

## Introduction

This is a study of how dynastic monarchy changed politics across the Roman Empire. It is built around the *Tabula Siarensis* (*T.Siar.*, A.D. 19), the *Tabula Hebana* (*T.Heb.*, A.D. 20), the *senatus consultum de Cn. Pisone patre* (*s.c. de Pisone*, A.D. 20), and the funeral honors for the younger Drusus (*RS* 38, A.D. 23).<sup>1</sup> This dossier of documents from the Tiberian Senate offers a snapshot of early imperial politics: it shows a ruling family intending to project itself into the future through dynastic succession and reveals a new political culture taking shape among the still-surviving organs of the Republic.

The dossier affirms that what Augustus had established was the rule not of one man but of a dynastic house—a house that had a collective identity, in which women had public roles, and a house that promoted a series of young men as potential imperial successors. These princes were systematically promoted from at least 29 B.C., when Imp. Caesar celebrated his triple triumph flanked by his nephew, Marcellus, and his stepson, Tiberius, until A.D. 23, when the younger Drusus died; thereafter, the succession faltered, and in A.D. 41, the Praetorian Guard installed Claudius. During this period, the princes served as practical commanders in the field and as ideological models for youth. Most explicitly in retrospective funeral honors, they were universally recognized as dynastic successors.

The dossier also reflects how, over the years between Imp. Caesar's triumph and Claudius's installation, political culture—the institutions and the

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1. The *Tabula Siarensis* and *Tabula Hebana* and the funeral honors for the younger Drusus are published in M. H. Crawford, ed., *Roman Statutes*, *BICS* Suppl. 64 (London: Institute of Classical Studies, 1996), nos. 37 and 38 (hereafter cited as *RS*); the *s.c. de Pisone* is published in W. Eck, A. Caballos, and F. Fernandez, *Das senatus consultum de Cn. Pisone patre*, *Vestigia* 48 (Munich: Beck, 1996). The Latin texts are reproduced at the end of the present introduction.

values that underpinned them—changed. This study focuses on institutions of collective decision and expression. While traditional institutions, such as the Roman Senate and assemblies, the Greek democratic organs, or the legionary *contiones* (informal assemblies), formally remained, new institutions of informal expression emerged, exemplified by the parades and theater acclamations of the equestrian order and by the rites of the imperial cult in Greek cities. Their common trait was that they performed a single function, that of rendering honors to the imperial house. Together they were the loyal constituencies of a politics of consensus.

The thesis argued in this study is that the princes and the new political culture were intimately related, according to simple logic. Princes were seen to incarnate the future stability of the regime. By attaching oneself to the princes, one could achieve and maintain standing. Honors would redound to the honorer. So, largely through its imperial honors, the equestrian order achieved corporate shape and status, while the imperial cult enabled individual Greeks to further their own interests. For example, in Lapethos on Cyprus, one “Adrastos, son of Adrastos, *philokaisar*, self-appointed *gymnasiarch* and priest, from his own funds constructed and consecrated a temple and a cult image of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, god” (OGIS 583), to mark the emperor’s birthday in A.D. 29. Adrastos called his priesthood “hereditary” (ἐνγεννικός) and duly had “his own son,” Dionysios, accompany him in the consecration; thus he founded a miniature dynasty, piggybacked on the Roman one.

This study is organized around the new constituencies and the ways they expressed their loyalty. This introduction sets out the new Tiberian documents, surveys the growing bibliography on the *s.c. de Pisone*, and raises some central themes.<sup>2</sup> Successive chapters then consider some representative constituencies. Each chapter, rather than treating all potentially relevant evidence, concentrates on contemporary verbal expressions, both literary and epigraphic. The conclusion proposes that the uniformity of imperial political culture contributed to the uniformity of imperial ideology.

The senatorial commemorations for Germanicus (*T.Siar.*) begin with a pre-script. Having consulted the emperor Tiberius and the imperial family, the Senate sets out its honors (*T.Siar.* fr. i, lines 1–8).

... never ought to have . . . deserved of Germanicus Caesar . . . this matter with the consultation of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, *princeps* . . . these senatorial opinions be placed at his disposal, and he, with his customary . . . from the honors that the Senate was resolving ought to be adopted, he

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2. Reviews and articles dealing exclusively with the *s.c. de Pisone* and Tacitus are not discussed.

may choose . . . his mother, Julia Augusta, and Drusus Caesar, and the mother of Germanicus Caesar, Antonia . . . who has also been summoned by them for the decision, they may reckon sufficiently appropriate to be able to be adopted . . .

During the Republic, honorific senatorial decrees had been exceptional; under the Principate, they became normal. At the same time, the Senate extended its competence, exercising new judicial, electoral, and legislative powers. The relationship between honorific decrees and expanding senatorial competence is considered in chapter 1.

First, the Senate commissions an arch in Rome with an inscription listing Germanicus's military achievements (lines 9–21).

The Senate determined that a marble arch should be erected in the Circus Flaminius with funds . . . placed where [or “facing”] statues to Divus Augustus and to the Augustan house have been . . . by Gaius Norbanus Flaccus, with figures of defeated nations . . . on the face of this arch, “The Senate and Roman people have dedicated this monument . . . to the memory of Germanicus Caesar, since he, having defeated the Germans in war, having repulsed from Gaul . . . having recovered the military standards, having avenged a treacherous defeat of an army of the Roman people, having put the status of the Gauls in order, as proconsul sent to the overseas provinces to organize them and the kingdoms of the region in accordance with the instructions of Tiberius Caesar Augustus . . . king of Armenia, sparing himself no effort until by decree of the Senate . . . was granted to him, he died serving the *res publica*.” And on top of this arch a statue of Germanicus Caesar should be placed, in a triumphal chariot, and, beside this, statues of Drusus Germanicus, his father and the brother by birth of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, and of Antonia, his mother, . . . and of Livia, his sister, and of Tiberius Germanicus, his brother, and of his sons and daughters . . .

While Tiberius remained in Rome, Germanicus and his adoptive brother campaigned in the field. As a valuable recent study by F. Hurlet shows, this pattern was characteristic of the early Principate.<sup>3</sup> Especially after Augustus

3. F. Hurlet, *Les collègues du prince sous Auguste et Tibère: De la légalité républicaine à la légitimité dynastique* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1997), 79–224. The chronology of the pattern follows: 26–25 B.C.: Marcellus and Tiberius were military tribunes with special power to produce spectacles in Spain; 23–22 B.C.: Agrippa was in the East; 20–18 B.C.: Agrippa was in Gaul, and Tiberius was on a mission to Armenia (20 B.C.); 17–13 B.C.: Agrippa was in the East, and Tiberius was legate in Gaul (16–15 B.C.); 13–9 B.C.: the elder Drusus was legate in Raetia, Gaul, and Germany, and Tiberius was legate in Pannonia and Dalmatia (to 8 B.C.); 1 B.C.–A.D. 4: Gaius was in Illyria and the

settled in Italy in 13 B.C., young men from the imperial family were regularly deployed in pairs to different parts of the empire, a pattern that gave the princes visibility across the empire.

Second, the Senate commissions provincial monuments and prescribes rites around them (lines 22–37).

A second arch should be built on the ridge of Mt. Amanus, which is in . . . another site more appropriate in the eyes of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, our *princeps*, . . . care and protection of Germanicus Caesar, by the authority . . . Likewise, a statue of him should be set up, and an inscription conforming to the things . . . should be engraved. A third arch, or . . . which to Drusus, the brother of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, *princeps* . . . immediately and was then completed with the permission of Divus Augustus . . . of Germanicus Caesar be established, with him receiving . . . from the Gauls and the Germans who on this side of the Rhine . . . by Augustus perform devotion at the tomb of Drusus . . . their offering similar sacrifice . . . and when he is in this area . . . the birthday of Germanicus Caesar . . . enacted by this decree of the Senate . . . Likewise, the Senate determined that . . . at Antioch in the forum . . . of Germanicus Caesar cremated . . . died, a tribunal . . .

State encouragement of participatory honors will be seen repeatedly in this study: among the knights (see chap. 2), the urban plebs (see chap. 3), colonists in Pisae (see chap. 4), provincials in Messene (see chap. 5), and soldiers (see chap. 6).

In another fragment, the Senate establishes annual commemorations in Rome and other communities of Roman citizens (fr. ii, col. a, lines 1–11).

. . . which is . . . sacrifices to the shades . . . the *sodales Augustales*, wrapped in the dark togas that they . . . on that day a toga of their own color, and with the same sacrificial rite as . . . to the shades of Gaius and Lucius Caesar; and a bronze pillar near this . . . should be inscribed the same way as those decrees of the Senate have been inscribed that . . . are, and neither should any important public business be conducted on that day . . . *municipium* or colony of Roman citizens or *Latini*, nor . . . nor should any weddings or engagements of Roman citizens take place, nor . . . should receive or give, nor should *ludi* be held . . . should be invited.

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East, and Lucius died on way to Spanish legions (A.D. 2); A.D. 4–14: Tiberius was in Germany and Pannonia, Agrippa Postumus was briefly in military post, and Germanicus was legate in Illyria and Germany; A.D. 14–20: Germanicus was in Germany and the East (to A.D. 19), and the younger Drusus was in Illyria. After A.D. 20, imperial princes no longer took the field.

Parallel observances in Rome and in the outlying *municipia* and colonies depended on regular communications. One important channel was the knight who divided his time between Rome and his hometown; this figure will be viewed from the perspectives of Rome (see chap. 2) and a representative colony (see chap. 4).

To make room for the commemorations, the Senate reschedules the *ludi Augusti* (lines 11–14).

And that the *ludi Augustales* in the theater . . . are accustomed, should begin on [3 October], with . . . the day on which Germanicus Caesar died . . . the day of the *ludi* in the theater.

The filling of the state calendar with imperial occasions began immediately with Augustus and was conducted by the Senate (see chap. 1).

In a second column, the Senate recognizes honors rendered by the urban plebs (fr. ii, col. b, lines 1–10).

. . . *princeps* . . . that the day too . . . and an address . . . and approve its zeal . . . urban tribes and . . . [was] promised. And thus determines . . . of Germanicus Caesar, in triumphal dress . . . in the public areas in which Divus Augustus . . . set up, with an inscription of the urban plebs.

Much of the decrees for Germanicus and Drusus is taken up not with commissioning original honors but with reporting honors that others had already offered. This cataloging enabled the Senate both to invoke a consensus of mourning for the princes and to advertise its own centrality to the regime (see chap. 1).

The Senate proposes to inscribe eulogies from Tiberius and Drusus (lines 11–19).

. . . which Tiberius Caesar Augustus to this order on [16 December] . . . be published, should be inscribed in bronze and be put up in a public place . . . should determine. And the Senate determines that this will be all the more fitting, since . . . most intimate of Tiberius Caesar Augustus and also contained not so much praise of his son Germanicus Caesar as a reckoning of his whole life and a true witness to his virtue, because he himself had declared in the same memorandum that he did not want to hide his wish that this should be handed down to undying memory and that he judged that it would be useful for the youth of our children and descendants.

Likewise, in order that the devotion of Drusus Caesar be the more

manifest, the Senate determines that the text that he read out during the next session of the Senate should be inscribed in bronze and be posted where his father and he determine.

The princes were consistently promoted as exemplary figures, particularly among the knights (see chap. 2) and the soldiers (see chap. 6).

The Senate publishes the decree and asks the incoming consuls to have the Roman people ratify it into law (lines 20–31).

Likewise, that the present decree of the Senate should be inscribed in bronze with the decree of the Senate that was passed on [16 December] and that this bronze plaque be posted on the Palatine in the portico adjoining the Temple of Apollo where the session of the Senate was held. Likewise, the Senate wishes and equally resolves, in order that the devotion of all orders to the Augustan house and the collective agreement of all citizens in honoring the memory of Germanicus Caesar be the more easily apparent, that the consuls should publish the present decree of the Senate under their own edict, that the consuls should order the magistrates and representatives of the *municipia* and colonies to send a transcript to the *municipia* and colonies of Italy and to the colonies in the provinces, and that those who are in charge in the provinces will be acting rightly and properly if they take care that the present decree of the Senate is posted in as frequented a place as possible.

And that Marcus Messalla and Marcus Aurelius Cotta Maximus, consuls designate, when they enter office, at the first moment when it is allowed through the auspices, without a delay of two or three eight-day periods, should take care that a law be put to the people concerning honors to Germanicus Caesar. They resolved. In the meeting of the Senate, two hundred eighty-five were present. The present decree of the Senate was enacted through a second motion only.

Formally, the Principate preserved the whole of the Roman *res publica*. The Senate continued to advise magistrates, magistrates continued to propose legislation to the people, and the people continued to vote the proposals into law. But by diffusing its decree before the popular vote, bypassing the organs of the *res publica*, the Senate could effectively exercise legislative power (see chap. 1).

Further honors for Germanicus are given on the *Tabula Hebana*, a statute, ratified by the Roman people, that retains the form of a bill drafted in the Senate. The honors include portrait images, commemoration in a sacred

hymn, and eponymous voting centuries (whose elaborate protocol need not be set out in full here; *T.Heb.* lines 1–6).

And that on the Palatine in the portico adjoining the Temple of Apollo, in the temple in which meetings of the Senate are customarily held, among portraits of men of outstanding talent, portraits of Germanicus Caesar and of Drusus Germanicus, his natural father and brother of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, who himself had abundant talent, be placed over the capitals of the columns supporting the roof over the image of Apollo.

And that the Salii include in their hymns the name of Germanicus Caesar to honor his memory, an honor that has also been rendered to Gaius and Lucius Caesar, the brothers of Tiberius Caesar Augustus.

And that to the ten centuries of the Caesars that customarily cast their vote for destining consuls and praetors, five centuries be added . . .

After Augustus, though elections continued to be validated by the people, they were decided in the Senate. The voting centuries and “destining” of candidates to high office will therefore have been important principally for distinguishing knights by associating them with senators and separating them from the plebs.<sup>4</sup> Other distinctions for the equestrian order—priesthoods, festivals, privileged theater seats—were granted or confirmed under Augustus, helping to solidify corporate identity of the diffuse, heterogeneous order (see chap. 2).

The surviving honors involve the *ludi Augusti*, an equestrian procession, and annual sacrifices (lines 50–62).

And that during the *ludi Augustales*, . . . are placed in theaters, the curule chairs of Germanicus Caesar are placed among them with . . . of the priesthood; and that the chairs, once the Temple of Divus Augustus is completed, are carried out from the temple, . . . are placed in Mars Ultor and carried out from there; and that whoever holds the games named above see that . . . are placed in theaters and that when they are to be replaced they are replaced in the temple.

And that temples of the gods are closed . . . of Caesar are interred in the burial mound; and that those who to the . . . order and have the [stripe? horse?] who want to perform their duty and as far as health and household . . . come to the Campus [with? without?] the stripe, and those who have the public horse come to the Campus with *trabae*.

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4. See P. A. Brunt, “The *Lex Valeria Cornelia*,” *JRS* 51 (1961): 71–83, esp. 76–79.

And that on . . . died, temples of the immortal gods that are in the city of Rome or nearer the city . . . be closed; and that those who hold or shall hold contracts for the temples should see that this be so done; . . . the *sodales Augustales* of each year should see that in front of the burial mound funeral sacrifices are performed; or if one or more of the *magistri* at the sacrifice, those who are going to hold office the next year . . . that task in place of those who . . .

The roundabout summoning of the knights in this passage, by means of a series of attributes (toga stripe, public horse, *trabea*), points to a paradox: while the equestrian order was assuming corporate form, its membership eluded (and eludes) any simple definition (see chap. 2).

Also known is the penal clause closing the statute.<sup>5</sup> The existence of this fragment and of a parallel fragment that is perhaps from honors to the younger Drusus illustrates the wide diffusion of the documents. It is worth stressing that these texts were among the few ancient documents to have been inscribed in multiple copies. Documents were normally inscribed by subjects wishing to make permanent records. But the Tiberian documents are tokens of a brief moment when the central state was concerned to diffuse an image of the ruling house to constituencies across the empire.<sup>6</sup>

Fragments of the parallel honors from the Senate and people to the younger Drusus have been found in Rome, Italy, and Spain (*RS 38*). As honors for Germanicus were patterned after honors for Lucius and Gaius (d. A.D. 2 and 4), so honors for the younger Drusus were patterned after honors for Germanicus. The merging of the princes' remembered identities helps to explain the striking uniformity in expressions of imperial ideology (see conclusion). The Senate thanks the equestrian order for memorializing the younger Drusus during its reunions (*RS 38*, fr. b, col. ii, lines 5–14).

. . . of the equestrian order . . . public grief . . . for preserving . . . of Drusus Caesar . . . of Drusus Caesar on the Lupercal . . . that a silver shield when . . . they shall make their procession on the ides of July . . . to Drusus Caesar, son of Tiberius Caesar Augustus . . . And that at all theaters . . . inscribed names of Drusus Caesar . . .

5. See M. H. Crawford, "The End of the *Rogatio Valeria Aurelia*," *Athenaeum* 82 (1994): 429–35.

6. For an eighth copy of the *s.c. de Pisone* see S. Corto Pérez and A. U. Stylow, "Eine neue Kopie des *senatusconsultum de Cn. Pisone patre*," *Chiron* 29 (1999): 23–28; for doubts about the identification of the smaller fragments see D. S. Potter, "*Senatus Consultum de Cn. Pisone*," *JRA* 11 (1998): 437–57, at 438–39.

Here, typically, the new consensus was expressed not through formal voting but in informal demonstrations—at the Lupercalia in February, during the procession on the ides of July, and from the knights' reserved theater seats. A corresponding shift from formal to informal expression occurred in other constituencies and was a salient characteristic of imperial political culture (see conclusion).

The Senate's decree against Cn. Piso senior (*s.c. de Pisone*), who was initially charged with murdering Germanicus and tried posthumously, has turned up in several copies from Baetica (southern Spain). One copy bears an unofficial title, probably given by the governor of Baetica, which inadequately conveys the contents of the decree and the contrast that the decree draws between the Pisones and the imperial family:

Decree of the Senate concerning Cnaeus Piso senior, published when Numerius Vibius Serenus was proconsul.

In the prescript to the decree, the Senate records that Tiberius referred the cases of Piso, his family, and his accomplices to the Senate. The decree expresses both the ideology of Tiberius's rule and the underlying realities (such as perquisites for soldiers from the imperial *fiscus*).<sup>7</sup> By referring the cases to the Senate, Tiberius allowed senators to judge one of their own but made no attempt to hide his sentiments (lines 1–11).

On the fourth day before the ides of December [10 December], on the Palatine in the portico that is next to the Temple of Apollo, present at the drafting were Marcus Valerius Messalinus, son of Marcus from the Lemonian tribe; Gaius Ateius Capito, son of Lucius from the Aniensian tribe; Sextus Pompeius, son of Sextus from the Arnensian tribe; Marcus Pompeius Priscus, son of Marcus from the Teretinan tribe; Gaius Arrenus Gallus, son of Gaius from the Galerian tribe; Lucius Nonius Asprenas, son of Lucius from the Pomptinan tribe, quaestor; Marcus Vinucius, son of Publius from the Poblilian tribe, quaestor.

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7. Donatives were made “suo nomine ex fisco principis nostri” (*s.c. de Pisone* lines 54–55). For the view, accepted here, that *fiscus* normally designated the private funds of the emperor see M. Alpers, *Das nachrepublikanische Finanzsystem: Fiscus und fisci in der frühen Kaiserzeit* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1995), esp. 59ff. The principal reasons for thinking that the *fiscus* mentioned in the decree was private are its name, *fiscus principis nostri*, and the fact that Piso drew from it donatives, which were private gifts. The reason for thinking that *fiscus* instead refers to the provincial treasury of Syria, held by the governor, is that Piso is not known to have tampered with the imperial procurators who held the emperor's private funds—his conservatism may have discouraged him from doing so.

Whereas Tiberius Caesar Augustus, son of Divus Augustus, *pontifex maximus*, holding the tribunician power for the twenty-second time, consul for the third time, consul designate for the fourth time, referred the following to the Senate: how the case of Cn. Piso senior was regarded by them and whether his suicide appeared to be deserved; how the case of M. Piso was regarded, to which motion he added that this order should be mindful of his pleas on behalf of that young man; how the case of Plancina was regarded and what he requested on behalf of this person, for reasons having already been communicated by him; and what the Senate judged concerning Visellius Karus and Sempronius Bassus, associates of Cn. Piso senior. Concerning these matters, [the senators] delivered the following opinion.

After thanking the gods and Tiberius, the Senate describes the evidence against Piso and begins to recount his crimes, starting with insubordination (lines 12–45).

Before all else, the Senate and Roman people give thanks to the immortal gods, because they did not allow the tranquillity of the present condition of the state, than which no better could be hoped for, and which it has been [our] lot to enjoy by the favor of our *princeps*, to be disturbed by the wicked designs of Cn. Piso senior.

Next [they give thanks] to Tiberius Caesar Augustus, their *princeps*, because he gave the Senate access to everything that was required to uncover the truth. The Senate admires his fairness and patience for this reason too, because although the crimes of Cn. Piso senior were more than apparent and he had inflicted punishment on himself, nonetheless he [Tiberius] wanted his case to be given a proper legal hearing, and, summoning his sons, he urged them to defend their father's case, even wishing that the son who was not yet a senator be brought into the Senate for that purpose, and allowing both sons the opportunity to speak on behalf of their father and mother and of M. Piso.

And likewise, inasmuch as the case has been pleaded over a number of days by the prosecutors of Cn. Piso senior and by Cn. Piso senior himself, letters have been read out, along with copies of instructions that Germanicus Caesar had sent to Cn. Piso senior, and witnesses of every social order have been brought to court, [the Senate] †admires† the exceptional restraint and patience of Germanicus Caesar, overcome by the savagery of Cn. Piso senior, and that on that account, when he was dying, Germanicus Caesar, who himself bore witness that Cn. Piso senior had been the cause of his death, not without good reason renounced [his] friendship with a

man who—when he ought to have remembered that he had been assigned as an aide-de-camp to Germanicus Caesar, who had been sent out by our *princeps* at the instance of this order to put overseas affairs in order, affairs that called for the presence either of Tiberius Caesar Augustus himself or of one or other of his two sons, showing no regard for the majesty of the Augustan house or for public law, in that he had been †appointed as legate to a proconsul† and, at that, to a proconsul, concerning whom a law had been brought before the people that in whatever province he entered, he was to have greater imperium than the person who was governing that province as proconsul, while in every respect Tiberius Caesar Augustus was to have greater imperium than Germanicus Caesar—conducted himself while he was in the province of Syria as if everything ought to be a matter for his own competence and authority and stirred up war, as far as lay within his power, with Armenians and Parthians, in that he was unwilling for Vonones, who had become an object of suspicion to the king of the Parthians, to be removed to a greater distance in accordance with the instructions of our *princeps* and with many letters of Germanicus Caesar, when the latter was absent, lest he might be able to escape from custody (which is what he did do); and in that he allowed certain evil and reckless persons from the mass of the Armenian people to have converse with Vonones, with the object that disorder might be provoked in Armenia by those same persons and that, when the king of Armenia, whom Germanicus Caesar had assigned as king to that people in accordance with the wish of his father and the Senate, had been killed or expelled, Vonones might take his place; and he took those actions after having been corrupted by large bribes from Vonones.

What legal standards were applied during the trial? The Senate terms what it was doing “hearing a case” and refers to exchanges between prosecutors and accused, witnesses from every social order, and written evidence. But the Senate also explicitly puts loyalty before the law, saying that Piso showed “no regard for the majesty of the Augustan house or for public law” (line 33). Similarly, the Senate implies manifold crimes (insubordination, corruption, abandoning and reentering a province, summary justice, destroying military discipline, misusing the *fiscus principis*, sacrilege) but cites only two statutes—and then with reference to Germanicus’s imperium and to the punishment of Piso’s associates (lines 34, 122). The Senate also mentions that Piso tipped the messenger reporting Germanicus’s death. Either the Senate did not communicate its legal standards, or it did not apply any, in which case the long-standing scholarly search for the charges behind imperial trials has been misguided. A. Yakobson has pointed out that no statute or official act ever

formally empowered the Senate to sit as a court.<sup>8</sup> Perhaps it is ingenuous even to call the affair a “trial.”

The Senate next accuses Piso of fomenting civil war and corrupting military discipline (lines 45–68).

He attempted furthermore to stir up civil war, when through the divine will of Divus Augustus and the merits of Tiberius Caesar Augustus all the ills of civil war had long since been consigned to oblivion, by returning to the province of Syria after the death of Germanicus Caesar, a province that, in a most fell course of conduct carried out with the most fell intent, he had abandoned while Germanicus was still alive; and on that account Roman soldiers were compelled to come into conflict with each other.

His unparalleled savagery was thoroughly exposed when, without hearing the cases, without sounding out the opinion of his body of advisers, he inflicted the death penalty on a very large number of persons and crucified not merely foreigners but even a centurion, a Roman citizen.

He corrupted the military discipline established by Divus Augustus and maintained by Tiberius Caesar Augustus, not only by allowing soldiers not to obey, as immemorial custom dictates, those who commanded them, but also by giving donatives in his own name from the *fiscus* of our *princeps*—a deed that he was pleased to see led to some soldiers being called “Pisonians,” others “Caesarians”—and by going on to confer distinctions on those who, after assuming such a name, had shown him obedience.

He was a man who, after the death of Germanicus Caesar, at whose loss not only the Roman people but foreign nations as well mourned, dared to send his most excellent and forbearing father a document in which he made accusations, forgetting not only the respect and affection due to the son of the *princeps* but even common humanity, which does not permit feuds to be carried on after death.

And it became apparent to the Senate that he rejoiced in Germanicus’s death from the following evidence: that irreligious sacrifices were offered by him; that the ships in which he sailed were decorated; and that he reopened the temples of the immortal gods that the unwavering devotion of the whole Roman Empire had caused to be closed. It was evidence of the same cast of mind that he had given a present of money to the man who brought him news of the death of Germanicus. And it was proven that on several occasions, he held banquets on those very days when the announcement of the death of Germanicus had been made to him.

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8. A. Jakobson, “The Princess of Inscriptions,” *SCI* 17 (1998): 206–24.

In this passage, as in contemporary inscriptions and literature, Tiberius is paired with his predecessor.<sup>9</sup> Augustus's sanitized memory underpins the ideology of the documents, defining the present epoch (tranquillity and military discipline after civil war), preserving traditional values, and therefore lending the current imperial family a moral right to its position.

Lastly, the Senate says that Piso violated the divinity of Divus Augustus (lines 68–70).

The Senate believes that the divinity of Divus Augustus was also violated by him by the withdrawal of every honor that was accorded either to his memory or to the portraits before they had been placed among the number of the gods.

The corrupt state of these lines (see the text at the end of this chapter) leaves it uncertain exactly what Piso did—whether, for example, he omitted elements of Augustus's titulature or actually tampered with a shrine.<sup>10</sup> What is important is that Divus Augustus was a Roman state god with a temple, cult images, and priests who had erected a statue to Germanicus (see the following quotation). Imperial cult was intertwined with politics and mortal honors. Already under Augustus, local priests of the emperor appear as civic leaders in the colonies of Pompeii and Pisae (see chap. 4) and in the Greek cities of Mytilene and Sardis (see chap. 5).

To punish Piso, who was found during the trial with his throat cut, an apparent suicide, the Senate forbids mourning and removes reminders of him (lines 71–90).

For these reasons, the Senate believes that he did not submit himself to the penalty he deserved and that he saved himself from the more severe one that he realized was threatening him owing to the devotion and the sternness of the judges.

Accordingly, it adds to the punishments that he inflicted on himself: that no mourning for his death be undertaken by the women by whom he

9. For the pairing of Augustus and Tiberius compare the governor's edict on requisitions from Sagalassus in Pisidia: S. Mitchell, "Requisitioned Transport in the Roman Empire: A New Inscription from Pisidia," *JRS* 66 (1976): 106–31, lines 3–4: "Augusti alter deorum alter principum maximus."

10. Of the six noun-verb clauses in these lines, three have secure finite verbs or participles ("numen . . . violatum esse," "arbitari senatum," "omni honore . . . detracto"), and three do not ("qui . . .," "quae . . .," "antequam . . ."). We may take "refferentur" with the third clause that does not. But if we take "habeba[n]tur" with the first or "habebantur" with the second, the meaning remains unclear, and we are still missing one verb. It therefore seems best to obelize "habebantur"; cf. Eck, Caballos, and Fernandez, *Das senatus consultum*, commentary ad loc.

ought to be mourned according to ancestral custom, had this decree of the Senate not been passed; that the statues and portrait masks of Cn. Piso senior, wherever they have been placed, be removed; that whoever at any time belongs to the Calpurnian family or who is connected with the family by blood or marriage will have acted rightly and properly if they take care that, when anyone who belongs to that gens or who is one of those who is connected by blood or marriage has died and is to be mourned, the portrait mask of Cn. Piso senior is not brought out with the rest of the portrait masks with which they customarily celebrate the processions of their funerals and that his portrait mask is not placed among the portrait masks of the Calpurnian family; that the name of Cn. Piso senior be removed from the inscription on the statue of Germanicus Caesar that the *sodales Augustales* put up to him in the Campus next to the Altar of Providentia; that the property of Cn. Piso senior be declared public property, with the exception of the estate that is in Illyricum. It is [the Senate's] pleasure that this estate be returned to Tiberius Caesar Augustus, our *princeps*, by whose father, Divus Augustus, it was given to Cn. Piso senior, since he [Tiberius] expressed the wish that it be given to him because those whose lands border these estates have often complained about injuries from Cn. Piso senior and his freedmen and slaves, and for this reason he thinks it ought to be ensured that the allies of the Roman people should no longer be able to complain justly and deservedly.

The Senate's erasing of Piso's memory contrasts with its commemoration of Germanicus.<sup>11</sup> For one of the men, the Senate prohibits mourning, removes statues and portraits, and strikes his name from a statue base. For the other, the Senate enjoins mourning and commissions statues, images, and inscriptions. Under the Principate, honors and honorific decrees became the primary language of politics. This was true not only in the Senate but in all the constituencies examined in this study (see conclusion).

The Senate mitigates the punishment of Piso's children, imitating the clemency of the emperors (lines 90–108).

Likewise, the Senate, mindful of its clemency and justice and generosity of spirit, virtues that it inherited from its ancestors and learned in particular from Divus Augustus and Tiberius Caesar Augustus, its *principes*, thinks it fair and humane that from the property of Cn. Piso senior that had been

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11. See J. Bodel, "Punishing Piso," *AJPh* 120 (1999): 43–63; H. I. Flower, "Piso in Chicago," *AJPh* 120 (1999): 99–115, at 99–106.

declared public, half the property be given, in the name of the *princeps* and the Senate, to his elder son Piso, about whom nothing was said [in the trials], who has been the quaestor of our princeps, whom Germanicus also has honored with his liberality, and who has given many indications of his restraint, from which it may be hoped that he will be very different from his father; and that he, under the obligation of so great a favor, would be behaving rightly and properly if he changed his father's praenomen; and that the other half of his father's property be given to M. Piso, to whom the Senate, accommodating itself to the humanity and restraint of the *princeps*, believed impunity should be given, in order that the favor of the Senate might more easily come to him unimpaired—on condition that from the whole of the property that had been declared public by senatorial decree and conceded to them, one million sesterces be given to Calpurnia, the daughter of Cn. Piso, as dowry and four million sesterces as her own property.

Likewise, it is (the Senate's) pleasure that the *curatores locorum publicorum iudicandorum* should see to it that the structures that Cn. Piso senior built above the Porta Fontinalis to connect his private residences be removed and destroyed.

The most arresting feature of the decrees, especially the decree concerning Piso, is their moral and ideological tone. There are many ways to interpret the Senate's moralizing; each of them has broader political implications. For D. S. Potter, praise of the imperial house and dispraise of Piso, whom the Senate associates with civil war and other horrors of the past, amounts to a political program for Tiberius's regime.<sup>12</sup> For A. Cooley, in one of the most acute appreciations of the decree, the idea that the Senate learned virtues from the emperors is part of a larger moral-didactic vision in which imperial attributes are seen to trickle down through the social orders.<sup>13</sup> The virtues that the Senate chooses to praise in the emperors—*aequitas*, *patientia*, *indulgentia*, *animi magnitudo*, *humanitas*, *clementia*, *iustitia*, *liberalitas*, *pietas*, and *moderatio*—are conspicuously virtues of generosity and restraint, qualities the Senate appears to urge on Tiberius. In contrast, the imperial virtues mentioned in provincial oaths to the imperial house are virtues of omnipotence, an omnipotence with which the offerers of the oaths wished to associate themselves (see chap. 5).

12. D. S. Potter, "Political Theory in the *Senatus Consultum Pisonianum*," *AJPh* 120 (1999): 65–88.

13. A. Cooley, "The Moralizing Message of the *Senatus Consultum de Cn. Pisone patre*," *G&R* 45, no. 2 (1998): 199–212.

In a remarkable passage, the Senate absolves Piso's widow (lines 109–20).

As regards the case of Plancina, against whom a great many extremely serious charges were brought, because she admits that all her hope resides in the mercy of our *princeps* and the Senate, and because our *princeps* has often and zealously requested from this order that the Senate, content with punishing Cn. Piso senior, spare his wife as it is sparing his son Marcus, and himself pleaded for Plancina at the request of his mother and accepted the very just reasons that had been put to him by her for his mother wanting to secure her request, the Senate thinks that support and indulgence should be accorded to Julia Augustus—who has served the state supremely not only in giving birth to our princeps but also through her many great favors toward men of every order, and who, although she rightly and deservedly ought to have supreme influence in making a request of the Senate, yet uses that influence most sparingly—and to the supreme devotion of our *princeps* toward his mother; and it is [the Senate's] pleasure that Plancina's penalty be waived.

The Senate presents its decisions in a careful rhetoric.<sup>14</sup> This passage, with five levels of subordination and some twenty-odd clauses, is a small masterpiece of periodic composition. M. H. Crawford has pointed out to me that the *Tabula Hebana* in the procedures for the eponymous voting centuries are set out in metrical *clausulae*. A “rhetoricized mentality”<sup>15</sup> characterized the era. The composing and presenting of memorable texts recurs throughout this study, especially in the chapters on outlying communities, whose contacts with Rome were essentially diplomatic (see chaps. 4 and 5).

The Senate upholds, however, the legal penalty for Piso's accomplices (lines 120–23).

Visellius Karus and Sempronius Bassus, associates of Cn. Piso senior and conspirators and accomplices in all his crimes, ought to be declared outlaws by the praetor who presides over the law of treason; and it is [the Senate's] pleasure that their property should be sold and the profits consigned to the *aerarium* by a praetor in charge of the *aerarium*.

14. See the colometric version of the decree printed by W. Suerbaum in “Schwierigkeiten bei der Lektüre des *SC de Cn. Pisone Patre* durch die Zeitgenossen um 20 n. Chr., durch Tacitus und durch heutige Leser,” *ZPE* 128 (1999): 213–34, at 215–26; for Asianism and juristic style, see G. Calboli, “Le *Senatus Consultum de Cn. Pisone patre*: Quelques considérations linguistiques,” in *Moussylanea: Mélanges . . . C. Moussy*, ed. B. Bureau and C. Nicholas, (Louvain: Peeters, 1998), 117–130, unfortunately not discussing the passage concerning Plancina.

15. V. Rudich, *Dissidence and Literature under Nero: The Price of Rhetoricization* (London: Routledge, 1997).

While absolving Piso's family, the Senate reserves a separate justice for Piso's associates, one involving a statute, punishment, a magistrate, and no overt rhetoric. Was the punishment death or exile, as A. Jakobson argues?<sup>16</sup> Were the associates formally tried before a *quaestio*, as J. S. Richardson maintains?<sup>17</sup> It is clear, in any case, that the Senate instructed the court to condemn them, extending its judicial competence as it extended its competence in other spheres (see chap. 1).

Next the Senate praises Tiberius and urges him to think of the future (lines 123–32).

Likewise, since [the Senate] judges that Tiberius Caesar Augustus, our *princeps*, surpassed all parties in devotion, having witnessed so many terrible things so often and with such restrained grief—things by which certainly the Senate has been strongly moved—[the senate] asks and urgently requests that he turn all the care that he had divided between his two sons toward the one whom he still has; and the Senate hopes that the surviving son will have all the more care from the immortal gods for their realization that all hope for the continuation of his father's watch over the state falls back on this one son, for which reason he ought to terminate his grief and restore to his country not only the frame of mind but also the expression appropriate to the prosperity of the state.

One political purpose of the decrees was to provide for the imperial succession, here explicitly acknowledged as in no other state document of the period. This passage brings out an odd feature of the Roman succession, the so-called *Doppelprinzipat*, under which pairs of young men from the imperial family close in age were raised through parallel careers.<sup>18</sup> Marcellus and Tiberius were the first, followed by Tiberius and the elder Drusus, Gaius and Lucius, and Germanicus and the younger Drusus; after the death of the younger Drusus, Germanicus's sons Nero and Drusus would come forward. The *Doppelprinzipat* may have been meant as risk management. Or it may have been intended that the pairs would exercise power jointly, as consuls did. It is not sufficiently remarked, though, that the drawback of the arrangement was more than theoretical. Three times during the first century of the Principate, an emperor died and left two potential successors, one of whom murdered the other. Tiberius

16. Jakobson, *Princess of Inscriptions*, 206–24.

17. J. S. Richardson, "The Senate, the Courts, and the *SC de Cn. Pisone patre*," *CQ* 47 (1997): 510–18; cf. M. T. Griffin, "The Senate's Story," *JRS* 87 (1997): 249–63, at 256.

18. See E. Kornemann, *Doppelprinzipat und Reichsteilung* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1930); B. M. Levick, "Tiberius' Retirement to Rhodes in 6 B.C.," *Latomus* 31 (1972): 779–813, at 782–84. A memento of the princes' personal statuses is given in the appendix of the present book.

murdered Agrippa Postumus, Caligula murdered Ti. Gemellus, and Nero murdered Britannicus. Nero's words, as transmitted by Tacitus (*Ann.* 13.17.4–5; A.D. 55), seem to mock the ideology deliberately.

It is a natural tradition to withdraw these untimely obsequies from the public gaze and not to detain it with panegyrics and processions. However, now that the assistance of my brother is gone, not only are remaining hopes placed in the state, but the *princeps* must be cherished all the more as the only surviving member of a family born to the ultimate power.

Deaths in the imperial family created a need for periodic membership lists, and this appears to be one function of the Tiberian decrees. It is remarkable how assiduously and accurately subjects followed turnover in the imperial house. The phenomenon is particularly striking in two Pisan decrees for Lucius and Gaius (see chap. 4), but it constitutes a common strand throughout imperial political culture (see conclusion).

The Senate goes on to praise the rest of the imperial family (lines 132–51).

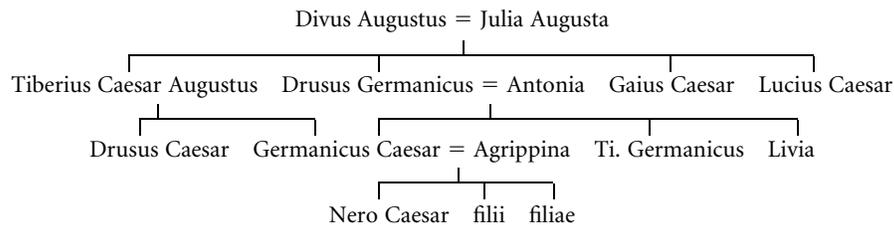
Likewise, the Senate earnestly praises the restraint of Julia Augustus and Drusus Caesar, who imitate the justice of our *princeps* and whom this order has perceived to have shown no more devotion to Germanicus than equity in keeping their judgments unformed until the inquiry was held into the case of Cn. Piso senior. Of the others connected with Germanicus Caesar by kinship, the Senate highly approves of the restraint of Agrippina, who was commended to the Senate by the memory of Divus Augustus, by whom she had been particularly approved; by the memory of her husband, Germanicus, with whom she had lived in unparalleled harmony; and by the number of descendants produced by her fortunate bearing of children who survive.

Likewise, the Senate approves of the restraint of Antonia, the mother of Germanicus Caesar, who enjoyed a single marriage with Drusus, the father of Germanicus, and through the sanctity of her morals showed herself worthy of her close connection with Divus Augustus; and of the restraint of Livia, the sister of Germanicus, Caesar about whom her grandmother and her father-in-law, who is also her uncle, our *princeps*, formed the most excellent judgment, on whose judgment, even were she not connected with their household, she could rightly pride herself, not to speak of her as a woman bound by such close connections with those women. The Senate approves of their most loyal grief and restraint in grief equally.

Likewise, the child's grief felt by the sons of Germanicus over the loss of such a father, especially the grief of Nero Caesar which is by now that of a

young man, and, likewise, the grief of his brother Tiberius Germanicus Caesar [*sic*], did not go beyond a reasonable limit, which fact the senate judges to be attributable above all to their upbringing or to the moral example of both their uncle and Julia Augustus but nevertheless thinks ought to be praised on their own account as well.

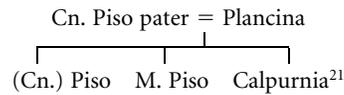
The decree against Piso can be read as a tale of two families. Romans had several conceptions of the family, among them the gens (person sharing a nomen), the *familia* (persons actually linked agnatically), and the *domus* (the family plus cognate relations). In the late Republic and early Principate, gentes of leading families were imaginatively retrojected to legendary ancestors, *familiae* distinguished themselves from the wider gentes by the adoption of cognomina, and the paternal-maternal *domus* replaced the paternal *familiae* as the principal units of self-identification.<sup>19</sup> The imperial family presented itself as all three, a gens, a *familia*, and a *domus*, as in Augustus's Mausoleum (28 B.C.), which received first the remains of Augustus's nephew Marcellus and his son-in-law M. Agrippa.<sup>20</sup> In the Tiberian decrees, the imperial family is never called a gens or a *familia* but only the *domus Augusta*, an expression there appearing in Latin for the first time. The *domus Augusta* comprises



For the Pisones, by direct contrast, only the words *gens* and *familia* are used, never *domus*. The decree addresses itself to Piso's cognate connections—in other words, to his *domus*—but scrupulously avoids the word. In particular, the decree concerns

19. See R. P. Saller, "Familia, Domus, and the Roman Conception of the Family," *Phoenix* 38 (1984): 336–55; M. Corbier, "La maison des Césars," in *Epouser au plus proche: Inceste, prohibitions et stratégies matrimoniales*, ed. P. Bonte (Paris: Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales, 1994), 243–91; cf. H. I. Flower, *Ancestor Masks and Aristocratic Power in Roman Culture* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 32–59, showing that Roman collections of *imagines* (ancestor masks) followed both paternal and maternal lines.

20. See H. von Hesberg and S. Panciera, *Das Mausoleum des Augustus: Der Bau und seine Inschriften* (Munich: Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1994); for the legal character of the Mausoleum see J. Linderski, "Julia in Regium," in *Roman Questions* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1995), 375–94, at 385–86.



With regard to the Pisones, the Senate follows a twofold strategy: to remove Piso's memory and, by grace of emperor and Senate, to sustain his family.<sup>22</sup> Thus, the divide between the *domus Augusta* and the Pisones (and by extension other senatorial houses) opens at the point of succession. Through state service and intrinsic moral qualities, the *domus Augusta* had earned the right to succession; other houses might lose that right.

The Senate praises the equestrian order for demonstrating loyalty (lines 151–54).

Likewise, the Senate particularly approves of the unparalleled care and diligence of the equestrian order, in that it had loyally understood how great a matter, pertaining to the safety and devotion of all, was being deliberated on, and it declared with repeated acclamations the feelings in its heart and its grief for the wrongs suffered by our *princeps* and his son and gave evidence of its usefulness to the state.

This passage for the first time reveals that the equestrian order, which lacked a corporate assembly, expressed itself through acclamations, a fact that helps to complete the picture of equestrian political culture (see chap. 2).

The Senate praises the plebs for restraining itself (lines 155–58).

The Senate praises the plebs as well, because it showed solidarity with the equestrian order and indicated its devotion toward our *princeps* and the memory of his son, and because although it was fired with the most exuberant enthusiasm for carrying out the punishment of Cn. Piso senior itself, nevertheless it allowed itself to be controlled by our *princeps*, following the example of the equestrian order.

In the decree for Germanicus, the plebs is congratulated for erecting statues to Germanicus. In the decree against Piso, the plebs is congratulated for threatening to lynch Piso. Both erecting permanent honors and erupting into violence

21. For Calpurnia as the granddaughter of Cn. Piso pater see Eck, Caballos, and Fernandez, *Das senatus consultum*, commentary at 83–87. But the Senate elsewhere avoided calling Piso's elder son by his father's praenomen, and the reference is probably to the father; see E. Champlin, "The First (1996) Edition of the *Senatusconsultum de Cn. Pisonis Patre*: A Review," *AJPh* 120 (1999): 117–22, at 119.

22. See H. I. Flower, "Rethinking 'Damnatio Memoriae': The Case of Cn. Calpurnius Piso Pater in A.D. 20," *CLAnt* 17, no. 2 (1998): 155–87.

were characteristic of the early imperial plebs, and both were recognized as legitimate means of collective expression (see chap. 3).

The Senate praises the troops for devotion and provides for the decree to be posted in legionary camps (lines 159–72).

Likewise, the Senate approves the loyalty of those soldiers whose hearts had been tempted in vain by the criminal intent of Cn. Piso senior; and as regards all who had been soldiers under the auspices and command of our *princeps*, [the Senate] hopes that they will forever demonstrate the loyalty and devotion they displayed to the Augustan house, since they know that the safety of our empire reposes in the guardianship of that house.

The Senate believes that it should be part of their concern and duty that of those who at any time command them, the greatest authority should belong to those who have with the most devoted loyalty worshiped the name of the Caesars, which offers protection to this city and to the empire of the Roman people. And in order that the whole sequence of proceedings shall be the more easily transmitted to the memory of future generations and they shall be able to know what the Senate had judged concerning the exceptional restraint of Germanicus Caesar and the crimes of Cn. Piso senior, it is [the Senate's] pleasure that the oration that our *princeps* read and, likewise, these decrees of the Senate, inscribed on bronze, should be put up wherever seems best to Tiberius Caesar Augustus; that this decree of the Senate, inscribed on bronze, should be put up in the most frequented city of each province and in the most frequented place of that city; and, likewise, that this decree of the Senate should be put up in the winter quarters of each legion, at the standards.

At the close of its thanks to loyal constituencies, the Senate ranks the army alongside civil estates. Army political culture changed fundamentally with the Principate. The civil war armies were demobilized into colonies, service was professionalized, aggressive campaigning effectively ceased under Tiberius, and legions were kept on the frontiers all year long. The decree against Piso, addressed to legionaries in what are still termed “winter quarters,” reflects an accompanying ideological revolution. Hostility is rechanneled toward a former commander, vigilance toward current commanders is demanded, and the old ideology of the citizen army is replaced by one of personal loyalty to the imperial house. These changes can be followed across a series of threats to the Julio-Claudian calm, down to the installation of Claudius (see chap. 6).

In closing, the Senate passes the decree and appends a subscript by Tiberius (lines 172–76).

They expressed these opinions. Three hundred one senators were present in the Senate. This decree of the Senate was made in response to a single motion.

I, Tiberius Caesar Augustus, holding the tribunician power for the twenty-second time, wrote this with my own hand: I would wish that the decree of the Senate that was passed on the fourth day before the ides of December in the consulship of Cotta and Messalla, on the basis of my motion, copied by the hand of Aulus, my quaestor, in fourteen tablets, should be placed in the public archives.

The much misunderstood tribunician power, unique to the emperor and his chosen successor, was neither republican nor popular but was one of the principal means by which the imperial house controlled the Senate. This theme is taken up in chapter 1.

#### LATIN TEXTS

#### *Tabula Siarensis* and *Tabula Hebana*: The Funeral Honors for Germanicus (A.D. 19–20)

From M. H. Crawford, ed., *Roman Statutes*, BICS Suppl. 64 (London: Institute of Classical Studies, 1996), no. 37.

#### *Tabula Siarensis*

*fr. i*

- 1 [ ---- ] n [ ---- ]  
 [ ----nu]nquam debuit [ ---- ]  
 [ ----m]eritis Germanici Caesar[is ---- ]
- 4 [ ---- ] *ea* re consilio Ti(berii) Caesaris Aug(usti)  
 prin[cipis ---- ]  
 copia sententiarum ipsi fieret atque is, adsu[e]ta sibi [ ---- ]  
 honoribus, quos habendos esse censebat senatus,  
 leger<e>t [ ----Iulia]  
 Augusta mater eius et Drusus Caesar materque  
 Germanici Ca[esaris Antonia ---- ]
- 8 adhibita ab eis e<i> deliberationi, satis apte posse  
 haberi existu[marent ---- ]

- placere uti ianus marmoreus extrueretur in circo  
 Flaminio pe[cunia---]  
 tus ad eum locum in quo statuae Diuo Augusto  
 domuique Augus[tae---]  
 sent ab C(aio) Norbano Flacco, cum signis deuictarum  
 gen[tium] ina[---]
- 12 in fronte eius iani senatum populumque Romanum id  
 monum[entum---]  
 casse memoriae Germanici Caesaris, cum[is] Germanis  
 bello supe[ratis][---]  
 a Gallia sum<m>otis receptisque signis militaribus et  
 uindicata frau[dulenta---]  
 exercitus p(opuli) R(omani), ordinato statu Galliarum,  
 [proco(n)s(ule) missus in transmarinas pro[uincias]
- 16 in conformandis iis regnisque eiusdem tractus ex  
 mandatis Ti(berii) C<a>esaris Aug(usti)--- re-]  
 g<e> Armeniae, [non parce[n]s] labori suo priusquam  
 decreto senatus [---]  
 deretur, ob rem p(ublicam) mortem obisset, supraque  
 eum ianum statua Ger[manici [Caesaris po-]  
 n]eretur in curru triumphali et circa latera eius statuae  
 D[rusi Germanici partris ei-]
- 20 us, naturalis fratris Ti(berii) Caesaris Aug(usti) et  
 [Antoniae mat]ris ei[us---et Li-]  
 uiae sororis et Ti(berii) Germanici fratris eius et filiorum  
 et fi[liarum eius]  
 alter ianus fieret in montis Amaní iugo, quod est in [--- ]  
 alius aptior locus Ti(berio) Caesari Aug(usto) principi  
 nostr[o---]
- 24 curam et tutelam Germanico Caesari ex auctori[tate--- ]  
 item statua eius poneretur et titulus [conue[niens  
 re]bus---]  
 sculperetur. tertius ianus uel ad [--- ]  
 quem Druso, fratri Ti(berii) Caesaris Aug(usti)  
 p[rincipis---[ci-]
- 28 tus, deinde p[er]missu Diui Aug(usti) p[er]fecisset---Germanicae-]  
 saris constiueretur recipienti[s---Ger]manis et  
 praec[---Gal-]  
 lis Germanisque qui citra Rhen[um--- ]  
 Aug(usto) rem diuinam ad tumu[lu]m Drusi face[re--- ]  
 32 le sacrificium parentant[es--- ]

- [et cum esset in e]a regio[ne--- nata-]  
 li Germanici Caesar[is---[ex h(oc) s(enatus) c(onsulto)  
 factus]---]  
 [ite]m placere uti m[--- Antio-]  
 36 [chi]ae in foro, [---Germanici [Caesaris cremat]--- ]  
 [. . .]qu[---exp]i[rasset trib]unal---

*fr. ii, col. a*

- 1 [ ---]quae es[t]  
 [ ---]inferiae Manibus  
 [ ---sodaliu]m Augustalium p[ullis] amictos togis, quibus eo-  
 4 [ rum---] eo die sui coloris togam, eodem ritu sacrifici quo  
 [ --- Ma]nibus C(aii) et L(ucii) Caesarum. cippusque aeneus prope  
 eum  
 [ ---] similiter incideretur ut ea s(enatus) c(onsulta) incisa essent  
 quae  
 [ ---] essent. neue quid eo die rei seriae publice agere  
 8 [ ---] municipio aut colonia c(iuium) R(omanorum) aut Latinorum  
 neue eo  
 [ --- posth]ac neue quae nuptiae c(iuium) R(omanorum) fierent  
 aut sponsalia ne-  
 [ ue---] sumeret alíue daret neue ludí fierent aut  
 [ --- adhi]biretur. utique ludí Augustales scaenici  
 12 [ ---]ti solerent, ut a(nte) d(iem) V no<n>(as) committerentur qua  
 [ ---] eum diem quo Germanicus Caesar extinctus  
 [ ---] dies ludorum scaenicorum. (*vacat*)

*fr. ii, col. b*

- 1 [ ---]m  
 [ ---]p]rinci-  
 [ p-----] quod dies etiam  
 4 [ ---]ori et adlocutioni  
 [ --- studi]umque eius probare  
 [ ---]essent tribus urbanae et  
 [ ---]tur, pollicita esset; itaque place-  
 8 [re---Germa]nici Caesaris cum ueste triumph-  
 [ li---] eis ar<e>is publicis in quibus Diuus Augus-  
 [ tus---] posuissent cum inscriptione plebis urbanae

- [---]men, quod Ti(berius) Caesar Aug(ustus) in eo ordine a(n)te d(iem) XVII k(alendas) Ian(uarias)
- 12** [---] suo proposuisset, in aere incisum figeretur loco publico [---] placeret; idque eo iustius futurum arbitrari senatum, quod [--- Ti(berii)] Caesaris Aug(usti) intumus et Germanici Caesaris f(ili) eius non magis laudatio-  
nem quam uitae totius ordinem et uirtut<is> eius uerum testimonium contineret
- 16** aeternae tradi memoriae et ipse se uelle non dissimulare eodem libello testatus  
esset et esse utile iuuentuti liberorum posterorumque nostrorum iudicaret.  
item quo testatior esset Drusi Caesaris pietas placere uti libellus, quem is proximo  
senatu recitasset, in aere incideretur eoque loco figeretur quo patri eius ipsique placuisset.
- 20** itemque hoc s(enatus) c(onsultum) in aere incideretur cum eo s(enatus) c(onsulto) quod factum est a(n)te d(iem) XVII kal(endas) Ian(uarias) idque aes in Palatio in porticu quae est ad Apollinis in templo, quo senatus haberetur, figeretur. item senatum uel-  
atque aequ<u>m censere, quo facilius pietas omnium ordinum erga domum Augustam et consensu<s> uniuersorum ciuium memoria honoranda Germanici Caesaris appareret, uti co(n)s(ules) hoc
- 24** s(enatus) c(onsultum) sub edicto suo proponerent iuberentque mag(istratus) et legatos municipiorum et coloniarum descriptum mittere in municipia et colonias Italiae et in eas colonias quae essent in  
<p>rouinciis, eos quoque qui in prouinciis praessent recte atque ordine facturos si hoc s(enatus) c(onsultum) dedisse<n>t operam ut quam celeberrimo loco figeretur. utique M(arcus) Messalla, M(arcus) Aurelius
- 28** Cotta Maximus co(n)s(ules) designati cum magistratum inissent primo quoque tempore cum per auspicia liceret sine binum trinumue nundinum prodictione legem ad populum de honoribus Germanici Caesaris ferendam cur<ar>ent. cens(uerunt). i(n) s(enatu) f(uerunt) (ducenti octoginta quinque). h(oc) s(enatus) c(onsultum) per relationem secundam factum est unum.

*fr. ii, col. c*

- |    |   |                 |
|----|---|-----------------|
| 1  | [. . .]tinqu[---  | ]               |
|    | eius templi. u[tique---   | Germanici Cae-] |
|    | saris fiant, qua[e---   | ]               |
| 4  | rum Diu[ August[i---  | ]               |
|    | ludos Victoria[e---   | ]               |
|    | Augusti [---  | Ti(berii) Cae-] |
|    | saris Augusti [---  | ]               |
| 8  | Concordiae re[---   | ]               |
|    | eae statuae equ[estres---   | ]               |
|    | sunt praefer[---  | ]               |
|    | ae curet. u[tique---  | ]               |
| 12 | causam in pub[licum---  | ]               |
|    | utique in Palatio [in porticu quae est ad Apollinis<br>in eo templo in quo senatus]   |                 |
|    | haber<i> solet in[ter imagines uirorum inlustris<br>ingeni Germanici Caesa-]  |                 |
|    | ris et Drusi Ger[manici patris eius naturalis<br>fratrisq(ue) Ti(berii) Caesaris Aug(usti)]   |                 |
| 16 | qui ipse quoqu[e fecundi ingeni fuit imagines<br>ponantur supra capita]<br>columnarum [eius fastigi quo simulacrum<br>Apollinis tegitur].<br>Vtique Salii car[minibus suis nomen Germanici<br>Caesaris pro honorifi-]<br>ca memoria in[terponant qui honos Gaio quoq(ue)<br>L(ucio) Caesarib(us) fratribus Ti(berii)] |                 |
| 20 | Caesaris Augu[sti habitus est. Vtique ad X<br>centurias Caesarum quae]<br>de co(n)s(ulibus) et praeto[ribus destinandis<br>suffragium ferre solent adiciantur]  |                 |

***Tabula Hebana***

- 1 Vtique in Palatio in porticu quae est ad Apollinis in eo templo in quo senatus haberi solet, [inter ima-]  
gines uirorum inlustris ingeni Germanici Caesaris et Drusi Germanici patris eius natural[is fratris(que)]  
Ti(berii) Caesaris Aug(usti) qui ipse quoq(ue) fecundi ingeni fuit imagines ponantur supra capita columna[rum eius fas-]

- 4 tigi quo simulacrum Apollinis tegitur. Vtiq(ue) Sali carminibus suis  
nomen Germanici Caesa[ris pro ho-]  
norifica memoria interponant, qui honos C(aio) quoq(ue) et L(ucio)  
Caesarib(us) frat(ibus) Ti(berii) Caesaris Aug(usti) habitus est.  
Vtiq(ue) ad X centur(ias) Caesarum quae de co(n)s(ulibus)  
pr(aetoribus) destinandis suffragium ferre solent adiciantur  
V centur[iae---]  
primae X citabuntur C(aii) et L(ucii) Caesarum, adpellentur  
insequentes V Germanici Caesaris, inq(ue) is omnib[us---]
- 8 senatores et equites omnium decuriarum quae iudicior(um)  
publicor(um) caussa constitutae sunt erun[t---]  
ferant; quiq(ue) cumq(ue) magistratu<u>m destinationis faciendae  
caussa senatores quibusq(ue) in sen[atu] sen[tentiam]  
dicere licebit, itemq(ue) eq(uites) in consaeptum ex lege quam  
L. Valerius Messalla Volesus Cn. Corn[el]ius Cin[na] Magnus  
co(n)s(ules) tulerunt suffragi ferendi caussa conuocabit, is uti  
senatores itemq(ue) equites omnium decuria[rum---]
- 12 [iudicorum publi]corum (*vacat*) gratia constitutae sunt erunt  
suffragium ferant, quod eius r[ei---]  
[---qu]amq(ue) ex ea lege nongentor(um), siue ii custodes  
adpellantur, sortitionem ad X centu[ri]as---]  
[--- perscr]iptumu<e> est uti fiat, eam is quem ex ea lege exue hac  
rogatione{m} nongentorum, siu[e---]  
adpella[ntur, sort]itionem facere oportebit in XV centur(ias) faciat,  
proinde ac si ea lege in XV centuria[s---]
- 16 siue custodum sotitionem fieri haberiue oporteret. Vtiq(ue) eo die in  
quem ex lege quam L. Valerius M[essalla] Vole-]  
sus Cn. Cornelius Cinna Magnus co(n)s(ules) tulerunt exue h(ac)  
r(ogatione) senatores et eq(uites) suffragi ferendi caussa  
adess[e---]  
adsidentibus pr(aetoribus) et tr(ibunis) pl(epis) cistas XV uimineas  
grandes poni iubeat ante tribunal suum, in quas tabel[lae] suffra-]  
giorum demittantur, itemq(ue) tabellas ceratas secundum cistas poni  
iubeat tam multas quam [---]
- 20 uidebitur, item tabulas dealbatas in quib(us) nomina candidatorum  
scripta sint, quo loco commo[d---]  
possint, ponendas curet; deinde in conspectu omnium magistratum  
et eorum qui suffrag[ium---]  
erunt sedentium in subsellis, sicuti cum in X centurias Caesarum  
suffragium ferebatur se[debant, ---]

- trium et XXX trib(uum) excepta Suc(cusana) et Esq(uilina) pilas  
 quam maxime aequatas in urnam uersatilem coici e[t sortitio-]  
 24 nem pronuntiari iubeat <et> sortiri qui senatores et eq(uites) in  
 quamq(ue) cistam suffragium ferre debeat<n>t; du[m---]  
 primas quae C(aii) et L(ucii) Caesar(um) adpellantur sortitio fiat ita  
 uti in primam II III IIII cistas sortiatur b[inas---]  
 V cistam tres, in VI VII VIII VIII binas, in X tres, in eas quae  
 Germanici Caesaris adpellantur so[rtitio---]  
 ut in XI XII XIII XIII cistas sortiatur binas trib(us), in XV tres  
 trib(us); ita ut cum tribum unam cuius[cumq(ue)---e-]  
 28 xierit citauerit, senatores quibusq(ue) in senatu sententiam dicere  
 licebit qui ex ea trib(u) erun[t---]  
 et ad primam cistam accedere et suffragium ferre iubeat, deinde cum  
 ita t[uleri]nt suffra[gium---]  
 redierint, ex eadem tribu uocet equites e[osq(ue) in]e[andem cistam  
 suffragium fer[re iu]beat, de[inde---]  
 alteram tribum sortiatur et singularu[m---trib]<u>um senatores  
 deinde eq(uites) it[a --- suffra-]  
 32 gium ferre debebunt suffragium fer[ant, --- a]d eorum suffragium  
 perti[n]ebit---]  
 Esq(uilina)ue erunt, item si qua [in] tribu senator [nem]o e[rit a]ut si  
 nemo eq(ues) erit et senatoru[m---]  
 erunt, item quod ad cista[s suff]ragis latis signandas et pr(aetores) qui  
 aer(ario) praesunt praerint tr[adendas---]  
 destinationis in saep[ta d]efereantur, deq(ue) signis cognoscendis  
 suffragis diribend[is---]  
 36 r[e]i causa in ea lege quam Cinna et Volesus co(n)s(ules) de  
 X centuris Caesar(um) tuler(unt) scripta c[---]  
 [---] eademq(ue) omnia in <XV> centur(ias) agat faciat agenda  
 facienda curet uti eum ex ea l(ege) qu[am---]  
 [---] tuler]unt [---]ent[ur]is Caes]ar(um) agere facere oporteret  
 quaeq(ue) ita acta erunt ea iusta ra[ta]q(ue)---]  
 [---]destination]is suffragis ex XV centuris C(aii) et L(ucii)  
 Caesar(um) et Germanici Cae[sar(is)---]  
 40 [---]er]it, is qui eam destinationem habebit eam tabellam ita  
 r[ecitet---]  
 [---] Volesus Cn. Cornelius Cinna Magnus co(n)s(ules) tuler(unt)  
 X centur(ias) [---]  
 [---] esset recitare oporteret, dum quae tabula centuriae  
 C(aii) [---]

- [---] C(aii) et L(ucii) Caesarum recitandam quiq(ue) ea centur(ia) candidati dest[inati---]
- 44 [--- pronunti]andum curet, quae tabula ex is centuris quae Germanici Cae[saris---]  
[---s]ub nomine Germanici Caesar(is) recitandam quiq(ue) ea centuria candid[ati---]  
[--- pr]onuntiandum curet; isq(ue) numerus centuriarum qui h(ac) r(ogatione) adicitur in nu[merum---]  
p[er]inde cedat atq(ue) eum numerum [---] cedere ex lege quam Cinna e[t---]
- 48 comprehensumue est uti cedat; itaq(ue) qui co(n)s(ulum) pr(aetorum) creandorum caussa destinatione[m---]  
ratio habeatur itaq(ue) suffragium feratur curet; cetera quae nominatim h(ac) r(ogatione) scrip[ta---]  
ex ea lege quam Cinna et Volesus co(n)s(ules) tuler(unt) agantur fiant seruentur. Vtiq(ue) ludis Augu[stalibus---]  
ponentur in theatris, sellae curules Germanici Caesaris inter ea ponantur cu[m---]
- 52 eius sacerdoti, quae sellae cum templum Diui Aug(usti) perfectum erit ex eo templo pr[oferantur---]  
Martis Ultoris reponantur et inde proferantur, quiq(ue)cumq(ue) eos ludos q(ui) s(upra) s(cripti) s(unt) fac[iat---the-]  
atris ponantur et cum reponendae erunt in eo templo reponantur curet. Vti[q(ue)---]  
Caesaris in tumulum inferrentur templa deor(um) clauderentur, et qui ordini [---cla-? eq-?]
- 56 uom habebunt, qui eor(um) officio fungi uolent et per uoletudinem perq(ue) domestic[um---]  
clauo, ii qui equom pub(licum) habebunt cum trabeis in campum ueniant. Vtiq(ue) ad [---defun-]  
ctus est, templa deor(um) immortalium quae in urbe Roma{m} prop[r]iusue urbem [---]  
clausa sint idque ut ita fiat ii qui eas aedes tuendas redemptas habent h[abebunt---]
- 60 sodalium Augustalium qui quoq(ue) anno erunt inferias ante tumulu[m--- Cae-]  
saris mittendas curent, aut si magistri unus pluresue ad is sacrificium[---pro-]  
simo anno magisterio fungi debebunt in locum eorum qui eo mun[ere---]

**S.c. de Pisone:** The Decree against Piso (A.D. 29)

From W. Eck, A. Caballos, and F. Fernandez, *Das senatus consultum de Cn. Pisone patre*, Vestigia 48 (Munich: Beck, 1996).

s(enatus) c(onsultum) de Cn(aeo) Pisone patre, propositum N(umerio) Vibio Sereno pro co(n)s(ule).

- 1 a(n)te d(iem) (quartam) eid(us) Dec(embres) in Palatio in porticu  
 quae est ad Apollinis scribendo  
 adfuerunt M(arcus) Valerius M(arci) f(ilius) Lem(onia tribu)  
 Messalinus, G(aius) Ateius L(ucii) f(ilius) Ani(ensi tribu) Capito,  
 Sex(tus) Pomp(eius)  
 Sex(ti) f(ilius) Arn(ensi tribu), M(arcus) Pompeius M(arci) f(ilius)  
 Teret(ina tribu) Priscus, G(aius) Arrenus G(aii) f(ilius) Gal(eria  
 tribu) Gallus, L(ucius) Nonius L(ucii) f(ilius)
- 4 Pom(ptina tribu) Asprenas, q(uaestor), M(arcus) Vinucius P(ublii)  
 f(ilius) Pob(lilia tribu), q(uaestor). (*vacat*) quod Ti(berius) Caesar  
 Diui Aug(usti) f(ilius) Aug(ustus)  
 pontifex maxumus, tribunicia potestate (uicesimo secundo),  
 co(n)s(ul) (ter), designatus (quater) ad sena-  
 tum rettulit qualis causa Cn. Pisonis patris uisa esset, et an merito sibi  
 mor-  
 tem conscisse uideretur, et qualis causa M. Pisonis uisa esset, cui  
 relationi ad-
- 8 iecisset, uti precum suarum pro adolescente memor is ordo esset,  
 <et> qualis cau-  
 sa Plancinae uisa esset, pro qua persona quid petisset et quas propter  
 causas  
 exposuis<s>et antea, et quid de Visellio Karo et de Sempronio Basso  
 comitibus  
 Cn. Pisonis patris iudicaret senatus, d(e) i(is) r(ebus) i(ta)  
 c(ensuerunt).
- 12 senatum populumq(ue) Romanum ante omnia dis immortalibus  
 gratias agere,  
 quod nefaris consilis Cn. Pisonis patris tranquillitatem praesentis  
 status  
 r(ei) p(ublicae), quo melior optari non potest, quo beneficio principis  
 nostri frui contigit,  
 turbari passi non sunt, deinde Ti. Caesari Augusto principi suo quod  
 earum

- 16 rerum omnium, quae ad explorandam ueritatem necessariae fuerunt, copiam senatui fecerit, cuius aequitatem et patientiam hoc quoq(ue) nomine admirari senatum, quod, cum manifestissima sint Cn. Pisonis patris scelera et ipse de se supplicium sumpsisset, nihilominus causam eius cognosci uolue-
- 20 rit filiosq(ue) eius arcessitos hortatus sit, ut patris sui causam defenderent, ita ut eum quoq(ue), qui ordinis senatori nondum esset, introduci in senatum uellet, et copiam utriq(ue) dicendi pro patre et pro matre ipsorum et pro M. Pisone faceret; itaq(ue) cum per aliquot dies acta causa sit ab accusatoribus Cn. Pisonis patris et ab ipso
- 24 Cn. Pisone patre, recitatae epistulae, recitata exemplaria codicillorum, quos Germanicus Caesar Cn. Pisoni patri scripsisset, producti testes cuiusq(ue) ordinis sint, †admirari† singularem moderationem patientiamq(ue) Germanici Caesaris euic- tam esse feritate morum Cn. Pisonis patris atq(ue) ob id morientem Germanicum Cae-
- 28 sarem, cuius mortis fuisse caussam Cn. Pisonem patrem ipse testatus sit, non inme- rito amicitiam ei renuntiasse, qui, cum deberet meminisse adiutorem se datum esse Germanico Caesari, qui a principe nostro ex auctoritate huius ordinis ad rerum transmarinarum statum componendum missus esset, desiderantium
- 32 praesentiam aut ipsius Ti. Caesaris Aug(usti) aut filiorum alterius utrius, neglecta maiestate domus Aug(ustae), neglecto etiam iure publico, quo †adleg. pro cos† et ei pro co(n)s(ule), de quo lex ad populum lata esset, ut, in quamcumq(ue) prouinciam uenisset, maius ei imperium quam ei, qui eam prouinciam pro co(n)s(ule) optineret, esset, dum in omni re maius imperi-
- 36 um Ti. Caesari Aug(usto) quam Germanico Caesari esset, tamquam ipsius arbitri et potestatis omnia

- esse deberent, ita se, cum in prouincia Syria fuit, gesserit, bellum cum Armeniacum et Parthicum, quantum in ipso fuerit, mouerit, quod neq(ue) ex mandatis principis nostri epistulisq(ue) frequentibus Germ(anici) Caesar(is), cum is abesset, Vononem, qui sus-
- 40 pectus regi Parthorum erat, longius remoueri uoluerit, ne profugere ex custodia posset, id quod fecit, et conloqui quosdam ex numero Armeniorum malos et audaces cum Vonone passus sit, ut per eosdem tumultus in Armenia excita-
- retur ac Vonone<s> uel occiso uel expulso rege Armeniae, quem Germanicus
- 44 Caesar ex uoluntate patris sui senatusq(ue) ei genti regem dedisset, occuparet, eaq(ue) magnis muneribus Vononis corruptus fecerit; bellum etiam ciuile ex-
- citare conatus sit, iam pridem numine Diui Aug(usti) uirtutibusq(ue) Ti. Caesaris Aug(usti)
- 48 omnibus ciuilibus belli sepultis malis repetendo prouinciam Syriam post mortem Germanici Caesaris quam uiuo eo pessumo et animo et exemplo re-
- liquerat, atq(ue) ob id milites R(omani) inter se concurrere coacti sint, perspecta etiam crudelitate unica, qui incognita causa, sine consili sententia, plurimos ca-
- pitibus supplicio adfecisset, neq(ue) externos tantummodo sed etiam centurionem
- 52 c(ivem) R(omanum) crucifixisset; qui militarem disciplinam, a Diuo Aug(usto) institutam et seruatum a Ti. Caesar(e) Aug(usto) corrupisset non solum indulgendo militibus <ne>
- his, qui ipsis praesunt, more uetustissimo parerent, sed etiam donatiua suo nomine ex fisco principis nostri dando, quo facto milites alios Pisonianos, a-
- 56 lios Caesarianos dici laetatus sit, honorando etiam eos, qui post talis nominis usurpationem ipsi paruissent<n>t; qui, post mortem Germanici Caesaris, cuius in-

- teritum non p(opulus) R(omanus) modo, sed exterae quoq(ue) gentes  
luxerint, patri optumo et  
indulgentissimo libellum, quo eum accusaret, mittere ausus sit oblitus  
non
- 60 tantum uenerationis caritatisq(ue), quae principis filio debebatur,  
ceterum  
humanitatis quoq(ue), quae ultra mortem odia non patitur procedere,  
et cuius  
mortem gauisum esse eum his argumentis senatui apparuerit, quod  
nefaria  
sacrificia ab eo facta, quod naues quibus uehebatur ornatae sint, quod  
reclu-
- 64 serit deorum immortalium templa, quae totius imperi R(omani)  
constantissima  
pietas clauserat, eiusdemque habitus animi argumentum fuerit, quod  
dedisset congi-  
arium ei qui nuntiauerit sibi de morte Germanici; probatum<q(ue)>  
sit frequen-  
ter{q} conuiuia habuisse eum his ipsis diebus quibus de morte  
Germanici ei
- 68 nuntiatum erat; numen quoq(ue) Diui Aug(usti) uiolatum esse ab eo  
arbitrari senatum  
omni honore, qui aut memoriae eius aut imaginibus, quae antequam  
in  
deorum numerum ref{f}er<r>e[n]tur, †habeba[n]tur, detracto.  
quas ob res arbitrari senatum non optulisse eum se debitaе poenae,  
sed maiori
- 72 et quam iniminere sibi ab pietate et seueritate iudicantium  
intellegeba{n}t,  
subtraxisse; (*vacat*) itaq(ue) his poenis, quas a semet ipso exegisset,  
adicere: ne quis luc-  
tus mortis eius causa a feminis *eis, quibus* more maiorum, si hoc  
s(enatus) c(onsultum) factum  
non esset, lugendus esset, susciperetur; utiq(ue) statuae et imagines  
Cn. Pisonis
- 76 patris, quae ubiq(ue) positae essent, tollerentur; recte et ordine  
facturos qui qu-  
andoq(ue) familiae Calpurniae essent, quiue eam familiam  
cognatione{m}  
adfinitateue contingerent, si dedissent operam, si quis eius gentis aut  
quis eo-

- rum, qui cognatus adfinisue Calpurniae familiae fuisset, mortuos  
 esset, lugen-
- 80** dus esset, ne inter reliquas imagines, <quibus> exequias eorum  
 funerum celebrare solent,  
 imago Cn. Pisonis patris duceretur neue imaginibus familiae  
 Calpurniae i-  
 mago eius interponeretur; (*vacat*) utiq(ue) nomen Cn. Pisonis patris  
 tolleretur  
 ex titulo statuae Germanici Caesaris, quam ei sodales Augustales in  
 campo ad
- 84** aram Prouidentiae posuissent; (*vacat*) utiq(ue) bona Cn. Pisonis patris  
 publicarentur  
 excepto saltu qui esset in Hillyrico; eum saltum placere Ti. Caesari  
 Augusto prin-  
 cipi nostro, cuius a patre Diuo Aug(usto) Cn. Pisoni patri donatus  
 erat, reddi, cum  
 is idcirco dari eum sibi desiderasset, quod <ciuitates> quarum fines  
 hos saltus contin-
- 88** gerent frequenter de iniuris Cn. Pisonis patris libertorumq(ue) et  
 seruorum  
 eius quaestae essent, atq(ue) ob id prouidendum putaret, ne postea  
 iure meritoq(ue)  
 soci p(opuli) R(omani) queri possent; (*vacat*) item senatum,  
 memorem clementiae suae ius-  
 titiaeq(ue) animi magnitudinisque, uirtutes quas a maioribus suis  
 acce-
- 92** pisset, tum praecipue ab Diuo Aug(usto) et Ti. Caesare Aug(usto)  
 principibus suis didicisset,  
 ex bonis Cn. Pisonis patris publicatis aequom humanumq(ue) censere,  
 filio eius  
 Pisoni maiori, de quo nihil esset dictum, qui principis nostri  
 q(uaestor) fuisset, et quem  
 Germanicus quoq(ue) (*vacat*) liberalitate sua honorasset, qui  
 complura modestiae
- 96** suae posuisset pignora, {quem Germanicus quoq(ue) liberalitate sua  
 honorasset,}  
 ex quibus sperari posset dissimillimum eum patri suo futurum,  
 donari  
 nomine principis et senatus bonorum partem dimidiam, eumq(ue),  
 cum tan-

- to beneficio obligaretur, recte atque ordine facturum, si praenomen patris
- 100** mutasset. M. etiam Pisoni, cui inpunitatem senatus, humanitati et moder-  
ationi principis sui adsensus, dandam esse{t} arbitraretur, quo facilius inuiolatum senatus beneficium ad eum peruenire<t>, alteram partem dimi-  
diam bonorum paternorum dari, ita ut ex omnibus bonis, quae decreto
- 104** senatus publicata et concessa iis essent, n(ummum) (milia dena) dotis nomine Calpurniae  
Cn. Pisonis filiae, item peculi nomine n(ummum) (milia quadragena) daretur. (*vacat*) item  
placere uti Cn. Piso pater supra portam Fontinalem quae inaedificasset  
iungendarum domum priuatarum causa, ea curatores locorum publico-
- 108** rum iudicandorum tollenda dimolienda curarent. (*vacat*)  
quod ad Plancinae causam pertineret, cui pluruma et grauissima crimina  
obiecta essent, quoniam confiteretur, se omnem spem in misericordia{m}  
principis nostri et senatus habere, et saepe princeps noster accurateq(ue) ab
- 112** eo ordine petierit, ut contentus senatus Cn. Pionis patris poena uxori eius  
sic uti M. filio parceret, et pro Plancina rogatu matris suae deprecari se{t}et  
quam ob rem et mater sua inpetrari uellet, iustissimas ab ea causas sibi ex-  
positas acceperit, senatum arbitrari et Iuliae Aug(ustae) optume de r(e) p(ublica) merita non
- 116** partu tantummodo principis nostri sed etiam multis magnisq(ue) erga cui-  
usq(ue) ordinis homines beneficis, quae cum iure meritoq(ue) plurimum posse<t> in eo quod  
a senatu petere deberet, parcissime uteretur eo, et principis nostri summa<e>  
erga matrem suam pietati suffragandum indulgendumq(ue) esse, remittiq(ue)

- 120** poenam Plancinae placere. Visellio Karo et Sempronio Basso,  
comitibus Cn.  
Pisonis patris et omnium maleficiorum socis et ministris aqua et igne  
interdici oportere  
ab eo pr(aetore) qui lege{m} maiestatis quaereret, bonaq(ue) eorum  
ab pr(aetore), qui aerario  
prae<e>sset, uenire et in aerarium redigi placere. item, cum iudicet  
senatus
- 124** omnium partium pietatem antecessisse Ti. Caesarem Aug(ustum)  
principem nostrum  
tantis et tam aequali dolore totiens conspectis, quibus etiam senatus  
ue-  
hementer motus sit, magnopere rogare et petere, ut omnem curam,  
quam  
in duos quondam filios suos partitus erat, ad eum, quem haberet,  
conuerteret,
- 128** sperareq(ue) senatum eum qu{p}i [su]persit tanto maiori curae dis  
immortalibus  
fore, quanto magis intellegerent omnem spem futuram paternae pro  
r(e) p(ublica) stationis in uno repos[i]ta<m>, quo nomine debere  
eum finire dolorem  
ac restituere patriae suae non tantum animum sed etiam uoltum, qui
- 132** publicae felicitati conueniret; item, senatum laudare magnopere Iuliae  
Aug(ustae)  
Drusiq(ue) Caesaris moderationem, imitantium principis nostri  
iustitiam, quos  
animaduertere{t} hunc ordinem non maiorem pietatem in  
Germanicum  
quam aequitatem in seruandis integris iudicis suis, donec de causa Cn.  
Pisonis
- 136** patris cognosceretur, praestitisse; ceterorum quoq(ue) contingentium  
Germanicum  
Caesarem necessitudine magnopere probare† Agrippinae, quam  
senatui memoriam  
Diui Aug(usti), cui fuisset probatissima, et uiri Germanici, cum quo  
unica concordia uixis-  
set, et tot pignora edita partu felicissimo eorum, qui superessent,  
commendare;
- 140** itemq(ue) Antoniae Germanici Caesaris matris, quae unum  
matrimonium Dru-

- si Germ(anici) patris experta sanctitate morum dignam se Diuo Aug(usto) tam arta propin-  
 quitate exhibuerit, et Liuiiae, sororis Germ(anici) Caesar(is), de qua  
 optume et auia sua et  
 socer idem patruos, princeps noster, iudicare<n>t, quorum iudicis,  
 etiam si non contin-  
**144** gere{n}t domum eorum, merito gloriari posset, nedum tam coniunctis  
 necessitu-  
 dinibus inligata femina, quarum aeq(ue) et dolorem fidelissimum et  
 in dolore  
 moderatione<m> senatum probare; (*vacat*) item quod filiorum  
 Germanici puerilis et  
 praecipue in Nerone{m} Caesare{m} iam etiam iu<u>eni<li>s dolor  
 amisso patre tali  
**148** itemq(ue) fratris Ti. Germ(anici) Caesar(is) non excesserit modum  
 probabilem, iudicare sena-  
 tum referendum quidem esse acceptum maxume disciplinae aut  
 morum et  
 patruum et Iuliae Aug(ustae), sed tamen ipsorum quoque nomine  
 laudandum existu-  
 mare{t}; (*vacat*) item equestris ordinis curam et industriam unice  
 senatui probari,  
**152** quod fideliter intellexisset, quanta res et quam ad omnium salutem  
 pietatemq(ue)  
 pertinens ageretur, et quod frequentibus adclamationibus adfectum  
 animi sui  
 et dolorem de principis nostri filiq(ue) eius iniuris ac pro r(e)  
 p(ublica) utilitate<m> testatus sit.  
 plebem quoq(ue) laudare senatum, quod cum equestri ordine  
 consenserit pietatemq(ue)  
**156** suam erga principem nostrum memoriamq(ue) filii eius significauerit,  
 et cum  
 effusissimis studiis ad repraesentandam poenam Cn. Pisonis patris ab  
 semet ipsa  
 accensa esset, regi tamen exemplo equestris ordinis a principe nostro  
 se passa sit;  
 item senatum probare eorum militum fidem, quorum animi frustra  
 sollicita-  
**160** ti essent scelere Cn. Pisonis patris omnesq(ue) qui sub auspiciis et  
 imperio principis

- nostri milites essent, quam fidem pietatemq(ue) domui Aug(ustae)  
pararent, eam sperare  
perpetuo praestaturos; cum scirent, salutem imperi nostri in eius  
domu<s> custo-  
dia<m> posita<m> esse{t}, senatum arbitrari eorum curae atq(ue)  
offici esse, ut apud eos ii,  
164 qui quandoq(ue) ei<s> pra<e>essent, plurimum auctoritatis  
<habent>, qui fidelissima pietate  
salutare huic urbi imperioq(ue) p(opuli) R(omani) nomen Caesarum  
coluissent. et quo facilius  
totius actae rei ordo posterorum memoriae tradi posset atque hi scire,  
quid et  
de singulari moderatione Germ(anici) Caesa(ris) et de sceleribus Cn.  
Pisonis patris  
168 senatus iudicasset placere uti oratio quam recitasset princeps noster,  
itemq(ue) haec senatus consulta, in {h}aere incisa, quo loco Ti.  
Caes(ari) Aug(usto) uide-  
retur, ponere<n>tur, utiq(ue) hoc s(enatus) c(onsultum) in cuiusque  
prouincia celeberrima{e}  
urbe eiusque{i} urbis celeberrimo loco in aere incisum figere-  
172 tur, itemq(ue) hoc s(enatus) c(onsultum) in hibernis cuiusq(ue)  
legionis at signa figeretur. censu-  
erunt. in senatu fuerunt (trecenti et unus). hoc s(enatus) c(onsultum)  
factum est per relationem solum.  
Ti. Caesar Aug(ustus) trib(unicia) potestate (uicesimo secundo) manu  
mea scripsi: uellem h(oc) s(enatus) c(onsultum), quod  
e<s>t factum (ante diem quartam) idus Decem(bres) (*vacat*) Cotta et  
Messalla co(n)s(ulibus) referente me scri-  
176 ptum manu Auli q(uaestoris) mei in tabellis (quattuordecim) referri  
in tabulas pub<l>icas.

**RS 38:** The Funeral Honors for the Younger Drusus (A.D. 23)

From M. H. Crawford, ed., *Roman Statutes*, BICS Suppl. 64 (London: Institute of Classical Studies, 1996), no. 38.

*fr. a*

- 1 [--- ne]ue quas ciuium Romanoru[m ---]  
[---neu]e ludos fieri aliudue quod s[---]  
[---Rom]anos circienses fieri sole[---]

- 4 [--- p]oneretur inque eo hoc s(enatus) [c(onsultum)---]  
 [--- ]arbitrari pontifices f[---]  
 [---s]ollemnibus in circum [---]  
 [---] consuetudinem cele[---]
- 8 [---si qu]id pontifices, aug(ures), X[Vviri---]  
 [---de]creuissent [---]  
 [---]t itaq(ue) p[---]  
 [---]su[---]

*fr. b and c, col. i*

- 1 [--- pa]tris sui  
 [--- Dru]si Caesaris in cur-  
 [ru ---] Caesaris Augusti
- 4 [--- re]m diuinam paren-  
 [talibus ---] (*vacat*)  
 [---p]rinceps autem nos-  
 [ter --- com]proba]uerit studium
- 8 [---p]lacere uti statua eques-  
 [tris --- n]ostro uideretur (*vacat*)  
 [---G]ermanici Caesaris d[e]di[c]a-  
 [---Germani]ci patru*i eius* (*vacat*)
- 12 [---]ur in tribunali marmoreo  
 [---] (*vacat*)  
 [---]s poneretur quo loco Ti(berio)  
 [---] (*vacat*)
- 16 [---]quam ipsa aedificasset  
 [--- ]uo loco in quo  
 [---] Caesaris  
 [---] (*vacat*)
- 20 [---] et statua  
 [---] (*vacat*)  
 [---]us eius

*fr. b, col. ii*

- 1 iii[---]  
 cuiu[s---]  
 habitu m[ilitari ---]
- 4 temporis u[---]  
 equestris quoq(ue) o[rdinis ---]

- lem dolorem pub[licum ----]  
 nendi plurimos et m[aximos ----]
- 8 Drusi Caesaris conser[uaandam ----]  
 Caesaris in Lupercali p[oneretur ----]  
 utique clupeus argenteus c[---- transuehe-]  
 rentur idib(us) Iul(iis) cum titul[o ----]
- 12 esse Druso Caesari Ti(berii) Caesa[ris ----]  
 utique omnibus [t]heatris [----]  
 Caesaris nomina i[nscripta ----]  
 plebis quoq(ue) urbanae aeq[ue ----]
- 16 ritatem quae nihil ri[----]  
 ta modumq(ue) tempor[----]  
 plebi urbana[e ----]  
 quam s[----]
- 20 i[----]

**RS 38: *Tabula Ilicitana***

- 1 [----item]q(ue) tabellas c[eratas----]  
 [----t]abulas dealbatas in [----]  
 [----p]ossint ponendas curet; [----]
- 4 [---- suffragi]um laturi erunt sede[ntium----]  
 [----German]ici Caesaris suffrag[ium----]  
 [----pila]s quam maxime a[equatas ----]  
 [----] sortiri qui sen[atores----]
- 8 [----pri]mas qu[ae----]  
 [----]  
 [----]  
 [----]
- 12 [----]  
 [----]  
 [----]a[----]  
 [----s]ors [----]
- 16 [----] qui ex ea [----]  
 [----] ferre iube[at----]  
 [----t]ribu uocet eq[uites----]  
 [----e]t alteram tri[bum----]
- 20 [----c]istam in qu[am----]