

THE ROMAN IMPERIAL CULT

A STUDY OF ITS DEVELOPMENT IN THE WEST
FROM ITS INCEPTION TO A.D. 14

by

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ABSTRACT

According to the Instructions for the Preparation of Graduate Theses, the abstract by definition "... is a summary or condensation of the thesis; it states the problem, the methods of investigation followed, and the general conclusions." The purpose of this thesis is to determine the nature of the Roman Imperial Cult as it developed in the West from the time of its inception to A.D. 14, the year of Augustus' death. The method of investigation has been to examine the epigraphic, archaeological, numismatic and literary evidence. The reader is referred to the final chapter for a statement of the conclusions; the complexity of their relationships is such that they do not lend themselves to generalization.

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TWO NOTES

1. References to CIL are to volume and number of inscription except those to the first and third volumes where the reference is to volume and page.
2. The abbreviated names of Roman calendars that have been used in this thesis are explained as follows:

<u>F. Caeret.</u>	<u>Fasti Caeretani</u>
<u>F. Arv.</u>	<u>Fasti Arvalium</u>
<u>F. Allif.</u>	<u>Fasti Allifani</u>
<u>F. Pinc.</u>	<u>Fasti Pinciani</u>
<u>F. Maff.</u>	<u>Fasti Maffeiani</u>
<u>Fer. Cum.</u>	<u>Feriale Cumanum</u>
<u>F. Praen.</u>	<u>Fasti Praenestini</u>
<u>F. Vall.</u>	<u>Fasti Vallenses</u>
<u>F. Amit.</u>	<u>Fasti Amiternini</u>
<u>F. Ant.</u>	<u>Fasti Antiates</u>

The last two Fasti are thought to be post-Augustan; the others date from before A.D. 14.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- AE L' Année épigraphique
- AJA American Journal of Archaeology
- AJP American Journal of Philology
- ARW Archiv für Religionswissenschaft
- BMC Emp. Mattingly, Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum. Vol. 1. London, 1920.
- BMC Rep. Grueber, Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum. London, 1910.
- CAH Cambridge Ancient History
- CIL Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
- CP Classical Philology
- CQ Classical Quarterly
- CR Classical Review
- CW Classical World
- DAR Platner and Ashby, A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome. Oxford, 1929.
- FGrH Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker
- Hermes Hermes, Zeitschrift für classische Philologie
- HTR Harvard Theological Review
- JRS Journal of Roman Studies
- Klio Klio, Beiträge zur alten Geschichte
- LSJ Liddell-Scott-Jones-McKenzie, A Greek-English Lexicon. Ninth edition, 1961.
- LS Lewis and Short, A Latin Dictionary.
- MAAR Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome

MGH Monumenta Germaniae Historica

NC Numismatic Chronicle

PBSR Papers of the British School at Rome

RE Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissen-
schaft

SMSR Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni

TAPA Transactions of the American Philological Association

CHAPTER ONE

WORSHIP OF THE LIVING IN THE WEST BEFORE THE DEATH OF JULIUS CAESAR¹

In the last half of the first century before Christ there emerged what has come to be called the Roman Imperial Cult. The aim of this thesis is to determine the nature of the cult as it developed in the West up to A.D. 14, the year of Augustus' death. For the most part, the elemental forms of the Roman Imperial Cult are properly described as an innovation of the period 29 B.C.- A.D. 14, and our inquiry should begin with Augustus through whose agency this cult in part developed at the time of its inception. The cult, however, is not a phenomenon unrelated to some events of the period 44-29 B.C. or to the ruler-cult accorded Julius Caesar before and after his death (the nature of these relationships will be clear from what is said in the body of the thesis: suffice for the moment to mention them); in fact, as we shall see, the Roman Imperial Cult to begin with is a curious blending of modified ideas of ruler-cult and benefactor-cult, the essentials of both cults being importations from the East where such cults were commonplace. The history of the cult worship of living people in both the East and West before the

1 In this paper, "worship" is stripped of all Christian connotation and is simply used as a word descriptive of the kind of consideration and treatment accorded divine powers by the ancients.

death of Julius Caesar provides an important preliminary chapter for the story of the Roman Imperial Cult. A study of this history in the East must remain beyond the scope of our inquiry. An examination of the history of this practice in the West, however, is not out of the question here because the amount of evidence available is not great and is readily dealt with; thus the investigation will begin with evidence for benefactor-cult and ruler-cult accorded the living in the West that predates the development of the Roman Imperial Cult after Julius Caesar's death.

In 212 B.C. Marcellus captured Syracuse and ousted the Carthaginians.² Cicero records that a dies festus was instituted by the people of Syracuse in honour of Marcellus, a celebration that appears to have survived until the first century B.C.:³

Marcellia tolluntur maximo gemitu et luctu civitatis quem illi diem festum cum recentibus beneficiis C. Marcelli debitum reddebant, tum generi nomini familiae Marcellorum maxima voluntate tribuebant.

A dies festus for a living man was characteristic of Eastern cult worship; the Romans in contrast kept such days for the gods. To be sure, we cannot determine whether the festival for Marcellus dates from his lifetime or if he was accorded any other honours. However, to encounter cult worship of a

2 Livy 25.28-31.

3 Cicero, In Verrem 2.2.51.

living man in Sicily would not be surprising in the light of this island's close association with Greece and with Eastern practices.

Polybius reports that King Prusias lowered himself when he appeared before the Roman Senate and said:⁴

...χαίρετε θεοὶ σωτῆρες....

Livy mentions the incident:⁵

...et deos servatores suos senatum appellasse....

He adds that Roman sources of that age say nothing about it.

Gaius Marius received the following honours after his victories over the Cimbri and Teutones:⁶

...εὐθυμούμενοί τε μετὰ παίδων καὶ
γυναικῶν ἕκαστοι κατ' οἶκον ἅμα τοῖς θεοῖς
καὶ Μαρίῳ δείπνου καὶ λοιβῆς ἀπῆρχοντο.

Both Cicero and Seneca note the expression of gratitude to Marius Gratidianus:

et ea res, si quaeris, ei magno honori fuit.
omnibus vicis statuae, ad eas tus, cerei.
quid multa? nemo unquam multitudini fuit
carior.⁷

M. Marius cui vicitim populus statuas posuerat,
cui ture ac vino supplicabat.⁸

4 Polybius 30.18.

5 Livy 45.44.20.

6 Plutarch, Marius 27.

7 Cicero, De Officiis 3.20.80.

8 Seneca, De Ira 3.18.

According to Sallust, Roman citizens in Spain reacted in the following manner towards Metellus Pius after he put down an uprising:⁹

...tum venienti ture quasi deo supplicantur....

The living Epicurus was viewed as a god in the eyes of Lucretius:¹⁰

...deus ille fuit, deus, inclute Memmi,
qui princeps vitae rationem invenit....

At Syracuse, Verres was hailed as Saviour and festivals were held in his honour:¹¹

itaque eum non solum patronum istius insulae
sed etiam soter inscriptum vidi Syracusis.
hoc quantum est? ita magnum ut Latine uno
verbo exprimi non possit. is est nimirum
soter qui salutem dedit...huius nomine etiam
dies festi agitantur pulchra illa Verria.

In each of these instances of the worship of living people, the worship appears to be accorded the recipient because he is regarded in such a way as to be worthy of it, and to arise spontaneously from those elements of the population acting in this way; perhaps the action of the people is indicative of the extent of the effect of Eastern ways of thinking in the West, for it constitutes nothing more than the expression of gratitude in the Eastern fashion, a kind of expression that is not traditionally Western, or at least not usually

⁹ Sallust as quoted by Macrobius, Saturnalia 3.13.18.

¹⁰ Lucretius 5.8-9.

¹¹ Cicero, In Verrem 2.2.154.

so regarded on the basis of evidence we have of Western customs. To be sure, worship might be deliberately encouraged, and consideration will now be given to attempts to generate belief in the divinity of a living person.

Before Julius Caesar's time, two figures in Roman history possibly tried to have themselves regarded as more than human. The first was Camillus. The incident to be considered is found in Livy and Plutarch:

maxime conspectus ipse est curru equis albis
iuncto urbem invectus; parumque id non civile
modo sed humanum etiam visum. Iovis Solisque
equis aequiperatum dictatorem in religionem
etiam trahebant.¹²

... καὶ τέθριππον ὑποζευξάμενος λευκόπῳλον
ἐπέβη καὶ διεξήλασε τῆς Ῥώμης, οὐδενὸς
τοῦτο ποιήσαντος ἡγεμόνος πρότερον οὐδ'
ὕστερον. ἱερὸν γὰρ ἡγοῦνται τὸ τοιοῦτον
ὄχημα τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ πατρὶ τῶν θεῶν
ἐπιπεφημισμένον. ἔκ τε δὴ τούτου διεβλήθη
πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας οὐκ εἰθισμένους
ἐντροφᾶσθαι....¹³

Both authors note the reaction of the people, but only in Livy's account is there an indication that the people felt as they did because of the equality with the gods that Camillus attained; this reason for the people's feeling is clearly a result of interpretation of Camillus' action, the validity and authorship of this interpretation being unknown. If Camillus' intention was to have himself thought of in the

12 Livy 5.23.

13 Plutarch, Camillus 7.

way set forth by Livy, then he must stand as the first Roman who sought to be regarded as more than human.

The other figure to be considered is Scipio Africanus.¹⁴ In the early chapters of Book 10, Polybius deals with the character of Scipio and the affairs of Spain. At once he takes pains to let the reader know that his account is factual, and he endeavours to show that everything Scipio did was the result of calculation and foresight, all his enterprises

14 W. J. Dusing of late has done a paper wherein he has concerned himself with problems surrounding the antiquity of the stories that are thought to attest to the divinity of Scipio. This unpublished paper was delivered at a meeting of the Classics Club of U.B.C. on October 23, 1964. I refer the reader to Mr. Dusing's work for citation of these stories. (Dusing does not present the stories from Appian but only notes references to Scipio's divinity found in the writings of this author; the accounts of Appian add nothing to what we know of Scipio.) In my inquiry, I shall briefly note the content of the legends in question and centre my attention on the original texts only when these contain expressions that appear to suggest the divinity of Scipio.

turning out as he had reckoned. In contrast, Polybius writes:¹⁵

... οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι πάντες αὐτὸν ἐπιτυχῇ
τινα καὶ τὸ πλεῖον λίεῖ παραλόγως καὶ
ταῦτομάτῃ κατορθοῦντα τῆς ἐπιβολῆς
παρεισάγουσι, νομίζοντες ὡς ἂν εἰ
θειοτέρους εἶναι καὶ θαυμαστοτέρους
τοὺς τοιούτους ἄνδρας τῶν κατὰ λόγον
ἐν ἐκάστοις πραττόντων....

The Greek adjective *θεῖος*,¹⁶ like the Latin *divinus*,¹⁷ means divine and frequently denotes divine possession or source; both may also mean superhuman. The Latin *divinus*, however, sometimes has the meaning "divinely inspired" but this meaning for *θεῖος* is not given by Liddell and Scott. The latter translation raises a problem, for its meaning is quite unlike the others. A man who claims some sort of divine inspiration in his actions differs much from one who claims to be superhuman or divine. It is not clear what meanings should be assigned to either adjective in the contexts now being considered.

Further on, Polybius relates the way in which Scipio encouraged his soldiers:¹⁸

Πόπλιος δὲ παραπλησίως ἐνεργαζόμενος

15 Polybius 10.2.5-6.

16 *LSJ* 788, s.v. *θεῖος*.

17 *LS* 602-603, s.v. *divinus*.

18 Polybius 10.2.12-13.

αἰεὶ δόξαν τοῖς πολλοῖς ὡς μετὰ τίνος
 θείας ἐπιπνοίας ποιούμενος τὰς ἐπιβολάς,
 εὐθαρσεστέρους καὶ προθυμοτέρους
 κατεσκεύαζε τοὺς ὑποταττομένους πρὸς
 τὰ δεινὰ τῶν ἔργων.

An example occurs when Scipio tells his soldiers that Neptune appeared to him in his sleep and suggested a particular plan. The soldiers became confident because, in part, they were acting

...ἐπὶ δὲ πᾶσι τούτοις θεοῦ προνοίᾳ.¹⁹

Scipio is reported to have had a vision that foretold his election to the aedileship with his brother:²⁰

...ὥστε τὸν Πόπλιον ἐκ τοῦ συμβαίνοντος
 δόkein πᾶσι τοῖς προακηκοόσι τῶν ἐνυπίων
 μὴ μόνον κατὰ τὸν ὕπνον, ἔτι (δὲ) μᾶλλον
 ὕπῳ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν δεῖν λέγεσθαι τοῖς
 θεοῖς.

With reference to the same event:²¹

...ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ τίνος ἐδόκει θείας ἐπιπνοίας
 αὐτὸ πράττειν.

19 Polybius 10.11.8.

20 Ibid. 5.5. According to Polybius' account Scipio held the aedileship with his brother. Dusing (see p. 3 of his study) shows that this was not the case and suggests that Polybius rather incautiously accepted the anecdote from some source now unrecoverable because he thought it could be used for illustrative purposes.

21 Polybius 10.5.7.

In the picture that emerges from Polybius' account, Scipio appears as a clever man who achieved his ends to some extent by deliberately and successfully encouraging the belief that he was divinely inspired; hence "divinely inspired" may be the meaning intended by Polybius for *θεῖος*.

In a digression on Scipio's character, Livy first generalizes and presents a description of Scipio similar to that of Polybius:²²

...pleraque apud multitudinem aut ut per nocturnas visa species aut velut divinitus mente monita agens.

(The adverb *divinitus* poses the same problem as *divinus* or *θεῖος*.) Livy then injects two new stories, Scipio's daily visits to the Capitol where he sat alone in the temple, and Scipio's divine conception:

hic mos (the visits of Scipio to the temple)... fecit stirpis eum divinae visum esse, rettulitque famam...(Livy goes on to tell of the conception).

These new elements may date to the lifetime of Scipio,²³ and probably are illustrative of what Polybius has omitted when he writes the following:²⁴

ταῦτα μὲν οὖν εἰρήσθω μοι χάριν τῶν
ἀκουόντων, ἵνα μὴ συγκαταφερόμενοι
ψευδῶς τῇ καθωμισθημένῃ δόξῃ περὶ αὐτοῦ

22 Livy 26.19.

23 See Dusing's study, pp. 14 and 21.

24 Polybius 10.5.9-10.

παραπέμπωσι τὰ σεμνότατα καὶ κάλλιστα
τῶνδρός, λέγω δὲ τὴν ἐπιδεξιότατα καὶ
φιλοπονίαν.

The new stories receive a much embellished treatment at the hands of Aulus Gellius.²⁵ After a very lengthy description of the conception, Gellius notes that it was rather a result of Scipio's exploits that he was believed to be a man divinae virtutis. He then goes on to tell of Scipio's visits to the Capitol, once again greatly ornamenting his account.

Finally there is the evidence given by Appian. In 210 B.C., when Scipio arrived in Spain, the following report spread:²⁶

... ὅτι στρατηγὸς αὐτοῖς ἦκοι Σκιπίων ὁ
Σκιπίωνος κατὰ θεόν· οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτὸς
αἰσθανόμενος, ὑπεκρίκετο πάντα ποιεῖν
πειθόμενος θεῷ.

Scipio exhorts his men:²⁷

νῦν ὁ καιρὸς, ὦ ἄνδρες, νῦν ὁ συμμαχὸς μοι
θεὸς ἀφικται.

After taking four cities:²⁸

καὶ μᾶλλον ἐδόκει κατὰ θεὸν ἕκαστα δρᾶν,
αὐτὸς τε αὕτως ἐφρόνει καὶ οὕτως
ἐλογοποίει καὶ τότε καὶ ἐς τὸν ἔπειτα

25 Noctes Atticae 7.1.

26 Appian 6.19.

27 Ibid. 21.

28 Ibid. 23.

Βίον, ἀρξάμενος ἐξ ἐκείνου. πολλάκις γοῦν
 εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐσῆει μόνος καὶ τὰς
 θύρας ἐπέκλειεν ὥσπερ τι παρὰ τοῦ
 θεοῦ μανθάνων.

At a time when Scipio's army was not faring well:²⁹

Θυσάμενος δέ, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις
 τὴν στρατιὰν εἰς ἐπήκοον ἐλάσας, καὶ τὸ
 βλέμμα καὶ τὸ σχῆμα διαθεῖς πάλιν
 ὥσπερ ἐνθους, ἔφη τὸ δαιμόνιον ἤκειν
 τὸ σύνηθες αὐτῷ, καὶ καλεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς
 πολεμίους. Χρῆναι δὲ θαρρεῖν θεῷ μᾶλλον
 ἢ πλήθει στρατοῦ. καὶ γὰρ τῶν πρότερον
 ἔργων κατὰ θεόν, οὐ κατὰ πλῆθος κρατῆσαι.

Again we see a man who tried to have himself regarded as divinely inspired and as acting in accordance with the will of god. But here as in the other sources it cannot be determined whether Scipio wished to be thought of as divine. Certainly while alive he was not worshiped; it remained for Julius Caesar to be so honoured.

Apparently efforts were made to set Caesar up as the object of state cult worship during the final years of his life, for at that time he was accorded many divine honours. A comment must be made about divine honours. The thinking of the peoples of Italy and the West was by no means uniform. At one extreme were those who, in accordance with their traditional practice, would not look upon another man as anything more than just a man; such people, much like

ourselves, would have been quite incapable of looking upon another man as a god and of worshiping him as such. These people, I should think, would have understood a divine honour to be one that was normally accorded the divine powers. At the other extreme would be those sufficiently influenced by Eastern thinking to view a benefactor or a ruler of the state as a god, and to treat such people as divine. Conceivably, any honours that the ruler received, religious, political or otherwise, might have been thought of as divine if only because the recipient was regarded as a god. Clearly for the latter group all honours accorded Caesar might have been so envisaged. This study will be restricted to consideration of those honours Caesar received that would have been viewed as divine by the former group. To be sure, we must recognize that the divinity of Caesar would have been accepted only by those people in the West sufficiently affected in their thinking to be so inclined as to regard a living person as a god; further, that the importance and influence of this element of the population in the West are indicated by the very existence of the divine honours accorded Caesar, and by their source, the Roman Senate. The evidence is as follows:

1. ... ἄρμα τέ τι αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ ἀντι-
 πρόσωπον τῷ Διὶ ἰόρυθῆναι, καὶ ἐπὶ εἰκόνα
 αὐτὸν τῆς οἰκουμένης χαλκοῦν ἐπιβεβασθῆναι,
 γραφὴν ἔχοντα ὅτι ἡμίθεός ἐστι...³⁰

30 Dio 43.14.6. All honours about to be cited are

Caesar thus shares the domain of the god Jupiter. Note that Caesar's portrait appears on coins with the thunderbolt, the symbol of Jupiter,³¹ and that Caesar while alive was hailed as Jupiter Julius:³²

... καὶ τέλος Δία αὐτὸν ἀντικρυσ Ἰούλιον
προσηγόρευσαν....

We may be confronted with a deliberate attempt at some sort of association between the man and the god, such as occurred between Octavian and Apollo.³³ It appears that Caesar had the inscription erased:³⁴

... ὕστερον δὲ τὸ τοῦ ἡμιθέου ὄνομα
ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀπήλειψεν.

We do not know the reason: perhaps he felt that the title represented more than he wished to claim; on the hand he may have thought that it did not go far enough.³⁵

set forth in the sources as dating from the lifetime of Caesar.

31 BMC Rep. 1.553.

32 Dio 44.6.4. However, the meaning of Δία may not be "Jupiter"; see below, chapter 2, p. 46.

33 The evidence is presented below in chapters 2 and 3.

34 Dio 43.21.2.

35 L. R. Taylor makes this acute observation; see The Divinity of the Roman Emperor 65.

2. ... τὰ τε Παρίλια ἱπποδρομία θανάτῳ,
οὔτι γε καὶ διὰ τὴν πόλιν, ὅτι ἐν αὐτοῖς
ἐκτιστο, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος νίκην,
ὅτι ἡ ἀγγελία αὐτῆς τῇ προτεραίᾳ πρὸς
ἐσπέραν ἀφίκετο, ἐτιμήθη.³⁶

The inclusion of Caesar's victory as part of the Parilia celebrations, thereby making it an object of veneration, constitutes another intrusion of religious domain.

3. The house where Caesar was to live apparently had a pedimented roof: ³⁷

quem is honorem maiorem consecutus erat quam ut haberet...fastigium.... ³⁸

et Calpurnia uxor imaginata est conlabi fastigium domus.... ³⁹

... οἶον... τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισαμένης ἀκρωτήριον.⁴⁰

itaque non ingratis civibus omnes unum in principem congesti honores...fastigium in domo. ⁴¹

³⁶ Dio 43.42.3

³⁷ He was to live at public expense (ibid. 44.6):

... καὶ οἰκίαν ὥστε ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ οἰκεῖν...

³⁸ Cicero, Philippicae 2.43.110. Use this context below for notes 48, 57 and 88.

³⁹ Suetonius, Divus Iulius 81.3.

⁴⁰ Plutarch, Caesar 63.

⁴¹ Florus, Epitome 4.2.91. Reference to this passage is made below in notes 56 and 66; to avoid repetition the context will be given but once.

That Caesar should dwell in a house like those of the gods does not leave much to the imagination.

4. ...ἄλλην τέ τινα εἰκόνα ἐς τὸν τοῦ Κυρίνου
ναὸν θεῶ ἱνικῆτῳ ἐπιγράψαντες...ἰνέθεσαν. 42
...eum σύνναον Quirino malo quam Saluti. 43

tu nunc de pompa Quirini contubernalem his
nostris moderatis epistulis laetaturum putas? 44

The inscription mentioned by Dio appears to be the first unequivocal expression of Caesar's godhead at Rome.

5. καὶ τότε μὲν ἄνδριάντα αὐτοῦ ἐλεφάντινον,
ὑστερον δὲ καὶ ἔργμα ὅλον ἐν ταῖς ἐπποδρομίαις
μετὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀγαλμάτων πέμπεσθαι ἔγνωσαν. 45
...sed et ampliora etiam humano fastigio decerni
sibi passus est:...tensam et ferculum circensi
pompa....46

"It might become difficult to distinguish the humanity of Caesar's statue from the divinity of the statues of the gods in its company." 47

42 Dio 43.45.3.

43 Cicero, Ad Atticum 12.45.

44 Ibid. 13.28.

45 Dio 43.45.2.

46 Suetonius, Divus Iulius 76. Several references to this passage are found below (notes 54, 64, 74, 75, 77, 82 and 89). As in notes 38 and 41 above, the context will not be offered again.

47 Adcock, "Caesar's Dictatorship," CAH 9 (1951) 721.

6. ...pulvinar....⁴⁸

Cicero is the only source to mention Caesar's pulvinar, a cushion upon which the image of a god was set.

7. Caesar's likeness appears on coins dated from before his death.⁴⁹ This is the first instance of the representation of a living man on Roman coinage; in the past coins had borne the images of gods or the dead.⁵⁰ However there is no evidence that Caesar was authorized to stamp his likeness on coins.⁵¹ As far as can be determined, Caesar was possibly authorized to stamp on coins only his title parens patriae:⁵²

*πρὸς τε τούτοις τοιούτοις οὔσι πατέρα
τε αὐτὸν τῆς πατρίδος ἑπωνόμασαν καὶ
ἐς τὰ νομίσματα ἐνεχάραξαν....*

8. ... καὶ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τοῖς τε ναοῖς ἐν τῇ
παῶσιν ἀνδράντα τινὰ αὐτοῦ εἶναι ἐκέλευσαν....⁵³

...simulacra iuxta deos....⁵⁴

48 Cicero, Philippicae 2.43.110.

49 Mattingly, Roman Coins 74-75 and Pl. 19.9,10; and Grant, Roman Imperial Money 12 and Pl. 1.7,9.

50 See Mattingly (Roman Coins 59-88) for history and comment.

51 Mattingly says that he was authorized; see ibid. 74-75, and BMC Emp. xiv.

52 Dio 44.4.4.

53 Loc. cit.

54 Suetonius, Divus Iulius 76.

...ἀναθημάτων ἐν πᾶσιν ἑροῖς καὶ δημοσίοις
χωρίοις. 55

...circa templa imagines.... 56

...simulacra.... 57

Once again Caesar is in the company of the gods. The divinity of the next five honours may well be questioned; however, note that 11 and 13 are thought of by Suetonius as ampliora... humano fastigio.

9. ... τὰ τε γενέθλια αὐτοῦ δημοσίᾳ θύειν
ἐψηφίσαντο... 58

The evidence provided by the Fasti attests to the execution of this decree and that the marking of Caesar's day of birth became an integral part of the religious life of the Italian communities:

LVDI FER QVOD eo DIE C CAESAR EST NATVS 59

LVDI·DIVI·IVL NATALIS 60

natalis divi iuli supplicatio iovi·MARTI·
VLTORI·VENERI genetrici 61

55 Appian 15.2.106.

56 Florus, Epitome 4.2.91.

57 Cicero, Philippicae 2.43.110.

58 Dio 44.4.4.

59 CIL 1.244 (F. Amit.).

60 CIL 1.248 (F. Ant.).

61 CIL 1.229 (Fer. Cum.).

10. ...ἱερέας δὲ καὶ ἱερείας ἀνὰ πανταετὲς εὐχὰς
δημοσίαις ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τίθεσθαι....⁶²
- ...καὶ πενταετηρίδα οἷ ὡς ἦρωι...ἀνέθεσαν.⁶³
11. ...appellationem mensis e suo nomine....⁶⁴
- ...ἔς τε τιμὴν τῆς γενέσεως αὐτοῦ τὸν
Κυῖντίλιον μῆνα Ἰούλιον ἀντὶ Κυῖντιλίου
μετωνόμασαν εἶναι.⁶⁵
- ...mensis in caelo....⁶⁶
- ...τόν τε μῆνα ἐν ᾧ ἐγεγένητο Ἰούλιον...
ἐπεκάλεσαν.⁶⁷
- (12. ...τὴν τε τύχην αὐτοῦ ὀμνύναι....⁶⁸

"In the Hellenistic East it was customary to swear by the
τύχη of the king, and the Latin Genius is frequently
rendered by that word."⁶⁹ To be sure we hear of the τύχη
of both kings and gods in the East,⁷⁰ but Miss Taylor's

62 Appian 15.2.106.

63 Dio 44.6.1.

64 Suetonius, Divus Iulius 76.

65 Appian 15.2.106.

66 Florus, Epitome 4.2.91.

67 Dio 44.5.2.

68 Ibid. 6.1.

69 Taylor, Roman Emperor 67 n. 24.

70 LSJ 1839, s.v. τύχη.

remark about genius cannot be substantiated; δαίμων⁷¹ is the equivalent of genius but never τύχη.⁷²⁾

13. ἑεροποιούς τε ἐς τὰς τοῦ Πανὸς γυμνοπαιδίας
τρίτην τινὰ ἐταιρίαν ἣν Ἰουλίαν ὠνομάσαντες...⁷³
...lupercos....⁷⁴

There can be no doubt about the divinity of the remaining honours.

14. ...aras....⁷⁵

This is the only reference of which I am aware to altars of the living Julius Caesar.

15. ... οὕτω δὴ ἐς τε τὰ θέατρα τὸν τε δίσκρον
αὐτοῦ τὸν ἐπὶ χρυσον καὶ τὸν στέφανον τὸν
διάλιθον καὶ διάχρυσον, ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς τῶν
θεῶν, ἐσκομίζεσθαι καὶ ταῖς ἵπποδρομίαις
ὁχλὸν ἐσάγεσθαι ἐψιφίσαντο.⁷⁶

...tensam et ferculum circensi pompa....⁷⁷

16. ...καὶ τέλος Δία αὐτὸν ἀντικρυς Ἰούλιον
προσηγόρευσαν...!⁷⁸

71 LSJ 365-366, s.v. δαίμων.

72 Ibid. 1839, s.v. τύχη.

73 Dio 44.6.2.

74 Suetonius, Divus Iulius 76.

75 Loc. cit.

76 Dio 44.6.3.

77 Suetonius, Divus Iulius 76.

78 Dio 44.6.3.

17. ... καὶ νεῶς ἐψηφίσαντο πολλοὺς αὐτῷ
γενέσθαι καθάπερ θεῷ καὶ κοινὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ
Ἐπιεικείας ἁλλήλους δεξιουμένων.⁷⁹

... καὶ ναὸν αὐτῷ τῇ τ' Ἐπιεικείᾳ αὐτοῦ
τεμενισθῆναι ἔγνωσαν....⁸⁰

... καὶ τό γε τῆς Ἐπιεικείας ἱερὸν οὐκ ἀπὸ
τρόπου δοκοῦσι χαριστήριον ἐπὶ τῇ
πραότητι ψηφίσασθαι....⁸¹

...templa....⁸²

Caesar is the first living Roman to have had his own temples on Italian soil. The temple to Caesar and his Clementia is pictured on coins of the year 44 B.C.⁸³ According to Dio, there were voted shrines to Libertas and to Concordia; as with Clementia, each appears portrayed as closely associated with the regime and its leader:

... αὐτὸν τε Ἐλευθερωτὴν καὶ ἐκάλουν καὶ
τὰ γραμματεῖα ἀνέγραφον, καὶ νεῶν
Ἐλευθερίας δημοσίᾳ ἐψηφίσαντο.⁸⁴

79 Appian 15.2.106.

80 Dio 44.6.4.

81 Plutarch, Caesar 57.

82 Suetonius, Divus Iulius 76.

83 CAH: Plates 4.12.e.

84 Dio 43.44.1.

γεῶν τε Ὀμονοίας καὶ νῆς, ὡς καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ
εἰρηνόουντες, οἰκοδομήσαι, καὶ πανήγυριν
αὐτῇ ἐτήσίαν ἄγειν ἐγνώσαν. ⁸⁵

Deified abstractions depicting qualities of the regime that were presented as arising through the agency of the princeps or as being associated with him were of prime importance in the development of the Roman Imperial Cult during the Augustan Age, at which time they possibly served as a channel for the expression of desire to worship the ruler. ⁸⁶

18. ...ἐρέα σφίσι τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὥσπερ τινὰ
Διάλιον προχειρισάμενοι.... ⁸⁷

...quam ut haberet...flaminem? est ergo flamen,
ut Iovi, ut Marti, ut Quirino, sic divo Iulio
M. Antonius. ⁸⁸

...flaminem.... ⁸⁹

If Cicero's remark is rightly interpreted as indicating that the flamen of Julius Caesar was grouped with the maiores flamines of Rome, then it was intended that Caesar should occupy a position of the greatest importance in the Roman pantheon.

⁸⁵ Dio 44.4.5.

⁸⁶ See below in chapters 3, 4 and 5.

⁸⁷ Dio 44.6.4.

⁸⁸ Cicero, Philippicae 2.43.110; see also ibid. 13.19.41, where Cicero accuses Antony of abandoning his position as flamen.

⁸⁹ Suetonius, Divus Iulius 76.

It is clear enough from the evidence that attempts were made to institute at Rome state cult worship, the object of which was the living Julius Caesar. A problem arises, however, when one considers the extent to which Caesar was instrumental in its establishment, for we do not know whether the Senate (though it was packed by Caesar and partial to him) was acting of its own accord in voting divine honours to Caesar, or simply carrying out his wishes. On the one hand, nowhere are we told that Caesar directed the Senate to vote him divine honours; in fact some honours were refused after they had been voted,⁹⁰ while others were voted when he was far from Rome.⁹¹ It may be then that the decrees conferring divine honours upon Caesar are nothing more than the expression of the will of the Senate, and that Caesar, though for the most part not disapproving, was not much interested in his own ruler-cult and did not attempt to foster it. Yet there is evidence that may be interpreted as indicating Caesar's desire to claim some sort of superhuman status on earth. In a speech quoted by Suetonius, Caesar, in 63 B.C., is reported to have said:⁹²

'amitae meae Iuliae maternum genus ab regibus

90 Dio 43.46.1:

... εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα τινὰ αὐτῶν παρήκατο.

91 E.g., honours 1, 2 and 3 (see above pp. 12-15).

92 Divus Iulius 6.

ortum, paternum cum diis immortalibus coniunctum est. nam ab Anco Marcio sunt Marcii Reges, quo nomine fuit mater; a Venere Iulii, cuius gentis familia est nostra. est ergo in genere et sanctitas regum, qui plurimum inter homines pollent, et caerimonia deorum, quorum ipsi in potestate sunt reges.'

In a letter dated from March, 49 B.C., Caelius speaks of Caesar as Venere prognatus.⁹³ Caesar's divine ancestry is noted by Cicero:⁹⁴

Cicero vero non contentus in quibusdam epistulis scripsisse...floremque aetatis a Venere orti in Bithynia....

References that postdate Caesar's death are commonplace, but the result of Augustan propaganda. Further, we should consider that two years before his return from the East Caesar had vowed to build a temple to Venus Victrix:⁹⁵

Θυόμενός τε νυκτὸς μέσης τὸν Ἄρη κατε-
κάλει καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πρόγονον Ἀφροδίτην
(ἐκ γὰρ Αἰνείου καὶ Ιούλου τοῦ Αἰνείου
τὸ τῶν Ιουλίῶν γένος παρενεχθέντος τοῦ
ὀνόματος ἤγεῖτο εἶναι) νεών τε αὐτῇ νικη-
φόρῳ Χαριστήριον ἐν Ῥώμῃ ποιήσεν
ἡύχετο κατορθώσας.

On his return, however, he fulfilled his vow by making the dedication to Venus Genetrix, thereby drawing attention to

93 This letter of Caelius is included in Cicero's letters (Ad Familiares 8.15.2).

94 Cicero as quoted in Suetonius, Divus Iulius 49.

95 Appian 15.2.68.

Venus' position as founder of the Julian family:⁹⁶

... ἀνέστησε καὶ τῇ Γενετρείᾳ τὸν νεών, ὥσπερ
εὗξατο μέλλων ἐν Φαρσάλῳ μαχεῖσθαι.

The dedication is so recorded in the Fasti:

VENERI·GENETRICI|IN FORO CAESAR ⁹⁷

veneri genetrici IN FORO|caesaris ⁹⁸

This action may be construed as a deliberate attempt of Caesar to stress his divine association. The inaugural ceremonies of the temple ⁹⁹ were followed by games, the ludi Veneris Genetricis (also called the ludi Victoriae Caesaris), that became a permanent state festival as the Fasti attest:¹⁰⁰

LVD·VICT·CAESAR ¹⁰¹

LVD VICTOR CAES DIVI IVL COMMIT ¹⁰²

⁹⁶ Appian 15.2.102.

⁹⁷ CIL 1.219 (F. Pinc.).

⁹⁸ CIL 1.215 (F. Arv.).

⁹⁹ According to Pliny, the temple was incomplete at the time of its dedication; see Naturalis Historia 25.156.

¹⁰⁰ For the name ludi Victoriae Caesaris, see Cicero, Ad Familiares 11.28.6, as well as evidence from the Fasti (notes 101 and 102 following); for the name ludi Veneris Genetricis, see Pliny, Naturalis Historia 2.93, and Seneca, Naturales Quaestiones 7.17.2.

¹⁰¹ CIL 1.225 (F. Maff.).

¹⁰² CIL 1.244 (F. Amit.).

Two final points: first, as noted above,¹⁰³ Caesar had the inscription *ἡμίθεος* erased, and his action, whatever the motivation for it, at least indicates his interest; second, Caesar had spent some time in the East,¹⁰⁴ and was undoubtedly aware of the value of ruler-cult as an instrument of statecraft, for godhead of the ruler was an essential part of the monarchies of his day. If Caesar wished to found a divine monarchy at Rome, one might expect that he would have sought to be accorded divine honours. The problem of Caesar's role must remain unsolved, but it is important to recognize its existence and wrong to consider as a matter of fact that Caesar endeavoured to bring ruler-cult to Rome.

103 P. 13.

104 In Bithynia, Cilicia and Egypt.

CHAPTER TWO

DEVELOPMENT OF THE ROMAN IMPERIAL CULT FROM 44 TO 29 B.C.

The death of Julius Caesar in March 44 B.C. was followed by a period of civil war that lasted until 31 B.C., at which time Octavian defeated Antony at the battle of Actium and became supreme ruler of the Roman Empire.¹ By April of 44 B.C.² Octavian had arrived at Rome and from the time of his coming he clearly did all in his power to secure glorification of the dead Caesar and worship of him as a god. To judge not only from Octavian's action but that of Antony as well, Caesar's position after his death was of some importance. Let us briefly consider the events.³

1 See the first volume of Holmes, The Architect of the Roman Empire, for a lucid account of the complex political and military history of this period, especially the appendices for a discussion of various problems.

2 For a discussion of the date, see pp. 31-36 below.

3 Concerning the funeral and the events that followed, see the letters of Cicero dating from this period; see also Plutarch, Caesar 67, Antony 14, and Brutus 19 f.; Appian 15.2.146; and Dio 44.23 f. In the next few pages I choose to produce text and references only when these illustrate points of religious significance or concern matters of controversy.

At the funeral of Caesar, Antony is reported to have praised Caesar in the following way:⁴

πρῶτα μὲν ὡς θεὸν οὐράνιον ὕμνει....

He then is said to have held up Caesar's robe and a wax likeness that showed his wounds. At this the people went wild; the curia where Caesar was assassinated was burned and the tribunus Cinna was killed, having been mistaken for the praetor Cinna who was partial to the conspirators. The mob took Caesar's body to the Capitol,

...ὡς εὐαγὲς θάψει τε ἐν ἱερῷ καὶ μετὰ
θεῶν θέσθαι....⁵

But the priests would not allow this. Finally a pyre was built in the forum upon which the body was burned. In April at the site of Caesar's pyre the feelings of the people were aroused again by a certain Amatius:⁶

Ἀμάτιος ἦν ὁ ψευδομάριος... βωμὸν ἐπὶ κοδόμει
τῇ πυρᾷ.⁷

4 Appian 15.2.146.

5 Ibid. 148

6 He was also known as Chamates (Livy, Epitomae 116) and Marius. He claimed to be the son of Marius and Cicero in his letters refers to him only as Marius.

7 Appian 15.3.2-3.

Βωμὸν δέ τινα ἐν τῷ τῆς πυρᾶς χωρίῳ ἰδρυσάμενος
 ... θύειν τε ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ κατάρχεσθαι τῷ
 Καίσαρι ὡς καὶ θεῷ ἐπεχείρουν.⁸

A few days before April 15 Antony had Amatus killed.⁹

8 Dio 44.51.1. In the correspondence of Cicero, a letter of Brutus and Cassius to Antony is preserved wherein reference is made to this altar (Ad Familiares 11.2.2):

putesne nos tutos fore in tanta frequentia
 militum veteranorum quos etiam de reponenda
 ara cogitare audimus?

But Cicero refers to a columna (Ad Atticum 14.15, and Philippicae 1.2.5) as does Suetonius (Divus Iulius 85) and Lactantius (1.15.30). Perhaps the monument of Marius consisted of both.

9 In his second letter to Atticus of April 15 (Ad Atticum 14.8), Cicero expresses approval of what has happened to Amatus. He has just received a letter from Atticus (who was at Rome) and presumably he is reacting to the news of Amatus' death. This letter of Cicero's was written at Fundi, which appears to be about two-thirds of the way between Rome and Pompeii if one is travelling south. We know that Cicero received a letter at Pompeii from Atticus at Rome in three days (Ad Atticum 14.18) and that he remarked about the postal time sane celeriter. Sufficient time for posting between Rome and Fundi must have been at least two days. If we allow suitable time for the delivery of the letter to

Towards the end of April¹⁰ this altar became the site of further agitation:¹¹

τὴν ἀγορὰν οὖν καταλαβόντες ἐβόων καὶ τὸν
Ἀντώνιον ἐβλασφήμουν καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐκέλευον
ἀντὶ Ἀματίου τὸν βωμὸν ἐκθεοῦν καὶ θύειν
ἐπ' αὐτοῦ Καίσαρι πρῶτους.

which Cicero was replying on April 15, a date of April 12 or even April 13 is probable for the death of Amatius (it is assumed that the letter of Atticus was written and posted just after the event).

10 This date must also be deduced from Cicero's letters. In a letter written at Puteoli (which is about three-quarters of the distance from Fundi to Pompeii travelling south) and dated May 1, Cicero, in reply to Atticus, can scarcely contain himself as he sings the praises of Dolabella for his treatment of the agitators at the altar (see below, p. 30, for an account of what happened). If we assume once again that Cicero is replying to news just received and that Atticus' letter was written just after the event (i.e., the punishment inflicted by Dolabella) and allow the better part of a third day for delivery, we may date the period of trouble over the altar and the consequent punishment about April 27-28. The letter of May 1 is Ad Atticum 14.15.

11 Appian 15.3.3.

Dolabella,¹² Antony's colleague, had the people driven from the forum but the trouble continued. Finally more soldiers were sent; of the people who resisted, some were killed and others captured, and of these, the slaves were crucified and the freedmen were thrown from the Tarpeian rock. The altar was pulled down and the site leveled.

Before Antony left Rome in April, Octavian had arrived and had set about trying to put into force at least one of the decrees of the Senate that bestowed divine honours on Caesar, for he attempted to display Caesar's golden throne at games over which the aedilis Critonius was in charge, and was prevented by Antony.¹³ Modern authorities date to the end of April or the early part of May the first appearance of Octavian at Rome after Caesar's death.¹⁴ It is entirely

12 Appian (15.3.3) writes that Antony was responsible for the punishment inflicted on the people, but it is clear from Cicero that Dolabella was to blame (Ad Atticum 14.15.1 and Philippicae 1.2.5), and that Antony was away from Rome at the time (loc. cit.); the latter point Cicero takes pains to make. Thus Antony's departure for the south must predate April 27-28.

13 See notes 16 and 18 below.

14 See, e.g., Charlesworth, "The Avenging of Caesar," CAH 10 (1952) 8; Holmes, The Architect of the Roman Empire 1.13; Syme, The Roman Revolution 114; Heichelheim and Yeo, A History of the Roman People 252; and Scullard, From the

possible that Octavian was at Rome just before the middle of April. This view is based on the following argument:

1. Nicolaus of Damascus, who wrote his Vita Augusti probably at Rome during the twenties B.C.,¹⁵ uses αὐθις¹⁶ when writing of Octavian's attempt to display the throne of Caesar at the games in honour of Venus (also called the ludi Victoriae Caesaris 17).

2. It is clear in Appian's account that there were two attempts by Octavian to display Caesar's throne and that the second attempt was made at the ludi Victoriae Caesaris; further, regarding the first attempt, that Critonius, an aedilis, was in charge of the games, and that Antony, after some delay, prevented Octavian from displaying the throne.¹⁸ The question

Gracchi to Nero 161.

15 Wacholder, Nicolaus of Damascus 26.

16 Nicolaus, Vita Augusti 28:

Καῖσαρ δ' οὐδὲν ὀρρωδῶν ἐκ τοῦ μεγάλῳφρονος
 θεὰς ἐποίει ἐνστάσης ἑορτῆς, ἣν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ
 κατεστήσατο Ἀφροδίτης. καὶ αὐθις προελθὼν
 σὺν πλείοσιν ἔτι καὶ φίλοις παρεκάλει Ἀντώνιον
 συγχωρῆσαι τὸν δῖφρον μετὰ τοῦ στεφάνου τίθεσθαι
 τῷ πατρί.

17 See above, chapter 1, p. 24.

18 Appian 15.3.28:

καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔμελλε ποιήσκειν, ὡς προσετέτακτο. θεὰς
 δ' ᾔσαν, ὡς Κριτώνιος ἀγορανομῶν ἔμελλε τελέσκειν.
 καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς τὰς θεὰς τῷ πατρί τὸν τε

arises, when did Octavian first try? 19

3. According to the evidence provided by the Fasti, there were three opportunities for games between the beginning of April and the time allotted for the ludi Victoriae Caesaris (July 20-30): 20

- a) ludi Ceriales, April 12-19.
- b) ludi Florales, April 28 - May 3.
- c) ludi Apollinares, July 6-13.

The ludi Florales are ruled out, for Antony was away from Rome

Χρύσειον Θρόνον καὶ στέφανον παρεσκεύαζεν,
 ὥστε αὐτῷ κατὰ πάσας θεάς ἐψηφίσαντο προ-
 τίθεσθαι. τοῦ Κριτωνίου δὲ εἰπόντος οὐκ
 ἀνέξεσθαι τιμωμένου Καίσαρος ἐν ταῖς αὐτοῦ
 δαπναῖς, ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸν ἐς τὸν Ἀντωνίων ἤγεν
 ὡς ὕπατον. Ἀντωνίου δὲ εἰπόντος ἐς τὴν βουλὴν
 ἐπανοίσειν, χαλεπήνας ὁ Καῖσαρ "ἀνάφερε," εἶπεν,
 "ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν Θρόνον, ἕως ἂν ᾗ τὸ δόγμα, προθήσω."
 καὶ ὁ Ἀντωνίος χαλεπήνας ἐκώλυσεν.

19 Appian (15.3.24-28) seems to think that the first attempt by Octavian is dated between the ludi Apollinares and the ludi Victoriae Caesaris. As far as can be determined, there was no provision for games in this intervening period. However, though the chronology of Appian be wrong, we should not reject the elements of the story.

20 Fowler, The Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic 66-182.

when they took place;²¹ so too are the ludi Apollinares, for they were presided over by praetores: an aedilis could not have been in charge. (Brutus, as praetor, was in charge of the ludi Apollinares in 44 B.C.) The ludi Ceriales remain.²²

4. Octavian's attempt to display Caesar's throne must be on or postdate April 12, the first day of the games. It could not have been much later, for on April 18 Octavian was at Naples.²³

5. At Caesar's funeral Antony hymned Caesar as a god of heaven; there is no evidence that Antony in any way opposed glorification of Caesar from this time to the date of the ludi Ceriales. Yet about the twelfth or thirteenth day of April he had Amatius killed for setting up an altar of Caesar and for encouraging his worship. I suggest that Antony inflicted such severe punishment because of what had just happened, namely, the attempt of Octavian to display Caesar's throne, at which time Antony saw the young Octavian in action, and, after pondering Octavian's attempt, recognized, perhaps for the first time, how, with disastrous results for

21 See above, n. 12.

22 To be sure the games might have been postponed but there is no reason to think this.

23 Cicero, Ad Atticum 14.10:

Octavius Neapolim venit xiiii Kal.

himself, the deification of Caesar could be used by Caesar's heir. The importance of Caesar's position after his death may be explained in the following way. Octavian had no claim to Caesar's power nor did he have a place in the Roman politics. By encouraging and endeavouring to secure the worship of Caesar, he was ultimately striving to attain popular support for himself, for part of the populace wanted to glorify and worship Caesar, and Octavian, realizing that any position he might aspire to was dependent on public support (as well as that of Caesar's veterans), tried to satisfy the people and thereby gain their support of himself; also, if Caesar was popularly and officially recognized as a god, his heir Octavian, though eighteen and uninvolved in politics, would be in an extremely advantageous position, for, having been adopted by Caesar in his will, he would become son of a god.²⁴ In the light of Octavian's initial course of action, there can be no doubt that he fully realized from the start the value of his striving to attain Caesar's godhead; so too did Antony, if my suggestion regarding the relationship of the events of April 12 or 13 is correct.²⁵ In the months that

24 I cannot conceive of Octavian's being unaware of the significance of Caesar's deification in so far as concerned his own human status.

25 Many criticisms could be leveled at my suggestion: a postponement of the ludi Cerialis to May would nullify most

followed, Antony continued his opposition to Octavian, blocking passage of the lex curiata, a law that would have

of what has been said. Perhaps the most serious charge would be that no ancient source mentions a brief and totally unsuccessful visit of Octavian to Rome in April, at which time he tangled with Antony and lost. In my opinion, the only trace that we have of this event is the chronologically misplaced account of Octavian's first attempt in Appian, and the use of ἄθλος by Nicolaus when a description of Octavian's attempt at the ludi Veneris Genetricis is introduced. It must always be remembered that we are victims of the propaganda of the Augustan regime. Our knowledge and our attitude towards the principate and the history of this period have been shaped, perhaps warped, by sources (certainly the early ones) that do not contain stories that would discredit Augustus. A brief visit to Rome that ended in failure, an incident in which Octavian was sent packing by Antony, is clearly not to Octavian's credit. My belief is that the event was glossed over by contemporary writers to avoid offending the Emperor, and subsequently was unknown to later historians. Cicero at no point in his correspondence mentions the arrival of Octavian at Rome. Of interest are the following remarks of Cicero that are found in letters dated to April and May, 44 B.C.:

1. Ad Atticum 14.5, written on April 11 at Astura:

confirmed Octavian's adoption, and refusing Octavian the treasure of Caesar.

In July Octavian tried again to achieve realization of the decrees of the Senate that bestowed divine honours on Caesar. From the letters of Cicero we learn of the successful attempts to express the dates of the ludi Apollinares using the new name of the month Quinctilis, much to the indignation of Cicero and the annoyance of Brutus.²⁶ There were renewed attempts to display the throne

sed velim scire qui adventus Octavi num qui concursus ad eum, num quae νεωτερισμοῦ suscipio.

This remark could refer to Octavian's arrival at Rome; there is nothing in this letter or in correspondence before or after that would lead one to believe that Cicero is referring to Octavian's arrival at Brundisium.

2. Ad Atticum 14.6, written on April 12 at Fundi:

nam de Octavio susque deque.

It is impossible to determine the reference. Perhaps at the time Atticus wrote the letter to which Cicero is here replying, Octavian had arrived at Rome but nothing of consequence had yet happened.

3. Ad Atticum 15.3, written on May 22 at Arpinum:

de sella Caesaris bene tribuni....

Possibly this refers to a statement of the tribunes that they would prevent the display of Caesar's throne.

26 Cicero, Ad Atticum 16.1.1 (July 8):

of Caesar, this time at the ludi Victoriae Caesaris, but again without success.²⁷ There occurred at the games, however, a heavenly event that proclaimed the divinity of Caesar for all to behold when exploited to the full by Octavian and Augustan propaganda. The very words of Octavian have provided a description, and an interpretation that he undoubtedly fostered:²⁸

iis ipsis ludorum meorum diebus sidus
crinitum per septem dies in regione coeli

Nonis Quinctilibus veni in Puteolanum...
itane? NONIS IVLIIS? Di hercule istis. sed
stomachari totum diem licet. quicquamne
turpius quam Bruto IVLIIS? redeo ad meum
igitur ἐτ' ἐώμην; nihil vidi.

Cicero, Ad Atticum 16.4.1 (July 10):

ibi Brutus. quam ille doluit de NONIS IVLIIS.
mirifice est conturbatus. itaque sese scripturum
aiebat, ut venationem eam, quae postridie
ludos Apollinares futura est, proscriberent
in III IDVS QVINCTILES.

27 See n. 16 above; Appian's version (n. 18)

continues as follows:

ἐκώλυσε δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐξῆς θεαῖς ἐτι παραλογώτερον,
ὃς αὐτὸς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐτέλει, ἀνακειμένος ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς
Ἀφροδίτη Γενετείρα, ὅτε περ αὐτῇ καὶ τὸν νεῶν ὁ
πατὴρ τὸν ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἅμα αὐτῇ ἀγορᾷ ἀνέτιθει.

28 Pliny, Naturalis Historia 2.23; Suetonius (Divus
Iulius 88) gives a similar account:

...in deorum numerum relatus est, non ore modo
decernentium sed et persuasione volgi. siquidem
ludis, quos primos consecrato ei heres Augustus
edebat, stella crinita per septem continuos dies

quae sub septemtrionibus est conspectum.
 id oriebatur circa undecimam horam diei,
 clarumque et omnibus terris conspicuum fuit.
 eo sidere significari vulgus credidit, Caesaris
 animam inter deorum immortalium numina receptam;
 quo numine id insigne simulacro capitis eius
 quod mox in foro consecravimus, adiectum est.

We can but imagine the impact of seeing the actual translation of Caesar's soul to the home of the gods. Reference to Caesar's star is commonplace in the ancient literature. The following instances are found in writings that predate the death of Augustus:

ecce Dionaei processit Caesaris astrum.²⁹
 patriumque aperitur vertice sidus.³⁰

...micat inter omnes
 Iulium sidus, velut inter ignes
 luna minores. ³¹

fulsit exoriens circa undecimam horam,
 creditumque est animam esse Caesaris in
 caelum recepti; et hac de causa simulacro
 eius in vertice additur stella.

Servius marks Octavian as responsible for this belief in his comments on Vergil, Eclogues 9.47:

stellam...ipse animam patris sui esse voluit,
 and on Vergil, Aeneid 8.681:

...quod sidus Caesaris putatum est Augusto
 persuadente.

29 Vergil, Eclogues 9.47.

30 Vergil, Aeneid 8.681.

31 Horace, Odes 1.12.46.

dumque tulit lumen capere atque ignoscere
sensit,
emisitque sinu. luna volat altius illa,
flammiiferumque trahens spatioso limite crinem
stella micat.³²

The star became symbolic of Caesar's divinity. Octavian had it affixed to all of Caesar's statues,³³ the first being a statue he set up in the temple of Venus Genetrix.³⁴

Octavian proved to be too formidable an opponent for Antony, and, shortly after the ludi Victoriae Caesaris of 44 B.C., Antony began to change his position. On the first of September, 44 B.C., he proposed a supplicatio in Caesar's honour:³⁵

Kalendis Septembribus...de supplicatione
referebat.

By October Antony is said to have erected a statue of Caesar

32 Ovid, Metamorphoses 15.847-850.

33 Servius on Vergil, Aeneid 861:

nam ideo Augustus omnibus statuis quas
divinitati Caesaris statuit, hanc stellam
adiecit.

34 See n. 28 above.

35 Cicero, Philippicae 5.7.19; see also ibid. 2.43.110:

te autem ipsum ad populum tulisse, ut quintus
praeterea dies Caesari tribueretur?

Cicero was most critical of Antony for this action; see ibid. 1.5.12 and 1.6.13, and note in the latter passage the very explicit distinctions that Cicero makes between honours accorded the dead and honours accorded gods:

that he inscribed with the words PARENTI OPTIME MERITO.³⁶

His views about the dead Julius Caesar had clearly changed from those that he held from April to August.

By late October of 43 B.C. the second triumvirate had been formed; thereafter enshrinement of Caesar in state cult was accomplished without difficulty. In his account of the year 42 B.C., Dio notes the following divine honours that were accorded Caesar:

1. τὰ τε γενέσθαι αὐτοῦ διαφνηθοροῦντας καὶ
εὐθυμουμένους πάντας ἐορτάζειν ἡνάγκασαν.³⁷

A decree of the Senate that was voted before Caesar's death embodied the same provision.³⁸ One wonders why such duplication was necessary.

2. ... καὶ τι καὶ ἄγαλμα αὐτοῦ ἐν ταῖς ἱπποδρομίαις
μεθ' ἑτέρου Ἀφροδισίου ἔπεμπον.³⁹

Unlike the earlier decree of the Senate, wherein it was stated that Caesar's likeness be carried with the gods, here there is explicit provision that he appear with Venus; perhaps

...adduci tamen non possem, ut quemquam mortuum coniungerem cum deorum immortalium religione, ut, cuius sepulchrum usquam extet, ubi parentetur, ei publice supplicetur.

36 Cicero, Ad Familiares 12.3.1.

37 Dio 47.18.5.

38 See above, chapter 1, p. 17, for the decree of the Senate as well as the evidence of the Fasti.

39 Dio 47.18.4.

this slight but important change came about because of an attempt by Octavian to stress Caesar's (and thus his own) divine ancestry.

3. εἴ τε νίκη τις ἡγγέλθη ποθέν, χωρὶς μὲν τῷ κρατήσαντι χωρὶς δὲ ἐκείνῳ καὶ τεθνεῶτι τιμὴν ἱερομηνίας ἔνεμον. καὶ ἱερομηνίας τισὶν ἐπινικίοις ἰδίαν ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ἐβουθύτησαν.⁴⁰

The people were encouraged to believe that the god Caesar was in some way responsible for victories, just as they would think Mars or Venus responsible.

4. ἰπείνων μὲν μηδεμίαν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ, καθάπερ θεοῦ τινος ὡς ἀληθῶς ὄντος, ἐν ταῖς τῶν συγγενῶν αὐτοῦ ἐκφοραῖς πέμπεσθαι....⁴¹

We see yet another way of recognizing Caesar as a god.

5. ... ἡρώον οἱ ἐν τε τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἐν τόπῳ ἐν ᾧ ἐκέκαστο προκατεβάλλοντο.⁴²

Caesar's temple was not dedicated until 29 B.C.⁴³ The altar found in the temple's ruins predates the temple's structure⁴⁴ and may be the one of Amatius that was torn down and possibly set up again shortly afterwards.⁴⁵

40 Dio 47.18.4.

41 Loc. cit.

42 Loc. cit.

43 See below, chapter 3, p. 58.

44 DAR 287.

45 See n. 8 above.

On coins dating from the early years of the second triumvirate, Octavian's head appears on the obverse, and on the reverse a chair is portrayed surrounded by a wreath.⁴⁶ These markings at once bring to mind the decree of the Senate that Octavian had tried unsuccessfully to have enforced in 44 B.C. Presumably, once Octavian was in a powerful position, the problem of displaying Caesar's throne and wreath did not exist and the decree was enforced.

The important events of Caesar's life were enrolled in the state calendars.⁴⁷ The religious significance is obvious when we remember that the Roman state calendars in the past had been reserved in all their celebrations for religious matters.

The net result is that Caesar came to occupy a position beside the deities of the Roman state and that he became the object of worship in Roman state cult, in large measure as a result of the political aspirations of Octavian, who, it would appear, sought initially to secure worship and glorification of the dead Caesar solely as a political expedient. If Caesar was a god, what then was Octavian to be, the young man who rose from obscurity to become in a few months one of the three most important political figures in the Roman world?

46 BMC Rep. 2.405.

47 A full list is given in the first appendix.

Octavian chose to style himself as divi filius, possibly as early as 40 B.C. if the following insert in the Acta Triumphorum Capitolina was made at the time of the event that it commemorates:⁴⁸

IMP·CAESAR·DIVI·F·C·F·III·VIR·R·P·C·OVans an.
dcccxiij|QVOD·PACEM·CVM·M·ANTONIO·FECIT

Certainly by 38 B.C. the title was in use, for it appears in an inscription and on a coin both dated to that year. The inscription reads as follows:⁴⁹

IMP·CAESAR·DIVI·IVLI·F·R·M·AGRIPPA·COS·DESIG

The obverse of the coin reads DIVOS·IVLIVS on the left, and on the right DIVI·F, the reverse M AGRIPPA CO DESIG.⁵⁰ This title is commonplace in the epigraphic and numismatic evidence of the years that followed, but in the literature that dates before A.D. 14 it is not to be found. On coins of the period just after Caesar's death, Aeneas appears carrying Anchises from Troy.⁵¹ Bearing in mind the immense propaganda value of coins in this period of history as pointed out by M. Grant,⁵² we can easily see how Octavian from the beginning of his political manoeuvring cleverly

48 CIL 1.50.

49 M. Agrippa held his first consulship in 37 B.C.; see Broughton, The Magistrates of the Roman Republic 2.395.

50 Mattingly, Roman Coins Pl. 20.9.

51 CAH: Plates 4.201.h.

52 Roman Imperial Money 7 f.

impressed upon the minds of the people the idea that he was descended from the gods and even son of a god, by keeping before the people such pictorial representations and the words divi filius.

In the Second Philippic Cicero refers to the dead Julius Caesar as divus Iulius.⁵³ As far as can be determined, this is the first instance in which Caesar is called divus. To be sure the word came to be an appellation descriptive of gods created from men, and part of the name of some of the dead Roman Emperors, its meaning being "deified." But divus did not always have this meaning, a fact that is pointed out by Servius:⁵⁴

...quamquam sit discretio ut deos perpetuos dicamus, divos ex hominibus factos, quasi qui diem obierunt; unde divos etiam imperatores vocamus; sed Varro et Ateius contra sentiunt, dicentes divos perpetuos, deos qui propter sui consecrationem timentur ut sunt dii Manes.

The early meaning is noted by Varro:⁵⁵

hoc idem magis ostendit antiquius Iovis nomen. nam olim Diovis et Diespiter dictus, id est dies pater, a quo dei dicti qui inde et dius et divum unde sub divo, Dius Fidius. itaque inde eius perforatum tectum, ut ea videatur divum, id est caelum.

53 43.110.

54 On Vergil, Aeneid 5.45.

55 De Lingua Latina 5.66.

But whatever the early or later meanings of divus, by the first century B. C. it was frequently being used as a substantive, apparently the equivalent of deus, by such writers as Lucretius, Catullus and Cicero.⁵⁶ Inscriptions show how divus and deus were used interchangeably:

DIVO·IVLIO·IVSSV|POPVLI·ROMANI|STATVTVM·
EST·LEGE|RVFRENA 57

GENIO·DEIVI·IVLI|PARENTIS·PATRIAE|QVEM·
SENATVS|POPVLVSQVE|ROMANVS·IN|DEORVM·
NVMERVVM|RETTVLIT 58

56 In Lucretius, see e.g. the invocation to Venus (1.1-49) at lines 1, 12, 28 and 38. Note how dea and diva are interchanged. For a complete list of references, see Paulson, Index Lucretianus 42. In Catullus, see e.g. 64.8, 27, 47, 103, 190, 212, 268, 298, 373, 387 and 393. For a complete list of references, see Wetmore, Index Verborum Catullianus 26. In Cicero, see e.g. De Legibus 2.8.19-21. For a list of references in his philosophical works, see Merguet, Lexicon zu den philosophischen Schriften Cicero's 1.745-746. In the letters of Cicero, divus is not found; it occurs twice in his orations, Philippicae 2.43.110, and In Verrem 2.1.19.

57 CIL 6.872; cf. CIL 9.5136 for an almost identical inscription.

58 CIL 9.2628.

M·SALVIO·Q·F|VENVSTO|DECVRIONI|beNEFIC·
DEI·CAESARIS 59

MAGNIFICI·CONIVNX·CAESARIS·ILLA·DEI| 60

In my opinion, on the basis of such Latin usage, we ought to translate divus in the same way as deus.⁶¹ As noted above, the following honour was accorded Caesar while he was alive:⁶²

... καὶ τέλος Δία αὐτὸν ἀντικρὺς Ἰούλιον
προσηγόρευσαν.

Is it not possible that Δία Ἰούλιον is a translation of divium Iulium?

Dated 44-42 B.C. are a few coins that bear representations of the head of the sun with crown and rays, and the crescent moon with five stars, symbols that are indicative of the approach of the magnus annus, a time of renewal when sun, moon and planets return to the same positions they had at the beginning of their cycle.⁶³ This new age

59 CIL 10.1271.

60 CIL 6.14211.

61 See also the passages from Horace and Ovid that are cited below in chapter 3, pp. 70 and 72; these show the same interchange of divus with deus.

62 Chapter 1, p. 13.

63 Cicero, De Natura Deorum 2.51, and Censorinus 18.11. For photographs of these coins, their dating and interpretation, see Alföldi, "Der neue Weltherrscher der vierten Eclogie Vergils," Hermes 65 (1930) 369-383.

was celebrated at its beginning by the ludi Saeculares, a celebration that did not occur in the forties when it was apparently expected, probably because of the Perusine wars. Perhaps Vergil reflects popular expectation of the new age in the fourth Eclogue where he writes of a new age that will be ruled by Apollo. (I cannot help but wonder about the extent to which Vergil's ideas in the fourth Eclogue influenced the thinking of Octavian, in view of the obvious attempts of Octavian during the thirties and the years that followed to make Apollo the most prominent of the gods and to be associated and even identified with that god.⁶⁴ Vergil in turn may have been prompted to portray Apollo as the leader and ruler of the new age because of Apollo's connection with the Julian family, for he was the protector god who aided Aeneas and the Trojans against the Greeks, and also the god in whose likeness Vediovis, the divinity of the Julian clan, was regularly represented.⁶⁵)

In other Eclogues, Vergil shows himself to be an articulate and willing vehicle for the propaganda of Octavian.

64 The evidence is presented later in this chapter and in chapter 3.

65 Gellius, Noctes Atticae 5.12.12; see also Schuster, RE 8.1 (1955) 606, s.v. Veiovis.

In the ninth, he writes of the divine influence of Caesar:⁶⁶

Daphni, quid antiquos signorum suspicis ortus?
ecce Dionaei processit Caesaris astrum,
astrum quo segetes gauderent frugibus et quo
duceret apricis in collibus uva colorem.

A similar theme is found in the fifth Eclogue where Daphnis, the ideal shepherd, is to be identified with Caesar:⁶⁷

nec lupo insidias pecori nec retia cervis
ulla dolum meditantur; amat bonus otia Daphnis.

Daphnis will be worshiped in the same way as Bacchus and Ceres:⁶⁸

semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt
ut Baccho Cererique tibi sic vota quotannis
agricolae facient; damnabis tu quoque votis.

In what is generally regarded as a reference to Octavian, Vergil in the first Eclogue expresses gratitude to an unnamed benefactor for the saving of his farm. Vergil calls his benefactor a god and speaks of this god's altar and of making blood sacrifice to him:

namque erit ille mihi semper deus, illius aram
saepe tener nostris ab ovibus imbuet agnus.⁶⁹

quid facerem? neque servitio me exire licebat
nec tam praesentis alibi cognoscere divos.
hic illum vidi iuvenum, Meliboee, quotannis
bis senos cui nostra dies altaria fumant.⁷⁰

66 46-49

67 60-61.

68 78-80

69 7-8

70 40-43.

Such comment is not surprising from a man whose thinking had been considerably affected by Eastern ways:⁷¹ this manner of expression was most natural in the East.

In marked contrast to the Eclogues of Vergil stands the sixteenth Epode of Horace, which is thought to date from about 40 B.C.⁷² In this verse, Horace despairs much of the present and recommends that Romans abandon their native land and seek a new home on the Islands of the Blessed. Perhaps Vergil and Horace reflect the prevalent attitudes of the time.

We have noted that Vergil portrayed Apollo as the leading deity of the new age, and the suggestion that Octavian might have been so influenced by Vergil that he sought to make Apollo the most important god and to be associated and identified with him. Some of Octavian's attempts to achieve these goals date to the thirties B.C. According to a charge of Antony, Octavian appeared at a banquet in which the guests appeared in the guise of gods and goddesses pro Apolline ornatum.⁷³ Perhaps about this time the story of Octavian's divine birth began to circulate: Apollo is said to have come to Octavian's mother in the form of a serpent.⁷⁴ In the campaign of 36 B.C. against

71 See Frank, Vergil chapter 5.

72 Kiessling's suggestion (Vol. 1, p. 547) in his edition of Horace.

73 Suetonius, Divus Augustus 70.

74 Ibid. 94.

Sextus Pompey, Octavian consecrated to Apollo part of his house that had been struck by lightning, where he promised that a temple and porticoes would be built.⁷⁵ (In 28 B.C. the temple was dedicated,⁷⁶ and Octavian took up residence with this patron deity of the regime. There stood at this site a statue of Augustus with Apollo's features.⁷⁷) Finally there is Actium, but it is impossible to determine how much emphasis was given to the role of Apollo during or immediately after the event. The stories in Propertius and in the Aeneid of Vergil date much later, and the thinking of these poets may well have been affected by developments of the twenties. It is curious that Vergil says nothing of Apollo at Actium in the Georgics which were published in 29 B.C.⁷⁸ For this reason alone we should be cautious

75 Paterculus 2.81; Suetonius, Divus Iulius 29; and Dio 49.15 13. See below, chapter 3, n. 27, for further references to this temple.

76 Cruquianus on Horace, Epistolae 1.3.17, cited by Heinen, "Zur Begründung des römischen Kaiserkultes," Klio 11 (1911) 150:

Caesar sibi in bibliotheca statuam posuerat ad habitum et staturam Apollinis.

Servius on Vergil, Eclogues 4.10:

...cui simulacrum factum est cum Apollinis cunctis insignibus.

78 For the date, see Conington, Vergil 1.163-164.

about using future accounts as evidence for the importance of Apollo at Actium at the time of the event.

Vergil opens the Georgics with an invocation to several divine powers; he then calls upon Octavian:⁷⁹

tuque adeo, quem mox quae sint habitura deorum
concilia, incertum est, urbisne invisere, Caesar,
terrarumque velis curam et te maximus orbis
auctorem frugum tempestatumque potentem
accipiat, cingens materna tempora myrto,
an deus immensi venias maris ac tua nautae
numina sola colant, tibi serviat ultima Thule,
teque sibi generum Tethys emat omnibus undis,
anne novum tardis sidus te mensibus addas,
qua locus Erigonen inter Chelasque sequentis
panditur ipse tibi iam bracchia contrahit ardens
Scorpios et caeli iusta plus parte reliquit:
quidquid eris nam te nec sperant Tartara regem
nec tibi regnandi veniat tam dira cupido,
quamvis Elysios miretur Graecia campos
nec repetita sequi curet Proserpina matrem,
da facilem cursum, atque audacibus adnue coeptis,
ignarosque viae mecum miseratus agrestis
ingredere et votis iam nunc adsuesce vocari.

It is clear that Vergil's attitude towards the divinity of Octavian has changed. The contrast with the first Eclogue is obvious; no longer do we hear of Octavian's altar being stained by blood sacrifice nor is he hailed as deus. Rather, a new concept is expounded, the idea of future divinity. Vergil ponders about the kind of god that Octavian will be; certainly Octavian is not viewed as a deity at the time of writing. In the fourth Georgic this new idea is again set forth:⁸⁰

...viamque adfectat Olympo.

79 Georgics 1.24-42.

80 Ibid. 4.562.

To be sure Vergil describes a future epic production as a temple of Caesar,⁸¹ but this is allegory and as far as he seems prepared to go. It is interesting to note that Vergil has not completely accepted this notion of waiting until some future time for Octavian to become a god, for he implores him,

ingredere et votis iam nunc adsuesce vocari.

This change of attitude may be explained in the following way. Vergil wrote his first Eclogue as an expression of gratitude that was uninfluenced and certainly without direction from Octavian in so far as concerned manner of expression. During the period of the thirties when the Georgics were being composed, Vergil was worked into the top circles of the regime and his thinking may have been influenced, perhaps to the extent of being directed, by Octavian's stated or exhibited belief regarding his divinity. At no point in the Georgics or in the Aeneid does Vergil call Octavian a god or portray him as such. I suggest that this was the result of Vergil's adherence to Imperial policy. As we shall see, other poets, unlike Vergil, did not restrain themselves.

There may have been worship of Octavian during the thirties. Describing the situation in Italy, Appian makes

81 Georgics 3.13 f.

the following remark:⁸²

... καὶ ἦν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐτῶν ἐς τότε ὀκτὼ καὶ
εἴκοσι, καὶ αὐτὸν αἱ πόλεις τοῖς σφετέροις
θεοῖς συνίδρουν.

Both Dio and Appian note the way in which Octavian was
honoured after his victory in 36 B.C.:

καὶ τὸ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν ᾗ ἐνενικήκει, ἱερομηνίαν
αἰδίων οὐσίῃ, ἐν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Καπιτωλίου
... ἐστὶ ἄσθαι ἔδωκαν.⁸³

ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐψηφισμένων τιμῶν ἐδέχετο πομπήν,
ἐτήσιόν τε ἱερομηνίαν εἶναι, καθ' ἃς ἡμέρας
ἐνίκα. ⁸⁴

The Fasti attest to the yearly celebration of the event:

FERIAE·ET·SVPPLICATIONES|AD·OMNIA·PVLVINARIA|
Q·E·D·CAESAR·AVGVST·IN·SICILIA·VICIT ⁸⁵

eo die exerciTVS·LEPIDI·TRADIDIT·SE·CAESARI·
SVPPLIcAtio ⁸⁶

FER ET SVPPLICATIONES APVT|OMNIA PVLVINARIA
QVOD|EO DIE CAES DIVI F VICIT IN|SICILIA
CENSORIN ET CALVIS COS ⁸⁷

As mentioned above, the Fasti had been reserved in all their
celebrations for the divine powers. With Julius Caesar this

82 Appian 15.5.132.

83 Dio 49.15.1.

84 Appian 15.5.130.

85 CIL 1.214 (F. Arv.).

86 CIL 1.229 (Fer. Cum.).

87 CIL 1.244 (F. Amit.).

tradition was shattered in that he was the first "mortal" deity whose celebrations were included in the Fasti. In the case of Octavian, we shall find that the Fasti that date from his lifetime are filled with provisions for sacrifices and festivals in his honour, and, in one instance, blood sacrifice to him.⁸⁸ That a living man in want of official recognition as a god should be so honoured is without precedent in Roman history.

In the summer of 29 B.C., Octavian returned to Rome after his campaigns in the East. During his absence the Senate voted him many honours, their number being such that even Dio tires of giving them.⁸⁹ The following are important for this study:

1. ... ἐν τῇ τῆς ἀγγελίας τῆς νίκης ἡμέρᾳ
ἱερομηνίαν εἶναι...⁹⁰

His victories at both Actium and Alexandria were enrolled in the Fasti:

⁸⁸ See n. 99 below.

⁸⁹ Dio 51.19.3:

... καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ τοιοῦτότροπα περιττόν
ἐστὶν ἥδη λέγειν.

⁹⁰ Loc. cit.

Actium

FERIAE·EX·S·C·IMP·CAESARIS·H·C|QVOD·EO·DIE·
VICIT·ACTIVM 91

FER EX S C QVOD EO DIE IMP|CAES DIVI F
AVGVSTVS|APVD ACTIVM VICIT|SE ET TITIO COS 92

Alexandria

F EX S C|q. e. d. imp. caesar rem public.
TRISTISS·PERICVLO|liberavit 93

FERIAE|EX S C Q E D|IMP CAESAR DIVI F
REM PVBLIC|TRISTISSIMO PERICVLO LIBERAT 94

AVG·ALEXAN|RECEPIT 95

2. ... ἔν τε τοῖς γενεθλίοις αὐτοῦ...
ἱερομηνίαν εἶναι...⁹⁶

The Fasti contain provisions for the yearly celebration of Octavian's birthday:

FER EX S C·QVOD|IS·DIES·IMP·CAESAR|NATALIS
EST 97

F·EX·S·C·Q·E·D IMP CAESAR AVG PONT|Max
NATVS EST 98

nATALIS·CAESARIS·IMMOLATIO·CAESARI·HOSTIA·
SVPPLICATIO 99

91 CIL 1.214 (F. Arv.).

92 CIL 1.244 (F. Amit.).

93 CIL 1.214 (F. Arv.).

94 CIL 1.244 (F. Amit.).

95 CIL 1.248 (F. Ant.); see also Horace, Odes 4.14.34 f.

96 Dio 51.19.2.

97 CIL 1.219 (F. Pinc.).

98 CIL 1.215 (F. Arv.).

99 CIL 1.229 (F. Cum.).

H·D·AVGVSTI NATALIS·LVD·CIRC 100

3. ...καὶ ἐν τοῖς συσσιτίοις οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς
κοινοῖς ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἰδίοις πάντα αὐτῷ
σπένδειν ἐκέλευσαν. 101

This decree simply makes obligatory the pouring of libations in Octavian's honour at all banquets; it hardly justifies the following statement by L. R. Taylor:¹⁰²

The most significant of the new honours for its subsequent relation to Octavian's divinity was the decree (she is referring to the one that I have just cited) that a libation should be poured to his Genius at every banquet, both public and private. This is the first reference we have to the cult of Octavian's guardian spirit which was later to become the object of state cult.

How can she translate αὐτῷ as "Genius"? What little evidence there is for the public worship of the first Emperor's genius dates much later in the regime.¹⁰³ References to the practice of toasting the Emperor are found in Horace and Ovid:

hinc ad vina redit laetus et alteris
te mensis adhibet deum.

te multa prece, te prosequitur mero
defuso pateris, et Laribus tuum
miscet numen....¹⁰⁴

100 CIL 1.225 (F. Maff.).

101 Dio 51.19.7.

102 Roman Emperor 151.

103 See below in chapter 4.

104 Horace, Odes 4.13-17. This passage is discussed below in chapter 3, p. 70.

et bene vos bene te, patriae pater, optime Caesar,
dicite suffuso per sacra verba mero.¹⁰⁵

In his account of the year 29 B.C., Dio records two significant honours:

1. ... τὴν τε ἡμέραν ἐν ᾗ ἂν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐσέλθῃ
 θυσίαις τε πανδομήϊ ἄγα λθῆναι καὶ ξερὰν
 ἀεὶ ἄγεσθαι....¹⁰⁶
2. ... εἰς τε τοὺς ὕμνους αὐτὸν εἰς ἑσού τοῖς
 θεοῖς ἐσγράφεσθαι....¹⁰⁷

The second honour was worthy of mention in the Res Gestae:¹⁰⁸

[nomen meum senatus consulto incl]usum est
 in saliare carmen....

It, like so many of the honours accorded Octavian, suggests but does not openly declare the recipient's divinity.

105 Ovid, Fasti 2.637-638.

106 Dio 51.20.3.

107 Ibid. 20.1.

108 Res Gestae 2.10. The text has been restored from the Greek version:

τὸ ὄν[ομ]ά μου συνκλήτου δόγματι
 ἐμπεριελήχθη εἰς τοὺς σαλίων ὕμνους.

In future references to the Res Gestae, the Greek version will be given in the footnote when the Latin has required much restoration.

CHAPTER THREE

THE SECOND PERIOD OF DEVELOPMENT: 29-13 B.C.

By 29 B.C. major conflicts had been resolved and Octavian was now able to concern himself with other matters, not least of which was a definition of his own status, both political and religious. To the peoples of the East, he was absolute ruler and god, and in traditional fashion he was accorded divine honours that Eastern peoples were wont to give their rulers and benefactors. There is no evidence that he was opposed to such treatment. In the West his position was not yet clear; however, quite unlike other men, he possessed a distinctive suprahuman status that had been deliberately evolved after the death of Julius Caesar.

Octavian was responsible for the construction of the temple of Divus Julius:¹

...aedem divi Iuli...feci.

In this year of his return from the East he dedicated the temple. The year is established by Dio,² the day, August 18, by the Fasti:

DIVO·IVLIO AD FORVM ³

AEDIS·DIVI·IVL·DED ⁴

1 Res Gestae 4.19.

2 Dio 51.22.1.

3 CIL 1.217 (F. Allif.).

4 CIL 1.248 (F. Ant.). The temple possibly appears

Thus, as a result of the actions of Caesar and Octavian, two of the Julian family had become enshrined in Roman state cult, Venus Genetrix,⁵ the founder of the line, and Divus Julius, the father of Octavian.

Dio reports that in 29 B.C. Octavian set up in the curia τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ τῆς Νίκης.⁶ Suetonius is probably referring to this statue when he writes,

...praecedente Victoria quae est in curia....⁷

We know also of an altar of Victoria that dates to the Augustan Age. The following insert is found in the Fasti Maffeiani:⁸

H·D·ARA|VICTORIAE|IN CVRIA|DEDIC·EST

No mention of this altar is made in the Res Gestae. We do not know who set it up. On coins of the Augustan Age, the people were continually reminded of Victoria, both by

on one coin dated 29-27 B.C.; see BMC Emp. Pl. 15.12, and p. cxxiii, n. 4. For a list of references to this temple in Augustan literature, see DAR 286-288.

5 Venus appears on coins but not her temple; see BMC Emp. Pl. 15.3, dated 31-29 B.C., and Pl. 3.17,18, dated 17 B.C.

6 Dio 51.22.1.

7 Divus Augustus 100.

8 CIL 1.225.

representations of her,⁹ and by the laurel wreath,¹⁰ a symbol of victory, but the altar is not to be found. Victoria Augusta was the object of a yearly supplicatio at Cumae:¹¹

eo die caesar primum vicit supplicatio.
VICTORIAE AVGUSTAE

Victoria is the first of a group of deified abstractions that became objects of state cult between 29 B.C. and A.D. 14. In this group were Victoria, Fortuna, Salus, Pax, Concordia, Ops and Felicitas; each one depicts an aspect of the regime for which the Emperor could be thought of as being responsible.¹² They were to constitute a little pantheon by means of which the regime and perhaps the Emperor himself were worshiped.¹³ To be sure, Octavian was not responsible for the prominence of each abstraction; he did, however, set a precedent that was followed by himself, the Senate, and, in the final years of the Augustan Age, by Tiberius. But the importance of this worship as well as that of a Venus or

9 BMC Emp. Pl. 14.18,19, and Pl. 15.5,6, dated 31-29 B.C., Pl. 1.1, dated 19 B.C., and Pl. 3.17, dated 17 B.C.

10 Ibid., the many coins on Pl. 21 dated before 27 B.C., and those on Pl. 18 and Pl. 19 dated 21-17 B.C.; see also Grant, Six Main Aes Coinages of Augustus Pl. 12-14.

11 CIL 1.229 (Fer. Cum.).

12 Victoria and Fortuna are discussed in this chapter, the others in chapter four.

13 See below, chapter 5, p. 119.

a Divus Julius must vary in large measure with the importance of the state religion and its value for the people. Clearly, by 28 B.C. Octavian had made decisions of the greatest consequence regarding the state religion, for in this year he took steps to make the old Roman religion a most significant element in the state.

From his victory over Antony, Octavian emerged portrayed (at least in the literature that postdates the event by a few years) as the leading exponent of Romanism, and the defender of Rome and her traditions: such was his public image. Later he was to pride himself on the restoration of the Republic for which he was responsible and in which he was the leading citizen. Worship of the gods had been an integral and essential part of Roman life; thus it is not surprising to see the restorer of the Republic place great emphasis on the old worships that had the authority of antiquity and that had been so much a part of Roman tradition. Livy hails Augustus as

...templorum omnium conditorem aut restitutorem....¹⁴

In the Res Gestae it is easy to see that this appellation was deserved. To the year 28 B.C. is assigned the beginning of a program of restoring the old religion to its former glory, a program for which Octavian was responsible:¹⁵

14 Livy 4.20.7.

15 Res Gestae 4.20.

duo et octoginta templa deum in urbe consul
sextum ex decreto senatus refeci, nullo
praetermisso quod eo tempore refici debebat.

A list of temples and shrines that he built during his
lifetime is given in the Res Gestae:

...templumque Apollinis in Palatio cum
porticibus, aedem divi Iuli, Lupercal...
pulvinar ad circum maximum, aedes in Capitolio
Iovis Feretri et Iovis Tonantis, aedem
Quirini, aedes Minervae et Iunonis Reginae
et Iovis Libertatis in Aventino, aedem Larum
in summa sacra via, aedem deum Penatium in
Velia, aedem Iuventatis, aedem Matris Magnae
in Palatio feci.¹⁶

...Capitolium...refeci....¹⁷

in privato solo Martis Vltoris templum...feci.¹⁸

A few of the shrines he lavishly adorned:¹⁹

don~~a~~ ex manibus in Capitolio et in aede divi
Iul~~i~~i et in aede Apollinis et in aede Vestae
et in templo Martis Vltoris consecravi quae
constiterunt ~~HS~~ circiter milliensi.

Other elements of the old religion also received his attention.

16 Res Gestae 4.19.

17 Ibid. 20

18 Ibid. 21.

19 Loc. cit. See below, p. 66, for the very special
treatment that Apollo received. Temples and shrines were
also built by citizens at the urging of Augustus; see e.g.,
a temple of Diana built by L. Cornificius in Suetonius,
Divus Augustus 29.

Suetonius writes:²⁰

nonnulla etiam ex antiquis caerimoniis
paulatim abolita restituit....

He then cites the following examples:

...Salutis augurium, Diale flaminium, sacrum
Lupercale, ludos Saeculares et Compitalicios.

But Octavian was not involved simply as an instigator or as a promoter on the side lines: he led the way, both in those actions already mentioned, and by becoming a priest in several orders:²¹

[pontifex maximus, augur, quindecimvirum] sacris
[faciundis, septemvirum epulonum, frater arvalis,
sodalis Titius, fetialis] fui.

Whatever the state of these various priesthoods during the final years of the Republic, by virtue of the first Emperor's being part of them they were clearly of no secondary importance during the Augustan Age. In sum, as a result of the very deliberate policy of Octavian that dates from the years just after his return from the East in 29 B.C., it was intended that the old Roman religion become a most significant force in the state. In this atmosphere of vital and generated interest in worship and religion, the people

20 Divus Augustus 31.

21 Res Gestae 1.7. The Greek version reads as follows:

ἀρχιερεὺς, αὐγούρ, τῶν δεκάπεντε ἀνδρῶν τῶν
ἱεροποιῶν, τῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀνδρῶν ἱεροποιῶν, ἀδελφὸς
ἀρουᾶλις, ἑταῖρος Τίτιος, φητικᾶλις.

expressed their thanks to the divine powers, worshipping a pantheon of divinities not least of whom were a group of abstractions that characterized the regime, as well as Venus Genetrix and Divus Julius; at a time when the old worships were again so meaningful, we can readily appreciate how greatly enhanced Octavian's position would have been, as one who was closely associated with Apollo, and one who was not only descended from the gods but divi filius.

In 28 B.C. Octavian dedicated to Apollo the temple that he had vowed to build on the part of his house on the Palatine that had been struck by lightning.²² The accomplishment is noted in the Res Gestae:²³

...templumque Apollinis in Palatio...feci.

It is recorded in the Fasti:

APOLLIN IN PALAT 24

APOL IN PAL 25

LVDI·AVG·AED·APOL|DEDICAVIT 26

In Augustan literature, references to the temple are common-

22 Dio 53.1.3. The temple was vowed in 36 B.C. (see above, chapter 2, pp. 49-50).

23 Res Gestae 4.19.

24 CIL 1.214 (F. Arv.).

25 CIL 1.245 (F. Amit.).

26 CIL 1.249 (F. Ant.).

place,²⁷ the most memorable being an Ode of Horace written at the time of its dedication,²⁸ and two lines from the sixth book of the Aeneid:²⁹

tum Phoebus et Triviae solido de marmore templum
institutum festosque dies de nomine Phoebi.

Dio records the festos dies of 28 B.C. and provision for future celebration:³⁰

... καὶ τὴν πανήγυριν τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ τῇ πρὸς
τῷ Ἀκτίῳ γενομένην ψηφισθεῖσαν ἤγαγε μετὰ
τοῦ Ἀγρίππου, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τὴν ἵπποδρόμιον
διὰ τε τῶν παίδων καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν
εὐγενῶν ἐποίησε. καὶ αὕτη μὲν διὰ πέντε ἐτῶν
μέχρι τοῦ ἐγίγνετο ταῖς τέσσαρσιν ἱερωσύναις
ἐκ περιστροφῆς μέλουσα, λέγω δὲ τοὺς τε
ποντίφικας καὶ τοὺς οὐωνιστὰς τοὺς τε
ἐπὶ καὶ τοὺς πεντεκάδεκα ἄνδρας καλουμένους.

Apollo gained even greater importance as a major deity of the state when Octavian transferred to his trust the revised version of the Sibylline books.³¹ The words of the first

27 For a list, see DAR 16-19. The following passages are worthy of note: Vergil, Aeneid 8.720; Propertius 2.31.9, 2.17.67, 4.1.3 and 4.6.17; Ovid, Tristia 3.1.60, Metamorphoses 13.715, and Fasti 4.951.

28 Odes 1.31

29 Aeneid 6.69-70.

30 Dio 53.1.4.

31 Suetonius, Divus Augustus 31.

Emperor attest to the special treatment he accorded Apollo:³²

statuae [meae] pedestres et equestres et in
quadrigis argenteae steterunt in urbe xxc
circiter, quas ipse sustuli exque ea pecunia
dona aurea in aede Apollinis meo nomine et
illorum, qui mihi statuarum honorem habuerunt,
posui.

Apollo is a favorite representation on Augustan coins.³³ We have already noted the statue of Augustus with the features of Apollo that stood by this temple on the Palatine. There can, then, be no denying the great lengths to which Octavian went to make Apollo the most prominent deity of the regime, and to be associated with that god. Apollo has been called the patron god of Octavian,³⁴ but the modern concept of patron deity or saint may be misleading. I think it possible that the kind of association between Apollo and Octavian that was so eagerly sought goes far beyond the relationship of a man and his patron saint as this normally is understood; it may well be the case that this kind of association caused the ancient to view the human involved as more than just a man.

The years 28-27 B.C. are perhaps the most significant in the history of the Augustan principate, for at this time

32 Res Gestae 4.24. See also Suetonius, Divus Augustus 52, and Dio 53.52.1.

33 BMC Emp. Pl. 3.15, dated 16 B.C., Pl. 11.7-9, dated 15-12 B.C., and Pl. 12.3-5, dated 11-9 B.C.

34 See e.g., Taylor, Roman Emperor 154, and Grant, Roman Imperial Money 15.

Octavian announced a solution to the problem of his political position: he ostensibly transferred supreme power to the Senate and the Roman people, and designated for himself a role as the princeps senatus ³⁵ (and, ipso facto, the princeps civitatis?), in which position he was to pride himself on having the most auctoritas of all citizens and the least potestas.³⁶ Concerning his human status, Octavian, in a speech set in 27 B.C., is reported to have expressed the following view on immortality after just mentioning Divus Julius:³⁷

ἄθάνατοι μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἔνδυνηθείημεν γενέσθαι,
ἐκ δὲ δὴ τοῦ καλῶς Ἰῆσαι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ καλῶς
τελευτῆσαι καὶ τοῦτο τρόπον τινὰ κτῶμεθα.

Immortality could result from leading the good life. But of what did such a life consist? Octavian gives the answer in a letter to Tiberius:³⁸

...benignitas enim mea me ad caelestem
gloriam efferet.

³⁵ Res Gestae 1.7.

³⁶ Ibid. 6.34.

³⁷ Dio 53.9.5. Dio is probably using Livy here as well as the memoirs of Augustus; see Schwartz, RE 3 (1899) 1719-1720, s.v. Cassius.

³⁸ Suetonius, Divus Augustus 71, where the letter is quoted in part.

The essence of Octavian's benignitas is outlined in the oratio funebris of Tiberius wherein there is given a list of the great services that the first Emperor rendered to the state; the result, according to Tiberius, is that it is fitting

... τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ὡς καὶ θεοῦ εἰς ἰγάλλειν.

The notion that the rendering of good service leads to the attainment of immortality after death is Stoic doctrine of a kind expounded by Cicero. Consider for example that after describing as beneficiis excellentes viri Hercules, Castor and Pollux, Aesculapius, Liber and Romulus, he writes:⁴⁰

...rite di sunt habiti.

Within the context of this philosophical doctrine, the actions of Octavian become meaningful. He placed great emphasis on his accomplishments as one who had served the state well, and styled himself as optimi status auctor, probably intending, at least publicly, that his excellence in this capacity would

39 Dio 56.41.9. See also ibid. 52.35.3, where it is reported that Maecenas once told Octavian that the best kind of life to lead consisted of rendering service to the state and that such a life would give him ζῳετή and immortality.

40 Cicero, De Natura Deorum 2.62. See also De Legibus 2.19, and De Re Publica 1.12, 2.27, 6.13 and 6.26.

enable him to become divine.⁴¹ The qualities depicted on the clupeus virtutis that was dedicated in 28 or 27 B.C. all serve to enhance the princeps as he strives to attain his goal. The dedication is recorded in the Res Gestae:⁴²

in consulatu sexto et septimo...[clupeusque aureus in curia Iulia positus, quem mihi senatum [populumque Romanum dare virtutis clementiae iustitiae pietatis causa testatum] est per eius clupeum [inscriptionem].

But this philosophy was at variance to some extent with the thinking of a Horace, a Propertius and an Ovid, and though it may have been the policy of the first Emperor to refuse divine honours,⁴³ there does not seem to have been outward prohibition of them, at least so strongly worded as to act as a deterrent for these poets. Horace clearly

41 Suetonius, Divus Augustus 28, quoting the first Emperor, writes:

...ut optimi status auctor dicar....

42 Res Gestae 6.34. The Greek version reads:

ἐν ὑπατείᾳ ἔκτῃ καὶ ἐβδόμῃ... ὅπ[λ]ον τε χρυσοῦν ἐν τῷ βολυλευτηρίῳ ἀνατεθὲν ὑπὸ τε τῆς συνκλήτου καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ῥω[μα]ίων διὰ τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς ἀρετὴν καὶ ἐπείκειαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ εὐσέβειαν ἐμοὶ μαρτυρεῖ.

43 See below, chapter 4, pp. 112-114, for a discussion of this problem.

envisages the possibility of Augustus being a god while alive:⁴⁴

caelo tonantem credidimus Iovem
regnare: praesens divus habebitur
Augustus adiectis Britannis
imperio gravibusque Persis.

Later in the same poem Augustus is portrayed drinking in the company of Pollux and Hercules.⁴⁵ In the fourth book of Odes, Horace does not hesitate to call Augustus a god:⁴⁶

hinc ad vina redit laetus et alteris
te mensis adhibet deum.

He then goes on to describe a farmer worshipping the numen of Augustus along with the lares of his, the farmer's, house:⁴⁷

te multa prece, te prosequitur mero
defuso pateris et Laribus tuum
miscet numen, uti Graecia Castoris
et magni memor Herculis.

Propertius twice calls the Emperor a god:

arma deus Caesar dices meditatur ad Indos.⁴⁸
...et lacrimas vidimus ire deo.⁴⁹

44 Odes 3.5.1-4.

45 Ibid. 9-12.

46 Odes 4.5.31-32. Cf. above, n. 44, and observe the interchange of deus and divus.

47 Odes 4.5.33-36.

48 Propertius 3.4.1.

49 Ibid. 4.2.60.

But there is no comparison of either Horace or Propertius with Ovid.⁵⁰ As one might expect from a poet anxious to please, Ovid treats in detail the divine ancestry of the princeps,⁵¹ and devotes much space to the apotheosis of Julius Caesar;⁵² further, he compares Augustus with the demi-gods,⁵³ and he gives to him so many attributes of Jupiter that it is frequently most difficult to distinguish between the Emperor and this god.⁵⁴ (Perhaps correctly, we may call this poetic fancy and depreciate its value, yet our ignorance of the ancient mentality prevents us from making an accurate assessment.) But consider that Ovid thirteen times refers to the Emperor as a god.⁵⁵ I cite here three examples:

per te praesentem conspicuum deum.⁵⁶

Caesar, ades voto, maxime dive, meo.⁵⁷

50 The many references to the worship of Augustus that are found in Ovid have been collected and published by K. Scott; see his "Emperor Worship in Ovid," TAPA 61 (1930) 43-69.

51 Ibid. 46-47.

52 Ibid. 47-50.

53 Ibid. 51-52.

54 Ibid. 52-58.

55 Ibid. 58-63.

56 Tristia 2.54.

57 Ibid. 3.1.78.

causa tua exemplo superiorum tuta duorum est.
quorum hic aspicitur, creditur ille deus.⁵⁸

(Note again how divus and deus have been interchanged.) It is clear that Ovid conceives of the future apotheosis of Augustus:⁵⁹

di tamen et Caesar dis accessure....

Perhaps we ought not use the word "apotheosis," since it is hardly an accurate description of a god joining his peers. Although the literature of the Augustan Age in large measure functioned as a vehicle for Imperial ideology, much of it expounding what might be called the Augustan concept of Romanism, it is thus apparent that some major writers of the age did not hesitate to describe the living Augustus as a god. Yet, if Augustus would have been aroused at this to the point of being offended, at least publicly, can we imagine Horace, the very good friend of Augustus, writing praesens divus, or Propertius deus Caesar, or Ovid maxime dive? There can be no doubt that Augustus tolerated such appellations in spite of the public image he wished to have projected of himself as a man who would attain immortality after death as a result of his good services to the state. We must conclude that Augustus, at least in his attitude towards the writers of his day, did not forbid reference to himself as a god. Perhaps the infrequent occurrence of this in the early Augustan Age compared

58 Tristia 4.4.20-21.

59 Ibid. 5.5.61. For other references to the apotheosis

with ostensibly uncontrolled use in the writings of Ovid indicates a change in Imperial policy. (Yet Manilius, part of whose poem Astronomica was composed during the final years of Augustus' life,⁶⁰ often refers to the Emperor, but, in sharp contrast to Ovid, at no time describes Augustus as a god.) It may be that the infrequent use of deus or divus as descriptives of Augustus during the early years of the principate, such as we encounter in Horace and Propertius, is the result of an Imperial directive that encouraged the people to look upon their ruler as a man destined to become a god after death, and, ipso facto, sought to discourage worship of the living Emperor; indeed, it may be the very same expression of Imperial sentiment that caused Vergil to refrain from calling the Emperor a god or portraying him as such.

In 27 B.C., by decree of the Senate, Octavian received the name "Augustus":⁶¹

quo pro merito meo senatus consulto
Augustus appellatus sum....

of Augustus in Ovid, see Scott, "Emperor Worship," 61-63.

60 For the date of composition, see Housman's edition of Manilius, Astronomica l.lxix-lxxii.

61 Res Gestae 6.34. The Greek version reads:

ἐξ ἧς αἰτίας δόγματι συνκλήτου Σεβαστοῦ
προσ[ηγορε]ύθην....

The occasion was recorded in the Fasti:

EO·Die caesar augustus APPELLATVS·EST
SVPPLICATIO·AVGVSTO ⁶²

IMP CAESAR augustus est aPELLaTVS IPSO
VII ET AGRIPPA iii cos ⁶³

In the opening chapter of H. Wagenvoort's Roman Dynamism,⁶⁴ a meaning of augustus is shown to be augurio consecratus or augurato consecratus in a religious context where inanimate objects are involved (templa, arae, etc.), in which cases the meaning of augustus is clear enough: an object takes on the state described by augustus as a result of "imbibing" some undefined power or energy by means of touch, the contactor being the priest and the changed state arising from increase brought about by this energy. The word augustus, then, may be translated into English by the phrase "supplied with an increase." Wagenvoort also distinguishes sacer from augustus:⁶⁵

...(sacer) is "bi-polar" i.e. it refers to things sacred and things accursed. The word augustus on the other hand does not have what in our eyes is a two-fold function, and always means "increased to sacredness."

Our very explicit definition thus entails two considerations, the method of achieving the state described by augustus and the resultant state itself.

62 CIL 1.229 (Fer. Cum.).

63 CIL 1.231 (F. Praen.).

64 Roman Dynamism 12-17.

65 Ibid. 14.

Before the Augustan Age, augustus is found in Ennius to describe augurium,⁶⁶ once in Accius to describe Faventia,⁶⁷

cives omnibus faustis augustam adhibeant
Faventiam, ore obsceno dicta segregent,

and ten times in the writings of Cicero, being used with one exception to describe things of a religious nature, such as delubra, mysteria and templa.⁶⁸ The exception occurs in the Brutus where augustus is used as a descriptive of the language of Africanus and Laelius:⁶⁹

...quod item de Africano, de Laelio, cuius tu oratione negas fieri quicquam posse dulcius, addis etiam nescio quid augustius; nomine nos capis summi viri vitaeque elegantissimae verissimis laudibus.

In the histories of Livy, there appears to be an attempt to contrast humanus with augustus, for the two words are juxtaposed in no fewer than five passages from the preface to the eighth book:

...ut miscendo humana divinis primordia urbium augustiora faciat.⁷⁰

66 Cited below, n. 84.

67 Cited in Nonius 357.16.

68 In the letters of Cicero, augustus is not used. For a list of references in his other works, see Merguet, Lexicon zu den philosophischen Schriften Cicero's 1.284, and Lexicon zu den Reden des Cicero 1.364.

69 Brutus 295.

70 Livy, Praefatio 7.

...habitum formamque viri aliquantum ampliorem
augustiolemque humana intuens....⁷¹

...viros praeter ornatum habitumque humano
augustiolem maiestate etiam quam voltus
gravitasque oris prae se ferebat simillimos
dis.⁷²

dicitur visa species viri maioris quam pro
humano habitu augustiorisque....⁷³

...conspectus ab ultraque acie, aliquanto
augustior humano visu, sicut caelo missus....⁷⁴

The histories were not begun until 27 B.C.,⁷⁵ the year in which the title "Augustus" was conferred on Octavian: it may be that Livy was hoping to engender some feeling for the meaning of augustus by this contrast. Further, it has been suggested that the comparative augustior was deliberately used by Livy to suggest Augustus when it was used to describe Hercules and Romulus.⁷⁶ Livy in fact uses augustus thirteen times, and without exception only what can be thought of as religious or more than human is described or implied.⁷⁷

71 Livy 1.7.9.

72 Ibid. 5.41.8.

73 Ibid. 8.6.9.

74 Ibid. 8.9.10.

75 The first book was written between 27 and 25 B.C.; see Walsh, Livy: His Historical Aims and Methods 8.

76 Hirst, "The Significance of Augustior as Applied to Hercules and Romulus," AJP 47 (1926) 348.

77 Ibid. 347-348, where these passages are cited.

Vergil and Ovid are the only poets of the age to use augustus, at least as a descriptive of something other than the Emperor. The following instances are found in the writings of Vergil:

si quando sedem augustam servataque mella
thesauris relines....⁷⁸

tum satus Anchisa delectos ordine ab omni
centum oratores augusta ad moenia regis
ire iubet....⁷⁹

tectum augustum, ingens, centum sublime
columnis,
urbe fuit summa, Laurentis regia Pici.⁸⁰

This use of augustus may transcend the bounds of previous usage; the meaning that Vergil would assign to it in these passages is not clear. Ovid follows Cicero's usage but with two exceptions: he uses augustus to describe the gravitas⁸¹ and mens⁸² of gods.

Both Ovid and Suetonius were prompted to concern themselves with the meaning of augustus; Ovid, like Livy, makes a contrast with humanus:

sed tamen humanis celebrantur honoribus omnes:
hic socium summo cum Iove nomen habet.
sancta vocant augusta patres, augusta vocantur
templa sacerdotum rite dicata manu;

78 Georgics 4.228-229.

79 Aeneid 7.152-154.

80 Ibid. 170-171.

81 Metamorphoses 6.73, and 9.270.

82 Ibid. 15.145. For a list of references in Ovid, see Deferrari, Barry and McGuire, A Concordance of Ovid 176-177.

huius et augurium dependet origine verbi
et quodcumque sua Iuppiter auget ope.⁸³

...ut Augustus potius vocaretur, non tantum
novo sed etiam ampliore cognomine, quod loca
quoque religiosa et in quibus augurato quid
consecratur augusta dicantur, ab auctu vel
ab gestu gustave, sicut etiam Ennius docet
scribens:

augusto augurio postquam incluta
condita Roma est.⁸⁴

Perhaps Ovid and Suetonius felt that a definition of augustus was in order because of popular unawareness of its precise meaning. In time, people may have thought more in terms of the "state of increase" than of the way in which the state was achieved, if indeed the state itself was ever thought of once the word was common in the language. In sum, there can be no doubt that the word augustus had profound religious overtones, and that, when used with personages, it was descriptive not of men but of gods and their qualities.⁸⁵

From 27 to 20 B.C., there is little of significance to report. In either 27 or 25 B.C. Agrippa dedicated the

83 Ovid, Fasti 1.607-612.

84 Suetonius, Divus Augustus 7.2.

85 The use of augustus in the Brutus (cited above, n. 69) ostensibly constitutes an exception, unless one sees here the implication that the speech of Africanus and Laelius was so perfect as to be god-like or divine, and hence the justification for the use of augustus.

Pantheon.⁸⁶ It probably housed the seven planetary gods;⁸⁷ certainly a statue of Divus Julius was set up inside.⁸⁸ According to Dio, Augustus would not allow this temple to be dedicated to himself.⁸⁹ About this time, Augustus was honoured in a way most befitting the leading citizen of the state; it was decreed that his doorposts be covered with laurel and that the corona civica be fixed above his door.⁹⁰ This crown was usually the reward of a soldier who had saved the life of a citizen.

In 20 B.C. Augustus recovered the Roman standards that had been lost to the Parthians by Crassus. When he returned to Rome in 19 B.C., the Senate honoured him by dedicating an altar to Fortuna Redux. The occasion is described in the words of Augustus:⁹¹

[a]ram Fortunae Reduci iuxta aedes Honoris et
Virtutis ad portam [Capenam pro reditu meo
senatus consecravit, in qua pontifices et

86 In Dio's account for 25 B.C. (53.27), it is said that the temple was completed at this time. But the inscription on the frieze reads (CIL 6.896):

M AGRIPPA L F COS TERTIVM FECIT

87 DAR 382.

88 Dio 53.27.

89 Loc. cit.

90 Res Gestae 6.34.

91 Ibid. 2.11. The Greek version reads as follows:

Βωμὸν Τύχης Σωτηρίου ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς

virgines Vestales anniversarium sacrificium
facere [iussit eo die, quo consulibus Q.
Ludretio et [M. Vinucio] in urbem ex [Syria
redi, et diem Augustalia ex [c]ognomine nostro
appellavit.

It is recorded in the Fasti:

EO DIE Ara·FORTVNAE·REDVCIS·DEDICATAST·QVAE·
CAESAREM aug, ex transmariNIS PROVINCIIS·
REDuxit SVPPLICATIO·FORTVNAE·REDVCI 92

FER ex S C|Q E D IMP CAES AVG EX TRANSMARIN
PROVINC|VRBEM INTRAVIT ARAQ FORT REDVCI
CONSTIT 93

According to Dio, festivals were held on the Augustalia:⁹⁴

... καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἣν ἀφίξετο ἐν ταῖς
ἱερομηνίαις ἀφιθμεῖσθαι.

The altar of Fortuna Redux is represented on coins;⁹⁵ some-
times other aspects of Fortuna are found such as Fortuna
Victrix and Fortuna Felix.⁹⁶ Fortuna is the second Imperial

ἐπανόδου πρὸς τῇ Καπῆνῃ πύλῃ ἢ σύνκλητος
ἀφίέρωσεν· πρὸς ᾧ τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ τὰς ἱερέας
ἐνιαύσιον θυσίαν ποιεῖν ἐκέλευσεν ἐν ἐκείνῃ
τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἐν ἣ ὑπάτοις Κοίντῳ Λουκρητίῳ
καὶ Μάρκῳ Οὐινουκίῳ ἐκ Συρίας εἰς Ῥώμην
ἐπανεληλύθειν, τὴν τε ἡμέραν ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας
ἐπωνυμίας προσηγόρευσεν Αὐγουστάλια.

92 CIL 1.229 (Fer. Cum.).

93 CIL 1.245 (F. Amit.).

94 Dio 54.10.3.

95 BMC Emp. Pl. 7.10-13.

96 Ibid. Pl. 1.1-2.

abstraction to be enshrined after Octavian's return in 29 B.C.

In the second chapter, we observed that in the years just following the death of Caesar a new age had been expected: markings symbolic of the coming of a new age had appeared on coins at that time, namely, the head of the sun with crown and rays, and the crescent moon with five stars.⁹⁷ In 19 B.C. Vergil died, by which time it is clear that ideas of a new age were circulating again, at least in the mind of the poet, if not in Imperial circles. At once the following lines of the Aeneid are recalled:⁹⁸

hic vir, hic est, tibi quem promitti saepius
audis,
Augustus Caesar, divi genus, aurea condet
saecula qui rursus Latio regnata per arva
Saturno quando....

In 18 B.C., for the first time since the forties, coins bearing symbols of a new age appear again.⁹⁹ In 17 B.C. the new age began, and the occasion was marked by the ludi Saeculares. The care and attention given to the details of conducting this three-day celebration, especially the sacrifices by day and night, are attested by an inscription found in 1890,¹⁰⁰ wherein there is preserved a record of the festival; one notes with interest the provisions for the meticulous performance of the sacra, and the important role of Augustus. In an atmosphere of heightened religious

97 See above, chapter 2, pp. 46-47.

98 Aeneid 6.791-794.

99 BMC Emp. Pl. 1.17-20, and Pl. 2.2.

100 CIL 6.32323.

fervour in which the gods again had meaning and purpose, we witness a ceremony marking the inception of a new epoch, and, leading the way, the man who made it possible, a man among men yet apart from them. The lines of Vergil become reality:

...tuus iam regnat Apollo.

Augustus Caesar, divi genus, aurea condet
saecula....

Like the inscription, the Carmen Saeculare of Horace commemorates the occasion,¹⁰¹ as does the coinage of 17 B.C.¹⁰² The new age stands as a symbol of regeneration, for which Apollo (Augustus?) and Augustus (Apollo?) were responsible.

In the following year, Augustus left for Gaul and did not return until 13 B.C., the year in which Lepidus died, and thereby deprived Rome of her pontifex maximus, the highest religious official of the state. It would have been only proper that the leading citizen of the state should have aspired to

101 According to Suetonius (Vita Horatii Poetae), Horace wrote it at the suggestion of Augustus. Line 149 of CIL 6.32323 (see n. 100 above) reads:

CARMEN·COMPOSVIT·Q·HORATIVS·FLACCVS·

102 BMC Emp. Pl. 2.19-20, Pl. 3. 8,12, and Pl. 10.4. See also Pl. 17.14-15; these coins are thought to be associated with the institution of the new age and are dated about 17 B.C. by Sutherland, "The Date and Significance of the Candelabrum Coins of Augustus," CR 58 (1944) 46-49.

this position, for the holding of it could but enhance his record of service to the state.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE THIRD PERIOD OF DEVELOPMENT: 12 B.C.— A.D. 14

In 12 B.C. Augustus was elected pontifex maximus;¹ he chose to continue living on the Palatine, and to make part of his house public property.² At this time he made dedications to Vesta at his Palatine residence:

FERIAE·EX·S·C·QVOD·EO·DIE signVM·ET·ara|
VESTAE·INDOMV·IMP CAESARIS·AVGVsti pontIF·
MAX|DEDICATAST QVIRINIO ET VALGIO·COS 5

FER·Q·E·D·SIG|VEST·IN DOMO·P|DEDIC 4

In the Feriale Cumae, there is provision that Vesta receive a supplicatio four times each year:⁵

DRVSI·CAESARIS·NATALIS·SVPPLICATIO·VESTAE

NATALIS TI·CAESARIS·SVPPLICATIO VESTAE

eo die caesar pontifex maXIMVS·CREATIVS·EST·
SVPPLICATIO·VESTAE

1 Res Gestae 2.10.

2 Dio 54.27.2.

3 The restoration of the Fasti Praenestini in CIL (1.236), aedicula ET ara, has been corrected by Degrassi, Actes du deuxième congrès international d'épigraphie grècque et latine (Paris 1953) 99-100, cited by Ryberg, "Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art," MAAR 22 (1955) 50 n. 6. For a photograph of the stone, see Diehl, Inscriptiones Latinae 11.

4 CIL 1.213 (F. Caeret.).

5 CIL 1.229.

natalis germanici caesaris suppLICATIO VESTAE

Augustus thus shared his house with two of the most important deities of the Roman state religion in the Augustan Age, Apollo, with whom he had lived from 28 B.C., and Vesta. This situation is described by Ovid:⁶

aufer Vesta diem. cognati Vesta recepta est
limine: sic iusti constituere patres.
Phoebus habet partem, Vestae pars altera cessit;
quod superest illis, tertius ipse tenet.
state Palatinae laurus, praetextaque quercu
stet domus: aeternos tres habet una deos.

The question arises, will the private worship of Augustus' house be affected if the house in part is public, a place of public worship in the state and a centre of worship for two major deities? From 28 to 13 B.C., there is no evidence of any effect; from 12 to 6 B.C., the period of the reorganization of Rome,⁷ date the first known dedications to the lares

6 Fasti 4.949-954.

7 The reorganization of the city is mentioned by Suetonius (Divus Augustus 30) and Dio (55.8.6-7), the latter source giving a date of 7 B.C., the former offering no date. The city was divided into 265 vici; the magistri and ministri of each vicus appear to number themselves from the year of the reorganization of their vicus. An upper terminus for this event is provided by CIL 6.452: the inscription records a dedication to the lares Augusti and the genii Caesarum by magistri anni cxxi and is positively dated A.D. 109, thereby

Augusti.⁸ It may be that in some way the household worship of the lares Augusti became public as a result of its circumstances, perhaps because the lararium was viewed as sharing its domain with Apollo and Vesta, and thus as worthy of public worship as Apollo and Vesta; on the other hand, the public worship of the lares Augusti may have been a development totally independent of the peculiar situation of the lararium of Augustus' house. It is of interest to note that all known dedications to the lares Augusti that are dated from the lifetime of Augustus were made by the magistri and ministri of the vici, freedmen and slaves respectively; the involvement of only such people may indicate that this worship was limited to these two classes of the Roman society.

Before considering the evidence for the worship of the lares of Augustus and his genius, three points must be made. There is no evidence that the lares Augusti were

yielding the earliest known date for the reorganization, 12 B.C. A lower terminus of 6 B.C. is provided by CIL 6.761, a dedication to Fortuna Augusta by magistri anni xviii. The inscription is dated to A.D. 12. For a discussion of the dating, see Mommsen's commentary on p. 454 of CIL 6, part 1.

⁸ See pp. 90-97 below.

worshiped at the compita, nor is there evidence that the lares compitales were identified with the lares Augusti during the Augustan Age; though it is possible to make a case for these suggestions,⁹ it is wrong to state them as matters of fact.¹⁰ Finally, the dating of the worship of the genius Augusti to about the same period as that of the lares Augusti is most tentative. I know of not one Augustan inscription containing the words genius Augusti; the closest one finds is a dedication to the genii Caesarum that is dated not later than 6 B.C.¹¹ Our dating of this worship to the Augustan Age depends on a passage in the Fasti of Ovid,¹²

bina gemellorum quaerebam signa deorum
viribus annosae facta caduca morae:
mille Lares Geniumque ducis, qui tradidit illos,
urbs habet, et vici numina trina colunt,

and on the interpretation of a few scenes on altars from Rome, all but one of which is positively dated to the lifetime of Augustus. Neither the lares nor the genius of Augustus appears on coins before A.D. 14; there is in fact no evidence that attempts were made from above either to institute or to encourage this worship.

In the light of the aforementioned passage from Ovid,

9 Rushforth, Latin Historical Inscriptions 59-62.

10 See e.g. Ryberg, "Rites of the State Religion," 57; and Taylor, Roman Emperor 185.

11 CIL 6.445, cited below, n. 27.

12 Fasti 5.143-146.

it would not be surprising to find evidence for the worship of lares and the genius Augusti by those of the vici. Indeed, the archaeological evidence attests to this worship, as does the epigraphic, but the latter, as noted above, only to the worship of the lares Augusti. (At once the epigraphic evidence poses a great problem because, of the many Latin inscriptions that attest to the existence of cult elements, most are undateable, and only a few are positively dated from the Augustan Age. There is a great temptation to use undateable inscriptions but this practice is to be avoided; the inherent danger is illustrated in the following way. The title flamen Augusti is found in a few inscriptions that are dated from the Augustan Age.¹³ Yet it is also found in many inscriptions that clearly postdate the death of Augustus;¹⁴ thus, undateable inscriptions wherein this title is found, such as those from Verona,¹⁵ and from Praeneste,¹⁶ cannot be

13 E.g., CIL 10.840, 943 and 944.

14 For several examples, see Taylor, "The Worship of Augustus in Italy during his Lifetime," TAPA 51 (1920) 120-123. In view of Miss Taylor's awareness of the problem that I am outlining, it is strange that she chooses to date from the Augustan Age so many inscriptions that are quite possibly post-Augustan; see Taylor, Roman Emperor Appendix 3.

15 CIL 5.3341.

16 CIL 14.2964.

used with any degree of certainty as evidence for the existence during the lifetime of Augustus of the position described by this title. The same problem arises with other cult elements, such as dedications to the lares Augusti,¹⁷ and the same principle must hold. Consequently, the amount of epigraphic evidence that might have been used is greatly diminished. Surely it is obvious that one's understanding of the development of the Roman Imperial Cult before A.D. 14 will be much distorted if undateable inscriptions that are viewed as Augustan are made use of when they could just as easily be post-Augustan.)

We shall first consider an altar of the greatest importance because, if correctly restored and interpreted, it portrays the worship of the genius Augusti with the lares Augusti.¹⁸ The altar, from Rome, is undated, but is thought to have been set up not much later than the period of the reorganization of the city because of the nature of the

17 E.g., CIL 6.445-454; of these dedications to the lares Augusti, some date before A.D. 14, some later.

18 For the descriptions of the reliefs of this altar and the others that follow, I am indebted to the commentary in CIL, as well as the descriptions by Ryberg in "Rites of the State Religion," chapters 4-7. In the latter source for this altar, see pp. 56-58, as well as Pl. 14.27a, and Pl. 15b and c. For a photograph of the altar's front, see Taylor, Roman Emperor 187 fig. 6.

scenes portrayed and the quality of the craftsmanship.¹⁹ On the front is a floating Victory that holds a shield bearing the following inscription:²⁰

SENATVS·POPVLVSQ|ROMANVS|IMP·CAESARI·DIVI·F·
AVGVSTO|PONTIF·MAXIM·IMP COS TRIB POTESTAT

At the rear an apotheosis is portrayed but the identity of the deified person is not known. On one side is a scene from Roman legend: Aeneas stands beside a tree at the foot of which lies a sow with a few piglets. A line of the Aeneid is at once recalled:²¹

litoreis ingens inventa sub ilicibus sus.

The seated figure holding a scroll, so masterfully identified as the Mother of the Lares by L. R. Taylor,²² at one time had a beard, and perhaps is nothing more than a vates.²³ On the fourth side of the altar a contemporary scene is portrayed. It is framed by pillars that may indicate a temple. Six figures stand around an altar; on the left are three young men, identified as assistants to the two vicomagistri who stand at the far right. The sixth figure, placed between

19 Ryberg, "Rites of the State Religion," 57.

20 CIL 6.876.

21 Vergil, Aeneid 3.390.

22 "The Mother of the Lares," AJA 29 (1925) 299, and Roman Emperor 189.

23 Ryberg, "Rites of the State Religion," 58.

the altar and the vicomagistri, is believed to be Augustus;²⁴ he appears as a priest and is shown handing a lar to one of the three figures on the left. (I question Ryberg's identification of the sixth figure; there is no reason why he could not be simply a priest. There is not a shred of evidence elsewhere to connect Augustus with the worship of the lares Augusti and the genius Augusti by those of the vici.) A second lar, seen in the hand of one of the three figures, has already been handed over. The left hand of the priest (or Augustus) is missing, and it has been suggested by Ryberg that the hand once held the figure of the genius Augusti.²⁵ Comparison of this scene with one on an altar found under the Palazzo Cancellaria in 1938 and dated to the Julio-Claudian period makes this suggestion quite plausible.²⁶ Here we see a well-preserved three-figure group, each member carrying a small statuette. The centre one is identified as the genius Augusti, those on the outside as the lares Augusti.

The figures of the lares and genius of Augustus are portrayed in a relief that is part of an altar dedicated no later than 6 B.C. The inscription reads as follows:²⁷

24 Ryberg, "Rites of the State Religion," 57.

25 Loc. cit.

26 Loc. cit., and 75-80; cf. Pl. 24.37c and Pl. 15.28b.

27 CIL 6.445. The magistri being primi cannot post-date 6 B.C. (see n. 7 above).

sacrificed a bull to the genius of Augustus after his death,³³
and that before A.D. 14 there was provision for blood
sacrifice to Augustus himself,³⁴

NATALIS·CAESARIS·IMMOLATIO·CAESARI·HOSTIA·
SVPPLICATIO

and to his numen:

...HOSTIAS|SINGVL·INMOLENT·ET·THVS·ET·VINVM·
AD SVPPLICANDVM·NVMINI·EIVS·COLONIS·ET|INCOLIS·
PRAESTENT·³⁵

PONTIFICES·Augures xu viri s. f. uii·VIR·EPVLONVM·
VICTVMAS·INMOLENT·Numini augusti ad aram qVAM·
DEDICAVIT·TI·CAESAR|FELICITATI Quod ti caesar
aram AVG PATRI·DEDICAVIT ³⁶

To my knowledge, blood sacrifice to the genius³⁷ or numen
of a living man or directly to the man himself was without
precedent in the West; Augustus appears to have been the first
living man in the West so honoured.

The magistri of the vicus Sandaliarius made a dedication

33 E.g., CIL 6.2051. Their records (except their
Fasti) postdate the Augustan Age and cannot be used as
evidence for their activity during that period.

34 CIL 1.229 (Fer. Cum.).

35 CIL 12.4333.

36 CIL 1.231 (F. Praen.). The restoration from
quod is difficult to understand in view of what precedes.

37 According to Censorinus (2.2-3) the regular
offering to the genius was wine.

to the lares Augusti in A.D. 2.³⁸ Two lares are portrayed on the altar's relief but the genius Augusti is not represented.

The ministri of the vici also had a share in the cult of the lares Augusti. We have two marble bases from Rome, each bearing an inscription that records a dedication to the lares Augusti by the ministri of a vicus who call themselves primi.³⁹ Both dedications are by the same group. One of the inscriptions reads as follows:⁴⁰

LARIB·AVG|MINISTRI|QVI·K·AVG·PRIMI INIERVNT
(the names of the ministri)

The phrase genius Augusti is conspicuous by its absence in the dedications to the lares Augusti by the magistri and ministri of the vici at Rome that have been cited thus far. The words of Ovid must be reckoned with, but it must be remembered that dating from the Augustan Age the worship of the genius Augusti along with the lares Augusti on the basis of interpretation of reliefs is most hazardous and should be used with the utmost caution.

In his account for the year 10 B.C., Dio writes:⁴¹

ἐπειδὴ τε ἀρχύριον αὐτοῖς ἐς εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ

38 CIL 6.448.

39 CIL 6.446-447.

40 CIL 6.446.

41 Dio 54.35.2.

καὶ ἐκείνη καὶ ὁ δῆμος συνεσήνεγκαν, ἑαυτοῦ
μὲν οὐδεμίαν, Ὑγιείας δὲ δημοσίας καὶ
προσέτι καὶ Ὀμονοίας Εἰρήνης τε ἕσθησεν.

For the erection of the three statues, Augustus was clearly responsible. Salus does not appear to have been a much emphasized abstraction. She is not found in any of the Augustan Fasti and does not appear on coins until late in the reign of Nero.⁴² We find her mentioned along with Pax and Concordia in the Fasti of Ovid:⁴³

Ianus adorandus cumque hoc Concordia mitis
et Romana Salus araque Pacis erit.

The ara Pacis referred to by Ovid was dedicated in 9 B.C., four years after the Senate had decreed that it be built. In the Res Gestae, Augustus records the provisions of that decree:⁴⁴

cum ex Hispania Galliaque, rebus in his provinciis
prosperis [gestis], Romam redi Ti. Nerone P.
Quintilio consulibus, aram [Pacis] Augustae

42 BMC Emp. clxxv.

43 Fasti 3.881-882.

44 Res Gestae 2.12. The Greek version reads:

ὅτε ἐξ Ἰσπανίας καὶ Γαλατίας, τῶν ἐν
ταύταις ταῖς ἐπαρχείαις πραγμάτων κατὰ
τὰς εὐχὰς τελεσθέντων, εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπ-
ανῆλθον Τιβερίω [Νέ]ρωνι καὶ Ποπλίω
Κοιντιλίω ὑπάτοις, βωμὸν Εἰρήνης
Σεβαστῆς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς ἐπανόδου ἀφ-
ερωθῆναι ἐψηφίσατο ἡ σύνκλητος ἐν

senatus pro] redit[u meo [consecrari censuit] ad
campum Martium, in qua ma]gistratus et sacerdotes
et virgines] V[est]al[es] anniversarium sacrifici]um
facere] iussit.]

Both the decree of the Senate and the day of the altar's
dedication were entered in the Fasti:

FER EX S C Q E D ARA|PACIS AVG IN CAMP MAR|
CONSTITVTA EST|NERONE ET VARO COS 45

ara pACIS AVGVST|cONSTITVT 46

FERIAE·EX·S·C·QVOD eo DIE·ARA|PACIS AVGVSTAE
in campo|MARTIO DEDICATA eST·DRVSO·ET·CRISPINO·
Cos 47

FER·EX·S·C·Q·E·D·ARA|PAC·AVG·D 48

The ara Pacis does not appear on Augustan coins, although
Pax had been stressed as early as 28 B.C.⁴⁹ The Senate
seems to have been responsible for the linking of Augustus'
name with Pax; perhaps all the abstractions closely
associated with the regime and the Emperor were viewed as
being described by Augusta.⁵⁰ The grouping of Pax with Actium

πεδίωι Ἀρεως, πρὸς ᾧ τοὺς τε ταῖς ἀρχαῖς καὶ
τοὺς ἱερεῖς τὰς τε ἱερείας ἐνιαυσίους θυσίας
ἐκέλευσε ποιεῖν.

45 CIL 1.244 (F. Amit.).

46 CIL 1.248 (F. Ant.).

47 CIL 1.232 (F. Praen.).

48 CIL 1.212 (F. Caeret.).

49 Grant, Roman Imperial Money 20 fig. 4.

50 Cf. e.g., CIL 6.761 (see n. 7 above), a dedication

(and, by implication, with Augustus) is nicely stated by Ovid:⁵¹

ipsum nos carmen deduxit Pacis ad aram.
haec erit a mensis fine secunda dies.
frondibus Actiacis comptos redimita capillos,
Pax, ades et toto mitis in orbe mane.

The reliefs of the ara Pacis portray a contemporary sacrificial procession as well as the legendary origins of Rome.⁵² Those in which Terra Mater and the sacrifice of the sow by Aeneas appear

...are thus richly symbolic of the divine destiny of Rome which the house of Augustus through the aid of Augustan Peace was bringing to fulfilment.⁵³

Such religious themes, becoming a commonplace in Augustan art, illustrate again the importance of the state religion during the lifetime of Augustus. In the procession, Ryberg identifies four flamines and suggests that one was the flamen of Divus Julius.⁵⁴

to Fortuna Augusta; CIL 1.229 (see above, chapter 3, n. 11), a supplicatio to Victoria Augusta; CIL 1.244 (cited below, n. 66), an altar of Ops Augusta; CIL 1.231 (see n. 69 below), a shrine of Concordia Augusta.

51 Fasti 1.709-712.

52 See Ryberg, "Rites of the State Religion," 40-48 for an excellent description of the reliefs, as well as Plates 10-13.

53 Taylor, Roman Emperor 199.

54 "Rites of the State Religion," 44.

When listing the divine honours accorded the living Julius Caesar, Suetonius included among those ampliora... humano fastigio the naming of a month after Caesar.⁵⁵ In 27 B.C. Augustus received this honour:⁵⁶

...et mensis Sextilis in honorem eius appellatus est.

However, if we are to believe Dio, the honour was not accepted until 8 B.C., for, in his account of the events of that year, he writes:⁵⁷

...καὶ τὸν μῆνα τὸν Σεξτίλιον ἐπικαλούμενον
Αὐγούστον ἀντωνόμασε.

It appears that in this year Augustus allowed that his birthday, an event at which he was the object of blood sacrifice at Cumae,⁵⁸ be permanently commemorated by circus games.⁵⁹ As noted above, provision for the celebration of Octavian's birthday had been made by the Senate sometime before his return from the East in 29 B.C.⁶⁰ Dio refers many times

55 Divus Iulius 76.

56 Livy, Epitomae 134. References to this are frequent in the literature; see, e.g., Suetonius, Divus Augustus 31; Censorinus 22.6; Macrobius, Saturnalia 1.12.35; and Dio 55.6.6-7.

57 Dio 55.6.6.

58 See n. 34 above.

59 Dio 55.6.7.

60 Chapter 2, pp. 55-56; here there is also cited the evidence of the Fasti wherein there is provision for the celebration of Augustus' birthday.

to the celebration of the first Emperor's birthday.⁶¹ The occasion may have been the most significant celebration of the year during the Augustan Age.

From 8 B.C. to A.D. 14, there do not appear to have been at Rome any deviations from the direction of development that the Roman Imperial Cult had assumed thus far. For his service to the state, Augustus was given what probably was the highest honour that a Roman could receive, the title pater patriae:⁶²

tertium decimum consulatum cum gerebam, senatus
et equester ordo populusque Romanus universus
[appellavit me] patrem patriae....

The title is frequently found on Augustan coins that postdate 2 B.C.⁶³ Deified abstractions associated with the regime and the princeps continued to be stressed. Dated about A.D. 7 is

61 Dio 54.8.5 (20 B.C.), 54.26.2 (13 B.C.), 54.30.5 (12 B.C.), 54.34.1-2 (11 B.C.), 55.6.7 (8 B.C.), 55.26.3 (A.D. 4), 56.25.3 (A.D. 11), 56.29.1 (A.D. 13). See also Horace, Epistolae 1.5.9; Gellius, Noctes Atticae 15.7; and Suetonius, Divus Augustus 57.

62 Res Gestae 6.35. The Greek version reads:

τρισκαιδεκάτην ὑπατείαν ἔχοντός μου ἥ τε
σύνκλητος καὶ τὸ ἐπικλὸν τάγμα ὅ τε σύνπας
δῆμος τῶν Ῥωμαίων προσηγόρευσέ με πατέρα
πατρίδος....

63 E.g., Grant, Roman Imperial Money 77 fig. 32, and 82 fig. 34.

provision for the erection of altars to Ceres and Ops Augusta:⁶⁴

FERIAE ARAE OPIS ET CERERIS IN VICO IVGARIO
CONSTITVTAE SVNT ⁶⁵

FERIAE QVOD EO DIE ARAE CERERI MATRI ET OPI
AVGVSTAE EX VOTO SVSCEPTO CONSTITVTAE SVNT
CRETICO ET LONG COS ⁶⁶

FERIAE CERERI ET OPI AVG ⁶⁷

A shrine of Concordia and an altar of Felicitas were also added to the little pantheon of abstractions before A.D. 14. Suetonius records that Tiberius dedicated the shrine of Concordia:⁶⁸

dedicavit et Concordiaem aedem....

A date of A.D. 10 is provided by the Fasti Praenestini:⁶⁹

CONCORDIAE AVGVSTAE aedis dedicata EST
P·DOLABELLA C·SILANO COS

Concordia does not appear on Augustan coins, nor does Felicitas, whose altar Tiberius dedicated before Augustus' death. Our only evidence is a much restored entry in the Fasti Praenestini:⁷⁰

PONTIFICES Augures xu viri s. f. uii VIR.

64 For a discussion of the date, see Mommsen's commentary in CIL 1.324.

65 CIL 1.240 (F. Vall.).

66 CIL 1.244 (F. Amit.).

67 CIL 1.248 (F. Ant.).

68 Tiberius 20.

69 CIL 1.231.

70 Loc. cit.

EPVLONVM·VICTVMAS·IN|MOLANT·Numini augusti
ad aram qVAM·DEDICAVIT·TI·CAESAR|FELicitatI
Quod ti caesar aram AVG PATRI·DEDICAVIT

The gods of the state continued to receive their due from Augustus. In 2 B.C. he had set up a temple of Mars:⁷¹

in privato solo Martis Vltoris templum
...[ex mani]bus feci.

There were also special games in honour of Mars that Augustus prided himself on founding:⁷²

[con]sul xiii] ludos Martiales primus feci] qu[os]
post id tempus deinceps] insequentib[us annis]
[s. c. mecum fecerunt con]sules.

It remains to consider the spread of the Roman Imperial Cult, first in the rest of Italy, and then in the other areas of the West. In the light of the references that have already been made to the contents of Augustan Fasti from various parts of Italy, it is clear that the cult had assumed a national character during the Augustan Age; however, there were developments in Italy unlike those at Rome, at least in so far as concerned officials who were connected with the cult. To the period 12 B.C.- A.D. 14 is dated the first evidence for the existence of different titles that are descriptive

71 Res Gestae 4.21.

72 Ibid. 22. The Greek version reads:

ὑπάτος τρισκαίδέκατον [θέας Ἄρεως πρ]ῶτος
ἐπόησα, ὥς μετ' ἐκεῖνο[ν χ]ρόνον ἐξῆς [τοῖς
μ]ετέπειτα ἐνιαυτοῖς δ[ι]όγματι συνκλήτου
σὺν ἐ]μοῖ ἐπόησαν οἱ ὑπ[α]τοι.]

of positions that probably are to be associated with the Roman Imperial Cult in varying degrees. It is thought that these titles designate positions of religious significance if only because they appear to have been created by analogy with the titles of priests of various divine powers, for example, Augustalis from Mercurialis, magister Augusti from magister fani, magister Augustalis from magister Mercurialis, and flamen Augustalis from flamen Dialis.⁷³ As a result of comparative studies with post-Augustan inscriptions, different theories have been advanced about the nature of the relationships of the positions described by these titles, either one to another or with the Roman Imperial Cult, but even today there is no solution to the problem.⁷⁴ It will be assumed in this paper that there was some sort of relationship of these positions with the cult; let it suffice here to consider inscriptions dated to the Augustan Age in order to determine which positions existed at that time.

73 Nock, "Seviri and Augustales," Mélanges Bidez 11 (1934) 630-631.

74 Cf. e.g. Taylor, "Augustales, Seviri Augustales, and Seviri: a Chronological Study," TAPA 45 (1914) 231-253, especially pp. 232-233 for references to previous articles on the subject as well as for an outline of some of the areas of disagreement; Rushforth, Latin Historical Inscriptions 63-66; Nock, "Seviri and Augustales," 627-638; and Oliver, "Gerusiae and Augustales," Historia 7 (1958) 472-496.

We have noted that at Rome the public worship of the lares Augusti was associated with the magistri and ministri of the vici, and that this worship dates from 12 B.C. The first magistri Augustales of Nepes, indeed the only ones we know of from any place in the West dating from the Augustan Age, appear in an inscription dated to 12 B.C.:⁷⁵

IMP·CAESARI·DIVI·F|AVGVSTO|PONTIF·MAXIM·COS·XI|
TRIBVNIC·POTESTAT·XI|MAGISTRI·AVGVSTAL·PRIM

(The only Augustalis of the Augustan period is found in an inscription from Almeida, dated A.D. 4-5; see below, p. 111.) Contrary to what is stated in some learned studies,⁷⁶ no inscriptions containing the titles seviri Augustales and seviri can be dated to the Augustan Age with any degree of certainty. The title flamen Augustalis appears twice in an inscription from Pisae that is dated A.D. 4:⁷⁷

...INTEREA·T·STATVLENVS·IVNCVS·|FLAMEN·AVGVSTALIS·...

...IDQVE t, statVLENVS·IVNCVS·PRINCEPS·COLONIAE·
NOSTRAE·FLAMEN·AVGVSTalis·...

This flamen Augustalis may have been associated with an Augusteum at Pisae that appears in an inscription from there dated A.D. 2:⁷⁸

...IN FORO IN AVGVSTEO·...

75 CIL 11.3200.

76 See e.g. those of Taylor and Nock cited in n. 74.

77 CIL 11.1421, lines 43 and 49.

78 CIL 11.1420, line 1.

The nature of an Augusteum is not known; perhaps it was a shrine or a temple of Augustus. From an inscription found at Puteoli and dated A.D. 1, we learn of the only known instance of the worship of the lares Augusti outside of Rome during the Augustan Age:⁷⁹

C·CAESAR·AVG·F·L·PAVLLO·COS|LARES·AVGVSTOS|
(names of the magistri)
MAGISTR·DE·SVO·F·C·

Just as at Rome, the magistri are associated with this cult. At Pompeii there appear to have been three kinds of ministri during the Augustan Age, as well as a sacerdos Augusti and a flamen Augusti. There is no evidence to associate the ministri of the pagus Augustanus felix suburbanus with the cult of the Emperor's lares and genius, as Miss Taylor suggests.⁸⁰ Of more interest to us are the ministri Augusti who appear in an inscription that is dated to 2 B.C.:⁸¹

(names of slaves) MIN·AVG·EX·D·D·IVSSV|M·
HOLCONI·RVFI·IV|A·CLODI·FLACCI·III|D·V·I·D·|
P·CAESETI·POSTVMI|N·TINTIRI·RVFI|d V·V·A·S·
P·P|imp. caesARE·XIII m. plautio siLVANO·COS

There is no evidence that the ministri Augusti existed at Pompeii after A.D. 34; no Augustales at Pompeii predate

79 CIL 10.1582.

80 Roman Emperor 279.

81 CIL 10.890. The ministri Augusti also appear in CIL 10.891 and 892, dated A.D. 1 and A.D. 2 respectively.

A.D. 34.⁸² In A.D. 3, ministri Fortunae Augustae begin to appear:⁸³

(names of slaves) MINIST·PRIM·FORTVN·AVG·IVSS|
M·STAI·RVFI·CN·MELISSAEI·D·V·I·D|P·SILIO·L·
VALVSIO·SATVRN·COS

This inscription is on a small base that was found in the cella of a shrine identified by CIL 10.820 as the aedes Fortunae. Possibly the ministri Fortunae Augustae were created at the same time that this shrine was dedicated.⁸⁴

The titles flamen Augusti and sacerdos Augusti are found in several inscriptions from Pompeii. Consider first CIL 10.837:

M·HOLCONIO·RVFO·D·V·I·D·IIII·QVINQ|TRIB·MIL·
A·POPVLO·AVGVSTI·SACERDOTI|EX·D·D·

The inscription records that Rufus was duovir for the fourth time, an honour clearly dated to 2 B.C. by CIL 10.890. In another inscription, where Rufus is called Augusti Caesaris sacerdos, he appears as duovir for the fifth time:⁸⁵

M·HOLCONIO·M·F·RVFO|TRIB·MIL·A·POPVL·II·VIR·
I·D·V|QVINQ·ITER|AVGVSTI·CAESARI·SACERD|
PATRONO·COLONIAE

82 Taylor, "Augustales, Seviri Augustales and Seviri," 238 n. 23.

83 CIL 10.824.

84 The date of the shrine's dedication is otherwise unknown.

85 CIL 10.830.

The inscription must postdate 2 B.C., and predate A.D. 14 if the undated inscriptions CIL 10.840 and 944-946 are correctly interpreted. In the first two inscriptions, M. Holconius Celer appears as sacerdos Augusti designatus, and in the other two as sacerdos divi Augusti. It has been suggested by Mommsen that Celer was elected sacerdos just before Augustus' death, and that he did not hold the position until after the Emperor was dead, at which time Augustus was officially recognized in the West as a god.⁸⁶ A person holding the position of sacerdos of a god usually did so for life.⁸⁷ Assuming this to be the case here, and that Mommsen's explanation is correct, we may conclude that Rufus had died by A.D. 14 and thus was duovir for the fifth time before that year. In three inscriptions that must then predate A.D. 14, Rufus is called flamen Augusti.⁸⁸ One of these reads as follows:⁸⁹

M·HOLCONIO M F RVFO | II·V·I·D·QVINQVIENS | ITER·
QVINQ·TRIB·MIL·A·P | FLAMINI·AVG·PATR·COLO·D·D

In Italy no templa Augusti can be dated to the Augustan Age, unless an Augusteum is a temple of Augustus. An altar of Augustus has been found at Aquileia; the inscription yields a date of A.D. 14, but we do not know

86 CIL 10, p. 130.

87 Smith, A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities 997, s.v. sacerdos.

88 CIL 10.838, 947 and 948.

89 CIL 10.838.

whether it was set up before or after the death of Augustus:⁹⁰

IMP·CAESARI|DIVI·F·AVGVSTO|PONTIF·MAXIM|
TRIB·POTEST·XXXVII|COS·XIII·P P SACRVM

There may have been more in Italy if the arae referred to by Horace in the following passage are those of Augustus:⁹¹

praesenti tibi maturos largimur honores
iurandasque tuum per numen ponimus aras.

To this last phase of the Roman Imperial Cult's development during the lifetime of Augustus is dated the first evidence for the existence of cult elements in the West (excluding Italy). An altar was set up at Lugdunum in 12 or 10 B.C.⁹² to Augustus and to Rome, an altar for which there was appointed a sacerdos:

...tumultus qui ob censum exortus in Gallia
erat componitur; ara dei Caesaris ad con-
fluentem Araris et Rhodani dedicata, sacerdote
creato C. Iulio Vercondaridubno Aeduo.⁹³

90 CIL 5.852.

91 Horace, Epistolae 2.1.15-16.

92 The sources do not agree on the date. In Livy, the dedication is included with the events of 12 B.C., but Suetonius believes that it was dedicated in a consulship that is dated to 10 B.C. (see below, notes 93 and 94). It may be that the altar was vowed in 12 B.C. and dedicated two years later; yet I think that we should be most hesitant to question the authority of Livy, a man who was contemporary with the event.

93 Livy, Epitomae 139.

Claudius natus est, Iulio Antonio Fabio
Africano consulibus, Kalendis Augustis,
Lugduni, eo ipso die quo primum ara ibi
Augusto dedicata est.⁹⁴

The coins of Lugdunum that are dated from the Augustan Age
bear representations of this altar with the words ROM ET AVG.⁹⁵
We know of another sacerdos arae Augusti from Lugdunum:⁹⁶

M LVCTER|LVCTERII·SENECIANI·F·LEONI|OMNIBVS
HONORIBVS IN PATRIA·FVNCTO|SACERD·ARAE|AVG·
INTER CONFLVENT ARAR|ET RHODANI|CIVITAS CAD|
OB MERIT·EIVS|PVBL POSVIT

The Lucterius Senecianus referred to may be the man whose
name is mentioned frequently by Caesar in his account of the
Gallic Wars.⁹⁷ The son of Lucterius would not have died much
later than A.D. 14; thus it is quite possible that he was
sacerdos at the ara Augusti while Augustus was alive.

In 2 B.C. an altar to Augustus was set up on the Elbe
by Lucius Domitius:⁹⁸

ὁ γὰρ Δομίτιος... τὸν Ἀλβίαν μηδενός οἱ

94 Suetonius, Claudius 2.

95 See Grant, The Six Main Aes Coinages of Augustus
Plates 17 and 18. Strabo describes the altar but the temple
to which he refers is of unknown date; see The Geography of
Strabo 4.3.2. This temple is mentioned in several post-
Augustan inscriptions; e.g., CIL 13. 1619, 1712 and 11174.

96 CIL 13.1541.

97 De Bello Gallico 7.5, 7 and 8; 8.30-35, 39 and 44.

98 Dio 55.10a.3.

ἐναντιούμενου διαβάς φιλίαν τε τοῖς ἐκείνῃ
 βαρβάροις συνέθετο καὶ βωμὸν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ
 τῷ Αὐγούστῳ ἱδρύσατο.

By 2 B.C. an altar of the Ubii had been erected, for in this year of the German revolt a certain Segimundus, who is called sacerdos apud aram Vbiorum, broke his fillets.⁹⁹ This altar may have been dedicated to Augustus, like those set up at Lugdunum and on the Elbe, but we do not know this for a fact; A. Abaecherli is not justified in writing

...(the altar of the Ubii) was dedicated to the emperor or his genius.¹⁰⁰

In A.D. 11 there was dedicated at Narbo an altar to the numen Augusti:¹⁰¹

plepS NARBONENSIS Aram| NVMINIS·AVGVSTI·DEDI|CAVIT...

As noted above, provision was made for sacrifice to the numen:

...HOSTIAS|SINGVL·INMOLENT·ET·THVS·ET·VINVM·
 AD|SVPPPLICANDVM·NVMINI·EIVS·COLONIS·ET|INCOLIS·
 PRAESTENT.¹⁰²

(The famous lex Narbonensis ¹⁰³ that is dated from the reign

99 Tacitus, Annales 1.57. See ibid. 1.39 for another reference to this priest.

100 "The Institution of the Imperial Cult in the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire," SMSR 10 (1935) 158.

101 CIL 12.4333, lines 1 and 2 in latere.

102 CIL 12.4333, lines 32-34.

103 CIL 12.6038.

of Tiberius ¹⁰⁴ cannot be used here as evidence for a stage in the development of the cult at Narbo during the lifetime of Augustus. Worthy of note is the following phrase,¹⁰⁵

...INTRA FINES·EIVS·TEMPLI·STATVAE·PONENDAE·
IVS ESTO....,

as well as two titles that describe priestly positions, flamen¹⁰⁶ and flamen Augustalis.¹⁰⁷) There was a flamen Augusti at Baeterrae;¹⁰⁸

...PRAEFECTO·EQVIT·TRIBVNO·MILITVM|leg. VII·
ET·LEG·XXII·PRAEFECT·CASTRORVM·FLAMINI·AVG
PRIMO|VRBI·IVL·BAETER·PRAEFECTO·PRO·II·VIRO·
C·CAESARIS·AVGVSTI·F

Presumably the last position was held before the death of Gaius in A.D. 4.

We know of three altars of Augustus in Spain that date before A.D. 14. The first, at Tarraco, is known only from a story recorded by Quintilian:¹⁰⁹

Augustus nuntiantibus Tarraconensibus palmam
in aram eius enatam, "apparet," inquit, "quam
saepe accendatis."

104 Abaecherli, "The Dating of the Lex Narbonensis,"
TAPA 63 (1932) 256-268.

105 CIL 12.6038, line 13.

106 Lines 10 and 17.

107 Line 21.

108 CIL 12.4230.

109 Institutio Oratoria 6.3.77.

The second altar is from Salacia and is dated 5-4 B.C. by its inscription:¹¹⁰

IMP·CAESARI·DIVI·F·AVGVSTO|PONTIFICI·MAXIMO·
COS·XII|TRIB·POTESTATE·XVIII|VICANVS·BOVTI·
F|SACRVM

The third, set up at Astures Transmontani, is dated A.D. 9-10:¹¹¹

IMP·CAESARI·AVGVSTO·DIVI·F|COS·XIII·IMP·XX·
PONT·MAX|PATR·PATRIAE·TRIB·POT·XXXII...SACRVM

The only Augustalis known to have existed in the Augustan Age appears in an inscription from Almeida that is dated A.D. 4-5:¹¹²

caesARE·AVGVSTO·TRIBVNI|pot·XXVII·COS·XIII·
PATER|teRMINVS·AVGVSTALIS

The institution of the Imperial Cult in Africa is usually thought to be post-Augustan,¹¹³ but, as a result of the recent finding of an inscription in Leptis Magna, we know at least of the existence of flamines Augusti Caesaris by 9-8 B.C. The inscription in part reads:¹¹⁴

imp. caesar divi f. augustus COS XI IMP XIII

110 CIL 2.5182.

111 CIL 2.2703.

112 AE 1958 n. 10.

113 See, e.g., Abaecherli, "Institution of the Imperial Cult," 174, and Taylor, Roman Emperor 212.

114 For photographs of the inscription and discussion, see Goodchild, "Two Monumental Inscriptions of Lepcis Magna," PBSR 18 (1950) 72-77.

TRIB POT XV PONT MaximVS...FLAMINIB AVGVST
CAESARIS (their names follow)...

On the basis of the evidence that has been presented, there can be no doubt that the living Augustus had his own altars and priests in the West. But what of temples? If Tacitus has correctly recorded the essence of a speech of Tiberius that was made after the death of Augustus, we ought not to expect that there existed templa Augusti in the West while Augustus was alive. In this speech,¹¹⁵ Tiberius refuses to allow the people of Hispania Ulterior to build a temple to him and his mother; he notes that he did allow that such a temple be erected in Asia, and justifies his policy of one kind of treatment for the East and another for the West by claiming that he is following the example of Augustus:

...qui omnia facta dictaque eius vice legis
observem.

After the death of Augustus, permission was given the Spanish colony of Tarragona to build a temple of Augustus; Tacitus

115 Tacitus, Annales 4.37-38. For a discussion of Tiberius' refusal of divine honours and the relationship of his policy to that of Augustus, see Taylor, "Tiberius' Refusal of Divine Honours," TAPA 60 (1929) 87-101; Scott, "Notes on Augustus' Religious Policy," ARW 35 (1938) 121-122; and Charlesworth, "The Refusal of Divine Honours: an Augustan Formula," PBSR 15 (1939) 1-10.

comments:¹¹⁶

...datumque in omnes provincias exemplum.

The temple is represented on coins with the words DEO
AVGVSTO.¹¹⁷ In spite of the following charge brought against
the dead Augustus,¹¹⁸

nihil deorum honoribus relictum cum se
templis...coli vellet,

or this remark of Suetonius,¹¹⁹

templa quamvis sciret etiam pro consulibus
decerni solere, in nulla tamen provincia
nisi communi suo Romaeque nomine recepit,

it could readily be argued that these comments apply only to
the East and that Tacitus had in mind the situation in the
West when he used exemplum. The dateable evidence from Rome,
Italy and the Western provinces confirms this contention,
with one exception. The following insert is found in the
Chronica of Cassiodorus under 9 B.C.:

Drusus Nero et L. Quinctius. his coss. apud
Lingonum gentem templum Caesari Drus sacravit.

According to Mommsen, Cassiodorus at this point was following
Livy.¹²⁰ Hence we ought not be too eager to disregard the
evidence. It may be objected that the Caesar of Cassiodorus'

116 Annales 1.78.

117 The numismatic evidence is cited by Furneaux in
his edition of the Annales, Vol. 1.253 n. 4.

118 Tacitus, Annales 1.10.6.

119 Divus Augustus 52.

120 Mommsen, MGH 11.135.

insert is Julius Caesar, and that Julius is referred to as Caesar by Livy (if it is agreed that the Epitomae accurately reflect word usage of Livy); however, in the Epitomae, Augustus is called Caesar in the account of events after 27 B.C. Consequently the reference of Cassiodorus could be either to Julius Caesar or to Augustus. But are we to believe that Drusus would be associated with a temple of Augustus in the West if it was the policy of Augustus to refuse such temples? The enigma must remain without elucidation.

As the Roman Imperial Cult spread into the provinces, it may have served a political purpose, especially in areas where loyalty was a source of anxiety to Rome, although whether this function was accidental or intended (and, if so, by whom?) is open to question. The existence of the cult ipso facto constituted a means for the expression of loyalty to the Emperor and to the regime, and the locations of the altars focal points for this expression. Clearly Augustus did not disapprove. But intended political function remains to be demonstrated.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

The conclusion will consist of a summation of points that have already been made, and some additional comment. Only at this place in the study is it possible to take a synoptic view of the material that has been presented; thus, as points are repeated, the reader, instead of being restricted to a consideration of them solely in terms of what preceded, will for the first time be conscious of their relationship to the whole, and from this perspective will perhaps gain new insights into and, it is hoped, further understanding of the developments that have been the subject of our investigation.

The evidence for periodic and spontaneous worship of the living in the West during the Republican period indicates that at least some elements of the population were prepared to worship living people, a capacity that attests to the probable effect of Eastern ways of thinking in the West. As far as concerns Camillus, Scipio Africanus and Julius Caesar, we can argue either way whether the evidence indicates that they wished to foster belief that they were more than human, and, in the case of Julius Caesar, whether he tried to encourage worship of himself; however, there can be no doubt that the living Caesar was called a god and that there was provision made to accord divine honours to him while he was still alive. In the first chapter, then, the reader becomes aware of the capacity of some people in the West to worship

the living, and of the problem of agency. With this in mind, we witness the inception and early development of the Roman Imperial Cult in the West up to the death of Augustus.

From the time of Octavian's arrival at Rome in 44 B.C., the wheels were set in motion that gave rise to some very important elements of the Roman Imperial Cult, for there took place at this time and in the following years the deliberate enshrinement of Divus Julius in state cult by Octavian, and his obvious attempts to build up a public image of himself as one who was descendant from the gods, indeed, a divi filius, and as one who was closely associated with Apollo, even worthy of dwelling within the very precincts of this god. Yet, if Vergil's changed attitude towards the divinity of Octavian has been correctly interpreted, then the ruler's concept of his own status on earth, at least as he wished to have it projected in the years just before 29 B.C. (and certainly afterwards), was that of a man destined to achieve immortality. Expectation of a new age was observed in the late forties, a golden age that was later celebrated in 17 B.C. It was suggested that the thinking of Octavian was so affected by Vergil's portrayal of Apollo as the ruler of the new age that he sought the kind of association and identification with that god such as the evidence attests. Thus, in the second chapter, it becomes clear that Octavian was markedly instrumental in the formation of those elements of the Roman Imperial Cult that date to the period 44-29 B.C. Noted also

was worship of Octavian in Italy dated to the thirties.

In 27 B.C. Octavian publicly declared a solution to the enigma of his political position: he emerged as the leading citizen of the New Republic that he had restored. The old forms of government remained, but in fact it was rule by one man, the princeps of the state, who, as optimi status auctor, would render the greatest possible services to the state and thereby attain immortality after death; to this end he laboured all his life. Yet, by virtue of his position as one who was descendant from the gods and a divi filius, and of his association with Apollo, and, after 27 B.C., of his name Augustus, all of which suggested suprahumanity without actually claiming godhead, Octavian although among men was separated from them. His insistence that the old Roman religion be very much a part of the life of the New Republic served exceedingly well to enhance this position, for the consequent religious atmosphere that apparently permeated the Augustan Age caused to be of greater significance Augustus' claims of divine association and descent. Within the context of this revived and meaningful Roman state religion, the old worships thrived. But certain worships of the age had special significance for the princeps and the regime; their importance does not end with simply being part of the fabric of the restored religion. Included in this group are the following:

1. The worship of deities connected with the Julian house,

namely, Venus, Mars, Apollo, Vesta and Divus Julius. These were the principal divine powers of the regime. We have already noted Augustus' claims of divine descent and divine association and that his consequent position was probably much affected by the significance of the state religion in the Augustan Age. The very deliberate encouragement in these circumstances of the worship of Apollo, Venus, Mars, Vesta and Divus Julius must have even further enhanced his suprahuman status.

2. The worship of certain deified abstractions. These typified qualities and characteristics of the regime, for which the Emperor appeared responsible; all were thus closely associated with him in the minds of the people.

3. The public worship of the lares Augusti, the numen Augusti and the genius Augusti. These innovations along with the worship of the Augustan abstractions may have constituted indirect worship of the Emperor, perhaps, in a manner un-Republican yet not essentially contrary to Republican notions, a means by which the need of many to worship their ruler might be satisfied, the result being, so to speak, the expression of un-Roman sentiment in Roman dress. But we cannot say that Augustus was responsible for the public worship of his lares, numen and genius, nor can we say that he was responsible for the arae Augusti, or for the creation of different priestly positions connected with the cult, or for the senatorial decrees that provided for so many yearly

public celebrations in his honour and thereby put him on a par with the deities of the state, or for the blood sacrifice to his numen, his genius, his lares and to himself; here we encounter other agents at work, the Senate and the people. The consequent forms of the Roman Imperial Cult as it emerged in the Augustan Age must be attributed to these three distinct forces, though it is not possible sometimes to determine which of the three or whether a combination thereof was responsible.

In sum, we may say that although there is no evidence from the West that Augustus sought to be regarded as a god, it is clear that he was not satisfied with a human status like that of other men. He did not direct the people of the West to worship him, yet his unique position for which in part he was responsible could only have encouraged men not to look upon him as one of them. Probably there was some sort of official discouragement of outright worship that resulted in the use of Roman molds and innovations within the framework of the religion as a means of giving satisfaction to popular desire to worship this ruler and benefactor of the world. But such an avenue was not satisfactory for all; before A.D. 14 we have seen the living Augustus hailed as god, the altars of Augustus, the priests of Augustus, perhaps a temple of Augustus, and, not least of all, the way in which the provisions of the Fasti to honour him usurped the prerogatives of the gods. Was he a god in the eyes of the

people?

arma deus Caesar dices meditatur ad Indos.

ADDENDUM

In my account of deified abstractions that are dated from the Augustan Age, Iustitia Augusta was omitted by mistake. The dedication of her statue is recorded in the Fasti Praenestini (CIL 1.231):

SIGNVM IVSTITIAE AVGVSTAE dedicatum planco
ET SILIO COS

For a discussion of the three possible dates of dedication in the Augustan Age, see Mommsen's note in CIL 1.306.

APPENDIX ONE

EVENTS OF JULIUS CAESAR'S LIFE
THAT ARE ENTERED IN THE FASTI

1. Victory in Hispania Ulterior
2. Victory at Alexandria
3. Victory in Africa
4. Birthday
5. Games in honour of Venus Genetrix that were
instituted by Caesar, and called after 45 B.C.
ludi Victoriae Caesaris
6. Victory in Hispania Citerior
7. Defeat of Pharnaces
8. Victory at Pharsalis
9. Dedication of the temple of Venus Genetrix

APPENDIX TWO

EVENTS IN THE LIFE OF AUGUSTUS
THAT APPEAR IN THE FASTI

1. First assumption of the fasces
2. First closing of Ianus
3. Decree of the Senate that the corona civica
be placed above the door of his house
4. Adoption of the name Augustus
5. Dedication of the aedis Concordiae Augustae
6. Provision for sacrifice to the numen Augusti
at the altar of Felicitas
7. Dedication of the ara Pacis
8. Decree of the Senate that he be called pater
patriae
9. The day on which he became pontifex maximus
10. The first time he was hailed as imperator
11. Dedication of the signum and ara of Vesta
12. Dedication of the temple of Mars
13. Statement of intention to build the ara Pacis
14. Victory at Alexandria
15. Statement of intention to build the altars of
Ceres and Ops Augusta
16. Dedication of the temple of Divus Julius
17. Dedication of the ara Victoriae
18. Victory at Actium
19. Victory in Sicily
20. Birthday

21. Dedication of the temple of Apollo on
the Palatine
22. Statement of intention to build the ara
Fortunae Reducis
23. The day on which he first wore the toga
virilis
24. Dedication of the ara Fortunae Reduci

APPENDIX THREE

MENTION OF THE IMPERIAL FAMILY
IN THE FASTI BEFORE A.D. 14

1. The day on which Tiberius Caesar first wore
the toga virilis
2. Birthday of Germanicus
3. Birthday of Tiberius Claudius Germanicus
4. The adoption of Tiberius by Augustus
5. Provision for inferiae in honour of Lucius
Caesar
6. Birthday of Gaius Caesar Germanicus
7. Provision for inferiae in honour of Drusus
8. Birthday of Drusus Caesar
9. Birthday of Tiberius Caesar

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