

I. FROM TIBERIUS TO NERO

(a) TIBERIUS

1 The Death of Gaius Caesar makes Tiberius the heir-apparent. AD 4

EJ 69 = *ILS* 140. *Marble slab found at Pisa, 1606.*

In the forum at Pisa in the Augusteum(?)¹ in the presence of the following councillors (*twelve names*) it was mentioned that the decisions set out below were taken when our colony had no magistrates because of the disputes over elections.

News arrived on 2 April that Gaius Caesar, son of Augustus (father of his country, *pontifex maximus*, guardian of the Roman empire and protector of the whole world), grandson of deified Julius, after the successful completion of his consulship campaigning beyond the furthest territories of the Roman people, and doing noble service to the state in thoroughly conquering or winning over extremely large and warlike tribes, sustained wounds in the public service, and thanks to that misfortune was snatched by cruel fates from the Roman people, already marked out to be a *princeps* of the highest worth, most like his father in excellence, and the sole protector of our colony. The news renewed and multiplied for everybody, both individually and as a group, the grief which was still felt as a result of the death of Lucius Caesar, Gaius' brother, consul elect, augur, our patron, leader of the youth.

Accordingly the decurions and all the other colonists, in the absence of duovirs, prefects and judicial officers in the colony at this sad time, agreed unanimously, in view of the magnitude of the enormous and utterly unexpected disaster, that from the day when his death was announced until the day when his bones should be brought home and buried and the proper rites completed for his departed spirit, all should wear mourning, all the temples of the immortal gods, the public baths and shops should be closed, there should be no banquets, the wives in our colony should mourn publicly, that the day of his death, 21 February, should be remembered in mourning like the *Allia*, to be noted as nefarious at the present time by unanimous will and approval, and precautions should be taken to prevent any public sacrifice, thanksgivings, marriages or public feasts being held, planned or advertised for or on that day, 21 February. No theatrical shows or circuses should take place on that day. Every year on that day there should be solemn public sacrifices to his departed spirit made by the magistrates or the judicial officers at Pisa in the same place and manner as for Lucius Caesar.² An arch should be set up in the most popular place in our colony decorated with the spoils of tribes whom he conquered or won over; on it should be a statue of him standing in triumphal dress, and around it

¹ The conjectured opening is based on EJ 68 (= *ILS* 139).

² For details see EJ 68.

should be two gilded statues of Gaius and Lucius Caesar on horseback. As soon as we could elect and have according to law duovirs of the colony, those first elected as duovirs should bring before the decurions the decision of the decurions and the whole colony, so that it could be legally enacted by the exercise of their public authority and put on the public record with their approval. Meanwhile Titus Statulenus Juncus, *flamen* of Augustus, *pontifex minor* of the public sacrifices of the Roman people, should be asked to go with envoys to excuse the present deficiency of the colony and in delivering a written report to inform the emperor Caesar Augustus, father of his country, *pontifex maximus*, holder of tribunician power twenty-six times, of this public service and wish of the whole colony. Titus Statulenus Juncus, leader of our colony, *flamen* of Augustus, *pontifex minor* of the public sacrifices of the Roman people, has done this after delivering the report as recorded above to the emperor Caesar Augustus, *pontifex maximus*, holder of tribunician power twenty-six times, father of his country.

The decurions decreed that all that was done, enacted, and decided on 2 April in the consulship of Sextus Aelius Cato and Gaius Sentius Saturninus by unanimous consent of all classes should be done, carried out, conducted and observed by Lucius Titius, son of Aulus, and Titus Allius Rufus, son of Titus, duovirs, and should be enacted, established, marked and observed for ever by whomsoever should be duovirs, prefects or other magistrates in our colony hereafter. Lucius Titius, son of Aulus, and Titus Allius Rufus, son of Titus, duovirs, should attend to the entry in the public records by the public scribe in the presence of the proquaestors of all the above by our decree at the first opportunity. Approved.

The death of Gaius Caesar from wounds received on active service in Armenia, following so soon upon that of the only other grandson of Augustus, Lucius, at Marseilles (2), meant that Augustus had no alternative but to adopt Tiberius as his heir to the principate. The apparently extravagant terms of the decree perhaps reflected unease that the problem of succession to Augustus was again open. Augustus himself never concealed his grief (*Res Gestae* 14; Suetonius, *Tiberius* 23).

2 Sestertius of Tiberius: Julia Augusta. AD 22–23

EJ 87 = *BMC, Imp.* 1, p.130, nos. 76ff. *Mint of Rome*.

Obverse: S.C. TI. CAESAR DIVI AVG. F. AVGVST. P.M. TR. POT. XXIII

Reverse: Coach (*carpentum*) with mules. S.P.Q.R. IVLIAE AVGVST.

Tiberius' mother Livia became Julia Augusta after the death of Augustus. Cf. nos. 3, 4, 7(b), 21 and 37.

3 Decree on Imperial cult and letter of Tiberius. [? AD 14–15]

EJ 102 = *SEG* 11.922–3 *Gytheum (Laconia)*.

- (a) ... he shall set ... on the first [pedestal the statue] of deified Augustus Caesar, his father; on the second, to the right, that of Julia Augusta, and

on the third, [to the left,] that of the emperor Tiberius Caesar, son of Augustus, the city providing him with the statues. He shall put a table in the middle of the theatre and set a censer on it, and the councillors and all the magistrates shall offer sacrifice for the safety of our rulers before the performers enter. The performance on the first day shall honour the deified Augustus, our saviour and deliverer, son of deified Julius Caesar, on the second the emperor Tiberius Caesar Augustus, father of his country, on the third Julia Augusta, the Good Fortune of our province and city, on the fourth the Victory of Germanicus Caesar, on the fifth the Venus of Drusus Caesar, on the sixth Titus Quinctius Flamininus ...¹

When the procession reaches the temple of Caesar, the superintendents shall sacrifice a bull for the safety of our rulers and gods and for the perpetuity of their rule ...¹

- (b) Tiberius Caesar Augustus, son of Augustus, *pontifex maximus*, holding the tribunician power for the [sixteenth] year, to the superintendents and city of Gytheum, greeting. Decimus Turranius Nicanor, the envoy sent by you to me and my mother, gave me your letter to which were appended the measures passed by you in veneration of my father and in our honour. I commend you for this and consider that it is fitting for all men in general and for your city in particular to reserve special honours befitting the gods in keeping with the greatness of the services of my father to the whole world; but I myself am satisfied with more moderate honours suitable for men. My mother, however, will reply to you when she hears your decision about honours for her.

Tiberius apparently had a genuine aversion to receiving divine honours even from the provinces. Claudius expressed a similar feeling: see no. 27. Cf. next item and no. 7(b).

The importance of Julia Augusta or Livia, widow of Augustus and mother of Tiberius, is notable; she is referred to in the phrase “safety of our rulers”. Cf. nos. 2, 4, 7(b), 21 and 37.

4 Decree on emperor-worship

AD 18

EJ 101 = *ILS* 154. *Bracciano* (Forum Clodii, Etruria); now in *Florence*.

In the year of the third consulship of Tiberius Caesar and the second consulship of Germanicus Caesar, when Gnaeus Acceius Rufus Lutatius, son of Gnaeus, of the tribe *Arnensis* and Titus Petillius, son of Publius, of the tribe *Quirina*, were duovirs, it was decreed as follows:

that there be this shrine and these statues and a sacrificial victim for the feast of dedication;

that on 23 and 24 September, two sacrificial animals are to be offered up for the birthday of Augustus (24 September) as have been offered up from all time at the altar which has been dedicated to the Augustan divinity;

¹ A good deal of further detail (some 70% of the decree) is omitted.

that in the same way, on the birthday of Tiberius Caesar, the decurions who are to enter office, and the people, should partake of a banquet, (Quintus Cascellius Labeo has promised to meet the expense for all time, so that our gratitude for his generosity must be noted) and that every year, on that birthday, a young bull must be sacrificed;

that on the birthdays of Augustus and Tiberius Caesar, before the decurions go to have their meal, the spirits of those emperors should be invited with incense and wine to partake of a feast at the altar of the Augustan divinity.

At our expense we have built an altar to the Augustan divinity; at our own expense we have celebrated games for five days beginning on 15 August; at our own expense we have given honey-wine and pastries on the birthday of the Empress to the women of the village at the temple of the Good Goddess; similarly at our own expense on the occasion of the dedication of the statues of the Caesars and of the Empress, we have given honey-wine and pastries to the decurions and to the people, and we have given solemn assurances that we will continue to do so for all time on the anniversary of the dedication. In order to make that day more popular as years go by, we will set aside 10 March, the day upon which Tiberius Caesar was so happily made *pontifex maximus*.

This inscription illustrates the nature of imperial worship in Italy shortly after the death of Augustus. The altar is dedicated *numini Augusto*, the Augustan divinity, and “royal” birthdays are celebrated in quasi-religious manner. Augustus’ wife Livia became Julia Augusta after his death, cf. nos. 2, 3, 7(b), 21 and 37. Distinctions must be made with the eastern part of the empire (see next item); there was no cult in Italy and the west of the Emperor as a person, cf. no. 3.

5 Tiberius the god.

16 November AD 29

EJ 134 = *OGIS* 583. *Stone pedestal found in Lapethus, Cyprus in 1861.*

To the god Tiberius Caesar Augustus, son of deified Augustus, emperor, *pontifex maximus*, holder of tribunician power for the thirty-first time – when Lucius Axius Naso was proconsul, Marcus Etrilius Lupercus legate and Gaius Flavius Figulus quaestor – Adrastus, son of Adrastus, friend of Caesar, the hereditary priest of the temple and statue of Tiberius Caesar Augustus which was set up by him at his own expense in the gymnasium; patriot and model of all virtue, gymnasiarch freely and at his own expense; priest of the gods in the gymnasium, set up the temple and the statue to his god at his own personal expense. Dionysius, son of Dionysius also called Apollodotus, friend of Caesar, was ephedarch. Adrastus, son of Adrastus, friend of Caesar dedicated them together with his son Adrastus, friend of Caesar, who was himself gymnasiarch of the boys, freely and at his own expense, on the sixteenth anniversary of Tiberius, the 24th. day of the month Apogonicus.

See Suetonius, *Tiberius* 26 on Tiberius’ careful control of worship of himself which, however, he could not prevent in eastern provinces. See also nos. 3, 4, 7(b).

Tiberius: Germanicus in Egypt

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6 Didrachm of Caligula.

AD 37–38?

EJ 182 = *BMC, Imp.* 1, p.62, no.104. *Mint of Caesarea.*

Obverse: Head of Germanicus; around, GERMANICVS CAESAR TI. AVG. F. COS.II.

Reverse: Germanicus placing tiara on head of Artaxias; beside Germanicus, GERMANICVS; beside Artaxias, ARTAXIAS.

Tiberius refused to recognise Vonones, who had been driven from the throne of Parthia, as king of Armenia. He failed to maintain himself, and the Armenians pressed for the installation of Zeno, son of Polemo king of Pontus. In 18 Germanicus crowned him at Artaxata, from which he derived his new name of Artaxias (Tacitus, *Annals* 2.56). The coin appears to have been issued in Germanicus' honour by his son Caligula.

7 Two edicts of Germanicus.

AD 19

EJ 320 = *Sel. Pap.* 2, no.211. *Papyrus.*

- (a) [Germanicus Caesar, son of Augustus, grandson of deified Augustus, proconsul, says: "Hearing that in regard to my visit, requisitions of boats] and animals are being made, and that quarters for lodgings are being forcibly seized and private citizens intimidated, I have thought it necessary to make it plain that I do not wish any boat or any baggage animal to be seized by anyone, or any quarters to be occupied, except on the command of Baebius, my friend and secretary. For if it is necessary, Baebius himself will allot the quarters fairly and justly. And for boats and animals that are requisitioned I give orders that due payment is to be made according to my schedule. Those who oppose (*this*), I wish to be brought before my secretary who will himself prevent private persons from being wronged or will report the case to me. I forbid baggage animals which are travelling through the city to be forcibly taken off by those who happen to meet them. For this is simply an act of confessed robbery."
- (b) Germanicus Caesar, son of Augustus, grandson of deified Augustus, proconsul, says: "Your goodwill, which you display whenever you see me, I welcome, but your acclamations, which are odious to me and which are suited to the gods, I wholly reject. For they are suitable only for the one who is indeed the saviour and the benefactor of the whole human race, my father, and to his mother, my grandmother. My position is [?consequent upon] their divinity, so that, if you disobey me, you will compel me to appear before you seldom."

See Tacitus, *Annals* 2.59–61 for Germanicus' famous visit to Egypt in 19, "to visit the antiquities" (*cognoscendae antiquitatis*); Tacitus tried to argue that this was in breach of Augustus' prohibition of senators' visiting Egypt without permission; see also F. B. Marsh, *Tiberius* 93.

- (a) Illustrates the ineradicable abuses of power (especially current in Egypt) even under the improved administration of the Empire; cf. no. 50.

(b) On the standard rejection of divine honours cf. no. 27 by Claudius, also referring to the Alexandrians. On Tiberius' policy cf. no. 3; see also nos. 4 and 5.

8 Rogation in honour of Germanicus.

AD 19–20

EJ 94a = *NdS* (1947) p.49ff; *AJP* (1954) p.225 (*revised text*). *Heba* (*Etruria*).

... and that on the Palatine in the colonnade near the temple of Apollo, in which meetings of the senate are customarily held, among the busts of heroes busts shall be set up of Germanicus Caesar of famous ability and of Drusus Germanicus, his father, brother of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, who was also a man of prolific ability, above the capitals of the columns which protect the statue of Apollo.

The *Salii* shall insert the name of Germanicus Caesar in their hymns as a tribute to his memory, a tribute also granted to Gaius and Lucius Caesar, brothers of Tiberius Caesar Augustus.

To the ten centuries which customarily vote to pre-elect the consuls and praetors shall be added five centuries; since the first ten are called Gaius and Lucius Caesar's, the five following shall be called Germanicus Caesar's. In all those centuries the senators and knights of all the decuries established already or in the future for public trials shall vote.

(*There follow lengthy amendments of the existing law on electoral procedure necessitated by the five new centuries*).

When at the games in honour of Augustus the seats of his priests are put in the theatres, curule chairs for Germanicus Caesar shall be put among them and crowns of oak leaves in honour of that priesthood. These chairs shall be brought from the temple of deified Augustus when it is finished; meanwhile they shall be put back in the temple of Mars the Avenger and brought from there. Whoever conducts the aforementioned games shall have charge of taking the chairs from the aforementioned temple, placing them in the theatres and putting them back in that temple at the right time.

On the day when the bones of Germanicus Caesar are to be brought to the tomb the temples of the gods shall be closed. Those enrolled in the equestrian class with a private horse, who wish to perform their duty and are not prevented by illness or a death in the family, shall come to the *Campus Martius* wearing their striped tunic, and those with a public horse shall come wearing their striped robe.

In honour of Germanicus Caesar the temples of the immortal gods which are or shall be in Rome or within one mile of the city shall be closed every year on the day of his death. Those who have or will have contracts for the care of those temples shall see to this. On that day in his honour the annual masters of the priests of Augustus shall see to it that sacrifices to the dead are made at his tomb to the *di manes* of Germanicus Caesar. If one or more of the masters will be unable to be present at that sacrifice, those due to fill that office in the following year will carry out that duty in place of those unable to perform it.

On the importance of this text, the so-called *Tabula Hebana*, see A. H. M. Jones, *Studies in Roman Government and Law* 29–50. The five centuries of Germanicus, added to the ten centuries of Gaius and Lucius Caesar, all

Tiberius: Piso; Asian cities; Drusus

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consisting of senators and equites, gave the lead to the voting in the *comitia centuriata* for the magistrates. Since in 14 Tiberius apparently arranged that the Senate should settle among themselves the candidates, and that their number should not exceed the number of places to be filled, the election in the Assembly became a mere formality.

9 Tiberius and Piso.

7 BC

EJ 39 = *ILS* 95. *A marble base found in Rome in the Campus Martius, 1547.*

Tiberius Claudius Nero, son of Tiberius, *pontifex*, consul for the second time, twice hailed as *Imperator*, celebrated games of thanksgiving to Jupiter Best and Greatest, in accordance with a resolution of the senate in honour of the return of Augustus Caesar, *pontifex maximus*, son of deified Julius Caesar ...

Erased: with his colleague in the consulship Gnaeus Calpurnius Piso.

Piso, a proud and forceful personality, was a friend of Augustus and Tiberius. In 17 he was appointed *legatus* of Syria and given confidential instructions on how to handle Germanicus' visit to the East. The two fell out and after Germanicus' death Piso was accused of poisoning him; seeing that his judges were bent on returning a verdict of "Guilty", he committed suicide. The erasure of his name (Tacitus, *Annals* 2.43 ff, 3. 10 ff.) from public monuments was ordered by the Senate.

10 Sestertius of Tiberius: Tiberius helps Asian cities.

AD 22–23

EJ 49 = *BMC, Imp.* 1, p.129, nos. 70 ff. *Mint of Rome.*

Obverse: In centre, S(ENATVS) C(ONSVLTO); around, TI. CAESAR DIVI AVG. F. AVGVST. P.M. TR. POT. XXIII.

Reverse: Tiberius seated on curule chair; around, CIVITATIBVS ASIAE RESTITVTIS = (*in record of*) the restoration of the cities of Asia.

The reverse legend alludes to the financial help given by Tiberius to the cities devastated by earthquake in 17 (Tacitus, *Annals* 2.47; Pliny, *Natural History* 2.200) and 23 (Tacitus, *Annals* 4.13). In 17 Sardis received five years' remission of taxes and ten million sesterces. Cf. EJ 50 = *ILS* 156, in which help to Ephesus, devastated in 29, is also recorded.

11 Drusus, heir-apparent of Tiberius.

AD 23

EJ 90 = *NdS* (1924) p.514. *Near Caudium.*

To Drusus Caesar, son of Tiberius Augustus, grandson of deified Augustus, great-grandson of deified Julius, twice consul, holder of tribunician power for the second time.

Drusus had been excluded from the succession when Tiberius was forced to adopt Germanicus, so that direct descendants of Augustus by Germanicus' wife Agrippina would ultimately rule. On Germanicus' death in 19, Drusus became heir-apparent, as Germanicus' children were too young. He received a second

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Tiberius: Sejanus

consulship in 21 and tribunician power for the second time in 23. His death in 23 was attributed to Sejanus and Drusus' wife Livilla. See F. B. Marsh, *Tiberius, passim*.

12 The father of Sejanus.

EJ 220 = ILS 8996. *Marble tablet found in Bolsena (Volsinii?), now in the Archaeological Museum in Florence.*

[Lucius Seius Strabo] prefect of Egypt and Terentia, his mother, daughter of Aulus, and Cosconia Galitta his wife, daughter of Lentulus Maluginensis, having bought the buildings and razed them to the ground, gave the baths with all their equipment to the people of Volsinii for public use.

See Tacitus, *Annals* 4.1. Seius Strabo married into a noble family (the Cornelii Lentuli). His son was probably adopted by Aelius Gallus, hence his full name Lucius Aelius Seianus. Strabo was praetorian prefect in 14 and was joined in the office by his son; soon after, he became prefect of Egypt.

13 Consulship of Sejanus.

EJ 53 = ILS 6044. *Found in Rome, now in Naples.*

... since now ... sixty years of age ... and sinister assembly sponsored by the traitorous Sejanus and held on the Aventine hill when he was made consul, I now most earnestly entreat you to permit me to present myself as a suppliant, though now reduced to a helpless state where my stick is my constant companion, my good fellow-tribesmen, asking you to remember that I have always appeared before you as a never-failing and reliable member of our tribe, that I have never neglected my duty, nor in any respect ...

On Sejanus, see also nos. 12 and 14–16. Suetonius, *Tiberius* 65, refers to the nomination of Sejanus as consul by Tiberius, with himself as colleague, for 31. The electoral formalities naturally followed.

14 A close friend of Tiberius.

EJ 217 = ILGN 633. *Marble fragment found in Castel Roussillon (Ruscino, Narbonensis) in 1911.*

To Publius Memmius Regulus, son of Publius, quaestor of Tiberius Caesar, praetor, consul, member of the board of seven for supervising sacrificial banquets, priest of Augustus, member of the Arval Brothers, imperial legate, patron.

Regulus, close friend of Tiberius, was consul at the end of 31 and probably Tiberius' chief confidant in the destruction of Sejanus, cf. nos. 13 and 15–16. He was just possibly a native of Ruscino. His post as "emperor's quaestor" shows that he was marked out early for promotion. He was governor of Moesia, Macedonia and Achaëa (35–44), and remained influential under Claudius and Nero, dying in 61. Tacitus' statement that Nero regarded him as a possible emperor if he himself died is generally regarded as unhistorical (*Annals* 14.47). For patrons see no. 19 *note*.