; offerings of Agrippa to God of, 113, 163; religious privileges of, protected by Agrippa, 113, 118-121, 169-170; citizenship of, in Greek cities, 118, 120; at Rome, name synagogue after Agrippa, 121; Gaius Caesar patron of, 122
- Judea, 106, 122, 133; Agrippa's visit to, 112-113; frequency of name *Agrippa* in, 134
- Julia, 81, 82, 112; name of, 8; marriage to Marcellus, 77, 86; third wife of Agrippa, 68, 86-87, 98, 103, 131, 135, 150, 151, 163; accompanies Agrippa to Orient, 106-107, 109, 116-117, 123; escapes death in

- Troad, 116; marriage to Tiberius, 86, 135, 137; temperament of, 87, 138; infidelity of, 138, 163, 165; portrait of, on gems, 158
- Julia, daughter of Agrippa, birth of, 103; in Orient with Agrippa (?), 123; fate of, 139
- Julia, daughter of Drusus II, fate of, 139
- Julia Drusilla, wife of L. Cassius Longinus, 139
- Julian *gens*, tutelary deities of, 76; Agrippa regarded as member of, 116; constructions of Agrippa dedicated to glory of, 152
- M. Julius Agrippa: see Agrippa I
- Julius Antonius, proconsul of Asia, 121
- C. Julius Cozmus Agrippianus, former slave of Agrippa, 129
- C. Julius Deximachus, *magister* of Agrippiastae, 107
- Ti. Julius Diogenes Remothalcianus, freedman of Tiberius, 129
- C. Julius Eurykles, issues coins with portrait of Agrippa, 107
- Julius Honorius, map of, 148
- C. Julius Libanus, freedman of Augustus, 137
- C. Julius Lucifer, *vestiarius* of Horrea Agrippiana, 97
- M. Junius Silanus, Governor of Asia, 121, 174
- M. Junius Silanus, husband of Aemilia Lepida, 130, 139
- Juno, *sellisternia*, sacrifices to, in Ludi Saeculares, 104-105
- Jupiter, sacrifices to, in Ludi Saeculares, 105
- Köln: see Colonia Agrippinensis
- Laconicum*, of Thermae Agrippae, 75
- Laelii, friendship of, with Scipios, 149
- Lake Avernus, converted into naval base by Agrippa, 30-31, 33
- Lake Lucrinus, converted into naval base by Agrippa, 30-31; valuable fisheries in, 31, 33
- Lampsacus, Agrippa at, 96, 109
- Lares*, Agrippa associated with Augustus in worship of, 133
- Laronius, sent to relieve Cornificius, 40
- Latro, rhetorician, tactless remark of, 5-6, 68, 103
- Laudatio*, of Augustus over Agrippa, 126-127
- Lectio Senatus*: see Senate
- Legati*, of Agrippa, in Orient, 82, 84, 167, 168, 173, 175
- Legio I Augusta, deprived of name Augusta, 92
- Legio V Macedonica, settled in Berytus by Agrippa, 110
- Legio VIII Augusta, settled in Berytus by Agrippa, 110
- Legio X Gemina, 92
- L. Lentulus, *Illvir Monetalis*, strikes coins in honor of Agrippa, 131
- Lepidus, fails to aid Augustus against Pompey, 29; aids Augustus in Sicilian War, 37-38, 40; plunders Messana, 41; stripped of powers, 42; conspiracy of his son, 58; begins Saepia Julia, 74
- Lesbos, headquarters of Agrippa in the Orient, 82-84, 114, 122, 130, 167-168; cult of Agrippa in, 133; Eresus in, 169. See also Mytilene
- Leucas, Island of, captured by Agrippa, 54
- Lex Pedia, assassins of Caesar condemned by, 16
- Lex Saenia, grants Augustus right to increase number of patricians, 61
- Libra, natal sign, 4
- Licinius Crassus, pacifies Aquitani, 25
- Lilybaeum, Lepidus at, 40
- Lipara Islands, base of Agrippa, 38-39
- Liturgies, Jews not exempt from, 119
- Livia, 112, 135; mother of Tiberius, 12, 86; ensures succession of Tiberius, 138
- Lucius Caesar, son of Agrippa: see references under Gaius Caesar
- Ludi Apollinares, celebrated by Agrippa, 22, 50
- Ludi, Ceriales, Florales, Megalenses, Plebeii, Romani, 50, 51
- Ludi pro valetudine Caesaris*, celebrated by Agrippa, 71-72, 106
- Ludi Saeculares, celebration of, 17 B. C., 104-105, 106, 152, 163
- Lugdunum, 26; roads of Agrippa from, 89
- M. Lurius, lieutenant of Augustus, at Actium, 57
- Lusitania, province of, 94
- Lustratio, classis*, at Portus Iulius, 37; after census, 71
- Lusus Troiae, celebrated by Agrippa, 22, 50, 72
- Lycaonia, power of Agrippa over, 173
- Lycia, death of Gaius Caesar in, 138; Myra in, 152
- Lycoris, mistress of Cornelius Gallus, 27

- Lyons: see Lugdunum
 Lysippus: see Apoxyomenus, Dying Lion
- Macedonia, province of, 81, 175; troops gather in, for Parthian campaign of Caesar, 14
- Maecenas, at Philippi, 17; intermediary at Peace of Brundisium, 23; embassy to Antony, 24, 25, 27, 35; at Peace of Tarentum, 35; governs Rome and Italy, 38, 58, with Agrippa, 59; speech of, attributed to him by Dio, 64-65; relations with Agrippa, unfriendly, 6, 66-68, 154; advises marriage of Julia to Agrippa, 67-68, 86; patron of poets, vii, 66-67, 154; statesman, 63, 66, 160; adviser of Augustus, 149; influence of, over Equestrian Order, 155; Augustus dedicates autobiography to, 159; estate of, in Egypt, 61-62
- Maison Carrée, at Nemausus, built by Agrippa, 90-91, 94, 163
- Maius imperium*: see *Proconsulare imperium*
- Manius, agent of L. Antonius, 18
- Map of world, of Agrippa, 142-148; portrayed on Porticus Vipsania, 136; importance of, 159. See also *Commentarii Geographici*, *Miliarium aureum*
- Marcella, second wife of Agrippa, 70-71, 87, 151
- Marcellus, marriage to Julia, 77; groomed as successor of Augustus, 77, 78, 81-82, 166; aedileship of, 78; rival of Agrippa for succession, 78-83, 154-155; death of, 86; buried in Mausoleum, 127; mentioned in Aeneid, 67; pleasing personality of, 79; military training of, 89
- Marcus, proscribed, Agrippa intercedes for, 16, 65
- C. Marius, born at Arpinum, 9; lack of culture of, 159
- C. Marius, *Illvir Monetalis*, strikes coins with Agrippa's portrait, 100
- Marmor Phrygium*, quarries of, 130
- Marriages of Agrippa: see Caecilia Attica, Marcella, Julia
- Mars, statue of, in Pantheon, 76; Ultor, Temple of, 131
- Marseilles (Massilia), Decimus Brutus at, 34; road to, 90; death of Lucius Caesar at, 138
- Massyas, 111
- Mauretania, Bogudes, King of, 53
- Mausoleum of Augustus, Agrippina buried in, 5, 139; Agrippa buried in, 127
- Megabyxos, speech of, before Dareius, 65
- Megara, statue of Agrippa at (?), 107, 108
- Memoirs: see Autobiography
- Menas (Menodorus), desertion of, to Augustus, causes war with Pompey, 29, 33; deserts again to Augustus, 38
- Mensura Orbis Terrae, De, of Dicuil, 147
- Mérida: see Emerita
- Messala, subdues Aquitani, 25; commands troops of Augustus in 36 B. C., 40; lives with Agrippa on Palatine, 61, 77; first *praefectus urbi*, 74-75; first water commissioner of Rome, 52; patron of poets, 67; friend of Agrippa, 74, 164; consulship of, 134; uses *simus* for *sumus*, 141
- Messalina, intrigues of, 139
- Messana, base of Pompey, 38, 40-41
- Methone, captured by Agrippa, 53-54
- Metulum, siege of, 45
- Miliarium aureum*, perhaps connected with Agrippa's map of the world, 145
- Military policy, of Agrippa: see Imperialism
- Mint, senatorial, closed by Augustus, 162
- Misenum, Peace of, 25, 29, 35, 36; naval base of Empire, 32, 74
- Mithradates the Great, 113, 114
- Moesia Inferior, Vipsanii in, 9
- Moirae, sacrifices to, in Ludi Saeculares, 104
- Monarchy, of Augustus, organized, 64-65; adherence of Agrippa to, 165
- Mons Albanus, inscription of Agrippa at, 102; house of consuls at, 127
- Monte Grillo, road over, 32
- Monte Nuovo, appearance of, after eruption, 30-31
- Monumenta Agrippae*, in Campus Martius, 96
- Monumentum Agrippae*: see Tomb
- Monumentum Iuliorum*, tomb of Julian gens, 127
- Mother of Agrippa, unknown, 10
- Motto of Agrippa, 142, 151
- Munatius Plancus, aids L. Antonius in Perusine War, 19
- Munda, Battle of, 14

- Mural crown: see *Corona muralis*
 Murena, conspiracy of, 85
 Mutina, Agrippa's part in war at, 15, 16, 63
 Mutiny, in 36 B. C., 42; in 34 B. C., 45; danger of, in 31 B. C., 58-59; in 19 B. C., 92
 Mylae, Battle of, Agrippa's victory at, 39, 41, 42, 55-56, 150; captured by Augustus, 40
 Myra, bust of Agrippa at, 152
 Mytilene, headquarters of Agrippa in the Orient, 83-84, 113, 122-123, 142, 169; statue of Julia at, 117; inscriptions in honor of Agrippa at, 133-134. See also Lesbos
- Q. Nasidius, Agrippa's naval victory over, 54
 Natal sign, of Agrippa, Caesar, Tiberius, Augustus, Germanicus, 4
 Naulochus, Battle of, Agrippa's victory at, 40-41, 42, 55-56, 150
 Naval banner: see *Vexillum caeruleum*
 Naval crown: see *Corona navalis*
 Naval engines, improved by Agrippa: see *Harpa*, Towers; stations: see Portus Iulius, Misenum, Ravenna, Tarentum; warfare, Roman, revolutionized by Agrippa, 35, 161
 Navy, imperial, Agrippa organizer of, 74, 150, 161, 162. See also Fleets, Vessels
 Nemausus, Agrippa's portrait on coins of, 63-64, 71, 90; public buildings erected by Agrippa in, 90-91, 94, 162-163
 Neptune, figured on coins of Agrippa, 60, 132; shrine of, at Taenarum, 107. See also Porticus Neptuni
 Nero, son of Agrippina, fate of, 139
 Nero, Emperor, great-grandson of Agrippa, 140; manner of birth of, 10; speech of, 80
 Nicodemus, surveyor, 144
 Nicolaus of Damascus, intercedes for Ilium, 116; speech of, in behalf of Jews, 113, 118
 Nicopolis, Agrippa's portrait on coins of, 60
 Nimes: see Nemausus
 Nobles, boys of, perform *Lusus Troiae*, 22; attitude toward Agrippa, unfriendly, 103-104, 131, 155
Nomen, discarded by ruling house, 7, by Augustus, 8; *Vipsanius*, suppressed in his official name by Agrippa, 6-8, 99, 164-165
 Nova Carthago, Caesar sails to, 14; Agrippa honorary *quinquennalis* of, 94, 103
 Noviodunum, Vipsanii at, 9
Novus homo, Agrippa a, 5, 166
 Nursia, Augustus repulsed from, 17
 Octavia, 112; reconciles Augustus and Antony, 35; mother-in-law of Agrippa, 70, 87
 Octavian, Octavius: see Augustus
 M. Octavius, lieutenant of Antony, at Actium, 56
 Odeion, in Athens, 108
Oratio of Agrippa, concerning works of art, 72, 141, 159
 Orient, Antony in, 51; Augustus in, after Battle of Actium, 58, 59, 62; first visit of Agrippa to, 79-85, 86, 108, 169, 173; Agrippa's second visit to, Agrippa regent of, 106-123, 124, 161, 169, 170; Agrippa's powers in, 167-175; building activity of Agrippa in, 111; Augustus's tour of, 85, 93, 109, 145, 171; honors to Agrippa in, 103, after death, 134-135; *versus* West in struggle between Augustus and Antony, 46
Ornamenta triumphalia, replace celebration of triumph, 116, 153
 Orontes River, 111
 Oropus, statue of Agrippa at, 107, 108
 Ostia, Vipsanii at, 9; inscription of Agrippa at, 102
 Otanes, speech of, before Dareius, 65
Ovatio, reserved for imperial family, 93
Ovile, voting precinct, 74
 Palatine, Agrippa's residence on, 61, 77; sacrifices on, in Ludi Saeculares, 105
 Pamphylia, power of Agrippa over, 173-175
 Pannonia, Agrippa's campaign against, 124-125, 160, 173; Superior, Vipsanii in, 9
 Pantheon, built by Agrippa, 75-77, 96, 127, 152, 163; restored by Hadrian, 76; Agrippa desires to name it Augusteum, 65, 76, 152; planetary deities in, 51, 76; statues of Agrippa and Augustus in *pronaos* of, 76, 157; columns of, made of *marmor Phrygium*, 130
 Panticapaeum: see Caesarea (Panticapaeum)

- Paphlagonia, Agrippa in, 114, 116, 117
 Paphos, shaken by earthquake, 111;
 statue of Julia at, 117
 Papias=Demochares
 Papyri, estate of Agrippa in Egypt
 mentioned in, 61
 P. Paquius Scaeva, proconsul of
 Cyprus, 173
 Parium, Agrippa's portrait on coins
 of, 109
 Parthia, Antony's campaign against,
 27, 35; negotiations with, for return
 of legionary standards, 81; enemies
 of Romans, 89, 161
 Patavium, Vipsanii in, 8-9
 Patrae, captured by Agrippa, 54, 58;
 colony founded at, 110
 Patricians: see Nobles
 Patron, Agrippa, of many cities and
 towns, 103, 154; of Gades, 60, 94;
 of Ullia, 94; of Claterna, Cubulteria,
 Gnathia, Mons Albanus, Reate, Ru-
 frae, 102; of Corcyra, Corinth, 107
 Peloponnese, 53
 Pelorus, Pompey's forces at, 39
 Pentapolis, instructions of Agrippa to
 cities of, 121
 Perusia, civil war at, 17-19, 21, 23,
 63, 160
 Phanagoria: see Agrippias (Phana-
 goria)
 Pharia, Vipsanii at, 8
 Pharnaces, 113
 Philargrus Agrippianus, slave of
 Agrippa, 129
 Philemon Agrippianus, slave of Agrip-
 pa, 129
 Philippi, Battle of, 15, 16, 17, 142
 Philotimus Agrippianus, slave of
 Agrippa, 129
 Phrygia, Maior, Vipsanii in, 9, 134;
 Agrippa in, 117; Agrippa's marble
 quarries in, 130; Eastern, power of
 Agrippa over, 173
 Piedigrotta, ascribed to Agrippa, 32
 Pisidia, power of Agrippa over, 173
 M. Plautius Silvanus, Cos. 2 B. C.,
 174
Plebs Romana, congiarium of Augus-
 tus to, 130
 L. Plinius, lieutenant of Pompey, in
 Sicilian War, 40; occupies Messina,
 41
 Polemon, King of Pontus, sent by
 Agrippa against Bosporus, 113-114;
 marries Dynamis, 114; alliance with
 Chersonesus, 115
 Polla: see Vipsania Polla
 Pollio, Asinius, part of, in Perusine
 War, 17-19; intermediary at Peace
 of Brundisium, 23; patron of poets,
 67; his son marries Vipsania Agrip-
 pina, 137
 Polyclitus, surveyor, 144
Pomerium, Egyptian rites forbidden
 within, 87
 Pompeii, Balneus Agrippae mentioned
 in inscription at, 97
 Pompey, the Great, his sons in Spain,
 13; presents *corona navalis* to M.
 Varro, 43
 Pompey, Sextus, Agrippa defends Italy
 against raids of, 22; attacks Italy in
 40 B. C., 23; Augustus defeated by,
 in 38 B. C., 29; Augustus comes to
 terms with, at Misenum, 29; naval
 supremacy of, 41; piratical experi-
 ence of, 29; controls southwestern
 coast of Italy, 30; deprived of hon-
 ors at Peace of Tarentum, 35; Sicil-
 ian War against, 20, 25, 27, 28, 37-
 41, 46, 150, 160-161; flees with
 daughter to Antony, 41; swift ves-
 sels of, 34, 39; naval tactics of,
 56
 Pomponia, wrongly given as name of
 Agrippa's first wife, 36. See Caecilia
 Attica
 Pons Agrippae, built by Agrippa over
 Tiber, 96, 162
 Pont du Gard, attributed to Agrippa,
 91
 Ponte Sisto, 96
Pontifex, Marcellus as, 77; forbidden
 to behold corpse, 127
Pontifex maximus, Lepidus as, 42;
 Augustus as, 126, 134
Pontifices, celebrate *ludi pro valetudine*
Caesaris, 71-72
 Pontus, Polemon, King of, 113; Ami-
 sus in, 135; *maius imperium* of
 Agrippa over, 175
 Popularity, of Agrippa, with people,
 51, 59, 73, 78, 155
 Portents, at time of Agrippa's death,
 127-128
 Porticus Argonautarum, built by
 Agrippa, 61, 75, 96
 Porticus Boni Eventus, attributed to
 Agrippa, 96
 Porticus Europae, identified with Por-
 ticus Vipsania, 136
 Porticus Neptuni: see Porticus Argo-
 nautarum
 Porticus Octavia, built by Augustus,
 48

- Porticus Vipsania, begun by Vipsania Polla, completed by Augustus, 7, 11, 135-136; map of world on walls of, 143-144, 147
- Portus Iulius, constructed by Agrippa, 30-32, 37, 49, 142, 152, 161, 162
- Postumus: see Agrippa Postumus
- Præfectus urbi*, Messala first to be, 74-75; Agrippa does not hold office of, 87; Statilius Taurus second to be, 106; *feriarum Latinarum causa*, office of, suppressed by Agrippa in 21 B. C., 87
- Praeneste, headquarters of L. Antonius and Fulvia, 17, 19
- Prætor urbanus*, Agrippa as, 21, 25, 49; celebrates Ludi Apollinares, 22, 50
- Priesthoods, of Agrippa, 62, 151. See also *Quindecimvir*
- M. Primus, proconsul of Macedonia, 81
- Princeps*, Augustus as, 98, 100, 152; reservation of triumph and title *imperator* for, 93, 153; *auctoritas* of, 101; Agrippa communicates with, 115; *proconsulare imperium* of, 168. See also Augustus, Princepate
- Princeps Agrippianus, slave of Agrippa, 129
- Princeps iuventutis*, Gaius and Lucius receive title of, 138
- Princepate, establishment of, 56, 64, 73-74, 150; co-regency and, 98, 100; theory of, 100, 124. See also *Princeps*, Succession
- Proconsulare imperium*, of Agrippa, 80, 82, 83-84, 87, 88, 93, 167-175. renewed, 98-99, 124; *maius*, of Agrippa, 106, 120, 122, 124, 160-175, of co-regent, 101, 170-171, of Augustus, 172; shared by Augustus and Agrippa, 100; of *princeps*, 168
- Propaganda, imperial, Res Gestae as, 136
- Propylaea, at Athens, 108
- Proscriptions, in 43-42 B. C., 15, 16
- Provinces, imperial, senatorial, authority of Agrippa over: see *Proconsulare imperium*, *Proconsulare imperium maius*
- Puteoli, connected with Baiae by Via Herculanea, 30-31
- Quæstor*, Agrippa as, 21
- Quarries, marble, of Agrippa, in Phrygia, 130
- Quinaria*, invented by Agrippa, 49
- Quindecimvir*, Agrippa as, 62, 72, 104, 163
- Quindecimviri*, College of, celebrates *ludi pro valetudine Caesaris*, 71, 106; entrusts celebration of Ludi Saeculares to Augustus and Agrippa, 104
- Quinquatrus, death of Agrippa during, 126
- Quinquennalis*, Nova Carthago chooses Agrippa as, 94, 103
- Quirinal, inscription found on, 48
- Quirinius, consulship of, 134
- Quirinus, name of Augustus, 63; Temple of, dedicated, 106
- Ravenna, headquarters of Pollio, 19; naval base of Empire, 74; cosmographer of, 148
- Reate, inscription of Agrippa at, 102
- Reconstruction, in Rome, Agrippa's part in, 63, 150. See also Aedileship
- Recruits, in army, minimum age of, 13
- Regent, of Orient, Agrippa as: see Orient
- Regium Iulium, Vipsanii at, 9
- Remus, Agrippa alluded to by name of, 63
- Republic, last memorable aedileship of, 48; water magistrates of, 52; restoration of, considered, 64; external machinery of, restored by Augustus, 70; destruction of, causes of, 93, 151, 152, 166; military leaders under, influence of, 153, Agrippa successor of, 152
- Res Gestae, of Augustus, as imperial propaganda, 136
- Rhine, crossed by Agrippa, 26-27, 88, 160; Agrippa settles troubles on, 88; road of Agrippa to, 90; military policies of Agrippa and Augustus on, 161-162
- Rhodes, 116, 118; blockaded by Cassius, 35; retreat of Tiberius, 80, 166
- Rhoemetaces, King of Thrace, 129
- Rhone River, Lugdunum on, 89
- Roads, built by Agrippa: see Gaul
- Rome, Vipsanii in, 9; Agrippa's interest in welfare of, 46-52, 72, 74, 150, 155, 162; election riots in, 85, 87, 88, 98; synagogue in, named after Agrippa, 121. See also Grain supply

- Rostra*, figured on coins of Agrippa, 60, 100, 115, 131; supply material for columns in honor of Augustus and Agrippa, 61
- Rufrae, inscription of Agrippa at, 102
- Sabbath, privileges of Jews on, protected by Agrippa, 118-121, 169
- Sacred money, privileges of Jews in sending of, 118-121
- Saepta Agrippiana: see Saepta Iulia
- Saepta Iulia, built by Agrippa, 51, 74, 96, 136, 152; games in honor of Agrippa held in, 135
- Sagittarius, natal sign, 4
- Salona, Vipsanii, at, 8
- Q. Salvidienus Rufus, early friend of Augustus, 13; accompanies Augustus to Apollonia, 14; advises Augustus to raise army, 15; part of, in Perusine War, 17-19; ranking general of Augustus, 20; becomes *equus*, 21; fate of, 24, 83
- Samos, statue of Julia at, 117; Agrippa at, 117, 122; complaint of Jews before Agrippa at, 118, 120
- Sardinia, Carales in, 102
- Scamander River, crossed by Julia, 116
- Scato, proconsul of Cyrene, 99, 173-174
- Scipios, friendship of, with Laelii, 149
- Scorpion, natal sign, 4
- Scribonius, usurps power of Asander, 113
- Scylla, Augustus's fleet wrecked at, 29
- Seal-ring, of Augustus, 59; presented to Agrippa in 23 B. C., 78, 80, 83
- Sebaste, Agrippa in, 113
- Sebastos, honorary month in calendar of Cyprus, 112
- Sejanus, poisons Drusus II, 138
- Sella curulis*, Agrippa shown seated on, 94
- Sellisternia*, in Ludi Saeculares, 104-105
- Sempronius Gracchus, paramour of Julia, 138
- Senate, Agrippa member of, 21; Salvidienus accused before, 24; honors Augustus, 42, 60; purged by Augustus, 68-69, 103; leaders of, summoned to bedside of Augustus, 78; Augustus desires to read will before, 79, 82; Agrippa sends no communications to, 93, 115, 169, after which no generals send communications to, 115, 153; Augustus sends communications to, 59, 93; issues coins with Agrippa's portrait, 99-100, 153-154; supports Augustus, 155; mint of, closed in 12 B. C., 162; decrees of, 49, 61, 71, 82, 84, 98, 104, 131, 170, 171
- Seneca, speech of, 80
- Sentinum, strategic point in Perusine War, 17-18
- Septempeda, building of Agrippa at, 97
- Servilius lacus*, in Forum, 49
- Servilius Rullus, sent by Augustus to Brundisium, 23
- Sestos, statues of Agrippa and Julia at, 109, 117
- Sicilian War, 37-41, 45, 61, 63; mutiny after, 42, 58
- Sicily, estates of Agrippa in, 10, 42, 46, 129; Vipsanii in, 42; headquarters of Pompey in, 22; Augustus in, 85; Agrippa in, 86-87; Agrigentum in, 102
- Sidus Iulium*, comet at time of Caesar's death, 128
- Sigambri, aggressive German tribe, 26
- Silanus: see M. Junius Silanus
- Sinope, Agrippa's portrait on coins of, 73, 153; Agrippa at, 114
- Sipontum, seized by Antony, relieved by Agrippa, 23
- Sister of Agrippa: see Vipsania Polla
- Sittius family, Agrippa acquires slaves of, 129
- Slaves, used for crews by Agrippa, in 37-36 B. C., 33; company of, maintained by Agrippa to care for water supply, 52; of Agrippa, 52, 96, 121, 129
- Social legislation, of Augustus, 103
- C. Sosius, lieutenant of Antony, defeated by Agrippa, 54; at Actium, 55, 56-57
- Spain, Caesar's campaign in, 13-14, 77; Salvidienus's journey to, 17; Augustus's campaign in, against Cantabri, 74, 77, 89, 92, 146; Agrippa's campaign in, against Cantabri, 88, 92-94, 160, 169; difficulties of warfare in, 92; honors to Agrippa in, 103; veterans established in, 110. See also Caesaraugusta, Emerita, Gades, Nova Carthago, Ulia
- Sparta, Agrippa's portrait on coins of, 107; Agrippiastae set up statue of Agrippa at, 107
- Spolegium, Munatius Plancus driven to, 19

- Stadium, of Antioch, restored by Agrippa, 111
- Stagnum*, built by Agrippa, 95-96
- Standards, legionary, astrological signs on, 51; held by Parthians, 89, negotiations for return of, 81; in Bosporus, recovery of, ascribed to Agrippa, 114
- Statilius Taurus, part of, in Sicilian War, 37-38, 40; campaign of, against Cantabri, 92; *praefectus urbi*, 106; priesthoods and triumphs of, 62
- Cn. Statius Libo, *praefectus* of Nova Carthago, 94
- Strategos*, use of, in sense of 'proconsul', 174
- Strongyle, Agrippa at, 38
- Succession to principate, Agrippa recommended by Augustus for, 78, 151; rivalry between Marcellus and Agrippa over, 78-83, 86, 151, 154-155, 167; Agrippa, as co-regent, first in line for, 101-102, 136, 151, 155
- Suebi, aggressive German tribe, 26, 88
- C. Sulpicius Platorinus, *IIIvir Monetalis*, strikes coins with Agrippa's portrait, 100
- Supplicatio*, for Agrippa at Rome, 116
- Survey of world, attributed to Augustus, 144-145
- Susa, bust found at, thought to be that of Agrippa, 157; inscription of Agrippa at, 164
- Sutrium, siezed by Agrippa in 41 B. C., 18
- Synagogue: see Agrippesioi
- Syria, province of, 169; Antony's departure for, 35; Antony's ships from, 53; Agrippa in, 84, 106, 111, 112, 117; Agrippa establishes veterans in, 110-111; special province of Agrippa, 23-13 B. C., 84, 167-169, 173-175; Augustus's measures in, 171, 173; Varro, Governor of, 84, 175; supervised by Herod, 171; name *Agrippa* in, 134. See also Antioch
- Tabula Peutingeriana, dependence upon map of Agrippa doubtful, 148
- Taenarum, statue of Agrippa at, 107, 108
- Taras River, conference at, 35
- Tarcondimotus, death of, 54
- Tarentum, Peace of, 24, 35, 36; Antony at, 35; Augustus's forces at, 53; naval station, 37; area in Campus Martius, 104
- L. Tarius Rufus, saved by Agrippa, 54
- Tarracoenensis, Hispania, province of, 94
- Tauromenium, refuses to surrender to Augustus, 40
- Teate Marrucinatorum, Vipsanii at, 9
- Telesia, inscription of Agrippa at, 102
- Temple, at Jerusalem, adorned by Agrippa, 113; of Diana, at Nemausus, built by Agrippa, 91
- Temple money: see Sacred money
- Templum Boni Eventus, ascribed to Agrippa, 96
- Terra Mater, sacrifices to, in Ludi Saeculares, 104
- Thapsus, Agrippa's brother taken captive at, 11
- Theatre, at Emerita, built by Agrippa, 94; at Athens, perhaps built by Agrippa, 108; at Antioch, enlarged by Agrippa, 111
- Theodosius, map of, 148
- Theogenes, astrologer, casts horoscopes of Augustus and Agrippa, 14-15
- Thermae Agrippae, at Rome, 72, 75, 95, 162; frieze of, 61, 95; willed by Agrippa to people, 128; at Nemausus, built by Agrippa, 91; at Antioch, built by Agrippa, 111
- Thermae (town in Lesbos), statue of Agrippa at, 133
- Thespieae, statues of Agrippa and family at, 123
- Theudotus, surveyor, 144
- Thrace, Rhoemetales, King of, 129; conquest of, 175
- Thucydides, model of Dio, 64
- Thurii, besieged by Pompey, 23
- Tiber, 49; Agrippa alters course of, 96
- Tiberius, natal sign of, 4; betrothal, marriage to Vipsania Agrippina, 37, 86, 137; accompanies Augustus to Spain, 77; recovers standards from Parthians, 81; military training of, 89; marriage to Julia, 86, 135, 137; invades Germany, 124, 162; receives *ornamenta triumphalia*, 116; co-regent of Augustus, 101; retires to Rhodes, 80, 166; adopted by Augustus, 138; *maius imperium* of, 172; reissues coins with Agrippa's portrait, 132, 136, 166; influence of Agrippa upon, 166; refuses *praenomen Imperator*, 153; removes statue set up by Agrippa, 72; honor-

- Tiberius—*Continued*
 ary month of, 112; slaves and freedmen of, 129; burial of, 133. See also Livia
- Tiberius Gemellus, fate of, 139
- Tile-kilns, of Agrippa, in Bruttium, 130
- Tisienus Gallus, lieutenant of Pompey, in Sicilian War, 40; deserts to Augustus, 41
- M. Titius, Governor of Syria, 173
- P. Titius, prosecutes Casca, 16
- Titus, Emperor, restores coins with Agrippa's portrait, 73, 132; reign of, 75
- Tomb (cenotaph), of Agrippa, in Campus Martius, 127. See also Mausoleum
- Towers, on Antony's vessels, 56; collapsible, improved by Agrippa, 34
- Trajan, Emperor, reissues coins with Agrippa's portrait, 100
- Trastevere, synagogue Agrippesioi in, 121
- Tribunicia potestas*, of Agrippa, 21, 98-99, 169, 172, renewed, 124; shared by Augustus and Agrippa, 100, 104; essential basis of co-regency, 99; of co-regent, 101
- Tribunus plebis*, Agrippa as, 21, 99
- Tribus Agrippia, at Corinth, named after Agrippa, 107
- Tribus Vinicia, at Corinth, erects statue to Agrippa, 107
- Trident, figured on coins of Agrippa, 60, 132; on frieze of Thermae Agrippae, 61, 95; on coins of Berytus, 110
- Triumph, declined by Agrippa, 27, 28-29, 62, 93, 116, 152; triple, of Augustus, 60; reserved for *princeps* through Agrippa's example, 93, 153; replaced by *ornamenta triumphalia*, 116
- Triumphatores*, influence of, under Republic, 153
- Triumvirate, formation of, 15; proscriptions by members of, 16; prolonged, 35; expiration of, 45-46
- Triumviri Monetales*, chronology of, 100. See also Cossus Cornelius Lentulus, L. Lentulus, C. Marius, C. Sulpicius Platorinus
- Troad, Agrippa in, 109; Julia in, 116
- Tyndaris, Agrippa tries to capture, 39, succeeds, 40; M. Vipsanus <or *Musanus* > Athen...., duumvir of, 42
- Ubi, transplanted by Agrippa, 26, 88-89, 161
- Ulia, Agrippa patron of, 94
- Umbria, Sentinum in, 17
- L. Varius Rufus, epic poet, 67, 137
- Varro, Governor of Syria, 84, 175
- M. Varro, age of, mentioned by Pliny, 3; receives *corona navalis* from Pompey the Great, 43
- Q. Varus, *praefectus* of Nova Carthago, 94
- Velia, Bay of, Augustus and Agrippa take shelter in, 38
- Venete*, name in Etruscan inscriptions, 9
- Venetia, *gens Vipsania* in, 8; spread of Illyrian influence in, 9
- P. Ventidius Bassus, obscure. origin of, 13; part of, in Perusine War, 17-19; triumph of, 27, 28
- Venus, painting of, purchased by Agrippa, 72, 109; statue of, in Pantheon, 76
- Vergil, consoles Gallus, 27; criticism of, attributed to Agrippa, 66; mention of Agrippa in, 67
- Verona, Vipsanii at, 8-9
- Vessels, war, new type of, used by Agrippa in Sicilian War, 33, 34, 39; of Pompey, swift, 34, 39; of Agrippa, of Antony, at Actium, 55-56. See also Fleets
- Veterans, land allotments to, in B. C., 17; of Caesar, 23; dissatisfaction of, 59; at Emerita, 94; Agrippa assigns lands to, in Orient, 109-111
- Vexillum caeruleum*, military decoration of Agrippa, 60, 116, 153
- Via Cassia, L. Antonius on, 18
- Via Flaminia, military road, 17-18
- Via Herculanea, shelters Lake Lucrinus, 30; repaired by Agrippa, Caesar, Claudius, 31, 33
- Via Lata, borders on Campus Agrippae, 135
- Vipsanius*, variant spelling of *nomen Vipsanius*, 4
- Vice-regent: see Regent
- Vicus Salutaris (or Salutis), mentioned in inscription, 48
- Vicus Tuscus, 97
- M. Viniarius, campaign of, in Pannonia, 125
- Vipsania Acume, freedwoman of Agrippa, 129
- Vipsania Agrippina, name of, 7; engaged, married to Tiberius, 36, 37, 86; death of, 137

- Vipsania Lesbia, freedwoman of Agrippa (?), 129-130
- Vipsania Martha, freedwoman of Agrippa, 129
- Vipsania Polla, sister of Agrippa, begins Porticus Vipsania, 7, 11, 135-136, 144
- Vipsania Stibas, freedwoman of Agrippa, 129
- Vipsania Urbana, freedwoman, mentioned in inscription, 129
- Vipsanian gens: see *Gens Vipsania*
- Vipsanii, in Africa, 9; numerous in Dalmatia and Venetia, 8-9; in Italian towns, in Moesia Inferior, in Pannonia Superior, 9; in Phrygia Maior, 9, 134; at Rome, Ostia, 9; in Sicily, 42; at Corinth, 70-71
- Vipsanius*, *nomen*, variant spellings of, 4; *praenomina* which occur with, 11. See also *Nomen*, *Gens Vipsania*
- L. Vipsanius, father of Agrippa, 6, 7, 10-11, 103
- M. Vipsanius . . . , mentioned on *tabella columbarii*, 71
- M. Vipsanius . . . , freedman of Agrippa (?), 130
- P. Vipsanius Agrippa, *duumvir* of Corinth, relative of Agrippa, 70-71
- M. Vipsanius Antiochus Sittianus, freedman of Agrippa, 129
- Vipsanius Atticus, rhetorician, 10-11
- Vipsanius Atticus, in Sicily, 10, 42
- M. Vipsanius Calamus, charioteer, freedman of Agrippa, 105, 129
- Sex. Vipsanius Clemens, *magister* of Verona, 9
- M. Vipsanius Dareus, charioteer, freedman of Agrippa, 105, 129
- M. Vipsanius Faustus, charioteer, freedman of Agrippa, 105, 129
- M. Vipsanius Fortunatus, freedman of Agrippa, 129
- M. Vipsanius Gallicanus, not necessarily son of Agrippa, 137
- Vipsanius Justus, in Amorium, 134
- M. Vipsanius Migio (or Mugio), charioteer, freedman of Agrippa, 105, 129
- M. Vipsanius Musaeus, freedman of Agrippa, 130
- M. Vipsanius Narcissus, freedman of Agrippa (?), 105
- Vipsanius Philargius (or Philargyrus), freedman of Agrippa (?), 130
- M. Vipsanius Salvius, freedman of Agrippa, 129
- L. Vipsanius Silvanus, in Amorium, 134
- M. Vipsanius Troilus Sittianus, freedman of Agrippa, 129
- M. Vipsanius Zosimus, freedman of Agrippa (?), 42
- M. Vipsanius Zoticus, freedman of Agrippa, 42, 129
- M. Vipsanus <or *Musanus*> Athen. . . . , *duumvir* of Tyndaris, 42
- Vipstanus*, *nomen*, to be distinguished from *Vipsanius*, 4
- Virgo, natal sign, 4
- Visanie*, *nomen*, in Etruscan inscription, 8, 9
- Vissanius*, variant spelling of *Vipsanius*, 4
- M. Vissanius Eulogus, 8
- Water supply, of Rome, interest of Agrippa in, 47-49, 155; Agrippa unofficial curator of, 51-52, 141; Messala first commissioner of, 52. See also Aqua, Aqueducts
- West, versus East in struggle between Augustus and Antony, 46
- Will, of Agrippa, 52, 128-130, 135
- Zenodorus, instigates Gadarenes, 85
- Zoilus Agrippianus, slave of Agrippa, 129
- Zoticus, slave of Agrippa, 96. See also M. Vipsanius Zoticus

VITA

I, Meyer Reinhold, was born in New York City on August 28, 1909, the son of Joseph and Ethel Reinhold. My early education was received in the Public Schools of the City of New York. In 1929 I was graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Arts from the College of the City of New York. I then entered the Graduate School of Columbia University, where I attended the courses of Professors Gray, Keyes, Knapp, McCrea, Moore, Murray, Perry, Schiller, Van Hook, Westermann, Young. In 1930 I completed the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts. I am greatly indebted to the Department of Greek and Latin of Columbia University for making it possible for me to continue my graduate studies by nominating me Henry Drisler Fellow in Greek and Latin for 1931-1932, and University Fellow for 1932-1933. I have been appointed Fellow in Classical Studies at the American Academy in Rome for 1933-1935.