

Caligula's Madness, an Annotated Bibliography: 1856–2024

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This annotated bibliography was prepared by three undergraduate students at Macquarie University in Sydney in 2024. This project was completed as part of a capstone project in the Bachelor of Arts degree. Overseeing this project was Professor of Ancient History, Professor Ray Laurence^{id}, and Solutions Architect (Digital Humanities), Dr Brian Ballsun-Stanton^{id}.

The Capstone was an experimental stream, exploring discipline-specific research projects in Ancient History in conjunction with the deep and deliberate use of generative AI. We explored the use of Large Language Models (LLMs) to investigate secondary sources on Emperor Gaius Caligula, what they say about his "madness", and how this may affect his legacy. We also documented our use of AI to give suggestions on how AI can be taught in future at university.

We collected approximately 160 secondary sources on this topic and used LLMs, specifically Claude 3.5 Sonnet on Perplexity.ai, to review each source and provide a ~100-word summary of the author's position on the mental state of Caligula. We spent approximately 13 weeks refining an effective prompt that was used to create these summaries. We cross-checked the summary with the source material to ensure accuracy. These summaries are provided beneath each bibliographic entry contained in this document.

The purpose of this project was to critically and ethically use AI to assist in research, and to create an annotated bibliography to demonstrate the effective uses of AI. We hope that the document we have created from this project will aid future research into the "madness" of the emperor Caligula by summarising the arguments of various authors on this subject. We also hope this will be a good starting point for future students and researchers on this topic.

Sources in foreign languages are included and were translated by AI. For ease, the arguments contained in those sources are summarised in English. Entries are listed alphabetically. The date range of these sources is from 1856-2024. We noticed some common themes emerge in the sources we collected:

- Caligula being misrepresented in contemporary and ancient sources, with many of his jokes and outbursts taken as "madness";
- Caligula being politically calculated in his actions;
- Caligula as a young, power-obsessed man, thrust into the top position;
- Caligula as a possible epileptic, which explains some of his strange behaviour.

*Author order is alphabetical. This document is released under the Creative Commons – With-Attribution International 4.0 license. Bibliography data is available at DOI:10.5281/zenodo.13999404

We have included an appendix of some example prompts and answers, to show our process in forming this annotated bibliography. We hope that these prompts can demonstrate how to use AI effectively for giving summaries for sources, which can help determine if sources are useful for your research. We believe that using AI and these prompts can help save time, by providing useful information on sources that will help you eliminate the ones that are not relevant to your topic and summarise the arguments of the ones that are relevant.

A

Abbe, Mark B. "The Togatus Statue of Caligula in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts: an Archaeological Description". In *New Studies on the Portrait of Caligula in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts*, vol. 26. United States: BRILL, 2020. ISBN: 90-04-41268-9.

Abbe examines the statue's material, dimensions, provenance, condition, and ancient marble techniques. Notably, the analysis reveals evidence of ancient polychromy, including traces of Egyptian blue and pink madder pigments on the tunic. The statue's exceptional preservation and lack of deliberate damage are discussed in historical context. While focused on technical details, the study also considers the statue's original appearance, intended viewing, and significance as an honorific monument.

Alston, Richard. *Aspects of Roman History 31 BC-AD 117*. Oxford, UNITED KINGDOM: Taylor & Francis Group, 2013. ISBN: 978-1-317-97643-1. <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/mqu/detail.action?docID=1546789>.

Alston examines how Caligula's actions, including his divine pretensions and treatment of the Senate, can be understood as attempts to establish a new form of imperial authority. Alston argues that Caligula's behaviour, while extreme, had a discernible logic rooted in his unique position and the paradoxes of Roman imperial power. The text also explores Caligula's administrative policies, military endeavours, and eventual assassination, offering a more complex portrait of the emperor than typically presented in ancient sources.

Ampère, J.-J. "L'histoire Romaine a Rome: Caligula, Claude Et Néron". Publisher: *Revue des Deux Mondes*, *Revue des Deux Mondes (1829-1971)* 6, no. 4 (1856): 838–873. ISSN: 0035-1962, Publisher: *Revue des Deux Mondes*. <https://www.jstor.org/simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/stable/44715085>.

Ampère discusses Caligula's reign, focusing on his extravagant building projects and erratic behaviour. It portrays Caligula as initially hypocritical but later openly monstrous, with a turbulent mind and cruel nature reflected in his portraits. Ampère describes Caligula's megalomania, including his self-deification and expansion of the imperial palace. The text implies Caligula was mentally unstable, citing his violent mood swings, grandiose projects, and bizarre actions like making his horse a priest. The article relies primarily on ancient sources like Suetonius, presenting their accounts of Caligula's madness without significant reinterpretation through a modern lens.

Anglade, Laurent, and Thierry Éloi. "Les vêtements de Caligula". *Publications de l'École française de Rome*, *Collection de l'École française de Rome* (2021): 269–284. <https://doi.org/0.4000/books.efr.19382>.

This article analyses Caligula's clothing as depicted by Roman authors, particularly Suetonius and Dio Cassius. It argues that these descriptions were used to construct an image of Caligula as a "monster" who transgressed Roman norms, rather than reflecting actual mental instability. Anglade and Éloi suggest that Caligula's supposed violations of dress codes were used to paint him as an "anti-citizen" who broke the illusion of republican power still held by senators. As they note, "Finally, all these clothing games against Caligula are but the most visible expression of senatorial political hostility." The article contextualises these portrayals within the cultural and political significance of clothing in Roman society, particularly the toga as a symbol of citizenship and masculinity.

B

Balsdon, John P. V. D. *The emperor Gaius*. Reprint of 1934 Edition. 1st edition published by Clarendon Press, Oxford. Reprinted 1976. New York: AMS Press, 1976. 1st edition published by Clarendon Press, Oxford. Reprinted 1976. <https://search.worldcat.org/title/1417373604?oclcNum=1417373604>.

In his analysis of Caligula, Balsdon addresses the emperor's alleged madness, offering a nuanced perspective that diverges from simplistic claims of insanity. While acknowledging Caligula's serious flaws, Balsdon argues against outright madness, suggesting instead that his behaviour stemmed from inexperience, conceit, and a reaction to perceived threats. He notes contemporary references to Caligula's "mania" but emphasises the lack of a developed theory of madness. Balsdon employs critical analysis of primary sources, questioning the reliability of anecdotes and seeking contextual explanations for Caligula's actions. He concludes that Caligula was "a cruel tyrant in his dealings with the senatorial class at Rome" but not clinically insane, supporting this with the observation that his death "evoked no widespread grief, nor... bloodthirsty exultation."

Barber, Stephen. *Caligula*. Pages: 159 S. London: Creation Books, 2001. ISBN: 1-84068-049-0, Pages: 159 S..

Barber portrays Caligula as excessively cruel, sexually deviant, and mentally unstable. He describes bizarre behaviours like declaring himself a god, engaging in public incest, and ordering mass executions. Barber suggests Caligula suffered from insomnia, paranoia, and delusions of grandeur.

Barlag, Phillip. "The Little Boots". In *Evil Roman emperors*, 33–44. Lanham, Maryland: Prometheus Books, 2021. ISBN: 978-1-63388-690-2. <https://search.worldcat.org/title/1198086189>.

Barlag acknowledges Caligula's alleged madness, but offers a nuanced perspective, suggesting his actions may have been calculated rather than purely insane. He argues Caligula deliberately exposed the hypocrisy of Roman institutions, citing examples like elevating his horse to high office. Barlag employs historical analysis and psychological interpretation to support his claims. While not entirely dismissing Caligula's madness, Barlag presents a more complex view: "Whether his illness changed him, or the full realisation of his power and the accompanying realisation that there were no checks whatsoever on his behaviour, Caligula's sadism was reaching new horrible depths even as he was murdered." This approach challenges traditional narratives of Caligula's reign.

Barrett, Anthony. *Caligula: The Abuse of Power*. 2nd Edition. Roman imperial biographies. P. 284-321. London: Routledge, 2015. ISBN: 978-1-315-72541-3, p. 284-321. <https://doi-org.simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/10.4324/9781315725413>.

Barrett discusses Caligula's alleged madness, presenting a nuanced view that challenges simplistic notions of insanity. He argues that while Caligula was not clinically mad, he displayed a disturbing lack of moral responsibility and an obsession with power. Barrett suggests Caligula's behaviour stemmed from a self-centred worldview rather than mental illness. He notes that contemporary sources like Seneca and Philo, despite their hostility, do not describe specific acts of insanity. Barrett attributes many anecdotes about Caligula's cruelty to misunderstood dark humour, stating: "Caligula's disturbing obsession with the dark humour of destructive power suggests that he was a man who would see the principate as an expression of his right to exercise unchecked powers."

Barrett, Anthony A. *Caligula: The Corruption of Power*. 1st Edition. Caligula: The Abuse of Power by Barrett is the 2nd Edition to this book. Originally published in 1989, this is its publication in the United States. Florence, United States: Routledge, 1993. ISBN: 978-0-203-13776-5, Caligula: The Abuse of Power by Barrett is the 2nd Edition to this book. Originally published in 1989, this is its publication in the United States. <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/mqu/detail.action?docID=165856>.

Barrett challenges the notion that Caligula was clinically insane, instead portraying him as morally indifferent and obsessed with power. He argues Caligula could act rationally when needed, but often behaved cruelly due to his self-centred worldview. Barrett notes Caligula's "grimly ironical sense of humour" and "disturbing obsession with the dark humour of destructive power." While not indiscriminately violent, Caligula viewed executions with "almost total indifference." Barrett concludes Caligula was "capable of rational decisions, capable of statesmanlike acts (when it suited him), but morally neutral, determined to sweep all before him in the pursuit of his own personal ends."

- . "Sister". In *Agrippina: Mother of Nero*. Oxford, UNITED KINGDOM: Taylor & Francis Group, 1996. ISBN: 978-0-203-01235-2. <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/mqu/detail.action?docID=165385>.
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Barrett presents Caligula's behaviour as increasingly erratic and paranoid without explicitly labelling him as "mad". While noting speculation about mental derangement following an illness, Barrett's focus is on describing Caligula's actions: inspiring fear in the senate, executing wealthy individuals under false pretences, and his delusions of godhood. However, this account refrains from definitively attributing these actions to any specific mental condition or madness.

- . "Caligula's Quadrans Issue". Publisher: Societe d'Etudes Latines de Bruxelles, *Latomus* 57, no. 4 (1998): 846–852. ISSN: 0023-8856, Publisher: Societe d'Etudes Latines de Bruxelles. <https://www.jstor.org/simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/stable/41541906>.
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Barrett's article does not directly address Caligula's supposed insanity or madness. Instead, it focuses on analysing a specific coin (quadrans) issued during Caligula's reign. Barrett challenges previous interpretations of the coin's imagery, arguing that it likely commemorates the suppression of a conspiracy against Caligula in late 39 CE, rather than referencing tax remission or electoral reforms. He states, "Clearly we should seek an event of Caligula's reign dramatic enough to explain the imitation of the celebrated type introduced by Brutus." This approach differs from narratives of Caligula's madness by examining concrete historical events and numismatic evidence, rather than relying on potentially biased literary accounts.

- . "Caligula". In *Lives of the Caesars*, 61–83. Section: III_eprint: <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/pdf/10.1002/9781444302950.ch3>. John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2008. ISBN: 978-1-4443-0295-0, Section: III_eprint: <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/pdf/10.1002/9781444302950.ch3>. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444302950.ch3>.
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Barrett approaches Caligula's purported insanity with scepticism, suggesting that while the emperor was "eccentric in a society that did not greatly value eccentricity," claims of clinical madness are likely exaggerated. He argues that Caligula was more likely "an exhibitionist, arrogant, irresponsible, indifferent to and disrespectful of the opinions of others." Barrett employs a critical analysis of primary sources, questioning their reliability and potential biases. He also considers archaeological evidence, such as coinage, to challenge traditional narratives. Barrett concludes that Caligula's reign was "indeed a disaster; but it was probably the disaster of a self-centered incompetent, rather than that of a madman."

Barrett, Anthony A., and John C. Yardley. "The Private Caligula". In *The Emperor Caligula in the Ancient Sources*, 1st ed., 117–139. Oxford University Press Oxford, Apr. 27, 2023. ISBN: 978-0-19-885456-2. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198854562.003.0006>.

Barrett and Yardley examines Caligula's appearance, intellectual pursuits, sexual behaviour, and dark sense of humour, drawing on ancient sources like Suetonius and Dio. They critically analyse anecdotes about Caligula, suggesting some may be exaggerated or misinterpreted. A key section details Philo's account of meeting Caligula, offering a rare contemporary perspective. While acknowledging Caligula's cruelty and narcissism, Barrett and Yardley present a more complex portrait than the traditional "mad emperor" stereotype, highlighting his wit and abilities alongside his flaws.

— . "The Public Caligula". In *The Emperor Caligula in the Ancient Sources*, 1st ed., 140–160. Oxford University Press Oxford, Apr. 27, 2023. ISBN: 978-0-19-885456-2. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198854562.003.0007>.

Barrett and Yardley analyse ancient sources describing Caligula's cruelty, extravagance, and claims to divinity, while noting discrepancies between literary accounts and material evidence. They suggest some stories of Caligula's excesses may be exaggerated or misinterpreted, particularly regarding demands for divine worship in Rome. Barrett and Yardley argue his behaviour was likely more nuanced than portrayed by hostile ancient writers, though still often cruel and erratic.

Bartman, Elizabeth. "Cataloguing Roman portraits: four new studies". *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 7 (1994): 339–344. ISSN: 1047-7594, 2331-5709. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1047759400012691>.

Bartman does not directly address Caligula's madness. However, she discusses Boschung's analysis of Caligula's portraiture, which contradicts ancient literary accounts of the emperor's appearance and character. This discrepancy suggests that either literary sources exaggerated Caligula's negative traits, or official portraits were idealised representations. The source also speculates that portraits depicting Caligula as divine or effeminate may have been destroyed after his assassination, potentially explaining the lack of surviving evidence for these traits in his portraiture.

Beard, Mary. "It was Satire: Review of Winterling, Caligula (2011)". *London Review of Books* 34, no. 8 (Apr. 26, 2012): 135–143. <https://www.lrb.co.uk/the-paper/v34/n08/mary-beard/it-was-satire>.

Beard challenges the traditional narrative of Caligula's insanity, suggesting his actions were often misinterpreted satire. She argues that Caligula's behaviour was a critique of imperial double-speak and aristocratic hypocrisy. Beard's approach differs from conventional views by contextualising Caligula's actions within Roman political communication. She employs historical analysis and reinterpretation of primary sources to support her claims. For instance, Beard argues that Caligula's treatment of his horse was "a pointed joke... satirising the aims and ambitions of the Roman aristocracy." While not entirely dismissing Caligula's excesses, Beard's analysis offers a nuanced perspective that questions the simplistic portrayal of the emperor as merely 'mad'.

— . *Mary Beard on Caligula*. Part 1: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XsGvGp69gyE>
Part 2: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SlAoMzYxJbw> Part 3: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TbU>

English National Opera, 2012. Part 1: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XsGvGp69gyE>

Part 2: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SlAoMzYxJbw> Part 3: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TbU>

Mary Beard's analysis of Caligula's 'madness' diverges from traditional approaches by questioning the veracity of historical accounts. She suggests that Caligula's reputation may be a construct, stating, "We are never going to know whether Caligula was a monster." Beard argues that the emperor's portrayal serves political purposes: "It's very useful for us to think about how awful Caligula was." She employs a critical, contextual methodology, analysing the motivations behind historical narratives: "The Roman Emperors who get a bad press are those that were assassinated." Beard's approach neither fully supports nor refutes claims of Caligula's madness, instead encouraging a nuanced understanding of power dynamics and historical representation in ancient Rome.

- . "Caligula's Satire". In *Confronting the Classics: Traditions, Adventures and Innovations*. London, UNITED KINGDOM: Profile Books, 2013. ISBN: 978-1-84765-888-3. <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/mqu/detail.action?docID=1743071>.

Beard notes that while some archaeological evidence supports claims of Caligula's extravagance, many lurid stories about his madness may stem from political motivations after his death. She is somewhat skeptical of Winterling's approach, noting that he often reinterprets bizarre anecdotes to fit his theory. Ultimately, Beard emphasises the difficulty in discerning historical truth from the biased accounts of Roman writers who often denounced dead emperors to reposition themselves under new regimes.

- Bellen, Heinz. "Caligula (37-41)". In *Die römischen Kaiser: 55 historische Portraits von Caesar bis Justinian*. Pages: 63-67. 1997. Pages: 63-67. https://multisearch.mq.edu.au/permalink/61MACQUARIE_INST/1htffa9/alma9915009210802171.

Bellen does not explicitly claim Caligula was insane or mad. Instead, he presents a nuanced view of Caligula's reign, noting a significant shift in his behaviour and policies after 39 CE. Bellen attributes this change to Caligula's illness in 37 CE and subsequent fear of losing power, rather than innate madness. He describes Caligula's actions as extravagant and tyrannical, but contextualises them within political power struggles. Bellen's approach is more measured than those claiming outright madness, focusing on historical events and their consequences. He notes that Caligula's reign marked a shift towards absolute power, stating, "Overall, the imperial office grew into a sphere of absolute power and excessive self-conceit."

- Benediktson, D. Thomas. "Caligula's Madness: Madness or Interictal Temporal Lobe Epilepsy?" Publisher: [Johns Hopkins University Press, Classical Association of the Atlantic States], *The Classical World* 82, no. 5 (1989): 370–375. ISSN: 0009-8418, Publisher: [Johns Hopkins University Press, Classical Association of the Atlantic States]. <https://doi.org/10.2307/4350416>.

Benediktson argues that Caligula's aggressive tendencies, sexual deviance, religious attitudes, and preoccupation with justice align with symptoms observed in modern epilepsy patients. Benediktson suggests that Caligula's personality changes, occurring in his mid-20s, match the typical onset of epilepsy-related behavioural changes. While acknowledging limitations in ancient sources, Benediktson proposes that this medical perspective offers a more nuanced understanding of Caligula's actions than traditional interpretations of madness or tyranny.

- . "Caligula's Phobias and Phobias: Fear of Seizure?" Publisher: The Classical Association of the Middle West and South, Inc. (CAMWS), *The Classical Journal* 87, no. 2 (1991):

159–163. ISSN: 0009-8353, Publisher: The Classical Association of the Middle West and South, Inc. (CAMWS). <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3297970>.

Benediktson examines Caligula's behaviours through the lens of epilepsy, suggesting his fear of swimming, association with the moon, and aversion to goats were related to epileptic symptoms or fears. He argues that Caligula's inability to swim may have stemmed from childhood epilepsy, while his courting of the moon goddess and sensitivity to goat comparisons reflect contemporary beliefs about epilepsy triggers and symptoms. This modern approach reinterprets Caligula's "madness" as potentially epilepsy-related behaviours, demonstrating how medical understanding can reshape historical perspectives on ancient figures' mental states.

Bernstein, Frank. "Von Caligula zu Claudius: Der Senat und das Phantom der Freiheit". *Historische Zeitschrift* 285, no. 1 (Dec. 1, 2007): 1–18. ISSN: 2196-680X, 0018-2613. <https://doi.org/10.1524/hzhz.2007.285.jg.1>.

Bernstein argues that calls to restore the Republic were likely a tactical maneuver by supporters of Claudius to prevent the conspirators from installing their own emperor candidate. He suggests the consul Sentius Saturninus, while publicly advocating for the Republic, was actually working to facilitate Claudius' recognition as emperor. The article provides a nuanced perspective on the political maneuvering during this transition of power, demonstrating how appeals to Republican ideals could be strategically employed even as the Principate was maintained.

Bicknell, P. J. "Gaius and the Sea-shells". *Acta Classica* 5 (1962): 72–74. ISSN: 0065-1141. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24591348>.

Bicknell challenges the traditional view of Caligula's madness, particularly regarding the seashell incident. He proposes that Caligula's actions may have been a calculated political gesture rather than evidence of insanity. Bicknell suggests that Caligula might have been influenced by Celtic customs, possibly through the British prince Amminus, to stage a symbolic conquest of the ocean. Bicknell argues that this interpretation aligns with Caligula's self-perception as Jupiter and his desire to emulate Xerxes.

Bissler, Joseph Stephen. "Caligula Unmasked: an Investigation of the Historiography of Rome's Most Notorious Emperor". Master's Thesis, Kent State University, 2013. https://etd.ohiolink.edu/acprod/odb_etd/ws/send_file/send?accession=kent1374749172&disposition=inline.

Bissler's 2013 Master's thesis examines how modern scholarship has shifted away from viewing Caligula's mental state as simply "madness" toward attempting specific clinical diagnoses. Bissler argues that applying modern psychiatric labels retrospectively to an ancient figure is problematic and unscientific, given the biased nature of ancient sources written generations after Caligula's death. Bissler highlights how contemporary accounts like Seneca and Philo present a more nuanced view of Caligula as arrogant and irresponsible rather than insane.

Blochmann, Simone. "Legitimation von Gewalt in der frühen Kaiserzeit: Die Ermordung Caligulas". Publisher: Franz Steiner Verlag, *Hermes* 145, no. 2 (2017): 122–142. ISSN: 0018-0777, Publisher: Franz Steiner Verlag. <https://www.jstor.org/simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/stable/26650392>.

Blochmann argues that the detailed narratives in ancient sources reflect attempts to frame the murder as justified tyrannicide rather than illegitimate violence against the emperor. Key strategies included "de-sacralising" Caligula's divine pretensions, providing an institutional framework through the Senate meeting, and drawing parallels to Caesar's assassination. The analysis suggests these accounts reveal broader uncertainties in the early imperial period about

how to deal with an unacceptable ruler, as formal procedures for deposing emperors did not yet exist.

Bonfante, Larissa. "Caligula the Etruscophile". *Liverpool Classical Monthly* 15, no. 7 (July 1990): 98–100. https://www.academia.edu/4146718/Caligula_the_Etruscophile.

Bonfante's article doesn't explicitly mention Caligula's insanity or madness. Instead, it presents a nuanced view of Caligula as an Etruscophile, differing from traditional 'mad emperor' narratives. Bonfante argues that Caligula possessed genuine knowledge and appreciation of Etruscan culture, citing two key examples: his dedication of his daughter to Minerva and his admiration of Etruscan paintings. She supports these claims through analysis of ancient sources and archaeological evidence, stating, "Taken together, the two references present a picture of Caligula as quite knowledgeable about antiquities of early Italy, especially Etruscan." This approach challenges the notion of Caligula's madness, offering a more complex understanding of the emperor's character and interests.

Boudreau Flory, Marleen. "Caligula's "Inverecundia": A Note on Dio Cassius 59.12.1". Num Pages: 7 Place: Wiesbaden, etc., Germany Publisher: F. Steiner, etc. *Hermes* 114 (1986): 365–371. ISSN: 0018-0777, Num Pages: 7 Place: Wiesbaden, etc., Germany Publisher: F. Steiner, etc. <https://www.proquest.com/docview/1302446007/citation/DA78248555A41E9PQ/1>.

Boudreau Flory examines Caligula's behaviour during his marriage to Lollia Paulina, suggesting it was an impudent imitation of Augustus' actions rather than adherence to Greek customs. She argues that Caligula's forcing of Memmius Regulus to betroth Lollia mirrored Augustus' marriage to Livia, where her ex-husband played a similar role. This interpretation frames Caligula's act as a sardonic joke at Augustus' expense, reflecting his complex relationship with his ancestor's legacy.

Bremert, Tamara. "Sex in Suetonius: Sexual Material as a Characterisation Device for Tyrannical Emperors." PhD thesis, The University of Adelaide, 2021.

Bremert examines Suetonius' use of sexual material in characterising the "tyrannical" emperors Tiberius, Caligula, Nero, and Domitian in his *De Vita Caesarum*. Bremert argues that Suetonius deliberately employs anecdotes about sexual deviance to reinforce stereotypical traits of tyrants, such as cruelty, arrogance, and excess. Through careful structural and rhetorical techniques, including climactic arrangement and strategic placement of sexual rubrics, Suetonius shapes reader perceptions of these emperors as unfit to rule. The thesis demonstrates that far from mere gossip, Suetonius' inclusion of sexual material serves a vital narrative purpose in constructing vivid, morally-charged portraits of tyrannical abuse of power.

Buckwald, Craig. "Shameous Caesar: Suetonius and Finnegans Wake I.7". *Joyce Studies Annual* (2020): 115–150. ISSN: 1049-0809. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/48669590>.

Buckwald presents quotes from Suetonius without explicitly arguing that they prove Caligula's madness. Rather, they are presented as part of a broader discussion of how Suetonius portrayed the early Roman emperors, including their potential mental instabilities or erratic behaviours.

C

Caligula. In *Brill's New Pauly Online*, in collab. with Werner Eck. https://doi.org/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e224860. Brill, 1997. https://doi.org/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e224860. <https://referenceworks.brill.com/display/entries/NPOE/e224860.xml?Tab-menu=article>.

Werner Eck's entry on Caligula in Brill's New Pauly Online does not explicitly mention the emperor's insanity or madness. Eck does suggest that, "...Because of the instability of his character, perhaps aggravated by psychological disturbances as a result of illness, he transgressed all boundaries with regards to the Senate and the people." Eck's methodology relies on presenting factual events and political actions, avoiding sensationalism. While not directly supporting claims of madness, the text implies erratic behaviour: "His politics were mainly a matter of erratic decisions, many of them soon to be repealed." Eck's approach focuses on historical events rather than psychological analysis.

Caligula with Mary Beard (BBC Documentary). Caligula with Mary Beard. In collab. with Mary Beard. Director - Hugo MacGregor Producer - Caterina Turrone Executive Producer - Richard Bradley, July 29, 2013. Director - Hugo MacGregor Producer - Caterina Turrone Executive Producer - Richard Bradley. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LLsrKevuKA>.

In this BBC documentary, Mary Beard presents a nuanced view of Caligula, challenging the traditional portrayal of him as purely insane. While acknowledging his excesses, she suggests some stories may be exaggerated or misinterpreted. Beard's approach differs by contextualising Caligula's behaviour within Roman imperial politics and culture. She argues that his actions, while extreme, were often calculated displays of power. Beard employs historical analysis, archaeological evidence, and critical examination of ancient sources to support her claims. The documentary neither fully supports nor refutes Caligula's madness, instead offering a more complex interpretation. As Beard states, "Were the stories of murder and madness created as much by Caligula himself to further a culture of fear? Or were they spun... to blacken his name?"

Camargo, Carlos Henrique Ferreira, and Hélio Afonso Ghizoni Teive. "Searching for neurological diseases in the Julio-Claudian dynasty of the Roman Empire". *Arquivos de Neuro-Psiquiatria* 76, no. 1 (Jan. 2018): 53–57. ISSN: 1678-4227, 0004-282X. <https://doi.org/10.1590/0004-282x20170174>.

Camargo and Teive argue that Caligula suffered a behavioural condition from temporal lobe epilepsy. They point to the emperor deciding to torture Roman citizens, wishing for plagues and deifying himself as evidence of temporal lobe epilepsy. They also suggest syphilis as another explanation.

Carlson, Deborah N. "Caligula's floating places. Archaeologists and shipwrights resurrect one of the emperor's sumptuous pleasure boats". *Archaeology* 55, no. 3 (2002): 26–31.

While Carlson mentions some of Caligula's lavish behaviours and potentially darker aspects of his character, such as his enjoyment of watching torture, these are presented as historical facts rather than evidence of madness. The article primarily describes Caligula's "passions" and obsession with extravagant public displays, but does not explicitly characterise these as signs of mental instability. The primary focus is on the archaeological and historical significance of Caligula's ships rather than on the emperor's mental state.

Ceausescu, Petre. "Caligula et le legs d'Auguste". Publisher: Franz Steiner Verlag, *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 22, no. 2 (1973): 269–283. ISSN: 0018-2311, Publisher: Franz Steiner Verlag. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4435335>.

Ceausescu argues that Caligula's apparent hostility towards Augustus was not a rejection of his predecessor, but rather an attempt to reconcile the Western and Eastern parts of the empire. He suggests Caligula sought to rehabilitate Mark Antony's memory without undermining Augustus, aiming for a compromise between their opposing ideologies. Ceausescu challenges the traditional view of Caligula's "madness," proposing instead that his actions reflect a coherent, if ultimately unsuccessful, political strategy.

Ceausescu, Petre. "Alter Roma: Histoire d'une folie politique". *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 25, no. 1 (1976): 79–108. ISSN: 0018-2311. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4435487>.

Ceausescu does not take a clear position on whether Caligula was mad. The article focuses more broadly on the idea of transferring the imperial capital away from Rome, which was attributed to several emperors including Caligula. For Caligula specifically, Ceausescu cites Caligula's plan of moving the capital to Antium and then to Alexandria and planned violence of the nobility of those cities as reflecting tensions in the Roman Empire between East and West and Senate and Emperor, rather than necessarily representing Caligula's mental state. .

Chillet, Clément. "La recherche sur le passé: entreprise culturelle ou instrument politique? Du projet augustéen à Caligula". In *Nos sumus Romani qui futus ante... Memory of Ancient Italy*, vol. Geneva studies on Antiquity, 215–230. HAL Id: halshs-02000052. Bern, 2020. ISBN: 978-3-0343-2889-0, HAL Id: halshs-02000052.

Chillet examines how the Etruscan past was utilised during the Augustan and early imperial periods in Rome. Chillet analyses four case studies: the decree of Sardis (26 CE), Maecenas' identity discourse, the "Dardanian" boundary stones in Tunisia, and the urn of Volumnius Violens. He argues these examples demonstrate a reconstruction of Etruscan heritage for contemporary purposes, rather than a decline of local identities. Chillet contends this "folklorisation" of the Etruscan past aligned with Augustus' project of integrating Italian identities into a broader Roman identity, but became less politically useful by Tiberius' reign. The analysis draws on theories of collective memory and identity formation.

Chrysanthou, Chrysanthos S. "Sex and Power in Cassius Dio's Roman History". Place: Leiden | Boston Publisher: Brill, *Mnemosyne* 74, no. 4 (2020): 598–625. ISSN: 0026-7074, Place: Leiden | Boston Publisher: Brill. <https://doi.org/10.1163/1568525X-12342753>.

Chrysanthou does not take an explicit position on whether Caligula was mad. The article does contain some relevant information about how Dio portrayed Caligula's behaviour and character. While madness is not explicitly mentioned, Chrysanthou highlights that Dio's portrayal emphasises Caligula's outrageous, transgressive, and tyrannical behaviour, particularly related to sexuality and gender norms. He suggests Dio used sexual misconduct as a key element in constructing negative portraits of emperors like Caligula.

Clarke, G. W. "Seneca the Younger under Caligula". Publisher: Societe d'Etudes Latines de Bruxelles, *Latomus* 24, no. 1 (1965): 62–69. ISSN: 0023-8856, Publisher: Societe

d'Etudes Latines de Bruxelles. <http://simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/login?url=https://www.jstor.org/stable/41524441>.

Clarke does not explicitly mention Caligula's insanity, but implies it through Caligula's "[insane jealousy] of oratorical rivals". Clarke's approach differs by focusing on Seneca's relationship with Agrippina rather than Caligula's madness. He argues that Agrippina likely saved Seneca from Caligula's wrath, earning his loyalty. Clarke supports this claim using Dio's account (59.19.7) of an unnamed court lady intervening on Seneca's behalf. He employs historical analysis and source criticism, examining chronology and relationships to support his hypothesis. While not directly addressing Caligula's madness, Clarke's analysis provides context for understanding the emperor's behaviour and court dynamics during this period.

Colin, Jean. "Les consuls du César-pharaon Caligula et l'héritage de Germanicus: A propos des Fastes consulaires de l'Empire Romain par Attilio Degrossi". Publisher: Societe d'Etudes Latines de Bruxelles, *Latomus* 13, no. 3 (1954): 394–416. ISSN: 0023-8856, Publisher: Societe d'Etudes Latines de Bruxelles. <https://www.jstor.org/simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/stable/41517783>.

Colin analyses each consul's background, suggesting Caligula chose them based on family ties to Germanicus, links to Mark Antony's faction, or involvement with Egyptian cults. The paper challenges traditional views of Caligula as mad, instead portraying his choices as politically and religiously motivated. While providing detailed prosopographical analysis, Colin's interpretations are speculative at times, relying heavily on assumed motivations behind appointments.

Connolly, Serena. "Caligula, Midas, and the Failure to Make Gold". *The University of Chicago Press Classical Philology* 116, no. 1 (Jan. 2024). <https://doi.org/10.1086/727862>.

Connolly examines Caligula's reported statement about being "either frugal or Caesar" through a new lens, suggesting it contains multiple puns. Beyond the known wordplay on "frugi" (frugal/Frugi family name), Connolly proposes a connection to the Phrygian king Midas. This interpretation links Caligula's golden food to Midas' golden touch myth, revealing self-deprecating humour about the emperor's failed attempt to create gold from orpiment. Connolly's analysis challenges the traditional view of Caligula as solely monstrous, presenting him as witty and self-aware.

Cyrino, Monica Silveira. *Big Screen Rome*. John Wiley & Sons, Feb. 9, 2009. ISBN: 978-1-4051-5032-3.

Cyrino presents Caligula as descending into madness following a serious illness early in his reign. She accepts Suetonius' claim that this illness led to "chronic dementia", resulting in a brutal and erratic rule. Cyrino portrays Caligula's subsequent behaviour as clear evidence of insanity, citing examples such as megalomania, outrageous acts of cruelty, and delusional behaviour like demanding worship as a god and appointing his horse as a senator. Her unequivocal characterisation of Caligula as "crazed" leaves little doubt about her position on his mental state.

D

Deman, Esther Boise van. "The House of Caligula". *American Journal of Archaeology* 28, no. 4 (1924): 368–398. ISSN: 0002-9114. <https://doi.org/10.2307/497538>.

Deman describes the architectural features, construction techniques, and materials used, demonstrating the scale and grandeur of Caligula's additions. This archaeological evidence aligns with ancient sources that portray Caligula's extravagant and grandiose building activities, which some modern historians interpret as potential indicators of megalomania or other mental instabilities. The article provides crucial physical evidence for understanding Caligula's reign and personality.

Demetrioff, Jazz. "Mad, Deranged, Insane: A Case Study of Madness as a Diagnosis in Antiquity". Number: 2, *Crossings*, no. 2 (June 11, 2018): 205–222. ISSN: 2560-6468, Number: 2. <https://crossings.uwinnipeg.ca/index.php/crossings/article/view/92>.

Demetrioff argues that Caligula likely suffered from epilepsy. Demetrioff suggests that Caligula's reported "madness" aligns with symptoms of epilepsy as described by Hippocrates, including seizures, personality changes, and erratic behaviour. She notes that epilepsy may have run in the Julio-Claudian family and that Caligula reportedly had seizures from childhood. Demetrioff proposes that the stress of ruling, combined with Caligula's illness in AD 37, may have exacerbated his condition, leading to more severe symptoms that have been interpreted as madness. While acknowledging the limitations of diagnosing historical figures, she concludes that "epileptic psychosis" is the most likely explanation for Caligula's reported behaviour and mental state.

Donchin, Yoel. "When leaders become ill". Place: Israel, *The Israel Medical Association journal* 8, no. 1 (2006): 744–745. ISSN: 1565-1088, Place: Israel.

Donchin uses Caligula as part of a broader discussion on leaders' health issues throughout history. Donchin does not make a definitive statement about Caligula's madness, but notes that the emperor suffered from epilepsy and committed acts of "basest cruelty and abuse."

E

Eaton, Jonathan. "Review of: Caligula: a Biography". In collab. with Aloys Winterling. *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 4, no. 13 (2004). ISSN: 1055-7660. <https://bmc.brynmawr.edu/2012/2012.04.13/>.

Eaton, in reviewing Winterling's biography, does not directly address Caligula's madness, instead focusing on Winterling's interpretation of Caligula's actions as politically motivated rather than signs of insanity. Eaton approvingly highlights Winterling's explanations for Caligula's seemingly irrational behaviour, such as forcing flatterers to fulfil extravagant promises, awarding his horse with honours to satirise senators' ambitions, and moving senators' families into the palace as hostages. These actions are presented as calculated political moves within the context of Roman politics and the challenges of maintaining the Augustan Principate, rather than as evidence of mental instability.

Edwards, Catherine. "The Truth about Caligula?" Ed. by Anthony A. Barrett. Publisher: Cambridge University Press, *The Classical Review* 41, no. 2 (1991): 406–408. ISSN: 0009-840X, Publisher: Cambridge University Press. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/711425>.

Edwards critically analyses Barrett's approach to Caligula's alleged madness, noting his tendency to rehabilitate the emperor's image. She argues that Barrett's attempt to uncover the "truth" about Caligula is problematic, given the biased nature of ancient sources. Edwards states, "Recognising the possibility of prejudice does not give the historian automatic access to 'unbiased truth'." She questions the validity of making psychological assessments across millennia and suggests focusing on the symbolic vocabulary used to represent emperors. Edwards proposes abandoning the search for historical facts, instead advocating for an examination of why Romans told such stories: "These stories can give us fascinating insights into how the power of Roman emperors was constructed."

Elkins, Nathan T. "Taxes, Liberty, and the "Quadrantes" of Caligula". Publisher: Royal Numismatic Society, *The Numismatic Chronicle* 174 (2014): 111–117. ISSN: 0078-2696, Publisher: Royal Numismatic Society. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/44710186>.

Elkins does not directly discuss Caligula's insanity or madness in this article. Instead, he focuses on analysing the quadrantes of Caligula, challenging recent interpretations and supporting the traditional view that these coins commemorate the remission of the auction tax. Elkins argues that *libertas* was linked to freedom from taxation, citing examples from Roman history and coinage. He supports this with evidence from later emperors, particularly Galba's coinage which explicitly connected tax remission with liberty. .

Evans, Elizabeth C. "Physiognomics in the Roman Empire". *The Classical Journal* 45, no. 6 (1950): 277–282. ISSN: 0009-8353. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3293688>.

Evans discusses the physiognomic features applied by Suetonius in his descriptions of emperors, including Caligula. She cites that Caligula's physical appearance is disagreeably associated with that of panthers and goats. While the source does not directly address Caligula's madness, it provides context for how physical descriptions in ancient sources might have been used to imply character traits, potentially including madness. .

F

Fadda, Salvatore. “Neurological and Neuropsychiatric Diseases through the Lens of Roman Sculpture”. *Theoretical Roman Archaeology Journal* 4, no. 1 (Dec. 17, 2021). ISSN: 2515-2289. <https://doi.org/10.16995/traj.4342>.

Fadda presents various theories about Caligula’s mental state and behaviour but emphasises that these are not reflected in contemporary artistic representations. The article suggests that the discrepancy between written accounts and artistic depictions may be due to later propaganda or the stylistic conventions of imperial portraiture, which aimed to present a positive image of the emperor regardless of his actual appearance or behaviour.

Fagenson-Eland, Ellen. “The Caligula Phenomenon: Theoretical, but Not Abusive”. Publisher: SAGE Publications Inc, *Journal of Management Inquiry* 10, no. 3 (Sept. 1, 2001): 217–220. ISSN: 1056-4926, Publisher: SAGE Publications Inc. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1056492601103003>.

Fagenson-Eland argues that the psychotherapy model is inappropriate for understanding mentor-protégé dynamics. She contends that mentors who impose their interpretations on protégés are not abusive, but rather fulfilling their role in guiding less experienced individuals. The article challenges the notion that mentors should prioritise protégés’ sense-making, arguing instead that mentors’ interpretations are crucial for protégés’ success. Fagenson-Eland uses personal anecdotes and examples from nature to support her view that effective mentoring often involves overruling protégés’ perspectives for their benefit.

Faur, Jean-Claude. “Caligula et la Maurétanie: La fin de Ptolémée”. Num Pages: 23 Place: Berlin, Germany Publisher: Akademie-Verlag. *Klio* 55 (1973): 249–271. ISSN: 0075-6334, Num Pages: 23 Place: Berlin, Germany Publisher: Akademie-Verlag. <https://www.proquest.com/docview/1305194624/citation/69032AF3E76B4ECCPQ/1>.

Faur critiques previous explanations, particularly Hofmann’s “Isiac thesis”, as unsatisfactory. He argues that Ptolemy’s death was likely motivated by political and strategic concerns regarding Rome’s control over North Africa, rather than religious conflicts or personal jealousy. The article analyses ancient sources, Ptolemy’s coinage, and Caligula’s reforms in Africa to build a case that the annexation of Mauretania was a calculated imperial policy decision, not a capricious act.

—. “Un discours de l’empereur Caligula au Sénat (Dion, Hist. rom. LIX, 16)”. *Klio* 60, no. 60 (Dec. 1, 1978): 439–448. ISSN: 2192-7669, 0075-6334. <https://doi.org/10.1524/klio.1978.60.60.439>.

Faur argues that Caligula’s infamous speech to the Senate, often cited as evidence of his insanity, was actually a calculated political move to assert imperial authority over the Senate. He interprets Caligula’s actions, including his claims of divinity and harsh treatment of the Senate, as deliberate political strategies rather than signs of madness. Faur suggests that Caligula was attempting to establish a new form of imperial rule. He thus implies that accusations of Caligula’s madness may be misinterpretations of his political maneuvering and attempts to consolidate power.

Ferrill, Arthur. “Chapter 6: From Joy to Terror”. In *Caligula*, 105–118. New York, NY: Thames / Hudson, 1991. ISBN: 978-0-500-25112-6.

Ferrill’s chapter extensively discusses Caligula’s alleged madness, presenting numerous instances of erratic and cruel behaviour. Unlike approaches that simply label Caligula as ‘mad’,

Ferrill provides a detailed chronological account of events, suggesting a gradual descent into tyranny and megalomania. He argues that Caligula's actions became increasingly irrational and violent, particularly after his illness and Drusilla's death. Ferrill supports his claims with contemporary sources and anecdotes, such as Philo's account of Caligula's speech: "Here comes the teacher of one who no longer needs to learn..." This methodological approach offers a nuanced view of Caligula's reign, supporting the notion of his madness through an accumulation of evidence rather than a blanket diagnosis.

Fine, Steven. "Caligula and the Jews: Some Historiographic Reflections Occasioned by Gaius in Polychrome". In *Art, History, and the Historiography of Judaism in Roman Antiquity*, 51–62. Brill, 2014. ISBN: 978-90-04-23817-6. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004238176_005.

Fine does not directly address Caligula's insanity, instead focusing on the emperor's actions towards Jews and their cultural impact. His approach differs from those claiming madness by analysing the historical context and Jewish-Roman relations. Fine argues that Caligula's attempt to place his statue in the Jerusalem Temple disrupted a delicate balance between Jewish practices and Roman rule. He supports this claim by examining primary sources like Philo and Josephus, and analysing material culture. Fine notes, "Caligula upset the balance at the imperial level," suggesting that the emperor's actions, rather than madness, were the primary issue for Jews of the period.

Flamerie de Lachapelle, Guillaume. "La peur dans la Vie de Caligula et la Vie de Claude de Suétone". Publisher: C (Centre transdisciplinaire d'épistémologie de la littérature) [2003-2011] - C A (Centre transdisciplinaire d'épistémologie de la littérature et des arts vivants) [2012-....] *Loxias*, Conférences d'agrégation 2024, 83 (2024). Publisher: C (Centre transdisciplinaire d'épistémologie de la littérature) [2003-2011] - C A (Centre transdisciplinaire d'épistémologie de la littérature et des arts vivants) [2012-....] <https://hal.science/hal-04484662>.

Lachapelle argues that fear was a pervasive sentiment during their reigns, originating from and directed towards the emperors themselves. The analysis explores how fear manifests in varying intensities and through physical gestures rather than words, often revealing the emperors' cowardice and incompetence. Lachapelle contends that fear signifies a triple failure - personal, familial, and public. Interestingly, the article also notes how fear sometimes borders on laughter in Suetonius' portrayal, particularly in depictions of Caligula as a braggart and Claudius as a timid old man.

G

Gagé, Jean. “Un manifeste dynastique de Caligula, d’après une nouvelle interprétation du grand camée de Paris”. *Revue des Études Anciennes* 37, no. 2 (1935): 165–184. ISSN: 0035-2004. <https://doi.org/10.3406/rea.1935.2822>.

Gagé largely agrees with Curtius that the cameo dates to Caligula’s reign and represents a dynastic manifesto, rather than depicting events from Tiberius’ time. He examines how the imagery promotes Caligula’s legitimacy by emphasising connections to Augustus, Germanicus, and even Alexander the Great. Gagé suggests the cameo may commemorate Caligula’s adoption of Tiberius Gemellus in 37 CE. While accepting most of Curtius’ identifications, Gagé offers some modifications to the historical context and meaning of certain figures and symbols.

Gascou, Jacques. “Review of Suetonius’ Life of Caligula. A Commentary”. In collab. with D. Wardle. Publisher: Verlag C.H.Beck, *Gnomon* 70, no. 3 (1998): 213–216. ISSN: 0017-1417, Publisher: Verlag C.H.Beck. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27692733>.

Gascou does not directly address Caligula’s madness in his review of Wardle’s commentary. Instead, he highlights how Wardle critically examines Suetonius’ portrayal of Caligula, which tends to depict the emperor negatively. Gascou praises Wardle for attempting to provide rational explanations for behaviours that Suetonius interprets as signs of insanity or excessive pride. He suggests that Wardle’s commentary challenges the traditional view of Caligula’s madness by offering more balanced and rational explanations for the emperor’s conduct. Gascou notes that Wardle critiques Suetonius’ methodology, pointing out his use of dubious anecdotes, tendency to generalise, and flattening of historical perspective.

Gerstenbrand, Franz, Bettina Matulla, and Heinrich Binder. “Neurology - Historical, Recent and Future Aspects”. *Acta Clin Croat* 42, no. 1 (2003): 3–10.

Gerstenbrand, Matulla and Binder briefly mention Caligula’s illness and subsequent behavioural changes, suggesting a potential medical explanation (herpes encephalitis) rather than inherent madness. However, the source does not provide an in-depth analysis of Caligula’s mental state or directly address the question of his madness.

Gladhill, Bill. “The Emperor’s No Clothes: Suetonius and the Dynamics of Corporeal Ecphrasis”. *Classical Antiquity* 31, no. 2 (2012): 315–348. <https://online.ucpress.edu/ca/article/31/2/315/25596/The-Emperor-s-No-Clothes-Suetonius-and-the>.

Gladhill does not take a clear stance on whether Caligula was mad, but presents a physical description that implies monstrosity and savagery rather than mental illness. He describes Caligula’s body as “outside the norm” with features like sunken eyes, a broad and bull-like head, and a body covered in shaggy hair. Gladhill frames Caligula’s bestial qualities as a “pervasive hyperbole” compared to the more subtle animal-like traits of previous emperors. While not explicitly addressing madness, this portrayal implies Caligula was monstrous and beast-like rather than simply mentally ill.

Gruen, Erich S. “Caligula, The Imperial Cult, and Philo’s Legatio”. In *The Construct of Identity in Hellenistic Judaism: Essays on Early Jewish Literature and History*, 1st ed., 397–410. Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies. De Gruyter, 2016. <https://www.jstor.org.simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/stable/j.ctvbkjxph.23>.

Gruen’s analysis challenges the traditional portrayal of Caligula’s “insanity” regarding the statue incident. He argues that Philo’s account is dramatised and unreliable, questioning Caligula’s

alleged hatred of Jews and obsession with divinity. Gruen suggests the emperor's actions were more likely motivated by eastern policy than madness. He critiques Philo's narrative, stating it "is patently theatrical, over-dramatised, and replete with embellishments and imaginings." Gruen emphasises the need to reassess Philo's authority, noting that "imputed motivation and purported objectives were a different matter. Philo divined them to suit his portrait. They do not qualify as responsible reportage." This nuanced approach encourages a more measured view of Caligula's reign and motivations.

Gury, Françoise. "L'idéologie impériale et la lune: Caligula". Publisher: Societe d'Etudes Latines de Bruxelles, *Latomus* 59, no. 3 (2000): 564–595. ISSN: 0023-8856, Publisher: Societe d'Etudes Latines de Bruxelles. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41539273>.

Gury challenges the traditional portrayal of Caligula's 'madness', arguing that his lunar devotion was part of a coherent political-religious project rather than evidence of insanity. She asserts that "Under the malevolence of sources intent on obscuring the meaning of his intentions to reduce them...to grotesque anecdote, we would like to show that Caligula's interest in the Moon, far from being a trait of insanity or ridicule, is part of a coherent and original political-religious project." Gury employs historical analysis and contextualisation to reframe Caligula's actions within Greco-Roman and Egyptian religious traditions, arguing that sources deliberately misrepresented his behaviour to discredit his ambitious monarchical aims.

H

Harrow, Kenneth. ““Caligula”, a Study in Aesthetic Despair”. Publisher: [Board of Regents of the University of Wisconsin System, University of Wisconsin Press], *Contemporary Literature* 14, no. 1 (1973): 31–48. ISSN: 0010-7484, Publisher: [Board of Regents of the University of Wisconsin System, University of Wisconsin Press]. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1207481>.

Harrow argues that Caligula embodies aesthetic despair by pursuing impossible goals to escape confronting his own mortality. Unlike Camus’ other absurdist heroes, Caligula fails to accept his limitations and make the “infinite movement” of embracing despair. Instead, he engages in destructive behaviour as a form of evasion. The analysis draws parallels between Caligula’s actions and Kierkegaard’s descriptions of aesthetic existence and despair, suggesting that Caligula’s tragedy stems from his inability to truly confront and accept the absurd nature of existence.

Hind, J. G. F. “Caligula and the Spoils of Ocean: a Rush for Riches in the Far North-West?” *Britannia* 34 (Nov. 2003): 272–274. ISSN: 1753-5352, 0068-113X. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3558547>.

Hind re-examines Caligula’s infamous “sea-shells comedy” on the shores of Gaul in 40 AD. Rather than viewing it as evidence of madness, Hind suggests it was a calculated move to proclaim victory over Ocean and potentially find pearls. He argues that Caligula’s actions align with contemporary Roman interest in British pearls and the emperor’s own fascination with them. This interpretation challenges the traditional view of the event as a sign of mental instability, instead framing it as a strategic, albeit misguided, attempt to salvage a failed military expedition and potentially acquire valuable resources.

Hughes, John R. “Dictator Perpetuus: Julius Caesar—Did he have seizures? If so, what was the etiology?” *Epilepsy & Behavior* 5, no. 5 (Oct. 1, 2004): 756–764. ISSN: 1525-5050. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.yebeh.2004.05.006>.

Hughes argues that Caligula likely had childhood epilepsy that evolved into temporal lobe epilepsy in adulthood, potentially contributing to his bizarre behaviour. Suetonius is cited as reporting that Caligula suffered from the “falling sickness” (likely epilepsy) as a youth, with symptoms including sudden faintness and difficulty walking, standing, or holding up his head. Hughes argues that at age 25, Caligula had a serious illness, possibly encephalitis, which may have exacerbated his condition. Hughes speculates that Caligula developed a left temporal lobe spike focus, leading to an interictal temporal lobe behaviour disorder that could explain his cruel and abnormal adult behaviour. While acknowledging that schizophrenia is another possible diagnosis, Hughes leans towards temporal lobe epilepsy as an explanation for Caligula’s reported behaviours, which align with characteristics of Geschwind’s temporal lobe syndrome.

Hurley, Donna. “Review of: Caligula, eine Biographie”. In collab. with Aloys Winterling. BMCR ID: 2003.12.06, *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 12, no. 6 (2003). ISSN: 1055-7660, BMCR ID: 2003.12.06. <https://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2003/2003.12.06/>.

Hurley presents a nuanced view of Caligula’s alleged madness through her analysis of Winterling’s work. She notes that Winterling, like most recent scholars, argues against Caligula being clinically insane. However, Hurley critiques this position, suggesting that while Caligula may not have been medically mad, his behaviour could still be considered mad by ordinary standards.

Hurley, Donna W. "Gaius Caligula in the Germanicus Tradition". Publisher: The Johns Hopkins University Press, *The American Journal of Philology* 110, no. 2 (1989): 316–338. ISSN: 0002-9475, Publisher: The Johns Hopkins University Press. <https://doi.org/10.2307/295180>.

Hurley analyses discrepancies between accounts by Tacitus, Suetonius, and Cassius Dio regarding Caligula's role in quelling a military mutiny as a child. She argues that Suetonius preserves an earlier, more positive tradition that emphasised Caligula's importance, while Tacitus downplayed his role. This suggests the survival of pro-Germanicus/Caligula propaganda from before Caligula's reign. The article provides insight into how ancient sources handled Caligula's complex legacy and how modern historians can detect bias and editorial choices in these accounts.

— . "An historical and historiographical commentary on Suetonius' "Life of C. Caligula"". ISBN: 9798207281223. PhD thesis, Columbia University, 1991. ISBN: 9798207281223. <https://www.proquest.com/docview/303934849/abstract/6A1472B2731B4749PQ/1>.

Hurley argues that Suetonius accurately recorded the first century's assessment of Caligula, which quickly became canonical. Key themes include the antithetical view of Caligula's reign (good beginnings turning bad), attempts by later emperors to distance themselves from him, and comparisons to Julius Caesar. Hurley suggests Caligula's erratic behaviour was emphasised to contrast with Tiberius, and that many anecdotes were likely exaggerated or fabricated. Overall, it presents Suetonius' account as more valuable for understanding Caligula's historiography than for factual details about his life and reign.

J

Jakobson, Alexander, and Hannah M. Cotton. "Caligula's Recusatio Imperii". Publisher: Franz Steiner Verlag, *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 34, no. 4 (1985): 497–503. ISSN: 0018-2311, Publisher: Franz Steiner Verlag. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4435941>.

Jakobson and Cotton's article does not directly discuss Caligula's alleged insanity or madness. Instead, it focuses on analysing the discrepancy between two dates given for Caligula receiving imperial powers. They propose that Caligula initially refused power on 18 March 37 CE, only accepting it on 28 March after persuasion. This "recusatio imperii" (refusal of power) is framed as a common imperial tradition, not evidence of madness. Jakobson and Cotton employ careful analysis of primary sources and circumstantial evidence to support their hypothesis, stating: "If the interpretation presented here is accepted - and the circumstantial nature of the evidence cannot be denied - Gaius Caesar joins the long line of emperors who refused - or rather staged a refusal of - the imperial power."

Jerome, Thomas Spencer. "The Historical Tradition About Gaius, 37-41 AD". In *Aspects of the study of Roman history*, 381–421. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1923. <http://catalog.hathitrust.org/api/volumes/oclc/1526961.html>.

Jerome argues that Caligula was not insane, but rather his erratic behaviour was likely due to alcoholism and the biased primary accounts of his enemies. Jerome examines the primary sources, highlighting their inconsistencies and biases, and offers an alternative explanation for Caligula's behaviour based on heavy drinking. Jerome points out that many of Caligula's reported actions are inconsistent with true mania, noting that he continued to effectively administer the empire, showed rational behaviour in many instances, and was amenable to reason.

Johnston, Patricia A. "Director's Report: Symposium Cumanum June 23-26, 2010". Publisher: The Vergilian Society, *Vergilius (1959-)* 56 (2010): 121–135. ISSN: 0506-7294, Publisher: The Vergilian Society. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41588692>.

Johnston discusses a symposium on Roman life, literature, and art under the Julio-Claudian emperors. It highlights presentations on Caligula's public performances as attempts to redefine virtue, rather than signs of mental instability. The paper by Steven Tuck argues that Caligula's appearances as a performer in Roman spectacles were deliberate efforts to create a new imperial persona, challenging traditional notions of male patrician behaviour. This interpretation contrasts with views of Caligula's actions as merely self-indulgent or evidence of mental illness, suggesting instead a calculated political strategy to reshape the image of the princeps in line with Greek examples and later imperial practices.

Jones, Peter. "AD 14-96". In *Veni, Vidi, Vici: Everything You Ever Wanted to Know about the Romans but Were Afraid to Ask*. London, United Kingdom: Atlantic Books, Limited, 2014. ISBN: 978-1-78239-020-6. <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/mqu/detail.action?docID=1222341>.

Jones presents Caligula as descending into erratic, cruel and autocratic behaviour suggestive of madness, without explicitly stating he was mad. He describes Caligula becoming a "cruel, capricious and autocratic tyrant" who engaged in bizarre actions like replacing the heads of statues with his own. Jones notes Caligula's contemptuous attitude toward the people, his reckless spending of state funds, and his obsession with entertainment and racing. While not directly calling Caligula mad, he portrays his behaviour as increasingly unstable and tyrannical.

K

Kaenel, Hans-Markus von. "Augustus, Caligula oder Claudius?" Published by the Swiss Numismatic Society. *Scwiezer Münzblätter*, no. 28 (1978): 39–44. Published by the Swiss Numismatic Society. <https://www.e-periodica.ch/digbib/view?pid=smb-001:1978:28::545#42>.

Kaenel does not mention or discuss Caligula's alleged insanity or madness. The article focuses solely on numismatic evidence, specifically a dupondius coin featuring Caligula's image. Kaenel's approach is purely archaeological and historical, examining the coin's iconography and inscriptions to understand Caligula's early reign and legitimacy claims. He argues that the coin represents Caligula's emphasis on consensus among all social orders, stating: "From the very beginning, Caligula...attached importance to demonstrating that his rule was supported by the consent of all, the consensus universorum." This source does not support claims of Caligula's madness, instead presenting him as a shrewd political actor.

Kanngiesser, Friederich. "Notes on the Pathography of the Julian Dynasty". *Glasgow Medical Journal* 77, no. 6 (1912): 428–432. <https://pmc.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/articles/PMC5905011/>.

Kanngiesser argues that Caligula was a paranoid madman. He argues that epilepsy was the cause of this condition. Relying on Suetonius, Dio, Seneca and Quidde, Kanngiesser cites Caligula's physical appearance and features as evidence of his madness.

Katz, Robert S. "The Illness of Caligula". *The Classical World* 65, no. 7 (1972): 223–225. ISSN: 0009-8418. <https://doi.org/10.2307/4347670>.

Katz argues that Caligula was not insane, but rather suffered from hyperthyroidism, a glandular disorder. Katz proposes that the emotional shock of gaining imperial power may have triggered this condition. Katz asserts that Caligula's actions were those of someone who was "not well" rather than mad, and calls for a reconsideration of the stereotypical view of Caligula as a madman.

— . "Caligula's Illness Again". *The Classical World* 70, no. 7 (1977): 451–451. ISSN: 0009-8418. <https://doi.org/10.2307/4348715>.

In response to criticism from Morgan, Katz argues against the notion of Caligula's madness, instead attributing his erratic behaviour and physical symptoms to hyperthyroidism. He contends that Caligula's restlessness, sleeplessness, insatiable appetite despite thinness, and overall agitation are typical clinical signs of an overactive thyroid gland. Katz posits that the stress of becoming emperor likely triggered this condition in an already unstable Caligula.

Kavanagh, Bernard Joseph. "Asiaticus, Seneca and Caligula's Assassination". Pages: 105–117, *In Altum- Seventy-Five Years of Classical Studies in New Foundland* (2001): 105–117. Pages: 105–117.

Kavanagh does not directly address Caligula's insanity or madness. Instead, he focuses on analysing Valerius Asiaticus's role in Caligula's assassination. Kavanagh's approach differs from others by critically examining the historical sources and their potential biases. He argues against claims of Asiaticus's involvement in the conspiracy, stating "it does not appear that one can say that he was part of the actual conspiracy". Kavanagh employs source criticism and contextual analysis to support his claims, questioning the credibility of Seneca and Tacitus. Ultimately, the article does not support the claim that Caligula was mad, as it primarily focuses on the political dynamics surrounding his assassination.

Keaveney, Arthur, and John A. Madden. "The *Crimen Maiestatis* under Caligula: the evidence of Dio Cassius". *The Classical Quarterly* 48, no. 1 (May 1998): 316–320. ISSN: 0009-8388, 1471-6844. <https://doi.org/10.1093/cq/48.1.316>.

Keaveney and Madden examines the use of the *crimen maiestatis* (treason law) under Emperor Caligula, challenging the notion that he abolished it. They argue that Caligula initially pardoned some individuals charged with treason under Tiberius but later used the law himself. They categorise cases as possible, probable, or certain instances of *maiestas* charges during Caligula's reign. The study concludes that Caligula never abolished treason laws, but rather revived specific charges in 39 AD, possibly due to growing senatorial discontent.

Kelly, James, and Christie Shinn. "Caligula, imperatore insanum: An Interview". *thersites. Journal for Transcultural Presences & Diachronic Identities from Antiquity to Date* 8 (2018): 111–126. ISSN: 2364-7612. <https://doi.org/10.34679/thersites.vol8.98>.

Kelly challenges the traditional portrayal of Caligula as insane, instead presenting him as a complex figure shaped by trauma and autocratic power. He argues that Caligula's actions were rooted in psychological damage from witnessing family murders and inheriting vast power at a young age. Kelly's approach differs by emphasising the human and tragic elements of Caligula's story, supported by revisionist scholarship like Winterling's work. He utilises primary sources critically, recognising their biases, and incorporates secondary literature to provide context. Kelly states, "I wanted to tell the story not of the mad-Emperor Caligula, but the story of a little boy, who from the age of 8 watched his father, mother and his two brothers be killed by the intrigue of the imperial family."

Kleijwegt, Marc. "Caligula's 'Triumph' at Baiae". Publisher: Brill, *Mnemosyne* 47, no. 5 (1994): 652–671. ISSN: 0026-7074, Publisher: Brill. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4432433>.

Kleijwegt analyses Caligula's construction of a bridge across the Bay of Naples in 39 CE, arguing it was a carefully staged mock triumph rather than an act of madness. Kleijwegt contends Caligula used this spectacle to assert his authority and rebuild alliances with the military after tensions with the Senate. By examining details from ancient sources and comparing them to traditional triumphal practices, Kleijwegt suggests Caligula was manipulating religious and imperial symbolism to strengthen his position before departing for Germany. This interpretation challenges the common portrayal of Caligula as simply insane, instead depicting him as a shrewd political actor responding to threats to his rule.

— . "Caligula as Auctioneer". Publisher: Classical Association of South Africa, *Acta Classica* 39 (1996): 55–66. ISSN: 0065-1141, Publisher: Classical Association of South Africa. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24594577>.

Kleijwegt explicitly challenges the traditional narrative of Caligula's madness, arguing that his actions can be rationally explained through careful analysis. He notes that "certain acts of Caligula can be explained rationally without stretching the evidence too much" and criticises how ancient accounts typically attributed his behaviour to "madness or his lack of control." Rather than supporting claims of insanity, Kleijwegt presents Caligula as a clever manipulator of religious symbols and political theatre, particularly regarding the Baiae bridge incident. He argues this event demonstrated calculated political messaging rather than mental instability, suggesting Caligula was "perfectly aware" of using spectacle to maintain power.

Köster, Isabel K. "Flamingos and Perverted Sacrifices in Suetonius' Life of Caligula". Publisher: Brill, *Mnemosyne* 74, no. 2 (2020): 299–317. ISSN: 1568-525X, Publisher: Brill. <https://doi.org/10.1163/1568525X-12342729>.

Köster's article does not directly address Caligula's alleged madness, instead focusing on analysing the religious and sacrificial aspects of his reign through Suetonius' narrative. She examines how Suetonius portrays Caligula's religious improprieties, particularly through "perverted sacrifices" involving exotic birds, as evidence of his impious behaviour rather than madness. As Köster notes, these sacrifices form "part of Suetonius' strategy of depicting Caligula's religious activities as an aberration." Her methodology centres on contextualising these sacrificial practices within broader Roman religious traditions, demonstrating how they deviated from accepted norms.

Kraeling, Carl H. "The Episode of the Roman Standards at Jerusalem". *Harvard Theological Review* 35, no. 4 (Oct. 1942): 263–289. ISSN: 1475-4517, 0017-8160. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816000029709>.

Kraeling analyses the event from both Roman military and Jewish religious perspectives, suggesting it occurred in 26 CE. Kraeling argues that the introduction of iconic standards into the Antonia fortress was seen by Jews as a threat to Yahweh's supremacy on the Temple Mount. He speculates on potential connections between this incident and the eschatological tensions in early Christianity, including John the Baptist's preaching and Jesus' final days in Jerusalem.

L

Laes, Christian. "Mental and Intellectual Disabilities: Sane or Insane?" In *Disabilities and the Disabled in the Roman World: A Social and Cultural History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018. ISBN: 978-1-107-16290-7. <https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/disabilities-and-the-disabled-in-the-roman-world/62269BEF65221B22349CBAE76677CB85>.

Laes notes that ancient sources like Suetonius portrayed Caligula as a "monster", but suggests these accounts may be exaggerated or follow literary conventions for depicting "bad" emperors. He critiques modern attempts to retroactively diagnose Caligula with specific mental illnesses based on ancient accounts. Instead, Laes suggests Caligula's behaviour may have been influenced by factors like childhood trauma and his precarious position under Tiberius.

Langlands, Rebecca. "Imperial narratives, imperial interventions". In *Sexual Morality in Ancient Rome*. Cambridge, UNITED KINGDOM: Cambridge University Press, 2006. ISBN: 978-0-511-21938-2. <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/mqu/detail.action?docID=261141>.

Langlands examines how imperial writers like Tacitus and Suetonius portrayed sexual morality and political manipulation in early imperial Rome. While not focusing specifically on Caligula, Langlands provides context for understanding how emperors were depicted as using sexual morality as a means of control. She analyses how traditional stories about sexual virtue were reworked to highlight moral decline under imperial rule.

Lefebvre, Laurie. *Le mythe Néron*. Specifically looked at pages 211-219, comparing Caligula and Nero. Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 2017. ISBN: 978-2-7574-1729-4, Specifically looked at pages 211-219, comparing Caligula and Nero. <https://library.oapen.org/handle/20.500.12657/24917>.

Interestingly, Lefebvre does not directly address Caligula's alleged madness at all in this excerpt. Instead, she takes a comparative analytical approach, examining how ancient sources constructed parallel narratives between Caligula and Nero's behaviours and vices. The methodology focuses on literary and historiographical analysis rather than psychological assessment. Lefebvre argues that Caligula's portrayal was largely shaped retrospectively alongside Nero's, suggesting that "Caligula even benefitted from the sinister celebrity of Nero." This approach challenges traditional readings focused on madness by examining how ancient authors deliberately constructed these parallel tyrannical narratives.

Leisegang, Hans. "Philons Schrift Über Die Gesandtschaft Der Alexandrinschen Juden An Den Kaiser Gaius Caligula". Publisher: Society of Biblical Literature, *Journal of Biblical Literature* 57, no. 4 (1938): 377-405. ISSN: 0021-9231, Publisher: Society of Biblical Literature. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3259769>.

Leisegang examines Philo's account of the Jewish embassy to Emperor Gaius Caligula, analysing its structure and philosophical underpinnings. The text reveals that rather than being a simple embassy report, it's a sophisticated philosophical-religious treatise examining how Caligula's megalomania and demand for divine worship challenged Jewish monotheism. Leisegang argues that the work's subtitle "On Virtues" is deliberately ironic, contrasting Jewish religious virtue with Caligula's vices. The analysis suggests Philo wrote this account during Claudius's reign, providing a retrospective view that frames Jewish suffering under Caligula as a divine test of their religious conviction rather than punishment.

Levick, Barbara Mary. "Review of Caligula. Eine Biographie". In collab. with Aloys Winterling. Publisher: Verlag C.H.Beck, *Gnomon* 78, no. 3 (2006): 271–273. ISSN: 0017-1417, Publisher: Verlag C.H.Beck. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27693818>.

Levick does not take a definitive stance on whether Caligula was mad, but suggests that the question of his madness may be less important than the impact of his actions. She notes that the charge of insanity was not present in near-contemporary Roman sources, appearing later in Philo and Josephus, with Suetonius introducing the idea of madness caused by a love potion. Levick views Caligula's behaviour as destructive and irrational, regardless of clinical definitions of insanity, focusing more on the practical effects of his rule and how his image was constructed by later historians.

Levy, Brooks Emmons. "Caligula's Radiate Crown". *Schweizer Münzblätter, Gazette Numismatique Suisse*, no. 38 (Nov. 1988): 101–107. <https://www.e-periodica.ch/digbib/view?pid=smb-001%3A1988%3A38%3A%3A8#194>.

Levy's article "Caligula's Radiate Crown" does not directly address Caligula's alleged madness, instead employing a strictly numismatic methodology to analyse coin imagery. The work focuses on technical and symbolic aspects of Caligula's coinage, particularly examining "the radiate crown Gaius wears on the reverse of the CONSENSV dupondii." Rather than supporting claims of madness, Levy's research suggests a calculated use of imperial imagery, noting that the radiate crown represented "divine sanction for his rule" and was part of carefully constructed political messaging. This archaeological approach differs markedly from historical analyses focused on Caligula's mental state.

Lindsay, Hugh. *Commentary on Suetonius' 'Life of Caligula'*. Electronic Reproduction, 2010. P. 101-157. London: Bristol Classical Press, 1993. ISBN: 1-85399-375-1, p. 101-157.

Lindsay's commentary does not explicitly address Caligula's insanity, instead focusing on analysing specific behaviours and actions mentioned by Suetonius through a lens of tyrannical characteristics rather than mental illness. His approach differs from others by examining Caligula's actions as calculated political moves rather than symptoms of madness. Lindsay supports this through analysis of Caligula's "perverse nature" and "unpredictable behaviour," noting that "Suetonius associates sudden and unpredictable behaviour with Caligula's personality." The methodology relies heavily on analysing Suetonius' work, while maintaining scholarly scepticism about sensationalised accounts. The commentary ultimately neither definitively supports nor refutes claims of Caligula's madness.

Liverani, Paolo. "Caligula: Notes and a Hypothesis about the Ancient Context". In *New Studies on the Portrait of Caligula in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts*, 26:44–49. *Monumenta Graeca et Romana*. Brill, June 4, 2020. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004417366_006.

Liverani does not address Caligula's alleged madness at all. Instead, it focuses entirely on archaeological findings and topographical evidence concerning a statue of Caligula discovered at Bovillae in 1825. The article analyses the excavation history and architectural context, particularly examining "the Richmond Caligula" statue's discovery alongside fasti (priestly records) of the Sodales Augustales Claudiales. Liverani's primary argument centres on the statue's location near the circus, suggesting its connection to the Julio-Claudian imperial cult: "The connection of the circus of Bovillae with the Julio-Claudian dynasty is also attested by the games that took place in the circus in honour of the imperial family in 63 CE."

Lucas, Joseph. "Un Empereur Psychopathe: Contribution À La Psychologie Du Caligula De Suétone". Publisher: L'Antiquité Classique, *L'Antiquité Classique* 36, no. 1 (1967): 159–189. ISSN: 0770-2817, Publisher: L'Antiquité Classique. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41673470>.

Lucas argues that Caligula was not truly mad or epileptic during his reign, but rather exhibited psychopathic personality traits. Lucas contends that Caligula likely suffered from pycnolepsy (a form of epilepsy) as a child, which evolved into cataplexia as an adult, not full epileptic seizures. He analyses Caligula's behaviour through both psychoanalytic and psychiatric frameworks, arguing he displayed traits of Geltungssucht (need for attention/recognition), fanatical querulousness, and explosive personality. While Caligula showed some schizoid tendencies, Lucas argues he was not fully schizophrenic, but rather moving in that direction by the end of his life. Lucas concludes that Caligula's psychopathic traits stemmed from both biological predisposition and environmental factors in his upbringing.

Lugand, René. "Suétone et Caligula". Publisher: Persée - Portail des revues scientifiques en SHS, *Revue des Études Anciennes* 32, no. 1 (1930): 9–13. Publisher: Persée - Portail des revues scientifiques en SHS. <https://doi.org/10.3406/rea.1930.2558>.

Lugand notably avoids any direct discussion of Caligula's madness, instead offering a methodological critique of Suetonius's biographical approach. He argues that Suetonius's account is "more pamphlet than history," suggesting that seemingly irrational actions had religious and cultural contexts that Suetonius deliberately overlooked. For instance, Lugand contextualises the Incitatus episode within Persian and Roman religious traditions, and frames the human sacrifices as religious devotion rather than madness. His methodology focuses on analysing cultural and religious frameworks rather than psychological state, demonstrating how Suetonius's anecdotal style ("a deliberately disjointed and anecdotal account") deliberately mischaracterises Caligula's actions.

Lütgemeier-Davin, Reinhold. "Review of Caligula: Wilhelm II. und der Cäsarenwahnsinn. Antikenrezeption und wilhelminische Politik am Beispiel des "Caligula" von Ludwig Quidde". In collab. with Karl Holl, Hans Kloft, and Gerd Fesser. Publisher: Oldenbourg Wissenschaftsverlag GmbH, *Historische Zeitschrift* 275, no. 2 (2002): 507–508. ISSN: 0018-2613, Publisher: Oldenbourg Wissenschaftsverlag GmbH. <https://www.jstor.org/simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/stable/27634848>.

Leisegang analyses Philo's work "On the Embassy to Gaius," arguing it is not merely a report on the Jewish embassy to Caligula, but a philosophical-religious treatise with deeper meaning. Leisegang contends the subtitle "On Virtues" is ironic, referring to the Jewish people's virtues in resisting Caligula's demand for divine worship. He suggests the lost second part contained a "palinode" praising Caligula as an instrument of God's plan to test and demonstrate Jewish virtue. The article examines various scholarly interpretations of the work's title and structure, proposing it was written under Claudius as a retrospective on events under Caligula, with an eschatological perspective on the future of the Jewish people.

M

Malloch, S. J. V. "Gaius on the Channel Coast". *The Classical Quarterly* 51, no. 2 (2001): 551–556. ISSN: 0009-8388. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3556530>.

Malloch offers a reinterpretation of Caligula's actions on the Channel coast in 40 CE, arguing that they were calculated propaganda moves rather than signs of insanity. He contends that these actions were deliberate attempts to bolster Caligula's military reputation and prepare for a triumph, rather than irrational behaviour. Malloch critiques sources for constructing narratives that emphasise Caligula's apparent madness while downplaying more rational explanations for his conduct.

— . "Gaius' Bridge at Baiae and Alexander-Imitatio". *The Classical Quarterly* 51, no. 1 (2001): 206–217. ISSN: 0009-8388. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3556343>.

Malloch's article implicitly argues against the view of Caligula as mad, by providing rational explanations for his seemingly extravagant or bizarre behaviour. Malloch provides an alternative interpretation of one of Caligula's most infamous acts - the bridging of the Bay of Baiae - as a deliberate imitation of Alexander the Great for political and propaganda purposes.

Massaro, Vin, and Iain Montgomery. "Gaius — Mad, Bad, III, or all Three ?" *Latomus* 37, no. 4 (1978): 894–909. ISSN: 0023-8856. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41531093>.

Massaro and Montgomery examine possible medical and psychological explanations for Emperor Caligula's behaviour, challenging both ancient and modern interpretations. They critically evaluate theories of alcoholism, hyperthyroidism, and psychopathy, finding them inadequate. They propose anxiety and mania as more plausible explanations, citing Caligula's tumultuous childhood, frequent separations, and contradictory expectations from family members as contributing factors. The paper emphasises the difficulty of retrospective diagnosis and the possibility of multiple concurrent conditions. While not definitively diagnosing Caligula, Massaro and Montgomery provide a nuanced perspective on his mental state, considering both historical context and modern psychiatric understanding.

— . "Gaius (Caligula) Doth Murder Sleep". *Latomus* 38, no. 3 (1979): 699–700. ISSN: 0023-8856. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41531264>.

Massaro and Montgomery argue against Katz's hypothesis that Caligula suffered from hyperthyroidism. Instead, they suggest that Caligula's reported sleep disturbances are more consistent with an anxiety state or mania. They base this conclusion on an analysis of Suetonius' description of Caligula's sleep patterns, which they find incompatible with the increased slow wave sleep typically observed in thyrotoxic patients.

Mattingly, H. "The Emperor Gaius - J. P. V. D. Balsdon : The Emperor Gaius (Caligula). Pp. xix + 243. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1934. Cloth, 10s." *The Classical Review* 49, no. 4 (Sept. 1935): 146–147. ISSN: 1464-3561, 0009-840X. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0009840X0006813X>.

H. Mattingly, in reviewing Balsdon's work on Caligula, maintains a skeptical view of attempts to fully rehabilitate the emperor's image. He specifically points to Caligula's claims of divinity as evidence of mental instability. Mattingly concludes that many readers will hold a belief in the emperor's progressive mental deterioration.

McGinn, Thomas A. J. "Caligula's brothel on the Palatine". *Echos du Monde Classique/Classical Views* 42, no. 1 (1998): 95–107. ISSN: 0012-9356. <https://dai.mun.ca/pdfs/classjour/ClassicalViewsvol42no011998.pdf>.

McGinn analyses Caligula's alleged madness through a nuanced lens, avoiding direct claims of insanity. Instead, he examines Caligula's brothel initiative through financial, political, and personal motivations rather than mental illness. The article suggests there is "a kernel of truth to this strange tale," and that Caligula's actions were calculated rather than mad. McGinn supports this by analysing how "profit was Caligula's chief motive for installing the brothel," alongside political aims to humiliate the elite and personal entertainment. His methodology combines critical analysis of primary sources with comparative historical examples, ultimately challenging the traditional narrative of Caligula's madness.

Menon, Maya. "'De Monstris': The Madness of Isolation in Suetonius' 'Caligula' and 'Nero'". Honors Thesis, University of Kentucky, 2020.

Menon argues that Suetonius depicts both emperors as isolated from reality due to poor education, dysfunctional relationships, and obsession with Hellenistic ideals of kingship. Their madness is shown through erratic behaviour, cruelty, and delusions of divinity. Menon contends Suetonius crafted these biographies to highlight how the imperial system could produce unstable rulers, contrasting Caligula and Nero's reigns with Augustus' model principate.

— . "'De Monstris': The Madness of Isolation in Suetonius' 'Caligula' and 'Nero'". *Lewis Honors College Capstone Collection* 50 (2020): 1–25. <https://uknowledge.uky.edu/honprog/50>.

Menon argues that Suetonius presents Caligula as isolated and mentally unstable due to his deficient education, dysfunctional relationships, and the pressures of imperial power. Suetonius depicts Caligula's increasing detachment from reality through his interactions with government, attempts at deification, and antisocial behaviours. Menon contends that this portrayal serves to illustrate the dangers of unchecked imperial authority in the Roman system.

Momigliano, Arnaldo. "La Personalità Di Caligola". Publisher: Scuola Normale Superiore, *Annali della R. Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Lettere, Storia e Filosofia* 1, no. 3 (1932): 205–228. ISSN: 0393-8573, Publisher: Scuola Normale Superiore. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24298310>.

Momigliano argues that Caligula was not mad, but rather an inexperienced and premature monarch who attempted to establish an oriental-style absolute monarchy too quickly and clumsily. He rejects the traditional view of Caligula as insane, seeing him instead as politically inexperienced but with a coherent (if misguided) vision. Momigliano interprets Caligula's actions as attempts to centralise power, weaken the Senate, court eastern-style absolutism, and assert his own divinity. He critiques ancient sources as exaggerating Caligula's eccentricities and interpreting political moves as signs of insanity. Overall, Momigliano presents Caligula not as mad, but as an unskilled political actor.

Moore, Michael Edward. "Caligula: A Biography". *The European Legacy* 19, no. 3 (Apr. 16, 2014): 400–403. ISSN: 1084-8770. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10848770.2014.898953>.

Moore summarises Winterling's argument that Caligula's seemingly insane actions were actually calculated moves to assert absolute power and humiliate the aristocracy. However, Moore some skepticism about this interpretation, noting that Caligula's actions can be rationalised and may still indicate mental instability.

Morgan, M. Gwyn. "Caligula's Illness Again". *The Classical World* 66, no. 6 (1973): 327–329. ISSN: 0009-8418. <https://doi.org/10.2307/4347839>.

Morgan argues decisively against Katz's notion that Caligula was mad or experienced a mental breakdown. He contends that Caligula's illness in 37 CE was purely physical, with no impact on his mental state or behaviour. He argues that claims of a change in Caligula's behaviour after 37 CE were due to shattered illusions rather than actual changes. While acknowledging that Caligula may have been unstable even before becoming emperor, Morgan asserts that this was not caused by his illness and that determining Caligula's madness requires further investigation.

— . "Once Again Caligula's Illness". *The Classical World* 70, no. 7 (1977): 452–453. ISSN: 0009-8418. <https://doi.org/10.2307/4348716>.

Morgan argues against the notion that Caligula was mentally ill or mad. He specifically refutes Katz's hypothesis that Caligula suffered from hyperthyroidism, which had been proposed as an explanation for his alleged erratic behaviour. Morgan contends that the physical and behavioural traits often cited as evidence of Caligula's madness or illness are either unreliable or can be explained by other factors. He suggests that Caligula's illness in 37 CE was likely a serious but purely physical ailment, unrelated to any mental disorder.

Moss, Gerald C. "The Mentality and Personality of the Julio-Claudian Emperors". *Medical History* 7, no. 2 (Apr. 1963): 165–175. ISSN: 2048-8343, 0025-7273. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0025727300028192>.

Moss suggests that Caligula's behaviour was likely influenced by both inherent tendencies and the pressures of being emperor, rather than solely due to madness. While acknowledging some manic-like behaviours, Moss is hesitant to definitively diagnose Caligula as insane. He cites Balsdon's view that Caligula's conduct was more a product of his environment and the excesses of his time.

N

Nony, Daniel. "Review of Suetonius' Life of Caligula. A Commentary. (Collection Latomus, 225)". In collab. with D. Wardle. Publisher: *L'Antiquité Classique*, *L'Antiquité Classique* 67 (1998): 489–490. ISSN: 0770-2817, Publisher: *L'Antiquité Classique*. <https://www.jstor.org/simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/stable/41659919>.

Wardle's commentary on Suetonius' Life of Caligula highlights the cautious approach needed when using ancient sources to understand Caligula's reign and character. While not directly addressing Caligula's mental state, it emphasises the importance of critically examining Suetonius' writing style and use of sources. Nony notes that modern scholars, including Wardle, tend to view Caligula unsympathetically, which may influence interpretations of his behaviour. This work represents a valuable modern resource for studying Caligula, but also underscores the challenges in separating historical fact from biased ancient accounts when assessing the emperor's mental condition.

Ø

Østergaard, Jan Stubbe. “Reflections on the Typology and Context of the Richmond Caligula”. In *New Studies on the Portrait of Caligula in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts*, vol. 26. Monumenta Graeca et Romana. Brill, June 4, 2020. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004417366_007.

Østergaard’s archaeological approach notably diverges from traditional narratives of Caligula’s madness, as the text does not address the emperor’s mental state at all. Instead, he focuses on analysing the Richmond Caligula statue’s typological and contextual evidence, particularly its placement within the *Sodales Augustales*. The statue’s presentation as a “*civilis princeps*” emphasises Caligula’s role as an engaged political figure, with Østergaard noting that it was “designed to show the emperor as *civilis princeps*, with associations of *civilitas*.” This archaeological and art historical methodology provides no support for claims about Caligula’s alleged madness, focusing instead on the statue’s cultural and political significance.

P

Pagán, Victoria Emma, and Mark Fenster. "Suetonius and Suspicion". In *Conspiracy Theory in Latin Literature*. Austin, UNITED STATES: University of Texas Press, 2012. ISBN: 978-0-292-73973-4. <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/mqu/detail.action?docID=3443621>.

Pagán does not explicitly argue that Caligula was mad, but she presents examples from Suetonius' biography that portray Caligula's behaviour as irrational, paranoid and cruel. She highlights examples such as Caligula having his adopted brother Tiberius Gemellus murdered based on the mistaken suspicion that he was taking an antidote against poison, when he was actually taking cough medicine. Pagán states that Caligula had "a tendency to jump to conclusions and misread cues" and was "unable to process information rationally."

Peakman, Julie. "The Ties that Bind: Sodomasochism". In *The Pleasure's All Mine: A History of Perverse Sex*. London, UNITED KINGDOM: Reaktion Books, Limited, 2013. ISBN: 978-1-78023-203-4. <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/mqu/detail.action?docID=1418435>.

Peakman notes Caligula as an example of Roman cruelty and sadism. While not directly addressing Caligula's 'madness', Peakman presents him as a despotic emperor who took pleasure in causing pain to others. This characterisation aligns with historical portrayals of Caligula's cruel behaviour, which could be interpreted as a sign of mental instability. However, she does not explicitly link this behaviour to madness, instead framing it within the broader context of Roman society's brutality.

Penella, Robert J. "The Fathers of the Emperors Caligula and Claudius in Suetonius' Lives of the Caesars". *Phoenix* 72, no. 1 (2018): 161–165. ISSN: 1929-4883. <https://doi.org/10.1353/phx.2018.0032>.

Penella argues that Suetonius' unusually lengthy and prominent treatment of these fathers invites readers to compare them favorably with their imperial sons. This contrast highlights the virtues of Germanicus and Drusus while emphasising the flaws of Caligula and Claudius. The article suggests this approach may have prompted contemporary readers to consider counterfactual scenarios and reflect on the unpredictable nature of hereditary succession, particularly relevant in the early 2nd century CE political context.

Picozzi, Maria Grazia. "Discovery and Modern History of the Richmond Caligula". In *New Studies on the Portrait of Caligula in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts*, vol. 26. Monumenta Graeca et Romana. Brill, June 4, 2020. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004417366_005.

Picozzi's text does not directly address Caligula's alleged madness or sanity, as it focuses primarily on the archaeological and provenance history of the Richmond Caligula statue. The chapter takes a methodological approach centred on archival research, particularly examining documents from the Colonna Archives, including letters and payment records. The text analyses the statue's discovery at Bovillae in 1825, its subsequent restoration in 1843, and its journey through various collections. This is evidenced by Picozzi's quote: "The letters are dated 10 and 19 May 1825 and were sent from Marino by Francesco Pipini," and documents the statue's physical characteristics rather than any psychological analysis of Caligula himself.

Pollini, John. "The Image of Caligula: Myth and Reality". In *New Studies on the Portrait of Caligula in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts*, 26:70–90. Monumenta Graeca et

Romana. Brill, June 4, 2020. ISBN: 978-90-04-41736-6. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004417366_009.

Pollini explicitly challenges the traditional narrative of Caligula's madness, arguing it is "nothing more than entertaining and titillating, having little to do...with the historical reality of his mental stability." He differs from conventional approaches by analysing both archaeological and literary evidence, particularly emphasising how physiognomic theories influenced negative portrayals. Pollini characterises Caligula as having a "fickle nature" rather than insanity, attributing his behaviour to "serious character flaws" and lack of preparation for power. His methodology combines analysis of portraiture, numismatic evidence, and critical examination of ancient literary sources to construct a more nuanced understanding of Caligula's character and reign.

Q

Quidde, Ludwig. *Caligula: eine Studie über römischen Cäsarenwahnsinn*. 16. Auflage. ISSN: 6882-5684. Leipzig: Friedrich, 1894. ISSN: 6882-5684.

Quidde portrays Caligula as severely mentally ill, suffering from what he terms "Caesar madness." He argues that Caligula exhibited clear symptoms of megalomania, cruelty, and delusions of divinity. Quidde emphasises that Caligula's contemporaries considered him genuinely mentally ill, and he traces the progression of Caligula's madness from early signs of instability to full-blown insanity. He highlights Caligula's excessive brutality, sexual depravity, and grandiose behaviour as evidence of his mental deterioration. Quidde sees Caligula's demand for divine worship not as political calculation, but as a manifestation of genuine delusion.

— . "Der Caligula". *Die Friedens-Warte* 38, no. 2 (1938): 82–86. ISSN: 0340-0255. <https://www.jstor.org/simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/stable/23799430>.

Quidde recounts the publication history of his controversial 1894 pamphlet "Caligula," which drew parallels between the Roman emperor and Kaiser Wilhelm II. While not explicitly about Caligula's mental state, it provides context for how a modern historian interpreted and used ancient accounts of Caligula's behaviour to critique contemporary leadership. Quidde notes the pamphlet cited Latin sources like Suetonius and highlighted similarities in personality and actions between Caligula and Wilhelm II, suggesting he saw the ancient accounts of Caligula's madness as applicable to analysing modern rulers. This demonstrates how 20th century historians reinterpreted ancient portrayals of Caligula's mental state for contemporary political commentary.

R

Rank, Scott. *History's 9 Most Insane Rulers*. United States of America: Regency Publishing, 2020. ISBN: 1-68451-006-6. <https://www.booktopia.com.au/history-s-9-most-insane-rulers-scott-rank/book/9781684510061.html>.

Rank argues that Caligula was a mad emperor whose reign started well and ended with barbarity. He highlights that Caligula's illness in AD 37 made him "a completely different man." Rank cites Caligula's vanity, self-deification, grandeur and accusations of incest with his sisters as evidence of the emperor's madness.

Ronning, Christian. "Zwischen ratio und Wahn. Caligula, Claudius und Nero in der altertumswissenschaftlichen Forschung". In *Zwischen ratio und Wahn. Caligula, Claudius und Nero in der altertumswissenschaftlichen Forschung*, 253–276. De Gruyter Oldenbourg, July 11, 2016. ISBN: 978-3-11-044666-1. <https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/9783110446661-012/html>.

Ronning argues this reflects broader historiographical trends, including moves toward social and cultural history. He suggests biography remains a problematic genre for understanding the principate, as it imposes artificial coherence on complex historical phenomena. Ronning demonstrates how interpretations of these controversial emperors have evolved alongside changing historical methodologies and theoretical frameworks.

Rudich, Vasily. "On the Reputation of Little-Boots". In *New Studies on the Portrait of Caligula in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts*, 26:91–99. Monumenta Graeca et Romana. Brill, June 4, 2020. ISBN: 978-90-04-41736-6. https://doi-org.simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/10.1163/9789004417366_010.

Rudich's analysis of Caligula's alleged madness diverges significantly from traditional approaches by focusing on political and moral assessments rather than clinical diagnoses. While acknowledging discussions of Caligula's mental state, Rudich argues that "the debate on whether Caligula was clinically insane...is ultimately irrelevant." He employs a methodological approach prioritising contemporary sources like Seneca and Philo over later anecdotal accounts. Rudich challenges modern revisionist scholarship that attempts to rehabilitate Caligula's reputation, noting that "violence begets violence." His analysis suggests that Caligula's behaviour reflected political ineptitude and moral failings rather than clinical insanity, supported by contemporary accounts of his "furiosa inconstantia" (furious instability).

S

Scherberich, Klaus. "Sueton Und Josephus Über Die Ermordung Des Caligula". *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 142, no. 1 (1999): 74–83. ISSN: 0035-449X. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41234361>.

Scherberich compares the accounts of Caligula's assassination given by Suetonius and Josephus. Through detailed textual analysis, he argues that the significant differences between their versions, especially regarding the actual murder scene, indicate they did not rely on a common source as previously assumed. Scherberich examines discrepancies in timing, locations, key figures involved, and sequence of events. While acknowledging some similarities, he concludes the divergences are too substantial to be explained by differing authorial approaches alone. This challenges the long-held view of a shared source and has implications for how historians should approach these accounts of Caligula's death.

Schwartz, J. "Préfets d'Égypte sous Tibère et Caligula". *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 48 (1982): 189–192. ISSN: 0084-5388. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20183651>.

Schwartz critically evaluates ancient sources, particularly Dio Cassius, against papyrological evidence to reconstruct a more accurate timeline of prefects. This meticulous approach demonstrates how modern historical methods can refine our understanding of the early imperial period, including Caligula's reign. However, the article does not offer specific insights into Caligula's behaviour or perceived mental illness.

Scullard, H. H. "Tiberius and Gaius". In *From the Gracchi to Nero: A History of Rome 133 BC to AD 68*. London, UNITED KINGDOM: Routledge, 1982. ISBN: 978-1-136-78387-6. <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/mqu/detail.action?docID=1195814>.

Scullard presents Caligula as initially sane but later becoming mentally unstable and tyrannical, possibly due to illness. Scullard notes that without modern clinical evidence, it's difficult to make a definitive judgment about his mental state. However, they provide examples of Caligula's erratic behaviour, such as his self-deification and poor foreign policy decisions, which support the idea of his mental instability. .

Sidwell, Barbara. "Gaius Caligula's Mental Illness". *The Classical World* 103, no. 2 (2010): 183–206. ISSN: 0009-8418. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40599927>.

Sidwell extensively analyses the question of Caligula's alleged madness, arguing that diagnosing mental illness in historical figures is problematic and speculative. She challenges traditional approaches that label Caligula as simply "mad," noting that "any easy resort to the 'mad' emperor solution simply ignores the more complex historiographical issues." The article examines various theories about Caligula's behaviour, from epilepsy to psychopathy, but concludes that without proper clinical assessment, no definitive diagnosis is possible. Sidwell suggests examining Caligula's actions through other lenses, viewing him as "an out-of-control autocrat, rather than a madman acting through delusions."

Simpson, C. J. "The Cult of the Emperor Gaius". *Latomus* 40, no. 3 (1981): 489–511. ISSN: 0023-8856. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41532141>.

Simpson does not take a definitive stance on whether Caligula was actually mad. Simpson argues that the charge of impiety against Caligula was likely based not on him identifying himself with Jupiter, but on his rivalry with Jupiter. He suggests the ancient sources are uniformly

hostile to Caligula and may have exaggerated or misrepresented his actions. He argues there was likely only one temple associated with Caligula's cult in Rome, not two as some scholars have interpreted, and suggests Caligula may have followed Augustan precedent in establishing a cult to his numen (divine power/authority), rather than to himself as a god.

Simpson, Christopher. "Caligula's Cuit: Imitatio Augusti". *Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 75, no. 1 (1997): 107–112. <https://doi.org/10.3406/rbph.1997.4165>.

Simpson's article notably diverges from traditional narratives of Caligula's madness, instead analysing his religious and political behaviours as deliberate imitations of Augustus. Rather than viewing Caligula's divine pretensions as symptoms of insanity, Simpson argues they were calculated political moves, suggesting that "Caligula can be clearly seen to have imitated Augustan excess." The methodology employed involves comparative historical analysis, examining parallel behaviours between Augustus and Caligula, particularly regarding religious cult practices. Simpson suggests that Caligula's actions were not manifestations of madness but rather a conscious "imitatio Augusti," supported by evidence of similar divine pretensions in both rulers' reigns.

Southon, Emma. "Caligula and Drusilla in the Modern Imagination". In *The Reception of Ancient Virtues and Vices in Modern Popular Culture*, 11:187–205. Metaform. Brill, 2017. ISBN: 978-90-04-34772-4. https://doi-org.simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/10.1163/9789004347724_009.

Southon examines how Caligula's alleged madness has been portrayed differently across various media adaptations. Rather than definitively claiming Caligula was mad, Southon analyses how his "madness" has been reinterpreted through changing cultural lenses. She notes how portrayals evolved from Graves's "pure, unadulterated monster" to more nuanced characterisations exploring trauma and mental illness. As evidenced when she writes, "Each approaches Caligula's incest differently, and thus each presents the viewer with a different relationship with Rome and Roman morality." Southon's methodology involves comparative analysis of media adaptations to demonstrate how interpretations reflect contemporary cultural values rather than historical accuracy.

Stone, Michael H. "Serial Sexual Homicide: Biological, Psychological, and Sociological Aspects". *Journal of Personality Disorders* 15, no. 1 (Feb. 2001): 1–18. ISSN: 0885-579X. <https://doi.org/10.1521/pedi.15.1.1.18646>.

Stone mentions Caligula as an example of a historical figure who engaged in serial sexual homicide, but does not explicitly discuss his madness. He portrays Caligula's actions as a result of his absolute power rather than mental illness. Stone contrasts Caligula's behaviour with modern serial killers, suggesting that for Caligula, these acts were a "pastime" rather than a primary focus.

Sumrall, James Nicholas. "Divine or Demonic? A Social Approach to Epilepsy from Greco-Roman Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages". Honours, University of Mississippi, 2021.

Sumrall examines how epilepsy was perceived and interpreted in Roman society, with particular focus on its association with prominent figures like Caligula. He suggests that while epilepsy carried significant stigma for common citizens, elite Romans like Caligula may have exploited their condition to enhance claims of divine favour and authority. Sumrall analyses how Caligula's documented epilepsy potentially influenced both his erratic behaviour and his careful cultivation

of divine status, including his identification with Jupiter and claims of communing with the moon goddess.

T

Taylor, N.H. “Popular Opposition To Caligula in Jewish Palestine”. *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 32, no. 1 (2001): 54–70. ISSN: 0047-2212, 1570-0631. <https://doi.org/10.1163/157006301X00061>.

Taylor identifies two distinct protest movements: one in Judaea led by prophetic figures from Jerusalem, possibly priests and scribes, and another in Galilee characterised by agricultural abandonment and petitioning. Both movements were likely inspired by prophetic leadership and eschatological expectations. Taylor argues that effective opposition came from these popular movements rather than the priestly aristocracy or Herodian elite.

Tibballs, Geoff. “Mad, Bad and Dangerous to Know”. In *Royalty’s Strangest Characters: Extraordinary But True Tales of 2000 years of mad monarchs and raving rulers*, 5–12. Strangest. New York: Pavilion Books Company Limited, 2014. ISBN: 978-1-84994-180-8.

Tibballs argues that Caligula was unquestionably mad. He argues that Caligula’s cruelty, self-deification and incest with his sister serve as evidence of his madness. Tibballs notes that Caligula was epileptic and suggests that Caligula’s madness may have been worsened by an episode of encephalitis in AD 37. He also points out Caligula’s love of torture and sexual exploits as examples of the emperor’s erratic behaviour.

U

Unknown. "Präcisirung der Zeit für die, die Judäer betreffenden Vorgänge unter dem Kaiser Caligula (Schluss)". *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 26 (N. F. 9), no. 4 (1877): 145–156. ISSN: 2193-9136. <https://www.jstor.org/simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/stable/44655329>.

This article critically examines and compares accounts by Philo and Josephus, arguing that Philo's timeline is less reliable. The author proposes a revised chronology, placing key events in late 40 CE rather than earlier dates suggested by some scholars. They critique other historians' interpretations and emphasise the importance of precise dating for understanding this period. While focused on chronology, the article provides insight into how modern historical approaches have refined our understanding of this controversial episode during Caligula's reign.

V

Van Nispen, Henri. “Zwarte inkt: de karaktermoord op Gaius Caligula”. *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 134, no. 2 (Aug. 1, 2021): 201–215. ISSN: 0040-7518, 2352-1163. <https://doi.org/10.5117/TVG2021.2.003.NISP>.

Van Nispen analyses how ancient writers conducted character assassination against the Roman emperor Caligula. It identifies three main groups of attackers: contemporaries like Seneca, Jewish writers like Philo, and later Roman historians like Suetonius. Each group had different motives and used various literary techniques to portray Caligula negatively. Van Nispen argues that these attacks were politically motivated and aimed at the Roman elite. Over time, more extreme accusations like incest were added. The article demonstrates how ancient historiography served as an effective medium for character assassination, shaping Caligula’s enduring negative image.

Varner, Eric R. “Beyond Damnatio Memoriae: Memory Sanctions, Caligula’s Portraits and the Richmond Togatus”. In *New Studies on the Portrait of Caligula in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts*, 26:55–69. Monumenta Graeca et Romana. Brill, June 4, 2020. ISBN: 978-90-04-41736-6. https://doi-org.simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/10.1163/9789004417366_008.

Varner’s text does not directly address Caligula’s alleged madness, instead focusing on the archaeological and art historical evidence of his memory sanctions. Varner takes a markedly different approach from traditional narratives of Caligula’s mental state, analysing material culture rather than psychological assessments. He emphasises the “highly ambivalent attitudes towards his legacy,” and notes that Claudius “actually refused to permit formal sanctions against his nephew’s memory.” The text provides no explicit support for claims of Caligula’s madness, instead offering a “more balanced historical picture of the emperor that is not strictly black and white.”

W

- Wardle, David. "When did Caligula die?" *Acta Classica* 34 (1991): 158–165. ISSN: 0065-1141. <https://www.proquest.com/docview/1298196549/citation/D723CDA3FA55429APQ/1>.

Wardle examines the date of Caligula's assassination, analysing various ancient sources. While Suetonius gives January 24, 41 CE, Dio Cassius' account suggests January 23. Wardle reconciles these by examining Dio's inconsistent dating methods. He also analyses Josephus' account of the Ludi Palatini festival, during which Caligula was killed. Wardle argues for accepting January 24 as the most likely date, harmonising the sources. The article does not directly address Caligula's mental state, but provides important context for understanding the end of his reign and how ancient sources reported it.

- . "Caligula and the Client Kings". *The Classical Quarterly* 42, no. 2 (1992): 437–443. ISSN: 1471-6844, 0009-8388. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0009838800016050>.

Wardle does not directly address Caligula's alleged madness or insanity. Instead, it provides a detailed legal and administrative analysis of Caligula's relationships with client kings, particularly focusing on the rescission of his acta after death and its implications for client kingdoms. Wardle analyses specific cases like Antiochus of Commagene and Mithradates of Armenia, examining their depositions through a political and strategic lens rather than attributing them to madness. As he notes, "If it is appropriate to look for rationality in Caligula's actions, and not to dismiss his treatment of Antiochus as mere caprice, the context of relations with Parthia would seem relevant." This methodological approach emphasises political and legal analysis over psychological interpretation.

- . "Review of An Historical and Historiographical Commentary on Suetonius' Life of C. Caligula". In collab. with D. W. Hurley. *The Classical Review* 45, no. 1 (1995): 171–172. ISSN: 0009-840X. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/710423>.

Hurley's commentary on Suetonius' Life of Caligula highlights the ongoing debate about the emperor's portrayal in ancient sources. While praising Hurley's elucidation of Suetonius' text, Wardle notes a lack of historiographical analysis. He touches on the challenge of distinguishing fact from potentially biased ancient accounts of Caligula's behaviour. Wardle suggests that modern scholarship, including Hurley's work, is reassessing the reliability of ancient sources that depict Caligula as mentally unstable. This reflects a broader trend in contemporary historical approaches to critically examine the construction of Caligula's image as a "mad" emperor.

- . "Caligula and his Wives". *Latomus* 57, no. 1 (1998): 109–126. ISSN: 0023-8856. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41538212>.

Wardle's analysis diverges from traditional narratives of Caligula's madness, instead offering logical explanations for his marital behaviours. While acknowledging that Caligula's actions deviated from customary practices, Wardle argues these divergences enabled historical distortions rather than indicating insanity. He notes that "Caligula's behaviour mostly admits of reasonable and even logical explanations," particularly regarding succession planning. The article's methodology relies heavily on analysing primary sources and challenging biased historical accounts, suggesting that negative portrayals were "initiated by Claudius and carried on by historians under the Flavian emperors," when there was no incentive to preserve Caligula's reputation.

— . “Caligula’s Bridge of Boats - AD 39 or 40?” *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 56, no. 1 (2007): 118–120. ISSN: 0018-2311. <https://www.jstor.org/simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/stable/25598379>.

Wardle challenges Aloys Winterling’s suggestion that Caligula’s bridge of boats was built in AD 40, arguing instead for the traditional dating of AD 39. Wardle critically examines the evidence from ancient sources, particularly Josephus and Seneca, and finds them insufficient to support Winterling’s claim. He argues that Cassius Dio’s chronology, placing the event in 39 AD, is more reliable and fits better with other known events.

Weigel, Richard D. “Caligula - Review of A. Winterling ”Caligula A Biography.”” *The Classical Review* 62, no. 2 (2012): 600–602. ISSN: 1464-3561, 0009-840X. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0009840X12001230>.

Weigel’s analysis challenges the traditional view of Caligula’s madness, instead interpreting his actions as calculated moves to humiliate the senatorial aristocracy. Rather than accepting Suetonius’ portrayal of insanity, Weigel presents Caligula as a strategic ruler who “stripped the mask from the face of aristocracy.” His methodology involves reinterpreting historical events through the lens of political power dynamics, supported by primary sources including Dio Cassius. Weigel argues that Caligula’s seemingly irrational behaviours were deliberate attempts to “destroy the aristocratic hierarchy,” and demonstrate his absolute power, rather than manifestations of mental illness.

Wiedemann, T. E. J. “Tiberius to Nero”. In *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 2nd ed., ed. by Alan K. Bowman, Edward Champlin, and Andrew Lintott, 198–255. Cambridge University Press, Feb. 8, 1996. ISBN: 978-1-139-05438-6. https://www.cambridge.org/core/product/identifier/CB09781139054386A011/type/book_part.

Wiedemann suggests that many of Caligula’s seemingly irrational actions can be explained by political motivations and the need to assert his authority as emperor. Wiedemann argues against dividing Caligula’s reign into a “good” beginning followed by madness, stating this is misplaced. He interprets Caligula’s seemingly bizarre behaviours as attempts to demonstrate his power. Wiedemann presents Caligula’s sexual behaviour and claims of divinity as ways of asserting political control, not necessarily signs of insanity.

Willrich, Hugo. “Caligula”. *Klio* 3 (1903): 85–118. ISSN: 0075-6334. <https://www.proquest.com/docview/1305189344/citation/DAB1CDCCA70C473BPQ/1>.

Willrich explicitly challenges the traditional view of Caligula’s madness. He states that while some scholars believe “for this man, the physician is competent, not the historian,” Willrich argues for a historical-critical approach rather than a medical one. He criticises previous scholarship’s reliance on biased ancient sources and argues for a more nuanced analysis of Caligula’s actions within their political and social context. Notably, Willrich suggests that the negative portrayal of Caligula stems largely from Seneca’s influence, stating “posterity saw and sees the emperor through Seneca’s lens.” Rather than accepting claims of madness, Willrich examines Caligula’s early life, family relationships, and political circumstances to understand his behaviour through historical rather than psychological analysis.

Winter, Paul. “Simeon der derechte und caius Caligula: Versuch einer Lösung”. *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 6, no. 1 (1954): 72–74. ISSN: 0044-3441. <https://www.jstor.org/simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/stable/23892829>.

Winter examines a rabbinic tradition attributing a prophecy about Caligula’s death to Simon the Righteous. Winter argues this is anachronistic, as Simon lived centuries earlier. He suggests the

prophecy actually refers to the high priest Simon Cantheras, who served during Caligula's reign. Winter proposes the rabbis conflated these two Simons, transferring an event from Caligula's time to the more famous earlier Simon. This demonstrates how rabbinic literature sometimes prioritised thematic connections over historical accuracy.

Winterling, Aloys. *Caligula*. English. Trans. by Deborah Lucas Schneider, Glenn W. Most, and Paul Psounis. München: Beck, 2003. ISBN: 978-0-520-24895-3. <https://www-jstor-org.simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/stable/10.1525/j.ctt1pnbhf>.

Winterling argues that Caligula's behaviour was not a product of insanity but rather calculated political manoeuvring. This is evidenced when he writes that "Caligula exposed [their vows] as lies by taking them at face value, and he humiliated the flatterer by cynically forcing him to do what he had announced." Unlike other historians who portrayed Caligula as mentally unstable, Winterling analyses his actions as strategic responses to aristocratic threats, noting that "the emperor increased his pressure on the aristocracy, creating even more fear."

Wiseman, T. P. "Commentary on Death of an Emperor". In *Death of an Emperor by Flavius Josephus*, 43–102. 1992. ISBN: 0-85989-356-1.

Wiseman directly addresses Caligula's madness, describing it as "the madness of his hybris" and noting that this characterisation was shared by contemporary sources including Philo, Seneca, and Dio. However, Wiseman's approach is more nuanced, particularly highlighting Balsdon's observation that Caligula's imperial administration showed neither inefficiency nor insanity: "The administration of Gaius...in the Empire at large does not appear, when scrutinised, to be lacking either in efficiency or sanity." Wiseman employs careful textual analysis and comparative historical methodology, examining multiple contemporary sources while maintaining a critical stance towards claims of madness, particularly noting its conspicuous absence from Caligula's obituary.

Wood, Susan. "Diva Drusilla Panthea and the Sisters of Caligula". *American Journal of Archaeology* 99, no. 3 (1995): 457–482. ISSN: 0002-9114. <https://doi.org/10.2307/506945>.

Wood analyses numismatic and sculptural evidence to distinguish portrait types of Agrippina, Drusilla and Livilla. She contends Drusilla's deification and continued representation after death was an attempt to salvage her symbolic role after the dynastic setback of her early demise. The portrayal of the sisters is seen as an empire-wide version of how elite Roman families honored their women, emphasising bloodlines and reproductive potential rather than individual agency.

Woods, David. "Caligula's Seashells". *Greece & Rome* 47, no. 1 (2000): 80–87. ISSN: 0017-3835. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/826949>.

Woods challenges the traditional interpretation of Caligula's 'madness' by offering a rational explanation for the seashell incident. Rather than accepting the historical portrayal of an insane emperor ordering soldiers to collect seashells, Woods argues that the term "conchae" was misinterpreted and actually referred to small enemy boats. He suggests that hostile historical traditions have perpetuated this misunderstanding, stating that "our main sources for this event are heirs to a hostile tradition which misinterpreted Caligula's original instruction." Woods' methodology involves linguistic analysis and contextual reinterpretation, demonstrating that prejudice against Caligula led historians to "believe almost anything of him, however improbable."

- . “Caligula’s Gallic Captives (Suet., Calig. 47)”. *Latomus* 66, no. 4 (2007): 900–904. ISSN: 0023-8856. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41545802>.

Woods’ article notably diverges from traditional interpretations of Caligula’s ‘madness.’ Rather than supporting claims of insanity, Woods argues that Caligula’s actions were misrepresented by hostile historical traditions. He employs linguistic and historical analysis to demonstrate that what appears as irrational behaviour was actually calculated political action. As Woods notes, “any easy resort to the ‘mad’ emperor solution simply ignores the more complex historiographical issues.” His methodology focuses on reinterpreting primary sources, particularly examining Greek terminology and cultural context. The article suggests that Caligula’s treatment of Gallic captives reflected administrative policy rather than mental instability, challenging the “hostile stereotype of Caligula as the ‘mad’ emperor.”

- . “Tiberius on Caligula, the Snake, and Other Contextual Problems”. *Artcos* 41 (2007): 117–127. ISSN: 0570-734X.

Woods examines Tiberius’ alleged statements about Caligula, particularly the comparison to a snake. Woods argues that Suetonius may have misinterpreted or misrepresented Tiberius’ words by removing them from their original context. He suggests the snake comparison likely referred to Caligula as a potential victim rather than a threat. Woods demonstrates how modern historical approaches can alter our understanding of ancient sources and Caligula’s perceived mental state by critically analysing the context and potential misinterpretations of primary sources.

- . “Caligula on Augustus’ Alleged Incest with Julia”. *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 152, no. 3 (2009): 400–404. ISSN: 0035-449X. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41234809>.

Woods examines Suetonius’ claim that Caligula boasted of being descended from an incestuous relationship between Augustus and his daughter Julia. Woods argues this is likely a misinterpretation of Caligula’s actual statements. He suggests Caligula was referring to the rumoured affair between Augustus and Livia (later called Julia Augusta) that produced Drusus, Caligula’s paternal grandfather. This interpretation aligns with Caligula’s known respect for Agrippa and removes the incest element. Woods demonstrates how later hostile sources may have distorted Caligula’s words to portray him negatively, cautioning against uncritical acceptance of ancient claims about Caligula’s mental state or behaviour.

- . “Caligula’s Quadrans”. *The Numismatic Chronicle* 170 (2010): 99–103. ISSN: 0078-2696. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/42678887>.

Woods’ article notably diverges from traditional narratives about Caligula’s madness, as it does not address the emperor’s mental state at all. Instead, Woods employs a methodical numismatic analysis to examine the symbolism on Caligula’s quadrans coins, particularly focusing on the pileus symbol. He argues against Barrett’s interpretation, suggesting that rather than commemorating executions, the coins celebrated Caligula’s citizenship enforcement policies. Woods utilises comparative numismatic evidence and chronological analysis to support his claims, noting that “if either design-type had really celebrated the execution of an alleged conspirator... there seems no good reason why Caligula should have restricted its use to the lowest coin denomination.”

- . “Caligula Displays Caesonia (suet. Calig. 25.3)”. *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*

157, no. 1 (2014): 27–36. ISSN: 0035-449X. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24392820>.

Woods challenges traditional interpretations of Caligula's behaviour regarding Caesonia, arguing that Suetonius misinterpreted or misrepresented key events. Rather than displaying signs of madness, Woods suggests Caligula's actions were part of carefully orchestrated political theatre. He argues that Caesonia's appearance in military attire represented Venus Victrix during specific ceremonial events, particularly at Baiae. Woods notes that "Suetonius frequently generalises on the basis of a single alleged example" and recontextualises the "naked" (nudus) display as merely being "unarmed" after military ceremonies. His methodology focuses on careful textual analysis and historical contextualisation to challenge assumptions about Caligula's mental state.

- . "Caligula, Incitatus, and the Consulship". *The Classical Quarterly* 64, no. 2 (2014): 772–777. ISSN: 0009-8388. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43905613>.
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Woods analyses Caligula's alleged madness through a focused examination of the Incitatus consul story, suggesting it was likely a misinterpreted joke rather than evidence of insanity. He differs from traditional approaches by offering a linguistic analysis of the consul appointments, particularly focusing on wordplay between names. Woods argues that Caligula's comments about making Incitatus consul were likely directed at mocking Asinius Celer, whose name meant "swift ass." This is supported by the quote, "Perhaps Caligula criticised the candidacy of Celer for the suffect consulship by claiming that it would be better to appoint a 'swift,' prize-winning horse to the post than a mere 'ass'."

- . "Caligula as Venus (suet. Calig. 52)". *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 161, no. 3 (2018): 422–432. ISSN: 0035449X. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/45174371>.
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Woods' article challenges traditional narratives of Caligula's madness, suggesting that accounts of his divine impersonations, particularly as Venus, may have been misinterpreted. Rather than indicating insanity, Woods argues these behaviours had contextual explanations. He specifically analyses the claim that Caligula dressed as Venus at the English Channel, suggesting this was likely a misunderstanding of his wearing the myrtle crown of Venus during his ovation (triumph). As Woods notes "the claim that Caligula sometimes disguised himself as Venus is a generalising claim based on a single severely misinterpreted incident." His methodology relies heavily on comparative historical analysis and reinterpretation of primary sources.

- . "Caligula, Asprenas, and the Bloodied Robe". *Mnemosyne* 71, no. 5 (2018): 873–880. ISSN: 0026-7074. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26572963>.
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Woods' article does not directly address Caligula's alleged madness, instead focusing on analysing a specific historical incident involving a bloodied robe just before Caligula's assassination. The article examines discrepancies between accounts by Josephus and Suetonius regarding whose robe was bloodied during a sacrifice. Woods employs historiographical analysis and source criticism to examine these conflicting narratives, as evidenced when he notes that "Suetonius attributes the wrong form of death to Laureolus, probably that suffered by Cinyras instead." The article neither supports nor refutes claims about Caligula's madness, as mental state is not within its analytical scope.

- . "Caligula's Sexual Desire for the Moon (Suet. Calig. 22.4)". *Museum Helveticum* 76, no. 2 (2019): 235–241. ISSN: 0027-4054. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27026783>.
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Woods' article does not directly address Caligula's madness, but rather analyses the historical misinterpretation of his behaviour regarding Luna (the moon goddess). Woods argues that claims about Caligula's sexual desire for the moon likely stemmed from a mistranslation of the Greek

verb “συγγ γνεσθαι,” which could mean either “to have sexual intercourse with” or “to hold a conversation with.” Woods suggests this originated from a single sarcastic exchange between Caligula and Vitellius, rather than evidence of insanity. As Woods notes, “this allegation is best treated as the mistaken expansion of some statement” from historical sources, challenging traditional interpretations of Caligula’s behaviour.

- . “Rewriting a Contentious Omen”. *Mnemosyne* 76 (Nov. 2, 2022): 617–629. <https://doi.org/10.1163/1568525x-bja10140>.

Woods’ article examines Caligula’s relationship with the phoenix omen, arguing that rather than signifying madness, the phoenix symbolised legitimacy and renewal. The article diverges from traditional interpretations of Caligula’s ‘madness’ by analysing the political significance of the phoenix as “a symbol of any kind of renewal, almost always with the implication that this renewal introduced a period of happiness and good fortune.” Woods’ methodology centres on historiographical analysis and comparative study of ancient sources, particularly examining how “Caligula’s self-identification with the phoenix was turned against him.” The source ultimately challenges claims of Caligula’s madness, instead highlighting the political manipulation of omens during succession periods.

- Woods, Frederick Adams. “Kaiserism and Heredity”. *Journal of Heredity* 9, no. 8 (Dec. 1918): 348–353. ISSN: 1465-7333, 0022-1503. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordjournals.jhered.a111989>.

Woods’ analysis focuses on Caligula’s reign (37-41 AD) and modern historical interpretations of his perceived madness. Woods argues that Caligula’s extreme traits were primarily due to inherited defects rather than environmental factors, citing the concentration of insanity and moral depravity in his close relatives. The hereditary view challenges older notions that royal degeneracy was mainly caused by environment, aligning with then-emerging understanding of genetic inheritance.

Y

Yavetz, Zvi. "Caligula, Imperial Madness and Modern Historiography". *Klio* 78, no. 1 (1996): 105–129. ISSN: 0075-6334. <https://www.proquest.com/docview/1305188012/citation/C3E3820DDB3B4D26PQ/1>.

Yavetz suggests shifting away from debating Caligula's personal madness to examining the broader political and social context, particularly the weakened state of the Roman Senate and aristocracy following the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius. Yavetz contends that Caligula's erratic public behaviour, desire to be worshipped as a god, reliance on freedmen rather than senators, and sadistic cruelty shaped his tyrannical public image, but that it was the acquiescence of a servile aristocracy that allowed him to rule as he did. Overall, Yavetz moves the focus from Caligula's individual psychology to the societal conditions that permitted his reign.

Z

Zabern, Philip von. "Castor, Caligula Und Pollux". *Antike Welt* 34, no. 5 (2003): 542–542. ISSN: 0003-570X. <https://www.jstor.org/simsrad.net/ocs.mq.edu.au/stable/44466336>.

Zabern does not contain significant information relevant to Caligula's mental state or modern historical approaches to understanding it. The only mention of Caligula is a brief note about archaeological excavations near the Temple of Castor on the Roman Forum, which uncovered remains of what may have been Caligula's palace. The article cites Suetonius' claim that Caligula used the temple as an entrance hall and placed himself between statues of Castor and Pollux to receive guests. However, this provides no substantial insight into Caligula's mental state or modern interpretations of it.

1850s

Ampère, J.-J. “L’histoire Romaine a Rome: Caligula, Claude Et Néron”. Publisher: *Revue des Deux Mondes*, *Revue des Deux Mondes (1829-1971)* 6, no. 4 (1856): 838–873. ISSN: 0035-1962, Publisher: *Revue des Deux Mondes*. <https://www.jstor.org/simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/stable/44715085>.

Ampère discusses Caligula’s reign, focusing on his extravagant building projects and erratic behaviour. It portrays Caligula as initially hypocritical but later openly monstrous, with a turbulent mind and cruel nature reflected in his portraits. Ampère describes Caligula’s megalomania, including his self-deification and expansion of the imperial palace. The text implies Caligula was mentally unstable, citing his violent mood swings, grandiose projects, and bizarre actions like making his horse a priest. The article relies primarily on ancient sources like Suetonius, presenting their accounts of Caligula’s madness without significant reinterpretation through a modern lens.

1870s

Unknown. "Präcisirung der Zeit für die, die Judäer betreffenden Vorgänge unter dem Kaiser Caligula (Schluss)". *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 26 (N. F. 9), no. 4 (1877): 145–156. ISSN: 2193-9136. <https://www.jstor.org/simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/stable/44655329>.

This article critically examines and compares accounts by Philo and Josephus, arguing that Philo's timeline is less reliable. The author proposes a revised chronology, placing key events in late 40 CE rather than earlier dates suggested by some scholars. They critique other historians' interpretations and emphasise the importance of precise dating for understanding this period. While focused on chronology, the article provides insight into how modern historical approaches have refined our understanding of this controversial episode during Caligula's reign.

1890s

Quidde, Ludwig. *Caligula: eine Studie über römischen Cäsarenwahnsinn*. 16. Auflage. ISSN: 6882-5684. Leipzig: Friedrich, 1894. ISSN: 6882-5684.

Quidde portrays Caligula as severely mentally ill, suffering from what he terms "Caesar madness." He argues that Caligula exhibited clear symptoms of megalomania, cruelty, and delusions of divinity. Quidde emphasises that Caligula's contemporaries considered him genuinely mentally ill, and he traces the progression of Caligula's madness from early signs of instability to full-blown insanity. He highlights Caligula's excessive brutality, sexual depravity, and grandiose behaviour as evidence of his mental deterioration. Quidde sees Caligula's demand for divine worship not as political calculation, but as a manifestation of genuine delusion.

1900s

Willrich, Hugo. "Caligula". *Klio* 3 (1903): 85–118. ISSN: 0075-6334. <https://www.proquest.com/docview/1305189344/citation/DAB1CDCCA70C473BPQ/1>.

Willrich explicitly challenges the traditional view of Caligula's madness. He states that while some scholars believe "for this man, the physician is competent, not the historian," Willrich argues for a historical-critical approach rather than a medical one. He criticises previous scholarship's reliance on biased ancient sources and argues for a more nuanced analysis of Caligula's actions within their political and social context. Notably, Willrich suggests that the negative portrayal of Caligula stems largely from Seneca's influence, stating "posterity saw and sees the emperor through Seneca's lens." Rather than accepting claims of madness, Willrich examines Caligula's early life, family relationships, and political circumstances to understand his behaviour through historical rather than psychological analysis.

1910s

Kanngiesser, Friederich. "Notes on the Pathography of the Julian Dynasty". *Glasgow Medical Journal* 77, no. 6 (1912): 428–432. <https://pmc.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/articles/PMC5905011/>.

Kanngiesser argues that Caligula was a paranoid madman. He argues that epilepsy was the cause of this condition. Relying on Suetonius, Dio, Seneca and Quidde, Kanngiesser cites Caligula's physical appearance and features as evidence of his madness.

Woods, Frederick Adams. "Kaiserism and Heredity". *Journal of Heredity* 9, no. 8 (Dec. 1918): 348–353. ISSN: 1465-7333, 0022-1503. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordjournals.jhered.a111989>.

Woods' analysis focuses on Caligula's reign (37-41 AD) and modern historical interpretations of his perceived madness. Woods argues that Caligula's extreme traits were primarily due to inherited defects rather than environmental factors, citing the concentration of insanity and moral depravity in his close relatives. The hereditary view challenges older notions that royal degeneracy was mainly caused by environment, aligning with then-emerging understanding of genetic inheritance.

1920s

Demant, Esther Boise van. "The House of Caligula". *American Journal of Archaeology* 28, no. 4 (1924): 368–398. ISSN: 0002-9114. <https://doi.org/10.2307/497538>.

Demant describes the architectural features, construction techniques, and materials used, demonstrating the scale and grandeur of Caligula's additions. This archaeological evidence aligns with ancient sources that portray Caligula's extravagant and grandiose building activities, which some modern historians interpret as potential indicators of megalomania or other mental instabilities. The article provides crucial physical evidence for understanding Caligula's reign and personality.

Jerome, Thomas Spencer. "The Historical Tradition About Gaius, 37-41 AD". In *Aspects of the study of Roman history*, 381–421. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1923. <http://catalog.hathitrust.org/api/volumes/oclc/1526961.html>.

Jerome argues that Caligula was not insane, but rather his erratic behaviour was likely due to alcoholism and the biased primary accounts of his enemies. Jerome examines the primary sources, highlighting their inconsistencies and biases, and offers an alternative explanation for Caligula's behaviour based on heavy drinking. Jerome points out that many of Caligula's reported actions are inconsistent with true mania, noting that he continued to effectively administer the empire, showed rational behaviour in many instances, and was amenable to reason.

1930s

Gagé, Jean. “Un manifeste dynastique de Caligula, d’après une nouvelle interprétation du grand camée de Paris”. *Revue des Études Anciennes* 37, no. 2 (1935): 165–184. ISSN: 0035-2004. <https://doi.org/10.3406/rea.1935.2822>.

Gagé largely agrees with Curtius that the cameo dates to Caligula’s reign and represents a dynastic manifesto, rather than depicting events from Tiberius’ time. He examines how the imagery promotes Caligula’s legitimacy by emphasising connections to Augustus, Germanicus, and even Alexander the Great. Gagé suggests the cameo may commemorate Caligula’s adoption of Tiberius Gemellus in 37 CE. While accepting most of Curtius’ identifications, Gagé offers some modifications to the historical context and meaning of certain figures and symbols.

Leisegang, Hans. “Philons Schrift Über Die Gesandtschaft Der Alexandrinschen Juden An Den Kaiser Gaius Caligula”. Publisher: Society of Biblical Literature, *Journal of Biblical Literature* 57, no. 4 (1938): 377–405. ISSN: 0021-9231, Publisher: Society of Biblical Literature. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3259769>.

Leisegang examines Philo’s account of the Jewish embassy to Emperor Gaius Caligula, analysing its structure and philosophical underpinnings. The text reveals that rather than being a simple embassy report, it’s a sophisticated philosophical-religious treatise examining how Caligula’s megalomania and demand for divine worship challenged Jewish monotheism. Leisegang argues that the work’s subtitle “On Virtues” is deliberately ironic, contrasting Jewish religious virtue with Caligula’s vices. The analysis suggests Philo wrote this account during Claudius’s reign, providing a retrospective view that frames Jewish suffering under Caligula as a divine test of their religious conviction rather than punishment.

Lugand, René. “Suétone et Caligula”. Publisher: Persée - Portail des revues scientifiques en SHS, *Revue des Études Anciennes* 32, no. 1 (1930): 9–13. Publisher: Persée - Portail des revues scientifiques en SHS. <https://doi.org/10.3406/rea.1930.2558>.

Lugand notably avoids any direct discussion of Caligula’s madness, instead offering a methodological critique of Suetonius’s biographical approach. He argues that Suetonius’s account is “more pamphlet than history,” suggesting that seemingly irrational actions had religious and cultural contexts that Suetonius deliberately overlooked. For instance, Lugand contextualises the Incitatus episode within Persian and Roman religious traditions, and frames the human sacrifices as religious devotion rather than madness. His methodology focuses on analysing cultural and religious frameworks rather than psychological state, demonstrating how Suetonius’s anecdotal style (“a deliberately disjointed and anecdotal account”) deliberately mischaracterises Caligula’s actions.

Mattingly, H. “The Emperor Gaius - J. P. V. D. Balsdon : The Emperor Gaius (Caligula). Pp. xix + 243. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1934. Cloth, 10s.” *The Classical Review* 49, no. 4 (Sept. 1935): 146–147. ISSN: 1464-3561, 0009-840X. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0009840X0006813X>.

H. Mattingly, in reviewing Balsdon’s work on Caligula, maintains a skeptical view of attempts to fully rehabilitate the emperor’s image. He specifically points to Caligula’s claims of divinity as evidence of mental instability. Mattingly concludes that many readers will hold a belief in the emperor’s progressive mental deterioration.

Momigliano, Arnaldo. “La Personalità Di Caligola”. Publisher: Scuola Normale Superiore, *Annali della R. Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Lettere, Storia e Filosofia* 1, no.

3 (1932): 205–228. ISSN: 0393-8573, Publisher: Scuola Normale Superiore. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24298310>.

Momigliano argues that Caligula was not mad, but rather an inexperienced and premature monarch who attempted to establish an oriental-style absolute monarchy too quickly and clumsily. He rejects the traditional view of Caligula as insane, seeing him instead as politically inexperienced but with a coherent (if misguided) vision. Momigliano interprets Caligula's actions as attempts to centralise power, weaken the Senate, court eastern-style absolutism, and assert his own divinity. He critiques ancient sources as exaggerating Caligula's eccentricities and interpreting political moves as signs of insanity. Overall, Momigliano presents Caligula not as mad, but as an unskilled political actor.

Quidde, Ludwig. "Der Caligula". *Die Friedens-Warte* 38, no. 2 (1938): 82–86. ISSN: 0340-0255. <https://www.jstor.org.simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/stable/23799430>.

Quidde recounts the publication history of his controversial 1894 pamphlet "Caligula," which drew parallels between the Roman emperor and Kaiser Wilhelm II. While not explicitly about Caligula's mental state, it provides context for how a modern historian interpreted and used ancient accounts of Caligula's behaviour to critique contemporary leadership. Quidde notes the pamphlet cited Latin sources like Suetonius and highlighted similarities in personality and actions between Caligula and Wilhelm II, suggesting he saw the ancient accounts of Caligula's madness as applicable to analysing modern rulers. This demonstrates how 20th century historians reinterpreted ancient portrayals of Caligula's mental state for contemporary political commentary.

1940s

Kraeling, Carl H. “The Episode of the Roman Standards at Jerusalem”. *Harvard Theological Review* 35, no. 4 (Oct. 1942): 263–289. ISSN: 1475-4517, 0017-8160. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816000029709>.

Kraeling analyses the event from both Roman military and Jewish religious perspectives, suggesting it occurred in 26 CE. Kraeling argues that the introduction of iconic standards into the Antonia fortress was seen by Jews as a threat to Yahweh’s supremacy on the Temple Mount. He speculates on potential connections between this incident and the eschatological tensions in early Christianity, including John the Baptist’s preaching and Jesus’ final days in Jerusalem.

1950s

Colin, Jean. “Les consuls du César-pharaon Caligula et l’héritage de Germanicus: A propos des Fastes consulaires de l’Empire Romain par Attilio Degraffi”. Publisher: Societe d’Etudes Latines de Bruxelles, *Latomus* 13, no. 3 (1954): 394–416. ISSN: 0023-8856, Publisher: Societe d’Etudes Latines de Bruxelles. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41517783>.

Colin analyses each consul’s background, suggesting Caligula chose them based on family ties to Germanicus, links to Mark Antony’s faction, or involvement with Egyptian cults. The paper challenges traditional views of Caligula as mad, instead portraying his choices as politically and religiously motivated. While providing detailed prosopographical analysis, Colin’s interpretations are speculative at times, relying heavily on assumed motivations behind appointments.

Evans, Elizabeth C. “Physiognomics in the Roman Empire”. *The Classical Journal* 45, no. 6 (1950): 277–282. ISSN: 0009-8353. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3293688>.

Evans discusses the physiognomic features applied by Suetonius in his descriptions of emperors, including Caligula. She cites that Caligula’s physical appearance is disagreeably associated with that of panthers and goats. While the source does not directly address Caligula’s madness, it provides context for how physical descriptions in ancient sources might have been used to imply character traits, potentially including madness. .

Winter, Paul. “Simeon der derrechte und Caius Caligula: Versuch einer Lösung”. *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 6, no. 1 (1954): 72–74. ISSN: 0044-3441. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23892829>.

Winter examines a rabbinic tradition attributing a prophecy about Caligula’s death to Simon the Righteous. Winter argues this is anachronistic, as Simon lived centuries earlier. He suggests the prophecy actually refers to the high priest Simon Cantheras, who served during Caligula’s reign. Winter proposes the rabbis conflated these two Simons, transferring an event from Caligula’s time to the more famous earlier Simon. This demonstrates how rabbinic literature sometimes prioritised thematic connections over historical accuracy.

1960s

Bicknell, P. J. "Gaius and the Sea-shells". *Acta Classica* 5 (1962): 72–74. ISSN: 0065-1141. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24591348>.

Bicknell challenges the traditional view of Caligula's madness, particularly regarding the seashell incident. He proposes that Caligula's actions may have been a calculated political gesture rather than evidence of insanity. Bicknell suggests that Caligula might have been influenced by Celtic customs, possibly through the British prince Amminus, to stage a symbolic conquest of the ocean. Bicknell argues that this interpretation aligns with Caligula's self-perception as Jupiter and his desire to emulate Xerxes.

Clarke, G. W. "Seneca the Younger under Caligula". Publisher: Societe d'Etudes Latines de Bruxelles, *Latomus* 24, no. 1 (1965): 62–69. ISSN: 0023-8856, Publisher: Societe d'Etudes Latines de Bruxelles. <http://simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/login?url=https://www.jstor.org/stable/41524441>.

Clarke does not explicitly mention Caligula's insanity, but implies it through Caligula's "[insane jealousy] of oratorical rivals". Clarke's approach differs by focusing on Seneca's relationship with Agrippina rather than Caligula's madness. He argues that Agrippina likely saved Seneca from Caligula's wrath, earning his loyalty. Clarke supports this claim using Dio's account (59.19.7) of an unnamed court lady intervening on Seneca's behalf. He employs historical analysis and source criticism, examining chronology and relationships to support his hypothesis. While not directly addressing Caligula's madness, Clarke's analysis provides context for understanding the emperor's behaviour and court dynamics during this period.

Lucas, Joseph. "Un Empereur Psychopathe: Contribution À La Psychologie Du Caligula De Suétone". Publisher: L'Antiquité Classique, *L'Antiquité Classique* 36, no. 1 (1967): 159–189. ISSN: 0770-2817, Publisher: L'Antiquité Classique. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41673470>.

Lucas argues that Caligula was not truly mad or epileptic during his reign, but rather exhibited psychopathic personality traits. Lucas contends that Caligula likely suffered from pycnolepsy (a form of epilepsy) as a child, which evolved into cataplexia as an adult, not full epileptic seizures. He analyses Caligula's behaviour through both psychoanalytic and psychiatric frameworks, arguing he displayed traits of Geltungssucht (need for attention/recognition), fanatical querulousness, and explosive personality. While Caligula showed some schizoid tendencies, Lucas argues he was not fully schizophrenic, but rather moving in that direction by the end of his life. Lucas concludes that Caligula's psychopathic traits stemmed from both biological predisposition and environmental factors in his upbringing.

Moss, Gerald C. "The Mentality and Personality of the Julio-Claudian Emperors". *Medical History* 7, no. 2 (Apr. 1963): 165–175. ISSN: 2048-8343, 0025-7273. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0025727300028192>.

Moss suggests that Caligula's behaviour was likely influenced by both inherent tendencies and the pressures of being emperor, rather than solely due to madness. While acknowledging some manic-like behaviours, Moss is hesitant to definitively diagnose Caligula as insane. He cites Balsdon's view that Caligula's conduct was more a product of his environment and the excesses of his time.

1970s

Balsdon, John P. V. D. *The emperor Gaius*. Reprint of 1934 Edition. 1st edition published by Clarendon Press, Oxford. Reprinted 1976. New York: AMS Press, 1976. 1st edition published by Clarendon Press, Oxford. Reprinted 1976. <https://search.worldcat.org/title/1417373604?oclcNum=1417373604>.

In his analysis of Caligula, Balsdon addresses the emperor's alleged madness, offering a nuanced perspective that diverges from simplistic claims of insanity. While acknowledging Caligula's serious flaws, Balsdon argues against outright madness, suggesting instead that his behaviour stemmed from inexperience, conceit, and a reaction to perceived threats. He notes contemporary references to Caligula's "mania" but emphasises the lack of a developed theory of madness. Balsdon employs critical analysis of primary sources, questioning the reliability of anecdotes and seeking contextual explanations for Caligula's actions. He concludes that Caligula was "a cruel tyrant in his dealings with the senatorial class at Rome" but not clinically insane, supporting this with the observation that his death "evoked no widespread grief, nor... bloodthirsty exultation."

Ceausescu, Petre. "Caligula et le legs d'Auguste". Publisher: Franz Steiner Verlag, *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 22, no. 2 (1973): 269–283. ISSN: 0018-2311, Publisher: Franz Steiner Verlag. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4435335>.

Ceausescu argues that Caligula's apparent hostility towards Augustus was not a rejection of his predecessor, but rather an attempt to reconcile the Western and Eastern parts of the empire. He suggests Caligula sought to rehabilitate Mark Antony's memory without undermining Augustus, aiming for a compromise between their opposing ideologies. Ceausescu challenges the traditional view of Caligula's "madness," proposing instead that his actions reflect a coherent, if ultimately unsuccessful, political strategy.

Ceaușescu, Petre. "Altera Roma: Histoire d'une folie politique". *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 25, no. 1 (1976): 79–108. ISSN: 0018-2311. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4435487>.

Ceausescu does not take a clear position on whether Caligula was mad. The article focuses more broadly on the idea of transferring the imperial capital away from Rome, which was attributed to several emperors including Caligula. For Caligula specifically, Ceausescu cites Caligula's plan of moving the capital to Antium and then to Alexandria and planned violence of the nobility of those cities as reflecting tensions in the Roman Empire between East and West and Senate and Emperor, rather than necessarily representing Caligula's mental state. .

Faur, Jean-Claude. "Caligula et la Maurétanie: La fin de Ptolémée". Num Pages: 23 Place: Berlin, Germany Publisher: Akademie-Verlag. *Klio* 55 (1973): 249–271. ISSN: 0075-6334, Num Pages: 23 Place: Berlin, Germany Publisher: Akademie-Verlag. <https://www.proquest.com/docview/1305194624/citation/69032AF3E76B4ECCPQ/1>.

Faur critiques previous explanations, particularly Hofmann's "Isiac thesis", as unsatisfactory. He argues that Ptolemy's death was likely motivated by political and strategic concerns regarding Rome's control over North Africa, rather than religious conflicts or personal jealousy. The article analyses ancient sources, Ptolemy's coinage, and Caligula's reforms in Africa to build a case that the annexation of Mauretania was a calculated imperial policy decision, not a capricious act.

- . “Un discours de l’empereur Caligula au Sénat (Dion, Hist. rom. LIX, 16)”. *Klio* 60, no. 60 (Dec. 1, 1978): 439–448. ISSN: 2192-7669, 0075-6334. <https://doi.org/10.1524/klio.1978.60.60.439>.

Faur argues that Caligula’s infamous speech to the Senate, often cited as evidence of his insanity, was actually a calculated political move to assert imperial authority over the Senate. He interprets Caligula’s actions, including his claims of divinity and harsh treatment of the Senate, as deliberate political strategies rather than signs of madness. Faur suggests that Caligula was attempting to establish a new form of imperial rule. He thus implies that accusations of Caligula’s madness may be misinterpretations of his political maneuvering and attempts to consolidate power.

- Harrow, Kenneth. ““Caligula”, a Study in Aesthetic Despair”. Publisher: [Board of Regents of the University of Wisconsin System, University of Wisconsin Press], *Contemporary Literature* 14, no. 1 (1973): 31–48. ISSN: 0010-7484, Publisher: [Board of Regents of the University of Wisconsin System, University of Wisconsin Press]. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1207481>.

Harrow argues that Caligula embodies aesthetic despair by pursuing impossible goals to escape confronting his own mortality. Unlike Camus’ other absurdist heroes, Caligula fails to accept his limitations and make the “infinite movement” of embracing despair. Instead, he engages in destructive behaviour as a form of evasion. The analysis draws parallels between Caligula’s actions and Kierkegaard’s descriptions of aesthetic existence and despair, suggesting that Caligula’s tragedy stems from his inability to truly confront and accept the absurd nature of existence.

- Kaenel, Hans-Markus von. “Augustus, Caligula oder Claudius?” Published by the Swiss Numismatic Society. *Schweizer Münzblätter*, no. 28 (1978): 39–44. Published by the Swiss Numismatic Society. <https://www.e-periodica.ch/digbib/view?pid=smb-001:1978:28::545#42>.

Kaenel does not mention or discuss Caligula’s alleged insanity or madness. The article focuses solely on numismatic evidence, specifically a dupondius coin featuring Caligula’s image. Kaenel’s approach is purely archaeological and historical, examining the coin’s iconography and inscriptions to understand Caligula’s early reign and legitimacy claims. He argues that the coin represents Caligula’s emphasis on consensus among all social orders, stating: “From the very beginning, Caligula...attached importance to demonstrating that his rule was supported by the consent of all, the consensus universorum.” This source does not support claims of Caligula’s madness, instead presenting him as a shrewd political actor.

- Katz, Robert S. “The Illness of Caligula”. *The Classical World* 65, no. 7 (1972): 223–225. ISSN: 0009-8418. <https://doi.org/10.2307/4347670>.

Katz argues that Caligula was not insane, but rather suffered from hyperthyroidism, a glandular disorder. Katz proposes that the emotional shock of gaining imperial power may have triggered this condition. Katz asserts that Caligula’s actions were those of someone who was “not well” rather than mad, and calls for a reconsideration of the stereotypical view of Caligula as a madman.

- . “Caligula’s Illness Again”. *The Classical World* 70, no. 7 (1977): 451–451. ISSN: 0009-8418. <https://doi.org/10.2307/4348715>.

In response to criticism from Morgan, Katz argues against the notion of Caligula’s madness, instead attributing his erratic behaviour and physical symptoms to hyperthyroidism. He contends

that Caligula's restlessness, sleeplessness, insatiable appetite despite thinness, and overall agitation are typical clinical signs of an overactive thyroid gland. Katz posits that the stress of becoming emperor likely triggered this condition in an already unstable Caligula.

Massaro, Vin, and Iain Montgomery. "Gaius — Mad, Bad, III, or all Three ?" *Latomus* 37, no. 4 (1978): 894–909. ISSN: 0023-8856. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41531093>.

Massaro and Montgomery examine possible medical and psychological explanations for Emperor Caligula's behaviour, challenging both ancient and modern interpretations. They critically evaluate theories of alcoholism, hyperthyroidism, and psychopathy, finding them inadequate. They propose anxiety and mania as more plausible explanations, citing Caligula's tumultuous childhood, frequent separations, and contradictory expectations from family members as contributing factors. The paper emphasises the difficulty of retrospective diagnosis and the possibility of multiple concurrent conditions. While not definitively diagnosing Caligula, Massaro and Montgomery provide a nuanced perspective on his mental state, considering both historical context and modern psychiatric understanding.

— . "Gaius (Caligula) Doth Murder Sleep". *Latomus* 38, no. 3 (1979): 699–700. ISSN: 0023-8856. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41531264>.

Massaro and Montgomery argue against Katz's hypothesis that Caligula suffered from hyperthyroidism. Instead, they suggest that Caligula's reported sleep disturbances are more consistent with an anxiety state or mania. They base this conclusion on an analysis of Suetonius' description of Caligula's sleep patterns, which they find incompatible with the increased slow wave sleep typically observed in thyrotoxic patients.

Morgan, M. Gwyn. "Caligula's Illness Again". *The Classical World* 66, no. 6 (1973): 327–329. ISSN: 0009-8418. <https://doi.org/10.2307/4347839>.

Morgan argues decisively against Katz's notion that Caligula was mad or experienced a mental breakdown. He contends that Caligula's illness in 37 CE was purely physical, with no impact on his mental state or behaviour. He argues that claims of a change in Caligula's behaviour after 37 CE were due to shattered illusions rather than actual changes. While acknowledging that Caligula may have been unstable even before becoming emperor, Morgan asserts that this was not caused by his illness and that determining Caligula's madness requires further investigation.

— . "Once Again Caligula's Illness". *The Classical World* 70, no. 7 (1977): 452–453. ISSN: 0009-8418. <https://doi.org/10.2307/4348716>.

Morgan argues against the notion that Caligula was mentally ill or mad. He specifically refutes Katz's hypothesis that Caligula suffered from hyperthyroidism, which had been proposed as an explanation for his alleged erratic behaviour. Morgan contends that the physical and behavioural traits often cited as evidence of Caligula's madness or illness are either unreliable or can be explained by other factors. He suggests that Caligula's illness in 37 CE was likely a serious but purely physical ailment, unrelated to any mental disorder.

1980s

Benediktson, D. Thomas. "Caligula's Madness: Madness or Interictal Temporal Lobe Epilepsy?" Publisher: [Johns Hopkins University Press, Classical Association of the Atlantic States], *The Classical World* 82, no. 5 (1989): 370–375. ISSN: 0009-8418, Publisher: [Johns Hopkins University Press, Classical Association of the Atlantic States]. <https://doi.org/10.2307/4350416>.

Benediktson argues that Caligula's aggressive tendencies, sexual deviance, religious attitudes, and preoccupation with justice align with symptoms observed in modern epilepsy patients. Benediktson suggests that Caligula's personality changes, occurring in his mid-20s, match the typical onset of epilepsy-related behavioural changes. While acknowledging limitations in ancient sources, Benediktson proposes that this medical perspective offers a more nuanced understanding of Caligula's actions than traditional interpretations of madness or tyranny.

Boudreau Flory, Marleen. "Caligula's "Inverecundia": A Note on Dio Cassius 59.12.1". Num Pages: 7 Place: Wiesbaden, etc., Germany Publisher: F. Steiner, etc. *Hermes* 114 (1986): 365–371. ISSN: 0018-0777, Num Pages: 7 Place: Wiesbaden, etc., Germany Publisher: F. Steiner, etc. <https://www.proquest.com/docview/1302446007/citation/DA78248555A41E9PQ/1>.

Boudreau Flory examines Caligula's behaviour during his marriage to Lollia Paulina, suggesting it was an impudent imitation of Augustus' actions rather than adherence to Greek customs. She argues that Caligula's forcing of Memmius Regulus to betroth Lollia mirrored Augustus' marriage to Livia, where her ex-husband played a similar role. This interpretation frames Caligula's act as a sardonic joke at Augustus' expense, reflecting his complex relationship with his ancestor's legacy.

Hurley, Donna W. "Gaius Caligula in the Germanicus Tradition". Publisher: The Johns Hopkins University Press, *The American Journal of Philology* 110, no. 2 (1989): 316–338. ISSN: 0002-9475, Publisher: The Johns Hopkins University Press. <https://doi.org/10.2307/295180>.

Hurley analyses discrepancies between accounts by Tacitus, Suetonius, and Cassius Dio regarding Caligula's role in quelling a military mutiny as a child. She argues that Suetonius preserves an earlier, more positive tradition that emphasised Caligula's importance, while Tacitus downplayed his role. This suggests the survival of pro-Germanicus/Caligula propaganda from before Caligula's reign. The article provides insight into how ancient sources handled Caligula's complex legacy and how modern historians can detect bias and editorial choices in these accounts.

Jakobson, Alexander, and Hannah M. Cotton. "Caligula's Recusatio Imperii". Publisher: Franz Steiner Verlag, *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 34, no. 4 (1985): 497–503. ISSN: 0018-2311, Publisher: Franz Steiner Verlag. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4435941>.

Jakobson and Cotton's article does not directly discuss Caligula's alleged insanity or madness. Instead, it focuses on analysing the discrepancy between two dates given for Caligula receiving imperial powers. They propose that Caligula initially refused power on 18 March 37 CE, only accepting it on 28 March after persuasion. This "recusatio imperii" (refusal of power) is framed as a common imperial tradition, not evidence of madness. Jakobson and Cotton employ careful analysis of primary sources and circumstantial evidence to support their hypothesis, stating: "If the interpretation presented here is accepted - and the circumstantial nature of the evidence

cannot be denied - Gaius Caesar joins the long line of emperors who refused - or rather staged a refusal of - the imperial power.”

Levy, Brooks Emmons. “Caligula’s Radiate Crown”. *Schweizer Münzblätter, Gazette Numismatique Suisse*, no. 38 (Nov. 1988): 101–107. <https://www.e-periodica.ch/digbib/view?pid=smb-001%3A1988%3A38%3A%3A8#194>.

Levy’s article “Caligula’s Radiate Crown” does not directly address Caligula’s alleged madness, instead employing a strictly numismatic methodology to analyse coin imagery. The work focuses on technical and symbolic aspects of Caligula’s coinage, particularly examining “the radiate crown Gaius wears on the reverse of the CONSENSV dupondii.” Rather than supporting claims of madness, Levy’s research suggests a calculated use of imperial imagery, noting that the radiate crown represented “divine sanction for his rule” and was part of carefully constructed political messaging. This archaeological approach differs markedly from historical analyses focused on Caligula’s mental state.

Schwartz, J. “Préfets d’Egypte sous Tibère et Caligula”. *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 48 (1982): 189–192. ISSN: 0084-5388. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20183651>.

Schwartz critically evaluates ancient sources, particularly Dio Cassius, against papyrological evidence to reconstruct a more accurate timeline of prefects. This meticulous approach demonstrates how modern historical methods can refine our understanding of the early imperial period, including Caligula’s reign. However, the article does not offer specific insights into Caligula’s behaviour or perceived mental illness.

Scullard, H. H. “Tiberius and Gaius”. In *From the Gracchi to Nero: A History of Rome 133 BC to AD 68*. London, UNITED KINGDOM: Routledge, 1982. ISBN: 978-1-136-78387-6. <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/mqu/detail.action?docID=1195814>.

Scullard presents Caligula as initially sane but later becoming mentally unstable and tyrannical, possibly due to illness. Scullard notes that without modern clinical evidence, it’s difficult to make a definitive judgment about his mental state. However, they provide examples of Caligula’s erratic behaviour, such as his self-deification and poor foreign policy decisions, which support the idea of his mental instability. .

Simpson, C. J. “The Cult of the Emperor Gaius”. *Latomus* 40, no. 3 (1981): 489–511. ISSN: 0023-8856. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41532141>.

Simpson does not take a definitive stance on whether Caligula was actually mad. Simpson argues that the charge of impiety against Caligula was likely based not on him identifying himself with Jupiter, but on his rivalry with Jupiter. He suggests the ancient sources are uniformly hostile to Caligula and may have exaggerated or misrepresented his actions. He argues there was likely only one temple associated with Caligula’s cult in Rome, not two as some scholars have interpreted, and suggests Caligula may have followed Augustan precedent in establishing a cult to his numen (divine power/authority), rather than to himself as a god.

1990s

Barrett, Anthony A. *Caligula: The Corruption of Power*. 1st Edition. Caligula: The Abuse of Power by Barrett is the 2nd Edition to this book. Originally published in 1989, this is its publication in the United States. Florence, United States: Routledge, 1993. ISBN: 978-0-203-13776-5, Caligula: The Abuse of Power by Barrett is the 2nd Edition to this book. Originally published in 1989, this is its publication in the United States. <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/mqu/detail.action?docID=165856>.

Barrett challenges the notion that Caligula was clinically insane, instead portraying him as morally indifferent and obsessed with power. He argues Caligula could act rationally when needed, but often behaved cruelly due to his self-centred worldview. Barrett notes Caligula's "grimly ironical sense of humour" and "disturbing obsession with the dark humour of destructive power." While not indiscriminately violent, Caligula viewed executions with "almost total indifference." Barrett concludes Caligula was "capable of rational decisions, capable of statesmanlike acts (when it suited him), but morally neutral, determined to sweep all before him in the pursuit of his own personal ends."

— . "Sister". In *Agrippina: Mother of Nero*. Oxford, UNITED KINGDOM: Taylor & Francis Group, 1996. ISBN: 978-0-203-01235-2. <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/mqu/detail.action?docID=165385>.

Barrett presents Caligula's behaviour as increasingly erratic and paranoid without explicitly labelling him as "mad". While noting speculation about mental derangement following an illness, Barrett's focus is on describing Caligula's actions: inspiring fear in the senate, executing wealthy individuals under false pretences, and his delusions of godhood. However, this account refrains from definitively attributing these actions to any specific mental condition or madness.

— . "Caligula's Quadrans Issue". Publisher: Societe d'Etudes Latines de Bruxelles, *Latomus* 57, no. 4 (1998): 846–852. ISSN: 0023-8856, Publisher: Societe d'Etudes Latines de Bruxelles. <https://www.jstor.org.simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/stable/41541906>.

Barrett's article does not directly address Caligula's supposed insanity or madness. Instead, it focuses on analysing a specific coin (quadrans) issued during Caligula's reign. Barrett challenges previous interpretations of the coin's imagery, arguing that it likely commemorates the suppression of a conspiracy against Caligula in late 39 CE, rather than referencing tax remission or electoral reforms. He states, "Clearly we should seek an event of Caligula's reign dramatic enough to explain the imitation of the celebrated type introduced by Brutus." This approach differs from narratives of Caligula's madness by examining concrete historical events and numismatic evidence, rather than relying on potentially biased literary accounts.

Bartman, Elizabeth. "Cataloguing Roman portraits: four new studies". *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 7 (1994): 339–344. ISSN: 1047-7594, 2331-5709. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1047759400012691>.

Bartman does not directly address Caligula's madness. However, she discusses Boschung's analysis of Caligula's portraiture, which contradicts ancient literary accounts of the emperor's appearance and character. This discrepancy suggests that either literary sources exaggerated Caligula's negative traits, or official portraits were idealised representations. The source also speculates that portraits depicting Caligula as divine or effeminate may have been destroyed after his assassination, potentially explaining the lack of surviving evidence for these traits in his portraiture.

Bellen, Heinz. "Caligula (37-41)". In *Die römischen Kaiser: 55 historische Portraits von Caesar bis Justinian*. Pages: 63-67. 1997. Pages: 63-67. https://multisearch.mq.edu.au/permalink/61MACQUARIE_INST/1htffa9/alma9915009210802171.

Bellen does not explicitly claim Caligula was insane or mad. Instead, he presents a nuanced view of Caligula's reign, noting a significant shift in his behaviour and policies after 39 CE. Bellen attributes this change to Caligula's illness in 37 CE and subsequent fear of losing power, rather than innate madness. He describes Caligula's actions as extravagant and tyrannical, but contextualises them within political power struggles. Bellen's approach is more measured than those claiming outright madness, focusing on historical events and their consequences. He notes that Caligula's reign marked a shift towards absolute power, stating, "Overall, the imperial office grew into a sphere of absolute power and excessive self-conceit."

Benediktson, D. Thomas. "Caligula's Phobias and Phobias: Fear of Seizure?" Publisher: The Classical Association of the Middle West and South, Inc. (CAMWS), *The Classical Journal* 87, no. 2 (1991): 159–163. ISSN: 0009-8353, Publisher: The Classical Association of the Middle West and South, Inc. (CAMWS). <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3297970>.

Benediktson examines Caligula's behaviours through the lens of epilepsy, suggesting his fear of swimming, association with the moon, and aversion to goats were related to epileptic symptoms or fears. He argues that Caligula's inability to swim may have stemmed from childhood epilepsy, while his courting of the moon goddess and sensitivity to goat comparisons reflect contemporary beliefs about epilepsy triggers and symptoms. This modern approach reinterprets Caligula's "madness" as potentially epilepsy-related behaviours, demonstrating how medical understanding can reshape historical perspectives on ancient figures' mental states.

Bonfante, Larissa. "Caligula the Etruscophile". *Liverpool Classical Monthly* 15, no. 7 (July 1990): 98–100. https://www.academia.edu/4146718/Caligula_the_Etruscophile.

Bonfante's article doesn't explicitly mention Caligula's insanity or madness. Instead, it presents a nuanced view of Caligula as an Etruscophile, differing from traditional 'mad emperor' narratives. Bonfante argues that Caligula possessed genuine knowledge and appreciation of Etruscan culture, citing two key examples: his dedication of his daughter to Minerva and his admiration of Etruscan paintings. She supports these claims through analysis of ancient sources and archaeological evidence, stating, "Taken together, the two references present a picture of Caligula as quite knowledgeable about antiquities of early Italy, especially Etruscan." This approach challenges the notion of Caligula's madness, offering a more complex understanding of the emperor's character and interests.

Caligula. In *Brill's New Pauly Online*, in collab. with Werner Eck. https://doi.org/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e224860. Brill, 1997. https://doi.org/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e224860. <https://referenceworks.brill.com/display/entries/NPOE/e224860.xml?Tab-menu=article>.

Werner Eck's entry on Caligula in Brill's New Pauly Online does not explicitly mention the emperor's insanity or madness. Eck does suggest that, "...Because of the instability of his character, perhaps aggravated by psychological disturbances as a result of illness, he transgressed all boundaries with regards to the Senate and the people." Eck's methodology relies on presenting factual events and political actions, avoiding sensationalism. While not directly supporting claims of madness, the text implies erratic behaviour: "His politics were mainly a matter of

erratic decisions, many of them soon to be repealed.” Eck’s approach focuses on historical events rather than psychological analysis.

Edwards, Catherine. “The Truth about Caligula?” Ed. by Anthony A. Barrett. Publisher: Cambridge University Press, *The Classical Review* 41, no. 2 (1991): 406–408. ISSN: 0009-840X, Publisher: Cambridge University Press. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/711425>.

Edwards critically analyses Barrett’s approach to Caligula’s alleged madness, noting his tendency to rehabilitate the emperor’s image. She argues that Barrett’s attempt to uncover the “truth” about Caligula is problematic, given the biased nature of ancient sources. Edwards states, “Recognising the possibility of prejudice does not give the historian automatic access to ‘unbiased truth.’” She questions the validity of making psychological assessments across millennia and suggests focusing on the symbolic vocabulary used to represent emperors. Edwards proposes abandoning the search for historical facts, instead advocating for an examination of why Romans told such stories: “These stories can give us fascinating insights into how the power of Roman emperors was constructed.”

Ferrill, Arther. “Chapter 6: From Joy to Terror”. In *Caligula*, 105–118. New York, NY: Thames / Hudson, 1991. ISBN: 978-0-500-25112-6.

Ferrill’s chapter extensively discusses Caligula’s alleged madness, presenting numerous instances of erratic and cruel behaviour. Unlike approaches that simply label Caligula as ‘mad’, Ferrill provides a detailed chronological account of events, suggesting a gradual descent into tyranny and megalomania. He argues that Caligula’s actions became increasingly irrational and violent, particularly after his illness and Drusilla’s death. Ferrill supports his claims with contemporary sources and anecdotes, such as Philo’s account of Caligula’s speech: “Here comes the teacher of one who no longer needs to learn...” This methodological approach offers a nuanced view of Caligula’s reign, supporting the notion of his madness through an accumulation of evidence rather than a blanket diagnosis.

Gascou, Jacques. “Review of Suetonius’ Life of Caligula. A Commentary”. In collab. with D. Wardle. Publisher: Verlag C.H.Beck, *Gnomon* 70, no. 3 (1998): 213–216. ISSN: 0017-1417, Publisher: Verlag C.H.Beck. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27692733>.

Gascou does not directly address Caligula’s madness in his review of Wardle’s commentary. Instead, he highlights how Wardle critically examines Suetonius’ portrayal of Caligula, which tends to depict the emperor negatively. Gascou praises Wardle for attempting to provide rational explanations for behaviours that Suetonius interprets as signs of insanity or excessive pride. He suggests that Wardle’s commentary challenges the traditional view of Caligula’s madness by offering more balanced and rational explanations for the emperor’s conduct. Gascou notes that Wardle critiques Suetonius’ methodology, pointing out his use of dubious anecdotes, tendency to generalise, and flattening of historical perspective.

Hurley, Donna W. “An historical and historiographical commentary on Suetonius’ ”Life of C. Caligula””. ISBN: 9798207281223. PhD thesis, Columbia University, 1991. ISBN: 9798207281223. <https://www.proquest.com/docview/303934849/abstract/6A1472B2731B4749PQ/1>.

Hurley argues that Suetonius accurately recorded the first century’s assessment of Caligula, which quickly became canonical. Key themes include the antithetical view of Caligula’s reign (good beginnings turning bad), attempts by later emperors to distance themselves from him, and comparisons to Julius Caesar. Hurley suggests Caligula’s erratic behaviour was emphasised to

contrast with Tiberius, and that many anecdotes were likely exaggerated or fabricated. Overall, it presents Suetonius' account as more valuable for understanding Caligula's historiography than for factual details about his life and reign.

Keaveney, Arthur, and John A. Madden. "The *Crimen Maiestatis* under Caligula: the evidence of Dio Cassius". *The Classical Quarterly* 48, no. 1 (May 1998): 316–320. ISSN: 0009-8388, 1471-6844. <https://doi.org/10.1093/cq/48.1.316>.

Keaveney and Madden examines the use of the *crimen maiestatis* (treason law) under Emperor Caligula, challenging the notion that he abolished it. They argue that Caligula initially pardoned some individuals charged with treason under Tiberius but later used the law himself. They categorise cases as possible, probable, or certain instances of *maiestas* charges during Caligula's reign. The study concludes that Caligula never abolished treason laws, but rather revived specific charges in 39 AD, possibly due to growing senatorial discontent.

Kleijwegt, Marc. "Caligula's 'Triumph' at Baiae". Publisher: Brill, *Mnemosyne* 47, no. 5 (1994): 652–671. ISSN: 0026-7074, Publisher: Brill. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4432433>.

Kleijwegt analyses Caligula's construction of a bridge across the Bay of Naples in 39 CE, arguing it was a carefully staged mock triumph rather than an act of madness. Kleijwegt contends Caligula used this spectacle to assert his authority and rebuild alliances with the military after tensions with the Senate. By examining details from ancient sources and comparing them to traditional triumphal practices, Kleijwegt suggests Caligula was manipulating religious and imperial symbolism to strengthen his position before departing for Germany. This interpretation challenges the common portrayal of Caligula as simply insane, instead depicting him as a shrewd political actor responding to threats to his rule.

— . "Caligula as Auctioneer". Publisher: Classical Association of South Africa, *Acta Classica* 39 (1996): 55–66. ISSN: 0065-1141, Publisher: Classical Association of South Africa. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24594577>.

Kleijwegt explicitly challenges the traditional narrative of Caligula's madness, arguing that his actions can be rationally explained through careful analysis. He notes that "certain acts of Caligula can be explained rationally without stretching the evidence too much" and criticises how ancient accounts typically attributed his behaviour to "madness or his lack of control." Rather than supporting claims of insanity, Kleijwegt presents Caligula as a clever manipulator of religious symbols and political theatre, particularly regarding the Baiae bridge incident. He argues this event demonstrated calculated political messaging rather than mental instability, suggesting Caligula was "perfectly aware" of using spectacle to maintain power.

Lindsay, Hugh. *Commentary on Suetonius' 'Life of Caligula'*. Electronic Reproduction, 2010. P. 101-157. London: Bristol Classical Press, 1993. ISBN: 1-85399-375-1, p. 101-157.

Lindsay's commentary does not explicitly address Caligula's insanity, instead focusing on analysing specific behaviours and actions mentioned by Suetonius through a lens of tyrannical characteristics rather than mental illness. His approach differs from others by examining Caligula's actions as calculated political moves rather than symptoms of madness. Lindsay supports this through analysis of Caligula's "perverse nature" and "unpredictable behaviour," noting that "Suetonius associates sudden and unpredictable behaviour with Caligula's personality." The methodology relies heavily on analysing Suetonius' work, while maintaining scholarly

scepticism about sensationalised accounts. The commentary ultimately neither definitively supports nor refutes claims of Caligula's madness.

McGinn, Thomas A. J. "Caligula's brothel on the Palatine". *Echos du Monde Classique/Classical Views* 42, no. 1 (1998): 95–107. ISSN: 0012-9356. <https://dai.mun.ca/pdfs/classjour/ClassicalViewsvol42no011998.pdf>.

McGinn analyses Caligula's alleged madness through a nuanced lens, avoiding direct claims of insanity. Instead, he examines Caligula's brothel initiative through financial, political, and personal motivations rather than mental illness. The article suggests there is "a kernel of truth to this strange tale," and that Caligula's actions were calculated rather than mad. McGinn supports this by analysing how "profit was Caligula's chief motive for installing the brothel," alongside political aims to humiliate the elite and personal entertainment. His methodology combines critical analysis of primary sources with comparative historical examples, ultimately challenging the traditional narrative of Caligula's madness.

Nony, Daniel. "Review of Suetonius' Life of Caligula. A Commentary. (Collection Latomus, 225)". In collab. with D. Wardle. Publisher: L'Antiquité Classique, *L'Antiquité Classique* 67 (1998): 489–490. ISSN: 0770-2817, Publisher: L'Antiquité Classique. <https://www.jstor.org/simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/stable/41659919>.

Wardle's commentary on Suetonius' Life of Caligula highlights the cautious approach needed when using ancient sources to understand Caligula's reign and character. While not directly addressing Caligula's mental state, it emphasises the importance of critically examining Suetonius' writing style and use of sources. Nony notes that modern scholars, including Wardle, tend to view Caligula unsympathetically, which may influence interpretations of his behaviour. This work represents a valuable modern resource for studying Caligula, but also underscores the challenges in separating historical fact from biased ancient accounts when assessing the emperor's mental condition.

Scherberich, Klaus. "Sueton Und Josephus Über Die Ermordung Des Caligula". *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 142, no. 1 (1999): 74–83. ISSN: 0035-449X. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41234361>.

Scherberich compares the accounts of Caligula's assassination given by Suetonius and Josephus. Through detailed textual analysis, he argues that the significant differences between their versions, especially regarding the actual murder scene, indicate they did not rely on a common source as previously assumed. Scherberich examines discrepancies in timing, locations, key figures involved, and sequence of events. While acknowledging some similarities, he concludes the divergences are too substantial to be explained by differing authorial approaches alone. This challenges the long-held view of a shared source and has implications for how historians should approach these accounts of Caligula's death.

Simpson, Christopher. "Caligula's Cuit: Imitatio Augusti". *Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 75, no. 1 (1997): 107–112. <https://doi.org/10.3406/rbph.1997.4165>.

Simpson's article notably diverges from traditional narratives of Caligula's madness, instead analysing his religious and political behaviours as deliberate imitations of Augustus. Rather than viewing Caligula's divine pretensions as symptoms of insanity, Simpson argues they were calculated political moves, suggesting that "Caligula can be clearly seen to have imitated Augustan excess." The methodology employed involves comparative historical analysis, examining parallel behaviours between Augustus and Caligula, particularly regarding religious cult prac-

tices. Simpson suggests that Caligula's actions were not manifestations of madness but rather a conscious "imitatio Augusti," supported by evidence of similar divine pretensions in both rulers' reigns.

Wardle, David. "When did Caligula die?" *Acta Classica* 34 (1991): 158–165. ISSN: 0065-1141. <https://www.proquest.com/docview/1298196549/citation/D723CDA3FA55429APQ/1>.

Wardle examines the date of Caligula's assassination, analysing various ancient sources. While Suetonius gives January 24, 41 CE, Dio Cassius' account suggests January 23. Wardle reconciles these by examining Dio's inconsistent dating methods. He also analyses Josephus' account of the Ludi Palatini festival, during which Caligula was killed. Wardle argues for accepting January 24 as the most likely date, harmonising the sources. The article does not directly address Caligula's mental state, but provides important context for understanding the end of his reign and how ancient sources reported it.

— . "Caligula and the Client Kings". *The Classical Quarterly* 42, no. 2 (1992): 437–443. ISSN: 1471-6844, 0009-8388. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0009838800016050>.

Wardle does not directly address Caligula's alleged madness or insanity. Instead, it provides a detailed legal and administrative analysis of Caligula's relationships with client kings, particularly focusing on the rescission of his acta after death and its implications for client kingdoms. Wardle analyses specific cases like Antiochus of Commagene and Mithradates of Armenia, examining their depositions through a political and strategic lens rather than attributing them to madness. As he notes, "If it is appropriate to look for rationality in Caligula's actions, and not to dismiss his treatment of Antiochus as mere caprice, the context of relations with Parthia would seem relevant." This methodological approach emphasises political and legal analysis over psychological interpretation.

— . "Review of An Historical and Historiographical Commentary on Suetonius' Life of C. Caligula". In collab. with D. W. Hurley. *The Classical Review* 45, no. 1 (1995): 171–172. ISSN: 0009-840X. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/710423>.

Hurley's commentary on Suetonius' Life of Caligula highlights the ongoing debate about the emperor's portrayal in ancient sources. While praising Hurley's elucidation of Suetonius' text, Wardle notes a lack of historiographical analysis. He touches on the challenge of distinguishing fact from potentially biased ancient accounts of Caligula's behaviour. Wardle suggests that modern scholarship, including Hurley's work, is reassessing the reliability of ancient sources that depict Caligula as mentally unstable. This reflects a broader trend in contemporary historical approaches to critically examine the construction of Caligula's image as a "mad" emperor.

— . "Caligula and his Wives". *Latomus* 57, no. 1 (1998): 109–126. ISSN: 0023-8856. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41538212>.

Wardle's analysis diverges from traditional narratives of Caligula's madness, instead offering logical explanations for his marital behaviours. While acknowledging that Caligula's actions deviated from customary practices, Wardle argues these divergences enabled historical distortions rather than indicating insanity. He notes that "Caligula's behaviour mostly admits of reasonable and even logical explanations," particularly regarding succession planning. The article's methodology relies heavily on analysing primary sources and challenging biased historical accounts, suggesting that negative portrayals were "initiated by Claudius and carried on by historians under the Flavian emperors," when there was no incentive to preserve Caligula's reputation.

Wiedemann, T. E. J. "Tiberius to Nero". In *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 2nd ed., ed. by Alan K. Bowman, Edward Champlin, and Andrew Lintott, 198–255. Cambridge University Press, Feb. 8, 1996. ISBN: 978-1-139-05438-6. https://www.cambridge.org/core/product/identifier/CB09781139054386A011/type/book_part.

Wiedemann suggests that many of Caligula's seemingly irrational actions can be explained by political motivations and the need to assert his authority as emperor. Wiedemann argues against dividing Caligula's reign into a "good" beginning followed by madness, stating this is misplaced. He interprets Caligula's seemingly bizarre behaviours as attempts to demonstrate his power. Wiedemann presents Caligula's sexual behaviour and claims of divinity as ways of asserting political control, not necessarily signs of insanity.

Wiseman, T. P. "Commentary on Death of an Emperor". In *Death of an Emperor by Flavius Josephus*, 43–102. 1992. ISBN: 0-85989-356-1.

Wiseman directly addresses Caligula's madness, describing it as "the madness of his hybris" and noting that this characterisation was shared by contemporary sources including Philo, Seneca, and Dio. However, Wiseman's approach is more nuanced, particularly highlighting Balsdon's observation that Caligula's imperial administration showed neither inefficiency nor insanity: "The administration of Gaius...in the Empire at large does not appear, when scrutinised, to be lacking either in efficiency or sanity." Wiseman employs careful textual analysis and comparative historical methodology, examining multiple contemporary sources while maintaining a critical stance towards claims of madness, particularly noting its conspicuous absence from Caligula's obituary.

Wood, Susan. "Diva Drusilla Panthea and the Sisters of Caligula". *American Journal of Archaeology* 99, no. 3 (1995): 457–482. ISSN: 0002-9114. <https://doi.org/10.2307/506945>.

Wood analyses numismatic and sculptural evidence to distinguish portrait types of Agrippina, Drusilla and Livilla. She contends Drusilla's deification and continued representation after death was an attempt to salvage her symbolic role after the dynastic setback of her early demise. The portrayal of the sisters is seen as an empire-wide version of how elite Roman families honored their women, emphasising bloodlines and reproductive potential rather than individual agency.

Yavetz, Zvi. "Caligula, Imperial Madness and Modern Historiography". *Klio* 78, no. 1 (1996): 105–129. ISSN: 0075-6334. <https://www.proquest.com/docview/1305188012/citation/C3E3820DDB3B4D26PQ/1>.

Yavetz suggests shifting away from debating Caligula's personal madness to examining the broader political and social context, particularly the weakened state of the Roman Senate and aristocracy following the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius. Yavetz contends that Caligula's erratic public behaviour, desire to be worshipped as a god, reliance on freedmen rather than senators, and sadistic cruelty shaped his tyrannical public image, but that it was the acquiescence of a servile aristocracy that allowed him to rule as he did. Overall, Yavetz moves the focus from Caligula's individual psychology to the societal conditions that permitted his reign.

2000s

Barber, Stephen. *Caligula*. Pages: 159 S. London: Creation Books, 2001. ISBN: 1-84068-049-0, Pages: 159 S..

Barber portrays Caligula as excessively cruel, sexually deviant, and mentally unstable. He describes bizarre behaviours like declaring himself a god, engaging in public incest, and ordering mass executions. Barber suggests Caligula suffered from insomnia, paranoia, and delusions of grandeur.

Barrett, Anthony A. "Caligula". In *Lives of the Caesars*, 61–83. Section: III _eprint: <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/pdf/10.1002/9781444302950.ch3>. John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2008. ISBN: 978-1-4443-0295-0, Section: III _eprint: <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/pdf/10.1002/9781444302950.ch3>. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444302950.ch3>.

Barrett approaches Caligula's purported insanity with scepticism, suggesting that while the emperor was "eccentric in a society that did not greatly value eccentricity," claims of clinical madness are likely exaggerated. He argues that Caligula was more likely "an exhibitionist, arrogant, irresponsible, indifferent to and disrespectful of the opinions of others." Barrett employs a critical analysis of primary sources, questioning their reliability and potential biases. He also considers archaeological evidence, such as coinage, to challenge traditional narratives. Barrett concludes that Caligula's reign was "indeed a disaster; but it was probably the disaster of a self-centered incompetent, rather than that of a madman."

Bernstein, Frank. "Von Caligula zu Claudius: Der Senat und das Phantom der Freiheit". *Historische Zeitschrift* 285, no. 1 (Dec. 1, 2007): 1–18. ISSN: 2196-680X, 0018-2613. <https://doi.org/10.1524/hzhz.2007.285.jg.1>.

Bernstein argues that calls to restore the Republic were likely a tactical maneuver by supporters of Claudius to prevent the conspirators from installing their own emperor candidate. He suggests the consul Sentius Saturninus, while publicly advocating for the Republic, was actually working to facilitate Claudius' recognition as emperor. The article provides a nuanced perspective on the political maneuvering during this transition of power, demonstrating how appeals to Republican ideals could be strategically employed even as the Principate was maintained.

Carlson, Deborah N. "Caligula's floating places. Archaeologists and shipwrights resurrect one of the emperor's sumptuous pleasure boats". *Archaeology* 55, no. 3 (2002): 26–31.

While Carlson mentions some of Caligula's lavish behaviours and potentially darker aspects of his character, such as his enjoyment of watching torture, these are presented as historical facts rather than evidence of madness. The article primarily describes Caligula's "passions" and obsession with extravagant public displays, but does not explicitly characterise these as signs of mental instability. The primary focus is on the archaeological and historical significance of Caligula's ships rather than on the emperor's mental state.

Cyrino, Monica Silveira. *Big Screen Rome*. John Wiley & Sons, Feb. 9, 2009. ISBN: 978-1-4051-5032-3.

Cyrino presents Caligula as descending into madness following a serious illness early in his reign. She accepts Suetonius' claim that this illness led to "chronic dementia", resulting in a brutal and erratic rule. Cyrino portrays Caligula's subsequent behaviour as clear evidence of insanity, citing examples such as megalomania, outrageous acts of cruelty, and delusional behaviour like demanding worship as a god and appointing his horse as a senator. Her unequivocal

characterisation of Caligula as "crazed" leaves little doubt about her position on his mental state.

Donchin, Yoel. "When leaders become ill". Place: Israel, *The Israel Medical Association journal* 8, no. 1 (2006): 744–745. ISSN: 1565-1088, Place: Israel.

Donchin uses Caligula as part of a broader discussion on leaders' health issues throughout history. Donchin does not make a definitive statement about Caligula's madness, but notes that the emperor suffered from epilepsy and committed acts of "basest cruelty and abuse."

Eaton, Jonathan. "Review of: Caligula: a Biography". In collab. with Aloys Winterling. *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 4, no. 13 (2004). ISSN: 1055-7660. <https://bmc.brynmawr.edu/2012/2012.04.13/>.

Eaton, in reviewing Winterling's biography, does not directly address Caligula's madness, instead focusing on Winterling's interpretation of Caligula's actions as politically motivated rather than signs of insanity. Eaton approvingly highlights Winterling's explanations for Caligula's seemingly irrational behaviour, such as forcing flatterers to fulfil extravagant promises, awarding his horse with honours to satirise senators' ambitions, and moving senators' families into the palace as hostages. These actions are presented as calculated political moves within the context of Roman politics and the challenges of maintaining the Augustan Principate, rather than as evidence of mental instability.

Fagenson-Eland, Ellen. "The Caligula Phenomenon: Theoretical, but Not Abusive". Publisher: SAGE Publications Inc, *Journal of Management Inquiry* 10, no. 3 (Sept. 1, 2001): 217–220. ISSN: 1056-4926, Publisher: SAGE Publications Inc. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1056492601103003>.

Fagenson-Eland argues that the psychotherapy model is inappropriate for understanding mentor-protégé dynamics. She contends that mentors who impose their interpretations on protégés are not abusive, but rather fulfilling their role in guiding less experienced individuals. The article challenges the notion that mentors should prioritise protégés' sense-making, arguing instead that mentors' interpretations are crucial for protégés' success. Fagenson-Eland uses personal anecdotes and examples from nature to support her view that effective mentoring often involves overruling protégés' perspectives for their benefit.

Gerstenbrand, Franz, Bettina Matulla, and Heinrich Binder. "Neurology - Historical, Recent and Future Aspects". *Acta Clin Croat* 42, no. 1 (2003): 3–10.

Gerstenbrand, Matulla and Binder briefly mention Caligula's illness and subsequent behavioural changes, suggesting a potential medical explanation (herpes encephalitis) rather than inherent madness. However, the source does not provide an in-depth analysis of Caligula's mental state or directly address the question of his madness.

Gury, Françoise. "L'idéologie impériale et la lune: Caligula". Publisher: Societe d'Etudes Latines de Bruxelles, *Latomus* 59, no. 3 (2000): 564–595. ISSN: 0023-8856, Publisher: Societe d'Etudes Latines de Bruxelles. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41539273>.

Gury challenges the traditional portrayal of Caligula's 'madness', arguing that his lunar devotion was part of a coherent political-religious project rather than evidence of insanity. She asserts that "Under the malevolence of sources intent on obscuring the meaning of his intentions to reduce them...to grotesque anecdote, we would like to show that Caligula's interest in the Moon, far from being a trait of insanity or ridicule, is part of a coherent and original political-

religious project.” Gury employs historical analysis and contextualisation to reframe Caligula’s actions within Greco-Roman and Egyptian religious traditions, arguing that sources deliberately misrepresented his behaviour to discredit his ambitious monarchical aims.

Hind, J. G. F. “Caligula and the Spoils of Ocean: a Rush for Riches in the Far North-West?” *Britannia* 34 (Nov. 2003): 272–274. ISSN: 1753-5352, 0068-113X. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3558547>.

Hind re-examines Caligula’s infamous “sea-shells comedy” on the shores of Gaul in 40 AD. Rather than viewing it as evidence of madness, Hind suggests it was a calculated move to proclaim victory over Ocean and potentially find pearls. He argues that Caligula’s actions align with contemporary Roman interest in British pearls and the emperor’s own fascination with them. This interpretation challenges the traditional view of the event as a sign of mental instability, instead framing it as a strategic, albeit misguided, attempt to salvage a failed military expedition and potentially acquire valuable resources.

Hughes, John R. “Dictator Perpetuus: Julius Caesar—Did he have seizures? If so, what was the etiology?” *Epilepsy & Behavior* 5, no. 5 (Oct. 1, 2004): 756–764. ISSN: 1525-5050. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.yebeh.2004.05.006>.

Hughes argues that Caligula likely had childhood epilepsy that evolved into temporal lobe epilepsy in adulthood, potentially contributing to his bizarre behaviour. Suetonius is cited as reporting that Caligula suffered from the “falling sickness” (likely epilepsy) as a youth, with symptoms including sudden faintness and difficulty walking, standing, or holding up his head. Hughes argues that at age 25, Caligula had a serious illness, possibly encephalitis, which may have exacerbated his condition. Hughes speculates that Caligula developed a left temporal lobe spike focus, leading to an interictal temporal lobe behaviour disorder that could explain his cruel and abnormal adult behaviour. While acknowledging that schizophrenia is another possible diagnosis, Hughes leans towards temporal lobe epilepsy as an explanation for Caligula’s reported behaviours, which align with characteristics of Geschwind’s temporal lobe syndrome.

Hurley, Donna. “Review of: Caligula, eine Biographie”. In collab. with Aloys Winterling. BMCR ID: 2003.12.06, *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 12, no. 6 (2003). ISSN: 1055-7660, BMCR ID: 2003.12.06. <https://bmc.brynmawr.edu/2003/2003.12.06/>.

Hurley presents a nuanced view of Caligula’s alleged madness through her analysis of Winterling’s work. She notes that Winterling, like most recent scholars, argues against Caligula being clinically insane. However, Hurley critiques this position, suggesting that while Caligula may not have been medically mad, his behaviour could still be considered mad by ordinary standards.

Kavanagh, Bernard Joseph. “Asiaticus, Seneca and Caligula’s Assassination”. Pages: 105–117, *In Altum- Seventy-Five Years of Classical Studies in New Foundland* (2001): 105–117. Pages: 105-117.

Kavanagh does not directly address Caligula’s insanity or madness. Instead, he focuses on analysing Valerius Asiaticus’s role in Caligula’s assassination. Kavanagh’s approach differs from others by critically examining the historical sources and their potential biases. He argues against claims of Asiaticus’s involvement in the conspiracy, stating “it does not appear that one can say that he was part of the actual conspiracy”. Kavanagh employs source criticism and contextual analysis to support his claims, questioning the credibility of Seneca and Tacitus. Ultimately, the article does not support the claim that Caligula was mad, as it primarily focuses on the political dynamics surrounding his assassination.

Langlands, Rebecca. "Imperial narratives, imperial interventions". In *Sexual Morality in Ancient Rome*. Cambridge, UNITED KINGDOM: Cambridge University Press, 2006. ISBN: 978-0-511-21938-2. <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/mqu/detail.action?docID=261141>.

Langlands examines how imperial writers like Tacitus and Suetonius portrayed sexual morality and political manipulation in early imperial Rome. While not focusing specifically on Caligula, Langlands provides context for understanding how emperors were depicted as using sexual morality as a means of control. She analyses how traditional stories about sexual virtue were reworked to highlight moral decline under imperial rule.

Levick, Barbara Mary. "Review of Caligula. Eine Biographie". In collab. with Aloys Winterling. Publisher: Verlag C.H.Beck, *Gnomon* 78, no. 3 (2006): 271–273. ISSN: 0017-1417, Publisher: Verlag C.H.Beck. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27693818>.

Levick does not take a definitive stance on whether Caligula was mad, but suggests that the question of his madness may be less important than the impact of his actions. She notes that the charge of insanity was not present in near-contemporary Roman sources, appearing later in Philo and Josephus, with Suetonius introducing the idea of madness caused by a love potion. Levick views Caligula's behaviour as destructive and irrational, regardless of clinical definitions of insanity, focusing more on the practical effects of his rule and how his image was constructed by later historians.

Lütgemeier-Davin, Reinhold. "Review of Caligula: Wilhelm II. und der Cäsarenwahnsinn. Antikenrezeption und wilhelminische Politik am Beispiel des "Caligula" von Ludwig Quidde". In collab. with Karl Holl, Hans Kloft, and Gerd Fesser. Publisher: Oldenbourg Wissenschaftsverlag GmbH, *Historische Zeitschrift* 275, no. 2 (2002): 507–508. ISSN: 0018-2613, Publisher: Oldenbourg Wissenschaftsverlag GmbH. <https://www.jstor.org.simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/stable/27634848>.

Leisegang analyses Philo's work "On the Embassy to Gaius," arguing it is not merely a report on the Jewish embassy to Caligula, but a philosophical-religious treatise with deeper meaning. Leisegang contends the subtitle "On Virtues" is ironic, referring to the Jewish people's virtues in resisting Caligula's demand for divine worship. He suggests the lost second part contained a "palinode" praising Caligula as an instrument of God's plan to test and demonstrate Jewish virtue. The article examines various scholarly interpretations of the work's title and structure, proposing it was written under Claudius as a retrospective on events under Caligula, with an eschatological perspective on the future of the Jewish people.

Malloch, S. J. V. "Gaius on the Channel Coast". *The Classical Quarterly* 51, no. 2 (2001): 551–556. ISSN: 0009-8388. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3556530>.

Malloch offers a reinterpretation of Caligula's actions on the Channel coast in 40 CE, arguing that they were calculated propaganda moves rather than signs of insanity. He contends that these actions were deliberate attempts to bolster Caligula's military reputation and prepare for a triumph, rather than irrational behaviour. Malloch critiques sources for constructing narratives that emphasise Caligula's apparent madness while downplaying more rational explanations for his conduct.

— . "Gaius' Bridge at Baiae and Alexander-Imitatio". *The Classical Quarterly* 51, no. 1 (2001): 206–217. ISSN: 0009-8388. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3556343>.

Malloch's article implicitly argues against the view of Caligula as mad, by providing rational explanations for his seemingly extravagant or bizarre behaviour. Malloch provides an alternative

interpretation of one of Caligula's most infamous acts - the bridging of the Bay of Baiae - as a deliberate imitation of Alexander the Great for political and propaganda purposes.

Stone, Michael H. "Serial Sexual Homicide: Biological, Psychological, and Sociological Aspects". *Journal of Personality Disorders* 15, no. 1 (Feb. 2001): 1–18. ISSN: 0885-579X. <https://doi.org/10.1521/pedi.15.1.1.18646>.

Stone mentions Caligula as an example of a historical figure who engaged in serial sexual homicide, but does not explicitly discuss his madness. He portrays Caligula's actions as a result of his absolute power rather than mental illness. Stone contrasts Caligula's behaviour with modern serial killers, suggesting that for Caligula, these acts were a "pastime" rather than a primary focus.

Taylor, N.H. "Popular Opposition To Caligula in Jewish Palestine". *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 32, no. 1 (2001): 54–70. ISSN: 0047-2212, 1570-0631. <https://doi.org/10.1163/157006301X00061>.

Taylor identifies two distinct protest movements: one in Judaea led by prophetic figures from Jerusalem, possibly priests and scribes, and another in Galilee characterised by agricultural abandonment and petitioning. Both movements were likely inspired by prophetic leadership and eschatological expectations. Taylor argues that effective opposition came from these popular movements rather than the priestly aristocracy or Herodian elite.

Wardle, David. "Caligula's Bridge of Boats - AD 39 or 40?" *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 56, no. 1 (2007): 118–120. ISSN: 0018-2311. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25598379>.

Wardle challenges Aloys Winterling's suggestion that Caligula's bridge of boats was built in AD 40, arguing instead for the traditional dating of AD 39. Wardle critically examines the evidence from ancient sources, particularly Josephus and Seneca, and finds them insufficient to support Winterling's claim. He argues that Cassius Dio's chronology, placing the event in 39 AD, is more reliable and fits better with other known events.

Winterling, Aloys. *Caligula*. English. Trans. by Deborah Lucas Schneider, Glenn W. Most, and Paul Psounis. München: Beck, 2003. ISBN: 978-0-520-24895-3. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/j.ctt1pnbhf>.

Winterling argues that Caligula's behaviour was not a product of insanity but rather calculated political manoeuvring. This is evidenced when he writes that "Caligula exposed [their vows] as lies by taking them at face value, and he humiliated the flatterer by cynically forcing him to do what he had announced." Unlike other historians who portrayed Caligula as mentally unstable, Winterling analyses his actions as strategic responses to aristocratic threats, noting that "the emperor increased his pressure on the aristocracy, creating even more fear."

Woods, David. "Caligula's Seashells". *Greece & Rome* 47, no. 1 (2000): 80–87. ISSN: 0017-3835. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/826949>.

Woods challenges the traditional interpretation of Caligula's 'madness' by offering a rational explanation for the seashell incident. Rather than accepting the historical portrayal of an insane emperor ordering soldiers to collect seashells, Woods argues that the term "conchae" was misinterpreted and actually referred to small enemy boats. He suggests that hostile historical traditions have perpetuated this misunderstanding, stating that "our main sources for this event are heirs to a hostile tradition which misinterpreted Caligula's original instruction." Woods' methodology involves linguistic analysis and contextual reinterpretation, demonstrating

that prejudice against Caligula led historians to “believe almost anything of him, however improbable.”

- . “Caligula’s Gallic Captives (Suet., Calig. 47)”. *Latomus* 66, no. 4 (2007): 900–904. ISSN: 0023-8856. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41545802>.

Woods’ article notably diverges from traditional interpretations of Caligula’s ‘madness.’ Rather than supporting claims of insanity, Woods argues that Caligula’s actions were misrepresented by hostile historical traditions. He employs linguistic and historical analysis to demonstrate that what appears as irrational behaviour was actually calculated political action. As Woods notes, “any easy resort to the ‘mad’ emperor solution simply ignores the more complex historiographical issues.” His methodology focuses on reinterpreting primary sources, particularly examining Greek terminology and cultural context. The article suggests that Caligula’s treatment of Gallic captives reflected administrative policy rather than mental instability, challenging the “hostile stereotype of Caligula as the ‘mad’ emperor.”

- . “Tiberius on Caligula, the Snake, and Other Contextual Problems”. *Artcos* 41 (2007): 117–127. ISSN: 0570-734X.

Woods examines Tiberius’ alleged statements about Caligula, particularly the comparison to a snake. Woods argues that Suetonius may have misinterpreted or misrepresented Tiberius’ words by removing them from their original context. He suggests the snake comparison likely referred to Caligula as a potential victim rather than a threat. Woods demonstrates how modern historical approaches can alter our understanding of ancient sources and Caligula’s perceived mental state by critically analysing the context and potential misinterpretations of primary sources.

- . “Caligula on Augustus’ Alleged Incest with Julia”. *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 152, no. 3 (2009): 400–404. ISSN: 0035-449X. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41234809>.

Woods examines Suetonius’ claim that Caligula boasted of being descended from an incestuous relationship between Augustus and his daughter Julia. Woods argues this is likely a misinterpretation of Caligula’s actual statements. He suggests Caligula was referring to the rumoured affair between Augustus and Livia (later called Julia Augusta) that produced Drusus, Caligula’s paternal grandfather. This interpretation aligns with Caligula’s known respect for Agrippa and removes the incest element. Woods demonstrates how later hostile sources may have distorted Caligula’s words to portray him negatively, cautioning against uncritical acceptance of ancient claims about Caligula’s mental state or behaviour.

- Zabern, Philip von. “Castor, Caligula Und Pollux”. *Antike Welt* 34, no. 5 (2003): 542–542. ISSN: 0003-570X. <https://www.jstor.org.simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/stable/44466336>.

Zabern does not contain significant information relevant to Caligula’s mental state or modern historical approaches to understanding it. The only mention of Caligula is a brief note about archaeological excavations near the Temple of Castor on the Roman Forum, which uncovered remains of what may have been Caligula’s palace. The article cites Suetonius’ claim that Caligula used the temple as an entrance hall and placed himself between statues of Castor and Pollux to receive guests. However, this provides no substantial insight into Caligula’s mental state or modern interpretations of it.

2010s

Alston, Richard. *Aspects of Roman History 31 BC-AD 117*. Oxford, UNITED KINGDOM: Taylor & Francis Group, 2013. ISBN: 978-1-317-97643-1. <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/mqu/detail.action?docID=1546789>.

Alston examines how Caligula's actions, including his divine pretensions and treatment of the Senate, can be understood as attempts to establish a new form of imperial authority. Alston argues that Caligula's behaviour, while extreme, had a discernible logic rooted in his unique position and the paradoxes of Roman imperial power. The text also explores Caligula's administrative policies, military endeavours, and eventual assassination, offering a more complex portrait of the emperor than typically presented in ancient sources.

Barrett, Anthony. *Caligula: The Abuse of Power*. 2nd Edition. Roman imperial biographies. P. 284-321. London: Routledge, 2015. ISBN: 978-1-315-72541-3, p. 284-321. <https://doi-org.simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/10.4324/9781315725413>.

Barrett discusses Caligula's alleged madness, presenting a nuanced view that challenges simplistic notions of insanity. He argues that while Caligula was not clinically mad, he displayed a disturbing lack of moral responsibility and an obsession with power. Barrett suggests Caligula's behaviour stemmed from a self-centred worldview rather than mental illness. He notes that contemporary sources like Seneca and Philo, despite their hostility, do not describe specific acts of insanity. Barrett attributes many anecdotes about Caligula's cruelty to misunderstood dark humour, stating: "Caligula's disturbing obsession with the dark humour of destructive power suggests that he was a man who would see the principate as an expression of his right to exercise unchecked powers."

Beard, Mary. "It was Satire: Review of Winterling, *Caligula* (2011)". *London Review of Books* 34, no. 8 (Apr. 26, 2012): 135–143. <https://www.lrb.co.uk/the-paper/v34/n08/mary-beard/it-was-satire>.

Beard challenges the traditional narrative of Caligula's insanity, suggesting his actions were often misinterpreted satire. She argues that Caligula's behaviour was a critique of imperial double-speak and aristocratic hypocrisy. Beard's approach differs from conventional views by contextualising Caligula's actions within Roman political communication. She employs historical analysis and reinterpretation of primary sources to support her claims. For instance, Beard argues that Caligula's treatment of his horse was "a pointed joke... satirising the aims and ambitions of the Roman aristocracy." While not entirely dismissing Caligula's excesses, Beard's analysis offers a nuanced perspective that questions the simplistic portrayal of the emperor as merely 'mad'.

— . *Mary Beard on Caligula*. Part 1: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XsGvGp69gyE>
Part 2: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SlAoMzYxJbw> Part 3: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TbU>
English National Opera, 2012. Part 1: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XsGvGp69gyE>
Part 2: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SlAoMzYxJbw> Part 3: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TbU>

Mary Beard's analysis of Caligula's 'madness' diverges from traditional approaches by questioning the veracity of historical accounts. She suggests that Caligula's reputation may be a construct, stating, "We are never going to know whether Caligula was a monster." Beard argues that the emperor's portrayal serves political purposes: "It's very useful for us to think about how awful Caligula was." She employs a critical, contextual methodology, analysing the motivations behind historical narratives: "The Roman Emperors who get a bad press are those that were assassinated." Beard's approach neither fully supports nor refutes claims of Caligula's madness,

instead encouraging a nuanced understanding of power dynamics and historical representation in ancient Rome.

- . “Caligula’s Satire”. In *Confronting the Classics: Traditions, Adventures and Innovations*. London, UNITED KINGDOM: Profile Books, 2013. ISBN: 978-1-84765-888-3. <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/mqu/detail.action?docID=1743071>.
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Beard notes that while some archaeological evidence supports claims of Caligula’s extravagance, many lurid stories about his madness may stem from political motivations after his death. She is somewhat skeptical of Winterling’s approach, noting that he often reinterprets bizarre anecdotes to fit his theory. Ultimately, Beard emphasises the difficulty in discerning historical truth from the biased accounts of Roman writers who often denounced dead emperors to reposition themselves under new regimes.

- Bissler, Joseph Stephen. “Caligula Unmasked: an Investigation of the Historiography of Rome’s Most Notorious Emperor”. Master’s Thesis, Kent State University, 2013. https://etd.ohiolink.edu/acprod/odb_etd/ws/send_file/send?accession=kent1374749172&disposition=inline.
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Bissler’s 2013 Master’s thesis examines how modern scholarship has shifted away from viewing Caligula’s mental state as simply “madness” toward attempting specific clinical diagnoses. Bissler argues that applying modern psychiatric labels retrospectively to an ancient figure is problematic and unscientific, given the biased nature of ancient sources written generations after Caligula’s death. Bissler highlights how contemporary accounts like Seneca and Philo present a more nuanced view of Caligula as arrogant and irresponsible rather than insane.

- Blochmann, Simone. “Legitimation von Gewalt in der frühen Kaiserzeit: Die Ermordung Caligulas”. Publisher: Franz Steiner Verlag, *Hermes* 145, no. 2 (2017): 122–142. ISSN: 0018-0777, Publisher: Franz Steiner Verlag. <https://www.jstor.org/simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/stable/26650392>.
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Blochmann argues that the detailed narratives in ancient sources reflect attempts to frame the murder as justified tyrannicide rather than illegitimate violence against the emperor. Key strategies included “de-sacralising” Caligula’s divine pretensions, providing an institutional framework through the Senate meeting, and drawing parallels to Caesar’s assassination. The analysis suggests these accounts reveal broader uncertainties in the early imperial period about how to deal with an unacceptable ruler, as formal procedures for deposing emperors did not yet exist.

- Caligula with Mary Beard (BBC Documentary)*. Caligula with Mary Beard. In collab. with Mary Beard. Director - Hugo MacGregor Producer - Caterina Turrone Executive Producer - Richard Bradley, July 29, 2013. Director - Hugo MacGregor Producer - Caterina Turrone Executive Producer - Richard Bradley. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LLesrKevuKA>.
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In this BBC documentary, Mary Beard presents a nuanced view of Caligula, challenging the traditional portrayal of him as purely insane. While acknowledging his excesses, she suggests some stories may be exaggerated or misinterpreted. Beard’s approach differs by contextualising Caligula’s behaviour within Roman imperial politics and culture. She argues that his actions, while extreme, were often calculated displays of power. Beard employs historical analysis, archaeological evidence, and critical examination of ancient sources to support her claims. The documentary neither fully supports nor refutes Caligula’s madness, instead offering a more

complex interpretation. As Beard states, "Were the stories of murder and madness created as much by Caligula himself to further a culture of fear? Or were they spun... to blacken his name?"

Camargo, Carlos Henrique Ferreira, and Hélio Afonso Ghizoni Teive. "Searching for neurological diseases in the Julio-Claudian dynasty of the Roman Empire". *Arquivos de Neuro-Psiquiatria* 76, no. 1 (Jan. 2018): 53–57. ISSN: 1678-4227, 0004-282X. <https://doi.org/10.1590/0004-282x20170174>.

Camargo and Teive argue that Caligula suffered a behavioural condition from temporal lobe epilepsy. They point to the emperor deciding to torture Roman citizens, wishing for plagues and deifying himself as evidence of temporal lobe epilepsy. They also suggest syphilis as another explanation.

Demetriooff, Jazz. "Mad, Deranged, Insane: A Case Study of Madness as a Diagnosis in Antiquity". Number: 2, *Crossings*, no. 2 (June 11, 2018): 205–222. ISSN: 2560-6468, Number: 2. <https://crossings.uwinnipeg.ca/index.php/crossings/article/view/92>.

Demetriooff argues that Caligula likely suffered from epilepsy. Demetriooff suggests that Caligula's reported "madness" aligns with symptoms of epilepsy as described by Hippocrates, including seizures, personality changes, and erratic behaviour. She notes that epilepsy may have run in the Julio-Claudian family and that Caligula reportedly had seizures from childhood. Demetriooff proposes that the stress of ruling, combined with Caligula's illness in AD 37, may have exacerbated his condition, leading to more severe symptoms that have been interpreted as madness. While acknowledging the limitations of diagnosing historical figures, she concludes that "epileptic psychosis" is the most likely explanation for Caligula's reported behaviour and mental state.

Elkins, Nathan T. "Taxes, Liberty, and the "Quadrantes" of Caligula". Publisher: Royal Numismatic Society, *The Numismatic Chronicle* 174 (2014): 111–117. ISSN: 0078-2696, Publisher: Royal Numismatic Society. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/44710186>.

Elkins does not directly discuss Caligula's insanity or madness in this article. Instead, he focuses on analysing the quadrantes of Caligula, challenging recent interpretations and supporting the traditional view that these coins commemorate the remission of the auction tax. Elkins argues that *libertas* was linked to freedom from taxation, citing examples from Roman history and coinage. He supports this with evidence from later emperors, particularly Galba's coinage which explicitly connected tax remission with liberty. .

Fine, Steven. "Caligula and the Jews: Some Historiographic Reflections Occasioned by Gaius in Polychrome". In *Art, History, and the Historiography of Judaism in Roman Antiquity*, 51–62. Brill, 2014. ISBN: 978-90-04-23817-6. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004238176_005.

Fine does not directly address Caligula's insanity, instead focusing on the emperor's actions towards Jews and their cultural impact. His approach differs from those claiming madness by analysing the historical context and Jewish-Roman relations. Fine argues that Caligula's attempt to place his statue in the Jerusalem Temple disrupted a delicate balance between Jewish practices and Roman rule. He supports this claim by examining primary sources like Philo and Josephus, and analysing material culture. Fine notes, "Caligula upset the balance at the imperial level," suggesting that the emperor's actions, rather than madness, were the primary issue for Jews of the period.

Gladhill, Bill. "The Emperor's No Clothes: Suetonius and the Dynamics of Corporeal Ecphrasis". *Classical Antiquity* 31, no. 2 (2012): 315–348. <https://online.ucpress.edu/ca/article/31/2/315/25596/The-Emperor-s-No-Clothes-Suetonius-and-the>.

Gladhill does not take a clear stance on whether Caligula was mad, but presents a physical description that implies monstrosity and savagery rather than mental illness. He describes Caligula's body as "outside the norm" with features like sunken eyes, a broad and bull-like head, and a body covered in shaggy hair. Gladhill frames Caligula's bestial qualities as a "pervasive hyperbole" compared to the more subtle animal-like traits of previous emperors. While not explicitly addressing madness, this portrayal implies Caligula was monstrous and beast-like rather than simply mentally ill.

Gruen, Erich S. "Caligula, The Imperial Cult, and Philo's Legatio". In *The Construct of Identity in Hellenistic Judaism: Essays on Early Jewish Literature and History*, 1st ed., 397–410. Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies. De Gruyter, 2016. <https://www.jstor.org.simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/stable/j.ctvbkjxph.23>.

Gruen's analysis challenges the traditional portrayal of Caligula's "insanity" regarding the statue incident. He argues that Philo's account is dramatised and unreliable, questioning Caligula's alleged hatred of Jews and obsession with divinity. Gruen suggests the emperor's actions were more likely motivated by eastern policy than madness. He critiques Philo's narrative, stating it "is patently theatrical, over-dramatised, and replete with embellishments and imaginings." Gruen emphasises the need to reassess Philo's authority, noting that "imputed motivation and purported objectives were a different matter. Philo divined them to suit his portrait. They do not qualify as responsible reportage." This nuanced approach encourages a more measured view of Caligula's reign and motivations.

Johnston, Patricia A. "Director's Report: Symposium Cumanum June 23-26, 2010". Publisher: The Vergilian Society, *Vergilius (1959-)* 56 (2010): 121–135. ISSN: 0506-7294, Publisher: The Vergilian Society. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41588692>.

Johnston discusses a symposium on Roman life, literature, and art under the Julio-Claudian emperors. It highlights presentations on Caligula's public performances as attempts to redefine virtue, rather than signs of mental instability. The paper by Steven Tuck argues that Caligula's appearances as a performer in Roman spectacles were deliberate efforts to create a new imperial persona, challenging traditional notions of male patrician behaviour. This interpretation contrasts with views of Caligula's actions as merely self-indulgent or evidence of mental illness, suggesting instead a calculated political strategy to reshape the image of the princeps in line with Greek examples and later imperial practices.

Jones, Peter. "AD 14-96". In *Veni, Vidi, Vici: Everything You Ever Wanted to Know about the Romans but Were Afraid to Ask*. London, United Kingdom: Atlantic Books, Limited, 2014. ISBN: 978-1-78239-020-6. <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/mqu/detail.action?docID=1222341>.

Jones presents Caligula as descending into erratic, cruel and autocratic behaviour suggestive of madness, without explicitly stating he was mad. He describes Caligula becoming a "cruel, capricious and autocratic tyrant" who engaged in bizarre actions like replacing the heads of statues with his own. Jones notes Caligula's contemptuous attitude toward the people, his reckless spending of state funds, and his obsession with entertainment and racing. While not directly calling Caligula mad, he portrays his behaviour as increasingly unstable and tyrannical.

Kelly, James, and Christie Shinn. "Caligula, imperatore insanum: An Interview". *thersites. Journal for Transcultural Presences & Diachronic Identities from Antiquity to Date* 8 (2018): 111–126. ISSN: 2364-7612. <https://doi.org/10.34679/thersites.vol8.98>.

Kelly challenges the traditional portrayal of Caligula as insane, instead presenting him as a complex figure shaped by trauma and autocratic power. He argues that Caligula's actions were rooted in psychological damage from witnessing family murders and inheriting vast power at a young age. Kelly's approach differs by emphasising the human and tragic elements of Caligula's story, supported by revisionist scholarship like Winterling's work. He utilises primary sources critically, recognising their biases, and incorporates secondary literature to provide context. Kelly states, "I wanted to tell the story not of the mad-Emperor Caligula, but the story of a little boy, who from the age of 8 watched his father, mother and his two brothers be killed by the intrigue of the imperial family."

Laes, Christian. "Mental and Intellectual Disabilities: Sane or Insane?" In *Disabilities and the Disabled in the Roman World: A Social and Cultural History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018. ISBN: 978-1-107-16290-7. <https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/disabilities-and-the-disabled-in-the-roman-world/62269BEF65221B22349CBAE76677CB85>.

Laes notes that ancient sources like Suetonius portrayed Caligula as a "monster", but suggests these accounts may be exaggerated or follow literary conventions for depicting "bad" emperors. He critiques modern attempts to retroactively diagnose Caligula with specific mental illnesses based on ancient accounts. Instead, Laes suggests Caligula's behaviour may have been influenced by factors like childhood trauma and his precarious position under Tiberius.

Lefebvre, Laurie. *Le mythe Néron*. Specifically looked at pages 211-219, comparing Caligula and Nero. Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 2017. ISBN: 978-2-7574-1729-4, Specifically looked at pages 211-219, comparing Caligula and Nero. <https://library.oapen.org/handle/20.500.12657/24917>.

Interestingly, Lefebvre does not directly address Caligula's alleged madness at all in this excerpt. Instead, she takes a comparative analytical approach, examining how ancient sources constructed parallel narratives between Caligula and Nero's behaviours and vices. The methodology focuses on literary and historiographical analysis rather than psychological assessment. Lefebvre argues that Caligula's portrayal was largely shaped retrospectively alongside Nero's, suggesting that "Caligula even benefitted from the sinister celebrity of Nero." This approach challenges traditional readings focused on madness by examining how ancient authors deliberately constructed these parallel tyrannical narratives.

Moore, Michael Edward. "Caligula: A Biography". *The European Legacy* 19, no. 3 (Apr. 16, 2014): 400–403. ISSN: 1084-8770. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10848770.2014.898953>.

Moore summarises Winterling's argument that Caligula's seemingly insane actions were actually calculated moves to assert absolute power and humiliate the aristocracy. However, Moore shows some skepticism about this interpretation, noting that Caligula's actions can be rationalised and may still indicate mental instability.

Pagán, Victoria Emma, and Mark Fenster. "Suetonius and Suspicion". In *Conspiracy Theory in Latin Literature*. Austin, UNITED STATES: University of Texas Press, 2012. ISBN:

978-0-292-73973-4. <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/mqu/detail.action?docID=3443621>.

Pagán does not explicitly argue that Caligula was mad, but she presents examples from Suetonius' biography that portray Caligula's behaviour as irrational, paranoid and cruel. She highlights examples such as Caligula having his adopted brother Tiberius Gemellus murdered based on the mistaken suspicion that he was taking an antidote against poison, when he was actually taking cough medicine. Pagán states that Caligula had "a tendency to jump to conclusions and misread cues" and was "unable to process information rationally."

Peakman, Julie. "The Ties that Bind: Sadomasochism". In *The Pleasure's All Mine: A History of Perverse Sex*. London, UNITED KINGDOM: Reaktion Books, Limited, 2013. ISBN: 978-1-78023-203-4. <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/mqu/detail.action?docID=1418435>.

Peakman notes Caligula as an example of Roman cruelty and sadism. While not directly addressing Caligula's 'madness', Peakman presents him as a despotic emperor who took pleasure in causing pain to others. This characterisation aligns with historical portrayals of Caligula's cruel behaviour, which could be interpreted as a sign of mental instability. However, she does not explicitly link this behaviour to madness, instead framing it within the broader context of Roman society's brutality.

Penella, Robert J. "The Fathers of the Emperors Caligula and Claudius in Suetonius' Lives of the Caesars". *Phoenix* 72, no. 1 (2018): 161–165. ISSN: 1929-4883. <https://doi.org/10.1353/phx.2018.0032>.

Penella argues that Suetonius' unusually lengthy and prominent treatment of these fathers invites readers to compare them favorably with their imperial sons. This contrast highlights the virtues of Germanicus and Drusus while emphasising the flaws of Caligula and Claudius. The article suggests this approach may have prompted contemporary readers to consider counterfactual scenarios and reflect on the unpredictable nature of hereditary succession, particularly relevant in the early 2nd century CE political context.

Ronning, Christian. "Zwischen ratio und Wahn. Caligula, Claudius und Nero in der altertumswissenschaftlichen Forschung". In *Zwischen ratio und Wahn. Caligula, Claudius und Nero in der altertumswissenschaftlichen Forschung*, 253–276. De Gruyter Oldenbourg, July 11, 2016. ISBN: 978-3-11-044666-1. <https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/9783110446661-012/html>.

Ronning argues this reflects broader historiographical trends, including moves toward social and cultural history. He suggests biography remains a problematic genre for understanding the principate, as it imposes artificial coherence on complex historical phenomena. Ronning demonstrates how interpretations of these controversial emperors have evolved alongside changing historical methodologies and theoretical frameworks.

Sidwell, Barbara. "Gaius Caligula's Mental Illness". *The Classical World* 103, no. 2 (2010): 183–206. ISSN: 0009-8418. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40599927>.

Sidwell extensively analyses the question of Caligula's alleged madness, arguing that diagnosing mental illness in historical figures is problematic and speculative. She challenges traditional approaches that label Caligula as simply "mad," noting that "any easy resort to the 'mad' emperor solution simply ignores the more complex historiographical issues." The article examines various theories about Caligula's behaviour, from epilepsy to psychopathy, but concludes that without proper clinical assessment, no definitive diagnosis is possible. Sidwell suggests examining

Caligula's actions through other lenses, viewing him as "an out-of-control autocrat, rather than a madman acting through delusions."

Southon, Emma. "Caligula and Drusilla in the Modern Imagination". In *The Reception of Ancient Virtues and Vices in Modern Popular Culture*, 11:187–205. Metaform. Brill, 2017. ISBN: 978-90-04-34772-4. https://doi-org.simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/10.1163/9789004347724_009.

Southon examines how Caligula's alleged madness has been portrayed differently across various media adaptations. Rather than definitively claiming Caligula was mad, Southon analyses how his "madness" has been reinterpreted through changing cultural lenses. She notes how portrayals evolved from Graves's "pure, unadulterated monster" to more nuanced characterisations exploring trauma and mental illness. As evidenced when she writes, "Each approaches Caligula's incest differently, and thus each presents the viewer with a different relationship with Rome and Roman morality." Southon's methodology involves comparative analysis of media adaptations to demonstrate how interpretations reflect contemporary cultural values rather than historical accuracy.

Tibballs, Geoff. "Mad, Bad and Dangerous to Know". In *Royalty's Strangest Characters: Extraordinary But True Tales of 2000 years of mad monarchs and raving rulers*, 5–12. Strangest. New York: Pavilion Books Company Limited, 2014. ISBN: 978-1-84994-180-8.

Tibballs argues that Caligula was unquestionably mad. He argues that Caligula's cruelty, self-deification and incest with his sister serve as evidence of his madness. Tibballs notes that Caligula was epileptic and suggests that Caligula's madness may have been worsened by an episode of encephalitis in AD 37. He also points out Caligula's love of torture and sexual exploits as examples of the emperor's erratic behaviour.

Weigel, Richard D. "Caligula - Review of A. Winterling "Caligula A Biography."". *The Classical Review* 62, no. 2 (2012): 600–602. ISSN: 1464-3561, 0009-840X. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0009840X12001230>.

Weigel's analysis challenges the traditional view of Caligula's madness, instead interpreting his actions as calculated moves to humiliate the senatorial aristocracy. Rather than accepting Suetonius' portrayal of insanity, Weigel presents Caligula as a strategic ruler who "stripped the mask from the face of aristocracy." His methodology involves reinterpreting historical events through the lens of political power dynamics, supported by primary sources including Dio Cassius. Weigel argues that Caligula's seemingly irrational behaviours were deliberate attempts to "destroy the aristocratic hierarchy," and demonstrate his absolute power, rather than manifestations of mental illness.

Woods, David. "Caligula's Quadrans". *The Numismatic Chronicle* 170 (2010): 99–103. ISSN: 0078-2696. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/42678887>.

Woods' article notably diverges from traditional narratives about Caligula's madness, as it does not address the emperor's mental state at all. Instead, Woods employs a methodical numismatic analysis to examine the symbolism on Caligula's quadrans coins, particularly focusing on the pileus symbol. He argues against Barrett's interpretation, suggesting that rather than commemorating executions, the coins celebrated Caligula's citizenship enforcement policies. Woods utilises comparative numismatic evidence and chronological analysis to support his claims, noting that "if either design-type had really celebrated the execution of an alleged

conspirator... there seems no good reason why Caligula should have restricted its use to the lowest coin denomination.”

- . “Caligula Displays Caesonia (suet. Calig. 25.3)”. *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 157, no. 1 (2014): 27–36. ISSN: 0035-449X. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24392820>.

Woods challenges traditional interpretations of Caligula’s behaviour regarding Caesonia, arguing that Suetonius misinterpreted or misrepresented key events. Rather than displaying signs of madness, Woods suggests Caligula’s actions were part of carefully orchestrated political theatre. He argues that Caesonia’s appearance in military attire represented Venus Victrix during specific ceremonial events, particularly at Baiae. Woods notes that “Suetonius frequently generalises on the basis of a single alleged example” and recontextualises the “naked” (nudus) display as merely being “unarmed” after military ceremonies. His methodology focuses on careful textual analysis and historical contextualisation to challenge assumptions about Caligula’s mental state.

- . “Caligula, Incitatus, and the Consulship”. *The Classical Quarterly* 64, no. 2 (2014): 772–777. ISSN: 0009-8388. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43905613>.

Woods analyses Caligula’s alleged madness through a focused examination of the Incitatus consul story, suggesting it was likely a misinterpreted joke rather than evidence of insanity. He differs from traditional approaches by offering a linguistic analysis of the consul appointments, particularly focusing on wordplay between names. Woods argues that Caligula’s comments about making Incitatus consul were likely directed at mocking Asinius Celer, whose name meant “swift ass.” This is supported by the quote, “Perhaps Caligula criticised the candidacy of Celer for the suffect consulship by claiming that it would be better to appoint a ‘swift,’ prize-winning horse to the post than a mere ‘ass.’”

- . “Caligula as Venus (suet. Calig. 52)”. *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 161, no. 3 (2018): 422–432. ISSN: 0035449X. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/45174371>.

Woods’ article challenges traditional narratives of Caligula’s madness, suggesting that accounts of his divine impersonations, particularly as Venus, may have been misinterpreted. Rather than indicating insanity, Woods argues these behaviours had contextual explanations. He specifically analyses the claim that Caligula dressed as Venus at the English Channel, suggesting this was likely a misunderstanding of his wearing the myrtle crown of Venus during his ovation (triumph). As Woods notes “the claim that Caligula sometimes disguised himself as Venus is a generalising claim based on a single severely misinterpreted incident.” His methodology relies heavily on comparative historical analysis and reinterpretation of primary sources.

- . “Caligula, Asprenas, and the Bloodied Robe”. *Mnemosyne* 71, no. 5 (2018): 873–880. ISSN: 0026-7074. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26572963>.

Woods’ article does not directly address Caligula’s alleged madness, instead focusing on analysing a specific historical incident involving a bloodied robe just before Caligula’s assassination. The article examines discrepancies between accounts by Josephus and Suetonius regarding whose robe was bloodied during a sacrifice. Woods employs historiographical analysis and source criticism to examine these conflicting narratives, as evidenced when he notes that “Suetonius attributes the wrong form of death to Laureolus, probably that suffered by Cinyras instead.” The article neither supports nor refutes claims about Caligula’s madness, as mental state is not within its analytical scope.

- . “Caligula’s Sexual Desire for the Moon (Suet. Calig. 22.4)”. *Museum Helveticum* 76, no. 2 (2019): 235–241. ISSN: 0027-4054. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27026783>.
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Woods’ article does not directly address Caligula’s madness, but rather analyses the historical misinterpretation of his behaviour regarding Luna (the moon goddess). Woods argues that claims about Caligula’s sexual desire for the moon likely stemmed from a mistranslation of the Greek verb “συγγ γνεσθαι,” which could mean either “to have sexual intercourse with” or “to hold a conversation with.” Woods suggests this originated from a single sarcastic exchange between Caligula and Vitellius, rather than evidence of insanity. As Woods notes, “this allegation is best treated as the mistaken expansion of some statement” from historical sources, challenging traditional interpretations of Caligula’s behaviour.

2020s

Abbe, Mark B. "The Togatus Statue of Caligula in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts: an Archaeological Description". In *New Studies on the Portrait of Caligula in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts*, vol. 26. United States: BRILL, 2020. ISBN: 90-04-41268-9.

Abbe examines the statue's material, dimensions, provenance, condition, and ancient marble techniques. Notably, the analysis reveals evidence of ancient polychromy, including traces of Egyptian blue and pink madder pigments on the tunic. The statue's exceptional preservation and lack of deliberate damage are discussed in historical context. While focused on technical details, the study also considers the statue's original appearance, intended viewing, and significance as an honorific monument.

Anglade, Laurent, and Thierry Éloi. "Les vêtements de Caligula". *Publications de l'École française de Rome*, Collection de l'École française de Rome (2021): 269–284. <https://doi.org/0.4000/books.efr.19382>.

This article analyses Caligula's clothing as depicted by Roman authors, particularly Suetonius and Dio Cassius. It argues that these descriptions were used to construct an image of Caligula as a "monster" who transgressed Roman norms, rather than reflecting actual mental instability. Anglade and Éloi suggest that Caligula's supposed violations of dress codes were used to paint him as an "anti-citizen" who broke the illusion of republican power still held by senators. As they note, "Finally, all these clothing games against Caligula are but the most visible expression of senatorial political hostility." The article contextualises these portrayals within the cultural and political significance of clothing in Roman society, particularly the toga as a symbol of citizenship and masculinity.

Barlag, Phillip. "The Little Boots". In *Evil Roman emperors*, 33–44. Lanham, Maryland: Prometheus Books, 2021. ISBN: 978-1-63388-690-2. <https://search.worldcat.org/title/1198086189>.

Barlag acknowledges Caligula's alleged madness, but offers a nuanced perspective, suggesting his actions may have been calculated rather than purely insane. He argues Caligula deliberately exposed the hypocrisy of Roman institutions, citing examples like elevating his horse to high office. Barlag employs historical analysis and psychological interpretation to support his claims. While not entirely dismissing Caligula's madness, Barlag presents a more complex view: "Whether his illness changed him, or the full realisation of his power and the accompanying realisation that there were no checks whatsoever on his behaviour, Caligula's sadism was reaching new horrible depths even as he was murdered." This approach challenges traditional narratives of Caligula's reign.

Barrett, Anthony A., and John C. Yardley. "The Private Caligula". In *The Emperor Caligula in the Ancient Sources*, 1st ed., 117–139. Oxford University Press Oxford, Apr. 27, 2023. ISBN: 978-0-19-885456-2. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198854562.003.0006>.

Barrett and Yardley examines Caligula's appearance, intellectual pursuits, sexual behaviour, and dark sense of humour, drawing on ancient sources like Suetonius and Dio. They critically analyse anecdotes about Caligula, suggesting some may be exaggerated or misinterpreted. A key section details Philo's account of meeting Caligula, offering a rare contemporary perspective. While acknowledging Caligula's cruelty and narcissism, Barrett and Yardley present a more complex portrait than the traditional "mad emperor" stereotype, highlighting his wit and abilities alongside his flaws.

- . “The Public Caligula”. In *The Emperor Caligula in the Ancient Sources*, 1st ed., 140–160. Oxford University Press Oxford, Apr. 27, 2023. ISBN: 978-0-19-885456-2. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198854562.003.0007>.

Barrett and Yardley analyse ancient sources describing Caligula’s cruelty, extravagance, and claims to divinity, while noting discrepancies between literary accounts and material evidence. They suggest some stories of Caligula’s excesses may be exaggerated or misinterpreted, particularly regarding demands for divine worship in Rome. Barrett and Yardley argue his behaviour was likely more nuanced than portrayed by hostile ancient writers, though still often cruel and erratic.

- Bremert, Tamara. “Sex in Suetonius: Sexual Material as a Characterisation Device for Tyrannical Emperors.” PhD thesis, The University of Adelaide, 2021.

Bremert examines Suetonius’ use of sexual material in characterising the “tyrannical” emperors Tiberius, Caligula, Nero, and Domitian in his *De Vita Caesarum*. Bremert argues that Suetonius deliberately employs anecdotes about sexual deviance to reinforce stereotypical traits of tyrants, such as cruelty, arrogance, and excess. Through careful structural and rhetorical techniques, including climactic arrangement and strategic placement of sexual rubrics, Suetonius shapes reader perceptions of these emperors as unfit to rule. The thesis demonstrates that far from mere gossip, Suetonius’ inclusion of sexual material serves a vital narrative purpose in constructing vivid, morally-charged portraits of tyrannical abuse of power.

- Buckwald, Craig. “Shameous Caesar: Suetonius and Finnegans Wake I.7”. *Joyce Studies Annual* (2020): 115–150. ISSN: 1049-0809. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/48669590>.

Buckwald presents quotes from Suetonius without explicitly arguing that they prove Caligula’s madness. Rather, they are presented as part of a broader discussion of how Suetonius portrayed the early Roman emperors, including their potential mental instabilities or erratic behaviours.

- Chillet, Clément. “La recherche sur le passé: entreprise culturelle ou instrument politique? Du projet augustéen à Caligula”. In *Nos sumus Romani qui futus ante... Memory of Ancient Italy*, vol. Geneva studies on Antiquity, 215–230. HAL Id: halshs-02000052. Bern, 2020. ISBN: 978-3-0343-2889-0, HAL Id: halshs-02000052.

Chillet examines how the Etruscan past was utilised during the Augustan and early imperial periods in Rome. Chillet analyses four case studies: the decree of Sardis (26 CE), Maecenas’ identity discourse, the “Dardanian” boundary stones in Tunisia, and the urn of Volumnius Violens. He argues these examples demonstrate a reconstruction of Etruscan heritage for contemporary purposes, rather than a decline of local identities. Chillet contends this “folklorisation” of the Etruscan past aligned with Augustus’ project of integrating Italian identities into a broader Roman identity, but became less politically useful by Tiberius’ reign. The analysis draws on theories of collective memory and identity formation.

- Chrysanthou, Chrysanthos S. “Sex and Power in Cassius Dio’s Roman History”. Place: Leiden | Boston Publisher: Brill, *Mnemosyne* 74, no. 4 (2020): 598–625. ISSN: 0026-7074, Place: Leiden | Boston Publisher: Brill. <https://doi.org/10.1163/1568525X-12342753>.

Chrysanthou does not take an explicit position on whether Caligula was mad. The article does contain some relevant information about how Dio portrayed Caligula’s behaviour and character. While madness is not explicitly mentioned, Chrysanthou highlights that Dio’s portrayal emphasises Caligula’s outrageous, transgressive, and tyrannical behaviour, particularly related

to sexuality and gender norms. He suggests Dio used sexual misconduct as a key element in constructing negative portraits of emperors like Caligula.

Connolly, Serena. "Caligula, Midas, and the Failure to Make Gold". *The University of Chicago Press Classical Philology* 116, no. 1 (Jan. 2024). <https://doi.org/10.1086/727862>.

Connolly examines Caligula's reported statement about being "either frugal or Caesar" through a new lens, suggesting it contains multiple puns. Beyond the known wordplay on "frugi" (frugal/Frugi family name), Connolly proposes a connection to the Phrygian king Midas. This interpretation links Caligula's golden food to Midas' golden touch myth, revealing self-deprecating humour about the emperor's failed attempt to create gold from orpiment. Connolly's analysis challenges the traditional view of Caligula as solely monstrous, presenting him as witty and self-aware.

Fadda, Salvatore. "Neurological and Neuropsychiatric Diseases through the Lens of Roman Sculpture". *Theoretical Roman Archaeology Journal* 4, no. 1 (Dec. 17, 2021). ISSN: 2515-2289. <https://doi.org/10.16995/traj.4342>.

Fadda presents various theories about Caligula's mental state and behaviour but emphasises that these are not reflected in contemporary artistic representations. The article suggests that the discrepancy between written accounts and artistic depictions may be due to later propaganda or the stylistic conventions of imperial portraiture, which aimed to present a positive image of the emperor regardless of his actual appearance or behaviour.

Flamerie de Lachapelle, Guillaume. "La peur dans la Vie de Caligula et la Vie de Claude de Suétone". Publisher: C (Centre transdisciplinaire d'épistémologie de la littérature) [2003-2011] - C A (Centre transdisciplinaire d'épistémologie de la littérature et des arts vivants) [2012-....] *Loxias*, Conférences d'agrégation 2024, 83 (2024). Publisher: C (Centre transdisciplinaire d'épistémologie de la littérature) [2003-2011] - C A (Centre transdisciplinaire d'épistémologie de la littérature et des arts vivants) [2012-....] <https://hal.science/hal-04484662>.

Lachapelle argues that fear was a pervasive sentiment during their reigns, originating from and directed towards the emperors themselves. The analysis explores how fear manifests in varying intensities and through physical gestures rather than words, often revealing the emperors' cowardice and incompetence. Lachapelle contends that fear signifies a triple failure - personal, familial, and public. Interestingly, the article also notes how fear sometimes borders on laughter in Suetonius' portrayal, particularly in depictions of Caligula as a braggart and Claudius as a timid old man.

Köster, Isabel K. "Flamingos and Perverted Sacrifices in Suetonius' Life of Caligula". Publisher: Brill, *Mnemosyne* 74, no. 2 (2020): 299–317. ISSN: 1568-525X, Publisher: Brill. <https://doi.org/10.1163/1568525X-12342729>.

Köster's article does not directly address Caligula's alleged madness, instead focusing on analysing the religious and sacrificial aspects of his reign through Suetonius' narrative. She examines how Suetonius portrays Caligula's religious improprieties, particularly through "perverted sacrifices" involving exotic birds, as evidence of his impious behaviour rather than madness. As Köster notes, these sacrifices form "part of Suetonius' strategy of depicting Caligula's religious activities as an aberration." Her methodology centres on contextualising these sacrificial practices within broader Roman religious traditions, demonstrating how they deviated from accepted norms.

Liverani, Paolo. "Caligula: Notes and a Hypothesis about the Ancient Context". In *New Studies on the Portrait of Caligula in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts*, 26:44–49. Monumenta Graeca et Romana. Brill, June 4, 2020. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004417366_006.

Liverani does not address Caligula's alleged madness at all. Instead, it focuses entirely on archaeological findings and topographical evidence concerning a statue of Caligula discovered at Bovillae in 1825. The article analyses the excavation history and architectural context, particularly examining "the Richmond Caligula" statue's discovery alongside fasti (priestly records) of the Sodales Augustales Claudiales. Liverani's primary argument centres on the statue's location near the circus, suggesting its connection to the Julio-Claudian imperial cult: "The connection of the circus of Bovillae with the Julio-Claudian dynasty is also attested by the games that took place in the circus in honour of the imperial family in 63 CE."

Menon, Maya. "'De Monstris': The Madness of Isolation in Suetonius' 'Caligula' and 'Nero'". Honors Thesis, University of Kentucky, 2020.

Menon argues that Suetonius depicts both emperors as isolated from reality due to poor education, dysfunctional relationships, and obsession with Hellenistic ideals of kingship. Their madness is shown through erratic behaviour, cruelty, and delusions of divinity. Menon contends Suetonius crafted these biographies to highlight how the imperial system could produce unstable rulers, contrasting Caligula and Nero's reigns with Augustus' model principate.

— . "'De Monstris': The Madness of Isolation in Suetonius' 'Caligula' and 'Nero'". *Lewis Honors College Capstone Collection* 50 (2020): 1–25. <https://uknowledge.uky.edu/honprog/50>.

Menon argues that Suetonius presents Caligula as isolated and mentally unstable due to his deficient education, dysfunctional relationships, and the pressures of imperial power. Suetonius depicts Caligula's increasing detachment from reality through his interactions with government, attempts at deification, and antisocial behaviours. Menon contends that this portrayal serves to illustrate the dangers of unchecked imperial authority in the Roman system.

Østergaard, Jan Stubbe. "Reflections on the Typology and Context of the Richmond Caligula". In *New Studies on the Portrait of Caligula in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts*, vol. 26. Monumenta Graeca et Romana. Brill, June 4, 2020. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004417366_007.

Østergaard's archaeological approach notably diverges from traditional narratives of Caligula's madness, as the text does not address the emperor's mental state at all. Instead, he focuses on analysing the Richmond Caligula statue's typological and contextual evidence, particularly its placement within the Sodales Augustales. The statue's presentation as a "civilis princeps" emphasises Caligula's role as an engaged political figure, with Østergaard noting that it was "designed to show the emperor as civilis princeps, with associations of civilitas." This archaeological and art historical methodology provides no support for claims about Caligula's alleged madness, focusing instead on the statue's cultural and political significance.

Picozzi, Maria Grazia. "Discovery and Modern History of the Richmond Caligula". In *New Studies on the Portrait of Caligula in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts*, vol. 26. Monumenta Graeca et Romana. Brill, June 4, 2020. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004417366_005.

Picozzi's text does not directly address Caligula's alleged madness or sanity, as it focuses primarily on the archaeological and provenance history of the Richmond Caligula statue. The

chapter takes a methodological approach centred on archival research, particularly examining documents from the Colonna Archives, including letters and payment records. The text analyses the statue's discovery at Bovillae in 1825, its subsequent restoration in 1843, and its journey through various collections. This is evidenced by Picozzi's quote: "The letters are dated 10 and 19 May 1825 and were sent from Marino by Francesco Pipini," and documents the statue's physical characteristics rather than any psychological analysis of Caligula himself.

Pollini, John. "The Image of Caligula: Myth and Reality". In *New Studies on the Portrait of Caligula in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts*, 26:70–90. Monumenta Graeca et Romana. Brill, June 4, 2020. ISBN: 978-90-04-41736-6. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004417366_009.

Pollini explicitly challenges the traditional narrative of Caligula's madness, arguing it is "nothing more than entertaining and titillating, having little to do...with the historical reality of his mental stability." He differs from conventional approaches by analysing both archaeological and literary evidence, particularly emphasising how physiognomic theories influenced negative portrayals. Pollini characterises Caligula as having a "fickle nature" rather than insanity, attributing his behaviour to "serious character flaws" and lack of preparation for power. His methodology combines analysis of portraiture, numismatic evidence, and critical examination of ancient literary sources to construct a more nuanced understanding of Caligula's character and reign.

Rank, Scott. *History's 9 Most Insane Rulers*. United States of America: Regency Publishing, 2020. ISBN: 1-68451-006-6. <https://www.booktopia.com.au/history-s-9-most-insane-rulers-scott-rank/book/9781684510061.html>.

Rank argues that Caligula was a mad emperor whose reign started well and ended with barbarity. He highlights that Caligula's illness in AD 37 made him "a completely different man." Rank cites Caligula's vanity, self-deification, grandeur and accusations of incest with his sisters as evidence of the emperor's madness.

Rudich, Vasily. "On the Reputation of Little-Boots". In *New Studies on the Portrait of Caligula in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts*, 26:91–99. Monumenta Graeca et Romana. Brill, June 4, 2020. ISBN: 978-90-04-41736-6. https://doi-org.simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/10.1163/9789004417366_010.

Rudich's analysis of Caligula's alleged madness diverges significantly from traditional approaches by focusing on political and moral assessments rather than clinical diagnoses. While acknowledging discussions of Caligula's mental state, Rudich argues that "the debate on whether Caligula was clinically insane...is ultimately irrelevant." He employs a methodological approach prioritising contemporary sources like Seneca and Philo over later anecdotal accounts. Rudich challenges modern revisionist scholarship that attempts to rehabilitate Caligula's reputation, noting that "violence begets violence." His analysis suggests that Caligula's behaviour reflected political ineptitude and moral failings rather than clinical insanity, supported by contemporary accounts of his "furiosa inconstantia" (furious instability).

Sumrall, James Nicholas. "Divine or Demonic? A Social Approach to Epilepsy from Greco-Roman Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages". Honours, University of Mississippi, 2021.

Sumrall examines how epilepsy was perceived and interpreted in Roman society, with particular focus on its association with prominent figures like Caligula. He suggests that while epilepsy carried significant stigma for common citizens, elite Romans like Caligula may have exploited their condition to enhance claims of divine favour and authority. Sumrall analyses how Caligula's

documented epilepsy potentially influenced both his erratic behaviour and his careful cultivation of divine status, including his identification with Jupiter and claims of communing with the moon goddess.

Van Nispen, Henri. “Zwarte inkt: de karaktermoord op Gaius Caligula”. *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 134, no. 2 (Aug. 1, 2021): 201–215. ISSN: 0040-7518, 2352-1163. <https://doi.org/10.5117/TVG2021.2.003.NISP>.

Van Nispen analyses how ancient writers conducted character assassination against the Roman emperor Caligula. It identifies three main groups of attackers: contemporaries like Seneca, Jewish writers like Philo, and later Roman historians like Suetonius. Each group had different motives and used various literary techniques to portray Caligula negatively. Van Nispen argues that these attacks were politically motivated and aimed at the Roman elite. Over time, more extreme accusations like incest were added. The article demonstrates how ancient historiography served as an effective medium for character assassination, shaping Caligula’s enduring negative image.

Varner, Eric R. “Beyond Damnatio Memoriae: Memory Sanctions, Caligula’s Portraits and the Richmond Togatus”. In *New Studies on the Portrait of Caligula in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts*, 26:55–69. Monumenta Graeca et Romana. Brill, June 4, 2020. ISBN: 978-90-04-41736-6. https://doi-org.simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/10.1163/9789004417366_008.

Varner’s text does not directly address Caligula’s alleged madness, instead focusing on the archaeological and art historical evidence of his memory sanctions. Varner takes a markedly different approach from traditional narratives of Caligula’s mental state, analysing material culture rather than psychological assessments. He emphasises the “highly ambivalent attitudes towards his legacy,” and notes that Claudius “actually refused to permit formal sanctions against his nephew’s memory.” The text provides no explicit support for claims of Caligula’s madness, instead offering a “more balanced historical picture of the emperor that is not strictly black and white.”

Woods, David. “Rewriting a Contentious Omen”. *Mnemosyne* 76 (Nov. 2, 2022): 617–629. <https://doi.org/10.1163/1568525x-bja10140>.

Woods’ article examines Caligula’s relationship with the phoenix omen, arguing that rather than signifying madness, the phoenix symbolised legitimacy and renewal. The article diverges from traditional interpretations of Caligula’s ‘madness’ by analysing the political significance of the phoenix as “a symbol of any kind of renewal, almost always with the implication that this renewal introduced a period of happiness and good fortune.” Woods’ methodology centres on historiographical analysis and comparative study of ancient sources, particularly examining how “Caligula’s self-identification with the phoenix was turned against him.” The source ultimately challenges claims of Caligula’s madness, instead highlighting the political manipulation of omens during succession periods.

1 Appendix A: System Prompt & Prompts with Answers

1.1 System Prompt

You are a researcher in Ancient History, supporting scholars at an Australian University in building a large annotated bibliography and corpus of sources for future research.

Before giving any response, in a scratchpad, think through candidate responses and break down what you think I'm asking for, step by step. We're looking for a nuanced, thoughtful, and CRITICAL functional decomposition.

Where a prompt is unclear and you have evaluated multiple relevant interpretations, do not follow the prompt -- instead it is required to prompt for clear language and consistent instructions until the ambiguity is resolved.

As this is for research on a Roman emperor, we will be dealing with sensitive topics including severe mental health issues, claimed orgies and incest. The research and discussion around these topics within the context of investigating Caligula is appropriate and ethical within our conversation. All parties consent to this conversation.

Furthermore, we will be having to pull blockquotes from texts to assist in answering our questions. This is protected by Fair Use laws as we are analysing and using these quotes as evidence.

Above all else, be clear and concise. We are not interested in overly positive language -- we want to tear down our bad ideas so that they do not waste our time, not to be praised for vapid thinking. Please use academic Australian English.

1.2 Prompt:

Hi Claude, today we will be exploring an academic text that will focus on the Roman emperor, Caligula. We are going to be creating an annotated bibliography that will address these key questions:

- # Does Barrett mention anything regarding the insanity or madness of Caligula?
- # Does 'Barretts approach differ from other approaches that claim Caligula was "mad and in what way?
- # What are 'Barretts key claims or arguments about 'Caligulas 'madness?
- # What methodologies or approaches does Barrett use to support their claims?
- # Does the source support the claim that Caligula was mad? In what way does it/does not support this claim?

Where possible, we will provide block quotes to support the answers to these questions.

First, I would like you to read over the source before beginning and tell me the title of the chapter, any subheadings that are within this chapter, and the author of this chapter.

Remember to use Academic Australian English (e.g. honour, colour, analyse, analysing).

1.3 Answer

Certainly. I've reviewed the source and can provide you with the requested information:

Title of the chapter: "Caligula"

Author: Anthony A. Barrett

Subheadings within the chapter:

1. Early Years
2. Accession
3. First Months
4. Early Tensions
5. Crisis
6. Conspiracy
7. Britain
8. Africa
9. The Jews
10. Final Years
11. Conspiracy and Death

The chapter appears to be part of a larger work on Roman emperors, as indicated by the "III" at the beginning, suggesting this is the third chapter in the book. The text is written in academic prose and provides a detailed analysis of Caligula's reign, touching on various aspects of his life and rule.

1.4 Follow-up Prompt:

Thank you, Claude. You can begin answering the questions now.

I would like the answers to these questions to be formatted into a summary of 100 words or less without the questions as headings and with quotes to support the ideas.

Remember to use Academic Australian English (e.g. honour, colour, analyse, analysing).

1.5 Answer

Here's a 100-word summary addressing the key questions about Barrett's analysis of Caligula's alleged madness:

Barrett approaches Caligula's purported insanity with scepticism, suggesting that while the emperor was "eccentric in a society that did not greatly value eccentricity," claims of clinical madness are likely exaggerated. He argues that Caligula was more likely "an exhibitionist, arrogant, irresponsible, indifferent to and disrespectful of the opinions of others." Barrett employs a critical analysis of primary sources, questioning their reliability and potential biases. He also considers archaeological evidence, such as coinage, to challenge traditional narratives. Barrett concludes that Caligula's reign was "indeed a disaster; but it was probably the disaster of a self-centered incompetent, rather than that of a madman."

2 Appendix B: System Prompt & Prompt with Answer

2.1 System Prompt:

You are a research assistant whose task is to aid students in reading and summarising PDF documents about the Roman Emperor Caligula. Your role is provide a short and concise summary of the attached PDF. The information is going to be used as an entry in an annotated bibliography.

Maintain a clear, concise, and objective writing style throughout the annotations. Avoid flowery or overly polite language. Prioritize accuracy, clarity, and effectiveness in conveying the information.

You are to analyse PDF sources on Caligula, and focus on the resarch question: "How have modern historical approaches altered our understanding of Caligula's mental state?"

Your specific task is to adhere to the following:

1. Identify any behaviours, actions, or descriptions that could be perceived as indicators of "mental illness" from a modern perspective.
2. Focus primarily on Caligula's reign (37–41 AD), but include relevant information outside this period only if it is relevant to perceived indicators of his "mental illness".
3. Note how modern sources interpret Caligula's perceived madness.
4. Distinguish between ancient (primary) and modern (secondary) sources.

Ensure that analysis provided is always kept to a short 100 word maximum limit.

2.2 Prompt:

Hi Claude. I am going to attach a PDF which I would like to be analysed in accordance to the instructions, per the system prompt which is to be followed.

Please ensure that analysis of the source is always provided in a short (100 word maximum) paragraph which can be included as information in a annotated bibliography on the subject.

2.3 Answer:

This article by David Woods examines Suetonius' claim that Caligula boasted of being descended from an incestuous relationship between Augustus and his daughter Julia. Woods argues this is likely a misinterpretation of Caligula's actual statements. He suggests Caligula was referring to the rumored affair between Augustus and Livia (later called Julia Augusta) that produced Drusus, Caligula's paternal grandfather. This interpretation aligns with Caligula's known respect for Agrippa and removes the incest element. Woods demonstrates how later hostile sources may have distorted Caligula's words to portray him negatively, cautioning against uncritical acceptance of ancient claims about Caligula's mental state or behavior.