

Tacitus, Tiberius, and the Statues of Augustus: Language of Statues and Questions about Cult

Presented at Virtual CAMWS 2020

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1. Table of frequencies adapted from Estienne, “*Simulacra Deorum versus Ornamenta Aedium*,” 260

	<i>Signum</i>	<i>Simulacrum</i>	<i>Statua</i>	<i>Effigies</i>
Tacitus	Images of Gods (2) Uncertain (1)	Images of Gods (12) Imperial Image (1)	Images of Gods (1) Imperial Image (9) Human (6) Uncertain (3)	Images of Gods (11) Imperial Image (29)

2. Tacitus, *Annales* 3.63, 65

63: nam Zmyrnaeos oraculum Apollinis, cuius imperio Stratonici Veneri templum dicaverint, Tenios eiusdem carmen referre, quo sacrae Neptuni effigiem aedemque iussi sint. propiora Sardinianis: Alexandri victoris id donum. neque minus Milesios Dareo rege niti; set cultus numinum utrisque Dianam aut Apollinem venerandi. petere et Cretenses simulacro divi Augusti. factaque senatus consulta quis multo cum honore modus tamen praescriberetur. iussisque ipsis in templis figere aera sacrandam ad memoriam, neu specie religionis in ambitionem delaberentur.	For the people of Smyrna quoted an oracle of Apollo, by whose imperium they dedicated a temple to Venus Stratonici; the islanders of Tenos quoted an oracle of the same deity, by which they were ordered to dedicate an effigies and temple to Neptune. Sardis [preferred] a more recent claim: a grant from the victorious Alexander. And no less Miletus relied on King Darius: with these two, however, the object of worship was Diana in one case, Apollo in the other. The Cretans again were claiming a simulacrum of Divus Augustus. Decrees of the senate were passed, which though very respectful, still prescribed certain limits, and the petitioners were directed to set up bronze tablets in each temple, to be a sacred memorial and to restrain them from sinking into selfish aims under the mask of religion.
65: ceterum tempora illa adeo infecta et adulatione sordida fuere ut non modo primores civitatis, quibus claritudo sua obsequiis protegenda erat, sed omnes consulares, magna pars eorum qui praetura functi multique etiam pedarii senatores certatim exurgerent foedaque et nimia censerent	So corrupted indeed and debased was that age by sycophancy that not only the foremost citizens who were forced to save their grandeur by servility, but every exconsul, most of the ex-praetors and a host of inferior senators would rise in eager rivalry to propose shameful and preposterous motions

3. Tacitus, *Annales* 4.64

... quando cunctis circum flagrantibus sola Tiberii effigies sita in domo Iunii senatoris inviolata mansisset. evenisse id olim Claudiae Quintae eiusque statuam vim ignium bis elapsam maiores apud aedem matris deum consecrassent.	... When all around was burning, only an effigies of Tiberius in the house of one Junius, a senator, had remained uninjured. This had formerly happened to Claudia Quinta, her statua having twice escaped the violence of fire our ancestors consecrated in the temple of the mother of the gods.
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4. Tacitus, *Annales* 1.73

<p>Falanio obiciebat accusator, quod inter cultores Augusti, qui per omnis domos in modum collegiorum habebantur, Cassium quendam mimum corpore infamem adscivisset, quodque venditis hortis statuam Augusti simul mancipasset... quae ubi Tiberio notuere, scripsit consulibus non ideo decretum patri suo caelum, ut in perniciem civium is honor verteretur... <u>nec contra religiones fieri quod effigies eius, ut alia numinum simulacra, venditionibus hortorum et domuum accedant.</u> ius iurandum perinde aestimandum quam si Iovem fefellisset: deorum iniurias dis curae.</p>	<p>The accuser alleged that Falanius had admitted a certain Cassius an infamous mime with respect to his body among the <i>cultores</i> of Augustus, who were maintained in all great houses in a kind of <i>collegia</i>, and in selling his gardens had also sold a <i>statua</i> of Augustus... When these were known to Tiberius, he wrote to the consuls that his father had not had a place in heaven decreed to him, that the honour might be turned to the destruction of the citizens... <u>Nor is it contrary to public religion that his [Augustus'] <i>effigies</i>, just as the <i>simulacra</i> of other <i>numina</i>, to be added to the sale of gardens and houses.</u> In a like manner the oath should be considered as if he had deceived Jupiter: crimes against the gods were the concern of the gods.</p>
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5. Tacitus, *Annales* 1.10.6

<p>nihil deorum honoribus relictum, cum <u>se templis et effigie</u> numinum per flamines et sacerdotes coli vellet.</p>	<p>No honor was left for the gods, when [Augustus] chose to be himself worshiped with temples and <i>effigies</i>, like those of the <i>numina</i>, by flamens and priests.</p>
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6. Tacitus, *Annales* 1.74

<p>Nec multo post Granium Marcellum praetorem Bithyniae quaestor ipsius Caepio Crispinus maiestatis postulavit, subscribente Romano Hispone... addidit Hispo statuam Marcelli altius quam Caesarum sitam, et alia in statua amputato capite Augusti effigiem Tiberii inditam. ad quod exarsit adeo, ut rupta taciturnitate proclamaret se quoque in ea causa laturum sententiam palam et iuratum, quo ceteris eadem necessitas fieret... permotus his, quantoque incautius efrerverat, paenitentia patiens tulit absolvi reum criminibus maiestatis...</p>	<p>Not long afterwards, Granius Marcellus, proconsul of Bithynia, was accused of treason by his quaestor, Caepio Crispinus, and the charge was supported by Romanus Hispo... Hispo added that a <i>statua</i> of Marcellus had been placed above those of the Caesars, and on another <i>statua</i>, the head of Augustus had been removed and the <i>effigies</i> of Tiberius placed [there]. This incensed the emperor to such a degree that, breaking through his taciturnity, he exclaimed that, in this case, he too would vote, openly and under oath,—the object being to impose a similar obligation on the rest.</p>
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7. Tacitus, *Annales* 3.70

<p>L. Ennium equitem Romanum, maiestatis postulatum quod effigiem principis promiscum ad usum argenti vertisset, recipi Caesar inter reos vetuit, palam aspernante Ateio Capitone quasi per libertatem</p>	<p>Lucius Ennius, a Roman knight, was accused of treason, for having converted a <i>effigies</i> of the emperor to the common use of silver plate; but the emperor forbade his being put upon his trial, though Ateius Capito openly remonstrated, with a show of independence</p>
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8. Tacitus, *Annales* 1.11.2-3

<p>Tiberioque etiam in rebus quas non occuleret, seu natura sive adsuetudine, suspensa semper et obscura verba: tunc vero nitenti ut sensus suos penitus abderet, in incertum et ambiguum magis implicabantur.</p>	<p>The words of Tiberius, either from habit or nature, was always hesitating and obscure, even in matters which he did not care to conceal, and now that he was struggling to hide his feelings completely, it was all the more involved in uncertainty and doubt.</p>
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9. Cicero, *De Legibus* 2.19

Ad divos adeunto caste, pietatem adhibento, opes amovento. qui secus faxit, deus ipse vindex erit.	They shall approach the gods in purity, bringing piety, and leaving riches behind. Whoever shall do otherwise, god himself will deal out punishment to him.
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10. *Senatus Consultum de Cn. Pisone Patre*, lines 68-70

numen quoq(ue) divi Aug(usti) violatum esse ab eo arbitrari senatum omni honore, qui aut memoriae eius aut imaginibus, quae, antequam in deorum numerum referre{n}tur, <ei r[----]tae erant>, habeba{n}tur, detracto.	That the Senate also deemed that the divinity of the deified Augustus was violated by him, since all the honor that had been accorded either to his memory or to <i>imagines</i> that (had been set up) to him before he was included in the number of the gods had been withdrawn. ¹
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¹ Translation from D. S. Potter and Cynthia Damon, "The "*Senatus Consultum de Cn. Pisone Patre*"," 25.