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The Greater Official Priests of Rome Under the Flavian-Antonine Emperors

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STEPHEN J. SIMON
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INTRODUCTION

Augustus, in establishing his new political order, took advantage of the Roman desire to return to a stabilized political system after a hundred years of civil war. To justify his political actions, it was necessary for

1 To the official priesthhoods and to Augustan religious revival:

Georg Wissowa, Religion und Kultus der Römer, München, G. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1912, pp. 73ff. Lily Ross Taylor states that Wissowa has been the indispensable handbook of Roman religion (CW, LIV, 1961, p. 217). Stefan Weinstock considers Wissowa's work an imposing edifice on Roman religion (JRS, LI, 1961, p. 206). Hereafter, Wissowa will be referred to as RR.

Lily Ross Taylor, The Divinity of the Roman Emperor, Middletown, Conn., American Philological Association, 1931.

W. Warde Fowler, The Religious Experience of the Roman People, London, Macmillan and Company, 1933, pp. 428ff. This book is one of the most influential studies on Roman religion in English.


Jean Beaujeu, "Religion in the Second Century A.D.," Bucknell Review, IV, no. 2, pp. 1-18, builds his evidence upon numismatic evidence. He asserts that the second-century emperors deliberately employed their coinage as an effective vehicle of policy and propaganda.

to embellish them with religious features.¹ His increased attention to
his outward expressions of Roman religion in the form of worship, the priestly
colleges, the construction and restoration of temples, and magnificent
festivals resulted in an alliance between the throne and altar. Religious and
diplomatic functions were always closely connected at Rome throughout her
history. The Roman magistrates were responsible for performing the major
sacrifices, while permanent religious duties were in the hands of groups of
priests organized into priestly colleges. In order that Augustus' new
political and religious system be maintained, it was necessary for the greater
priestly colleges, their functions, and prestige to be preserved by the
succeeding emperors. Thus, it was for political reasons that the eminence of
the greater priestly colleges was enhanced by Augustus.²

This study will investigate the known priests from 69 to 180 in the
attempt to understand how these priesthoods reflect official Roman religious
and political posture of the period. Therefore, various aspects of the
priestly institutions, such as the continuation of the greater priestly
functions; the process of cooptation into the colleges; the emperor's attitude
oward religion as mirrored by his position as chief pontiff and his criteria

¹ Rose, Ancient Roman Religion, op. cit., p. 255: "From early in his
career, the new monarch surrounded himself with a halo of religious
eration. . . . It was therefore in keeping with his position that one of
his principal tasks was to restore not only the ancient morality of his people
and their old and deep-seated respect for law and order, but their religion.
To this end he revived half-forgotten priesthoods, . . ." Nock, CAH, X, pp.
78-l79: "In this way Augustus gave visible expression to his ideals and
surrounded his rule with a religious nimbus. It is in a peculiarly Roman way
an alliance of the throne and the altar, and such an alliance means that the
altar is not at the time in question a political creation devoid of
ignificance." RRG, p. 295: "Die Politik des Augustus baute auf diesen
imungen auf." Also, RKR, pp. 73f.; Warde Fowler, Religious Experience, op.
it., p. 431.

² cf. Rose, Ancient Roman Religion, op. cit., p. 255; RRG, pp. 295ff.;
KR, pp. 73f.
for selection of new priests; and the qualifications of the men who were given a priestly position will be examined. Ultimately, the work will provide a comprehensive picture of Roman imperial religion, will elucidate the position of the priests in the political system, as well as the policy of the Flavian-Antonine emperors toward the priests of the greater priestly colleges.

Work done on the Priesthoods.

The official priesthoods of Rome have not received the attention they deserve. Carl Bardt, in 1871, did a detailed study of the priests in the four greater colleges for the period of the Republic. Paul Habel, in 1888, compiled the membership lists for the college of the pontifices during the imperial period, and, in his study, Habel centered on the position of the pontifex maximus, the priestly college and the imperial family, and the importance of the pontiffs in the Empire. The first detailed sacerdotal list to include members of the four greater colleges and the sodalitates for the imperial period was done by George Howe in 1904. Howe primarily used inscriptive evidence and did not consider literary sources for the era of study. In 1910, Alfred Klose, also, prepared an incomplete list of priests for the Republic. A recent work on the priestly colleges is Martha Hoffman

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2 P. Habel, De Pontificum Romanorum inde ab Augusto usque ad Aurelianum indicione publica, Breslau, Wilhelm Koebner, 1888.

3 G. Howe, Fasti sacerdotum P. R. publicorum aetatis imperatoriae, Leipzig, 1904, D. Halle.

Lewis' lists for the Julio-Claudian period. The latest opus is G. J. Szemler's study of the priests for the Roman Republic. In addition to the above works, Bruno Stech, Pierre Lambrechts, Werner Eck, and Mason Hammond.

1 Martha Hoffman Lewis, The Official Priests of Rome under the Julio-Claudians, Rome, 1955. Scholarly opinion of Hoffman Lewis differs. According to Chowen (AHA, LXIII, 1957, p. 656) "Professor Lewis has contributed greatly to our understanding of the ancient Roman priesthoods, the position of the priests in the nobility, and the policy of the emperors toward the priesthoods." Crook (CR, VII, 1957, pp. 72-73) and Echols (CJ, LIII, 1957, p. 43) support the intellectual achievement of the work. While, Gilliam (AJPh, LXXVII, 1957, pp. 444-447) declares, "There are reservations and objectives to be made, some of a general character and others on points of detail. . . . In this matter of placing priesthoods in careers, the author (Hoffman Lewis) in some instances has relied too much on the order of offices in inscriptions, reaching conclusions that are uncertain or improbable in varying degrees. The more important priesthoods were often listed out of chronological order. When a governor of Africa is described as consul, augur, proconsul, it is not safe to conclude that he became augur after his consulship even if earlier offices are listed chronologically." De Laet (Gnomon, XXVIII, 1956, pp. 545-546) has the same basic criticism. She does not comment on the priests' political importance nor the concept of religio.


4 Pierre Lambrechts, La composition du Senat romain de l'accession au trône d'Hadrien a la mort de Commode, Antwerp, 1936. Syme (JRS, XXVII, 1937, pp. 271-272) states, "It is evident that there must ever be many uncertainties arising from lack of evidence and inadequacy of historical criteria. Yet for all that, Dr. Lambrechts' conclusions though impaired a little, cannot be demolished." Gagé (REL, 1937, pp. 218-222) asserts, "Cette réserve faite, l'ouvrage de M. Lambrechts nous paraît utile et bien fait; et l'étude même, plus profonde, que nous souhaitons pour l'avenir, sur la classe sénatoriale du IIe siècle et sa véritable structure sociale, devra y prendre son point de départ et ses matériaux essentiels."


have provided us with studies of the known senatorial membership for the Flavian-Antonine era, which are of great value in the examination of the greater priestly careers.

Question of cooptation.

In the arrangement of the priestly lists attempt was made to pinpoint the date of cooptation. Often it is impossible to specify this date due to a lack of exact evidence. An endeavor will be made to establish the terminus post quem and the terminus ante quem for inauguration. Almost in each case, there are a number of fixed dates such as the date of consulship, which can be used, either as a terminus ante quem or as a date nearest to the possible


The consul lists of Josephus Klein, Fasti Consulares inde a Caesaris se usque ad imperium Diocletiani, Leipzig, 1891, and Attilio Degrassi, I Fasti Consulari dell' Impero Romano, Rome, 1952, have been used. Gordon (AJA, II, 1953, p. 242) states, "he (Degrassi) has brought to his task his stомary painstaking and scholarly workmanship and his broad prosopographical and epigraphical knowledge and experience." Syme (JRS, XLII, 1953, pp. 69ff.) declares, "About the quality of this volume, no words need be wasted, and it would be pointless to compliment a pupil of Bormann upon his vigilance and sagacity." Oliver (AJPh, LXXIV, 1953, p. 450) says, "He (Degrassi) is, of course, the foremost student of the list of consuls." For the Flavian-Antonine period Degrassi's lists have been published in M. McCrum and A. G. edhead, Select Documents of the Principates of the Flavian Emperors, ambridge, 1961; and E. Mary Smallwood, Documents Illustrating the Principates Nerva, Trajan, and Hadrian, Cambridge, 1966.
cooptation. If the date of death is known, this will determine with exactitude the end of the individual's priesthood. One must note that R. Syme and W. Eck assert that often inauguration into a sacerdotal college occurred about the time of a man's consulship.² It is, also, safe to conclude that a priest was elected under a certain emperor, when evidence establishes the fact that the priest held major offices of state under the same emperor.

The sources.

The main sources of Latin epigraphy for the greater priests during the Flavian-Antonine period are the Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL) edited by Theodor Mommsen and others, the Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae (IIS) edited by Hermann Dessau, and the L'année epigraphique (AE). Hermann Bengston emphasizes the historical importance of CIL in illuminating and deepening our knowledge of antiquity.² For the historian, one work besides the CIL itself is of basic importance. This is Hermann Dessau's IIS. According to F. Haverfield:

It (IIS) is based, as a very short use of it will convince anyone, on a singularly thorough acquaintance with the inscriptions which have formed the author's life study, admirably arranged, and accompanied by singularly helpful comments. Moreover, great pains have obviously been taken to secure accurate texts, and to bring all matters as far as possible up to date.³

IIS includes almost ten thousand inscriptions with a thorough commentary. The sources.

¹ Ronald Syme, Tacitus, vol. I, Oxford, The University Press, 1958, p. 2; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., p. 103, note 46; Eck, JRS, LVIII, p. 175, note 4. For priesthods just before or just after the consulship cf. Tac. Agr. X.7; IIS 1005, 1036, 1055, 8971. But, the career of P. Cornelius Tacitus (Vir 11) tends to disprove this theory. Tacitus was a quindecimvir before 9 and did not become consul until 97. Possibly his cooptation was an exception.


³ F. Haverfield, JRS, VII, 1917, p. 139.
AE is an annual conspectus of all the most important newly discovered Roman inscriptions. It was first published in 1888 and continues to the present day. The collections on Roman coinage by Henry Cohen,¹ Harold Mattingly,² and Edward Sydenham³ are also of great value.

The principal literary evidence is offered by G. Suetonius Tranquillus' Vitae Duodecim Caesarum, P. Cornelius Tacitus' Historiae and Annales, G. Plinius Caecilius Secundus' Epistulae, Cassius Dio Cocceianus' Historiae Augustae Scriptores. Suetonius was the private secretary of the emperor Hadrian, and he made the first attempt to describe the lives of the emperors from Julius Caesar to Domitian within the traditions of dynastic history. Nevertheless, Suetonius' history remains on the superficial level, because he mixed valuable historical information with trivial court gossip, and as a result his work leaves generally ambiguous impressions.⁴ In the Historiae, Tacitus recorded the events from 69 to the close of Domitian's reign, and, in the Annals, he covered the period of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. His history is composed in the traditional annalistic form, yet the work enshrines the historical ideas of Tacitus himself. He was averse to the


principate, but he recognized its role as necessary for law and order. One can only appreciate Tacitus' works if one understands them to be the political credo of a man who never fully accepted the Principate. Because of his pessimism, his histories do not do justice to the Empire and its values. The letters of Pliny the Younger present a rich and varied picture of life under the Empire. Hermann Bengtson states that the superiority of Greek historiography is clearly shown by the Roman history of Cassius Dio. Dio chose Livy, not Tacitus, as his model, and his eighty books trace the history of Rome from its beginnings to A.D. 229. The Scriptores Historiae Augustae claims to have been written during the age of Diocletian and Constantine, but it was a forgery written under Julian or Theodosius I. The work is made up of biographies of the emperors from Hadrian to Carus and his sons. These histories pose many still unsolved historical problems. In any case, scholars regard the lives as a popular work and not a product of historical thought.


2 Bengtson, Einführung, op. cit., p. 91; Syme, Tacitus, op. cit., pp. 77ff.


Nevertheless, with the proper foreknowledge, we can cautiously rely on them, especially on Tacitus and Cassius Dio.

CHAPTER I

RELIGIO, EMPEROR, AND IMPERIAL RELIGION

In the ensuing work, an attempt will be made to present a study of the Roman conception of religio and the authority of the emperor as pontifex maximus within the official imperial idea of religion.

Since the majority of authorities agree that the contemporary notion of religion does not correspond to the Latin religio, it is necessary to endeavor briefly to define the term. The chief feature of religio\(^1\) is the Roman belief that all the important processes in the world are divinely activated by 'spirits' or 'powers' (numina), which have their abodes in natural objects or localities, or are concerned functionally with natural processes or with definite activities. Numen\(^2\) is the word for this impersonal spirit or power, which is able to work in one place or another, this spirit or power is present wherever divine or sacred things are the object of consideration. It was originally attributed to the deities (the archaic gods were the personification of numina), but it was transferred, first to the senate and the populus Romanus, later to individuals. These 'spirits' or 'powers' are


regarded as having control in their special spheres of influence, and on their favor or displeasure depends the prosperity or ill-fortune of man. Thus, the object of Roman religio was to discover the correct procedure for securing the goodwill of the gods in making activities successful. Religious acts and ceremonies were not designed to please the divinities but to exercise coercive force upon the god to assist and cooperate with the individual or community in return for a promised compensation. Man could not hope to understand these 'spirits' or 'powers;' all that he could do was to hope to control and try to win the cooperation of these deities. G. J. Szemler states that "religio in the last centuries of the Republic was nothing more than ... commercium between gods and man."¹

During the Republic, religio could not be divorced from the civil government, because every major civil action taken place needed the manifested cooperation of the gods. The members of the greater priestly colleges held immense influence, since they acted as advisory or interpretative agents in the maintenance of the best relations between the divinities and the state.² Elevation to a priesthood invested the holder with considerable authority, which he could use or misuse for his individual political ambition. The abuse of such jurisdiction in the last century of the Republic is notorious; those who held the government in their hands kept and perpetuated religio as a political tool.³


²Szemler, "Religio, priesthoods," loc. cit., p. 119. The exact functions of the individual greater colleges will be treated in the next chapter.

³Warde Fowler, Religious Experience, op. cit.; p. 336; Dumézil, Archaic
The Emperor as Pontifex Maximus.

The pontifex maximus, as the head of the college of pontiffs, eventually emerged as the most important priest in Rome. During the Republic, the chief pontiff appointed the major flamines, the Vestal virgins, and the rex sacrorum. He, also, made public the authoritative decisions of the college. In matters which came within the limits of his jurisdiction, the pontifex maximus had the right to act as spokesman for the resolution of the whole college regarding piacula, vota publica, consecrationes, adoptions, wills, marriages, funeral rites, and the official calendar.

On March 6, 12 B.C., Augustus took the position of pontifex maximus, and the designation became a regular part of the imperial titulature. In Roman edicts, the title pontifex maximus always stood next to the title princeps. The functions of the chief pontiff gave the emperor authority to oversee the official religious activities of the state and to elevate priests. But most important, by combining the imperial office with the post of pontifex maximus, the emperor was able to oversee and control the religious life of the state.

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6RSR, II, p. 1109: "Die am Oberpontificat unmittelbar haftenden Erfugnisse, sowohl die Priesterernennungen wie insbesondere die Aufsicht über
of pontifex maximus, Augustus gave the empororship a degree of religious
vener,\(^1\) and the influence of the post could be used for political expediency.

The designation pontifex maximus was always given to the new emperor
after succession to the purple, not at succession.\(^2\) When there were two
principes, as Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, the chief pontifical post was
held by Marcus Aurelius, while Lucius Verus was simply a member of the
pontifical college.\(^3\) During the second century of the Empire, the authority
of the pontifex maximus continued to remain theoretically independent from the
power of the emperorship.\(^4\)

Imperial Religion.

The religious reforms of Augustus\(^5\) provide the basis on which Roman
religion developed during the imperial period until the time of the Antonines.
We did not allow religion to take on the manifestation of a Hellenistic ruler-
cult. In the West, Augustus saw to it that the cult moved along the lines of

\(^1\)Tbid.: "Wichtiger aber noch als diese war ohne Zweifel die religiöse
	Wehe, die die augustische Monarchie in der Personunion mit dem höchsten
	Priesterthum des Freistaats suchte und fand." Rose, Ancient Roman Religion,
	op. cit., p. 162: "A single man does not seem to have it (numen) until we come

to imperial times, when it was the proper and loyal thing to say, or at least

to imply, that an Emperor was something more than mortal, and we hear quite often
	the numen of the reigning one."

\(^2\)RSR, II, p. 1107, note 3.

\(^3\)Dio LIII.17.8; RSR, II, p. 1108, note 1.

\(^4\)RSR, II, p. 1109: "So hat auch die Competenz des Oberpontifex neben der

gentlich Kaiserlichen sich viel länger theoretisch und praktisch in relativer

Abständigkeit behauptet, bevor auch sie in die allgemeine Idee des

Soluzismus aufging."

\(^5\)For a summary of Augustus' religious reforms see: RKR, pp. 73ff.; RRG,
For the public services of the state, two of Augustus' reforms were very important. These were the foundation of the adoration of the genius Augusti and the cult of the divi imperatores, which Augustus started with the construction of the temple of Divus Julius.

The genius of the reigning emperor and the divi imperatores formed a new group of state gods. They stood next to and in importance even above the old divinities of the state religion, and at all official cult activities, they occupied a prominent place. The formulation of the oath of office of the Roman bureaucrats shows this development most clearly. In the time of Domitian, one swore, "per Iovem et divom Augustus et divom Claudium et divom Vespasianum Augustus et divom Titum Augustus et genium imperatoris Caesaris Domitiani Augusti deosque penates." But there is no indication that this oath existed before the time of Domitian. In the offerings of the Arval brethren, one, also, finds this connection on several occasions.

1 RKR, p. 79, note 1; Taylor, Divinity of Emperor, op. cit., pp. 181ff.
4 CIL II.1963,30; 1964,15; CIL II.172: "Tuppiter optimus maximus ac divus Augustus ceteriq(ue) omnes di immortales."
5 CIL VI.2011,11; CIL VI.2012,28: "Genio ipsius, Divo Augusto Divae Augustae, Divo Claudio." CIL VI.2107,12: "Genio domini nostri Severi Alexandri Augusti... tem Divis numero XX."
Augustus was, in his own lifetime, worshipped as a god in many areas of the east and west, even in Italy itself. Private individuals and communities built temples and chapels for the emperor, hired priests for him, and began clubs for his cult.\(^1\) Augustus always gave his approval for such temples and cults provided that they were simultaneously dedicated to him and the goddess Roma.\(^2\) At any rate, the worship of the living emperor in various forms and modifications gained wide acceptance, with the exception of Rome and the state cult (where it developed after his death and consecration), during the reign of Augustus.\(^3\) Wissowa points out that the often differing positions, which the provincial governors took in relation to the genius Augusti and the divi imperatores, did not change the general bases of these institutions as they had been determined by their first developments.\(^4\) The whole state religion more and more took on the direction of glorification of the imperial family. This is exemplified through the order of the year 30 B.C.; that the Roman state priests should include the emperor in all prayers and promises for the senate and the people.\(^5\) All the activities of the Arval brethren concentrated

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\(^1\) Tac. Ann. I.73: "Cultores Augusti, qui per omnes domos in modum collegiorum habeantur."

\(^2\) Suet. Aug. 52: "Templa. . . in nulla . . . provincia nisi communi suo maeseque nomine recepit."

\(^3\) RKR, p. 81: "Immerhin hatte die Verehrung des lebenden Kaisers in seinen verschiedenen Formen und Modifikationen unter der Regierung des Augustus ganz Reiche mit Ausnahme Roms und des Staatskultes eine weite Ausdehnung gewonnen." Ferguson, Religions of Empire, op. cit., p. 90: "In Egypt for practical purposes he had to be the divine ruler; he appears as the inheritor of the Pharaohs with all their honors; to the Greeks of Egypt he is one with the Giver of Freedom, is invoked in oaths, receives temples."

\(^4\) RKR, p. 81: "Die sehr verschiedene Stellung, welche die einzelnen Gouverneur persönlich zum Kaiserkulte einnahmen, bot die allgemeinen Grundlagen der Institution, wie sie durch deren erste Entwicklung gegeben waren."

\(^5\) Dio L I.19.7
almost exclusively on sacred loyalty declarations.\textsuperscript{1} Latte states that the most vital drive which came forth from the reforms of Augustus was the creation of the ruler-cult.\textsuperscript{2} Thus, Roman religion, at least from the point of view of political and social expediency, became respectable and, what was at least as important, loyal.\textsuperscript{3}

The steadily increasing importance of the ruler-cult can be shown by the offerings that were made for the well-being and health of the emperor, the advancement of his family to the level of state gods, and in marking these new divinities as special protectors of the princeps through specific appellations such as Conservator, Custos, Protector, and Redux.\textsuperscript{4} But, soon the Romans went further by adding any factor that contributed to the success and advantage of

\textsuperscript{1} RKR, p. 82.

\textsuperscript{2} RRG, p. 311: "Die lebendigste Kraft, die von den Reformen des Augustus ausging, lebte gerade in jener Massnahme, die er nur zögernd zugelassen hatte, in der Schöpfung des Herrscherkults."

\textsuperscript{3} Rose, Ancient Roman Religion, op. cit., p. 256; RRG, pp. 312-326; Mason Hammond, The Antonine Monarchy, Rome, American Academy in Rome, 1959, pp. 215-217, states, "Closely connected with the enhancement of the emperor's position through the concept of his superhuman character is the growth of the view that this divine nature should be recognized by all loyal citizens." Ferguson, Religions of Empire, op. cit., p. 95: "So far as the government at Rome was concerned, the object of the imperial cult was political." Nock, AH, X, p. 482: "In general, a ruler has no interest in the cult of himself except as a factor in the cohesion and organization of the State or as an element in his own standing in relation to a dependent city, or in competition with other dynasties. Between him and his subjects the issue was one of loyalty; he desired to be assured of it, to receive what soon became the standard form of homage, and they to express it." RSR, II, pp. 757ff.; M. P. charlesworth, "Some Observations on Ruler-Cult Especially in Rome," Harvard Theological Review, 1935, pp. 27/28.

\textsuperscript{4} RKR, p. 83: "Hätte die Loyalität der Untertanen sich zunächst dadurch dokumentiert, dass man den Staatsgöttern für das Wohlsein und die Gesundheit des Kaisers und das Gedeihen seines Hauses opferte und sie durch besondere Einamen (Conservator, Custos, Protector, Redux usw.) als Beschützer des princeps kennzeichnete."
the imperial government among the list of gods. The prayers of the emperor to pro salute, victoria, and concordia became the adoration used by the Roman priests. Also, the personification of the emperor's benedictions (Felicitas, pax) and the powers protecting the emperor (Victoria, Fortuna) took on an increasing importance at the expense of the old state divinities in the sacred activities, and these abstractions became indirect supporters of the emperor-cult in that they served to glorify the prince. Cults in honor of goddesses like Virtus Augusta, Clementia Augusta, Justitia Augusta, and Pietas Augusta began to appear and spread throughout the Roman world. In this additional way, the importance of the old state gods was limited and curtailed. The Capitoline Triad of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva was the only group of Roman divinities to remain in place at the head of the Roman state cult against the competition which arose from the ruler-worship. The other gods of the Republic lost their importance more and more. But, the emperors did attempt

1 RKR, p. 83: "so war man bald weiter gegangen, indem man die Erfolge und Vorzüge der kaiserlichen Regierung selber unter die Götter einreihete; das Gebet pro salute, victoria, concordia der Kaiser setzt sich bald um in die Verehrung der Salus, Victoria, Concordia Augusta." Ferguson, Religions of Empire, op. cit., p. 91; Taylor, Divinity of Emperor, op. cit., pp. 199ff.

2 Dio LIV.35.2: ἔπειδὴ τε ἀρχύριον ἀνθίς ἐς εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκεῖνη καὶ ὁ ἄνδρος συνεπήναι καὶ έκνεον οὖν συμπλήρωσας τῷ θείας τε συμμορίας καὶ ομονοίας ὑπῆρξε τε ἐστησεν.

vid Fasti III.881: "Ianus adorandus cumque hoc Concordia mitis et Romana Salus araque Pacis erit."

3 RKR, p. 83; RRG, pp. 300-302; Ferguson, Religions of Empire, op. cit., p. 91: "Other divine abstractions are Concordia Augusta, Pax Augusta, Salus Augusta; Numen Augusti was worshipped at Narbo."

4 RKR, p. 83.
to carry on the external manifestations of the Roman religious service;\(^1\) they rebuilt and refurbished temples, and they preserved the greater priestly colleges. In spite of this, the inner life of the traditional Roman rituals was gone. For the literary trained circles of society, the gods of the state religion had become empty shadows.\(^2\) Yet, because of the loyalty characteristics of the imperial religion, it was necessary for the Roman rulers to maintain the customary form of Roman religion, even though they themselves did not know its exact nature.\(^3\)

The traditional Roman gods, also, experienced an even greater alienation from their republican individuality through the distribution of the cults into all parts of the Empire, whereby the characteristics of state divinities were forcefully inculcated with the characteristics of foreign divinities and enveloped with their Roman names the foreign rituals in the provinces. Thus, beyond a loose worship of Jupiter and the loyal emperor-cult, there was no official imperial Roman religion, just a transparent veneer of Roman names which covered an inexhaustible variety of different religious conceptions.\(^4\)

\(^1\)RKR, p. 84: "Die besseren Kaiser legen allerdings Wert darauf, nicht nur als Träger des Oberpontificats und Mitglieder der grossen Priester- 

\(^2\)RKR, p. 84; Nock, CAH, X, pp. 503ff.; Ferguson, Religions of Empire, op. cit., pp. 99ff.; Szemler, "Religio, priesthoods," loc. cit., Excursus 2, 125ff., indicates that this attitude was evident at the end of the Roman public.

\(^3\)Ferguson, Religions of Empire, op. cit., p. 91; Taylor, Divinity of Error, op. cit., p. 239; Charlesworth, "Observations on Ruler-Cult," loc. cit., p. 28.

\(^4\)RKR, p. 87: "Es gibt eben keine Reich-religion, sondern die durch-
The precedents of Augustus, in the matter of ruler-worship, was followed by Tiberius.1 Suetonius2 states of Tiberius:

Templa, flamines, sacerdotes decerni sibi prohibuit, etiam statuas atque imaginex nisi permittente se pond; permisitque ea sola condicione, ne inter simulacra deorum sed inter ornamenta aedium ponerenter. Intercessit et quo minus in acta sua iuraretur, et ne mensis September Tiberius, October Livius vocarentur.

Here, Suetonius presents the personal wishes of the emperor, as declared by him when a community would ask his permission to participate in the ruler-cult as a demonstration of their loyalty.3 Dio says that Sejanus was so powerful that men sacrificed before his statues just as they sacrificed before those of Tiberius.4 Consequently, the concept of imperial religio as set up by Augustus was kept by the succeeding rulers. Although some of the emperors, such as Caligula and Nero, might for a time depart from the notion of the official religion that he established, Augustus had given the royal cult the forms that were destined, like most of his political institutions, to endure throughout the Flavian-Antonine period.5 During the second century, Jean

1 RSR, II, p. 758: "Tiberius nach seiner realen Affassung der Verhalt­

nisse und seiner stolzen Verachtung der äusserlichen Ehren wies das halbgött­

ische Helldunkel, in dem Augustus sich gern bewegt hatte, scharf und schroff

wick;" RKR, pp. 81, 88; Ferguson, Religions of Empire, op. cit., p. 91; M.

Stovtzeff, "L'emp. Tiberius et le culte imp.," Revue Historique, CLXIII,

1940, pp. 1-26; Taylor, Divinity of Emperor, op. cit., pp. 239f.; Charlesworth,

observations on Ruler-Cult," loc. cit., p. 28.


3 Nock, CAH, X, p. 494.

4 Dio LVIII.4.4: καὶ τέλος καὶ ταῖς ἐκκοσίν ἀυτοῦ ὑπερ

τὰς τοῦ Τιβέριον θεοὺς.

5 RKR, p. 81; Ferguson, Religions of Empire, op. cit., pp. 91f.; Taylor,

Divinity of Emperor, op. cit., pp. 239ff.; Charlesworth, "Some Observations on

Beaujeu declares that participation in the imperial *religio* continued to be a criterion of loyalty.1

1Beaujeu, "Religion," loc. cit., p. 4.
CHAPTER II

THE GREATER PRIESTHOODS OF THE EMPIRE

This chapter will examine the following aspects of the greater Roman priesthoods for the imperial era: first, the exclusiveness of the greater colleges as opposed to the sodalitates (lesser colleges), second, their imperial religious functions, third, the process of cooptation under emperors, and fourth, the social status of the priestly position. These particular questions regarding a greater sacerdotal post are only given a general consideration by Hoffman Lewis for the Julio-Claudian age.

Exclusiveness of the Greater Priesthoods.

In addition to the four greater priestly colleges (pontifices, augures, undecimviri sacris faciundis, and septemviri epulones) during the first and second century of the Empire, there existed other organized priesthoods or sodalitates with specialized functions: the sodales of the emperors, the sodales Titii, the fetiales, the luperci, and the salii. According to Suetonius, at the time of Augustus' death separation existed between the four greater colleges and the sodalitates, since the ashes of Augustus were selected by the priests of the first. Nevertheless, on the occasion of

1 The denotation "grossen Collegien" is used by RKR, p. 487, 492, 493, p. 492, 493; RSR, II, pp. 1105, 1109, 1111; Nock, CAH, X, p. 475; Dumezil, Archaic Religion, op. cit., p. 588, also, uses the term "greater colleges;" cf. her below.

2 The sodalitates contained the sodales of the emperors, the fratres item, the sodales Titii, the fetiales, the luperci, and the salii. RKR, 151, 550ff., groups these priesthoods together as sodalitates; Dumezil, Archaic Religion, op. cit., pp. 588-593; Bailey, "sodalae," OCD, pp. 998f.

3 Suet. Aug. C.2: "ossa legenda per sacerdotes summorum collegiorum."
Livia's illness, in A.D. 22, the senate resolved that games were to be held for her by all priests and sodales:


Accordingly, Tiberius drew a distinction between the prerogatives of the greater priestly colleges and sodalitates, since the fetiales had never had the eminence of a greater priesthood, and the sodales Augustales had been admitted to the four major colleges only during Livia's illness, because theirs was a special priesthood of the house for which the intercession was being offered. Nevertheless, the annual games on the anniversary of Sejanus' death were celebrated by the greater priesthoods and the sodales Augustales:

_εορτήν τε σιὰ τε τῶν ἄρχοντων καὶ σιὰ τῶν ἱερέων ἀπὸ τῶν, ὥς ἡμπώτερε ἐγεγονεὶ ἄχθηναι, καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ὧν ἐτελεύτησε καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγῶνι παῖ θηρίων ἐξαγαί ἐτοίοις σιὰ τε τῶν ἐς τὰς τέσσαρας ἱερωσύνας τελοῦσαν καὶ σιὰ τῶν τοῦ Ἀὔγουστον διάσωτων ἀγάλλεσθαι, ὥς ὅσετοπε ἐπεποίητο._

This declares that the participation of the Augustales with the greater colleges at annual games had never been done before. Thus,


2 Dio LVIII.12.5.
Marquardt\textsuperscript{1} believes that the sodales Augustales were elevated to the position of a greater priesthood, although, the former statements of Tacitus and Dio are the only documented evidence for such a conclusion.

A passage in Lucan lists the greater priestly colleges and the sodalitates:

\begin{quote}
Mox iubet et totam pavidis a civibus urbem
Ambiri et, festo purgantes moenia lustro,
Longa per extremos pomeria cingere fines
Pontifices, sacri quibus est permissa potestas.
Turba minor ritu sequitur succincta Cabino,
Vestalemque chorum ducit vittata sacerdos,
Troianam soli cui fas vidisse Minervam;
Tum, qui fata deum secretaque carmina servant
Et lotem parvo revocant Almone Cybeben,
Et doctus volucre augur servare sinistras
Septemviris epulis festis Titique sodales
Et Salius laeto portans ancilia collo
Et tollens apicem generoso vertice flamen.\textsuperscript{2}
\end{quote}

The placing of the quindecimviri before the augurs was doubtlessly done to fit poetic demands. In the Res Gestae (I.7), Augustus records his priesthoods in the following order: pontifex maximus, augur, quindecimviri sacris faciundis, septemvirs epulo, frater arvalis, sodalis Titius, and fetiales. These lists give an indication of the relative rank of the priestly offices in Augustus' time. During the Flavian-Antonine period, on all inscriptions naming priests, the greater priesthoods are regularly recorded before the sodalitates.\textsuperscript{3}

\textsuperscript{1} Marquardt, p. 221: "und auch später nur noch eius, nämlich die unter Tiberius gestifteten Sodales Augustales, der gleichen Ehre für würdig erachtet."

\textsuperscript{2} Lucan I.592-604. The list of priests given by Cellius I.12.6 and Varro de Ling. Lat. V.63ff. offers no conclusive evidence on rank.

\textsuperscript{3} The person of Augustus on the Ara Pacis Augustae possibly gives a symbolic representation of the greater priesthoods. The veiled head is the symbol of the pontifex maximus, and perhaps he was holding the lituus, the symbol of the auspices under which the city was founded and governed, in his outstretched hand. The lituus does not appear in the fragmentary figure; it is the emblem of the augur. Cf. Marquardt, pp. 221f. Nevertheless, the
This study will concentrate on the traditional four greater sacerdotal colleges.

Imperial Priestly Functions.

According to all indications the republican religious functions of the greater priestly colleges did not remain unchanged during the imperial period. According to Mommsen the only priestly duties which were continued during the Empire were the overseeing of the state sacrifices by the pontiffs and the administration of the Ludi Saeculares by the quindecimviri. However, an investigation discloses that certain priestly roles were carefully preserved. New religious ceremonies were established at which the four colleges concurrently took part. Every four years, in honor of Augustus' victory at Actium, games were held by the consuls and the four colleges of priests in succession, and yearly sacrifices were carried out by all the virtues of the pontificate cannot be clearly pinpointed according to Szelem (RE, Supplbd. 13, pp. 1892-24ff.): "...ob irgendeines dieser Symbole eindeutiger Ausdruck der Würde der Pontifices war, oder ob sie ganz einfach deren Verbindung mit den Opferhandlungen bezeugten; Marquardt SS. 248-249; RKR, SS. 500-501."


2RSR, II, p. 1106: "Uebrigens treten diese Sacerdotien in Beziehung auf en Princeps nirgends in ihrer Individualität wesentlich hervor mit Ausnahme es Quindecimvirats, insofern diesem die Leitung der Sacularspiele, und des pontificats, insofern ihm die des Säcralswesens überhaupt zustand."

3The games were established in 28 B.C. Res Gestae II.9: "(Vota pro letudine mea suscipi per consules et sacerdotes quinto) quaque anno natus decrevit. Ex iis) votis saepe fecerunt vivo (me ludos aliquotiens sacerdotum quattuor amplissima collegia, aliquotiens consules." Dio LIII. 5: καὶ αὐτῇ ἡδὲ σῖκα πέντε ἐκ τῶν ἑξάρτων του ἐγγενετο, ταῖς ἑσσαρίων ἱερωσύναις ἐκ περιτροπῆς ἡλόου, λέγω δὲ τοὺς...
priests at the Ara Pacis Augustae.¹ A sacrifice was performed by four greater colleges at the Ara Numinis Augusti, which was dedicated by Tiberius.² He, also, established games for Livia,³ when she became ill, and games to commemorate the death of Sejanus.⁴ The four colleges were responsible for the performance of these games. The priests in rotation with the emperor judged the Ludi Capitolini.⁵ They dined with the

Coins of 16 B.C., Grueber II.51-56, commemorate the games. The games were held in A.D. 39. Dio LXI.20.1: καὶ ὃτι ἐπὶ ταῖς τοῦ Αὔγουστου νίκαι ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἑνενικήκει ἔορτην, ὑπὸ πρὸσμετοχήν ήγαγόν.

Mommsen, Res Gestae Divi Augusti (Berlin, 1883) pp. 42f., worked out the four year succession of the games, beginning with those held by the consuls in 28.

For additional evidence on games see Hubert Heinen, "Zur Begründung des römischen Kaiserkultes," Klio, 1911, pp. 139-175; RRG, pp. 298ff.; Taylor, "Secular Games," OCD², pp. 969f.; Nock, CAH, X, p. 477.

¹Res Gestae II.12: "aram (Pacis A)u(g)ustae (ae senatus pro) redi(t)u meo co(nsacrai censuit) ad cam(pum Martium, in qua ma)gistratus et sac(erdotes et virgines) V(est)a(les) (anniversarium sacrific)ium facer(e iussit.)


⁴Dio LVIII.12.5, see page 13.

⁵Herodian I.9.2: ἐγνώσθη ἡ ἐπιθυμίᾳ παραδόθω τρόπῳ ἑρῶν ἀγῶν τελοῦσι Ρωμαῖοι Διὶ Καπετώλιῳ, θεᾶ ματί τε ἡμῶν καὶ ἴσχυσις πάντα ἀθροιζέτοι ὡς ἐς βασιλέα.
they offered vows and prayers for his welfare; and they took part in his funeral. At the time of the Marcomannic war, Marcus Aurelius called upon the priests to purify the city, but, foreign religious ceremonies were also performed, indicating substantial intermixture of Roman republican ritual with foreign rites.

During the Republic, the college of pontiffs supervised the public and private sacrifices; directed the calendar; and oversaw adoptions, wills, and funeral rites. In the imperial period, the pontifices maiores continued to oversee the state sacrifices, and the yearly sacrifice at the ara Fortuna.
ducis was specifically added to their duties.¹ The college carried out the rites of Jupiter when sickness or public business prevented the flamen Dialis from doing so;² the priestly group had the authority to dedicate statues and shrines to Augustus,³ and to issue pontifical decrees.⁴ The pontiffs, also, held the license to purify the pomerium.⁵ When Vespasian ordered the Capitol to be rebuilt, the pontiff guided the praetor, who purified the area with the sacrifice of the souvetaurilia.⁶ The college of the pontifices maintained control over adoptions,⁷ the nomination of Vestal virgins,⁸ funeral rites,⁹

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¹Res Gestae II.11: "(aram Fortunae Reducis iuxta ae)des Honóris et Virtutis ad portam (Capenam pro reditu meo se)natus consecravit, in qua pontifices et virgines Vestales anni versarium sacrificium facere (iussit eo die)."; cf. RRG, p. 305.


³Dio IV.11.2: τὰ μὴν αὐτὸς καθίερον, τὰ ὅταν ποντιφίκων τινί προετάσον εἰς.


⁵Lucan I.593-595, see page 14. Otho purified the city, Tac. Hist. I.87: "Otho lustrata urbe."

⁶Tac. Hist. IV.53; Charlesworth, CAH, XI, p. 5.


⁹Suet. Dom. 8.5: "Ac ne qua religio deum impune contaminaretur, monentum, quod libertus eius e lapidibus templo Capitolini Iovis destinatis filio exstruxerat, diruit per milites ossaque et reliquias quae inerant marī
the consideration of what functions of the haruspices should be maintained or eliminated, and the question of divorce. Since the calendar remained in use, possibly the college of pontiffs continued to direct it.

Plin. Ep. X.68, 69: "Petentibus quibusdam, ut sibi religuias suorum, aut propter iniuriam vetustatis aut propter fluminis incursum aliaque his aima quaeacumque secundum exemplum proconsulm transferre permetterem, quia siebam in urbe nostra ex eius modi causis collegium pontificum adiri solere, te, domine, maximum pontificem consulendum putavi, quid observare me velis."

Desideri Frater, Arrii Alphi Arriae Fadillae, domini n. imp. Antonini Aug. matris, liberti libellum tibi misi, cogniti mihi ex longo tempore primae inbentutis. Etiam miratus, cum ab aedibus essem, quot eo lo. se contulisset, a quo didici causa se requisitionis (sic) set et religionis magnopere. a domino n. imp. impetrasse. Ita ne qua mora videatur ei per nos fieri, libellum subscriptum per eudem (sic) publicum sine mora mihi remittas. Opto te salvol (sic) et fel(i)cern es.

Cum ante dies coiugem et filium amiserim et pressus necessitate corpora eorum fictili sarcofago commendaverim, donique is locus, quem emeram, aedificetur via Flaminia inter miliar. II et III euntibus ab urbe parte laeva custodia monumenti Fla. Thumeles, maesolaee M. S(i)lii Orcili: rogo, domini, permittas · i in eodem loco in marmoreo sarcofago, quern mihi modo comparavi, ea corpora colligere, ut cuandone ego esse desier., pariter cum eis ponar.


1 Tac. Ann. XI.15: "Factum ex eo senatus consultum, viderent pontifices de retinenda formandaque haruspicum." RKR, p. 549, the passage which allows clearly shows the college was kept independently from the pontiff.


3 The calendar was reformed by Augustus (Suet. Aug. 31.2: "Annun a Divo ordina tum, sed postera neglegentia conturbatum atque confusum, rursus pristinam rationem redegit.") Other references to the calendar are found.
The ancient patrician priesthoods, the *rex sacrorum*, the *flamen Dialis* (Jupiter),¹ the *flamen Martialis* (Mars), and the *flamen Quirinalis* (Quirinus), had declined in prestige and use during the late Republic.² The priestly positions were presumably restored by Augustus, but, according to Latte these priestly orders merely satisfied the greed for high-sounding titles and gave the priests the opportunity to look decorative at festive occasions in the old costumes.³ These priests were subordinate to the *pontifex maximus*, but theoretically of higher rank, and were coopted by him. Since these priests met with the *pontifices*, they were considered members of the college of pontiffs.⁴

The auspices,⁵ as the means of ascertaining the will of the gods, were

² The priesthood was restored by Augustus, Suet. Aug. 31: "nonnulla etiam ex antiques caerimoniiis paulatim abolita restituit, ut Salutis augurium, Diale flamonium, sacrum Lupercale, Iudos Saeculares et Compitalicios." Other references to the *flamen Dialis* are Ovid Fasti I.586-587 (sacrifice); Plutarch Quaest. Rom. 50; Suet. Dom. 4.4; Tac. Ann. III.58, IV.16; Dio LIV.24.3, LXXV. 8.2; W. Potscher, "Flamen Dialis," Mnemosyne, nos. 2-3, 1968.
³ Observation of birds, Ovid Fasti I.41-44h:
"intactae fueratis aves, solicia ruris, adsuetum silvis innocuumque genus, quae facitis nidos et plurnis ova foveitis et facili dulces editis ore modos;"

In Cicero's (de divinatione) day the science of augury included other kinds of
the chief concern of the college of augures. The auspicia was outwardly
preserved by the emperors as a means of discovering the agreement or
disagreement of the gods when important military and domestic acts were
undertaken. Agrippa advised Augustus to appoint augurs, and Augustus revived
auspices. These were signs in the sky (thunder and lightning), behavior of
chickens while eating, the motion or cries of animals, and signs given by the
phenomena of terror. Cellius (VII.6) studied augural law. Wissowa, "auspi-
cium," RE, II, pp. 2580-26ff.; RKR, pp. 386ff.; RRG, p. 202; RSR, I,
31ff.; Dum ez i l, Archaic Religion, op. cit., I, pp. 119-123; Warde Fowler, Reli-
gerous Experience, op. cit., pp. 175, 21ff; Rose, Ancient Roman Religion, op.
cit., p. 234.

Wissowa, "augures;" RE, II, pp. 2313-141ff.; RKR, pp. 119, 523ff.;
RRG, p. 397; RSR, I, pp. 76ff.; Marquardt, pp. 397ff.; Szemler, "Religio,
pristhoods," loc. cit., pp. 108-110; Dum ezil, Archaic Religion, op. cit., II,
pp. 594-600; Wagenvoort, Dynamism, op. cit., pp. 36ff.; Warde Fowler,

Tac. Ann. II.14: "Auctus omine, addicentibus auspiciis, vocat
contionem et quae sapientia provisa aptaque imminenti pugnae disserit." Tac.
Hist. IV.69: "Unde ius auspiciiumque peteretur? Quam, si cuncta provenissent,

Dio LVIII.5.7: οὐνι ζομένεο τε μετὰ τοῦτο ἀυτοῦ τῶν
μὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμῶν ἑπεφάνη ὑπεξεις, κόρακες δὲ ἐκ πολλῶν
περιπτάμενον καὶ περικρόξαντες αὐτῶν ἀπέπταντο ἀθρόοι
πρὸς τὸ οἶκημα καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐκαθέζοντο.
quoque in augurando tempestate orta graviter." Herodian I.14.2: το ἡμερίτου
ὲ ὁδείν, ὅ καὶ τον παρόντα ἐλπίδεω καὶ πρὸσ τὸ ἡμέλλον
οὕνισιν καὶ φαύλων συμβόλων κρωμένος πάντας ἐτάραξεν.

For laws against augury in the fourth century see Theodosian Codex IX.16.4,6.

Dio LII.36.3: καὶ πάντως τινὰς καὶ ἑπεράττως καὶ οἰνωνιτὰς
ἀποδείξας, οἰς οἱ θεολογοῦντο τι κοινῶσσαν θαλ συνέστων.
the augury of safety. Augustus, possibly for political expediency, observed certain auspices most precisely; as a magistrate, he could take the auspicia, and, as an augur, Augustus could personally define the auspices. Wissowa indicates that by the end of the Republic, through the interpretation of the auspiciun, the augurs had a great deal of political influence. They could consent or deny permission to hold an assembly, halt a proceeding in progress, postpone assemblies, and compel even the consul to abdicate. Under Hadrian, the augurs were consulted about the pomerium, and the meeting place of the college was rebuilt by the emperor.

The quindecimviri sacris faciundis (XV viri s. f.) was the third college of the greater priesthood. The college was chiefly responsible for

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1 Suet. Aug. 31.4; Dio LI.20.4. This was the augury for ascertaining whether prayers for the safety of the state might be offered ("augurium, Oxford Latin Dictionary, fasc. I, p. 214). cf. RKR, p. 74; RRG, p. 298; Nock, CAH, X, p. 475.

2 Suet. Aug. 92: "Auspicia et omnia quaedam pro certissimis observabat."

3 Suet. Aug. 95: "Primo autem consulatu et augurium capienti duodecim se vultures ut Romulo ostenderunt et immolanti omnium victimarum iocinera replicata intrinsecus ab ima fibra paruerunt, nemine peritorum aliter coniectante quam laeta per haec et magna portendi."

4 RE, "augures," pp. 2333, 67ff.; Szemler, "Religio, priesthoods," loc. cit., p. 120.


guarding, and, on occasion, interpreting the Sibylline oracles, which were consulted at times of great danger to the state. Augustus had the books recopied, since they had been destroyed by fire in 82 B.C., and rehoused in two gold chests in the temple of Apollo on the Palatine. Wissowa states that this was a deliberate falsification of the books with a political view in mind.

Tiberius made an investigation of all the books that contained any


4 RKR, p. 537.
-24-

prophecies, and he rejected some as worthless and retained others as genuine.\(^1\)

The XV \textit{viri s. f.}, during the imperial period, were responsible for the
preservation of the prophecies of the gods and mystic hymns,\(^2\) the overseeing
of the \textit{Ludi Saeculares},\(^3\) and Claudius allegedly allowed the priests to take
part in the procession of Sibyl.\(^4\) The college, also, directed at the bidding
of the Sibylline Books the \textit{supplicatio} and \textit{lectisternium}.\(^5\)

\(^1\) Dio LVII.18.5: \textit{τρις ές τριηκοςίων περιτελλομένων}
\textit{Εκντων ρυμαίους ἐμφυλοὺς ἀεί στάσις, χα Συβάριτις ἀφροσύνα.}

\(^2\) Lucan I.599. RE, "quindecimviri," pp. 2333,67ff. and RKR, p. 536
p. 8.

\(^3\) Nilsson, "saeculares ludi," RE, I, pp. 1717,20ff.; RKR, pp. 431, 451;
viri romagni (ter conl)\(e\)gl colleg(a) M. Agrippa lud(os s)aec(l)are(s) C.
Forum C. (Silano) cos. (feci.)" Suet. Aug. 31: "Nonnulla etiam ex antiquis
cerimoniis paulatim abolita restituit, ut Salutis augurium, Diale flamonium,
sacrum Lupercale, ludos Saeculares et Compitalicios." CIL VI.3232 = ILS
5050, CIL II.1, p. 29. The \textit{Ludi Saeculares} were held by Claudius (Suet.
Claud. XXI.2; Tac. Ann. XI.21), Domitian (Suet. Dom. 4.3), Antoninus Pius
(Hist. Aug. Pius X.9; Victor de Caes. XV.5), and Septimius Severus (CIL VI.
32327 = ILS 5050a).

\(^4\) Ioannis Laurentii Lydi, \textit{Liber de Mensibus} \textit{IX. 42: Τῇ πρὸ Δέκα}
\textit{Καλεὶν Σῶν Ἀπριλίων καθαρῆς σαλπικχος καὶ κίνησις τῶν}
\textit{κλων, καὶ τιμαὶ Ἀρεσ καὶ Νερίνης, θέας οὕτω τῇ Σαβίνων}
\textit{κλωπὶ προσχορευμένης . . .}

Every March 27 the college was responsible for washing the \textit{lapis negellus},
which at Rome represented the Phrygian goddess Sibyl. Lucan I.599-600; RKR,
p. 319, note 5; Ferguson, \textit{Religions of Empire}, op. cit., p. 28.

\(^5\) Mattingly, BMC, II, p. lxxii: "The main feature of the new issue (A.D.
60) is the series of types of pulvinaria, or sacred couches of the gods,
associated with a supplicatio and \textit{lectisternium} voted by the senate after the
eruption of Vesuvius." The disasters of Titus' reign are recorded by Dio LXVI
24.2, Suet. Titus 8, and Aurelius Victor de Caes. 9. Such services of prayer
or propitiation were directed by the XV \textit{viri s. f.} at the bidding of the
Sibylline Books (Tac. Ann. XV.44: "Hoc petita dis piacula aditique Sibullae-
bus mariti erant.").
The septemviri epulones were accountable for the arrangement and administration of the Ludi Plebei and the public banquets. Originally the games were held by the pontifices, and they remained always essentially connected with them. Under the emperors, the plebeian games continued to be held, and public banquets were held by Augustus (Suet. Aug. 35.2; Dio LIV. 23), Tiberius (Suet. Tib. 20), Nero (Suet. Nero 16.2), Domitian (Suet. Dom. 4.5), Trajan (Dio LXVIII.7.2), Hadrian (Hist. Aug. Hadr. XXII.7), Antoninus Pius (Hist. Aug. Pius XI.5), and Marcus Aurelius (Hist. Aug. Marc. XVIII.7). A coin of Domitian possibly depicts him as a member of the epulones. The loyalty factor in the official imperial religion probably necessitated the external appearance of the greater priestly functions. As with the role of pontifex maximus, the princeps soon became the leader of the other great priestly colleges.

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4 BMC, II, no. 391: "Domitian and altar, approached by four steps; above urns and palmetts; in front, door with bas-relief r. and l. of it; to r. and of altar, priests standing, holding paterae." The patera was the symbol of the priesthood (BMC, III, p. xli). cf. Marquardt, p. 222.

Imperial process of cooptation.

In the republican period, the four greater priesthoods had been filled by an involved method made up of nomination by the priesthood in question, election in a comitia by seventeen of the thirty-five tribes chosen by lot, and final cooptation of the elected candidates by the members of the individual colleges.¹

EXCURSUS I

Before a statement can be made concerning the means of choosing priests in the imperial period, it is necessary to study the electoral process for the major magistrates. In order that Augustus might maintain his slogan as the restorer of the Republic, he had to institute the illusion of free election and his idea of the respublica. Consuls of the Republic influenced the elections of magistrates by open canvassing (suffragatio)² on behalf of their cronies. This practice, when employed by Augustus, was known as commendatio,³ and the recommended candidate was a candidatus Caesaris. Augustus at first canvassed in person,⁴ but, after A.D. 8, he announced the names of his


⁴ Suet. Aug. 56: "Quotiens magistratum comitii interesset, tribus cum candidatis suis circuibiabat supplicabatque more sollemni." Dio LIII.21.7: τοὺς ἀργοντας τοὺς μὲν αὐτὸς ἐκλεγόμενος προεβάλλετο, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ζημίῳ τῷ τε ὀμιλῷ κατὰ τὸ δραχαίνον πολυσθένος ἐπηελεῖτο ὁπως μὴν ἀνεπηρίζοι καὶ ἐκ παραπελεύσεως ἡ
candidates in writing. Commendatio was first employed for the magistracies of the quaestorship and the praetorship, for both of which the princeps recommended four candidates; but by the end of Nero's principate it was, also, employed for the consulship. The lex de imperio Vespasiani apparently granted the emperor the right of commendatio for all the magistracies without limitation of number. Since the commendatio of the emperor was used sparingly, it was considered an honor to have attained an office as a candidatus principis. Only in the third century does commendatio become an unrestricted imperial practice of nomination for office.

In 14 A.D., Tiberius, according to Tacitus, took the elections

\[\text{καὶ δεκασμοῦ ἀποκεικώνυται.}\]

\[1\] Dio LV.34.2: τῶν τότε ἐν ἑπταδρᾶς ἑτεροί ἐπετρεπτεν, ἐν τῶν διάκων υἱόντο ταρτή, ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν προτέρῳ ἔτει πάντας τῶν ἀρξοντας αὐτὸς ἐπεισήπερ ἐστοσιάζετο, ἀπεδείχθε, τοῦτο ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ἐπείτα ἱματα παῦτες συνίστη τοῖς καθαρεὶς καὶ τῷ λήψεως ἑστοσιάζε.

Process of election under Tiberius, Dio LVIII.20.3: τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ἀποντων ἐρεῖσετο ὅσος ἠθελε, καὶ σφές ἐστ ἐπὶ τοῦ συνεδρίου ἐσχετεῖτο, τοῦ μὲν συνιστὼς αὑτῷ, ὅπερ ἐν τοῖς πάντων ἠροῦντο, τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρείσεως καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ὰναλογίας, τῇ τε καθαρῷ ποιοῦμενος, ...

\[2\] Tac. Ann. I.15: "moderante Tiberio ne plures quam quattuor candidatos commendaret sine repulsa et ambitu designandos."


\[4\] CIL VI.930 = ILS 244; "Utique quos magistratum potestatem imperium curationemve cuius rei potentis senatui populoque Romano commendaverit, quibusque suffragationem suam dederit promiserit, eorum comitis quibusque extra ordinem ratio habeatur." cf. Last, CAH, XI, pp. 404ff.

\[5\] H. Hausmanninger, Der kleine Pauly, "commendatio," p. 1257.

\[6\] Ibid.: "Erst im 3.Jh. erscheint die c. als uneingeschränkt praktizierter Kaiserlicher Ernennungsmodus." Balsdon (OCD2, p. 273) states that the emperor has this right with Lex de imperio Vespasiani.
of magistrates from the comitia and transferred them to the senate, and Gaius had the elections restored for a short time to the comitia, but since the people had forgotten the electoral process, the elections were returned to the senate. The Tabula Habana was discovered in

1 This comitia was probably made up of the decuriones, which was established by Augustus to give the colonies a chance to vote (Suet. Aug. 46). Since almost all bills were drawn up by the emperor, or with his approval, the meetings of the comitia for legislative purposes did little more than give the form of law to his wishes. When the election of magistrates was transferred to the senate by Tiberius, only the declaration of the result (renuntiatio) was still performed before the people. W. Liebenam, "comitia," RE, IV, pp. 679ff.; Momigliano, "comitia," OCD2, pp. 272f.; Wirszubski, Libertas, op. cit. p. 119; Hausmaninger, Der Kleine Pauly, "comitia," pp. 1254ff.; Taylor, Voting Assemblies, op. cit., pp. 2, 60.


3 Dio LX.20.3-5: ἀπεικονίσαν τῶν ἀρχοτέρων ὑπὸ τοῦ πολλῷ ἀρχόν τε ἐλευθέρως κεχρηματικῶς ἐστὶ τὸ Ἐπέντε τῶν προσήκοντων σφον ὀντοῦ...

4 The inscription was first published by A. Minto, U. Coli, and P. Raveggi, Notizie degli Scavi, LXXII, 1947, pp. 49-68. The most complete study of the problems involved is G. Tibiletti, Principe e magistrati repubblicani; ricerca di storia augustae e tiberiana (Studi pubblicati dall' Istituto Italiani per la Storia antica IX), Rome, Signorelli, 1953, reviewed by H. Last, JR, XLIV, 1954, pp. 119-121. Add to this A. H. M. Jones, "The
1947, and this inscription contains part of a decree of the senate, by which honors were passed into law for the deceased Germanicus in A.D. 19. One of these honors was the formation and naming after him five new centuries of senators and knights; these new centuries were to supplement ten which had been created by a law of A.D. 5 in honor of Gaius and Lucius Caesar. The function of this centuriate organization is stated as that of the destinatio of candidates for the magistracies to be presented to the comitia. In 23, five further centuries of senators and knights in honor of the younger Drusus were established, so that would then have been a total of twenty. The Tabula Habana indicates that Tacitus was either wrong himself or has been wrongly interpreted to say that elections wholly ceased in 14. The inscription seems to prove that the special centuries made a preliminary selection of candidates, and that these candidates were then presented to the full comitia. The evidence of Velleius and Dio is so explicit that Tacitus could not have been wholly wrong about the change in 14. A number of suggestions have been formulated to fit Tacitus' statement into the procedure described by the inscription as still in effect in 19. Possibly Tiberius, in 14, simply ensured that the candidates put forward by the new centuriate organization should be accepted without dissent in the comitia, or perhaps he arranged for a preliminary agreement on candidates in the senate itself, so that the part played not only by the assembly but even by the new centuriate became a mere formality.  

The comitia continued in the second century to serve for the


1 Eph. Epig. IX, no. 329; Tibiletti, Principe e magistrati, op. cit., p. 199.

2 Tibiletti, Principe e magistrati, op. cit., pp. 141-193, concludes that Tacitus cannot have been entirely wrong and that what Tiberius did was to prevent the magistrate who presides at the comitia from altering the list which had received destinatio from the centuries of senators and knights, see p. 177. In pp. 195-203, he shows that the addition of new centuries in 19 and 23 means that at least formally the system of 5, with a preliminary selection by the praerogative centuries and acceptance by a comitia, was still in effect so that the senate itself was not the sole electing body. Jones, "Elections," loc. cit., adheres more literally to Tacitus and holds that in 14 Tiberius arranged that the senate should select the candidates for office who were to be presented to the praerogative centuries. Thus competition for office was in fact confined to the discussion in the senate. H. Siber, "Die Wahlreform," loc. cit., holds this view, and R. Syme, Tacitus, op. cit., pp. 756-760, accepts Tacitus practically at face value on the transfer of elections to the senate and doubts whether the praerogative centuries had any real function.
renuntiatio of the magistrates. As had already been indicated, the emperors exercised their control over such elections to the magistracies directly by means of commendatio, or indirectly by not allowing anyone to be elected who was unfit by his adherence to partisan cliques or the use of bribery.

Under the Empire, the traditional method for the electing of priests to the greater priestly colleges was presumably subjected to the same election reforms which have been discussed in connection with the elections of the major magistrates, principally designation was made by a praerogative centuriate organization of senators and knights, and, in A.D. 14, that the elections of priests, like those of magistrates, were transferred to the senate. The formal renuntiatio of the people and cooptation by the

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1 Suet. Vit. XI.2; Tac. Hist. II.91.2, III.55.2; Plin. Ep. II.9, VI.6, VIII.23.5; Dio LVIII.20.4; "comitia," Thesaurus Lingual Latinae; and Siber, "Die Wahlreform," loc. cit., p. 209, does not regard the survival of popular elections under Trajan as pure formality.

2 Imperial control of elections is implied throughout Pliny's Panegyricus (Ep. II.1.5; III.7.9, 18.1; IV.15.3); and in the cursus honorum of Tacitus (Hist. I.1.3). Pliny, Ep. X.8, as praefect of the treasury asked Trajan's permission to leave Rome. Hist. Aug. Pius VI.9 and Marc. VI.3 speak of magistracies as the gift of the emperor. See B. M. Levick, "Imperial Control of the Elections under the Early Principate: Commendatio, Suffragatio, and Nominatio," Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte, April, 1967, p. 211: "The provisions of the Lex de Imperio Vespasiani do not imply that either suffragatio or commendatio made election unnecessary; it provides merely that candidates who enjoy the emperor’s support should be voted on extra ordinem, separately." Also, see M. L. Paludini, "Le votazioni del Senato romana nell' età di Traiano," Athenaeum, XXXVII, 1959, pp. 3f.; and W. K. Lacey, "Nominatio and the Elections under Tiberius," Historia, XII, 1963, pp. 267ff.

3 Dio LIII.21.7.

4 B. Kübler, "nominatio," RE, XVII, p. 828; RSR, II, p. 1109; RKR, pp. 487-491. Tac. Ann. III.29: "Paucis post diebus Caesar auctor senatui fuit Vitellio atque Veranio et Servaeo sacerdobia tribuendi." Pliny indicates that in his time elections were clearly in the senate (Plin. Ep. II.20; Paneg. 63. 2, 71.7). Marcus Aurelius was elected to the priesthoods by the senate (Hist. Aug. Marc. VI.4, X.7-9). In the third century, the ratification by the senate became a formality (Hist. Aug. Sever. Alex. XLIX.2, VIII.1; Prob. XII. 6; Opel. Marc. VII.8). RSR, II, p. 1109: "Die Bestellung der Priester durch Präsentation (nominatio) von Seiten des Collegiums und Wahl und des Präsentationsliste durch die siebzehn Tribus oder seit dem J. 14 n. Chr. durch den
respective colleges was maintained. On a given day of each year, the nominatio of one candidate by each member of the individual colleges was made; thus establishing a list of candidates from which vacancies could then be filled by election. This method of election was probably extended to the gods of the emperors. The emperor, also, held the right of commendatio of candidates for the greater priesthoods, similar to his commendatio in the election of magistrates, and his candidates were called technically candidati caesaris. But, the princeps as pontifex maximus could prevail in creating new positions in the greater priestly colleges, and this power was used by him with increased frequency. Thus, free election in the senate became very rare, and imperial proposal became the way of entering the greater priesthoods.


3 RSR, II, pp. 1109.


5 Dio LIII.17.8; RSR, II, p. 1111: "Allem Anschein nach war es dem Umfang nach bloss rechlich unbegrenzt, sondern wurde auch factisch von den Kaisern in solcher ausdehnung geübt, dass die eigentlich normale Form der Priestererkrirung durch freie Wahl des Senats wenigstens in den grösseren Collegien selten vor kam als die auf Kaiserlichen Vorschlag." Hoffman Lewis,
Election in the senate was continued as a means of coopting the emperor and the princes into the aforesaid priesthoods. The greater flamines and the rex sacrorum were, also, filled directly by the emperor in his capacity as pontifex maximus.

The exact number of members in the greater priestly colleges during the imperial period is uncertain. The senate, in 29 B.C., decreed that Augustus, on any occasion, might choose as many priests as he wished, even beyond the regular number. Dio states that because of this decree he can no longer make any attempt to give the exact number of priests in the various colleges. Alfred von Domaszewski suggested the sodales Augustales took their number from that of the college of pontiffs, which in his view consisted of nine patricians and twelve plebeians. He thought that under Trajan there were twenty-three pontifices maiores, nine patricians and twelve plebeians. Edmund Groag refuted Domaszewski's theory that one can reconstruct the membership of the pontifical college by use of the names of the calatores who were freed men.

Official Priests, op. cit., p. 16: "But since he (Augustus) and later emperors, as members of all four colleges, could make nominations, it is obvious that the men elected priests met with their approval, and that the actual method of election had little importance."

1 RSR, II, pp. 1104, 1111.
2 RKR, p. 487; RSR, II, p. 1113.
3 Dio LI.20.3: ἄρεσ τε αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν ἅριθμόν, ὃσοις ἂν δεῖ ἐθελήσαι. . .
Suet. Aug. 31: "Sacerdotum et numerum et dignitatem sed et commoda auxit."
4 Dio LI.20.3: οὕτως μὴ δέν ἐτι κρῆναι μὲν περὶ τοῦ πλῆθους ἀυτῶν ἀκρὴ βολῆς ἐποθὰν.
of the pontifices. He considers that thirty-two places in the college were not unusual. The acta of the Ludi Saeculares, in 17 B.C., contain a list of the quindecimviri present during certain parts of the games. The college at this time contained twenty-one members, sixteen regular members and five magistri. The acta of the Ludi Saeculares, in A.D. 204, also, comprise a list of the XV viri present. The college at this time contained only fourteen members, and nine members were listed as magistri. Based upon the power of the emperor to increase the size of the priestly colleges, as discussed above, it is impossible, during the imperial period, to establish a known number for membership in any of the greater priesthoods.

Social Status of the Priestly Position.

Under the emperors, the greater priesthoods lost their political influence, but they retained the outward appearance of their religious functions, and membership in a priesthood brought social prestige and honor. Augustus increased the eminence and privileges of the greater priesthood, and Otho assigned pontificates and augurships to old men of distinction and to young men whose fathers and ancestors had held them. Flavius the Younger


2CIL VI.32327 = ILS 5050a.


speaks of the honor of the augurate,¹ and the sodales Antoniniani, under
Marcus Aurelius, were appointed from the kinsmen or closest friends of the
imperial family.² The greater priests continued to be members of the imperial
consular families; they named their priesthoods in a conspicuous manner on
their inscriptions; and they participated with the emperor in the official
state processions, sacrifices, and banquets.³ The priests, also, were free
from military service and the munera.⁴ The importance of a priestly position
in a career of high distinction is illustrated by a passage in Seneca,⁵
which lists in order the stages of a career that began with the praetorship,
passed through the suffect consulship and the regular consulship, and the
possession of one greater priesthood and culminated in the acquisition of more
than one minor priesthood.

Membership in a greater priesthood during the Flavian-Antonine era

¹Plin. Ep. IV.8: "Gratularis mihi, quod acceperim auguratum. Iure
gratularis, primum quod gravissimi principis iudicium in minoribus etiam rebus
consequi pulchrum est, deinde quod sacer dotium ipsum cum priscum et
religiosum tum hoc quoque sacrum plane et insigne est, quod non adimitur
viventi. Nam cetera quam dignitate propemodum paria ut tribuuntur sic
auferuntur, in hoc fortunae hactenus licet, ut dari possit."
²Hist. Aug. Marc. VII.11: "et laudavere uterque pro rostris patrem
flaminemque ei ex adfinibus et sodales ex amicissimis Aurelianos creavere."
³Marquardt, p. 223; Hoffman Lewis, Official Priests, op. cit., p. 18.
⁴Marquardt, p. 223: "die Freiheit vom Militärdienst, von bürgerlichen
Amtern (munera) und Abgaben."
⁵Seneca, de ira III.31: "Dedit mihi praeturam; sed consulatum
peraveram, dedit duodecim fasces; sed non fecit ordinarium consulem. a me
numenari voluit annum; sed deest mihi ad sacerdotium. cooptatus in collegium
num; sed cur in unum? consummavit dignitatem meam; sed patrimonio nihil
contulit."
continued to sustain prestige in Roman society. The greater priestly colleges persisted to be open only to senators, and all the known men elevated to the greater priesthoods for the aforesaid period also held the curule magistracies. A position in a greater priesthood ranked among such honors as the consulship, the censorship, and a triumph. Cooptation to a greater priestly college was for life, while election to the curule magistracies was only for a year, and this meant that the priest could for life participate in the public processions of the ludi and in state banquets for the priests at the great festivals. Numerous games were instituted during the Empire, and these games brought the greater priests into particularly close contact with the emperor. The new priestly functions, which have been discussed previously, increased the importance of their role. Also, a greater priest could presumably display his traditional dress and the ancient symbols of his priesthood at funeral processions, the public games, and the state sacrifices. These emblems were the simpulum for the pontificate, the lituus for the augurate, the tripod for the quindecimvirate, and the patera for the septemvirate. Priestly traditions continued to be built up in the eminent families, and Seneca emphasizes the importance of ancestry in securing a priesthood.

The princeps probably used positions in the greater priesthoods as means of gratifying the wishes of his cronies for honors and of securing their

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1 Marquardt, p. 223.

2 Mattingly, BMC, p. xli; Marquardt, pp. 222f. There is the possibility that the priests were allowed a lictor when they exercised the sacred function. cf. Dio LVI.46.2; Tac. Ann. XIII.2; Inez Scott Ryberg, Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art, Rome, American Academy, 1955, p. 82, note 5.

3 Seneca, de ben. IV.30.2.
loyalty. In addition, sacerdotal membership became a supplementary way for a royal companion to demonstrate his obsequium to the state and the emperor.¹ The greater priesthoods remained as relics of the ancient lofty prestige held by the republican Roman aristocracy. Priestly posts could be coveted by the leading men with relative safety, unlike military or political distinctions, they did not make their holders rivals of the emperor.

CHAPTER III

THE GREATER PRIESTS OF THE FLAVIAN EMPERORS

In this chapter, the greater priests elevated or in service under the Flavian emperors will be treated. M. Aquilius Regulus and L. Verginius Rufus, who were members of greater priesthoods, but the exact priesthood cannot be determined, will also be considered. Since Hoffman Lewis has not listed the priests coopted in 69, they have been included in the following lists.

Pontifices and Flamines.

1. L. LIVIUS OCELLA SER. SULPICIUS GALBA - SER. GALBA IMP. CAESAR

AUGUSTUS: (PIR, III, 284, no. 723; Münzer, "Sulpicius," RE, IVA (63), pp. 772ff.; De Laet 796; Habel 24; quindecimvir 1; also sodalis Augustalis, sodalis Titius, frater arvalis). Patrician; cos. I ord. 33; II ord. 69. Pontifex Maximus (CIL XVI.7 = ILS 1988):


(see, also, Tac. Hist. I.27, 29; Plut. Galba 24; Dio LXIII.4).

Galba was recognized by the senate on June 9, 68 (Suet. Galba 2). But, the supreme pontificate could not be bestowed until the emperor was present in Rome. As was described in chapter II, he had to officially stand before the comitia. The time of Galba's arrival at Rome is uncertain, possibly September

1 Dec. 22, 68.
or October of the same year. Münzer, in RE, suggests September or October of 68. The earliest coins showing Galba as pont. max. date December 22, 68 (RE, I, nos. 309-363).


    div manibus Liciniae, Crassi Frugi pontificis f., Magnae, L. Pisonis pontificis uxor.¹

Date of cooptation is unknown; Hoffman Lewis places it under Claudius. We know from the above inscription that he was a pontiff before the death of his wife. His priesthood terminated in 70 with his death. He became an advisor of Nero and served as proconsul for Africa 69/70 (Tac. Hist. IV.38.1). Calpurnius Piso was murdered in 70 by Valerius Festus, who suspected him of aspiring to the purple (Tac. Ann. XV.18; Hist. IV.38, 48-50; Plin. Ep. III.7.12). He was the son of L. Calpurnius Piso the consul for 27 (Plin. Ep. III.7.12).


    Pontifex Maximus (MS, I, Otho, nos. 3-10):

¹ Groag (RE, pp. 1385,22f) states that this inscription might refer to L. Calpurnius Piso, "Pontifex (wenn sich nämlich die Inschrift CIL VI.1445, wie wahrscheinlich, auf ihn bezieht)." While Hanslik ("Calpurnius," Der Reine Pauly, I (20), p. 1024) lists him as only a frater arvalis. Dessau (ILS, I, 208) says, "Maritus videtur L. Calpurnius Piso consul a. 57." Also, see Chilver, "Piso," OCD² (20), p. 1024.
Acta of the Arval brethren give the specific date, March 9, 69 (CIL VI. 2051 = ILS 241), for the election of Otho to the supreme pontificate. The election was before a comitia. Otho had become emperor on January 15, 69, the day of Galba's death (Suet. Otho 7).

A. VITELLIUS - A. VITELLIUS AUGUSTUS IMP. GERMANICUS: (PIR, III, 449, no. 499; not in RE; De Laet 1161; Habel 26; see quindecimvir 3; also frater arvalis). Patrician; cos. I ord. 48; II ord. 69. Pontifex Maximus (MS, II, Vitellius, nos. 18-10; Suet. Vit. 11.2):

Magis deinde ac magis omni divino humanoque iure neglecto Alliensie die pontificatum maximum cepit,

Date of inauguration was July 18, 69 (Suet. Vit. 11.2; Tac. Hist. II.90, 91). Vitellius had been saluted as emperor on the previous April 19 in Germany (Tac. Hist. II.55), and had only reached Rome by late July (cf. pontifex 1).

TI. PLAUTIUS SILVANUS AELIANUS: (PIR, III, 47, no. 363; M. Hofmann, "Plautius," RE, XXI (47), pp. 35ff.; De Laet 729; Stech 6; Habel 27; Howe pontifex 23; Hoffman Lewis pontifex 37; also sodalis Augustalis). Patrician; cos. I suf. 45 (CIL X.825); II suf. 74 (CIL I.774).

Pontifex (CIL XIV.3608 = ILS 986):


1 Winkler, "Otho," Der kleine Pauly, IV, pp. 380f.
per quem pacem provincià et confirmavit et protulit; Scytharum quoque regem a Cherronensi, quae est ultra Borustenenum, opsidione summòto. Primus ex ea provincia magno tritici modo annonam p(opuli) R(omani) adlevavit. Hunc legatum in Hispaniam ad praefectur. urbis remissum senatus in praefectura triumphalibus ornamentis honoravit, auctore imp. Caesare Augusto Vespasiano, verbis ex oratone eius q(uae) i(nfra) s(cripta) s(unt):

Moesiae ita praefuit, ut non debuerit in me differri honor triumphiium eius ornamentalorum; nisi quod latior ei contigit mora titulus praefecto urbis.


Date of elevation occurred before 70; Tacitus (Hist. IV.53) relates, "Tum Helvidius Priscus praetor, præsunte Plautio Aeliano pontifice, lustrato suovetaurilibus area." Hoffman Lewis places his installation under Tiberius, because he began his public career under Tiberius. He died before 79, because Vespasian is not a god on the above inscription. Based on the above inscription, Plautius Aelianus was a quaestor under Tiberius, a praetor, proconsul to Asia probably early in the reign of Nero, and appointed praefectus urbis by Vespasian. He was possibly the adopted son of M. Plautius Silvanus (PIR, III, 46, no. 361) consul in 2 B.C., but the precise degree of relationship is uncertain.1

6. T. FLAVIUS VESPASIANUS - IMP. CAESAR VESPASIANUS AUGUSTUS: (PIR, II, 77, no. 263; PIR2, III, no. 398; Weynaud, "Flavius," RE, VI (206) pp. 262ff.; De Laet 621; Stech 1; Habel 28; Howe pontifex 24; Hoffman Lewis sacerdos 13; see augur 1; quindecimvir 4; septemvir 2; also sodalis Augustalis). Patrician, possibly after 70;2 cos. I suf. 51; II ord.


70; etc. Suetonius (Vesp. IV.2) states that Vespasian received two priesthoods between his governorship in Britain and his consulship. There is no other evidence for the specific priesthoods until 70 (MS, II, p. 15):

**IMP. CAESAR VESPASIAN AUG. P. M.**

This evidence suggests that Vespasian waited until he came to Rome before assuming the supreme pontificate (cf. pontifex 1). The date of his return is uncertain but fell after June 21, 70, if the implication of Tac. Hist. IV.531 that he was not present when work was begun on restoring the Capitoline temple is to be accepted against the statement of Suet. Vesp. 8.52 and Dio LXV.10.23. The title p.m. first appears on gold and silver coins in 70/71.

7. T. FLAVIUS VESPASIANUS - IMP. TITUS VESPASIANUS AUGUSTUS: (PIR, II, 79, no. 264; Weynaud, "Flavius," RE, VI (207), pp. 2695ff.; De Laet I403; Stech 2; Habel 29; Howe pontifex 25; see augur 2; quindecimvir 6; septemvir 3; also sodalis Augustalis). Patrician after 70 (cf. pontifex 6); cos. I ord. 70; II ord. 72; III ord. 74; IV ord. 75; V ord. 76; VI ord. 77; VII ord. 79; VIII ord. 80. Cooptation was in 71 to all the major priestly colleges (ILLS 258):

T. Caesari Au(g. f.) Vespasiano im(p.) trib. potest., co(s), censori desig., collegiorum omnium sacerd(oti).

An inscription (CIL XI.3734) states that Titus was made a pontifex in 71; he became Pontifex Maximus in 79 (MS, II, p. 112; CIL XVI.24; Suet. Titus 9.1).

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1 "Curiam restituendi Capitolii in Lucium Vestinum confert, equestris minimis virum, sed auctoritate famaque inter proceres."

2 "Ipse restitutionem Capitolii adgressus."

3 Τόν τε νεων τόν εν τῷ καττιτωλίῳ εὔθυς

Μοσομένην ἔργατο, . . .
Titus became emperor on Vespasian's death on June 24, 79.

T. FLAVIUS DOMITIAN - IMP. CAESAR DOMITIANUS AUGUSTUS: (PIR, II, 67, no. 176; Weynaud, "Flavius," RE, VI (77), pp. 254ff.; Stech 3; Habel 30; Howe pontifex 26; see augur 4; quindecimvir 7; septemvir 4; also frater arvalis). Patrician after 70 (cf. pontifex 6); cos. I suf. 71; II ord. 73; III suf. 74; IV suf. 76; V suf. 77; VI suf. 79; VII ord. 80. Coaption took place in 73 to all the major colleges (CIL IX.4955 = ILS 267):

Domitiano cos. I(I), sacerdoti (c)onlegiorwn omniu(m), principi iuventuti(s).

He became Pontifex Maximus on September 30, 81 (CIL III.312).

Q. JULIUS CORDINUS C. RUTILIUS C. f. GALLICUS: (PIR, III, 148, no. 167 = 149, no. 169; Groag, "Rutilius," RE, IA (19), pp. 1255ff.; De Laet 1099; Stech 43; also sodalis Augustalis). Plebeian, novus homo; cos. I suf. 71/72 (CIG 5838 = IG 760; CIL VI.2016); II suf. 82-85 (CIL V.6988 = ILS 1007). Inauguration as pontifex (AE, 1936, no. 28; CIL VIII. 14882 = 5955) was apparently under Vespasian:

(ex au)ct. imp. Vesp(s)iani Cae(s.) Aug. p. p., fines provinciae novae et veter. derecti qua fossa regia fuit per Rutilium Gallicum cos. pont., et Sentium Caecili(a)num praetorem, legato(s) Aug. pro pr.

Rutilius Gallicus' life is contained in ILS 9499:


Since the latter inscription contains his cursus honorum down to his first consulship, elevation as a pontiff came after 71. Rutilius Gallicus died in

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1 Groag (RE, pp. 1258,65f.) declares, "In einem der ersten Regie-
92, because another took his place in the sodalis Augustalis in that year (CIL VI.1984). He served as governor for Lower Germany in 76-78 (CIL XVI.23; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 123ff.). Rutilius Gallicus’ origin was Transpadane Italy (Stat. Silv. I.4).¹

10. C. CALPETANUS RANTIUS QUIRINALIS VALERIUS POMP(TINA) FESTUS: (PIR, I, 272, no. 184; Groag, "Calpetanus," RE, III (2), pp. 1363,64; De Laet 1193; Stech 49; Habel 31; Howe pontifex 27; also sodalis Augustalis). Plebeian, novus homo; cos. suf. 71 (CIL XIV.2242). Based on the following inscription, according to PIR, his elevation as pontifex (CIL V.531 = ILS 989) occurred after being a curator alvei Tiberis, conceivably late 73 or early 74.²

(C.) Calpe(tano) Rant(io) Quirinal(i Va)lerio P. f. Pomp. F(esto III)vir. viar curand., t(r. mil. le)g. VI Victor., quaestor, se(viro equit. Romanor., tr. pleb., prae(tori, soda)li August., leg. pro praet. ex(ercit. Afri)ce, cos., donato ab imper(atore hastis) puris IIII vexillis IIII co(ronis IIII v)allari murali classica a(urea, cura)tori alvei Tiberis et ripa(rum, pon)tif., leg. Aug. pro pr. provinc(iae Pan)noniae et provinc(iae) Hispaniae, patrono, plebs urbana.

Valerius Festus served as governor for Numidia in 69-70 (Tac. Hist. II.98, IV.49; ILS 989; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., p. 113), for Pannonia 73-77 (CIL III 11194, 11196; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 119ff.), for Greater Hispania 78-81 (ILS 254; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 125ff.). He was, also, propraetor

¹ Rutilius Gallicus reorganized the African finances under Vespasian, and he supervised the German operations which led to the capture of Veleda (ILS 9052). He was a friend of Domitian and served as praefectus urbis under the aforesaid emperor (Stat. Silv. I.4; Juv. XIII.157-158). Also Winkler, "Rutilius," Der kleine Pauly, IV (1), p. 1473; Syme, "Rutilius," OCD², p. 940; Syme, CAH, XI, p. 158.

² He held the post curator alvei Tiberis in 72/73 (CIL VI.1238).
to Africa in 70/71 (Tac. Hist. II.98; IV.49; Plin. Ep. III.7.12).  

11. CN. JULIUS AGRICOLA: (PIR, II, 161, no. 84; PIR², IV, no. 126; Gaheis, "Julius," RE, X (49), pp. 125ff.; De Laet 1422; Stech 68; Habel 32; Howe pontifex 28). Patrician after 74 (Tac. Agr. IX); cos. suf. 77 (Tac. Agr. IX). He became a pontifex (Tac. Agr. IX) in 77:

Revertentem ab legatione legionis divus Vespasianus inter patricios adscivit; . . . consul egregiae tum spei iuveni mihi despondit ac post consulatum collocavit, et statim Britanniae praepositus est, adiecto pontificatus sacerdoto.

Julius Agricola was a tribunus militum, quaestor to Asia in 63/64, tribunus plebis, praetor in 68, governor of Aquitania 73-77 (Tac. Agr. IX; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 119f.), and of Britain 78-85 (Tac. Agr. IX: Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 125ff.). He was the son of Julius Graecinus, a Roman senator (Tac. Agr. IV).  


Imp(eratori) Caesa [r] i Vespasian [o Aug(usto) p] ont(ifici) max(imo)
This inscription is dated 77/78 because Vespasian is in his eighth consulship.
Paccius Africanus was a member of the senate under Nero (Tac. Hist. IV.41) and proconsul for Africa 77/78 (AE, 1949, no. 84 = IRT 342; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., p. 124).¹

13. L. FLAVIUS SILVA NONIUS BASSUS: (PIR, II, 75, no. 243; PIR², III, no. 368; Goldfinger, "Flavius," RE, VI (181), p. 2617; De Laet 1401; Stech 105; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 93ff.). Patrician under Vespasian;


He became a priest presumably under Vespasian, according to Eck (Senatoren, op. cit., p. 103, note 48),² who assumes that his cooptation took place after his consulship. Eck bases his idea on Cn. Julius Agricola's experience, who was invested into the college of pontiffs on the conclusion of his consulship.

But, as stated in the introduction, the career of Cornelius Tacitus disproves


²"Wann er pontifex wurde, lässt sich nicht leicht sagen; es kann vor oder nach dem Konsulat geschehen sein. Cn. Iulius Agricola der ebenfalls pontifex war, wurde z. B. nach dem Konsulat in dieses Priesterkollegium aufgenommen (Tac. Agr. IX.6)."
This theory. Flavius Silva was also governor of Judaea 73-80 (Jos. Bell. VII.8; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 119ff.).

1. Flavius Silva was also governor of Judaea 73-80 (Jos. Bell. VII.8; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 119ff.).

L. HELVIUS AGrippa: (PIR, II, 131, no. 45; PIR2, IV, no. 64; Kadlec, "Helvius," RE, VIII (8), p. 225; De Laet 1417; Stech 93; Habel 33; Howe pontifex 29; Hoffman Lewis pontifex 48). Plebeian; novus homo. As pontifex (Dio LXVII.3.32) Helvius Agrippa died in 83:

Date of election is unknown. Hoffman Lewis suggests that he might have been elected pontiff under Nero. We know that he died in 83, therefore, he was active under Vespasian. Helvius Agrippa was proconsul for Sardinia 68/69 (CIL I.7852 = ILS 5947; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., p. 222, note 458). According to PIR2 his origin was the province of Baetica (CIL II.1184, 1262).


He first appears in public life in the year 82, and his last office was in the year 102. Therefore, elevation to the priesthood might have been during the reign of Domitian or even possibly under Trajan. His date of inauguration is most difficult to determine with any certainty. Javolenus Priscus was a


prominent Roman jurist, and served as governor of Numidia 82-85 (CIL VIII. 23165; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 13ff.), Greater Germany 89-92 (CIL XVI. 36; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 14ff.), Syria 98-101 (ILS 1015; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 152ff.), and Africa 101/102 (ILS 1015; Eck, Senatoren op. cit., p. 158).1


C. Calpurnius Crassus Frugi Licinianus,
Consul, Pontifex et Aegdia Quintia Crassi.

His induction must have been under Domitian, since he was exiled by Nerva. It is known that Calpurnius Crassus conspired against Nerva and was banished to Tarentum (Dio LXVIII.3.2). He was later brought to trial on the charge of conspiring in opposition to Trajan and was condemned (Dio LXVIII.3.6). He met his death in 117 (Hist. Aug. Hadr. V.5). It appears that he was a nephew of Piso Licinianus, whom Galba adopted; and a relative of L. Calpurnius Piso (cf. pontifex 2).3


2 C. Calpurnius Crassus Frugi Licinianus is supposedly identified with C. Calpurnius Piso Licinianus, consul early in 87.

M. LOLLIUS PAULLINUS VALERIUS ASIATICUS SATURNINUS: (PIR, II, 296, no. 233; Weynaud, "Valerius," RE, VIIA (108), p. 2346; Stech 790; Lambrechts 85; Habel 34 and 46; Howe pontifex 30 and 52; also salius Collinus).

Patrician; cos. I suf. 93 or 94 (CIL XVI.38): II ord. 125 (CIG II. 2562).

Pontifex (CIL XIV.4240):

(M. Lo)llio D. F. D. N. Vo(l. Paul)lino Valer(io Asi)atico
Saturnino I(livro) A. A. F. F. Sallio Coll(ino, Pon)tif, quaestor,
Imp. Cas(saris) Praetori.

Elevation might have occurred under Domitian. Lollius Paullinus began his public career as a quaestor candidate of Domitian. Since he was a patrician and held the consulship under Domitian, he was apparently elevated as pontiff during his reign. He served as governor of Asia 108/109 (CIL III.14195; IGR 11.960; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., p. 170) and as praefectus urbis (CIL XIV.3713). His father was D. Valerius Asiaticus, consul in 69, and his uncle was Valerius Asiaticus the consul in 46.1


Pontifex (CIL VIII.13 = IRT 537):

Q. Pomponius Rufus cos. pont. sodal. Fla. cur. oper. publicor.
leg. Aug. pro pr. provinc. (M)oesiae Dalmat. Hisp. leg. leg. V
prae. orae marit. Hispan. Citer. Gallia(e) N(a)nbon. bello qu(od)
imp. G(a)lba pro (rep.) gessit procos. provinc. Africae per L.
Asinium Ru(fum).

Inception took place seemingly at the time of consulship under Domitian. Again, the date of inauguration is most difficult to establish.

Pomponius Rufus was governor of Dalmatia 92-95 (CIL XVI.38; Eck, Senatoren, 1

1 Valerius Asiaticus might have been the grandson of D.(?) Valerius Asiaticus, consul for 35.
Based on the above cited inscription, he also held a command under Galba in the rebellion against Nero.\(^1\)

**Augures.**

1. **T. FLAVIUS VESPASIANUS - IMP. CAESAR VESPASIANUS AUGUSTUS:** (see pontifex 6; quindecimvir 4; septemvir 2; Howe augur 36; Hoffman Lewis sacerdos 13). Augur (MS, II, p. 15):

   IMP. CAES. VESPASIAN AUG. P. M. AUG.

Suetonius (Vesp. 4.2) states that Vespasian received two priesthoods between his governorship in Britain and his consulship. One of these was perhaps to the augurate; in 70, he is referred to as augur (Cohen I.371, nos. l1-l3).

2. **T. FLAVIUS VESPASIANUS - IMP. TITUS VESPASIANUS AUGUSTUS:** (see pontifex 7; quindecimvir 6; septemvir 3). Augur (MS, II, p. 120):

   IMP. TITUS CAESAR f. VESPASIANUS AUG. A.

Cooptation was, in 71, to all the major priestly colleges (ILS 258).\(^2\)

3. **M. COCCEIUS NERVA - IMP. NERVA CAESAR AUGUSTUS:** (PIR, I, 429, no. 974; PIR\(^2\), II, no. 1227; A. Steine, "Cocceius," RE, IV (16), pp. 133ff.; Stech 47; Howe augur 4; Hoffman Lewis augur 52; see pontifex 19; quindecimvir 19; septemvir 14; also sodalis Augustalis; salius

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\(^1\) Syme, Tacitus, op. cit., pp. 51-52, 68-71, 176; not in Der kleine Pauly. Hanslik (RE, pp. 2347, 57f.) declares, "In der Liste der kalatores pontificum et flaminum vom J. 101 erscheint ein Xuthus als kalator des P.; als war er in diesem Jahr schon Pontifex."

\(^2\) cf. pontifex 7.

M. Cocceius (M. f. .... Nerva cos.), augur, sodal(is August. .... quaest.) urb., Vivir turma(e eq. R., .... salius) Palat., trium­phalib(us ornamentis) honoratus patron(us) ....... vetustate conla(ps) .......

Installation was apparently before the time of the first consulship. Hoffman Lewis places the elevation to the priesthood after 65 and feasibly under Nero. In CIL, the inscription is restored augur, sodalis Augustalis, praetor.

4. T. FLAVIUS DOMITIANUS - IMP. CAESAR DOMITIANUS AUGUSTUS: (see pontifex 8; quindecimvir 7; septemvir 4). Augur.

Inauguration, in 73, occurred to all the greater priestly colleges (CIL IX. 1955 = ILS 267).

5. T. CLODIUS M. f. EPRIUS MARCELLUS: (PIR, I, 415, no. 915; Kappelmacher, "Clodius," RE, VI, pp. 261ff.; De Laet 980; Stech 18; Howe augur 40; Hoffman Lewis augur 50; also sodalis Augustalis; curio maximo).

Plebeian, novus homo; cos. I suf. 61 or 62;2 II suf. 74 (CIL XVI.20; ILS 1992). Augur (CIL X.3853 = ILS 992):


Since he became a personal friend of both Nero and Vespasian, it is impossible to determine an approximate date for induction into the augurate. Clodius Marcellus was a praetor in 48 (Tac. Ann. XII.4; CIL X.3853) and governor to Asia 70-73 (ILS 992; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 115ff.). He enjoyed influence with Vespasian (Tac. dial. 8; Hist. II.95) until 79, when Clodius

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1 cf. pontifex 8.

2 Der kleine Pauly, p. 44, note 11 (cos. I fuit circa a. 61).
conspired with Caesina Alienus and was forced to commit suicide (Dio LXVI. 16). 1

6. SEX. JULIUS FRONTINUS: (PIR, II, 192, no. 216; Kappelmacher, "Julius," RE, X (243), pp. 591ff.; De Laet 1424; Stech 60; Howe augur 42; Hoffman Lewis augur 53). Plebeian; conceivably novus homo; cos. I suf. 74 (CIL VI.2016); II suf. 98 (CIL III.862); III ord. 100 (CIL VI.2222). Augur (Plin. Ep. IV.8; V.1; IX.19):

Gratularis mihi, quod acceperim auguratum. . . . Mihi vero etiam illud gratulatione dignum videtur, quod successi Iulio Frontino.

Date of elevation is unknown, likely it was under Vespasian, since his public career began with Vespasian’s reign. Julius Frontinus was a praetor in 70 (Tac. Hist. IV.39), governor of Britannia 73-79 (Tac. Agr. 17.2; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 119ff.); Lesser Germany 82-84 (CIL XIII.8624; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 131ff.), Asia 86/87? (Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 80, 137). He died in 103 (Plin. Ep. IV.8). 2


Q. Volusio Q. f. L. n. Saturnino, auguri, salio Pal(atino) IIIvir. a. a. (a. f. f.), praefecto (urbi), (ce)nturione eq(uitum), (tu)rmae p(rimae) (Di)dymus (lid. fec.).


2 Neumann, "Frontinus," Der kleine Pauly, II, pp. 615ff.; Whittick, "Frontinus," OCD², p. 448. Julius Frontinus was a friend of Tacitus and the other-in-law of Q. Sosius Senecio, the patron of literature and personal friend of Pliny the Younger and Plutarch.
Inauguration supposedly took place under Domitian; the only known date in his career is his consulship. Volusius Saturninus was the son of Q. Volusius Saturninus a consul in 56.

L. NONIUS CALPURNIUS TORQUATUS ASPRENAS: (PIR, II, 414, no. 123; Groag, "Nonius," RE, XVII (31), pp. 877-878; Stech 794; Lambrechts 102; also sodalis Augustalis). Patrician; cos. I ord. 94 (CIL VI.1988); II ord. 128 (CIL VI.2376). Augur (AE, 1924, no. 73):


Installation might have been under Domitian, because his public career was during Domitian's reign. Nonius Asprenas, also, served as governor for Cilicia between 72 and 82 (AE, 1966, no. 486; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., p. 221) and for Asia between 87 and 96 (JÖAI 28, 1933, B. 43; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., p. 220). He presumably was the son of L. Nonius (Calpurnius) Asprenas (septemvir 5).²

Quindecimviri sacris faciundis.

L. LIVIUS OCELLA SER. SULPICIUS GALBA - SER. GALBA IMP. CAESAR AUGUSTUS: (see pontifex 1; Howe quindecimvir 31; Hoffman Lewis quindecimvir 34). Quindecimvir (Suet. Galba 8):

Obres tune in Africa et olim in Germania gestas ornamenta triumphalia accepit et sacerdotium, inter quindecimviros sodalesque Titios item Augustales cooptatus.

Cooptation was in 46.


(d)is manibus (L.) Calpurni (P)isonis Frugi Liciniani, (XV)vir. s. f., et Ve(r)aniae, Q. Verani cos., aug., f., Germinae Pisonis Frugi.

Date of election is unknown. Piso LIGINianus was adopted by Galba (Suet. Galba 17; Tac. Hist. I.15)--Ser. Sulpicius? Galba Caesar--and he was put to death by Otho (Suet. Otho 6.3; Tac. Hist. I.19). Piso lived in exile under Nero (Tac. Hist. I.48), therefore he held no major offices of state. He was descended from C. Crassus Longinus on his father's side and from Sextius Pompeius on his mother's side. M. Licinius Crassus Frugi, consul for 27, and Scribonia were his parents (Tac. Hist. I.14; Plut. Galba 23).¹

3. A. VITELLIUS - A. VITELLIUS AUGUSTUS IMP. GERMANICUS: (see pontifex 4; Howe quindecimvir 35; Hoffman Lewis quindecimvir 44). Quindecimvir

IMP. GERMANICUS XV S. F.

Date of inauguration was July 18, 69, when Vitellius was saluted as emperor in Rome.

4. T. FLAVIUS VESPASIANUS - IMP. CAESAR VESPASIANUS AUGUSTUS: (see pontifex 6; augur 1; septemvir 2). Quindecimvir.

Cooptation took place to the greater priestly colleges, when he became


(M. Ulp)ium Traianum cos., lega(tum imp. Titi C)aes(a)ri s(d)i Vespasi(a)ni f. Vespasianus Aug. pro praet. provinciae Syriae, procos. Asiae et Hisp. B(a)eticae, XVvi(rwn s. f., sodal)em F(l)avialem, triumphalibus ornam(en)tis ex S. C. (honoratum).

Elevation occurred feasibly under Vespasian, because he was raised to the patriciate by Vespasian and his public career began under Vespasian. Ulpius Traianus was the father of the emperor Trajan (ILS 8797). He served as governor to possibly Cappadocia-Galatia 70-73 (Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 121-122).

Augustus was a member of all the greater priestly colleges (Res Gestae I.7). This established the principle that the emperor was a member of all the greater priesthoods (RSR, II, p. 1103). Nero was coopted into all four greater priesthoods immediately after he had assumed the toga virilis (Cohen I,300; a coin, of 51, has the legend NERO CLAUD. CAES. DRUSUS GERM. IVVENT. SACERD. COOPT. IN OMN. CONL. SUPRA NVM. EX S. C. and the symbols of the four greater priesthoods.), and this possibly established the precedent of cooptation to the greater priesthoods as a designation of succession. The precedent was functioning under Vespasian, for Titus (ILS 258) and Domitian (ILS 267) were elevated to greater priesthoods as a designation of succession (see, also, Hist. Aug. Marc. VI, XVI.2; Com. I.10, XII.1). When the son of the emperor received the title of Caesar, he shared in all the titles which were conferred on the emperor (Plin. Paneg. 8.6: "Simul filius simul Caesar,nox imperator et consors tribunicae potestatis, et omnia pariter et statim factus es, quae proxime parens verus tantum in alterum filium contulit.").

Nabel, Pontificum, op. cit., p. 63, believes that, up to 51, the emperors bestowed membership in the greater priesthoods on the Caesars by using their special powers of commendation, but these Caesars were forced to wait until a place in the colleges became vacant, and that, after 51, the Caesars became members of the colleges immediately supra numerum. RSR, II, p. 1105: "Ähnlich wurde durch Verfahren worden, wenn einem zur Nachfolge bestimmten Prinzen die Kaiserliche Prärogative der Mitgliedschaft aller grossen Collegien verliehen werden sollte." cf. Marquardt, p. 222.
Syria 73-78 (CRAI, 1951, p. 255; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 119ff.), and Asia 79/80 (IGR IV.845; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., p. 127). 2

6. T. FLAVIUS VESPASIANUS - IMP. TITUS VESPASIANUS AUGUSTUS: (see pontifex 7; augur 2; septemvir 3). Quindecimvir.

Installation was in 71 to all the greater priestly colleges (ILS 258). 3

7. T. FLAVIUS DOMITIANUS - IMP. CAESAR DOMITIANUS AUGUSTUS: (see pontifex 8; augur 4; septemvir 4). Quindecimvir (Zosimus II.4).

Inauguration took place to all the greater priestly colleges in 73 (CIL IX. 4958 = ILS 267). 4

8. M. HIRRIUS FRONTIUS NERATUS PANSA: (PIR, II, 144, no. 129; Groag, "Hirrius," RE, XVI (10), p. 2545; De Laet 1420; Stech 69). Patrician, elevated by Vespasian; cos. suf. 76 or 78 (CIL XIII.1675 = ILS 4537).

Quindecimvir (Mario Torelli, "The Cursus Honorum of M. Hirrius Fronto Pansa," JRS, LVIII, pp. 171ff.):

M. Hirri(us f. m. F)ronto Neratius Pansa, co(n)s(ul), curator aedium sacrarum et operum locorum(ue) publicorum, adlectus ab imp(eratoris) Caesa(rius) Vespasiano Aug. inter patricios, ab eodem donatus hastis puris IV, vexillis IV, coronis IV murali, vallari, classica, aurea, censendo reg(iones) X, leg(atus) pr(o) pr(aetore) imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) Vespasiani Aug(usti) exercitus qui in Armeniam Maiorem est, XVvir s(acris) f(aciundis), leg(atus) pr(o) pr(aetore) imp(eratoris) Caesaris Vespasiani Aug(usti) provinciae Cappadociae Galatiae Armeniae Minoris.

We can probably assume that cooptation took place under Vespasian, because he held the major offices of state under that emperor. Neratius Pansa served as

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1 Syme, Tacitus, op. cit., p. 31, note 1.
2 M. P. Charlesworth, CAH, XI, p. 10.
3 cf. pontifex 7.
4 cf. pontifex 8.
governor to Lycia 70-72 (REG 71, 1958, p. 261, no. 294; Eck, Senatoren, op.
cit., pp. 115ff.) and Cappadocia-Galatia 77-80 (IGR III.223; Eck, Senatoren,
op. cit., pp. 12ff.). He is the father of L. Neratius Marcellus (PIR, II, 401, no. 43), who, also, states that he was elevated to the patriciate by
Vespasian (CIL IX.2456 = ILS 1032) and became a salius Palatinus.1

9. M. ARRUNTUS M. f. AQUILA: (PIR, I, 145, no. 934; PIR2, I, no. 1139;
Rohden, "Arruntius," RE, II (13), p. 1263; De Laet 1308; Stech 56; Howe
quindecehivir 37; Hoffman Lewis quindecimvir 50). Plebeian, novus homo;
cos. suf. 77? (CIL X.8038).2 Quindecimvir (CIL V.2619 = ILS 980):
Election took place supposedly under Vespasian. Hoffman Lewis places the
cooptation under Nero; since he is a new man, inauguration would have been
closer to his consulship. Syme states,3 "And M. Arruntius Aquila (suff.? 77)
has the 'Teretina' (ILS 980: Patavium), which is the tribe of Atina, the home
of L. Arruntius (cos. 22 B.C.), cf. PIR, I, 1129."

10. A. CAESENNIUS GALLUS: (PIR, I, 265, no. 134; PIR2, II, no. 170; Groag,
"Caesennius," RE, III (4), p. 1306; De Laet 1325; Stech 76; Howe
quindecehivir 38; Hoffman Lewis quindecimvir 49). Plebeian, novus homo?
cos. suf. 80-82 (CIL III.312). Quindecimvir (CIL III.12218):
   X imp. XV p. p. cos. VIII desig. VIII censor (et Domitia)nus
   (Caesar divi Vespasianus f. cos. VII desig. VIII sacerdos omnium
   collegiorum princeps iuventutis per A. Caesennium Gallum cos. XVvir

1Hanslik, "Hirrius," Der kleine Pauly, II, p. 1181.
2Dessau (ILS, I, ... p. 213) places the consulship in 66, and P. von
Rohden (RE) states the year 72.
Based on the above inscription, investation had taken place by the year 80.

Hoffman states that he could have been elevated to the priesthood by Nero; but he was still active under Vespasian. Caesennius Gallus was a legate to Judaea in 66 (Jos. Bell. II.510-513) and governor of Cappadocia-Galatia 80-83 (ILS 263; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 129ff.).


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\begin{align*}
&\text{p. caluisio p. f.} \quad ........... \\
&\text{rusoni l. iulio FRONTINO III VIR} \quad \text{C F AMBibulae?} \\
&\text{aaa ff seuiro equitVM ROMAN \cdot TR \cdot MIL} \\
&\text{leg.} \quad ........... \text{adlecto INTER PATRICIOS} \quad \text{VXORI P Caluisii} \\
&\text{ab imperatore CAES VESPASIANO AG} \\
&\text{quaestori aug. praeTORI COS CVRAT VIAE} \quad \text{RVSONIS L} \\
&\text{............... xu uiro} \quad \text{S F SODALI AVGVSTALI} \\
&\text............... ad sacRA} \quad \text{PROCOS ASIAE CVRA} \\
&\text{tori aedium sacRAR ET OPERVM LOCO} \quad \text{DOMIT} \\
&\text{rumque publ. leg. PRO PR IMP NERVAE TRA} \\
&\text{iani augusti serM DAC PATRONO COL} \quad \text{AVG PP}
\end{align*}
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Cooption apparently occurred under Vespasian or Domitian, because his public career took place during the rule of these emperors. Calvisius Frontinus served as governor of Asia 92/93 (AE, 1967, no. 471; AE, 1966, no. 424; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., p. 143) and Cappadocia-Galatia 104-107 (MAMA, VII.193; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 163ff.). His son was P. Calvisius Ruso Tullus (PIR2, II, no. 357) consul for 109. Calvisius Ruso became a friend of the Flavians and Trajan (Mart. V.28.4); he, also, was the great-grandfather of

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Marcus Aurelius.  

12. A. DIDIUS GALLUS FABRICIUS VEIENTO: (PIR, II, 10, no. 61; PIR², III, no. 91; Groag, "Didius," RE, VI (15), pp. 1938ff.; De Laet 1002; Stech 81; Howe quindecimvir 44; Hoffman Lewis quindecimvir 51; also sodalis Augustalis; sodalis Flavialis; sodalis Titialis). Plebeian; cos. I suf. date unknown; II 80 (CIL XVI.158); III 83 (AE, 1952, no. 168; Plin. Paneg. 58.1). Quindecimvir (CIL XIII.7253 = ILS 1010):  


Inauguration was perhaps under Domitian, because of his close relationship with the emperor;² not under Nero, as Hoffman Lewis suggests, whose disfavor he had earned. Fabricius Veiento had been banished by Nero for his satiric attack on senators and priests, and his publications were burned by the princeps (Tac. Ann. XIV.50). He became a praetor in 54 (Dio LXI.6.2), and he served as a member of Domitian's cabinet and one of Juvenal's satiric counsel (Juv. III.185; IV.113, 123; VI.113).³  


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Installation took place probably about the date of his consulship; this is the only fixed date of his career. Bellicius Tebanianus was the son of C. Bellicius Natalis the consul for 68, and C. Bellicius Tebanianus, consul for 118, was the son of the former.


Nam is quoque edidit ludos saecularis iisque intentius adfui sacerdorio quindecimvirali praeditus ac tunc praetor, quod non iactantia refero, sed quia collegio quindecimvirum antiquitus ea cura et magistratus potissimum exsequambatur officia caerimoniaarum. He was a priest in 88; the exact date of his inauguration is unknown. Since he began his public career late in the rule of Vespasian, it can be supposed that his elevation to the priesthood took place under Domitian. Cornelius Tacitus' offices of state included: quaestor under Vespasian or Titus, praetor under Domitian in 88 (Tac. Hist. I.1), and governor for Asia 112/113 (JoAI, 7, 1932, B. 233; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., p. 176).1


2 His origin was Patavium (Mart. I.63.3).
certe iam nunc Cybelia movit limina et Euboicae carmen legit ille (Arruntius Stella) Sibyllae.

The above reference does prove membership in the priesthood because only the IV viri could open the books of Sibyl.⁴ Statius composed the above marriage-song in honor of Arruntius Stella's marriage in 89. The exact date of election is unknown. Since he was raised to the patriciate by Vespasian, cooptation could feasibly have taken place between Vespasian's reign and 89. Arruntius Stella was the poet-patron of Martial and Statius, and he served as praetor (Mart VIII.78) possibly in 93.²

16. C. VALERIUS FLACCUS SETINUS BALVUS: (PIR, III, 357, no. 53; A. Kurfess, "Valerius," RE, VIIIA (170), pp. 9ff.; Stech 212; Howe quindecimvir h3). Patrician. Quindecimvir (Argonautica I.5; VIII.239-241), according to his own statement:

sic ubi Mygdonios planctus sacer abluit almo, laetaque iam Cybele festaeque per appida taedae, quis modo tam salvos adytis fluxisse cruores cogitet?

Date of cooptation is unknown. Valerius Flaccus seemingly began his poem in 80 (reference to Titus and his Templum Divi Vespasiani, I.239-241). Therefore, induction into the priesthood could have been late in the principate of Vespasian or possibly under Domitian. Quintilian (X.1.90) states that Valerius Flaccus' premature death took place in 92 or 93. His only known work is the Argonautica.³

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¹P. von Rohden (RE, p. 1266,11) states, "Er war Quindecimvir sacris faciundis (Stäat. I.2.177). . . ."


Plebeian, novus homo; cos. suf. 92 (CIL XIV.245). **Quindecimvir** (ILS 8971; IG XIV.1966):


Inauguration supposedly took place under Domitian, because he was a personal friend of Domitian. Julius Celsus Polemaeanus was a Greek from Ephesus,¹ and he was conceivably given senatorial rank by Vespasian in 70 (Tac. Hist. II. 52). He served as governor for Fontus-Bithynia 84/85 (ILS 8971; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., p. 135), Cilicia 90/91 (ILS 8971; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., p. 141), and Asia 105/106 (ILS 8971; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., p. 164).

He was the father of Ti. Julius Aquila Polemaeanus (PIR², IV, no. 168) and Julia Quintilia Isaurica (PIR², IV, no. 697).²


C. Cornelius Rarus Sextius Na(sa), cos., XVvir(s) sacris faciundis), procos. prov. (Africae).⁴

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⁴ Thomasson, loc. cit., accepts the reconstructed inscription.
Installation was apparently at the time of his consulship; this is the earliest known date in his career. Cornelius Rarus served as governor for Africa 108/109 (IRT 523; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., p. 170).

Septemviri Epulones.


(P. Galerio . . . An)i. Trachalo (q. tr.) plebis pr. cos. (VII)vir. epulonum (proc)os. provinc. Afric. (pat)rono d. d.

date of cooptation is unknown; it could likely have been under Nero. He was still active during the reign of Vespasian. Galerius Trachalus served as governor for Africa 78/79 (CIL V.5812; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., p. 125).

Quintilian (X.1.119; XII.5.5, 10.11) states that Galerius was an orator, and Tacitus (Hist. I.90) informs us that Otho employed him to write his speeches. The wife of Vitellius, Galeria, protected Galerius against his accusers (Tac. Hist. II.60).¹

2. T. FLAVIUS VESPASIANUS - IMP. CAESAR VESPASIANUS AUGUSTUS: (see pontifex 6; augur 1; quindecimvir 4). Septemvir.

Inauguration to the greater priestly colleges occurred when he became emperor. A coin (BMC, II, no. 576), dated 71, depicts Vespasian holding the patera, the symbol of the VII viri.²


²cf. Marquardt, p. 222.
3. T. FLAVIUS VESPASIANUS - IMP. TITUS VESPASIANUS AUGUSTUS: (see pontifex 7; augur 2; quindecimvir 6). Septemvir.

Installation took place in 71 to all the greater priesthoods (ILS 258).¹

4. T. FLAVIUS VESPASIANUS - IMP. CAESAR DOMITIANUS AUGUSTUS: (see pontifex 8; augur 4; quindecimvir 7). Septemvir.

Election happened in 73 to all the greater priestly colleges (CIL IX.4955 = ILS 267). Coins (BMC, II, nos. 411, 425, 430-438) dated 88-89, show Domitian sacrificing out of the patera.²


Imp(eratore) Caesare siui Vespasiani f(ilio) Domitiano Aug(ustom) pontif(ice) max(imo) trib(unicia) pot(estate) II imp(eratore) [III] p(atre) p(atriae) co(n)s(ule) VIII
L(uci) Nonius L(uci) f(ilius) Pom(ptina tribu} Asprenas L(uci)
Non Asprenatis VIIuir(i) epulonum proco(n)s(ulis) pro(n)s(ulis) provinciae Africai III nepos triumuir a(uro) a(rgento) a(ere) F(lando)
F(eriundo) seuir salius Palatinus quaestor Caesaris Aug(usti)
centurio equitum [X]omanorum hastis honoratus octo vexillis IIII
coronis muralibus duabus uallaribus duas[b]us aurea una pr(aetor) inter cines et peregrinos legatus pro pr(aetore) prouinciae
Ga[leateae Paphlogoniae Pamphyliae Pisidiae co(n)s(ule) VIIuir
e[plulonum proco(n)s(ulis) provinciae Africae patronus municipii
dedicauit legato pro pr(aetore) M(arco) Cornelio Firmo.

Hoffman Lewis places his elevation under Nero; he continued to be active under Vespasian and Domitian. Nonius Asprenas served as governor for Galatia 69/70 (Tac. Hist. II.98; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., p. 113) and Africa 82/83 (IRT 346; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., p. 131). L. Nonius Asprenas (PIR, II, 409, no.

¹ cf. pontifex 7.
² cf. pontifex 8.
consul for 6, was his grandfather, and L. Nonius Asprenas (PIR, II, 410, no. 94), consul for 29, was his father. It can be assumed that L. Nonius Calpurnius Torquatus Asprenas (augur 8) was Nonius Asprenas' son.  


Inauguration was under Vespasian or early in the rule of Domitian, because his public career began under Vespasian and continued under Domitian. The adoptive father of Domitius Lucanus was Cn. Domitius Afer² (cos. suf. 39) and his brother was Cn. Domitius Tullus (septemvir 6). Domitius Lucanus supposedly served as governor of Numidia 70-73 (ILS 990; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 115ff.) and Africa between 87-91 (Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., p. 152).


Patrician, elevated by Vespasian (CIL XI.5211 = ILS 991), novus homo; cos. I suf. early in the reign of Domitian, before the death of his brother (Kappelmacher, RE, loc. cit.); II? suf. 98. Septemvir (IRT 528):

proc(on)s(uli) provinciae Africæ . . . (VII)vir(o) epul(onum) fetiali praefec(to), auxiliorum omnium adversus Germanos qui cum esset candidat(us), Caesar(is) pr(aetor) des(ignatus) missus est ab Imp(erator) Vespassiano Aug(usto) leg(ato) pro pr(aetore) exercit(us) qui est in Africa . . . donato ab Imp(erator) Vespassiano Aug(usto) et T(itto) Aug(usti) f(ilio).²

Cooption occurred under Vespasian or early in the reign of Domitian, because, like his brother above, his public career began under Vespasian and continued under Domitian. Domitius Tullus was the brother of Domitius Lucanus (septemvir 5). His offices of state were tribunus militum, quaestor, tribunus plebis, and praetor (CIL XI.5211 = ILS 991); Tullus, also, possibly served as governor of Numidia 70-73 (ILS 991; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 115ff.) and Africa between 87-91 (ILS 991; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., p. 219).³

L. CEIONIUS COMMODUS: (PIR, II, 135, no. 603; PIR², II, no. 603; P. von Rohden, "Ceionius," RE, III (5), p. 1829; De Laet 1624; Stech 70; Howe


²For identification of inscription, compare with CIL XI.5211 = ILS 991.


Appiae Sex. f. Severae Ceiono Commodi- cos., VIIvir. epulorum.

Hoffman Lewis states that perhaps elevation took place under Nero; he was active during the rule of Vespasian. Ceionius Commodus was the grandfather of Caesar Verus and the father of L. Ceionius Commodus (PIR2, II, no. 604), consul for 106.¹


Inauguration apparently occurred under Vespasian, because his public career was established under the aforesaid emperor. Funisulanus Vettonianus served in the war with Parthia in 62 (Tac. Ann. XV.7; 10-15), as governor to Dalmatia 79-81 (ILS 1005; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 127ff.), Pannonia 82-86 (CIL IV.30; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 131ff.), Greater Moesia 86/87 (ILS 1005; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., p. 137), and Africa 91/92 (AE, 1946, no. 205; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., p. 142).²


² Hanslik, "Funisulanus," Der kleine Pauly, II (1), p. 639. His son was Pomponius Mamillianus Rufus Antistianus F. Vettonianus (CIL XVI.46).

L. Cornelio Pusiono Annio Messallae Cos., VIIvir Epul., procos., Cornelia Sabina H. C.

Installation was perhaps under Vespasian, because his career began under the aforesaid emperor. Cornelius Pusio's offices of state were tribunus militum, quaestor, tribunus plebis, and praetor (CIL VI.31706). He, also, served as governor of Africa 103/104 (NSA, 1914, p. 101; Eck, Sénatoren, op. cit., p. 161).¹


Γαίον Ἀντιον Αὐλον Ἰούλιον Ἀὐλον υἱόν

¹ Groag (PIR², II, no. 1425) accepted the identification of L. Cornelius L. f. Gal. Pusio (CIL VI.31706), with L. Cornelius Pusio Annius Messalla (NSA, 1914, 101), and with Pusio recorded as suffect consul with Pegasus under Vespasian. Two new discoveries raise doubts about this interpretation: (1) INE, 516, attests a certain M. Annius Messalla as legate to a proconsul of Africa under Titus or Domitian; but (2) another L. Cornelius Pusio, suf. 90, is now revealed by the Fasti Potentini. It might be conjectural that this is the many-named Pusio, originally Annius Messalla, but adopted before 90 by the older man and therefore using his third name (Bengt E. Thomasson, "Die Statthalter der Römischen Nordafrikas von Augustus bis Diocletianus," Lund, C. W. K. Gleerup, 1960, no. 6). Also, see Hanslik, "Cornelius," Der kleine Pauly, I (142), p. 1319.
Introduction into the priesthood took place under Vespasian or Domitian, he was
brought from Pergamum by Vespasian and served under Domitian (IGRR IV.38). Julius Quadratus served as governor for Crete-Cyrene 84/85 (IGRR IV.38; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., p. 135), Lycia-Pamphylia 90-93 (IGRR IV.38; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 141ff.), Syria 100-104 (IGRR IV.37; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 156ff.), and Dacia 117/118 (Pergamon VIII 3.21; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., p. 18). 1


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Inauguration was apparently, but possibly not, under Domitian. His consulship was the only positive date in his public career. If Vibius Sabinus attained the consulate in 97, he must have passed away soon after, as may be

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Interpreted from the words of Hadrian in the funeral oration to his widow (CIL XIV.3579). 1


stabat modo consularis, modo septemvir epulonem, iam neutrum (Marius Priscus).

Date of investation is unknown. It was probably under Domitian, because his public career began under Domitian. From the above quote, we know that he was a priest before 100. Marius Priscus served as governor of Africa 97/98 (Plin. Ep. II.11; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., p. 150), and, in 100, he was put on trial for extortion of moneys from the province. 2

Sacerdotes in a Greater College.


Libidine sanguinis et hiatus praemiorum ignotum adhunc ingenium et nullis defensionibus expertum caede nobili imbuisti, cum ex funeris rei publicae raptis, consularibus spoliis, septuagens sestertio saginatus et sacerdotio fulgens innoxios pueros, inlustris senes, conspicuas feminas eadem ruina prosterneres, cum septuage Neronis incusares, quod per singulas domos seques et delatores fatigaret.

Action was presumably under Nero, because Tacitus (Hist. IV.42) states that he was a priest in the year 70. Aquilius Regulus served as a quaestor in 70, and he was a notorius informer under Nero (Tac. Hist. IV.42). Pliny the

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1. L. Vibius Sabinus' wife was Matidia the daughter of Trajan's sister Marciana, and their daughter Vibia Sabina was married to Hadrian. Sutherland and Hammond, "Sabina," OCD2, p. 941.

Younger states that he was "Omnium bipedum nequissimus (Ep. I.5.1)." Yet, Martial mentions him several times in complimentary terms.1


Flebeian, novus homo; cos. I ord. 63 (Tac. Ann. XV.23); II suf. 69 (Tac. Hist. I.77); III ord. 97 (CIL VI.642; Dio LXVIII.2.4). Sacerdos (Plin. Ep. II.1):

Sic candidatum me suffragio ornavit, sic ad omnes honores meos ex secessibus accucurrit cum iam pridem eius modi officiis renuntiasset, sic illo die, quo sacerdotes solent nominare, quos dignissimos sacerdotio iudicant, me semper nominabant.

Date of inauguration is unknown, conceivably it was under Nero. He was active during the rule of the Flavians. In 68, Verginius Rufus crushed the rebellion of Vindex; after his victory he refused to be hailed as emperor and recognized Galba. Otho elevated Verginius to the consulship, and he again refused the sovereignty on Otho's death. Nerva chose him as his colleague in the consulship (Dio LXVIII.2.4). Verginius Rufus, also, was the tutor of the Younger Pliny, who praised his patriotism.2

The Flavian Emperors as Priests.

Vespasian, as emperor, was a member of the four greater priesthoods,3 but it was through his position as the chief pontiff that the princeps did


to prolong the existence of the ancient Roman religion. 1 The restoration of the Capitoline temple, which had burned during the civil war, was one of the first tasks of his reign. 2 The foundation stone was laid under the direction of Ti. Plautius Aelianus, a member of the pontifical college, 3 and, when Vespasian returned to Rome, he personally took part in clearing the site for the temple. It can be assumed that he, as pontifex maximus, also assisted in the dedication of the completed temple. The act of dedicatio was the duty of the magistrate, the chief pontiff merely aided the consul. 4 In this case, the princeps acted as the consul in the role of dedicato, although the separation between the obligations of the pontifex maximus and the consul was a mere technicality. 5 Assuredly, the reconstruction of the Capitoline Temple was accomplished as a sign to the whole world that Roman power was unshaken, 6 or perhaps, to indicate an emphatic reliance on the gods of old. When the

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1 At the head of the Roman clergy stood the college of pontiffs, and they were responsible for the overseeing of all public and private sacrifices. Thus, the pontifex maximus, was head of the state clergy and outranked all his priestly colleagues. On March 6, 12 B.C., Augustus became pontifex maximus, and this post was held by the reigning emperor as part of his imperial magalia. For the powers of the chief pontiff see: RKR, pp. 509ff.; RRG, pp. 401f.; Warde-Fowler, Religious Experience, op. cit., compelling power, pp. 12; 355; Rose, Ancient Roman Religion, op. cit., pp. 231f.; Dumézil, Archaic Religion, op. cit., pp. 585ff.; Rose, "Pontifex, Pontifices," OCD, p. 856; Szemler, RE, loc. cit., pp. 1896ff. For religious development under the flavians see: A. D. Nock, "Religious Development from Vespasian to Trajan," Theology, XVI, 1928, pp. 152ff.; Kenneth Scott, The Imperial Cult under the flavians, Stuttgart, W. Kohlhammer, 1936.

2 Tac. Hist. IV.53; Suet. Vesp. 8.5; Dio LXV.10.2; M. P. Charlesworth, CAH, XI, p. 5; Ferguson, Religions of Empire, op. cit., p. 74.

3 cf. pontifex 5.

4 Marquardt, p. 219; Ferguson, Religions of Empire, op. cit., p. 74.

5 The divinity surrounding the emperor may also account for his involvement. cf. Ferguson, Religions of Empire, op. cit., pp. 89ff.; for bibliography on divinity of emperor cf. pp. 256ff.

6 Charlesworth, CAH, XI, p. 5; Ferguson, Religions of Empire, op. cit., p. 74.
revolts of the Batavi and Jews were crushed, Vespasian, like Augustus, closed the doors to the temple of Janus. He, also, dedicated temples to Peace on the Forum and to the deified Claudius on the Caelian hill. Vespasian, before the college of pontiffs, restored the public vineyards; he rebuilt a temple of Sibyl, which had been destroyed by an earthquake; and he enlarged the pomerium. There is an inscription of the year 78, which describes the imperator as the restorer of temples and public ceremonies. Vespasian.

1 Tac. fr. 4,5 (Orosius VII.3.7; VII.19.4). Wissowa, "Ianus," RE, VIII, pp. 103ff.; Rose, "Janus," OCD2, p. 561; RKR, pp. 103ff.; RGR, pp. 132ff.; Richert, Archaic Religion, op. cit., pp. 311ff.; Charlesworth, CAH, XI, p. 5. The priest of Janus was the rex sacrorum, but, who had the authority to close the temple doors, cannot be determined. Augustus, himself, closed the portals three times (Suet. Aug. 21) possibly as pontifex maximus.

2 Suet. Vesp. 9.1; Ferguson, Religions of Empire, op. cit., p. 74.

3 CIL VI.933 = ILS 249:


4 CIL XI.1406 = ILS 250:


This author believes that when the title pontifex maximus is emphasized, such appearing right next to the name on an inscription, it is under the title's authority that the inscription is dedicated.

5 CIL VI.1232 = ILS 248:


For the pontiffs' authority over the pomerium, cf. Above, p. 18.

6 CIL VI.934 = ILS 252:

(imp. Caesar) Vespasian Augusto pontifici maxim., tribunic.
Obviously wanted a material monument to his care of at least one aspect of religio. Also, numerous issues of his coins depict the simpulum, sprinkler, jug, and lituus, which were the symbols of sacrifice.¹

Titus became a member of the greater priesthoods in 71,² and, as indicated earlier, the prince's membership in the priestly colleges (because of the loyalty factor in the official imperial concept of religio) was an established sign of succession.³ According to the manifest opinion of Suetonius, Titus, when he had assumed the purple, took the position of pontifex maximus most seriously,⁴ and, when a plague became an epidemic, it might be taken for granted that he, as a priest, performed every kind of sacrifice.⁵ This plague was a prodigium,⁶ an event contrary to the known laws of nature; thus, sacrifices and lustrations had to be carried out to restore

potestat. . . . imp. XVII, p. p., cos. VIII desig. VIII, censori conservatori caerimoniarum publicarum et restitutori aedium sacram, sodales Titi.

¹BMC, II, nos. 48-53, 64, 144, 326, 327; Marquardt, p. 248. But, Inez Scott Ryberg (Rites, op. cit., pp. 83-84) states that the utensils of sacrifice represented on the altar in the temple of Vespasian at Pompeii are used as decorative motifs and not as symbols of Vespasian's priesthood. Also, XR (pp. 500f.) specifically declares that imperial coinage cannot give exact and secure answers.

²CIL VI.1984 = ILS 258.

³cf. Above, p. 54, note 1.

⁴Suet. Titus 9.1: "Pontificatum maximum ideo se professus accipere ut servaret manus, fidem praestitit, nec auctor posthac cuiusquam nec conscius, quamvis interdum ulciscendi causa non deesset, sed peritum se rogias quam perditurum adiurans." Suetonius would like us to believe in the virtue of Titus.

⁵Suet. Titus 8.4: "Medendae valitudini leniendisque morbis nullam humanamque opem non adhibuit inquisito omni sacrificiorum remedi- genere."

The equilibrium between gods and men. The main feature of his coins is the
pulvinaria which emblem is associated with the performance of the suppliantio
and lectisternium.¹ This solemn public entreaty to the gods was voted by the
Senate after the eruption of Vesuvius.²

Domitian, like Titus, was inaugurated into the greater priesthoods in
June.³ As the chief pontiff, he had a funeral monument torn down and its
contents thrown into the sea, because it had been built with stone intended
for the restoration of the Capitoline Temple.⁴ The name of a Roman knight was
struck from the list of jurors by Domitian, because the knight had taken back
his wife after divorcing her and charging her with adultery,⁵ yet, the emperor
permitted the flamen Dialis to divorce his wife,⁶ which brings into question
the sincerity of the emperor's position. Several men were condemned by the


² Dio LXVI.24.2; Suet. Titus 8.3.

³ CIL IX.4955 = ILS 267.

⁴ Suet. Dom. 8.5: "Ac ne qua religio deum impune contaminaretur moni-
tum, quod libertus eius e lapidibus templo Capitolini Iovis destinatis
illo extruxerat, diruit per milites ossaque et reliquias quae inerant mari-
tum." Ferguson, Religions of Empire, op. cit., p. 74; Hammond, Antonine,
op. cit., p. 71.

⁵ Suet. Dom. 8.3: "equitem R. ob reductam in matrimonium uxorem, cui
missae adulterii crimen intenderat, erasit iudicum albo." cf. Hammond,
Antonine, op. cit., p. 71.

⁶ Plutarch, Quaest. Rom. 50: οἱ τοῖς ἀντικεῖσι παρειμένοι τῆς τού
παίδων ἐξαλύσει, πολλὰ πρὸς τὴν καὶ οὐκ ἢ καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνθρώπων.
Dumezil, Archaic Religion, op. cit., pp. 151ff.; Szemler, Priests of Roman
public, op. cit., pp. 95ff.; Hammond, Antonine, op. cit., p. 71; Syme,
Citus, op. cit., p. 65.
for offending the Scantinian law; he exercised the authority of the pontifex maximus to nullify wills; and numerous coins appear with the image of Domitian sacrificing. Lastly, he sentenced to death several of the sacred virgins of Vestae for neglecting their vows, and the senior delinquent was entombed alive in the primeval fashion. For this trial, Domitian summoned the pontiffs not to the pontifical office, the Regia on the Forum, but to his private villa, which Pliny states was against Roman tradition.

The Flavians acted and functioned as priests in the traditional sense, thus, the technical separation between priestly duties and magisterial responsibilities was maintained.

The men in the sacerdotal service or elected into the greater priestly colleges during the era from earlier patrician families were Ti. Plautius Aelianus (pontifex 5), C. Calpurnius Crassus (pontifex 16), M. Cocceius.

1Suet. Dom. 8.3: "quosdam ex utroque lege Scantinia condemnavit." For the contents of the law, see Giovanni Rotondi, Leges Publicae Populi Romani, Milano, 1912, p. 293.


5Heiter, Patriciis, op. cit., p. 56. P. Plautius Pulcher was a patrician after 48 (CIL XIV.3607 = ILS 964); he was the brother of Ti. Plautius Aelianus (CIL XIV.3605).

6Heiter, Patriciis, op. cit., p. 46. Piso family was elevated to the patriciate under Augustus (Tac. Ann. II.43, IV.21).
From previous Flavian, were plebeian families, who were elevated to the patriciate by the Flavians, were Cn. Julius Agricola (pontifex 11); his father was a member of the Roman senate; L. Flavius Silva Nonius Bassus (pontifex 13), he served as a plebeian tribune; M. Lollius Paulinus (pontifex 17), he was the son of D. Valerius Asiaticus consul for 69; and M. Harrius Neratius Pansa (IV vir 8), his tribe perhaps was the Voltinia of Saepinum. The new men from the provinces in the priesthoods raised to the rank of patrician for the aforesaid period were M. Ulpius Traianus (XV vir 5), he was from Spain; 

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1 Heiter, Patriciis, op. cit., pp. 47f. Family possibly elected to the patrician order under Augustus (Dio LXVII. 15. 5. 6).


3 cf. Below, note 5.

4 Heiter, Patriciis, op. cit., p. 38. He was a member of a republican family.


6 Tac. Agr. IX; Heiter, Patriciis, op. cit., p. 60.

7 Tac. Agr. IV.

8 AE, 1961, no. 140.

9 Heiter, Patriciis, op. cit., pp. 61f.


11 Ibid.

12 ILS 8970; Heiter, Patriciis, op. cit., p. 61.

13 Dio LXVIII.4.
Calvisius Ruso Julius Frontinus (XV vir 11),¹ because he had no known senatorial ancestors provincial origin might possibly be assumed;² L. Arruntius Stella (XV vir 15),³ his origin was Patavium;⁴ Cn. Domitius Lucanus (VII vir 6),⁵ Cn. Domitius Afer adopted him;⁶ and Cn. Domitius Tullus (VII vir 7).⁷ Thus, the total number of patricians for the era is sixteen, seven priests are from earlier patrician families, and nine priests are from new patrician families (four being from former plebeian families; and five being from new provincial families).

Plébeians in the Greater Priesthoods under the Flavians.

The plebeians from established families in the greater sacerdotal colleges for the period were A. Fabricius Veiento (XV vir 12), C. Bellicius Natalis Tebanianus (XV vir 13), C. Cornelius Rarus Sextius Na(so) (XV vir 18), P. Galerius Trachalus (VII vir 1), L. Vibius Sabinus (VII vir 12), and M. Aquilius Regulus (sacerdos 1). The priests from new plebeian families were C. Antilius Gallicus (pontifex 9),⁸ C. Valerius Festus (pontifex 10),⁹ C. Pacius

¹AE, 1914, no. 267.
²Syme, Tacitus, op. cit., p. 793, note 3.
³CIL XV.7150; Heiter, Patricii, op. cit., p. 45.
⁴Mart. I.63.3.
⁵ILS 990; Heiter, Patricii, op. cit., p. 24.
⁷ILS 991. He was the brother of Cn. Domitius Lucanus (VII vir 8).
⁹His origin was Transpadane Italy (Stat. Silv. I.4).

⁸When a priest had no known ancestors, it can presumably be assumed that he was a novus homo.
Africanus (pontifex 12), L. Helvius Agrippa (pontifex 18), T. Clodius
Marcellus (augur 5), Sex. Julius Frontinus (augur 6), M. Arruntius Aquila
(Vir 9), A. Caesennius Gallus (Vir 10), P. Cornelius Tacitus (Vir 15), Ti. Julius Alsus Polemaeanus (Vir 17), L. Ceionius Commodus (Vir 8), L. Funisulanus Vettonianus (Vir 9), L. Cornelius Pusio Annius Messalla
(Vir 10), A. Julius Quadratus (Vir 11), Marius Priscus (Vir 13),
and L. Verginius Rufus (sacerdos 2). Hence, the total number of plebeians for
the Flavian dynasty is twenty-four, six priests being from former plebeian families and eighteen priests being from new plebeian families.

Vespasian's Policy towards Cooptation.
The apparent policy of Vespasian towards the greater priestly colleges was to elevate men, whom he had elected to the status of a patrician.1 These priests were Cn. Julius Agricola (pontifex 11), L. Flavius Silva Nonius Bassus (pontifex 13), M. Lollius Paullinus Valerius Asiaticus Saturninus (pontifex 17, also salius Collinus),2 M. Ulpius Traianus (Vir 5, also sod. Flav.),
Hirrius Fronto Neratius Pansa (Vir 8), P. Calvisius Ruso Julius
Frontinus (Vir 10, also sod. Aug.), L. Arruntius Stella (Vir 15),3 Cn.
Domitius Afer Titius Marcellus Curvius Lucanus (Vir 5), Cn. Domitius Afer

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1Eck, Senatores, op. cit., p. 33, note 14; Charlesworth, CAH, XI, p. 10: "he (Vespasian) was the first to adlect provincials inter patricios; the soundness of his choice is shown by three names—M. Ulpius Traianus, M. Annius Verus, and Cn. Julius Agricola. Men of merit, whether Italian or provincial, found their careers forwarded, and thus C. Antius A. Julius Quadratus, Baebius Britus, and C. Fulvius Lupus Servilianus were adlected inter patricios; among others added to the senate, were an Ephesian, Tib. Julius Celsius Floemaeanus; a Galatian, C. Caristianus Fronto; and L. Antonius Saturninus."

2Cooptation as salius Collinus took place under Vespasian (CIL XIV. 2460).

3Possibly cooptation to the Vir s. f. was not until the reign of Domitian.
Flavius Marcellus Curvius Tullus \textit{(VII vir 6, also fetialis)}, and L. Ceionius Commodus \textit{(VII vir 8)}.\footnote{Men coopted by Vespasian to the sodalitates priesthoods, whom he had elevated to the patriciate, were P. Glitius Gollus (PIR, II, 119, no. 113; \textit{ILS} 999; salius Palatinus, flavens Augustalis), L. Neratius Marcellus (PIR, II, 401, no. 43; \textit{ILS} 1032; salius Palatinus), and Sex. Vettulenus Cerialis (PIR, III, 415, no. 351; \textit{AE}, 1955, no. 123; fetialis).}

But, the motivation of the commendatio by Vespasian for cooptation to a priesthood is seriously discredited by our sources. Dio declares that Vespasian's concubine sold priesthoods,\footnote{Dio LXV.14.3: \textit{τοῖς μὲν άρχαῖς τοῖς δὲ ἐπιτροπεῖαις οτραέλαις κροσῦν ἔδωκε...}} and Suetonius says that Vespasian himself sold his commendatio.\footnote{Suet. Vesp. 16.2: \textit{"Ne candidatis quidem honores rei seve tam innoxiiis quam nocetibus absolvetur venditore cunctatus est."}} It is an established fact that Vespasian, at the beginning of his rule, had irregularly, by use of the censorship power, given men senatorial rank to secure their loyalty.\footnote{Charlesworth, \textit{CAH}, XI, p. 10; Bernard Henderson, \textit{Five Roman Emperors}, New York, Barnes and Noble, 1927, pp. 33f.} By the year 70, the proportion of patrician families had declined considerably partly due to natural causes, partly to persecution, while civil war and imperial commandeering had also reduced the number of Roman nobles. Since Vespasian had installed a new dynasty, it was necessary for him to develop a power-base of loyal followers. The patriciate and membership in the greater priestly colleges were excellent means for accomplishing his end. Thus, these priests owed their position to the direct nomination by the emperor and they were directly dependent on him for the retention of their places.
CHAPTER IV
THE GREATER PRIESTS OF TRAJAN AND HADRIAN

As in the previous chapter, an attempt will be made to analyze the policy of Trajan and Hadrian toward the Roman regime as reflected by the men elevated to greater priestly positions. The evidence for the reign of Trajan is very meager. The study of stones, inscribed and sculptured, is important for his reign, because Trajan made great use of stones. Since the rule of Nerva was so brief, any men possibly coopted to priesthoods by him have been included in this chapter.

Pontifices and Flamines.¹

19. M COCEIUS NERVA - TMP. NERVA CAESAR AUGUSTUS: (see augur 3; quindecimvir 19; septemvir 14). Pontifex Maximus (MS, II, p. 224; CIL VI. 953). Nerva became emperor September 18, 96, and an inscription of

¹ T. Tettienus Serenus possibly was the patron of T. Tettienus Felix, a calator of the pontifices 101/102 (CIL VI.31034, 32445), and himself pontifex. CIL VI.31034, 32445, also, contain the following names. L. Minicius Rufus conceivably was the patron of L. Minicius Epaphroditus, a calator of the pontifices 101/102 and himself pontifex. A. Cornelius Palma Frontonianus likely was the patron of A. Cornelius Heros, a calator of the pontifices 101/102, and himself pontifex. M. Asinius Marcellus feasibly was the patron of M. Asinius Silvester, a calator of the pontifices 101/102 and himself pontifex. M. Clodius Luensis perhaps was the patron of M. Clodius Tiro, a calator of the pontifices 101/102, and himself pontifex. Appius Annius Trebonius Gallus probably was the patron of App. Annius Falernus, a calator of the pontifices 101/102 and himself pontifex. M. Attilius Metillius Bradua seemingly was the patron of M. Attilius Eutychus, a calator of the pontifices 101/102, and himself pontifex. P. Calvisius Tullus supposedly was the patron of P. Calvisius Tullus, a calator of the pontifices 101/102, and himself pontifex. A calator was the personal attendant of a priest; for information on this institution, Marquardt, p. 226: "sechstens die calatores, bei den priesterlichen Collegien freie oder freigelassene Leute, nicht Sclaven, und zwar für den persönlichen Dienst jedes Mitgliedes einer." cf. RKR, pp. 497, 502 note 7, 519 note 3; RRG, p. 408; RSR, I, p. 359; Szemler, RE, loc. cit., pp. 1889f.
October 10, 96 (CIL XVI.40) shows pontifex maximus.\footnote{Habel, Pontificum, op. cit., p. 19: "Eius in omnia sacerdotia cooptationem describunt nummi a. 96 et 97 memoria causa signati;" BMC, III, nos. 1, 32, 56, 63, 72, 73, 74. A. Merlin, Les Revers Monétaires de l'Empereur Nerva, Paris, 1906, pp. 5ff., states that the election of the emperor to membership in the greater priesthoods took place later than the election to the office of chief pontifex. While, W. Kubitschek, Nervas römische Münzen, Beiträge der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philos-hist. Klasse, 1933, p. 13-14, denies this and accepts cooption to all the priesthoods at the time of elevation to the position of pontifex maximus. RSR, II, p. 1107; cf. above, p. 54, note l, p. 26ff.}  

Imp. Nerva Caesar Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunic Potestat, Cos. II P. P. 

M. ULPIUS TRAIANUS - IMP. CAESAR NERVA TRAIANUS AUGUSTUS: (PIR, III, 464, no. 575; W. H. Gross, "Ulpius," RE, Suppl. X (1a), pp. 1035ff.; Stech 381; Habel 38; see augur 9; quindecimvir 20; septemvir 15; also sodalis Augustalis). Patrician; cos. ord. 91 (Dio XVII.12; CIL VI. 1988). In 98, Pontifex Maximus (MS, II, p. 245; Pliny Ep. X.68, 69). 

IMP. NERVA CAES. TRAIAN. AUG. GERM. P. M. 

became emperor in March of 98. 


(C. Pomponius f. Rufus Acilius ... us Coelius S(p)arsus, Pon(tif) ... V ... (pro cum Q. Pomponio Marcello?, cos. D)esig., sodali Tito et C. Pom(p)onio Pro ... .

It is feasible that cooption took place under Domitian or Trajan. If election was during Domitian's reign, the priesthood was given presumably due to the influence of his brother. He continued in public office under Trajan.
Pomponius Rufus served as governor for Africa 112/113 (ILAlg. I.1230; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., p. 176). He was likely the brother of Q. Pomponius Rufus 


Inauguration was supposedly under Trajan, because his public career coincides with Trajan's reign— but before 101. Caepio Hispo spoke before the senate at the trial of Julius Bassus (Pliny Ep. IV.9; Sherwin-White, Letters of Pliny, op. cit., p. 278). He, also, served as governor for Baetica 99/100 (ILS 1027; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., p. 154) and for Asia 118/119 (SEG IV. 32; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., p. 186).

L. LICINIUS L. f. SERG. SURA: (PIR, II, 285, no. 174; Groag, "Licinius" RE, XIII (167), pp. 471ff.; Stech 811; Habel 41; Howe pontifex 47; also

1 Hanslik (RE, loc. cit., pp. 2347,69f.) states, "Er (Q. Pomponius Rufus) wird der ältere Bruder des C. Pomponius Rufus cos. suf. 98 sein, da dessen älterer Sohn des Praenomen des Qu. fuhrte und da beide Afrika verwalteten." Also, Hanslik (RE, loc. cit., pp. 2348,43f.) declares, "P. selbst ist der jüngere Bruder des Qu. Pomponius Rufus cos. suf. 95 Nr. 68." Not luted in Der kleine Pauly. Thus, possibly we have two brothers in one college because their dates of death cannot be established.

2 According to Groag (RE, loc. cit., pp. 261,26f.), "in der Liste atores pontificum aus den J. 101 und 102, CIL VI.3103, 3245." 

3 Hanslik, "Eppuleius," Der kleine Pauly, II, p. 336; Syme, Tacitus, op. cit., p. 667. Ti. Caepio Hispo might have commanded a legion (ILS 1027 is ective, not complete); he was a prefect of the aerarium militar.
sodalis Augustalis). Plebeian, novus homo; cos. I suf. 97 or 98 (ILS 1952, 6956); II ord. 102 (CIL VI.2185); III ord. 107 (CIL II.4536, 4548).

Pontifex (CIL II.4508, according to Mommsen this inscription refers to Licinius Sura):

Pontifex, sodalis Aug(ustalis), (t)riumphalia ornamenta, E. Sta(tuam).

Installation occurred conceivably during Trajan's rule, because of his close relationship with the emperor (Dio LXVIII.15)—but before 101. The following inscription, dedicated to Licinius Sura, contains his career and association with Trajan (CIL VI.1444 = ILS 1022):


Licinius Sura was a fellow countryman of Trajan (ILS 1952). He served as governor for Belgica 93-95 (ILS 1022; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 141ff.) and Lesser Germany 97-101 (AE, 1923, no. 33; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 150ff.). Martial (VI.64.13) was his client. Sura composed speeches for Trajan (Hist. Aug. Hadr. III.11) and died in 110 (Hist. Aug. Hadr. III.11; Dio LXVIII.15). He had no known relatives.4

1 Syme, Tacitus, op. cit., p. 641, accepts 97.
3 Dessau (ILS, I, p. 223): "Ad Licinium Suram, amicum Traiani, qui fuit consul iterum a. 102, . . . ."

Pontifex (AE, 1933, no. 268; AE, 1934, nos. 176 and 177):

Γ. Ἰουλιος Κονσερατος Βασισσον Ἠπατον, Ποντιφικα, ὁποτεπλήθην γενόμενον | Δακικοῦ πολέμου καὶ συνκαθελόντα τὸν ἔκει | πολέμου καὶ συνκαθελόντα τὸν ἔκει | πολέμον αὐτοκράτορι Τραϊάνῳ, τιμηθέντα | Θριαμβικὸς τιμη[τ]ος, προσβεθήν καὶ αντιστράτηγον ἐπαρχείς Ἰουσαῖας, προσβεθήν καὶ αντιστράτηγον Кαππασοκίας Γκλατίας | Αρμενίας Μικρᾶς Πάντων Παφλαγονίας Ἰσαύ|Ερίας Πιοσί[ν]ας, προσβεθήν καὶ αντιστράτηγον ||[γον ἐπαρχείς, Συρίδας Φοινίκης Κομηγή] |[γον], προσβεθήν καὶ αντιστράτηγον ἐπαρ-.| [χείδας Δακίας]. Χειλιάρχον λεγιώνος υ', ἐπινηθ. | [ἡν χαλκο]θ' χρυσοῦ ἀργύρου χαράγματος, | [προσβεθὴν κρῆτης καὶ κυρίνης, ἀχρονόμον] | [κομπούλλιον. ὁποτεπλήθην Ἐπάρχεις δηνου Παμμαίων |[χεινίκον, ἑπωςαμενον λεγ]ιώνος άι Κλαυδίας. . .

THE PARTITION took place seemingly under Trajan, because he was introduced into the senate by the aforesaid emperor, and his public career parallels Trajan's

1 Partiition between 97 and 101. Licinius Sura possibly influenced Nerva to protract Trajan (Dio LXVIII.15.4). He served with distinction as Trajan's chief staff in both Dacian wars and personally negotiated with Decebalus. He, too, wielded immense persuasiveness with Trajan, and Hadrian gained Trajan's favor through the influence of Sura.

¹ cf. A. Stein, Die Reichsbeamten von Dazien, Budapest, 1944, pp. 11ff.
Julius Quadratus Bassus served as governor for Judaea 102-105 (Pergamon VIII.3.21; Eck, Senatorum, op. cit., pp. 160ff.), Cappadocia-Galatia 107-111 (Eck, Senatorum, op. cit., pp. 168ff.), Syria 111-117 (Eck, Senatorum, op. cit., pp. 178ff.), and Dacia 117/118 (Eck, Senatorum, op. cit., p. 184). He was a general in Trajan's second Dacian War and a general in the Parthian War. The relationship between C. Antius A. Julius Quadratus (VII vir 11) and Julius Bassus cannot be determined. The identification of Julius Bassus in Pliny (Ep. IV.9) is fully discussed by Syme (JRS, loc. cit., pp. 162ff.) and Groag (RE, loc. cit., pp. 311ff.). Julius Quadratus Bassus died on a campaign during his governorship of Dacia.¹

CN. PINARIUS CN. f. . . . SEVERUS: (PIR, III, 40, no. 312; Lambertz, "Pinarius," RE, XX (25), pp. 1406ff.; Stech 1536; Lambrechts 301; Howe reges sacrorum 2; see augur 11; also salius Collinus). Patrician; cos. suf. 112 (Inscr. It. XIII.1, pp. 200f.). Rex Sacrorum (CIL XIV.3604 = ILS 1043):


Enrollment likely happened in the reign of Trajan; based upon the above inscription he entered the state offices as a quaestor under Trajan.² Because

¹Hanslik, "Julius," Der kleine Pauly, II (78), p. 1535; Scullard, Quadratus Bassus," OCD², p. 905; R. P. Longden, CAH, XI, p. 221; Syme, Citus, op. cit., pp. 243/244; F. A. Lepper, Trajan's Parthian War, Oxford, University Press, 1948, pp. 143ff. Julius Quadratus Bassus conquered Mebalus in the second Dacian war, later governed Dacia, and was given a public funeral at Pergamum.

Pomânius Severus was a member of an established patrician family, his inauguration possibly took place soon after he entered public life.¹

SER. CORNELIUS SER. F. DOLABELLA METILLIANUS POMPEIUS MARCELLUS: (PIR, I, 145, no. 1095; PIR², II, no. 1350; Groag, "Cornelius," RE, IV (146), p. 1310; Stech 1619; Lambrechts 14; Howe flamines maiores 7; also salus Palatinus). Patrician; cos. suf. 113 (AE, 1949, no. 23).

Flamen Quirinalis (CIL IX.3154 = ILS 10149):


The inscription indicates that induction into the priesthood was under Trajan. He entered his public career as a quaestor candidate of Trajan, and, since he was a member of an established patrician family, his cooptation supposedly occurred soon afterward.² Cornelius Dolabella Marcellus was one of the last members of the old patrician Cornelii.³

P. MANILIIUS VOPISCUS VICINILLIANUS L. ELUFRIUS SEVERUS JUL(IUS)

QUADRATUS BASSUS: (PIR, II, 328, no. 108; Groag, "Manilius," RE, XIV (30), pp. 1142f.; Stech 1499; Lambrechts 294; Habel 42; Howe pontifex 48; also salius Collinus). Patrician; cos. ord. 114 (CIL XI.3614).

Pontifex (CIL XIV.4242 = ILS 1044):

¹ According to Hoffman Lewis, Official Priests, op. cit., p. 25: "In particular I have assumed that men of distinguished ancestry secured their priesthoods early in their careers. During the Republic it was common for members of leading families among the nobility to be coopted long before attaining the highest magistracy; a man with few ancestors in the nobility normally attained a priesthood much later."

² Ibid.

³ Hanslik, "Cornelius," Der kleine Pauly, I (15), p. 1316. He was probably the grandson of P. Cornelius Dolabella, consul in 10.
P. Manilio P. f. Gal. Vopisco Vicinillian(o) L. Elufrio Severo Jul(io) Quadrato Basso cos., pontif., flamin., praet., quaestori divi Traiani Parthici, trib. mil. leg. IIII Scythic., IIIvir. a. a. f. f., salio Collino, curat. fani Herc. Vict., N. Prosius Platanu(s) cum Manilis Vopisciano et Attico libe(ris) suis. Inauguration as pontiff occurred presumably under Trajan, because his political career began during Trajan's rule. Manilius Vopiscus, also, was a flamen (Dialis, Martialis, or Quirinalis).1 His father, P. Manilius Vopiscus (PIR, II, 328, no. 107), was elevated to the patriciate by Vespasian (Syme, Tacitus, op. cit., p. 595, note 3).2

D. TERENTIUS GENTIANUS: (PIR, III, 301, no. 56; Groag, "Terentius," RE, VA (48), pp. 656ff.; Stech 1537; Lambrechts 127; Habel 44 and 49; Howe pontifex 50 and 51). Plebeian; cos. suf. 116 (AE, 1936, no. 97).

Pontifex (CIL III.1463 = ILS 1046; CIL III.6625 = ILS 1046a):


vidi Pyramidas sine te, dulcissime frater, et tibi, quod potui, lacrmas his moesta profudi, et nostri memorem luctus hanc sculpo querelam. Sit nomen Decinti (G)entia(n)i pyramide alta, pontificis comitisque tuis, Traiani, triumphis, lustra sex intra censoris,

Cooption was likely under Trajan, because Terentius Gentianus was despised by Hadrian (Hist. Aug. Hadr. XXIII.5).3 Terentius Gentianus was the son of D. Terentius Scaurianus (PIR, III, 303, no. 68), a marshal of Trajan in the

1 Dessau (ILS, I, p. 228): "Præster usum omissum Dialis (vel Quirinalis) vocabulum."


3 "Et eodem modo et Terentium Gentian, et hunc vehementius, quod a senatu diligit tunc videbat.", if we can give credence to this statement.
Neratius Gentianus directly to the consulate in 116 (AE, 1936, no. 97); he
was not yet thirty. He, also, served as governor for Macedonia 117-120 (ILS
166; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 184ff.).

P. AELIUS P. f. Serg. HADRIANUS - IMP. CAESAR TRAIANUS HADRIANUS
AUGUSTUS: (PIR, I, 16, no. 140; PIR², I, no. 184; P. von Rohden,
"Aelius," RE, I (64), pp. 493ff.; Stech 1483; Lambrechts 1; Habel 48;
see augur 12; quindecimvir 26; septemvira 18; also sodalis Augustalis).
Patrician; cos. I suf. 108 (CIL VI.2016); II ord. 118 (CIG I.1732);
III ord. 119 (CIL II.2959). Pontifex Maximus (MS, II, pp. 341, 357;
Hist. Aug. Hadr. XXII.10). The earliest inscription (CIL XVI.66) for
Hadrian as Pontifex Maximus is dated 118/119:

(IMP. Caesar divi Traiani Parthica f., divi Nerva) f. Hadrinaus Augustus, pontifex max(imus), trib(unicia) potestat(e) III, co(n)s(ul).

Hadrian, for some unknown reason, dropped symbols of this position from his
inage after 125 until his death in 138.

L. FULVIUS C. f. POPIN(IA) ABURNIUS VALENS: (PIR, II, 92, no. 356;
175; Habel 50; Howe pontifex 55). Plebeian. Pontifex (CIL VI.1421 =
ILS 1051):

L. Fulvio c. fil. Popin. Aburnio Valenti pontifici, praefect. urbi
a. a. f. f., quaest. Aug., tribunno plebis designato candidato
Aug., eq. publ. c. i. d. d.

Installation feasibly took place after 118 under Hadrian, because by the above

¹Syme, Tacitus, op. cit., pp. 595, 602. Perhaps, Trajan regarded him,
like Platorius Nepos, as a possible successor, and for this reason he came
to be hated by Hadrian.
inscription his public career began with Hadrian's rule. Fulvius Valens (Digest I.2,53; IV.4,33; XXXII.78.6) was an expert in jurisprudence and probably the successor of Javolenus Priscus (pontifex 15).¹


M. Ἀππίους Βραδοῦν τιμίαν, στρατηγὸν, [ἐπίτατόν, πρεσβευτὴν καὶ ἀντιστράτηγον] θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ ἐπατικὸν Γερμανίας καὶ Βρετανίας, ποντίφικα, [σοσαλίν Αδριανάλιν, τὸν Ἑρώδου πρὸς ἤτορος πάππον τῆς Ἰρώσου] εὐνακός, . . .

Possibly, M. Atilius Metilius Bradua consul for 108 was his brother. We know that Appius Bradua was a sodalis Hadrianalis, consequently he must have been alive after the death of Hadrian. Perhaps, inauguration as pontifex took place under the aforesaid emperor. He, also, served as an imperial legate to Germany and Britain under Hadrian. App. Annius Atilius Bradua the consul for 160 was his son.²

2. T. HATERIUS NEPOS ATINUS PROBUS PUBLICIUS MATENIANUS: (PIR, II, 127, no. 22; PIR², IV, no. 30; Groag, "Haterius," RE, VII (9), p. 2515; Stech 1767; Lambrechts 59; Habel 45; Howe pontifex 51; also frater arvalis). Plebeian; cos. suf. 134 (CIL XVI.78). Pontifex (CIL XI.5215

¹ Not in Der kleine Pauly.

= ILS 1058:

T. Haterio Nepoti Atinati Probo Publicio Mateniano cos., pontif., triumphalib.

Investigation with the priesthood presumably occurred during Hadrian's reign, because his public career was concurrent with Hadrian's rule. Haterius Nepos served as governor for Arabia 129-133 (JVEG, 17, 1963; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 203ff.) and Greater Pannonia 137-139 (CIL XVI.84; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 215ff.). Possibly, he was the son of T. Haterius Nepos (PIR², IV, no. 29).


As Aelius Caesar, the supervision of Greater Pannonia was assigned to him from 136 to 138 (Hist. Aug. Hadr. XXIII.11; Aelii III.2; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 213ff.). His death came in January of 138 (Hist. Aug. Aelii VI.6).³

Augures.

9. M. ULPIUS TRAIANUS - IMP. CAESAR NERVA TRAIANUS AUGUSTUS: (see pontifex

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² cf. Above, p. 54, note 1.


Auguration occurred in 98, when Trajan became emperor. Pliny states that Trajan had the power to confer the augurship upon him:

rego, dignitati, ad quam me provexit indulgentia tua, vel auguratum vel septemviratum, quia vacant, adicere digneris.

The term AUGUR appears on a coin of Trajan (BMC, III, no. 666).


Plebeian; cos. suf. 100 (CIL V.5262, 5263). Augur (CIL V.5262 = ILS 2927):

C. Plinius L. f. Ouf. Caecilius (Secundus cos.,) augur, legat. pro pr. provinciae Pon(ti et Bithyniae) consulari potestas(t.) in eam provinciam e(x s. c. missus ab) imp. Caesar Nerva Traiano Aug. German(ico) Dacico p. p.,) curator alvei Ti(b)eris et riparum e(t cleacar. urb.,) praef. aerari Satu(r)nii, praef. aerari mil(it., pr., trib. pl.,) quaestor imp., sevir equitum (Romanorum). trib. milit. leg. (III) Gallica(e, Xvir sti)lib. iudicand., ther(mas ex . . .

Coaptation was in 103 or 104 (Plin. Ep. III.8).2 Pliny served as governor for Bithynia 109-111 (ILS 2927; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 171ff.). He was the son L. Caecilius Cilo and a nephew of Pliny the Elder.3

CN. PINARIUS CN. f. . . . SEVERUS: (see pontifex 25; Howe augur 45).

Augur (CIL XIV.3604 = ILS 1043):

Cn. PINARIO Cn. f. . . . Severo, consuli, auguri, regi sa(crorum, paet., quaest. cand.) Caesaris Nervae Traiani Aug., salio Col(lino) . . .

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1 cf. Above, p. 54, note 1.
Date of cooptation is uncertain, presumably under Trajan.¹

12. P. AELIUS P. f. Serg. HADRIANUS - IMP. CAESAR TRAIANUS HADRIANUS AUGUSTUS: (see pontifex 29; quindecimvir 26; septemvir 18). Augur (CIL VI.1233 = ILS 311):


Hadrian became a member of all the greater priestly colleges, when he was elevated to the emperorship.²


Inauguration probably took place under Hadrian, because of his personal friendship with the emperor. But cooptation could have been under Trajan.

Platorius Nepos served as governor for Thrace 116-119 (ILS 1052; Eck, Sena-

¹cf. pontifex 25. Here, we have a case of a man holding two greater priesthoods.

²cf. Above, p. 54, note 1.
P. TULLIUS VARRONIS f. VARRO: (PIR, III, 342, no. 264; Groag, "Tullius," RE, V1A (57), pp. 1326ff.; Stech 1090; Lambrechts 129a; Howe augur 46). Plebeian; cos. suf. about 125 or 127. **Augur** (CIL XI. 3364 = ILS 1047):


Installation appears to have occurred under Hadrian, because his public career was parallel with the emperor's rule. Tullius Varro served as governor for Baetica 123/124 (ILS 1047; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., p. 195) and Greater Moesia 130-132 (ILS 1047; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 204ff.). He was the son of P. Tullius Varro (CIL XI. 3004 = ILS 1002), who served under Vespasian.3

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2 Sherwin-White, "aediles," OCD², pp. 11f., states that, "out of the cura urbis developed the cura annonae, the maintenance and distribution of the corn-supply, a heavy charge until Julius Caesar created special aediles Cerialis for this duty, which passed under Augustus to the praefectus annonae and other officials." Yet, Tullius Varro held the office of aediles Cerialis in the second century (CIL XI. 3364 = ILS 1047). cf. Medicus, "aediles," Der kleine Pauly, I, pp. 83ff.

3 Syme, Tacitus, op. cit., p. 247, note 5.

Plebeian; cos. suf. 139 (AE, 1955, no. 17 = CIL XVI.175, 18). Augur

(CIL II.4509 = ILS 1029; CIL XIV.3599 = ILS 1061):


Elevation to the priesthood was before the date of his consulship and possibly under Hadrian, because he began his state career as a quaestor-candidate of Hadrian. Minicius Verus was the son of L. Minicius Natalis, cos. suf. 106 (CIL II.4509 = ILS 1029). Perhaps, Hadrian needed the support of the senior Minicius Verus for his claim to the emperorship.¹

16. L. CEIONIUS COMMODUS - L. AE LIUS CAESAR: (see pontifex 33; quindecimvir 31; septemvir 22). Augur. Ceionius Commodus became an augur, when he accepted the title of Caesar (Dio LXIX.17.1; Hist. Aug. Hadr. XXIII. 11).²

Quindecimviri Sacris Faciundis.

19. M. CO CCEIUS NERVA - IMP. NERVA CAESAR AUGUSTUS: (see pontifex 19; augur 3; septemvir 14). Quindecimvir.

Inauguration took place to the greater priestly colleges, when Nerva was made emperor.³

²cf. Above, p. 54, note 1.
³Ibid.
M. ULPNIUS TRAIANUS - IMP. CAESAR NERVA TRAIANUS AUGUSTUS: (see pontifex 20; augur 9; septemvir 15). Quindecimvir.

Trajan was elected to all the greater priesthooods, when he accepted the purple. ¹

M. POMPEIUS MACRINUS NEOS THEOPHANES: (PIR, III, 68, no. 475; Klass, "Pompeius," RE, XXI (95), pp. 2278f.). Plebeian; cos. suf. 100 or 102 (IG V.2.151). Quindecimvir (IG V.2.151 = AE, 1913, no. 168):

Quindecimvir (IG V.2.151 = AE, 1913, no. 168):

Possibly, his was M. Pompeius Macrinus, consul in 164 (ILS 3861): and he was the descendant of Q. Pompeius Macer (PIR, III, 67, no. 471), who was a praetor in

¹ Ibid.
A.D. 15 (ILLS 9349). 1


T. Aquillius Proculus consul pro con. Sul Xv(i)r et Si(bi).

Installation took place, based on the above inscription, likely after 103/104 and under Trajan. Aquillius Proculus served as governor for Asia 103/104 (Forsch. Ephes. II, 128, no. 27; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., p. 161). The dates of his consulship and proconsulship are the only known dates of his career. 2


Hanslik, "Pompeius," Der kleine Pauly, IV (12), p. 1031; R. P. Longden, CAH, XI, p. 221, note 3; Syme, Tacitus, op. cit., pp. 228, 510, 749. The Theophanes family were descendants of Theophanes of Mytilene, the client of Pompeius Magnus. Pompeius Macrinus Theophanes appears to have been the first Greek legionary commander on the Rhine, about 96/97.

Inauguration was presumably under Trajan; based on ILS 10361 cooptation came after 108 but before his consulship. Pompeius Falco served as governor for Lycia-Pamphylia 102-105 (ILS 1035, 1036; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 160ff.) Judaea 105-108 (ILS 1035, 1036; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 164ff.), Lesser Asia 111-118 (ILS 1035; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 180ff.), Britain 118-122 (ILS 1035; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 186ff.), and Asia 123/124 (AE, 1957, no. 17; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., p. 195). He was the son-in-law of Q. Sosius Senecio, and his son was Q. Pompeius Sosius Priscus, cos. 149 (ILS 1106).3

C. JULIUS M. f. PROCULUS: (PIR, II, 208, no. 333; PIR2, IV, no. 497; Groag, "Julius," RE, X (416), pp. 783ff.; Stech 1190; Lambrechts 71; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 171, 193; Howe quindecimvir 46; also fetialis). Plebeian, novus homo; cos. suf. 109 (CIL XVI.161, 162).

Quindecimvir (CIL X.6658 = ILS 1040):


Induction into the priesthood happened during the rule of Trajan, because his


3Hanslik, "Pompeius," Der kleine Pauly, IV (6), p. 1030; R. P. Longden, Syme, Tacitus, op. cit., pp. 245-247. Dessau believes that Q. Pompeius Falco was possibly related to M. Roscius Coelius, a legatus in 69 (Tac. Hist. 1.60) and consul for 81. The reason for Q. Pompeius Falco's nomenclature is far from being clear.
career began under Trajan and he held a command under the emperor.

Julius Proculus served as governor for Lucania 109-111 (ILS 1040; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 171ff.) and Baetica 122/123 (ILS 5973; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., p. 193).¹


(Cn.) Minicio Faustino (Sex.) I(uili)o . . (f)il. Serg. Severo (se)v(iro) t(u)rmae(e) V. eq. (R., I)IIIviro (v)iarum c(ura)nd(ar)um, XVvirō (s.) f., (tr)ib. M(ili. leg.) . .II Geminiae, (q)uaestor. pro(vincia(e) Macedoniae (c)andida(t)o div(i Tr)ai. (P)articl, trib. P(leb)., candidat(o ei)usdem, praetor., leg. leg. XIII Gemin(ae, l)eg. pr. pr. imp. Traiani Hadria(n)i Aug. p(r)ovinciae Daciae(e), cos., leg. pr. p(r.) provinciae Moesia(e) inferioris, leg. pr. pr. provinciae Brittaniae, leg. pr. pr. (pr)ovinciae Iudeae, (l)eg. pr. pr. (provi)nciae Suriae. Huic (senatus a)uctore (imp. Tra)iano Hadrian(o Au)g. ornamenta triu(mp)halia decrevit ob res in (iu)dea prospere ge(st)as. (D.) d.

According to the above inscription, cooptation feasibly occurred under Trajan, because his public career began as a quaestor-candidate of Trajan. Julius Severus served as governor for Achaia 133/134 (IGR III.174; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., p. 208) and Pontus-Bithynia 134-136 (IGR III.174; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., 210ff.). He was adopted by Cn. Minicius Faustinus (PIR, II, 376, no. 131), a consul for 116.²

¹Hanslik, "Julius," Der kleine Pauly, II (76), pp. 1534ff.; L. Merrman, "Le Livre des spectacles de Martial," Latomus, XXI, 1962, pp. 494ff. It is interesting to note, that between his command and consulship, Julius Proculus as an imperial legate of praetorian rank in charge of a whole region of Italy, the Transpadana, as though it was a province. His career possibly gives us an insight to Trajan's attitude toward Roman administration, in that, Trajan looked upon the governing of Italy as another military command.

P. AELIUS P. f. Serg. HADRIANUS - IMP. CAESAR TRAIANUS HADRIANUS

AUGUSTUS: (see pontifex 29; augur 12; septemvir 18). Quindecimvir. Inauguration took place to the greater priestly colleges, when he became emperor. He might have been a quindecimvir in 101, when a prophecy announced to him from the Sibylline Verses (Hist. Aug. Hadr. II.9): "sors adipit, quam alii ex Sibyllinis versibus ei provenisse dixerunt."

.. VALERIUS .. GRANIANUS .. GRATIUS GEMINIUS R ..: (PIR, II, 122, no. 130; Hanslik, "Valerius," RE, VIIIA (194), pp. 40f.; Stech 1766; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 219, 225; Howe quindecimvir 117).

Plebeian; cos. suf. during the time of Trajan and Hadrian.

Quindecimvir (CIL II.6084):

. (v)al(erio. fil. gal.?) Gran(iano). . . . . . Grattio (ceriali?) Gemino R(ecto? q. . . trib. pleb.) praetori. XVviro sacris p. r.) faciundis. lega(to aug.) leg. VI victricis (in Britannia) legato provinc. A(fricae?) consuli curator(i alvei et riparum) Tiberis et Cloaca(r. urb. leg. aug. pr. pr. prov.) Germaniae inferiores provinciae Asiae ex(testamento) sex Pompeii Ter(entianus et?). . . . amico op(timo .. . )

Inauguration could have occurred under Trajan or Hadrian. Valerius Rectus(?) served as governor to Aquitania under Hadrian (CIL II.6084; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., p. 219) and Lesser Germany under Hadrian (CIL II.6084; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., p. 225). Very little is known about his origin and public career.


Plebeian; cos. suf. during the time of Trajan and Hadrian. Quindec-
According to Groag (RE, loc. cit., p. 193), elevation might have taken place under Hadrian. The above inscription is all that is known about him.


P. Cluvio Maximo Paulino cos VIIvir epulonum pr(oc)onsuli sortito pro(vinciae) XV (v)ir sacris faciundis leg. aug. (p)r (pr. provincie) Mo(e)siae superioris curator(i) (vi)ae F(laminiae) leg leg XIII gem procos provinciae Sici(liae) (e legato) provinciae Asiae legato provincie. A . . e se(uir) o t(urnum) III eq Romanor praefecto fr(um)etri dan(di) legato missio a senatu ad im(p.) (H)adri(anum) cum ex Africa reverteretur pra(etor) i trib(pl) quae(t) provinciae Achiae trib leg V mac IIIIII vir (via)rum curan(dam) P. Cluvius Maximus Paulinus patri opt(imam).

Since he was a plebeian and held the consulship under Hadrian, presumably inauguration, also, took place under Hadrian. Cluvius Paulinus served as governor for Sicily 133/134 (AE, 1940, no. 99; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 208f.). There are few known facts concerning his public career.¹


(C. Bruttio L. f. Pomp. P)raesenti L. Fulvio Rus(tico cos. procos. prov. Afri)cae XVvir sacris faciundis cura(tor) operum locorumque publicorum leg pro pr (imp. Caes. Traiani Hadri)ani aug provinciae Cappadociae item leg pro pr (imp. C)aesaris Traiani Hadriani aug

provinciae Moesiae I(nferior)is leg pro pr imp Caesar divi Traiani
aug provinciae Cilic cur v(iae) Latinae leg leg VI ferratae donis
militaribus donato ab imp Traiani (aug. ob bellum) Parthicum praet
aedil pleb (quaes)tor provinciae Hispaniae Baet(icae ulter)oris
trib Latic leg I Minerviae donis militaribus donat ab imp aug ob
be(llum Germanicium) triumviro capitali patr(ono).

Induction into the priesthood presumably took place early in the reign of
Hadrian, because he was an apparent partisan of Hadrian. As the governor of
Cilicia in 117 (AE, 1950, no. 66), he would have been a witness of Trajan's
supposed adoption of Hadrian. Possibly, Bruttius Praesens was awarded the
consulship and a priesthood for his testimony. He served as governor for
Cilicia 111-118 (AE, 1950, no. 66; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 182ff.),
Cappadocia 121-124 (AE, 1950, no. 66; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 191ff.),
Lesser Moesia 124-128 (AE, 1950, no. 66; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 197ff.),
Bruttius Praesens was the son of L. Bruttius Maximus, the proconsul for Cyprus
in 80 (AE, 1950, no. 66). He became a friend of Pliny (Ep. VII.3); his grand-
daughter, Britta Cripina, was married to Commodus (Hist. Aug. Marc. XXVII.8);
and his son C. Bruttius Praesens (PIR², I, no. 165) was consul for 153.¹

II. L. CEIONIUS COMMODUS - L. AELIUS CAESAR: (see pontifex 33; augur 16;
septemvir 22; Howe quindecimvir 50). Quindecimvir (CIL III.4366 = ILS
319):

imp. II, L. Aelius Caes. fil., trib. potes., cos. II, procos.,
XVvir sacris faciund.

Adoption occurred in 136 to all the greater priestly colleges.²

¹Hanslik, "Bruttius," Der kleine Pauly, I (5), pp. 954f., who (pp. 955,
places his first consulship in the year 120. Also, Syme, Tacitus, op. cit.
242.

² cf. above, p. 54, note 1.
Septemviri Epulones.

14. M. COCEIUS NERVA - IMP. NERVA CAESAR AUGUSTUS: (see pontifex 19; augur 3; quindecimvir 19). Septemvir.

Inauguration occurred to the greater priestly colleges, when Nerva was elevated to the purple. 1


rogo dignitati, ad quam me provexit indulgentia tua, vel auguratum vel septemviratum, quia vacant, adicere digneris, . . .

Installation to all the greater priestly colleges took place when he became emperor. 2


1 Ibid.
2 Ibid.
Investigation with the priesthood could have taken place under Domitian, but, because he served in the Dacian war under Trajan, possibly he was elevated to the priesthood by Trajan. Glitius Agricola served as governor for Belgica 95/96 (ILS 1021; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 146ff.) and Pannonia 100-103 (ILS 1021a; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 156ff.).

17. A. LARCIUS PRISCUS: (PIR, II, 264, no. 60; Fluss, "Larcius," RE, XII (19), pp. 803ff.; Stech 1779; Lambrechts 289; Howe septemvir 27).

Plebeian; cos. suf. 110 (Syme, Tacitus, op. cit., p. 228, note 9).

Septemvir (CIL VIII.17891 = ILS 1055):


Inauguration possibly occurred under Trajan, because he began his public career as a quaestor in the year 97. Larcius Priscus served as governor for Judaea 105-108 (ILS 1055; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 164ff.) and Narbo-

annis 108/109 (ILS 1055; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 170ff.). He, probably, was the son of A. Larcius Lepidus (PIR, II, 263, no. 51), who was 4th Titus in 70 at Jerusalem (CIL VIII.17891).²


²Hanslik, "Larcius," Der kleine Pauly, III (5), p. 494; R. Syme, "A governor of Syria under Nerva," Philologus, 1936, pp. 238ff.; id., Tacitus, op. cit., p. 16. No written source hints that there was any trouble when Titus acquired the purple. But, when Trajan came to power, Larcius Priscus, being still young man and only quaestor for Asia, was sent directly into Syria as the commander of the legion IV Scythia with the title legatus for the province. This exceptional action denotes a possible state of emergency, indicating Trajan was not universally accepted.
18. P. AELIUS P. f. Serg. HADRIANUS - IMP. CAESAR TRAIANUS HADRIANUS

AUGUSTUS: (see pontifex 29; augur 12; quindecimvir 26; Howe septemvir 25).

Septemvir (CIL III.550 = ILS 308):


Based on the above inscription, cooptation took place in 112.


Septemvir (CIL X.8291 = ILS 1041):

(L.) Catilio Cn. f. (Cle. Sever)o Iuliano Cl. R(egi)nus cos. II, procos. provinc. Afr(ic)ae, leg. Aug. pr. p(r. provin)ciae Syriae et provinciae Cappadociarum et Armeniae maior. et minor., VIIvir. epul(on, d)onis militari bus donato a divo Tra(iano) corona mur(ali) vallari navali h(astos puris IIII vexill)is IIII, pr. urb., praef. aerarii Sat(uri)ni, praef. aerar. m(ilitar)., leg. (leg. XXII Ge)m. p. f., cu(r. viar. ----)iae, praef. (frumenti) dandi e(x s. c., leg. pro pr. prov. Asi)ae II, (trib. pl., qua)est(ori pro pr. provinciae) Asiae.

Elevation was either late in the reign of Trajan, or apparently under Hadrian, since he was an adherent of Hadrian (Hist. Aug. Hadr. XXIV.6). Catilius Severus served as governor for Cappadocia-Armenia II/II (ILAfr. 43; Eck, Senatorevit, op. cit., pp. 178ff.), Syria II/II (Hist. Aug. Hadr. V.10; Eck, Senatorevit, op. cit., pp. 184ff.), and Africa I/II (ILAfr. 43; Eck, Senatorevit, op. cit., p. 197). Catilius Severus, also, had hoped to have been adopted by Hadrian (Hist. Aug. Hadr. XXIV.6). He was a friend of Pliny (Ep.
Catilius Severus is alleged to have been the great-grandfather of Marcus Aurelius on the mother's side of the emperor's family (Hist. Aug. Marc. I.4, 9).  


It is likely that cooptation took place under Trajan, because he began his public career under Trajan. But, since he was a plebeian, elevation to the priesthood could have come under Hadrian. Claudius Quartinus served as governor for Lugdunum between 119 and 130 (CIL XIII.1802; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., p. 227) and Greater Germany 133-135 (CIL XVI.80; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 208ff.).


L. Neratius L. f. (Vol. Priscus)

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Inauguration occurred apparently under Hadrian, because his public career coincides with the reign of Hadrian. Neratius Priscus served as governor of Lesser Pannonia 118-120 (ILS 1034; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 186ff.) and Greater Pannonia under Hadrian (ILS 1034; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., p. 230).

He was the son of L. Neratius Priscus,1 the noted Roman jurist of the age of Trajan and Hadrian (Hist. Aug. Hadr. IV).

22. L. CEBIONIUS COMMODUS - L. AELIUS CAESAR: (see pontifex 33; augur 16; quindecimvir 31). Septemvir.

Inauguration took place in 136 to all the greater priestly colleges.2

Nerva, Trajan, and Hadrian as Priests.

Since Nerva wanted to be remembered as a restorer of Roman libertas,3 which was presumably diminished by Domitian, it can be assumed that he, also, instituted the traditional functions of the pontifex maximus, whose duties, as noted in the previous chapter, were partly manipulated by Domitian for his convenience. In 97, he built a temple and supposedly assisted in its

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2 cf. above, p. 54, note 1.
3 CIL VI.472 = ILS 274:

Libertati ab imp. Nerva Ca(es)ar(e) Aug., anno ab urbe condita DCCCXXXIX XIII (k.) Oc(t.), restitu(tae) s. p. q. R.

P. Longden, CAH, XI, p. 199; Hammond, Antonine, op. cit., p. 69; Sutherland and Hammond, "Nerva," OCD², (1), pp. 730f. It was not the liberty of the public; it was a return to the peaceful working of the imperial administrative system.
dedication to Minerval on his Forum, but reduced the number of state sacrifices in order to initiate savings in state expenditures. At the occasion of the formal adoption of Trajan, Nerva, as the chief pontiff, placed the laurel (from the dispatch announcing the former's victory on the Danube) on the knees of the Capitoline statue of Jupiter.

According to Pliny, Trajan, as emperor, revered the gods and Eutropius, a fourth-century historian, compared him with Romulus. He is, also, praised for fulfilling his duties as pontifex maximus and acting as the living spokesman for Jupiter. The obvious quality of these value judgments were apparently made for public consumption. But, Pliny, as a provincial governor, did ask Trajan for authorization to destroy a temple erected without

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1 CIL VI.953, 31213:


2 Dio LXVIII.2.3.


4 Plin. Paneg. 8.2; R. P. Longden, CAH, XI, p. 194.


6 Eutropius VIII.8.


permission from Rome\textsuperscript{1} and to remove bodies from one burial place to another.\textsuperscript{2}

Trajan answered that Roman religious law did not apply in the above cases, because the areas in question were not on Italian soil, and that provincials should not be put to the expense of sending to Rome to consult the college of pontiffs. In 102, Trajan set up an altar and carried out funeral rites in memory of his fallen troops.\textsuperscript{3} He, also, restored a number of ancient shrines in Rome\textsuperscript{4} and left the 

\textit{plutei} on the rostra of the forum Romanum, which depicts the sacrifices of the \textit{suovetaurilia}. Lino Rossi states the following concerning religious scenes on Trajan's column:\textsuperscript{5}

\begin{quote}
Very many scenes show the Romans performing religious ceremonies, in which the emperor, wearing the toga, takes part as pontifex maximus. They mostly consist of the propitiatory rite of lustratio, widely practised in civil as well as in military (lustratio exercitus) contexts. Hogs, sheep and bulls are conducted to sacrifice (suovetaurilia), while the emperor pours a libation of wine upon the fire burning on the altar.
\end{quote}


\textsuperscript{3}Dio LXVIII.5.2: "\textit{To\'is \$e t\'eleut\'h\'e\'sai t\'ovn otr\'at\'iwt\'ovn e\'n t\'h m\'akh bwa\'m\'on te otr\'i\'sai kai kai \'etos e\'ndv\'iz\'en kele\'\nu\'sai.}\"

\textsuperscript{4}CIL VI.962 = ILS 295:

\begin{quote}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{5}Lino Rossi, \textit{Trajan's Column and the Dacian Wars}, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1971, p. 127; Ryberg, \textit{Rites}, op. cit., pp. 10ff. Trajan, also, appears offering sacrifice on two of his coins (BMC, III, nos. 7\textsuperscript{a}2a, 7\textsuperscript{a}9). But, it may be pointed out that the actual separation between the emperor's authority as magistrate and priest is most difficult to determine.
The temple of Venus on the Forum of Caesar was re-opened in 113. Trajan's wife, Pompeia Plotina, was, according to the Panegyricus, an outstanding model of the ancient virtues and an exemplary wife for the Pontifex Maximus, and Dio affirms that she conducted herself during the whole reign in such a manner as to incur no censure.

Hadrian is said to have observed the old Roman rites and scorned foreign ones. This is in contrast to his philhellenism and interest in foreign and exotic cults. Presumably, due to the loyalty factor in religio, it was necessary for the imperator to establish an outward acceptance of the Roman rite and the formal rejection of foreign religious influences.

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1 AE, 1934, no. 30:

DIS MANIBUS
SACRV
IVLIVS·SERCANDVS
SAMSA L VIXIT
ANNIUS LIII

Also, R. P. Longden, CAH, XI, p. 206.


3 Dio LXVIII.5.5.

4 His coins depict a traditional religious theme. A denarius (BMC, III, no. 252) shows Clementia sacrificing at an altar, and an aureus (BMC, III, no. 33) demonstrates the Genius of the Roman people and the Genius of the senate facing each other across an altar, at which the former is sacrificing. Hist. Aug. Hadr. XXII.8: "ab epistulis et a libellis primus equites Romanos habuit." Hadrian appears sacrificing (BMC, III, nos. 46, 282, 776, 777, 786), Romulus is represented (BMC, III, nos. 528, 709-714, 1362), and the she-wolf is shown (BMC, II, nos. 444, 450). cf. Wilhelm Weber, CAH, XI, pp. 307f.; Beaujeu, "Religion," loc. cit., p. 4.

According to the Historia Augusta\textsuperscript{1} he performed the duties of the pontifex maximus\textsuperscript{2} and personally conducted the state sacrifices.\textsuperscript{3} On his travels, Hadrian restored and probably, as the chief magistrate, reconsecrated the temple of Augustus at Tarragona,\textsuperscript{4} the urban temple at Cupra Maratino,\textsuperscript{5} and the monument of Pompey in Egypt;\textsuperscript{6} he, also, assisted at the dedication of temples to Jupiter in Jerusalem\textsuperscript{7} and Athens.\textsuperscript{8} In Rome, he reconstructed the augurarium,\textsuperscript{9} the Pantheon, the Basilica of Neptune, and many other

\textsuperscript{1} Whenever using the Historia Augusta, as indicated in the introduction (c. above, x), it must be kept in mind that the work was a feeble attempt to continue Suetonius' studies of the Caesars.

\textsuperscript{2} Hist. Aug. Hadr. XXII.11: "pontificis maximi officium peregit."


\textsuperscript{4} Inscriptions which are now on the arch of Constantine show Hadrian carrying out sacrifices to Apollo, Diana, and Hercules (Ferguson, Religions of Empire, op. cit., p. 75). Coins also represent the emperor sacrificing (BMC, III, nos. 242, 776, 777, 786).

\textsuperscript{5} Hist. Aug. Hadr. XXII.4: "Post haec Hispanias petiiit et Terracone Memavit, ubi sumpta suo aedem Augusti restituit."

\textsuperscript{6} CIL IX.52.94 = ILS 313:

\begin{quote}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{7} Dio LXIX.11.1: καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν εὗτος Σιεφθαρμένον Ἀνωφελοστήνια

\textsuperscript{8} Dio LXIX.12.1: καὶ ἔσετο τὸν νοὸν τοῦ θεοῦ τὸπον ναὸν τῷ Διί ἔτερον ἀντεκείραντος πόλην ὧν τῇ Ἕλληνικῷ πολὺ κόσμῳ ὥσπερ ἄλλως ἑαυτῷ ἐκεῖνῃ.

\textsuperscript{9} Hist. Aug. Hadr. XIII.6: "Denique cum post Africam Romam redisset, statim ad orientem profectus per Athenas iter fecit atque opera, quae apud Athenienses cooperat, dedicavit, ut Iovis Olympii aedem et aram sibi, eodemque modo per Asiam iter faciens templam sui nominis consecravit."

\textsuperscript{9} CIL VI.976 = ILS 317:
he, also, built a temple to Trajan. Lastly, it has been suggested that Hadrian, because of his long absences from Rome, created the position of a magister for the college of pontiffs. Nerva, Trajan, and Hadrian, like the Flavian rulers, seemingly kept the particular distinction between priestly duties and magisterial obligations.

Patricians in the Greater Priesthoods under Trajan and Hadrian, excluding the Imperial Family.

The men coopted into the greater priestly service for the period from

the former patrician families were Cn. Pinarius Cn. ... Severus (pontifex 25), and Ser. Cornelius Dolabella Marcellus (pontifex 26). Priests from

new patrician families were P. Manilius Vopiscus (pontifex 27), his father was

imp. Caesar divi Traiani Parthici f. divi Nervae n. Traianus
Hadrianus Aug. pontif. max. trib. pot. XX. imp. II, cos. III, p. p., augurato(rium) dilaps. a sols pe(c. sua restitu)it.


2 CIL VI.31215:

(Ex s. c. divi(s Tr)aiani Parthico et (plotinae im)p. Caes(ar di)vi Traiani Parthici (f.) divi N(ervae nepos Traia)nus Hadrianus Aug.
pont. m(ax. trib. pot. --) cos. III parentinus sui(s).


3 cf. RKR, p. 509; RRG, p. 401; RSR, II, pp. 23, 134; Hammond, Antonine, op. cit., p. 69; Marquardt, p. 214: "Als indessen die Stelle des Pontifex

maximus mit dem Principat verbunden wurde, trat die Nothwendigkeit einer
dauernden Vertretung des Kaisers insbesonders für die laufenden Geschäfte ein

und seitdem finden wir auch in dem Pontificalkollegium einen jährigen

magister, den zuerst 155 n. Chr., später aber öfters erwähnt wird."

4 Heiter, Patriciis, op. cit., pp. 8, 10. Pinarius comes from an established patrician family.

5 Ibid., p. 31. Family was patrician in the early Republic.
raised to the patriciate by Vespasian;¹ M. Appius Bradua (pontifex 31);² and L. Neratius Pr(iscus) (VII vir 21), whose father was also elevated to the patriciate by Vespasian.³ Consequently, the total number of patricians for the era of Trajan and Hadrian is five, two priests being from established families and three priests being from new patrician families.

**Plebeians in the Greater Priesthoods under Trajan and Hadrian.**

Plebeians in the greater sacerdotal colleges from long-standing families for the age were D. Terentius Gentianus (pontifex 28), L. Fulvius Valens (pontifex 30), T. Haterius Nepos (pontifex 32), C. Plinius Secundus (augur 10), P. Tullius Varro (augur 14), L. Minicius Natalis Verus (augur 15), L. Pompeius Macrinus Theophanes (XV vir 21), T. Aquilius Proculus (XV vir 22), Q. Pompeius Falco (XV vir 23), Valerius Rectus (XV vir 27), . . Arrianus Severus (XV vir 28), P. Cluvius Maximus Paullinus (XV vir 29, VII vir 24), C. Brutius Praesens (XV vir 30), and A. Larcius Priscus (VII vir 17). Plebeians in the greater priesthoods from new families were C. Pomponius Rufus (pontifex 21), Ti. Caepio Hispo (pontifex 22), L. Licinius Sura (pontifex 23), C. Julius Quadratus Bassus (pontifex 24), A. Platorius Nepos (augur 13), C. Julius Proculus (XV vir 24), Sex. Julius Severus (XV vir 25), Q. Glitius Attilius Agricola (VII vir 16), L. Catilius Severus (VII vir 19), and Ti. Claudius Quintus (VII vir 20). Thus, the total number of plebeians for the period of Trajan and Hadrian is twenty-four, fourteen priests being from traditional plebeian families and ten priests being from new plebeian families.

¹Ibid., p. 63; Syme (Tacitus, op. cit., p. 595, note 3) states that this can be deduced from ILS 1044.

²Heiter, Patriciis, op. cit., p. 16. Patrician at the time of Hadrian.

³Ibid., p. 60; ILS 1032; Syme, Tacitus, op. cit., pp. 69.
Trajan's Policy towards Cooptation.

Under Trajan, the ancient patrician priesthhoods of the rex sacrorum, the flamen Quirinalis, and presumably the flamen Dialis were occupied by Cn. Minarius Cn. ... Severus (pontifex 25), rex sacrorum; Ser. Cornelius Dolabella Marcellus (pontifex: 26), flamen Quirinalis; and P. Manilius Nepiscius (pontifex 27), pontifex and possibly flamen Dialis(?). The inauguration of these men to the above priesthhoods was probably done as a mere display of Trajan's care for tradition and had little religious significance.

Trajan's policy with regard to the Roman administration as reflected by the men chosen to the greater priesthhoods reveals favoritism toward his field marshals or their sons.¹ Dio Chrysostom, whose influence as a political philosopher was at its height under Trajan,² in his third oration on kingship affirms that the ideal ruler is one who reviews his troops, subdues a province, founds a city, builds bridges and roads. These activities vividly characterize the rule of Trajan. L. Licinius Sura (pontifex 23) served with distinction on Trajan's staff in both Dacian wars, and it was through him that the supposed friendship between Trajan and Hadrian was established and maintained.³ Sura was married to Trajan's niece, Vibia Sabina,⁴ and on his death, in 110, Trajan personally conducted a public funeral.⁵ D. Terrentius

¹ R. P. Longden, CAH, XI, pp. 223ff.; Henderson, Roman Emperors, op. cit., pp. 245ff.; Syme, Tacitus, op. cit., pp. 217ff. These sources attest to the fact that Trajan was a great administrator, but it is as a soldier that his fame endured.

² R. P. Longden, CAH, XI, p. 205.

³ Hist. Aug. Hadr. II.10: "denique statim suffragante Sura ad amicitiam Traiani pleniorem rediit."


⁵ Dio LXVIII.15.32.
Gentianus (pontifex 28) was the son of D. Terentius Scaurianus, a general of Trajan in the Dacian wars, and possibly Terentius Gentianus' cooptation was a reward of his father's influence. Under Hadrian, Terentius Gentianus enjoyed prestige in the senate. P. Aelius Hadrianus (VII vir 18) commanded the first legion in the second Dacian war and won considerable renown, and Q. Cnilius Attilius Agricola (VII vir 16) fought in the first Dacian war and earned many military decorations. Other senior "viri militares" of Trajan, about whom nothing is known, were L. Fabius Justus and L. Publius Celsus. Early in Trajan's reign, a new generation of generals, a few years younger than Trajan, appear as the new "viri militares" and were favored with rapid promotion. These marshals were C. Julius Quadratus Bassus (pontifex 24); L. Minicius Natalis (sodalis Augustalis), his son was L. Minicius Natalis Verus (augur 15); Q. Pompeius Falco (XV vir 23); C. Julius Proculus (XV vir 24); and A. Larcus Priscus (VII vir 17). C. Bruttius Praesens (XV vir 30), who had been a military tribune in 89, can be added to this group. L. Catilius Severus (VII vir 19) was the great-grandfather of Marcus

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1 PIR, III, 303, no. 68.
3 Hist. Aug. Hadr. II.6: "secunda expeditione Dacica Traianus eum primae regioni Minerviae praeposuit secumque duxit; quando quidem multa egregia eius acta claruerunt."
5 PIR, II, 47, no. 32.
6 PIR, III, 107, no. 782.
8 ILS 1029.
Aurelius\textsuperscript{1} and held no fewer than five praetorian posts under Hadrian. L. Neratius Pr(iscus) (VII vir 21) possibly received his priesthood as a reward for his father's influence. His father was L. Neratius Priscus the probable successor of Trajan\textsuperscript{2} and member of Hadrian's advisory council.\textsuperscript{3} Thus, based on the military nature of Trajan's reign, it is natural that his closest and most loyal companions would have been his field marshals.

Too few priests are known to have been elevated during the reign of Hadrian to make any definitive statements concerning his policy of election to the greater priesthoods.

A general synopsis of the imperial concept of religio for the Flavian-Antonine period will be treated in the conclusion. At this time, one can state that Vespasian, Trajan, and Hadrian placed great importance on external participation in the state cult. As members of the pontifical college and the other great priesthoods they emerge as refurbishers of temples and protectors of the old ceremonial law.\textsuperscript{4} However, this is just an outward conservation of religion for social or political expediency. According to Beaujeu, to partake in the official cult was a means of demonstrating one's loyalty; membership in the sacerdotal colleges crowned a successful career in the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1}Hist. Aug. Marc. I.4: "proavus maternus Catilius Severus bis consul et praefectus urbi."
\item \textsuperscript{2}Hist. Aug. Hadr. IV.8: "Frequens sane opinio fuit Traiano id animiuisse ut Neratium Priscum, non Hadrianum successorem relinquaret, multis amicis in hoc consentientibus, usque eo ut Prisco aliquando dixerit: commendo tibi provincias si quid mihi fatale contigerit."
\item \textsuperscript{3}Hist. Aug. Hadr. XVIII.1: "Cum indicaret, in consilio habuit non amicos suos aut comites solum sed iuris consultos et praecepue Iuventium Celsum, Salvium Iulianum, Neratium Priscum aliosque, quos tamen senatus omnia probasset."
\item \textsuperscript{4}cf. RKR, p. 64; Ferguson, Religions of Empire, op. cit., pp. 88ff.; Rose, Ancient Roman Religion, op. cit., pp. 254ff.; Beaujeu, "Religion," loc. cit., pp. 1ff.
\end{itemize}
emperor's service, and religious festivals had become a pretext for public festivities. ¹

CHAPTER V

THE GREATER PRIESTS OF ANTONINUS PIUS AND MARCUS AURELIUS

In the following, forty priests will be considered according to colleges. Again, our major sources are offered in Latin and Greek epigraphy.

*Pontifex and Flamines*

34. **T. AURELIUS FULVIUS BOIONIUS ARRIUS ANTONINUS** - IMP. CAESAR T. AELIUS HADRIANUS ANTONINUS AUGUSTUS PIUS: (PIR², I, no. 1513; P. von Rohden, "Aurelius," RE, II (138), pp. 2493ff.; Stech 1609; Lambrechts 23; Habel 52; see augur 17; quindecimvir 32; septemvir 23). Patrician; cos. I ord. 120 (CIL VI.2375); II ord. 139 (CIL VI.833, 401); III ord. 140 (CIL VI.159); IV ord. 145 (CIL III.282). Pontifex Maximus (BMC, II, nos. 394, 483; CIL IX.697 = ILS 332).


Inauguration as pontifex was at the time of adoption by Hadrian in January 138. Symbols of the pontifex maximus appear on the coins of Antoninus while he was still Caesar, but these are probably errors (BMC, III, nos. 25, 282, 29; Starck, Gnomon, XIII, 1937, p. 670). Antoninus Pius became emperor on July 10, 138.

35. **C. JULIUS SEVERUS**: (PIR, II, 215, no. 375; PIR², IV, no. 573;
Groag, "Julius," RE, X (484), pp. 811ff.; Lambrechts 73; Habel 55;
Howe pontifex 58). Plebeian; cos. suf. 139 or
Date of cooptation is unknown, but PIR² places it after his consulship, and thus, during Antoninus Pius' reign. Since he was a friend of Hadrian (Dio LIX.14.4), elevation could have taken place under Hadrian. Julius Severus served as governor of Achaia 133/134 (AE, 1923, no. 4) and Bithynia 138/139 (AE, 1938, no. 144; Dio LIX.14.4); Lesser Germany under Antoninus Pius; and Asia 152/153 (IGR III.174, 175). He is related to C. Julius Severus² (PIR², IV, no. 574), consul for 155; A. Julius Severus (PIR², IV, no. 572) was, also, a member of his family. Hanslik declares that Julius Severus was a son of C. Julius Proculus, the consul for 109.³

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¹Groag (RE, loc. cit., pp. 818,38) places consulship in the year 140, while Hanslik (Der kleine Pauly, p. 1536) states that Julius Severus was consul for 139.

²cf. XV vir 37.


Pontifex (ILS 8973):


Installation to the priesthood was under Hadrian or Antoninus Pius, but likely during the rule of Antoninus Pius, because he was still in public service under Marcus Aurelius. Salvius Julianus, a noted Roman jurist, was a member of Hadrian's consilium, and he personally revised the arrangement of the praetorian edict (Eutropius VIII.17). He, also, served as governor for Lesser Germany under Antoninus Pius (CIL XIII.7791 = ILS 7776), and for Spain and Africa under Marcus Aurelius and Verus (AE, 1915, no. 55).¹

M. ANNIUS CATILIUS VERUS - IMP. CAESAR M. AURELIUS ANTONINUS AUGUSTUS:

(PIR², I, no. 697; P. von Rohden, "Annius," RE, I (94), pp. 2279 ff.; Lambrechts 336; Habel 53; see augur 18; quindecimvir 34; septemvir 25; also salius Palatinus or Collinus). Patrician; cos. I ord. 140 (CIL VI.159); II ord. 145 (CIL III.282); III ord. 161 (CIL VI.596).

Pontifex (Hist. Aug. Marc. VI.3);

et in collegia sacerdotum iubente senatu recepit.¹

Inauguration occurred in 140, and he became Pontifex Maximus in 161. Marcus Aurelius became emperor on March 7, 161. He used the title sparingly on inscriptions and coins; feasibly Lucius Verus' lack of the designation as pontifex maximus is the reason.

38. D. VELIUS FIDUS: (PIR, III, 392, no. 225; Dihle, "Velius," RE, VIII A 14, p. 628; Lambrechts 497; Habel 57; Howe pontifex 60). Plebeian, novus homo?; cos. suf. about 144.² Pontifex (CIL VI.2120 = ILS 8380):

Velius Fidus Iubentio Celso collegae suo salutem . . . .

Elevation supposedly happened under Antoninus Pius, since CIL VI.2120 = ILS 8380 is dated 155. Velius Fidus served as the governor for Syria-Palestine 149/150 (CIL III.14387e). Perhaps, D. Velius Longinus (PIR, III, 392, no. 226) was his brother (RE, loc. cit., pp. 628, 45).


Velius Fidus Iubentio Celso collegae suo salutem . . . .

Iubentius Celsus promagister subscripsi III nonas Noemb.

Juventius Celsus was promagister for the college of pontiffs in 155; his date of election to the priesthood is unknown. Cooptation might have been under Antoninus Pius. He served as governor for the province of Galatia 161-163 (Worth, Coins Gals. p. 20, no. 13). P. Juventius Celsus (PIR², IV, no. 882), the distinguished Roman jurist and member of Hadrian's cabinet, was his

¹cf., above, p. 54, note 1.
²Dihle, RE, loc. cit., p. 628, 8.
1 A cooptation is assumed to have occurred during the reign of Antoninus Pius, but, possibly, early in the rule of Marcus Aurelius. Pontius Laelianus Sabinus' father appears to have been Pontius Laelianus (RE, no. 33) the governor for Pannonia in 148 (ILS 2005). The former Pontius Laelianus was with Verus Augustus in the Armenian-Parthian war 162-166 (ILS 1094). His son was M. Pontius Laelianus (PIR, III, 83, no. 599), consul for 163 (Fronto, ad Verum imp. II.1), and M. Pontius Sabinus (PIR, III, 85, no. 613) was his brother.

21 M. ACILIUS GLABRIO CN. CORNELIUS SEVERUS: (PIR2, I, no. 73; P. von Rohden, "Acilius," RE, I (42), p. 258; Lambrechts 325; Habel 59; Howe pontifex 62; also salius Collinus).


2 Dessau (PIR and ILS, I, p. 239) identifies M. Pontius Laelianus, consul for 163, with the name on CIL VI.1497 = ILS 1094. Wolf (RE, loc. cit.), Lambrechts, and Habel state that the aforesaid inscription refers to M. Pontius Laelianus the consul in 143. Also, Syme, JRS, XXXVI, 1946, p. 167; Minkler, "Pontius," Der kleine Pauly, IV (2), pp. 1049f.
Cooption took place during the reign of Antoninus Pius, since he began his public career as a quaestor-candidate of the emperor. Acilius Glabrio served as governor for the province of Crete-Cyprus, Africa, and legate to Asia. He was the son of M. Acilius Glabrio (PIR², I, no. 68), consul for 124; and the father of M. Acilius Glabrio (PIR², I, no. 69), consul in 186.²

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2 Not in Der kleine Pauly.

(T. Pomponio Proculo Vitrasis Pollio cos. II amico Aug)ustorum, 
com(i M. Antonini et L. Ver)i Augg. expeditio(nis . . . . . . . . 
Germ)anicae, item comiti (M. Antonini et Com)modi Augg. expedit-
(ionem Germanicae Sar)maticae, bis donis m(ilitaribus donato, 
cori)nis muralibu(s II vallar. II aur. II) has(tis puris IIII 
vexillis IIII, procos. Asiae . . . . . . . . leg. Aug. pr. pr. 
Hispaniae leg. Aug. pro pr. Moesiae inf., pontif., s)odalici 
Antonin(i, praef. alimento)rum, praetori, qu(aestori, IIIviro 
monetal)i a. a. a. f. f., marito A(nniae Fundaniae Faustinae) imp. 
Caesarius M. (Antonini Aug. et div)ae Faustinae Piae pa(truelis, 
affini domus) Aug. (Huic senatus) auctoribus im(peroribus 
Antonino et) Commodo Augg. G(ermanicis Sarmaticis) statuas duas, 
unam habitu militari in foro divi Tra(iani, alteram habi)tu 
civili in pron(ao aedisi divi Pii pon)endas cen(suit).

Nymphis T. Pomponius Proculus Vitrasis Pollio cos., pontif., 
citer., et Faustina eius (v. s. 1. m.).

(Anni Fundania M.) fil. Faustina T. Vitrasi Poll(i)onis cos. II, 
praet., quaest. imp., pontif., (proc)os. Asiae uxor, nymphis 
Griselicis.

(Vitras)ia T. f. Faustina P(olionis cos., pon(tif., f., Matri) 
magnae sua pecu(nia fecit).

Inauguration seemingly took place under Antoninus Pius, because his state 
career began during his rule. T. Vitrasis Pollio served as governor for 
Spain 146 (CIL II.5679), Lesser Moesia 147-149 (CIL III.762), and Asia 
(uncertain date). He married Anni Fundania Faustina, granddaughter of M. 
Annius Verus (who was the father of Faustina the Elder and grandfather of 
Marcus Aurelius1). He, also, held a position on the staff of Marcus Aurelius 
during the German War.2

43. Q. TINEIUS SACERDOS CLEMENS: (PIR, III, 323, no. 172; Fluss, "Tineius," 
RE, VIA (9), pp. 138lf.; Lambrechts 494; Habel 58; Howe pontifex 61).

Patrician probably under Hadrian (Heiter, Patricii, op. cit., p. 66);

1 The Vitrasis Faustina slain by Commodus was probably Vitrasis 

2 Hanslik, "Pomponius," Der kleine Pauly, IV (7), p. 1037; Sutherland 
cos. ord. 158 (CIL III.156, VI.715). Pontifex (IGR III.808 = CIG 4351):

Koιντον [Tineioν] P oυφον πα[τρων] | Ποντϊφικα, |
Koιντον [Tineioυ] | Σακερ[SWOTOS] | Ιουπτικού
π[τρων] Ποντϊφικας | νιον . . . [Σιδητων
η Βουλη και δ Σηων].

Date of cooptation is unknown; supposedly it was under Antoninus Pius, since the date 158 is the only positive date in his career. Tineius Clemens was the father of Q. Tineius Rufus (pontifex l8).


Inauguration occurred in 161, when Aurelius Verus was adopted by Marcus Aurelius.¹ He never shared officially in the position of supreme pontiff (Dio LIII.17.8).²


Patrician; cos. I suf. not after 163; II ord. 173 (CIL IX.4970 = ILS 6559; CIL XI.7555 = ILS 1886). Pontifex (CIG 4154; AE, 1939, no. 26):

¹cf. above, p. 54, note 1.
²RSR, II, p. 1108.
Installation might have taken place under Marcus Aurelius, because his civic career coincides with that of the emperor. Claudius Severus married the daughter of Marcus Aurelius (Dio LXXX.5.3), and the princeps married his daughters to the most distinguished Roman aristocrats (Herodian I.2.2). His father was Cn. Claudius Severus Arabianus (PIR², II, no. 1027) consul in 146, and this Claudius Severus is possibly the philosopher. ¹


Elevation is likely to have happened under Marcus Aurelius, since his public career is parallel to the rule of Marcus Aurelius. Pompeius Sosius Priscus served as governor for Asia in 183 or 184 (RE, loc. cit., p. 2289,35). His father was Q. Roscius Pompeius Falco consul in 109, and his grandfather was Q. Sosius Senecio consul in 99. Q. Sosius Falco, consul in 193, was his son.¹


iam in suos tanto fuit benignitate Marcus ut cum in omnes propinquos cuncta honorum ornamenta contulerit tum in filium et quidem scelestum atque impurum cito nomen Caesaris et mox sacerdotium statimque nomen imperatoris ac triumphi participationem et consulatum. (Hist. Aug. Marc. XVI.2)

Cooptation took place on January 20, 175.

48. Q. TINEIUS RUFUS: (PIR, III, 321, no. 169; Fluss, "Tineius," RE, VIA (7), p. 1379; Lambrecchts 1101; Habel 66; Howe pontifex 68; also salius Palatinus). Patrician; cos. ord. 182 (CIL II.4083). Pontifex (IGR III 1 Not in Der kleine Pauly.)
Installation possibly occurred in 178, when Tineius Rufus left the college of the salius Palatinus. His father was Q. Tineius Sacerdos Clemens (pontifex luci).


(L. Annio) L. f. Arn. Ravo (cos., pr)ast., quaestori (candi)dato imp. Caes. (M. Au)reli C(ommodi Ant)onini Aug. Pii (Fel)ici, pontifici, (sal)io Palatino, tri(um)viro monetali (a. a. a.) f. f., sodales (Hercu)lani ob me(rita pat)rono.

Installation was conceivably under Marcus Aurelius, because he began his public career under the aforesaid emperor, but, perhaps, under Commodus.¹


Cincius Severus dixit: "Iniuste sepultus est, qua pontifex dico, hoc collegium pontificum dicit."

Induction into the priesthood might have occurred under Marcus Aurelius, but, perhaps, under Commodus. Cingius Severus, also, served as a proconsul for

¹Not in Der kleine Pauly.
Africa (Tertullian I.1). 1

**Augures.**

17. **T. AURELIUS FULVIUS BOIONIUS ARRIUS ANTONINUS - IMP. CAESAR T. AELIUS HADRIANUS ANTONINUS AUGUSTUS PIUS:** (see pontifex 34; quindecimvir 32; septemvir 23). Augur. Coins (BMC, IV, nos. 68-72, 80, 90-94, 118-123, 1379) contain the emblems of the greater priesthods.

Elevation to the greater priestly colleges took place when Antoninus Pius took the purple. 2

18. **M. ANNIUS CATILIUS VERUS - IMP. CAESAR M. AURELIUS ANTONINUS AUGUSTUS:** (see pontifex 37; quindecimvir 34; septemvir 25; also salius). Augur (Hist. Aug. Marc. VI, 3):

> et in collegia sacerdotum iubente senatu receptit.

Inauguration of Marcus Aurelius occurred in 140 to all the greater priestly colleges. 3 Coins (BMC, IV, nos. 276-279, 1405, 1406, 1411-1415) carry the symbols of the greater priesthods.


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1 Hanslik, "Cingius," Der kleine Pauly, I, p. 1191.

2 cf. above, p. 54, note 1.

3 Ibid.

There is a likelihood that the investation with the priesthood happened at the time of his consulship, under Antoninus Pius, and he continued in public service under Marcus Aurelius. Mummius Rutilianus served as imperial legate to Greater Moesia in 150 (CIL XIV.3601 = ILS 1101) and as governor for Asia not after 162/163 (CIL XIV.3601 = ILS 1101). His father was P. Mummius Seenna (PIR, II, 388, no. 518), consul in 133.


Installation supposedly took place during Antoninus Pius' reign, because he began his career as a quaestor-candidate of the emperor. Dasumius Tuscus served as governor for Greater Germany 160/161 (CIL III.4117) and Pannonia 162-166 (CIL III.4117). His father was P. Dasumius Rusticus (PIR2, III, no. 15), consul for 119; and his son was M. Dasumius Tullius Varro (PIR2, III, no. 17).  

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L. CEIONIUS COMMODUS - IMP. CAESAR L. AURELIUS VERUS AUGUSTUS: (see pontifex 14; quindecimvir 38; septemvir 28; Howe augur 50). Augur (CIL X.5051):

L. Aelio Aurelio (Co)m(modo) Imp. Caes. (Had)riani An(to)nini Aug. P(ii) (fi)lio divi Hadriani nepoti divi Traiani (part) (pro)nep divi Nervae Abnepoti // cos auguri d. d. publice.

Elevation occurred between 154, his first consulship, and 161, his second consulship. 1


Cn. Iulio Cn. fil Vero cos. desig. II, augur. ..

Auguration was apparently under Antoninus Pius, since his public career coincides with the rule of Antoninus Pius. Julius Verus' career is contained in inscription CIL III.2732 = ILS 1057:


Served as governor of Lesser Germany 155/156 (CIL III.2732 = ILS 1057), Britain 157-160 (CIL III.2732 = ILS 1057), and Syria between 163 and 166 (CIL III.199-201). Julius Verus was the practical leader of Lucius Verus' Parthian expedition (CIL III.199), though Avidius Cassius received the honors. 2

1 cf. above, p. 54, note 1.

M. METILIUS P. f. AQuILLIUS REGULUS NEPOS VOLUSIUS TORQUATuS FRONTO:

(PIR, II, 371, no. 385; Fluss, "Metilius," RE, XV (12), pp. 1399f.;
Lambrechts 438; Howe augur 51; also sodalis Flavialis, salius Collinus).

Patrician; 1 cos. ord. 157 (CIL VI.376). Augur (CIL XIV.2501 = ILS 1075):

M. Met(i)lio P. f. Cl. Aquillio Regulo Nepoti Volusio Torqua(t)o
Fronton(i) cos. ex ka(l.) Ian., augur(i, salio) Collino, so(da)li
Flaviali, (praet.), quaestori, (tri)umviro m(onetal) a. a. a. f.
f., p(raef. feriar)um La(tinarum) . . . . . . ad . . . . .

Induction into the priesthood could have taken place during the rule of
Augustus Pius; the date 157 is the only date of his civic career. Metilius
Fronto was the son of P. Metilius Sabinus Nepos (PIR, II, 371, no. 389), and
the grandson of M. Aquillius Regulus (PIR, I, 124, no. 817) sacerdos 1. 2

Ti. CLAUDIUS SAETHIDA CAELIANUS: (PIR2, II, no. 1004a; Groag,
"Claudius," RE, III (325), pp. 286lf.; Lambrechts 811f; Howe augur 52;
also sodalis Hadrianalis). Plebeian; cos. date unknown. Augur (CIL
X.1123 = ILS 1086):

Ti. Claudio Saethidae Caeliano, Cl. Fronti(ni) cos. f., X(vir.)
stl. iud., trib. mil. leg. III Gallicae, (q.) provinc. (Sici)liae
candidate imp. (An)tonini et Veri August(or.), sodali Hadrianali,
le(g.) . . . . . . (trib.) pleb., prae(stit.) (com(m.),) legato leg. XI
Cl., aug(ur.), patrono coloniae d. d.

Acceptation, based on the above inscription, might have been under Marcus
Aurelius, because he had begun his public career as quaestor-candidate of the
emperor. Claudius Caelianus' brother was Ti. Claudius Frontinus Niceratus
(PIR2, II, no. 873); Ti. Claudius Frontinus (Groag, "Claudius," RE, III 155),

1 Fluss (RE, loc. cit., pp. 1400,2lf.) restored the inscription:
ad(lecto inter patricios)

2 Not in Der kleine Pauly.
p. 2721) was his father.  

L. VENULEIUS APRONIANUS OCTAVIUS: (PIR, III, 397, no. 253; Hanslik, "Venuleius," RE, VIIA (?), p. 822; Lambrechts 787; Howe augur 54; also sodalis Hadrianalis, sodalis Antoninianus). Patrician; 2 cons. I unknown; II ord. 168 (CIL VI.859, 455). Augur (CIL XI.1432, 1433), according to Dessau's reconstruction:

(L. Venuleio L.(, ) f. Gal.(?) ) Aproniano Octavio
(Illvir. a. a.) a. f. f. praeef. urb. feriar
(lat. augur, quaest. tr. pl.(?) pr)æst. leg. leg. prim.
Ital. cos. II

(pr. pr. prov. Hispaniae citeri)oris praetori Etruriae
V. Pisis (praet.) publice d. d.
(ob . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . ) in patriam suum beneficia

Inauguration is likely to have been under Marcus Aurelius. The date of his second consulship is the only known date in his career. He was the son of Venuleius Apronianus (PIR, III, 396, no. 252), consul for 123, and his grandfather was L. Venuleius Montanus Apronianus (PIR, III, 397, no. 255), consul for 92.  


.......................(praet.) curatoribus et tutoribus dandis primo
constituto, curatori Nolanorum, fratri Arvali, augur., sodali

²Hanslik, RE, loc. cit., p. 821,34.
³Hanslik (RE, loc. cit.) says nothing about L. Venuleius Apronianus Octavius being an augur. He does not accept Dessau's reconstruction of the above inscription (CIL XI.1432, 1433).
Marciano Antoniniano, iuridico regionis Transpadaneae, curator
Arminiensium, curator civitatum per Aemilian, aedili curuli, ab
actis senatus, seviro equitum Romanorum, quaest. urbano, tribuno
leg. III Scythicae, quattuorviro viarum currandarum, patrono IIII
col., C. Iulius Libo trierchus (sic) classis novae Lybice, patrono,
d. d. ....no f.

coopitation apparently took place during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, because
his civic career parallels the aforesaid emperor's rule. Antoninus was not a
relative of Antoninus Pius. He served as governor for Dacia (CIL III.12574);
Cappadocia 175-180 (ILS 9117) and Asia 184/185 (Hist. Aug. Com. VII.1). He
was the father of C. Arrius Antoninus (PIR², I, no. 1089) and C. Arrius
quadratus (PIR², I, no. 1107). He, also, was a personal friend of M.
Cornelius Fronto (ad amicos II.6, 7, 8). Arrius was put to death in 189 by
Commodus on false charges (Hist. Aug. Com. VII.1).¹

27. M. MACRINIUS AVITUS CATONIUS VINDEX: (PIR, II, 313, no. 16; Stein,
Plebeian; cos. suf. before 170. Augur (CIL VI.1449 = ILS 1107; Album
233).

praef. alae contar., praef. alae III Thrac., trib. mil. leg. VI
Victr., praef. coh. VI Gall., donat. donis mil. in bell. Germ. ab
mural. et vallar., Iunia Flaccinilla marito karissimo et Macrina
Rufina patri piissimo. Vixit annis XLII m. V.

Election probably occurred under Marcus Aurelius, since his public career
coincides with Aurelius' reign. Macrinius Vindex served as governor for Lesser
Moesia and Greater Moesia (ILS 1107) at an undetermined date. He is assumed
to be the son of M. Macrinius Vindex (PIR, II, 313, no. 19), the praetorian

prefect of Marcus Aurelius. 1

28. L. AELIUS AURELIUS COMMODUS - IMP. CAESAR L. AELIUS AURELIUS COMMODUS AUGUSTUS: (see pontifex 47; quindecimvir 39; septemvir 31). Augur (Hist. Aug. Marc. XVI.2; Com. I.10, XII.1).

Iam in suos tanta fuit benignitate Marcus ut cum in omnes propinquos cuncta honorum ornamenta contulerit, tum in filium et quidem scelestum atque impurum cia nomen Caesaris et mox sacerdotium statimque nomen imperatoris ac triumphi participationem et consulatum. (Hist. Aug. Marc. XVI.2)

Elevation occurred in 175 to all the greater priestly colleges. 2 Coins (BM, IV, nos. 647, 1516, 1526, 1533, 1534) contain the symbols of the greater priesthoods.


Inauguration might have taken place before his consulship, possibly in 177, when he left the college of the salius Palatinus (CIL VI.1978 = ILS 5024).

Hedius Gentianus served as governor for the province of Asia in 201/202 (CIL III.471), and his father was L. Hedius Rufus Avitus (PIR2, IV, no. 40), consul in the year 1H4. 3

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2 cf. above, p. 54, note 1.

haec tamen agenti Iuliano Plautius Quintillius consularis augur contradixit, adserens non debere imperare eum qui armis adversario non posset resistere.

Installation conceivably occurred under Marcus Aurelius, but, perhaps, under Commodus. He was a nephew of Lucius Verus and a son-in-law of Marcus Aurelius. Plautius Quintillius' father was Plautius Quintillius (PIR, III, 15, no. 356), consul for 159.

Quindecimviri Sacris Faciundis.

T. AURELIUS FULVIUS BOIONUS ARRIUS ANTONINUS - IMP. CAESAR T. AELIUS HADRIANUS ANTONINUS AUGUSTUS PIUS: (see pontifex 34; augur 17; septemvir 23). Quindecimvir.

Cooptation took place to the greater priestly colleges, when Antoninus Pius became emperor.

P. DELPHIUS PEREGRINUS ALFIUS ALENNIUS MAXIMUS CURTIUS VALERIANUS


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1 CIL XIV.328, which is dated 193, lists M. Plautius Quintillius as consul and augur. He married Marcus Aurelius' third daughter, Fodilla.


3 cf. above, p. 54, note 1.

Installation supposedly occurred under Antoninus Pius or, perhaps, late in the reign of Hadrian. The date of consulship is the only date in his public career. Nonius Mucianus served as a tribunus militum, quaestor, aedilis, praetor, and governor, at an undetermined date, for the province of Asia (CIL v.3343).¹

M. ANNIUS CATILIUS VERUS - IMP. CAESAR M. AURELIUS ANTONINUS AUGUSTUS:
(see pontifex 37; augur 18; septemvir 25). Quindecimvir (Hist. Aug. Marc. VI.3):
et in collegia sacerdotum iubente senatu recepit.

Inauguration was in 140 to all the greater priestly colleges.²

L. AEMILIUS L. f. CARUS: (PIR², I, no. 338; P. von Rohden, "Aemilius,
RE, I (38), p. 548; Lambrechts 328; Howe quindecimvir 52; also sodalis Flavialis). Plebeian; cos. suf. 143 or 144. Quindecimvir (CIL VI.1333 = ILS 1077):


Date of elevation is unknown, conceivably under Antoninus Pius.³ Aemilius Carus, also, served as governor for Arabia 142/142 (ILS 3013) and

²cf. above, p. 54, note 1.
³Dessau (ILS, I, p. 236): "Videtur vixisse sub Antonino Pio."

\[\text{[M. NONIUS] MACRINUS] \quad \text{SOLVATON} \quad \text{ROMA} \quad \text{ANDO} \quad \text{ASIA} \quad \text{POTENTISSIMA} \quad \text{ANVOLY} \quad \text{ANTWENIS} \quad \text{NONION} \quad \text{EURUS} \quad \text{POTENTATON} \quad \text{SVEINARCHON} \quad \text{PANNOVIS} \quad \text{TIS} \quad \text{KHAN} \quad \text{KHEMOVA} \quad \text{PANNOVIS TIS KETH} \quad \ldots \]

Election seemingly occurred during the reign of Antoninus Pius, because his career coincides with the emperor's reign. Nonius Macrinus was a possible relative of Nonius Macianus (XV vir 33) and the father of M. Nonius Paulinus Aper (PIR, II, 409, no. 92) also a quindecimvir and consul for the year 207.3


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2 Lambrechts (RE, loc. cit., pp. 880-86,) avows: "Ist nun Nonius Macrinus in J. 154 wirklich consul suffectus gewesen."
Elevation might have taken place under Antoninus Pius, but, perhaps under Marcus Aurelius. Julius Severus was related to C. Julius Severus (PIR², IV, no. 573) pontifex 35 and consul for the year 139. The former Julius Severus served as governor for Syria-Palestine in 156/157 (IGR III.172 = ILS 8829).¹

38. L. CEIONIUS COMMODUS - IMP. CAESAR L. AURELIUS VERUS AUGUSTUS: (see pontifex 44; augur 21; septemvir 28). Quindecimvir.

Inauguration happened in 161, when Verus became co-emperor.²

39. L. AELIUS AURELIUS COMMODUS - IMP. CAESAR L. AURELIUS COMMODUS

AUGUSTUS: (see pontifex 47; augur 28; septemvir 31). Quindecimvir

(Hist. Aug. Marc. XVI.2; Com. I.10, XII.1):

Iam in suos tanta fuit benignitate Marcus ut cum in omnes propin­quos cuncta honorum ornamenta contulerit, tum in filium et quidem scelestum atque impurum cito nomen Caesaris et mox sacerdotium statimque nomen imperatoris ac triumphi participationem et consulatum. (Hist. Aug. Marc. XVI.2)

Cooptation took place on January 20, 175.³

¹ Hanslik, "Julius," Der kleine Pauly, II (84), p. 1536.
² cf. above, p. 54, note 1.
³ Ibid.

... Petronio Ma(mertino XVvir) sacr fac. praef ... (alle)cto inter. quaes(toris) ...

Induction in the priesthood was before his consulship, feasibly under Marcus Aurelius. He, also, was a friend and son-in-law of the emperor. Petronius Mamertinus was put to death by Commodus in 189 (Hist. Aug. Com. VII.5). His grandfather was M. Petronius Mamertinus (PIR, III, 28, no. 212), consul for 150.


Plebeian. Quindecimvir (CIL VI.1530):

Val. Helvidio Pris(co) h(orticola) C. V. XVviro (s. f. allec)to inter quaest(o) (rios......)se viro (eq) (roman. tur)mae pr(ima) to

Hanslik (RE, loc. cit.), based on the style of the inscription, dates Valerius Publicola in the last half of the second century.

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1 His brother was M. Petronius Sura Septimianus (Hoffman, RE, loc. cit., no. 72) a salius Palatinus (CIL VI.1979) in 189.

2 M. Petronius Sura Mamertinus was married to Marcus Aurelius' fourth daughter Cornificia (Hist. Aug. Com. VII.5).


4 Hanslik, RE, loc. cit., p. 41.44.
Septemviri Epulones.

23. T. AURELIUS FULVIUS BOIONUS ARRIUS ANTONINUS - IMP. CAESAR T. AELIUS HADRIANUS ANTONINUS AUGUSTUS PIUS: (see pontifex 34; augur 17; quindecimvir 32). Septemviris.

Installation took place, when Antoninus Pius became emperor.¹


P. Cluvio Maximo Paullino cos., VIIvir. epulonum...

Cooption is assumed to have occurred under Antoninus Pius or late in the reign of Hadrian.²

25. M. ANNIUS CATILIUS VERUS - IMP. CAESAR M. AURELIUS ANTONINUS AUGUSTUS:

(see pontifex 37; augur 18; quindecimvir 34). Septemvir (Hist. Aug. Marc. VI.3):

et in collegia sacerdotum iubente senatu recepit.

Inauguration was in 140 to all the greater priestly colleges.³


Septemvir (CIL XIV.3610 = ILS 1071):


¹cf. above, p. 54, note 1.

²cf. XV vir 29.

³cf. above, p. 54, note 1.

⁴Hanslik (RE, loc. cit., p. 66.6) places his consulship in the year

Coeptation apparently took place during the rule of Antoninus Pius, since his political career flourished during his reign. Popilius Pedo served as governor of Greater Germany and Asia under Antoninus Pius. His son, M. Popilius Pedo (PIR, III, 86, no. 625), was a salius Palatins (CIL VI.1977) in 170, thus, possibly C. Popilius Pedo was also elevated to the status of patrician.¹


Anniae Q. f. Rufinae P. Cassi Dextri VIIvir epulon ob merita Avirufi et Albinae matris eius ex con sensu universorum.

....cius T. f. Cl. Dexter Augus(tamus Alpin)us Bellicius Sollers Metilius .........us Rutilianus Xvir. stlit. (iudican)dis, trib. mil. leg. III Aug., (sevir. eq. turm)a(r.), VIIvir. epulon., sodalis ..... (quaest)or, trib. plebis, praetor fideico(missar., leg. le)g. III Scythicae, leg. Aug. pr. pr. pro(vinciae) Ciliciae.

Date of election is unknown, it might have been under Antoninus Pius. His public career coincides with the reign of Pius. Cassius Dexter became a quaestor in 138 (CIL VIII.23246), and he served as governor for Cilicia (CIL III.12116). Cassius Dexter’s father was P. Cassius Secundus (PIR², II, no.

28. L. CEIONIUS COMMODUS - IMP. CAESAR L. AURELIUS VERUS AUGUSTUS: (see pontifex 44; augur 21; quindecimvir 38). Septemvir.

Cooptation was in 161, when Verus became co-emperor.2


Plebeian, novus homo; cos. suf. at an unknown date.3 Septemvir (CIL VI.l116 = ILS 2929):


Installation probably occurred under Antoninus Pius or Marcus Aurelius, based on the fact that he was a personal friend of M. Cornelius Fronto (ad amicos II.11). Postumius Festus served as governor for Asia at an undetermined date.4

30. C. LABERIUS QUARTINUS: (PIR, II, 258, no. 6; Groag, "Laberius," RE, XII (14), p. 254; Lambrechts 747; Howe septemvir 33). Plebeian; cos. suf. 172 or 173 (CIL X.5824 = ILS 381), Septemvir (CIL X.5824 = ILS 381):


Inauguration might have been under Marcus Aurelius. The date of the above inscription is 173, and it is the only known date in Laberius Quartinus'1


2cf. above, p. 54, note 1.

3Lambertz, RE, loc. cit., p. 951,42.

career.1

31. L. AELIUS AURELIUS COMMODUS - IMP. CAESAR L. AURELIUS COMMODUS

AUGUSTUS: (see pontifex 47; augur 28; quindecimvir 39). Septemvir

(Hist. Aug. Marc. XVI.2; Com. I.10, XII.1).

Iam is suos tanta fuit benignitate Marcus ut cum in omnes propin-
quos cuncta honorum ornamenta contulerit tum in filium et quidem
scelestem atque impurum cito nomen Caesaris et mox sacerdotium
statimque nomen imperatoris ac triumphi participationem et
consulatum. (Hist. Aug. Marc. XVI.2)

cooptation occurred in 175 to all the greater priestly colleges.2

32. M. ATILIUS SEVERUS: (PIR², I, no. 1309; P. von Rohden, "Atilius," RE,

II (74), p. 2100; Lambrechts 1028; Howe septemvir 34). Plebeian; cos.
suf. 183 (CIL VI.31691). Septemvir (CIL VI.3191 = ILS 1120):

M. Atilio T. f. Severo cos., (VII)viro epu(lo)num, sodales
(Her)culani ob plu(rim)a in se (be)neficia.

Induction into the priesthood is assumed to have taken place under Marcus
IV.11). He was, perhaps, the son of T. Atilius Maximus (PIR², I, no. 1300),
consul at an unknown date.3

33. . . . FIDUS . . . GALLUS PACC(IANUS): (PIR², III, no. 153; Goldfinger,

"Fidus," RE, VI (3), p. 2316; Howe septemvir 26; also sodalis Hadria-
nalis). Plebeian. Septemvir (CIL XIII.1803):

///// Gal. Fido //// Gallo Pacc ///// provinc. Macedoniea ////
//ri viae Tiburtin. Valer. leg. leg. provinc. Cretae et Cyrenarum
leg. Aquitanie VIIviro epulon. sodali H////// ////// civitas Lemovic.

1Not in Der kleine Pauly.

2cf. above, p. 54, note 1.

Since he was a sodalis Hadriana, elevation possibly took place under Antoninus Pius or Marcus Aurelius.

Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius as Priests.

In his time, Antoninus Pius, according to the Historia Augusta, was compared to Numa Pompilius. Supposedly, he maintained Numa's religious rites, whatever they might have been. There is an inscription, dated 142/143, which attests to Antoninus Pius' personal care of religion. In the position as pontifex maximus, he individually oversaw the burial of Hadrian.


3CIL VI.1001 = ILS 341:


For frequent occurrence of traditional religious motifs of Antoninus Pius, see BMC, IV, pp. c-c; Warde Fowler, Religious Experience, op. cit., p. 429.

Secondary opinions of Antoninus Pius and religion are the following. Beaujeu, "Religion," loc. cit., p. 2: "In religion, the second century appears to us to be characterized by pietas, which gave the most venerated of the succeeding emperors, Antoninus Pius, his title not only because of his scrupulous devotion to his adopted father and to the Senate but also because of his pietas erga deos. All the Antonines, especially after Hadrian, manifested sincere devotion and a lively interest in religion; all watched over the regular functioning of official institution with vigilance and safeguarded the sacred patrimony of Rome."; Sutherland, "Antoninus Pius," OCD 2, pp. 75f.; "Scrupulous, loyal, and gentle . . ."; Wilhelm Weber, CAH, XI, p. 330: " . . . his zeal for pietas, the spring of man's right conduct too towards gods, parents and dead alike, earned him the name of PIUS, which he bore, amid the applause of the world, next after his title 'Augustus.'" But, Ferguson, Religions of Empire, op. cit., p. 72, points out: " . . . a name like Antoninus Pius is a religious name; Pius (not quite our 'piety') is pressed into propa­ ganda so as to foster family solidarity and patriotism."
and established the sodales Hadrianales. He never executed the state sacrifices by proxy, except when he was ill. Numerous coins appear with the image of the princeps sacrificing. Antoninus Pius allowed Pharasmanes, a Spaniard, to offer sacrifices on the Capitol; this was presumably a use of the state religion to foster patriotism among the provincials. As supreme pontiff, he reinforced the ban on the burial of bodies within the limits of the city and modernized the ritual of Sibyl.

In Rome, Antoninus Pius assisted in the dedication of a temple to Hadrian and a temple to his wife Faustina at the time of her death. He, also, constructed a temple to Hadrian.

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4 Dio LXIX.15.3.

5 See above, p. 114, note 3.


9 Hist. Aug. Pius VI.7: "tertio anno imperii sui Faustinam uxorem perdidit, quae a senatu consecrata est delatis circensibus atque templo et nominis et statuis aureis atque argenteis; cum etiam ipse hoc concesserit, et imago eius cunctis circensibus ponetur." CIL VI.1005 = ILS 348: divo Antonino et divae Faustinae ex s. c.
At Puteoli and aided in the hallowing of a number of temples in Lanuvium. \(^2\)

Antoninus Pius multiplied antiquated religious figures (Romulus, she-wolf, Aeneas, and great sow) on the reverse side of his coins. \(^3\) But, such religious symbols on coins commemorated the loyalty to the princeps. \(^4\)

During the reign of Antoninus Pius, the office of promagister for the college of pontiffs appears. The exact date of origin for the position cannot be determined. Juventius Celsus was the first known promagister, and, in 155, he signed in place of the chief pontiff a permission for the construction of a tomb. \(^5\) Perhaps the emperor's responsibility for personal supervision and appearance were sufficiently heavy to necessitate the appointment of a promagister for the pontifical college. \(^6\) As indicated in inscriptive evidence, the promagister of the XV vir sac. fac. acted for the college, \(^7\) but this is not likely the same for the college of pontiffs. Thus, the emperor,

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\(^1\) Hist. Aug. Hadr. XXVII.3: "templum denique ei pro sepulchro apud Puteolos constituit." CIL X.515 = ILS 340:


\(^2\) Hist. Aug. Pius VIII.3; Ferguson, Religions of Empire, op. cit., p. 75.

\(^3\) Beaujeu, "Religion," loc. cit., p. 4; Hammond, Antonine, op. cit., p. 71: "The coinage of Antoninus testifies to his devotion to the old religion."

\(^4\) Ferguson, Religions of Empire, op. cit., p. 72: ". . . in imperial times coins commemorate the loyalty of the emperor, and the loyalty of the legions—religious slogans; the symbol of loyalty is a pair of covered hands."

\(^5\) CIL VI.2120 = ILS 8380:

"... Tubentius Celsus promagister...."


\(^7\) CIL X.3698 = ILS 4175; CIL X.6422 = ILS 4037; RSR, II, p. 1106.
as pontifex maximus, remained in charge of the pontifical college during the second century.

Dio states that Marcus Aurelius, in his role as pontifex maximus, was so god-fearing that even on days on which no public business could be transacted he sacrificed at home; he forbade anyone to build a tomb at his country villa; and, at the outset of the Marcomannic war, he had Rome purified. The portrait of Marcus Aurelius, like that of Antoninus Pius, is presented on his coins in the act of sacrificing. In his letter to the common assembly of Asia concerning the Christians, the emperor spoke as the pontifex maximus. He conducted the burial of Antoninus Pius, established

1 Dio LXXII.34.2: οἵτινες θεοπατρίας ἔν γε Μάρκος ὁ Μάρκος ὁ οὗτος καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀποφράσεως οἴκοι Θεών.

2 Hist. Aug. Marc. XIII.1: "quando quidem caverunt ne quis villae ad fabricaretur sepulchrum."

3 Hist. Aug. Marc. XIII.1: "tantus autem terror belli Marcomannici fuit ut undique sacerdotes Antoninus acciverit, peregrinos ritus impleverit, Romam omni genere lustraverit retardatusque a bellica profectione sit." Warde Fowler, Religious Experience, op. cit., pp. 429-430: "Marcus Aurelius himself did not hesitate in time of public distress to put into action the whole apparatus of the old religion." But, Ferguson, Religions of Empire, op. cit., p. 198: "He makes manifest sacrifices to the public gods, even delaying his departure against the Marcomanni to summon the priests, have the city solemnly purified in which the gods themselves share—yet he has more than half a suspicion that these gods do not exist." For the agnosticism of Marcus Aurelius, see Med. II.11, XII.28.

1 BMC, III, nos. 551-554, 764, 792, 1296, 1323, 1400-1403, 1410, 1411, 1638, 1639.

5 "Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνῖνος Ἐρμύτους Ἀρμενίας Ἀρχιερέως Ἐπίσκοπος, ἡ Ἡρακλῆς Ἐκ τῆς Αγίας Ὀρχήστρας τοῦ Πέμπτου καὶ τοῦ Σέκατος, ὑπάτων τοῦ τρίτου, τῶν κοινῶν τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ Ρώμης.
Hist. Aug. Marc. VII.10: "Hadrianus autem sepulchre corpus patris
the sodales Antoniniani in his honor, and assisted in the consecration of a
temple to Antoninus Pius. Marcus Aurelius, also, personally conveyed the
body of Aurelius Verus to Rome and laid it in the tomb of Hadrian, and
honored him with sacrifices and a newly established college of Antonine
priests. As chief pontiff, he aided in the dedication of a temple to his
wife Faustina, an altar to his personal god Mercury-Hermes-Thet, and a
temple to Beneficence. Marcus followed the ancient fetial rite of throwing
a spear dipped in blood into the territory of the Marcomanni to announce his
war against them. Marcus wanted his reign to represent clemency, harmony,
peace, and security; but, because of two major wars, a plague, the bankruptcy of the state, and a worthless son, these ends became impossible to achieve. Therefore, it was necessary for him to maintain the outward appearance of religio as a means of keeping order. Yet, it must be observed, that Marcus Aurelius did begin to incorporate aspects of oriental religion into Roman religio. His personal god was the combination of Mercury-Hermes-Thet; at the time of the Marcomannic war, in addition to the Roman purification rite, he performed foreign religious ceremonies and, as pontifex maximus, he separated the sacred rites of Serapis from the miscellaneous ceremonies of the Pelusia. Wissowa asserts that Marcus Aurelius consolidated the various gods of the Empire.

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4 Hist. Aug. Marc. XXIII.8: "sacra Serapidis a vulgaritate Pelusiae summovit." The Serapia, the annual festival of the Egyptian deity Serapis, was celebrated on 25 April; see Calendar of Philocalus (CIL I.262). A festival called Pelusia, celebrating the annual overflow of the Nile, was held on 20 March; see Lydus, de Mens., IV.40. The statement of the biographer has been explained by Mommsen (CIL I.313) as meaning that the customary licence of the Pelusia was limited in order to save the festival of Serapis from desecration. But, in view of the interval between the dates, this explanation is not altogether convincing; furthermore, licence is an unnatural meaning for vulgaritas and sacra Serapides does not necessarily refer to the Serapis. The sentence seems rather to mean that the rites of Serapis were isolated from the mass of Egyptian cults celebrated at the Pelusia; see also Wilcken, "Zur Geschichte Palesiums," in Klio, IX, 1909, pp. 131f.

5 RKR, p. 92: "Schon Marc. Aurel hatte nicht nur in der Theorie die Röter aller Nationen gleichgestellt, sendet auch beim Ausbruche des Marcomannkrieges Priester aller möglichen fremden Religionen nach Rom kommen und dort ihre ritus peregrini zum Wohle des Reiches ausüben lassen." He, also, left a temple to the Egyptian Thoth, in which he attests to the religio Augusti (Wilhelm Weber, CAH, XI, p. 365). Beaujeu, "Religion," loc. cit., p. 149: "So one may say that a real fusion between the political unity directed
L. Aurelius Verus never officially shared in the responsibilities of the supreme pontificate, but provincial inscriptions have included the position in his imperial formula. These inscriptions only appear in the provinces and never in Rome; they are of the standardized sovereign style. L. Aurelius Verus' funeral inscription reveals him to be a simple pontiff.

Consequently, similar to the previously studied emperors, Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius also preserved the technical difference between sacerdotal duties and magisterial liabilities, but one must bring their fundamental motivation into question. It seems feasible that besides the characteristics of loyalty in imperial religio it also became a means of winning various religious elements in the Mediterranean world.

Patricians in the Greater Priesthoods under Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, Excluding the Imperial Family.

The men elevated into the greater priesthoods from patrician families.


2 CIL X.17 = ILS 361:


3 CIL VI.991 = ILS 369:


5 It is most difficult to determine the exact date for the election of all the families to the patrician state.
were M. Acilius Glabrio (pontifex 41), T. Pomponius Vitratus Pollio (pontifex 42), Q. Tineius Sacerdos Clemens (pontifex 43) and his son Q. Tineius Rufus (pontifex 48), Cn. Claudius Severus (pontifex 45), Q. Pompeius Sosius Priscus (pontifex 46), L. Annius Ravus (pontifex 49), M. Metilius Fronto (augur 23), L. Venuleius Apronianus Octavius (augur 25), Q. Hedius Gentianus (augur 29), M. Petronius Quintilius (augur 30), M. Petronius Sura Mamertinus (XV vir 40), and C. Popilius Carus Pedo (VII vir 26). Thus, the total number of patricians for the era is thirteen.

The plebeians in the Greater Priesthoods under Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius.

The plebeians form established families inaugurated into the greater sacerdotal colleges were C. Julius Severus (pontifex 35), P. Jüventius Celsus (pontifex 39), M. Pontius Laelianus Sabinus (pontifex 40), P. Mummius

1 Heiter, Patriciis, op. cit., p. 62. Patrician under Trajan or Hadrian.
2 Ibid., p. 67. Family was elevated under Vespasian.
3 Ibid., p. 66. Patrician under Hadrian.
4 Herodian I.2.2.
5 Heiter, Patriciis, op. cit., p. 65. Patrician under Antoninus Pius.
6 Ibid., pp. 11, 17. Patrician under Marcus Aurelius.
7 Ibid., p. 10. Patrician under Antoninus Pius.
8 Hanslik, RE, Vilia, p. 621,43.
9 Heiter, Patriciis, op. cit., p. 65. Patrician under Hadrian.
10 Herodian I.2.2.
11 Herodian I.2.2; Heiter, Patriciis, op. cit., p. 69. Patrician under Marcus Aurelius.
12 Hanslik, Der kleine Pauly, IV, p. 1053,43.
Atilianus (augur 19), L. Dasumius Tuscus (augur 20), Ti. Claudius Caelianus (augur 24), M. Macrinius Vindex (augur 27), C. Julius Severus (XV vir 37), L. Valerius Poblicola (XV vir 41), P. Cassius Dexter (VII vir 27), C. Laberius Martinus (VII vir 30), and M. Atilius Severus (VII vir 32). The priests from new plebeian families were P. Salvius Julianus (pontifex 36), D. Velius Fidus (pontifex 38), Cingius Severus (pontifex 50), Cn. Julius Verus (augur 22), C. Arrius Antoninus (augur 26), M. Nonius Macianus (XV vir 33), L. Aemilius Carus (XV vir 35), M. Nonius Macrinus (XV vir 36), and M. Postumius Festus (VII vir 29). Hence, the total number of plebeians for the period is twenty-one, twelve priests being from former plebeian families and nine priests being from new plebeian families.

Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius' Policy towards Cooption.

Under Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, there is a re-emergence of patricians in the pontifical college. Based on the evidence, Trajan and Hadrian did not attempt to elevate an equal number of patricians to plebeians in the college. M. Acilius Glabrio (pontifex 40), T. Vitratus Pollio (pontifex 41), Q. Tineius Clemens (pontifex 42), Cn. Claudius Severus (pontifex 45), Q. Pompeius Sosius Priscus (pontifex 46), L. Annius Ravus (pontifex 49) were patricians out of eleven known priests for the period beyond members of the imperial family. This return to a balance of influence by patricians in the pontifical college is possibly due to Antoninus Pius' and Marcus Aurelius' desire to recover what they thought to be Roman tradition, because seemingly religio was seen as a medium to foster solidarity in the Empire.

The manifest policy of the emperors towards the priestly colleges was

1 Plebeians outnumbered patricians by seven to two.
to elevate men, who held the commendatio of the emperor for the election to the quaestorship or tribunate, or whose relatives had held the consulship. Q. Pompeius Sosius Priscus (pontifex 46), Ti. Claudius Caelianus (augur 24), and Q. Hedius Gentianus (augur 29) held the commendatio of the emperor when they entered their political career. C. Julius Severus (pontifex 35), Juventius Celsus (pontifex 39), Pontius Laelianus Sabinus (pontifex 40), M. Acilius Glabrio (pontifex 41), Cn. Claudius Severus (pontifex 45), Q. Pompeius Sosius Priscus (pontifex 46), Q. Tineius Rufus (pontifex 48), P. Mummius Rutilianus (augur 19), L. Dasumius Tullius Tuscus (augur 20), Cn. Julius Verus (augur 22), L. Venuleius Octavius (augur 25), Q. Hedius Gentianus (augur 29), C. Julius Severus (XV vir 37), P. Cassius Dexter (VII vir 27), and M. Atilius Severus (VII vir 32) were members of families, whose members had held the consulship. Evidence for the remaining priests is too fragmented to determine commendatio or family relationships. Thus, this policy of coopting men, who held the commendatio or were members of established political families, probably likewise attests to Antoninus Pius' and Marcus Aurelius' need for harmony.

The analysis of the greater priests installed by Marcus Aurelius produces an additional important fact. The princeps raised his sons-in-law to greater priestly positions. Cn. Claudius Severus (pontifex 45) was wed to Annia Aurelia Galeria Faustina; Lucius Verus (pontifex 44, augur 23, XV vir 38, and VII vir 28) was married to Annia Aurelia Galeria Lucella; M. Plautius Quintillus (augur 30) was espoused to Fadilla; and L. Petronius Sura Mamertinus (XV vir 40) was betrothed to Cornificia. As stated previously, Herodian asserts that Marcus Aurelius married his daughters to members of eminent Roman families.1 Matrimony to one of the emperor's daughters meant not only

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1 Herodian I.2.2
entrance into the royal family but also membership in a greater priestly college. Consequently, elevation to the greater priesthods was apparently still thought to be of significance.
CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

On the grounds of the preceding information, the following conclusions might be drawn for the Flavian-Antonine period.

Emperor as Priest.

The traditional purpose of Roman religio was to establish the correct procedure for securing the goodwill of the gods on the undertakings of the state,¹ and it was the emperor, as pontifex maximus, who possessed the authority to oversee the official religious activities of the civil government.² Vespasian, as chief pontiff, personally assisted in the clearing of the site for the new Capitoline temple;³ according to Charlesworth, the reconstruction of the temple was accomplished as a sign to the whole world that Roman power remained unshaken by civil war.⁴ After the defeat of the Batavi and Jews, he closed the doors to the temple of Janus.⁵ However, Vespasian allowed his concubine to sell membership in the priesthods,⁶ bringing into doubt the princeps' regard for this religious activity; and he made use of propaganda through inscriptions and coins to consolidate his

¹ cf. above, p. 2.
² cf. above, p. 3.
³ Tac. Hist. IV.53; Suet. Vesp. 8.5; Dio LXV.10.2; Ferguson, Religions of Empire, op. cit., p. 74; cf. above, p. 71.
⁴ M. P. Charlesworth, CAH, XI, p. 5; cf. above, p. 71.
⁵ Tac. fr. 4.5 (Orasius VII.3.7; 19.4); Charlesworth, CAH, XI, p. 5; cf. above, p. 72.
⁶ Dio LXV.14.3; cf. above, p. 79.
Therefore, his functions as pontifex maximus have the outward appearance of maintaining the traditional purpose of Roman religio (which was to say secure the cooperation of the gods), while the real cause is for political solidarity—to legitimize his dynasty. According to Suetonius, Titus took the position of pontifex maximus most seriously. He might have enacted sacrifice and carried out the supplicatio and lectisternium to win equilibrium with the deities, and consequently return to the recognized conception of religio. But, Titus' reign was too brief to make any definitive statement. Based on J. Ferguson, Domitian was a great supporter of religion, for as the principal priestly authority he had a funeral monument torn down because it was built of stone to be used for the Capitoline temple; he supervised divorce, nullified wills, and judged the Vestal Virgins. Perhaps he was a great admirer, not of religion, but of pageantry and ritual. However, on occasion Domitian did not devote himself to the conventional

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1 BMC, II, no. 576; MS, II, pp. 66-76; M. P. Charlesworth, CAH, XI, p. 5.
2 Suet. Titus 9.1; cf. above, pp. 73f.
3 Suet. Titus 8.4; BMC, II, p. lxxii; cf. above, pp. 73f.
4 Ferguson, Religions of Empire, op. cit., p. 74.
5 Suet. Dom. 8.5; Ferguson, Religions of Empire, op. cit., p. 74; Hammond, Antonine, op. cit., p. 71; cf. above, p. 74.
6 Suet. Dom. 8.3; Plutarch Quaest. Rom. 50; Hammond, Antonine, op. cit., p. 71; cf. above, p. 74.
7 Suet. Dom. 8.3, 9.2; cf. above, p. 75.
9 Syme, Tacitus, op. cit., p. 65.
notion of religio, for he had no scruples about manipulating it for his own purpose.¹

As with the principate of Titus, the rule of Nerva was too short to produce a definable relationship between the emperor and religio. In the station of pontifex maximus, Trajan announced that Roman sacerdotal law did not apply outside of Italy;² and he, himself, carried out the funeral rites for his fallen troops.³ The princeps is shown on two coins offering sacrifice,⁴ and, on his column, Trajan appears in many scenes as the chief pontiff.⁵ But, owing to a lack of objective literary source material for Trajan's reign, it becomes impossible to make any conclusive judgment on his attitude as priest regarding religio. Hadrian was said to have been a scrupulous observer of old Roman rites⁶ and, according to Ferguson, to have disdained all alien beliefs.⁷ Nevertheless, during his travels Hadrian developed great interest in Hellenism⁸ and was fascinated by the Egyptian religions.⁹ He was clever enough to realize that the old Roman concept of

³Dio LXVIII.8.2; cf. above, p. 108.
⁴BMC, III, nos. 742a, 899; cf. above, p. 108, note 5.
⁵Rossi, Trajan's Column, op. cit., p. 127; cf. above, p. 108.
⁹Dio LXIX.11.3.
religio could not move the peoples of the north, the west, or the south. The only religion that could unite the whole empire was a syncretism of the traditional form of religio, the emperor cult, and the oriental sects.

Based on the change that had begun to take place under Hadrian, the object of religio was being transformed from the attempt to win the cooperation of the Roman gods, to a consolidation of these elements. According to J. Ferguson, the name PIUS was pressed into service not for religious concerns but to establish solidarity and patriotism, notwithstanding the previously quoted laudatio which was erected during the emperor's lifetime. This changing scope of religio might possibly be the reason why Antoninus Pius allowed a provincial to offer sacrifice on the Capitol, and popular acceptance of this new notion depended upon the preservation of the outward appearance of the traditional opinion of religio. This transposition in the aim of religio was completed by Marcus Aurelius. As indicated before, a temple to the Egyptian Thoth was built and Marcus Aurelius' personal god became the combination of Mercury-Heremes-Thet; at the time of the Marcomannic war, in addition to the Roman purification rite, he also performed foreign religious ceremonies; and, as pontifex maximus, he separated the sacred rites

2 Ferguson, Religions of Empire, op. cit., p. 72; cf. above, p. 144, note 3.
3 CIL VI.1001 = ILS 341; cf. above, p. 144, note 3.
4 Dio LXIX.15.3; cf. above, p. 145.
5 Ibid., pp. 144ff.
8 Hist. Aug. Marc. XII.1; cf. above, p. 147, note 3.
of Serapis from the miscellaneous ceremonies of the Pelusia.¹

Ultimately, religio was utilized by Vespasian and Domitian as the means to sanction their sovereignty; subsequently, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius employed religio to fuse the empire. Hence, for the Flavian-Antonine era, it appears that religio was nothing more than politically or religiously expedient formalism to maintain the state.²

Composition of the Greater Priesthoods.

In order to facilitate the viewing of the available data, the following charts are offered. The process of dividing the priests according to emperor will be maintained.

Membership of the Greater Sacerdotal Colleges.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Emperor</th>
<th>Total Known Priests</th>
<th>Patricians</th>
<th>Plebeians</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>no.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>no.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vespasian³</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>13  52</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Titus</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domitian</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6    38</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nerva</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trajan</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4    23</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadrian</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4    29</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antoninus Pius</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>8    35</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


²RKR, p. 84: "Die besseren Kaiser legen allerdings Wert darauf, nicht nur als Träger des Oberpontificats und Mitglieder der grossen Priesterkollegien äusserlich am Staatskulte Anteil zu haben, sondern auch wie Augustus als Wiederhersteller der Tempel und Beschützer des alten Ceremonialgesetzes aufzutreten; aber es handelt sich nur noch um die äussere Konservierung eines Gottesdienstes, aus des das innere Leben mehr und mehr entweicht." cf. also, p. 92.

³Excluding the priests for the year 69.
patrician Membership of the Greater Priesthoods, including the Imperial Family.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Emperor</th>
<th>Total Patricians</th>
<th>Earlier Patricians</th>
<th>New Patricians</th>
<th>New Families</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vespasian</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Titus</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domitian</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nerva</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trajan</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadrian</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antoninus Pius</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marcus Aurelius</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plebeian Membership of the Greater Priesthoods.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Emperor</th>
<th>Total Plebeians</th>
<th>Earlier Plebeians</th>
<th>New Men</th>
<th>New Families</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vespasian</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Titus</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domitian</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nerva</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trajan</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadrian</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antoninus Pius</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marcus Aurelius</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1Tbid.

2Date for elevation of family to patriciate impossible to determine.

3Excluding the priests for the year 69.
Men in the greater priesthoods during the Flavian-Antonine period maintained distinguished careers. All, except C. Valerius Flaccus (XV vir 16) and L. Valerius Poblicola (XV vir 41), were elected to the consulship, and the larger majority also held the other important magistracies and provincial governorships. The inauguration into a sacerdotal position persisted to be more or less a recognition for services rendered. Based on the preceding charts, the proportion of priests being new men in the patrician or plebeian orders outnumbered the priests from earlier established families. Yet, sacerdotal traditions in the greater colleges continued to be built up in these families and sons of priests strove for membership in a priesthood. L. Calpurnius Piso (pontifex 2) was related to C. Calpurnius Crassus Licinianus (pontifex 16); Q. Pomponius Rufus (pontifex 18) and C. Pomponius Rufus (pontifex 21) were brothers; L. Nonius Asprenas (augur 8) was the son of L. Nonius Asprenas (VII vir 5). The emperor Trajan's father, M. Ulpius Traianus, was a quindecimvir (XV vir 5); L. Ceionius Commodus (VII vir 8) was the father of L. Aelius Caesar; and Cn. Domitius Lucanus (VII vir 6) and Cn. Domitius Tullus (VII vir 7) were also brothers. C. Julius Severus (pontifex 35) was probably related to C. Julius Severus (XV vir 37); M. Metilius Fronto (augur 23) was a distant relative of M. Aquilius Regulus (sacerdos 1); and the son of M. Nonius Macrinus (XV vir 36) later became a member of the quindecimvir and the latter was possibly related to M. Nonius Macianus (XV vir 33). Q. Tineius Sacerdos Clemens (pontifex 43) was the father of Q. Tineius Rufus (pontifex 48); and the son of Popilius Pedo (XV vir 26) became a salius Palatinus.

Eminent careers continued to culminate in the acquisition of two or more sacerdotal posts.¹ Out of the hundred known priests, excluding the

¹cf. Seneca, de i ra III.31.
members of the imperial family, thirty-nine or about forty percent held two or
more priesthoods. These secondary sacerdotal positions were in the colleges
of the sodalitates, which included the sodales of the emperors, the fratres
arvales, the sodales Titii, the luperci, and the salii. However, contrary to
Roman priestly custom, Cn. Pinarius Cn. . . . Severus¹ and P. Cluvius Maximus
Paullinus² held two greater priesthoods. Since membership in a greater
priestly college was for life, it can be assumed that the two sacerdotal
stations were held simultaneously. The reason for this break with precedent
cannot be determined, because the inscriptive evidence is very brief. The
emperors and their heirs sustained the prerogative of membership in the four
greater priesthoods and Marcus Aurelius, also, seemingly elevated his sons-in-
law into at least one of the greater sacerdotal colleges. Thus, inauguration
into a greater priesthood during the Flavian-Antonine period preserved much
its antiquated social and political status.

The makeup of the greater sacerdotal colleges also reflected the fusion
of Latin and Greek culture during the second century. Greeks or men of Greek
ancestry such as A. Julius Quadratus (VII vir 11), Ti. Julius Celsus
Polemalanus (XV vir 17), C. Julius Quadratus Bassus (pontifex 24), and M.
Pompeius Macrinius Theophanes (XV vir 21) are found amongst the individuals in
the greater priestly colleges.

In general, the type of personnel in the greater priesthoods persisted
to be men of proven ability. Men of confirmed literary accomplishment were
Sex. Julius Frontinus (augur 6), P. Cornelius Tacitus (XV vir 14), L.
Arruntius Stella (XV vir 15), C. Valerius Flaccus (XV vir 16), and C. Flinius

¹pontifex 25, augur 11.
²quindecimvir 29, sevemvir 24.
Secundus (augur 10). In the field of military and administrative competency, the greater priests with documented achievement were C. Rutilius Gallicus (pontifex 9), Cn. Julius Agricola (pontifex 11), M. Ulpius Traianus (XV vir 5), L. Verginius Rufus (sacerdos 2), L. Licinius Sura (pontifex 23), and C. Arrius Antoninus (augur 26). Lastly, L. Javolenus Priscus (pontifex 15) and P. Salvius Julianus (pontifex 36) were individuals of accepted legal talent. But, personalities like A. Fabricius Veiento (XV vir 12), Marius Priscus (VII vir 13), and M. Aquilius Regulus (sacerdos 1) appear to have been men of dubious character. Too little is known concerning personality traits of the other greater priests to be included in this collective statement.
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Although cited several times, Prof. G. J. Szemler's major article on "pontifex und pontifex maximus," RE, Supplbd. 13, pp. 1862,12ff., was available to me in MS form only after the major part of this dissertation was finished.
APPROVAL SHEET

The dissertation submitted by Stephen J. Simon has been read and approved by members of the Department of History.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the dissertation is now given final approval with reference to content and form.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

May 3, 1973

Signature of Advisor