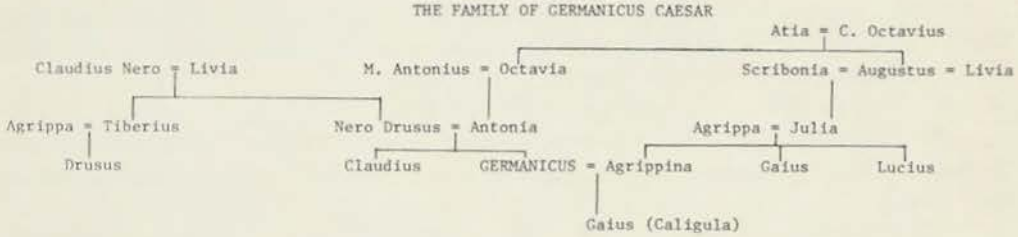
THE FAMILY OF GERMANICUS CAESAR



A SON SETS IN THE EAST: GERMANICUS'S COMMAND 17-19 A.D.

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Power in the Roman Empire was a highly personalized thing. What modern scholars call the beginning of the Empire in 27 B.C. its founder, Augustus, called the "restoration of the Republic" after the civil wars of Caesar and Antony.[1] In fact the unquestioned head of a growing Empire, the Emperor was in law no more than a Republican magistrate with unusually broad powers, which could be delegated but not inherited and which were, theoretically, revocable by the Senate.[2] Later Emperors followed Augustus's lead in maintaining this fiction; his successor Tiberius was formally granted the various powers of the Emperorship upon his accession in 14 A.D.[3] And, as in the Republic, these "Republican magistrates" were given no formal staff to help with their multitude of responsibilities; they were expected to use their friends and families as aides and diplomats.[4]

Given this lack of a stable civil service it is not suprising that the Emperors often experienced difficulty in finding loyal and competent men to carry out delicate and difficult missions overseas. Able military men were often seen as a threat to the Emperor's position, as were popular Senators.[5] When possible, Augustus had sent members of his own family as his representatives in the Eastern Provinces—a policy that Tiberius continued. Both the latter's adopted son, Germanicus, and his natural son, Drusus, were sent on military missions in the north immediately upon the new Emperor's accession. Germanicus won a great deal of fame during his campaigns in Germany and in 17 A.D. Tiberius elected to send him on a diplomatic mission to Armenia, even though the prince was considered by some to be one of the greatest threats to Tiberius's principate.

The personality of the young Germanicus has always aroused interest. Those modern scholars who like to read the historian Tacitus's *Annales* as an exercise in dramatic construction[6] find that identifying heroes to oppose the tyranny of the emperors can be a problem. In the early years of Tiberius's reign, however, Germanicus has always stood forth. He stands for all that is true and noble against the shams and duplicity of his adoptive father. While some recent scholars tend to take a more balanced view of the young man,[7] there is no question that among the Romans of his own time and those who wrote of his time, he was a popular figure. Both Tacitus and the biographer Suetonius compared him favorably with Tiberius. Tacitus, in particular, made both his handling of the revolt of the troops after the death of Augustus (*Ann.* 1.34) and his

German campaigns (*Ann.* 1.57 ff.) seem like great victories, although the former was achieved by little more than submission to the mutineers's demands, and the latter consisted mostly of unauthorized raids on small groups of tribesmen.[8] Germanicus's adoptive brother Drusus, on the other hand, who was also sent out to quell a revolt by the troops after Augustus's death, receives almost no space from Tacitus, although his handling of the situation was far more in keeping with Roman tradition than was Germanicus's (*Ann.* 1.29). Similarly, his command in Illyricum is mentioned only in passing and only because it bore on Germanicus's movements in the area (*Ann.* 3.7; 3.11).[9]

Later this figure of Germanicus as the victorious hero was encouraged and maintained by imperial propaganda. When, many years later, for instance, the Emperor Gaius (Caligula) minted coins showing his father Germanicus, they showed a figure in military dress, riding in a chariot adorned with a figure of Victory, and carried on the reverse the legend SIGNIS RECEPT(is) DEVICTIS GERM.[10] ("Military standards received from the conquered Germans.") Nor was this simply a later development; in the reign of Tiberius the people of the Peloponnesian city of Gythium asked for permission to set up a cult to the imperial family and specified that one day of the celebrations be devoted to the Nike (Victory) of Germanicus.[11] He was unquestionably one of the more popular figures of his time.

Within the Imperial family in his own lifetime, however, Germanicus was not as popular. Tiberius had been forced by Augustus to adopt Germanicus when the boy was eleven (26 June, 4 B.C.), although he already had a nine year old son of his own, Drusus. Politically, the adopted son was given preference over the natural son during Augustus's lifetime; he was made consul in 12 A.D., when he was 26. Drusus did not hold his first consulship until the year after the death of Augustus, 15 A.D., when he was 27. It cannot be argued that Drusus was too young to have been consul before Augustus died; Gaius Caesar, the grandson of Augustus and, with his brother Lucius, the Emperor's original choice for an heir, had held his first consulship when he was only 20.[12] At the very least, allowing for the age difference between Germanicus and Drusus, the latter should have expected to hold the consulship in 14 A.D. Instead, the consuls of that year were Sextus Pompey and Sextus Appuleius (Suet. *Aug.* 100)—men of good family but otherwise undistinguished. Augustus's preference for Germanicus was understandable from a family standpoint, since the young Drusus was only a connection by marriage while Germanicus was related to the family of the Julians through his mother, Antonia Minor; he was Augustus's grand-nephew. As a way of strengthening that tie, Germanicus was married soon after his adoption to Vipsania Agrippina, the daughter of Augustus's daughter Julia and his good friend M. Agrippa.[13]

However good the dynastic reasons for the adoption, however, Tiberius could not have helped but resent having to prefer his nephew to his son. After Augustus's death he gave them equal honors, as far as possible (commands in the

western provinces, consulships, etc.[14]), but there was still a definite difference between them. Tiberius was, above all, loyal to the memory of Augustus, and no doubt accepted the enforced adoption as a matter of course; he was to have his time as Emperor, but after his death the rule would pass to Augustus's designate, not his own.[15] Tacitus realized this tension and depicted Tiberius as constantly trying to get rid of Germanicus and undermining his authority; any mark of favor was labelled hypocrisy. But this again seems to be more a question of historical interpretation than of fact. Until Germanicus's visit to Egypt in 18 A.D., there were no firm instances of any clashes between him and the new Emperor.

Whatever Tiberius's personal feelings in the matter were, Augustus had clearly intended Germanicus as Tiberius's successor and Tiberius faithfully carried out his wishes. In 17 Germanicus was withdrawn from the German campaigns, summoned home to Rome where he was given a triumph, and became *consul ordinarius* for the year 18. Before he could enter into the consulship on 1 January—the ostensible reason for his recall (*Ann* 2.26)—however, Tiberius sent him off to the East. In fact, he finally entered his consulship while at Nicopolis (Actium) in Epirus on his way to Armenia. The mission to the East is one of the most interesting incidents in Germanicus's short life and serves to point up some of the difficulties the Julio-Claudian emperors encountered in trying to conduct business in the farther parts of the Empire.

Most scholars who have discussed this affair accept Tacitus's judgement that Tiberius sent Germanicus off to the East in order to be rid of him: "He decided to get rid of the young man under a guise of honoring him and invented a reason, or seized on one that was offered by chance" ("*amoliri iuvenem specie honoris statuit struxit causam aut forte oblatas arripuit*" *Ann.* 2.42). C. Mierow has even gone so far as to suggest that Germanicus was withdrawn from the German campaigns because he was becoming too popular with the troops.[16] All accept that Tacitus accurately represented the commission as *specie honoris*. Most of the story in Tacitus, however, is composed of just such innuendo, and in view of Tacitus's apparent bias in favor of Germanicus and against Tiberius, this should be treated with the greatest suspicion. There is, in fact, only one piece of hard evidence that Tacitus could use to support his claim, and that is the replacement of Creticus Silanus by Gnaeus Piso as governor of Syria just before Germanicus's journey. It is true that Silanus was a friend of Germanicus, and soon to be a relative by marriage,[17] but there is no proof that it was on this account that he was replaced in Syria for seven years and soon was due for replacement anyway.[18] Furthermore, if Piso was indeed chosen, as Tacitus would suggest, to serve as a restraining force on the young prince, he was a singularly bad choice. He was characterized as "violent by nature and ignorant of obedience" by Tacitus, who added that he was saddled with a wife even worse than himself (*Ann.* 2.43). This hardly seems like the sort of man an Emperor would want as a special agent in a sensitive undertaking. Yet Piso had led a distinguished career up to 17 A.D. As a friend of Tiberius he had served as the *consul ordinarius* of 7

B.C., with Tiberius himself as a colleague. This is all the more significant, perhaps, since in the following year Tiberius's rival in the succession, Gaius Caesar, was elected over official objections to serve with Augustus. The whole story seems like another case of Tacitean innuendo; Piso would reasonably expect a reward, such as the governorship of Syria, for his loyalty, but there is no good evidence that he was hostile to Germanicus or that he was in any way appointed to keep an eye on him.[19] At best, this is a reading back from the reaction that followed upon Germanicus's death.

On the other side of the ledger, there is equal, if not greater proof that Tiberius did indeed intend to honor Germanicus by this mission to the East. In 17, in addition to the triumph (for minimal cause, as we have seen), Tiberius also gave 300 HS to each Roman in Germanicus's name as well as his own (*Ann.* 2.42). Despite Tacitus's snide comment on that fact, it is hard to see the donative as anything but a sincere gesture on the part of Tiberius. Similarly, when problems arose in Armenia, Tiberius took the opportunity to enlarge Germanicus's experience in diplomatic affairs by sending him to be the Roman representative on the scene, with the authority to compose things as he saw fit.

It is useful to look at the terms of this commission. Tacitus said that Germanicus was given the *"provinciae quae mari dividuntur, maiusque imperium quoque adisset, quam iis qui sorte aut missu principis obtinerent"* ("the provinces which are separated [from Rome] by the sea, and he [Tiberius] added also *imperium* greater than those to whom the provinces had been given by lot or the appointment of the Emperor" *Ann.* 2.34). The statement that the imperial legate had *maius imperium* over the regularly appointed governors should cause no suprise when one considers that he was sent out as an extraordinary legate of the Emperor on a special mission. The description of the scope of his commission is more unusual. It is not official terminology; if Tacitus got his information from an official source he must have changed the wording. Another description of the extent of the command is given, apparently by Germanicus himself, in a speech to the Alexandrians (*P. Oxy.* No. 2435). There he said that he was sent *"epi to katastesasthai tais peran thalases eparchiais"* ("to regulate the provinces on the far side of the sea." 1.10). This is the Greek equivalent of the Latin term *provinciae transmarinae*,[20] which is usually held to include all of Greece, Asia, the mid-East, including Syria (Germanicus, therefore, had *imperium* greater than that of Piso), and Egypt. Tiberius acquiesced in Germanicus's doings in all but the last of these and did not seem to have been at all disturbed that Germanicus spent so long in getting to Armenia.

Although Germanicus was being sent to handle a potentially military situation, he seemed in no great hurry to leave. Both he and Drusus, the recently designated governor of Illyricum, stayed in Rome long enough to campaign for the election of Haterius Agrippa for praetor. (This was an interim election to fill a sudden vacancy, and should not be taken as implying that they were in Rome as late as June/July, when elections would normally be held.) Tiberius stayed

out of the election and allowed Agrippa to be chosen, even though (or perhaps because) he was a relative of Germanicus.[21] Drusus then set off for Illyricum, and Germanicus must have left after him, since we know he visited Drusus in Dalmatia on his way to Greece (*Ann.* 2.53). The young legate then made a leisurely journey down the coast and arrived at Nicopolis by the first of January, when he entered into his second consulship. This was surely by design: Nicopolis and Actium, as the scene of Augustus's final defeat of Antony, were both so significant to the Julio-Claudians that a more symbolic place could hardly have been found, short of going back to Rome.[22] After leaving Nicopolis, he took a long tour of the Eastern provinces; Tacitus provided an itinerary of the trip which is perhaps more notable for its omissions than its contents.

According to Tacitus, Germanicus first went to Greece, to Lesbos, and sailed up through the Hellespont into Propontis "because of a desire to see the old and celebrated sites," and, returning, sailed down the Asia Minor coast, stopping at various historical and religious shrines, which Tacitus enumerated. Finally he reached Rhodes, where he met with Piso, who was apparently away from his province. Then, reminded of his job, he proceeded as quickly as possible to Armenia (*Ann.* 2.54-55). Tacitus made the first part of this trip sound so much like a typical tourist's route that one might almost conclude that such was the purpose, were it not for one brief sentence that Tacitus dropped into the middle of his recital: "Also, he restored provinces exhausted by civil war or the injuries inflicted by their magistrates" (*Ann.* 2.55). This was probably closer to Germanicus's real purpose during this trip.

If we look at Germanicus's route with the political map of the Empire in mind, we can see that the same roundabout journey described in Tacitus would also include the major political centers in Greece and Asia: Athens, Nicomedia, and Ephesus among them—cities which Tacitus failed to mention. One can assume that it was actually to visit these places that Germanicus took such a circuitous route to Armenia. Such a diplomatic tour had ample precedent. As early as 32 B.C. M. Agrippa had been sent as a proconsul on a diplomatic mission to the East. He returned to Rome two years later, only to be sent out again in 16 B.C. Both trips were marked by diplomatic, rather than military successes, and seem to have been intended primarily to maintain a strong Roman presence in the area. On both these trips we know that Agrippa visited Athens and Syria.[23] Even more instructive is the mission of Gaius Caesar to the East in 2 B.C. As Germanicus would later, Gaius took office as consul for 1 B.C. while on the mission (probably in Syria), and made a major tour of the East, including Egypt, before continuing to Armenia.[24] In neither case was the assignment considered a form of temporary relegation; on the contrary, it was a mark of the highest honor and trust. It was probably to avoid these parallels that Tacitus replaced the usual *transmarinae provinciae* (the term used to describe Agrippa's command; Dio uses the Greek equivalent to speak of Gaius's) with the rather awkward periphrasis of *provinciae quae mari dividuntur*. Tacitus was concerned with

obscuring the fact that Tiberius had given Germanicus the same command that Augustus had given to Agrippa and Gaius, since this command could, in that case, be seen only as a mark of favor.

Evidence that Germanicus's circuitous journey had a political, as well as a military function, is also provided by an inscription from Palmyra inscribed around 137 A.D.[25] It provides good evidence for the existence of Roman control in the area as early as 19 A.D. The inscription deals with various trade tariffs, and at least one was established by the authority of Germanicus Caesar. The only possible date for this would be the journey of 18/19. Germanicus did not necessarily *visit* Palmyra—in fact, the decree states that his opinion was contained in a letter he wrote to one Statilius (otherwise unknown)—but it is clear that he took an interest in the affairs of the provinces he visited, even when the province was Piso's.

When Germanicus finally arrived in Armenia, the troubles were quickly ended without bloodshed, and he capitalized on the peaceful situation to continue his eastern tour. He certainly stopped at Antiochia; it was probably from there that he sent his letter to Palmyra. The next part of his trip, the tour of Egypt, is the most disputed and, ironically, the best-documented part of his eastern tour. Debate has centered not only around his reasons for going, but also on whether he had any right to enter the province at all. Once again, our only connected source is Tacitus, and his explanation has a familiar ring to it: "Germanicus went to visit the antiquities. But he pretended a concern for the province . . ." (*Ann.* 2.59). As with the whole trip, Tacitus played down the prince's political functions; *usurpit* is the word he used to describe Germanicus's gaining of popular favor when he opened the granaries in Alexandria to relieve the famine current in the city. Since we have seen Tacitus use this device before to mislead us about the real nature of Germanicus's business, we ought to be doubly careful when he does it again here. Yet once again modern scholars tend to take Tacitus at face value. "[Germanicus] paid a visit to Egypt, where he entertained himself with the sight of its wonders and antiquities," says F.B. Marsh.[26] Yet at least three sources survive which suggest that Germanicus's visit was an official one.

First, as we have noted, Tacitus told us that Germanicus opened the granaries. But the Egyptian wheat supply, collected at Alexandria for shipment to Rome, was one of the most closely guarded possessions of the Imperial government. Rome was completely dependent on the Egyptian wheat supply and it is inconceivable that Germanicus could have gotten access to it without proper authorization. He doubtless used his *maius imperium* for this purpose, which would indicate that there was no doubt at that point that his command included Egypt, just as Gaius's had. Furthermore, while Tiberius is said to have objected to Germanicus's visit to Egypt (*Ann.* 2.59), he does not seem to have objected to the grain distribution. Such distributions were, of course, strictly an imperial prerogative, indicating again that Germanicus thought that his actions had legal backing.

Second, a letter of the Emperor Claudius to the Alexandrians,dating from 41 A.D., mentioned that his brother Germanicus had once spoken to them.[27] The letter is addressed to the city of Alexandria in general, so it is not clear precisely to whom Germanicus delivered his speech, but whether it was to the *gerousia* or to some sort of public assembly, the verb used (*prosagoreuo*) would seem to indicate some sort of formal occasion. Again, this indicates an official's visit, not a tourist's.

The third, and perhaps most convincing, piece of evidence is the transcript of a speech of Germanicus to the Alexandrians, which is apparently not the same one that Claudius mentioned. In the transcript the *exegete* said: "I have given the Imperator [Tiberius] both decrees" and Germanicus responded that he had been sent *by Tiberius* to regulate the affairs of the province.[28] This speech apparently did not take place in a formal assembly, since Germanicus was constantly interrupted by shouts from the crowd. Lobel and Turner, in their commentary on this papyrus, point out that such organized demonstrations are not unknown – the best known example being Jesus's interrogation before Pilate – but their examples deal only with informal gatherings, not meetings of the *gerousia*.[29] Yet the mention of "decrees" (*psephismata*) indicates that the incident was in response to an official act by the Alexandrians, which normally required an equally official response. Most probably, Germanicus addressed the *gerousia* and was given the honorary decree he mentioned as having been "drawn up by a few men" (lines 26 ff.) and then went outside to speak to the crowd, after an introduction from the *exegete*.

While he was at first pleased by the crowd's acclamations, Germanicus later found it politic to refuse some of the more fulsome honors decreed to him.[30] Both L.R. Taylor and M.P. Charlesworth point out that the language of Germanicus's refusal particularly of cultic honors parallels that of similar refusals by Tiberius and Claudius so closely that it could almost be considered formulaic.[31] Yet this refusal is extraordinary, not so much in itself as in the fact that it indicates that divine honors were being proposed for a member of the Imperial house other than the Emperor without the Emperor himself being included in the honors.[32] The Alexandrians can hardly have been in doubt about the ultimate fate of their offer of divine honors to Germanicus – the Imperial position on such things was clear – but the honor lay in the offer, not the acceptance. Throughout his trip Germanicus had taken pains to win the favor of the crowd by his modest, unassuming ways and the fairness of his dealings; an edict of his survives, in fact, that instructed his agents to pay for whatever gear and lodging they need.[33] Tiberius, we are told, had objected somewhat to Germanicus's manner and dress (he went around in civilian, rather than military clothes; *Ann.* 2.59), but when the news of developments in Alexandria reached him, he realized that Germanicus was becoming too popular. It is likely that it was at this point that Tiberius began having strenuous objections to Germanicus's trip to Egypt.

By the time Tiberius learned what was happening, however, Germanicus had already been in Alexandria for at least three weeks and had set off on his trip up the Nile, probably to visit the other administrative centers of the province.[34] He was perfectly unconscious of the furor he was causing, not, as Tacitus would have us believe, because he was a political innocent (*Ann.* 2.60-61), but because he knew he had done nothing wrong. Tacitus said that Tiberius was upset because Germanicus should have asked for special permission to enter Egypt, according to Augustus's old rule. But was that really the reason, or was it merely an excuse to cover up what Tiberius now saw as a political blunder on his part?

The edict of Augustus forbidding Senators to enter Egypt without special permission is well-known,[35] although the actual date of its promulgation is uncertain. It could not have been before 29 B.C. (J.G. Milne dates it to 24/21 B.C.,[36]) but an even more likely date is 10 B.C., when Egyptian documents began to be dated regularly by Imperial regnal years.[37] This change certainly argues that some change had taken place in the status of the province – perhaps Augustus's new edict, which put it more firmly under direct Imperial control. The first mention of the regulation is the passage of Tacitus mentioned above (*Ann.* 2.59). Whatever the exact date of the *institutum Augusti*, however, it was unquestionably in force by 19 A.D. The real question is, did Germanicus have the authority to enter Egypt under the terms of his *imperium maius* or did he overstep his authority? Tacitus would have us believe the latter, but there is evidence against such a conclusion.

Traffic in and out of the port of Alexandria was very strictly controlled; it was necessary to have a pass to sail from Alexandria to Rome or vice versa. We know from the *Gnomon* of the Idiologus that the enforcement of this rule was the responsibility of the prefect, and another article of the same document recorded that a Roman who had departed without proper authorization had been fined.[38] Yet with all this safeguarding of the port, the prefect of Egypt, C. Galerius, not only allowed Germanicus to enter the city of Alexandria without special authorization (he could hardly have done less for an important member of the Imperial family), but also allowed him to address the *gerousia*, open the granaries, and continue his trip up the Nile. Even more significantly, he received not a hint of censure from Tiberius for allowing all this. Galerius was at this time in the second or third year of his prefecture and he went on to hold this position for an unprecedented thirteen more years.[39] Tiberius, to be sure, generally allowed his magistrates relatively long terms of office, but sixteen years was still very unusual and argues that Galerius was an exceptionally competent and trustworthy official, especially in a sensitive area like Egypt.[40] This hardly agrees with the hypothesis that he let an unauthorized Senator not only enter the city but also conduct public business and tamper with the precious grain supply.

The other side of this argument should also be considered. Since we cannot be sure of the date of the *institutum Augusti* it is not clear whether it would have affected Agrippa's second mission in 16 B.C., but Gaius's mission – one of the models for Germanicus's – did include Egypt. Furthermore, it is certainly true that Germanicus would not have entered Egypt unless he at least thought he had the proper authorization. Nor is it credible that, as R. Seager suggests,[41] it was a simple misunderstanding between Germanicus and Tiberius over the extent of the commission. This was no emergency measure, hastily drafted and misunderstood; both parties had ample time to discuss it before Germanicus ever left Rome. In addition, Germanicus had an obvious reason for wanting to visit Egypt. He had large land-holdings there which he certainly would have wanted to visit while he was in the area.[42] Tiberius knew this; surely the status of Egypt would have come up between them in the discussions of the trip. Germanicus would never have crossed Tiberius's wishes in such a matter, and certainly not in the spectacular manner that his official acts would indicate. To do so would have amounted to open defiance. Furthermore, since Tiberius had sent Germanicus with a message to the Alexandrians, he obviously expected the prince to go to Egypt.[43]

For his own part, Germanicus had never shown anything but complete loyalty to Tiberius, as Tacitus was at pains to point out (*Ann.* 1.34) and most scholars agree,[44] but such acclaim being showered on anyone so highly placed could only be seen as a threat. Tiberius could only react by censuring Germanicus for acting without authorization and ordering his actions nullified. Tacitus seems to have attributed this decision to Piso, by remarking that there were hard words between them when Germanicus found out what had happened. But the actual instructions must have come from the Emperor himself, since Piso could not have overridden Germanicus's *imperium maius*; in fact, Piso's role was probably no more than a transmitter of information to Rome.[45] Nor would the cities have been likely to reverse the popular decrees of the prince without orders from a higher authority. Tiberius realized his mistake – he had little confidence in Germanicus's diplomatic abilities, as F. de Visscher says,[46] and was caught completely off-guard by his unexpected success. The heir-apparent, having established himself with the legions in the west, was now becoming too popular in the east and had to be checked. Since neither popularity nor censure was the original intent of the mission, the awkwardness of the sudden reversal in Tiberius's policy left its mark on our sources, where Tacitus's account is not entirely supported by the contemporary reports. As soon as we discard the idea that Tiberius's policy was unchanging, the contradictions are resolved.

Once we transcend Tacitus's slanted view of the episode, then, there is nothing at all sinister about Germanicus's trip to the East. In sending him, Tiberius followed the example of Augustus, who had sent his own heirs on similar missions. These trips were intended to familiarize the men with the problems of the Eastern half of the Empire and at the same time to provide a

strong Imperial presence in the area. But because Germanicus was unexpectedly popular in this role, particularly in the sensitive area of Egypt, Tiberius found it necessary to recall him and try to dispell some of the prestige Germanicus had gained.[47] This he did by reversing his ground and accusing Germanicus of acting without authorization in entering Egypt. Later Emperors took note of the problem inherent in giving large grants of power to subordinates and many chose, like Hadrian, to go to the East themselves when necessary. Augustus had been able to control his delegates, but never again did Emperors feel secure enough to be able to take that chance.

Notes

1. *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* 6.1: *nullam magistratum contra morem maiorem delatum recepi* ("I accepted no office offered contrary to the customs of our ancestors") and 35.3: *postestatis autem nihilo amplius habui quam ceteri qui mihi quoque in magistratu conlegae fuerunt* ("I held no power than others who were my colleagues in various offices"). The phrase *res publica restituta* is not Augustan, although it is used as such today. It first appears on the coinage of the civil war of 69 A.D. (H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum* v. I, "Civil War" no.7,8). For an interesting, but inconclusive discussion of the phrase, see E.A. Judge, *"Res Publica Restituta.* A Modern Illusion?" *Polis and Imperium: Studies in Honor of Edward Togo Salmon* (1974), 279-311.

(All notes to the text follow the format outlined in"Notes for Contributors," *American Journal of Archaeology* 80 (1976), 1-8. Ancient authors are cited according to the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*[2] (1970) and all translations are my own.)

2. J.P. Adams, "The Roman Imperial Army in the East: Social and Governmental Problems," *The Ancient World* 2 (1979), 129-131.

3. As heir apparent, Tiberius already held some of the offices normally conferred on the Emperor: he was saluted as *Imperator* in 9 B.C., 8 B.C., 6 A.D.,10,11, and 14; he was consul twice before 14 and censor (with Augustus) in 14. But it was not until the death of Augustus that he assumed the tribunician power and the title *Augustus.*

4. The Emperor did have the *consilium principis* an advisory group of Senators (and later equestrians) (J. Crook, *Consilium Principis* [1955]) and later in the Empire a type of civil service did develop to staff the government (H. Mattingly, *The Imperial Civil Service of Rome* [19100]; R. MacMullen, "Imperial Bureaucrats in the Roman Provinces," *HSCP* 68 (1910), 305-316). Theoretically, however, these jobs were still imperial patronage posts.

5. Among military men one might note the case of Domitius Corbulo, who was appointed by Nero in 55 to handle a Parthian threat, but was so hemmed in by restrictions on his power that he had difficulties prosecuting the war (Tacitus, *Ann.* 13.35, 14.23, 15.24). An extreme example of a Senatorial threat, also under Nero, is of course, the famous Conspiracy of Piso in 65 (Tac. *Ann.* 15.48 ff.).

6. See, among others, B. Walker, *The Annals of Tacitus* (1952), pp. 110 ff.; R. Syme, *Tacitus* (1958), I. pp. 254 ff.; S.G. Daitz,"Tacitus' Technique of Character Portrayal," *AJP* 81 (1960), 30 ff.; D.C. Shotter, "Tacitus, Tiberius, and Germanicus," *Historia* 17 (1968), 194-213 (hereafter: Shotter).

7. For a general overview of modern scholarship, see A. Garzetti, *From Tiberius to the Antonines* (trans. J.R. Foster, 1974), pp. 572-576, and Garzetti's excellent bibliographies.

8. Shotter, 200-201. See also H. Furneaux, *The Annals of Tacitus*, I (1896), p. 248; C. Mierow, "Germanicus Caesar Imperator," *CJ* 39 (1943/44), 140-144.

9. This would seem actually to be Drusus's second tour of duty in Illyricum. Tacitus mentions that he was sent there once before (*Ann.* 2.44) but the ensuing narrative indicates that he was a member of Tiberius's staff, not an independent commander.

10. Robertson, *Coins in the Hunter Coin Cabinet*, I, no. 37 under *Gaius* (plate 14). A bronze Dupondis.

Obverse: GERMANICUS CAESAR (Germanicus wearing a paludamentum, standing in a chariot. Figure of Victory in chariot, r.)

Reverse: SIGNIS DEVICTIS S C RECEPT GERM C (Germanicus in military garb, l.)

11. *SEG*, xi, 922-923, line 11. This inscription is usually dated to 15 A.D. – see L.R. Taylor, "Tiberius' Refusal of Divine Honors," *TAPA* LX (1929), 87; M. Rostovtzeff, "L'Empereur Tibere et le Culte Imperial," *Revue Historique* CLXIII (1930), 17 ff.

12. That Gaius and Lucius were intended as Augustus's heirs is shown not only by their rapid advancement in the political *cursus* (Gaius: consul designate in 5 B.C., consul in 1 A.D. at age 20; Lucius: consul designate in 2 B.C. for 4 A.D.) but also in Augustus's terse comment at the beginning of his will, "Since cruel fate has deprived me of my grandsons Gaius and Lucius, let Tiberius be my heir." (Gaius had died in 4 A.D., Lucius in 2 A.D.). Augustus had taken pains with the advancement of both boys, accepting the consulship in 5 B.C., when Gaius came of age (Gaius was elected as his colleague by popular demand, but the honor was deferred for five years) and again in 2 B.C., when Lucius came of age and adopted the *toga virilis*. Gaius and Lucius also appear on coins struck under Augustus: Simonetti, *Corpus Nummorum Romanorum* VIII, pp. 187-245.

13. On the family connections of Germanicus, see B. Levick, *Tiberius the Politician* (1976), pp. 49-51. She notes the political effects of the marriage to Agrippina, but seems to view both Germanicus and Drusus as co-equal heirs. This may have been Tiberius's idea, but it was clearly not Augustus's, as his advancement of Germanicus shows.

14. Consulships:

Germanicus: 12 A.D. (age 25) and 18 A.D. (age 29)
Drusus: 15 A.D. (age 27) and 21 A.D. (age 33)

Commands:

Germanicus: Germany (14-17); Eastern provinces (17-19)
Drusus: Pannonia (14-17); Illyricum (17-20)

It can be noted that all of Drusus's offices were held after Tiberius became Emperor, although Drusus may have been elected consul in the last month of Augustus's life. Each step was apparently planned to take place at three-year intervals, civil offices alternating with military. Both were also *sodales Augusti* but Germanicus was also given proconsular *imperium* while Drusus was not – one of the few distinctions between them (*Ann.* 1.14).

15. On Tiberius's willingness to follow Augustan precedent, see L.R. Taylor, "Tiberius's Refusal of Divine Honors," *TAPA* LX (1929), 97 and n. 36; Levick, *Tiberius the Politician*, pp. 48 ff.

16. C. Mierow, *CJ* 39, p. 143. This view is also defended by Shotter, 203-204. But it would seem from the comparison in assignments of Germanicus and Drusus (n.14, *supra*) that three years was the standard tour of duty for an imperial prince in the provinces.

17. Silanus's daughter was betrothed to Germanicus's son Nero (not the emperor) (Tac. *Ann.* 2.43). For his cursus, *PIR*^{2}, 2C, Caecilius no.64.

18. Robin Seager, *Tiberius* (1972), p. 98.

19. The role of Piso in the Germanicus affair has been emphasized by E. Koestermann, "Die Mission des Germanicus im Orient," *Historia* 7 (1958), 331-375. But even if Piso was guilty, as accused, of complicity in Germanicus's death, that is not evidence that he was appointed to keep an eye on him.

20. This is the normal usage (Seneca *Ep.* 17.3) and it is so translated by Lobel and Turner, *The Oxyrhyncus Papyri*, Part XXV (1959), p. 110.

21. On the connection between Haterius Agrippa and Germanicus, see *PIR*^{2} v. part 4 2, no.24, no.25.

22. Seager, *Tiberius*, p. 99, suggests that this may have been a deliberate insult on Germanicus's part, but this hardly seems likely. Shotter describes Germanicus's attitude as "almost neurotically trying to avoid doinganythingwhich might arouse the suspicions that he felt Tiberius had about him" (p. 203); this is perhaps a better, although exaggerated, description of Germanicus's attitude.

23. Koestermann, *Historia* 7, p. 333; D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (1950), pp. 468, 476-479. In his description of Bithynia, Pliny mentions the town of Agrippensis, doubtless founded by Agrippa on one of these journeys; the same passage mentions Germanicopolis, almost certainly named after Germanicus in 17/18. (Pliny, *H.N.* 5.143, 149; A.H.M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*^{2} (1971), p. 425 n.3).

24. Dio 55.10; Orosius 7.3.4: *"Gaium nepotem suum Caesar Augustus ad ordinandas Aegypti Syriaeque provincias misit"* ("Caesar Augustus sent his grandson Gaius to regulate the provinces of Egypt and Syria.") *Ordino* here cannot have its later technical meaning of "govern," as F.E. Romer has noted, but we cannot on that basis dismiss the information about a trip to Egypt entirely (F.E. Romer, "Gaius Caesar's Military Diplomacy in the East," *TAPA* 109 (1979), 204-208). It may well be a mistranslation of *katastesasthai* or some similar term that Orosius or one of his sources found in an official source. Other scholars have, on the whole, accepted Orosisu's account, *e.g.* R. Syme, *History in Ovid* (1978), p. 10.

25. *OGI* 629.

26. F.B. Marsh, *The Reign of Tiberius* (1958), p. 93. Similarly, Shotter, p. 206; Mierow, *CJ* 39, 147. Seager (*Tiberius* p. 103) recognizes the existence of an official motive but does not, I think, give it sufficient emphasis.

27. *P. Lond.* 1912, lines 26-27. The interpretation of the phase *"adelphos Germanikos Kaisar gnesioterais humas phonais prosagoreusas"* remains obscure, although the prevailing interpretation seems to be that it implies that Germanicus addressed them in person, rather than by letter. Hunt and Edgar (*Select Papyri* II, p. 81, n.'a'), on the other hand, suggest that the difference is that Germanicus spoke in Greek but Claudius wrote in Latin.

28. *P.Oxy.* no.2435, lines 1-10. *"epedok' auto autokratori amphotera psephismata"* and *"ego pemphtheis hupo patros epi to katastesasthi tais peran thalases eparchias."*

29. Lobel and Turner, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* XXV, pp. 110-111. While the Alexandrians did not have a *Boulé* (*P. Lond.* 1912, lines 66-68), they seem to have had some sort of council of elders or officials.

30. Sitzungber. Preuss. Ak. (1911), p. 796, lines 31-44 (Hunt and Edgar, *Select Papyri* no. 211).

31. Taylor, *TAPA* 60, 87-101; M.P. Charlesworth, "The Refusal of Divine Honors, an Augustan Formula," *Papers of the British School at Rome* XV (1939), 1-10.

32. For instance, in the Gythium Decree, days were also set aside for Tiberius, Julia, and Drusus. Tiberius took it upon himself to refuse on behalf of all except Julia. There is some evidence of cults of Julia Augusta (Livia) alone, but many, if not all, seem to be posthumous. At any rate, Julia Augusta, as the wife of the deified Emperor Augustus, was undoubtedly a special case among members of the imperial family. (See n. 11, *supra.*)

33. Hunt and Edgar, *Select Papyri* no. 211, lines 1-32.

34. Egypt was the most highly organized of the Roman provinces and while its nerve center was undoubtedly Alexandria there were still important centers of administration up the river – the nome capitals. Once Germanicus had set off he would be virtually lost to communication until he returned; messages, like people, had to travel by boat and that was a slow business.

35. For a general discussion, see A. Piganiol, "Le Statut Augusteen de L'Egypte et sa destruction," *Mus. Helv.* 10 (1953), 193-202.

36. J.G. Milne, "The Ruin of Egypt by Roman Mismanagement," *JRS* 17 (1927), 2 ff.

37. Documents dated by regnal years appear sporadically from 30 B.C. on, but the practice stabilizes around 10. On theories of the date of the regulation, Piagniol, *Mus. Helv.* 10 (1953), 193-195.

38. The *Gnomon* as we have it dates from the second century, but most of the statutes seem to be Augustan; these almost certainly are. (*Gnomon*=Hunt and Edgar, *Select Papyri,* no. 206, art. 64, 68).

39. R.S. Rogers, "The Prefects of Egypt under Tiberius," *TAPA* 72 (1941), 365-371. This long tenure for Galerius is not accepted by Reinmuth, *The Prefects of Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian*(1935), pp. 311 ff.; *cf* Stein, *Die Prafekten von Agypten in der Romischen Kaiserzeit* (1950), p. 25.

40. On Tiberius's preference for long tenure in office, see Marsh, *The Reign of Tiberius,* p. 228. Outside of Galerius, the average tenure of the prefects of Egypt under the Julio-Claudians is just over four years.

41. Seager, *Tiberius,* pp. 104-105.

42. M.I. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*^{2} (revised Fraser) (1597), p. 292.

43. See note 28, *supra.*

44. See, for example, Shotter, 203; bibliographies in Garzetti, *Tiberius to the Antonines,* pp. 33-43, 572-576.

45. Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.96. Later suspicion that Piso poisoned Germanicus no doubt stemmed from this argument, but its origin is not clear. Piso seems to have found his position growing intolerable, since he was making plans to leave Syria when Germanicus fell ill.

46. F. de Visscher, "Un Incident du Séjour de Germanicus en Egypte," *Le Museon* 59 (1946), 260. This lack of confidence was increased by Germanicus's poor handling of the Rhine crisis in 14.

47. Gaius had also proven extremely popular during his eastern tour, as the outpouring of grief at his death proved, but at 23 he was no threat to Augustus.