

THE VICTORIES OF AUGUSTUS *

By T. D. BARNES

'Appellatus sum vicies et semel imperator.' So the *Res Gestae* of Augustus declare (4, 1), and they are echoed by two historical writers (Tacitus, *Ann.* i, 9, 2; Dio lii, 41, 4). The emperor received the last fourteen of these imperial acclamations after he acquired the title of Augustus (16 January 27 B.C.),¹ and their dates have long been recognized to provide valuable clues towards constructing a full military narrative of his reign.² In his commentary on the *Res Gestae*, Theodor Mommsen was able to identify the date and occasion of most of the salutations to the satisfaction of subsequent investigators.³ Nevertheless, both greater chronological precision and something more important may emerge from a new examination of all the evidence now available.

I

The date and occasion of the eighth imperial salutation appear to emerge unambiguously from Dio, who records a salutation in 25 B.C., for a victory of M. Vinicius, presumably as a legate of Augustus in Gaul (Dio liii, 26, 4).⁴ But if this evidence is accepted it entails an inadmissible corollary. Augustus received only one salutation in 25: if it belongs to a victory on the German frontier, then Augustus was not acclaimed *imperator* for his successes in Spain, even though he gained these on his last active campaign. Yet this campaign was officially deemed to have completed the conquest of the Spanish peninsula,⁵ with which Augustus' autobiography concluded,⁶ and it provided the occasion for a second closing of the temple of Janus (Dio liii, 26, 5; Orosius, *Hist. adv. pag.* vi, 21, 11). Augustus can hardly have failed to mark it with an imperial acclamation.

Dio's error can readily be explained. The victories of Augustus and Vinicius coincided in time, the Senate voted Augustus a single triumph for these two exploits and perhaps others (liii, 26, 4), and a historian read by Dio stressed the governor's victory at the expense of that of the emperor.⁷ Unlike other extant writers (principally Florus and Orosius, who should both derive ultimately from Augustus' own account),⁸ Dio was not deceived by official claims that the Spanish war ended with or soon after Augustus' victory. He registers a rebellion when the emperor departed (liii, 29, 1 f.), the thorough subjugation by Agrippa (liv, 11, 2 ff.) and a brief outbreak of rebellion in 16 B.C. (liv, 20, 3). The eighth imperial salutation, therefore, should belong primarily, even exclusively, to Augustus' Spanish victory.

Augustus never again personally commanded an army on the field of battle. Hence his choice of victories for official commemoration should disclose something about his military policies, or at least about his propaganda. It thus occasions no surprise that he declined to take the imperial title for subsequent victories in Spain, even for those for which Agrippa was voted a triumph (Dio liv, 11, 6). Greater glory accrued from diplomatic successes on the eastern frontier. The Parthian king, fearing a Roman expedition, restored the standards captured long before from Crassus and Antonius: Augustus, then in Syria, received them as if he had defeated the Parthians in war (Dio liv, 8, 1 f.). It was presumably, therefore, on this occasion that he assumed the title of *imperator* for the ninth time. The date was 20, perhaps precisely 12 May (cf. Ovid, *Fasti* v, 545 ff.).⁹ Also in the same year,

* I am grateful to Professors G. W. Bowersock, P. A. Brunt and C. P. Jones for helpful advice and criticism.

¹ The sixth belongs to the battle of Actium (Orosius, *Hist. adv. pag.* vi, 19, 4, cf. *ILS* 79 f.), the seventh to a victory in Macedonia for which M. Licinius Crassus claimed the *spolia opima* (Dio li, 25, 2, cf. *ILS* 81; *BMC, R. Emp.* i, 105, nos. 647-649).

² On the fragmentary and unsatisfactory nature of the literary sources, see especially R. Syme, *HSCP* lxxviii (1959), 62 ff.

³ T. Mommsen, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*² (1883), 11 ff., cf. *Dix. epig.* i (1895), 915 ff.; V. Gardthausen, *Augustus und seine Zeit* i, 3 (1904), 1352 ff.; *PIR*²

J 215. There are some notable divergences in H. Mattingly's table, *BMC, R. Emp.* i (1923), xcii f.

⁴ R. Syme, *Roman Revolution* (1939), 329.

⁵ Livy xxviii, 12, 12; Velleius ii, 38, 4; Orosius, *Hist. adv. pag.* vi, 21, 21.

⁶ Suetonius, *Divus Aug.* 85, 1. The precise conclusion was presumably the closing of Janus, cf. F. Blumenthal, *Wiener Studien* xxxv (1913), 113 f.

⁷ On Dio's sources for the reign of Augustus, cf. F. Millar, *A Study of Cassius Dio* (1964), 83 ff.

⁸ For the campaigns in Spain, and an evaluation of the narrative sources, see R. Syme, *AJP* lv (1934), 293 ff.; *Legio VII Gemina* (1970), 83 ff.

⁹ Gardthausen, o.c. ii, 2 (1896), 476 f.; J. G. C. Anderson, *CAH* x (1934), 263.

Tiberius took a Roman army and placed a Roman nominee on the throne of Armenia (Dio liv, 9, 4 ff.), and eastern mints subsequently began to celebrate both 'signis receptis' and 'Armenia capta' in conjunction with Augustus as imp. ix (*BMC, R. Emp.* i, 108-110, nos. 671-682; 114, no. 703).¹⁰

II

Augustus' bestowal of the imperial title on his stepsons, Tiberius and Drusus, was correctly associated by Tacitus with Augustus' dynastic policies. But Tacitus also attributed the initiative to Augustus: 'privignos imperatoriis nominibus auxit' (*Ann.* i, 3, 1). Despite the silence or ignorance of commentators and others,¹¹ the historian may be guilty of a misconception: the best evidence seems to reveal that Drusus was not allowed the title during his lifetime.

The armies which they commanded had saluted both Tiberius and Drusus *imperator* long before Augustus allowed them officially to accept the salutation and include it among their recognized names and titles (Dio liv, 33, 5). The emperor, who had already (in 15) derived a salutation from a campaign in Raetia in which both brothers had participated,¹² proceeded to accept the two salutations for himself alone; an eleventh in 12, for Tiberius' successes in Pannonia, and his twelfth in 11, for Drusus' victories in Germany (Dio liv, 31, 4; 33, 5).¹³ In 9, however, all three men received an officially acknowledged salutation in a manner which seems to have escaped the notice of the ancient narrative sources. After renewed successes in Pannonia, Tiberius proceeded in triumph to greet Augustus and Livia at Ticinum. There he heard that his brother was dangerously ill in Germany. At once he departed in haste, crossed the Alps and Rhine, and reached his brother who, though on the point of death, ordered his legions to greet his brother with their standards and salute him *imperator* (Valerius Maximus v, 5, 3). In the sequel, both Augustus and Tiberius took the imperial title, respectively for the thirteenth and the first time (*ILS* 93 f.), and it was posthumously conferred on, or posthumously acknowledged for, Drusus (*AE* 1934, 151 = *Inscr. It.* xiii, 3, p. 15, no. 9), who also acquired the hereditary name or title of Germanicus (Suetonius, *Divus Claudius* 1, 3; Dio lv, 2, 3). The details revealed by Valerius Maximus suggest that Tiberius may have used the occasion of his brother's death, and perhaps embroidered his dying wishes, in order to persuade an unwilling Augustus to allow him at last to become *imperator* himself. The emperor and his step-son were rivals by temperament almost as much as allies from political and personal necessity.¹⁴

However that may be, Tiberius could not be denied a salutation as *imperator* for victories which he won subsequently. Early in 8, in his brother's old command, he gained notable successes in Germany and a salutation: his second, Augustus' fourteenth (Dio lv, 6, 4 f.; *ILS* 95; *IRT* 319).

III

The years of Tiberius' retirement from public life (6 B.C.-A.D. 4) are one of the most obscure decades in the history of the Roman Empire, and a campaign waged by a prince of the imperial house leaves almost no trace in the surviving literary evidence. The elder Pliny records that C. Caesar received a commission to arrange affairs in Arabia (*Nat. Hist.* vi, 141), that King Juba of Mauretania composed a geographical treatise for his perusal (*Nat. Hist.* xii, 56; xxxii, 20),¹⁵ and that C. Caesar gazed on the 'Arabicus sinus' (*Nat.*

¹⁰ The coinage does not seem to commence till spring 19, cf. C. H. V. Sutherland, N. Olcay and K. E. Merrington, *The Cistophori of Augustus* (1970), 35 f.

¹¹ Two recent commentators on the *Annales* take refuge in misleading vagueness: Tiberius and Drusus bore the title 'wegen ihrer Verdienste um die Ausdehnung und Befestigung der römischen Macht in den Alpen und in Germanien seit dem J. 16 v. Chr.' (E. Koestermann, i (1963), 67); 'the exact date of the first conferment . . . is not known, but 9 B.C. or not much earlier seems probable' (F. R. D. Goodyear, i (1972), 109). R. Seager simply omits the salutation by the troops of Drusus (*Tiberius* (1972), 26 ff.).

¹² On the campaign and its historical context, see now C. M. Wells, *The German Policy of Augustus* (1972), 59 ff. The earliest attestation of Augustus as imp. x seems to be in 13/12 (*ILS* 5816).

¹³ Hence imp. xii in his tribunician year 10/9 (*ILS* 91). Augustus had a plausible technical reason for disallowing the salutations of his stepsons in 12 and 11: neither yet possessed proconsular *imperium* (Dio liv, 33, 5; 34, 3 f.).

¹⁴ R. Syme, *Tacitus* (1958), 425 ff. Note Tiberius' disclosure of a letter from his brother 'qua secum de cogendo ad restituendam libertatem Augusto agebat' (Suetonius, *Tib.* 50, 1).

¹⁵ For the fragments, *FGrH*

Hist. vi, 160). But Velleius Paterculus airily dismissed the prince's activities as mere tourism: 'ante alii provinciis ad visendum obitus in Syriam missus' (ii, 101, 1). Modern scholars, out of a desire to accept the testimony of both authors, have consequently argued that the Arabian expedition never occurred, but was planned as the culmination of C. Caesar's mission to the East and prevented by his death.¹⁶ Moreover, Velleius' account of C. Caesar in the Orient has recently been alleged to support the notion that he was a truthful and objective writer.¹⁷

Two inscriptions contradict such deductions. When the loyal citizens of Pisa honoured C. Caesar after his death, they alluded to the 'consulatum quem ultra finis extremas populi Romani bellum gerens feliciter peregerat' (*ILS* 140). Since C. Caesar was consul in A.D. 1, and the war in Armenia in which he was fatally wounded did not begin before the following year (Seneca, *Ad Polybium* 15, 4; Dio lv, 10a, 6), the reference must be to the Arabian venture.¹⁸ Previously, in Greece, P. Cornelius Scipio had ordered lavish celebrations when he learnt that 'Gaius, the son of Augustus, who was fighting the barbarians for the safety of all mankind, was well, had escaped dangers and had avenged himself on the enemy' (*SEG* xxiii, 206 = *AE* 1967, 458).¹⁹ Such words (it may be urged) can hardly allude to the Armenian victory in which the prince received his ultimately fatal wound: therefore, C. Caesar waged war in Arabia and a victory was proclaimed, at least in Greece.²⁰ The theatre of operations will have been the Nabataean Kingdom, and Pliny implies that a Roman army penetrated to the Gulf of 'Aqaba (*Nat. Hist.* vi, 160).²¹

Something further can be added. The campaign provided the occasion for Augustus' fifteenth imperial salutation, which is normally assigned to the capture of Artagira, when both Augustus and C. Caesar assumed the title of *imperator* (Dio lv, 10a, 7).²² For C. Caesar, who died on 21 or 22 February A.D. 4 in Lycia (*ILS* 140; *Inscr. It.* xiii, 1, pp. 245; 258), received his mortal wound before Artagira on a 9 September (*CIL* ix, 5290 = *Inscr. It.* xiii, 1, p. 245). Clearly in the autumn of A.D. 3, and not the autumn of the preceding year.²³ Now Seneca remarks that Gaius heard of his brother's death while he was still preparing for war and some time before he was wounded (*Ad Polybium* 15, 4). But Lucius died at Massilia on 20 August A.D. 2 (*CIL* x, 6638 = *Inscr. It.* xiii, 1, p. 328), and the fifteenth acclamation is attested on a public inscription before July A.D. 3 (*CIL* x, 3827).²⁴ The capture of Artagira, therefore, was the occasion of the sixteenth acclamation, which no one has yet convincingly correlated with any other known victory.²⁵ But what of the fifteenth acclamation? Augustus received it later than June 2 B.C. (*CIL* xii, 5668, cf. *AE* 1952, 166).²⁶ Nothing forbids, and much commends, the hypothesis that the occasion was the campaign of C. Caesar in Arabia.

IV

Between the adoption of Tiberius (26 June 4), and his own death (19 August 14) Augustus advanced from imp. xvi to imp. xxi, his destined successor from imp. ii to imp. vii.²⁷ The progression was clearly simultaneous. Of these five salutations, the first can immediately be dated and identified. In 6, Tiberius advanced far into Germany, thus providing the occasion for a joint imperial salutation (Dio lv, 28, 5 f.; *ILS* 107). Nor do the next two acclamations present much difficulty. Dio states that both Augustus and Tiberius took the

¹⁶ H. Dessau, *Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit* i (1924), 385 f.; J. G. C. Anderson, *CAH* x (1934), 253 f.; 274 f.

¹⁷ G. V. Sumner, *HSCP* lxxiv (1970), 268.

¹⁸ G. W. Bowersock, *JRS* lxi (1971), 227.

¹⁹ For a text, translation and full discussion, see J. E. G. Zetzel, *GRBS* xi (1970), 259 ff.

²⁰ Zetzel, *ib.* 265 f. Reference to warfare against the Parthians is claimed in E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* i (revised and edited by G. Vermes and F. Millar, 1973), 259.

²¹ Bowersock, *o.c.* 227.

²² Mommsen, *o.c.* 15 f.; Gardthausen, *o.c.* i, 3 (1904), 1144; 1353; ii, 3 (1904), 754 f.; *PIR*² J 215 (p. 163).

²³ Zetzel, *o.c.* 261. This date appears to be assumed by D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (1950), 484 f.

²⁴ Some aberrant inscriptions must, on any hypothesis, be discounted: e.g. *ILS* 5828 (imp. xv in 6 B.C.).

²⁵ Mommsen confessed himself baffled (*o.c.* 16). The standard correlation is rightly discarded by R. Syme, *Danubian Papers* (1971), 39; 71.

²⁶ For victories won by M. Vinicius (cos. 19 B.C.) in Germany, according to W. Kolbe, *Germania* xxiii (1939), 104 ff.; H. Volkmann, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*² (Kleine Texte xxix/xxx (1969)), 14.

²⁷ By a serious aberration, A. Stein dated Tiberius' seventh salutation to 15 (*PIR*² C 941). In disproof, cf. H. Gesche, *Chiron* ii (1972), 341 f. Coins minted at Lugdunum have 'Ti. Caesar Augusti f. imperator vii' (*BMC, R. Emp.* i, 95/96 nos. 579-588).

title of *imperator* on the final suppression of the Pannonian revolt (lvi, 16, 4 ff.). This must correspond to Augustus' nineteenth and Tiberius' fifth imperial salutation, since coins combine the latter with his twelfth *tribunicia potestas* in 10/11 (*BMC, R. Emp.* i, 50 nos. 271-274). Moreover, Velleius Paterculus distinguishes sharply between a Pannonian and a Dalmatian war (ii, 110, 2; 114, 4; 115, 1; 117, 1). Two wars should imply two separate victories. Hence Augustus' eighteenth and nineteenth salutations belong to the Pannonian surrender at the River Bathinus in 8 and the subjugation of the Pirustae and Desidiates in 9 (Velleius ii, 114, 4; 115, 4).²⁸

Two salutations remain, and a serious problem if the usual chronology (11 and 14) be accepted.²⁹ For Augustus' twenty-first salutation a date in the summer of 14 seems to be imposed by the inscription on a bridge near Ariminum, which has 'cos. xiii imp. xx tribunic. potest. xxxvii' (*ILS* 113): Augustus' thirty-seventh year of *tribunicia potestas* did not begin before 23 June 14.³⁰ However, a strong suspicion of error by the lapicide should arise.³¹ Since the inscription records the gift of the bridge by Augustus and Tiberius, and Tiberius' titles are those of the early months of 21, Augustus ought to have the titles which he bore at the time of his death (19 August 14). Moreover, a salutation in July or August might strain historical plausibility. It could not mark success in the field: Tiberius was probably recalled before he reached the army in Illyricum (Velleius ii, 123, 1; Tacitus, *Ann.* i, 5, 3; Suetonius, *Tib.* 21, 1), Germanicus was conducting a census in Gaul (Tacitus, *Ann.* i, 31, 2), Drusus was in Rome (Dio lvi, 31, 3, f.),³² and no military operations by subordinates are either attested or probable during this summer. If it belongs to the summer of 14, Augustus' last and Tiberius' seventh imperial salutation will have occurred at Augustus' death-bed in Nola, with the troops who saluted the dying emperor and his successor part of the praetorian guard (cf. Suetonius, *Divus Aug.* 99, 2). If the deduction were reliable, it would have startling relevance to 'the succession of Tiberius'—in discussions of which it seems never to have been adduced.³³ But the inscription will not bear such weight. Augustus' twenty-first salutation may (and should) be assigned to an earlier year.³⁴

Can the two salutations both be ascribed to Tiberius' campaigns on the German frontier after the disaster of Varus? The lack of detailed knowledge of these years encourages the attempt.³⁵ Tiberius heard the fearful news about Varus less than five days after he had put the finishing touches to the war in Pannonia and Dalmatia (Velleius ii, 117, 1). The date was some time after the decisive battle against the Pirustae and Desidiates (Velleius ii, 115, 4), which was perhaps fought on 3 August 9.³⁶ Since Tiberius is attested in Rome on 16 January 10 (*Inscr. It.* xiii, 2, p. 115; Ovid, *Fasti* i, 639 ff.),³⁷ he presumably did not proceed to the Rhine before the late winter or spring of 10 (Suetonius, *Tib.* 17 f.).³⁸ Moreover, a fragment of Dio implies that he did not cross the Rhine in that year (Zonaras x, 37 = Dio lvi, 24, 6).³⁹ In 11, however, there was an invasion of Germany (Velleius ii, 121, 1, cf. 120, 1 f.; Dio lvi, 25, 2 f.), and in the following year Tiberius appears again to have been

²⁸ On the war, and Velleius' account, see the full discussion of E. Koestermann, *Hermes* lxxxvii (1953), 345 ff.

²⁹ *PIR*² J 215 (p. 163) enters 11 and 14 with no sign of dubitation.

³⁰ The precise day on which Augustus and Tiberius received and renewed their *tribunicia potestas* is nowhere directly attested, but seems to fall between the 26 and 30 June, cf. A. Degrassi, *Inscr. It.* xiii, 1 (1947), 157; 218.

³¹ So E. Bormann, commenting on the inscription (*CIL* xi, 367).

³² Drusus' presence in May is also implied by the *Acta fratrum Arvalium*, fr. xxix/xxx Henzen = p. 107, fr. 2 Pasoli.

³³ For a select bibliography, see Goodyear, o.c. 171 f. This editor of Tacitus (it may be observed) correctly begins a new paragraph with *Ann.* i, 10, 8, but stating 'I follow the suggestion of F. Klingner' (169). In fact, he is unwittingly following G. H. Walther, in his edition, i (Halle, 1831), 27.

³⁴ Note the large size of the issue of the Lugdunum mint with the legend 'Ti. Caesar Augusti f. imperator vii' (*BMC, R. Emp.* i, 95 f.).

³⁵ J. Schwartz, *Rev. phil.*³ xix (1945), 21 ff., assigned Augustus' last salutation to a victory of Tiberius in 13, in virtue of dating Varus' disaster to 10 and Tiberius' Illyrian triumph to 13. The chronology is impossible, cf. E. Hohl, 'Die Siegesfeiern des Tiberius und das Datum der Schlacht im Teutoburger Wald', *Sb. Berlin* 1952, Nr. 1, 8 ff.

³⁶ Under 3 August, the *Fasti Antiatas ministrorum domus Augustae* enter 'Ti. Aug. Inlyrico vic.' (*Inscr. It.* xiii, 1, p. 328). The notice might well belong to the preceding year, cf. E. Koestermann, *Hermes* lxxxii (1953), 367; A. Degrassi, *Inscr. It.* xiii, 2 (1963), 491.

³⁷ On the entry in the *Fasti Praenestini*, see esp. Hohl, o.c. 7 f.; 17; 24; Degrassi, o.c. 399 f.; K. Kraft, 'Zur Münzprägung des Augustus', *Sb. Frankfurt* vii, Nr. 5 (1968, publ. 1969), 248 f.

³⁸ Velleius implies that Varus did not come to grief before the autumn (ii, 117, 4: 'trahebat aestiva', cf. Hohl, o.c. 12 f.).

³⁹ On the date, cf. U. P. Boissvain's edition of Dio, ii (1898), 536.

present on the Rhine before he finally departed and celebrated his delayed Illyrian triumph on 23 October 12 (*Inscr. It.* xiii, 2, p. 135).⁴⁰ The expedition of 11 should be the occasion of Augustus' twentieth and Tiberius' sixth salutation, since coins combine the former with Augustus' thirty-third year of *tribunicia potestas* (i.e. late June 11–late June 12), but have Tiberius as 'imperat. v' in the immediately preceding tribunician year (*BMC, R. Emp.* i, 50 nos. 271–276).⁴¹

Augustus' twenty-first salutation may therefore belong to 12, when nothing is known of the precise nature of Tiberius' military activities.⁴² But a date in 13 is also open, and preferable. Two items of evidence may be relevant. An epigram attributed both to Crinagoras and to Lollius Bassus causes grave problems of interpretation:

οὔρεα Πυρηνναῖα καὶ αἱ βαθυαγχέες Ἄλπειες,
αἱ Ῥήνου προχοαὶ ἐγγύς ἀποβλέπετε,
μάρτυρες ἀκτίνων, Γερμανικὸς ὅς ἀνέτειλεν
ἀστράπτων Κελτοῖς πολὺν Ἐνυάλιον.
οἱ δ' ἄρα δουπήθησαν ἀολλέες, εἶπε δ' Ἐνυώ
Ἄρει ῥοιούταις χερσὶν ὀφειλόμεθα'.

(*Anth. Pal.* ix, 283 = Crinagoras xxvi Gow-Page).⁴³

On purely internal criteria, since the poet seems to be celebrating a victory of Germanicus over Gauls, trouble in Gaul during A.D. 13 has been postulated.⁴⁴ There is no difficulty in supposing that both Augustus and Tiberius received an imperial acclamation in consequence: by this date they were colleagues in the imperial power (Tacitus, *Ann.* i, 3, 3).⁴⁵ Moreover, a recently published inscription indicates that Germanicus was saluted *imperator* before Augustus died:

C. Fabricio C. f.
Ani. Tusco, II vir., augur.,
praef. cohort. Apulae et
operum quae in colonia iussu
Augusti facta sunt, trib. mil. leg. III
Cyr. VIII, trib. dilectus ingenuorum
quem Romae habuit Augustus et
Ti. Caesar, praef. fabr. IIII, praef. equit.
alae praet. IIII, hasta pura et corona
aurea donatus est a Germanico
Caesare imp. bello Germanico
d. d.

(G. E. Bean, 'New Inscriptions', no. 50, in J. M. Cook, *The Troad* (1973), 412).⁴⁶

The phrases 'iussu Augusti' and 'Augustus et Ti. Caesar' should imply a date before 17 September 14, when Augustus became 'divus Augustus'.⁴⁷ Can the two items be combined to argue a victory and salutation for Germanicus in 13? Caution is in place,

⁴⁰ On Tiberius' movements, cf. G. V. Sumner, *HSCP* lxxiv (1970), 274. Tiberius once claimed that Augustus sent him to Germany nine times (Tacitus, *Ann.* ii, 26, 4): since eight missions are easily identified (9, 8, 7 B.C. and A.D. 4, 5, 6, 10, 11), the ninth must be either late in 9 or in 12. The former is excluded by Tiberius' presence in Rome on 16 January 10, cf. *Inscr. It.* xiii, 2, p. 115.

⁴¹ *CIL* ii, 2703, republished and expounded by R. Syme, *Epigraphische Studien* viii (1969), 125 ff., combines 'imp. xx' with 'trib. pot. xxxii'. It will have to be discounted as evidence for a salutation in the official series.

⁴² The coinage of Lugdunum might appear to indicate that Tiberius' seventh acclamation closely followed his sixth, cf. H. Mattingly, *BMC, R. Emp.* i (1923), cxiv.

⁴³ A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, *The Greek Anthology. The Garland of Philip and some contemporary epigrams* i (1968), 214. In favour of

composition by Bassus, see C. Cichorius, *Römische Studien* (1922), 307 f.

⁴⁴ Gow and Page, o.c. ii (1968), 234 ff. (with discussion of other interpretations of the poem).

⁴⁵ Velleius ii, 121, 1; Suetonius, *Tib.* 21, 1. The literary sources clearly imply that Tiberius remained in Italy during 13 (esp. Velleius ii, 123, 1). His presence in Dalmatia has been inferred from *CIL* iii, 3198 ff.; 8512, cf. C. M. Wells, *The German Policy of Augustus* (1972), 240.

⁴⁶ Professor Bowersock has pointed out to me that the photograph (Plate 73) clearly shows a space after 'Augustus' in line 7. The published text makes no allusion to the phenomenon, nor does the editor's commentary discuss its possible significance—which is not here relevant.

⁴⁷ For a full discussion of the inscription, see P. A. Brunt, *ZPE* xiii (1974), 161 ff. Professor Brunt very kindly allowed me to read his article in typescript.

especially if the epigram's grandiloquence conceals imprecision. However, the inscription alone suggests a joint salutation for all three men for fighting under Germanicus. Since Germanicus was consul in 12 and passed his consulate in Rome (Velleius ii, 123, 1; Dio lvi, 26, 1 ff.), the date of such a salutation could not be earlier than 13.⁴⁸

V

A chronological table may now be offered, which combines the commonly accepted dates with the revisions here proposed. Tiberius' first seven imperial salutations correspond to Augustus' thirteenth, fourteenth and seventeenth to twenty-first, and their chronology requires a corresponding modification.⁴⁹

IMP. VIII	25 B.C.
IX	20
X	15
XI	12
XII	11
XIII	9
XIV	8
XV	A.D. 1
XVI	3
XVII	6
XVIII	8
XIX	9
XX	11
XXI	13 (or possibly 12)

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⁴⁸ Germanicus was imp. ii when he died (*ILS* 176-178; *IRT* 334), and one of the salutations belongs to 15 (Tacitus, *Ann.* i, 58, 5). For the date of the other, various dates had been proposed, cf. *PIR*² J 221. G. E. Bean assumes without discussion that

the salutation of 15 was Germanicus' first (J. M. Cook, *The Troad* (1973), 412).

⁴⁹ On Tiberius' eighth and last salutation (in 16 cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* ii, 18, 2), see the exemplary discussion of H. Gesche, *Chiron* ii (1972), 339 ff.