

## Appendix: Memento of the Princes' Personal Statuses

M. Claudius **Marcellus** (*RE* Claudius 230; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 925) born (43 or 42 B.C.) to C. Claudius Marcellus (cos. 50 B.C.) and Octavia minor, sister of C. Caesar; after father died, mother married M. Antonius (40 B.C.; *tutor?*); betrothed to a daughter of Sex. Pompeius (39 B.C.); married Julia, daughter of Augustus (25 B.C.); died in 23 B.C., received a public funeral, and was buried in the Mausoleum.

**Tiberius** Claudius Nero (*RE* Julius 154; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> I 941) born (16 November 42 B.C.) to Ti. Claudius Nero (praetor 42 B.C.) and Livia Drusilla; named "testamentary adoptee" by M. Gallius (praetor before 44 B.C.), took the inheritance but refused the name (theoretically inadmissible);<sup>1</sup> father died in 33 or 32 B.C., leaving Tiberius *sui iuris* in the *tutela* of Imp. Caesar; *tirocinium* (25 April 27 B.C.), graduating from *tutela*; married Vipsania Agrippina, daughter of M. Agrippa; compelled to divorce Vipsania and to marry Julia (12 or 11 B.C.; compulsion apparently without legal force); in Tiberius's name by Augustus's authority, Julia received divorce notice (2 B.C., while Tiberius was on Rhodes; no legal basis); compelled (no legal basis) to adopt Germanicus, adrogated by Augustus (26 or 27 June A.D. 4),<sup>2</sup> in principle his

1. See C. Kunst, "Adoption und Testamentadoption in der späten Republik," *Klio* 78 (1996): 87–104.

2. As Suetonius explains (*Tib.* 15.3), Tiberius ceased to act as a paterfamilias and lost every right he had possessed. He could no longer give gifts or manumit slaves, and he could only receive an inheritance or a legacy into his *peculium*, the fund Tiberius managed but Augustus owned. Adrogation, adoption of a man *sui iuris*, required public sanction. Before the *comitia curiata* under the instance of the pontifices, first the adoptor, then the adoptee, were asked for approval, then the *populus Romanus* was asked to ordain the act as a *lex curiata*. It will have been during this process, performed in the Forum, that Augustus declared that he was acting "in the

name becoming Ti. Julius Caesar Claudianus, in practice Ti. (Julius) Caesar, Claudianus only in dedicating the restored Temple of Castor and Pollux (A.D. 6; vowed by the elder Drusus); first-degree heir to Augustus with a two-thirds share (19 August A.D. 14).

**The elder Drusus** (*RE* Claudius 139; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 857) born (14 January 38 B.C.) to Ti. Claudius Nero (praetor 42 B.C.) and Livia Drusilla, who, while pregnant, divorced Claudius and married Imp. Caesar; acknowledged by Caesar, who sent him back to his father and recorded the deed; original praenomen Decimus (D. Claudius Nero Drusus) soon changed to Nero (Nero Claudius Drusus);<sup>3</sup> father died in 33 or 32 B.C., with Caesar named *tutor*; married Antonia minor, daughter of M. Antonius; died in 9 B.C., received a public funeral, and was buried in the Mausoleum.

**Gaius** (*RE* Julius 134; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> I 216) and **Lucius** (*RE* Julius 145; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> I 222) born (20 and 17 B.C.) to M. Vipsanius Agrippa and Julia, daughter of Augustus; names at birth uncertain (“[Agrippa] . . . cuiusque liberos nepotes suos Divus Augustus praepositis Gai ac Lucii nominibus adoptaverat,” Velleius Paterculus 2.96.1); adopted by Augustus (17 B.C.) and became C. (Julius) Caesar (the dictator’s name) and L. (Julius) Caesar; *tirocinium* (Gaius, 1 January 5 B.C.; Lucius, 1 January 2 B.C.); Gaius married Claudia Livia Julia (Livilla), daughter of the elder Drusus (1 B.C.); Lucius betrothed to Aemilia Lepida (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 420); Lucius died 20 August A.D. 2; Gaius died 21 or 22 February A.D. 4; both received public funerals and were buried in the Mausoleum, Augustus formally removing them from his will.<sup>4</sup>

**M. Agrippa Postumus** (*RE* Julius 128; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> I 214) born (12 B.C.) to Julia and the late M. Vipsanius Agrippa; never used *gentilicium* Vipsanius, no male ascendent being known; probably became *sui iuris* under *tutela* (of Augustus?); adopted by Augustus (A.D. 4); *tirocinium* (A.D. 5); disowned by Augustus and banished to Surrentum (A.D. 6?);<sup>5</sup> would have again become *sui iuris*, but madness (*furor*) may have been alleged by Augustus to place him under *cura*; permanently exiled to Planasia under military guard by senatorial decree (A.D. 7), with property placed in the *aerarium militare*; killed just after Augustus died (19 August A.D. 14).

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interest of the *res publica*.” Tiberius’s adoption of Germanicus will have required the same formality.

3. See R. Syme, “Imperator Caesar: A Study in Nomenclature” (1958), reprinted in *Roman Papers*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1979), 361–77, at 363.

4. See B. M. Levick, “*Atrox fortuna*,” *CR* 22 (1972): 309–11.

5. See B. M. Levick, “Abdication and Agrippa Postumus,” *Historia* 21 (1972): 674–97.

**Germanicus** (*RE* Julius 138; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> I 221) born (24 May 15 B.C. or, less likely, 16 B.C.)<sup>6</sup> to the elder Drusus and Antonia minor; name at birth unrecorded (Nero Claudius Drusus?); father died in 9 B.C.; received the cognomen Germanicus and passed into *tutela* (of Augustus or Tiberius?); adrogated by Tiberius (A.D. 4), henceforth Germanicus (Julius) Caesar; with Augustus's death, passed into the *potestas* of Tiberius (19 August A.D. 14); married Agrippina; died 10 October A.D. 19 and received a public funeral; ashes placed in the Mausoleum.

**The younger Drusus** (*RE* Julius 136; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> I 219) born Nero Claudius Drusus (7 October in 15, 14, or 13 B.C.)<sup>7</sup> to Tiberius and Vipsania Agrippina; *tirocinium* (A.D. 2, on Tiberius's return from Rhodes); with Tiberius's adoption, took the name Drusus (Julius) Caesar (A.D. 4); married Claudia Livia Julia (Livilla), daughter of the elder Drusus; died A.D. 23, received a public funeral, and was buried in the Mausoleum.

**Claudius** (*RE* Claudius 256; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 942) born Ti. Claudius Nero (1 August 10 B.C.) to the elder Drusus and Antonia minor; with father's death, passed into the *tutela* of someone (9 B.C.; Augustus or Tiberius?); at brother Germanicus's adoption, received the cognomen Germanicus (A.D. 4); *tirocinium* on the Capitol in the middle of the night (date unknown); remained in *tutela*; betrothed to Aemilia Lepida (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 419), great-granddaughter of Augustus by the younger Julia; betrothed to Livia Medullina Camilla; married Plautia Urgulanilla, divorced her "for levity"; married Aelia Paetina, divorced her for lewdness and suspicion of murder; married Valeria Messalina.

**Nero** (*RE* Julius 146; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> I 223) and **Drusus** (*RE* Julius 137; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> I 220), **sons of Germanicus**, born Nero and Drusus (Julius)<sup>8</sup> Caesar (Germanicus) (ca. A.D. 6 and ca. A.D. 7–8) to Germanicus and Agrippina; Nero betrothed to Iunia, daughter of M. Silanus (before A.D. 17); *tirocinium* (Nero, 7 June A.D. 20; Drusus A.D. 23); Nero married Julia, daughter of the younger Drusus (A.D. 21); Drusus married Aemilia Lepida (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 421), daughter of M. Aemilius Lepidus (cos. A.D. 6); Nero declared public enemy by the Senate (A.D. 29); Nero killed on Pontia (before Seianus's death on 18 October A.D. 31). Drusus declared public enemy by the Senate (A.D. 30) and put in custody on the

6. For the date see B. M. Levick, "Drusus Caesar and the Adoptions of A.D. 4," *Latomus* 25 (1966): 227–44 (suggesting 16 B.C.); G. V. Sumner, "Germanicus and Drusus Caesar," *Latomus* 26 (1967): 413–35 (defending 15 B.C.).

7. Levick ("Drusus Caesar") does not conclusively rule out 15 B.C., nor does Sumner ("Germanicus") rule out 13 B.C.

8. The *gentilicium* Julius is only once attested (*ILS* 107).

Palatine; Drusus died of starvation (A.D. 33); remains of both gathered by Gaius and placed in the Mausoleum (A.D. 37).

**Gaius** (*RE* Julius 133; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> I 217) born Gaius Caesar Germanicus (31 August A.D. 12) to Germanicus and Agrippina; *gentilicium* Julius attested in freedmen's names; *tirocinium* on Capreae (A.D. 31 or 32); married Iunia Claudilla (A.D. 33 [Tacitus] or A.D. 35 [Dio]); named heir with equal share with Ti. Gemellus in Tiberius's will (A.D. 37), annulled by the Senate under pressure from the plebs.

Twin sons, one perhaps called Germanicus, the other called **Ti.** (Julius) (Nero) **Gemellus** (*RE* Julius 156; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> I 226), born (A.D. 20 [A.D. 19 according to Tacitus]) to the younger Drusus and Claudia Livia Julia (Livilla); Germanicus died in A.D. 23; Ti. Gemellus named coheir with Gaius in Tiberius's annulled will (A.D. 37); *tirocinium* (Ti. Gemellus); Ti. Gemellus adrogated by Gaius; Ti. Gemellus executed on Gaius's orders (A.D. 37 or 38).