

Mourning an Emperor: The Sociopolitical Spectacle of Death, Dynasty, and the Funeral during
the Transformation of the Roman Republic to Principate

By

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For Dustin

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INTRODUCTION

οὐ κάλλιον οὐκ εὐμαρὲς ἰδεῖν θέαμα νέῳ φιλοδόξῳ καὶ φιλαγάθῳ: τὸ γὰρ τὰς τῶν ἐπ' ἀρετῇ δεδοξασμένων ἀνδρῶν εἰκόνας ἰδεῖν ὁμοῦ πάσας οἷον εἰ ζώσας καὶ πεπνυμένας τίν' οὐκ ἂν παραστήσαι; τί δ' ἂν κάλλιον θέαμα τούτου φανείη;¹

There could not easily be a more inspiring spectacle than this for a young man of noble ambitions and virtuous aspirations. For can we conceive any one to be unmoved at the sight of all the likenesses collected together of the men who have earned glory, all as it were living and breathing? Or what could be a more glorious spectacle?

Preliminary Remarks – Establishment of the Principate

During the period of the Republic² (traditionally dated 509 – 27 BCE), the city of Rome was governed both by the senate and the Roman people. The Republic had been successful in the centuries that followed the expulsion of the monarchy,³ conquering Italy and bringing much of the land around the Mediterranean Sea under Roman control. Despite its success, by the first century BCE Rome experienced a near constant threat of civil conflict. In fact, between 133 and 31 BCE, Rome witnessed at least eleven major outbreaks of civil violence, several of which

¹ A question posed by Polybius (6.53.10-6.54.1), a Greek Historian of the second century BCE and the fundamental source on the aristocratic Roman funeral. After the “Preliminary Remarks” and the “Problem of Succession” sections, Polybius will be used as a foundation for typology of a “typical” Roman aristocratic funeral. This type of funeral applied strictly to preeminent men of the late Republic, as ordinary Roman citizens did not have access to this same kind of dramatic and expensive display.

² The basic units of government in the Roman Republic divided power among two consuls (the highest level of public office), the Senate, and the Plebeian Assembly.

³ The expulsion occurred in 509 BCE.

escalated into civil warfare. Civil conflict resulted from political machinations between rival politicians, causing deep divides at almost every social level. Unchecked struggles for primacy and prestige (*dignitas*⁴) among the senatorial elites created temporary victors, who controlled state resources and dominated Roman political affairs with their own agendas. Each victor's period of control was cut short by the dangerous politics of their rivals. In the minds of those willing to annihilate their enemies, violence became a necessary tool during a state of emergency in order to save the Republic from impending autocracy. Every attempt to return to the political status quo further destabilized Rome because power became concentrated in the hands of a shrinking pool of ambitious men. Even the murderers of Caesar, who had viewed themselves as "liberators," believed they had restored the Republic and freed Rome from the rule of a tyrant in 44 BCE. Yet the most famous attempt to restore conservative, republican political order marked its ending. When coupled with this type of internal social turmoil, it seemed that the Republic itself would be hard pressed to endure.

By outliving all potential challengers, one definitive champion would emerge: Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus,⁵ the posthumously adopted heir of Julius Caesar.⁶ Octavian's victory

⁴ The term "*dignitas*" is a Latin word referring to a unique, somewhat intangible, and culturally subjective social concept in the Roman mindset that is difficult to capture in English. *Dignitas* was generally regarded as the sum of personal clout and influence (a combination of personal reputation and moral standing) that male citizens acquired throughout their lifetime. Cicero defines *dignitas* strictly in political terms: it is influence—auctoritas—gained by holding a prestigious public office (*De Inv.* 2.166). Its importance to Roman aristocrats should not be underestimated since it was always an honor conferred by other people and thus linked to public image and reputation (*fama*). Both Caesar (*BC* 1.7) and Catilina (Sall. *BC* 35.3) figured to bring down the Republic because they felt that their *dignitas* had been slighted.

⁵ He is known as Octavian in English.

⁶ The new "Caesar" was accepted as a major player from his adoption because he could successfully claim the massive resources of the Julian family, cf. Aug. *RG* 1.1: ["Aged nineteen years old (44 BCE) I mustered an army at my personal decision and at my personal expense, and with it I liberated the state, which had been oppressed by a

at Actium⁷ in 31 BCE, in which he defeated his one-time partner and fellow triumvir⁸ Mark Antony and his ally queen Cleopatra, had effectively put an end to a century of chaos. While Octavian had succeeded in obtaining undivided mastery over the Roman world, he faced monumental problems of reconstruction. After their defeat, Octavian had secured near total control of political and military power. The political system in Rome that he would return to in 29 BCE was very different from the system after 44 BCE in one very significant way: Octavian had no real senatorial rivals.⁹

After settling affairs in Rome, he moved to return it to a state of peaceful stability under traditional governance, by restoring the sovereignty of the Senate and the Roman people in January of the year 27 BCE. According to Augustus, in his autobiographical work known as the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* (“The Achievements of the Divine Augustus”):

In consulatu sexto et septimo, postquam bella civilia exstinxeram, per consensum universorum potitus

despotic faction [the assassins of Caesar].” Mark Antony (as quoted by Cic. *Phil.* 13.24) famously addressed the young heir of Caesar as “you boy, who owe everything to your name.” At the time the remark was made (c. 44/43 BCE), it was hardly an exaggeration. The importance of Caesar’s legacy (especially his name) was shown in the nomenclature of members of Augustus’ family.

⁷ The Battle of Actium was naval engagement between Octavian, whose fleet was commanded by Marcus Agrippa, and the combined forces of Mark Antony and Cleopatra in September 31 BCE. While the battle had not ended the war between Antony and Octavian, Antony abandoned his entire force, which would then surrender to Octavian. It was the scale of this defeat that effectively ended the civil war.

⁸ In the late Republic, two such political alliances, which are called triumvirates by modern scholars, existed though only for the second was the term *triumviri* used at the time to evoke constitutional precedents. The so-called first triumvirate was an informal political alliance between Caesar, Pompey Magnus, and Marcus Crassus. The second triumvirate was constitutionally recognized (*lex Titia*) and it was between Octavian, Mark Antony, and Marcus Aemilius Lepidus.

⁹ This is not to say that there were no signs of opposition, only that no one could match the amount of resources that Octavian controlled after Actium.

*rerum omnium, rem publicam ex mea potestate in senatus populiue Romani arbitrium transtuli.*¹⁰

In my sixth and seventh consulships, after I had extinguished civil wars, when by universal consent I had control over all things, I transferred the Republic from my control to the judgment of the senate and people of Rome.

In January 27 BCE, in what is known as the First Settlement,¹¹ Octavian came to the senate and surrendered his authority over the state, provinces, and command of the legions stationed there. In doing so, Octavian reverted to the status of a traditional magistrate, seemingly content with the consulship alongside his co-consul Marcus Agrippa.¹² As consul, he technically had no more constitutional and legal power than Agrippa, but Octavian's power – the network of relationships that ensured political and military loyalty and support, as well as his immense private fortune – easily surpassed that of his colleague. At the request of the senate, Octavian retained control over a number of provinces where peace was not yet fully established, including Spain, Gaul, Syria, and Egypt for a period of ten years.¹³ This meant that Octavian once more was in control of the majority of Rome's legions. Once these frontier provinces were pacified, he

¹⁰ Aug. *RG* 34. It was inscribed on two bronze columns flanking the entrance to his mausoleum, in which Augustus justified his career by stating what he had done on behalf of Rome. Many copies of the text were made to be set up and displayed throughout the Roman Empire. A full copy that was preserved on a temple to Augustus in Ancyra features the original Latin as well as a Greek translation.

¹¹ The settlements: (1) the First Settlement occurred in 27 BCE (over a series of days) and the episode is included in the abbreviated narrative above; (2) the Second Settlement occurred in 23 BCE, in which Augustus resigned as consul, but retained his consular power and granted the power of a tribune [this episode will be discussed further in Chapter Three in connection with the death of Marcellus].

¹² This would be Augustus' seventh consulship and Marcus Agrippa's third.

¹³ Dio *RH* 53.12.5.

agreed to give responsibility of them back to the senate. In response, the senate lavished Octavian with honors. By senatorial decree, he received the unique cognomen of Augustus¹⁴ along with the special title of Princeps, often translated as “first citizen.”¹⁵ In order to further express gratitude to the man who was heralded as the savior of Rome, an oak wreath was to be displayed on his new house, a distinction only given to those who had saved the life of a fellow-citizen. The doorposts of his private house were decked with laurels, a symbol of Apollo and of victory.¹⁶ In addition to these honors, a golden shield was placed in the Curia Julia (the senate house), whose inscription testified that the Senate and the Roman people gave it in recognition of Augustus’ *virtus* (virtue/manliness/courage), *clementia* (mercy), *iustitia* (justice), and *pietas* (piety).¹⁷

The events that culminated in the so-called First Settlement restored the traditions of

¹⁴ Often translated as “the illustrious one,” the son of Caesar now bore an unprecedented Roman name: Imperator Caesar Augustus. The name “Augustus” does not represent an official position; it was merely a name and only later did it become a title.

¹⁵ Aug. *RG* 34.

¹⁶ Pliny *NH* 22.13: “During the consulship of Marcus Cicero’s son, on 13 September, the senate made a presentation to Augustus himself of the siege crown, since the civic crown was deemed so very inadequate.” Octavian was awarded the siege crown in 30 BCE on the 13 September for capturing Alexandria on 1 August of the same year. As Pliny *NH* 22.6-8 explains, “there is no greater honor than the grass crown, only awarded by the whole army to a single person who rescued them from a desperate situation. The same crown is called a siege crown when a whole camp is relieved and saved from dreadful destruction. The civic crown (of oak leaves) was awarded for saving the life of a citizen in war.” Pliny’s role of honor culminates with Scipio Africanus and Augustus. Aug. *RG* 34.2 mentions the civic crown, but not the siege crown. Clearly the civic crown was more important to Augustus because not only does he mention it in *RG* 34.2, but it was widely commemorated on coins: *RIC* Aug. 227, *BMC* Aug. 656 (gold aureus, 27 BCE); *RIC* Aug. 419 (gold aureus, 12 BCE), *BMC* Aug. 126; cf. Ovid *Fasti* 1.587-616.

¹⁷ Dio 53.2-11, Aug. *RG* 34, Ovid *Fasti* 1.589-90; *Fasti Praenestini* (January 13). A large marble copy from Arelate (Arles in Provence) of the golden shield set up in August’ honor in the senate house in Rome, near the altar of victory (*EJ* 22 = *AE* 1952.165). The copy dates from a year later than the original, which was bestowed on Augustus in 27 BCE as a part of a package of honors in the First Settlement (cf. Aug. *RG* 34.2). The shield of virtue was also commemorated on a *denarius* (*RIC* Aug. 42b, *BMC* Aug. 335).

Roman politics and thus the Republic. At the same time it readjusted Augustus' position within the state. As the transformation from Republic to Empire evolved, further developments would mirror this episode. The evolution of Augustus' unique position was a series of sociopolitical moves, which gave him extraordinary and unprecedented powers, and elevated him above all other aristocrats. The effect was that while the main republican institutions – the senate and the people – were ostensibly restored, both the senate and the people suffered a considerable reduction of their original status.

In addition to these incremental honors and privileges, Augustus overhauled nearly every aspect of Roman life experienced at all levels of society. He had started right away after Actium to build relationships with client-kings¹⁸ in the East by redistributing realms to those who had shown Octavian friendship and loyalty. In this way, Octavian effectively secured a more stable political relationship in the eastern provinces before he made his way back home. By retaining his control over unpacified territories after the First Settlement that by necessity contained a large number of soldiers, Augustus already oversaw a significant portion of the military. Moreover, Augustus, and not the Senate as was the case in the Republican constitution, appointed provincial governors, choosing men who would owe their position to him. Thus he ensured both civilian support and military control in the provinces and reduced the risk of a challenge to his authority. In Italy, Augustus personally founded twenty-eight Italian colonies¹⁹

¹⁸ For example, the most prominent of the kings of the East (other than Cleopatra), Herod of Judea, who had been raised up by Mark Antony when the old dynasty had been removed due to their support for the Parthians.

¹⁹ Aug. *RG* 28. According to the same passage, Augustus states that he also founded colonies of soldiers in Africa, Sicily, Macedonia, Spain, Greece, Syria, Gaul, and Lycia.

(*coloniae*), which were communities of veteran soldiers. He also made all of Italy Rome's equal in right and honor by devising a type of ballot for the election of Roman magistrates that colonial decurions²⁰ could cast and send sealed to Rome before the day of the elections.²¹ In this way, the towns would make recommendations to Augustus, who would then make the municipal appointments, linking the loyalty of the outlying Italian communities directly with himself.²² In Rome, Augustus reorganized the bureaucracy by staffing crucial positions with men loyal to him. Although he left the magistracies of the Republic intact, no candidate would run for political office without his approval. In other words, Augustus now controlled aristocratic competition for political rank and prestige.

Even as Augustus himself emphasized that he exceeded all in influence (*auctoritas*²³), he had claimed that he had no greater power²⁴ (*potestas*) than others who were his colleagues in each magistracy. His professed respect for law and tradition might have stemmed from a genuine attitude, but it was nonetheless a distortion, a concession to those who might oppose monarchical

²⁰ A colonial decurion was a member of a city senate in the Roman Empire. They were the most powerful citizens at the local, municipal level.

²¹ Suet. *Aug.* 46.

²² *ILS* 6361b is an example of the career of such an appointee, named Marcus Holconius. He was a Roman knight (*eques*) coming to Rome on behalf of his colony, Pompeii.

²³ The term "*auctoritas*" generally refers to the level of prestige a person in Roman society has, and as a consequence, the ability to influence others to rally support.

²⁴ The term "*potestas*" is a Latin word meaning "legal power." It is a fundamental concept in Roman law that broadly encompasses the notion of civilian authority given to magistrates to exercise legitimate rule. The term "*imperium*" represents another concept of power, in this case the "power to command." It refers to the authority given to individuals to command the military.

rule.²⁵ Augustus' gradual translation of a republican form of government into monarchical power has received much attention in the scholarship. The classic account by Syme (1939) remains a fundamental and required reading on the subject in order to trace the historical scholarship. Crook (1996) and Kienast (1999) provide sensible overviews. On the Augustan era as a bridge between Republic and Empire, see Eder (1990). In assessing Augustus' statement of equality and the tangled constitutional issues, see Chilver (1950), Salmon (1956), Fadinger (1969), and Lacey (1996). This discussion normally includes Augustus' "succession policy," which is treated by Corbett (1974) and Bowersock (1984), Lacey (1996), and Galinsky (2012).

As the first citizen and man who restored the Republic, Augustus needed to be seen accommodating standard conservative traditions and practices. He went to great lengths to ensure that he did not elevate his political position outside of what was constitutionally acceptable and he could only achieve this by visible cooperation with the senate. To avoid the relative chaos of the last century, the heir of Caesar knew he could not risk additional civil conflict by fully relinquishing his unique authority and position, yet Rome could not accept a legal monarchy of one man. Less than twenty years earlier, the murder of Caesar had demonstrated the elites' displeasure over what they had perceived was the emergence of a despotic regime. Post-Actium Octavian had carefully primed the Senate and Roman people for the events in 27 BCE that made his oversight more palatable, but to maintain the fiction that his fellow senators were his political equals, Augustus had to construct a new arrangement of governance moving forward. It was a system of government we now refer to as the Principate

²⁵ Aug. *RG*, 13.

that allowed for the incorporation of his unique position within the constitutional framework of the Roman Republic, but one that preserved and solidified his powerful position at its core. While there was no blueprint or grand plan, over the course of four decades from Roman Republic to Roman Empire, Augustus had created the method for the progressive consolidation of constitutional powers and Republican office through incremental privileges and honors that were permitted and endorsed by the senate and the people of Rome. Augustus had come through a civil war and bound the broken pieces of the Republic together to shape an empire. By the time Augustus died in 14 CE, after holding unopposed power for forty-four years,²⁶ he had firmly established the imperial foundation of rule by the *Princeps*, which effectively had replaced the Republic with the Principate. Augustus had successfully positioned himself at the head of the apparatus of the Roman state. But what would happen once Augustus passed?

Augustus recognized this problem long before his death. He had made it a point to share his special powers with members of his family, essentially grooming them to take his place. Augustus had succeeded in creating a dynasty when the Senate acquiesced in the transfer of power, swearing its support to Tiberius before he had even reached Rome from Augustus' deathbed.²⁷ With the added benefit of hindsight, we know that the sequence of emperors was to last until at least CE 475,²⁸ and that the new system of government Augustus had created was

²⁶ The total reflects the amount of years that had passed since the Battle of Actium in 31 BCE. It would be fifty-six years after assuming power in the second triumvirate.

²⁷ Tac. *Ann.* 1.7.2.

²⁸ It would last much longer in the east.

successful. Subsequent emperors would follow the Augustan model of the consolidation of power and office. His titles – Augustus and Caesar – would also become the permanent titles of the leaders of the Roman Empire for centuries to come.

The Problem of the Succession: Providing Historiographical Context

Because of the unpopularity in Rome of anything that remotely looked like the rule of kings, it is no wonder that the study of Augustan succession has long formed a central preoccupation among modern scholars precisely because of the enormity of the political change and its longevity. Modern scholars attach the term “succession” to encompass the transition of power from one political incumbent to the next. The term itself implies a smooth and seamless process that has an obvious outcome in an established political system.

The canonical view of Augustan succession focuses almost entirely on its political considerations, meaning the process by which Rome came to be governed by an autocratic ruler and at what point that autocratic rule was established. The result from this line of inquiry forms a historical and political narrative that explores Augustus’ “succession planning” or sometimes called “succession policy.” The main observations from the narrative include the following: Augustus had wanted a member of his family to succeed him, exploring his motives and intentions as possible candidates for succession rose and fell in prominence;²⁹ he began planning for this to happen from as early as the marriage of his nephew Marcellus to his only daughter

²⁹ Ronald Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1939), 324-3; Robin Seager, *Tiberius*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 18-20; Barbara Levick, *Tiberius the Politician*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 1999), 21; K. Galinsky, *Augustan Culture: An Introduction* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 247, 365.

Julia in 25 BCE; and if Augustus wanted to emphasize (or, if he wanted to avoid emphasis of) a dynastic impression.³⁰ In fact, Tiberius' peaceful accession seemed to represent the obvious outcome of Augustus' regime and its success.

While the political significance revolving around the novelty of a sole ruler in the state that prized its traditions on eschewing all forms of monarchical government is undeniable, the problem of Augustan succession, notwithstanding its evident interest to modern historians,³¹ is that it becomes a foregrounded conversation throughout the transition from Republic to Empire, even though Augustus had not fully established the system itself until well into his reign. The approach of reading into the episodes of potential successors in the traditional manner is anachronistic and misleading because the clear outcome could have been scarcely predicted when Octavian had started the process in 27 BCE.

It is important to remember that from start to finish nothing about the "succession" was ever made explicit by Augustus. There was no sudden switch from republic to monarchy; it was a slow, and sometimes painful work in progress. For Augustus, the Principate was a grand experiment, characterized by a dynamic, evolving process of trial and error. Therefore a better approach involves tracing what happens at particular moments of crisis – the occasion of the death and funeral of a "potential successor" – and evaluate how Augustus used that moment to

³⁰ E. S. Gruen, "Augustus and the Making of the Principate," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus*, ed. K. Galinsky, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 33-51, esp. 36, 50. In the 1950s, Edwin Judge argued against the idea of a heritable autocracy, emphasizing instead the republican offices and powers held by Augustus and his stated aim of wanting to provide an *exemplar* for future *principes* to follow: e.g. E.A. Judge, 'The Eulogistic Inscriptions of the Augustan Forum: Augustus on Roman History,' in J. Harrison (ed.) *The First Christians in the Roman World: Augustan and New Testament Essays* by E.A. Judge (Tübingen, 2008) 165-81.

³¹ The bibliography on this topic is immense, and my citations throughout this chapter (and dissertation) are intended as illustrative rather than exhaustive.

advertise the role of his family within the state. Instead of approaching the funeral as a discussion of the hierarchy of surviving potential successors, each funeral and its details represented an ideological “checkpoint” to contextualize and reappraise the regime’s new political and social order.

The funeral was a porous set of practices and ideas, embedded in the everyday social, cultural, and political world of Rome, with countless associations to other ceremonies traditions. The funerals for Augustus and for members of his family provide convenient episodes that allow for a more organic analysis of the extent of the transformation as it played out in real time. Imperial funerals embodied Augustus’ goal-driven ideological message that was reformulated numerous times because such calibrations could matter. Funerals for members of Augustus’ family illustrate the reality of the Principate as an ever-changing system that can help to illuminate the persona of Augustus and inform our understanding of his epoch. The funeral epitomizes a small piece of this transformation and mirrors the changes present in the larger political landscape. When coupled with the potent historical context, these funerals had an enormous impact. Therefore, a systematic examination of Augustus’ political and pragmatic actions through the lens of the funeral deserves analytical treatment. The Princeps’ ceaseless focus on increasing the primacy of his family as a whole to reinforce political changes provides a deeper and fuller explanation to the major political events of succession than just political history alone.

The funeral represented a crucial channel to make accessible to ordinary Roman citizens the idea of the Principate as the rule by one family. It was used to influence popular opinion and

mobilize collective action to share in Augustus' loss at the same time as it demonstrated the supremacy of the imperial family. This dissertation outlines the evolution of a dynastic monarchy not of one man, but of one house, and how, in death, it transformed the landscape of the late Republican model of politics. It considers the role of the funeral for key members of Augustus' family, including Augustus himself, as an instrument in appropriating and altering various traditions of the Roman Republic, which were then modified and redefined to fit the requirements of the novel form of government that we now call the Principate.

Augustus was not the first Roman politician to confront the paradox of long-term leadership by a sole ruler in the traditional system of government under the Republic. In fact, the political legacy that he had inherited – specifically from the attempts of Marius and Sulla, Pompey and Caesar – revealed how one aspiring politician might monopolize Republican institutions. The ability of these men to obtain extended magistracies and commands demonstrated the possibility of manipulation. For the aristocracy, aristocratic competition for public office, honor, glory, renown, and authority were of the utmost importance. Success and status was measured against the success and status of another. Yet, their political rivals had prevented an extended period of control by any one senator. This was the environment for Augustus' predecessors.

The entire system had changed for Augustus after 27 BCE. Augustus had effectively eliminated the competition between senatorial elites and their families that had once dominated the politics of the Republic. The concentration of resources in the hands of one family pointed to a future of monarchic government because no other family could amass the financial, political,

social resources necessary for a successful challenge. At the same time Augustus negotiated an evolving political narrative of fictional equivalence among senatorial elites that had characterized aristocratic relationships for centuries, he encouraged the exceptionality of the social position of the first family.

The new political situation afforded certain members of the Augustan household rapid advancement in their respective careers. Augustus adopted male relatives within his own family and supported their careers by ensuring that they received special honors and responsibilities on behalf of the senate and people of Rome that befitted their merit and achievements. They were special and were recognized as such by all levels of Roman society (senatorial and equestrian elites, urban plebs, Italian communities, and cities across the Empire). The magistracies, commands, and priesthoods that the men in Augustus' household held as well as the honors that they received while alive distinguished them not only from other senators, but also distinguished Augustus' family from other senatorial families. Their achievements were viewed as a clear indication of the family's divine favor as well as an extension of Augustus' authority and leadership. The current era of prosperity and peace for the Roman people became contingent on Augustus' role and that of his family in Rome's future prosperity. Augustus' family came to be viewed as the embodiment of the state. An effective means to communicate this sentiment was through the funeral.

For the moment there is no systematic analysis of the funeral of the first emperor and of those for members of his family. As an institution, funerals expressed certain social and cultural values already embedded in its ritual framework, but more importantly for our purpose, funerals

function as a means of symbolic discourse between elites and Augustus, as well as between Augustus and the Roman people. These funerals took a prime role in transmitting imperial ideology during the transition of Republic to Empire. They functioned as a hub for a complex pattern of communication and public response around which ceremonies were performed that increasingly involved individuals and groups outside of the family. Everyone within the Empire would have a role to play in marking the passage of members of Augustus' household. This dissertation brings together the deaths of significant family members into one research project, outlining the political power on display at funerals for members of Augustus' household and setting them within their historical context at specific moments during the reign of Augustus. We will explore the parts of the Roman funeral in detail below, but suffice it to say now that funerals drew together the past and the present in ways that celebrated all the significant achievements of the deceased as well as of the deceased's family throughout Roman history. Funerals kept alive the memory of the family's important achievements at the same time as it identified them as closely as possible with other notable events in Rome's past.

In other words, funerals honored the personal accomplishments of an individual within the larger context of Roman history. This historical consciousness allowed an aristocratic Roman family to shape a funeral to reflect the social and political climate of the day. Thus the funeral has a specific resonance within the historical context in which it is performed. It is necessary then to understand these funerals in part as institutions, with their own history and tradition: how they developed, what changes they underwent, what values they articulated because these answers become a fundamental backdrop to fully understand the transformation from Republic to

Empire than just the succession alone. Once the basic outline of the funerals has been discussed, we will turn our attention to two decisive *exempla* of the funerals for aristocratic men of power during the 1st century BCE: Sulla and Caesar.

Roman Aristocratic Funerals: Origins and Typology

The Latin term *funus* (“funeral”) can be used to cover a ceremony or set of ceremonies or rituals held in connection with the burial of a deceased individual; generally the term encompassed all that took place between the hour of death and the performance of the last post-inhumation³² or post-cremation rites.³³ A Roman aristocratic funeral, as the 2nd century BCE Greek historian Polybius describes it,³⁴ was first and foremost a display of piety (*pietas*) on the part of the living towards the dead relative. The subject of the sixth book of his history, Polybius explains Roman success by examining the values and customs of Roman society. The heart of an aristocratic funeral according to Polybius lies in the encouragement of self-sacrifice on behalf of the state. In his analysis of Roman institutions, provides the most complete description of an aristocratic Roman funeral. His interest concerns the funeral ritual of an eminent Roman to demonstrate how the ceremony was designed to train its citizens to desire a reputation of glory and then impel them to undertake such bold feats in war. Therefore his description bears repeating in its entirety:

³² The term “inhumation” for the purposes of this dissertation shall loosely cover all cases of non-cremation.

³³ J.M.C. Toynbee, *Death and Burial*, 43-61. Detailed descriptions of Roman burial rites.

³⁴ Polyb. 6.53-54 describes a generic, aristocratic funeral that would have taken place during his lifetime.

ὅταν γὰρ μεταλλάξῃ τις παρ' αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν, συντελουμένης τῆς ἐκφορᾶς κομίζεται μετὰ τοῦ λοιποῦ κόσμου πρὸς τοὺς καλουμένους ἐμβόλους εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ποτὲ μὲν ἐστὼς ἐναργής, σπανίως δὲ κατακεκλιμένος. περίξ δὲ παντὸς τοῦ δήμου στάντος, ἀναβάς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐμβόλους, ἂν μὲν υἱὸς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ καταλείπεται καὶ τύχῃ παρῶν, οὗτος, εἰ δὲ μή, τῶν ἄλλων εἴ τις ἀπὸ γένους ὑπάρχει, λέγει περὶ τοῦ τετελευτηκότος τὰς ἀρετὰς καὶ τὰς ἐπιτετευγμένας ἐν τῷ ζῆν πράξεις. δι' ὧν συμβαίνει τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀναμνησκόμενους καὶ λαμβάνοντας ὑπὸ τὴν ὄψιν τὰ γεγονότα, μὴ μόνον τοὺς κεκοινωνηκότας τῶν ἔργων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐκτός, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον γίνεσθαι συμπαθεῖς ὥστε μὴ τῶν κηδεόντων ἴδιον, ἀλλὰ κοινὸν τοῦ δήμου φαίνεσθαι τὸ σύμπτωμα. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα θάψαντες καὶ ποιήσαντες τὰ νομιζόμενα τιθέασιν τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ μεταλλάξαντος εἰς τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον τόπον τῆς οἰκίας, ζύλινα ναῖδια περιτιθέντες. ἢ δ' εἰκὼν ἐστὶ πρόσωπον εἰς ὁμοιότητα διαφερόντως ἐξεργασμένον καὶ κατὰ τὴν πλάσιν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὑπογραφὴν. ταύτας δὲ τὰς εἰκόνας ἐν τε ταῖς δημοτελέσι θυσίαις ἀνοίγοντες κοσμοῦσι φιλοτίμως, ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν μεταλλάξῃ τις ἐπιφανής, ἄγουσιν εἰς τὴν ἐκφορὰν, περιτιθέντες ὡς ὁμοιοτάτοις εἶναι δοκοῦσι κατὰ τε τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὴν ἄλλην περικοπὴν. οὗτοι δὲ προσαναλαμβάνουσιν ἐσθῆτας, ἐὰν μὲν ὕπατος ἢ στρατηγὸς ἢ γεγωνὴς, περιπορφύρους, ἐὰν δὲ τιμητής, πορφυρᾶς, ἐὰν δὲ καὶ τεθριαμβευκῶς ἢ τι τοιοῦτον κατειργασμένος, διαχρύσους. αὐτοὶ μὲν οὖν ἐφ' ἁρμάτων οὗτοι πορεύονται, ῥάβδοι δὲ καὶ πελέκεις καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς εἰωθότα συμπαρακεῖσθαι προηγείται κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐκάστῃ τῆς γεγενημένης κατὰ τὸν βίον ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ προαγωγῆς ὅταν δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐμβόλους ἔλθωσι, καθέζονται πάντες ἐξῆς ἐπὶ δίφρων ἐλεφαντίνων. οὗ κάλλιον οὐκ εὐμαρὲς ἰδεῖν θέαμα νέῳ φιλοδόξῳ καὶ φιλαγάθῳ: τὸ γὰρ τὰς τῶν ἐπ' ἀρετῇ δεδοξασμένων ἀνδρῶν εἰκόνας ἰδεῖν ὁμοῦ πάσας οἷον εἰ ζώσας καὶ πεπνυμένας τίν' οὐκ ἂν παραστήσαι; τί δ' ἂν κάλλιον.

Whenever any famous man dies, at the funeral he is carried with all the funerary trappings to the rostra in the forum, sometimes sitting erect and conspicuous or more rarely reclining. Then with all the people standing around, an adult son if he has one left who happens to be in Rome, or if not some other relative, mounts the rostra and speaks of the virtues and achievements of the dead man. Thus the people are reminded of what has been done and made to see it with their own eyes—not only those who took part in

these achievements, but also those who had not, and they are moved to such sympathy that the loss seems to be not confined to the mourners, but a public one affecting the whole people. After the burial and the performance of the usual ceremonies, they place the image of the deceased in the most conspicuous position of the house, enclosed in a wooden shrine. This image is a mask, representing the dead man with remarkable fidelity both in the modeling and complexion. On the occasion of public sacrifices, they display these likenesses and decorate them with much care, and when any distinguished member of the family dies, they take these masks to the funeral and put them on men, who in their view bear the closest resemblance to the dead man in height and bearing. These substitutes wear clothes corresponding to the rank of the deceased: if he was a consul or praetor, a toga with purple stripes (*toga praetexta*), if a censor, a purple toga (*toga purpurea*), if a triumphator, a gold-embroidered toga (*toga picta*). They ride in chariots, preceded by the fasces, axes and other insignia according to the dignity of the offices of state held by each in his lifetime. When they reach the rostra, they all sit in a row on ivory chairs. There could not be a more inspiring sight for a young man ambitious for fame and valor. For who would not be moved by the sight of the images of men renowned for their excellence, all together as if alive and breathing? What spectacle could be more glorious than this? Besides, the speaker who delivers the oration over the dead man about to be buried, when he has finished telling of him, recounts the successes and achievements of the others who are present, starting from the most ancient. Thus by the constant renewal of the good report of brave men, the celebrity of those who performed noble deeds is rendered immortal, while the fame of those who did good service to their country becomes known to the people and a heritage to future generations. But the most important result is that young men are thus inspired to endure every suffering for the common good in the hope of winning the glory that attends on brave men.”³⁵

Polybius’ description of Roman funerals seems to be presumably based on his own

³⁵ Polyb. 6.53-54 describes a generic, aristocratic funeral (*funus privatum*) that would have taken place during his lifetime and from which we can draw out the typical elements. The translation is from H. H. Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies of the Roman Republic*, (London: Cornell University Press, 1981), 218-19.

observations during the time he spent in Rome in the mid-second century B.C. He was awed by the grandeur of the aristocratic funeral procession—the spectacle of all these noble and famous Romans, wearing their political achievements and accompanied by the insignia of their offices as they had been in life—incorporated into a public celebration, not only of the men and their families who were represented, but also of Rome itself. For him, it was in the procession that the glory of Rome’s past came alive and directed the young Roman men to rival the achievements of their ancestors. This type of funeral, while ostensibly a private ceremony, thus takes on a public character. For the elite, the funeral was a private ritual performed by the family within a public setting at Rome that served to convoke Romans of all social strata in the celebration of the achievements garnered by the deceased in his service to the Roman state. At its simplest level, the people looked to funerals for entertainment, and the holders of funerals, in a society that prized public displays of piety and glory, depended upon the people to attend and thus justify their performances.³⁶

Even as early as the fourth century funerals enhanced public image.³⁷ For the scions of the great houses of the Republic,³⁸ funerals became displays of power and prestige, with a clear political and social purpose in that it provided opportunities for aristocratic families to advertise

³⁶ John Bodel, “Death on Display: Looking at Roman Funerals,” *Studies in the History of Art*, Vol. 56, (1999), 258-281, esp. 259.

³⁷ For the funeral of his mother (328 BCE) M. Flavius distributed food to the people (*visceratio data*). He reaped immediate political dividends in the following year when he was elected tribune of the plebs in absentia (Livy 8.22.3-4); cf. the funeral of P. Licinius Crassus (183 BCE) for a similar distribution of food (Livy 39.46.2); the funeral of Aemilius Paullus (160 BCE), the people called upon him as their benefactor and savior (Plut. *Aem.* 39.8).

³⁸ For example, the houses of: the *Caecilii Metelli*, the *Claudii*, the *Cornelii Scipiones* or *Pisones*, the *Fabii*, the *Sulpicii* or the *Valerii*.

their family's achievements in order to distinguish themselves from their rivals. The funeral marked the final public performance for an aristocrat whose entire career had been built on such performances. The ceremonial convention of Roman aristocratic funerals served the interest of self-advertisement. These funerals represented a meticulously choreographed and honorific ritual meant to communicate and even increase the status of not only the individual but also his family. In this context, any spectator would be reminded of the exploits of the deceased's distinguished ancestors of that particular family (*gens*). The greater the fame garnered by the household, the greater and more elaborate the aristocratic display, which was to be conducted in full view of the people of Rome. They also became natural venues for expressions of grief and protest due to their emotionally charged atmosphere.

While ancient sources provide descriptions of funerals for individual Romans, no direct narrative sets out uniform rules by which every aristocratic funeral must abide. The accounts of funerals for specific Romans merely confirm expectations that certain funerary conventions will appear in a particular way as well as in a particular order. This set of expectations (certain elements being present in a certain way and order) will be compiled into a standard, using the phrase "typology of an aristocratic Roman funeral," by which all subsequent funerals can be assessed.

The "typology" evolved in both style and content, subject to manipulations and variations by elite Roman families, which created powerful visual ramifications, but overall the funeral emerged by the mid-Republic with a more definitive structure for performance. The funeral would have a recognizable framework that would have included a specific combination of

activities: preparation of the dead, lying in state, funeral procession, eulogy, and cremation/burial. Spectators would have a clear idea of what an aristocratic funeral taking place during the late Republic *should* look like. Those in attendance would anticipate the familiar elements like the procession and eulogy, but not all Roman aristocratic funerals looked *exactly* the same. In other words there existed a certain expectation of what would be included, but within this set of expectations Roman aristocratic families had the freedom to tinker with aspects of the overall typology to emphasize or de-emphasize the deceased in a particular way. Therefore deviation from the typology was equally symbolic, often following prevailing political considerations.

Preparation of the Body and Lying in State (*collocatio*)

Regardless of whether the aristocratic Roman died at Rome or abroad, elite funerals would have required arrangements in planning and execution. The length of time between death and burial may have varied considerably, the longer delay in burial also allowed enough time for the family to seek permission to hold such a funeral due to its public nature³⁹ as well as organize publicity for the funeral itself. In addition many elite funerals were announced by heralds inviting all citizens to attend the day of the funeral as well as the previous days.⁴⁰ During the intervening time, there would have been a preparation of the corpse for exposition (*collocatio*)

³⁹ Dion. Hal. 9.54.5 for the description of the funeral for Appius Claudius. By contrast, ordinary people would be buried or cremated as quickly as possible after death. Cic. *Clu.* 27 speaks of cremation within less than 24 hours.

⁴⁰ The custom is discussed in most detail by Joachim Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer*, (Leipzig: Verlag Von S. Hirzel, 1886), 351.

and display of the body in the atrium at the family's residence in Rome, which provided the opportunity for other Romans to pay their respects to the deceased.

In the customary preparation for the body's exposition, the corpse was washed with warm water, anointed with oils or perfumes, and dressed with all the *insignia* of rank of the highest magistracy the man had held during his lifetime. If he had received a crown while alive as a reward for his bravery, it would now be placed upon his head.⁴¹ After the body was properly prepared for display, it was placed upon a grand couch (*lectus funebris*) in the vestibule of the man's house until the time of the funeral ceremony, with its feet towards the door.

The departed aristocrat's house was prepared to publically reflect that family's loss. A branch of cypress was usually placed at the door of the house for persons of consequence,⁴² and signified that on the occasion of a death in the family, the whole household was in mourning. Solemnity and splendor characterize what was essentially a very public scene in the entrance of the house.⁴³

Next a procession would connect the rites taking place at home to the place of burial or cremation, located outside the boundary (*pomerium*) of the city for proper burial.

Funeral Procession (*pompa funebris*) and Ancestral Masks (*imagines*)

The principal attraction of any aristocratic funeral was the funeral procession.

⁴¹ Cic. *de Leg.* 2.24.60.

⁴² Lucan 3.442; Hor. *Carm.* II.14.23.

⁴³ Harriet I. Flower, *Ancestor Masks and Aristocratic Power in Roman Culture*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 94.

Unfortunately, we have no detailed description by any author, let alone one entitled to such a practice. Passing references from extant sources confirm how natural it was for the audience to have knowledge of these customs already and can give modern scholars only a basic picture. Although the funeral was a private event, in the sense that it was organized and conducted by the family (*gens*), the procession takes place and has as its setting the city of Rome, which encouraged the participation of the entire social body and was therefore marshaled with all possible display and ostentation. The funeral procession (*pompa funebris*) formed the public climax of the funerary rites. While questions of order and precedence would have been settled before a given funeral, traditional Republican funeral processions would have included musicians, professional mourners, and actors wearing ancestral masks as well as the deceased's family and friends.

An *imago* was a mask fashioned from wax, created with utmost care as a copy of the deceased. The family would place the image of the departed in the most conspicuous position in the house.⁴⁴ His *imago* would subsequently be brought out and displayed in public on special occasions such as public sacrifices and the occasion of a funeral, and could in this way continue to participate in Roman public life even after death. The display of *imagines* was a right traditionally reserved for the elites and the *imagines* demonstrated the renown of the family of the deceased.

At the funeral of a distinguished aristocrat, actors donned the *imagines* and were clothed

⁴⁴ Polyb. 6.53.4. The masks were placed in the atrium of a Roman aristocrat's house, which was a highly public setting. It was here that *imagines* and *spolia* were displayed for all to see; cf. Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, "The Social Structure of the Roman House," in *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 56, (1988): 43-97

in the official dress of those whom they represented at the height of their career.⁴⁵ In this way, the actors represented the ancestors of the deceased, coming to life at the funeral in order to escort the departed to his final resting place. Thus “always whenever someone died his whole family, anyone who had ever existed, was there on hand.”⁴⁶ Any family member outside the parameters, for example a criminal or a god, could not be accommodated into the framework of the funeral. With the same cast of ancestors of note returning at each successive family funeral, the pattern of their appearance would become familiar to spectators and variations from the expected sequence would have attracted comment.⁴⁷ This display was highly symbolic and politically significant, affording a public opportunity to communicate political ideology.⁴⁸ Taken together as a whole, these elements (musicians, performers, professional mourners, actors dressed as deceased ancestors) came before the body while friends and family of the deceased followed it. Literally bringing it to life before the gaze of a spectator would verify the deceased’s importance (and by extension, the deceased’s family).

The procession itself was designed to escort the deceased from his home through Rome’s city streets to his final resting place outside the walls of the city. The corpse would be carried out of his house on an elaborate funeral couch, which could be transported by as many as

⁴⁵ Polybius takes special note of the splendor of the costumes and equipment involved (6.53.7), for example ancestors riding on carriages.

⁴⁶ Plin. *NH* 35.2.6.

⁴⁷ Bodel, *Death on Display*, 260.

⁴⁸ At the funeral of Caesar’s aunt Julia (69 BCE), the widow of C. Marius L. Sulla and C. Marius, Caesar displayed Marius’ *imagines* (Plut. *Caes.* 5.2; cf. Suet. *Iul.* 6.1; cf. Flower, *Ancestor Masks*, 124). Representations of Marius had not been seen in public since Sulla had removed and destroyed them (Vel. 2.43.4; Plut. *Caes.* 6.1; Suet. *Iul.* 11).

eight of his nearest relatives or friends. Funerals during the mid-Republic proceeded through the city streets to the Forum, where the corpse was to be exhibited, for the funeral oration (*laudatio funebris*), but the specifics about the route are few.⁴⁹ At several funerals during the late second century and first century BCE, the Roman people (and not relatives or friends of the deceased) are known to have conveyed the body to the Forum as an indication of their esteem for the deceased. For example, around 133 BCE a friend of Tiberius Gracchus⁵⁰ had died and at his procession, the crowd spontaneously honored the deceased by carrying his body to the Rostra for the funeral oration.⁵¹ By conveying the body to the Forum, the Roman people confirmed their high esteem for the deceased individual and thus honored him in such a way.

The previous elements visually highlighted the family's status, connected the deceased's merits with his illustrious ancestors, and reinforced collective values. The funeral eulogy aurally confirmed the deceased's achievements in service to the state and reaffirmed the role of the deceased's family in Roman history. Not only was it a ritual lament that was read at the deceased funeral, it could also be inscribed on a funerary monument, circulated in handwritten form, or a combination of the two.⁵²

⁴⁹ For short references to funeral processions of the middle and late Republic period, see Dion. Hal. 5.17.2; 11.39.55; Hor. *Serm.* 1.6.43; Plut. *Lucul.* 43. For the speech on the rostra see Polybius 6.53.1; “*in foro*,” Cic. *De Orat.* 11.84.341; these ancient sources are collected and discussed at length in Friedrich Vollmer, “*Laudationum funebrium Romanorum historia et reliquiarum editio*” in *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*, Suppl. (1891): 445–528.

⁵⁰ Tiberius Gracchus was a politician whose agrarian reform legislation sought to transfer the wealth from wealthy Romans to the poorer ones. He and his supporters were beaten to death and their bodies thrown into the Tiber to deny them a proper funeral. This according to Plutarch was the first outbreak of internal strife in Rome.

⁵¹ Plut. *TG* 13.4-6. M. Seius (*aed. cur.* 74) was honored in a similar fashion after he had facilitated the supply of grain to the city in time of famine, although the date of the funeral is not attested (Plin. *NH* 18.16).

The Funeral Oration (*laudatio funebris*)⁵³

On its way to the burial site the procession would stop in the forum Romanum, the most important civic and cultural center of ancient Rome, where a funeral oration (*laudatio funebris*)⁵⁴ in praise of the deceased and his ancestors was delivered on the Rostra. The speaker, a close relative, and preferably an adolescent male relation like the eldest surviving son, would deliver the eulogy.⁵⁵ These speeches would be addressed to any Roman citizen present for the funeral and have a clear exhortatory function that praised the deceased, but also encouraged the audience to emulate the model set before them.

While only fragments of *laudationes* survive and it is difficult to recreate them in their entirety, in general the genre of the funeral oration has a well-established structure and

⁵² The so-called *Laudatio Turiae* (CIL VI.1527, 31670, 37053 = ILS 8393) is an epigraphical text of a speech by a husband commemorating his dead wife. The *Laudatio Murdiae* (CIL VI.10230 = ILS 8394). Some *laudationes funebres* were deliberately published and preserved (Polyb. 6.54.1; Cic. *Brut.* 61; Plin. *NH* 7.139; Tac. *Ann.* 13.3).

⁵³ The *laudatio* has been the subject of numerous studies. F. Vollmer, "De funere publico Romanorum" in *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*, 19 (1893): 321-364; Wilhelm Kierdorf, *Laudatio Funebris: Interpretationen und Untersuchungen zur Entwicklung der römischen Leichenrede*, (Meisenheim am Glan: Anton Hain, 1980), which compiles most of the evidence; for a brief overview: M. Crawford "Laudatio funebris," *The Classical Journal* 37 (1941): 17-27; M. Durry, *Éloge Funèbre d'une Matrone Romaine (Laudatio Turiae). Texte établi, traduit et commenté*, (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1950). More recently, Flower, *Ancestor Masks*, 128-58 focuses on the role of the ancestors; and lastly, Javier Arce, *Funus Imperatorum: los funerales de los emperadores romanos*, (Madrid: Alianza, 1990) discusses the staging of the event itself.

⁵⁴ There are no verifiably complete funeral orations. Numerous descriptions survive of the *laudatio* given in honor of the deceased: Cic. *de Ora.* 2.84.341; *pro Mil.* 13; Dio 56.36.3-5; Dion. Hal., 5.17.3-6; Quint. 3.7.2, 11.3.153; Suet. *Iul.* 84; *Aug.* 100. This practice was of great antiquity among the Romans, and is said by some writers to have been first introduced by Publicola, who pronounced a funeral oration in honor of his colleague Lucius Iunius Brutus (Plut. *Public.* 9; Dionys. 5.17).

⁵⁵ The earliest recorded instance of a *laudatio funebris* was that of L. Iunius Brutus by P. Valerius Publicola in 509 BCE. The earliest eulogy that a later writer specifically claims was written down was given by Q. Caecilius Mettellus in praise of his father in 221 BCE.

conventional themes concerning mainly lament and consolation.⁵⁶ The lament identifies the virtues, achievements, and character of the decedent, as well as recounting the history of the family to which he had belonged. Having lamented the loss of such a person, the oration proceeds to comfort the audience for this loss. The Romans believed that this honor should be accorded to all distinguished citizens, whether they had been commanders of campaigns or had otherwise aided the state either in a magistracy or by giving wise counsel.⁵⁷ Many speeches would focus on the extraordinary deeds and attributed political honors that embodied the glory of the Republic itself,⁵⁸ as well as recounting the history of the family to which he had belonged. Historical accuracy was not a strict requirement; it could be sacrificed in the interests of an encomium. It provided the canvas of Roman history on which to place the deceased's accomplishments within its historical context. In other words, the *laudatio* was a type of familial performance carried out on a "stage" before an "audience," in which the history of the family was refashioned and adapted: the story of the deceased, his illustrious ancestors, and their place in the larger context of Roman history.

After hearing the praise for the dead, the relatives would leave the city and make their way to the place of burning or burial (*bustum*), which traditionally was outside the city's boundary (*pomerium*).

⁵⁶ Cic. *de Or.* 2.341, the author of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, and Quintilian *Inst.* 3.7.2 offer particular organizational principles. The treatises are likeminded: praise consists of attributed virtues that are amplified and illustrated through examples from the subject's life). The *laudatio* became a distinctive feature of the Roman funeral ritual (Cic. *Brut.* 61; Sen. *Suas.* 6.21).

⁵⁷ Crawford, "Laudatio Funebris," 17-27.

⁵⁸ Examples: M. Claudius Marcellus, P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus.

Burial/Cremation and the End of the Funeral Rites

The burial itself seemed to be more of a private matter. Traditionally, only the family and close friends would proceed in order to perform other rituals that accompany it.⁵⁹ According to a regulation laid down in the Twelve Tables, all burials, whether of bodies or ashes, had to take place outside the city.⁶⁰ Although the Romans adopted the custom of cremation early on since it is mentioned in the Twelve Tables, it does not appear to have become general practice until the late republic.⁶¹ It will become a defining feature for Augustan funerals.⁶²

On top of a pile of wood (referred to as *pyra* or *rogus*), the corpse was placed with the couch on which he had been carried on the top. Next, the nearest relation would set fire to the pile, averting his face during this act. After the flames had consumed the corpse, the embers were extinguished with wine or water. Then the bones (*os resectum*) and the ashes of the deceased were gathered by the nearest relatives, who placed them in an urn that was deposited in the family's sepulcher (*sepulcrum*). Full mourning would continue until the ninth day when the family returned to the grave for a meal (*cena novendialis*) that marked the closing ritual with a libation to the Manes (the spirits of the dead ancestors). The family would return to the house,

⁵⁹ According to the wording of Suetonius, the emperor Tiberius showed special favor by attending the cremation of a few outstanding figures and not leaving obsequies earlier (Suet. *Tib.* 32.1).

⁶⁰ Cic. *de leg.* 2.23.58: '*hominem mortuum in urbe ne sepelito neve urito.*'

⁶¹ The Romans in the most ancient times buried their dead (Pliny *NH* 7.55).

⁶² After Sulla's victory, his rival Marius' grave had been ripped open and desecrated. While it is far from certain, perhaps Sulla had wished to avoid the same fate. Caesar's cremation, scheduled to be carried out on a pyre in the Campus Martius, was a part of the itinerary. The crowd had rioted and ended up cremating Caesar's corpse on the Forum-side of the Regia (the headquarters of the *pontifex maximus*, a post held by Caesar at the time of his death); cf. App. *BC* 2.143-148; Cic. *Phil.* 1.5, 2.90-1; Dio 44.51.1; Suet. *Iul.* 84.5, 85.

which was purified by an offering to the *Lares* (the household gods) and the funeral rites were over. Commemoration of the dead by surviving family members would be repeated at the grave on appropriate public feasts, as well as on private anniversaries and birthdays.

Case Examples: Funerals of Sulla (78 BCE) and Caesar (44 BCE)

The Funus Publicum for Lucius Cornelius Sulla Felix⁶³

Sulla came to power after a long and bloody civil war. To his enemies, his memory was that of a usurper and murderer.⁶⁴ To his supporters, his funeral represented an opportunity to make sure that Sulla would receive the proper burial that, in their minds, he had deserved despite hostile opposition. If Sulla had been judged a tyrant, not only would he receive improper burial, but also his reforms would be annulled and his memory condemned, tarnishing the reputation of those who had supported him. Thus, the political prestige of Sulla's supporters depended on his posthumous honors and the type of ceremony in which his memory was publicly celebrated.

Sulla's memory and how it should be preserved influenced the actions of the political

⁶³ Lucius Cornelius Sulla Felix, known commonly as Sulla, was a Roman general and statesman.

⁶⁴ Sallust *Hist.* 1.55, in which the *contio* of M. Aemilius Lepidus refers to Sulla's regime as a "*tyrannis*" and his rise to power through bloodshed.

leaders. At the request of the consul Q. Lutatius Catulus, who was supported by Pompey Magnus⁶⁵ against the opposition of his fellow consul M. Aemilius Lepidus and his friends,⁶⁶ the Senate granted Sulla the honor of a *funus publicum*.⁶⁷ A *funus publicum* can be loosely translated into English as “public funeral,” but the word “public” can be misleading; in ancient Rome a “public funeral” was an official funeral for which the expenses were paid for by the quaestor.⁶⁸ Here the use of “public” does not refer to a funeral to which the public was invited nor does “public” mean one that takes place in public because both of these concepts are already present in a traditional aristocratic funeral.

In origin, a *funus publicum* was a funeral held at public expense by the magistrates for a non-Roman. In order for a public funeral to come about at Rome⁶⁹ the aediles⁷⁰ lifted the restrictions concerning public expenses, while the quaestors hired the undertakers, and a free

⁶⁵ Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus (106 - 48 BCE), known more commonly as Pompey the Great, was a successful military commander who had served under Sulla, most notably during Sulla’s Second Civil War (82 - 83 BCE) against Gaius Marius.

⁶⁶ App. *BC* 1.105.493; Plut. *Sull.* 38.2.

⁶⁷ Cic. *Phil.* 9.16.

⁶⁸ A quaestor, an elected official who supervised the treasury and financial affairs of the state, acted under the instructions of a consul, who was obeying a *senatus consultum* (senatorial decree) explicitly made for that purpose. A *senatus consultum* was a senatorial decree that expressed the Senate’s official opinion or advice and had the force of law.

⁶⁹ Other municipalities could and did give funerals to local dignitaries. There seems to be a few cases where the *funus publicum* was granted to Roman citizens: Valerius Poplicola (Livy 2.16.7), Agrippa Menenius (Livy 2.33.11; Dio.Hal. 6.96.3), and Siccus Dentatus. Vollmer “De Funere Publico Romanorum” and Stefan. Weinstock, *Divus Iulius*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971) doubt the authenticity of these cases. Vollmer further argues that the confusion comes about because their funerals were both *militare* and *publicum*.

⁷⁰ An aedile, also an elected public official, was responsible for the maintenance of public buildings and the regulation of public festivals.

burial place was granted to the dead man and his descendants; the Senate decreed the details.⁷¹

The state would not only pay for the expenses, but undertook the whole management of the funeral – roles that were normally carried out by the family members of the deceased. In addition to this, senators and other magistrates, dressed in the garb of their official capacity and took the place of the family as pallbearers, who then conveyed the body to the Forum. A magistrate would deliver the eulogy (*laudatio funebris*), instead of a male relative of the deceased. In addition, on the day of the funeral, all public business would stop (*iusitium*). Therefore a *funus publicum* was paid from the public treasury as well as managed and attended by official Roman magistrates, who had ceased all important business and political activities for the day of the funeral. In origin, the *funus publicum* was given to foreign dignitaries, and important prisoners of war who had died while in captivity to ensure proper burial.⁷²

None of the sources has anything to say about the significance of the senate's bestowal of this honor on Sulla nor its apparent uniqueness, although the two main ones (Appian and Plutarch) both attest its lavishness. What, then, is the significance that Sulla was granted the privilege of a public funeral? What is the additional value to Sulla's reputation and to the honorable position of his family? Weinstock seems to infer from the Senate meeting that Catulus most likely asked for it because Sulla had left him explicit instructions to this effect, but there is no evidence to support or deny Weinstock's claim.⁷³ At the very least, one could make the

⁷¹ Cic. *Phil.* 9.16.

⁷² Syphax (d. 203) the Numidian king and Perseus (d.166) the Macedonian king (Val. Max. 5.1.99).

⁷³ Weinstock, in *Divus Julius*, influenced by looking for precursors to the funeral of Julius Caesar, also suggests during this discussion that the influence of the funeral processions of the Greek kings and nobles was strongly felt at

argument that a distinguished male aristocrat might make known a few personal wishes for his funeral and burial. Perhaps Sulla had briefly mentioned his desire for a public funeral? Yet there is no substantial evidence that exists before Augustus that would point to an extended set of burial instructions.⁷⁴ Perhaps the absence of commentary from our sources can be evidence that for Sulla (and later for Caesar), this honor was in accord with their special position in the state. The only thing that we know for certain was that the Senate held a discussion on granting Sulla a public funeral.

While Plutarch's biography⁷⁵ of Sulla briefly covers the events of Sulla's funeral, the description that follows below closely adheres to Appian's⁷⁶ version, which provides the most detailed account of Sulla's journey to Rome and prominently features a description of his funeral procession. In solemn splendor Sulla's soldiers conveyed his corpse from the Bay of Naples to Rome on a golden litter with royal splendor.⁷⁷ An immense crowd of his veterans,⁷⁸ who had come to pay their respects, joined the cortege. Taken as a whole, Sulla's procession to Rome

Rome, and similar splendor was exhibited by many Roman families, so much so that legislation was introduced, also by Sulla, to limit such luxury, 348-9; cf. Cic. *leg.* 2.60f.; Plut. *Sulla* 35.

⁷⁴ E.g., Africanus (Livy 38.53.8), Caesar (Nic. Dam. 17.48 [*FGHist.* 90 F 130]), and Augustus (Suet. *Aug.* 101.4; Dio 56.33.1) and Trimalchio (Petr. *Sat.* 71), although this is satire, the humor would only be effective if he was thought to be parodying real Roman aristocrats.

⁷⁵ Plutarch's *Lives of the Noble Greeks and Romans*, commonly known as "Parallel Lives" or "Plutarch's Lives," is a series of biographies of famous men arranged mostly as pairs (each pair containing one Greek and one Roman) written around the turn of the second century CE. Plutarch paired Sulla's life with Lysander's, a late 5th/early 4th century BCE Spartan. His most important work (to this dissertation) was *Bellum Civile* (*Civil Wars*) that covers the history of Rome.

⁷⁶ Appian of Alexandria (c. 95 - 165 CE) was a Roman historian of Greek origin during the first half of the 2nd century CE, during the reigns of the Emperors Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius.

⁷⁷ App. *BC* 1.105, literally "having been arranged in a kingly manner."

⁷⁸ They came mainly from cities in Campania, Pompeii and Puteoli, where they had been settled.

included trumpeters and horsemen, who in great numbers went in advance of the cortege, as well as a multitude of armed men, who followed on foot, and common people from around the Italian countryside. In front of the soldiers were the standards and the *fascēs*, presumably those from his last office, the dictatorship, which Sulla had used while in command. The crowd people that came together to escort Sulla to Rome was unprecedented.

Although our sources do not tell us precisely where the procession entered, once the procession passed into the city it was joined by all Rome's priests and priestesses, who attended the body in full regalia. Behind them, came the senate clad in their insignia of office, followed by the knights and soldiers, and then the plebeians. Torchbearers preceded Sulla's magnificent funeral couch⁷⁹ and the funeral procession included the *lecti*,⁸⁰ on which images or other exhibits were carried. According to one tradition, these exhibits were carried on 210 litters and included 2,000 golden crowns contributed by legions, cities, and friends.⁸¹ In another tradition, these exhibits were carried on 6,000 litters.⁸² The high figure of 6,000 seems to be problematic. The most likely explanation for this discrepancy construes *lecti* as persons to take part in the procession who might represent different sections of society.

According to this interpretation, the *lecti* were a handpicked group of men escorting the

⁷⁹ Plut. *Sull.* 38.3.

⁸⁰ The usual Latin word for litter are *fercula*, *feretrum*, or *lectica*.

⁸¹ App. *BC* 1.106.496; Plut. *Sull.* 35.5.

⁸² Servius, a commentator on Virgil, A. 6.861: "To enhance his [Marcellus'] funeral rites Augustus ordered 600 picked men to enter the city: for this had been a mark of distinction in the time of our ancestors and was granted according to the distinction of a man's status; for Sulla had 600." / *ad funeris huius honorem Augustus sescentos lectos intra civitatem ire iussit: hoc enim apud maiores gloriosum fuerat et dabatur pro qualitate fortunae; nam Sulla sex milia habuit.*

procession, either on horseback or on foot.⁸³ These men could be seen as a type of honor guard and were either comprised of Sulla's veterans or drawn from Sulla's 10,000 freedman called *Cornelii*, who mostly lived in Rome and owed him strong allegiance; they had been especially picked for their strength and youth to present his interests among the city plebs.⁸⁴ This honor guard would have reinforced Sulla's military achievements and status as a "military man." Included in these exhibits were the spices given by the matrons; these statues depicted Sulla and a *lictor*, both types appear to be carved out of the wood of a frankincense- and a cinnamon-tree to be used on the pyre.⁸⁵

Sulla's image, which was carved in wood, was carried on a special bier. Such an image was always used when the body was not available or was not in good condition for display.⁸⁶ Tacitus refers to an old custom of placing an effigy on the couch,⁸⁷ but it is not clear how old the custom really was. Most often, these effigies replaced the actual body because the condition of it

⁸³ For *lecti* meaning 'carefully chosen' or 'worthy of selection,' see e.g. Sall. *Cat.* 59.3; Livy 33.18.10; Verg. *A.* 2.60. The term often appears in the context of the Roman military.

⁸⁴ Flower, *Ancestral Masks*, 100-1 lays out a fairly convincing argument that construes the term "*lecti*" as "picked men" or "invited participants" rather than "litters."

⁸⁵ This was an unusual feature of the procession; cf. Plut. *Sulla* 38.3. All translations of Plutarch's *Life of Sulla* refer to cinnamon and frankincense, as if the statues were made out of the spices themselves in a particular way. Ida Östenberg, *Staging the World: Spoils, Captives, and Representations in the Roman Triumphal Procession*, Cambridge and New York: Oxford University Press (2009): p. 218 claims that the statues were made of wood from the frankincense and the cinnamon tree. Paul Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos: Augustus and the Northern Campus Martius*, Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press (2006): p. 25 shares this idea of the statues being made of wood from those types of trees. Other scholars - Geoffrey Sumi, *Ceremony and Power: Performing Politics in Rome Between Republic and Empire*, Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press (2005): p. 109 refers to images made out of the spices - and Arthur Keaveny, *Sulla: The Last Republican*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2005): p. 175, agrees with the idea using the spices to make statues. It seems much more likely correct to assume that the statues were made out of wood from the frankincense and cinnamon tree than the spices themselves.

⁸⁶ It was then referred to as a *funus imaginarium*.

⁸⁷ Tac. *Ann.* 3.5.6: '*ubi illa veterum instituta, propositam toro effigiem...*'

would have been too poor to be displayed.

After Sulla's funeral bier, priests and priestesses in proper costume, the magistrates and the senators again dressed in their official clothing followed⁸⁸ and lastly came the knights, the people, and Sulla's soldiers.⁸⁹ When the corpse of Sulla reached the Forum, the funeral oration was delivered from the Rostra⁹⁰ as was the normal tradition. We do not know the exact contents of Sulla's funeral oration, it would most likely follow the standardized format in commemorating his personal accomplishments. After the eulogy, the procession moved to the place of burial, the Campus Martius, where the body of Sulla was placed on the pyre that had been prepared for it. First all the priests circled it, then the equites, not only those of the equestrian order but others as well, and the infantry of the guard paraded around⁹¹ as well as the knights and the soldiers.⁹² Sulla's remains were buried in a tomb on the Campus Martius given to him by the Senate.⁹³

The next most important funeral to describe was that of Gaius Julius Caesar. Sulla's public funeral remained unique until the funeral for Caesar. Elements of Sulla's funeral that

⁸⁸ App. BC. 1.106.497.

⁸⁹ App. BC. 1.106.498.

⁹⁰ App. BC. 1.106.500. Keaveney, *Sulla*, suggests that he eulogist was most likely Hortensius, who was then at the height of his oratorical powers, because Sulla's son Faustus was still very young.

⁹¹ Dio 56.42.1. "The equites and the army" at Sulla's pyre (App. BC 1.106); by the army at the cenotaph for the elder Drusus on the German frontier (Suet. *Claud.* 1.3; cf. *Consol. Liv.* 217-218, referring to a *decursio* at his pyre in Rome).

⁹² App. BC 1.106.500: *καὶ τὸ πῦρ οἱ τε ἱππῆες καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ περιέδραμον.*

⁹³ On the burial site of the Campus Martius, see Livy, *Per.* 90: *honosque ei a senatu habitus est, ut in campo Martio sepeliretur*; Plut. *Lucull.* 43.3. A. On Sulla's cremation, see Cic. *de Leg.* 2.22.56-7 and Pliny *NH* 7.54.187. Keaveney, *Sulla*, suggests that Sulla, contrary to the usual custom of the *gens Cornellii*, had asked to be cremated lest his body suffer a fate like that he had inflicted on Marius (Sulla decided to have Marius' grave opened and his corpse exhumed and then the remains were thrown into the Anio (modern Aniene), a tributary of the river Tiber).

mark either a sharp contrast with or an influence on that of Augustus will be discussed in tandem with those found in Caesar's funeral in the conclusions section of this chapter.

The *Funus Publicum* for Gaius Julius Caesar

At the meeting of the Senate on 17 March 44 BCE Julius Caesar was granted a *funus publicum* (public funeral)⁹⁴ at the request of his father-in-law L. Calpurnius Piso (*cos.* 58).⁹⁵ Some have argued that Caesar, who most likely made the last draft of his last testament in 45 with the expectation of a successful Parthian campaign, had planned in his funeral in advance and expressed his wishes in his will.⁹⁶ According to Nicholas of Damascus, Caesar's will contained instructions for his funeral including entrusting the organization of his funeral to his niece Atia, the mother of Octavian, but this aspect does not appear in Appian, Dio, or Suetonius.⁹⁷ The evidence once again might seem compelling, but it is not incontrovertible. Unfortunately we know little of the details that Caesar expressed other than that he made Atia responsible for preparation of his funeral. As we have already discussed with Sulla, it seems highly unlikely that Caesar had left Atia a detailed set of instructions for his funeral. The likelier explanation would seem to be that Caesar's supporters wanted to make sure that Caesar received

⁹⁴ Plut, *Brut.* 20.1; Cic. *Att.* 14.10.1.

⁹⁵ App. *BC* 2.135.566; 136.569.

⁹⁶ Nic. Dam. 17.88 (*FGrHist.* 90 F 130); Walter Schmitthenner, *Oktavian und das Testament Cäsars: Eine Untersuchung zu den politischen Anfängen des Augustus*, (Munich: Verlag C. H. Beck, 1952), 35 f. Caesar would have deposited it in the Temple of Vesta.

⁹⁷ Nic. Dam. 17.48 (*FGH* 90 F 130). Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 354-55.

a funeral worthy of his accomplishments during a time in which his opponents had wanted to damage his legacy by denying him proper burial by either leaving his corpse unburied or by throwing his corpse into the Tiber.⁹⁸ The public reaction that erupted at Rome during this whole episode reflected more sharply, than Sulla's example, the competing interests for the preservation of Caesar's memory in a confusing political situation.

The heralds who announced the funeral of Julius Caesar directed the public to come and bring their gifts by all routes possible to the Campus Martius, that is, they specifically told not to join the *pompa*.⁹⁹ The precedent of the public funeral for Sulla seemed to have showed that it would have been an endless procession. This detail seems to imply that the crowd on hand for Caesar's funeral was of a similar size to the crowd at the funeral for Sulla. To a lesser extent, it also confirms that the order of the procession can be partially abandoned, depending on the context.

Suetonius alone records this detail:

“When the funeral was announced, a pyre was erected in the Field of Mars near the tomb of his daughter Julia. In front of the Rostra was placed a gilded shrine, made after the model of the temple of Venus Genetrix, the original matriarch of the family. Within was a bier of ivory with coverlets of purple and gold, and at its head a pillar hung with the robe in which he was slain.”¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ Suet. *Iul.* 76.1; Cic. *Phil.* 13.2. The conspirators held that it was right (‘*iure caesus*’) to kill the tyrant and prevent a funeral; cf. Suet. *Iul.* 82.4; App. *BC* 2.134.559 (Mark Antony's speech in the Senate), 2.128.535; Dio 44.35.1; Plut. *Brut.* 20.1; on this kind of punishment see Suet. *Tib.* 75.1; *Vesp.* 19.2; Tac. *Ann.* 6.19.5; Dio 58.1.3; 11.5; 15.3; 60.35.4.

⁹⁹ Suet. *Iul.* 84.1.

¹⁰⁰ *Id.* 84.1.

This shrine has a decidedly religious tone. We know that Caesar made his divine birthright an important facet of his public image, beginning with his *laudatio* at the funeral of his aunt. Even some of the honors bestowed upon Caesar after his victory in the civil war also show that he was deemed to be beyond mortal, and approaching divine status. For example, his statues were erected in temples (among the gods and kings) and at various sites throughout the city,¹⁰¹ including two on the rostra with adornments appropriate to his achievements. The planning and construction of a temple to Venus Genetrix, the matriarch of his line by tracing his descent back to Aeneas and his mother Venus, as well as the shrine described and record in Suetonius' account adds to the divine nature of Caesar and his funeral.

We discussed earlier how Roman funerals tended to play out in a ritual framework, consisting of a few specific elements. The first element was lying in state (*collocatio*), in which the body was prepared by being washed and anointed, and then dressed in the insignia of the highest office the deceased had achieved in life. The body was then displayed for seven days in the atrium of the home where the deceased had lived. The unrest in Rome¹⁰² and the condition of his body after his assassination most likely would have made this display in the customary fashion difficult, if not extremely unlikely. In addition to this the sources for Caesar's funeral do not mention the customary parade of ancestral masks (*imagines*), which can also be explained by the political situation at Rome. There simply was not enough time in between the murder and the

¹⁰¹Dio 44.3.4-5; App. *BC* 2.106; Suet. *lul.* 76.1.

¹⁰² The senate meeting at the Temple of Tellus a few days prior had ratified Caesar's *acta* as dictator. Yet, tensions in Rome were not lessened. Funeral and burial as quickly as possible were to preserve posthumous honors granted to Caesar as well as affirm the political position of Caesar's supporters.

funeral to prepare Caesar's body as well as retrieve and get his ancestral images out.

Only Suetonius refers to the procession itself. Torch-bearers and former slaves, whom Caesar had just set free by testament,¹⁰³ preceded the couch, made of ivory with coverlets of gold and purple. Magistrates and ex-magistrates carried Caesar's couch, as was generally the case in a public funeral.¹⁰⁴ Normally the corpse would be positioned on the couch, but an unusual aspect of this procession was that Caesar's corpse was hidden inside the couch while a wax image was displayed outside.¹⁰⁵ The reason for the concealment of Caesar's body can be explained by the notion that it was too mutilated for public viewing; but we are told that Mark Antony displayed the corpse with all its wounds after it was brought into the forum.¹⁰⁶

Once Caesar's funeral bier had been placed on the Rostra, presumably it was placed next to the model of the Shrine of the Temple of Venus Genetrix, the *laudatio* was given by the consul Mark Antony. It would have been unusual to see a consul delivering such a speech, yet because the funeral was a *funus publicum*, in which magistrates traditionally took a greater role. We also have the precedent of Sulla's *laudatio*, which delivered by someone other than a relative. Mark Antony's *laudatio* was also an important component of Caesar's funeral. Once again, we do not know the exact contents of Mark Antony's eulogy for Caesar. What we can

¹⁰³ Weinstock, *Divus Iulius*, 351, f. 8. He bases his inference from the general rule (Livy 38.55.2; App. *Mithr.* 2; Schol. Pers. 3.105 f; *Cod. Iust.* 7.6.5) and from the fact that it was Caesar's freedmen who took his ashes to his burial-place (Dio 44.51.1).

¹⁰⁴ Suet. Iul. 84.3.

¹⁰⁵ App. *BC* 2.147.612. We have already seen at Sulla's funeral, his image carved in wood was carried on a special bier. Later, images carried on separate biers would become a constant feature of imperial funerals. It was specifically recorded for Augustus and Pertinax.

¹⁰⁶ Dio 44.35.4.

infer, according to Cicero, who makes reference to it twice, was that the speech had been directly linked to the mob violence that would erupt soon after its delivery.¹⁰⁷

It is the moment of the oration where multiple stands of the narrative are preserved,¹⁰⁸ leading to disagreements among modern scholars as to what source contains the most accurate portrayal. In the main historical accounts, Mark Antony gave the eulogy (*laudatio*), and both Appian and Dio supply full speeches.¹⁰⁹ Then, following the funeral oration, Appian states that Mark Antony stood on the Rostra as though he were on a stage and stood over Caesar's body in witness to his divine birth and praising him as a deity.¹¹⁰ And, changing the cadence of his speech, Mark Antony started to recite the battles fought and won by Caesar, the nations he brought within the Roman Empire, emphasizing Caesar's conquest of the Gallic tribes (who had sacked and burned Rome three hundred years before). After doing this, Mark Antony dramatically uncovered Caesar's body, lifting his robe, which was torn and bloody, with a

¹⁰⁷ Cic. *Att.* 14.10.1: "Do you remember that you shouted that our cause was lost if he [Caesar] was given a funeral? But he was also burned in the Forum and praised with a pitiful ceremony and power speech, and slaves and brigands were made to attack our homes with torches." / *Meministine te clamare causam perisse si funere elatus esset? At ille etiam in foro combustus laudatusque miserabiliter servique et egentes in tecta nostra cum facibus immissi*; Cic. *Phil.* 2.91: "That eulogy of yours was a fine piece of work, as was your excessive emotion, your incitement to anger. You, yes, you, lit those firebrands and the torches with which Caesar was cremated." / *Tua illa pulchra laudatio, tua miseratio, tua cohortatio; tu, tu, inquam, illas faces incendisti, et eas quibus semustilatus ille est.*

¹⁰⁸ The primary evidence comes from App. *BC* 2.144-7; Cic. *Att.* 14.10.1, 11.1; Dio Cassius 44.36-49; Plut. *Ant.* 14.6; and Suet. *Iul.* 84.2. Weinstock, *Divus Iulius*, 351-2 assembles the primary evidence, contending that Appian's version is the most reliable; according to Suetonius, Antony spoke just a few words, after he made a herald recite the honors decreed for Caesar and the oath sworn for his safety (Suet. *Iul.* 84.2).

¹⁰⁹ App. *BC* 2.144-45; Dio 44.36-49 contains a lengthy version of the speech. These speeches may or may not accurately reflect what Mark Antony actually said. In Suetonius' version (*Iul.* 84.2), Mark Antony gave no funeral oration.

¹¹⁰ App. *BC* 2.146.607.

spear.¹¹¹ While the crowd vented their sorrow, someone then raised an image of Caesar made of wax above the bier and turning it round by a mechanical device that showed all twenty-three of his wounds.¹¹² Romans tended to show the deceased as he had looked in life in the clothing of the highest office he had achieved; the presentation of Caesar's whole body, in this particular manner, with his bloody robes and realistic wounds, is unprecedented. It incited the people who had gathered to take control of the ritual because what followed was not in accordance with the plan.¹¹³ It was customary in a public funeral for the magistrates or senators to convey the body from the Forum to its place of burial/cremation. The plan for Caesar's funeral was that after the eulogy, the bier should be carried from the rostra, presumably by the magistrates and ex-magistrates, to the Campus Martius where a funeral pyre had been prepared next to the tomb of his daughter Julia, which had been made a burial-place for the Julians and was now to contain Caesar's ashes as well.¹¹⁴

Instead of this, the people began to improvise, taking up the bier and carrying it on their shoulders¹¹⁵ to the Capitol with the intention of cremating Caesar in the *cella* of Jupiter so as to

¹¹¹ App. *BC* 2.146.610. Then "Caesar" appeared (a mime or actor portraying Caesar) and began naming his enemies to whom he had granted clemency, and then uttered a refrain from a play of Pacuvius, "Oh that I should have spared these men to slay me." Suetonius mentions this line as well, but he puts it in the mouth of an actor who was performing during the funeral games for Caesar (*Iul.* 84.2).

¹¹² App. *BC* 2.147.612. Dio's account (44.35.4) contradicts Appian's in that he claims that one of Antonius' first acts during the funeral was to display the corpse with all its wounds.

¹¹³ This is expressly stated by Plut. *Caes.* 67.8: ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος...Καίσαρα μὲν ὡς θεὸν τιμᾶν ἐψηφίσατο.

¹¹⁴ Suet. *Iul.* 84.3.

¹¹⁵ This was an honor that the people used to grant spontaneously to deserving men. Pliny *NH* 18.16; Plut. *Num.* 22.1; *Aem. Paul.* 9.8; Lucan 8.732; Palt. *Leg.* 12.947^c; Plut. *Timol.* 39.2.

place him among the gods.¹¹⁶ But they were not permitted by the priests to do this, so they took the bier back to the Forum, improvised a pyre, and cremated it there.¹¹⁷ The location for Caesar's pyre in the forum, the most important civic location in the city of Rome, was extraordinary. Soldiers and civilians, men and women, went around the pyre throwing gifts.¹¹⁸ The ceremony around Caesar's pyre did not include priests as did Sulla's; the sources place an emphasis on the all civilians, men and women, performing this act. After Caesar's impromptu cremation, further rioting ensued.¹¹⁹ In the end Caesar's freedmen collected his remains and buried them in the tomb of the Julians as had been planned.¹²⁰ Caesar's funeral had succeeded in turning the tide against his conspirators.

The collective and spontaneous action of the crowd, by taking over the ritual and forcing the elites to become spectators, ultimately had enormous consequences for those on either side of the political contest. Ultimately, Caesar's memory was reaffirmed and celebrated even while his death was mourned. Caesar's conspirators were compelled to remain out of the public eye in order to ensure public order. The sources confirm as much, stating that their sudden departure was a direct response to the anger of the urban plebs.¹²¹

¹¹⁶ Suet. *Iul.* 84.4.

¹¹⁷ Suet. *Iul.* 84.3; App. *BC* 2.148.616; Cic. *Phil.* 2.91; *Att.* 14.10.1.

¹¹⁸ Suet. *Iul.* 84.4.

¹¹⁹ Dio 44.50.4; App. *BC* 2.147.614; Suet. *Iul.* 85; Plut. *Caes.* 68.2.

¹²⁰ Dio 44.51.1.

¹²¹ Plut. *Brut.* 21.1; App. *BC* 3.6.18; Dio 44.51.4.

Conclusions: The Funeral and the Triumph

How can these two particular funerals shed light on Augustus' funeral and the sociopolitical transformation from Republic to Empire? It is at Sulla's funeral that we first hear of veterans marching in the procession as they had done in earlier triumphs.¹²²

The Roman triumph was a staged public ceremony celebrating the military achievement of a general who had successfully completed a foreign campaign, after the return of his army to Rome. The Roman triumph was an officially sanctioned celebration of military conquest in which the people honored him for his prowess on the battlefield and the glory it brought to Rome. The triumph itself combined religious, cultural, and political aspects in one important spectacle, centered around a procession, in which a victorious general enters a city in a chariot or *quadriga* drawn by four horses. The triumph was the most highly coveted honor that Rome bestowed. Magistrates were known to have subjected themselves to a form of voluntary exile while they waited months (even years) for the right to triumph (*ius triumphandi*) to be granted.¹²³

What modern scholars know about the Roman triumph exists mainly in the literary sources from Livy¹²⁴ onwards. Most of the accounts on Roman triumphs were written for other purposes than to provide an accurate reconstruction of the events so there can only be a

¹²² App. *BC* 1.105-6. Servius' language mention that the appearance of the *lecti* was inside the city walls (6.659 and 2.142), which was not usually permitted for soldiers except to take part in a triumphal procession.

¹²³ E.g., Cicero after his governorship of Cilicia. Also C. Pomptinus waited for six years; cf. Cic. *Q.F.* 3.6.4; *Att.* 4.18.4; Dio 39.65), and Lucullus waited for three years; cf. Vell. Pat. 2.34; Eutrop. 6.10.2.

¹²⁴ Titus Livius (c. 64 or 59 BC – 17), known as Livy English, was a Roman historian. His work entitled *Ab Urbe Condita Libri* ("Books from the Foundation of the City") covers the period from the earliest legends of Rome before the traditional foundation in 753 BC through the reign of Augustus in Livy's own time.

generalization of the whole procession. Josephus¹²⁵ gives a lengthy account of a typical Roman triumph with extraordinary splendor. The triumphal procession began outside the city since a general was not allowed within the *pomerium* without special dispensation. The procession gathered in the Campus Martius and proceeded through the Porta Triumphalis, a freestanding archway whose location is uncertain but was probably near the Campus Martius and the Circus Flaminius. Trumpeters went in advance, followed by carts laden with spoils and pictures of battle scenes and conquered cities along with boards displaying the names of the conquered nations. Next came the gifts sent by the subjugated peoples, usually gold crowns, and then followed the white oxen to be sacrificed to Jupiter Optimus Maximus. The leaders of the enemy and all other prisoners were led in advance of the triumphator.

Riding in the center of the procession, was the victorious general. The triumphator's visible skin was colored in red,¹²⁶ and he wore a costume wore the purple triumphal dress (*vestis triumphalis*), which consisted of the *tunica palmata*—so named for the palm branches embroidered on it—and of the *toga picta*—the purple toga with gold embroidery, as well as a golden crown,¹²⁷ held an ivory scepter topped by an eagle, and rode in a *quadriga*, that imitated the one which was displayed on the roof of the Capitoline temple. Following the triumphator were men freed from slavery who donned the *pileus* of the freedman. The soldiers, wearing

¹²⁵ Flavius Josephus: *The Jewish War*. VII. Sections 5-6, trans. William Whiston. Josephus (37 - c. 100 CE) was a first-century Romano-Jewish scholar and historian.

¹²⁶ The earliest and principal source for the coloring of the triumphator with red paint is Pliny *NH* 33.1111f. The visible parts of the triumphator's skin were painted red in imitation of Jupiter; cf. Versnel, *Triumphus*, 58-63.

¹²⁷ This golden crown was too heavy to actually be worn on the head and hence had to be held by a slave who rode in the general's *quadriga*.

laurel wreaths, brought up the rear and sang ribald songs deriding their commander. The procession continued through the streets of Rome to the Capitolium, where he made a sacrifice to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, and then ended at the triumphator's home.

Augustus' policy towards triumphs was very much controlled and calculated. Prior to the establishment of the Principate in 27 BCE, Augustus himself only celebrated three triumphs - all in 29 BCE over Dalmatia, Actium, and Egypt. In this period, most generals could not hope to celebrate their own triumph. He instituted that all military achievements were under his auspices and therefore were all attributed to him. He also repeatedly emphasized his ultimate responsibility for the military through his *praenomen Imperator* and his *imperium*, the legal authority to command troops.¹²⁸ His monopolization over the military achievements and loyalties greatly reduced practice of a Roman triumph. Two of the generals who received triumphs for victories won after 27 were proconsuls of Africa.¹²⁹ Augustus' humble moderation set precedence for other generals. In 19 BCE, the Senate voted the Princeps' stepson and intended successor Agrippa, a triumph for his victories over the Cantabri. Agrippa declined the offer.

Commanders who were refused a triumph by the Senate had sometimes held a triumph on the Alban Mount.¹³⁰ The ritual procession of the *triumphus in monte Albano* was a triumph at Mount Alban, a federal sanctuary. This type of triumph was celebrated for the first time in 231

¹²⁸ Beth Severy, *Augustus and the Family at the Birth of the Roman Empire*, (New York: Routledge, 2003), 86.

¹²⁹ In 21 BCE for L. Sempronius Atratinus and in 19 BCE for Cornelius Balbus.

¹³⁰ Drusus could have followed his triumph at the Alban Mount; cf. T. Corey Brennan, 'Triumphus in Monte Albano', in *Transitions to Empire: Essays in Greco-Roman History 360-146 BC*, R. Wallace and E. M. Harris (ed.), (London: Norman 1996): 315-37, with an *ovatio* in the city as Marcellus did in 211 BCE. Livy mentions this episode in 26.21.6 as well as Plutarch in *Marc.* 22.

BCE. This triumph differed from a “real” triumph in Rome because it did not require the senate’s consent. If military advances were not significant or sufficient or there was little bloodshed to constitute a legitimate claim to the higher distinction of a triumph, an *ovatio* was granted. Here the line is drawn between the triumph and all other victorious celebrations that were *not* to count as a triumph. The Roman *ovatio* or lesser triumph was merely a variant of a triumph that involved the celebration of a victorious general’s procession into the city and differed in how the general moved during the ritual and what the general was wearing. The general did not enter the city riding his *quadriga*, instead he entered the city upon foot to the sound of flutes instead of trumpets. He was not arrayed with a victorious laurel wreath but one of myrtle. He did not wear an embroidered robe, but simple *toga praetexta* of a magistrate. Frequently, his soldiers were not part of this procession. Both the *ovatio* and the triumph *in monte Albano* were carefully distanced from the “triumph proper” by a series of precise distinctions and calibrations: the general travelling on foot or on horseback (and not in a chariot), a wreath made of myrtle (and not laurel), a standard senatorial toga (and not the *toga picta* and *tunica palmata*), or even most obviously the change in location (not in Rome).

In Republican tradition, only the Senate could grant a triumph. This meant that the Senate had to publically acknowledge the martial achievements of a returning general before he could enter the city of Rome. Although, this description of a triumph is written a long time after the events of Sulla’s funeral, the triumph of Titus and Vespasian still hold true to the idealized affair. My concern is not so much with these overlaps between the two processions, but the demonstration of their interrelationship at a broader and ideological level, which would be

harnessed by Augustus. We will see that the links between the imperial triumph and apotheosis (monumentalized in the Arch of Titus) echoes the more-than-human status of the triumphing general and the deification of the emperor on his death intertwine. By the time of Augustus' death, ordinary Romans, who would have found the adoption of these elements by a single individual to be unacceptable to the political culture of republican Rome, found it readily expressed in the Empire. The stages in this transition are complicated, but the funerals of Sulla and Caesar can shed light on this process. The significance of the triumph as public ritual that had emerged from 2nd century BCE onwards and some of these elements in Sulla's funeral would not be missed by spectators in attendance.

In particular, there are a number of elements in Sulla's funeral that strongly resemble the appearance of a triumphal procession.¹³¹ The practice of conveying the body into the city of Rome from the outside (a *translatio*), the central figure – the triumphator – distinguishes himself in a very special manner from the other persons involved in the ritual. His funeral procession began near the Bay of Naples, where he had died, and wound its way along the Via Appia to Rome.¹³² The entrance of the corpse into the city from the outside the city wall was rare, if not unprecedented. In many ways, the return of Sulla's remains closely resembled the return of a triumphant general, especially because Sulla's soldiers marched under arms behind the standards and *fascēs* that Sulla had wielded. In addition to this, there were displays (crowns, spices, etc.) reminiscent of conquest and material abundance that would normally have been displayed during

¹³¹ Versnel, *Triumphus* 115-31. Cf. R. Heidenreich "Tod und Triumph in der römischen Kunst" in *Gymnasium*, 58 (1951), 326ff. A. Brelich "Trionfo e morte" *S.M.S.R.* 14, (1938): 189 ff. In addition, the similarities between *funus* and triumph had been noticed by Seneca *Consol. ad Marc.* 3.1.

¹³² A distance of about 75 miles.

a triumphal parade. Sulla's funeral celebrated his regime and his constitutional reforms, the end of civil war, and the restoration of the power of the senatorial aristocracy. It was also a rite of passage for the Sullan aristocracy, who presumably would rule Rome in the future. Appian remarks on the fear that pervaded this event that was caused by the presence of Sulla's soldiers, who were a clear and visible reminder of the real source of Sulla's power.¹³³

Like Sulla's funeral, Caesar's funeral combined elements of a triumph into the general funerary ritual because they also fit with the historical circumstances of deceased as an individual. During his lifetime, he was allowed to wear triumphal dress while performing sacrifices; his statues were adorned with the *corona civica*, symbolizing his status as savior of Rome; he was allowed to offer the *spolia opima* to Jupiter Feretrius, even though he had never actually slain an enemy general in battle; and his victories were to be celebrated annually in the *Ludi Victoriae*. Caesar was elevated to what was, in essence, the status of triumphator in perpetuity. It is the triumphing general who, if only temporarily, most closely approaches the divine. Among the features for Caesar that funeral rites had in common a triumphal process were that Caesar's funeral pyre was erected on the Campus Martius, which is the starting place of a triumphal procession and the proposal to cremate Caesar in the *cella* of the Capitoline temple (the ending point of a triumph). All of this added up to Caesar's semi-divine status.

There are limitations to the comparisons. Both funerals for Sulla and Caesar seemed to have a certain element of spontaneity to them. In Sulla's case, he had died outside of the city of Rome. It should also not be surprising that Sulla's funeral procession could resemble a triumph,

¹³³ App. *BC* 1. 105-6. Sulla's funeral succeeded in placing his partisans firmly at the center of power; the people remained distant spectators.

because of his connection with the settled veterans in the surrounding countryside. Hearing about the death of their commander, many veterans would have come together to pay their respects. For supporters of a controversial politician, this display of military prowess would have been important in reaffirming his legacy.

It also comes as no surprise that for a politician like Caesar, who had been incredibly popular among the Roman people, the crowd might be so moved that they become more than passive participants. The actions of Mark Antony, who conducted the funeral like a priest at a religious ritual, effectively deified Caesar and impelled the plebs to carry his body to the Capitolium so that it could take its rightful place among the gods. Caesar's audience usurped his funeral, directing the action and reversing traditional role of the elite by making them into the spectators. None of these things were planned, especially the public's reaction at Caesar's funeral.

These funerals differed in degree, not in kind, from ordinary elite funerals because of the special circumstances surrounding the deceased individual. The memory of both men was reaffirmed and celebrated, in addition to being publically mourned, and this had an enormous impact for those who stood on either side of the political struggle. In Sulla's case, his supporters were vindicated. In Caesar's case, public opinion of the assassins had become so negative that the conspirators had to flee the city.

The standard procedure for funeral and commemoration of elite men had changed dramatically during the reign of Augustus, especially for members of his family. Augustus was not like the other senators. He was not like the preeminent men of the late Republic, not even

like Gaius Marius, L. Sulla, Pompey, or Caesar. Augustus was special. His death marked the final transformation from a Republic to Empire, a process that would take over thirty-five years to complete. The dissertation will consist of an historical narrative built around the funerals for Augustus, Marcellus, Drusus the Elder, and Gaius and Lucius Caesar. It is at these moments of extreme uncertainty for the imperial family that the power of the funeral manifests. In the end, Augustus became a master at using the funeral to codify imperial ideology. Chapter Two will describe the funeral of Augustus as the funeral for the first emperor of Rome. In Chapters Three, Four, and Five, we shall track how the funeral had evolved in an experimental fashion, which can further highlight the distinct differences of the role of the imperial family at the start and end of Rome's political transformation. Chapter Three explores the historical context of the funeral for Augustus' nephew Marcellus and in this chapter we will see how some funeral honors would not be repeated. Chapter Four discusses the funeral for Augustus' stepson Drusus, which takes place fourteen years after the funeral for Marcellus. In particular it addresses the blending of funerals and triumphs. Lastly, over a decade has passed since Drusus' funeral and over a quarter of a century since Marcellus' funeral when, in Chapter Five, we will explore and evaluate the funeral honors for Augustus' biological grandsons Gaius and Lucius Caesar.

CHAPTER TWO

AUGUSTUS: THE FUNERAL FOR ROME'S FIRST EMPEROR

‘ἐπεὶ δὲ πάννυ καλῶς πέπαισται,
 δότε κρότον καὶ πάντες ἡμᾶς μετὰ χαρᾶς προπέμψατε.’¹³⁴

“Since I have played my part well, all clap your hands.
 And from the stage dismiss me with applause.”

Table (#1) From Augustus' Death to his Consecration: Tentative Chronology*

Bibliography. E. Hohl, “Wann hat Tiberius das Prinzipat übernommen?” *Hermes* 68 (1933), 106-115; Wellesley “*Dies Imperii*” (an “early” chronology, heterodox but important in demonstrating how fragile the standard chronologies are); Levick *Tiberius* 68-81; Sage “Accession.” Cf. T.E.J. Wiedemann in *CAH*² 10.200-209.

Augustus dies at Nola: 19 Aug. C.E. 14

Cortege and Tiberius reach Rome: ca 3 Sept (e.g., Levick, Sage, Wellesley, 31 Aug.)

First Meeting with reading of Augustus' will and votes of funeral honors: “on the morrow” of Tiberius' arrival (Dio 56.31.2)

Funeral: ca 8 Sept. (Levick; c. Hohl, ca 11 Sept.; Sage, 6 Sept.; Wellesley, ca 4 Sept.)

Livia's five-day vigil at the pyre; burial of Augustus in the Mausoleum (56.42.4)

Second Senate meeting; consecration of Augustus voted; formal accession of Tiberius?:

17 Sept. (cf. Wellesley, dating Tiberius' *dies imperii* 3 Sept.)

Drusus Caesar still in Rome on 17 Sept. (Tac. *Ann.* 1.14.3)

Drusus Caesar dispatched urgently to the mutiny in Pannonia on or immediately after 17 Sept. (Tac. *Ann.* 1.24.1-2), his troops having been sent ahead of time well before (Levick; cf. Wellesley, 4 Sept; Sage, 7 Sept.)

Tiberius' son Drusus reaches the mutinous army: 26 Sept.

Eclipse of the moon visible in Pannonia before dawn on 27 Sept.

*Notes: secure dates are underlined

Preliminary Remarks

¹³⁴ Suet. *Aug.* 99.1. This was Augustus' alleged request, echoing the advice of Maecenas: ‘καθάπερ γὰρ ἐν ἐνί τινι τῆς ὅλης οἰκουμένης θεάτρῳ ζῆσθαι, καὶ οὐχ οἷόν τέ σοι ἔσται οὐδὲ βραχύτατον ἀμαρτάνει διαλαθεῖν,’ “For you will live as it were in a theatre in which the spectators are the whole world; and it will not be possible for you to escape detection if you make even the most trivial mistake,” (Dio 52.34.2).

The death of the emperor in a political regime that is both dynastic and monarchic poses a serious investigative challenge. At the age of seventy-six, the first Roman emperor Augustus died in CE 14 after holding unopposed power for forty-four years.¹³⁵ Augustus had positioned himself inextricably within the apparatus of the Roman state, setting the stage for a relatively smooth transmission of imperial power to his successor Tiberius. Despite his careful planning, not even Augustus could guarantee his system's success. From the moment he died, the problem the succession faced was its continuity. Yet the Senate acquiesced and swore its support to Tiberius before he had even reached Rome from Augustus' deathbed.¹³⁶

The reality of this political situation had already become clear in the later years of Augustus' reign. After Augustus, Tiberius had been the second-most powerful figure. He had become the only man with the most experience and authority necessary to fill the role Augustus left behind. At the risk of oversimplification, this narrative of even this episode¹³⁷ has overshadowed a number of crucial stages, one of which involved the symbolisms of power manifested in the elaborate, public commemoration of Augustus as the first emperor of Rome. More than any other ritual, his funeral had the potential to signify a break or total rupture of a nascent system and his rule as merely passing accident. Augustus' funeral was designed to communicate that his reign was no accident. At every step in the process of his funeral and burial,

¹³⁵ The total reflects the amount of years that had passed since the Battle of Actium in 31 BCE. It would be fifty-six years after assuming power in the triumvirate.

¹³⁶ Tac. *Ann.* 1.7.2 comments on the initiative of the consuls.

¹³⁷ Dio 55.10a.9 – 10; Suet. *Aug.* 65; Tac. *Ann.* 1.3; *CIL* 11.1420 – 1.

Augustus specifically designed his funeral in such a way that it would solidify Rome's transition to imperial rule.

The evidence that follows clearly indicates that Augustus' funeral amounted to a very real reform of the traditional republican institution and ritual. Augustus' funeral was the logical result of its predecessors, yet it surpassed them at the same time by becoming an entirely new type of custom now reserved for the imperial family alone. His imperial funeral fully reflected that he was the embodiment of the new Roman state.

If we now turn to a number of literary portrayals of the event, it becomes clear that Augustus' funeral was special in nearly every way imaginable. This chapter divides the episode into a few overarching sections that reflect Augustus' special marks of distinction: the journey of Augustus' corpse from Nola to Rome; the reading of Augustus' will and its annexes; and finally his funeral and burial. Regarding the subsequent course of events we must rely entirely on the account of Dio, which offers us the most thorough and coherent narrative of the funeral that exists, although other sources will be added to supplement Dio's information.

Augustus' Death and Journey from Nola to Rome¹³⁸

Rather than a standard, annalistic account for the year 14 CE, Dio has composed an immense necrology for the first Roman emperor, closing his twelve-book Augustan segment,

¹³⁸ On the route see P.M. Swan, *The Augustan Succession: An Historical Commentary on Cassius Dio's Roman History Book 55–56 (9 B.C.–A.D. 14)*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), xviii called "Map 4: Italy insert." Levick provides a detailed itinerary of the probably route: it passed through seven colonies (Suessula, Calatia, Capua, Sinuessa, Minturnae, Fundi, Tarracina) and five municipalities (Casilinum, Urbana, Formiae, Aricia, Bovillae) and Tres Tabernae, a journey which took thirteen days in total, arriving at Bovillae on the morning of 2 September (Levick 1976b: 69–70) with 246–247 n4 and 303 (map)].

which had opened with the youthful Octavian taking center stage in the narrative following the murder of Julius Caesar,¹³⁹ with *the* most spectacular funeral ever held at the capitol. In the same house¹⁴⁰ as his biological father Gaius Octavius,¹⁴¹ Augustus passed away¹⁴² at the ninth hour on the nineteenth day of August 14 CE in the town of Nola in southern Italy,¹⁴³ little more than a month before his seventy-seventh birthday.¹⁴⁴ It was a rapid and painless end, for which he had hoped, after over four decades of rule.¹⁴⁵ Good fortune attended Augustus to the end, which was

¹³⁹ Dio 45.1.1.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. Tac. *Ann.* 1.9.1; Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 1.2; *Epit.* 126. This house was formally designated as a shrine (Dio 56.43.3).

¹⁴¹ Suet. *Aug.* 1-4 and 8 gives the details about Augustus' family; cf. Vell. Pat. 2.59; *ILS* 47 = *CIL* 6.1311 (This inscription details the career of Gaius Octavius, the father of Augustus. It is inscribed upon a marble plaque of unknown provenance within Rome; Pliny *NH* 36.36 (statue group dedicated by Augustus to his father)).

¹⁴² The sinister tradition concerning the suspicion Livia's complicity in Augustus' death is not an issue for this discussion because it does not affect the outcome of Augustus' funeral and posthumous honors. The rumors allege that Livia feared that Augustus would restore Agrippa Postumus as his successor (cf. Dio 56.30.1, Tac. *Ann.* 1.5.1-2; Plin. *NH* 7.150; Plut. *De garr.* 508a-b=Loeb *Moralia* vol. 6 pp. 428-431, on how Fulvius (sc. Fabius) committed suicide out of shame at having betrayed Augustus' secret plan of recalling Agrippa Postumus; There is no voyage to Planasia and no poison in Plutarch's report; cf. *Epit. De Caes.* 1.26-28. Suetonius shuns the notion of Livia's betrayal of Augustus, which would have contradicted his picture of Augustus dying in Livia's embrace (*Aug.* 99.1) and his insistence of Augustus' esteem for Tiberius (*Tib.* 21). Velleius Paterculus too remains silent on Livia's role in Augustus' death. Swan, *Augustan Succession*, argues that it is hard to imagine anything persuading Augustus to revoke Agrippa's internment, enacted *in perpetuum* by senatorial decree (Suet. *Aug.* 65.4; Dio 55.32.1-2n), let alone risk supplanting Tiberius, already registered as his principal heir (with Livia as coheir) in his last will made on the 3rd April the year before (i.e. 13 CE cf. Dio 56.32.1ⁿ).

¹⁴³ Suet. *Aug.* 100.1.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. Dio 56.30.5. Dio's and Suetonius' calculations are based on compensative reckoning on the basis of the dates in their Roman form, IX Kal. Aug. and XIV Kal. Sept.; cf. W.F. Snyder, "On Chronology in the Imperial Books of Cassius Dio's Roman History," *Klio* 33 (1940), 39-56, esp. 43-5.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Tac. *Ann.* 1.9.1: '*idem dies accepti quondam imperii princeps et vitae supremus*;' *Il.* 13.2.179=EJ p50; Suet. *Aug.* 100.1. Dio gives the precise dates only for cardinal events (e.g. 51.1.1, Actium). For Augustus' birthday, 23 September (= IX Kal. Oct.) 63 BC.

considered to be a mark of divine favor as he received not just the Roman ideal of a good death, but also one that was painless.¹⁴⁶

Dio provides more-or-less the complete sequence of the journey of Augustus' corpse from Nola to Rome for his funeral rites at the capitol:

τὸ δ' οὖν σῶμα τὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἐκ μὲν τῆς Νώλης οἱ πρῶτοι καθ' ἐκάστην πόλιν ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἐβάστασαν, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τῇ Ρώμῃ γενόμενον οἱ ἱππῆς παραλαβόντες νυκτὸς ἐς τὸ ἄστυ ἐσεκόμισαν. τῇ τε ὑστεραίᾳ βουλὴ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐς αὐτὴν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τὴν ἱππᾶδα στολὴν ἐνδεδυκότες συνῆλθον, οἱ δ' ἄρχοντες τὴν βουλευτικὴν.¹⁴⁷

The body of Augustus was carried from Nola in succession by the foremost men of each city. When it drew near Rome, the knights took it in charge and conveyed it by night into the city. On the following day there was a meeting of the senate, to which the majority came wearing the equestrian costume, but the magistrates the senatorial garb except for the purple-bordered toga.

With slight variations, Dio's account can easily be recognized in the narrative of Suetonius. Although Suetonius' narrative lacks any concrete indications of time except for the

¹⁴⁶ Wardle, *Suetonius: Life of Augustus*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 552. The source of the deathbed prophecy was certainly conscious of the tradition that during Alexander's last hours, in response to a question from his friends about the fate of his kingdom, Alexander said, "I foresee that there will be a great funeral contest among my friends (Diod. 18.1.4)." Neither prophecy in fact involves any great prescience: Augustus had left careful instructions for his funeral and presumably the arrangements leading up to it (Suet. *Aug.* 101.2) and knew the size of the guard detachment at Nola; Alexander left no successor and a certain crisis.

¹⁴⁷ Dio 56.31.2.

hour of Augustus' death,¹⁴⁸ he provides his audience with more precise details of Augustus' procession to Rome:

*Corpus decuriones municipiorum et coloniarum a Nola Bouillas usque deportarunt noctibus propter anni tempus, cum interdiu in basilica cuiusque oppidi uel in aedium sacrarum maxima reponeretur. A Bouillis equester ordo suscepit urbique intulit atque in uestibulo domus conlocavit. ...*¹⁴⁹

The body of Augustus was carried by the senators of the municipalities and colonies from Nola all the way to Bovillae, in the night time because of the season of the year, being placed by day in the basilica of the town at which they arrived or in its principal temple. At Bovillae the members of the equestrian order met it and bore it to the city, where they placed it in the vestibule of his house...

Both Dio and Suetonius' accounts only contain a small number of sentences for this journey, which can potentially reduce the importance of what was actually taking place in the narrative. Like an aristocratic funeral procession within Rome, this type of voyage was more than merely a means of transporting a great man from one location to the site of his burial. But Augustus' journey meant something quite different. The journey for Augustus became ceremonial act: the remains (*σῶμα/corpus*) of Augustus were transported on a funeral couch, marked out by exterior funerary decorations, and carried in turn by leading magistrates of the *municipia* and *coloniae* (*οἱ πρῶτοι/decuriones municipiorum et coloniarum*) of each town or city the cortege passed along

¹⁴⁸ He is the only author to specify the hour of death: 'at the ninth hour of the day', which equates to around 3 p.m.

¹⁴⁹ Suet. *Aug.* 100.2.

the Appian Way, from Nola to Bovillae.¹⁵⁰ The inhabitants of the villages and cities between Nola and Rome, both men and women, young and old, presumably gathering to mourn him like their own family member.

Each dawn the procession stopped for short official ceremonies at the nearest town, placing Augustus' bier in the most important building or sacred shrine of the town at which they had arrived. Their journey was delayed until nightfall. Furthermore, Augustus' remains received sacralized treatment. It didn't matter if Augustus' bier was placed in a religious building or not, what was most important was that the best building at each stopping place was made available until the journey could resume. In addition to this, Augustus' funeral procession to Rome seems to have been carefully organized so that the whole state, from ordinary citizen to members of the imperial family participated in climactic order in multiple locations over multiple days before the main event in Rome.¹⁵¹ Remember that Sulla's procession went straight to the capitol; it certainly did not stop at various towns along the way nor was his body exhibited in each of those towns in the most prominent place.

Suetonius adds that the cortege proceeded only by night because of the time of the year (*propter anni tempus*),¹⁵² although he does not comment further on this issue: perhaps it was to

¹⁵⁰ The town of Bovillae was about nineteen miles south of Rome. It is now called Frattocchio.

¹⁵¹ M. Strothmann, *Augustus – Vater der res publica*, (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2000), 102.

¹⁵² Suet. *Aug.* 100.2. Levick (1976), 70 speculates: "it was probably partially embalmed before it left Nola." The practice was known in Rome, see D.B. Counts, "Regum Externorum Consuetudine: The Nature and Function of Embalming in Rome," *CA* 15 (1996): 189-202, esp. 192-95; C.J. Poulson & T.K. Marshall, *The Disposal of the Dead*, (London: English University Press, 1953), 319-323; R.W. Mann, W.M. Bass, & L. Meadows, "Time Since Death and Decomposition of the Human Body: Variables and Observations in Case and Experimental Studies," *Journal of Forensic Sciences* 35.1 (1990), 103-111: temperature is the most important single factor of the many

spare the pallbearers from the daytime heat of late August or even to slow decomposition of Augustus' corpse or to allow people from the countryside sufficient time either to join the procession on its journey to Rome or to make it to the capitol ahead of him in order to participate in his official funeral? Any process of embalming would have taken time, which could have further delayed Tiberius' transition to rule.

The communal action already seen in the towns from Nola to Bovillae underwent a slight alteration at Bovillae, which further highlights another significant honor for Augustus. Once Augustus' funeral procession reached that town, members of the equestrian order (*οἱ ἱππηῖς/equester ordo*) took the place of the decurions as pallbearers to complete the last part of the journey. Suetonius reports that these knights took the body in charge and conducted it to the city of Rome on their own shoulders.¹⁵³ The future emperor Claudius is said to have championed the equestrians' request, in which they asked for this for the privilege of carrying Augustus' body to Rome for the last part of the journey, from the consuls. Dio states that these equites entered the city of Rome by nightfall, placing the body in the vestibule of Augustus' own house on the Palatine.¹⁵⁴

Tiberius' Summoning of the Senate¹⁵⁵ and the Reading of Augustus' Will¹⁵⁶

affecting the rate of decomposition; embalming slows greatly the rate of decay, preserving, in particular, the face, which otherwise deteriorates quickly.

¹⁵³ Suet. *Claud.* 6.1.

¹⁵⁴ Dio 56.31.2. Levick, *Tiberius*, 69-70 estimates that Augustus' corpse reached Rome on September 3rd, 15 days after his death.

Tiberius would have summoned¹⁵⁷ his fellow senators by virtue of his *tribunicia potestas* sometime before his own arrival in Rome with the body.¹⁵⁸ Dio reports that on the following day of his arrival in Rome,¹⁵⁹ Tiberius convened a meeting of the senate in the *Curia Iulia*,¹⁶⁰ the Senate House, in order to discuss a number of issues in connection with the death of Augustus, most importantly his will and testament. It would seem that this was not the first senate session since news of Augustus' death reached Rome, based on a number of comments made by the other sources. Velleius Paterculus recalls the “*senatus trepidation*” occasioned by Augustus' death.¹⁶¹ Tacitus remarks that once word had reached Rome, apparently before Tiberius' arrival, the consuls, senators, and equites plunged into “servility,” in addition to swearing of allegiance

¹⁵⁵ Primary sources for the meeting besides Dio: Tac. *Ann.* 1.8.1–5, cf. 7.3–4; Suet. *Aug.* 100.2–3, 101.1–4; *Tib.* 23, 70.3. Select bibliography: W. Weber, *Princeps: Studien zur Geschichte des Augustus*, (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1936), 45–76; E. Hohl, “Zu den Testamenten des Augustus,” *Klio* 30 (1937): 323–342; D. Timpe, *Untersuchungen zur Kontinuität des frühen Prinzipats* (Wiesbaden, 1962), 42–45, arguing that the will served Augustus' purposes as both aristocratic dynast and head of state; D. Kienast, *Prinzeps und Monarch*, (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1982), 147–148; Champlin, “The Testament of Augustus” *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, Neue Folge, 132. Bd. H. 2 (1989): 154–165, especially 155.

¹⁵⁶ Ancient sources for the will of Augustus: Dio 56.32.1a–4; 57.2.1, 5.3, 14.1–3, 18.11; Aug. *RG* 20.3; Tac. *Ann.* 1.8.1–2; Suet. *Aug.* 101.1–4 (details), *Tib.* 23, 50.1; *Claud.* 4.7, *Ner.* 4; Charisius *Gramm.* 1 p132 Barwick = Malcovati p101 no. xxxiv.

¹⁵⁷ In his edict summoning the Senate, Tiberius declared his intention not to leave the corpse (cf. Tac. *Ann.* 1.7.4: “*neque abscedere a corpore*”), meaning that Tiberius would not ride ahead of the procession.

¹⁵⁸ Tac. *Ann.* 1.7.3; Suet. *Tib.* 23; Dio 56.28.

¹⁵⁹ This date has been variously calculated by modern scholars using the parallel of a similar journey of another Julio-Claudian emperor, Tiberius. We do know that the funeral cortege of Tiberius, who died at Misenum on 16 March 37 CE, reached Rome on 29 March and covered about the same distance in about thirteen days (*Fasti Ostienses* in *Illt.* 13.1.190–191=EJ p43).

¹⁶⁰ It has to be the *Curia Iulia* because Dio mentions the permanent seating; cf. Suet. *Tib.* 70.3.

¹⁶¹ Vell. 2.124.1. The senate had met to offer vows for Augustus' recovery during his final illness (Dio 56.29.3; cf. Suet. *Tib.* 11). Swan, *Augustan Succession*, 308 n. 167 rightly posits “Did *pietas* not require the Senate to convene out of respect for the deceased emperor and the heir apparent?”

to Tiberius;¹⁶² Suetonius' story about the *equites*, who had asked for the privilege of transporting Augustus' bier from Bovillae to Rome, seemed to have taken place soon after hearing the news of Augustus' death.¹⁶³ All of this evidence further confirms the collective action on the part of all aristocratic elites, regardless of motive, in participating in Augustus' political system.

Besides the content of Tiberius' meeting with the senate, the meeting itself showcased another mark of honor for Augustus. The senate now wore mourning clothes as specified in a decree passed¹⁶⁴ earlier that required the whole city of Rome to observe a period of mourning marked by a change of dress.¹⁶⁵ The decree also stipulated that men were to mourn for a few days only, but women were to mourn for a whole year, as if for the death of a father or husband.¹⁶⁶ Such a prolonged period of mourning for Augustus may have reflected his position as *pater patriae*, but it also functioned as a clear indication of his special status as the head of state.

The practice of changing out of the toga to symbolize distress over a national crisis is well-attested within the sources from a number of passages in Dio's work. He reports that the

¹⁶² Tac. *Ann.* 1.7.

¹⁶³ Suet. *Claud.* 6.1; cf. S. Demougin, *L'ordre équestre sous les Julio-Claudiens*, (Rome: Collection de l'École Française de Rome 108, 1988).

¹⁶⁴ Dio 56.43.1.

¹⁶⁵ See in general L.M. Wilson, *The Clothing of the Ancient Romans*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1938), 36-38; R.J.A. Talbert, *The Senate of Imperial Rome*, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984), 216-220; C. Vout, "The Myth of the Toga: Understanding the History of Roman Dress," *G&R* 43 (1996), 204-220 (on the gulf between the toga of iconography and literature and the practical Roman world "of tunics, trousers, and cloaks"; *OCD*³ 1533; *DNP* 12.1.765-768 s.vv. Trauer and Trauerkleidung).

¹⁶⁶ Dio 56.43.1 alludes to this edict; cf. Dion. Hal. 5.48.4; Ov. *Fast.* I.35-6; *FIRA* 2.535.6. Arce's *Funerales* for a similar yearlong mourning for Sulla (p. 19) and for mourning as part imperial funerals (p. 54-7).

consuls of 53 BCE, aggrieved by violence, laid aside their senatorial dress (τὴν βουλευτικὴν ἐσθῆτα) “and were summoning the Senate in equestrian dress (κἄν τῇ ἱππᾷδι) as if over some great misfortune.”¹⁶⁷ Once again in 49 BCE on the eve of civil war between Pompey and Caesar, the senators, defied by tribunes acting as Caesar’s agents, changed their dress to signify a state of emergency.¹⁶⁸ The senators may also have changed their shoes, which marked another representation of their status and affirmation of national crisis.¹⁶⁹ So institutionalized was the wearing of the toga within Roman politics that its absence from the Senate House at this meeting would have been striking.

The consuls for the year 14 CE, Sextus Pompeius¹⁷⁰ and Sextus Appuleius, wore “equestrian dress”¹⁷¹ (τὴν ἱππᾶδα στολὴν). Although in his narrative, Dio does not specify the “*sagum*,” his use of the phrase “τὴν ἱππᾶδα στολὴν” suggests it. The *sagum* was a military garment resembling a woolen cloak of dark color, normally worn by Roman soldiers. Several passages in Cicero confirm that this was the garment in question and into which the senators had changed for this meeting.¹⁷² Magistrates wore “senatorial dress” though not the ‘purple-bordered toga’ (τὴν βουλευτικὴν πλὴν τῶν περιπορφύρων/ *toga praetexta*).¹⁷³ Tiberius and his son Drusus

¹⁶⁷ Dio 40.46.1.

¹⁶⁸ As well as their resolve to rid themselves of their enemies, Dio 41.3.1-2; cf. 38.14.7

¹⁶⁹ Talbert, *Senate*, 219-220; cf. Cic. *Mil.* 28.

¹⁷⁰ The consul Sextus Pompeius attended despite a recently broken leg (56.45.2n).

¹⁷¹ Dio 56.31.2.-3.

¹⁷² Cic. *Phil.* 5.31 (‘*tumultum decerni, iustitium edici, saga sumi dico oportere*’); 6.9 (‘*vos saga parate*’); 7.21; 8.32; 12.16.

wore dark dress, made “in forum style.”¹⁷⁴ Tiberius and Drusus could also have possibly worn the *togae pullae* as officials of Pisa wore in solemnizing anniversaries of L. Caesar’s death.¹⁷⁵ In addition to the consuls’ equestrian dress, rather than sit upon curule chairs on their tribunal, the two consuls sat below, one the bench of the praetors and the other on that of the tribunes respectively.¹⁷⁶ Regardless, they changed their dress like the other magistrates because of the significant loss that was Augustus death. Like others at the meeting, Drusus and Tiberius offered incense¹⁷⁷ (‘λιβανωτοῦ καὶ αὐτοί’), but omitted a flue player,¹⁷⁸ another mark for the special

¹⁷³ The magistrates presumably wore a white toga, omitting the purple-fringed *toga praetexta*. For ἱμάτιον περιπόπυρον = *praetexta* cf. Dio 58.11.2, 12.7; 6.8.5-6; cf. *Consol. Liv.* 186: ‘nowhere in the Forum is purple to be seen;’ Livy 9.7.8: *iustitiumque in foro sua sponte coeptum prius quam indictum; lati clavi, annuli arei positi;* Tac. *Ann.* 3.4.1: ‘*sine insignibus magistratus.*’

¹⁷⁴ “Forum togas”, appears earlier in Dio 39.7: in reference to the costume of Roman ambassadors to Tarentum (third century BCE). These garments were left unbleached [(“toga of original color (“*sui coloris togam*”), Quint. Inst. 2.512; cf. 54.35.5, 55.8.5.] or made of darker wool or dyed darker. cf. Tabula Siarensis (on memorial honors for Germanicus) fr. (b) col. I line 3 ‘*p[ullis] amictos togis*’ with a variation in the next line of ‘*sui coloris togam*,’ or “toga of original color” i.e. unbleached. Contrast with Dio’s passage 48.4.5 on L. Antonius, who both celebrated a triumph and assumed the consulship on 1 Jan. 41 BCE, boasting of voluntarily casting aside his triumphal regalia and convoking the Senate in “forum” dress (ἐν τῇ ἀγοραίῳ στολή); and in 61.6.1 in describing how Nero clothed his superannuated circus horses, like men, “in forum dress (στολή...ἀγοραίῳ).

¹⁷⁵ *ILS* 139 line 18 = EJ no.68; cf. Tabula Siarensis (on memorial honors for Germanicus) fr. (b) col. I line 3 ‘*p[ullis] amictos togis*’ with a variation in the next line of ‘*sui coloris togam*,’ or “toga of original color” i.e. unbleached.

¹⁷⁶ Possibly at floor level, cf. Dio 60.6.1 on Drusus Caesar’s death in 23 CE, the consuls sat with the senators-at-large (Tac. *Ann.* 4.8.2: ‘*sede vulgari*’), which represents an even more extreme gesture.

¹⁷⁷ Augustus had made it the rule for senators, whenever they convened, to offer incense (Dio 54.30.1) and wine (Suet. *Aug.* 35.3). On evidence to the flute accompaniment cf. Talbert, *Senate*, 224 – 225. F.R.D. Goodyear, “Tiberius and Gaius: Their Influence and Views on Literature,” *ANRW* 2.32.1.603-610 at 610-606 on Tiberius’ literary tastes; generally, M. Billerbeck, “Philology at the Imperial Court,” *G&R* 37 (1990), 191-203.

¹⁷⁸ Suetonius adds that in omitting the flute player, Tiberius imitated pedantically what King Minos had done on learning of his son Androgeos’ death; cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.15.7; Plut. *De tuenda sanitate praecepta* 132f = Loeb *Moralia* vol. 2, 268-69.

demonstration of their bereavement.¹⁷⁹ Additionally, Suetonius indicates that Tiberius was granted absolution for having touched the corpse and for escorting it from Nola to Rome.¹⁸⁰

Testament of Augustus and its Annexes

*Testamentum L. Planco C. Silio cons. III. Non. Apriles, ante annum et quattuor menses quam decederet, factum ab eo ac duobus codicibus partim ipsius partim libertorum Polybi et Hilarionis manu scriptum depositumque apud se uirgines Vestales cum tribus signatis aequae uoluminibus protulerunt. Quae omnia in senatu aperta atque recitata sunt.*¹⁸¹

He had made a will in the consulship of Lucius Plancus and Gaius Silius on the third day before the Nones of April, a year and four months before he died, in two note-books, written in part in his own hand and in part in that of his freedmen Polybius and Hilarion. These the Vestal virgins, with whom they had been deposited, now produced, together with three rolls, which were sealed in the same way. All these were opened and read in the senate.

¹⁷⁹ Dio 56.31.1 is paralleled once again in Suet. *Tib.* 70.3, which differs in his treatment of only Tiberius and his mention of a libation.

¹⁸⁰ Such acts of *pietas* were taboo for Tiberius, whether as emperor (at least de facto) or as holder of the power of the proconsul (*proconsulare imperium*); cf. Dio 56.28.1n in which Tiberius criticized Germanicus for taking part in interring the dead on the site of the Varian disaster, cf. Tac. *Ann.* 1.62.1-2 explicit statement: ‘*neque imperatorem auguratu et vetustissimis caerimoniis praeditum adtrektare feralia debuisse*’ or “an *imperator* invested with the augurate and ritual functions of great antiquity should not have handled remains of the dead;” cf. Suet. *Cal.* 3.2. Even visual contact could pollute, hence the interposing of a veil between emperor as laudatory and corpse at the funerals of Augustus’ son-in-law Agrippa and his sister Octavia in 12 and 11 BCE (Dio 54.28.3; 54.35.4) and of Tiberius’ son Drusus in CE 23 (Sen. *Marc.* 15.3); cf. Plut. *Numa* 10.4, cf. 7.

¹⁸¹ Suet. *Aug.* 101.1.

Dio's account differs slightly in that Tiberius' son Drusus received Augustus' will from the Vestal Virgins,¹⁸² to whom it had been entrusted, and carried it into the Senate.¹⁸³ Elaborate procedures for the opening of the tablets (*apertura tabularum*) called for the recognition of their seals by the available witnesses, an inspection of the contents, the making of copies and inventories, and above all, the opening must be done before a magistrate, who was there to care for the state's interests, and before the witnesses or a majority of them, who were there to care for the testator's interests. To reiterate, they ensured the authenticity of the document – though not its contents, which they may or may not have known, as the testator wished – by recognizing their seals. Not one part of this normal practice would have taken place in the senate house before the senate.

After the document's seals were examined, Dio Polybius, an imperial freedman, read aloud the will of Augustus "as it was not proper for a senator to pronounce anything of the sort."¹⁸⁴ Dio offers no further explanation of this specific practice, meaning a freedmen reading the will of an emperor, yet an inference can be drawn that reflects his observation. In Dio's own particular time period, an individual, who must not be a senator, would read it out loud the will of an emperor. This must have been a standardized tradition by Dio's time.¹⁸⁵ This case is made

¹⁸² There were precedents for entrusting the priestesses with wills; Suet. *Iul.* 83 states that the will of Julius Caesar was committed to the eldest priestess; the same treatment had been followed for Mark Antony's will (cf. Plut. *Ant.* 58.4-8; cf. Dio 50.3.3-5).

¹⁸³ Dio 56.33.1-6; cf. Suet. *Aug.* 101.1. Suetonius also suggests that Polybius was one of the freedmen who wrote part of Augustus' will (*Aug.* 101.4).

¹⁸⁴ Dio 56.32.1: ...τὰς διαθήκας αὐτοῦ Πολύβιος τις καيسάρειος ἀνέγνω ὡς μὴ πρέπον βουλευτῇ τοιοῦτόν τι ἀναλέγεσθαι.

stronger by the fact that nothing prevented Tiberius' son Drusus from reading the annexes of the will to the senate.

It is not known for certain whether the practice of publically reading wills outside of the senate was common. For example, the father-in-law of Julius Caesar, L. Calpurnius Piso (*cos.* 58) demanded that the will of Caesar be publically read out loud.¹⁸⁶ Regardless, an ordinary senator would not have had any reason to have his will ceremoniously brought into the senate and read out loud by a freedman after his death. Because Augustus died as the head of the state of Rome, the contents of his will constitute a state matter and so it would make sense that the content of his will were read in the senate. It also represents another unique feature that further delineated his own significance as compared to his fellow senators.

To the Roman audience, the will was a very important vehicle for conveying a message about the testator, illuminating his sense of duty and generosity, and revealing his final judgments. The will had for its primary purpose the appointment of an heir or heirs (*heres* or *heredes*);¹⁸⁷ the will would contain more than just the selection of a successor to the deceased's estate. Dozens of other Roman wills from all periods, from all provinces, and from greatly different social backgrounds, parallel the standard content in what it includes and the standard order in which it includes them: the heirs, listing of legacies, instructions to the heirs; the following could be listed separately or as part of one of the above: manumissions, appointment

¹⁸⁵ Dio 59.1.3: Macro, an *eques*, read Tiberius' will out loud in the Senate in 37 CE.

¹⁸⁶ This episode most likely occurred at the house of Mark Antony (Suet. *Jul.* 83.1). It seems like the contents of the will became known to the people without specific reference to the means of disseminating that communication (Plut. *Brut.* 20.1) while Appian (*BC* 2.143.596) argues that the people themselves had demanded this.

¹⁸⁷ Champlin, "The Testament of Augustus," 155.

of tutors for children or women, prohibitions and fines, funeral arrangements, tomb dispositions, the confirmation of existing or future codicils, and finally the closing remarks on absence of fraud, *mancipatio*,¹⁸⁸ and the date and place of the will followed by the signatures of the witnesses. Augustus' will adheres to this particular pattern, seemingly to appear "ostentatiously normal."¹⁸⁹ His will carefully followed law and custom in its contents, organization, sentiments, and language.

At the beginning of any will had to come the institution by name of heirs and the disinheritance first by name of any *sui heredes*¹⁹⁰ whom the testator wished to exclude, then in general terms of all others. Augustus instituted as his main heirs Tiberius to receive two-thirds and Livia to receive one-third.¹⁹¹ This fulfilled the legal requirement that every son had to be explicitly instituted (or disinherited) as an heir for the will to be valid.¹⁹² The great novelty of Augustus' will is the naming of Livia as his heir, making her a unique female heir would have

¹⁸⁸ The act of transferring things called *res mancipi* effected in the presence of not less than five witnesses, who must be male (and only male) Roman citizens above the age of puberty to witness, and a scale holder (the *libripens*), and having previously written his will on tablets, formally mancipates, his *familia* to the second buyer of the estate (the *familiae emptor*). So the five witnesses, plus *familiae emptor* and *libripens*, would gather together to attest their understanding that the document they had signed was indeed the testament of the deceased.

¹⁸⁹ Champlin "The Testament of Augustus," 154 comments that from these we know just what to expect and not to expect in a Roman will, and from such actual wills as survive, we can discern a clear and little varied standard order of the contents, cf. M. Amelotti, *Il testament romano* (1966), 111-190; subsequent discoveries all conform to this pattern. Champlin states the intent of a will he will itself was a highly formal legal ceremony *per aes et libram*, the mere written record of which came to replace the act.

¹⁹⁰ The *sui heredes* consisted of sons and daughters who had been in the *potestas* of the deceased person when he died. There should be no doubt as to the number of previous versions or revisions to Augustus' will because of births or adoptions as well as deaths that had occurred throughout his lifetime.

¹⁹¹ Suet. *Aug.* 101.1; cf. *Tib.* 23: 'Since cruel fortune has snatched by sons Gaius and Lucius from me, let Tiberius Caesar be my heir to two-thirds;' Dio 56.32.1-2: 'two-thirds of the inheritance was left to Tiberius and the rest to Livia, so some say.'

¹⁹² Cf. Levick, *Tiberius*, 310-11.

conferred a great honor in recognition of her role within the imperial family.¹⁹³ Heirs in the second degree, in this case Tiberius' son Drusus for one-third and Germanicus and his children for two-thirds, inherited only if the primary heirs failed to take up their inheritance.

The legacies followed the institution of heirs and would form the bulk of the document's contents. Here the testator could also assign a larger portion of the inheritance to one child than another; disinherit members of his family; nominate guardians; subtract from the estate legacies of varied nature and value for different friends and relations; as well as manumit slaves.¹⁹⁴ The legacies covered two clearly defined groups: the first to individuals, for example, Claudius received 80,000 HS from Augustus.¹⁹⁵ The second group applied to those *en masse* to the people and to the army. Dio records what Augustus left for this second group:

He [Augustus] also directed that many articles and sums of money should be given to many different persons, both relatives of his and others unrelated, not only to senators and knights but also to kings; to the people he left forty million sesterces;¹⁹⁶ and as for the soldiers,¹⁹⁷ one thousand sesterces apiece to the

¹⁹³ Swan, *Augustan Succession*, 311.

¹⁹⁴ Champlin, "The Testament of Augustus," 9.

¹⁹⁵ Suet. *Claud.* 4.7; cf. Suet. *Aug.* 101.3.

¹⁹⁶ Suet. *Aug.* 101.2 says that Augustus bequeathed this sum to the Roman people plus 3,500,000 HS to the tribes. Tacitus *Ann.* 1.8.2 says that Augustus bequeathed 43,500,000 to the People and Plebs.

¹⁹⁷ The bequests to the men in the three difference forces amounted to one-third of a year's pay, Dio 53.23.1n; G. R. Watson, *The Roman Soldier* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1969), 97-8. The bequests to the soldiers in Dio and Suetonius (Suet. *Aug.* 101.2) correspond: for men in the Praetorian Guard 1,000 HS each, in the urban cohorts 500 (cf. Dio 55.24.6n), in the legions 300. Tacitus gives identical figures for Praetorians and legionaries; with the latter he groups "cohorts of Roman citizens" fighting as auxiliary units (Tac. *Ann.* 1.8.2). Dio accommodates the existence of these non-legionary citizen units by writing "to the remaining citizen complement. Bequests to civilians and

Praetorians, half that amount to the city troops, and to the rest of the citizen soldiery three hundred each. Moreover, in the case of children of whose fathers he had been the heir while the children were still small, he enjoined that the whole amount together with interest should be paid back to them when they became men. This, in fact, had been his practice even while living; for whenever he inherited the estate of anyone who had offspring, he never failed to restore it all to the man's children, immediately if they were already grown up, and otherwise later.¹⁹⁸

Dio places the reading of the testamentary annexes to Augustus' will explicitly in the session *before* his funeral and his report is paralleled in Suetonius' account. They were read by Drusus.

τοσαῦτα μὲν αἱ διαθῆκαι ἐδήλουν, ἐσεκομίσθη δὲ καὶ βιβλία τέσσαρα: καὶ αὐτὰ ὁ Δροῦσος ἀνέγνω.
ἐγγράπτο δὲ ἐν μὲν τῷ πρώτῳ ὅσα τῆς ταφῆς εἶχετο, ἐν δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ τὰ ἔργα ἀεπραζέε πάντα, ἃ καὶ ἐς χαλκᾶς στήλας πρὸς τῷ ἡρώῳ αὐτοῦ σταθείσας ἀναγραφῆναι ἐκέλευσε: τὸ τρίτον τὰ τε τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν προσόδων τῶν τε ἀναλωμάτων τῶν δημοσίων, τό τε πλῆθος τῶν ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς χρημάτων, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιούτοτροπα ἐς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν φέροντα ἦν, εἶχε, καὶ τὸ τέταρτον ἐντολὰς καὶ ἐπισκήψεις τῷ Τιβερίῳ καὶ τῷ κοινῷ...¹⁹⁹

Four books were then brought in and Drusus read them. In the first were written detailed instructions regarding his funeral; in the second were recorded all the acts which he had performed, which he commanded also to be inscribed upon bronze columns to be set up around his shrine; the third contained an account of military matters, of the revenues, and of the public expenditures, the amount of money in the

soldiers were to be paid forthwith from funds previously set aside (Suet. *Aug.* 101.2); this was done the next year (Dio 57.14.1-3; cf. Suet. *Tib.* 57.2).

¹⁹⁸ Dio 56.33.2-3; Suet. *Aug.* 100.1-4.

¹⁹⁹ Dio 56.33.1-3.

treasuries, and everything else of the sort that had a bearing upon the administration of the empire; and the fourth had injunctions and commands for Tiberius and for the public.

For our discussion, we will focus on the first document alluded to by Dio and Suetonius, which contained written instructions regarding “what pertained to the burial,” (‘ὅσα τῆς ταφῆς εἶχετο’/‘*uno mandata de funere suo complexus est*’).²⁰⁰ Burial instructions are not normal part of Republican aristocrat’s funeral arrangements. This too applies to elaborate funerals that would require significant organization at such short notice.²⁰¹ For example M. Aemilius Lepidus (*cos.* 187) left specific instructions to his sons not to spend more than a million asses on his funeral.²⁰² Other than limiting the expenditure, no elaborate and detailed set of instructions seemed to have existed before Augustus. The claims made by both Suetonius and Dio indicate that Augustus had desired a specific way in which his memory should be preserved. His intention was once again to have complete and total control of his public image.²⁰³

The reading of the will and annexes influenced a series of senatorial decrees, in Dio’s funeral narrative recounted below.²⁰⁴ According to Tacitus *Ann.* 1.8.1 the content of this senate

²⁰⁰ Suetonius states that there were only three rolls: one for the funeral directions; a second that was an account of his accomplishments inscribed on bronze tablets and set up at the entrance to the Mausoleum (the *Res Gestae*); lastly, a summary of the condition of the whole empire, including number of soldiers, amount in public treasury, and what revenues were in arrears. The annexed documents would have been sealed in the same as the will (*Aug.* 100).

²⁰¹ For an in depth discussion, see Flower, *Ancestor Masks*, 115-21.

²⁰² *Liv. Per.* 48.

²⁰³ The Roman public expected a lavish display at any great man’s funeral and their disappointment could be felt directly by a family who had failed in their duties: Cicero (*Mur.* 74-75) remarks on the defeat of Q. Aelius Tubero in his bid for the praetorship after the meager public banquet he had provided as his share of staging the funeral of his uncle Scipio Aemilianus in 129 BCE.

meeting heard the reading of the will and the remaining public ceremonies: lying in state, funeral, and internment of the remains. He supplies the names of the proposers, in which the suggestion was made that the titles of Augustus' legislation and the name of the races he had conquered should head the procession, as well as the universal clamor that senators should carry the body to the pyre.

Tum consultatum de honoribus; ex quis qui maxime insignes visi, ut porta triumphali duceretur funus Gallus Asinius, ut legum latarum tituli, victarum ab eo gentium vocabula anteferrentur L. Arruntius censuere. addebat Messala Valerius renovandum per annos sacramentum in nomen Tiberii; interrogatusque a Tiberio num se mandante eam sententiam prompsisset, sponte dixisse respondit, neque in iis quae ad rem publicam pertinerent consilio nisi suo usurum vel cum periculo offensionis: ea sola species adulandi supererat. conclamant patres corpus ad rogam umeris senatorum ferendum. remisit Caesar adroganti moderatione, populumque edicto monuit ne, ut quondam nimiis studiis funus divi Iulii turbassent, ita Augustum in foro potius quam in campo Martis, sede destinata, cremari vellent.

Next followed a deliberation about funeral honors. Of these the most imposing were thought fitting. The procession was to be conducted through "the gate of triumph," on the motion of Gallus Asinius; the titles of the laws passed, the names of the nations conquered by Augustus were to be borne in front, on that of Lucius Arruntius. Messala Valerius further proposed that the oath of allegiance to Tiberius should be yearly renewed, and when Tiberius asked him whether it was at his bidding that he had brought forward this motion, he replied that he had proposed it spontaneously, and that in whatever concerned the State he would use only his own discretion, even at the risk of offending. This was the only style of adulation, which yet remained. The Senators unanimously exclaimed that the body ought to be borne on their

²⁰⁴ Specifically Dio 56.34.4, 42.1, 3, 43.1; cf. Suet. *Aug.* 100.2-3 and Tac. *Ann.* 1.8.3-5; cf. Weber, *Prinzeps*, 82-3; Arce, *Funerales*, 37-40.

shoulders to the funeral pile. The emperor [Tiberius] left the point to them with disdainful moderation, and he then admonished the people by a proclamation not to indulge in that tumultuous enthusiasm which had distracted the funeral of the Divine Julius, or express a wish that Augustus should be burnt in the Forum instead of in his appointed resting-place in the Campus Martius.

Suetonius' narrative of the meeting mirrors the sentiment of a competitive climate within the senate without becoming ideologically loaded as we have seen in Tacitus' account. Suetonius reports that session had opened with an address given by Tiberius, which Drusus finished reading when grief overcame his father.²⁰⁵ Furthermore, Suetonius carefully distinguishes two groups of items: Augustus' funeral honors and proposals relating to the posthumous memory of Augustus,²⁰⁶ both of which serve to stress the impressive nature of the honors that the reign of Augustus had inspired.

Senatus et in funere ornando et in memoria honoranda eo studio certatim progressus est, ut inter alia complura censuerint quidam, funus triumphali porta ducendum, praecedente Victoria quae est in curia, canentibus neniam principum liberis utriusque sexus; alii, exsequiarum die ponendos anulos aureos ferreosque sumendos; nonnulli, ossa legenda per sacerdotes summorum collegiorum. Fuit et qui suaderet, appellationem mensis Augusti in Septembrem transferendam, quod hoc genitus Augustus, illo defunctus esset; alius, ut omne tempus a primo die natali ad exitum eius saeculum Augustum appellaretur et ita in fastos referretur. Verum adhibito honoribus modo, bifariam laudatus est: pro aede Divi Iuli a Tiberio et pro rostris veteribus a Druso Tiberi filio, ac senatorum umeris delatus in Campum crematusque. Nec defuit vir praetorius, qui se effigiem cremati euntem in caelum vidisse iuraret. Reliquias legerunt primores

²⁰⁵ Suet. *Tib.* 23.

²⁰⁶ Suet. *Aug.* 100.2-3.

*equestris ordinis, tunicati et discincti pedibusque nudis, ac Mausoleo condiderunt. Id opus inter Flaminiam viam ripamque Tiberis sexto suo consulatu exstruxerat circumiectasque silvas et ambulationes in usum populi iam tum publicarat.*²⁰⁷

In their desire to give Augustus a splendid funeral and honor his memory, the senators vied with one another that, among many other suggestions, some proposed that his cortege pass through the triumphal gate, preceded by a statue of victory which stands in the House (Senate House), while a dirge was sung by children of both sexes belonging to the leading families; others, that on the day of the obsequies golden rings be laid aside and iron ones worn; and some, that his ashes be collected by the priests of the highest colleges. One man proposed that the name of the month of August be transferred to September, because Augustus was born in the latter, but died in the former; another, that all the period from the day of his birth until his demise be called the Augustan Age, and so entered in the Calendar. But though a limit was set to the honors paid him, his eulogy was twice delivered: before the temple of the Deified Julius by Tiberius, and from the old rostra by Drusus, son of Tiberius; and he was carried on the shoulders of senators to the Campus Martius and there cremated.

According to both narratives, there were a number of proposals that were ultimately successful because they are featured in Augustus' procession. The Senate acknowledged the greatness of the recently deceased politician and his position within the Roman state by participating in passing funeral honors was nothing new as evidenced by Sulla and Caesar. More importantly the official opening of Augustus will establishes a ceremony.

In Dio's narrative, the reading of Augustus' will was followed by his elaborate funeral.²⁰⁸ While Suetonius ends his account of Augustus' will in which he describes a detailed picture of a

²⁰⁷ Suet. *Aug.* 100.

Roman who made due provisions for his heirs, displayed an appropriate amount of generosity to family and friends, took care that his legacies could actually be paid, and specified a timeframe for this. Augustus' responsible handling of his own resources and the state's resources are the final note in his account of Augustus.

Funeral of Augustus²⁰⁹

While the exact date of Augustus' funeral is unknown, Levick posits 8 September on the parallel calculation²¹⁰ of Tiberius' obsequies in 37 CE,²¹¹ allowing four days following entry into Rome, which she dates as 3 September, for the lying in state.²¹² Sage, holding the belief that "the season of the year would have dictated seemly haste," maintains that it took place of 6

²⁰⁸ Contrast the brevity of description in Tac. *Ann.* 1.8.6, 10.8, '*sepultura more perfecta*.' Cf. Shuckburgh (1903), 259: "But Tiberius disliked such excesses (in reference to the extravagant proposals that were made in the Senate as to funeral honors and general mourning) and the funeral though stately was simple."

²⁰⁹ Besides Dio, the sources for his funeral are Suet. *Aug.* 100.2–4; Tac. *Ann.* 1.8.3–6, cf. 10.8. See also Price (1987), p. 60 for a table comparing the best-known imperial funerals – of Augustus, Pertinax (Dio 74.4.2–5.5; SHA *Pert.* 14.6–15.5), and Septimius Severus (Hdn. 3.15.7; 4.1.3–4, 2.1–3.1; Dio 76.15.3–4, SHA *Sev.* 19.3–4; 24.1–2). Select bibliography for the funeral: Weber, *Prinzeps*, 76–86 and nn (microscopic commentary on text); Price, "Imperial Funerals," 105 (imperial obsequies blended funeral traditions of aristocratic houses [cf. Polyb. 6.53–54] with ruler cult "calqued on the cult of the gods" [on p. 79]); Arce, *Funerales*: funerals from republican aristocrats to Christian emperors; features material evidence); Demougin, *L'ordre équestre*, 261–272 (for role of the equestrian order).

²¹⁰ Other parallels: The funeral of Julius Caesar probably took place on 20 March only five days after his assassination [cf. Drumann-Groebe I.73 (funeral); 407ff. (events after the murder); 417 (date of the funeral)]. The preparations for Julius Caesar's funeral included the setting up of a shrine on the Rostra and of the funeral pyre on the Campus Martius next to the tomb of his daughter Julia.

²¹¹ Arrival of Tiberius' corpse in Rome on 29 March with the funeral held on 3 April: *Fasti Ostienses* in *Ill.* 13.1.190–191=EJ p43.

²¹² Suet. *Tib.* 70.

September. Wellesley judges that the funeral preceded Tiberius' son Drusus' departure for Pannonia, which he dates to 4 September at the latest.²¹³

Regardless of the exact date, the funeral day would be declared as an "*iustitium*" in which there was a general cessation of all legal and other public business at Rome,²¹⁴ and the entire social body of Rome participated from senators to the most humble, from the army to the pontiffs. It fits the typical pattern of an aristocratic funeral outlined above, but as we shall see some of the ritualistic elements were modified to emphasize the uniqueness of Augustus' reign.

The Triumphal Funeral Procession²¹⁵

The funeral procession (*pompa funebris*) formed the public climax of the several *obsequiae* surrounding an aristocratic Roman funeral. To reiterate briefly, it traditionally was designed to escort the deceased from his home through the city streets to his final resting place outside the walls of the capitol. The procession itself takes place on the streets of Rome and encourages the participation of the entire social body. The corpse would be carried out of the house on an elaborate bier, which could be transported by as many as eight relatives, to the Rostra in the Forum for a single funeral oration. The funeral procession for Augustus appropriated these traditional funeral elements, and integrated them with motifs from triumphal

²¹³ Wellesly, *Tiberius*, 27. Although he seems to contradict his own chronology in his table of events on p. 26, where he postulates that the limits for the funeral had to be between 2 September and 10 September.

²¹⁴ Traditionally it was employed at a time of civic crisis. It was first used at the death of an individual for Sulla in 70 BCE.

²¹⁵ Toynbee, *Death and Burial*, 46-8 on the *pompa* and Crawford, "Laudatio Funebris," 17-27 on the *laudatio*.

processions, in order to demonstrate that Augustus was not a typical Roman aristocrat and his funeral was not a typical aristocratic one.

Dio's account of this procession is not without its difficulties. On the day of Augustus' funeral it was carried forth from the forecourt of his house on the Palatine down the Clivus Palatinus by as many as eight pallbearers to the Forum, where the corpse was to lay-in-state (*collocatio*).²¹⁶ In a manner that would have shocked an earlier age,²¹⁷ the bier of Augustus was fashioned out of ivory and gold and adorned with gold-embroidered purple coverings apparently similar to the display of Octavia's body.²¹⁸

Heading the procession of the *imagines*, the wax image (*εἰκὼν...κηρίνη*) of Augustus was placed on the bier open to the view of all. Underneath the couch, Augustus' corpse was concealed in a chest.²¹⁹ This is reminiscent of the way in which Caesar's body could not be seen as it was hidden underneath in a coffin and represented outside by an image in wax.²²⁰ Dio neither states in what posture the image was displayed nor whether a mannequin or actor wore the mask. All we know for certain is that a wax image of it in triumphal dress was open to view because it was on top the couch in which Augustus' corpse was hidden. The image was clothed

²¹⁶ Suet. *Aug.* 99.2.

²¹⁷ M. Aemilius Lepidus, who died in 152 BCE having been twice consul (187, 175), pontifex maximus, censor, and princeps senatus, instructed his sons not to spread his funeral couch with purple (Livy *Per.* 48).

²¹⁸ No doubt resembling Sulla's golden litter with royal splendor (App. *BC* 1.105: *ἐπὶ κλίνης χρυσηλάτου καὶ κόσμου βασιλικοῦ* or Caesar's funeral couch, which was made of ivory with coverlets of gold and purple (Suet. *Iul.* 84.1: *lectus eburneus auro ac purpura stratus*).

²¹⁹ Dio 56.34.1; 74.4.3.

²²⁰ App. *BC* 2.147.612.

in the *toga picta*,²²¹ the dress of a triumphator, signaling his highest career distinction, as well as a *corona triumphalis* and laurel.²²² The magistrates-elect for the coming year carried the first image, made of wax and depicting the princeps in the costume of a triumphator, presumably from his home on the Palatium.²²³

Dio records a second effigy of the dead emperor fashioned out of gold, which joined the procession from the senate-house.²²⁴ This second image of Augustus made of gold was carried from the Curia Julia, presumably by members of the senate, although we are not told so explicitly. In addition to this, Dio records a statue of Augustus standing in a triumphal chariot, but we are not told where it originated during the procession. Perhaps it emerged from the forum where an image of Augustus in a quadriga was permanently situated. The golden image would have had numerous symbolic references, the most recent of which would be the golden image of Marcellus.²²⁵ These both were apt symbols of Augustus' preeminence *domi et militiae*.

Dio states that after these three images of Augustus, the images²²⁶ of his primogenitors,²²⁷ other deceased relatives,²²⁸ and other celebrated Romans, who had excelled in any endeavor,

²²¹ He will have worn a *toga picta* (purple with embroidered designs) over a *tunica palmata* (purple with palm-leaf motifs) and its embroidery of gold (Poly. 6.53.7); cf. App. *Lib.* 66 (commenting on the stars on the purple triumphal costume of the elder Scipio Africanus).

²²² Dio 30.15.11-2.

²²³ Dio 56.34.1.

²²⁴ Upon her apotheosis Drusilla, the sister of Caligula, was the next imperial member to receive a golden image in the senate chamber to be consecrated (Cf. Tac. *Ann.* 59.11.2).

²²⁵ Dio 53.30.5-6. The golden image is covered in more detail in Chapter Three on Marcellus.

starting with Romulus followed [his image].²²⁹ The foremost placement of Augustus' κλίνη is unprecedented.²³⁰ In traditional aristocratic funerals, the deceased's ancestors escort him. Augustus' funeral couch headed the procession instead of closing the procession of *imagines*. No such series of *imagines* featuring prominent Romans is attested before the funeral of Augustus.²³¹ The only ancestor absent was Caesar, whose image was excluded under a prohibition enacted on his deification in 42 BCE.²³² An image of Pompey the Great was also seen, and the nations he had acquired as well as other annexations.²³³

The presence of the three images (the wax image, the gold image, and the statue in chariot) altered and embellished the usual funeral procession in a manner that was extraordinary.

²²⁶ Swan, *Augustan Succession* argues that these were the lifelike *imagines maiorum* to which only those were entitled who had achieved high public office in their lifetime (at least the aedileship: Cic. *Verr.* 5.36; cf. Flower, *Ancestor Masks*, 53-59 and 322).

²²⁷ Dio probably refers to legendary figures like Aeneas (cf. Dio RH 44.37.4 on the προπάτορες of the funeral for Julius Caesar) as distinct from more recent forefathers. At the funeral of the younger Drusus in 23 CE, Tac. (*Ann.* 4.9.2) tells us that the procession of masked relatives included Aeneas, the Alban kings, Romulus, and the Sabine nobles.

²²⁸ This is a reference to the ascendants in the *gens Iulia*, but not these alone. Augustus' natural father, C. Octavius, having achieved the office requisite for an imago, deserved a place among his son's ancestors. In CE 23 the cortege of Tiberius' son Drusus Caesar advertised his Claudian birth lineage as well as his adoptive Julian lineage (Tac. *Ann.* 4.9.2).

²²⁹ Dio records one at the funeral of Pertinax – “men credited with some brilliant exploit, invention, or art (76.4.6). Rowell (1940), 142-143 posits that, following Augustus' *mandata de funere* (56.33.1), his procession imitated the programmatic series of statues of *summi viri* in the new Forum of Augustus (cf. Dio 55.10^a 1-8).

²³⁰ Arce's reconstruction, Sulla's bier while at the head of the procession followed after the trumpeters (*Funerales*, 20-21), although our sources make no mention of the ancestral *imagines* in it.

²³¹ Agrippa's funeral may have contained the first such series because of his own lineage, cf. Flower, *Ancestral Masks*, 238-240.

²³² Dio 56.34.2. Caesar's image was likely to have been absent at the funerals for the other imperial family members during the life of Augustus.

²³³ Compare the scope of Virgil's parade of great heroes of the past in Book VI (lines 679-755): in addition to individual Romans, Aeneas sees the *Decii*, *Drusi*, *Gracchi*, *Scipiadae*, and the *Fabii* (lines 824, 842-5).

Two images depicting Augustus as triumphator, one traditionally garbed in triumphal dress, the other in a quadriga, for which there was no precedent. The images that began and ended the parade of *summi viri*, coupled with a visual enumeration of his conquests at his funeral matched the one that appears in the *Res Gestae* (25–33), his supremacy would have been undisputed. Augustus clearly wanted to stress his own importance through a number of different motifs, combining them into something spectacular and for his use alone. It would seem preposterous to assume that any other normal aristocrat would try this. This display was meant for the first emperor.

Laudatio funebris

Polybius²³⁴ gives as an important reason for the superiority of the Romans their funeral ceremony, singling out two of their customs for special emphasis – the first the practice of wearing ancestral masks, which we covered above (and in the introduction), and the second was the delivery of a single speech (*laudatio funebris*²³⁵) given by a member of the deceased's *gens* preferably an adolescent male relation,²³⁶ in honor of the departed concerning his virtues, the notable achievements of his life-time, and his illustrious ancestors. The funeral oration itself

²³⁴ Polybius 6.52.10; 6.53.4-6; 6.54.4.

²³⁵ Numerous descriptions survive of the *laudatio* or eulogy read in honor of the deceased: Cic. *de Ora.* 2.84.341; Quint. 3.7.2, 11.3.153, Dion. of Hal., 5.17.3-6.

²³⁶ Polybius 5.53.2 says that if the dead man had left a son of suitable age (*ἐν ἡλικίᾳ*) and he happened to be present, the *laudatio* was delivered by him; but if not, by some other relative. While this rule as to age might have obtained in Polybius's day, we know that it was not always the case, for Augustus gave the funeral oration over his grandmother Julia when he was only twelve years old (Suet. *Aug.* 8.1); Tiberius at the age of nine eulogized his father, Claudius Nero (Suet. *Tib.* 7.4); Caligula at the age of sixteen spoke at the funeral of his great-grandmother Livia Augusta (Suet. *Gaius* 10.1).

came as an interruption in the funeral procession when the cortege turned into the Forum²³⁷ and came to halt before the rostra, from which place the speech was delivered.²³⁸

Like any other aristocratic funeral for a celebrated Roman figure, Augustus' funeral parade wound through the city streets towards the Forum. His bier was placed either upon the rostra itself or directly in front of it while the orator and those who were wearing the ancestral masks mounted the rostra and took their places in ivory chairs facing the assembled people. As a special mark of distinction, Augustus received two funeral orations given by Drusus and Tiberius at symbolically powerful locations.

This innovation of two eulogies was attested first²³⁹ for the funeral of Octavia in 11 when Augustus spoke at the temple of Divus Julius and Drusus from the Rostra.²⁴⁰ It will be repeated for the funeral of Drusus the Elder, his stepson in which both Augustus and Tiberius deliver a funeral oration. In effect, doubling the eulogies not only split the private and public aspects of the deceased's life, but also by moving from one important imperial monument situated on one end of the Forum to another important imperial site at the other end would demonstrate visually how central the ruling family was to public life.

²³⁷ Apul. *Met.* II, 21; Dion. Hal. *Antiq. Rom.* 5.17. 2; 11.39.5; Horace, *Serm.* I, 6, 43; Plut., *Lucul.* 40; Polyb. 5.53.1.

²³⁸ That the delivery of the eulogy from this was the general practice seems well-established, see Vollmer "De Funere," 323-5. The *laudatio* was traditionally delivered on the Rostra because Romulus was buried there, see H. J. Botschnyver, *Schol. in Hor.:* Amsterdam, Bottenburg (1935), *Epod.* XVI, 13.

²³⁹ It could be inferred that Agrippa's funeral procession the year before (12 BCE) was the first occasion to have two orations, if Dio's comment at 54.28.5 is correct.

²⁴⁰ Dio 54.35.4-5.

Firstly at the Rostra of the Orators,²⁴¹ which we have already established was the traditional place of display, Drusus Caesar, the son of Tiberius, spoke. In lieu of Augustus' adopted son Tiberius, whom duty called to be the state's orator, Drusus qualified next as the closest living male relative of Augustus as his grandson.²⁴² He would have delivered the more traditional Republican aristocratic funeral oration containing a brief family history and an account given in praise of Augustus' life and career.

Tiberius delivered the second oration in pursuance of a decree by the Senate²⁴³ from the *rostra Iulia*, which had been built by Augustus, a large platform projecting from the front of the temple of *Divus Iulius* and decorated with beaks of ships captured at Actium.²⁴⁴ This site was even more symbolically important because it was the spot on which the body of Caesar had been burned in 44 BCE and most likely had from then on become a regular location for public addresses (*contiones*).²⁴⁵

²⁴¹ The Old Rostra, or *rostra Augusti*, had been planned and begun by Caesar, but were enhanced by Augustus after 42 CE at the northwest end of the Forum: a structure covered with marble and smaller ornaments than those of the rostra Iulia (*LTUR* iv, 214-17).

²⁴² Germanicus, also a grandson of Augustus due to Tiberius' adoption (Dio 55.13.2), would normally have taken precedence as Drusus' senior, but Germanicus remained on the Rhine in Germany with the northern legions (cf. Tac. *Ann.* 1.14.5; Dio 57.3.1).

²⁴³ Vollmer, "Laudationum funebrium," 454-457. In accordance with a *senatus consultum* a dead emperor was generally eulogized by his successor, a consul by his colleague. A magistrate was sometimes appointed to deliver the oration over a private citizen of note. For example in Sulla's case, the most eloquent orator of the age had delivered the funeral oration from the Rostra as his son Faustus was still very young (App. *BC* 1.106.500). Antony was chosen to deliver Caesar's funeral oration.

²⁴⁴ *LTUR* iii, 116-19.

²⁴⁵ Sumi, *Ceremony and Power*, 220-9.

After the speeches concluded, the magistrates designate for 15 CE conveyed Augustus' body from the Roman Forum through the Porta Triumphalis on the way to the Campus Martius, a mile to the north-west.²⁴⁶ The proposal of C. Asinius Gallus²⁴⁷ that Augustus' funeral procession should proceed through the triumphal gate appears to have been accepted.²⁴⁸ Gallus' proposal indicates that this honor was not part of Augustus' detailed instructions.²⁴⁹ The triumphal gate was a double arch in the Servian Wall, used only for triumphs and best located near the *porta Carmentalis* at the foot of the Capitol near the present Sant'Omobono.²⁵⁰ Thus the funeral procession of Augustus was to trace in reverse direction the route taken by a triumphator from the city to the Campus Martius. So it would seem that funerals of Sulla and Augustus, as well as the planned²⁵¹ itinerary of Caesar's funeral, followed the traditional processional route to a certain extent, in which the remains passed from the family's residence to the Forum for the eulogy, and then to the place of burial/cremation. Instead of having the cortege leaving through

²⁴⁶ Dio 56.42.1. Suetonius reveals this information during the senate meeting (*Aug.* 100.2); cf. *Tac. Ann.* 1.8.3. Neither Dio's testimony nor Suetonius' narrative harmonize with Tacitus' report that the senators called for the body to be borne to the pyre on their shoulders. In an edict, Tiberius issued an edict disabusing the people of any notion of cremating Augustus in the Forum like Julius Caesar (*Tac. Ann.* 1.8.5).

²⁴⁷ *Tac. Ann.* 1.8.3.

²⁴⁸ Dio 56.42.1.

²⁴⁹ For an overview, see C.J. Richard, "Les aspects militaires des funérailles impériales," *MEFRA* 78 (1966): 313-325.

²⁵⁰ *LTUR* iii, 333-4. Suet. *Aug.* 100.2 most likely refers to the Republican entrance rather than Agrippa's arch over the Via Flaminia that may have served as the entrance for imperial triumphs in the 1st century CE or the idea that any gate could be deemed 'triumphal.'

²⁵¹ As did Caesar's funeral procession until the sight of his uncovered body displaying his wounds inflicted during his assassination incited the people into action. They set up improvised *rogus* in the Forum and burned his remains there, Suet. *Iul.* 84.3; App. *BC* 2.148.616; Cic. *Phil.* 2.91; *Att.* 14.10.1.

the traditional Porta Carmentalis,²⁵² Augustus' procession moved *out* of the city through the Triumphal Gate. This normally was the gate through which triumphs passed through to enter further inside the city. Augustus' procession now exited the city through this gate.²⁵³ This clearly represented another mark of honor for the decedent. The only major difference was that Augustus' procession left the city through a different gate. This too symbolizes another mark of honor for Augustus and its effect further confirms that the funeral was not for a noble aristocrat, but rather for the first emperor of Rome.

Cremation and Interment of Augustus' Remains in his Mausoleum

Once the eulogies were delivered, the same men as before took up Augustus' bier and carried it through the triumphal gateway towards the funeral pyre (*ustrinum Augusti*) built on the Campus Martius. Suetonius broadly states that Augustus was borne to the Campus Martius on the shoulders of senators.²⁵⁴ As the Senate had decreed, headed by the statue of the goddess Victory, which Augustus had set up in the Curia Iulia,²⁵⁵ the procession was accompanied children of the leading families singing a dirge.²⁵⁶ We are told by Cicero that in the case of ordinary citizens, the dirge was sung by one professional female vocalist.²⁵⁷ Augustus' dirge not

²⁵² The Porta Carmentalis was a double gate in the Servian Walls of ancient Rome.

²⁵³ Cic. *Pis.* 23.55, cf. Suet. *Aug.* 100.2; Tac. *Ann.* 1.8.3.

²⁵⁴ Suet. *Aug.* 100.3.

²⁵⁵ Augustus set this up after prevailing at Actium and Alexandria, cf. Dio 51.22.1-2n.

²⁵⁶ Suet. *Aug.* 100.2; cf. Arce, *Funerales*, 46-7.

only remodeled the number of participants, but also the participants of the dirge were not directly related to Augustus. Now all the orders of the senate and of the equestrian, their wives, the praetorian guard, and practically all others at Rome proceeded northward to the Campus Martius, which was permitted as a place of cremation.

The site of his funeral pyre lay north-east of the Pantheon in a direct continuation of a line from the Mausoleum through the gnomon of the *Horologium Augusti* and between two 2nd c. *ustrina* which take their orientation from it.²⁵⁸ When the body of Augustus was placed on the pyre that had been prepared for it, first all the priests circled it, then the equites, not only those of the equestrian order but others as well, and the infantry of the guard paraded around²⁵⁹ as well as infantry from the garrison. This is reminiscent a *decursio*, a military exercise organized as a pageant on ceremonial occasions.²⁶⁰ This practice is reminiscent of the Roman knights and the veterans circling the pyre at Sulla's funeral.²⁶¹ It is significant that this practice at Augustus' funeral included not just military men, but also all aristocrats and those with religious duties.

²⁵⁷ Cic. *de Leg.* 2.62.

²⁵⁸ *LTUR* 5.97.

²⁵⁹ Dio 56.42.1. Other *decursiones* are attested most importantly for Sulla and Drusus: by 'the equites and the army' at Sulla's pyre (App. *BC* 1.106); by the army at the cenotaph for the elder Drusus on the German frontier (Suet. *Claud.* 1.3; cf. *Consol. Liv.* lines 217-218, referring to a *decursio* at his pyre in Rome).

²⁶⁰ *OLD* s.v. [p495]. Dio uses the noun *περιδρομή* of a *decursio* at Septimius Severus' pyre in Britain (76.15.3; cf. 77.16.7, Achilles honored with a *περιδρομαί* by Caracalla.) Other *decursiones* are attested: by "the equites and the army" at Sulla's pyre (App. *BC* 1.106, *περιέδραμον*); by the army at the cenotaph for the elder Drusus on the Rhine (Dio 55.2.3n; cf. Suet. *Claud.* 1.3, *decurreret*; *Consol. Liv.* 217-8, referring to a *decursio* at his pyre in Rome); by "the Praetorians and their prefect and, separately, the equites of the *ordo*" among others at the obsequies for Drusilla, Caligula's sister (Dio 59.11.2, fragmentary); by "the magistrates, the equites of the *ordo*,...the military equites, and the infantry" at the pyre of Pertinax (Dio 74.5.5); cf. Vir. *Aen.* 11.184 – 202; *Tabula Hebana* lines 54 – 57.

²⁶¹ App. *BC* 1.106.500: καὶ τὸ πῦρ οἱ τε ἱππέες καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ περιέδραμον.

Next centurions²⁶² took torches, once again conformably to a decree of the senate, and ignited the pyre from beneath that consumed the body of Augustus. Upon the body, they cast all triumphal decorations that any of them had ever received from him for their valor as funeral offerings. Consecrated to their *imperator* as funeral offerings, these will have included *phalerae* (sculpted metal bosses worn on the chest), *torques* (metal collars), and *coronae*, all of which would have had long been standard practice.²⁶³ We have previously seen a very similar practice of casting items to be ritually burned on the funeral pyre for both Sulla and Caesar. Dio's fuller account highlights the military detail at this point in the procession such as the *decursio* performed by the garrison and the role of the centurions in igniting the pyre. When these ceremonies had been performed, all the other people departed except Livia and a handful of leading *equites*.

Dio claims that Livia, taking a leading role, remained for a five-day vigil at the site of the pyre performed the function of gathering Augustus' remains for proper burial, assisted by notable *equites*.²⁶⁴ Suetonius states that the leading men (*primores*) of the equestrian order gathered the remains of Augustus while wearing unbelted tunics and with bare feet, who then

²⁶² On Julius Caesar's pyre (Suet. *Iul.* 84.3).

²⁶³ Cic. *Verr.* 3.185. Arms and decorations too were thrown on Julius Caesar's pyre in the forum (Suet. *Iul.* 84.4; App. *BC* 2.148).

²⁶⁴ Dio 56.42.4. Livia took the leading role in the vigil assisted by notable Roman knights (*equites*). It seems that this role of holding a vigil after the burial ceremony would be taken up by other imperial family members (cf. Suet. *Tib.* 3.2.9-25).

ceremoniously collected his remains and deposited them in the Mausoleum.²⁶⁵ Suetonius seems to hint at a proposal that his bones were to be collected by priests of the most senior colleges.²⁶⁶

Augustus' marble urn would be placed in his mausoleum, alongside his nephew Marcellus, his friend and colleague Agrippa, his sister Octavia, his stepson Drusus, and his two grandsons Gaius and Lucius Caesar. The mausoleum of Augustus was more than a final resting place. It was a part of the remarkable complex of monuments along the northern Campus Martius that included an obelisk taken from Egypt after the Battle of Actium, the altar of August Peace (*Pax Augusta*), the altar of August Foresight (*Providentia Augusta*), and the cremation site where Augustus' divinity had been revealed when an eagle flew up from his pyre.

Conclusions

The celebration of personal achievement and merit represented by the central position of the deceased, dressed in finery and possibly accompanied by his spoils, make the funerary and triumphal processions particularly comparable forms of Roman spectacle and public ceremony.²⁶⁷ In his study of the Roman triumph, Versnel compares the elements that funeral and

²⁶⁵ Suet. *Aug.* 100.4. The combination of laying aside toga, belt, (cf. Serv. *Aen.* 4.518), and shoes indicates a state of mourning (cf. *RE* iii, 2561) or great public distress (cf. the rite of *nudipedalia* – Tert. *Ieiun.* 16.5: for the equites such a state is the antithesis of military readiness (cf. Serv. *Aen.* 8.7524). Tunics were normally worn with a belt.

²⁶⁶ Suet. *Aug.* 100.2. This proposal had evidently not found favor. The four most prestigious priestly colleges of which Augustus had been a member (cf. *RIC* i², 69, nos. 367-8; *RG* 9; Dio 53.1.5) are meant: the pontiffs, the augurs, Board of Fifteen for Ritual Actions, and the Board of Seven Banquets. D. Wardle postulates that the proposers may have intended to honor the priestly colleges or to symbolize that Augustus was a father of the state, as this duty usually belonged to the family and was performed by women (cf. *RE* xviii, 1600). The proposal was not enacted, as some if not all of the priests would have been polluted by touching the dead (Tac. *Ann.* 1.62.2). Instead the priests led the ritual *decursio* of the funeral pyre (Dio 56.42.2).

triumphal processions. The representation of the central figure in each parade was articulated in similar terms: in the aristocratic funeral, the deceased, often propped up on his bier, decked out in the attire of the highest magisterial office, was comparable to the triumphator, at the glorious center of his procession, wearing triumphal finery.²⁶⁸ Versnel notes that the signature elements of the triumphal procession, meaning the spoils, paintings and floats...were apparently reused at funerals.²⁶⁹ The triumphal procession ended at the triumphator's home and the spoils of the enemy were often affixed to the walls or displayed outside the door and by the threshold for passersby to see. These would remain as an eternal reminder of this family's glory and their role in expanding the empire.

In his funeral procession, Augustus attempted to pattern himself after legendary aristocrats. His funeral was the culmination of the life and career of an aristocrat who had performed exemplary service to the state. Therefore the nature of the Augustus' *pompa funebris*, particularly in the spirit of recounting the glory of not only his biological ancestors, but also all famous Romans solidified his ideology that focuses on the cumulative achievements of Rome's collective past with the inherent elements of a triumph that idealized the role of the conqueror and emphasized his military success through the accumulation of spoils and territory. Even the Forum of Augustus, the showpiece for the ideology of the first emperor, seems to have been packed with allusions to triumph. In the center stood a four-horse *quadriga* (chariot).²⁷⁰ Statues

²⁶⁷ H.S Versnel, *Triumphus: An Inquiry into the Origin, Development and Meaning of the Roman Triumph*, (Leiden: Brill, 1970), 117-118.

²⁶⁸ Versnel, *Triumphus*, 116.

²⁶⁹ Versnel, *Triumphus*, 113.

of the heroes of the Republic lined the colonnades, each wearing the triumphal garb. Those in attendance at the funeral would not miss this connection. Thus the funeral too became a forum to affirm his rightful place among Rome's more famous men.

Outside of the procession, the ceremonial manner in which Augustus's remains journeyed from Nola to Rome, the reading of Augustus' will out loud in the senate, the mourning dress of the senators, the senatorial decrees stipulating official mourning periods for men and women and particular honors for Augustus' procession, all of which indicated that Augustus' death marked the final transformation from a quasi-republican²⁷¹ death ritual to an imperial funeral for a member of the imperial household.

Augustus and his relatives became natural symbols of the perpetuity and authority of the new order. His fortunes were intimately linked with the fate of his city. The peace that he had brought to Rome would protect its citizens in the future. This idea was reflected in Augustus' funeral. Augustus' funeral represented his final political performance, which combined two distinct Republican ceremonies (the traditional aristocratic funeral and the triumph) into one ritual befitting of the savior of Rome and the restorer of the Republic. At the same time as he advertised his own personal valor and glory, which connected him the great men of Rome's past, Augustus emphasized the importance of his military prowess as a requisite to political power and social status that would have been present in a triumph.

²⁷⁰ The *quadriga* could have once carried a statue of Augustus along with the figure of Victoria, the personification of victory, cf. Aug. *RG* 35.1. Heroes of the Republic, Suet. *Aug.* 31.5 Other triumphal associations, Suet. *Aug.* 29.2; Vell. Pat. 2.39.2.

²⁷¹ For short references to funeral processions of the middle and late Republic period, see Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 5.17.2; 11.39.55; Horace *Serm.* 1.6.43; Plut. *Lucul.* 43. For the speech (*laudatio*) on the rostra see Polybius 6.53.1, Cic. *de Orat.* 11.84.341.

But, formalizing the roles of citizens outside of the imperial family into a fully blended triumphal and funeral procession was unprecedented. The presence of senators, knights, soldiers, and plebeians marching together in an orderly procession symbolized the consensus that Augustus hoped his reforms would achieve, and at the same time, with the imperial family in the lead, it underscored the new status quo. Imperial funerals functioned as part of an ideological superstructure that was carefully organized to define the relationship between the subjects and their ruler within a society undergoing political transformation.

His death provided an opportunity to consolidate the unity of the political body. It also provided an ideal forum for each participant to affirm or advance sociopolitical standing. It would have been one of a number of limited opportunities for individuals to demonstrate their abilities, associations, and ambitions in a group setting at a politically and emotionally vulnerable time. Death represented a unique opportunity. This transformation would take over thirty-five years to complete. By early third century CE the pattern of established procedures that had been modeled after the funeral of Augustus highlights the differences between the funeral of a distinguished aristocrat and the funeral of the emperor of Rome.²⁷² The funeral Augustus shows most clearly how a Roman aristocrat could use his own funeral to put the finishing touches on his public image and reputation in order to establish his place in Roman history as the first emperor.

²⁷² Dio's account of Pertinax in 193 CE (75.4 –5); Herodian's description of Septimius Severus in 211 CE (4.2).

CHAPTER THREE

THE FUNERAL OF MARCUS CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS,
NEPHEW AND SON-IN-LAW OF AUGUSTUS**Preliminary Remarks**

Mentioned amongst the eminent men acting as representatives on behalf of the city of Mytilene,²⁷³ Crinagoras had travelled to Rome on a number of occasions as a diplomat. Evidence for his illustrious career as an ambassador appears in inscriptions discovered in his native city that attest to his participation in at least three political delegations: the first occurred in 48/47 BCE²⁷⁴ and the second in 45 BCE²⁷⁵ to Julius Caesar, and the last in 26/25 BCE to Augustus in Spain.²⁷⁶ In addition to his personage as representative of a city overseas, Crinagoras (c. 70 BCE – c. 11 CE) composed epigrams for some of the most well known figures of the first century BCE.²⁷⁷ He appears to have moved within the highest circles of Roman society as his

²⁷³ Strabo XIII mentions Crinagoras, page 617.

²⁷⁴ *IG* 12.2.35a. This inscription records a reply to a decree of honors conferred by Mytilene. Crinagoras is the third person named among the ambassadors who had conveyed the decree. The date implied by the introductory phrase support the inference that this was after the battle of Pharsalus, referring either to Caesar's second dictatorship in 47 BCE or his second consulate in 48 BCE.

²⁷⁵ *IG* 12.2.38b. This inscription records a letter from Julius Caesar to Mytilene, which included a senatorial decree guaranteeing the liberties of the city. It is dated to 45 BCE. Crinagoras is mentioned in the seventh place as it names eight ambassadors to whose mission it responds.

²⁷⁶ *IG* 12.2.35c. This inscription records a treaty between Rome and Mytilene. The date 25 BCE is given in the introduction. The ambassadors are not named and while there is no direct evidence that Crinagoras was again one of them, the assumption that he took part in this embassy also is strongly confirmed by the evidence of his epigrams, most notably: XXXII, XXX, XXIX.

epigrams indicate a certain familiarity with the immediate family of the *princeps* including Drusus, Tiberius, Antonia and Germanicus. Two of his known fifty-one epigrams directly address Marcellus, the nephew of the emperor Augustus. One of these two epigrams suggests a comparison between Marcellus and the mythic Theseus.

Composed as a gift to accompany a copy of the *Hecale* of Callimachus, Crinagoras' epigram 9.545²⁷⁸ charges Marcellus to discern a connection between himself and the Greek hero Theseus:

*Καλλιμάχου τὸ τορευτὸν ἔπος τόδε· δὴ γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῷ
ὠνήρ τοὺς Μουσέων πάντας ἔσεισε κάλως·
ἀεῖδει δ' Ἐκάλῃς τε φιλοξέينوιο καλὴν
καὶ Θησεῖ Μαραθῶν οὗς ἐρέθηκε πόνους·
τοῦ σοι καὶ νεαρὸν χειρῶν σθένος εἴη ἀρέσθαι,
Μάρκελλε, κλεινοῦ τ' αἶνον ἴσον βιότου.²⁷⁹*

This chiseled poem is by Callimachus, and in it
the man shook out all the sails of his Muses.
He sings the hut of hospitable Hecale and the toils
that Marathon imposed on Theseus.
May you too, Marcellus, acquire the youthful strength
of Theseus' hands and equal praise for a glorious life.

²⁷⁷ Fifty-one known epigrams are ascribed to Crinagoras.

²⁷⁸ *Anthologia Palatina* 9.545, Gow-Page 1968, II.

²⁷⁹ Crinagoras alludes to the part of Callimachus' *Hecale* in which Theseus sought refuge in the old woman's hut, was hospitably entertained, and proceeded thence to Marathon in order to fight the bull.

In the epigram above Crinagoras hopes that Marcellus will attain the “κλεινός ἴσος” (or “the same fame”) of a glorious life for himself at the present in Rome as that of the youthful Athenian hero in the poetic past. He implies that the nephew of Augustus has not yet entered into his first military service.²⁸⁰ The poet reminds Marcellus of the possibility of his own potential which he would mature into as he aged. Yet this was not the only instance that Crinagoras has compared Marcellus to a legendary figure of the past.

Crinagoras’ second known epigram to Marcellus praises the [now] young man’s return from Spain, commemorates his *depositio barbae*, and alludes to his most famous ancestor:

ἐσπερίον Μάρκελλος ἀνερχόμενος πολέμοιο
 σκυλοφόρος κραναῆς τέλσα παρ' Ἰταλίας
 ζανθὴν πρῶτον ἔκειρε γενειάδα· βούλετο πατρίς
 οὕτως καὶ πέμψαι παῖδα καὶ ἄνδρα λαβεῖν.²⁸¹

Marcellus, on bearing spoil from a western war
 to the boundary of ancient Italy,
 then first cut his flaxen beard: For thus his country willed
 to send forth a boy and take him back as a man.

²⁸⁰ This epigram was most likely composed before Marcellus’ first military service in the Cantabrian campaigns of 27 – 25 BCE.

²⁸¹ Crinagoras, *AP* 6.161. Marcellus will have ended his seventeenth year, and assumed the *toga virilis* in 25 BCE. Octavian was twenty-four years of age at the time of his *depositio barbae*, but it is likely that the ceremony was normally performed at the end of the seventeenth year.

In addition to the commemoration on the first cutting of his beard,²⁸² Crinagoras' epigram congratulates Marcellus on his victorious' return from "a western war laden with spoils." The reference to "a western war" indicates Augustus' campaign against the Cantabri in Spain beginning in 27 and brought to a temporary cessation by the year 25 BCE. Dio records that both Marcellus and Tiberius saw their first field-service abroad as military tribunes.²⁸³ It would be highly unlikely that so young and inexperienced a soldier as Marcellus, who at the time was around seventeen-years-old, had distinguished himself so spectacularly to warrant that particular evaluation, still Marcellus could aspire to a level of prominence embodied by his celebrated predecessor M. Claudius Marcellus, the conqueror of Syracuse.²⁸⁴ Crinagoras' expression alludes to the ceremony of the *spolia opima*²⁸⁵ achieved by his famous ancestor Marcus Claudius Marcellus during the Second Punic War. He had received great fame in his own lifetime for the winning of the *spolia opima*, as this was one of the highest honors that any Roman general could earn. Accompanying this paragon of Roman military success is his young namesake and

²⁸² During this religious ceremony, a Roman boy shaved his beard for the first time indicating his rite of passage into adulthood.

²⁸³ Dio 53.26 ff. as military tribunes in 26 and 25 BCE.

²⁸⁴ In 222 BCE, M. Claudius Marcellus killed the Gallic commander Viridomarus, prince of Viridomarus, in single combat at Clastidium (*Fasti triumphales ad. Ann.* 532; *Liv. Epit.* 20; *Plut. Marc.* 8; *Serv. Aen.* 6.856; *Val. Max.* 3.2.5; *Prop.* 1.1.41; *Sil. Ital.* 1.133; 3.587; 12.280). He dedicated the *spolia opima* in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius.

²⁸⁵ The proper meaning of *spolia opima* is the armor captured by the Roman commander from an enemy general. *Liv.* 4.20.6: *quod ea rite opima spolia habentur quae dux duci detraxit, nec ducem novimus, nisi cuius auspicio bellum geritur*. Roman tradition mentions three examples: Romulus (*Liv.* 1.10.44ff.; *Plut. Rom.* 16; *Serv. Aen.* 6.859; *Prop.* 5.10.1ff; *CIL* X.809) captured the armor of the king of the Caeninenses, A. Cornelius Cossus [(*Liv.* 4.19.5, 4.20.2f; *Plut. Rom.* 16; *Serv. Aen.* 6.841; *Prop.* 5.10.17 f; *Festus*, s. v. *opima spolia*, 204 (L).] in BCE 437 that of Lars Tolumnius, and that of M. Claudius Marcellus.

descendent here in this epigram. Crinagoras implies, as the poets Virgil²⁸⁶ and Propertius²⁸⁷ were to indicate after Marcellus' death, the prospective connection between the elder Republican Marcellus and the younger Imperial Marcellus.

It is against this background that one begins to grasp the significance of the status of Marcellus. Both of these two epigrams studied together demonstrate the great expectations produced for Marcellus during his own lifetime. This potential, echoed in subsequent literature, would be shattered by his untimely death in 23 BCE.

The Life of Marcus Claudius Marcellus c. 42 BCE – 27 BCE

Octavian himself had owed his entire social position in Rome to his testamentary adoption by Julius Caesar in 44 BCE. At the age of only eighteen and possessing no tangible assets besides Caesar's name, Octavian's full inheritance in terms of its legal and political ramifications extends beyond the boundaries of this discussion; the main concern in this chapter explores the socio-cultural reactions to the tragic death of Marcellus. By assuming the name of his new *familia*, Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus would need to produce sons to pass on the name for the *gens Iulii*. His only biological child so far had resulted from his marriage to Scribonia,²⁸⁸ whom he divorced allegedly on the very same day she had given birth to their daughter Julia the

²⁸⁶ Virgil, *Aen.* 6.860 ff.

²⁸⁷ Prop. *Eleg.* 3.18.

²⁸⁸ Scribonia (68 BCE – 16 CE) was forced to divorce her second husband Publius Cornelius Scipio in 40 BCE in order to marry Octavian to cement his political alliance with Sextus Pompey. She was the aunt of Sextus' wife.

Elder.²⁸⁹ Soon after her birth, Octavian married his second wife – a young woman of nineteen by the name of Livia Drusilla.²⁹⁰ Livia already had one son Tiberius²⁹¹ and had been visibly pregnant with her second son Drusus,²⁹² both of whom had resulted from her first marriage to Tiberius Claudius Nero.²⁹³ Upon the death of their father Tiberius Nero in 33 BCE, both young boys would come to live with their mother and Octavian.²⁹⁴

Even though by all accounts²⁹⁵ Livia had played the role of a loving and dutiful wife, their marriage had yet to produce any heirs.²⁹⁶ In the absence of his own male descendent, Octavian favored his sister's son Marcellus early on by introducing him to the public sphere. He assigned his nephew a role that would arguably otherwise have been given to his own son. Born in BCE 42 as the eldest son of Octavia Minor and Gaius Claudius Marcellus Minor, Marcus Claudius Marcellus was the closest male relative to Octavian by blood in the Julian clan.

²⁸⁹ Dio 48.43.3. Julia the Elder (39 BCE – CE 14) also known to her contemporaries as Julia Caesaris filia or Julia Augusti filia.

²⁹⁰ Livia's first husband, Tiberius Claudius Nero appeared to be a willing participant in the transfer of his wife and was present at the wedding banquet.

²⁹¹ The future emperor Tiberius Claudius Nero, who was born in 42 BCE (the same year as Marcellus).

²⁹² Nero Claudius Drusus was born in 38 BCE. He was born Decimus Claudius Drusus, which would later change to Nero Claudius Drusus.

²⁹³ Tiberius Claudius Nero (85 – 33 BCE), often known as Tiberius Nero. Dio records that he gave away his now-ex-wife Livia in marriage to Octavian on 17th January (Dio 48.44.1-3). As agreed, Nero took his sons to his home, where they stayed until his death in 33 BCE. The younger Tiberius, aged 9 delivered his father's funeral eulogy on the Rostra in Rome (Suet. *Tib.* 6).

²⁹⁴ Tacitus *Ann.* 1.10; 5.1. Suet. *Aug.* 62.2; *Tib.* 4.3, 5; *Claud.* 1.1. Dio 48.34.3, 44; Vell. Pat. 2.79.2, 94.1, 95.1. Drusus the Elder was originally named Decimus Claudius Drusus, Suet. *Claud.* 1.1.

²⁹⁵ Tac. *Ann.* 3.34, 5.1. Suet. *Aug.* 64.2, 73, 84.2; *Calig.* 7; *Claud.* 4. Dio 54.16.4-5. Sen. *Dial.* 6.4.3-4.

²⁹⁶ Suet. *Aug.* 63.1 suggests that Livia delivered a premature infant who later died.

Among the aristocratic elite and in accordance with the Republican practice of establishing alliances by way of marriage, Octavian betrothed his three-year-old nephew Marcellus to Pompeia Magna,²⁹⁷ the daughter of the political rebel Sextus Pompeius. This marriage was intended to seal the Treaty of Misenum in 39 BCE between Sextus Pompeius and both Octavian and Mark Antony.²⁹⁸ Even though the engagement dissolved after the breakdown of the peace treaty and the death of Sextus Pompeius three years later in 36, Marcellus would make several public appearances in the coming years at the side of his uncle.

In the two years following shortly after his victory at Actium on the 2nd September 31 BCE until his triumphal return into Rome in August of 29 BCE, the Senate and the Roman people awarded Octavian a number of different honors.²⁹⁹ Among these were declarations for a public holiday on August 1, the day of the fall of Alexandria, as his own birthday, 23 of September, had become a day of public celebration the year before.³⁰⁰ For “securing peace through victories by land and sea throughout the whole empire of the Roman people,”³⁰¹

²⁹⁷ Dio 48.38.3; App. *BC* 5.73.

²⁹⁸ Marcellus at this time was also Mark Antony’s stepson.

²⁹⁹ For the transition from Republic to Principate, Dio’s account in Books 51 – 52, which covers the years BCE 31–29, remains the principal source. In these chapters, Dio compresses what he had deemed the most significant events leading up to and after the Battle of Actium, which included honors of triumphal arches, one in Rome and one in Brundisium; even prayers invoked his name. After Octavian’s return to Rome, a new outpouring of honors was again offered. Dio groups these distinctions together for convenience in Book 51 (cf. 51.19.1) and unfortunately he does not specify which of these Octavian declined. It is probable that there would have been a few declined honors among them one mentioned was the formal greeting of the entire Roman populace upon his arrival in Rome (cf. 51.20.4).

³⁰⁰ In 30 BCE Mark Antony’s birthday, 14 January, was declared a *dies vitiosus*, the only one marked as such permanently on the Roman calendar.

³⁰¹ Aug. *RG* 13.

Octavian was granted a triple triumph: one for the victory over the Dalmatians, the second hailing the naval battle of Actium, and the third celebrating his victory over Egypt and the former queen Cleopatra.³⁰² It took place over the course of three days from the 13th to the 15th of August.³⁰³ His sister's son Marcellus and his wife's son Tiberius appeared at his side in public, riding horses next to the triumphal *quadriga*; Suetonius adds that Marcellus was seen leading the trace horses on the right-hand side of it.³⁰⁴ Their appearance was significant. It was not an innovation to have a person riding either in the triumphal chariot or beside it. It appears on the surface to be a reprisal of a Republican custom of the son joining in the celebration of his father's triumph.³⁰⁵ Spectators would no doubt remember that Octavian had accompanied Caesar in a triumph in which he himself had performed no warlike deeds. Octavian was not the biological son of Caesar, but his grand-nephew; this seems to be an apparent innovation on the part of Caesar, who like Octavian, had no biological sons. Octavian's choice built upon Caesar's

³⁰² Dio 51.21; Aug. *RG* 4.1. Mentioned in the *Fasti Triumphales*, Romulus celebrated three triumphs. This could be one explanation why Augustus declined further triumphs granted by senatorial decree (Aug. *RG* 4.1). The triumphs of Actium and Alexandria were among the honors decreed during Octavian's absence in the East (cf. Dio 51.19.1, 5).

³⁰³ Suet. notes that Caesar's first four triumphs had been within one month, but with intervening days. The triumph of Aemilius Paulus lasted three days and he entered Rome only on the third day (Plut. *Aem. Paul.* 32.4; *Fasti Triumph.* 167 BCE; Diod. 31.8.10). That of Pompey in 61 lasted two days and he entered Rome on the second day, although he had triumphed over fourteen nations and the pirates, yet it was a single triumph (Pliny *NH* 37.13; Plut. *Pomp.* 45.1) in 46 Caesar drove in all four days and it was his example which Octavian would follow in his threefold triumph in 29 (cf. Weinstock, *Divus Julius* page 76.) – we don't know for sure – but the argument for having the sons participate in every single procession just like their father did makes the most sense.

³⁰⁴ Suet. *Tib.* 6.4. Tiberius was also seen leading the trace horses yet Suetonius emphasizes Marcellus' right-side position.

³⁰⁵ One example is the triumph of Lucius Aemilius Paullus of 167 BCE, cf. Livy 45.40.8. Pompey's son Gnaeus was riding on one of the horses of his father's chariot.

legacy because Octavian included two male relatives who were not his sons: both his nephew Marcellus and his stepson Tiberius.

In addition to the initiative of a massive settlement program for the veterans, the spoils from the East allowed Octavian to lavish payments upon Roman soldiers and citizens. On the occasion of his Triple Triumph, Dio observes that Octavian awarded 400 HS to every male citizen of Rome and 400 HS to the children:

*...τῷ τεδήμῳ καθ' ἑκατὸν δραχμάς, προτέροις μὲν τοῖς ἐς ἄνδρας τελοῦσιν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοῖς παισὶ διὰ τὸν Μάρκελλον τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν, διένειμε.*³⁰⁶

... to the people he distributed four hundred sesterces apiece, first to the men who were adults, and afterwards to the children on behalf of his nephew Marcellus.

Financial generosity was not a tactic unique to Octavian. Plutarch states that his adopted-father Caesar was unsparing in his outlays of money by organizing cash provisions for theatrical performances, processions, public banquets, doubled the pay of the legions, distributed grain and even slaves from among his captives.³⁰⁷ These were disbursed to the people on a number of different occasions with the intention of winning over a crucial group of supporters, who would then reciprocate his munificence in the future by endorsing his political aims. By the middle of the 1st century BCE, he could express his unique political standing in the form of generosity

³⁰⁶ Dio 51.21.3.

³⁰⁷ Plut. *Caes.* 5.8-9, cf. Sal. *Cal.* 54; Suet. *Iul.* 26-28.

given to the people in his own name and excluded any credit given to the Senate or other aristocrats.³⁰⁸ No one Republican politician could successfully accomplish this type of magnanimity before Caesar. The *princeps* would not be in competition with other aristocrats in the way that one Republican noble had been in competition with another. Whatever might be Octavian's motivation for this type of financial gratification, he recognized that continued liberality and generosity was a successful way to secure and maintain civil order. He then explicitly included the children of the Roman citizens, a group of recipients who had never before directly received this compensation. Furthermore the monetary compensation was "on behalf of his nephew Marcellus."³⁰⁹

During the Republican period the term '*congiarium*' designated the distributions of wine and oil organized by the Roman officials. Under the Principate the term's meaning evolved and would come to represent the distribution of money to the *plebs urbana*.³¹⁰ It would then emerge as an inescapable public ritual, growing larger and more frequent, for later Roman emperors triggered by certain events or special occasions including: the accession of a new Emperor, the naming or the coming of age of an heir, betrothals, or the holding of a triumph.

If Dio is to be believed, Octavian's application of this type of beneficence was entirely new and it raises a number of issues. What Dio says has been understood by modern historians in

³⁰⁸ Aug. *RG* 15.1 ff.; cf. Sue. *Aug.* 41; Dio 44.35.

³⁰⁹ Dio 51.21.3: *διὰ τὸν Μάρκελλον τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν.*

³¹⁰ Claudius is known to have given a congiarium in CE 45 and a congiarium and donative in CE 51. Nero issued a congiarium celebrating his coming of age. Domitian's first congiarium was given in celebration of his triumph over the Chatti and his new title 'Germanicus' in 89 CE and a third, which occurred four years later in 93 CE. Trajan most likely gave a *congiarium* upon his accession in 99 CE, as well as in celebration of his triumphs in CE 103 and 107. Hadrian perhaps had one for his accession in CE 117/118, an important donative together with a congiarium was given in 136 to celebrate his adoption of Aelius Caesar.

two ways: either, this event remains one example of Dio's well-documented narrative inaccuracies in which his information is either outright wrong or documented in the wrong year. Augustus records in his *Res Gestae* a distribution of money for the populace when he was consul for the fifth time³¹¹ (i.e. in 29). He lists other *congiaria* that match Dio: 300 HS given according to stipulations in Julius Caesar's will in 44 BCE;³¹² 400 HS was given on Octavian's triple triumph in 29 BCE;³¹³ 400 HS on his return from Spain in 24 BCE;³¹⁴ 400 HS following Agrippa's death because in 12 BCE; and lastly 240 HS on the *deductio in forum* of Lucius Caesar in 2 BCE;³¹⁵ In *RG* 15.1-4, Augustus himself confirms the distribution in 29 BCE. Combining both narratives to check factual evidence, it would now seem unfitting to dismiss Dio's information about the congiarium to the children on behalf of Marcellus as just one more example of his haphazard narrative. Dio, who admittedly is our only source for this specific detail, nonchalantly continues on with his chronological narrative for the year. The second opinion allows an assumption of accuracy yet it is relegated into almost absolute obscurity because historians. The presentation of family members of the gens Iulia evolved as the new emerging political system of the Principate could now at this time permit. Octavian markedly promoted Marcellus' own popularity through his fiscal generosity head from the *manubiae*.³¹⁶

³¹¹ Aug. *RG* 15.1. He served as consul for the fifth time in 29 BCE.

³¹² Dio 44.35.3; Aug. *RG* 15.1.

³¹³ Dio 51.21.3; Aug. *RG* 15.1.

³¹⁴ Dio 53.28.1; Aug. *RG* 15.1.

³¹⁵ Dio 55.10.1; cf. 59.2.2.

³¹⁶ Dio 55.10.1; cf. 59.2.2.

While it may seem customary for Octavian a gift of 400 HS in celebration for his own triple triumph, Dio specifically states that Octavian gifted to each child *in the name* of his thirteen-year-old nephew. When Roman citizens wished to embellish their recognition of generous patrons they had a number of complimentary terms to praise this type of generosity in their vernacular. While there had existed a variety of benefactions from public works to public games and feasts, during the late Republic, gifts of significant proportions could represent a powerful means of garnering support and maintaining order.

As an adolescent Marcellus at this point in time has not played any tangible or major role in either the military campaigns or the political circumstances at Rome. A *congiarium* in the name of Marcellus may perhaps signify just another opportunity for exhibition and showmanship in order to win popular favor in line with already well-established Republican parameters for the claiming such honors. This extends naturally to include significant members of that politician's family. It is an opinion that is hard to resist, yet taken by itself this could call the present interpretation into question. Granted the strong correlation between the political implications for the connection of lavish expenditures influencing public opinion in order to reaffirm one's particular political position, naming Marcellus represents a significant and unprecedented moment in Roman history. This is not to say that this is the same or a similar process as indicated in the reigns of later Emperors, yet it would be unwise to ignore the possibility that as

³¹⁶ In his *RG*, Augustus himself stated that as a public gift he paid to the Roman plebs in his own name gave HS 400 from the spoils of war when he was consul for the fifth time (i.e. in 29 B.C.E.); *RG* 15.1; cf. Suet. *Aug.* 41.2; Oxyrhynchus Papyri Volume 40 (1972), 13 – 14, Denise van Berchem, *Les Distributions de Blé et D'argent à la Plèbe Romaine Sous l'Empire*, (Genève: Georg et Cie, 1939): 127-144.

time went on Augustus must have evolved a plan as to how he could use monetary donatives as a means of commemorating particular members within his household.

Augustus would continue to use monetary donatives throughout his reign. They were a form of influence in public affairs and coincided with major events for imperial family members as we saw above. By naming his nephew, Octavian's lavish action signifies the first significant step in the development of the role of not only Marcellus, but of the imperial family and how it would function within an emerging political regime. For one man to become so powerful as to introduce financial patronage in his name alone, and in our case in the name of his thirteen-year-old nephew to the children of Rome, emphasized the social importance of his generosity.

Three days after his triple triumph, Octavian dedicated the temple of *Divus Julius* at one end of the Forum, and the *Curia Julia* at the other. He put forth a program of measures over the next eighteen months, which he represented as the dismantling the apparatus of civil war and restoration of the old Republican ways.³¹⁷ On January 1st of 28 BCE, Octavian entered his sixth sharing the *fascēs* with his fellow-consul Marcus Agrippa.³¹⁸ In addition to focusing extensive building restoration projects³¹⁹ together they completed a census, in which over 4 million Roman citizens were counted.³²⁰ In the same year, Octavian and Agrippa celebrated the first of the quinquennial games voted by the Senate in 30 BCE in their honor. The constituent elements of Republican Rome were all represented, the power and functions confided to the Princeps made

³¹⁷ Dio 53.2 records that these acts were annulled; cf. Vell. 2.89.3-4 and Aug. *RG* 34.1.

³¹⁸ Dio 53.1.1. This was Agrippa's second consulship.

³¹⁹ Aug. *RG* 20.4. Augustus claims to have repaired eighty-two temples.

³²⁰ Aug. *RG* 8; Suet. *Aug.* 27.5; Dio 53.1.3; *CIL* 9.422. The last completed census had been in 70-69. *RG* 8.2 gives the number enrolled as 4,063,000. Augustus held censuses again in BCE 8 and CE 14.

him and his own person competent to act everywhere as though he himself were the State. After the drama of the senate meetings, Augustus took up his provincial command. All of this political, social, and religious restoration overshadowed the rising prominence of the emperor's nephew during the next couple of years after the so-called 'First-Settlement' in 27 BCE.

Augustus' Spanish Campaigns (26 – 25 BCE)

For Augustus, the hardships of the Spanish campaigns offered a comprehensive establishment of prosperity across the whole Northwestern peninsula of the empire. An exact chronology of Augustus' military activities in Spain during the years following his departure from Rome remains the object of scholarly debate. This may be due in part because Dio Cassius represents the most comprehensive source for this campaign. He condenses Augustus' activities whereby all these events took place in 25. This is somewhat misleading because there were two campaigns in both the years 26 and 25. Moreover what truth can be wrested from Dio belies the broader importance of the evolving political ideology embodied by the imperial family, most significantly by Marcellus himself. Just as Augustus himself in his youth had served his military preparation under Julius Caesar in Spain, Marcellus and Tiberius accompanied him on their first military apprenticeship abroad.

The Princeps left Rome in the summer of 27, most likely some time after the *Feriae Latinae* and before the date of M. Crassus' triumph.³²¹ He briefly sojourned in Gaul, setting in train the repair of the *via Flaminia*, placing statues of himself on either end of the Great North

³²¹ *Fasti triumphales*, E-J p.35.

Road.³²² He arrived in Spain before the end of the year and assumed his eighth consulate at Tarraco (present-day Tarragona, Spain) on the 1st of January of 26.³²³ After two years of military operations in the years 26 and 25, Augustus appeared to have regarded a full and final victory over Spain³²⁴ as the elderly veterans were paid off and the colony of Emerita was founded. More importantly Augustus' campaign against the Cantabri between 26 and 25 offered an opportunity to present both Tiberius and Marcellus to the legions. The two young men were responsible for hosting a show for the soldiers in the legions' camp.³²⁵

The Marriage of Marcellus to Julia the Elder (25 BCE)

Augustus must have recognized by now that he and Livia could not hope for a child and looked for an heir from his own kin and no one had a stronger claim than his sister's son Marcellus. As such he represented the prime candidate for the future marriage of the princeps' daughter. Known to her contemporaries as Julia Caesaris filia or Julia Augusti filia (Oct. 39 BCE – 14 CE), Julia the Elder was the only biological child of Augustus and Scribonia, his second wife. In early 24 or perhaps late 25, Julia and Marcellus were married. As with most elite Roman

³²² Dio 53.22.1f. Aug.'s work included repairs to the bridges and probably the construction of the bridge at Narnia, cf. Aug. *RG* 20.5; Suet. *Aug.* 30.1.

³²³ Suet. *Aug.* 26.3.

³²⁴ Dio 53.25.5; cf. Aug. *RG* 26.2; Vell. 2.91.4). Announcements of it and the closure of the Temple of Janus (dated by Dio to 25) supports this idea. Although according to other reports in Dio, resistance continued until it was crushed finally by Agrippa in 19 BCE (Dio 53.29.1-2; 54.5.1-3, 11.2-5).

³²⁵ Dio 53.26.1.

women of the period, her marriage to her cousin Marcellus strengthened bonds between the Julian and Claudian families, which would in time represent the core of the imperial family.

For Marcellus, this marriage functioned as another mark of honor and ultimately solidified the connection between his father-in-law and himself. For Augustus, with no prospects for the birth of a male descendent from Livia, the assumption³²⁶ was that he could adopt a son from the union of Marcellus and Julia. Again, there were no grounds to assume that this marriage entailed the appointment of Marcellus as successor in either a personal or political sense.³²⁷ Rather, their marriage would retain the stepping-stone to power within Augustus' most intimate circle, which as we shall see as a theme in the later chapters. As he aged, Augustus would evidently decide for a number of reasons that it was better to organize the available male inheritors of his power. In this context, this marriage functioned in the form of a political alliance between elite households within the context of the private domain.

Eager to hasten the marriage of his nephew Marcellus to his only daughter Julia and prevented from attending the wedding by an ailment, he arranged the marriage in BCE 24 from abroad in Spain. In his absence, he entrusted the ceremony to Agrippa, who acted the part of her father.³²⁸ Although the newly wedded couple were also first cousins, marriage between the children of siblings were not uncommon and occurred already during the Republic period.³²⁹ It

³²⁶ Augustus will do this very same thing (adoption of the sons of Julia) with Gaius and Lucius Caesars by in 17 BCE.

³²⁷ Zanker, 151.

³²⁸ Dio 53.27.5.

³²⁹ Liv. 42.34.2-4; Tac. *Ann.* 1.2.6.

appears that this was the moment when being wed to a princeps' daughter conferred a certain status. In Marcellus' case it also furthered the already existing tie of blood. Thus Marcellus became the second most important person in the imperial family after his father-in-law Augustus. The star of the young man to whom Augustus placed his hopes was rising.

Augustus' Return to Rome and the Honors for Marcellus and Tiberius (24 BCE)

It seems a reasonable assumption from Dio's narrative in Chapter 28, which implies that Augustus was still abroad when he entered into his tenth consulship that he did not return to Rome until the beginning of autumn in 24. In fact, Augustus lavished gifts on the Roman people most liberally in the years 24 and 23. While the populace's expectation of a triumph had been previously announced before his return,³³⁰ instead, and with the approval of the senate, he matched the victory donative of the year BCE 29 at HS 400 a person out of his own estate.³³¹ In addition, twelve distributions of grain were paid out of his own pocket.

On his arrival, he ushered in a new era of peace symbolized by the practice of the closing the doors of the temple of Janus for the second time and in return the senate honored his homecoming and recovery by granting special privileges for Marcellus and Tiberius. By senatorial decree, the sixteen- or perhaps seventeen-year-old Marcellus was made a member of the senate, with the status held by ex-praetors. For the Senate to allow Marcellus the right to stand for the consulate ten years before it was customary remains extraordinary:

³³⁰ Dio 53.26.5.

³³¹ Aug. *RG* 15.1; as a sign of respect he sought the approval of the Senate before an official public announcement of the *congiarium* (Dio 53.28.1f). He had emphasized that this time it was from his own pocket.

... ταῦτα μὲν ἀποδομῶντι ἔτ' αὐτῷ ἐψηφίσθη, ἀφικομένῳ δὲ ἐς τὴν Ρώμην ἄλλα τινὰ ἐπὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνακομιδῇ αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο: τῷ τε Μαρκέλλῳ βουλευεῖν τε ἐν τοῖς ἐστρατηγηκόσι καὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν δέκα θάττον ἔτεσιν ἥπερ ἐνενόμιστο αἰτῆσαι, καὶ τῷ Τιβερίῳ πέντε πρὸ ἐκάστης ἀρχῆς ἔτεσι τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι ἐδόθη: καὶ παραχρῆμά γε οὗτος μὲν ταμίας ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἀγορανόμος ἀπεδείχθησαν.³³²

....and upon his [Augustus'] arrival in Rome various other privileges were accorded him in honor of his recovery and return. Marcellus was given the right to be a senator among the ex-praetors and to stand for the consulship ten years earlier than was customary, while Tiberius was permitted to stand for each office five years before the regular age; and he [Tiberius] was at once elected quaestor and Marcellus aedile.

Marcellus as yet had not even been aedile, though Dio records that he was now to be appointed to that office and was authorized to take his seat in the Senate. The Lex Villia (180 BCE) made 43 the legal age for candidature in elections to the consulship: the precedent for someone to be admitted amongst senators with the rank of a previous office. Augustus could quote precedence from his own career for the dispensation of the law. In 43 BCE in his twentieth year, he had been admitted as a *propraetor* to the Senate,³³³ and had been invested with *imperium*. Dio records that the Senate permitted Marcellus a seat in the Senate among the praetors with *propraetorian* standing, and to be considered as holding the rank of a praetor so that he could become an *aedile*

³³² Dio 53.28.3.

³³³ Cf. the *Senatus Consultum* passed on the motion of Cicero on Jan. 1, 43 BCE giving Octavian the status of a *propraetor* (cf. Cic. *Phil.* 5.47).

in the following year (23) as though he had been quaestor already and therefore eligible for other magistracies.

The curule aedileship represented a more dignified position that held more prestige inasmuch as the holders had *sellae curules*, like consuls, censors, and praetors, wore the *toga praetexta*. In addition Marcellus alone received the right to candidacy for the consulship ten years before the minimum legal age requirement. The office was technically junior to that of praetor, but it represented a more promising source of public popularity because it was the office of the aediles that presided over the public games and distributions, as well as Rome's public monuments. Only one act during his year in office survives: the provision of movable canvas awnings (*vela*) to shield the audiences of the games from the sun in the theatres and perhaps also the circus. Of course Augustus financed this act from his own pocket, but all the popularity would be directed towards his son-in-law and reminiscent of the unprecedented benefactions of Julius Caesar.³³⁴

Though they were the same age, Tiberius was given what perhaps seemed noticeably lesser honors when compared to the princeps' son-in-law. He received the right to stand for each office five years,³³⁵ before the legal age requirement and immediately entered public office as quaestor.³³⁶ The Lex Villia originally made the age of eligibility for a quaestor 31, but at the time

³³⁴ The games of Marcellus should have reminded the senate and people of Rome of the political debut of Julius Caesar; cf. Suet. *Iul.* 10f.

³³⁵ Tacitus *Ann.* 3.29. Tiberius' five-year dispensation enabled him to hold the quaestorship in BCE 23 at the age of 18. He held the praetorship and consulship early as well, aged 25 and 28 respectively (BCE 16 and 13).

Tiberius was only eighteen, and since five years earlier than the law prescribed, 23 must have been the legal age for quaestorship at this time. Augustus merely hastened his nephew's (and stepson's journey on the *cursus honorum*). Setting aside dynastic arguments, it was plain that both Marcellus and to a lesser extent Tiberius were favored members of the family who were destined for greater things, but they would have to earn it on their own merit.

The candidates nominated by the Princeps were guaranteed election, and so Marcellus was elected to the office of aedile and Tiberius the office of quaestor. Marcellus' privileges in 24 BCE suggest that Augustus did not intend to promote his nephew to the pinnacle of Roman political offices straight away. Marcellus could stand for the consulate at the age of 33, which for the then nineteen-year-old remained a distant prospect at this moment in time.

The Dire Illnesses of the Princeps and Marcellus (23 BCE)

During his eleventh consulship early on in the year 23 BCE, Augustus fell ill once more. He had been sick before on several occasions.³³⁷ Yet this time he was not expected to recover, which alarmed both him and the Roman people. According to Dio Cassius:

³³⁶ Many quaestors served abroad as assistants to a governor, but one of the most responsible and demanding functions was the supervision of the public grain supply for Rome, and Tiberius' success at this aspect would bring him goodwill.

³³⁷ Augustus' poor health was well known (Suet. *Aug.* 81.1 and Pliny *NH* 7.147-150). An illness in 23 BCE was almost apparently fatal (Dio 53.30) and perhaps partly what prompted the 2nd Settlement of that year. Dio also records Augustus falling ill while campaigning in Spain in 25 BCE (Dio 53.25.7). Augustus' physician, Antonius Musa, is said to have successfully treated him on a number of occasions (cf. Dio 53.30.3; Suet. *Aug.* 59, 81.1; Pliny *NH* 19.128, 29.6).

ὁ δ' Αὐγουστος ἐνδέκατον μετὰ Καλπουρνίου Πίσωνος ἄρξας ἡρρώστησεν αὖθις, ὥστε μηδεμίαν ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας σχεῖν: πάντα γοῦν ὡς καὶ τελευτήσων διέθετο, καὶ τὰς τε Ἰ ἀρχὰς τοὺς τε ἄλλους τοὺς πρώτους καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ἀθροίσας διάδοχον μὲν οὐδένα ἀπέδειξε, καίτοι τὸν Μάρκελλον πάντων προκριθήσεσθαι ἐς τοῦτο προσδοκῶντων, διαλεχθεὶς δέ τινα αὐτοῖς περὶ τῶν δημοσίων πραγμάτων τῷ μὲν Πίσωνι τὰς τε δυνάμεις καὶ τὰς προσόδους τὰς κοινὰς ἐς βιβλίον ἐσγράψας ἔδωκε, τῷ δ' Ἀγρίππᾳ τὸν δακτύλιον ἐνεχείρισε.³³⁸

When Augustus was consul for the eleventh time, with Calpurnius Piso, he fell so ill once more as to have no hope of recovery; at any rate, he arranged everything as if he were about to die, and gathered about him the magistrates and the foremost senators and knights. He did not, to be sure, appoint a successor, although all were expecting that Marcellus would be preferred for this position, but after talking with them awhile about the public affairs, he gave Piso the list of the forces and of the public revenues written in a book, and handed his ring to Agrippa.

Acceptance of this version of events gives rise to serious doubts concerning the significance of the young nephew and adds to the misleading idea of how this episode contributed and effected Augustus' "succession planning" policy. Modern historians nevertheless reiterate this fundamental concept. Let's approach this episode within its historical context.

Dio Cassius' *Roman History*, Velleius Paterculus, and Livy's *Periochae* Book 140 contain most of this information concerning Marcellus. It would be difficult to believe that the *princeps*' conduct towards Marcellus could frustrate the ambitions of Agrippa, a man who had remained from the very beginning of Octavian's political career his closest and most loyal

³³⁸ Dio 53.30.1-2.

associate, to withdraw from Rome on his own initiative as a direct reaction to this preferential treatment. Because of his young age and relative inexperience, it does not seem likely that Agrippa would view Marcellus as a serious competitor for his own position. Now ‘all’ had held the belief that Augustus favored Marcellus by his gradual initiation into the public domain focuses its confirmation on the bestowal of special privileges granted to him on behalf of the senate. The intention of these privileges was to speed up his *cursus honorum*. Thus it is hardly surprising that the overwhelming acceptance of the traditional impression of Marcellus as a potential imperial heir and subsequent rival to Agrippa persists among ancient historians in the present day. Furthermore it is far from certain that the position of the *princeps* was seen as one that could be inherited at this moment in time. The atmosphere viewed by historians afterwards indicated that Augustus himself was grooming certain male relatives in preparation for holding specific political offices. Nevertheless the *princeps* himself had no ‘personal rule’ in 23 BCE, despite popular opinions gathered from the historical sources. Augustus could not bequeath his position to a ‘chosen successor,’ and (unlike the subsequent deaths), the public did not view Augustus’ family in 23 BCE as a cohesive unit of dynastic rule.

Some time after the accession of Rome’s second emperor, Tiberius, Velleius Paterculus had expressed the belief that Marcellus represented Augustus’ primary successor, perhaps as early as the presumed date of his history in 30 CE:

Ante triennium fere, quam Egnatianum scelus erumperet, circa Murenæ Caepionisque coniurationis tempus, abhinc annos quinquaginta, M. Marcellus, sororis Augusti Octaviae filius, quem homines ita, si quid accidisset Caesari, successorem potentiae eius arbitrabantur futurum, ut tamen id per M. Agrippam

*seculo ei posse contingere non existimarent, magnificentissimo munere aedilitatis edito decessit admodum iuvenis, sane, ut aiunt, ingenuarum virtutum laetusque animi et ingenii fortunaeque, in quam alebatur, capax. Post cuius obitum Agrippa, qui sub specie ministeriorum principalium profectus in Asiam, ut fama loquitur, ob tacitas cum Marcello offensiones praesenti se subduxerat tempori, reversus inde filiam Caesaris Iuliam, quam in matrimonio Marcellus habuerat, duxit uxorem, feminam neque sibi neque rei publicae felicitis utri.*³³⁹

Some three years before the plot of Egnatius was exposed, about the time of the conspiracy of Murena and Caepio, fifty years from the present date, Marcus Marcellus died, the son of Octavia, sister of Augustus, after giving a magnificent spectacle to commemorate his aedileship and while still quite a youth. People thought that, if anything should happen to Caesar, Marcellus would be his successor in power, at the same time believing, however, that this would not fall to his lot without opposition from Marcus Agrippa. He was, we are told, a young man of noble qualities, cheerful in mind and disposition, and equal to the station for which he was being reared.

While he was a keen supporter of Tiberius' regime, it would be incorrect to assume that Velleius Paterculus' preconceptions about the near-death narrative of the first emperor negate the information he provides. He argued that according to popular opinion that Marcellus would succeed should something happen to Augustus, and that this belief had created an animosity between the young nephew and Agrippa. It is important to note that his claim was established well after the conclusion of the crisis of dynastic succession and heavily influenced later ancient scholars of this era.

³³⁹ Vell. Pat. 2.93.1-2.

Marcellus' Funeral, Burial, and Posthumous Honors

The information on Marcellus' funeral is minimal. In Marcellus' honor, Augustus ordered that 600 chosen citizens (*lecti*) should take part in the funeral procession.³⁴⁰ According to Dio Augustus gave Marcellus a public burial after the customary eulogies, placing him in the tomb that he [Augustus] was building.³⁴¹ Strabo describes the tomb as a mound of earth encircled by a retaining wall of white marble, covered with shrubs and surmounted by a bronze statue of Augustus.³⁴² Construction of the tomb of Augustus (then still Octavian) began in 28 BCE on the northern edge of the Campus Martius, in between the *Via Flaminia* and the banks of the River Tiber.³⁴³ Like all Roman burial sites, it lay *extra pomerium* in accordance with Roman law. Augustus would be buried here in 14 CE more than forty years later, unfortunately prominent members of his family³⁴⁴ preceded him. Marcellus represented the first of the Julian family to be interred in this great, circular sepulcher in 23 BCE.³⁴⁵

³⁴⁰ Serv. *Aen.* 6.861: "Virgil refers to Marcellus, the son of Augustus' sister, Octavia, whom Augustus adopted. Marcellus fell ill at fifteen and died at the age of seventeen at Baiae, while he was aedile. The state mourned his death greatly, because of his affability, and because he was Augustus' son. In his honor, Augustus ordered that 600 chosen citizens should take part in the funeral procession. Therefore he was conveyed in great state and laid to rest in the Campus Martius." Servius is commenting on Marcellus' appearance in the pageant of Roman heroes in the *Aeneid* Book 6.752-892, in which Aeneas visits the Underworld and meets his father Anchises, who shows him his own descendants and the future great men of Rome (cf. Dio 56.34.2 for Augustus' funeral procession of such a parade; cf. *Elogia* from the Forum of Augustus 2 BCE). Servius is wrong about Marcellus' age as Propertius 3.18 gives Marcellus' age as 19.

³⁴¹ Dio 53.30.5.

³⁴² Strabo *Geog.* 5.3.8.

³⁴³ Suetonius assigns construction to Augustus' 6th consulate, i.e. in 28 BCE.

³⁴⁴ Marcellus was buried in 23 BCE, Marcus Agrippa in 12 BCE, Octavia in 11/10 BCE, Drusus the Elder in 9 BCE, Lucius in 2 CE, and Gaius in 4 CE.

Once again Dio offers a comprehensive account of the immediate reaction to the sudden death of the Princeps' nephew.

καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Αὐγούστος δημοσίᾳ τε ἔθαψεν, ἐπαινέσας ὥσπερ εἴθιστο, καὶ ἐς τὸ μνημεῖον ὃ ὠκοδομεῖτο κατέθετο, τῇ τε μνήμῃ τοῦ θεάτρου τοῦ προκαταβληθέντος μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος, Μαρκέλλου δὲ ὠνομασμένου ἐτίμησεν, καὶ οἱ καὶ εἰκόνα χρυσῇν καὶ στέφανον χρυσοῦν δίφρον τε ἀρχικὸν ἔς τε τὸ θέατρον ἐν τῇ τῶν Ρωμαίων πανηγύρει ἐσφέρεσθαι καὶ ἐς τὸ μέσον τῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν τελούντων αὐτὰ τίθεσθαι ἐκέλευσε.³⁴⁶

Augustus gave him [Marcellus] a public burial after the customary eulogies, placing him in the tomb he was building, and as a memorial to him finished the theatre whose foundations had already been laid by the former Caesar and which was now called the theatre of Marcellus. And he ordered also that a golden image of the deceased, a golden crown, and a curule chair should be carried into the theatre at the *Ludi Romani* and should be placed in the midst of the officials having charge of the games.

Recall that one of Augustus' *imagines* in his funeral procession was said to have been gold.³⁴⁷ Even though Marcellus received one gold statue, this could be an element meant to tie Marcellus' honor with Augustus' own funeral. Marcellus also received a gold crown, yet the translation is misleading. The Greek specifies that it is a "golden wreath" (στέφανος).

³⁴⁵ Marcellus' epitaph, carved on a single stone, was found in the Mausoleum in 1927 (*AE* 1928, no.2). On the same inscription is his mother Octavia's epitaph (died in 11 BCE).

³⁴⁶ Dio 53.30.5-6.

³⁴⁷ Dio 56.34.2. Upon her apotheosis Drusilla, the sister of Caligula, was the next imperial member to receive a golden image in the senate chamber to be consecrated (cf. Tac. *Ann.* 59.11.2).

Caesar was granted a golden crown in 45 CE for the Circus,³⁴⁸ and in 44 also for other occasions, for example it is known that he wore it at the Lupercalia.³⁴⁹ A crown was also to be exhibited in the Circus on a golden throne during his absence. These were in fact two different types of crowns. The second was decorated with gems (like that which Pompey was entitled to wear³⁵⁰) and numismatic evidence shows that it also had a ribbon (again similar to that of Pompey³⁵¹). It is found on coins of Faustus Sulla referring to Pompey and on some of Octavian referring to Caesar; later the crown was seen on the coins of Titus and Domitian. The other crown, which Caesar also is depicted as wearing on coins, is without a ribbon. This crown was made out of gold and it was the crown of Etruscan and Roman kings.³⁵² Here again, we can conclude that the republican triumphal tradition had been transformed into an honor symbolic of regal attributes given to specific individuals who merited the honor. Hannibal sent back to Rome the remains of Marcus Claudius Marcellus in a silver urn with a golden wreath placed on top of it.³⁵³

In 44 BCE Caesar received a golden throne for the Curia, for the platform of the magistrates, and for other official functions – he used it on the Rostra at the Lupercalia – but not

³⁴⁸ This is implied by Dio 43.43.1 and by the precedents of Aemilius Paullus and Pompey.

³⁴⁹ Dio 44.11.2; Cic. *Phil.* 2.85; Pliny *NH* 2.186.

³⁵⁰ Dio 44.6.3. Suet. *Iul.* 76.

³⁵¹ Dio 37.21.4; Vell. Pat. 2.40.4.

³⁵² Dion. Hal. 2.34.2; 3.62.1.

³⁵³ Plut. *Marc.* 30.2.

for the theatre – where he was to sit on the *subsellia* of the tribunes.³⁵⁴ As can be seen on coins, the chair was identical in shape with the *sella curulis*, but was painted gold instead of being made out of ivory. Golden chairs had been used by kings everywhere in the East, as well as Etruscan, and probably Roman kings.³⁵⁵ Romans honored foreign kings with the insignia of kingship together with the *sella curulis* (and *not* a golden throne);³⁵⁶ thus, Caesar's golden chair was to be seen as a regal privilege. In 44 BCE Caesar was granted the honor of a golden chair in the theater, not for his personal use, but for his golden crown to be placed on it and exhibited.³⁵⁷

The chair as a symbol had a long history and it generally represented a god. Symbolic empty chairs were set up in honor of the gods in the East and in Greece, were used for the banquets of the gods.³⁵⁸ A chair could represent exceptional man, who would be granted this symbolic honor when he was either absent or dead. They were further used in honor of dead ruler, for example in 318 BCE Eumenes set up Alexander's golden throne, with his diadem and scepter

³⁵⁴ Dio 44.4.2; Suet. *Iul.* 76.1; Cic. *Phil.* 2.85; *div.* I.119; Pliny *NH* 2.186; Val. Max. 1.6.13; Nic. Dam. v. *Caes.* 71; App. *BC* 2.106.442; Plut. *Caes.* 61.4. *Subsellia* (*subsellium*, sing.) were the seats/benches occupied by lower magistrates. Its collective character and its lower height make it a subordinate seat to the curule chair (*sella curulis*).

³⁵⁵ Weinstock, *Divus Iulius*, 273, especially footnotes 3-6.

³⁵⁶ Dion. Hal. 5.35.1; Livy 27.4.8; 30.15.11; 31.11; 12; App. *Pun.* 32.137. Roman generals could be honored by foreign kings with a golden chair, cf. Plut. *Pomp.* 36.10 (the Iberi to Pompey). In 36 BCE the Parthian king Phraates sat on a golden chair while negotiating with Antony's envoys (Dio 49.27.4), so also in 34 Cleopatra in Alexandria during Antony's triumph (Dio 49.40.3) and Antony himself began to do the same (Dio 50.5.3).

³⁵⁷ Dio 44.6.3. A special carriage was to take his symbols to the Circus where they were to be placed on the couch of the gods. Weinstock, *Divus Iulius*, 282 reckons that this decree is not a duplication of an earlier one nor a supplement to it, but something new. The chair was never to be exhibited while Caesar was alive. After his death, Octavian had tried twice to exhibit it in 44, but was prevented from doing so by Mark Antony (In May: Cic. *Att.* 15.3.2; App. *BC* 3.28.105f; Plut. *Ant.* 16.5; and in July: Dio 45.6.5; App. *BC* 3.28.107). Nevertheless, Octavian later succeeded and exhibited it on a few occasions (Dio 50.10.2 (31 BCE); 56.29.1). Augustus depicted the chair on coins and on his birthday in 13 CE (Dio 56.29.1). He also sat on curule chairs in the theater in 40 BCE (alongside Mark Antony) and in 13/11 BCE in the theater of Marcellus upon its completion (Dio 48.31.3; Suet. *Aug.* 43.5).

³⁵⁸ The *theoxinia*; Porph. v. *Pyth.* 17; *Or. Sib.* 8.48.f; cf. *JRS* 47.147.27.

on it, when he held consultations with his advisors.³⁵⁹ Around 270 BCE Ptolemy I's golden chair, with a wreath placed on top, was carried in the procession at a festival in Alexandria.³⁶⁰ In Rome, the gods too had their chairs carried in procession, taken to the theater, and exhibited there with their symbols placed upon them.³⁶¹ The only Roman tradition of a symbolic chair granted to a deceased individual involves Romulus, who was acting in official capacity and therefore seated on his chair, setting up next to him another *sella curulis* for the dead Remus. On Remus' chair, a scepter, crown, and other regal insignia were placed.³⁶²

The *sella curulis* is a symbol of office because the person entitled to sit on it was considered to be acting on behalf of Rome in his official capacity.³⁶³ It could also be given as a honor to foreign kings for services rendered to Rome³⁶⁴ as well as to distinguished Romans to

³⁵⁹ Diod. 16.61; Polyæn. 4.8.2; cf. Ephipp. *FGrHist.* 126 F 4; Theocr. 17.18.f; Herter, 1.c 564f.

³⁶⁰ Kallixeinos, *FGrHist.* 627 F 2.34=Athen. 5.202ab.

³⁶¹ Suet. *Aug.* 70.1; Dio 44.6.3; for symbols like the thunderbolt, helmet, wreath, etc. see *JRS* 47.148. An imperial monument in Ravenna has a relief which depicts the thrones of the gods – Iuppiter, Saturn, Apollo, Neptune, etc. and each is distinguished by their attributes.

³⁶² Serv. *Aen.* 1.276. This may be a fictional piece of evidence for original dual kingship, but the symbolism was not invented and its symbolism continued to be used. Another version of it appears in the record (CE 40) about Caligula's chair, which was set up in the Capitoline temple and received homage from the senators during his absence (Dio 59.24.4); and of Domitian (Pliny *Paneg.* 52.1).

³⁶³ The curule chair was so important that it gave its name to a class of high-ranking officials known as the *magistratus curules*.

³⁶⁴ The first instance, that of Porsina (Dion. Hal. 5.35.1), may be legendary; there is literary evidence about Masinissa (Livy 30.15.11 ; App., *Lib.* 32.137), Ariovistus (Caes., *BG* 1.43.4), Ptolemy, king of Mauretania (Tac. *Ann.* 4.26.4), and numismatic evidence about Cotys and other kings of Odrysia, Juba II, and Ptolemy; cf. Mommsen, *StR.* 3³, 592, 3; Sutherland, *Num. Chr.* 6th s. 10 (1950) 295f.; J. Mazard, *Corpus nummorum Numidiae Mauretaniaeque* (1955) 88; 134 f. (reference of Dr. C. M. Kraay). This gift of a *sella* was not a Roman invention: cf. the golden throne sent by the king of the Iberi to Pompey (Plut., *Pomp.* 36.10) and by Cleopatra to Octavian (Dio 51.6.5).

use in the theater.³⁶⁵ In 44 BCE, the Senate granted Caesar two honors concerning the *sella curulis*. The first one granted Caesar the curule chair everywhere except in the theater (where he was to sit on the *subsellium* of the tribunes) and the other one granted him a golden chair with a golden wreath placed on it in the theater.³⁶⁶ It seems that the second decree, the golden chair and wreath, was only to be exhibited in the theater on occasions when Caesar was absent.³⁶⁷

Adding this tradition into the context of Marcellus honors, we are told that when he died a *sella curulis* with a gold wreath and his image placed on top of it was to be carried in the procession of the *Ludi Circenses* and then set up in the theater (of Marcellus), placed between the chairs of the curule aediles.³⁶⁸ For Marcellus, this was intended to declare that he was “present in spirit,” and it could even be considered as a kind of apotheosis. At the very least it was to serve as a memorial in the same vein as Caesar and later for Germanicus³⁶⁹ and Pertinax.³⁷⁰ The symbolism of this honor must have been similar to the Caesar. His “empty” chair signifying his place would have been reminiscent of the story of Romulus’ chair for Remus,

³⁶⁵ As a privilege it was said to be first granted to M. Valerius Maximus in 494 BCE (Livy 2.31.3). The *sella curulis* appears on the coins of P. Furius Crassipes [commemorated the *ludi Megalenses* which Furius gave as an *aedilis curulis*, cf. Mommsen (1854), 608], M. Plaetorius (*aed. cur.* c. 68 BCE), and A. Pompeius Rufus [grandson of Sulla]. Stefan Weinstock, “The Image and the Chair of Germanicus,” in *JRS* 47, (1957): 144-54 argues that “the conjecture would we then that it was Sulla who...created some sort of precedent: the use of the *sella curulis* in the theater by himself or the aediles or another privileged person.”

³⁶⁶ Dio 44.4.2 (first decree); Dio 44.6.3 (second decree).

³⁶⁷ Caesar was about to set out for Parthia.

³⁶⁸ Dio 53.30.6. If some particular festival is to be understood, it is probably the Megalesia, the festival of the Magna Mater, whose cult was introduced into Rome in 204 BCE. The performances at the Megalesia (apart from the procession of the Galli) were theatrical, concluding with a display in the Circus Maximus. (For the origin of the Megalesia, see Livy 29.14, Ov. Fast. IV.179f).

³⁶⁹ *Tabula Hebana* 6f; Tac. *Ann.* 13.2.3

³⁷⁰ It was decreed in honor of the deceased Pertinax in CE 193. His golden image was to be carried in the *pompa circensis* and three golden chairs were to be placed in the other theaters (Dio 74.4.1).

both of which were to represent their office (or absence from it) and it was a public reminder that the dead man had reached a higher place in Roman society to have been granted such an honor. The chair in the theater, the golden wreath placed upon it should be construed as divine honors as Augustus would have intended.

Nevertheless up to now only minor attention has been given to the development of the new socio-cultural institution of the imperial family that emerged as a political phenomenon upon the death of Marcellus. He is normally relegated as the catalyst for Augustus' succession plans. The prominence of the imperial family constitutes a major element of the Principate as Augustus' position could be appointed neither by the Senate nor by the people. An appointment by the Senate would have nullified the very idea of the new form of government, which was based on a relationship of parity between the *Princeps* and the Senate. The solution that Augustus started to devise was raising the eminence of members of his family, which evolved to become the basis of how the new system functioned.

The death of Marcellus signifies a crucial moment in the conception of the imperial family. With his death and subsequent honors, this incident represents the first major production in terms of funeral publicity and pageantry for the newly established ruling system. There is no evidence to suggest that Gaius and Lucius Caesar were ever granted this honor, alive or dead. While there is no evidence acknowledging the formal decision to hold a public funeral³⁷¹ for the nephew of the emperor, other cases in which Augustus holds the senate, the senate would decide what honors to bestow upon the deceased individual. This suggests that whatever honors the

³⁷¹ As is the case with Julius Caesar in 44 BCE and Gaius and Lucius in 2 and 4 CE respectively.

individual receives after his death was something that both the senate and Augustus could agree upon and carry out. The senate and the people remained an important component to initiate approval of Marcellus as an acceptable young man destined for greater things, who tragically died too early to fulfill this potential.

Conclusions on Marcellus

At the early stages of Augustus' rule, his nephew Marcellus assumed an important role in the *domus Augusta*.³⁷² Evaluative judgment of Marcellus and his role in the dynastic succession and the perception of the open conflict between himself and Agrippa obscure a more significant discussion concerning the socio-cultural response after his death. A brief sketch of Marcellus as a political entity remains a simplified representation of an infinitely more complex set of dynamics emerging as a direct result of Rome's transition from Republic to Empire. Marcellus is the first male family member to perish under the 'new' political order. In sum, the narrative of Marcellus is a demonstration of the Romans' slow coming to awareness that the representation of the emperor's nephew posed new and significant problems, for which existing traditions provided no obvious solutions and for which outright innovations were not readily to be had.

Augustus' response to his son-in-law's/nephew's death creates a practice for how a member of the imperial family should be mourned, commemorated, and remembered. The event of his death and the aftermath thereafter becomes more than just an extension of a Republican

³⁷² It should be noted that this term appeared on during the final years of Augustus' rule. For the first time used by Ovid. *Pont.* 2.2.74, 3.1.135, 4.15.16; cf. Flory, *Ancestor Masks*, 287-306.

funeral for a leading figure's family members, but instead a funeral for the nephew of the new imperial regime. Marcellus' funeral marks the first occasion for Augustus to display his ideology.

By what means might the son-in-law of Augustus be sufficiently memorialized? Should Marcellus' death be viewed as a tragedy of fate for the family of Augustus or as the death of a potential political successor? In full view of the citizenry of Rome, the intended purpose of such posthumous honors in all these instances was the same: to recognize Marcellus in a status above and beyond the customary acknowledgements upon the death of an elite male family individual. This chapter focused on the broad spectrum of forms alongside those of social ritual, which were used to advertise the novel imperial institution.

The keystone of this new social and political order was Augustus. This unprecedented concentration of power in the hands of one individual affected the types of relationships that he could have with others, especially those within his immediate family. Marcellus was the first member of the imperial family to perish. His commemoration would spark what would become a conventionalization of death and funeral for members of the imperial family. The process was not static; it remained a constantly evolving phenomenon. Augustus would not use the honors granted for Marcellus for any other family member, except for the use of a golden image in his own funeral procession.

Perhaps the other honors had experienced a level of resistance, which unfortunately for us has gone unrecorded. It may also be the case that Marcellus' death in his particular public office (aedile) was the sole reason that these honors could be considered appropriate. It may also be the case that the wars of Roman expansion, which dominated the years of the 20s and 10s BCE,

brought a more successful means of communicating the status of members of the imperial family.

We can see this change reflected in Drusus' funeral honors.

CHAPTER FOUR

NERO CLAUDIUS DRUSUS GERMANICUS: DRUSUS THE ELDER

Funera ducuntur Romana per oppida Drusi,

Heu facinus, per quae victor iturus erat,

Per quae deletis Raetorum venerat armis:

*Ei mihi, quam dispar huic fuit illud iter!*³⁷³

The funeral train of Drusus is led through Roman towns, (oh! what an outrage) through which he was to pass as conqueror, after having destroyed the arms of the Rhaetians: how unlike this journey was to that one. The consul enters the mourning city with bundles of rods having been broken. What should the vanquished do, when the conqueror enters in this fashion?

Preliminary Remarks – The Northern Frontier (16 – 10 BCE)

³⁷³ Anon. *Consolatio ad Liviam*, lines 173 – 176. The *Consolatio ad Liviam* is comprised of 474 lines. It is a lengthy Latin elegiac poem of consolation written for Augustus' wife Livia on the death of her son Drusus the Elder. The text is filled with purportedly unrelated digressions from a scene in which Father Tiber and Mars discuss how to deal with the body of Drusus to an invective against the Germanic peoples. Lament is a readily occurring motif throughout the poem that provides unification. A breakdown of events that are similar to the historical document follows: Drusus' martial achievements are praised in lines 15 – 21. Livia's speech follows, most likely taking place at Ticinum in lines 85 – 100 and 167 – 172. Interspersed between Livia's speech are the circumstances of Drusus' death and the comfort given to him on his sick bed by his brother Tiberius. Then there is the description of the funeral train on its way back to Rome follows in lines 173 – 176, the funeral cortege's entrance into the city of Rome in lines 177 – 178, and the atmosphere there, both private in lines 179 – 180 and public in lines 181 – 198. Various people who attended the funeral in lines 199 – 204 are documented. An account of Augustus' funeral speech is given in lines 209 – 216, the burning of the body in lines 253 – 264, followed by Drusus' achievements in lines 265 – 270 (but hinted at in line 37). The poem ends in an elaborate consolation to Livia from lines 343 – 474. It finishes with Drusus himself delivering a consolation speech to his own mother. The poem was not originally written upon the occasion of Drusus' death, but instead it was a later document for a different purpose. The poet wanted to create a better profile for the dead Drusus especially in the eyes of Livia and thus elevate him to a much more essential place in the Julio-Claudian dynasty in order to ensure a very important understanding of Drusus' place within Roman history.

The twenties BC was a decade of pronounced expansion and intense warfare in the western provinces of the Roman Empire. Northwestern Spain was finally subdued in 16 BCE after many years of fighting and Roman attention turned towards Gaul and Germany. In the campaign plans the Roman military followed a two-fold strategy: securing Italy and the Gallic provinces against Germanic invaders and adding new territories to the Empire. The campaigns in the Rhaetian and Alpine regions in the northern territories of Rome were undertaken by Augustus' stepsons, Tiberius and Drusus, as early as 16 BCE, when Germanic tribes of the middle Rhine raided Gaul. At the age of only 22 with no real military experience, Drusus, the youngest of Emperor Augustus' stepsons, received his first military appointment on the Rhine-Danube border. Nero Claudius Drusus Germanicus, the man better known as Drusus the Elder, commanded four consecutive campaigns from 12 BCE to 9 BCE along the northern frontier of the empire. After four years of campaigning, in which Drusus was never actually defeated by the Germans, his promising military career ended in death.

In March of 12 BCE, Augustus hastily withdrew from Gaul and returned to Rome due to the death of Agrippa and the subsequent marriage of his daughter Julia to Tiberius.³⁷⁴ Drusus was conducting a census in Augustus' absence, the Gallic people were discontented with their subjugation³⁷⁵ and rose in revolt. In response to a call for assistance, the German tribe of the

³⁷⁴ It is unknown when the marriage may have taken place or where. It is thought that it took place in northern Italy or Gaul in the winter 11/10 BCE or in Rome after Tiberius' return in late 10 BCE as he was away on campaign in Pannonia.

³⁷⁵ Dio 53.22.5n and Liv. *Per.* 138 – 139.

Sugambri³⁷⁶ took up arms. Drusus quickly put an end to the uprising. Out of fear that the unrest would spread to the rest of Germany, he subsequently invaded with the help of allied tribes³⁷⁷.

Drusus' strategy was to combine his army with an allied German tribe, the Frisii, a tribe inhabiting the North Sea coast. The Frisii together with Drusus and his forces were to march eastwards in order to attack the Chauci near the mouth of the Ems River. In order to reach the Chauci, Drusus sailed down the Rhine into the Sea. After successful land and naval attacks, Drusus checked the Germanic unrest and then he withdrew to Rome at the onset of winter.

In the spring of 11 BCE the Dacians invaded Pannonia and the Dalmatians and the Germans took up arms once more. As soon as spring arrived, Augustus sent Tiberius from Gaul to recover control over the Dalmatians as well as the Pannonians. Drusus was sent back to Germany to put down an uprising. He subsequently subjugated the Sugambri, Frisii, Usipetes, and the Chauci. At the close of the campaigning season, both brothers returned to Rome with Augustus to celebrate their victories. The Senate voted Drusus the honor of a triumph. Nevertheless Augustus did not permit the celebration of a triumph or the title of *imperator* for either of his stepsons Tiberius or Drusus.³⁷⁸ Instead, Drusus received triumphal regalia (*ornamenta triumphalia*), the right to enter the city on horseback, and the right to exercise the

³⁷⁶ The Sugambri lived in Southern Germany, close to the borders of Gaul and Italy.

³⁷⁷ For a more detailed overview of Drusus' military campaigns and goals in Germania see Lindsay Powell, *Eager for Glory: The Untold Story of Drusus the Elder, Conqueror of Germania*, (Barnsley: Pen & Sword Military), 2011.

³⁷⁸ Tiberius was the first to receive the *ornamenta*, Suet. *Tib.* 9.2, followed by Drusus, Dio 33.4 and Dio 34.7. Lucius Piso, governor of Pamphylia, was put in command against the Bessi, a Thracian tribe that rebelled in this time. He subjugated the Bessi tribe was granted sacrifices and triumphal honors, cf. Dio 54.34.5.

power of a proconsul when his term of office as praetor expired.³⁷⁹ Holders of *ornamenta triumphalia* had the same entitlement to triumphal dress as men who had celebrated triumphs, chiefly the right to wear the laurel crown at the games.

In 10 BCE while Tiberius and Augustus travelled to Gaul, perhaps to attend the altar to Rome and the Princeps at Lugdunum, Drusus continued to fiercely campaign in Germany. Complimented after victories in their respective campaigns, in late 10 BCE the two brothers returned to Rome with Augustus victorious. All seemed to be going well for imperial family at this time. Tiberius rode into the city in an ovation for his earlier victories over the Dalmatians and Pannonians in 11 BCE and Drusus was awarded the consulship for the following year.

Drusus resumed his command on the German front sometime in early January of 9 BCE. As in 10 BCE, he probably began to campaign from his winter camp at Mainz. After operating against the Chatti and their neighbors³⁸⁰, he resumed the offensive against the Cheruscan territory further north on the left bank of the Weser. He then advanced eastward towards the Elbe River. This complicated campaign to be his fourth and final one. He reached as far as the Elbe River in late summer before he fell ill and died soon after or early autumn of that year.

Drusus' Final Campaign in Germania (9 BCE)

³⁷⁹ Dio 54.33.4.

³⁸⁰ These tribes had rebelled in 10 BCE; cf. Dio 54.36.3n. After he quelled the Chatti, he moved against the Suebians.

The year 9 BCE began well for the imperial family. On the first of January, Drusus was sworn in as consul alongside Titus Crispinus.³⁸¹ On January 30th, Livia's birthday, Drusus took part in the consecration of the *Ara Pacis Augustae*. Soon after this, strange events in the city presaged very bad things to come. Dio records that several buildings in Rome were damaged or even destroyed during a ferocious storm, including the temples of Jupiter and his companion gods on the Capitoline.³⁸² Drusus was counseled by the soothsayers to beware of these supernatural warnings, but Drusus paid no heed.³⁸³ In Dio's account there is a sense of Drusus' growing impatience with the progress of his campaign in Germania. In order to keep it on track Drusus set out as soon as possible, marching out in early spring of 9 BCE, and determined to reach the Elbe River. It is generally assumed that the strategic goal for the last campaign of Drusus was to cross the Elbe (Albis) River and establish it as the new frontier of the Roman Empire in Germany.³⁸⁴ It was to be his final campaign.

Dio Cassius' *Roman History* Book 55 begins with a summary of Drusus' last campaign in Germany. According to Dio, immediately after taking up his consulship, Drusus left Rome to deal with an uprising of the tribes in southern Germany. The sources indicated that he started the campaign on an enormous scale fighting a number of Germanic tribes. After operating against

³⁸¹ Dio 55.1.1.

³⁸² Dio 55.1.1.

³⁸³ Dio 55.1.1-2.

³⁸⁴ N.E. Austin *et al.*, *Exploratio: Military and Political Intelligence in the Roman World from the Second Punic War to the Battle of Adrianople*, (Routledge, London, 1995), 126 in which he writes that Peter Brunt suggested Augustan expansionism.

the Chatti and their neighbors³⁸⁵, formerly Roman allies in Drusus' earlier campaigns, the Chatti joined forces with the Sugambri.³⁸⁶ Drusus invaded the region of the Chatti into the area as far as Suebia.³⁸⁷ He then resumed the offensive against the Cheruscan territory further north on the left bank of the Weser. Drusus struck out in a northeasterly direction and after a very long march through central Germania reached the banks of the Elbe River. During his advancement, Drusus met fierce resistance resulting in heavy casualties on the German side. This opposition is confirmed by Velleius Paterculus, though he emphasizes that it was mainly Germanic blood that was spilled.³⁸⁸ Drusus' troops had now entered unfamiliar territory after reaching the Elbe.

Dio declares that Drusus undertook to cross this river [the Elbe River].³⁸⁹ It seems he tried to cross by some means, which are not divulged. Instead of making it across, Drusus turned back after a failed attempt. Dio gives no clues as to why the endeavor was made. It could very well be that Drusus' decision to try to cross the Elbe River was not to advance his campaign but to make a symbolic display of Roman power.³⁹⁰ He wanted to emulate Alexander the Great in

³⁸⁵ These tribes had rebelled in 10 BCE, Dio 54.36.3n. After he quelled the Chatti, he moved against the Suebians.

³⁸⁶ The Sugambri had rebelled in 10 BCE.

³⁸⁷ Flor. 2.30.23-24 and Oros. 6.21.15-16. It can probably be assumed as Dio mentions action against the Suebi in 55.1.2.

³⁸⁸ Vell. Pat. 2.97.3: *plurimo eius gentis profuso sanguine*. He is a source that is very positive in his assessment of the emperor Tiberius. He would have access to the information on casualties and would therefore be a reliable source.

³⁸⁹ Dio 55.1.3.

³⁹⁰ This display resembles an advance made by L. Domitius, who some time before 1 CE crossed the Elbe River to conclude friendships with the tribes on the far bank and to set up an altar dedicated to Augustus, (55.10a.2; Tac.4.44.3).

crossing an expanse of water in order to display his military power.³⁹¹ Drusus is noted for being the first Roman commander to reach the Elbe River, even if he did not cross it.

Not since Drusus had attempted to sail across northern ocean a few years earlier had there been such a feeling of admiration by the people in Rome upon hearing the news. In recognition of it, a *pompa triumphalis* was granted to Drusus to be held on his return to the city, and it was also agreed that a public holiday (*Feriae Latinae*) that had already been celebrated would be repeated so that Drusus himself in attendance could be honored on the auspicious day amid jubilant celebration and feasting back in Rome.³⁹² It was an achievement commentators at home reported on with awe. Florus writes that Drusus had opened a way through the *Hercynius saltus*, which until now, had not been attempted before.³⁹³ During the time of the great Julius Caesar, this forest blocked his advancement into Germania. So it is noteworthy that it was Drusus who first infiltrated the forest and then advanced even further to the Elbe River.

Dio does supply a reason to why the attempt was cut short. Drusus was met by a Germanic woman of “superhuman size.”³⁹⁴ Recounting the same event Suetonius states that the apparition of a barbarian woman of greater than human size, speaking in the Latin tongue, forbade him to push his victory further.³⁹⁵ No other sources comment on the reason Drusus

³⁹¹The crossing of a river is seen as a sort of difficult boundary to cross in order to establish your authority. Alexander crossed the Indus River.

³⁹² Dio 54.34.1-2.

³⁹³ Flor. *Epit.* 4.30.27.

³⁹⁴ Dio 55.1.3.

³⁹⁵ Suet. *Claud.* 1.2.

would turn back. These accounts of an apparition seems to be the only explanation offered as to why Drusus would turn back. There is no prophecy of death in Suetonius' apparition as was the case in Dio Cassius. But, the barbarian woman in both stories never says, "Do not cross". It is important to make this distinction

This episode as reported in the sources seems very specific in its warning. Drusus has tried to do so and has failed in Dio Cassius or Drusus would push his victories no further in Suetonius. Almost immediately after the encounter with the Germanic women, Drusus died. The purpose of this story seems to be that Drusus' death could only then be attributed to some supernatural cause. Perhaps, in the soldiers' minds, what else could have hindered so great a man and military commander? Perhaps this rumor could have circulated a long time after Drusus' death in order for authors to reconcile why an energetic 29-year-old commander died and picked up in various reports from the time period and then was transmitted by the sources.

Drusus heeded the spirit's warning and withdrew and ordered his troops to return to the Rhine after setting up trophies.³⁹⁶ Drusus and his army then marched back to the Rhine. Whether the troops were told of the strange encounter with the Germanic woman is not clear from the sources, but a certain anxiety began to pervade the army. Otherwise normal sights and sounds encountered by the troops during the march took on ominous implications. Wolves were seen prowling around the camp and howling just before Drusus' death. Women were heard lamenting

³⁹⁶ Dio 55.1.3. Ptolemy registers a *tropaia Drousou* in *Geog.* 2.11.3 giving coordinates.

and two young boys were seen riding through the camp.³⁹⁷ There were even shooting stars in the sky some time soon after the encounter.

While Drusus marched back somewhere before reaching the Rhine, he died from some disease.³⁹⁸ Strabo offers that somewhere between the Salas (Saale) and Weser rivers, Drusus was wounded in an accident.³⁹⁹ Dio mentions that Drusus fell ill, but he does not identify the illness. Even more vague, Velleius Paterculus reports that Drusus was the victim of an unkind fate, which seems to indicate that the injury was not very serious.⁴⁰⁰ The *Consolatio ad Liviam*⁴⁰¹ completely ignores the cause of Drusus' death. It is Livy who reports the essential detail, divulging that Drusus sustained a fracture caused by the fall of his horse on his leg.⁴⁰² It is uncertain where Livy got this information, but he does know specifically what was the cause of Drusus' death and that he would die exactly thirty days after the incident. This information is critical for the understanding of Drusus' final months alive in order to compare historical accuracy in various accounts.

Unfortunately for Drusus, even if he had not broken his leg during the initial fall, the impact of the full weight of a horse on his limb would certainly have caused some sort of internal

³⁹⁷ Dio 55.1.5.

³⁹⁸ Dio 55.1.4

³⁹⁹ Strabo 7.1.3. It is interesting that Strabo estimates the location of Drusus' death. It is not known where Agrippa died besides the fact that it was somewhere in Italy.

⁴⁰⁰ Vell. Pat. 2.97.3.

⁴⁰¹ The anonymous poem *Consolatio ad Liviam* was allegedly written to offer Livia consolation following the death of her son Drusus in 9 BCE.

⁴⁰² Livy *Per.* 142.

damage.⁴⁰³ Without access to any postmortem reports, the cause of Drusus' death remains a mystery. The unspecified "illness" reported in the other sources could very well have been the result of the accident. If the wound had been poorly or improperly treated, it could have developed an infection that spread through the whole body. Thus ending in death.

Regardless, news of the injury reached Augustus and Tiberius. Both men were at Ticinum (modern-day Pavia) in northern Italy upon learning the news of Drusus' illness.⁴⁰⁴ Tiberius was visiting his parents at Ticinum having just returned from a successful season campaigning in Illyricum.⁴⁰⁵ Valerius Maximus suggests Tiberius, hearing the news that Drusus was ill, met with Augustus⁴⁰⁶ and Livia at Ticinum, and then Tiberius himself raced to Drusus in Germany.⁴⁰⁷ Augustus sent Tiberius with haste to his brother's sickbed. It seems that Augustus and Tiberius only knew of the situation of his illness not how grave it could be.

⁴⁰³ Lindsay Powell, *Eager for Glory*, 106.

⁴⁰⁴ Dio 55.2.1 states that Augustus and Tiberius were "not far away" which is incorrect as they are in northern Italy at Ticinum and not anyway near Drusus' summer camp in Germany. Dio is incorrect. Tiberius far away from his brother's camp.

⁴⁰⁵ Val. Max. 5.5.3 and Dio 55.2.1. Note in Tacitus *Annals* 3.5 he exaggerates this event to make Tiberius look bad for not meeting the funeral procession of Agrippina with the ashes of Germanicus. We are told upon hearing the news, the emperor himself went in the extreme rigor of winter as far as Ticinum, and never leaving the corpse he entered Rome with it. We know from other sources that what Tacitus says is false because Augustus was already at Ticinum when he learned of the illness of Drusus. We also know that Drusus did not die in the "extreme vigor of" winter.

⁴⁰⁶ From where Augustus came to Ticinum is unclear, it is not likely that he came from Rome as he was on campaign in 9 BCE and victorious formalities marked his *adventus* in 8 BCE. It seems he was meeting Tiberius on his return from his Danubian campaigns.

⁴⁰⁷ Val. Max 5.5.3. He chose this particular story (Tiberius' journey to Drusus' bedside) as an example of brotherly devotion – *pietas* – and compared the Claudius brothers to Castor and Pollux.

From Ticinum, Tiberius his companion, “the conquered German”, Namantabagius⁴⁰⁸ took the route over the Alps to the Rhine, covering the distance of 200 Roman miles (296.2 kilometers, 183.9 miles) in a single day and night, changing horses from time to time.⁴⁰⁹ The fact that the companion to Tiberius on his journey to Drusus’ camp is named is surprising. Valerius Maximus must have had access to records that documented Tiberius’ journey to Drusus. So incredible a feat it was to the ancients that their journey was to become the enduring land speed record of the Roman epoch.⁴¹⁰ Pliny the Elder adds along with the miraculous 200-mile journey that Tiberius accomplished it in a carriage.⁴¹¹ This may only be one stretch of the journey, but it is impressive enough to be retold. Strabo thinks that Tiberius’ route from Ticinum to Mainz, the winter camp where Drusus lies ill, may have been west to Aosta, then north by a difficult tract across the Alps.⁴¹² Valerius Maximus notes that he passed through barbarian territory recently conquered, content with the guide Namantabagius as his only companion.⁴¹³

Tiberius’ journey was significant enough to be recapped years later. It was also used as an idealistic example of fraternal devotion by the ancient sources. The achievement was all the more extraordinary in that Tiberius was travelling through unsettled territory that had only recently been conquered with a Gallic guide as his sole companion.

⁴⁰⁸ Val. Max 5.5.3. Namantabagius appears as Antabagius in some versions of the text.

⁴⁰⁹ Val. Max 5.5.3.

⁴¹⁰ K.P. Johne, *Die Römer an der Elbe: Das Stromgebiet der Elbe im geographischen Weltbild und im politischen Bewusstsein der griechisch-römischen Antike*, (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), 106.

⁴¹¹ Pliny *NH* 7.20.84.

⁴¹² Strabo, 4.205, 208.

⁴¹³ Val. Max 5.5.3.

While Tiberius and Namantabagius began their epic journey, Drusus' health was deteriorating. As Tiberius approached his brother's camp⁴¹⁴, Drusus ordered his legion to march out to meet him and salute him as commander in chief. Arriving to find Drusus, barely alive,⁴¹⁵ the brothers exchanged last words.⁴¹⁶ Livy reports that Drusus died 30 days after his fall.⁴¹⁷ It can be inferred from Dio that Drusus died in the summer quarters, although we do not know exactly where this camp was. Dio states at 55.2.1 that the body was then taken to the winter quarters. The fact that Livy thought that this fact was important enough demonstrates that Drusus' death was well documented. The news of Drusus' death spread through the camp. His troops demanded the body, but Tiberius insisted that Drusus be returned to Rome for proper burial.⁴¹⁸

Drusus' Journey from Germany to Rome, Funeral, and Burial

The sources have much to say on how Drusus' body was borne back to Rome. The men of Drusus' legions insisted on showing their respects in their own particular way.⁴¹⁹ Emissaries were sent out from the camp to the German tribes to request a truce.⁴²⁰ The Germanic tribes

⁴¹⁴ Now being called *Castra Scelerata*, "the Accursed Fort", cf. Suet. *Claud.* 1.1.

⁴¹⁵ Dio 55.2.1; Sen. *Dial.* 11.15.5; Val. Max 5.5.3.

⁴¹⁶ *Consol. ad Liv.*, lines 85 – 95. Sen. *Dial.* 11.15.5.

⁴¹⁷ Livy *Per.* 142.

⁴¹⁸ Anon. *Consol. ad Liv.*, line 169 – 172.

⁴¹⁹ Suet. *Claud.* 1.3.

⁴²⁰ Powell, *Eager for Glory*, 110.

granted the request and suspended hostilities – such was the reverence with which his foes regarded Drusus.⁴²¹

*Livia amiserat filium Drusum, magnum futurum principem, iam magnum ducem; intraverat penitus Germaniam et ibi signa Romana fixerat ubi uix ullos esse Romanos notum erat. In expeditione decesserat ipsis illum hostibus aegrum cum veneratione et pace mutua prosequentibus nec optare quod expediebat audentibus. Accedebat ad hanc mortem, quam ille pro re publica obierat, ingens ciuium prouinciarumque et totius Italiae desiderium, per quam effusus in officium lugubre municipiis coloniisque usque in urbem ductum erat funus triumpho simillimum.*⁴²²

Livia lost Drusus, who would surely have been a great emperor (princeps), having already proved himself a great military leader. He had already taken his army deep into German territory and planted his standards in places where it was scarcely known that Rome existed. He died on active service and in his fatal illness even his enemies respected his condition by honoring the mutually agreed peace terms and not daring to hope for what was clearly to their advantage. He died in service of his country. His death was attended by a profound sense of loss in Rome, the provinces, and throughout Italy, where townships and colonies poured out to pay their last respects, escorting his cortege all the way to the city for all the world like a triumph rather than a funeral.

So the funeral bier moved from the summer camp through Germania to Mogontiacum (Mainz), the winter camp. During the first stage of the journey of the funeral cortege, centurions and military tribunes conveyed the body of Drusus as far as the winter quarters of the army in

⁴²¹ Sen. *Dial. 6 (Consol. ad Marciam)* 3.1.

⁴²² Sen. *Dial. 6 (Consol. ad Marciam)* 3.1.

Mainz.⁴²³ A grief-stricken Tiberius walked in front of the bier all the way to Rome.⁴²⁴ Livia and Augustus met the bier at Ticinum.⁴²⁵ As she travelled, Livia was struck by the pyres that burned throughout the countryside and the crowds that came out to escort the funeral train.

Upon reaching Rome, Drusus was given a grand funeral. Tacitus mentions events of the funeral of Drusus in *Annals* 3.5 in connection with his comments on the funeral of Germanicus in 19 CE.⁴²⁶

*Fuere qui publici funeris pompam requirerent compararentque quae in Drusum patrem Germanici honora et magnifica Augustus fecisset. ipsum quippe asperrimo hiemis Ticinum usque progressum neque abscedentem a corpore simul urbem intravisse; circumfusas lecto Claudiorum Iuliorumque imagines; defletum in foro, laudatum pro rostris, cuncta a maioribus reperta aut quae posteri invenerint cumolata: at Germanico ne solitos quidem et cuicumque nobili debitos honores contigisse.*⁴²⁷

Some there were who missed the grandeur of a state-funeral, and contrasted the splendid honors conferred by Augustus on Drusus, the father of Germanicus. "Then the emperor himself," they said, "went in the

⁴²³ Modern interpretations suggest that this camp is probably at Moguntiacum (Mainz) based on Dio 55.2.1.

⁴²⁴ Suet. *Tib.* 7.3.

⁴²⁵ Augustus' and Livia's participation in the train is mention by Seneca *Dialogues* 6.3.2 (mentioning only Livia) and Tacitus *Annals* 3.5 (mentioning only Augustus). Valerius Maximus 5.5.3 indicates the presence of both Augustus and Livia at Ticinum and their subsequent meeting with Tiberius. With a discrepancy in the sources, Valerius Maximus should be trusted because he is closest source to the events taking place. It is probably safe to assume that Livia went with her husband to meet Tiberius.

⁴²⁶ Tacitus' historical context for his comments on Drusus' funeral are the suspicious circumstances in 19 CE of Germanicus, the son of Drusus. It seemed that popular disquiet was increased by the apparent lack of public mourning for Germanicus on the part of the imperial family: Cooley (2003), 216 J46.

⁴²⁷ Tac. *Ann.* 3.5.1.

extreme rigor of winter as far as Ticinum, and never leaving the corpse entered Rome with it. Round the funeral bier were ranged the images of the Claudii and the Julii; there was weeping in the forum, and a panegyric before the rostra; every honor devised by our ancestors or invented by their descendants was heaped on him.

Tacitus states that images of the *Claudii* and the *Julii* were arranged around Drusus' funeral bier when the body was lying there in state. Augustus had not formally adopted Drusus, so the fact that his funeral procession included images of both Claudians and Julians is remarkable. In the forum, Tiberius delivered a funeral speech praising his brother after which the body was transferred to the Circus Flaminius, outside of the *pomerium*, where Augustus delivered another eulogy to Drusus.⁴²⁸ Augustus composed a speech, a poem, and a biography on his stepson Drusus. Dio states that the funeral speech was inscribed on Drusus' tomb and he must be referring to the tomb in Mainz.⁴²⁹ Suetonius also says that Augustus wrote a biography of Drusus in prose. The funeral speech by Augustus was inscribed on Drusus' tomb that he himself composed specifically for the monument in Mainz.

The Circus Flaminius was an area loosely fenced about by shrines and monuments including the Porticus Octaviae and the Theater of Marcellus. Augustus could not enter the city because it would have been disrespectful for him to cross the *pomerium* without performing special rites of a general returning from a campaign. Nothing is mentioned as to why Augustus seemed unwilling to perform these rites. It could be because he cannot enter the city when in

⁴²⁸ Dio 55.2.2.

⁴²⁹ Dio 55.2.2.

mourning. But then why is he in mourning and not Tiberius? Both Tiberius and Drusus were commanders and as such Tiberius should have been held to the same standards as Augustus. Augustus is the main military commander (even though Tiberius and Drusus can be hailed as *imperator* and were hailed as such by their soldiers), so it is Augustus who cannot enter the city. Triumphant commanders sacrificed at the Porta Triumphalis, the gate by which they crossed the *pomerium*.⁴³⁰ Since Augustus had been away on a campaign in Gaul and did not perform the rites when he returned at this time, he could not enter beyond the *pomerium*.⁴³¹ Suetonius continues his narrative with a description of the funeral speech by Augustus with no mention of Tiberius' eulogy as if that is not important at all.⁴³²

Then the body of Drusus was then taken to the Campus Martius by the *equites*.⁴³³ In this place, the body was given to the flames and his ashes were interred in the *Mausoleum Augusti*. Drusus became the fourth member of the imperial family to be buried there after Marcellus,⁴³⁴ Agrippa,⁴³⁵ and Octavia.

⁴³⁰ J.W. Rich, *Cassius Dio: The Augustan Settlement* (Roman History 53-55.9), (Surrey: Aris & Phillips Ltd., 1990), 219.

⁴³¹ Dio 55.2.2. Although after 29 Augustus always declined a triumph, he performed these observances when entering the city after a campaign on which he had been hailed *imperator* (Dio 54.25.4n).

⁴³² Suet. *Claud.* 1.5.

⁴³³ Dio 55.2.3.

⁴³⁴ Dio 53.30.5; cf. *Elogium* for Drusus, c. 2 BCE, Forum of Augustus (EJ 80 = AE 1934.151). This *elogium* honors Drusus for his victories in Germany (12-9 BCE), in virtue of which he received the honorific name "Germanicus," and ovation (*ovatio*), and triumphal decorations: [Nero] Claudius Drusus Germanicus, son of Tiberius, consul, urban praetor, quaestor, *augur*, [was hailed as/died while] *imperator* in Germany.

⁴³⁵ Dio 54.28.5.

Drusus' Commemoration and the "*Consolatio ad Liviam*"

The posthumous honors bestowed upon Drusus were numerous and agreed upon by multiple sources. According to Dio, Drusus was given the name Germanicus together with his children, and he was honored with statues,⁴³⁶ an arch,⁴³⁷ and a cenotaph beside the Rhine itself.⁴³⁸ Suetonius also lists the honors that Drusus received posthumously. The army put up a monument in his honor, around which a ceremonial run⁴³⁹ was to take place each year on a specific day. Suetonius states that it was the Senate⁴⁴⁰ that voted Drusus these honors, along with a marble arch on the Via Appia decorated with trophies, and the surname Germanicus to be held by himself and his descendants.⁴⁴¹ After a brief remark into Drusus alleged devotion to republicanism, Suetonius continues on with a description of the funeral speeches, most especially of Augustus. Augustus eulogized Drusus and had an inscription carved on Drusus' tomb⁴⁴² in verses that he himself composed.

⁴³⁶ Cf. *Tabula Siarensis* fr. (a) lines 18, 25 for statues voted by the Senate honoring Drusus' son Germanicus on his death in 19 CE.

⁴³⁷ It is probably to be identified with the arch mentioned by late sources just outside the Porta Appia near the temple of Mars. See *De Maria Archi* 272-274, plate 51 (with coin evidence), figure 43, located just outside the Aurelian Walls; cf. Tac. *Ann.* 2.83.2; Suet. *Claud.* 1.2-3.

⁴³⁸ Dio 55.2.3: Γερμανικός τε μετὰ τῶν παίδων ἐπονομασθεῖς, καὶ τιμὰς καὶ εἰκόνων καὶ ἀψίδος κενотаφίου τε πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ Πήνῳ λαβών.

⁴³⁹ This *tumulus* or "honorary mound" may refer to the κενοτάφιον that Dio Cassius argues for. Clearly this mound was in Germany, where annual rites were performed by soldiers and the Gallic community. It could be equated with the memorial of Drusus near Mainz mentioned by Eutropius 7.13.1; cf. Suet. *Claud.* 1.2-3.

⁴⁴⁰ Suet. *Claud.* 1.3: *senatus...decrevit*.

⁴⁴¹ Suet. *Claud.* 1.3: "*praeterea senatus inter alia complura marmoreum arcum cum tropaeis uia Appia decreuit et Germanici cognomen ipsi posterisque eius.*"

Dio Cassius continues his account with Tiberius' Illyrian ovation. This was Tiberius' only ovation⁴⁴³ although he had been voted the right to an ovation in 11 BCE and must have received his first salutation as *imperator* in 9 BCE. Dio seems to imply that the ovation was held after Drusus' funeral. Drusus himself must have been hailed as *imperator* in the course of his campaign in 9 BCE.⁴⁴⁴ Drusus' projected ovations are also mentioned. His celebration was to coincide with the *Feriae Latinae* on Alban Mountain where the festival took place. Commanders who were refused a triumph by the Senate had sometimes held on triumph on Alban Mountain.⁴⁴⁵ We know that Drusus died tragically before this festival could take place and so he could never celebrate a triumph.

Augustus' policy towards triumphs was very much controlled and calculated. Prior to the establishment of the Principate in 27 BCE, Augustus himself only celebrated three triumphs - all in 29 BCE over Dalmatia, Actium, and Egypt. In this period, most generals could not hope to celebrate their own triumph because Augustus instituted that all military achievements were under his auspices and therefore were all attributed to him. For not only was the ceremony of triumph monopolized by the emperor and imperial family, but its conventions and symbols were deployed as ways of marking, defining, and conceptualizing the Princeps' power. He repeatedly

⁴⁴² It is our cenotaph in Germany that the verse *elogium* that Augustus composed from Drusus' *tumulus* was inscribed.

⁴⁴³ See Dio 54.8.3n; Val. Max. 2.96.3, 97.4, 99.1, and 122.1; Suet. *Tib.* 9.2

⁴⁴⁴ Dio 54.33.5n.

⁴⁴⁵ Drusus could have followed his triumph at Alban Mountain with an *ovatio* in the city as Marcellus did in 211 BCE. Livy mentions this episode in 26.21.6 as well as Plutarch in *Marc.* 22.

emphasized his ultimate responsibility for the military through his praenomen *Imperator*⁴⁴⁶ and his *imperium*, the legal authority to command troops. His monopolization over the military achievements and loyalties greatly reduced practice of a Roman triumph. Two of the generals who received triumphs for victories won after 27 were proconsuls of Africa. Augustus' humble moderation set precedent for other generals. In 19 BCE, the Senate voted the Princeps' stepson and intended successor Agrippa, a triumph for his victories over the Cantabri. Agrippa declined the offer.

Commanders who were refused a triumph by the Senate had sometimes held a triumph on the Alban Mount. The ritual procession of *the triumphus in monte Albano* was a triumph at Mount Alban, a federal Latin sanctuary. This type of triumph was celebrated for the first time in 231 BCE. This triumph differed from a "real" triumph in Rome because it did not require the senate's consent. If military advances were not significant or sufficient or there was little bloodshed to constitute a legitimate claim to the higher distinction of a triumph, an *ovatio* was granted. The Roman *ovatio* or lesser triumph was merely a variant of a triumph that involved the celebration of a victorious general's procession into the city and differed in how the general moved during the ritual and what the general was wearing. The general did not enter Rome riding in his *quadriga*, instead he entered the city on foot to the sound of flutes instead of trumpets. He was not arrayed with a victorious laurel wreath, but one of myrtle. He did not wear

⁴⁴⁶ Dio 43.44.2; Suet. *Iul.* 76.1, both claim that this title can be traced back to his adopted father Julius Caesar. Modern scholarship (esp. Weinstock, *Divus Iulius*, 106-11) has suspected a retrojection from an Augustan innovation that was became a fully established practice by the end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty.

the embroidered robe of triumphal dress, but the simple *toga praetexta* (senatorial toga) of a magistrate. Frequently, his soldiers were not a part of this procession.

Augustan historiography before the death of Drusus presented a different processional ritual that conformed to the growing pre-eminence of his imperial order and his imperial family without jeopardizing the loyalties of his troops. Instead, his stepsons' successes received triumphal honors, either *insignia* or *ornamenta triumphalia*, triumphal honors which included the right to ride into the city on horseback⁴⁴⁷ and other privileges that were associated with a triumph without an elaborate triumphal procession through Rome. Drusus himself must have been hailed as *imperator* in the course of his campaign in 9 BCE.⁴⁴⁸ Dio states that the title of *imperator* was given to Drusus by his soldiers by acclamation as it have been given to Tiberius earlier; but it was not granted to him by Augustus, although the number of times the emperor himself gained this appellation was increased as the result of the exploits of these two men.⁴⁴⁹ Drusus' campaign in 9 BCE, before his untimely death, probably produced his single salutation as *imperator*, coincident with Tiberius' first and Augustus' thirtieth. It is commemorated in a fragmentary inscription from the base of his statue in the Forum of Augustus.

Consolatio ad Liviam

⁴⁴⁷ Dio 54.33.33.

⁴⁴⁸ Dio 54.33.5n.

⁴⁴⁹ Dio 54.33.33.

The *Consolatio ad Liviam* remains an important piece of evidence demonstrating how an anonymous imperial poet responded to the new situation, namely the political situation that arose as now one family ruled the Roman Empire. The major differences between the poem and the historical accounts become increasingly obvious. The most glaring discrepancy between the two is the fact that in the historical accounts Drusus never received a triumph, while the poem focuses a large portion on building the theme of a triumphal and a funeral procession being collapsed into one ritual, which we know was an idea that Augustus had used for his funeral procession.

The poet argues for Drusus' military virtues (*maximus ille armis*)

Recently he took away from the enemy the Alps, which provided their hiding-places, and he won honors for the war, and he carried the title of "supreme general" while his brother was in command. He completely subdued the fierce race of the Suevi and the unconquered Sicambri and made barbarian backs turn in flight, and earned for you, Roman, a triumph unexpected and he advanced the empire into new lands.

Here the author explicitly argues in line 20 that the military exploits of Drusus in Germany earned for the Roman people a triumph. Although, from the historical sources previously discussed, we know that Drusus never received a triumph, only triumphal regalia and an ovation in 11 BCE.⁴⁵⁰ He specifically connects the idea of Drusus' real funeral with his "imagined"

⁴⁵⁰ Dio 54.33.5

triumph in this poem. He carefully inserts this idea early on in order to elaborate on the idea further in the poem.

In line 25, Livia dwells on the idea of a sacred triumph with the line *maternaque sacros agitabas mente triumphos*, in line 26 with *currus* and again in line 27 with *pro sacris triumphis*:

You were brooding on the sacred triumph with your motherly mind. And perhaps even the chariot was a matter of concern to you. A funeral you must lead instead of sacred triumphs, and the pyre awaits Drusus before the citadel of Jove. You were picturing his return and you were cherishing in your mind anticipated joys and before your eyes already he was victorious to you.⁴⁵¹

As the poet builds the idea of the triumph in the mind of Livia, he plainly establishes that instead of a triumph, Livia must now lead a funeral. In lines 173 - 176, the poet again alludes to events that we know do not take place historically.

The funeral train of Drusus is led through Roman towns, (oh! what an outrage) through which he was to pass as conqueror, after having destroyed the arms of the Rhaetians: how unlike this journey was to that one. The consul enters the mourning city with bundles of rods having been broken. What should the vanquished do, when the conqueror enters in this fashion?

This previous “journey” of Drusus that the poet argues for never took place. He alludes to the fact that not only was Drusus returning by the same route, but the route before which he was victorious. The sense of victory clearly refers to the idea of a previous triumphal return.

⁴⁵¹ Anon. *Consol ad Liv.*, lines 25 – 31.

Not only are clear examples of a triumphal journey used, the poet also juxtaposes triumphal imagery alongside funeral imagery. These lines might not be out of place as Drusus was given triumphal regalia, Schoonhoven says that the triumphant general used to deposit his laurel-wreath in the temple of Juppiter Capitolinus. The laurel was part of a triumphal procession and not a funeral cortege as it is here. Clearly, these lines can be taken as a mix of both a procession of a triumph and of a funeral.⁴⁵²

Beginning in verse 329, the author strengthens his idea of the triumph with the events of the funeral.⁴⁵³ The poet represents the funeral as a triumph. In the poet's scheme of events there is no real difference between the funeral and the triumph – they were one and the same. The same processions and the same images of victory. Drusus' funeral ends in with his welcomed arrival in the underworld. Drusus' arrives in Elysium by means of a chariot. The imagery of a triumph is included in the Latin word choice of the author. The "chariot" is referred to as a *quadriga* in line 332 - *quadriiugis aureus ibit equis*. The very same apparatus a triumphing general would use that we have discussed in the introduction. The triumphal imagery theme seems as if it is offered as an argument of consolation to Livia, since the author concludes Drusus' funeral with his triumph in the underworld. Drusus' maternal and paternal ancestors will

⁴⁵² Anon. *Consol. ad Liv.* lines 205-6: *Auctorisque sui praefertur imagine maesta/ Quae victrix templis debita laurus erat.*: "The victorious laurel that is owed to the temples is carried before the sad bust of the leader."

⁴⁵³ Anon. *Consol. ad Liv.* lines 329-336: *Ille pio, si no temere haec creduntur, in arvo/ Inter honoratos excipietur avos./ Magnaque maternis maioribus, aequa paternis/ Gloria quadriiugis aureus ibit equis/ Regaliaque habitu curruque superbus eburno/ Fronde triumphali tempora vinctus erit.*: "He is in the pious fields, if these things are not rashly believed, will be welcomed by the great glory among his maternal ancestors, equal among his paternal ancestors; and with a regal garment and proud in his ivory chariot, he having been bound with a triumphal leaf will be proud."

receive Drusus, who carries the German standards. The appearance of the chariot again and triumphal leaf, which could only be taken as a laurel leaf, solidifies the poet's goal in linking Drusus real funeral and his imagined triumph in order to give something back to Livia his mother in whose name the poem is written. Especially taken with what the author says in line 341: "These things will exalt the man on high, these things, best of mothers, should have alleviated your sorrows." The idea that Drusus will indeed have a triumph in the underworld is meant to alleviate his mother Livia's sorrows.

By adding the idea that Fortuna triumphs with a chariot at the time of death, the poet reinforces the idea that a funeral and a triumph are intrinsically connected even in the underworld.⁴⁵⁴ The description of the triumph is in full display and echoes the idea of Drusus' own triumph in the underworld. This impression is fully realized in a speech that Drusus himself gives as his final words to his mother Livia in order to console her.

Nec meritis quicquam illustrat magis: adfuit illis,

455

Mater, honos, titulis nomina plena vides –

CONSUL ET IGNOTI VICTOR GERMANICUS ORBIS,

CUI FUIT, HEU, MORTIS PUBLICA CAUSA, legor.

Cingor Apollinea victricia tempora lauro

Et sensi exequias funeris ipse mei,

460

⁴⁵⁴ Anon. *Consol. ad Liv.* lines 371-374: *Fortuna arbitriis tempus dispensat iniquis: Illa rapit iuvenes, sistinet illa senes, Quaque ruit, furibunda ruit totumque orbem/Fulminat et caecis caeca triumphat equis*: "Fortune arranges the time of death with her own arbitrary judgment: she seizes young men, she keeps old men alive, and when she rushes in she rushes in like a mad woman and she flames up the entire world, and blind she triumphs with her blind horses.

Decursusque virum notos mihi donaque regnum

Cunctaque per titulos oppida lecta suos,

Et quo me officio portaverit illa iuventus,

Que fuit ante meum tam generosa torum.

Nor from those merits was honor absent (though by itself they are more pleasing), mother: you have seen my names decorated with titles. As a consul, as a German conqueror of the world unknown, who – unfortunately – died in the service of the state, I am read. I am wreathed with laurel in the area if my victorious Apollonian temples and I myself have felt the obsequies of my funeral, the well-known march of the men, and the gifts of kings, and all the cities read upon your placards. And with which commitment those youth carried me, who lined up so nobly before my pyre.

Drusus himself claims that he was *CONSUL ET IGNOTI VICTOR GERMANICUS ORBIS*. The poet credits Drusus with completely subduing the Germans. Drusus mentions that he himself is wreathed in laurel, which general denotes a triumphing general. Here again is another connection that triumphal imagery to the obsequies of his own funeral. The anonymous poet could very well be misled by the historical account of Drusus and thought that the triumphal regalia was akin to that of a real triumph. The major difference between the two is that in a triumph there was a splendidous triumphal procession while the *ornamenta* were just the right to wear triumphal dress. If this were the case, the poet would seem to be grossly ill-informed about the events concerning Drusus. This would be far too simple of an explanation for these differences.

We know that there were coins issued during the reign of Drusus' son the Emperor Claudius that depict Drusus and his triumph. I believe the poet is in fact in complete control over his materials. He introduced the triumph of Drusus to coincide with the funeral in order to create an important effect. If he deliberately falsifies historical information, he must do so for the creation of memory under the Julio-Claudian emperors. The *Consolatio ad Liviam* then is political propaganda that supports pneumatic evidence that ties Drusus with a triumph. This is basically flattery of the imperial family in the form of a consolation poem addressed the Livia. The *Consolatio ad Liviam* remains an important piece of evidence demonstrating how an anonymous imperial poet responds to a new situation of one family ruling the Roman Empire and establishes the creation of memory for the established imperial family.

The poem also represents imperial ideology because it confirms that triumphs were reserved for members of the imperial family only. This can justify why we see a blending of motifs for funerals and triumphs, which ultimately would take their finalized form in the funeral for Augustus twenty-three years after Drusus' death. It also reflects the strengthened connection between a funeral procession and a triumphal procession. This funeral, very much like a triumph informs perhaps in part replaced the triumph that Drusus never held and thus combined elements of both types of ceremony.⁴⁵⁵ At the very least, the poem reflects the monopoly Augustus held over the celebration of a triumph. This funeral also afforded Augustus the opportunity to stress the harmony of two distinguished families (Julians and Claudians), whose fame and glory was personified by the deceased.

⁴⁵⁵ Sen. *Dial.* 6 (*Consol. ad Marciam*) 3.1: "*funus simillimum triumpho*."

Conclusions

Imperial funerals, like the position of the imperial family itself, developed and changed over time, often in reaction to uncontrollable events, like the untimely death of Marcellus and Drusus. Augustus was attempting to create a dynastic memory of his newly established imperial family and this was an experiment of trial and error. There is something really significant about the death of Drusus that is not seen in the death of Marcellus in 23 BCE as reflected in the sources. Marcellus died close to Rome at the age of nineteen. He was too young to have garnered the type of military accomplishments attributed to Drusus. In addition to this, Marcellus died four years into the new system of government that Augustus had created.⁴⁵⁶ This may be part of an explanation for the difference in complexities between the two funerals.

Drusus died in Germany at the age of twenty-nine. Those extra ten years afforded Drusus the opportunity to gain more military experience and recognition for it. In addition to this, Drusus died eighteen years into Augustus' reign. Drusus' death was marked by an outpouring of public grief in a way that we did not see with Marcellus' death. The people mourned the loss of Drusus as potential prince of the new dynasty and their collective grief established a stronger and more personalized relationship with the imperial family, especially for Livia. For the purposes of his funeral at least, Drusus was treated as a member of the family. The loss of Drusus was public and so his funeral represented another display of solidarity, unity and community. If death in battle robbed the victor of the triumphal ceremony that he deserved, then the funeral might have

⁴⁵⁶ 27 BCE.

to substitute. This was a theme developed by Seneca in an essay on grief, mourning, and the acceptance of death.⁴⁵⁷ One of his examples was Drusus' death during his successful campaigns in Germany: his body had been brought back in a procession through Italy; crowds poured out from Italian towns along the route to join the procession and escort his remains to Rome. Seneca remarks, "a funeral procession very like a triumph."⁴⁵⁸ The triumphal theme to avenge Drusus' death was also developed in the anonymous poem of consolation to Livia, Drusus' mother.⁴⁵⁹ The new-style imperial triumph had been restricted to the ruling house itself. Triumphal symbolism not only was given more emphasis, it represented and embodied the style for imperial image-making.

⁴⁵⁷ Sen. *Dial.* 6 (*Consol. ad Marciam*)

⁴⁵⁸ Sen. *Dial.* 6 (*Consol. ad Marciam*) 3.1.

⁴⁵⁹ Anon. *Consol. ad Liv.*, especially lines 271-80.

CHAPTER FIVE

GAIUS AND LUCIUS CAESAR

...atrox fortuna Gaium et Lucium filios mihi eripuit...

...cruel fate has snatched from me my sons Gaius and Lucius...⁴⁶⁰

Augustus and his Adopted Sons (18 BCE – 6 BCE)

The renewal of Augustus' extraordinary powers in 18 BCE⁴⁶¹ marks a significant development in the evolution of political authority within the Principate's organization. Perhaps prompted by the temperament of the Roman people at home and abroad, on the motion of the *princeps* himself⁴⁶² the Senate had voted to lengthen the *proconsulare imperium* for Agrippa for another five years. Furthermore the Senate granted Agrippa *tribunicia potestas*⁴⁶³ for the same length of time as Augustus, thus making Agrippa "his associate in power."⁴⁶⁴

⁴⁶⁰ The notorious opening words of Augustus' will are preserved: "Since cruel fate has snatched from me my sons Gaius and Lucius, be Tiberius Caesar my heir to 2/3": *Quoniam atrox fortuna Gaium et Lucium filios mihi eripuit, Tiberius Caesar mihi ex parte dimidia et extante heres esto*; cf. Suet. *Tib.* 23. The idea is repeated in Aug. *RG* 14.1, *Filios meos, quos iuvenes mihi eripuit fortuna*, and clearly echoed by an epitaph at Rome: *Atrox, O Fortuna, truci quae funere gaudes, / quid mihi tam subito Maximus eripitur?* (CLE 1065 = *CIL* VI.20128).

⁴⁶¹ Dio 54.12.4-5; Tac. *Ann.* 3.56.3; Vell. Pat. 2.90.1; Aug. *RG* 6; Suet. *Aug.* 27.5.

⁴⁶² The *imperium proconsulare* ("power of the proconsul") was originally granted to him in 23 BCE. Once again it gave him the authority to govern all imperial provinces and the armies stationed there. Mommsen (*Staatrecht*, 2.799, note 2) conjectures that Agrippa's powers were renewed at the same time that Augustus received a new grant of powers, about July 1st 18 BCE. K. Schrader, *Jahrbücher für Classische Philologie* 53 (1889), 218 (citing the *Fasti Capitolini* *CIL* 1, page 441 = 1², page 28), *M. Agrippa L. F. tribunic. Potest. VII in hoc honore mort. E.*, argues that, since Agrippa died in March of 12 BCE, the first grant of tribunician power to him took place before March of 18 BCE. That Agrippa did not complete the sixth year of his tribunician power is now proved by the inscription on the gateway of the *agora* at Ephesus, completed long after Agrippa's death.

⁴⁶³ For the grant of *tribunicia potestas* to Agrippa, see *CIL* 3.494, 6.32323.53, 9.3150, 3913; *IG* 12.5.740.

Certainly Augustus had unrivalled power (*auctoritas*, or “moral influence”), but now the *princeps* could emphasize that once again he was operating in the midst of a web of relationships subject to traditional magistracies of the constitution. With their legal powers now equally matched, explicitly defined, and limited in duration,⁴⁶⁵ Agrippa and Augustus became the supreme guardians of the Roman Empire. To ensure that this image, one⁴⁶⁶ of two loyal colleagues working together in service to both the Senate and the Roman people, was unmistakable, Augustus turned to a long-abandoned celebration over the notable peace and prosperity of the age.

In association with Agrippa, they resurrected the *Ludi Saeculares*,⁴⁶⁷ which was scheduled to take place in the summer of 17 BCE.⁴⁶⁸ The traditional format of these games

⁴⁶⁴ Tac. *Ann.* 3.56.3: ‘[Augustus] Marcum deinde Agrippam socum eius potestatis;’ cf. 1.3; Dio 54.12.2; Vell. Pat. 2.90.1; Aug. *RG* 6 and 30-31; Suet. *Aug.* 27.5; *CIL* III.494, VI.32323.53, IX.3150, 3913; *IG* 12.5.740.

⁴⁶⁵ Tac. *Hist.* 1.15. The *tribunicia potestas* is the essential basis of the co-regency. The *imperium proconsulare* granted in 23 BCE, was a preliminary step. For the co-regency in general and for Agrippa’s co-regency in particular, see Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, 2.1145-1167; Kornemann, *Doppelprinzipat*, 14-18, 179, and 188. Kornemann accepts Mommsen’s view that the suppression of Agrippa’s *nomen* is to be explained by his position as co-regent. Reinhold (1933) 7, demonstrated that as early as 38 BCE, Agrippa had ceased to use his *nomen* officially.

⁴⁶⁶ Coins struck sometime between 18 and 12 BCE by Scato, proconsul of Cyrene, show this image: on the obverse, heads of Augustus and Agrippa face to face with the legend Caesar Tr. Pot. Agrippa. The words *Tr. Pot.* can refer to Agrippa as well as Augustus. See E.S.G. Robinson, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Cyrenaica*, ccxxiv, 119, Nos. 36-39 (London: 1927).

⁴⁶⁷ They were called the “Century Games.” A *saeculum* is a length of time roughly equal to the potential lifetime of a person or the equivalent of the complete renewal of a human population. This was the fifth occasion of this celebration in the history of the Roman people. See Nilsson’s article *Saeculares ludi*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Zweite Reihe*, 1.1717. *CIL* 6.32323.139-149; compare also Zosimus 2.5 for the whole celebration. There are numerous discussions of the *Ludi Saeculares* of 17 BCE: see G.W. Wissowa, *Die Saecularfeier des Augustus*, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Römischen Religions- und Stadtgeschichte*, 192-210 (Munich: 1904); Mommsen, *Ephemeris Epigraphica* 8 (1899), 225-274; Gardthausen, 1.1002-1017, 2.617-630; W. Warde Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People* (London: 1911), 438-447 and *Roman Essays and Interpretations* (Oxford: 1920), 111-126; W. Vollbrecht, *Das Säkularfest des Augustus*, *Gymnasial-Bibliothek*, Heft 33 (Gütersloh, 1900); O. Baziner, *Ludi Saeculares* (Warsaw: 1901). For an echo of the *Ludi Saeculares* at Athens, see P. Graindor, *Revue Belge de Philologie et d’Histoire* 1 (1992), 440-443. Elaine Fantham, *Julia Augusti: The Emperor’s Daughter*, suggests that the calculation of this infrequent ritual had apparently settled on 16 BCE, but Augustus could not wait,

comprised of sacrifices and theatrical performances held in honor of Dis Pater and Proserpina on the Campus Martius and were to take place over three consecutive days and nights. On the final day of the formal ceremonies and the climax of religious renewal, both Augustus and Agrippa offered cakes to Apollo and Diana on the Palatine. Then 27 noble boys and 27 noble maidens, both of whose parents were still alive, sang on the Palatine and then on the Capitol in responsive measures the hymn that Horace had composed for this very occasion. Now that the new regime was imbued with divine blessings, the most notable and remarkable family arrangement at took place at Rome between these two co-equals.

It seems then that it is no coincidence that during this optimistic and crucial year for the Augustan Principate, Augustus' decided to adopt simultaneously Gaius⁴⁶⁹ and Lucius,⁴⁷⁰ the

note 8, 155. She asks if it was because Augustus would himself become forty-six, *senior*, in 17 and wanted a compensatory sense of renewal. It would seem that that might be a minor reason for the decision to hold them in 17 BCE. Far more likelier an explanation is because of the culmination or the social and moral legislation coupled with the reorganization of the Principate and the adoptions of Gaius and Lucius Caesar.

⁴⁶⁸ *CIL* 6.877 = 32324; *CIL* 6.32323.52-53; Aug. *RG* 22; Dio 53.18.12; Suet. *Aug.* 31.4. When Agrippa became a *quindecimvir* (Dio 54.19.8; *CIL* 6.32323.44, 107, 132, 150; *CIL* 9.262) we do not know.

⁴⁶⁹ Dio 54.8.4. A fragmentary calendar from Hisspellum suggests that Gaius was born between 14 August and 13 September, and that Lucius was born between 14 June and 15 July; cf. *AE* 1981.316; Vassileiou (1984b) 46-52; Hurler (1997) 113. Although the month and day of Gaius' birthday are not known for certain from ancient literary or epigraphic sources, it has recently been postulated (based in part on the orientation of his cenotaph in Limyra on the helical ascent of the Dog Star, Sirius) that Gaius was born in the last half of July, cf. P. Herz in J. Ganzert, *Das Kenotaph von Gaius Caesar in Limyra* (Tübingen, 1984) 191f. Though it is an attractive hypothesis, it depends on several inconclusive pieces of evidence that are aggregated as truth.

⁴⁷⁰ Dio 54.18.1; Suet. *Aug.* 64; Tac. *Ann.* I.3; Vell. 2.96.1. Gaius (born in 20 BCE) was roughly three years older than his brother Lucius (born in 17 BCE). Although the month of Lucius' birth is not known with certainty either, we are able to deduce that his birthday fell after that of Agrippa Postumus from two inscriptions indicating that Lucius was eleven years old at the time when Agrippa Postumus was seven, *CIL* XI.3304-3305. Since Agrippa Postumus was born after Agrippa's death in March 12 BCE, it is quite possible that Lucius was born in the latter part of 17 BCE. On the date of Agrippa's death and of the birth of Agrippa Postumus, cf. M. Reinhold, *Marcus Agrippa* (Geneva, NY: 1933) 126, 130f. G. Mancini's incorrect suggestion ("Fasti consolari e censorii ed elenco di vicomagistri rinvenuti in via marmorata," *BullCom* 63 [1935] 38, 49, pl. I) that Lucius was born on January 29 was based on a misreading of the inscription which refers to a celebration for Augustus, not to the birthday of Lucius: A. Degraffi *I.I* 13.1 (1947) 280, pl. LXXXVIII.

young sons of Marcus Agrippa and Julia, his only daughter. The forty-six-year-old Augustus had no children with his wife, forty-one-year-old Livia, although each of them had previous offspring by a different partner. This crucial constraint – that Augustus had no son of his own and would not, for personal and political reasons, divorce Livia – in addition to the sudden death of his nephew and son-in-law Marcellus in 23 BCE, which had left Augustus' without an obvious male heir to his family and his sixteen-year-old daughter Julia widowed, required another round of family reorganization.

After an appropriate period of mourning Agrippa married Julia⁴⁷¹ in 21 BCE and their marriage would produce five children,⁴⁷² of whom the eldest son was Gaius Vipsanius Agrippa, born in 20 BCE and their second son (and third child) was Lucius Vipsanius Agrippa, born three years later in 17 BCE.⁴⁷³ Julia had now produced two sons for Agrippa and two grandsons for Augustus. It was at this point, soon after Lucius' birth, that Augustus decided to adopt both boys, and they became Iulii Caesares. There was no precedent for the adoption of such young boys; indeed most Roman parents could not be certain that younger children and infants would survive long enough to consider adopting them or letting them be adopted. Even the idea of adopting both boys at the same time makes this case special. Most cases attested in the Republic were adoptions of either teenage boys or of those who had already qualified as adults (after donning

⁴⁷¹ Dio 54.6.5. At the time of the marriage Agrippa was 43 years-old, 25 years older than Julia (18 years-old at the time).

⁴⁷² Gaius b. 20 BCE, Vipsania Julia (Julia the Younger) b. 19/18 BCE, Lucius b. 17 BCE, Agrippina b. 14 BCE, and Agrippa Posthumous b. 12 BCE after the death of his father on March 12th.

⁴⁷³ Dio 54.18.1. With regard to the adoption of Gaius and Lucius in 17, the situation in 23 BCE, and Augustus' subsequent plans for succession, cf. H. U. Instinsky, "Augustus und die Adoption des Tiberius," *Hermes* 94 (1996): 337-43.

the *toga virilis*) and most of these cases involved a *single* adoptee. Although this adoption is notable because it demonstrated their elevation in position within the family of Augustus as his legal sons, it would be many years before either could assume a leadership role within the new regime.

Gaius and Lucius in the Public Eye

At the dedicatory games for the Theater of Marcellus held in 13 BCE, Gaius along with other patrician boys performed the *lusus Troiae*, the grand equestrian display that was believed to have come to Rome from Troy, was celebrated by Julius Caesar, was made a regular institution under Augustus.⁴⁷⁴ His role in the equestrian games was commemorated on coins.⁴⁷⁵ That same year, Gaius was met with applause and acclamations in the theater⁴⁷⁶ and both sons' significance was advertised on denarii minted at Rome, which depicted Augustus on the obverse, and Julia in between Gaius and Lucius on the reverse.⁴⁷⁷ In 9 BCE, when the Ara Pacis (the altar of Augustan Peace) both Gaius and Lucius could be seen on the (now fragmentary) northern frieze.⁴⁷⁸ Their depiction on the monument underlined their privileged place in the imperial

⁴⁷⁴ Games, dated to 13 BCE, cf. Dio Cass. 54.26.1 (cf. Plin. *NH* 8.65, and see Suet. *Aug.* 43.5). This episode was colorfully described in the funeral games for Anchises in Book 5 of Vergil's *Aeneid* (5.545–603), with Aeneas' son Iulus taking a starring role.

⁴⁷⁵ *RIC* 348.

⁴⁷⁶ Dio Cass. 54.27.1 (and cf. Suet. *Aug.* 56.2). It seems likely that in 12 BCE Augustus gave gladiatorial names in the name of his sons: Dio Cass. 54.28.3 and *Aug. RG* 22.1 with Cooley (2009).

⁴⁷⁷ Simon, *Coins*, 72, 74 no. 28a = *BM Coins, Rom. Emp.* I 21 no. 106 = *RIC* I² 72 no. 404; Zanker, *Images*, 216 fig. 167b). The same image appears on an intaglio which was converted into a medieval signet ring.

⁴⁷⁸ Zanker, *Images*, 215–218.

family at the same time as it offered a visual explanation of what it means to be a *princeps iuventutis*.⁴⁷⁹

Augustus voiced high expectations of his adopted sons Gaius and Lucius in the eulogy for Drusus in 9 BCE, by including the sentiment that his Caesars would be like Drusus in a prayer.⁴⁸⁰ The next year, in 8 BCE, Gaius accompanied Augustus and Tiberius to survey Gaul and the Rhine, where he was to be introduced to the legions.⁴⁸¹ Gaius also participated in a training exercise with the legions stationed there. Augustus used the occasion of Gaius' training exercise with the legions as an opportunity for a donative to the troops, "the only donative the legionaries are known to have received between 29 BCE and 14 CE."⁴⁸² Coins were once again issued to commemorate this Gaius' training exercise, this time by the mint at Lyons, which depict Gaius on horseback before legionary standards, wearing a bulla, and identify him as "the son of Augustus."⁴⁸³

The years 6 – 5 BCE saw the emergence of Gaius Caesar on the public stage with real responsibility. What happened during these years is principally known from the partially mutilated account of Dio Cassius, so the exact chronology is somewhat ambiguous.⁴⁸⁴ Dio⁴⁸⁵

⁴⁷⁹ Zanker, *Images*, 219-20, with figs. 174-5.

⁴⁸⁰ Suet. *Claud.* 1.5: "and when he was dead, he eulogized him warmly before the people, praying the gods to make his Caesars (Gaius and Lucius Caesar) like Drusus." Cf. *Tib.* 23; Dio 55.2.2.

⁴⁸¹ Dio 55.6.

⁴⁸² On the donative, I quote Rich, *Augustus*, 224. For Tiberius: Dio 55.6.1-5; Suet. *Aug.* 21.1, *Tib.* 9.2; Vell. Pat. 2.97.4.

⁴⁸³ *RIC* I (second ed.) Augustus 198-99.

⁴⁸⁴ Dio 55.9.1-8.

asserts that there was enough popular support shown to Gaius, that during the summer of 6 BCE votes were cast for Gaius to become consul (a term which was to begin on January 1, 5 BCE); the very same consular election at which Augustus himself was standing. Augustus opposed this popular movement among the voters assembled in the *Saepta Iulia* to elect the fourteen-year-old Gaius. He had expressed disapproval over what had transpired and he “prayed that no compelling circumstances should arise to require anyone younger than the age of twenty to become consul, as had occurred for him.”⁴⁸⁶ His response did not seem to satisfy the people and so Augustus insisted on a commutation of the year of Gaius’ consulship. Gaius was appointed as consul designate, to enter the magistracy five years later in 1 CE. This unprecedentedly early appointment of Gaius as consul was celebrated in an honorific inscription set up in the Roman forum in which Gaius was proclaimed to be the first Roman ever to be appointed to the consulship when only fourteen years old.⁴⁸⁷ That a proper designation ensued, presumably after Gaius formally entered manhood the next year (5 BCE) can be inferred from Augustus’ account.⁴⁸⁸ After this episode Augustus granted Gaius a priesthood.⁴⁸⁹ In addition to this, coins

⁴⁸⁵ Dio 55.9.2.

⁴⁸⁶ Dio 55.8.5; Aug. *RG* 22.1; cf. Tac. *Ann.* 1.3.2. The election of one so young was unprecedented as he was even younger than Octavian had been when he took up Caesar’s legacy and launched himself into Roman political life.

⁴⁸⁷ ([*hi*]c *pr[i]mus om[nium annos]* / [*natus*] *XIII c[o(n)s(ul) creatus est*): *CIL* VI 3748 = 31271 = 36893, a marble base found near the basilica Julia.

⁴⁸⁸ Aug. *RG* 14.1: “While Gaius and Lucius were fourteen (6/5 BCE in the case of Gaius who was born in 20), the Senate and People of Rome, to honor Augustus, “designated them as consuls on the understanding that they would enter the office after five years.” Dio attributes this episode to the general flattery of the Caesars. Tacitus unmasks Augustus’ untimely promotion of the youths (*Ann.* 1.3.2).

⁴⁸⁹ In 6 (BCE); Dio 55.9.4; e.g. *ILS* 131, 134; cf. Tac. *Ann.* 1.3.1, Marcellus, also Pontifex.

were issued with Gaius and Lucius (“THE SONS OF AUGUSTUS”), in togas holding spears and shields and shown with symbols of their priesthoods.⁴⁹⁰

Other honors also would be arranged for Gaius for the next year (5 BCE), which would coincide with his coming of age. Gaius’ officially entered into public life by taking part in a special ceremony that celebrated his coming of age. It should be noted that Dio treats the debuts of Gaius and Lucius Caesar in the same passage even though the events occurred in different years. Dio corroborates Augustus’ actual introduction of Gaius to the Senate, when Gaius assumed the toga of manhood.⁴⁹¹ Here Dio refers to the observances when a Roman boy of elite family entered manhood formally. In celebration of his eldest son’s coming of age in the year 5 BCE, Augustus had requested the consulship for that year, a position he had not occupied in fifteen years since he had stood down in 23 BCE.⁴⁹² Suetonius remarks that the reason Augustus wanted to hold the consulship now was for the formal introduction into public life of Gaius Caesar, and given the celebrations that attended event, this is no doubt the case.⁴⁹³ Augustus would become consul once more (and the final time) to introduce his youngest son Lucius

⁴⁹⁰ *RIC* I Augustus nos. 205–212.

⁴⁹¹ Dio 55.9.9n.

⁴⁹² Suetonius 26.2 reports that on his own initiative; Dio 55.9.9 = Zon. 10.35 [p447 lines 6 – 10 Dindorf]: “The next year, as consul XII, Augustus enrolled Gaius among the *iuvenes*.” Cf. Sherk *Documents* no. 68 lines 22-27 = EJ no. 99 = *TDGR* 4.104 B, a letter of Augustus dated 5/4 BCE, acknowledging a decree of the *boule* of Sardes, congratulating him on “the attainment of manhood by the elder of my children.”

⁴⁹³ Suet. *Aug.* 26.2.

Caesar, who would receive the same honors as had been given to his older brother three years later in 2 BCE.⁴⁹⁴

The minimum legal age for taking the *toga virilis* was fourteen. In practice many young men took it at the age of fifteen or sixteen. Gaius would have been fourteen or fifteen at this time and his brother Lucius would have been around the same age (when he took it in 2 BCE).⁴⁹⁵ These observances included a family rite in which he would put on his *toga praetexta* (a long purple-bordered toga) and *bullae* (locket) and donned the plain *toga virilis*. There was also a public ceremony, known as the *deductio in forum*, in which he was escorted by his father (or guardian) as well as an entourage of kindred and adherents to the Forum. For Senate-bound youth, this was the start of a civic apprenticeship, the *tirocinium fori* (a term used of the debut itself). The Liberalia on 17 March was the traditional occasion for taking the *toga virilis*,⁴⁹⁶ but there are readily found exceptions.⁴⁹⁷ Thus when Gaius Caesar took up the *toga virilis*⁴⁹⁸ during the public ceremony that marks this occasion, Augustus would have escorted his son to the forum and senate in an official capacity.⁴⁹⁹

⁴⁹⁴ Zon. 9.10. Although Boissevain places this passage under 2 BCE, it may belong under Dio's account of 5, the now lost text of which perhaps ran ahead here beyond the strict limits of the year, treating the debuts of both princes together, even though these were separated by three years. In any case Zonaras records not Lucius' assumption of his honors (this came in 2 BCE), but the *voting* of them, which occurred "after a year" (i.e. in 4 BCE).

⁴⁹⁵ Agrippa Posthumous was fifteen or sixteen (Dio 55.22.4n).

⁴⁹⁶ Ovid *Fasti* 3.771-788.

⁴⁹⁷ Most relevant examples: Augustus: 18 October (*Ill.* 13.2.523 = EJ p53); Tiberius: 24 April (*Ill.* 13.2.448 = EJ p48).

⁴⁹⁸ Dio 55.9.9.

⁴⁹⁹ Suet. *Aug.* 26.2.

The Senate further decreed that from the time of his entry into public life Gaius should take part in their deliberations.⁵⁰⁰ Dio states, “[t]he Roman Equites as a body gave Gaius [and later Lucius] a silver shield and spear and saluted each *Princeps Iuventutis*.”⁵⁰¹ Gaius was also made *sevir equitum*.⁵⁰² Dio disregards the corporate action of the equites in acclaiming Gaius their leader. Dio’s haphazard account for the years 6 and 5 BCE are not further clarified by Zonaras. A single sentence⁵⁰³ states that Augustus, as consul XII, enrolled Gaius among the *iuvenes*⁵⁰⁴ and appointed Gaius ἡγεμόνα νεότητος.⁵⁰⁵ Gaius was now the leader of a group that included both equites proper and youths (mainly of senatorial family) destined for a senatorial career. Augustus offers a sanitized version of these same events.

In his own words, Augustus records the formal award of honors given to his sons on the occasion entering manhood by all three Orders (the Senate, the people of Rome, and the equestrians).⁵⁰⁶ He specifies that the senate and Roman people had made Gaius and Lucius

⁵⁰⁰ Aug. *RG* 14.1; cf. Dio 55.9.4, 9.

⁵⁰¹ Silver shield and spear: *parmīs et hastīs argentei* or ἀργυρέαις ἀσπίσιν καὶ δόρασιν, cf. Dio 55.12.1n.

⁵⁰² Dio 55.9.9; Aug. *RG* 14.14.2; *CIL* 6.40326 (apparently alluding to the equestrian acclamation of Gaius or Lucius, from the Theater of Marcellus); Rowe (2002) 77–81 places the acclamation in the theater, where the equestrians had specially reserved seating, the so called ‘XIV rows.’

⁵⁰³ Dio 55.9.0 = Zon. 10.35 [p447 lines 6-10 Dindorf]) is all of Dio’s account that survives for certain.

⁵⁰⁴ Cf. Sherk *Documents* no. 68 lines 22-27 = EJ no. 99 = *TDGR* 4.104 B, a letter of Augustus dated 5/4 BCE, acknowledging a decree of the *boule* of Sardis, congratulating him on the “attainment of manhood by the elder of my children.”

⁵⁰⁵ Dio uses the same or similar translations of the Latin at 59.8.1 and 78.17.1, but “πρόκριτος τῆς ἱππᾶδος” at 71.35.5; cf. 53.1.3, or “πρόκριτος τῆς γεπουσίας” = princeps senatus.

⁵⁰⁶ Aug. *RG* 14: “My sons, Gaius and Lucius Caesar, of whom Fortune bereaved me in their youth, were for my honor designated as consuls by the senate and people of Rome when they were fourteen, with the provision that they should enter on that magistracy after the lapse of five years. And the senate decreed that from the day when they

consuls designate (as we noted earlier), each around his fifteenth year, and granted the right to enter that office after a period of five years. Gaius assumed the *toga virilis* in 5 BCE and became consul in 1 CE; while Lucius did so in 2 BCE and died before reaching the consulship (which he would have taken up in 4 CE). Next Augustus states that the Senate gave Gaius and Lucius dispensation to participate in senatorial discussions starting from the day that they were introduced in the Forum. Augustus appears to be treating the same measure as Dio.⁵⁰⁷ Thus in the year they assumed their *toga virilis*, they would then be formally introduced to the Senate and have the ability to speak during discussions. Lastly, Augustus states that the *equites* named Gaius *princeps iuventutis*⁵⁰⁸ (“princeps of the youth”) and presented Gaius with silver shields and spears.⁵⁰⁹ All of these honors would be repeated for Lucius when he came of age.

As so often is the case with Augustus, the title “*princeps iuventutis*” (princeps of the youth), while highly honorific, seems somewhat ambivalent. The word *iuventus* (“youth”) might refer to young men in general or, as implied by this specific title given by the equestrian order, to

were led into the forum they should take part in the councils of state. Furthermore each of them was presented with silver shields and spears by the whole body of equites Romani and hailed as princeps iuventutis.”

⁵⁰⁷ For grants to other princes cf. Dio 55.9.10n (Lucius Caesar); 56.17.3n (Drusus, son of Tiberius); Talbert, *Senate*, 156. For Mommsen, there were two distinct measures on senatorial seating privileges see Dio 54.14.4n; 55.22.4n; cf. 53.25.1n. Why does Dio and Augustus highlight Gaius’ privilege of attending the Senate when, according to Suetonius, Augustus “permitted the children of senators, immediately after they donned the *toga virilis*, to wear the broad stripe [on their tunics] and attend the Senate?” Swan, *Augustan Succession*, states that presumably something more than the norm was accorded to Gaius, perhaps the right to speak. That such a right could be accommodated is suggested by the traditional formula “senators or those with the right to express their opinion in the Senate,” found, for example, in a senate decree of 4 BCE cited in the fifth Cyrene Edict (Sherk *Documents* no. 31 lines 110-111 = *EJ* 311 = *TDGR* 4.102) and on the Tabula Hebana lines 9-10; cf. Talbert, *Senate*, 187 n23.

⁵⁰⁸ The designation of *princeps iuventutis*, or “first among the young men” in the class of knights, seems to have been an honor rather than an official title.

⁵⁰⁹ Aug. *RG* 14.2. This occasion was commemorated an aureus, which depicts Gaius and Lucius: *RIC* Aug. 205 / *BMC* Aug. 513.

those *equites* under the age of thirty-five who were capable of active military service and who voted in the electoral assembly (*comitia centuriata*) in voting units (called the *iuniores*). Thus the title could indicate chief of the *iuniores* of the equestrian order.⁵¹⁰ The use of the word *princeps* seems just as ambivalent, but potentially more significant. The two terms together, *princeps iuventutis*, had been a complimentary description used when referring to young aristocrats in previous decades.⁵¹¹ The use of the term *princeps* by Augustus had been given a new political connotation, which was made clear from both literary and epigraphic sources. The change in application can be reflected the literature. Ovid⁵¹² deftly implies as much in addressing Gaius as “now chief of the youth, hereafter to be chief of the elders.”⁵¹³

Nor was the significance of Gaius’ coming of age missed by the people living outside of Rome.⁵¹⁴ It is known through epigraphic evidence that Samos’ neighbor Sardis staged elaborate

⁵¹⁰ Technically, all members of senatorial families are equestrians until they were successfully elected to the quaestorship. Therefore those who entered the senate did so normally in their mid-twenties after holding the quaestorship. The other *iuniores* remained active horsemen until the age of thirty-five, after which they were permitted to retire (cf. Suet., *Aug.* 38.2), becoming *seniores*. These men retained their equestrian status for life and might continue to perform public duties, notably as jurors, but ceased to participate in the quasi-military activities; cf. Demougin, *L’ordre équestre*, 213-217.

⁵¹¹ Cic. 2 Verr. 1.139; *Sulla* 34; *Vatin.* 24. Cicero used the phrase as a form of flattery.

⁵¹² Ov. *Ars am.* 1.194 describes Gaius as *nunc iuvenum princeps; deinde future senum*: ‘now *princeps* of the young, for the future of the elders.’ See too the cenotaph of Gaius at Pisa, which describes him as *iam designatum iustissimum ac simillum parentis suis virtutibus principem*: ‘already designated *princeps*, most just and most like his father in his virtues.’ (*EJ* 99, lines 12-13).

⁵¹³ Tacitus claims that, though feigning reluctance, Augustus “passionately” (*flagrantissime*) desired his sons to have this appellation (Tac. *Ann.* 1.3.2).

⁵¹⁴ The promotion of both Gaius and Lucius to be *Princeps Iuventutis* is attested widely in inscriptions (e.g., *ILS* vol. 4 p260) and coins [e.g., *RIC* 1².55-56; cf. Kienast, *Princeps und Monarch*, 393; Zanker (1990) 218-219]. Gaius’ appointment, a novel one according to Swan, *Augustan Succession*, 91 argues that it was of high political import with its implication that the *Princeps Iuventutis* was destined to succeed the *Princeps* (cf. Gell. 15.7.3; *ILS* 140 lines 13-14 = *EJ* 69 = *TDGR* 6.19) (not regarded as members of the senatorial order just yet – basically they have been

celebrations in honor of Gaius' coming of age. Sardis too sent an embassy to Augustus to announce their rejoicing on the day that they received the glad tidings that Gaius had assumed the white toga, which they had celebrated with sacrifices and the wearing of crowns and white clothes.⁵¹⁵ J. Gonzalez argues that Augustus motivated communities empire-wide to take oaths of allegiance to himself, his sons Gaius and Lucius, and his grandson Agrippa Postumus at this very time (or to devise equivalent forms of homage) with a view to fostering recognition of his sons as heirs apparent.⁵¹⁶

It was not just decrees that cities sent to Augustus. Provincial communities also swore oaths to him and to members of this family. The probable or certain dates of surviving oaths for our time period are as follows: Conobaria, 6-5 BCE; Samos, 5 BCE;⁵¹⁷ Paphlagonia, 6 March 3 BCE;⁵¹⁸ The magistrates, senate, and people from the town of Conobaria in Baetica (Spain) swore an oath of loyalty to Augustus, "the son of the Divine Julius" and alongside his son Gaius, "son of Augustus, *princeps iuventutis*, consul designate, pontiff," as well as to his other son Lucius and to his grandson Agrippa Postumus on behalf of their "safety, honor, and victory."⁵¹⁹

given this as a privilege). Enter a new stage in the dynastic program, that Gaius ceased to be *Princeps Iuventutis* once he became senator (by virtue of his consulship in AD 1) can perhaps be inferred from *ILS* 107 (7,8) = *EJ* 61, where he is not so titled though Lucius is.

⁵¹⁵ Sardis: *EJ* 99.

⁵¹⁶ J. "Gonzalez "The First Oath *pro salute Augusti* Found in Baetica," *ZPE* 72 (1988): 113-127.

⁵¹⁷ Hermann (1968) app. 1, no. 6.

⁵¹⁸ *EJ* 315 = *ILS* 8781. Hermann (1968) app. 1, no. 4. This oath was one of several loyalty oaths found in the Greek East; it was found engraved upon a sandstone slab at Phazimon (a minor city located in Paphlagonia in northern Turkey), whose capital was Gangra. The dating system used ("in the third year from Emperor Caesar Augustus") alludes to Paphlagonia's incorporation into the province of Galatia in 6/5 BCE.

It appears to be the first extant Augustan oath from the West, and it may be the earliest surviving imperial oath on record. The Conobaria oath also represents a local response offered by municipal elites, who are now using the imperial family as a central feature for their local politics. Another oath comes from Samos, which honored Augustus and his children. Samos also sent a delegation to Rome that led by the priest of the cult of Augustus, Gaius, and the senior M. Agrippa.⁵²⁰ The city of Gangra, in Paphlagonia, offered an oath of loyalty to Augustus, his children, and his descendants.⁵²¹

Augustus motivated communities to take oaths of allegiance to himself, as the “reigning monarch,” but also his sons and descendants, as the future of his regime. These oaths foster recognition of Gaius and Lucius’ place within the new system, as heirs to his position. They were being groomed for Augustus’ position. This notion is also confirmed and reflected in art in Rome. Statues that went up for Gaius and Lucius in front of the Ionic temple of Portunus in the Forum Boarium⁵²² depict them with almost identical physiognomies—based closely on that of Augustus in his portraits—“distinguishable from each other only by decoding the arrangement of locks in their hairstyle.”⁵²³

⁵¹⁹ J. Gonzalez “The First Oath.” In addition to the discussion of González, see J. Osgood, *Claudius Caesar: Image and Power in the Early Roman Empire*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 357–364, and B. Levick, *Augustus: Image and Substance*, (Harlow and New York: Longman, 2010), 183–184.

⁵²⁰ See Herrmann (1968) no. 6.

⁵²¹ Oath of Gangra: *EJ* 315 = Herrmann (1968) no. 4.

⁵²² *ILS* 131–132.

⁵²³ Zanker, *Images*, 219–221.

***Congiararia* on behalf of Gaius and Lucius Caesar**

In addition to the boys' honors, a *congiarium* (distribution of money to the citizens of Rome) marked their coming of age.⁵²⁴ Augustus registers this *congiarium*, for which the new limit on recipients was apparently in effect, in *RG* 15.4, "In my thirteenth consulship I gave sixty denarii [240 HS] each to the plebs which was then receiving public grain." The total number of plebians had numbered slightly more than 200,000. Clearly the occasion was the public debut of Lucius Caesar in 2 BCE.⁵²⁵ This monetary distribution corresponded with a distribution of sixty denarii on the debut of Gaius Caesar in the first half of 5 BCE, when the recipients numbered 320,000 of the urban plebs.⁵²⁶ These monetary distributions signified the importance of the occasion.

Augustus sent each son on a mission beyond Rome during the years of his consulship. Gaius and Lucius, like Agrippa, Drusus, and Tiberius before them, would have to prove themselves worthy to the senate and people of Rome. In 1 BCE, Gaius departed for Asia, where in 1 CE he took up the consulship ordained by the senate five years earlier. In the same year, Lucius left for Spain and he was set to take up his consulship while abroad on campaign in 3 CE. Gaius and Lucius Caesar held no magistracy except the consulship.

Deaths of Gaius and Lucius Caesar

⁵²⁴ Aug. *RG* 14; cf. Dio 55.9.9.

⁵²⁵ Dio 55.9.10n; cf. 59.2.2, a *congiarium* of 240 HS for Caligula's debut.

⁵²⁶ Dio 59.9.9n; Aug. *RG* 15.2

Dio treats the deaths and funerals of Gaius and Lucius together under the year CE 2,⁵²⁷ even though their deaths happened in two different years. Thus Dio's decision to conflate the events of several years into one chapter makes it difficult to reconstruct a linear narrative. In addition to this, Dio also registers the events out of order as Gaius' death comes before Lucius' death even though Lucius had died 18 months prior. Dio's narrative focus centers on Gaius Caesar's ill-fated eastern command and its biographical interest prompts a break from a strict annual chronology. Under CE 2, having recorded the outbreak of war in Armenia (55.10^a.5), Dio then carries his narrative forward to the wounding of Gaius before the fortress Artagira, probably occurring sometime in 3 CE, and then to his death and obsequies in 4 CE.⁵²⁸ Then the rest of the accounts for 3CE (55.12.3?-13.1?) and 4 CE (55.13.1^a -22.2) follow. The death of Lucius Caesar and the recall of Tiberius from Rhodes (both in 2 CE) are articulated within the story of Gaius' misfortune.⁵²⁹

As the designated years for their consulships approached, Augustus sent each son on assignment. Gaius would undertake an expedition to the east. After spending a year and a half touring Greece and Asia Minor, Gaius took up the consulship on January 1st 1 CE in Syria⁵³⁰ before moving on to deal with the real reason for his dispatch, the trouble brewing in Arabia. Lucius would depart three years after his brother for Spain in 2 CE, but the particulars of his

⁵²⁷ Dio 55.10^a.9, 12.1n [Xiph.].

⁵²⁸ Dio 55.10^a.6, 9, 12.1.

⁵²⁹ For parallel accounts of these years, see Vell.2.101.1-102.3, based in part on eyewitness; Flor. 2.23.42-45; cf. Festus *Brev.* 19.1-2, with confusion of Tiberius and Gaius; Tac. *Ann.* 2.3.2-4.2.

⁵³⁰ Dio 55.10a.

assignment are unknown. While en route to Spain, Lucius was overcome by a sudden illness and died at Massilia (Marseilles) on August 20th 2 CE, at the age of eighteen.⁵³¹ Seneca no doubt refers to the Armenian war when he says that Gaius learned of his brother Lucius' death⁵³² while he was mounting a war against Parthia.⁵³³ During the course of dealing with the revolt, Gaius was treacherously⁵³⁴ wounded at the Armenian city of Artagira⁵³⁵ in late August/early September of 3 CE.⁵³⁶ The Romans continued the siege and eventually were successful in defeating the

⁵³¹ Tac. *Ann.* 1.3.3, Vell. *Pat.* 2.102.3, Dio 55.10.9; the date is provided in the *Fasti Antiates, Insc. Ital.* 13.2.208. Dio places Lucius' narrative after the death of Gaius in book 55: "before Gaius passed away, Lucius had already died in Massilia," suddenly of an illness, not without suspicion falling on Livia as Dio adds at 55.10a.10; cf. Tac. *Ann.* 1.3.3, also casting suspicion on her. For the date, 20 August of CE 2, see Ilt. 13.1.257-258, 13.2.499; *EJ* pp, 39, 51; cf. Vell. 2.102.3; Suet. *Aug.* 65.1. Lucius died on a mission to the Spanish armies (Vell. 2.102.3; Tac. *Ann.* 1.3.3; cf. Suet. *Aug.* 64.1) Swan doubts that Lucius held proconsular imperium, assumed by Gaius only in the year before his consulship (cf. Dio 55.10.18n.).

⁵³² On 20 Aug of 2 CE; cf. Dio 55.10^a.9a.

⁵³³ Sen. *Polyb.* 15.4: *in apparatus Parthici belli*. Seneca remarks further that the mental wound Gaius suffered through Lucius' death was far more grievous than the physical wound he [Gaius] suffered "later" (*'postea'*).

⁵³⁴ Gaius failed to anticipate treachery at the parley that he had 'rashly' undertaken to attend. A certain Addon, who was occupying Artagira, lured Gaius to the fort with a duplicitous offer to betray a Parthian secret. According to Flor. 2.32.44 (cf. Festus *Brev.* 19.1) Addon, feigning the betrayal of the king's cause, suddenly drew a weapon and attacked the prince "while he was preoccupied with a document that he [Addon] had himself handed to him, supposedly containing accounts of treasures;" (cf. Str. 11.529 and Dio 49.39.5 for Armenian forts as treasuries). Addon "wounded him" (cf. Vell. 2.10.2: 'graviter...vulneratus;' *ILS* 140 lines 11-12 = *EJ* 69, the Pisa inscription: "wounds suffered for the state."

⁵³⁵ Velleius locates the attempt on Gaius 'circa Artageram.' Other testimonia on Artagira: '[Ar]ta[g]iram Ar[meniae oppidum]' in *Fasti Cuprenses* (Ilt. 13.1.245 = *EJ* p39); Strabo 11.529, locates it on the Euphrates River (cf. Ptol. *Geog.* 5.13.22, in Artagigarta in Armenia Minor. If Ammanius' Artogerassa, a fortified Arminian town taken with difficulty by the Persian King Sharpur II in 369 (27.12.5-12), is the same place, it stood 'in asperitate Montana').

⁵³⁶ When was Gaius wounded? That he died 21 February of 4 the Pisa inscription attests (line 25, 52); but whether he suffered a fatal wound in 3 or 2 is debated. Appended out of chronological order, the notice for 9 September explains the circumstances of Gaius' death registered in the preceding entry. In the absence of any indication to the contrary, it points most naturally to the September six months before Gaius died, that is to say September of CE 3 rather than CE 2. Had Gaius been felled by Addon on 9 September of 2 CE, we could expect some source to note that his brother Lucius had just died twenty days before on 20 August of 2. The absence of any awareness of simultaneous natural disasters in Sen. *Polyb.* 15.4 is telling; Seneca remarks that the mental wound Gaius suffered through Lucius' death was far more grievous than the physical wound he suffered "later" (*'postea'*). Yet Gaius

Armenians, after which Gaius was acclaimed *imperator*, the traditional title for a triumphant general. His wounds evidently incapacitated him⁵³⁷ and so he sent word to Augustus, asking him to be allowed to be released from public office and to retire in Syria.⁵³⁸ Augustus reportedly instructed Gaius to return to Italy immediately, but he succumbed to his wounds in Limyra (Lycia) on February 21 in 4 CE at the age of twenty-three.⁵³⁹

Funerals and Commemoration for Gaius and Lucius Caesar

Because the sources for our knowledge of the deaths for Gaius and Lucius Caesar are treated together (even though they died in different years), the funeral and commemoration narratives that follow here will be modeled on that same pattern. Unfortunately, ancient evidence gives us very little details for the funerals of Gaius and Lucius. All we really know are a few things: that both men were brought back to Rome, with their bier being carried by military tribunes and the leading men of the cities through which they passed.⁵⁴⁰ The corteges seemed to

could not even have known Lucius was dead before he himself was struck down at Artagera – given its remoteness – unless this happened in 3 CE (cf. Suet. *Aug.* 65.1: “In the space of eighteen months Augustus lost them both, Gaius having died in Lycia, Lucius at Massilia.”)

⁵³⁷ Dio’s report calls into question Gaius’ fitness for rule. Added to this, the testimony of Velleius, who pointed out that the wound, as well as handicapping Gaius physically, rendered him mentally less fit for state service (Vell. 2.102-3); cf. Sen. *Polyb.* 15.4; Flor. 2.32.44 (Gaius recovered temporarily); Tac. *Ann.* 1.3.3.

⁵³⁸ These “un-Roman” impulses Velleius attributes to character weakness fed by flattering courtiers (Vell. 2.102.3).

⁵³⁹ Dio 55.10a.9; cf. Vell. 2.102.3. A winter voyage and utilitarian vessel suggest urgency (cf. Dio 66.9.2^a for Vespasian sailing in a ‘freighter’).

⁵⁴⁰ Dio 55.12.1. It is clear from Xiphilinus’ version that, just as Dio presented the princes’ deaths together though they occurred in different years 2 and 4 (55.10a.9-10) respectively, he did the same with their funerals. “The corpses (σώματα) of Lucius and Gaius were borne (έκομίσθη) to Rome by military tribunes and by leading men of each city (Xiph. 12.1).”

be modeled on that of Drusus.⁵⁴¹ A meager and undated fragment on the inscribed calendar of Ostia may record the passage of Lucius' cortege through the harbor city on its way to Rome.⁵⁴² In addition to this, both young men were granted honor of having the shields and spears of gold, which they had received from the equites on being enrolled in the *iuvenes*, set up in the senate house.⁵⁴³ No record survives of the orations that were held on the occasion of each funeral, although from prior iterations of funerals for previous family members, Augustus was most likely one of the speakers. Their remains were interred in the Mausoleum of Augustus alongside Marcellus, Agrippa, Octavia, and Drusus the Elder.

The most striking piece of evidence that confirms that the deaths of Gaius and Lucius were viewed as a public loss throughout the Empire comes from two commemorative⁵⁴⁴ decrees, inscribed in stone,⁵⁴⁵ from Pisa, a military colony of Roman citizens in northern Italy. Both inscriptions record an overwhelming response to the deaths of both young men, especially Gaius.

⁵⁴¹ Dio 55.2.1n, 9 BCE (Drusus); cf. 56.31.2n (Augustus); cf. Swan, *Augustan Succession*, 136; Flower, *Ancestor Masks*, 242-3.

⁵⁴² *Insc. Ital.* 13.1.181-182; L. Vidman, *Fasti Ostienses* [Praha, 1982], 40, cf. 56-57; note esp. 'pulla[ti]' = "in dark dress"), in which case the corpse will have been transported by sea, plausibly from Massilia or Forum Iulii (modern Fréjus).

⁵⁴³ Xiph. 12.1. On the decoration of the Curia Iulia see Talbert, *Senate*, 127-128. That the metal was silver, not gold, we have Augustus' own testimony (*RG* 14.2). Conferred on Gaius and Lucius in 5 and 2 BCE respectively, these arms symbolized their designation by the Equestrian Order as *Princeps Iuventutis*, Leaders of the Youth, and implicitly their status as presumptive heirs of Augustus. (For images of the shield and spear see *RIC* 1².55 no. 207 with plate 4; Sutherland *History* 22-27; Zanker (1990) 218-219; Simon (1986) 68.

⁵⁴⁴ For the decrees see A.R. Marotta D'Agata, *Decreta Pisana* (*CIL*, XI, 1420-21) (Pisa, 1980); cf. *TDGR* 6.19. Extensive citations of the Lex Valeria Cornelia are preserved on the Tabula Hebana (= Crawford *Statutes* 1 no. 37). Cf. Zanker, *Images*, 211-223 on posthumous monuments, which included the Basilica Gai et Luci, i.e. Basilica Iulia, and the Maison Carrée at Nîmes [Nemausus]; cf. 55.10^a.9n, the cenotaphs of Gaius at Limyra [56.27.5n on the Basilica; R. Amy & P. Gros, *La Maison Carrée de Nîmes*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1979), vol. 1, 177-194; vol. 2, plate 41 (inscription).

When the town of Pisa received news of the death of Lucius, the town council ratified its own commemorative decree for Lucius Caesar on 19 September.⁵⁴⁶ The speed with which the council of Pisa acted is remarkable, passing this decree less than a month after Lucius' sudden death on 20 of August 2 CE; it was passed most likely even before the senate at Rome had finalized all of its plans for Lucius' honors. The decree emphasizes its respect above all for Augustus: the council met to decide the decree's details in the forum Augusteum, a building named in his honor; Augustus' titles are given full prominence and Lucius' titles are defined in relation to his father's than Lucius' own official posts; and finally the council sent an envoy to Augustus himself to seek approval for its decree (lines 33-37).

The inscription records that Pisa had imposed upon its residents mourning and commemoration procedures that most likely emulated those taking place at Rome by deciding to collectively observe a period of universal mourning, an *iustitium* (a temporary cessation of public and judicial business declared during times of crisis or disaster) until Lucius' remains could be interred in Augustus' mausoleum. The community agreed that an annual, public funerary sacrifice should be done by ordering the creation of a commemorative monument (a precinct and altar) and annual *inferiae*⁵⁴⁷ performed on the anniversary of Lucius' death. A display copy of this decree was also set up in the new precinct near the altar for the *inferiae* for Lucius. The council seems anxious to allow its private citizens too to honor Lucius themselves by making

⁵⁴⁵ Pisan Decree for Lucius was found, broken into two fragments, during the work on the Duomo in Pisa in 1603 and 1604. The Pisan Decree for Gaius, also recovered in two fragments, was found two years later in 1606, reused as a part of an altar in the church of Santa Maria della Spina.

⁵⁴⁶ EJ 68 = *ILS* 139.

⁵⁴⁷ *Inferiae* were sacrifices to the Manes, the spirits of the dead collectively, or in this case, of a particular person. This was normally a private family affair, but here the whole state would perform this ritual.

offerings to Lucius spirit. The inscription also limits the nature of offerings any one citizen can make, seemingly taking great pains to ensure that no individual can upstage the public ceremonies (“an individual could offer no more than one wax taper or one torch or wreath”).

Two years later, the council of Pisa voted a lengthy period of mourning, yearly sacrifices, and construction of an elaborate arch when the news of Gaius’ death too prompted another decree. The Pisans conception of Gaius contrasted greatly with their image of his younger brother Lucius. They depicted Gaius as a prince and protector:

“...Gaius Caesar, son of Augustus, (father of the fatherland, chief pontiff, guardian of Roman power and protector of the whole world), and grandson of a god, after his consulship which he passed successfully waging war beyond the furthest borders of the Roman people, having governed well and defeated or received into alliance the fiercest and most powerful nations, himself wounded on behalf of the republic, had been, as a result of this disaster, snatched away from the Roman people by the cruel fates, a man already designated a *princeps* most just and similar to his father in virtues and an unparalleled defender of our colony...(lines 44-52)”⁵⁴⁸

This may be explained in a few different ways: either Lucius had died without any military victories to his own name while Gaius had been hailed as “*imperator*,” Lucius, already three years younger than Gaius, was still too young and inexperienced to have received similar military accolades; or perhaps these two interpretations are interconnected with another moment of evolution in formal consolation decrees, namely that Pisa had been at the forefront of

⁵⁴⁸ Contrast this with the language found in the Cupra Maritima *fasti* (*Inscr. Ital.* 13^l, p. 245) which noted Gaius age at the time of death as well as where he was wounded and where he died.

innovation in its display of solidarity with the emperor. The last interpretation seems the most likely when compared with what the inscription stipulates.

The decree declares an official period of mourning (*iustitium*) until Gaius' remains were interred in the Mausoleum of Augustus (lines 57-62).⁵⁴⁹ In the town of Pisa itself in the same place and in the same way as sacrificing was for Lucius, sacrifices were established for Gaius. Both young men were honored with public funerary performances, but what follows in Gaius' inscription seems to be a bit more unique than Lucius':

“...in memory as a day of mourning like the day of Allia and be so observed at present by the command and desire of all; and that care be taken lest any public sacrifice or supplications or weddings or public banquets ever be held, planned, or announced, for that day or on that day, which day will be February 21, nor should any theatrical shows or chariot races be held or watched...(lines 63-68).”

The anniversary of Gaius' death⁵⁵⁰ would forever be treated like anniversaries of other national disasters,⁵⁵¹ which means marking the day as a day of Allia. Allia refers to the day Rome fell to Gallic invaders⁵⁵² and it became a traditional designation for a date of ill fortune.

In addition to this, Pisa also erected their own honorific arch⁵⁵³ for Gaius, crowned by a statue of Gaius in triumphal dress and two gilded equestrian statues of Gaius and Lucius:

⁵⁴⁹ This period of mourning also included married women of the colony to help mourn (line 62).

⁵⁵⁰ On 21st of February and all public and private business were suspended for that day.

⁵⁵¹ Rüpke, *Kalender*, 467-70.

⁵⁵² The Battle of the Allia was traditionally dated 18 July 390 BCE.

“...and that an arch should be placed in the most frequented place in our colony; decorated with the spoils of nations conquered or received in alliance by him, and on the arch should be placed a statue of him on foot in triumphal dress and two gilded equestrian statues of Gaius and Lucius Caesar shall be placed on either side;... (lines 72-75).”⁵⁵⁴

These decrees from Pisa reflect a moment not fully captured in the historical narrative found in other sources that expressed grief for two lost princes, whom “cruel fate had snatched from the Roman people.” The decrees also describe the public’s reaction to the death in a more concrete way than the literary reactions to the deaths of Marcellus and Drusus. Furthermore, Pisa’s epigraphic commemoration of Gaius, by having the day of his death declared as a day of national disaster as well as erecting an arch in the most frequented public area in Pisa, confirms the manifestation of the “new institutions” that Augustus put in place. By augmenting its own honors for the deceased young men, local councils of outlying municipalities and colonies continued a trend we have already seen taking place at least almost ten years earlier. The city of Sardis sending an embassy to Augustus, which announced their celebration of Gaius’ coming of age ceremony with sacrifices and special attire.⁵⁵⁵ In addition to this, the evidence for the oaths of

⁵⁵³ This is reminiscent of the marble arch that Drusus received decked with spoils that stood on the Via Appia (Suet. *Claud.* 1.3); cf. De Maria *Archi* 272-274, plate 51 (with coin evidence), figure 43, locating it just outside the Aurelian Walls; cf. Tac. *Ann.* 2.83.2 and Tabula Siarensis fr. (a) lines 9-21 for an arch in the Circus Flaminius memorializing Germanicus, the eldest son of Drusus.

⁵⁵⁴ This arch, it has been convincingly argued, was modeled on an arch decreed by the Senate in Rome, to stand in the Roman Forum itself, cf. C. B. Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration and Imperial Portraiture in the Julio-Claudian Period*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 58–64 gives a full discussion.

⁵⁵⁵ *EJ* 99 (Sardis).

loyalty sent that were sent to Augustus from the cities of Conobaria, Samos, and Gangra illustrate how imperial ideology was transmitted outside of Rome. Commemoration decrees were not sent to Rome to receive the benediction of the Senate as decrees had in the past; now they communicated directly with the emperor and sought his approval alone. This relationship, between an Italian community and one ruler, most clearly resembles one between the subjects and a monarch.

Conclusions on Gaius and Lucius Caesar

What emerges from the discussion of this chapter as most remarkable is the thorough manner in which Gaius and Lucius were promoted from 6 BCE onwards. By publicly consenting to the extraordinary honors for his teenage sons, by holding the consulship in addition to distributing largesse to the people when they came of age, Augustus was clearly indicating that a blood relationship to him had carried special value. The relationship between the imperial family and the state, as a direct result of the development of images and public rhetoric identifying Augustus as a *pater patriae*, that by the time Augustus titled his adopted sons Gaius and Lucius *principes iuventutis* (in 5 and 2 BCE respectively), he was now overtly delineating a dynasty. The new title that each of the boys received, *princeps iuventutis*, “leader of the younger generation,” was especially suggestive of their special place within the imperial family. Gaius was also popular figures with the people as the story in Dio, in which Gaius was elected consul during the summer of 6 BCE, confirms.

Constituencies from the people of Rome, to the towns of Italy, to provincial communities, immediately took note of the official measures in Rome and issued their own promotions for the boys themselves. Clearly the cities came increasingly to see Gaius and Lucius as the intended direct successors to Augustus and the position he had achieved.⁵⁵⁶ Oaths offered a glimpse of a developing local community as a part of a wider system at the same time as they added to the image of imperial dynasty. They were the initial steps of this process. In the absence of direct government, Italian communities communicated with the capital through embassies and decrees that were sent directly to the emperor, the head of the “new” government. The diplomatic center of gravity was not the senate and assembly of Rome, but the imperial household. Augustus personally acknowledged his connection to these cities.⁵⁵⁷ Local decrees were then used as vehicles of expression that shared a common trait: rendering honors to the imperial house. Thus the municipalities and colonies as a whole grew in prominence within a larger system of the Principate.

The honorific Pisan decrees reflected a continuation of a process that had started in the late Republic in which Italian communities would send their opinion, in the form of a decree, to the capital.⁵⁵⁸ With the Principate a generation old by the time of Lucius’ and Gaius’ death (in

⁵⁵⁶ There were signs of support for Tiberius, as opposed to Gaius, in the Greek East.

⁵⁵⁷ Aug. *RG* 25.2: “Of its own accord, all of Italy swore an oath of allegiance to me and demanded that I be leader for the war I won at Actium:” *iuravit in mea ver[ba] tota Italia sponte sua, et me be[lli], quo vici ad Actium, ducem depoposcit.* cf. *RG* 21.3: “Whenever I was acclaimed *imperator*, I did not take the grown gold from the *municipia* and colonies, though they decreed it as kindly as they had before:” *quotienscumque imperator a[ppe]llatus sum, aurum coronarium non accepi decernentibus municipi[s] et colonis aequ[e] beni[g]ne adque antea decreverant.*

⁵⁵⁸ Episodically, Italians would interact with the capital, at first in person, but it would have evolved into sending documents. For example, since their inclusion in the count from 70 BCE onwards, Italian magistrates assisted the

CE 2 and 4 respectively), Italian cities had witnessed the funeral behavior at Rome for Marcellus, Agrippa, Octavia, and Drusus. Learning the appropriate words and gestures, municipal competition had found a new forum in which they could demonstrate their loyalty and support to the emperor and to members of his household. Pisa's decrees for Lucius and Gaius Caesar would not have been extraordinary, or even unique behavior that was generated solely and independently from one northern Italian town.

All cities in Italy, who wanted to ensure harmony with imperial ideology at Rome and demonstrate shared grief over the loss in Augustus' household, could impose upon their community similar mourning and commemoration behavior as had been established by senatorial decree at Rome. Doing so directly proclaimed that community's support to the emperor alone, standing with him in his loss. To assume that no other municipality or colony would feel obliged to respond in the very same manner with a personal token, which expresses and symbolizes that loss, in the same fashion as Pisa is incorrect. Pisa's images of Augustus (and as we see now especially with Gaius' decree) as guardian and protector most likely mirrored other towns' dedications to the peace that he brought.⁵⁵⁹ This would mean that many, if not all, of the communities would be swift in formulating a decree to mark special occasions or shared loss and sending it to the emperor for his approval.

Roman census. In addition to this, Cicero mentions the decrees sent by the towns outlying Rome that established that community's opinion on current events taking place at the capital (*Sest.* 10-Capua sent a decree to be read aloud in court in favor of Sestius in 56 BCE; and *Flacc.* 101-multiple colonies and municipalities sent their opinion which had praised L. Flaccus, a praetor in 63 BCE); cf. E. Gabba, "Le città italiche del I sec. a.C. e la politica" (1986), reprinted in *Italia romana* (Como: New Press, 1994): 123-32.

⁵⁵⁹ E.g., the twin altars to Pax and Seccuritas from Praeneste.

Marcellus' death did not receive this type of wider recognition in the Italian communities. Drusus' commemoration included an arch in Mainz, but once more we only know how the city of Rome dealt with his loss. Evidence of oaths and embassies sent to Rome from the surrounding communities only start to appear in the record around 6 BCE. Imperial ideology at this point was now emulated at the local level, uniting the cities of the empire in their competition to render honors to the imperial household.

By the time Gaius Caesar had died in 4 CE, the socio-political transformation from Republic to Empire seemed pretty complete at all levels of society. Through funeral honors and commemoration, Gaius was increasingly viewed and treated as potential imperial successor to Augustus' position in the new system. When coupled with the political climate at the time, Gaius was seen to incarnate the future stability of the regime. Each level of society acted accordingly. The Senate issued commemorative decrees, honoring Gaius. These decrees influenced participatory honors among the equestrians, the Roman people, the people living in communities throughout Italy, and even other provincial communities outside of it. We know that this process was firmly established by the next generation with Germanicus' (19 CE) and Drusus the Younger's (23 CE) funerals and commemoration. Local delegations representing their communities became embassies of condolence, bringing with them expressions of civic grief meant to honor the deceased prince to the emperor and imperial house.⁵⁶⁰

⁵⁶⁰ Suet. *Tib.* 52.2.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION: TRIUMPH OF DEATH

In the preceding pages, I have used the funeral for the Augustan household as an examination of a growing political system. Each funeral represents a particular case study at a specific moment during the reign of Augustus that can be used to investigate imperial ideology. By following these funerals through their development and historical context, I have attempted to show their importance in solidifying the rule of the household of Augustus. The imperial funeral was a ceremony organized as a way of marking, defining, and conceptualizing the emperor's power. Triumphal imagery, in which the imperial family increasingly monopolized traditional elements associated with the ceremony of a triumph, echoed a traditional demonstration of power. Augustus could not do this successfully in the early years of his reign: the triple triumph of 29 BCE was followed through the 20s by six "ordinary triumphs" for victories in Spain, Gaul, Africa, and Thrace. But after the triumph of Cornelius Balbus in 19 BCE, for the rest of Roman history there was no further celebration except by the emperor and his immediate family.⁵⁶¹ The dramatic limitation of the performance of the ceremony of a triumph after the 20s coincides with their use as dynastic events under Augustus.⁵⁶² They were used to showcase and celebrate

⁵⁶¹ Unless we want to count the isolated ovation (*ovatio*) for Aulus Plautius for his exploits in Britain in the middle of the 1st century CE. But even then Emperor Claudius walked side-by-side with him, Dio 60.30.2; Suet. *Claud.* 24.

⁵⁶² This change is encapsulated in Tib. 1.7, especially 1-22, 2.5, 113-20. The Augustan poet Tibullus' first book of poetry celebrates the triumph in 27 BCE of his patron Marcus Valerius Messalla Corvinus for victory over the Aquitainians. His second book predicts the future triumph for Messalla's son, Marcus Valerius Messalla Messalinus. This triumph never takes place. Instead, Messalinus was awarded triumphal *insignia* for successes in Illyricum and

members of his family and advertise Rome's success under the absolute control of the Augustan household. One of Augustus' main venues to demonstrate the supremacy of Augustus' family was the funeral.

Over the course of the middle and late Republic, the Roman aristocratic funeral grew to become vehicles of popular expression and collective grief. Originating as a traditional Republican performance, the final and most important for a deceased aristocrat's in terms of his memory and legacy, the funeral took on an even greater role of political communication and social capital during late Republic. The entire process of the post-death ritual, consisting of: the *collocatio* (lying-in-state), the *pompa funebris* (funeral procession) and the *imagines*, the *laudatio funebris* (funeral oration in honor of the deceased delivered at the Rostra in the Forum), and the burial or cremation itself, became pivotal in mustering public sympathy such that "the loss seems to be not confined to the mourners, but a public one affecting the whole people."⁵⁶³ For the supporters of preeminent men like L. Sulla and Caesar, the funeral was used to manipulate public opinion as a means of reaffirming their leader's reforms and legacy. The funeral became an occasion of historical advertisement, in which the public could be reminded about the contributions of the deceased as well as his entire family to Roman society in a way that reenacts (and to some extent rewrites) a version of that history before spectators.

Augustus had the opportunity to do this at least seven times.⁵⁶⁴ This allowed him to

walked in the triumphal procession of Tiberius in 12 BCE. On Messalinus' *insignia*: Vell. Pat. 2.112.2; Ov. *Pont.* 2.2.75-90.

⁵⁶³ Polyb. 6.53.3.

⁵⁶⁴ For this total, I am counting the funerals for: Marcellus (23 BCE), Agrippa (12 BCE), Octavia (11 BCE), Drusus the Elder (9 BCE), Lucius (2 CE), Gaius (4 CE), and Augustus (14 CE).

experiment with particular ideological dimensions of monarchical ritual and symbolism in order to see what resonated and what did not. For example, we do not see most⁵⁶⁵ of the funeral honors for Marcellus repeated for any other family members. We have to imagine that these elements did not have the desired effect and were discarded for others. In Drusus funeral, we can clearly see the extant of the blending of triumphal and funeral motifs, which do feature heavily in the funeral of Augustus. The articulation of militaristic, heroic nature of the dynasty under the household of Augustus complemented the image of universal rule. Imperial power was something to be celebrated in Rome and something mourned if the person wielding it has died too soon. Success in war had been fundamental to the creation of empire. Augustus needed the participation of all citizens at Rome to create an emotional bond between the imperial family, the city of Rome itself, and the Empire. Drusus' untimely death had enhanced group solidarity among the people. He brought Roman power to the limits of the German frontier. While we do not have much information for the funerals for Gaius and Lucius, their commemorative honors endorse the dynastic nature of Augustus' household because they had represented the next generation of the new dynasty. Augustus' funeral would only confirm this.

The emergence of a form of government that was monarchic in all but name changed the composition of the state and the relationship between the ruler and his subjects. Rather than being the leading citizen (*princeps*) in a state that ruled an empire, Augustus became the ruler of the empire, and that he was perceived as such by those in Italy and the provinces. Rome and its institutions no longer ruled the empire; the emperor ruled it. This perception gradually included

⁵⁶⁵ The golden image for Marcellus could be seen as connected to Augustus gold *imago*.

members of the imperial family. Augustus' funeral was the culmination of a process that transformed the republican aristocratic funeral into imperial court ceremony. His manifestation of power was brought forth vividly through the scale and magnificence of his funeral and displayed for posterity in full view of many of the public works he had built. Augustus made the city. Rome had the city center that befitted its role as the ruling city of the Empire. Anybody who was anybody would be present: members of the senate, the equestrian order, their wives and children, the praetorian guard, centurions, priests, and "almost everyone else who was in the city at the time."⁵⁶⁶ Under the Augustus Principate, the funeral for the imperial family transformed into an exercise that involved all strata of Roman society. One-man-rule was expressed as a permanent triumph, especially in his death.

This notion of the social and political importance of a funeral is further confirmed by Sulla's law, which placed restrictions on expenditure for funerals.⁵⁶⁷ We have already discussed the symbolic value showcased in a funeral display, especially the funeral procession (*pompa funebris*), as an arena of competitive display for individuals to visually confirm their prestige and social status. This display as a means of political communication is made all the more powerful because it takes a form comprehensible to all members of society. Therefore attempting to regulate the practice, in a highly competitive society, which valued public display of prestige,

⁵⁶⁶ Dio 56.42.1-2.

⁵⁶⁷ Plut. *Sul.* 35.2; Over a period between 182 - 18 BCE, nine laws, which are referred to as *leges sumptuariae* or *leges cibariae*, limited various kinds of luxury ostentation. On the fact that ancient authors perceived sumptuary laws as ineffective, see Cic. *Att.* 13.7, Tac. *Ann.* 3.52-55, and Aul. Gell. 20.23. On the *leges sumptuariae* as *leges imperfectae*, see P. Wyetzner, "Sulla's Law on Prices and the Roman Definition of Luxury," in J.J. Aubert and B. Sirks (eds.), *Speculum iuris. Roman Law as a Reflection of Social and Economic Life in Antiquity*, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press (2002), 27. On the *lex Diddia* see Macrobian *Sat.* 3.17.6. On penalties and confiscations see Suet. *Iul.*, 43.2.

can curb political power.

Augustus' self-advertisement by appropriating the symbolic motifs of traditional funerary rituals on occasions of the deaths of members of his family established his status not as merely one of the ruling elite, but as *the* ruling elite; and by extension the status of his family not merely as *one* of Rome's ruling families, but as *the* ruling family. Throughout his lifetime, Augustus stressed the importance of members of his family through the use of public funerals. By focusing specifically on the visualization of aristocratic authority as well as the relationship between the past and the present, the substantial influence of each successive funeral in the imperial family helped to shape, establish, and reaffirm the ideology of Augustus' Principate. For Augustus, a funeral for his relative represented a powerful occasion to reiterate the centrality of the imperial family and advertise his leadership as well as that of his potential successors. These male family members were key to the future of the regime and their elevation in social status, both in life and more importantly for this study their death and burial, was one of the ways that Augustus could advertise his own role and his household's dominance in Roman politics. The imperial funeral deliberately set the Augustan household apart not only from ordinary citizens, but also from other aristocratic families in a very conspicuous way. This was a process of gradual enhancement of one family over the roles of other senatorial families. It would become impossible for other extant senatorial families to compete on the same scale as the imperial family. The lavishness of the imperial funeral procession was meant not only to impress, but also to stun those who were present for generations to come. The more sumptuous a procession, the more and longer it would be talked about and persist either in memory or commemorated in writing.

Augustus' repertoire of figures to draw from extended beyond his familial heritage by projecting himself as an heir to the glory of Rome's collective past. At Marcellus' funeral in 23 BCE, perhaps best captured in Virgil's description in the *Aeneid* of the parade of Roman heroes that Aeneas witnesses, *imagines* of illustrious Romans not directly related to the deceased were present in the cortege. This included Augustus' ancestors, real, appropriated, or mythical, all the way back to his Trojan predecessor Aeneas. Agrippa's funeral in 12 BCE contains a similar cortege and Augustus delivered the *laudatio* that described Agrippa as his colleague in empire and a viable heir to the legacy of distinguished Romans to whom he held no connection by blood.⁵⁶⁸ It seems reasonable to assume that since Augustus did the same thing for the funeral procession of Marcellus and Agrippa, this "program" would be included and used for his stepson Drusus, as well as his adopted sons Gaius and Lucius Caesar. These details would ultimately be used by Augustus.

Augustus' own funeral used elements common during the Republic and built them up to such a distinctive level that their use would only be considered "appropriate" for him or members of the imperial family. Augustus' *pompa funebris* is the ultimate demonstration of this. Augustus' parade of *imagines*, which normally included traditional members of his household, now displayed *imagines* of famous Romans, beginning with Romulus himself as well as including Pompey Magnus. In republican funerary processions, the *imago*-wearing deceased individual was prominently on his bier, following his ancestors as the next to join their ranks, Augustus was represented by three *imagines*: one of wax, another of gold, and a third in a four-

⁵⁶⁸ Flower, *Ancestry Masks*, 238-9.

horse chariot (*quadriga*). Moreover, in the procession Augustus appeared *ahead* of his ancestors, rather than being led by them. The triumphal imagery that had been a part of republican aristocratic funeral processions acquired greater symbolic substance: on its way towards the Campus Martius where a pyre had been erected, Augustus' funeral procession passed through the *porta triumphalis* (triumphal gate), a gate through which a Roman general, who was celebrating a triumph, passed at the beginning of his march;⁵⁶⁹ his procession also included the nations and peoples he had conquered and subdued.⁵⁷⁰

The topography of Augustus' funeral procession would also played an important role in confirming Augustus' legacy. The basic topography connecting the Forum and Rostra with the Campus Martius became traditional, especially with the public funerals of Sulla and Caesar.⁵⁷¹ The procession most likely moved in such a way as to "pick up" Augustus' images on its way to the Forum for the *laudatio*. I think that Sumi is correct in suggesting that Augustus' funeral procession would have linked together spatially many of the most important monuments of Augustan Rome: Augustus' house and the adjacent Temple of Apollo, the Temple of Mars Ultor and Forum Augustum, the Curia Julia, the Rostra Augusti and the Temple of Divus Julius, the Saepta Julia, Horologium, and the Ara Pacis, and finally the Mausoleum of Augustus.⁵⁷² Augustus drew attention to this transformation of Rome by stating that he found Rome in bricks

⁵⁶⁹ It is mentioned in five passages: Cic. *Pis.* 55; Tac. *Ann.* 1.8; Cass. Dio 42; Suet. *Aug.* 100; Joseph. *Bell. Iud.* 7.5.4.

⁵⁷⁰ Tac. *Ann.* 1.8.3.

⁵⁷¹ Sumi, *Ceremony and Power*, 260.

⁵⁷² Sumi, *Ceremony and Power*, 260-1.

and left it in marble.⁵⁷³ Vitruvius captures this when he praises Augustus not only for increasing the territory of Rome but also for ensuring that “that majesty of empire was expressed through the grandeur of public buildings.”⁵⁷⁴ In this sense the topography of the procession as well as the symbolic display embedded within it, acquired a different meaning under the first emperor of Rome and successive Julio-Claudian emperors.

Funerals were only a part of Augustus’ program to establish his position, yet the funeral was a powerful and effective venue for this type universally comprehensible social and political communication, which elevated the prestige of the imperial family. That elevation of the imperial family had come in slow and painful steps, with care to avoid the impression that a monarchical system demanded them. The funeral for Augustus marked the final step of the process of eliminating social and political competition as well as validated Augustus’ version of history. These funerals demonstrated how Augustus’ mind worked as each opportunity gave him a way to redesign the evolving ideology. He changes the image of the funeral because it changes the image of his family. His domestic issues are made into state issues. Death becomes a state concern, sending shockwaves throughout the empire and the funeral becomes an outlet of public grief to share in Augustus’ loss. All levels of society: Roman spectators (citizens, freedmen, and slaves), the elite political classes (municipal elites), and the aristocracy (senatorial and equestrian elites) would answer to the emperor and imperial family. By adapting and altering the funerary rituals’ symbolic associations, cultivated and reformatted over a period of more than forty years,

⁵⁷³ Suet. *Aug.* 28.

⁵⁷⁴ Vitruvius *On Architecture* Preface 2.

the celebration of the life and career of the man who restored the Republic marked the final step in the transformation of the Roman Republic to Roman Empire.

To illustrate how popular Augustus had been consider the events immediately after the deaths of the other Julio-Claudian emperors: Tiberius was loathed and threatened with posthumous humiliation, but received a public funeral on which Suetonius does not elaborate;⁵⁷⁵ Caligula's corpse received only a hasty private funeral⁵⁷⁶ as is the case with Nero's low-key private ceremony.⁵⁷⁷ Augustus never designated a successor to his powers, especially not even in his will; he bequeathed his name and most of his estate to Tiberius – but no constitutional powers. He didn't have to. With each death of his male relatives, an opportunity arose for Augustus to reassert the centrality of the imperial family and its unique position within the Roman state. After the death of Gaius (4 CE), Augustus had raised Tiberius (as he had done with Agrippa) to a position nearly comparable to his own and shared with him powers to obviate the risk of leaving the state without a firm and experienced leader, who was also now Augustus' adopted son. Augustus assured that his own death would not interrupt the continuity of the new system as he had tied Rome's success with the success of his family.

⁵⁷⁵ Suet. *Tib.* 75.

⁵⁷⁶ Suet. *Cal.* 59.

⁵⁷⁷ Suet. *Ner.* 50.

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