

ment. In the first place, however, it forces an unnatural interpretation ("every bone is mine") that can be defended only by ignoring ancient sentiment and the poet's own words, or else by creating an elaborate set of wholly imaginary circumstances. In the second place, this reading ignores the standard rules that govern Latin. Though Gallus could not be buried, this impossible interpretation can.

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"THESE ARE MY TEMPLES  
 IN YOUR HEARTS" (TAC. ANN. 4. 38. 2)

Public clarification of a Roman emperor's policy toward divine honors requires a major address ceremoniously articulated in lofty commonplaces and traditional precedents. Such is the occasion in A.D. 25 when Tiberius responds to the request of a legation from the province of Baetica for permission to construct a temple to himself and his mother in gratitude for the punishment of the cruel ex-proconsul Vibius Seneca. In Tacitus' account (*Ann.* 4. 37. 2–38. 3), Tiberius declines the honor in nobly expressed sentiments that designate the virtues for which he would like to be remembered by posterity, culminating in the striking visual image "these are my temples in your hearts, these are my most beautiful statues" (4. 38. 1–2):

ego me, patres conscripti, mortalem esse et hominum officia fungi satisque habere, si locum principem impleam, et vos testor et meminisse posteros volo; qui satis superque memoriae meae tribuent, ut maioribus meis dignum, rerum vestrarum providum, constantem in periculis, offensionum pro utilitate publica non pavidum credant. haec mihi in animis vestris templa, hae pulcherrimae effigies et mansurae; nam quae saxo struuntur, si iudicium posterorum in odium vertit, pro sepulchris spernuntur.

Although scholars have adduced several literary parallels for the image with which this quotation ends, they ultimately discern the originality of the expression whereby Tiberius boldly identifies his virtues as metaphorical temples in the hearts of his countrymen.<sup>1</sup> One parallel which has not previously been documented, however, both exhibits a precedent for Tiberius' vividness of phrasing and sets his remarks in their proper historical context for Tacitus as an historian. This is a passage in Plutarch's *Life of Cato the Elder* where the biographer states that the citizens of Rome showed their appreciation for Cato's services to the commonwealth

1. R. H. Martin and A. J. Woodman, *Tacitus: "Annals" Book IV* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 189–90, thoroughly discuss the passage. Additional parallels are mentioned by A. Henrichs, "Monumentum aere perennius (zu P.Oxy. 2435)," *ZPE* 4 (1969): 150, who emends a papyrus fragment of the speech Germanicus held before the Alexandrians on a subject very similar to Tiberius' (lines 25–27 ἐμνημόνην δὲ καὶ ὡς ταῦτα πολὺ- | πλάσιονα τεθησαυρισμένα ἐν ταῖς ὑμετέροις | [ψυ]χαῖς εὖρον [εὐχαῖς Turner]). Henrichs makes this emendation on the argument that "dabei handelt es sich um eine verbreiteten Topos, der mit Vorliebe in feierlichen Reden . . . Verwendung fand." The entire papyrus fragment is printed with Henrichs' emendation as the first item of "Appendix 3: Germanicus' Speech and Edicts," in F. R. D. Goodyear, *The "Annals" of Tacitus, Books 1–6*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1981), p. 458.

as censor by placing in the temple of Hygieia<sup>2</sup> a statue of him with the following inscription (*Vit. Cat. Mai.* 19. 4):

ὅτι τὴν Ῥωμαίων πολιτείαν ἐγκεκλιμένην καὶ ῥέπουσαν ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον τιμητῆς γενόμενος χρησταῖς ἀγωγαῖς καὶ σώφροσιν ἔθισμοῖς καὶ διδασκαλίαις εἰς ὀρθὸν αὐτὴς ἀποκατέστησε.

But Plutarch professes his puzzlement that a statue had been erected at all, since Cato himself had previously put on record his ridicule of the vanity of erecting such public statues (19. 5): "the most beautiful statues of him are the ones the citizens carry about in their hearts" (αὐτοῦ δὲ καλλίστας εἰκόνας ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς περιφέρειν τοὺς πολίτας). Not only does this provide a clear verbal precedent for Tiberius' words, but Cato's dictum also reveals a similarity of attitude between the Republican statesman and his imperial emulator that is deliberately invoked by the speech in Tacitus' *Annales*. Commentators have observed that on the whole Tiberius seems to present, in E. Koestermann's words, his own *Wunschbild*, or, as Martin and Woodman say, it is as if he were attempting to compose his own epitaph, emphasizing traditional Roman virtues, especially *pietas*.<sup>3</sup> Corresponding closely to the "useful guidance and prudent practices and teachings" that Cato called into action "when the Respublica was declining and veering for the worse" are the qualities for which Tiberius says he wants to be remembered by posterity, especially his wish to appear "rerum vestrarum providum, constantem in periculis, offensionum pro utilitate publica non pavidum."

Tacitus himself seems to admire the *princeps*' moderate and rather old-fashioned ways.<sup>4</sup> But he attests that Tiberius' detractors received his refusal of divine honors with sarcasm that was all the more ferocious for its being unjustified.<sup>5</sup> This

2. This is presumably the temple of Salus on the Quirinal Hill, for which see Thulin, "Salus," *RE* 1 A (1910): 2057. 12–30 and S. B. Platner, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, rev. T. Ashby (London, 1929), p. 462. S. Weinstock, *Divus Julius* (Oxford, 1971), p. 187, discusses Cato's connection with Salus, and he describes the importance of the cult of Salus under Julius Caesar and the early *principes* on pp. 171–74. A. E. Astin, *Cato the Censor* (Oxford, 1978), p. 103, n. 89, discusses Plutarch's apparent confusion about the date of Cato's statue and concludes that it was probably erected only after the statesman's death.

3. Koestermann, "Annalen," vol. 2 (Heidelberg, 1965), p. 132, on *Ann.* 4. 38. 3; Martin and Woodman, "Annals" *Book IV*, pp. 188–89, on *maioribus meis dignum*.

4. To harmonize with the views put forth Tacitus lends the speech an archaic diction. Two notable archaisms (38. 1: *fungi* + accusative; 3: *duint*) have drawn the attention of scholars. R. Syme, *Tacitus*, vol. 2 (Oxford, 1958), pp. 701–3 (adding also the alliteration of 38. 2) and N. P. Miller, "Tiberius Speaks," *AJP* 89 (1968): 16, believe these may attest to the authenticity of the speech. J. N. Adams, "The Vocabulary of the Speeches in Tacitus' Historical Works," *BICS* 20 (1973): 124–44, and Goodyear (in his commentary on the *Annales*) have questioned the findings of such research. But we still have the ancient testimonia to Tiberius' penchant for linguistic archaisms and his refined and even precious literary tastes. Augustus criticized him for "chasing after archaic and obscure expressions" (Suet. *Aug.* 86. 2 "nec Tiberio parcit et exoletas interdum et reconditas voces aucupanti"); and Suetonius says that Tiberius "made his writing obscure by being too contrived and pedantic" (*Tib.* 70. 1). Tiberius studied both Greek and Latin literature deeply: Suet. *Tib.* 56, 70, 71. 1; cf. E. R. Parker, "The Education of Heirs in the Julio-Claudian Family," *AJP* 67 (1946): 33–38; B. Levick, *Tiberius the Politician* (London, 1976), n. 27 on pp. 229–30 (but see J. P. Adam's review in *AJP* 100 [1979]: esp. p. 462, where he urges caution in evaluating Tiberius' archaizing and literary quotation); and R. Syme, *The Augustan Aristocracy* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 353–56. Tiberius (and Tacitus, too, for that matter) might well have known the Catonian passage from a published collection of Cato's dicta (on which see Astin, *Cato the Censor*, pp. 186–88; I am not suggesting that Tacitus was familiar with Plutarch's biography of Cato). For another example of Tiberius' literary erudition, see "*Deorum iniurias dis curae* (Tac. *Ann.* 1. 73. 4)," forthcoming in *Latomus*.

5. See *Ann.* 4. 38. 4–5 (which culminates in the sneering epigram *contemptu famae contemni virtutes*) with Koestermann's notes ad loc.

is where we see that by making Tiberius evoke Cato's words Tacitus is not just routinely "plugging in" a literary topos; rather, this literary allusion is designed to illuminate the ethical temper of a particular historical period. In contrast to Cato the Elder, who struggled relentlessly throughout his political career to limit the prerogatives of the ruling class and was commemorated with a statue by his fellow citizens for these very virtues, Tiberius is scornfully derided by his contemporaries for his efforts to curtail the exorbitant and ever escalating attempts to exalt the figure of the *princeps* above the level of other citizens in public life.<sup>6</sup>

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6. Similar situations in which Tiberius deprecates social privileges and political and religious honors are mentioned by Vell. 2. 122. 1; Suet. *Tib.* 26–27; Tac. *Ann.* 1. 8. 4–5, 14. 1–2, 72. 1, 2. 36, 87, 3. 59. 2, 5. 2. 1, 6. 2. 2–5, 45. 2; Dio 57. 8. 1–4, 58. 12. 6–8. Cf. Gelzer, "Ti. Iulius Caesar Augustus" (= Iulius 154), *RE* 10 (1919): 523–25; Syme, *Tacitus*, p. 428; R. Seager, *Tiberius* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1972), pp. 142–48; Levick, *Tiberius the Politician*, pp. 85 and 89.

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