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

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STEPHEN J. SIMON
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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 the official priesthoods and to Augustan religious revival:


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.

His increased attention to the 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 political 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.

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 toward 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 religiouseneration. . . . 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. o this end he revived half-forgotten priesthoods, . . ." Nock, CAH, X, pp. 78-479: "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 ofignificance." RRG, p. 295: "Die Politik des Augustus baute auf diesen RSK, pp. 73f.; Warde Fowler, Religious Experience, op. cit., p. 431.

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.¹ Paul Habel, in 1888, compiled the membership lists for the college of the pontifices during the imperial period,² 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 1904.³ 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.⁴ A recent work on the priestly colleges is Martha Hoffman

²P. Habel, De Pontificum Romanorum inde ab Augusto usque ad Aurelianum indicione publica, Breslau, Wilhelm Koebner, 1888.
³G. Howe, Fasti sacerdotum P. R. publicorum aetatis imperatoriae, Leipzig, 1904, D. Halle.
Lewis' lists for the Julio-Claudian period.\textsuperscript{1} The latest opus is G. J. Szemler's study of the priests for the Roman Republic.\textsuperscript{2} In addition to the above works, Bruno Stech,\textsuperscript{3} Pierre Lambrechts,\textsuperscript{4} Werner Eck,\textsuperscript{5} and Mason Hammond\textsuperscript{6}

\textsuperscript{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. 144-147) 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.


\textsuperscript{3} Bruno Stech, "Senatores Romani qui fuerint inde a Vespasiano usque ad Traiani exitum," Klio Beiheft 10, 1912. Some of the reviewers of Stech are: Lecrivain, RH, CXV, p. 352; and Liebenam, BPhW, 1914, p. 1560. According to Ronald Syme (JRS, XXVII, 1937, p. 271) Stech's generalizations tend to weaken his conclusions.

\textsuperscript{4} Pierre Lambrechts, La composition du Senat romain de l'accession au trone 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."

\textsuperscript{5} Werner Eck, Senatoren von Vespasian bis Hadrian, München, C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1970.

\textsuperscript{6} Mason Hammond, "Composition of the Senate, A.D. 68-235," JRS, XLVII, 1957, pp. 7ff.
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 Caesare usque ad imperium Diocletiani, Leipzig, 1891, and Attilio Degrassi, 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 stamina 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. Dodhead, Select Documents of the Principates of the Flavian Emperors, Cambridge, 1961; and E. Mary Smallwood, Documents Illustrating the Principates of 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.¹ 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 (ILS) edited by
Hermann Dessau, and the L'anneé 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 ILS. According to F.
Haverfield:

It (ILS) 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

LS includes almost ten thousand inscriptions with a thorough commentary. The

¹Ronald Syme, Tacitus, vol. I, Oxford, The University Press, 1958, p. 2; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., p. 103, note 48; Eck, JRS, LVIII, p. 175, note 4. For priesthoods just before or just after the consulship cf. Tac. Agr. X,7; ILS 1005, 1036, 1055, 8971. But, the career of P. Cornelius Tacitus
Xvir 11) tends to disprove this theory. Tacitus was a quindecimvir before
and did not become consul until 97. Possibly his cooptation was an
exception.

²Hermann Bengston, Einführung in die alte Geschichte, 5th ed., München,

³F. 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 Sydenham\(^3\) are also of great value.

The principal literary evidence is offered by G. Suetonius Tranquillus' \(\textit{Vitae Duodecim Caesarum}\), P. Cornelius Tacitus' \(\textit{Historiae}\) and \(\textit{Annales}\), G. Plinius Caecilius Secundus' \(\textit{Epistulae}\), Cassius Dio Cocceianus' \(\textit{Historiae Augustae}\) 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 \(\textit{Historiae}\), Tacitus recorded the events from 69 to the close of Domitian's reign, and, in the \(\textit{Annales}\), 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

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\(^1\) Henry Cohen, \(\textit{Description historique des Monnaies frappées sous l'Empire romain communément appelées médailles impéiales, continuée par Rollin et Feudardent, 2nd ed., 8 vols., Paris, Rollin and Feudardent, 1880-1892.}\n
\(^3\) Harold Mattingly and Edward Sydenham, \(\textit{The Roman Imperial Coinage, 6 vols., published to 1951, London, Spink and Sons. Hereafter, MS. Also, Carol V. Sutherland, \textit{Coinage in Roman Imperial Policy, 31 B.C. - A.D. 68, London, Athen, 1951.}\n
principate, but he recognized its role as necessary for law and order.¹ 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.² The letters of Pliny the Younger present a rich and varied picture of life under the Empire.³ Hermann Bengtson states that the superiority of Greek historiography is clearly shown by the Roman history of Cassius Dio.⁴ 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.⁵


² Bengtson, Einführung, op. cit., p. 91; Syme, Tacitus, op. cit., pp. 377ff.


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 religio¹ 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 indefinite activities. Numen² 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 ... commerçium 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, priesthods," 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.\(^1\) 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,\(^2\) vota publica, consecrationes,\(^3\) adoptions, wills, marriages, funeral rites, and the official calendar.\(^4\)

On March 6, 12 B.C., Augustus took the position of pontifex maximus, and the designation became a regular part of the imperial titulature.\(^5\) 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.\(^6\) But most important, by combining the imperial office with the post

\(^{1}\) For his authority see: RKR, pp. 51ff.; RRG, pp. 197/198; Mommsen, Römisches Staatsrecht, 3 vols., 1887, unchanged reprint of the 3rd ed., Ak. Druck-u. Verlags., Graz, 1952, II, pp. 73ff. (hereafter referred to as RSR); Szemler, "Religio, priesthoods," loc. cit., p. 107; Dumezil, Archaic Religion, pp. cit., II, pp. 582ff.; Warde Fowler, Religious Experience, op. cit., pp. 312, 355; Rose, OCD\(^2\), p. 860: "He appears to have ousted the Rex Sacrorum from his control of the State religion."


\(^{6}\) RSR, II, p. 1109: "Die am Oberpontificat unmittelbar haftenden Ergebnisse, sowohl die Priesterernennungen wie insbesondere die Aufsicht über
of pontifex maximus, Augustus gave the emperorship a degree of religious
tren, 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. 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. During the second century of the Empire, the authority
of the pontifex maximus continued to remain theoretically independent from the
power of the emperorship.

Imperial Religion.

The religious reforms of Augustus 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
his gesammte Religionswesen, sind kein geringfügiger Bestandtheil der
waltigen Kaisermacht gewesen; . . ."

1Tbid.: "Wichtiger aber noch als diese war ohne Zweifel die religiöse
Ehre, die die augustische Monarchie in der Personalunion mit dem höchsten
Kaiserthum des Freistaats suchte und fand." Rose, Ancient Roman Religion,
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
imply, that an Emperor was something more than mortal, and we hear quite often
the numen of the reigning one."

2RSR, II, p. 1107, note 3.
3Dio LIII.17.8; RSR, II, p. 1108, note 1.
4RSR, II, p. 1109: "So hat auch die Competenz des Oberpontifex neben der
gentlich Kaiserlichen sich viel länger theoretisch und praktisch in relativer
unabhängigkeit behauptet, bevor auch sie in die allgemeine Idee des
Lolitismus aufging."

5For a summary of Augustus' religious reforms see: RKR, pp. 73ff.; RRG,
traditional Roman conceptualizations. For the public services of the state, two of Augustus' reforms were very important. These were the foundation of the adoration of the \textit{genius} Augusti and the cult of the \textit{divi imperatores}, which Augustus started with the construction of the temple of \textit{Divus Julius}. The \textit{genius} of the reigning emperor and the \textit{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, \textit{Divinity of Emperor}, op. cit., pp. 181ff.

2 RKR, p. 79: "Für den öffentlichen Gottesdienst des Staates sind von den augusteischen Neuerungen namentlich zwei folgenreich gewesen, die Begründung der Verehrung des Genius Augusti und der Kult der Divi imperatores, den Augustus durch die Errichtung des Tempels des Divus Julius einleitete."


4 CIL II.1963, 30; 1964, 15; CIL II.172: "Tuppiter optimus maximus ac divus Augustus ceteriq(ue) omnes di immortales."

5 CIL VI.201, 11; CIL VI.201, 28: "Genio ipsius, Divo Augusto Divae Augustae, Divo Claudio;" CIL VI.2137, 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. Augustus always gave his approval for such temples and cults provided that they were simultaneously dedicated to him and the goddess Roma. 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. 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. 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 state and the people. All the activities of the Arval brethren concentrated

1Tac. Ann. I.73: "Cultores Augusti, qui per omnes domos inmodum collegiorum habebantur."

2Suet. Aug. 52: "Templa. . . in nulla . . . provincia nisi communi suo nomeque nomine recept."

3RKR, p. 81: "Immerhin hatte die Verehrung des lebenden Kaisers in den verschieden Formen und Modiicationen unter der Regierung des Augustus I ganz Reiche mit Ausnahme Roms und des Staatskultes eine weite Ausdehnung wonnen." 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 Us Giver of Freedom, is invoked in oaths, receives temples."

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

5Dio Li.19.7
almost exclusively on sacred loyalty declarations.¹ Latte states that the most vital drive which came forth from the reforms of Augustus was the creation of the ruler-cult.² Thus, Roman religion, at least form the point of view of political and social expediency, became respectable and, what was at least as important, loyal.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.⁴ But, soon the Romans went further by adding any factor that contributed to the success and advantage of

¹RKR, p. 82.
²RGG, 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."
³Rose, Ancient Roman Religion, op. cit., p. 256; RGG, 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, JAH, X, p. 182: "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.
⁴RKR, p. 83: "Hatte die Loyalität der Untertanen sich zunächst dadurch dokumentiert, dass man den Staatsgöttern für das Wohleins 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 einreihte; das Hebet 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: ἐπειδὴ τὰς θερμαίας ἀθέτησεν καὶ ἐκέλευ η θέμασιν καὶ ὅ στοιχείων καὶ ὅ συμμετέχων, ἡ πνεύματος ἔθανεν ὡς σκευοφόρων καὶ ὁμονοίας ἐφέστη σε ἐστήσεν.

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


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

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

⁴RKR, 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. Suetonius states of Tiberius:

Templa, flamines, sacerdotes decerni sibi prohibuit, etiam statuas atque imagines nisi permettente se ponti; permisitque ea sola condicione, ne inter simulacrâ deorum sed inter ornamentâ aedium ponenter. 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. Dio says that Sejanus was so powerful that men sacrificed before his statues just as they sacrificed before those of Tiberius. 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. During the second century, Jean

1 RSR, II, p. 758: "Tiberius nach seiner realen Affassung der Verhält-nisse und seiner stolzen Verachtung der äussernen Ehren wies das halbgött-liche Helldunkel, in dem Augustus sich gern bewegt hatte, scharf und schroff ab."


3 Nock, CAH, X, p. 494.

4 Dio LVIII.44: KAI TÉLOS KAI TAIΣ EÍΚΩΣΙΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΑΟΣΠΕΡ ΤΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ.

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 Petronius, at the time of Augustus' death separation existed between the four greater colleges and the sodalitates, since the ashes of Augustus were elected by the priests of the first. Nevertheless, on the occasion of

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1The denotation "grosse Collegien" is used by RKR, p. 487, 492, 493, 550ff., groups these priesthoods together as sodalitates; Dumezil, Archaic Religion, op. cit., p. 588, also, uses the term "greater colleges;" cf. her below.

2The sodalitates contained the sodales of the emperors, the fratresales, the sodales Titii, the fetiales, the luperci, and the salii. RKR, 550ff., groups these priesthoods together as sodalitates; Dumezil, Archaic Religion, op. cit., pp. 588-593; Bailey, "sodales," CCD², pp. 998f.

3Suet. 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:

\[\text{Set tum supplicia dis ludique ab senatu decernuntur, quos pontifices et augures et quindecimviri, septemviri simul et sodalibus Augustalibus, ederent. Censuerat L. Apronius ut fetiales quoque iis ludi praediderent. Contra dixit Caesar, distincto sacerdotorum iure et repetis exemplis: neque enim unquam fetialibus hoc maiestatis fuisset. Ideo Augustalis adjectus quis proprium eius domus sacerdotium esset pro qua vota persolverentur.}^{1}\]

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:

\[\text{ἔορτὴν τε Σίδη τῶν Ἀρχόντων καὶ Σίδη τῶν Ἱερῶν Ἀπάντων, ὧν ἡμέρας ἐγείρει ἄνθρωπος, καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ὧν ἠέλεοντας καὶ ἱππῶν ἄγωντο καὶ θηρίων σφιγκέος ἑτοιός Σίδη τῶν ἐς τὰς τέσσαρας ἱερωσύνας τελόντων καὶ Σίδη τῶν τοῦ Ἀργυροῦ τοῦ διασωτῶν ἄγαλλεσθαι, ὅ οὖσσ' ἐπεποίηθο.}^{2}\]

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

Nex 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 Gabino,
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 volucres augur servare sinistras
Septemvirque epulis festis Titique sodales
Et Salius laeto portans ancilia collo
Et tollens apicem generoso vertice flamen.

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, quindecimvir sacris faciundis, septemvir 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.1

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

2 Lucan I.592-604. The list of priests given by Cellius I.12.6 and Varro de Ling. Lat. V.83ff. offers no conclusive evidence on rank.

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

Symbols of the pontificate cannot be clearly pinpointed according to Szer. (RE, Supplbd. 13, pp. 1892,24ff.): "...ob irgendeines dieser Symbole eindeutiger Ausdruck der Würde der Pontifices war, oder ob sie ganz einfach deren Verbundenheit mit den Opferhandlungen bezeugten; Marquardt SS. 248/249; RKR, SS. 500/501."


2 RSR, II, p. 1106: "Uebrigens treten diese Sacerdotien in Beziehung auf den Princeps nirgends in ihrer Individualität wesentlich hervor mit Ausnahme des Quindecimvirats, insofern diesem die Leitung der Säcularspiele, und des Pontificats, insofern ihm die des Säcularwesens überhaupt zustand."

3 The games were established in 28 B.C. Res Gestae II.9: "(Vota pro plectudine mea suscipi per consules et sacerdotes quinto) qu(oque anno munatus decrevit. Ex iis) votis s(e)pe fecerunt vivo (me ludos aliquotiens sacerdotum) in quattuor amplissima colle(gia, aliquotiens consules." Dio LIII. 5: Kai auta mev mia pepte de geton hekri tou ennyveto, tais epomorpheis ek periptophs melouc, legw se tous
priests at the Ara Pacis Augustae. A sacrifice was performed by four greater colleges at the Ara Numinis Augusti, which was dedicated by Tiberius. He, also, established games for Livia, when she became ill, and games to commemorate the death of Sejanus. The four colleges were responsible for the performance of these games. The priests in rotation with the emperor judged the Ludi Capitolini. 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 LIX.20.1: καὶ ὦτι ἐπὶ ταῖς τοῦ Ἀὔγουστου νίκαις ἃς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἑνεκὶ ἑορτὴν, ὥσπερ εἰδιστο, ἡγαγον.

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 Kaiserktütes," Klio, 1911, pp. 139-175; RRG, pp. 298ff.; Taylor, "Secular Games," OCD2, pp. 969f.; Nock, CAH, X, p. 477.

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


4 Dio LVIII.12.5, see page 13.

5 Herodian I.9.2: ἐγνώσθη 8 ἡ ἐπιβολὴ παραδόσῳ τρόπῳ ἔρων ἀγώνα τελοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι Διὶ Καπετωλίῳ, θεόματι τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἀθροιζομένῃ ὡς ἐς βασιλεῖα
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.

1 Tac. Ann. VI.5: "et cum die natali Augustae inter sacerdotes epularetur." Suet. Claud. 44.2: "Quidem tradunt epulantes in arce cum sacerdotibus per Halotum spadonem praegustatorem."


3 Suet. Aug. 99.2; Dio LVI.42.2; Suet. Vit. XI.2.

4 Hist. Aug. Marc. XIII.1: "tantus autem terror belli Marcomannici fuit ut undique sacerdotes Antoninus acciverit, peregrinos ritus impleverit, Romam genere lustraverit retardatusque a bellica profectione sit."


Reducis was specifically added to their duties. The college carried out the rites of Jupiter when sickness or public business prevented the flamen Dialis from doing so; the priestly group had the authority to dedicate statues and shrines to Augustus, and to issue pontifical decrees. The pontiffs, also, held the license to purify the pomerium. When Vespasian ordered the Capitol to be rebuilt, the pontiff guided the praetor, who purified the area with the sacrifice of the souvetaurilia. The college of the pontifices maintained control over adoptions, the nomination of Vestal virgins, funeral rites,  

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


3 Dio IV.10.2: Τὰ δὲν ἀυτὸς καθιέρου, τὰ δὲ τῶν ποντιφίκων τινὶ προσέτασε.


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

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


9 Suet. Dom. 8.5: "Ac ne qua religio deum impune contaminaretur, monimentum, quod libertus eius e lapidibus templo Capitolini Iovis destinatis ilio exstruxerat, diruit per milites ossaque et reliquias quae inerant maris..."
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.


Cum ante dies coiugem et filium amiserim et pressus necessitate corpora eorum factilia sarcofago commendaverim, donique is locus, quem emeram, aedificaretur via Flaminia inter milia. II et III euntibus ab urbe parte laeava custodia monumenti Fla. Thumeles, maesoleae M. S(i?)lii Orcill: rogo, domini, permittas mihi in eodem loco in marmoreo sarcofago, quem mihi modo comparavi, ea corpora colgere, ut quandone ego esse desier., pariter cum eis ponar.


1 Tac. Ann. XI.15: "Tactum ex eo senatus consultum, viderent pontifices ne retinenda Formandaque haruspicum." RKR, p. 549, the passage which allows clearly shows the college was kept independently from the pontiffs. 4 Hoffman Lewis, Official Priests, op. cit., p. 7.


3 The calendar was reformed by Augustus (Suet. Aug. 31.2: "Annnum a Divo Dio ordinatum, sed postera neglectentia 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), the flamen Martialis (Mars), and the flamen Quirinalis (Quirinus), had declined in prestige and use during the late Republic. 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. 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.

The auspices, as the means of ascertaining the will of the gods, were restored by Augustus, Suet. Aug. 31: "nonnulla etiam ex antiques caerimoniis paulatim abolita restituit, ut Salutis augurium, Diale flamonium, sacrum Lupercale, Iudos Saeculares et Comptalicos." 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.

The priesthood was restored by Augustus, Suet. Aug. 31: "nonnulla etiam ex antiques caerimoniis paulatim abolita restituit, ut Salutis augurium, Diale flamonium, sacrum Lupercale, Iudos Saeculares et Comptalicos." 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.

The observation of birds, Ovid Fasti I.419-449: "intactae fueratis aves, solicia ruris, adseutum silvis innuocuunque genus, quae facitis nidos et plumis ova fovetis 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, "auspicium," RE, II, pp. 2580,26ff.; RKR, pp. 386ff.; RRG, p. 202; RSR, I, pp. 76-116; H. Wagenvoort, Roman Dynamism, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1947, pp. 37ff.; Dumezil, Archaic Religion, op. cit., I, pp. 119-123; Warde Fowler, Religious Experience, op. cit., pp. 175, 214; Rose, Ancient Roman Religion, op. cit., p. 234.


Dio LIII.36.3: καὶ πάντως τινὰς καὶ ἑρόττως καὶ ὁμοιότατος ἀπόθεσιν, ὡς τοιούτων τί κοινώσασθαι συνέσχονται.
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 auspicium, 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 (XXViri 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 victinarum 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,¹ which were consulted at times of great danger to the state.² 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.³ Wissowa states that this was a deliberate falsification of the books with a political view in mind.⁴

Tiberius made an investigation of all the books that contained any

¹Dio LIV.17.2: καὶ τὰ ἔπη τὰ Σίβυλλειου ἐγίτηλα ὑπὸ τοῦ

²Tac. Ann. VI.12: "Igitur tunc quoque notioni quindecimvirum is liber subi-

³Hist. Aug. Gall. V.5: "Pax igitur deum quaesita inspectis Sibyllae-

⁴Hist. Aug. Tac. XVI.6: "Quem quidem multi ferunt etiam Sibyllinis

⁵Suet. Aug. 31: "Postquam vero pontificatum maximum, quem numquam vivo

prophecies, and he rejected some as worthless and retained others as genuine. The XV viri s. f., during the imperial period, were responsible for the preservation of the prophecies of the gods and mystic hymns, the overseeing of the Ludi Saeculares, and Claudius allegedly allowed the priests to take part in the procession of Sibyl. The college, also, directed at the bidding of the Sibyline Books the supplicatio and lectisternium.

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1 Dio LVII.18.5: Τρίς τε θηρικοσίων περιτέλλομένων ενήπτων Ρωμαίοις ἐμφύλος ὅλει στάσις, χ' Συβαρίτις ἀφροσῦνα.


4 Ioannis Laurentii Lydi, Liber de Mensibus IV.42: Τῇ πρὸ Δέκα Καλενσῶν Ἀπριλίων καθάρμος σαλπιγγος καὶ κίνησις τῶν ὁπλών, καὶ τιμαὶ Ἀρεσ καὶ Νερίνης, θεᾶς οὖτω τῇ Σαβίνων κλώσῃ προσάκορονἐμέννα... Every March 27 the college was responsible for washing the lapis negellus, which at Rome represented the Phrygian goddess Sibyl. Lucan I.599-600; RKR, p. 319, note 5; Ferguson, Religions of Empire, op. cit., p. 28.

5 Mattingly, BMC, II, p. lxxii: "The main feature of the new issue (A.D. 0) is the series of types of pulvinaria, or sacred couches of the gods, associated with a supplicatio and 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 viri s. f. at the bidding of the Sibylline Books (Tac. Ann. XV.44: "Hox petita diis piacula aditique Sibullae--Sibylinus 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.


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 l. 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.  

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) on behalf of their cronies. This practice, when employed by Augustus, was known as commendatio, and the recommended candidate was a candidatus Caesaris. Augustus at first canvassed in person, but, after A.D. 8, he announced the names of his candidates.


4 Suet. Aug. 56: "Quotiens magistratuum comitiis interesset, tribus cum candidatis suis circuibiatur supplicatbatque more sollemni." Dio LIII.21.7: τοῖς ἄρρωτοι τοὺς κυρίους ἐκλεγόμενος προεβάλετο, τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ σήμα τῷ τῷ ὑμῖν κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον πολίτευμα ἐπεμελέτο ὅπως νῦν ἀνεπτυγμένοι μὴ ἐκ παραπτελείσθωσιν 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.3 The lex de
imperio Vespasiani apparently granted the emperor the right of
commendatio for all the magistracies without limitation of number.4
Since the commendatio of the emperor was used sparingly, it was
considered an honor to have attained an office as a candidatus
principis.5 Only in the third century does commendatio become an
unrestricted imperial practice of nomination for office.6

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

\[\text{καὶ Σέκασμον ἀποθεικτόντα.}\]

1 Dio LVIII.20.3: τῶν τούτων δὲ τῷ ἰδίῳ ἀνευ ἑαυτῷ

\[\text{τῇ πολλῇ δικάζειν ἠπέτρεπεν, ἐς δὲ τοῦ ἰδίου ὑπάκει πάρῃ,}

\[\text{ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν πρὸτὲρῳ ἦτει πάντως τοὺς ἄργουντας ἄυτὸς, ἐπειδὴ ἐπὶ}

\[\text{ἐστιν ἀρχεῖα, ἀπεδείχθη, τούτῳ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐπείτη ἐργασμαῖς}

\[\text{τὴν ἐκτίθεσιν συνίστη τῷ τε καὶ τῷ ἰδίῳ ὡς ἐσφυγμενεῖ.}

Process of election under Tiberius, Dio LVIII.20.3: τῶν δὲ σιν τὰς ἀλλὰς

\[\text{ἄρχας αἰτοῦντων ἐξελέγχετο ὡς συνέχειν, ἑαυτῷ, καὶ ὁπας ἐς τούτων}

\[\text{συνέπεμπε, τοὺς μὲν συνιστᾶς ἄυτῳ, ὁπερ ὑπὸ}

\[\text{πάντων ἴροντο, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς συνιστᾶσας καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ}

\[\text{ὁμολογίᾳ, τῷ τε καὶ τῷ ποιοῦμενος, . . .}\]

2 Tac. Ann. I.15: "moderante Tiberio ne plures quam quattuor candidatos

\[\text{commendaret sine repulsa et ambitu designandos.}"

3 Tac. Hist. I.77: "Ceteri consulatus ex destinatione Neronis aut Galbae

\[\text{mansere," Plin. Paneg. 77.1: "Nam comitia consulum obibat ipse; tantum ex}

\[\text{renuntiatione eorum voluptatis, quantum prius ex destinatione copiebat."

4 CIL VI.930 = ILS 244: "Utique quos magistoratum potestatem imperium

curationemve cuius rei potentes senatui popolique Romano commendaverit,

\[\text{quibusque suffragationem suam dederit promiserit, eorum comitis quibusque}

\[\text{extra ordinem ratio habeatur." cf. Last, CAH, XI, pp. 40 ff.}

5 H. Hausmaninger, 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

\[\text{emperor has this right with Lex de imperio Vespasiani.}
of magistrates from the comitia¹ and transferred them to the senate,² 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.³ The Tabula Habanai⁴ was discovered in

¹This 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. 272ff.; Wirszubski, Libertas, op. cit. p. 119; Hausmaninger, Der Kleine Pauly, "comitia," pp. 1254ff.; Taylor, Voting Assemblies, op. cit., pp. 2, 60.

²Tac. Ann., I.15: "Tum primum e campo comitia ad patres translata sunt; nam ad eam diem, etsi potissima arbitrio principis, quaedam tamen studiis tribuum fiebant. Neque populus ademptum ius questus est inanum rumore, et senatus, largitionibus ac precibus sordidis exsolutus, libens tenuit, moderante Tiberio ne plures quam quattuor candidates commendaret sine repulsa et ambitu designandos." Dio LVIII.20.3-4: καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν ἐπίταξις ταῦτα...  

³Dio LXIX.20.3-5: οὐδὲν ἐκείνων τε ἀρχιτέρων ὑπὸ τοῦ πολλῷ ἐρῶν πιθανῶν σοφῶν ὑπὸ...  

⁴The 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, JRS, 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 than 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 magistrates 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.20.1. "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.15.5); 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 III.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 senatu fuit Vitellio atque Veranio et Servaeo sacerdotia 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 priesthods 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. 8; Opel. Marc. VII.8). RSR, II, p. 1109: "Die Bestellung der Priester durch Präsentation (nominatio) von Seiten des Collegiums und Wahl und des Präsentionsliste 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 godales of the emperors. The emperor, also, held the right of commendatio of candidates for the greater priesthods, 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 priesthods.


3 RSR, II, pp. 1109.


5 Dio LIII.17.8; RSR, II, p. 1111: "Allem Anschein nach war es dem Umfang nach bloss rechtmässig unbegrenzt, sondern wurde auch factisch von den Kaiser in solcher Ausdehnung geübt, dass die eigentlich normale Form der Priesterweihung durch freie Wahl des Senats wenigstens in den grösseren Collegien seltener vorkam 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 priesthods. 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: ἤερες τε ἀὑτον καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν ἄριθμόν, ὄσους ἄν ἐξ ἐθελησόν.

4 Dio LI.20.3: ὡστε μὴ δὲν ἦτι χρὴ ναὶ μὲ περὶ τοῦ πλῆθους ἀὑτὸν ἀκριβολογεῖον δὲν ὥστε.
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. Fliny the Younger


2 CIL VI.32327 = ILS 5050a.

3 Hoffman Lewis, Official Priests, op. cit., p. 18; Nock, GAH, X, p. 115; Syme, Tacitus, op. cit., p. 66; RSR, II, pp. 1102-1113.


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 priest hood.

Membership in a greater priest hood during the Flavian-Antonine era


² Hist. Aug. Marc. VII.11: "et laudavere uterque pro rostris patrem flaminemque ei ex adfinibus et sodales ex amicissimis Aurelianos creavere."

³ Marquardt, p. 223; Hoffman Lewis, Official Priests, op. cit., p. 18.

⁴ Marquardt, p. 223: "die Freiheit vom Militärdienst, von bürgerlichen Ämtern (munera) und Abgaben."

⁵ Seneca, de ira III.31: "Dedit mihi praeturam; sed consulatum speraveram, dedit duodecim fasces; sed non fecit ordinarium consulem. a me numerari 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 priestly colleges 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. Co-optation 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

1Marquardt, p. 223.

2Mattingly, 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.

3Seneca, 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.
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).


dis 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 Neue 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.
The 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 Alliens 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 provincia et confirmavit et protulit; Scytharum quoque regem a Cherronensi, quae est ultra Borustenen, opsidione summoto. 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 ornamentiis honoravit, auctore imp. Caesare Augusto Vespasiano, verbis ex oratone eius q(uae) i(nfra) s(crita) s(unt):

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


Date of elevation occurred before 70; Tacitus (Hist. IV.53) relates, "Tum Helvidius Priscus praetor, praesunte Plautio Aeliano pontifice, lustrato movetaurilibus 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.53 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 LX.V.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 1403; 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 (ILS 258):

T. Caesari Au(g. f.) Vespasiano im(p.) trib. potest., co(s), censori desig., collegioru(m) 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).

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

2 "Ipse restitutionem Capitolii adgressus."

3 τὸν ἐν τῇ καταστροφῇ εὐθὺς, ἡρῴω, ἃ τοῖς ἀρετοῖς.
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. Cooption took place in 73 to all the major colleges (CIL IX.4955 = ILS 267):

Domitiano cos. I(I), sacerdoti (c)onlegiorum 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 = IGI 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 n 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.\(^1\) Rutilius Gallicus died in

\(^1\) 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 7.531 = ILS 989) occurred after being a curator alvei Tiberis, conceivably late 73 or early 74.2

(C.) Calpetano Rantio Quirinali Valerio P. f. Pomp. F(esto IIII)vir. viar curand., t(r. mil. le)g. VI Victr., quaestori, se(viro equi) vit. Romanor., tr. pleb., prae(tori, sodai)li August., leg. pro praet. ex(ercit. Afri)cae, 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. 150.

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).¹

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 filiam iuveni mihi despondit ac post consulatum collocavit, et statim Britanniae praepositus est, adiecto pontificatus sacerdotio.

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).²


Imp(eratori) Caesa[ri] Vespasian[o Aug(usto)] p[ont(ifici) max(imo)]

¹Valerius Festus put Calpurnius Piso (pontifex 2) to death (Tac. Hist. II.98; IV.49-50; Plin. Ep. III.7.12), and perhaps, as a reward for this act, he was given Piso's place in the pontifical college. He died, still a friend of the emperor, early in Domitian's reign (Mart. I.78).

[trib(unicia)] pot(estate) [VIII] imp(eratori) XVIII p(atri) p(atriae) co(n)s(uli) XVIIII [Tito] Imp(eratori) Caes[ari] Vespasiano Aug(usti) f(ilio) pont(ifici) [imp(eratori)]? co(n)s(uli) VI [Ca(ius) Pa]ccius Africanus pon[tif(ex)] co(n)s(uli) VI pr[oc]o(n)s(uli) VI Afr[icaine]s patron[u]s] per Cn(aeum) Dom[i]tium Ponti[Cum pr(aetorem) leg(atum) pr[aetore] pat]ronum municipi ded(i)c(uit).

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

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

L. HELVIIUS 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.3.3) 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 1.7852 = 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

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prominent Roman jurist, and served as governor of Numidia 82-85 (CIL VIII. 23165; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 131ff.), Greater Germany 89-92 (CIL XVI. 36; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 140ff.), Syria 98-101 (ILS 1015; Eck, senatoren, op. cit., pp. 152ff.), and Africa 101/102 (ILS 1015; Eck, Senatoren op. cit., p. 158). 1


G. 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):


Elevation might have occurred under Domitian. Lollius Paullinus began his public career as a quaestor candidate of Domitian. Since he was a patrician he 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 II.960; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., p. 170) and as praefectus urbis (CIL XIV. 713). His father was D. Valerius Asiaticus, consul in 69, and his uncle was Valerius Asiaticus the consul in 46.1


Elevation 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

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. 41-43).

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.

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

3. **M. COCEIUS NERVA - IMP. NERVA CAESAR AUGUSTUS:** (PIR, I, 429, no. 974; PIR², II, no. 1227; A. Steine, "Cocceius," RE, IV (16), pp. 133ff.; Stech 47; Howe augur 41; Hoffman Lewis augur 52; see pontifex 19; quindecimvir 19; septemvir 14; also sodalis Augustalis; salius

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.
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, sodal(is Augustalis), praetor.

1. T. FLAVIUS DOMITIANUS - IMP. CAESER 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). 1

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; 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

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

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(rime) (Di)dymus (lid. fec.).


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.


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 (JOAI 28, 1933, B. 43; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., p. 220). He presumably was the son of L. Nonius (Calpurnius) Asprenas (septemvir 5).1

Quindecimviri sacris faciundis.

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

AUGUSTUS: (see pontifex l; Howe quindecimvir 31; Hoffman Lewis quindecimvir 34). Quindecimvir (Suet. Galba 8):

Ob res tunc 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 V(e)raniae, Q. Verani cos., aug., f., Germinae Pisonis Frugi.

Date of election is unknown. Piso Licianianus 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 (MS, II, Vitellius, no. 23; Tac. Hist. III.84; Suet. Vitel. 5).

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

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(M. Ulpi)um Traianum cos., lega(tum imp. Titi Caesa)ris d(ivi) Vespa(siani Aug.) pro pra)et. provinciae Syriae, procos. Asiae et Hispasiae B(a)eticae, XVvi(rum s. f., sodal)em F(l)avialem, triumphalibus ornamen(t)is 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. 63). 1

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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 130; a coin, of 51, has the legend NERO CLAUD. CAES. DRUSUS GERM. TVVENT. 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, max imperator et consors tribunicae potestatis, et omnia pariter et statim existit, quae proxime parent is tanta in alterum filium contulit.").

Ebel, 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: "Ahnlich verfahren worden, wenn einem zur Nachfolge bestimmten Prinzen die Kaiserliche Prärogative der Mitgliedschaft aller grossen Collegien verliehen werden sollte." cf. Marquardt, p. 222.
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 (ILLS 258).

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).


M. Hirri(us f. m. F)ronto Neratus Pansa, co(n)s(ul), curator aedium sacrarum et operum locorumque publicorum, adlectus ab imp(eratore) Caesare 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(acundis), leg(atus) pr(o) pr(aetore) imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) 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. Neratus 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, 1401, 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


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."


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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.). ¹


p. caluisio p. f. ..........  
rusoni l. iulio FRONTINO III VIR  
aaa ff seuiro equitVM ROMAN . TR . MIL  
leg. ..........adlectO INTER PATRICIOS  
ab imperatore CAES VESPASIANO AG  
quaeotosti aug. praetORI COS CVRAT VIAE  
..........xx uiro S F SODALI AVGSTALI  
..........ad sacRA PROCOS ASIAE CVRA  
tori aedium sacRAR ET OPERVM LOCO  
rumque publ. leg. PRO PR IMP NERVAE TRA  
iani augusti serM DAC PATRONO COL  
C F AMBibulae?  
VXORI P Caluisii  
RVSONIS L  
DOMIT  
AVG PP  

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

12. A. DIDIIUS GALLUS FABRICIUS VEIENTO: (PIR, II, 10, no. 61; PIR², III, no. 91; Groag, "Didius," RE, VI (15), pp. 193ff.; 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):

A. Didius Gallus (F)abricius Veiento cos. III, XVvir sacris faciend., sodalis Augustal., sod. Flavial., sod. Titialis, et Attica eius, Nemeton. v. s. l. m.

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 (Juuv. III.185; IV.113, 123; VI.113).³


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Bellicius Natalis Tebanianus was the son of C. Bellicius Tebanianus, consul for 118, was the son of the former.


Nam is quoque edidit ludos saecularis isque intentius aedificavit, sacerdotio quindecimviral praeeditus ac tunc praetor, quod non iactantia refero, sed quia collegio quindecimvirum antiquitus ea cura et magistratus potissimum exsequantur officia caerimoniarum.

Cornelius 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


¹Charlesworth and Townend, "Tacitus," OCD², pp. 103ff.; syme, Tacitus, cit., pp. 59ff.

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

The above reference does prove membership in the priesthood because only the 

devi could open the books of Sibyl. 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,

coopitation 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 

praestor (Mart VIII.78) possibly in 93.2

16. C. VALERIUS FLACCUS SETINUS BALVUS: (PIR, III, 357, no. 53; A. Kurfess, "Valerius," RE, VIII A (170), pp. 9ff.; Stech 212; Howe quindecimvir 
43). 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

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


17. **TI. JULIUS TI. f. ALSUS POLEMÆANUS:** (PIR, II, 186, no. 176; PIR², IV, no. 260; Groag, "Julius," RE, X (183), pp. 544ff.; Stech 138).

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 Polemaenus was a Greek from Ephesus,¹ and he was conceivably given senatorial rank by Vespasian in 70 (Tac. Hist. II. 82). He served as governor for Pontus-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 Polemaenus (PIR², IV, no. 168) and Julia Quintilia Isaurica (PIR², IV, no. 697).²


C. Cornelius Rarus Sextius Na(sa), cos., XV(ir) sacris faci(ndis), 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.


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.

Cooption 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(erator) Caesare siui Vespasiani f(ilio) Domitiano Aug(ustu) pontif(ice) max(imo) trib(unicia) pot(estatu) II imp(eratoris) [III] p(atre) p(atriae) co(n)s(ul) VIII
L(ucius) Nonius L(uci) f(ilius) Pom(ptina tribu} Asprenas L(uci) Noni Asprenatis VIIuir(i) epulonum proco(n)s(ul) prouinciae Africai III nepos triumuir a(uro) a(rgento) a(ere) F(erali) F(eriundo) seuir salius Palatinus quaestor Caesaris Aug(usti) centurio equitum [R]omanorum hastis honoratus octo uexillis IIII coronis muralibus duabus uallaribus dua[b]us aurea una pr(aetore) inter cines et peregrinos legatus pro pr(aetore) prouinciaae Galateae Paphlogoniae Pamphyliae Pisidiae co(n)s(ul) VIIuir epulonum proco(n)s(ul) prouinciae Africai patroon municipi dedicaet legato pro pr(aetore) M(arco) Cornelio Fermo.

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.
93), 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).

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CN. DOMITIUS SEX. f. (AFER TITIUS MARCELLUS CURVIUS) TULLUS: (PIR, II, 23, no. 134; PIR², III, no. 167; Kappelmacher, "Domitius," RE, V (84), pp. 143ff.; De Laet 1383; Stech 107; Plin. Ep. VIII.18; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., p. 33, note 14; also sodalis fetiales).

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(ons)uli provinciae Africae ... (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) Vespasiano Aug(usto) leg(ato) pro pr(aetore) exercit(us) qui est, in Africa ... donato ab Imp(erator) Vespasiano Aug(usto) et T(itio) 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

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

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


Appiae Sex. f. Severae Ceiono Commodo con., 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 IVI.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 Pusione 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


Γαῖον Ἀντίου Αὐλοῦ Ἰούλιον | Αὐλοῦ υἱὸν

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) RE, 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.
Induction into the priesthood took place under Vespasian or Domitian. He was brought from Pergamum by Vespasian and served under Domitian (IGRR IV.384).

Julius Quadratus served as governor for Crete-Cyrene 84/85 (IGRR IV.384; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., p. 135), Lycia-Pamphylia 90-93 (IGRR IV.384; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 141ff.), Syria 100-104 (IGRR IV.376; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 156ff.), and Dacia 117/118 (Pergamon VIII 3.21; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., p. 184).


5383:  
COS SV  
IR·EPV  
FEC·*  

8020:  
BIO·C·f·*  
ABINO  
I·VIR·EPVL·S·C·  


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 hiatu praemiorum ignotum adhunc ingenium et nullis defensionibus expertum caede nobili imbuisti, cum ex funerei publicae raptis consularibus spoliis, septuagens sestertio saginatus et sacerdotio fulgens innoxios pueros, indostis senes, conspicuas feminas eadem ruina prosterneres, cum sequitam Neroni incusares, quod per singularas domos seque 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

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 accurrit cum iam pridem eius modi officiis renuntiasset, sic illo die, quo sacerdotes solent nominare, quos dignissimos sacerdotio iudicant, me semper nominabat.

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

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most to prolong the existence of the ancient Roman religion. The restoration of the Capitoline temple, which had burned during the civil war, was one of the first tasks of his reign. The foundation stone was laid under the direction of Ti. Plautius Aelianus, a member of the pontifical college, 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. In this case, the princeps acted as the consul in the role of dedicatur, although the separation between the obligations of the pontifex maximus and the consul was a mere technicality. Assuredly, the reconstruction of the Capitoline Temple was accomplished as a sign to the whole world that Roman power was unshaken, or perhaps, to indicate an emphatic reliance on the gods of old. When the

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. 401ff.; Warde-Fowler, Religious Experience, op. cit., compelling power, pp. 312, 355; Rose, Ancient Roman Religion, op. cit., pp. 231ff.; Dumezil, Archaic Religion, op. cit., pp. 585ff.; Rose, "Pontifex, Pontifices," OCD2, p. 60; 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.1 He, also, dedicated temples to Peace on the Forum and to the deified Claudius on the Caelian hill.2 Vespasian, before the college of pontiffs, restored the public vineyards;3 he rebuilt a temple of Sibyl, which had been destroyed by an earthquake;4 and he enlarged the pomerium.5 There is an inscription of the year 78, which describes the imperator as the restorer of temples and public ceremonies.6 Vespasian


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. Caesari) Vespasiano 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 
sacrarum, sodales Titi.

¹BMG, 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, 
IXR (pp. 500f.) specifically declares that imperial coinage cannot give exact 
and secure answers.

²CIL VI.1964 = ILS 258.

³cf. Above, p. 54, note 1.

⁴Suet. Titus 9.1: "Pontificatum maximum ideo se professus accipere ut 
quas servaret manus, fidem praestitit, nec auctor posthac culiusquam necis nec 
consicus, quamvis interdum ulciscendi causa non desset, sed purum se 
notius 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-
un que genere."

⁶Handel, "prodigium," RE, XXIII, pp. 2283ff.; Szemler, Priests of Roman 
public, op. cit., p. 51, note 12; Zintzen, "prodigium," Der kleine Pauly, 
The equilibrium between gods and men. The main feature of his coins is the
alminaria which emblem is associated with the performance of the supplicatio
and lectisternium. This solemn public entreaty to the gods was voted by the
Senate after the eruption of Vesuvius.

Domitian, like Titus, was inaugurated into the greater priesthoods in
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. 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, yet, the emperor
permitted the flamen Dialis to divorce his wife, which brings into question
the sincerity of the emperor's position. Several men were condemned by the

1 BMES, II, p. lxxii. For supplicatio, cf. Wissowa, "supplicationes,"
RE, IVA, pp. 942ff.; RKR, pp. 423ff.; RRG, pp. 245ff.; Marquardt, pp. 48ff.;
OCD, "supplicationes," p. 1024. For lectisternium, cf. Wissowa,
lectisternium," RE, XII, pp. 1106ff.; RKR, pp. 421ff.; RRG, pp. 242ff.;

2 Dio LXVI.24.2; Suet. Titus 8.3.
3 CIL IX.4955 = ILS 267.
4 Suet. Dom. 8.8: "Qua re qua religio deum impune contaminaretur moni-
mentum, quod liber tus eius e lapidibus templo Capitoline Iovis destinatis
illo extruxerat, diruit per milites ossaque et reliquias quae inerant mari-
sit." 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 iudicium albo." cf. Hammond,
Antonine, op. cit., p. 71.
6 Plutarch, Quaest. Rom. 50: οδοιεις παρεγένωντο τῇ του
κάλλους presente, πολλά φρικάση καὶ ἀλλόκοτα καὶ σκυθράστας.
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.
princeps 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

1 Suet. 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.


5 Heiter, 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).

6 Heiter, Patriciis, op. cit., p. 46. Piso family was elevated to the patriciate under Augustus (Tac. Ann. II.43, IV.21).
Nerva (augur 3), 1 Q. Volusius Saturninus (augur 7), 2 L. Nonius Asprenas (augur 8), 3 C. Valerius Flaccus (XV vir 16), 4 and L. Nonius Asprenas (VII vir 5). 5

Priests from previous plebeian families, who were elevated to the patriciate by the Flavians, were Cn. Julius Agricola (pontifex 11); 6 his father was a member of the Roman senate; 7 L. Flavius Silva Nonius Bassus (pontifex 13), 8 he served as a plebeian tribune; M. Lollius Paulinus (pontifex 17), 9 he was the son of D. Valerius Asiaticus consul for 69; and M. Harrius Neratius Pansa (IV vir 8), 10 his tribe perhaps was the Voltinia of Saepinum. 11 The new men from the provinces in the priesthods raised to the rank of patrician for the aforesaid period were M. Ulpius Traianus (XV vir 5), 12 he was from Spain; 13

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. Auruntius 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).

**Plebeians 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. Paccius

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\(^1\) AE, 1914, no. 267.

\(^2\) Syme, Tacitus, op. cit., p. 793, note 3.

\(^3\) CIL XV.7150; Heiter, Patricii, op. cit., p. 45.

\(^4\) Mart. I.63.3.

\(^5\) ILS 990; Heiter, Patricii, op. cit., p. 24.


\(^7\) ILS 991. He was the brother of Cn. Domitius Lucanus (VII vir 8).

\(^8\) His origin was Transpadane Italy (Stat. Silv. I.4).

\(^9\) When 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 (XV vir 9), A. Caesennii Gallus (XV vir 10), P. Cornelius Tacitus (XV vir 15), Ti. Julius Alsus Polemaeanus (XV vir 17), L. Cesionius Commodus (VII vir 6), L. Funisulanus Vettonianus (VII vir 9), L. Cornelius Pusio Annius Messalla (VII vir 10), A. Julius Quadratus (VII vir 11), Marius Priscus (VII 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. 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 (XV vir 5, also sod. Flav.), M. Hirrius Fronto Neratius Pansa (XV vir 8), P. Calvisius Ruso Julius Frontinus (XV vir 10, also sod. Aug.), L. Arruntius Stella (XV vir 15),3 Cn. Domitius Afer Titius Marcellus Curvius Lucanus (VII vir 5), Cn. Domitius Afer

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1Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., p. 33, note 14; Charlesworth, CAH, XI, p. 10: "he (Vespasian) was the first to adopt 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 Drusus, and C. Fulvius Lupus Servilianus were adopted inter patricios; among others added to the senate, were an Ephesian, Tib. Julius Celsus Polemaeanus; a Galatian, C. Caristanius Fronto; and L. Antonius Saturninus."

2Cooptation as salius Collinus took place under Vespasian (CIL XIV. 240).

3Possibly cooptation to the XV vir s. f. was not until the reign of Domitian.
Marcellus Curvius Tullus (VII vir 6, also fetialis), and L. Ceionius Commodus (VII vir 8). But, the motivation of the commendatio by Vespasian for cooption to a priesthood is seriously discredited by our sources. Dio declares that Vespasian's concubine sold priestships, and Suetonius says that Vespasian himself sold his commendatio. It is an established fact that Vespasian, at the beginning of his rule, had irregularly, by use of the censorial power, given men senatorial rank to secure their loyalty. 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.

Men coopted by Vespasian to the sodalitates priesthoods, whom he had elevated to the patriciate, were P. Glitius Gollus (PIR, II, 119, no. 113; ILS 999; salius Palatinus, flamen Augustalis), L. Neratius Marcellus (PIR, II, 401, no. 43; ILS 1032; salius Palatinus), and Sex. Vettulenus Cerialis (PIR, III, 415, no. 351; AE, 1955, no. 123; fetialis).

Dio LXV.14.3: τοῖς μὲν ἀρχαῖς τοῖς δὲ ἐκπροτείναις στρατεύσεως ἐργοσύναις...

Suet. Vesp. 16.2: "Ne candidatis quidem honores rei seve tam innocuis quam nocetibus absolutiones venditore cunctatus est."

Charlesworth, CAH, XI, p. 10; Bernard Henderson, Five Roman Emperors, New York, Barnes and Noble, 1927, pp. 33f.
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 COCCEIUS 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 Falerinus, 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 Sklaven, 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. 1

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.


It is feasible that cooptation 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.

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1 Habel, Pontificum, op. cit., p. 19: "Eius in omnia sacerdotia cooptationem describunt nummi a. 96 et 97 memoria causa signati," BMC, III, nos. 4, 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 office of chief pontifex. While, W. Kubitschek, Nervas römische Münzen, Zeiger der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philos-hist. Klasse, 1933, p. 13-14, denies this and accepts cooptation to all the priesthoods at the time of elevation to the position of pontifex maximus. RSR, II, p. 1107; cf. above, p. 54, note 1, p. 26ff.
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 pontifex 18). According to Hanslik (RE, loc. cit.), he is the Pomponius Rufus in Plin. Ep. III.9.33 (PIR, no. 560).


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

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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 verwalten." Also, Hanslik (RE, loc. cit., pp. 2348,43f.) declares, "P. selbst ist wohl der jüngere Bruder des Qu. Pomponius Rufus cos. suf. 95 Nr. 68." Not noted 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.31034, 3244.5."

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 selective, not complete); he was a prefect of the aerarium militar.
sodalis Augustalis). Plebeian, novus homo; cos. I suf. 97 or 98 (ILS 1952, 6956);\(^1\) II ord. 102 (CIL VI.2185); III ord. 107 (CIL II.4536, 4538). 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.\(^2\) The following inscription, dedicated to Licinius Sura, contains his career and association with Trajan (CIL VI.1444 = ILS 1022):\(^3\)


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. 144f.) 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. Ιούλιον Κουκράτων Βασιλέων ᾨπατον, | ποντίφικα, οτρατπλάτην γενόμενον | Δακίκων πολέμου και συνκαθελόντα τὸν ἤκτη | πολέμου και συνκαθελόντα τὸν ἤκτη | πολέμου αὐτοκράτορι Τραϊάνῳ, τιμηθέντα | θριάμβηκας τιμήσας], προσβεβευν και αντιστράτηγον ἐπαρχεῖς Ἰονδιάς, προσβεβευν και αντιστράτηγον Καππαθοκιάς ἔκλατιος | Ἀρμενίας Μικρᾶς Πόντου Παναγονίας Ἰσόπον | Ἐπίστεις, προσβεβευν και αντιστράτης | ὑπὸ ἐπαρχεῖας, Ἑφρίδας Φανίκης, Κονδαχή [ὑπς, προσβεβευν και αντιστράτηγον ἐπαρ- | ἔχεις Δακίδας. Χειλίαρχον λεγίων υἱέ, ἐπιμελή- | ἕν χαλκὸθ' χρυσὸν ἀργύρου χαράματος, | [προσβεβευν κρήτης καὶ κυρίνης, ἀρχανόμον | [κοινοβιλίων ὀφρατηγὸν Σήμου Ρωμαίων | [ἐπεικὸν, ἤγοσάμενον λεγίων ἵδι κλαυσίδια.

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

Appointment between 97 and 101. Licinius Sura possibly influenced Nerva to appoint 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, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 160ff.), Cappadocia-Galatia 107-111 (Pergamon VIII.3.21; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 168ff.), Syria 114-117 (Pergamon VIII.3.21; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 178ff.), and Dacia 117/118 (Pergamon VIII.3.21; Eck, Senatoren, 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) 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

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

Piranius 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; PIR\(^2\), II, no. 1350; Groag, "Cornelius," RE, IV (146), p. 1310; Stech 1619; Lambrechts 41; Howe flamines maiores 7; also salius Palatinus). Patrician; cos. suf. 113 (AE, 1949, no. 23).

Flamen Quirinalis (CIL IX.3154 = ILS 1049):


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. MANILIUS VOPISCUS VICINILLIANUS L. ELUFRIUS SEVERUS JUL(IUS)**

QUADRATUS BASSUS: (PIR, II, 328, no. 108; Groag, "Manilius," RE, XIV (30), pp. 1112f.; Stech 1499; Lambrechts 294; Habel 42; Howe pontifex 48; also salius Collinus). Patrician; cos. ord. 114 (CIL XI.3614).

Pontifex (CIL XIV.4142 = 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 priestly 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.
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). 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


Pontifex (CIL III.1463 = ILS 1046; CIL III.6625 = ILS 1046a):
(D. Te)rentio Gentiano, trib. militum, quaestori, trib. pl., pr.,
leg. Aug. consulii, pontif.(i), cens. provinc. Mace(d.), colonia
vidi Pyramidas sine te, dulcissime frater, et tibi, quod potui,
lacrimas 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,

Cooptation 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): "Praeter usum omissum Dialis (vel Quirinalis vocabulum."


3 "Et eodem modo et Terentium Gentiam, et hunc vehementius, quod a senatu diligi tunc videbat.", if we can give credence to this statement.
Roman War, and, as cited above, an inscription indicates that Trajan promoted
Fulentius 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
146; 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 148;
see augur 12; quindecimvir 26; septemvir 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 Ner)vae nepos,
Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, pontifex maximus, tribunicia
potestas III, consul.

For some unknown reason, dropped symbols of this position from his
imagine after 125 until his death in 138.

L. FULVIUS C. f. POPIN(A) ABRUNNIUS 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., quaeest. Aug., tribuno plebis designato candidato
Aug., eq. publ. c. i. d. d.

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

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1 Syme, 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.
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).  


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Μ. Ἀππίου Βραδούαν τακίαν, στρατηγὸν, τὴν Αδριανοῦ πρεσβευτὴν καὶ ἀντιστράτηγον, τὴν Ἀρείαιάδος πατικὸν Ἑρμανίας καὶ Βρετανίας, ποντίφικα, σοδάλιν Αδιαναλίν, τὸν Ἄρη[ῆς πρὸς ἱππόπολις τῆς Ἁρώσου] γυναικὸς ...
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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.  

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  

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¹ Not in Der kleine Pauly.  
T. Haterio Nepoti Atinati Probo Publicio Mateniano cos., pontif., triumphalib.

Investiture 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. 215f.). 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. 213f.). 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:

progo, 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 potestae(t.) in eam provinciam e(x s. c. missus ab) imp. Caesar Nerva Traiano Aug. German(ico Daicico p. p.,) curator alvei Ti(b)eris et riparum e(t cloacar. urb.,) praef. aerari Satu(r)ni, praef. aerari mil(it., pr., trib. pl.,) quaestor imp., sevir equitum (Romanorum). trib. milit. leg. (III) Gallica(e, Xvir stli)tib. iudicand., ther(mas ex . . .

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

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

Augur (CIL XIV.3604 = ILS 1043):


1 cf. Above, p. 54, note 1.


The 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, Senaoren, op. cit., pp. 182ff.), Lesser Germany 119-122 (ILS 1052; Eck, Senaoren, op. cit., pp. 182ff.).

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

² Cf. Above, p. 54, note 1.


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


2 Sherwin-White, "aediles," OCD 2, 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 curiales 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. 83f.

3 Syme, Tacitus, op. cit., p. 217, 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. AELIUS 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. COCEIUS 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. ULPIUS TRAIANUS - IMP. CAESAR NERVA TRAIANUS AUGUSTUS: (see pontifex 20; augur 9; septemvir 15). Quindecimvir.

Trajan was elected to all the greater priesthoods, 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

Presumably occurred either under Domitian or Trajan; his public career was concurrent with Trajan's reign. Pompeius Macrinus Theophanes served as governor for Cilicia 110-113 (AE, 1965, no. 219; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 12f.), Sicily 113/114 (IG V.2.151; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., p. 177) and Africa 130/131 (IG V.2.151; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., p. 204). Possibly, his son 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.

T. Aquillius Proculus consul pro con. Sul XVvir 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


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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 115-118 (ILS 1035; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 180ff.), Britain 118-122 (ILS 1035; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 186ff.),2 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. 1149 (ILS 1106).3

C. JULIUS M. f. PROCULUS: (PIR, II, 208, no. 333; PIR2, IV, no. 497; Groag, "Julius," RE, X (418), 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, CH, XI, p. 221; 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. I.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 Lycium 109-111 (ILS 1040; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 171f.) and Baetica 122/123 (ILS 5973; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., p. 193).  


(Cn.) Minicio Faustino (Sex.) I(ulii)o . . (f)il. Serg. Severo (se)v(iro) t(u)rmae(a) V. eq. (R., I)IIIviro (v)iarum c(ura)nd(ar)um, XVvir(oi) s. f., (tr)ib. M(ill. leg.). . II Geminiae, (q)uaestor. pro(vincia)e Macedonae (c)andida(t)o div(divi Tr)ai. (P)artici, trib. P(leb.) candidato(ei)usden, praetor., leg. leg. XIII Gemin( ae, l)eg. pr. pr. imp. Traiani Hadri(a)n)i Aug. p(r)ovinciae Daciae(a), cos., leg. pr. p(r.) provinciae Moesiae(a) inferioris, leg. pr. pr. provinciae Britanniae, leg. pr. pr. (pr)ovinciae Judeaeae, (l)eg. pr. pr. (provi)nciae Suri(ae). Huic (senatus a)uctore (imp. Tra)ianoHadri(an)o Aug. 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. 431), a consul for 116.²

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¹ Hanslik, "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 was 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 dixit, quam alii ex Sibyllinis versibus ei provenisse dixerunt."


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

Quindecimvir (CIL II.6084):

. (v)al(erio. fil. gal.?) Gran(iano). . . . . Grat(tio) (cer(iali?)
Gemin(i) R(ecto? q. . . trib. pleb.) praetor. XVviro sacris p. r.
faciundis. lega(to aug.) leg. VI victricis (in Britannia) legato
provinc. A(frica?) consuli curato(i alvei et riparum) Tiberis et
Cloaca(r. urb. leg. aug. pr. pr. prov.) Germaniae inferio(ris
procos.) provinciae Asiae ex(testamento) sex Pompeii Ter(entianus
et?). . . . amico op(timo . . .)

Election 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. Quinde-

1 cf. above, p. 54, note 1.
cimvir (CIL XIV.3587):

Arrianus Aper Veturius (S)everus, cos., XV Sac. Fac. Praet(orio) peregrino, t(rib. pleb.), trib. mil. Leg. XV appoli(naris)...

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(vinc) Asiae XV (v)ir sacris faciundis leg. aug. (p)r (pr. provinc) Mo(e)siae superioris curator(i) (vi)ae F(laminiae) leg leg XIII gem procos provin(c. Si)cilia(e legato) provinc. Asiae legato provinc. A ... e se(vir) t(urm.) III eq Romanor praefecto fr(um)ti dan(di) legato missio a senatu ad im(p.) (H)adrian(um) cum ex Africa revertetur pra(eter) trib pl quaest provinc. Achiae trib leg V mac IIIII vir (via)rum curan(darum) P. Cluvius Maximus Paullinus patri opt(im)o.

Since he was a plebeian and held the consulship under Hadrian, presumably inauguration, also, took place under Hadrian. Cluvius Paullinus 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. Fulvius Rus(tico cos. procos. prov. Afri)cae XVvir sacris faciundis cura(tori operum locorum)que 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 bellu)m Parthicum praet eedit pleb (quaes)tor provinciae Hispaniae Baet(icae ulteri)oris trib Latic leg I Minerviae donis militaribus donat ab imp aug ob bell(illum Germanicum) 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. 197f.), and Africa 131/135 (AE, 1950, no. 66; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., p. 210).

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 granddaughter, 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.1366 = 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. 954ff., who (pp. 955, 2f.) places his first consulship in the year 120. Also, Syme, Tacitus, op. cit. 242.

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

Q. GLITIUS ATILIUS AGRICOLA: (PIR, II, 119, no. 114; PIR², IV, no. 181; Groag, "Glitius," RE, Suppl. III (1), pp. 786ff.; Stech 150; Howe septemvir 22; also sodalis Augustalis). Plebeian, novus homo; cos. I suf. 97 (ILLS 1021); II suf. 103 (CIL XVI.48, XIV.4538). Septemvir (CIL V.6974 = ILS 1021, 1021a):


¹Ibid.
²Ibid.
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. 803f.; Stech 1779; Lambrechts 289; Howe septemvir 27).


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 Narbon-ensis 108/109 (ILS 1055; Eck, Senatoren, op. cit., pp. 170ff.). He, plausibly, was the son of A. Larcius Lepidus (PIR, II, 263, no. 51), who was with Titus in 70 at Jerusalem (CIL VIII.17891)."
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.


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 114-117 (ILAfr. 43; Eck, Senatorens, op. cit., pp. 178ff.), Syria 118/119 (Hist. Aug. Hadr. V.10; Eck, Senatorens, op. cit., pp. 184ff.), and Africa 124/125 (ILAfr. 43; Eck, Senatorens, 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. 1.4, 9). 2


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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praef. aer. Sat., cos., l(eg. pr. pr. prov.)
Pannonia.
VIIvir. epul., leg. Aug. pr. pr. P(annonia)
inferiore et Pannonia (superiore,)

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

² L. CESTIUS COMMODOUS - 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,
noted in the previous chapter, were partly manipulated by Domitian for his
own convenience. In 97, he built a temple and supposedly assisted in its

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 XIIIII (k.) Oc(t.), restitu(tae) s. p. q. R.

L. 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 adminis-
trative 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

1 CIL VI.953, 31213:

II imp. II cos. (III p. p. aedem Mi)nervae fecit.

2 Dio LXVIII.2.3.


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

5 Plin. Paneg. 52.6: "Simili reverentia, Caesar, non apud genium tuum
bonitati tuea gratias agi, sed apud numen Iovis optimi maximi pateris: illi
debere nos quidquid tibi debeamus, illius quod bene facios, muneris esse qui
tededit." cf. Durry, Panegyrique, op. cit., p. 164, note 6; Nock, "Religious

6 Eutropius VIII.8.

7 Plin. Paneg. 80.5: "qua nunc parte liber solutusque tantum caelo
vacat, postquam te dedit, qui ergo omne hominum genus vice sua fungereris.
Nuncer is enim suffisique mandanti, cum tibi dies omnis summa cum utilitate
nostra, summa cum laude condatur." cf. Durry, Panegyrique, op. cit., p. 205,
note 5.

8 Plin. Paneg. 94.4: "Tu voce imperatoris quid sentires locutus, filium
ali nobis parentem tibi pontificem maximum elegisti." On the great arch at
Nemestum, Trajan appears as Jupiter's representative (Ferguson, Religions of
permission from Rome\(^1\) and to remove bodies from one burial place to another.\(^2\) 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.\(^3\) He, also, restored a number of ancient shrines in Rome\(^4\) and left the plutei on the rostra of the forum Romanum, which depicts the sacrifices of the suovetaurilia. Lino Rossi states the following concerning religious scenes on Trajan’s column:\(^5\)

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.

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\(^{3}\) Dio LXVIII.8.2: ὁ οὖσα ἐστὶν τέλευτις σωτηρίας τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ βωμόν τε στήσας καὶ κατ’ ἑτος εναγίζειν κελεύσαι.

\(^{4}\) CIL VI.962 = ILS 295:


\(^{5}\) Lino Rossi, Trajan’s Column and the Dacian Wars, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1971, p. 127; Ryberg, Rites, op. cit., pp. 10ff. Trajan, also, appears offering sacrifice on two of his coins (BMC, III, nos. 712a, 79). 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 113.¹ 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,² and Dio affirms that she conducted herself during the whole reign in such a manner as to incur no censure.³

Hadrian is said to have observed the old Roman rites⁴ and scorned foreign ones.⁵ 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.

¹AE, 1934, no. 30:

DIS MANIBUS
SACRV
IVLIVS·SERCANDVS
SAMSAEA VIXIT
ANNIUS LIII

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

²Plin. Paneg. 83.5: "Quid enim illa sanctius, quid antiquius? Nonne si pontifici maximo eligenda sit coniunx, aut hanc aut similem (ubi est autem similis?) elegerit?" cf. Durry, Panegyrique, op. cit., p. 209, note 5.

³Dio LXVIII.5.5.

⁴His 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. l6, 2h2, 776, 777, 786), Romulus is represented (BMC, III, nos. 528, 709-714, 1362), and the she-wolf is shown (BMC, II, nos. l44, l50). cf. Wilhelm Weber, CAH, XI, pp. 307f.; Beaujeu, "Religion," loc. cit., p. 4.

According to the Historia Augusta\(^1\) he performed the duties of the pontifex\(^2\) and personally conducted the state sacrifices.\(^3\) On his travels,\n
\*Adrian\* restored and probably, as the chief magistrate, reconsecrated the\n
temple of Augustus at Tarragona,\(^4\) the urban temple at Cupra Maratimo,\(^5\) and the\n
| Monument of Pompey in Egypt;\(^6\) he, also, assisted at the dedication of temples in Jerusalem\(^7\) and Athens.\(^8\) In Rome, he reconstructed the augurarium,\(^9\) the Pantheon, the Basilica of Neptune, and many other

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

\(^1\) Hist. Aug. Hadr. XXII.11: "pontificis maximi officium peregit."


\(^3\) Hist. Aug. Hadr. XXII.4: "Post haec Hispanias petiiit et Terracone restituit, ubi sumpta suo aedem Augusti restituit."

\(^4\) CIL IX.52.94 = ILS 313:


\(^5\) Dio LXIX.11.1: καὶ τῷ Μίναμα αὐτοῦ σεφθαρμένον

\(^6\) Dio LXIX.12.1: καὶ ἐστὸν τοῦ ναῶν τοῦ θεοῦ τόπον νὰϊν

\(^7\) Dio LXIX.12.1: καὶ ἐστὸν τοῦ ναῶν τοῦ θεοῦ τόπον νὰϊν

\(^8\) Hist. Aug. Hadr. XIII.6: "Denique cum post Africam Romam redisset, statim ad orientem proiectus per Athenas iter fecit atque opera, quae apud Athenienses coeperat, dedicavit, ut Iovis Olympi aedem et aram sibi, eodemque modo per Asiam iter faciens tempula sui nominis consecravit."

\(^9\) CIL VI.976 = ILS 317:
temples; \(^1\) he, also, built a temple to Trajan.\(^2\) Lastly, it has been suggested that Hadrian, because of his long absences from Rome, created the position promagister for the college of pontiffs.\(^3\) 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 \(^2\)),\(^4\) and Ser. Cornelius Dolabella Marcellus (pontifex 26).\(^5\) Priests from new patrician families were P. Manilius Vopiscus (pontifex 27), his father was


\(^2\) 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)num 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. 216: "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 Pontificalcollege einen jährigen promagister, der 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. Aquillius 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. Bruttius 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 Atilius Agricola (VII vir 16), L. Catilius Severus (VII vir 19), and Ti. Claudius Quartus (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, Patriciiis, 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 priesthoods of the rex sacrorum, the flamen Quirinalis, and presumably the flamen Dialis were occupied by Cn. Primarius 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 priesthoods 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 priesthoods reveals favoritism toward his field marshals or their sons. Dio Chrysostom, whose influence as a political philosopher was at its height under Trajan, 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. Sura was married to Trajan's niece, Vibia Sabina, and on his death, in 110, Trajan personally conducted a public funeral. D. Terrentius

1 R. P. Longden, CAH, XI, pp. 223ff.; Henderson, Roman Emperors, 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.


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


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. C. G. A. 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. M. N. Natalis (sodalis Augustalis); his son was L. M. N. Verus (mag. 15); Q. Pompeius Falco (XV vir 23); C. Julius Proculus (XV vir 24); and A. L. P. Priscus (VII vir 17). C. B. P. Praesens (XV vir 30), who had been a military tribune in 89, can be added to this group. L. C. S. (Sever) us (VII vir 19) was the great-grandfather of Marcus

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.
Aurelius¹ 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 Trajan² and member of Hadrian's advisory council.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.⁴ However, this is just an outward conservation of a 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


²Hist. Aug. Hadr. IV.8: "Frequens sane opinio fuit Traiano id animiuisse ut Neratium Priscum, non Hadrianum successorem relinquaret, multisamicis in hoc consentientibus, usque eo ut Prisco aliquando dixerit: "commendo tibi provincias si quid mihi fatale contigerit."


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.

PONTIFICES AND FLAMINES.

30. 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.

31. 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
Pontifex (CIG 4033 = SIG 543):

110.1 Παντίφεξ (Παντίφεξ)

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. 114; Dio LXIX.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

1. Groag (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.

2. cf. 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

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

(PIR², I, no. 697; P. von Rohden, "Annius," RE, I (94), pp. 2279ff.; 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.

D. VELIUS FIDUS: (PIR, III, 392, no. 225; Dihle, "Velius," RE, VIIIA (4), p. 628; Lambrechts 497; Habel 57; Howe pontifex 60). Plebeian, novus homo?; cos. suf. about 141. 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, 65).


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

1 cf., above, p. 54, note 1.
2 Dihle, RE, loc. cit., p. 628, 8.


Cooption is assumed to have occurred during the reign of Antoninus Pius, but, possibly, early in the rule of Marcus Aurelius. Pontius Laelianus' 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.

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; Funker, "Pontius," Der kleine Pauly, IV (2), pp. 1049ff.
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


2. Not in Der kleine Pauly.


(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. Vitrasius Pollio served as governor for Spain 146 (CIL II.5679), Lesser Moesia 147-149 (CIL III.762), and Asia (uncertain date). He married Annia 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 CLEME: (PIR, III, 323, no. 172; Fluss, "Tineius," RE, VIA (9), pp. 138lf.; Lambrecht494; Habel 58; Howe pontifex 61).

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

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1 The Vitrasia Faustina slain by Commodus was probably Vitrasius Pollio's daughter (Hist. Aug. Com. IV).


\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ko}^\prime \text{i} \text{ntov [T} \text{inei} \text{ou [P] o}^\prime \text{d} \text{h} \text{on p} \acute{\alpha}[\tau \rho \mu \nu \alpha] & \mid \text{p} \text{o}^\prime \text{n} \text{t} \text{i} \text{fik} \text{a} \text{v} \mid \text{Ko}^\prime \text{i} \text{ntov [T} \text{inei} \text{ou] [\Sigma \alpha \kappa \varepsilon \rho[\delta \omega \tau \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron] [\iota \nu \pi \delta] \text{t} \text{i} \text{k} \text{o} \text{v} \mid \pi[\acute{\alpha}[\tau \rho \nu \omicron \omicron] \text{p} \text{o}^\prime \text{n} \text{t} \text{i} \text{fik} \text{i} \text{k} \text{a} \text{v} \mid \nu \text{i} \text{d} \text{o} \text{n} \ldots [\Sigma \iota \delta \eta \tau \acute{\omega} \nu \eta \text{ B} \text{o} \text{u} \text{l} \text{n} \text{e} \text{ K} \text{a} \text{r} \text{i} \delta \text{ S} \text{t} \text{h} \text{w} \text{o} \text{s}].
\end{align*}
\]

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 118).


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).\(^2\)


\[\text{1cf. above, p. 54, note 1.}\]
\[\text{2RSR, II, p. 1108.}\]
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.


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 iunior). 


(L. Annio) L. f. Arn. Ravo (cos., pr)ae. quaestor (candi) dato imp. Caes. (M. Au)reli (Commodi Antonini Aug. Pii (Feli) cis, 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 priesthoods.

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 recepit.

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 priesthoods.


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 sissana (PIR, II, 388, no. 518), consul in 133.¹


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).²

L. CEIONIUS COMMODOUS - IMP. CAESAR L. AURELIUS VERUS AUGUSTUS: (see pontifex 44; quindecimvir 38; septemvir 28; Howe augur 50). Augur (CIL I.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.

Election 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

¹cf. 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 436; 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(onetalii) a. a. a. f. f.*, p(raef. feriorum La(tinarum) . . . . . . . . . .

Induction into the priesthood could have taken place during the rule of Antoninus 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. 286f.; Lambrechts 811; 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 candidato imp. (An)tonini et Veri August(or.), sodali Hadrianali, le(g.) . . . ., (trib.) pleb., prae(stit) fid. com(m.), legato leg. XI Cl., aug(ur.), patrono coloniae d. d.

Adoption, 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],

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

ad(lecto inter patricios)

²Not in Der kleine Pauly.
was his father.1

L. VENULEIUS APRONIANUS OCTAVIUS: (PIR, III, 397, no. 253; Hanslik, "Venuleius," RE, VIIA (7), p. 822; Lambrechts 787; Howe augur 54; also sodalis Hadrianalis, sodalis Antoninianus). Patrician;2 cos. 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
( . . . . . . IIIvir. a. a.) a. f. f. praef. urb. feriar
(lat. augur, quaest. tr. pl. (?) pr) aet. leg. leg. prim.
Ital. cos. II
(pr. pr. prov. Hisp tankiae citeri oris praetori Etruriae
V. Pisis ( . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . ) 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 92.3


. . . . . . . . . . . . . . (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, curatorii civitatum per Aemilianum, 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. 

cooptation 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


Plebeian; cos. suf. before 170. Augur (CIL VI.1449 = ILS 1107; Album 233).


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 suis tanta fuit benignitate Marcus ut cum in omnes propinquos cuncta honorum ornamenta contulerit, tum in filium et quidem scelestum atque impurum crite nomen Caesaris et max 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 114. 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.¹ He was a nephew of Lucius Verus and a son-in-law of Marcus Aurelius. Plautius Quintillius' father was Plautius Quintillius (PIR, III, 45, no. 356), consul for 159.²

Quindecimviri Sacris Faciundis.

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

Cooptation took place to the greater priestly colleges, when Antoninus Pius became emperor.³

33. P. DELPHIUS PEREGRINUS ALFIUS ALENNIUS MAXIMUS CURTIUS VALERIANUS

PROCULUS M. NONIUS MUCIANUS: (PIR, II, 413, nos. 110 and 111;

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).  

34. 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.  

   Date of elevation is unknown, conceivably under Antoninus Pius.  

   Aemilius Carus, also, served as governor for Arabia 142 (ILS 3013) and

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2cf. above, p. 54, note 1.  
3Dessau (ILS, I, p. 236): "Videtur vixisse sub Antonino Pio."
M. NONIUS M. f. MACRINUS: (PIR, II, 412, no. 108; Lambrechts "Nonius," RE, XVII (36), pp. 879ff.; Lambrechts 446; Howe quindecimvir 51; also sodalis Antonianus). Plebeian, novus homo; cos. suf. 1542 (Inscr. It. XIII.1, p. 208). Quindecimvir (CIL V.4343, 4344 = ILS 8830; AE, 1907, no. 190):

\[\text{[M. NONIUS] MACRINUS, plebeian, \text{consul}}\]

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.


2. Lambrechts (RE, loc. cit., pp. 880,56f.) 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)

Cooption took place on January 20, 175.³

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

... 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(orticolae c. V. XVviro (s. f. allec)to inter quaest(o) (rios.......)se viro (eq) (roman. tur)mae pr(ima)e to

Hanslik (RE, loc. cit.), based on the style of the inscription, dates Valerius Poblicola 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). Septemvir. 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


et in collegia sacerdotum iubente senatu recepit.

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


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

Coaptation 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 Dextris VIIvir epulon ob merita Avirufi et Albinae matris eius ex con sensu universorum.

....cius T. f. Cl. Dexter Augus(tanus Alpin)us Bellicius Sollers Metilius ........us Rutilianus Xvir. stlit. (iudican)dis, trib. mil. leg. III Aug., (sevir. eq. turm)a(r.), VIIvir. epulon., sodalis ... ... (quae)st)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. 1191).

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

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


Plebeian, novus homo; cos. suf. at an unknown date.³ Septemvir (CIL VI.1416 = 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


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.
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 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)

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


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 Aurelius. Commodus drove Atilius Severus into exile in 183 (Hist. Aug. Com. IV.11). He was, perhaps, the son of T. Atilius Maximus (PIR², I, no. 1300), consul at an unknown date.³


¹Not in Der kleine Pauly.

²cf. above, p. 54, note 1.

Since he was a sodalis Hadrianalis, 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

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1 Hist. Aug. Pius II.3: "et qui merito Numae Pompilio ex bonorum
sententia comparatur." Eutropius VIII.8; Cursius VII.11.1; Hammond, Antonine,
op. cit., p. 71; Beaujeu, "Religion," loc. cit., p. 4.

2 Hist. Aug. Pius XIII.4: "qui rite comparetur Numae, cuius felicitatem
pietatemque et securitatem caerimoniaeque semper obtinuit." cf. RKR, p. 54,
note 3.

3 CIL VI.1001 = ILS 341:

pontif. max., trib. pot. VI, cos. III, optimo maximo q. principi et
cum summa benignitate iustissimo, ob insigne erga caerimoniae
publicas curam ac religionem.

For frequent occurrence of traditional religious motifs of Antoninus Pius, see
BMC, IV, pp. c-cii; Warde Fowler, Religious Experience, op. cit., p. 429.
Secondary opinions of Antoninus Pius and religio 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," OCD2, pp. 75f.;
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. 1 He never executed the state sacrifices by proxy, except when he was ill. 2 Numerous coins appear with the image of the princeps sacrificing. 3 Antoninus Pius allowed Pharasmanes, a Spaniard, to offer sacrifices on the Capitol; 4 this was presumably a use of the state religion to foster patriotism among the provincials. 5 As supreme pontiff, he reinforced the ban on the burial of bodies within the limits of the city 6 and modernized the ritual of Sibyl. 7 In Rome, Antoninus Pius assisted in the dedication of a temple to Hadrian 8 and a temple to his wife Faustina 9 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. 144, 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 statuis aureis atque argenteis; cum etiam ipse hoc concesserit, imago eius cunctis circensibus poneretur." CIL VI. 1005 = ILS 3408: divo Antonino et divae Faustinae ex s. c.
at Puteoli and aided in the hallowing of a number of temples in Lanuvium.

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

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. Perhaps the emperor's responsibility for personal supervision and appearance were sufficiently heavy to necessitate the appointment of a promagister for the pontifical college. As indicated in inscriptive evidence, the promagister of the XV vir sac. fac. acted for the college, 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:

"...Iubentius 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 LXII.34.2: διὰ συνότον θεοσεβής ἦν ὁ Μάρκος οὗτος καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀποφράσιν ὑικοὶ θύειν.

2 Hist. Aug. Marc. XIII.4: "quando quidem caverunt ne quis villae ad fabricaretur sepulchrum."


Hist. Aug. Marc. XIII.28: "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, 781, 792, 1296, 1323, 1400-1403, 1410, 1411, 1638, 1639.

5 Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Μάρκος Ἀυρήλιος Ἀντωνῖνος Ἑρμάστος Ἀρμένιος Ἀρχιερεὺς Μέγιτος, Ἔμαρχης Ἑσσαρίας ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ καὶ τῷ δέκατῳ, ὑπόταξις τοῦ τρίτου, τῷ Κόσμῳ ἡς Ἀγίας καλεῖσθαι.
Hist. Aug. Marc. VII.10: "Hadriani autem sepulchre corpus patris
the sodales Antoniniani in his honor,¹ and assisted in the consecration of a
temple to Antoninus Pius.² Marcus Aurelius, also, personally conveyed the
body of Aurelius Verus to Rome and laid it in the tomb of Hadrian,³ and
honored him with sacrifices and a newly established college of Antonine
priests.⁴ As chief pontiff, he aided in the dedication of a temple to his
wife Faustina,⁵ an altar to his personal god Mercury-Hermes-Thet,⁶ and a
temple to Beneficence.⁷ 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.⁸ 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-Theta; 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.

3 Hist. Aug. Marc. XIII.1; cf. above, p. 147, note 3.
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 RRR, p. 92: "Schon Marc. Aurel hatte nicht nur in der Theorie die Ritter aller Nationen gleichgestellt, sondern auch beim Ausbruche des Marcomannenkrieges 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. 14: "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 acerital 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 using 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:
   imp. Caes. divi Antonini Pii fil., divi Hadriani nep., divi Traiani
   Parthici pronep., divi Nervae ab nepoti L. Aurelio Vero Aug.
   Armeniaco pont. maximo, trib. pot. III, (imp. II, c)os. II, d. d.
3. CIL VI.991 = ILS 369:
5. It is most difficult to determine the exact date for the election of the families to the patrician state.
were M. Acilius Glabrio (pontifex 41), T. Pomponius Vitrarius 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 Ravanus (pontifex 49), M. Metilius Fronto (augur 23), L. Venuleius Apronianus Octavius (augur 25), Q. Hedius Gentianus (augur 29), M. Pedueaeus Quintilius (augur 30), M. Petronius Sura Mameritus (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. Juventius Celsus (pontifex 39), M. Pontius Laelianus Sabinus (pontifex 40), P. Mumnius

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, VIII A, 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.
amilianus (augur 19), L. Dassumius 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 quartinus (VII vir 30), and M. Attilius 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.

Antonius Pius and Marcus Aurelius' Policy towards Cooptation.

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.¹ M. Acilius Glaario (pontifex 40), T. Vitrarius 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 Pius¹ 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), Juvenius Celsius (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 Tuscos (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 Quintilius (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

¹ Herodian I.2.2
entrance into the royal family but also membership in a greater priestly college. Consequently, elevation to the greater priesthoods 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, and it was the emperor, as pontifex maximus, who possessed the authority to oversee the official religious activities of the civil government. Vespasian, as chief pontiff, personally assisted in the clearing of the site for the new Capitoline temple; 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. After the defeat of the Batavi and Jews, he closed the doors to the temple of Janus. However, Vespasian allowed his concubine to sell membership in the priesthods, 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 rites\(^6\) and, according to Ferguson, to have disdained all alien beliefs.\(^7\) Nevertheless, during his travels Hadrian developed great interest in Hellenism\(^8\) and was fascinated by the Egyptian religions.\(^9\) He was clever enough to realize that the old Roman concept of

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1 Suet. Dom. 8.4; Plin. Ep. IV.11.5ff.; Dio LXVII.3.32; Plutarch Quaest. Rom. 50; Hammond, Antonine, op. cit., pp. 65, 71; Syme, Tacitus, op. cit., p. 65; cf. above, pp. 74f.


3 Dio LXVIII.8.2; cf. above, p. 108.

4 BMC, III, nos. 742a, 899; cf. above, p. 108, note 5.

5 Rossi, Trajan's Column, op. cit., p. 127; cf. above, p. 108.


9 Dio 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,\textsuperscript{1} 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,\textsuperscript{2} notwithstanding the previously quoted laudatio which was erected during the emperor's lifetime.\textsuperscript{3} This changing scope of religio might possibly be the reason why Antoninus Pius allowed a provincial to offer sacrifice on the Capitol,\textsuperscript{4} and popular acceptance of this new notion depended upon the preservation of the outward appearance of the traditional opinion of religio.\textsuperscript{5} This transposition in the aim of religio was completed by Marcus Aurelius.\textsuperscript{6} As indicated before, a temple to the Egyptian Thoth was built and Marcus Aurelius' personal god became the combination of Mercury-Heremes-Thet;\textsuperscript{7} at the time of the Marcomannic war, in addition to the Roman purification rite, he also performed foreign religious ceremonies;\textsuperscript{8} and, as pontifex maximus, he separated the sacred rites

\textsuperscript{1}Ibid., 16.2; Hist. Aug. Hadr. XIII.6.
\textsuperscript{2}Ferguson, Religions of Empire, op. cit., p. 72; cf. above, p. 144, note 3.
\textsuperscript{3}CIL VI.1001 = ILS 341; cf. above, p. 144, note 3.
\textsuperscript{4}Dio LXIX.15.3; cf. above, p. 145.
\textsuperscript{5}Ibid., pp. 144ff.
\textsuperscript{6}RKR, p. 92; Wilhelm Weber, CAH, XI, p. 365; cf. above, p. 149, note 5.
\textsuperscript{7}Beaujeu, "Religion," loc. cit., p. 2; cf. above, p. 148.
\textsuperscript{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>no. %</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vespasian³</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>13 52</td>
<td>12 48</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 62</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 77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadrian</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4 29</td>
<td>10 71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antoninus Pius</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>8 35</td>
<td>15 65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

²RKR, p. 84: "Die besseren Kaiser legen allerdings Wert darauf, nicht nur als Träger des Oberpontificats und Mitglieder der grossen Priesterkollegen 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>2</td>
<td>--</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>

1. Ibid.
2. Date for elevation of family to patriciate impossible to determine.
3. Excluding 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

\(^{1}\text{cf. Seneca, de ira III.31.}\)
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

¹ pontifex 25, augur 11.
² quindecimvir 29, septemvir 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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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 8, 1973

Signature of Advisor
Assistant Professor of History