

This commentary treats a set of texts dating from the first decades of the first century of the Common Era (CE) that commemorated the deaths of four young men: Lucius Caesar, Gaius Caesar, Germanicus Caesar, and Drusus Caesar. The first two, Gaius and Lucius, were the (adopted) sons of the first Roman emperor, Augustus. The second two, Germanicus and Drusus, were the adopted and natural sons respectively of the second emperor, Tiberius. Before their deaths, all four had been the designated successors to the nascent position of *princeps* or emperor, held by their fathers. None lived to take up the *status*: Lucius died in 2 CE on route to Spain; Gaius died two years later in Syria. When Augustus died in 14 CE he was, therefore, succeeded by his stepson, Tiberius, whom he had also adopted in 4 CE after the death of Gaius. Tiberius came to the throne with two sons of his own who shared Gaius' and Lucius' unlucky fate: Germanicus died in Syria in 19 CE; Drusus at Rome in 23 CE. The deaths of all four were widely and publicly commemorated through ritual, monument, and public business. In particular the Roman senate took the unprecedented step of producing official guidelines explaining just how the princes (an anachronistic but useful word) had been, and were to be, memorialized. Our texts comprise, in the case of Germanicus and Drusus, these senatorial guidelines and, in the case of Gaius and Lucius, the reactions of one provincial community, Pisa, to the guidelines. In addition, one document, the SCPP, reflects the complicated circumstances surrounding Germanicus' death and the reaction to it at Rome: In it a blue-blooded aristocrat, Cn. Calpurnius Piso, is convicted of treason and conspiracy against Germanicus.

This commentary is designed primarily for use by advanced undergraduate and graduate students. It has three primary goals: First, it aims to expand students' knowledge of an important period of Roman history through the close examination of surviving primary documents. In particular, our texts reveal much about the process by which the Roman empire came to be and about the social and political consequences of the successful imposition of totalitarian, dynastic rule over the Roman world by Caesar Augustus. They inform us about important events, clarify many aspects of early imperial governance, reveal the growing public influence of imperial women,

and allow us to gain a more complete historiographical understanding of the received literary histories, especially Tacitus. More importantly, reading them together allows students to see “history in action,” to question the process by which a new form and language of governance developed over time rather than viewing it only in hindsight, from the vantage point of later writers, such as Tacitus, who knew the outcome.

Reading our texts together also serves as a vital complement to reading the other central statement of Augustus’ ideas about the principate, Augustus’ own autobiographical *Res Gestae*. A bronze inscription of the *Res Gestae*, which recounted the accomplishments of Augustus, was erected upon his death at his massive mausoleum on the Campus Martius and the text was distributed and displayed across the empire. Several of our texts stood alongside the copy of the *Res Gestae* at the mausoleum and they were distributed and displayed elsewhere as well. The examination of our texts together with the *Res Gestae* enables a broader, and more developmental, vision of Augustus’ and Tiberius’ ideas about the principate, and allows us a better understanding of the use of explicitly funerary and memorial texts as a mode of communicating imperial ideals. (A. Cooley (2009) has made the *Res Gestae* newly available with an excellent commentary.)

The second goal is to provide a friendly point of entry to the study of Latin inscriptions, especially lengthy inscriptions. Our texts are part of a trend towards the increased and more complex use of epigraphic texts as partners to literary works for the study of Roman history. This trend has been driven in part by more sophisticated methodology and understanding of inscriptions as media objects (rather than as texts to be mined for facts) and in part by the simple fact that the discovery of new inscriptions continues to add to our knowledge of Roman antiquity at a rate unmatched by new discoveries of literary manuscripts (papyri from Egypt are a more complicated story). The texts in this commentary mostly came to light only in the twentieth century, with two of the longest, the TS and the SCPP, found in its last three decades.

The third goal is to expose students to documents as a type of Latin distinct from the works of literary prose and poetry that make up most of what is normally read in Latin classes. The processes of writing and publishing documents differed greatly from that of literary authors. It should be said in the interests of honesty that for those used to reading only literary Latin, the transition to reading documents is unsettling and the transition to reading epigraphy is hard. The reward, however, is a broader understanding and experience of both the Latin language and Roman culture.

The distinction between “document” and “inscription” is an important one. The term “text” from the first paragraph is intentionally vague because our “texts” can be understood and organized in two complementary but different ways. The first way to describe our texts is to call them documents. “Documents” is a term that ancient historians normally reserve for non-literary texts that deal with public or private business. The term is especially used for written copies of various sorts of official acts of government such as decrees, laws, edicts, court decisions, petitions to and responses from the emperor. The texts here comprise seven such documents: two decrees of the town council of Pisa (DPL, DPG), three decrees of the Roman senate (SCGC, SCPP, 6.31200), and two laws of the Roman people (LVA, TI). The second way to describe the texts here is to call them inscriptions. The term “inscription” refers fundamentally not to the origin or subject matter of a text but to the physical medium on which the text, as we have it, was encoded. Inscriptions are texts that were incised, carved, or painted onto some lasting physical medium, most commonly stone or bronze. Our texts include eight main inscriptions on stone and bronze (DPL, DPG, TS, TH, 6.31199, SCPP, 6.31200, TI) as well as a few smaller fragments from other inscriptions.

The two possible conceptions of our texts, the documentary and the epigraphic, do not neatly overlap. The divergence is partially a physical one. For in none of our texts does a complete document appear wholly on a single inscription. Sometimes the difference is small, due mostly to damage to the inscription. In these cases (DPG, DPL, SCPP) the same abbreviation has been used for both document and inscription. In some cases the difference is more substantial. The TS (an inscription) contains portions of two documents (SCGC, LVA). Conversely, sometimes portions of the same document appear on two different inscriptions: The TS and TH (inscriptions) both contain portions of the LVA (a document) that partially overlap. The case of the SCPP, of which two nearly complete epigraphic copies and several very fragmentary copies as well exist, is particularly complex. The divergence between document and inscription is also conceptual. “Documents” are the tools of state, used, copied, and distributed. They imply production through a political process and distribution, when it happened, through bureaucracy. Inscriptions are individual media objects received from antiquity that raise questions of provenance, decoration, and monumentality. Whether we read our texts as documents or inscriptions, therefore, has a potentially serious impact on our understanding of them.

1.1 Historical background

Over a decade after his murder, the heir of Julius Caesar, the soon to be Augustus, cemented his dominance over the Roman world by defeating the forces of his one-time partner and fellow triumvir Marc Antony (M. Antonius) in a decisive naval battle at Actium. After a detour to Egypt to finish off Antony and his ally queen Cleopatra, he returned to Rome in 28 BCE and began to lay the groundwork for a new political settlement of the Roman *res publica* and *imperium*, which had at that point been wrecked by civil war for more than a generation. In January of 27, in a carefully orchestrated moment, he, in his own words, passed control of the republic back to the senate and people of Rome:

In my sixth and seventh consulship after I had extinguished civil wars and gained control of everything, I transferred the republic from my own power to the direction of the senate and Roman people. (*Res Gestae* 34.1)

In response, the senate voted him the honorary cognomen Augustus by which we know him. Augustus declared that from this point forward he excelled everyone in influence (*auctoritas*) but had no more formal power (*potestas*) than was appropriate for the offices he held with colleagues. Modern and ancient scholars recognize that this renewal of constitutional rule concealed the beginnings of a new kind of Roman monarchy behind a veil of republican restoration. There is nothing to suggest that Augustus ever intended to lay down power, and the truth was indisputably revealed upon Augustus' death in 14 CE when his position passed directly and without challenge to his chosen successor Tiberius. The monarchical and dynastic Roman empire persisted for at least the next four hundred years.

The question of just how Augustus managed to move successfully the Roman state from republican oligarchy to monarchical empire is a central question of Augustan historical studies. It involved a set of constitutional arrangements that stretched but did not break the fiction of republican government: Augustus was consul in 27 and he continued to be elected to the chief magistracy annually until 23 BCE; in that year he replaced holding the consulship with the powers and personal immunity of a plebeian tribune (*tribunicia potestas*) and a special *imperium* that extended over all provinces, both voted him by the senate. Augustus' position was also grounded in military reality. The late republic had made clear the relationship between military and civil power in Roman politics. The troops left in service after the civil wars were personally loyal to him as the heir of Caesar, and his provincial governorships formalized his continued command of most Roman legions.

Moreover, his inheritance and victories gave Augustus personal financial resources (*fiscus*) that far exceeded those of the state treasury (*aerarium*). Augustus' own accounting of his achievements, the *Res Gestae*, is replete with instances where Augustus spent enormous sums of his own money in public service, including directly donating money to every segment of society. These expenditures tied the beneficiaries, both individuals and communities, personally to Augustus through the traditional relationships of patronage. More than money, however, Augustus' resources included his *familia*, his slaves and freedmen, who were increasingly deployed in public service (e.g. sewer and water repair) even though they were the personal dependents of Augustus. Finally, Augustus' position was buttressed by a persuasive ideology of "Augustan exceptionalism" manifest in public ceremony, religion, art, and literature. It presented Augustus as Rome's new founder and savior; it claimed that the gods favored him personally, that their benefits flowed to the Roman people only through him; and it asserted that his rule had brought prosperity at home and victory abroad. There has been much discussion about the precise mix of the different aspects of Augustus' domination of the state, as well as about the roles played in the new system by other institutions such as the senate. There is value in the debate, but it must be remembered that the political, social, and cultural position of the emperor, lacking the grounding of written constitution or long-held tradition, was always somewhat fluid, reactive to external events as much as proactive. At a basic level, Augustus' success derived from his remarkable (though far from perfect) ability to make progress on the seemingly intractable problems of urban decay, popular unrest, and aristocratic ambition that had blighted the previous generations. Augustus' attention to the built environment of Rome has also been the subject of much recent scholarly discussion, although the role of epigraphy in the visual culture of the city is still understudied (see the further reading section, p. 23).

The establishment of Augustus' personal dominance, however, is only part of the story of the beginning of the empire. Equally important was the establishment of the first Roman dynasty and the successful transfer of his position to an heir. From the beginning Augustus surely had it in mind to pass down his new position to his heirs. A member of the Roman aristocracy, among whom family status was paramount, would naturally desire to pass down the power accumulated through his achievements to his descendants. Augustus considered himself rightfully entitled to Caesar's honors and positions by virtue of being his heir. When Augustus wrote about becoming *pontifex maximus* in 12 BCE, upon the death of the former triumvir Lepidus, he praised himself for not having seized the office earlier

even though his father, Caesar, had held it. Lepidus, he claims, had taken advantage of the civil unrest after Caesar's death to seize the office (*Res Gestae* 10.2). However, as the case of Lepidus shows, there was no mechanism by which someone as a private heir might automatically gain his father's political offices. Moreover, the very nature of the imperial system made it difficult to pass down: Augustus' position was not a single unified office but an assembly of different modes of authority. The situation was further complicated by the fact that Augustus had no son or other close male blood relatives, only a daughter Julia and a sister Octavia.

Augustus' succession plans, like his own position, developed and changed over time, often in reaction to uncontrollable events, like the deaths of our princes, or political needs. There are signs that Augustus was thinking in dynastic terms from the very beginning of his regime. He built a massive mausoleum on the *campus Martius* that was both a family tomb and a public monument surrounded by parks and other new public amenities. While there is still some disagreement over the details, the mausoleum was evidently begun as a propaganda tool against Marc Antony, who was said to have wished to be buried in Alexandria, but after Actium it served to proclaim the dominance not just of Augustus but of his family—it came to hold all his close relations who died in good standing—over Rome. However, in the earliest years of his rule, dynastic planning probably took a back seat to the consolidation and definition of Augustus' own position.

In the decades following Actium, as the next generation came of age, Augustus used the important political tool of marriage to consolidate his extended family. Most notably, he married his daughter Julia in turn to his nephew Claudius Marcellus, then, when Marcellus died in 23 BCE, to his chief lieutenant M. Vipsanius Agrippa, and, when he also died in 12 BCE, to his son-in-law Tiberius, the future emperor. This was more endogamy (marriage within the family) than was usual in Roman aristocratic circles, and while it is not clear evidence of explicit dynastic planning (carefully considered political marriages were the norm for aristocratic families), it did serve to begin separating the family of Augustus from the rest of the Roman aristocracy just as Augustus' own position was elevated above that of his nominal peers. The most notable familial arrangement of these years was Augustus' adoption of the sons of M. Agrippa and Julia, Gaius and Lucius, in 17 BCE. Lucius was born in 17 BCE; the elder Gaius was born three years earlier in 20 BCE. This would have made the boys heirs to Augustus' estate, but given their tender age at the time this should not be taken as marking them out as Augustus' political heirs. Indeed the boys largely disappear from the historical record between 17 and 5 BCE. Confusion over the heritability

of Augustus' position in these years is evident from a story from the year 23 BCE: When Augustus thought himself to be dying he handed over his signet ring, which implied authority over his private affairs, to his son-in-law Agrippa but his state papers to his colleague in the consulship.

It was the years 5–2 BCE that finally saw the development of a clear dynastic strategy for identifying and promoting the successors to Augustus and defining the relationship of the imperial family and the state. On January 1, 5 BCE Augustus took up his twelfth and penultimate consulship. His previous term in the chief magistracy had been seventeen years earlier. The occasion was the coming of age of his eldest adopted grandson, Gaius Caesar. When they reached the age of maturity, Roman aristocratic youths changed into the white toga (*toga virilis*) worn by Roman citizens and were led by their fathers into the Forum to offer sacrifices and be enrolled as citizens ready for public life and military duty. Suetonius (*Aug.* 26.2) tells us that Augustus asked to take up the consulship in 5 BCE precisely so that he might perform this ceremony for Gaius while in office. Augustus also gave a gift of money (*congiarium*) to all the citizens on the occasion. The entire pageant was repeated three years later in 2 BCE when Augustus took up his thirteenth and final consulship in order to repeat the rite for Lucius. Through his consulship and *congiarium*, Augustus signaled to the senate and people that Gaius' and Lucius' coming of age should be understood as more than a private, family affair.

The senate and knights (*equites*) responded by granting the two youths extraordinary honors that signaled their acceptance of the boys as the heirs to Augustus' political position. Augustus proudly recalls the honors in the *Res Gestae* (14):

In order to do me honor, when my sons Gaius and Lucius Caesar, whom fortune stole from me in their youth, were each fifteen, the senate and Roman people made them consuls-designate, ordering that they should enter that office five years later, and the senate decreed that on that day when they were led into the forum they would be included in public councils. Moreover the Roman knights together named each of them *princeps iuventutis* and gave them shields and spears.

The *Res Gestae* represents an official version of events in which the senate modeled the youths' future political careers precisely after Augustus' own: Each was designated to hold an early consulship at age twenty, the same age that Augustus had been when he first held the office; each was enrolled in the senate with speaking privileges, even though they had not held any of the requisite offices, as Augustus had been in 43 BCE. The knights (*equites*) named each of them *princeps iuventutis*. This was particularly significant

because the *iuventus* of the knights contained all the senators' sons who had not yet held public office. Their granting of the title signaled that the contemporaries of Gaius and Lucius accepted them as the leaders of the next generation. Like the senate, the *equites* patterned their honors to Augustus' own: *princeps iuventutis* recalled Augustus' title of *princeps (senatus)* and the ceremonial silver lance and shield recalled Augustus' own golden shield set up in the senate house by vote of the senators in 27 BCE. Though Augustus doesn't mention it in the *Res Gestae*, the youths were also each elected into one of the major priestly colleges: Gaius became a pontiff and Lucius an augur.

The presentation and acceptance of the boys was carefully crafted to present a generational succession plan with Augustus as the leader of the current generation of Roman leaders and Gaius and Lucius as the leaders of the next. The occasion was advertised widely: It inspired a large issue of gold and silver coins from the imperial mint (RIC I² 205–212): On the reverse the boys stand in their new togas, holding the shields and spears given to them by the knights; a jug and wand (*lituus*), symbols of pontifical and augural authority, appear between them. The legend reads, “The sons of Augustus, consuls designate, *principes* of the youth” (AUGUSTI F(ILII) CO(N)S(ULES) DESIG(NATI) PRINC(IPES) IUVENT(IS)). The obverse shows a bust of Augustus with the legend “Caesar Augustus, son of a divinity, father of the fatherland” (CAESAR AUGUSTUS DIVI F(ILII) PATER PATRIAE). The senatorial decrees congratulating and honoring the youths were distributed throughout the empire. The significance of all this was not lost at Rome or abroad. Ovid (*Ars Am.* 1.194) called Gaius “now *princeps* of young men, in the future of old” (*nunc iuvenum princeps, deinde future senum*). In their commemorative decree for Gaius (DPG), the Pisans went so far as to style him *princeps designatus*. Sardis and Samos passed their own honorary decrees congratulating Augustus on the occasion of Gaius' coming of age and declaring the day a civic holiday. Statue groups of Augustus, Gaius, and Lucius together were erected in cities across the empire. Cities sought out the youths as benefactors and civic patrons: Lucius was the patron of the colony at Pisa that erected the DPL after his death. The princes were integrated into the structure of patronage and loyalty that linked the empire directly to the *princeps*.

The amalgamation of imperial family and state was further emphasized and refined by two other important events of 2 BCE. Augustus was proclaimed “father of the fatherland” (*pater patriae*) on 5 February, 2 BCE. Suetonius records the actual words used by the senate in offering the title.

May you and your house (*domus*) find good fortune and divine favor, Caesar Augustus; for we understand that we are thus praying for the eternal good fortune of our state and happiness of our city. The senate and people of Rome hail you as father of the fatherland. (*Aug.* 58)

The language of fatherhood was a staple metaphor for Roman political and divine leadership (the senators and Jupiter were both regularly styled *patres*) but when the whole state publicly offered the role of *pater* to Augustus, it suggested that the whole state was now part of the household (*familia*) of Augustus, subject to his paternal as well as political authority. Gaius and Lucius could inherit this relationship: an heir normally took control of his father's property and household. Importantly the senate took this moment to redefine the important relationship between the prosperity of the state and the stewardship of the savior Augustus. Now eternal prosperity depended on the continued good fortune of Augustus and his *domus*. This was a clear dynastic statement: the *domus* of Augustus would inherit his special responsibility for the prosperity of the state, which could thus continue forever.

The second important event of 2 BCE to correspond with Lucius' coming of age was the dedication of the *forum Augustum* with its temple of Mars Ultor. The dedication was evidently rushed so that it could coincide with the other events of the year, and the temple was not yet finished when it was dedicated. The god of the temple himself signaled that the complex was to be a mixture of public and private: It fulfilled an original vow made by Augustus at Philippi asking for Mars' help in avenging his father, Julius Caesar, but had come since to stand for Augustus' revenge visited upon the Parthians for the death of Licinius Crassus and the defeat of Marc Antony at their hands. The forum also contained a set of statues of past Roman leaders and the members of the Julian family. Thus Augustus mixed state and family in history as well. Augustus issued an edict explaining that he had included the statues "so that the citizens might compel him, while he lived, and the *principes* who followed to follow their lives as an example" (*Suet. Aug.* 31.5). Thus the occasion became a moment not just for the *princeps* to locate himself and his family in the sweep of Roman history but also to make a formal statement that he would be followed by future *principes* who would continue to lead Rome.

The senate, knights, and people accepted Gaius and Lucius as the future leaders; the new dynasty was celebrated in ceremony and art. A final important step involved introducing Gaius and Lucius to the legions. The personal loyalty of the legions to Augustus and the family of the Caesars was a key

underpinning of the position of Augustus. Moreover, success at war was a central part of the ideological justification of Augustus' position and his heirs would need to demonstrate that they had the same ability. As the designated years for their consulships approached, Augustus sent each young man on a mission beyond Rome and Italy to be seen by the armies that would support their eventual succession and to learn to rule. In 1 BCE Gaius departed for Asia, where in 1 CE he took up the consulship ordained for him five years earlier. Three years after Gaius, Lucius also left Rome on a mission to Spain. Like Gaius he would have taken up his consulship in 3 CE while abroad.

Lucius never reached Spain: While en route he was overcome by a sudden illness and died at Massilia on 20 August, 2 CE. Since Lucius was a future leader (and father) of the state, his death was a public affair, to be dealt with by the organs of state as well as his family. When news of his death reached Rome, the senate declared a *iustitium* until he could be buried. In the republic, a *iustitium* was a temporary cessation of juridical and public business declared at times of disaster or immediate crisis. Now the senate declared that Lucius' death was a state crisis because he represented the future of the Augustan regime and its benefits: The stability of the state was equated with the stability of the dynasty.

The body was returned to Rome, carried by the military tribunes of the legions he was to command and by the leading men of the cities through which the cortege passed. The passage of Lucius' body through the port city of Ostia was commemorated, in a fragmentary passage, on the city's inscribed calendar. The surviving fragment reads:

Hominu[m --- g-]
 inta millia can[delis ardentibus]
 obviam processe[runt. Magistratus]
 Ostiensium pulla[ti corpus tulerunt.]
 Oppidum fuit orn[atatum ---]

Thousands of men with lighted candles came out to meet [the funeral procession]. The magistrates of Ostia dressed in mourning carried the corpse. The town was decorated . . . (*Insc. Ital.* 13.1.181–182)

Thus army, people, and civic leaders all had a role in returning Lucius home. Our sources do not record any details of the funeral or *laudatio* for Lucius at Rome, but he was buried in the mausoleum of Augustus.

The clearest sign that Lucius' death was conceived as a public rather than private loss was the use of a senatorial decree as the official public response to his death. Decrees by town councils commemorating important

individuals are not otherwise unknown, but here for the first time the senate takes charge of all mourning and commemoration as an affair of state. We do not have a copy of the decree, although it is referenced repeatedly in the later SCGC, so we cannot say exactly what it contained. In addition to the *iustitium* described above, we do know that it ordered the performance of annual *inferiae* at the mausoleum of Augustus on the anniversary of Lucius' death. *Inferiae* were sacrifices to the Manes, the spirits of the dead either collectively or, as here, of a particular person; they were ordinarily private devotions offered by family members and friends at the tomb. In its decree the senate evidently pioneered the use of public *inferiae* as a state ritual, presumably performed by state officers, perhaps the consuls. The whole state was to serve as Lucius' family, a fact that emphatically affirmed the joining of state and imperial family year after year. A display copy of the decree itself was inscribed in bronze and placed at the mausoleum of Augustus where Lucius was buried. Permanent displays of senatorial decrees were rare (as discussed below), and the placement of the decree for Lucius at the mausoleum reinforced the public as well as private nature of the monument.

The senatorial decree also provided a model for how other communities around the empire should respond to Lucius' death. Copies of the decree were sent out from Rome by Roman officials and by the ambassadors and representatives of local communities. The decree probably included some instructions about appropriate commemoration of Lucius by local communities, but mostly it would have dealt with commemoration at Rome itself. When the town council of Pisa, a colony of Roman citizens in northern Italy, received a copy of the senate's decree, it passed its own commemorative decree, despite the fact that it had evidently already enacted an earlier decree honoring Lucius, who had been a patron of the town. The new decree ordered the creation of a commemorative monument (a precinct and altar) for Lucius and ordered annual *inferiae* to be performed there on the anniversary of Lucius' death. Borrowing directly from the Roman decree, the Pisan decree carefully details what the *inferiae* were to entail, including expensive animal sacrifices. Also mimicking the senate, the Pisan town council ordered a display copy of their honorific decree set up in the new precinct near the altar for the *inferiae*. This display copy, inscribed on stone, survives and is our first text (DPL).

Although it dealt with local concerns, such as identifying and purchasing the best location for the precinct and altar, it also shows a thorough familiarity with the official commemoration at Rome and a clear desire to conform to the officially sanctioned methods of remembering Lucius: The

decree explicitly states that if the senate adjusts their commemoration, the Pisans will do likewise. Also, in order to make sure they had it just right and to demonstrate their loyalty and compliance, the Pisans dispatched a delegation to Rome to present their decree to Augustus for approval. We can imagine a similar process happening in other cities (though we don't have the evidence), so that the day of Lucius' death became a national holiday celebrated in similar fashion across the empire. The monuments and rituals for Lucius were used to elicit a universal affirmation of the *consensus* that justified Augustus' position.

Meanwhile in Asia, Gaius undertook an expedition to Arabia, parleyed with the Parthian king on the banks of the Euphrates, and installed a new pro-Roman client king in Armenia, which precipitated a revolt. During the revolt Gaius was treacherously wounded on September 7, 3 CE at the Armenian city of Artagira. His wounds evidently incapacitated him to some degree and he asked to be allowed to retire from public service and settle in Italy. Augustus enjoined him to return to Italy but at the outset of his journey Gaius died at Limyra in Lycia on February 21, 4 CE six months after he was wounded. As had happened to his brother, Gaius' body was carried back to Rome by military and civil officials and he was buried in the mausoleum of Augustus.

The senate again took charge of the official public commemoration of the prince, which was modeled on that for Lucius two years earlier: A *iustitium* was declared, to last until Gaius' ashes were interred, and annual *inferiae* were to be performed at the mausoleum on the anniversary of his death. The decree probably also ordered the construction of a memorial arch at Rome in Gaius' honor as well (Rose 1997: 19). A copy of the senate's commemorative decree in bronze was added to the one for Lucius at the mausoleum. In an apparent innovation, the senate also declared that the anniversary of Gaius' death would forever be treated like the anniversaries of other national disasters, with all public and private business suspended. The propaganda that the welfare of the state depended on the welfare of Augustus' family meant that a family tragedy became a national catastrophe.

A further set of honors was devised for the two deceased youths jointly: Their names were added to hymns sung by the Salian priests, a college of twelve priests of Mars supposedly founded by king Numa who opened and closed the military campaigning season by dancing through the streets of the city singing a traditional hymn to the gods of war. Augustus' name had been added in 29 BCE; now inclusion became a funerary honor. Special seating sections for the knights in the theater were named after them. Several public

buildings in Rome were named after them. Most strikingly, perhaps, a new system of voting was instituted that allowed the senators and rich knights to “pre-vote” in ten new special voting units named after the princes. The intertwining of public activities—*ludi*, martial rituals, voting—with the commemoration of the princes strengthened even more the connection between the state and the family of Augustus.

The loss of Gaius was felt across the empire, and temples and statue groups of the two were erected in many cities. However, again the senate’s commemorative decree served as the model for commemoration. When it arrived at Pisa the town council again passed its own decree (with some procedural difficulty discussed below). Again the Pisans follow the Roman model closely: The *iustitium* and the new status of the anniversary of Gaius’ death as an official day of remembrance are detailed in language adapted directly from the Roman decree. A lengthy recounting of Gaius’ achievements, a topic not found in their decree for Lucius, must have also been taken directly from the Roman decree, where it probably appeared as the text of an inscription intended for Gaius’ arch. The Pisans also erected an honorific arch for Gaius of their own, crowned by a complex statue group of the two princes. Annual *inferiae* for Gaius were instituted “to be held in the same place and in the same fashion as those for Lucius.” The reference to earlier honors as the paradigm for new honors was surely used in the Roman decree as well (cf. TS 136–146). The Pisans placed a display copy of their decree beside their decree for Lucius at the altar. This display copy is our second text, the DPG.

Augustus’ dynastic plan for Gaius and Lucius barely survived its creation. In the space of six years the hope that the prosperity of the empire would last forever protected by the heirs of Augustus changed into despair at a loss that had to be understood not just as a loss of the youths but of hope for the future. With both princes dead, the Pisan decree for Gaius (DPG) presents a much gloomier tone than the earlier one for Lucius (DPL): In it Gaius’ death was a “disaster” (*casus*); the prince was “snatched from the Roman people by cruel fate.” However, the concept that the position of Augustus was heritable had been established, and a scheme for identifying and naming heirs through a combination of family arrangements and public advancement had been created. Indeed the commemoration of the two youths itself served to further the idea that the empire depended not on Augustus alone but on his family.

Just months after the death of Gaius, Augustus took steps to renew and reorder the dynasty. On June 26, 4 CE he adopted his stepson Tiberius, the only male member of his family who was old enough to assume important

civic and military responsibilities immediately—there were pressing military matters at hand. At the same time Tiberius received both *tribunicia potestas* and *maius imperium*, the two central constitutional powers that had come to define the position of Augustus; this put Tiberius in nearly the same position as Augustus constitutionally. At the same time as Augustus adopted Tiberius, he had Tiberius adopt his nephew Germanicus, the son of his brother Drusus the elder, even though Tiberius already had a nearly adult son, Drusus (the younger). The two were now named Germanicus Caesar and Drusus Caesar. There are two ways to understand the adoption of Germanicus alongside Drusus: The first is that Augustus still wanted a blood relation to eventually inherit his position, and Germanicus was his grandnephew. Second, the deaths of Gaius and Lucius had impressed on him the fragility of the imperial system and he wished to continue the precedent of identifying pairs of possible successors. Although Tiberius was a generation behind Augustus, he was already too old to provide assurance of the long-term stability of the dynasty.

Some of the same devices used to designate Gaius and Lucius were repeated for Germanicus and Drusus: Germanicus married Agrippina (the elder), the granddaughter of Augustus, and Drusus married Claudia Livilla, Germanicus' sister. Both princes were permitted accelerated careers that skipped over most offices straight to the consulship. However, neither Germanicus nor Drusus were named *princeps iuventutis*. The office was still too closely associated with Gaius and Lucius. The new arrangement of the dynasty was publicized across the empire, and local communities responded by erecting statue groups of Tiberius and Augustus and of the four Caesars together (Augustus, Tiberius, Germanicus and Drusus). Livia, Augustus' wife and Tiberius' mother, is sometimes included, as are the deceased Gaius and Lucius.

The Tiberian historian, Velleius Paterculus, records, perhaps with some exaggeration, the universal relief that the future was once again assured by the family of Augustus:

On 27 June he adopted him, seven hundred and fifty-four years after the founding of the city, and twenty-seven years ago. The rejoicing of that day, the concourse of the citizens, their vows as they stretched their hands almost to the very heavens, and the hopes that they entertained for the perpetual security and the eternal existence of the Roman empire, I can hardly . . . do justice here. I will content myself with simply stating what a day of good omen it was for everyone. On that day arose once more in parents hope for their children, in husbands for their marriages, in owners for their property, and in all men for safety, order, peace, and tranquility; indeed,

it would have been hard to entertain larger hopes, or to have them more happily fulfilled. (2.103)

The public reaction to the loss of Gaius and Lucius drove home the point that if the stability of the empire was to depend on the family of the *princeps* alone, one of the central tasks of the regime had to be to show that the future of the dynasty was secure and well arranged. Throughout his reign, Augustus had used important religious ceremonies and cults to communicate and define the ideals and goals of the regime: Victoria Augusta, the Secular Games, Fortuna Redux, Pax Augusta, and Concordia Augusta all had served to highlight the benefits of Augustus' personal rule. In 2 BCE Mars Ultor had come to symbolize the linkage of the state and dynasty, but this cult was closely associated with the now dead Gaius and Lucius. Now a new suite of gods was developed to represent the emperor's focus on the future continuity of his dynasty. A cult of Providentia Augusta ("August Foresight") was established, with an altar dedicated on the anniversary of Tiberius' adoption opposite the altar of August Peace on the *campus Martius*. The new cult celebrated the prosperity of the future guaranteed by the foresight of Augustus in arranging his family. New cults of Aeternitas, Securitas, Salus Publica, and Pax also appeared in the final years of Augustus' reign to the same effect.

The most important change was the creation of a new collective concept, the *domus Augusta*, to represent the dynasty itself. *Domus* (house) could refer either to a physical house or to its inhabitants. It had become a preferred term in the late republic because it was less restrictive than *familia*. It was first used to describe the imperial family already in 2 BCE when Augustus was offered the title *pater patriae*. Now it reappeared to denote the structuring of the artificial dynasty as opposed to the natural family of Augustus. The *domus Augusta* represented Augustus' plans for the future political leadership of the empire (including women), not his natural family. Family members whom Augustus did not envision as part of the political leadership were omitted: His daughter Julia, his grandson Agrippa Postumus, and the future emperor Claudius were not included for various reasons. The discontinuity between the family of Augustus and the *domus* was not always clearly understood. At Athens, Agrippa Postumus was evidently included in a dynastic statue group that celebrated the adoptions of 4 CE. He was quickly removed leaving a blank spot that was filled a century later with a statue of the emperor Trajan.

The definition and promotion of the *domus* was evidently a priority after 4 CE: It appears in monuments, art, and ceremony. Reflecting this, the

domus is one of the central topics of the exilic poetry of Ovid produced in the years around the transition from Augustus to Tiberius. The poet repeatedly returns structured lists of the members of the *domus Augusta* as a cause for optimism for the future. In reference to Tiberius' ongoing re-subjugation of Germany he writes:

Already wild Germany, like the whole world, may have yielded on bended knee to the Caesars . . . the gifts promised to the temples of the friendly gods are being made ready for offerings by both Caesars and by the youths who are growing up under Caesar's name to give that house eternal sway over the world; with her good daughters-in-law Livia will give gifts, as she will do often, to the deserving gods on behalf of her son's safety. (*Tris.* 4.2.1–2, 7–12)

Illa domus will rule *perpetuo*. Augustus and Tiberius are called Caesars, Germanicus and Drusus youths. Again, after Tiberius' has returned from Germany in 12 CE to celebrate his triumph, Ovid writes:

The time is apt for prayers: Well is he and well, he sees, is it with the work of his hands, your strength, O Rome. In safety his consort guards her divine couch; his son is pushing out the bounds of the Ausonian empire; the spirit of Germanicus outruns his years and the energy of Drusus is not unequal to his noble birth. Add too that his daughters-in-law, his loyal granddaughters, the sons of his grandsons—all the members of the Domus Augusta—are well. (*Ex. P.* 2.2.67–75)

The members of the *domus Augusta* are listed in generational order, and the focus is on the youngest members. The dynastic presentation has developed since Gaius and Lucius; now the emphasis is not just on the next generation but on all the subsequent generations.

Despite Ovid's expressed optimism for the future, the last decade of Augustus' life was a difficult one for Rome and the regime. There were major floods, famine, and a plague in Rome. A revolt in Germany required the immediate dispatch of Tiberius; later an even larger revolt in Pannonia and Illyria required him to leave Germany behind. Germanicus was quaestor in 7 CE at the age of 22 and immediately afterwards joined his father Tiberius on campaign. While Tiberius and Germanicus were fighting the Pannonian uprising, the new commander in Germany, P. Quinctilius Varus, suffered a disastrous defeat that obliterated three legions and left the Rhine frontier and the Gaulish provinces vulnerable. Tiberius and Germanicus returned to campaign in Germany in 10–12 CE to restore order; after his consulship in 12 Germanicus was left in overall command of the eight legions stationed on the Rhine frontier. The emphasis in Ovid on optimism may be a reaction to these difficult times.

In 14 CE Augustus set off to accompany Tiberius as far as Beneventum on his way back to Illyria to finish reorganizing the re-subdued province. After leaving Tiberius, Augustus, feeling ill, detoured to his ancestral home at Nola. He died there on August 19, 14 CE. He had prepared for his death: He left a will, detailed instructions for his funeral, a financial and military summary of the state of the empire, and his *Res Gestae*. His funeral involved not just his family but also every part of society in some formal capacity. The senators marched in the funeral procession and magistrates-elect served as litter bearers; public statues of him as well as private *imagines* were carried before the procession; the *imagines* of all famous Romans from Romulus on, not just the members of the Julian clan were displayed; at the pyre public priests, the knights, and the soldiers all paraded around the bier; and the leading knights joined Livia in the vigil after the cremation. Augustus' ashes were interred in his mausoleum, which he had built so long ago. The senate formally declared him a new god, Divus Augustus, and a new college of priests, the *sodales Augustales*, was created to oversee his worship. There was no senatorial decree establishing commemorative honors like the annual public *inferiae* for Gaius and Lucius. Augustus was not to be commemorated as a deceased ancestor but worshiped as a god. It was not a senatorial decree but Augustus' own autobiographical *Res Gestae* that was erected at the mausoleum and distributed throughout the empire.

All the adult male members of the *domus Augusta* were enrolled into the *sodales Augustales* along with leading senators. One of the first acts of the *sodales* was to establish a double cult of *Divus Augustus Pater* and the *domus Augusta* in the Circus Flaminius in 15 CE. In his last datable letter from exile (15 CE), Ovid takes notice of this new statue group and cult claiming to have recreated it in his house:

Nor is my devotion unknown: a strange land sees a shrine to Caesar in my house. Beside him stand the loyal son and priestess wife, deities as important as the one made a god. Nor is any part of the *domus* absent, both the grandsons are there one by the side of his grandmother the other nearest his father. To these I offer daily incense and prayers. (*Ex. P.* 4.9.105–112)

The statues comprised Augustus, Livia, Tiberius, Drusus, and Germanicus. Ovid's knowledge of the statues suggests their wide publication. Other cults of the *domus Augusta* alongside cults of Divus Augustus were quickly established in the cities of the empire.

The succession of Tiberius was not in doubt: Tiberius had all the political powers of the *princeps* already; as Augustus' private heir in 14 he inherited the money, clients, and *familia* of the emperor. There was some confusion

evidently over the exact titles that Tiberius would take up and the new leader made a show of refusing aspects of Augustus' authority, but as Tacitus (*Ann.* 1.7) points out Tiberius acted as if he were already *princeps* even as the pageant of his succession played out. There was a more serious problem on the frontiers. When news of the first *princeps*' death reached the armies of lower Germany and Illyricum they seized the moment to demand better pay and discharge for long-serving veterans. The German commander, Germanicus, quelled the uprising partly by making concessions and partly by appealing to the soldiers' loyalty to the *domus Augusta*, which he recalled by threatening to send his wife and children away for safekeeping. Tiberius dispatched his younger son Drusus (this is the first political action attested for the prince) to the mutinous legions in Illyricum. A convenient lunar eclipse helped Drusus convince the soldiers of the gods' disfavor towards them for crossing the *domus Augusta*. What is striking about these stories is not the seriousness of rebellions but the appeal to the soldiers' personal loyalty to the *domus Augusta* to bring them back into line. The soldiers had leveraged the insecure moment of the succession to extract concessions, a sign of things to come in the following centuries but not evidence of real opposition to Tiberius or the imperial system.

Following the pattern established for Gaius and Lucius, after Tiberius' succession Germanicus and Drusus were posted abroad to gain military and foreign policy experience. With his German legions, Germanicus campaigned across the Rhine in 14–16 CE to avenge the disaster of Varus. Drusus was dispatched to the army in Illyricum to settle affairs with the German tribes across the Danube. In 17 CE Germanicus returned to the capital to celebrate a triumph over Germany for his victories. He then set out on a new mission to reorganize the provinces and kingdoms in Asia, with an extraordinary command (*imperium maius*) superior to that of other governors in the regions where he was to operate. Fatefully, at the same time Tiberius also appointed Cn. Calpurnius Piso as his deputy (*legatus Augusti*) to govern the province of Syria. Germanicus traveled the region widely before proceeding to Armenia where he installed a new client king, just as Gaius had done. The prince quickly found himself in conflict with the older aristocratic governor of Syria. Piso evidently went so far as to revoke some of Germanicus' orders when he was away and to curry personal favor with the troops. Their relationship deteriorated to such an extent that when Germanicus fell ill he was convinced that Piso was somehow poisoning him. Germanicus sent Piso a letter renouncing their friendship and ordered Piso to leave Syria. Piso did so, traveling slowly, as Tacitus says, in case the prince should die.

Germanicus did in fact die on October 10, 19 CE. One of Germanicus' companions, Cn. Sentius, took charge of the province of Syria, but Piso also decided to return to resume command. Sentius resisted and after some fighting, Piso's attempt failed. He was allowed to set out again for Rome.

Rumors of Germanicus' illness had reached Rome, along with varying rumors of his recovery or death, and stirred up popular anger towards Tiberius and Livia, who were whispered to be conspiring with Piso and his wife Plancina against Germanicus. When word of Germanicus' death finally reached the city, the people began to observe a *iustitium* even before the senate could officially declare it. Tacitus says that this reflected true grief at Germanicus' demise; it may also suggest that the proper form of commemoration for dead princes was now so widely known that there was no need to wait for a magistrate's edict. The senate did officially declare a *iustitium*, just as it had when the news of the deaths of Gaius and Lucius had reached Rome. Tacitus (**Ann.* 2.83) describes the meeting of the senate where the senators discussed the honors to commemorate Germanicus. Tiberius, after consultation with his mother Livia, his son Drusus, and Germanicus' mother Antonia, was given final decision of which honors to accept. After Tiberius' wishes were known the senate collected the honors into a commemorative decree (SCGC) and ordered the consuls to see to it that a public law be passed as well (LVA).

Although Tacitus emphasizes the extravagance of the honors that were suggested, overall the commemoration for Germanicus was carefully patterned after that for Gaius and Lucius: funerary arches, annual *inferiae*, the inclusion of Germanicus in the Salian hymn, and the creation of voting centuries named after the prince were all familiar. Indeed the careful parallelism with the earlier honors for Gaius and Lucius served to emphasize continuity in the *domus Augusta* across the transition from Augustus to Tiberius. There were some new honors geared specifically to Germanicus. Commemorative arches were to be built not just at Rome but also on the Rhine and Asian frontiers where Germanicus had successfully campaigned. The arch on the Rhine was placed alongside the funeral monument that the soldiers had erected there for Germanicus' father, Drusus the elder. Portraits of Germanicus and his natural father were to be added to the library attached to the temple of Apollo on the Palatine.

The SCGC also devoted a significant amount of space not to honors for Germanicus but to acknowledging and praising the devotion of different individuals and groups to the memory of Germanicus. The senate thanked

the plebs and probably the knights as well for their devotion to the prince, using the text to signal the continued *consensus ordinum* in support of the *domus Augusta*. Since Tiberius was, in fact, displeased with the excessive public grief of the *plebs*, the recognition of the *plebs* in the decree also provided a model for the proper display of grief and devotion: erecting statues with senate approval. Moreover, the senate orders tributes to Germanicus delivered by Tiberius and his son Drusus the younger also to be inscribed in bronze at Rome. Tacitus tells us that there was a popular belief that Tiberius and Drusus had not liked Germanicus and wanted to remove his children from the line of succession in favor of Tiberius' natural son Drusus and his children (Drusus and his wife Livilla had twin sons in 19 CE, Tiberius and Germanicus). The emphasis in the SCGC on Tiberius' and Drusus' devotion to Germanicus served to counter the rumor.

The decree for Germanicus was displayed on bronze at the mausoleum of Augustus alongside those for Gaius and Lucius. A copy was also placed in the temple of Apollo on the Palatine where the senate regularly met. Our fifth text, 6.31199, which consists of three small fragments from a bronze inscription of the SCGC (and maybe LVA) at Rome, must be the remains either of the Palatine copy of the SCGC or the copy from the mausoleum.

As had also happened in the case of Gaius and Lucius, the senate ordered its commemorative decree distributed throughout the empire by both the provincial governors and the envoys of individual cities. When Pisa had received similar copies of the decrees for Gaius and Lucius in 2 and 4 CE, it had crafted its own decrees and honors based on the senate's decree. It was these local decrees (DPL, DPG) that were displayed in the Pisans' new memorial precinct. When local communities received copies of the senate's decree for Germanicus, it would have still been necessary to pass local decrees to implement the senate's orders and to set out the specifics of how the commemoration of Germanicus was to be handled in each town. However, now instead of displaying these local decrees they displayed the original documents received from Rome. Significant portions of these texts dealt specifically with matters beyond the scope of the local communities. Complex rules for voting at Rome were irrelevant to the cities displaying the decrees, and arches in far away places would almost never be visited. However, as is discussed later, the purpose of such display copies was not to provide practical or relevant instructions to those who viewed them. Rather they served as monuments to maintain the memory both of the princes and especially of the actions taken to commemorate them. Our third text, the TS, is a bronze copy of the senate's decree and law erected in the town of

Siarum in Spain; our fourth text, the TH, is one panel from a similar bronze copy erected in Heba in Etruria.

Germanicus' wife Agrippina arrived in Italy with his ashes early in 20 CE. Two praetorian cohorts escorted them to Rome, with the populations of towns along the route offering funereal sacrifices as the procession passed by, just as had happened for Gaius and Lucius. Germanicus' two brothers, Drusus and the future emperor Claudius, along with Germanicus' children joined the procession for the final hundred miles to Rome. Germanicus was interred in the mausoleum of Augustus sometime before 4 April with the soldiers, magistrates, knights, and *plebs* all turning out. The story did not end here: Tacitus (**Ann.* 3.5) tells us that there was popular discontent that the funeral honors for Germanicus at Rome had not been more elaborate. A funeral had been held for Germanicus in Syria where his body was cremated, so as Tacitus points out there was no real need for a funeral and cremation at Rome. However, the lack of public ceremony added more fuel to suspicions that Tiberius and Piso had conspired against Germanicus and that Tiberius was trying to marginalize the family of Germanicus in favor of his natural son Drusus and his children. The truth of this is unclear. Matters were not helped by the close friendship of Livia and Piso's wife, Plancina. Tiberius, trying to calm matters, issued an edict denouncing extravagant displays of grief.

Amidst all this, Piso arrived back at Rome, reigniting public furor by disembarking at the mausoleum of Augustus. Germanicus' friends immediately moved to prosecute him on charges of murder and treason. Rather than hearing the politically fraught case himself, Tiberius referred it to the senate, which had begun serving as a court and jury for important treason cases at some time in the reign of Augustus. The verdict was probably never in doubt, and when Piso lost faith in his chances he committed suicide. The trial however continued against the deceased Piso as well as his co-defendants, his wife Plancina, his son M. Piso, and two of his companions. The final verdict condemned the already dead Piso and his companions for treason (but not murder) but spared Plancina and Marcus. The course of the trial and the verdicts are reported in our sixth text, the SCPP, which was passed on December 10, 20 CE. There is some dispute as to the precise timing and length of the trial and as to whether the SCPP reflects the verdicts as passed or is a composite of several separate decrees (for the various defendants) compiled after the fact for the purpose of publication, although there seems to be strong agreement between Tacitus' account of the trial and the SCPP. The procedural point is important, but in either

case the SCPP must have been composed with the intent that it would be distributed and displayed. As such it gave Tiberius a chance to regain the control of the dynastic message that he seems to have lost after the death of Germanicus. The SCPP emphasizes, in addition to the perfidy of Piso, the closeness of Tiberius and Germanicus, the unity of the *domus Augusta* and, in even stronger terms than the SCGC, the loyalty of all segments of society to Tiberius, Germanicus, and the *domus*. The senate ordered that a display copy of the decree be erected at Rome, in the provincial capitals, and in the legionary headquarters. The addition of the legionary headquarters suggests a desire to remind the soldiers of their loyalty to the *domus Augusta* in the aftermath of Piso's failed rebellion. At least one provincial governor, Numerius Vibius Serenus, went even further and distributed the text for display throughout his province of Baetica in Spain. Our sixth text (SCPP) is the most complete of multiple copies of the decree found there.

Tiberius' surviving son, Drusus, had returned to Rome in December, 19 CE upon the news of the death of Germanicus; he was also present in Rome in March, 20 CE when Agrippina arrived with Germanicus' ashes and again for Piso's trial. With Germanicus dead, Drusus was now the only adult member of the *domus Augusta* available to help Tiberius (the future emperor Claudius was never promoted to political prominence under Tiberius). Drusus and his father Tiberius held the consulship together in 21 CE. Tiberius withdrew to the island of Capri during the year, leaving Drusus alone at Rome. After his consulship Drusus was given *tribunicia potestas* at the request of Tiberius, a power accorded to Agrippa and Tiberius as colleagues of Augustus but never to Gaius, Lucius, or Germanicus. Despite the death of Germanicus, the next generations of the principate seemed secure. Germanicus had two sons, Nero and Drusus, who took up the *toga virilis* in 20 and 23 respectively. Both were granted the usual accelerated careers. Nero the son of Germanicus married Julia the daughter of Drusus, cementing the children of Germanicus and Drusus together.

Drusus' new preeminent position did not last: He died at Rome after a lengthy illness on September 14, 23 CE. As had been the case with Germanicus, stories abounded that he had been poisoned, with suspicion falling on the praetorian prefect Sejanus and even Tiberius himself. Unlike Germanicus, Drusus was given a full funeral at Rome before he was interred in the mausoleum of Augustus. Tacitus tells us that the senate decreed Drusus the same honors voted to Germanicus, with new ones added, and a public law was passed confirming them. The decree was, following the pattern, erected

at the mausoleum and distributed throughout the empire. A small bronze fragment of the decree found at Rome is our seventh text (6.31200). An equally small fragment of the law, found in Ilici in Spain, is our eighth text (TI).

The death of Drusus began a new dynastic disaster for the family of Tiberius due partly to misfortune, partly to the conspiracy of Sejanus, and partly to Tiberius' own distrust. One of Drusus' twin sons died in 23. Both of Germanicus' elder sons, Drusus and Nero, were condemned for treason at the instigation of Sejanus. When Tiberius died his will named Germanicus' third son Gaius (Caligula) and Drusus' surviving son Tiberius (Gemellus) as joint heirs. The senate invalidated the will, placing Caligula in sole power, and Tiberius Gemellus was dead within the year. Despite the chaos surrounding the death of Tiberius and the murder of Caligula the dynastic imperial system was not questioned. The concept that the *domus Augusta* was uniquely suited to ruling the Romans and their empire had been established. After Caligula's death, the elevation of the last adult scion of the *domus*, Claudius, who had previously been deemed unfit to rule, shows how closely associated the position of *princeps* and membership in the *domus Augusta* had become. The death of the final Julio-Claudian emperor, Nero, in 68 CE ended the connection, and the civil wars that followed reinforced the role of the army in emperor making. However, the idea of the emperor as standing at the head of a dynasty that secured the future continued to be central to the justification and propaganda of subsequent emperors and dynasties.

Further reading

For further contextualization of our documents, Rowe 2002 (reviewed by Talbert 2004) is key; for an introduction to the age of Augustus, Wallace-Hadrill 1993, Galinsky 2005, Eck 2007, Levick 2010; for more specific discussions relevant to various aspects of the establishment and propaganda of the Augustan regime: Syme 1939, Wallace-Hadrill 1982, Zanker 1988, Raaflaab and Toher 1990, Edwards 1993, Galinsky 1996, Wallace-Hadrill 2008, Levick 2010; for dynastic history and the designation of heirs: Hurlet 1997, Severy 2003; for the creation of monumental statue groups of members of the *domus Augusta* outside of Rome: Rose 1997, Kantiréa 2007; for the *Res Gestae*: Brunt and Moore 1967, Ramage 1987, Cooley 2009; for the mausoleum of Augustus, von Hesberg and Panciera 1994, Davies 2000, Rehak 2004; for the *domus Augusta*, Fullerton 1985, Millar 1993, Flory 1996, Severy 2000, Severy 2003; for a papyrus fragment of Augustus' *laudatio* for

Agrippa, Ameling 1994; for the funerals of Roman emperors, Arce 1988; for the adoption of Tiberius by Augustus, Birch 1981; for *principes iuventutis*, Vassileiou 1984.

1.2 Death and commemoration

Due to their content, our texts might seem to deserve scant attention from those aiming to understand the beginnings of the empire because they seem to represent historical dead ends: the princes' deaths ended their role in history. Our commemorative texts were just a coda.

This is far from true. Commemoration of the dead had an active role to play in Roman society not just in preserving the memory of the dead but also in providing later generations guidance and direction. In this sense, the commemorative texts and rituals for our princes provided a means of communicating the ideals and principles of the new regime that was rooted in traditional practices. As such, they provided an unequalled opportunity to create the public image of the new regime, to offer a persuasive vision of the necessity and benefits of imperial rule. To better understand the impetus behind the production and distribution of the documents included here it is important to consider them not just in connection with politics and history but also more broadly in light of the Roman experience of death and, in particular, Roman elite attitudes towards death and commemoration.

Death was a much more present and regular fact of life in the Roman world than it is in developed countries today. Given the sources at hand, it is impossible to precisely quantify the demography of Roman death. However, census reports, epitaphs, and human remains all provide some insight, and comparative studies of pre-industrial societies and developing societies suggest reasonable conjectures for life expectancy and mortality patterns. Tim Parkin (1992: 67–90) suggests an average life expectancy of twenty-five to thirty years, or, factoring out early childhood mortality, which was extremely high, forty to fifty years. This suggests that the average Roman encountered death with a frequency that would seem shocking today. In the fourth century CE, the poet and politician Ausonius composed a book of thirty elegiac poems, *Parentalia*, each memorializing members of his immediate family who had predeceased him. Of course individual experience varied: Augustus lived to seventy-six, his successor Tiberius to seventy-eight, and his widow Livia to eighty-five. However, the overall picture of the *domus Augusta* looks much more like Ausonius' experience: Augustus was

predeceased by his nephew Marcellus (age 19), his son-in-law Agrippa (age 50), his stepson Drusus (age 29), and his grandsons Gaius (age 16) and Lucius (age 15); his daughter Julia (age 53) and third grandson Agrippa Postumus (age 26) were both dead within months of the emperor's death. One of our princes, Germanicus, famously had nine children between 5 BCE and 18 CE. Two died in infancy, one in early childhood, and only one, Agrippina the Younger, survived after 41 CE.

Death was generally a more visible and integral part of Roman society than it is in Western society today. We associate death closely with old age and make it a special tragedy to die young; we confine it to particular private places like hospitals, and leave the details of it to professionals such as doctors, funeral directors, and undertakers. The family of Augustus demonstrates clearly that for the Romans death was not especially limited to old age. Moreover, there were no hospitals to segregate the dying from the living. Romans died where they lived, at home, on the road, and in battle; family, friends, servants, and colleagues attended them at death, not professionals. Tacitus (*Ann.* 2.72) depicts Germanicus spending his final moments talking with his friends and wife, plotting revenge on his supposed murderer and planning for the survival of his children. Roman death was, in many ways, something to be watched and judged. Soldiers died bravely or otherwise in battle in front of their brothers in arms. The deadly shows of the circus and gladiatorial arena turned death into entertainment, a true spectacle. Literal political suicide became one way to make a final public appeal for Roman politicians overshadowed by the power of the emperor. The way someone died was thought to provide important insight into their character and thus was itself worthy of comment and memory. Death scenes were a recurring—and evidently popular—topic across all genres of the Latin literature. Collected stories of how famous men had met their deaths were available, and biographies regularly end with a treatment of death that served also to sum up the subject's character. Such death tales could be tools in political discourse. The suicides of Cato and Seneca had powerful anti-imperial political resonances. Tacitus (*Hist.* 1.41) knew of two accounts of the death of the emperor Galba, one that reflected positively and one negatively on him, evidently circulated by his political allies and foes.

Before the spread of Christianity, the Romans had no agreed upon belief in an afterlife beyond the shadowy spirits of the dead, the *Di Manes* who were thought to inhabit tombs. Concern with the time after death emphasized not living a new afterlife but achieving immortality in the memory of the living. For the elite class to which our princes belonged, this meant performing

extraordinary deeds in public service that would enhance their reputation and be worthy of remembrance not just by one's family but by everyone. Concepts like *fama*, *gloria*, and *dignitas* were the measures of aristocratic success and they relied on public knowledge and validation of one's life. Pliny (*Epis.* 9.3) writes that ensuring eternal fame and glory after death was the primary reason to engage in public life; in the case of one friend, the consular Verginius Rufus, who had defeated the rebel Vindex to preserve the empire, he questions (*Epis.* 2.1.11) whether death (*mors*) was even the right word, "for he lives now and will live forever and will be even more widely present in the memory and conversation of men now that he is no longer before us."

While famous deeds alone should ideally have been sufficient to ensure immortality through memory, in fact there could be a great deal of anxiety and worry about the possibility of being forgotten. It was not rare for Romans to establish testamentary endowments specifically to ensure the completion of a funeral monument and to fund the performance of commemorative rites. The funeral itself served in part to preserve memory. Roman elite male funerals were elaborate and largely public productions geared towards ensuring the memory of the deceased's accomplishments (we are much less well informed about the funerals of women and the non-elite, but our princes all fall into the first category). Polybius (6.53–54) provides the best account for an elite funeral from the republic: the body was taken from his home to the Forum in an elaborate parade (*pompa*) that involved not just the living family of the deceased but actors impersonating the deceased's famous ancestors. In the Forum the body was displayed while a son or other relative delivered a eulogy (*laudatio*) that focused on the deceased's achievements. "As a result the people, not just those who shared in the deeds of the deceased but everyone, remember what he accomplished" (Polybius 6.53). The praise includes the deceased ancestors as well. "As a result, the virtuous reputation of good men is constantly renewed and the fame of those who performed some great deed becomes immortal and the glory of those who served their country becomes common knowledge and is passed down to posterity" (Polybius 6.54).

Remembrance also relied on monuments (*monumenta*), which the jurist Ulpian (*Dig.* 11.7.2.6) defined as anything that exists to preserve memory (*Monumentum est, quod memoriae servandae gratia existat*). The tomb and epitaph were such *monumenta*. Tombs and tomb markers are among the most common built artifacts to survive from the Roman world, and the forms and types of Roman tombs varied over time and across geography, wealth, and class. However, there was always the belief that the tomb should

reflect the accomplishments and position of its occupant. The epitaphs that accompanied tombs reminded readers of the public accomplishments of the deceased. Again referring to his friend Verginius Rufus, Pliny wrote,

Everyone who has done some great and memorable deed should, I think, not only be excused but even praised if he wishes to ensure the immortality he has earned and by the very words of his epitaph seeks to perpetuate the undying glory of his name. (*Epis.* 9.19.1)

Monumenta need not be explicitly funerary. Rome was filled with honorific statues, arches, and other eponymous public works that with their inscriptions served as mnemonic devices to recall the deeds that occasioned them to mind. Historians judged inclusion in writing the best and most lasting *monumentum*, often contrasted with the impermanence of stone memorials. Cicero's (*ad Fam.* 5.12.1) much-ridiculed request that his friend Lucceius write a history of Cicero's consulship sprung from the hope that such commemoration would grant him immortality; and in the *Agricola* (46.4) Tacitus declares that the memory of his uncle's deeds would be remembered forever precisely because Tacitus has written them down.

If memory and monuments served the dead in one way, by providing them with immortality, they served the living in another, by providing models for how to live life. The memory of the illustrious dead was supposed to be inspirational. Sallust claims that men who were later famous had often in their youth gazed upon the images of their ancestors and were inspired.

It is the memory of great deeds that kindles in the breasts of noble men this flame that cannot be quelled until they by their own prowess have equaled the fame and glory of their forefathers. (*Jug.* 5)

Livy (pref.) claimed that reading his history, like looking at a monument, provided models (*exempla*) that one could imitate or avoid. For Polybius (6.54) the most important outcome of the *laudatio* was that "it inspires young men to undergo anything for the common good in the hope of winning the glory that accompanies the brave deeds of men." Our texts fit squarely into the Roman elite culture of commemoration. While they were not *laudationes*, epitaphs, or histories, they were *monumenta* designed to preserve the memory of the princes and their accomplishments and to promote them as *exempla* to posterity.

In the political context of dynasty, commemoration was persuasive as well as inspirational. It did more than hand down an objective memory to posterity; it helped to create and shape that memory. When Cicero (*ad Fam.* 5.12.3) asked Lucceius to write a history about him he also

requested that Luceius “praise him more vehemently than might be honest and overlook the rules of history in this instance.” In prescribing the widespread public commemoration of our princes at Rome and across the empire, the regime controlled the message, defining the relationship between prince and people and offering the official account of the events surrounding their deaths. The association of lengthy memorial texts (our texts) with the monuments for the princes provided an understandable and acceptable way of publicizing a persuasive narrative that would be repeatedly reinforced through the annual rites at the monuments. The production of the SCPP—not a funerary document but a condemnation of Piso which covers the details of Germanicus’ death and the state’s reaction—is an exception that proves the point: Tacitus tells us that, after the death of Germanicus, Tiberius had lost control of public opinion and the developing memory surrounding the event. The publication of the SCPP served to reassert the official memory of the events surrounding Germanicus’ death.

The fate of Cn. Calpurnius Piso provides another important counterpoint to the commemoration of Germanicus. The new regime also consciously controlled Piso’s place in the communal memory, but he was not commemorated, he was disgraced. All of the means by which a Roman aristocrat might expect to stave off oblivion through the memory of his positive achievements are explicitly denied to Piso by the senate in the SCPP. His name was erased from a prominent inscription; his buildings in Rome were demolished; public and private images of him were destroyed; he was not to be mourned by his family; his ancestral mask was not to be used in family funerals; he could not leave a legacy to his children; and he could not even pass his name to his son. In place of these normal positive modes of commemoration his memory is preserved only in a bad way, in the SCPP where he appears as a complete villain. His role in Roman society and communal memory, maintained and defined by the display copies of the SCPP, was as a negative example of how to act towards the *domus Augusta*. It was a terrible punishment.

Further reading

For the Roman experience of death: Toynbee 1971, Hopkins 1983, Shaw 1991, Saller 1994, Edwards 2007; for demography: Parkin 1992; for elite funerals: Bodel 1999; for funerary monuments: Carroll 2006; for sources related to death and burial: Hope 2007; for the political aspects of controlling memory: Gowing 2005; for the relationship between ritual and social structure: Morris 1992.

1.3 Senate, council, decree, and law

In addition to being part of funeral commemoration, the texts included here are all “official documents,” produced by organs of state. They are decrees of the senate at Rome (*senatus consulta*) or the municipal council at Pisa (*decreta decurionum*) or Roman laws (*leges*) drafted and passed at the explicit direction of the senate. However, they survive to us not from the archives of the senate or council but in copies inscribed on stone or bronze and erected in communities outside Rome that served as an important means of communicating the wishes of the central government throughout the empire. This raises broad questions of governance concerning the role of the senate and the Roman people, the *populus Romanus* under the *princeps*. It also raises practical questions about the procedures of the decision-making bodies that produced the documents, the drafting and preservation of authoritative texts, and about the transmission of that text from place to place and medium to medium.

Despite the fact that Augustus’ famous claim to have returned the state to the rule of the senate and Roman people in 27 BCE is fiction, there is no doubt that the senate retained important responsibilities and authority. In fact the senate increased its competence and prominence at the expense of the *populus Romanus*, the magistrates, and the urban populace. In the late republic the senate was a council of senior magistrates and ex-magistrates that could discuss whatever it wanted, but had limited actual executive power. The Roman people passed laws, declared war and made treaties, led by the magistrates; courts, populated by knights as well as senators, decided all judicial affairs; the populace of Rome, the urban *plebs*, wielded great influence by virtue of the power of the mob and its ability to control the assemblies. When the will of the senate disagreed with that of the *populus Romanus*, the law was sovereign.

Under Augustus and Tiberius the senate usurped most of the power that had rested with the people and the courts. It became a private court for its own members. Sitting as such it tried Piso and published the result in the SCPP. It began by decree to prepare laws that were evidently automatically passed by the assembly. Such laws were directed in the commemorative decrees for Gaius, Germanicus, and Drusus, and portions of them survive in the LVA and TI. The lack of power of the assembly itself is shown by the fact that the texts of these laws, appended to the senatorial decrees that directed them, were published in the form of bills (*rogationes*) rather than laws (*leges*); the actual passage was a formality that did not prevent the text from being

circulated earlier. In the post-Augustan period this intermediate stage could be omitted and senatorial decrees themselves assumed the force of law. It is not surprising that Augustus and Tiberius preferred to work politically through the senate: It helped maintain the fiction of republican government, without the disruptions and unpredictability that had characterized the popular assemblies. By virtue of their wealth and clients, the senators had influence that needed to be controlled. The emperor and his male family were themselves senators.

Despite its new scope, the senate acted under the control of the emperor, who was both the *princeps*, elder statesman of the body, and was empowered with tribunician power (*tribunicia potestas*) that allowed him to control the agenda. However, it was important that the fiction of actual debate be maintained, and Tiberius submitted most of his actions to discussion in the senate. Throughout the SCGC and SCPP Germanicus' assignment in Asia is described as granted by senatorial authority (*ex auctoritate eius ordinis*) with Tiberius supplying only specific instructions (*mandata*) to Germanicus. However, Tacitus' central criticism of the senate was its complete sycophancy towards the emperor. We should not doubt that the senate was essentially an imperial puppet, although instances of disagreement or confusion can be found.

One important aspect of the senate's role as executor and cheerleader for imperial policy was the passage of honorific or commemorative decrees such as those for Lucius, Gaius, Germanicus, and Drusus. Such decrees were rare in the republic but under Augustus and Tiberius they became a staple part of the senate's relationship with the emperor and the *domus Augusta*. Published widely and often erected as inscribed display copies in their own right, such decrees created and transmitted the ideology and propaganda of the new regime. They supplied official models for how the citizens of the empire should view the new regime, with examples provided for every class. Such decrees were nominally freely offered up to the *princeps*, and thus were further evidence of the *consensus universorum*, but they were in fact carefully controlled vehicles of propaganda. In them the senate relied heavily on precedents that had already received imperial endorsement, and when novel situations arose sought imperial input. And when the senate veered from the desired course, the emperor readily stepped in to put it back on track. Our commemorative decrees (and laws) were the output of this system.

Turning to procedural matters, in order to solidify his control and to improve the senate's functioning, since it was to be a primary vehicle of imperial governance, Augustus revised and codified membership in the

senatorial aristocracy (twice reducing its membership), he modified the procedures of the house, and he improved the methods of preserving records of the senate's work. The product of the senate's actions were decrees (*senatus consulta*) and the process by which these came to be affected their final form, as we have them in our texts. The procedures of a meeting of the senate were as follows: The convening officer (*relator*) presided over the meeting and set the agenda by introducing a topic to be discussed, explaining the issues at hand, suggesting possible courses of action, noting any need for special imperial input, and asking for guidance. Altogether this opening of a meeting was called the *relatio*. With unanimous consent a topic could then proceed directly to an uncontested vote; otherwise the presiding officer next called on individual senators to offer their opinions (*sententiae*) in order of seniority. If present, the emperor might weigh in immediately during the *interrogatio* or after consultation with his advisors. Tacitus (*Ann.* 1.74) tells a story that reveals the anxiety this might produce among senators: When Tiberius declared that he would offer an opinion in a particular trial, Cn. Piso (later the subject of the SCPP) asked whether Tiberius would speak first, to provide guidance for what he would himself opine. He did not want to accidentally find himself opposed to the emperor's position. After all the discussion was complete the presiding officer then compiled the various *sententiae* that seemed to have support into a motion or motions, which were then put to a vote (*discessio*); a motion that passed, either unanimously or by *discessio*, became a *senatus consultum*.

Since the entire proceeding was conducted orally, although senators might have prepared their *sententiae* in written form beforehand, the wording of decrees had to be drafted after the fact. Immediately after the meeting the consuls or other presiding officer composed the actual text of the decree, assisted by a small editorial board of senators, normally including those senators whose *sententiae* had been accepted. In the republic, copies of decrees were then archived by the urban quaestors (*quaestores urbani*) in the public records (*tabellae publicae*) kept in the treasury (*aerarium*). The consuls also kept their own files as did the plebeians in the temple of Diana on the Aventine. No decree was valid until it was entered into the *tabellae publicae*. There was evidently chicanery associated with the *tabellae* in the late republic: Suetonius (*Aug.* 94) tells us the story that in 63 BCE, the year of Augustus' birth, the senate passed a decree that no male child born in that year should be raised due to a prophecy that a king of Rome was to be born, but the senators whose wives were pregnant conspired to keep the decree from being entered into the archives and thus prevented it from becoming valid; on the other hand, Cicero (*Phil.* 5.12) accused Antony of entering

fake decrees in the *aerarium* in order to validate them. In order to ensure the accuracy of the public records, Augustus also reformed the process for handling *senatus consulta*. He ended the practice of placing copies of decrees in the consuls' and plebeians' records, leaving the *aerarium* managed by the two urban quaestors and staffed by public scribes as the only depository (see the comments on DPG 96–97). The two urban quaestors were also made *ex officio* members of the editorial boards that helped the consuls draft decrees to ensure continuity between the draft copy and the archival copy (see the comments on SCPP 318–321). The official archival edition was then produced on a wax coated wooden tablet (*tabula cereata*) from the draft by one of the quaestors' scribes. The importance of the archiving activity to the validation of a decree is shown by another episode in Tacitus (*Ann.* 3.51): When a decree pronouncing the death penalty was passed and carried out in his absence, it was decided that henceforth there would be a delay of ten days between the passage of such a decree and the placing of it in the archives to allow the *princeps* more time to object before the sentence was carried out. Four of our texts (SCGC from the TS, 6.31199, SCPP, 6.31200) were decrees of the senate produced by this process.

In addition to Rome itself, there were two kinds of civic communities of Roman citizens in the early empire, colonies and *municipia*, both of which maintained a degree of autonomy over their local affairs and were governed by local elites according to civic structures similar, to differing degrees, to those at Rome: magistrates and an oligarchic council of local leaders (*decuriones*). Such councils passed local decrees (*decreta decurionum*) according to procedures modeled on the Roman senate, though without the overbearing presence of the emperor himself. As in the case of meetings of the Roman senate, only a competent magistrate could call a formal meeting of a municipal senate. The need for a presiding officer to introduce a formal proposal before the *decuriones* caused problems at Pisa when the news of Gaius' death arrived at the city because there were no sitting magistrates there due to electoral difficulties (*contentiones candidatorum*). An inelegant workaround was achieved, which, luckily for us, required the DPG to make detailed reference to the process for handling a decree (DPG 56–58), which again emphasized the drafting and archiving function as necessary to a decree's validity. Two of our texts were decrees of the town council of Pisa (DPL, DPG).

Two of our texts (LVA from the TS and TH, TI) are of laws of the Roman people rather than decrees of the senate. The senate prearranged both, as discussed above, but the process of enacting a law is important to

understanding the form of our texts. The procedure by which laws (*leges rogatae*) were proposed by a magistrate or tribune and passed by a popular assembly in the republic is fairly well known: A proposer drafted a bill (*rogatio*) which normally had to be displayed publicly in the Forum for a period of three *nundinae*, but this requirement was waived for the LVA (TS 178). On the day of assembly the presiding officer read out the bill (*recitare*) and asked the people (or just the *plebs*) to vote. If passed, the final text of the law was drafted based on the text of the bill. The original edition of the law was then deposited in the *aerarium* and an automatic display copy may have been produced and displayed on the Capitol. However, both of our laws were distributed and displayed not in their final form but as bills, which suggests that they were distributed along with the senatorial decrees that ordered them before they were even formally passed.

There was no standard requirement that decrees or other official documents be “published,” that is, made available in a public place to the general public (except perhaps for the symbolic display copy of laws placed on the Capitol). Most decrees contained advice or instructions for particular magistrates and the Romans placed no value on what we would call transparency or open government. When it was necessary for a more general audience at Rome or elsewhere to be made aware of the contents of a public document, it could be announced through heralds (*praecones*). The plans for Augustus’ elaborate secular games in 17 BCE, for example, were so announced. In addition to being read aloud, a document might also be made available in writing on an *album*, a billboard made of whitewashed boards used by senior magistrates for official pronouncements, set up where it could easily be read (*unde de plano recte legi possit*). In 20 CE, the consuls erected a copy of the SCGC on an *album* outside their offices in the forum so that representatives from towns and colonies could make copies for their hometowns (TS 172–174). But such posting on *alba* was by nature temporary and not meant to be a permanent public copy.

When the senate did rarely direct that a permanent display copy of a decree or other public document be inscribed in stone or bronze, because of the time and expense involved, such copies could not serve the same practical or utilitarian purposes that written copies (*descripta*), announcements, or *alba* did. Nor should permanent display copies be considered “archival” in nature since only a very few public documents were ever displayed as inscriptions. It is unlikely that outside the elite many people at Rome, much less in the cities of Italy and the provinces, were literate enough to read and understand the convoluted and technical language of decrees or laws. Moreover, display copies were not (judging from surviving examples) formatted for ease of

use, written as they were on large tablets in small letters with minimal formatting. It is telling that the directions for the creation of display copies do not contain the regular requirement associated with *alba*, that the text be placed where it could be easily read. Anyone who needed to consult public documents could acquire more user-friendly copies from the *aerarium* or from private collections of *senatus consulta*.

What was the purpose, then, of inscribed display copies like those of our documents? As we have seen, inscriptions could serve a commemorative purpose. In 17 BCE, after the Secular Games were concluded, the senate ordered its decrees about the games displayed on bronze and marble inscriptions, even though these instructions for how the Secular Games were to be celebrated were functionally obsolete since the games had already passed. As with funerary commemoration, the display copy created a lasting commemoration of the games; it both ensured and controlled the public memory of the games. Likewise, when the senate ordered the SCGC to be distributed and inscribed display copies placed at Rome and elsewhere, commemoration of Germanicus, rather than the dissemination of any particular practical instructions, was the senate's primary goal. As with other forms of commemoration, display copies should not be understood as neutral or objective: The distribution of the senate's texts created an authoritative version that could be directed at particular audiences. For examples, the senate ordered that the SCPP be displayed in the legionary camps as well as civilian communities of the empire (where the SCGC had been sent), presumably because Piso's crimes centered on corrupting the troops' loyalty to Germanicus and the *domus Augusta*. Display copies of the SCPP thus not only commemorated the punishment of Piso but also regulated the lessons, the *exempla*, that were to be drawn from the commemoration by a particularly important audience, the legions.

Not all display copies of public documents were created at the insistence of the senate. There were multiple layers of imperial bureaucracy that separated the people of provincial towns from the senate at Rome. In the province of Baetica, the provincial governor, N. Vibius Serenus, was evidently responsible for the creation of multiple display copies of the SCPP in the province's towns (SCPP 317). The actions of a particular governor probably also explain the multiple display copies of the *Res Gestae* found in Asia Minor. Moreover, a town or city itself might choose to erect display copies of documents that their representatives in Rome forwarded to them in order to demonstrate their loyalty or because they had a special interest in the content, although at Pisa the local town council passed its own decrees commemorating Gaius and Lucius rather than erect a copy of the senate's

decrees. Sometimes even individuals with a specific interest in a document might have a display copy made to commemorate the contents. It is, therefore, important not to see the process as entirely initiated at Rome, but rather to understand that different impulses could result in the production of display copies.

Further reading

On the role of the senate in the early empire: Brunt 1984, Talbert 1984, Rowe 2002: 41–66; for Augustus' reforms and senate procedures: Talbert 1984; for *senatus consulta*: Talbert 1984: 303–334, Coudry 1994; on the process of producing the archival copy: Culham 1989, Coudry 1994: 66–67; for *decreta decurionum*: Sherk 1969: 4–19, Rodríguez Neila 2003; for a general introduction to Roman laws: Crawford 1996: 1–36; on the passage of laws: Taylor 1966; on the means of publication of senatorial decrees and municipal decrees: Eck 1998, Camodeca 2004; for the display of laws in bronze: Williamson 1987, Watson 1974; for the decrees of the Secular Games: Schnegg-Köhler 2002. Texts of surviving Latin *senatus consulta* are collected in FIRA chap. 5; *decreta decurionum* are collected in Sherk 1970; for a possible new collection of *decreta*: Parma 2003.

1.4 Monuments

Although our texts were documents, the decision to create permanent public displays of them gave them, thereby, a monumental and commemorative aspect that most public documents lacked. Inscriptions produced on tablets of bronze or stone or carved into the walls of buildings were at the same time texts and monuments, or perhaps better, texts joined to monuments. Indeed monuments (*monumenta*) were the things that preserve memory, and thus the commemorative nature of our texts depended on their monumental nature. This was not accidental. Our texts were, from the moment of their drafting, intended to be displayed, and they carefully specify in the text where and how that display was to happen. We must then—to the extent possible, since many of the monumental aspects of our texts cannot be recovered—keep the monumental aspects of our inscriptions in mind.

In general, monument building serves to draw people together, to reinforce existing social structures, and, importantly, to impose a particular interpretation of the subject of commemoration. Recent controversies over the nature of monuments commemorating the American Civil War, Franklin Roosevelt, and the Korean War all reveal how central monuments

are to constructing a society's shared remembrance of the past and validating its collective vision of itself. Monuments, like other aspects of commemoration discussed above, are not simply neutral remembrances of the past, but rather creators and enforcers of a particular interpretation of the past and present, and as such they serve the political purposes of their builders. For example, the mausoleum of Augustus helped unify Rome behind Augustus against Antony by validating and communicating the special connection between Rome and Augustus; later it continued to reinforce the ideas of Augustan exceptionalism and of Augustus' divinity. Importantly the mausoleum was an authoritarian statement of dynasty that only gained in power and meaning as members of Augustus' family were included and excluded from the tomb.

The mausoleum of Augustus did not stand alone on the northern *campus Martius*. It was part of a remarkable, developing monumental complex that by 19 CE included an obelisk taken from Egypt after the defeat of Antony and Cleopatra, the altar of August Peace (*Pax Augusta*), the altar of August Foresight (*Providentia Augusta*), and the cremation site where Augustus' divinity was revealed when an eagle flew up from his pyre. Taken together these monuments created a comprehensive vision of Augustan power, uniting divinity, divine favor, victory, prosperity, and the permanence of the *domus Augusta* into a single propagandistic message. Likewise, the display of our inscriptions in the monumental context of the mausoleum and elsewhere publicized the official remembrance of our princes but also affirmed and described the preeminent position of the *domus Augusta* and signaled the loyalty and consent of the communities that displayed them.

Monuments did not need texts, since they communicate primarily through architecture, art, and space. Indeed, the ability to convey messages without writing through art, architecture, and ritual was extremely important in a Roman society where literacy and the habit of reading were far from universal. As a result, a great deal of effort has been spent in recent years interpreting visual culture as a window into the politics and propaganda of the Augustan regime. However, inscribed texts did regularly accompany some monuments to enhance, control, and extend their meaning. For example, individuals were regularly honored through the erection of public statues. Such statues were accompanied by an inscription that, in its most expansive form, named the honoree, recounted his career, and contained details of who had erected the statue and why. The statue drew the attention of passers by; the inscription conveyed the details and explained how and why they should appreciate the statue, in much greater detail than

the statue alone could easily express. Funerary monuments required, at a minimum, the inscribed name of the deceased.

The monumental complex around Augustus' mausoleum, which, as we have seen, mixed funerary and imperial messages, included important texts. There were epitaphs for the members of imperial family interred in the mausoleum carved into the building itself. Significantly, the senate's lengthy commemorative decrees for Gaius and Lucius Caesar were also displayed there on bronze plaques after the princes died (these inscriptions and documents are lost, but the DPL, DPG, and SCGC were modeled after them). After 14 CE Augustus' *Res Gestae* was displayed on two bronze pillars in front of his mausoleum. Later, the senate's commemorative decree for Germanicus was added in 19 CE and the one for Drusus in 23 CE; small fragments of these inscriptions may be among our documents (6.31199 and 6.31200). The *Res Gestae* justified more specifically and in greater detail the special status of Augustus that the monuments of the *campus Martius* represented and defined just how Augustus was to be remembered as savior and monarch. The relationship was not entirely unidirectional; the monuments around the *Res Gestae* also influenced how the text was read. The commemorative inscriptions for Gaius, Lucius, Germanicus, and Drusus that were displayed at the mausoleum furthered the connection between victory and the prosperity of the Roman state and the presence of the *domus Augusta*.

Our inscriptions (except perhaps for the small fragments of 6.31199 and 6.31200) do not come from the display copies at the mausoleum. They were erected elsewhere in the empire, just as the *Res Gestae* was. We know the text of the *Res Gestae* exclusively from copies erected in cities of the province of Galatia in Asia. In Ancyra it was inscribed on the wall of the temple of Roma and Augustus; in Antioch it was added to a monumental gateway that celebrated Roman military victories over external enemies; in Apollonia it was inscribed on the base of a statue group of the *domus Augusta*. While the Latin texts of the *Res Gestae* were all presumably nearly identical (and the Greek translations as well), the monumental context of the text changed, and with it the experience of the readers, from commemoration at Rome, to divinity, conquest, and dynasty in Galatia. We do not know the precise monumental context of any of our inscriptions, none of which were found *in situ* where they stood in antiquity, although there are indications in the texts themselves. At Pisa, in particular, the inscribed decrees helped to define a commemorative monumental complex devoted to the *domus Augusta* that recalled the complex around the mausoleum at Rome. Despite this paucity

of precise knowledge, we cannot overlook the monumental aspects of our inscriptions.

Further reading

On the connection between text and monument: Williamson 1987, Woolf 1996, Elsner 1996, Güven 1998; on the *Res Gestae*, Cooley 2009; for the visual and monumental aspects of Augustan culture, Zanker 1988, Favro 1996, Galinsky 1996, Wallace-Hadrill 2008; on the Augustan *campus Martius*, see Rehak 2004, Haselberger 2007; on the mausoleum, see von Hesberg and Panciera 1994; on the nature of monumentality, see Trigger 1990.

1.5 History and historiography

To modern historians our texts by themselves present a double value: First, they were produced contemporary to the events they deal with, and thus, as “primary sources,” they lack the interpretive intervention of later historical authors; second, they were themselves part of the events as the official reaction to the deaths of our princes. However, their closeness to events should not lead us to mistake them for objective sources. They were, like other acts of official commemoration and monument building, propaganda designed to create, share, and validate a particular version of events; at a basic level they are not concerned with honestly presenting the facts or revealing the true motivations of their subjects, but with constructing a story that fit the needs of the regime. For example, the SCGC states plainly that the motivation for creating display copies of the decree was to advertise “the devotion of every class to the dynasty of Augustus and the unanimity of every citizen with respect to honoring the memory of Germanicus” (170–172). However, later interpreters such as Tacitus point out that the ideas of *consensus universonum* and a united *domus Augusta* were both strained by the death of Germanicus. We must, then, be careful not to read our texts naively; as M. Griffin (2009: 180) has recently emphasized, “we must be skeptical of official versions, especially those put about by totalitarian regimes.”

The sad fate of our princes also provided subject matter to later ancient writers of history. The senatorial historians Velleius Paterculus, Cornelius Tacitus, and Cassius Dio, along with the imperial biographer Suetonius, all take note of the princes’ lives and deaths. Therefore our texts also provide the extremely rare opportunity to consider ancient historical accounts beside contemporary documents in order to examine the ways ancient

historians composed their works. It is important to remember that of the three historians, only Velleius was a contemporary, and even sometimes an eyewitness, of the events he later described. Tacitus was removed from events by a century, Dio by two. Moreover, Velleius, Tacitus, and Dio all wrote with the benefit of hindsight: they knew the outcome of the story and they molded their accounts to fit and explain that end in a way consistent with their outlook and notions of history. Our documents allow us not only to examine how Velleius, Tacitus, and Dio did this; they give us the ability, from a different vantage point, to do the same ourselves.

In particular, the discovery of the documents concerning Germanicus (TS, SCPP) have caused excitement among modern historians because they concern events that figure prominently in the *Annals* of Cornelius Tacitus, the foremost ancient account of Rome's first imperial dynasty. The historian Tacitus enjoyed a successful political career under Rome's second dynasty, the Flavians, rising to the rank of consul in 97 CE, the year after the murder of the last Flavian emperor, the infamous Domitian. Tacitus began to write in the years after his consulship and produced two great historical works, the *Histories* and the *Annals*, which dealt with the Flavian and Julio-Claudian dynasties respectively. The similarities between the *Annals* and our documents make it clear that Tacitus knew and used the senatorial decrees concerning Germanicus and Piso (SCGC, SCPP) when he wrote his account of Germanicus in the *Annals*. Whether he knew them from inscribed copies, from archival copies, or from transcripts preserved in earlier histories is not known. Tacitus used other sources as well. He knew the work of earlier historians, which, written mostly in the reigns of Germanicus' son Caligula and uncle Claudius, evidently displayed a pro-Germanicus and anti-Piso bias. He also consulted the records of senate business (*acta senatus*), to which he had access as a senator, that allowed him to reconstruct Piso's defense, which naturally does not figure in the SCPP. Moreover, he knew stories that preserved both the argument of Piso's friends that Germanicus had been an unfit commander and the popular belief that Tiberius and Piso had conspired against the well-liked Germanicus out of jealousy and hatred. We can, therefore, evaluate how the one-dimensional story of the SCGC and SCPP was incorporated into Tacitus' fuller account, and we can better understand the place of the SCGC and SCPP in the events following Germanicus' death.

In general, our texts confirm Tacitus' accuracy on some points of fact and raise questions about others. Tacitus' declaration that Piso was not convicted of poisoning Germanicus is vindicated. Other authors, Suetonius and Dio in particular, take the story that Piso poisoned Germanicus as fact.

However, the SCPP confirms that while Germanicus believed that Piso had poisoned him, it could not be proven. On the other hand, Tacitus evidently places the date of Piso's trial much earlier in 20 CE than the date of the SCPP (10 December) would suggest it actually happened.

Equally interesting, however, is the light shed on how Tacitus used his sources to construct the story he wanted to tell. The *Annals* are an indictment of empire, emperor, dynasty, and senate. Tacitus tells a story of the imperial system corrupting morally both rulers and ruled: emperors were rendered more autocratic, capricious, and salacious by their position, while the senators became ever more sycophantic out of fear and a shallow willingness to accept prestige rather than real power. The position of the emperor enabled the emergence of a powerful imperial court that, in Tacitus' view, usurped the powers of the senate and the people and encouraged secret plots and machinations. Overall, Tacitus thought the empire and emperor created two powerful disconnections: one between what powerful people said and pretended publicly and what they really thought and did, and another between the spectacle of government and the reality of where power lay. Tacitus' aim to reveal the truth about power is evident in how he handles his sources. The SCPP (350–351) says that Germanicus' extraordinary military command (*imperium maius*) was granted by a law of the Roman people. Tacitus says that the senate simply approved a request of Tiberius. No doubt the SCPP is strictly correct in stating that a law had been required to establish Germanicus' *imperium*. By emphasizing this, the SCPP publicly declared the continued sovereignty of the Roman people and furthered the idea of a *consensus universorum* in support of the new regime. To Tacitus, however, the law was a mere technicality superseded by the will of the *princeps*.

The differences between the goals of Tacitus and our documents are particularly clear in the treatment of the central characters: The senate declares that the purpose of distributing copies of the SCPP was so that posterity might know “about the singular restraint of Germanicus Caesar and about the crimes of Gnaeus Piso the father” (see SCPP 482–485). We have seen that presenting the dead as positive (and negative) *exempla* to be imitated (or avoided) was a normal part of funerary commemoration. Tacitus presents a more complicated view. The Germanicus of the SCPP was an uncomplicated figure marked by competence, generosity, restraint, and patience. In Tacitus, Germanicus is a popular leader with many good qualities, but he is also overly emotional and sentimental; he acts on whims and in ill-conceived ways; and he loses his temper when crossed. His last words were a tirade demanding vengeance and his belief that Piso was poisoning him comes off as irrational. In the SCPP, Piso was a savage, cruel,

impious, and irreverent man, ignorant of all proper conduct; he ignored the will of the gods, the laws of the state, the public welfare, and the conventions of human decency. Tacitus points out that Piso's situation was more complex: Piso must have had the confidence of Tiberius when he was appointed governor of Syria, and it was even believed that Tiberius had sent him to check the power of the popular Germanicus. It was unclear whether, as the deputy (*legatus*) of Tiberius himself, Piso was legally subject to the commands of Germanicus. The popular story held that Tiberius had been jealous of Germanicus, complicit in his death, and desirous to advance his own natural son Drusus. The SCPP countered this by showing a Tiberius so utterly devoted to Germanicus that he needed reminding of his surviving son, Drusus. Tacitus was attracted to the idea of a secretly conniving Tiberius, even if he could not clearly link the emperor to Germanicus' death.

Further reading

For recent general treatments of Tacitus: Woodman 2009, Mellor 2011; for a translation of the *Annals*: Woodman 2004; for a commentary on Book 3 of the *Annals*: Woodman and Martin 1996; for Tacitus' sources and accuracy in light of the SCGC and SCPP: Griffin 1997, Barnes 1998, González 1999; for the comparison of the SCCP and Tacitus: Cooley 1998, Eck 2002, Griffin 2009 with earlier bibliography; for Tacitus' literary Germanicus: Shotter 1968, Pelling 1993, O'Gorman 2000, Gissel 2001; for recent bibliography on Tacitus: Benario 2005.

1.6 Epigraphy

Finally a few comments on the physical production and nature of inscriptions are necessary to help those encountering such texts for the first time. Once the decision to create a display copy of a document had been made, a professional stone carver or engraver would then lay out the text on an appropriately sized tablet or tablets. The layout process (*ordinatio*) could involve dividing the tablet into lines and chalking or painting the text onto the tablet to ensure that the layout would work. Aesthetics certainly played a role in presenting the text (there was, e.g., a strong preference for a text that completely filled the available field), but the *ordinatio* could be done with more or less care and skill—e.g. in the DPG the stonemason carefully adjusted the size of the letters so the whole decree would fit exactly on a tablet matched in size to the DPL, which is a much shorter text; but on TS

frag (b) col. 2 the lines slant noticeably downwards and the letters shrink in size haphazardly evidently because the engraver realized that he needed to compress the text if the end of the SCGC was going to correspond with the end of the column.

There were at least three ways to write Latin in the early empire, using cursive, monumental script (also called rustic capitals or *scriptura monumentalis*), and actuarial script (*scriptura actuarialis*), all of which developed from a single set of letterforms but had diverged from one another before the end of the first century BCE. Cursive, whose letterforms consisted of simple combinations of straight and curved strokes, was used for most writing that involved a stylus used either to write with ink or to scratch into a soft surface like wax. It was probably the most common form of writing in antiquity but surviving examples of it are the most rare because of the impermanence of the media on which it was used. (For an example of early Roman cursive see the wooden tablets preserved from the fort at Vindolanda on the British frontier.) Monumental capitals were used for inscription on stone. The letterforms changed over time but reached their most developed state in the early empire when they were blocky square letters with few serifs or decorations. Actuarial script developed for texts painted with a brush; it involved fluid decorations and serifs, often below the line of text proper. Actuarial script is best known from the public notices and documents displayed on *alba*, and by the first century BCE the association between actuarial script and public documents made it conventional to write all public documents in actuarial script. Our inscriptions on bronze (TS, 6.31199, SCPP, 6.31200, TI) here are all written in actuarial script. Eventually actuarial letters replaced monumental capitals even in stone inscriptions, and our two stone inscriptions, the DPG and DPL, show many features of actuarial letterforms already.

For the most part neither monumental capitals nor actuarial letters present problems to the modern reader since the letterforms are similar to modern English capital letters (the same cannot be said of cursive, which is notoriously difficult for modern readers). However, a few points specific to inscriptions of the early empire require clarification in order to make better sense of the included images of inscriptions.

Tall I: A taller version of the letter *i* (I) was used to indicate a long syllable (so the final syllable of AUGENDIs in DPL line 5 is long but the final syllable of CAESARIS in line 6 is short). Unfortunately in our period the use of the tall I was not uniform even within single inscriptions,

and sometimes it appears to have been used for aesthetic rather than linguistic purposes. (A long *i* might also be replaced by the use of the archaizing diphthong *ei*, e.g. *devicteis* in DPG 48.)

Tall T: A tall letter T (T) is also a common regular letterform perhaps designed to save space or used simply for aesthetic purposes.

Apices(´): An apex, which looks like an acute accent, is sometimes used over vowels to mark long syllables (e.g. DPL 16: PECÚNIÁ and PRIVÁTIS). Quintilian (*Inst.* 1.7.3) tells us that the apex is correctly used only over syllables that are long by nature and which might cause confusion (e.g. in the case of homonyms like *malus* and *málus*), but this rule is not regularly followed at all in inscriptions. In inscriptions from our period the apex is used irregularly and often over syllables that should not have confused.

Interpuncts: The only punctuation on our inscriptions is the use of an interpunct, a mark halfway between the top and bottom of a line used to separate words. In the late republic several forms of interpunct were used (e.g. crosses, squares, triangles) but by the early empire they took the form of dots; later the interpunct became an ivy leaf (*hedera*).

Abbreviations: It is a particular characteristic of inscriptions that they contain an enormous number of abbreviations. This is undoubtedly a function of the cost of the medium itself, the difficulty and cost of engraving, which is directly related to the number of letters needed, and the desire to convey as much as possible in a limited space. But it is also a peculiarly Roman characteristic not found to the same degree in the epigraphic styles of other cultures, including Greece.

Word division: In longer paragraph-form inscriptions, like those in this volume, words are regularly divided between lines, with the break normally coming between syllables. On the other hand, techniques like adjusting the spacing between letters or leaving blank space on the inscription are also used to minimize the need to divide words. Different inscriptions show different levels of bias towards and against word division between lines. This is even true of similar inscriptions from the same location: DPL occasionally breaks words (in 18 percent of lines), preferring to leave blank space on the stone, whereas DPG breaks words more often (in 25 percent of lines), leaving much less blank space.

Standard orthography was clearly not the obsession that those of us who grew up in a world with spelling bees expect it to be in formal writing. Thus

in the DGP we find *maxsumi* (line 46), *maxsimis* (line 49), and *maximo* (line 88). Since our texts were public documents drafted by aristocrats the spelling is mostly clear. However, either because they were still in partial use or because of a desire to use antique forms for certain formulas, a number of “archaic” spellings are present throughout our documents, but particularly in the DPL and DPG. The commentary addresses these where they seem significant or explicable. A few of the most common spelling irregularities that readers should be aware of include: *xs* for *x* (e.g. *maxsimos*), *u* for *i* in superlative adjectives (e.g. *celeberrumo*), both- *undum* and *-endum* for third and fourth conjugation gerunds and related forms (e.g. *dicendum* and *dicundum*), *ei* for long *i* or *ii* (e.g. *devicteis*, *spoleis*), and *d* for *t* (e.g. *adque* for *atque*).

Further reading

For historians, Bodel 2001 is key. In addition to other general handbooks on Roman epigraphy, on the Roman’s epigraphic habit: Meyer 1990, MacMullen 1982. For the connections between literacy, Romanness, and epigraphy: the essays in Cooley 2002.

1.7 The inscriptions

Gaius and Lucius Caesar

Pisan Decree for Lucius (DPL)

The inscription containing the Pisan decree for Lucius Caesar (DPL) was found, broken into two fragments, during work on the Duomo in Pisa in 1603 and 1604. The two fragments are the top (frag. (a); c. 45 cm high and 91.5 cm wide) and bottom (frag. (b); c. 90 cm high and 91.5 cm wide) of a single marble tablet that originally held the whole decree. The fragments do not join in the middle, but, since the decrees for Gaius and Lucius were evidently inscribed on tablets of roughly identical size, an original total height of 1.57 m can be inferred from the decree for Gaius. This means that a section of approximately 20 cm, enough for eight or nine lines of text, is missing between the two fragments. The text is justified on the left margin, but the right margin is very irregular. The height of the first four lines (the prescript) is larger (2.7–3 cm) than the height of the other lines, which diminish in size from 2.5 to 2 cm from line 5 to line 38.

Pisan Decree for Gaius (DPG)

The Pisan decree for Gaius (DPG), also recovered in two fragments, was found in 1606 reused as part of an altar in the church of Santa Maria della Spina. The tablet is broken vertically, with the fragment on the right (72–74 cm wide) being far larger than the left (10–13 cm wide). The vertical height of both fragments is 1.57 m. Then the vertical gap between the fragments (which do not join) is approximately 4 cm, enough for just two or three letters. The longer text required shorter line heights (between 1.5 and 2 cm) to fit on the stone.

Location, editions, and bibliography

Both inscriptions, DPL and DPG, are currently mounted on the wall of the southern arcade of the *Camposanto monumentale* in Pisa, which at one time housed a large collection of ancient inscriptions and sarcophagi. Marotta D'Agata 1980 describes and measures the inscriptions in detail, discusses earlier editions, and provides a commentary and Italian translation. Other editions include CIL 11.1420, 1421, with a history of earlier editions, ILS 139–140, Ehrenberg and Jones 1955: nos. 68–69, *Insc. Ital.* 7.1.7, Sherk 1970: 47–48, Gordon 1983: 31, Braund 1985: 62 with English translation, Sherk 1988: 19 with English translation.

Germanicus Caesar

Over the course of the twentieth century the discovery of the TS, the TH, multiple copies of the SCPP, and several other shorter fragments has shown that Tacitus' focus on Germanicus was neither accidental nor disproportionate. The bronze tablets that together provide copies of two decrees of the Roman senate (SCGC and SCPP) and a law of the Roman people (LVA) detail the state's official response to Germanicus' death and the punishment meted out to Cn. Calpurnius Piso. All three were purposefully distributed and displayed throughout the empire, and in each case fragments from more than one permanent display copy have survived to the present. The distribution of the surviving copies, however, is decidedly uneven, with examples coming from Rome itself, Italy, or, most often, from southern Spain. Spain has long been a rich source of Roman legal documents inscribed on bronze—copies of a new charter for *municipia* in the Flavian period are a prime example—but other forces are at work as well: The six copies of the SCPP all come from a single province, Baetica (for Baetica, see Fear 1996),

where the governor in 20 CE, N. Vibius Serenus, evidently took it upon himself to distribute copies of the SCPP to the communities in his province (see the commentary on SCPP 317).

Tabula Siarensis (TS)

The TS is two fragments from a single large bronze tablet (*tabula*), both found in 1982 in the province of Seville in Spain, southeast of Utrera near the small town of La Cañada (for a summary of the history of archaeological work in the area see Ruiz-Delgado 1988). Though the two fragments do not join, it is clear that they belong to the same text. The exact find-site of the two fragments is unknown since they were not uncovered as part of an archaeological dig but were found by farmers. Judging from the building materials, roof tiles, *amphorae*, and abundance of Roman-era coins found throughout the area there must have been a significant Roman-era town in the area. The coins included a local issue bearing the legend SEARA on the reverse. It is from this coin that the Roman settlement is identified with ancient Siarum, and thus the inscription is called the *Tabula Siarensis*.

The first fragment contains thirty-seven lines of text in a single column. There is a margin of 76 mm on the left hand side between the finished edge of the document and the text. Given that the text contains the *relatio* but not the prescript of a senatorial decree, the fragment must be placed very near, but not at, the beginning of the inscription—the upper left corner. The second fragment contains three columns of text. The fragment is broken on the top, left, and right, so the left hand portion of the leftmost column and the right hand portion of the rightmost column are lost. There is a margin and finished edge across the bottom, so the fragment comes from the bottom of the original inscription. There are two holes through the plate in the margin for attaching the inscription to a wall.

The TS was a display copy of two documents, the SCGC and LVA, displayed together. On the surviving fragments, the SCGC takes up all of fragment (a) and the first two columns of fragment (b); the LVA takes up column 3 of fragment (b). In order to hold the whole text of both the SCGA and LVA, the TS probably originally had six columns of text and perhaps more (judging from the TH and other documents, about 110–120 more lines of text after the end of the surviving text of the TS would have been necessary to complete the text of the LVA, which begins in frag (b) col. 3; for this calculation see Sánchez-Ostiz 1999: 296). For one possible way to reconstruct the original TS, see Figure 1.1.

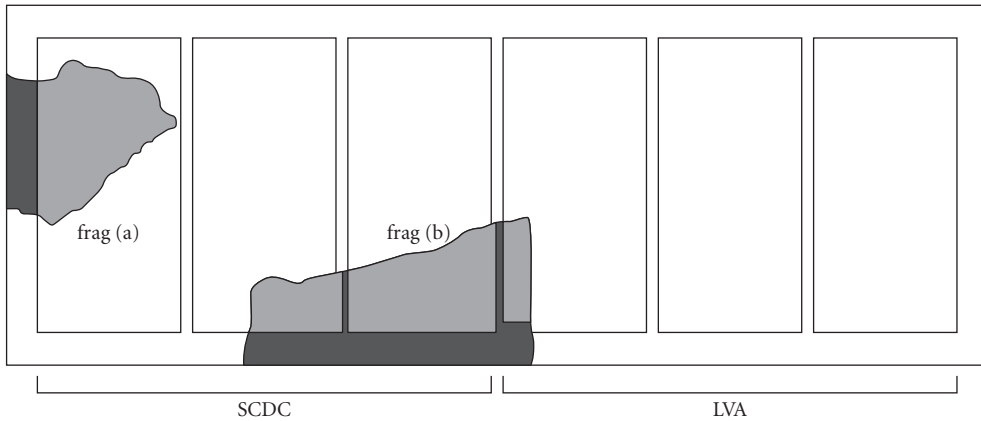


Figure 1.1 Possible reconstruction of the TS (based on Sánchez-Ostiz 1999: 298).

Location, editions, and bibliography

The TS is in the Museo Arqueológico de Sevilla in Seville. Frag. (a) is inv. ROD9039-1; frag (b) is inv. ROD9039-2. The first edition of the TS is that of González 1984 (and 1985) and González and Fernández 1981 (published in 1984) with Spanish translations. Later editions of the text include González 1988 with Spanish translation, 1988 *Inscripciones*, CILA 2.3, Ehrenberg and Jones 1955: no. 94b, Sherk 1988: 63–67 English translation, Crawford 1996: no. 37 with text and English translation, Sánchez-Ostiz 1999 with text, extensive commentary, and Spanish translation. For a full bibliography, see Sánchez-Ostiz 1999. Since 1984 the fragmentary text has been greatly improved by a number of studies, including the very many works of W. D. Lebek (see works cited), González (see works cited), Nicolet 1985, 1995, Frascchetti 1988. Sánchez-Ostiz 1999 integrates all the textual suggestions to 1999 in a substantial *apparatus criticus* with detailed discussion in the commentary of issues of textual restoration. Two collections of essays are also important: González 1988 and Frascchetti 2000 (reviewed by Levick 2002).

Tabula Hebana (TH)

The TH consists of five fragments of a single bronze tablet recovered near the site of ancient Heba (modern Magliano) in Etruria in 1947 and 1951. The fragments join to form almost all of a single bronze tablet (83.3 by 58.1 cm) that originally held a single column of text with sixty-three lines of about eighty-five letters each. A border is apparent on the top,

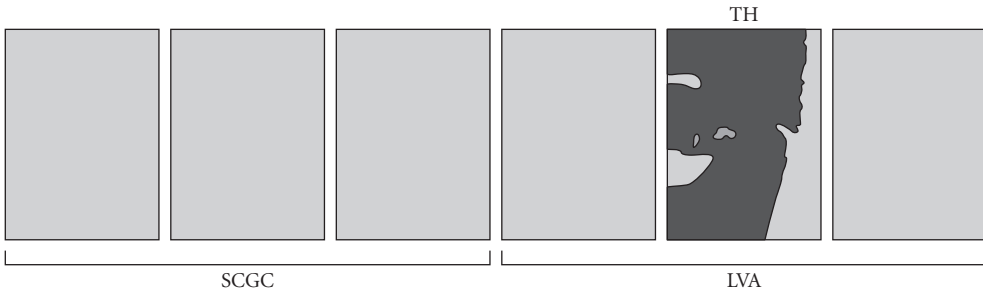


Figure 1.2 Possible reconstruction of the whole TH (based on Sánchez-Ostiz 1999: 301).

bottom, and right hand side of the reconstructed tablet; the right hand margin is broken diagonally and an increasing number of letters are missing from each line on the right hand side (from five to ten letters at the beginning to approximately thirty letters at the end). There are a few smaller sections missing from the reconstructed tablet as well. There are holes for hanging the tablet in the left hand margin at the top and bottom of the tablet.

Since the TH contains neither the beginning nor end of the LVA, it must have originally been part of a series of tablets; since the amount of the LVA that preceded the text preserved on the TH (which can be determined from the amount of text that TS frag. (b) col. 3 could hold) is much less than a single tablet would have required, there must have been something else recorded on the tablet(s) that preceded the surviving tablet. Probably the entire text of the SCGC preceded the LVA at Heba just as it did at Siarum. Because the final lines of the TS overlap with the first lines of the TH, the documents must have been presented in the same order, SCGC then LVA (see Sánchez-Ostiz 1999: 301). Unlike the TS, however, the display copy at Heba must have originally consisted of multiple tablets each with one column of text (the TH being only one of the tablets). For a possible reconstruction of the original TH, see Figure 1.2.

Location, editions, and bibliography

The TH is now in the Museo Archeologico di Firenze (inv. 90187) in Florence. The original edition is Coli 1947 with commentary reprinted in Coli 1948; important editions are Visscher 1951 with French translation (and many earlier related articles), Oliver and Palmer 1954 with text and translation, Johnson 1961: 131–135 with translation, Ehrenberg and Jones 1955: no. 94a with text, Lomas 1978 with text, commentary, and German translation, Gordon 1983: no. 36 with text, Braund 1985: no. 115 with translation,

Sherk 1988: 67–71 with translation, Crawford 1996: no. 37 with text and translation. There are many other earlier editions; for the full bibliography see Crawford 1996. Also important are Weinstock 1957, 1966, Lebek 1988d, Demougin 1992, Lebek 1993a.

Addendum to TH: The Todi fragment

The Todi fragment is a small bronze fragment that was generally believed to be either a municipal law or part of the bylaws for a funeral *collegium* until in 1966 Weinstock (1966: 897 n. 6) suggested briefly that it was, in fact, a Roman law related to commemorative rites for some deceased imperial prince. Crawford developed this idea further in 1994 (and again in 1996: no. 37) by suggesting that the Todi fragment recorded the end of the LVA. Thus, he believed, it should be the remains of a third display copy of the SCGC/LVA. He supported his argument by pointing out that, like the LVA, the Todi fragment refers to itself as a bill (*rogatio*) rather than a law (lines 271, 273); that it once apparently uses the present tense of the subjunctive for the main verb of a directive, just like the LVA (line 267); and that the content of the first directive (*inferiae*) follows nicely upon the text of the Tabula Hebana (line 266). However, there are some difficulties with the identification of the Todi fragment with the LVA (most of which Crawford himself recognized). First, if the Todi fragment is a continuation of the final section of the TH (lines 265–267) followed by the end of the LVA (lines 268–277), a great deal of text, enough to fill almost another tablet the size of the TH, must be posited as missing between the institution of the *inferiae* in TH 261–263 and the penalties for failing to perform them in the Todi fragment (lines 265–267). Crawford suggests that details of the *inferiae* may have been spelled out in this gap, as they are in DPL 16–26. However, since a model for imperial *inferiae* already existed, it seems unlikely that the text would have spelled the rites out rather than just referred to the earlier model (as happens in DPG 69–71, TS 136–146). It was new or newly complicated directives (like the voting rules in the TH) that required lengthy discussion. Also, the Todi fragment contains not just the present subjunctive in its directives, but also the third person imperatives that are normally found in *leges* after they have been converted from bills. This may be because the imperatives come in sections that did not need to be changed, verb by verb, since they were standard, but it may equally suggest a text that comes from a different point in the development of a law than the LVA. It seems strange that a document intended to show the universal grief of all at the death of Germanicus and the consensus of all to mourn him properly would end

with such detailed sanctions for failure to do so (Sánchez-Ostiz 1999: 21). The identification of CIL 4632 as relating to public *inferiae* at Rome seems possible, but the association of the text with the LVA is very unsure.

Location, editions, and bibliography

CIL 11.4632 is now in Naples in the Museo Nazionale di Napoli (inv. 2639). See Johnson 1961: 128 with translation, Crawford 1996: no. 37 with text and translation. Also important are Weinstock 1966, Crawford 1994, and Sánchez-Ostiz 1999: 20–22.

CIL 6.31199

Three fragments from a bronze tablet (or tablets), discovered at Rome in the nineteenth century, displayed another copy of at least the SCGC since the text of the fragments overlaps with that on fragment (a) of the TS (104–135) but also possibly of the LVA as well. The fragment had a margin on the left and contained the first few letters from nineteen lines of text (which means the lines on the fragment are approximately twice as long as those on the TS). The second fragment, broken on left, right, and bottom, contains four fragmentary lines that cannot be lined up with any part of the TS or TH, but which is similar in content to part of the TH (for a discussion of this fragment see Richardson 1988, Crawford 1996: 512). The third fragment, broken on all four sides, holds part of sixteen lines of text. It clearly records part of the senatorial decree (e.g. *senatui placere uti*) rather than the *lex*. It is similar in content to TS frag. (b) cols. 2–3, although it cannot be lined up exactly.

Location, editions, and bibliography

Frag. (a) and (b) are now lost; frag. (c) is in Rome in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (inv. 65673). In addition to CIL, see Buonocore 1987: no. 7, Crawford 1996: no. 37 with text and English translation.

Copy A of the Senatus Consultum de Cn. Pisone Patre (SCPP)

At least six individual copies (A–F) of the SCPP came to light in the last quarter of the twentieth century, all in the Roman province of Baetica. All the copies were uncovered not through sanctioned archaeological excavations but by treasure hunters working illicitly, probably with metal detectors. The destruction to existing archaeological sites and the concomitant loss of context for the objects removed and sold to private collectors is a deplorable result of such clandestine activity. The most complete copy of the SCPP is

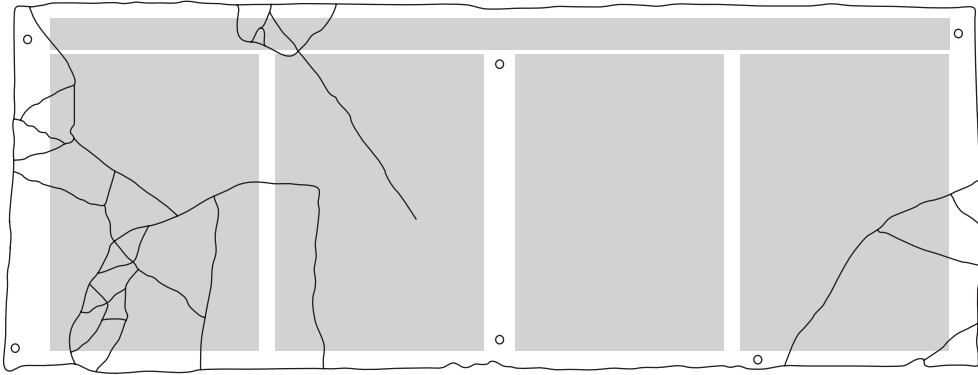


Figure 1.3 Possible reconstruction of the SSCP Copy A (based on Caballos, Eck, and Fernández 1996: 18).

Copy A, which contains basically a complete text of the SSCP. Copy A is the inscription presented here. Copy B contains approximately 75 percent of the text, and Copies C–F are all small fragments with very little text.

As a result of the method of their recovery, the original location of no copy of the SSCP within Baetica can be known for sure. The archaeological museum of Seville acquired Copy A from a private antiquities collector, who remains anonymous, in 1990. The collector had purchased it sometime before 1990 on the illicit antiquities market and had been told that it came from the same location as another important bronze legal document, the *Tabula Irnitana*, a copy of a Flavian municipal charter displayed by the city (*municipium*) of Irni (González 1986).

Copy A is broken into twenty-three fragments, one of which, by far the largest, contains 75 percent of the text. There are only two fragments missing from the reconstructed tablet and only one of these falls within the inscribed text (SCPP 343–345). The tablet is 118 cm × c. 45 cm in size, with slightly variable height as the tablet is not exactly rectangular. There is a heading that spans the entire tablet, but the text of the SSCP proper is divided into four columns of text (1–4) of the same height and roughly the same width, containing forty, forty-four, forty-six, and forty-six lines of text respectively and averaging around sixty-three letters per line (see Figure 1.3).

Location, editions, and bibliography

The fragments of Copy A (as well as the other copies) of the SSCP are in the Museo Arqueológico de Sevilla (inv. ROD9579). The preparation of the first edition of the SSCP is a story of international scholarly collaboration. The results were published simultaneously in German (Eck *et al.* 1996)

and Spanish (Caballos *et al.* 1996). There are differences between the two editions, beyond language (the Spanish edition contains a Spanish translation, the German edition a German translation of the SCPP): The Spanish edition explores the paleography and production of the texts, as well as the context of Spanish Baetica, in more depth than the German version, which instead contains an extra chapter on the political significance of the SCPP in the reign of Tiberius. The works have been reviewed together in several English publications, with many reviews including an English translation: Griffin 1997 with translation, Barnes 1998, Meyer 1998 with translation, Potter 1998 with translation, Yakobson 1998, Champlin 1999. Moreover a special edition of *AJP* (120.1) was devoted in 1999 to publishing the papers from a special panel at the APA in Chicago on the inscription, including another English translation. Also important—and mostly in English—are: Richardson 1997, Cooley 1998, Flower 1998, Damon 1999b, Lebek 1999, Eck 2000, Eck 2002, Mackay 2003.

Drusus Caesar

CIL 6.31200 (a, b, c)

Three small fragments of a bronze tablet, found in Rome, contain portions of the commemorative senatorial decree passed in honor of Drusus Caesar in 23 CE. Fragment (a) (21 × 18 cm) is broken on three sides, with a finished edge along the top. It holds portions of eleven lines of text. Fragments (b) (44 × 35 cm) and (c) (21 × 60 cm) join to form a single piece broken all the way around. The joined fragments (b) and (c) together contain portions of two columns of text, with the ends of twenty-two lines of text preserved from the left hand column and the beginnings of twenty lines preserved in the right hand column. Since the honors voted for Drusus were based on those for Germanicus (*Tac. Ann.* 4.9) and the surviving text of 6.31200 is closely related to the SCGC, it seems sure that a bronze copy of the commemorative decree for Drusus was erected at the mausoleum of Augustus and probably in the temple of Apollo on the Palatine where the senate met as well. These fragments may come from either of these two display copies.

Location, editions, and bibliography

Fragment (a) was destroyed in Berlin in World War II, but a squeeze (an impression of the text on paper) survives; Fragment (b)—which itself consists of two pieces fit together—is now in the Biblioteca Apostolica

Vaticana (inv. 65672); fragment (c) is in the Lapidarium Maffeianum (inv. 28595) in Verona. In addition to CIL 6.912=31200 with the earlier history of the text, editions include Buonocore 1987: no. 8, Crawford 1996: no. 38. Also important are Lebek 1989b, 1993b.

Tabula Ilicitana (TI)

Two fragments from a single bronze tablet, but not joining, were discovered near ancient Ilici in Baetica in Spain: the first in 1899, the second in 1949. The first fragment (13 × 19 cm) holds eight fragmentary lines of text; the second fragment (13 × 14 cm) holds seven fragmentary lines. Both fragments come from a copy of the bill (*rogatio*) passed after Drusus' death just as the LVA had been passed after Germanicus'.

Location, editions, and bibliography

The upper fragment is now in the Museo Arqueológico y de Historia de Elche (inv. EAL-C1/172.3) in Spain; the lower fragment is in the Museo de la Alcudia (inv. LA-3132) also in Elche. For texts and editions see D'Ors 1950, AE 1952: no. 80, Oliver and Palmer 1954, Abad and Abascal 1991: no. 6, Crawford 1996: no. 38, Corell *et al.* 1999.