

THE *ELOGIA* OF THE AUGUSTAN FORUM

THE *ELOGIA* OF THE AUGUSTAN FORUM

By

BRAD JOHNSON, B.A.

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AUTHOR: Brad Johnson, B.A. (McMaster University), B.A. Honours (McMaster
University)

SUPERVISOR: Dr. Claude Eilers

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ABSTRACT

The Augustan Forum contained the statues of famous leaders from Rome's past. Beneath each statue an inscription was appended. Many of these inscriptions, known also as *elogia*, have survived. They record the name, magistracies held, and a brief account of the achievements of the individual. The reasons why these inscriptions were included in the Forum is the focus of this thesis. This thesis argues, through a detailed analysis of the *elogia*, that Augustus employed the inscriptions to propagate an image of himself as the most distinguished, and successful, leader in the history of Rome.

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INTRODUCTION

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND GOALS OF THE STUDY

In 2 B.C., on either 12 May or 1 August, the Forum of Augustus was ‘officially’ opened when the temple of Mars Ultor, the centrepiece of the forum, was dedicated during the celebration of the *Ludi Martiales*.¹ The temple itself had been vowed by Octavian forty years earlier in 42 B.C. when, avenging the assassination of his father at the battle of Philippi, he vowed a temple to Mars the Avenger if the god allowed victory to be his.² Octavian’s subsequent victory ensured the building of the temple, however, the temple built in the Forum of Augustus may have been the second building constructed for the god of war.

In 20 B.C. Augustus, through diplomacy, recovered the standards that had been lost

¹ Ov. *Fast.* 5. 545- 598; Dio 55.10.6-8; Vell. Pat. 2.100.2; *RG* 22.2. Regarding the uncertainty of dates see note 6 below. Throughout this study, and in the appendix, abbreviated references to authors and their works follow those found in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (3rd ed.), and journal abbreviations follow those in *L’Année Philologique*. The following abbreviations are employed frequently and, in some instances, differ from those commonly cited: *ASRT* = *Ancient Society: Resources for Teachers*; *BMCRE* = *British Museum Catalogue of Coins of the Roman Empire*; *Bull. Com.* = *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma*; *Ins. Ital.* = A. Degraasi, *Inscriptiones Italiae*; *Not. Scav.* = *Notizie degli scavi di antichità*; Wilmanns = G. Wilmanns, *Exempla Inscriptionum Latinarum*.

² Ov. *Fast.* 5. 573-578: ...*templa feres et, me victore, vocaberis Ultor* (‘...you shall receive a temple and, when I am the victor, you shall be called Avenger’); Suet. *Aug.* 29.2: *aedem Martis bello Philippensi pro ultione paterna suscepto voverat* (‘he had vowed the temple of Mars in the war of Philippi, which he undertook to avenge his father’).

to the Parthians.³ In honour of this achievement Augustus decreed that a temple to Mars Ultor be constructed on the Capitol in which the standards would be deposited.⁴ The existence of this temple is far from certain,⁵ but the possibility that it was built on the Capitol has contributed to the uncertainty concerning the dates for the opening of the Forum, the dedication of the temple within, and the celebration of the games for Mars.⁶ If this shrine existed, there is no doubt that it served only as a temporary resting place for the standards until the temple in the Forum of Augustus was completed, to which they were transferred for safe keeping.⁷

There is no evidence indicating exactly when Augustus decided to begin work on

³ Suet. *Aug.* 21.3; Dio 53.33.1-2, 54.8.1-2; *RG* 29.1-2. The standards had been lost by M. Crassus at the battle of Carrhae in 53 B.C., and by Anthony in 40 and 36 B.C.

⁴ Dio 54.8.3.

⁵ Dio (54.8.3) is the only literary evidence for the shrine, and no archaeological remains have been discovered. See R. Hannah, 'Games for Mars and the Temples of Mars Ultor,' *Klio* 80 (1998), 426, and J.W. Rich, 'Augustus's Parthian Honour, The Temple of Mars Ultor and the Arch in the Forum Romanum,' *PBSR* 66 (1998), 80-82.

⁶ The arguments concerning dating are not conclusive. C.J. Simpson, 'The Date of Dedication of the Temple of Mars Ultor,' *JRS* 67 (1977), 91-94, argues against the existence of a temple on the Capitol and states that the games, the dedication of the temple, and the opening of the Forum occurred on 12 May. Mommsen, *CIL* 1² p. 318, argues that the games were first celebrated on 12 May 20 B.C. when the Capitoline shrine was dedicated, and argues that the games were again celebrated in 2 B.C., on 1 August, to mark the dedication of the temple in the Forum. Hannah (1998), 433, argues that games were held on 12 May 2 B.C. to celebrate the opening of the Forum, and that games were held again that same year on 1 August to commemorate the dedication of the temple of Mars Ultor. See also R. Hannah, 'The Temple of Mars Ultor and 12 May,' *MDAI(R)* 104 (1997), 528 n. 6, and J.C. Anderson, *The Historical Topography of the Imperial Fora*, Collection Latomus 182 (Brussels, 1984), 68-69.

⁷ See Anderson (1984), 67. E.S. Gruen, 'Augustus and the Ideology of War and Peace,' in *The Age of Augustus: An Interdisciplinary Conference Held at Brown University April 30-May 2, 1982*, ed. R. Winkes (Louvain, 1985), 65, favours the existence of a small, temporary shrine on the Capitol.

the Forum or on the temple.⁸ It is clear that difficulties, specifically a lack of funds and an insufficient amount of land, delayed the completion of the Forum. Since Augustus paid for the project *ex manibiis*,⁹ it was presumably not until Octavian secured the wealth of the Ptolemies in 29 B.C. that he had adequate resources to fund the project.¹⁰ A shortage of land also complicated Augustus' plans. Augustus purchased the land upon which both the Forum and temple were to be built in order to keep the project as a private and not public undertaking.¹¹ Apparently one or more landowners were unwilling to sell and, since Augustus did not wish to evict those unwilling to sell their land, changes in the plan of the Forum were made.¹²

According to Suetonius, the Augustan Forum became necessary when an increase

⁸ T. J. Luce, "Livy, Augustus, and the Forum Augustum," in *Between Republic and Empire: Reflections of Augustus and His Principate*, ed. Kurt A. Raaflaub and Mark Toher (Berkeley, 1990), 123; T. Frank, "Augustus, Vergil, and the Augustan Elogia," *AJPh* 59 (1938), 93. Luce echoes Frank's opinion that there is no indication of when plans for the new Forum originated. Rich (supra n.5), 88, argues that construction of both the Forum and the temple may have begun in, or shortly after, 20 B.C. after the standards had been recovered from the Parthians. This argument is also presented by Simpson (1977), 67.

⁹ *RG* 21.1: *in privato solo Martis Ultoris templum forumque Augustum ex manibiis feci* ('On private land I built the temple of Mars Ultor and the Forum Augustum from the spoils of war'). The Latin text of the *Res Gestae* employed in this thesis is that of P.A. Brunt and J.M. Moore, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti. The Achievements of the Divine Augustus* (Oxford, 1967).

¹⁰ Frank (1938), 93. See also Anderson (1984), 66, who suggests that the monies obtained from Egypt supplemented the wealth Octavian had acquired from the Dalmatian campaigns of the thirties, and the spoils taken from the Lusitanian and Alpine tribes.

¹¹ *RG* 21.1. See also Luce (1990), 125-126.

¹² Suet. *Aug.* 56.2: *forum angustius fecit non ausus extorquere possessoribus proximas domos* ('Not venturing to wrest away the neighbouring houses from the owners, he made the forum narrower'). See Luce (1990), 126 n. 9, who believes that the remarks of Suetonius are confirmed by the archaeological remains. Cf. Anderson (1984), 66.

in the population of Rome and in the number of legal cases required another forum be built. The two existing *fora*, the Forum Romanum and Forum Iulium, could no longer accommodate the daily affairs of the city and were deemed inadequate.¹³ The need for space for public business was so urgent that the Forum was opened before the temple was completed.¹⁴ Augustus decreed that the Forum be used for public prosecutions and the selection of jurors, that the senate consider wars and claims for triumphs in the temple of Mars, that those departing for the provinces with military commands were to begin their journey from the temple, and that victors were to carry their acquired spoils to the temple when returning to Rome.¹⁵

The Augustan Forum was built to the northeast of the Forum Iulium, which it abutted, and imitated in its basic shape. It was rectangular in shape, approximately 125 metres long and between 90 and 118 metres wide, with the temple of Mars situated

¹³ Suet. *Aug.* 29.1: *fori exstruendi causa fuit hominum et iudiciorum multitudo quae videbatur non sufficientibus duobus etiam tertio indigere* ('The reason for building the forum was the increase in the number of people and of cases at law, which seemed to call for a third forum, since two were no longer adequate'). See also Anderson (1984), 65.

¹⁴ Suet. *Aug.* 29.1: *festinatus necdum perfecta Martis aede publicatum est* ('it was thrown open to the public in haste with the temple of Mars not yet finished').

¹⁵ Regarding law cases and juries see Suet. *Aug.* 29.1: *cautumque ut separatim in eo publica iudicia et sortitiones iudicium fierent* ('and it was decreed that the public trials and the choosing by lot of the jurors. On the other functions to be carried out in the temple of Mars see Suet. *Aug.* 29. 2: *saxit ergo ut de bellis triumphisque hic consuleretur senatus, provincias cum imperio petituri hinc deducerentur, quique victores redissent, huc insignia triumphorum conferrent* ('therefore it was decreed that in this place the senate should deliberate concerning wars and triumphs, that from this place those about to travel to the provinces with military authority should be escorted, and to this place all victors should return and carry the tokens of triumphs'). Dio (55.10.2-4) lists the same functions that were to occur in the temple, but he adds that Augustus decreed that the assumption of the *toga virilis* by young Romans was also to take place in the temple.

exactly in the middle of the north-east half of the forum.¹⁶ The temple was set upon a high podium, had columns over fifteen metres in height, and joined the wall of the Forum at the northeast end.¹⁷ Augustus' name was engraved upon the architrave of the temple,¹⁸ and the figure of Mars Ultor, with representations of Venus, Amor, Fortuna, Romulus, and the personifications of Mons Palatinus, Tiber Pater, and Dea Roma decorated the pediment.¹⁹ Within the temple, the cella housed statues of Mars Ultor, Venus, and possibly a statue of the deified Iulius.²⁰ Directly opposite to the front of the temple was a large statue of Augustus in triumphal dress driving a four-horse chariot (*quadriga*).²¹ On the base of the statue was the title *pater patriae*.²²

On either side of the temple, two colonnaded halls (porticoes) extended for the entire length of the Forum. Set behind these colonnades, at the northeast end, were two

¹⁶ S.B. Platner and T. Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (London, 1929), 221, give the measurements as 125 m. by 90 m. F. Coarelli, *Guida archeologica di Roma* (Verona, 1974), 108 and P. Zanker, *Forum Augustum: das Bildprogramm* (Tübingen, 1968), 6, both provide measurements of 125 m. by 118m. See also J.B. Ward-Perkins, *Roman Imperial Architecture* (London, 1981), 28-33. Cf. Anderson (1984), 79-80, who argues for dimensions of 115 by 85 m. For clarification regarding the layout, see the plan of the Forum on p. 115.

¹⁷ See Platner and Ashby (1929), 222-223 and Ward-Perkins (1981), 30-32.

¹⁸ *Ov. Fast.* 5.567: *Augusto praetextum nomine templum* ('the temple having been furnished with the name Augustus').

¹⁹ Anderson (1984), 72.

²⁰ The presence of Mars and Venus is certain, but Iulius seems to be a matter of speculation. See Anderson (1984), 70.

²¹ There is some uncertainty whether the figure of Augustus was included in the *quadriga*. See Chapter 3 for further discussion on this issue.

²² The statue and honorary title were bestowed upon Augustus in 2 B.C. (*RG* 35).

semicircular courtyards (*exedrae*). In the walls of the colonnades and *exedrae*, niches contained an undeterminable number of statues.²³ The statues were made of both marble and bronze. Those of marble date to the opening of the Forum in 2 B.C., whereas those of bronze were later additions.²⁴ Beneath each statue a brief *titulus* proclaimed the name of the individual and a longer *elogium* recounted the services of each individual to the state.²⁵ Both the *tituli* and *elogia* were inscribed on marble.

Through the testimony of Ovid, the following reconstruction of the statuary is possible. In the centre of the *exedra* to the northwest, the statue of Aeneas, with its accompanying *elogium*, was surrounded by the Alban kings and the members of the Julian line.²⁶ In the northeast *exedra*, Romulus occupied the central position.²⁷ On either side of

²³ Each of the *exedrae* had one large niche surrounded by fourteen smaller ones. The uncertainty concerning the exact length of the Forum, however, prevents any precise calculation to be made regarding the total number of statues. See Anderson (1984), 83. Cf. J. E. Stambaugh, *The Ancient Roman City* (Baltimore, 1988), 55, who states that there were 108 statues in the Forum. See also M. Putnam, *Artifices of Eternity: Horace's Fourth Book of Odes* (Ithaca, 1986), 331. See plan on p. 115.

²⁴ Dio (55.10.3) asserts that the statues were of bronze whereas the author of the *SHA* (see below, n. 24) claims that they were of marble. Anderson (1984), 82, concludes that both materials were used and argues that Dio's statement refers to a decree of Augustus which postulated that all future statues be made of bronze. See also H. Flower, *Ancestor Masks and Aristocratic Power in Roman Culture* (New York, 1996), 229.

²⁵ Ov. *Fast.* 5.566: *claraque dispositis acta subesse viris* ('and the famous achievements had been arranged in order underneath the men'). The anonymous author of the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (*Alex. Sev.* 28.6) asserts that Severus Alexander set up statues of the deified emperors and lists of their exploits after the example of Augustus, *qui summorum virorum statuas in foro suo e marmore conlocavit additis gestis* ('who placed statues of marble in his own forum of the most illustrious men with their accomplishments having been attached'). See also, P. Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, trans. A. Shapiro (Ann Arbor, 1988), 211, and Putnam (1986), 331.

²⁶ Ov. *Fast.* 5.563-564: *hinc videt Aenean oneratum pondere caro et tot Iuleae nobilitatis avos* ('On this side he sees Aeneas weighed down with his precious load and many ancestors of the noble Julians').

²⁷ Ov. *Fast.* 5.565: *hinc videt Iliaden* ('On that side he sees the son of Ilia').

Romulus, and lining the walls of both porticoes, were the statues of the *summi viri*, the illustrious men of the Republic.²⁸

Some, if not all, of the statues and *elogia* displayed in the Forum were duplicated and set up in several municipalities throughout Italy, and elsewhere. These cities, as the result of private endowments or public vote, chose to erect monuments either suggested by, or modelled on, those in Rome.²⁹ As a result, copies of the *elogia* have been recovered from the cities of Arretium, Pompeii, and Lavinium.³⁰ These reproductions have assisted in the restoration of the inscriptions found in the Forum.

The *elogia* of twenty-eight individuals have been identified from the Forum.³¹ This number, however, reflects only those individuals whose inscriptions may be reconstructed with confidence. The literary sources reveal that other individuals were honoured in the Forum by Augustus, but these *elogia* have not survived. For example, Aulus Gellius asserts that a statue of M. Valerius Corvus (*cos.* 348) was present in the Forum,³² and Pliny

²⁸ The term *summi viri* is taken from the *SHA* (see n. 25 above). Regarding the placement of the statues see Coarelli (1974), 109.

²⁹ See both L.R. Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor* (Philadelphia, 1975), 221, and Flower (1996), 229.

³⁰ See A. Degrassi, *Ins. Ital.* 13.3 (1937), 7; T. Mommsen, *CIL* 1², p.188.

³¹ See Appendix: The Elogia of the Augustan Forum, p. 86-114. This appendix catalogues the twenty-eight inscriptions of those individuals who have been identified as being depicted in the Forum. Both Degrassi [*Ins. Ital.* 13.3 (1937), 8] and Mommsen (*CIL* 1², p.188) provide lists of the individuals, however, their conclusions regarding the total number of inscriptions, and the identities of the individuals differ. The appendix included in this study has combined the lists of Degrassi and Mommsen.

³² Gell. *NA* 9.11.10: *statuam Corvino isti divus Augustus in foro suo statuendam curavit* ('The deified Augustus ordered a statue to be set up in his forum for that Corvinus'). Both Corvus and Corvinus are attested as the *cognomen* of M. Valerius (Corvinus: Gell. *NA* 9.11; Corvus: Livy 7.26.12).

confirms that P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus (*cos.* 147) was honoured with both a statue and *elogium*.³³ Although the presence of these individuals in the Forum is proven by the literary sources, the exact details of their respective *elogia* cannot be determined.³⁴ Although these individuals are discussed in this study; nevertheless, it is the surviving twenty-eight *elogia* that are the basis for this thesis.

Suetonius asserts that Augustus declared that the individuals honoured in the Forum were chosen because they had, through their achievements in life, raised Rome to greatness.³⁵ By 2 B.C., however, the greatness of Rome was personified in the figure of Augustus. He had equalled and surpassed most, if not all, of the achievements of the individuals honoured in his Forum, and his control of the state was established. The question of why Augustus chose to include *elogia*, and statues, of these individuals in his Forum naturally arises. This study argues that the *elogia* were employed by Augustus to support his image, which he cultivated himself, as the greatest leader in Rome's history. In order to substantiate this proposal, this thesis is divided in the following manner.

Chapter one examines the statuary programme of the Forum. The possible sources

³³ Pliny *NH* 22.6.13: *et statuae eius in foro suo divus Augustus subscripsit* ('and the deified Augustus wrote it underneath his [Scipio's] statue in his forum').

³⁴ Although both Pliny (*NH* 22.6.13) and Gellius (*NA* 9.11.1-9) recount the reasons why Aemilianus and Corvinus were honoured in the Forum, the absence of surviving *elogia* for these individuals prevents any definite conclusions from being made.

³⁵ Suet. *Aug.* 31.5: *proximum a dis immortalibus honorem memoriae ducum praestitit qui imperium p. R. ex minimo maximum reddidissent* ('next to the immortal gods he honoured the memory of the leaders who had raised the dominion of the Roman people from obscurity to greatness').

that may have been used as models for, or influenced, the arrangement of the statues and accompanying *elogia*, the selection of those individuals honoured, and the composition of the inscriptions are discussed. Attention is also given to the role of Augustus in the project.

Chapter two considers the contents and historical accuracy of the *elogia*. It is clear that certain offices, accomplishments, and honours are stressed and repeated in the inscriptions. These similarities are categorized and discussed. It is also certain that the inscriptions omit details concerning the *cursus honorum* of certain individuals, but also include elements that are not confirmed by other sources. Through a prosopographical approach these variations are examined.

Chapter three examines the connections between the Forum, the *elogia*, and the *Res Gestae* of Augustus. It is certain that Augustus employed all three to foster his own image. The manner in which Augustus was presented visually in the Forum, and verbally in the *Res Gestae* is examined. The similarities in content and composition between the *elogia* and the *Res Gestae* are also discussed, and possible reasons for these similarities are offered.

Chapter four considers the virtues of Augustus. It is certain that Augustus was honoured for his *virtus* (courage), *clementia* (clemency), *iustitia* (justice), and *pietas* (piety). The possible connections between Augustus' virtues, and the individuals honoured in the Forum are discussed through a comparison of the *Res Gestae* and the *elogia*.

CHAPTER 1

THE STATUARY DESIGN OF THE FORUM: INFLUENCES AND SOURCES.

There is little doubt that Augustus was responsible for having the Forum built. The sources confirm that Augustus vowed the structure and that he purchased the land upon which both the temple of Mars Ultor, and the Forum were built.¹ Both Suetonius and Dio assert that Augustus also decreed exactly what business was to take place in the structure, and Suetonius suggests that Augustus played a role in the selection of those honoured with statues in the Forum.² It is, therefore, reasonable to surmise, based upon the ancient authors, that Augustus involved himself in the entire project. Augustus may have suggested the architectural design of the Forum, the arrangement of the statuary and the inscriptions, and the composition of the *elogia*. At the very least, the emperor must have acted in a supervisory role, being consulted on the design and plans of the forum which was to bear his name.³

¹ On the vow, see Introduction, p.1 n.2; regarding the purchase of land, see Introduction, p.3 n.9

² Regarding the decrees of Augustus, see Introduction, p.4 n.15; Suetonius (*Aug.* 31.5) notes that *et statuas omnium triumphali effigie in utraque fori sui porticu dedicavit, professus et edicto: commentum id se, ut ad illorum vitam velut ad exemplar et ipse, dum viveret, et insequentium aetatium principes exigerentur a civibus* ('and in both porticos of his own forum, he dedicated statues of all of them in triumphal dress, and having declared in a proclamation: I contrived this so that both myself, while I live, and the leaders of following generations might be required by the citizens to attain a way of life, as it were, according to the model of those men').

³ Zanker (1988), 212, favours the view that Augustus was involved in every step of the planning and design of the Forum.

There is, however, evidence which suggests that the arrangement of the statues and inscriptions, the design of the Forum, and the composition of the *elogia* did not originate in the mind of Augustus, or any of his advisors, but was rather adopted from precedents established by Roman biographers, Vergil, established Roman customs, and funerary inscriptions. Furthermore, the individuals chosen to be honoured in the Forum, and subsequently the composition of the *elogia*, may also have been influenced by these precedents. This chapter examines the possible sources which may have influenced the statuary and architectural design of the Forum of Augustus.

The works of two Roman biographers, M. Terentius Varro and T. Pomponius Atticus, and the manner of presentation which they employed, may have influenced the manner in which the statuary and inscriptions were displayed in the Forum. In 39 B.C., Varro completed his *Imagines (On Portraits)* which was a collection of seven hundred portraits of famous men, both Greek and Roman.⁴ The work included portraits of kings and statesmen, philosophers, historians, as well as others whose likenesses and accomplishments Varro believed should be recorded so as to be remembered by future generations.⁵ Underneath each of the portraits, Varro summarised the achievements of each individual in a short epigram and although a complete list of portraits cannot be ascertained, since the entire collection has not survived, it is certain that Varro included

⁴ Varro's work is called the *Hebdomades* by Gellius (*NA* 3.10.1). Pliny (*NH* 35.11) confirms that Varro's work contained 700 portraits. The completion date is given by N. Horsfall, 'Virgil, Varro's *Imagines* and the Forum of Augustus,' *ASRT* 10 (1980), 21.

⁵ Pliny (*NH* 35.11) suggests that one of the main reasons Varro composed this work was so that these men, and their achievements, would not be forgotten.

numerous Romans in his work, such as the Scipios and the family of the Fabii, all of whom figured in the statuary programme of the Forum.⁶

The biographies of T. Pomponius Atticus imitated those of Varro. Atticus compiled an album that included portraits of Roman men with each entry accompanied with an explanatory epigram of four or five lines.⁷ It has been suggested that the compilation of Romans by Atticus provided the list upon which the *elogia* of the Forum was derived; however, since Atticus' work has not survived, such conclusions cannot be substantiated.⁸ The similarities in presentation between the biographies and the statuary in the Forum cannot, however, be ignored. It is, therefore, arguable that Augustus may have been inspired by, or imitated, the style of Varro and Atticus, and furthermore, it is plausible that these biographies may have been a source for the texts of the *elogia* displayed in the Forum.⁹

⁶ Varro's inclusion of epigrams is discussed by Horsfall (1980), 21, and by A. Momigliano, *The Development of Greek Biography* (Cambridge, 1971), 96. Symmachus (*Ep.* 1.4), in a letter to his father, confirms that Varro, in the *Imagines*, included *gentem Fabiam, decora Scipionum* ('the Fabian family, the glories of the Scipios').

⁷ *Nep. Att.* 18.5-6: *namque versibus qui honore rerumque gestarum amplitudine ceteros populi Romani praestiterunt exposuit ita ut sub singulorum imaginibus facta magistratusque eorum non amplius quaternis quinisque versibus descripserit* ('For in this manner he published in verse those men who in reputation and in the greatness of their achievements had surpassed the rest of the Roman people, so that under the portraits of each of those men he described their deeds and magistracies in not more than four or five verses').

⁸ Anderson (1984), 87, argues that the portraits and epigrams of Atticus were employed as a model for the statues and inscriptions of the Forum. See B. Kellum, 'Sculptural Programs and Propaganda in Augustan Rome: The Temple of Apollo on the Palatine and the Forum of Augustus' (Ph.D. diss., Harvard, 1982), 146 n. 44, who concludes that Augustus was influenced by the work done by Atticus.

⁹ Both Momigliano (1971), 98, and Horsfall (1980), 22-23, argue in favour of the biographies as sources for the *elogia*.

Although the works of Varro and Atticus display similarities to the statuary programme of the Forum, their influence on Augustus may have been minor compared to Vergil. It is certain that Augustus was familiar with Vergil's *Aeneid*. Donatus asserts that Vergil and Augustus were associates, and that the poet had read portions of his works to the emperor.¹⁰ It is, therefore, possible that Vergil may have been an influence upon Augustus. Two passages from Vergil's *Aeneid*, one from book six and the other from book seven, contain such similarities to the layout of the Forum that Vergil must be considered as a possible source for the design of the structure.

It has been argued that the design of the Forum, as well as the individuals honoured it, originated in the scene from book six of the *Aeneid*, when Aeneas is shown, by his father Anchises, his own descendants and the great Romans of the future.¹¹ In this 'Parade of Heroes,'¹² Aeneas is first shown a number of the Alban kings, including Aeneas Silvius, and king Procas.¹³ Aeneas is then shown the figures of Romulus, Augustus, the early kings of Rome, and the heroes from the Republican period. Included in this latter

¹⁰ Donatus (*Vit. Verg.* 95ff.) suggests that Vergil had read his *Georgics*, in its entirety, to Augustus and had later recited the second, fourth, and sixth books of the *Aeneid* to Augustus and Octavia shortly after the death of Marcellus in 23. See also Frank (1938), 92, and H. T. Rowell, 'Vergil and the Forum of Augustus,' *AJPh* 62 (1941), 261.

¹¹ Zanker (1988), 212-213, argues in favour of book six as the most important source for design of the Forum. The entire passage is much too long for reproduction here, see *Verg. Aen.* 6.756-883.

¹² The title for this passage, the 'Parade of Heroes,' is borrowed from N. Horsfall, 'The Structure and Purpose of Vergil's Parade of Heroes,' *ASRT* 12 (1982), 12-18.

¹³ *Verg. Aen.* 6.762-776. In a similar manner, Augustus also included the Alban kings in his Forum (see Appendix, nos. E2-E6—hereafter references to the Appendix will be indicated with an E, followed by the appropriate catalogue number), including both Silvius (*Aen.* 6.763-766) and Procas (*Aen.* 6.767).

group were the figures of M. Furius Camillus (*dict.* 396), L. Aemilius Paullus (*cos.* 182), the Gracchi, the Scipios, C. Fabricius Luscinus (*cos.* 282), Q. Fabius Maximus (*cos.* 233), and the young M. Claudius Marcellus (*aed.cur.* 23).¹⁴ Each of these individuals, as well as Romulus, were honoured in the Forum.¹⁵

Besides similarities in the individuals depicted in the *Aeneid* and the Forum, other parallels exist. The manner in which the individuals were displayed in the Forum seems to imitate the order in which Aeneas was shown his descendants and future Romans. Aeneas is first shown the Alban kings, then Romulus, and finally the heroes of the Republic. This is the exact order that Ovid employs when describing the Forum. Ovid, who witnessed the opening of the Forum, describes the statuary of the building through the eyes of the god Mars.¹⁶ Mars, once he had descended from the heaven, first saw Aeneas and his descendants (i.e. the Alban kings), then looked upon the figure of Romulus, and finally saw the *summi viri* and their *elogia*.¹⁷ It could, of course, be argued

¹⁴ Camillus is named (*Aen.* 6.825); Paullus has been identified as the individual who will destroy Argos (*Aen.* 6.836-840) [See N. Horsfall (1982), 14, and R.D. Williams, *The Aeneid of Virgil* (New York, 1972), 512]; and the Gracchi, the Scipios, Fabricius, and Fabius are all identified by name (*Aen.* 6.842-846), as is Marcellus (*Aen.* 6.883).

¹⁵ Ovid (*Fast.* 5.565) confirms that Romulus was included in the Forum (see Appendix no. E7 for the Pompeian copy of his *elogia*). See Appendix nos. E10, E19, E20, E18, E14, E16, and E27 for the *elogia* of the other individuals mentioned by Vergil. Horsfall (1982), 14, and Williams (1972), 512, both suggest that *Gracchi genus* (*Aen.* 6.842) does not refer only to Tiberius and Gaius, but rather to the entire family. This would, thereby, include their father, Ti. Sempronius Gracchus (*cos.* 177) (E20). Although only the *elogia* of L. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus (*cos.* 190) (E18) has survived, Pliny confirms that P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus (*cos.* 147) was also honoured in the Forum (see Introduction, p. 8). Rowell (1941), 272-273, points out that it is likely that most, if not all, of the heroes mentioned by Vergil were also honoured in the Forum.

¹⁶ Ovid's presence at the opening of the Forum is argued by Simpson (1977), 91.

¹⁷ *Ov. Fast.* 5.563-566.

that Ovid based his description on Vergil, but it is more likely that it was Ovid's own creation based upon his familiarity with the Augustan structure. The Forum opened six or seven years before Ovid wrote the *Fasti*, and this gave him the time to visit the structure frequently, view the arrangement of the statues and *elogia*, and formulate the description written from the viewpoint of Mars perched upon the temple.¹⁸

Due to the similarities between the order of presentation of the heroes in Vergil's work, compared to the description supplied by Ovid, it seems plausible that Vergil's *Aeneid* may have contributed to, or influenced, the arrangement of the statuary in the Forum. Vergil's descriptions of the Roman heroes, moreover, may have also played a part in the composition of the *elogia*. In the 'Parade of Heroes,' Vergil does not merely supply the names of the individuals, but in many instances, appends a short description of an event in the individual's life which illuminated their heroic qualities. For example, Camillus is remembered for acquiring the standards,¹⁹ Paullus is noted for destroying Argos and avenging his ancestors,²⁰ and Fabius is distinguished for his delaying tactics which saved the state.²¹ Vergil's intent in including such historical details must have been

¹⁸ See G. Herbert-Brown, *Ovid and the Fasti: An Historical Study* (Oxford, 1994), 28-29, regarding Ovid's familiarity with the Forum. Both C. E. Newlands, *Playing with Time: Ovid and the Fasti* (Ithaca, 1995), 100 and J. G. Frazer, *The Fasti of Ovid* (London, 1929), vol. 4, 68, suggest that the description is from the point of view of Mars, standing atop the temple.

¹⁹ Verg. *Aen.* 6.825: *et referentem signa Camillum* ('and Camillus bringing back the standards')

²⁰ Verg. *Aen.* 6.838-840: *eruet ille Argos Agamemnoniasque Mycenae ipsumque Aeaciden, genus armipotens Achilli, ultus avos Troiae templa et temerata Minerva* ('that man will destroy Argos and Agamemnon's Mycenae and the Aeacid himself, the descendant of warlike Achilles, avenging his Trojan ancestors and the desecrated temple of Minerva').

²¹ Verg. *Aen.* 6.845-846: *tu Maximus ille es, unus qui nobis cunctando restituis rem* ('you are that Maximus, the one man who saved our state by delaying'). Fabius' delaying tactics and cautious

to heighten the reader's awareness, or to remind the reader of the accomplishments of these heroes. It is also possible that Vergil, by including such verbal descriptions, intended to portray his heroes in such a way as to make them appear as statues.²² If Vergil was influenced by statuary in composing his epic, then it is also possible that Augustus was influenced by Vergil's epic when designing his Forum.

The similarities between Vergil's *Aeneid* and the Forum of Augustus are not restricted to book six. Another passage which may have influenced the overall layout of the Forum is found in book seven. After Aeneas and his crew reach Latium, king Latinus receives them in his palace. Vergil's description of the royal house contains numerous parallels that can be linked to the Forum. Vergil first recounts the functions that took place in the palace. In Latinus' palace, the Latin kings received the symbols of authority, the senate met, religious ceremonies were performed, and sacred banquets took place.²³ These echo the functions that Augustus decreed were to occur in his Forum.²⁴ Although

strategies are noted in his *elogia* (E16).

²² Horsfall (1980), 20 suggests that Vergil's intention was to heighten the reader's visual awareness of the heroes and to suggest links with the commemorative statuary that was present throughout Rome.

²³ Verg. *Aen.* 7.173-175: *hic sceptrum accipere et primos attollere fascis regibus omen erat; hoc illis curia templum, hae sacris sedes epulis* ('in this place a solemn event took place, the sceptres were accepted by the kings and here the fasces were first raised up; the meeting of the senate occurred in this place, it was a temple for them, these were the sacred seats for banquets').

²⁴ Both Suetonius (*Aug.* 29.2-3; see Introduction, p. 4 n.15) and Dio (55.10.2-4) assert that Augustus decreed that the senate should meet in the Forum, and Dio suggests that a festival was to occur beside the temple of Mars Ultor. Due to the presence of the temple, the Forum must also have been the location for religious ceremonies. Furthermore, the 'regal' functions (i.e. the receiving of the sceptres of authority) that occurred in Latinus' palace were also somewhat imitated in the Forum. Although in Latinus' palace, the symbols of authority were received, Dio suggests that after celebrating a triumph, the Roman victor was to dedicate his σκήπτρον και στέφανον ('sceptre and crown') to Mars. See also

there are similarities in function between the two structures, it is the design of Latinus' palace, and the objects contained in it, that most closely resemble the Forum of Augustus.

When Aeneas entered the vestibule of Latinus' palace, he saw cedar statues of the ancestors of Latinus, and of others who had fought for their homeland.²⁵ In the forecourt the spoils taken from various enemies were also displayed.²⁶ The description of the vestibule of Latinus's palace has too many analogies with the Forum to be considered mere coincidence. In both structures, ancestral figures, early kings, and others whose achievements were deemed beneficial to their countries were honoured with statues. Furthermore, both structures functioned as repositories for spoils acquired through military successes.²⁷ Due to the similarities between Latinus' palace and the Forum, it has been suggested that Vergil knew the plans of the Forum, or construction had already begun prior to the death of the poet in 19 B.C. It is possible, then, that Vergil had based

Rowell (1941), 270-271.

²⁵ Verg. *Aen.* 7.177-182: *quin etiam veterum effigies ex ordine avorum antiqua e cedro, Italusque paterque Sabinus vitisator curvam servans sub imagine falcem, Saturnusque senex Ianique bifrontis imago vestibulo astabant, aliique ab origine reges, Martiaque ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi* ('but also the statues of their old forefathers stood in succession in the forecourt made of old cedar, both Italus and father Sabinus, the vine planter, holding the curved sickle under his image, both aged Saturn and the image of two-faced Janus, and the other kings from the beginning, and the warriors, having suffered wounds from fighting for the sake of their country').

²⁶ Verg. *Aen.* 7.183-186: *multaque praeterea sacris in postibus arma, captivi pendent currus curvaeque securae et cristae capitum et portarum ingentia claustra spiculaque clipeique ereptaque rostra carinis* ('and besides many weapons hung from the sacred doorposts, captured chariots and curved axes and plumed helmets and massive bolts of gates and javelins and shields and beaks torn from the prows of ships').

²⁷ Dio (55.10.3-4) confirms that any military standards that were recovered were to be deposited in the temple of Mars Ultor. There is little doubt the standards recovered from the Parthians were kept in the temple (see p.2 n. 7). In the two *exedrae* of the Forum, above the niches which housed the statues, there was a second row of rectangular niches. It has been suggested that in these niches, the trophies of military victories were displayed. See Platner-Ashby (1929), 222, and Anderson (1984), 75.

his description upon what he knew, or had seen in Rome.²⁸ This view, however, has been refuted.²⁹ It is more likely that Vergil wrote book seven independently, without any knowledge of the Forum's architectural or statuary programme.³⁰ It is, therefore, conceivable that both books six and seven of the *Aeneid* may have influenced not only the layout of the Forum, but more importantly, the two books may have contributed to the manner in which the statuary was designed and arranged.

The three literary sources examined, Varro, Atticus, and Vergil, all antedate the Forum, yet all depict striking similarities to the sculptural programme of the Augustan structure. These parallels cannot be dismissed as pure coincidence. It would appear, therefore, that Augustus may have been influenced, either directly or indirectly, by these works when planning the manner in which the statues and *elogia* were to be displayed in his Forum. As well, these works may have also supplied Augustus with ready made lists of Romans, complete with portraits and descriptions of their respective achievements, to which he could refer when deciding who was to be honoured in his Forum, and what details would be included in the *elogia*. The numerous parallels between the literary sources and the statuary of the Forum suggest that Augustus may have been influenced by these works when designing his project, but the emperor may have also drawn upon an

²⁸ See Rowell (1941), 271.

²⁹ A. Degrassi, 'Virgilio e il Foro di Augusto,' *Epigraphica* 7 (1945), 93-95, argues that even if plans for the Forum existed, they most likely would have changed during the course of construction. Degrassi also argues that since construction most likely did not begin until 20 B.C., there was little chance that Vergil saw the Forum taking shape.

³⁰ Degrassi (1945), 103, argues in favour of this point. Anderson (1984), 87, remarks that since Vergil antedates the Forum, it is unlikely that he could have based his poem upon it.

established Roman custom as a model for the statues and accompanying *elogia*.

The custom in question is that of the *imagines*, the wax ancestor masks that were carried in funeral processions and were displayed in the *atria* of the homes of the Roman nobility. Although no exact dates can be determined regarding the origins of the *imagines*, it is certain that the Romans viewed the custom as ancient.³¹ Polybius, writing in the mid-second century B.C., confirms that an image of a deceased person was cast in wax after the funeral ceremonies, and the *imago* was displayed, enclosed in a wooden shrine, in the *atrium*.³² The *imagines* were removed from their repositories when a death occurred within the family, and were employed as part of the funeral procession.³³ The masks, worn by actors, were employed in funerals to display the lineage of the deceased, and subsequently the achievements of the family.³⁴ The employment of the ancestor masks to mark the accomplishments and lineage of a Roman family was not limited to funerals -- this function was also performed through the display of the *imagines* in the *atrium* of a household.

The *atrium* was the most public and accessible room in a Roman home. It was the

³¹ Dio 47.19.2.

³² Polyb. 6.53.3-6. Flower (1996), 2, suggests that *imagines* were made during a person's lifetime. Pliny (*NH* 35.6) asserts that the *imagines* were stored in cupboards: *expressi cera vultus singulis disponebantur armariis, ut essent imagines, quae comitarentur gentilicia funera* ('faces having been imitated in wax were arranged in separate cupboards, so that they were portraits which would be carried at the funerals of the extended family').

³³ Polyb. 6.53.6: see also Pliny *NH* 35.6 (*supra* n. 33).

³⁴ Diod. Sic. (31.25.2) confirms that actors were employed to wear the masks. See also Flower (1996), 99-100. Polybius (6.53.7-10), when describing the funeral procession, suggests that such a display reflected the achievements of the deceased.

first room to be entered by a visitor, and with its doors opened during the day, its contents could be viewed by those passing on the street.³⁵ It was in these very public rooms that Romans stored and displayed their *imagines*. In the *atrium*, each *imago* was appended with a label (*titulus*) that identified the individual and recorded his achievements.³⁶ The ancestor masks were usually only displayed on certain occasions, but it has been suggested that the labels were attached below the cupboards, and were thereby visible at all times.³⁷ This meant that at any time, with the cupboards opened or closed, the members of the household, or visitors, would be reminded of the lineage of the family, as well as the accomplishments of the ancestors. It has been suggested that the *imagines*, in both funeral processions and in the *atrium* with their accompanying labels, were instrumental in setting examples for the living, and were specifically employed to teach the young about their ancestors.³⁸

The use of the *imagines* as a vehicle to set examples for future generations was, as Suetonius asserts, the very reason why Augustus chose to erect the statues in his Forum.³⁹ The *atrium* has been characterized as a familial ‘hall of fame’ wherein the lineage, status,

³⁵ See Stambaugh (1988), 162-166, for a detailed discussion of the function and importance of the *atrium* in the Roman household.

³⁶ Rowell (1941), 265. Ovid (*Fast.* 1.590) confirms that a list of achievements was appended to the images, *perlege dispositas generosa per atria ceras* (‘read through the waxen images placed throughout the noble halls’). Suetonius (*Galb.* 3.1) notes that the *imagines* were accompanied by *elogia*.

³⁷ See Flower (1996), 207, regarding the placement of the *tituli*.

³⁸ H. T. Rowell, ‘The Forum and Funeral *Imagines* of Augustus,’ *MAAR* 17 (1940), 137. See also Flower (1996), 13. Polybius (6.53.8-10) suggests that sight of the *imagines* must have been an inspiration to the youth who aspired for fame and virtue.

³⁹ See above, n. 2.

and honour of a Roman family was continually exhibited, through both the *imagines* and the *tituli*, to both residents of the household and visitors.⁴⁰ The Forum of Augustus also functioned as a sort of ‘hall of fame’ with the statues and *elogia* depicting the lineage and accomplishments of Augustus’ ancestors, as well as the achievements of other individuals not related to the emperor.⁴¹ These similarities have contributed to the suggestion that the Forum served as a private monument of Augustus and his family, a public *atrium* of the Julii, where the emperor displayed the *imagines* and *tituli* of his own ancestors.⁴² The numerous parallels between the *imagines* and the statuary of the Forum indicate that Augustus may have in fact used the structure to display his own ancestry.⁴³ The similarities also suggest that the manner in which the *imagines* and *tituli* were displayed in the *atrium* influenced the arrangement of the statues and *elogia* in the Forum.⁴⁴

It is also possible that the *tituli* influenced the composition of the *elogia* in the Forum. Unfortunately, not a single *titulus* has survived, but their structure and contents have been reconstructed from the *elogia* found on Republican graves, for example those

⁴⁰ Rowell (1940), 137.

⁴¹ Augustus’ inclusion of individuals who were not related to him was not out of the ordinary. By the late Republic the *imagines* of legendary ancestors, unrelated Roman heroes, and relations linked through marriage were kept in the *atrium*, and, subsequently, carried in funerals. See both Flower (1996), 103, and Anderson (1984), 86.

⁴² First suggested by Rowell (1940), 141, and further argued by Flower (1996), 226-227. See also J. D. Evans, *The Art of Persuasion: Political Propaganda from Aeneas to Brutus* (Ann Arbor, 1992), 114.

⁴³ See Chapter 3, p. 53.

⁴⁴ Flower (1996), 255, concludes that the *imagines* indirectly inspired the statuary of the Forum.

from the tomb of the Scipios.⁴⁵ Many of these *elogia* consist of two parts.⁴⁶ The first gives the name of the individual in the nominative, followed by a list of the offices held. The second part tends to praise the deceased, but some include mention of achievements, or certain qualities which the individual displayed in life.⁴⁷ Although it has been suggested that the *tituli* displayed in the *atrium* were similar in structure to those *elogia* found in the tomb of the Scipios,⁴⁸ it has also been suggested that these inscriptions, in form and in content, were the models upon which the *elogia* of the Forum were based.⁴⁹

Due to a lack of evidence, it cannot be absolutely certain if the Augustan *elogia* were based upon the *tituli*, or if the *tituli* were based on, or were similar to, the structure and contents of the *elogia* from the tomb of the Scipios. There are, however, numerous parallels between the *imagines* and the *tituli*, the inscriptions of the Scipios, and the statuary and *elogia* in the Forum which would suggest that the Augustan programme may have imitated, or was influenced by, Roman custom and funerary inscriptions.

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, Augustus was probably involved in

⁴⁵ For texts of the *elogia* see *ILS*, nos. 1-9.

⁴⁶ For example, the *elogia* of L. Cornelius Scipio (*cos.*259) (*ILS* 2 and 3), the younger L. Cornelius Scipio (*q.*167) (*ILS* 5), and Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hispanus (*pr.*139) (*ILS* 6).

⁴⁷ The *elogium* of L. Cornelius Scipio Barbatus (*cos.*298) (*ILS* 1), for example, informs that he was *fortis vir sapiensque* ('a brave man and wise') and that *Taurasia Cisauna Samnio cepit* ('he captured Taurasia and Cisauna in Samnium').

⁴⁸ Argued by Flower (1996), 180-181, 233.

⁴⁹ Kellum (1982), 115, suggests that the Augustan *elogia* were influenced by both the *tituli* and by the inscriptions from the tomb of the Scipios. See also W. Eck, 'Senatorial Self-Representation: Developments in the Augustan Period,' in *Caesar Augustus: Seven Aspects*, ed. F. Millar and E. Segal (Oxford, 1984), 149, who suggests that the *tituli* were the prototype for the *elogia* in the Forum..

the designing of the Forum, although the extent of his involvement cannot be determined. The emperor most likely acted in a supervisory role, being consulted on the various aspects of the project, including the arrangement of the statuary, the selection of individuals to be honoured, and the composition and contents of the *elogia*.⁵⁰ Augustus would have had numerous advisors, and these men would have been consulted by the emperor, and, in turn, they may have made suggestions regarding the design of the programme.⁵¹ Regardless of who was involved in the planning of the Forum, it would appear that the arrangement of the statuary, the selection of those honoured in the Augustan structure, the composition and contents of the *elogia*, and possibly even the design of the Forum, either imitated, or were influenced by Republican literary sources, Roman custom, and funerary inscriptions. The works of Varro, Atticus, and Virgil may have not only influenced the manner in which the statues and *elogia* were arranged in the Forum, but may have also been consulted as references for the selection of *summi viri*, and for the contents of the inscriptions. Furthermore, the numerous analogies that emerge

⁵⁰ The comment made by Pliny (see p.7 n. 32) suggests that Augustus wrote the *elogia* himself. This has contributed to the uncertainty regarding the role that Augustus played in the composition of the inscriptions. Degrassi, *Ins. Ital.* 13.3 (1937), 7, suggests that if Augustus did not write the *elogia* himself, he most certainly supervised their composition. This argument is echoed by P. Zanker (1968), 16, and P. Frisch, 'Zu den Elogien des Augustusforums,' *ZPE* 39 (1980), 92-93. See also E.A. Judge, 'On Judging the Merits of Augustus,' in *Center for Hermeneutical Studies in Hellenistic and Modern Culture: Colloquy 49* (Berkeley, 1984), 10, who favours the view that Augustus composed the *elogia*.

⁵¹ Zanker (1988), 212, argues that one such advisor may have been C. Iulius Hyginus, who was in charge of the library in the Temple of Apollo, and was one of Augustus' freedmen. Zanker is of the opinion that Hyginus may have suggested the design to Augustus. Suetonius (*Gram.* 20) confirms that Hyginus was in charge of the library, and Gellius (*NA* 1.14.1) notes that Hyginus compiled a work entitled *De Vita Rebusque Inlustrum Virorum* (*On the Lives and Deeds of Famous Men*). Kellum (1982), 103 n. 110, suggests that Hyginus, because of his interest in history and his own writings, would have been qualified to advise Augustus and make suggestions to the emperor regarding the design of the Forum, the arrangement of the statuary, and the composition of the *elogia*.

when a comparison between the *imagines* and Republican funerary inscriptions is made with the statuary of the Forum, suggests that both Roman custom and funerary *elogia* may have played a role in the Augustan project. It is reasonable to suggest, therefore, that the design of the Forum was not an entirely original concept but was rather modelled upon, and influenced by, numerous sources.

CHAPTER 2

THE CONTENTS AND HISTORICAL ACCURACY OF THE *ELOGIA*

The Augustan *elogia*, appended to the statues erected in the Forum, commemorated the lives and achievements of *summi viri*. The inscriptions provided the names of the individuals, listed the magistracies that each man had held in his political career, and in some cases included other deeds for which the individuals were remembered. This is the information provided by the *elogia*, and it is the manner in which this information was structured, the details contained in the material, and the historical accuracy of the *elogia* that are focus of this chapter.

As noted in the preceding chapter, the general structure and contents of the *elogia* may have been influenced by, or modelled after, the funerary inscriptions such as are found in the tomb of the Scipios. The aim of the following analysis of the Scipionic *elogia* is to ascertain the possible reasons why such Republican epitaphs have been regarded as the model upon which the Augustan inscriptions were based.¹ The tomb of the Scipios was built after 312 B.C. along the Via Appia, outside of the Porta Capena.² The tomb, used

¹ Flower (1996), 113 and 233, points out the similarities between the Augustan and Scipionic *elogia*, and concludes that the former 'surely imitate' the latter. See also, F. Coarelli, 'Il sepolcro degli Scipioni,' *DArch* 6 (1972), 86 who also outlines the similarities.

² Since the Via Appia was laid in 312 by A. Claudius Caecus (*cos.*307) (E13), the tomb must have been constructed after this date. It has been argued that the majority of the structure was completed within the lifetime of L. Cornelius Scipio Barbatus (*cos.* 298). See Flower (1996), 160-161, and Coarelli

throughout the third and second centuries, contained the bodies of approximately thirty members of the Scipio family.³ Upon the sarcophagi in which the bodies were interned, *elogia* indicated the names of the deceased and gave other information about the individuals.⁴ It is the structure and contents of these inscriptions that are of importance to this study.

In each of the Scipionic *elogia*, the name of the individual is presented in the nominative, in the *tria nomina* structure.⁵ The *praenomen*, which was abbreviated, was followed by the *gentilicum*, at least one patronym,⁶ and lastly the *cognomen*.⁷ In three cases, additional *cognomina* were also included in the nomenclature. In one case, a

(1972), 43. The location of the tomb is noted by Livy and Cicero. Livy (38.56.4) asserts that the tomb was *extra Portam Capenam* ('outside the Porta Capena'), and this is confirmed by Cicero (*Tusc.* 1.7.13): *an tu egressus porta Capena cum Calatini, Scipionum, Serviliorum, Metellorum, sepulcra vides, miseros putas illos* ('or, when going out the Porta Capena, do you see the tombs of the Calatini, the Scipiones, the Servilii, the Metellii, do you reflect upon those lamentable men?')

³ See Flower (1996), 161. Coarelli (1972), 60, estimates that between 32 and 34 bodies were buried in the tomb.

⁴ The *elogia* were both inscribed and painted, see Flower (1996), 166. The inscriptions are *ILS* 1-10.

⁵ See *ILS*, nos. 1-10.

⁶ The term patronym is used by B. Salway, 'What's in a Name? A Survey of Roman Onomastic Practice from c. 700 B.C. to A.D. 700,' *JRS* 84 (1994), 126 to describe the indication of descent (i.e. filiation) that was included in Roman nomenclature. A patronym consisted of the father's abbreviated praenomen in the genitive case, followed by *filius* [e.g. *M(arci) filius*]= 'son of Marcus']. Each *elogium* from the tomb of the Scipios includes this indication of descent, and three inscriptions (*ILS* 5, 7, and 8) include additional patronyms that indicate descent from a grandfather.

⁷ The *elogium* of L. Cornelius Scipio Barbatus (*ILS* 1) is the first example of the use of the *cognomen* in Roman onomastics. See I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* (Helsinki, 1965), 19.

cognomen ex virtute is given,⁸ and in two others, adjectival *cognomina*, indicating either a nickname or individual trait, are included in the nomenclature.⁹

In three of the inscriptions, the offices held by the individuals follow immediately after the name, but there is no discernible pattern in the manner in which the offices are listed.¹⁰ Following the name and the listing of magistracies, the inscriptions praised the deceased for the various qualities displayed by the individuals in life, and also recounted the achievements of the deceased. In general, the majority of the text in each inscription is given over to the praising of moral qualities,¹¹ but accomplishments, such as victories in warfare and the building of temples,¹² are also recounted. The *elogia* from the Augustan

⁸ The *cognomen ex virtute* was usually obtained by victorious generals in recognition of military successes. The cognomen indicated the town or peoples who had been conquered. See I. Kajanto, 'On the Chronology of the Cognomen in the Republican Period,' in *Actes du Colloque internationale du C.N.R.S. no. 564 sur l'onomastique latine, Paris 13-15 octobre 1976*, ed. N. Duval (Paris, 1977), 65-66.

⁹ The *cognomen ex virtute* is witnessed in the nomenclature of Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hispanus (*ILS* 6). A *cognomen* indicating a nickname or trait is seen in Cornelius Scipio Asiagenus Comatus (*ILS* 8). Due to damage on the inscription, his praenomen is uncertain, however, not only does his name contain an inherited *cognomen ex virtute* (Asiagenus), but his second *cognomen* implies a personal trait (*comatus* = 'long-haired'). Similarly, the second cognomen of L. Cornelius Scipio Barbatus (*ILS* 1) also signifies a personal trait (*barbatus* = 'bearded').

¹⁰ In the *elogium* of L. Cornelius Scipio (*ILS* 2 and 3), the offices he held are given in chronological order. Two other inscriptions, those of L. Cornelius Scipio (*ILS* 5) and Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hispanus (*ILS* 6), also provide lists of offices; however, in each of these, the highest office attained is listed first, then, in descending order, any other offices are provided. Although the *elogium* of L. Cornelius Scipio Barbatus (*ILS* 1) is damaged, the text of his inscription notes that he was consul, censor, and aedile. These offices were most likely listed after his name at the beginning of his *elogium*. See Flower (1996), 171.

¹¹ Although various attributes are mentioned (e.g. *fortis, sapiens, gloria, ingenium*), the most common is *virtus*, which occurs, in its various cases, five times in four inscriptions (*ILS* nos. 1, 4, 6, 7).

¹² The *elogium* of L. Cornelius Scipio Barbatus (*ILS* 1) records that *Taurasia Cisauna samnio cepit, subigit omne Loucanam opsidesque abducit* ('he captured Taurasia and Cisauna in Samnium, he conquered all of Loucana and he brought back hostages'); the epitaph of L. Cornelius Scipio (*ILS* 5) notes

Forum appear to parallel the structure and contents of the Scipionic *elogia*.

The Augustan *elogia* have five features that can be identified. These divisions are discussed separately below, and are most clearly illustrated in the copies of the inscriptions found at Arretium.¹³ These features are: 1) nomenclature; 2) listing of magistracies held; 3) military achievements; 4) personal or civil accomplishments; and 5) building programmes or other information.¹⁴ Each inscription appears to have included at least three of the components. The first two, nomenclature and magistracies, were most likely present in all the inscriptions.¹⁵ The remaining three, however, occur in various combinations and with varying frequency.¹⁶

The nomenclature in the surviving Augustan *elogia* follows the structure found in the Scipionic epitaphs.¹⁷ The names are given in the nominative, *praenomina* are

that *pater regem Antioco(m) subegit* ('his father conquered king Antiochus'); and the inscription of L. Cornelius Scipio (*ILS* 2 and 3) asserts that *hec cepit Corsica Aleriaque urbe, dedet Tempestatebus aide merito* ('he captured Corsica and the town of Aleria, he dedicated a temple to the Storms in return for help').

¹³ The divisions are witnessed in the *elogia* of M'. Valerius Maximus (*dict.*494) (E9), Appius Claudius Caecus (*cos.*307) (E13), Q. Fabius Maximus (*cos.*233) (E16), L. Aemilius Paullus (*cos.* 182) (E19), C. Marius (*cos.*107) (E22), and L. Licinius Lucullus (*cos.*74) (E26).

¹⁴ For a varied structural breakdown of the *elogia*, see M. Sage, 'The *Elogia* of the Augustan Forum and the *De Viris Illustribus*,' *Historia* 28 (1979), 195.

¹⁵ Due to the fragmentary state of some of the *elogia*, the nomenclature and magistracies of some individuals has been restored by editors, even though it is far from certain what was contained in the inscriptions. For example, Hülsen's suggestion for the nomenclature of C. Fabricius Luscinus (*cos.*282) (E14) is speculative, as is Degraffi's restoration of the magistracies held by Q. Caecilius Metellus (*cos.*109) (E21).

¹⁶ Only four of the *elogia* contain all five sections (see nos. E9, E13, E16, and E22).

¹⁷ Only those *elogia* in which the names have been restored with certainty are included in this analysis (E9, E13, E16, E18-E28). Furthermore, it is only the nomenclature that appeared on the *elogia*

abbreviated,¹⁸ *gentilicia* are supplied, and filiation is indicated through the use of patronyms.¹⁹ *Cognomina* were included, and in some cases, additional *cognomina* were appended to the nomenclature.²⁰

Immediately following the name, the second section of the *elogia* records the offices held by the individual in abbreviated form. If an individual held the consulship, was dictator, or was censor, these offices are listed first. There is, however, no discernible pattern in the listing of these offices if the individual held either two, or all three.²¹ Next listed is the office of *interrex*,²² then, in descending order, the other main magistracies of

that is considered in this study.

¹⁸ The one exception is found in the *elogium* of Appius Claudius Caecus (*cos.*307) (E13) where the *praenomen* is not abbreviated.

¹⁹ All the inscriptions (*supra n.* 16) include one patronym, a second is suggested in the restoration of the *elogium* for C. Fabricius Luscinus (*cos.*282) (E14). Since none of the other *elogia* include the dual patronym, it is doubtful that this was present in Fabricius' inscription.

²⁰ These include both those gained *ex virtute*, and those which described a personal trait or indicated a nickname. For example, the names L. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus (*cos.*190) (E18) and Nero Claudius Drusus Germanicus (*cos.*9) (E28) contain the *cognomen ex virtute*. A nickname is portrayed in the nomenclature of L. Cornelius Sulla Felix (= 'Fortunate') (*cos.*88) (E25). A personal trait may be described in the additional *cognomen* of C. Iulius Caesar Strabo (*aed. cur.*90) (E24). I. Kajanto (1965), 119, argues that the *-o* suffix in *cognomina* denoted bodily defects, and this would suggest that C. Iulius Caesar had an optic weakness (*strabo* = 'one who squints').

²¹ In the *elogium* of Appius Claudius Caecus (*cos.*307) (E13), the order is censor, consul, dictator, whereas in the one for Q. Fabius Maximus (E16), the order is dictator, consul, censor. In the *elogium* of L. Aemilius Paullus (*cos.* 182) (E19), the consulship is noted first, then the censorship. The magistracies of Caecus and Paullus are given in chronological order, but Fabius' are not. He held the consulship in 233 B.C., was censor in 230, and, in 217, was appointed dictator in 217 (he may have been dictator in 222, but this is uncertain). See Broughton, *MRR* 2.563.

²² Four of the individuals honoured in the Forum held this office. The *elogia* confirm that Appius Claudius Caecus (*cos.*307) (E13) was *interrex* thrice, Q. Fabius Maximus (E16) held the position twice, and L. Aemilius Paullus (*cos.* 182) (E19) held the office once. Although the *elogium* of M. Furius Camillus (*dict.*396) (E10) does not mention his holding of this office, Livy confirms that Camillus was appointed *interrex* in 396 (5.17.4), 391 (5.31.8), and 389 (6.1.8).

the *cursus honorum* are recorded. Military tribuneships, if held, are listed, and, if the individual had been an augur or *pontifex*, these *sacerdotia* are also recorded.

The magistracies listed in the surviving *elogia*, and those that can be determined from other sources, reveal that the majority of the *summi viri* held the most important positions in the Roman state. Eight of the individuals were dictator, fifteen held the consulship, nine were censor, and four had been appointed *interrex*.²³ A number of the individuals held these offices more than once.²⁴ The other magistracies of the *cursus honorum*, the praetorship, aedileship, and quaestorship, are also noted in the *elogia*. When supplemented by other evidence, these three offices appear to have been almost equally represented in the Forum by the *summi viri*.²⁵

²³ The calculations are based upon the evidence provided by the *elogia* and literary sources. The literary sources which confirm that an individual held either the dictatorship or the consulship are included in the Appendix. If an office is not mentioned in the *elogia*, then either a reference to a primary source, or to Broughton (*MRR*), is given. The following held the dictatorship: E8, E9, E10 (5x), E12 (4x), E13, E15, E16 (2x), E25; the consulship: E8, E12 (5x), E13 (2x), E14 (2x), E15, E16 (5x), E17, E18, E19 (2x), E20 (2x), E21, E22 (7x), E25 (2x), E26, E28; the censorship: E10 (in 403 B.C.: Plut. *Cam.* 2.2), E13, E14 (in 275 B.C.: Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 20.13.1), E15 (in 258 B.C.: *MRR* 1.206), E16, E17 (in 194 B.C.: Livy 34.44.4), E19, E20 (169 B.C.: Livy 43.14.1), E21. Regarding the office of *interrex*, see n. 21 above. If P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus and M. Valerius Corvus, who were both honoured in the Forum (see Intro., p.7), are included in these tabulations, then the total number for each office increases. Aemilianus was consul twice (in 147 B.C.: Livy *Per.* 51; and 134: App. *Hisp.* 84) and also held the censorship in 142 B.C. (Cic. *Brut.* 85). Corvus was appointed dictator twice (in 342 B.C.: Livy 7.39.17; and in 302 B.C.: Livy 10.3.3), held the consulship six times (in 348 B.C.: Livy 7.26.12; in 346 B.C.: Livy 7.27.5; in 343 B.C.: Livy 7.28.10; in 335 B.C.: Livy 8.16.4; in 300 B.C.: Livy 10.5.14; and in 299 B.C.: Livy 10.11.4-6), was censor in 307 B.C. (Livy 9.43.25-26), and held the office of *interrex* on three occasions (in 340 B.C.: Livy 8.3.5; in 332 B.C.: Livy 8.17.5; and in 320 B.C.: Livy 9.7.15).

²⁴ The holding of an office more than once is indicated in the tabulations provided in note 22.

²⁵ Ten were praetor [E13 (2x), E18, E19, E20 (in 180 B.C.: Livy 40.35.2), E21-23, E25, E26, E28], nine held the aedileship [E13 (2x), E16, E17 (in 199 B.C.: Livy 31.50.6), E18, E19, E20 (in 182 B.C.: Livy 40.44.12), E24, E26, E27], and ten were quaestor [E13, E16 (2x), E18, E19, E22-26, E28]. These numbers do not include the aedileship of Corvus (see *MRR* 1.132), nor his four praetorships [the first was possibly in 347 B.C. (see *MRR* 1.130), and the fourth in 164 B.C. (Livy 9.41.1)]. The dates for

Three other offices appear frequently in the *elogia*. The military tribuneship was held by at least eleven of the individuals, with five holding the post more than once.²⁶ The frequency²⁷ with which this office is found in the *elogia* may be related to, or reflect, the military functions that were associated with, and performed in, the Temple of Mars Ultor and within the confines of the Forum.²⁸ It is also certain that eight of the *summi viri* had belonged to the *collegium* of augurs, and three of the *elogia* record that the position of *pontifex* had been held.²⁹ It is possible that *sacerdotia* were included in the *elogia* in order to stress the religious importance, and functions, of the Forum. It has, however, been suggested that the office of augur was included in the *elogia* because Romulus, the central figure of one *exedra*, was believed to have initiated the taking of the auspices.³⁰

Following the listing of magistracies, the third section of the *elogia* concentrates

Corvus' third and fourth praetorship are uncertain (see *MRR* 1.164).

²⁶ The military tribuneship was held by the following: E10 [6 times, each with consular power: in 401 B.C. (Livy 5.10.1), in 398 (Livy 5.14.5), in 394 (Livy 5.26.1), in 386 (Livy 6.6.3), in 384 (Livy 6.18.1), and in 381(Livy 6.22.5)], E11, E13 (3x), E16 (2x), E18, E19 (3x), E22, E23, E24 (2x), E25 (in 103 B.C.: Plut. *Sull.* 4.1), E26. Both Aemilianus and Corvus also held this position [Aemilianus twice, in 151 (Livy *Per.* 48) and in 149-148(Livy *Per.* 49), and Corvus in 349 (Livy 7.26.2)].

²⁷ Statistically, the military tribuneship is recorded in the inscriptions more than any office except for the consulship.

²⁸ The military functions of the structure are noted by both Suetonius and Dio (see Introduction, p.4 n.15).

²⁹ The position of augur was held by E9, E16, E19, E20 (Livy 29.38.7), E22, E25 (*MRR* 2.44), E26, E28. The *elogia* note that E16, E24, and E27 held the position of *pontifex*. Aemilianus held the office of augur (*MRR* 1.505), and Corvus may have been *pontifex* (Livy 8.9.4; see *MRR* 2.630).

³⁰ It was, of course, both Romulus and Remus who took the auspices in 753 B.C. (Livy 1.7.1; Plut. *Rom.* 9.4-5). See also Anderson (1984), 83, who connects Romulus with the other augurs in the Forum.

on the military achievements of the *summi viri*. In this section, military victories, important battles, the capturing of towns, the subduing of Rome's enemies, and the celebrating of triumphs are most frequently mentioned.³¹ The verbs employed in connection with this section all have military connotations, and some appear repeatedly in the *elogia*.³² This section also records actions that were performed in a military context, but which do not adhere to the common themes noted above. These all tend to illustrate some specific accomplishment, or particular action, that the individual was either remembered for, or which distinguished him from the other *summi viri*.³³

The fourth section of the Augustan *elogia* presents what has been termed the *exemplum virtutis*.³⁴ It was this 'example of virtue' that was the main reason why the individual was honoured in the Forum with a statue and accompanying *elogia*, and it was

³¹ In relation to the celebrating of triumphs, Suetonius (*Aug.* 31.5) asserts that all the individuals represented in the statuary were displayed *triumphali effigie* ('in triumphal garb'). It is, however, certain that not all of the individuals were *triumphatores*. Neither L. Albinus (*tr.mil.*379?) (E11), nor Ap. Claudius Caecus (*cos.*307) (E13) celebrated a triumph during their careers. See Sage (1979), 193, and Luce (1990), 129 n. 19.

³² The most frequently used verb is *triumphare* ('to celebrate a triumph') which appears eight times [E9, E10, E16 (2x), E19, E22 (2x), E26]. *Capere* ('to seize, capture') is found four times (E13, E16, E19, E22), *caedere* ('to destroy, slay') twice (E8, E10), *fundere* ('to overthrow, vanquish') twice (E13, E22), *subigere* ('to conquer, subdue') twice (E10, E16), and *delere* ('to overthrow, destroy') twice (E19, E22).

³³ For example, C. Duilius (*cos.*260) (E15) is remembered for being the first Roman to celebrate a naval victory, Q. Fabius Maximus (*cos.*233) (E16) is noted for coming to the rescue of Minucius, L. Aemilius Paullus (*cos.* 182) (E19) is distinguished for the quickness with which he reached Macedonia and ended the war, and L. Licinius Lucullus (*cos.*74) (E26) is noted for saving his consular colleague.

³⁴ Judge (1985), 10, employs this term in his examination of the particular section of the *elogia*.

this type of behaviour that Augustus wished the future leaders of Rome would emulate.³⁵

Although each *exemplum* is unique, most depict an action in which the individual, during a time of crisis, rose to the occasion and saved the Roman state.³⁶ This section of the *elogia*, and the *exemplum virtutis* in particular, is discussed in chapter four.

The final component of the *elogia* is not common to all of the inscriptions, but from those which do include this part, two themes appear to be common. One deals with building programmes sponsored by the *summi viri*, and the other focuses on special honours, and positions, that were bestowed upon certain individuals. The former is found in three of the inscriptions, which commemorate the building of temples, aqueducts, and roads.³⁷ The second theme is also found in three of the *elogia*. Two of these inscriptions record exceptional honours that were given to specific individuals due to their service to Rome.³⁸ Furthermore, the texts record that two of the *summi viri* were rewarded with the

³⁵ This is the reason given by Suetonius (see Chapter 1, p.10 n. 2).

³⁶ Judge (1985), 11, classifies these actions as ‘crisis management.’ For example, M’. Valerius Maximus (*dict. 494*) (E9) is noted for reconciling the plebs with the senate when the former threatened to throw the state in to chaos, and L. Albinus (*tr.mil.379?*) (E11) is remembered for ensuring that the sacred rites were not ignored when Rome was threatened by the Gauls.

³⁷ The *elogium* of A. Postumius Regillensis (*cos. 496*) (E8), although fragmentary, notes that he vowed a temple to Castor. Ap. Claudius Caecus (*cos.307*) (E13) is remembered for building the *via Appia*, an aqueduct, and for building the temple of Bellona. The *elogium* of C. Marius (*cos.109*) (E22) records that he built a temple for Honor and Virtus.

³⁸ The *elogium* of M’. Valerius Maximus (*dict.494*) (E9) records that because of his service to the state he was honoured with an assigned place, and a curule chair, near the temple of Murcia so that he would be able to view the events in the circus. This was, as Livy asserts (2.31.3), *super solitos honores* (‘in addition to the customary honours’). C. Duilius (*cos.260*) (E15) was allowed the honour of being led home with torches and a piper after celebrating Rome’s first naval victory.

title of *princeps senatus*.³⁹

There is, however, one additional notation in the *elogium* of C. Marius (*cos.*109) which does not appear to conform to either of these themes. The inscription records that Marius entered the senate in triumphal garb, and Plutarch confirms that he did this after celebrating his triumph over Jugurtha.⁴⁰ Plutarch is, however, uncertain if Marius did this purposely in order to display his own good fortune, or if it was done inadvertently.⁴¹ Any possible reason for including such an episode on the *elogium* is not easily remedied by Plutarch, but the evidence provided by Livy clarifies the matter. Livy suggests that Marius was granted the privilege of entering the senate in triumphal dress, and that such an action had never before been witnessed in Rome.⁴² The final statement of Marius' *elogium*, therefore, commemorates an honour that had been bestowed upon him, and, as noted above, such honours are found in the final structural component of the *elogia*.

These five divisions, then, constitute the features of the Augustan *elogia*. The information communicated in the inscriptions, with the exception of the onomastic details

³⁹ This privileged position is found in the inscriptions of M'. Valerius Maximus (*dict.*494) (E9) and Q. Fabius Maximus (*cos.*233) (E16).

⁴⁰ See E22 for Marius' *elogium*; cf. Plut. *Mar.* 12.5. Marius returned from Africa near the end of 105 B.C. in order to assume his consulship on January 1. He celebrated this triumph on the same day he assumed the consulship.

⁴¹ Plut. *Mar.* 12.5. See also R. Evans, *Gaius Marius: A Political Biography* (Pretoria, 1994), 81 n. 89, who argues that Plutarch's version of the story is legendary. As Evans notes, it seems odd that Marius, an experienced politician, would perform such an action that was so blatantly contrary to Roman norms.

⁴² Livy *Per.* 67: *Marius triumphali veste in senatum venit, quod nemo ante eum fecerat* ('Marius came into the senate in triumphal dress, which no one before him had done'). Evans (1994), 81 n. 89, argues that these remarks of Livy depict an honour which was bestowed upon Marius.

of the first section, contributed to the overall purpose of the *elogia*. This purpose was, as previously mentioned, to inspire those future leaders of the Roman people so that they too might strive to achieve what the *summi viri* had already accomplished. Those who entered the Forum were reminded, via the *elogia*, of the magistracies, the military feats and victories, the *exempla virtutum*, the building programmes, and the extraordinary honours of those who had raised Rome from obscurity to greatness.⁴³ These, therefore, were the precedents that were to provide the *exempla* upon which the Romans were to pattern their lives.

The information of the *elogia*, and specifically the registers of magistracies, has played a major role in reconstructing the political careers, and accomplishments, of the *summi viri*. The main reason for this is that the *elogia* contain numerous details concerning the careers of the Republican politicians that are not attested elsewhere. The additional information provided by the *elogia* will now be considered, the historical accuracy of this material discussed, and possible reasons will be offered to explain why the inscriptions contain details that cannot be confirmed by other sources.

The *elogium* of M⁷. Valerius Maximus (*dict.494*) (E9) concludes by noting that he had been appointed *princeps senatus*. This is not, however, confirmed by any literary source, and therefore the exact date of this appointment is uncertain.⁴⁴ Valerius is also

⁴³ Suet. *Aug.* 31.5.

⁴⁴ Mommsen, *CIL* 1, p. 285, is of the opinion that Valerius was appointed to this position in the census of 465 B.C. Cf. Broughton, *MRR* 1.14, who suggests the census of 493 B.C.

credited, in the inscription, with leading the plebs down from the Sacred Mount and re-establishing an understanding between them and the senate in 494 B.C. This reflects a tradition found in both Cicero and Plutarch.⁴⁵ There is, however, another tradition: both Livy and Dionysius assert that Valerius was not responsible for ending the secession.⁴⁶ This suggests that those composing the *elogia* may have had a variety of details to choose from.

Many details of the political career of Appius Claudius Caecus (*cos.*307) (E13) are known only from his *elogium*. His dictatorship is not mentioned in the literary sources, nor are his second and third appointments as *interrex*.⁴⁷ Furthermore, Caecus' *elogium* is the only evidence for his first praetorship, both of his aedileships, his term as quaestor, and his appointment as military tribune.⁴⁸ The inscription notes that Caecus, as consul in 296 B.C., defeated the Etruscans and the Sabines. However, no evidence reports the presence of the Sabines in the conflict, and thereby this detail from the *elogium* has been dismissed

⁴⁵ Cic. *Brut.* 54; Plut. *Pomp.* 13.7.

⁴⁶ Luce (1990), 131, points out that both Livy (2.32.8) and Dionysius give Menenius Agrippa the credit for diffusing the situation. Livy (2.32.8) clearly names Agrippa as the one who calmed the situation. In Dionysius (6.57.1-6.88.4), both Agrippa and Valerius figure in the negotiations with the plebs, but Agrippa appears (6.87.1-6.88.4) to have played a more prominent role.

⁴⁷ Regarding the lack of evidence for his dictatorship, see *MRR* 1.187. Mommsen, *CIL* 1², p. 192, suggests that Caecus was dictator sometime between 292 B.C. and 285 B.C. On Caecus' second and third terms as *interrex*, see *MRR* 1.174 n.2.

⁴⁸ See Degrassi, *Ins. Ital.* 13.3 (1937), 59; Mommsen, *CIL* 1, p.287. Broughton, *MRR* 1.175, suggests that Caecus' first praetorship was in 297 B.C. For the inscription as the only source for his aedileships, see *MRR* 1.158 and 1.167; for his quaestorship, see *MRR* 1.156. Regarding Caecus' s military tribuneships, the dates of which are uncertain, see J. Suolahti, *The Junior Officers of the Roman Army in the Republican Period* (Helsinki, 1955), 308.

as an historical error.⁴⁹ Again, perhaps this reflects a different tradition that was lost.

The *elogium* of Q. Fabius Maximus (*cos.* 233) (E16) is the only evidence for his two appointments as *interrex*, his aedileship, his quaestorships, and his two military tribuneships.⁵⁰ The aedileship, quaestorship, and military tribuneship of L. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus (*cos.* 190) (E18) are only known from his *elogium*,⁵¹ and the inscription of L. Aemilius Paullus (*cos.* 182) (E19) provides the only evidence that he was appointed *interrex*, was quaestor, and held the position of military tribune three times.⁵²

Although the *elogium* of C. Julius Caesar (*pr.ca.* 92) (E23), the father of the dictator, is fragmentary, the abbreviations for the offices of quaestor and military tribune are clearly visible.⁵³ The literary sources, however, do not mention Caesar holding these

⁴⁹ Livy asserts that Caecus fought Sabellian cohorts (10.19.20), but there is no mention of the Sabines. Sage (1979), 197, concludes that this detail is an error.

⁵⁰ Luce (1990), 133. Regarding Fabius' terms as *interrex*, and the absence of confirmatory evidence, see *MRR* 1.291; Degrassi, *Ins. Ital.* 13.3 (1937), 62; Mommsen, *CIL* 1, p.289. Concerning his aedileship, see *MRR* 1.223; on his quaestorships, see *MRR* 1.222. Both Degrassi (p. 62) and Mommsen (p. 289) note that *elogium* is the only evidence for Fabius' minor magistracies. Broughton, *MRR* 2.481, cites the *elogium* as the only proof of Fabius' military tribuneships.

⁵¹ Due to the fragmentary state of the inscription, the inclusion of the curule aedileship in the restoration of the *elogium* is not entirely certain. Broughton, *MRR* 1.340, believes the restoration is probable, but he concedes that the *elogium* is the only indication that Scipio held the magistracy. The offices of both the quaestorship and military tribuneship are legible on the inscription, but there is no other evidence which confirms that Scipio held these offices [see *MRR* 1.336; Hülsen, *CIL* 1², p. 194; Degrassi, *Ins. Ital.* 13.3 (1937), 21].

⁵² Luce (1990), 133. Broughton, *MRR* 1.442, gives a date of 162 B.C. for Paullus' appointment as *interrex*, and 195 B.C. for the quaestorship (*MRR* 1.340). In both cases, Broughton's evidence for these offices is drawn from the *elogium*. For the inscription as the only evidence for Paullus' military tribuneships, and his term as *interrex* and quaestor, see also Mommsen, *CIL* 1, p. 289 and Degrassi, *Ins. Ital.* 13.3 (1937), p.63.

⁵³ The lettering is quite visible in the photograph provided by R. Paribeni, 'Iscrizioni dei Fori Imperiali,' *Not. Scav.*, 6th ser., 9 (1933), 459.

offices.⁵⁴ The last line of the *elogium* records that Caesar was responsible for settling colonists on the island of Cercina.⁵⁵ This is not recorded elsewhere, but it has been suggested that this colony was founded in accordance with the agrarian legislation of L. Appuleius Saturninus (*tr.pl* 103).⁵⁶ Caesar was apparently a member of the commission (*decemviri*) that carried out the laws of Saturninus.⁵⁷ Also appointed to this commission was C. Iulius Caesar Strabo (*aed.cur.* 90) (E24). All restorations of Strabo's *elogium*, although fragmentary, include his membership in this *decemvirate*.⁵⁸ As in the case of Caesar (E24), no other evidence confirms this appointment.⁵⁹ The inscription also notes that Strabo held the quaestorship, and was military tribune on two occasions. No other

⁵⁴ Although Broughton, *MRR* 2.574, includes the quaestorship in Caesar's *cursus honorum*, no evidence is given for Broughton's suggestion that Caesar held the office before 100 B.C. T. Frank, 'The New Elogium of Julius Caesar's Father,' *AJPh* 58 (1937), 93, suggests that Caesar became quaestor ca. 104-103 B.C., but offers no evidence to confirm this date. Caesar's military tribuneship is not recorded by Broughton (*MRR* 2.574). Neither Frank (1937), 93, nor Suolahti (1955), 312, provide supplementary evidence to collaborate the *elogium*.

⁵⁵ Also spelled Cerceina [see Frank (1937), 91-92]. This alternate spelling corresponds to what is visible on the fragment of the *elogium* [see photograph provided by Paribeni (1933), 459]. The island of Cercina, located off the coast of Africa, was the location to which Marius fled after narrowly escaping capture in 87 B.C. (Plut. *Mar.* 40.7).

⁵⁶ See *MRR* 1.577 and 578 n. 6; Mommsen, *CIL* 1, p. 278; Degrassi, *Ins. Ital.* 13.3, p. 12-13. The date for the foundation of the colony is uncertain (see *MRR* 1.578 n.4). The legislation of Saturninus was brought forth in 103 B.C. [*MRR* 1.563, and Frank (1937), 92] and called for the distribution of land to Marius' veterans in Africa (*De vir. ill.* 73.1). Cicero (*Balb.* 48) remarks that the law was a failure.

⁵⁷ This appointment cannot be confirmed by the literary sources. See T.R.S. Broughton, 'The Elogia of Julius Caesar's Father,' *AJA* 52 (1948), 326-329, and references in n. 55.

⁵⁸ The complete list of restorations is included in the Appendix entry for Strabo.

⁵⁹ See specifically *MRR* 1.577. Broughton cites the *elogium* as the only evidence for Strabo's appointment to the commission.

source confirms that Strabo held these magistracies.⁶⁰

The *elogium* of L. Licinius Lucullus (*cos.*74) (E26) also provides information not found in other sources. The inscription notes that Lucullus was appointed military tribune, and that he belonged to the *collegium* of augurs. It has been suggested that Lucullus held the position of military tribune, under the command of Sulla, during the Social War. This suggestion, based upon a brief notation in Plutarch, is not persuasive.⁶¹ Furthermore, Lucullus' tenure as augur is not recorded in the literary sources.⁶² The augurate of Nero Claudius Drusus (*cos.* 9) (E28) is also absent from the record.⁶³

The *elogia*, due to the numerous additions they have supplied for reconstructing the careers of the *summi viri*, must be considered a significant historical source. The inscriptions appear to be free from historical errors, and only one variation between the *elogia* and other sources can be identified with any certainty.⁶⁴ There are, however, chronological variations between the *elogia* and the information contained in the literary

⁶⁰ Regarding the quaestorship, see *MRR* 2.10. Degrassi, *Ins. Ital.* 13.3 (1937), 12, concludes that the *elogium* is the only evidence for either of the magistracies. Broughton, *MRR* 3.109, notes that Strabo was twice military tribune but offers no evidence.

⁶¹ Both Degrassi, *Ins. Ital.* 13.3 (1937), 67, and Broughton, *MRR* 2.35, cite Plutarch (*Luc.* 2.1) as evidence for Lucullus' tribuneship. Plutarch notes that Sulla entrusted Lucullus with matters *πλεῖστης σπουδῆς* ('of the greatest importance'), but Plutarch asserts (*Luc.* 2.2) that Lucullus was employed with *ἡ περὶ τὸ νόμισμα πραγματεία* ('the business which concerned the mint'). More acceptable is Mommsen, *CIL* 1, p. 292, who concludes that the sources are silent regarding Lucullus' tribuneship.

⁶² See Degrassi, *Ins. Ital.* 13.3 (1937), 67, and Mommsen, *CIL* 1, p. 292.

⁶³ A. Stein, *PIR*² D, 197, includes only the *elogium* as evidence for Drusus holding this office.

⁶⁴ This is found in the *elogium* of Ap. Claudius Caecus (*cos.*307) (E13); see above, n. 48. Mommsen, *CIL* 1, p. 282, concludes that the *elogia* appear to be basically accurate. Sage (1979), 202 n. 66, supports Mommsen's conclusion.

sources,⁶⁵ but these do not necessarily impinge upon the historical accuracy of the inscriptions.⁶⁶ It must be remembered that the *elogia* were not intended to be strict documentary evidence, they were included in the statuary programme of the Forum as complements to the statues.⁶⁷ The inscriptions were intended to provide the details of the lives of the individuals, and in doing so, presented the reasons why the *summi viri* were deemed to be the *exempla* on which Romans were to model their lives.

Although the *elogia* may not have been intended as documentary evidence, they do, as demonstrated, preserve details which cannot be found elsewhere. It seems probable that whoever was responsible for the composition of the inscriptions drew upon sources which have not survived.⁶⁸ These may have included the works of Varro and Atticus, both of which included short verbal descriptions concerning the lives and achievements of the

⁶⁵ For example, the *elogium* of M. Furius Camillus (*dict.*396) (E10) notes that he defeated the Etruscans, then the Aequi, and then the Volsci. Livy, however, asserts that Camillus first defeated the Volsci (6.2.13-14), then the Aequi (6.2.14), and then turned his attention to the Etruscans (6.3.1-10). In the inscription of Q. Fabius Maximus (*cos.*233) (E16), the events of his third and fourth consulships (215 and 214 B.C.) are noted before he saved his *magister equitum* from Hannibal in 217 B.C.

⁶⁶ Since each of the events are confirmed by the literary sources, these variations should not be considered historical inaccuracies. Evans (1994), 3, argues that since the *elogia* were intended to provide the Forum 'with a suitably dignified perspective,' the inscriptions were not required to be accurate in all respects.

⁶⁷ This may explain the inclusion of some offices, yet the absence of others. The *elogia* tend to give the exact number of times an individual held a specific office, but the inscriptions do not record the prorogation of magistracies. It is possible that the author of the *elogia*, or whoever was ultimately responsible for the contents of the inscriptions, felt that the inclusion of regular magistracies would be sufficient enough to illustrate the 'greatness' of the men without listing the numerous promagistracies.

⁶⁸ Evans (1994), 5, suggests that other sources were most likely employed for the information contained in the *elogia*. Evans believes that those entrusted with researching the details for the *elogia* discovered, and chose to include, such minor and obscure offices as membership in a *decemvirate* [depicted in the inscriptions of C. Iulius Caesar (*pr.ca.*92) (E23) and C. Iulius Caesar Strabo (*aed.cur.*90) (E24)].

individuals pictured.⁶⁹ It has also been suggested that an Augustan version of the *annales maximi* may have provided some of the information found in the *elogia*.⁷⁰

The *annales maximi* was a chronicle maintained by the *pontifex maximus* that appears to have contained the annual listings of the prodigies that had been witnessed, and also recorded other historical events.⁷¹ These annual lists originated in the monarchic period when Ancus Marcius ordered the *pontifex* to display a white *tabula* which contained a summary of the events that had taken place in the preceding year.⁷² It has also been suggested that the *tabula*, like the Augustan *elogia*, listed the various magistracies and the names of the individuals who held the offices.⁷³ At the end of the year the contents of the *tabula* were recorded in what has become known as the *Libri Annales Pontificum Maximorum*.⁷⁴ This practice seems to have continued until the end of the second century B.C., when the *pontifex* P. Mucius Scaevola ceased to set up the yearly

⁶⁹ See Chapter 1, p. 11-12.

⁷⁰ Luce (1990), 135-136.

⁷¹ See T. Cornell, 'The Formation of the Historical Tradition of Early Rome,' in *Past Perspectives: Studies in Greek and Roman Historical Writing*, ed. I.S. Moxon, J.D. Smart, and A.J. Woodman (Cambridge, 1986), 68. Cicero (*De or.* 2.52) asserts that the *annales* contained *res omnes singulorum annorum* ('all things of a single year').

⁷² Livy 1.32.2. See also B. Frier, *Libri Annales Pontificum Maximorum: The Origins of the Annalistic Tradition* (Rome, 1979), 175.

⁷³ See Frier (1979), 88-89 and 103. Cicero (*De or.* 2.53) asserts that the lists contained dates, names, places, and deeds. This would suggest that the *annales* may have been similar in form to the first two sections of the *elogia* which, as noted above, presented the name of the individual, followed by a list of the magistracies held.

⁷⁴ Later called the *annales maximi*. See Cic. *De or.* 2.52.

tabula.⁷⁵ It has been suggested that Scaevola, around 123 B.C., published an edition of the preserved *tabulae*, but this has been refuted.⁷⁶ The lists of magistrates in the *annales*, and the other historical details, may have been a source for ancient historians, but there is no indication of how accessible these lists were, or to what extent they were consulted.⁷⁷

If the early pontifical lists were available,⁷⁸ they could have been consulted by those who were entrusted with the research pertaining to, and the composition of, the Augustan *elogia*.⁷⁹ Since it appears that the *annales maximi* contained information that was later included in the *elogia*, these lists may have supplied much of the information that cannot be found in other sources. Furthermore, it has been suggested that another version of the *annales maximi* was compiled and published under the auspices of Augustus,⁸⁰ and that this work was employed as a source for the Augustan inscriptions.⁸¹ This eighty

⁷⁵ Cicero *De. or.* 2.52. Scaevola became *pontifex* in 130 B.C. and held the office until 115 (see *MRR* 1.503 and 532). See also E. Rawson, 'Prodigy Lists and the Use of the *Annales Maximi*,' *CQ* 21 (1971), 160.

⁷⁶ R.M. Ogilvie, *A Commentary on Livy: Books 1-5* (Oxford, 1965), 6 n.1, favours the view that Scaevola published the chronicle. Frier (1979), 175-176, Cornell (1986), 71-72, and R. Drews, 'Pontiffs, Prodiges, and the Disappearance of the *Annales Maximi*,' *CPh* 83 (1988), 289, all argue that the collection was never published.

⁷⁷ Ogilvie (1965), 6 n.1, suggests that much of the information in the early books of Livy was derived from the *annales*. Cicero's remarks concerning the contents of the *annales* implies that he had read them (see *Leg.* 1.2.6 and *De. or.* 2.52-53). Rawson (1971), 168, believes that the ancient historians were prevented from consulting the *annales*, but she does not pinpoint the reason for this restriction.

⁷⁸ Cf. Drews (1988), 299, who concludes that the *annales* completely disappeared in the first half of the first century and were certainly not consulted after 90 B.C.

⁷⁹ See Evans (1994), 5, who suggests that the research was thorough.

⁸⁰ Frier (1979), 198.

⁸¹ This is proposed by Luce (1990), 135.

volume work was apparently more detailed than the older pontifical lists, and covered Roman history from its origins in Latium to the triumviral period.⁸² The work was most likely begun shortly after Augustus became *pontifex maximus* in 12 B.C., and gained control of, and access to, the pontifical archives.⁸³ By this time, construction on the Forum must have been well under way, and the composition of the *elogia* may have already begun. It is plausible that the research and compilation of material for the *annales* coincided with the composition of the *elogia*. If this was the case, then it is conceivable that the information gathered for the *annales* provided some, if not all, of the information for the inscriptions.⁸⁴

As previously noted, the main purpose of the Augustan *elogia* was to provide a textual supplement to the statues erected in the Forum. Built upon the structure and content suggested by the Scipionic *elogia*, the Augustan inscriptions contained those details which most effectively depicted the *summi viri* as models of greatness. These included the listing of magistracies, military victories, building programmes, distinctive honours, and other accomplishments which portrayed the individuals as exemplary citizens. In order to ensure that every possible detail was found which would support the claim that these men were *exempla*, the contents of the *elogia* were well researched, with

⁸² The number of volumes is attributed to Servius (*ad. Aen.* 1.373) who asserts that the *annales* were composed of *octoginta libros*. Regarding the scope of the *annales* see Frier (1979), 49-66.

⁸³ See Frier (1979), 196-198.

⁸⁴ Luce (1990), 136.

all possible sources being consulted. The result of this research was an historically accurate record which has, unlike many other sources, survived.

CHAPTER 3

THE FORUM OF AUGUSTUS, THE *RES GESTAE* OF AUGUSTUS, AND THE *ELOGIA*

As previously noted, Suetonius asserts that Augustus decreed that the individuals portrayed in the Forum were intended to serve as examples to the future leaders of Rome, and, more importantly, were to be the models with which Augustus, and his leadership, were to be compared and by which they were to be judged.¹ This declaration was made by Augustus in 2 B.C., yet it was not until after his death on 19 August, A.D. 14, that the Roman populace was provided with the document that provided the details of his rule which allowed for a direct comparison with those who had been deemed *exempla*. The document is, of course, the *Res Gestae*, the emperor's own account of his tenure as ruler of the Roman world. This chapter examines the various connections between the *Res Gestae*, the statues, and the *elogia* of the Forum. It shall be demonstrated that all three were employed by Augustus to illustrate, and announce, that he was the most successful, and distinguished, leader in the history of Rome.

The *Res Gestae* and the Forum of Augustus, with its statuary and *elogia*, should be viewed as interrelated and complementary. Although those honoured in the Forum were, as Augustus decreed, the examples on which Roman leaders were to model their

¹ See Chapter 1, p. 10 n. 2.

behaviour, by 2 B.C., Augustus had surpassed most, if not all, of the accomplishments of the *summi viri*. Augustus had, thereby, become the *exemplum* of leadership, and this was depicted visually in the Forum, and verbally in the *Res Gestae*.

In the Forum, Augustus' preeminence over those who had preceded him was encountered immediately by those entering the Forum. Situated directly in front of the Temple of Mars Ultor, and centred between the colonnaded halls, was the statue of a four horse chariot (*quadriga*) with the title of *pater patriae* inscribed upon its base. Augustus confirms that the statue was set up in the Forum as a result of a decree of the senate, and that the title of 'father of the country' was given to him by the senate, the equestrians, and the people of Rome.² The importance of the title *pater patriae*, and its relation to the *elogia* of the individuals honoured in the Forum, is discussed below. There are, however, a number of issues concerning the *quadriga* which require further examination.

Although the *quadriga* was set up in honour of Augustus, there is some uncertainty whether a figure of him was included in the statue.³ If a figure of the emperor

² RG 35.1: *senatus et equester ordo populusque Romanus universus appellavit me patrem patriae idque in vestibulo aedium mearum inscribendum et in curia Iulia et in foro Aug. sub quadrigis quae mihi ex s.c. positae sunt censuit* ('the senate, the equestrian order, and all the people of Rome pronounced me Father of the Country, and voted that this should be inscribed on the vestibule of my house and in the Curia Iulia and in the Forum Augustum beneath the chariot which had been erected for me by decree of the senate').

³ The presence of the figure of Augustus in the *quadriga* is uncertain. Galinsky (1996), 200; Flower (1996), 225; Kellum (1982), 128-129; and N. Hannestad, *Roman Art and Imperial Policy* (Aarhus, 1986), 86, all suggest that the figure of the emperor was included. F.V. Hickson, 'Augustus Triumphator: Manipulation of the Triumphal Theme in the Political Program on Augustus,' *Latomus* 50 (1991), 134, and Zanker (1968), 12, are undecided on the issue. Rich (1998), 124-125, argues that the *quadriga* was empty.

was included in the *quadriga*, then there would have been no doubt in the minds of those encountering the statue that Augustus was the individual being honoured. Even if the chariot was empty, however, Romans would have still immediately associated the statue with the emperor. The inscription of the title *pater patriae* on the base of the statue at once identified that the *quadriga* was in his honour. All Romans had apparently participated in conferring this title upon Augustus on 5 February 2 B.C.,⁴ and, thereby, those entering the Forum would have easily recognized that the *quadriga* was meant to bring to mind the achievements, and importance, of their emperor. These accomplishments may have actually been included in a short inscription beneath the honorary title.⁵ Although the presence of this inscription is far from certain, it is evident that there was an inscription set up in the Forum which recounted some of Augustus'

⁴ Suetonius (*Aug.* 58. 1-2) describes the conferral of the title upon Augustus, and notes that *pater patriae cognomen universi repentino maximoque consensu detulerunt ei* ('the whole body of citizens in a sudden and very complete unanimity offered to him the title of father of the country'). Ovid (*Fast.* 2.127-128) confirms that all of Roman society awarded Augustus the title: *sancte pater patriae, tibi plebs, tibi curia nomen hoc dedit, hoc dedimus nos tibi nomen, eques* ('holy father of the country, the people and the senate gave this name to you, and we, the knights, gave this name to you'). See also Dio 55.10.10.

⁵ In a passage discussing the accomplishments of Augustus, Velleius Paterculus (2.39.2) remarks that *Hispanias aliasque gentis quarum titulis forum eius praenitet...* ('Spain and other countries whose inscriptions adorn his Forum...'). Zanker (1988), 214, and (1968), 12, suggests that Velleius is referring to an inscription on the base of the *quadriga* that recounted the deeds of Augustus. Frisch (1980), 94, also regards Velleius' statement as proof that an inscription was included under the title *pater patriae*, and classifies the inscription as an *elogium*. Mommsen, *CIL* 1, p. 281, and *CIL* 1², p. 187 n.2, cites Velleius as proof that an inscription declaring Augustus' achievements in battle was present on the base. See also Degrassi, *Ins. Ital.* 13.3 (1937), 5. Cf. Rich (1998), 123-124, and E.S. Ramage, *The Nature and Purpose of Augustus' Res Gestae* (Stuttgart, 1987), 141, who both disregard Velleius' words as proof for an inscription. See also G. Alföldy, *Studi sull'epigrafia augustea e tiberiana di Roma* (Rome, 1992), 69, who believes that it is improbable that such an inscription was included on the base of the *quadriga*, and Luce (1990), 126, who also doubts the presence of the inscription. See below n. 6.

accomplishments, including the title *pater patriae*.⁶ It is likely, then, that this inscription, along with the title *pater patriae* on the base of the *quadriga*, and, if it existed, the other inscription on the base of the statue which may have recorded some of Augustus' achievements would have, if the chariot was empty, clearly indicated who was being honoured. There is, however, further evidence that suggests that the *quadriga* alone would have immediately been associated with the *princeps*, and his achievements.

The chariot drawn by four horses was, beginning *circa* 30 B.C., employed in the triumphal imagery that commemorated the accomplishments of Augustus. The image of the *quadriga* was incorporated into the architectural programme of a number of arches, and the image also appeared on a number of coins issued after 30 B.C. In both cases, the chariot was employed to indicate, and celebrate, the various achievements of Augustus. As argued below, the recurring appearance of this image would have resulted in the *quadriga* being associated with Augustus, and would have functioned as a visual reminder of his accomplishments.

⁶ This inscription was on the base of a golden statue set up in the room between the stairs to the northern entrance and the north colonnade (see plan on p. 116). The inscription [*CIL* 6, 31267; *ILS* 103; R. Lanciani, 'Il foro di Augusto,' *Bull. Com.* 17 (1889), 32-33; C. Nicolet, *Space, Geography, and Politics in the Early Roman Empire* (Ann Arbor, 1991), 54 n. 52; G. Alföldy, *Studi sull'epigrafia augustea e tiberiana di Roma* (Rome, 1992), 71-73] reads: *Imp(eratori) Caesari | Augusto p(atri) p(atriciae) | Hispania ulterior | Baetica quod | beneficio eius et | perpetua cura | provincia pacata | est auri | p(ondo) C(entum)* ['To the emperor Caesar Augustus, father of his country, the province of Hispania Ulterior Baetica, which was made peaceful by his kindness and perpetual care, (dedicates) one hundred pounds of gold']. The inscription records Augustus' actions in Spain. These were also noted in the *Res Gestae* [26.2: *Gallias et Hispanias provincias...pacavi* ('I brought peace to the Gallic and Spanish provinces')]. The inscription would have, since it included the title *pater patriae*, linked Augustus with the *quadriga*. It has also been suggested that Velleius Paternus (see above n. 5) was referring to this inscription when he described the Forum [see Alföldy (1992), 71-73, and Nicolet (1991), 54 n.52].

Dio confirms that arches were built in 30 B.C. to celebrate the victory at Actium, in 27 B.C. to signify the repair of the Via Flaminia, and he also confirms that the senate decreed, in 20 B.C., that an arch was to be built to commemorate Augustus' recovery of the standards from the Parthians.⁷ It is apparent, based upon the numismatic evidence, that the image of the *quadriga* figured prominently in the sculpture that adorned each of these arches.⁸ A *denarius* issued around 29 B.C. reveals that one of the arches built in honour of Actium was surmounted with a statue of four horses being driven by Augustus.⁹ This image was also included on at least one of the arches erected in honour of the road repairs that Augustus undertook in 27 B.C.¹⁰ Issued around 18 B.C., a *denarius* commemorating these repairs depicts a viaduct and an arch, upon which sits a *quadriga*.¹¹ On the sides of the arch, the prows of two ships are visible, and it has been argued that this coin not only celebrated the repair of the Via Flaminia, but also honoured the naval victory at Actium.¹² The arch decreed by the senate in 20 B.C. to honour Augustus'

⁷ Dio (51.19.1) notes that arches were erected at Brundisium and in the Roman Forum in honour of the victory at Actium, that Augustus' repair of the Flaminian Way was commemorated with arches built on the bridge over the Tiber, and at Ariminum (53.22.2), and that a triumphal arch was built after Augustus recovered the standards from the Parthians (54.8.3).

⁸ Since the arches have not survived, all information regarding them is based upon the numismatic evidence.

⁹ *BMCRE*, 624.

¹⁰ RG 20.5: *consul septimum viam Flaminiam ab urbe Ariminum refeci* ('as consul a seventh time I repaired the Via Flaminia from the city to Ariminum').

¹¹ *BMCRE*, 434.

¹² Hickson (1991), 134 -135, argues that the coin commemorated both events.

success in Parthia also included the image of the *quadriga*. *Denarii*, issued between the years 19 and 16 B.C., depict the Parthian arch.¹³ Although the arch is structurally different on each of the coins, the *quadriga* is shown on each coin as adorning the top of the arch.¹⁴

The image of the four horse chariot was not restricted to those coins which commemorated the arches erected in honour of Augustus. A number of coins issued after Augustus' successful recovery of the standards from the Parthians also depicted the triumphal image of the *quadriga*.¹⁵ The numismatic evidence, then, implies that the image of the triumphal chariot was continually employed to commemorate the achievements of Augustus. Consequently, those Romans who encountered the *quadriga* in the Forum would have immediately associated the statue with Augustus. Since it is probable that most Romans had seen the various arches set up in honour of Augustus, or had handled the coinage that commemorated his deeds, it is reasonable to suggest that the statue would have reminded the Romans of his various achievements. The *quadriga* in the Forum, therefore, did not require a figure of Augustus, nor did it require an inscription, in order to identify him as the recipient of the statue. This connection had already been previously established by the statuary on the arches, and the coinage, which celebrated the accomplishments of Augustus.

The significance of the association between Augustus and the *quadriga*, and

¹³ *BMCRE*, 77 and 703.

¹⁴ The arch is depicted as having either one, or three, archways.

¹⁵ *BMCRE*, 38, 39, 392, 401. See also Rich (1998), 115-121.

specifically the presence of this triumphal image in the Forum, is connected to both the bestowal of the title *pater patriae* upon Augustus, and the inclusion of this title in the Forum. Suetonius asserts that Augustus at first declined the title, then, apparently in a tearful address to the senate, remarked that the bestowal of the title had fulfilled his prayers.¹⁶ The importance of this title to Augustus is stressed by the fact that he mentions it at the end of his *Res Gestae*,¹⁷ and this gives the impression that the title was, for him, the highlight of his career.¹⁸ Why this title was so cherished by Augustus is explained by both the connotations, and associations, that the title carried with it.

Dio, when discussing the titles that the Romans had bestowed upon individuals, notes that when the title 'father' was bestowed upon a person, the individual was also given a certain type of authority over the populace which, as Dio saw it, was similar to the power, and control, that a father had over his children.¹⁹ Dio also suggests that the individual who received this title was expected to love his subjects as a father would love his children, and, in return, the people would respect him as they would their own fathers.²⁰ The conferral of the title *pater patriae* upon Augustus, then, carried with it

¹⁶ Suet. *Aug.* 58.

¹⁷ *RG* 35.1.

¹⁸ E.T. Salmon, 'The Evolution of Augustus' Principate,' *Historia* 5 (1956), 477, suggests that the reference to the title at the end of the *RG* "...gives the impression that Augustus reached the culminating point, the peak and pinnacle of his career when the Senate, the Equestrian Order and the Roman people name him Pater Patria in 2 B.C." See also Ramage (1987), 104.

¹⁹ *Dio* 53.18.3.

²⁰ *Dio* 53.18.3.

these connotations, and he became, metaphorically, the *pater familias* of Rome.²¹ For Augustus, however, the title may have meant much more.

The people, by unanimously agreeing that Augustus should be honoured as the father-figure of Rome, were expressing their trust in his leadership, and displaying their gratitude for the prosperity, and peace, that he had promoted.²² This resounding approval of his leadership must have pleased Augustus, but more importantly the title associated him with those who, in recognition of their service to the state, had also been hailed as *pater patriae*.²³ For Augustus, then, the title *pater patriae* indicated that he had attained a status that was reserved only for those whose accomplishments had proven them to be exceptional leaders. Since the title had only been awarded to a selected few, Augustus had, by 2 B.C., distinguished himself from the majority of his predecessors. It remained,

²¹ The analogy is presented by Salmon (1956), 477. See also Ramage (1987), 105-108, who examines the various ways that Augustus' position as *pater patriae*, and his relationship with the Roman people, was similar to the role of the *pater familias*, and his relationship with his children.

²² Suetonius (*Aug.* 58.2) records that when Valerius Messala, speaking on behalf of the senate and the people, proclaimed Augustus *pater patriae*, he stated that in bestowing the title upon Augustus *sic enim nos perpetuam felicitatem rei p. et laeta huic precari existimamus* ('for thus we feel that we are praying for perpetual happiness and for prosperity for this country').

²³ The term *pater patriae* was first used in Rome, as far as we can tell, by Cicero (*Rab. Perd.* 27) who, in 63 B.C., when praising the deceased Marius, suggested that *C. Marium, ... vere patrem patriae, parentem, inquam, vestrae libertatis atque huiusce rei publicae ...* ('Gaius Marius, ... truly the father of the country, the parent, I say, of your liberties and of this state'). Shortly after the Catilinarian conspiracy of 63, Cicero himself was addressed as *pater patriae*. Both Plutarch (*Cic.* 23.3) and Appian (*B Civ.* 2.7) assert that Cicero was called *πατέρα πατρίδος*. Cicero (*Sest.* 121) records that *me... quem Q. Catulus, quem multi alii saepe in senatu patrem patriae nominarant* ('I, whom Quintus Catulus and many others in the senate had often called father of the country'). Livy (5.49.7) asserts that Romulus was called *parens patriae* [variations in the title given to Romulus are also present in Livy: *parentemque urbis Romanae* (1.16.3); *parens urbis huius* (1.16.6)]. Julius Caesar was also honoured with the title (App. *B Civ.* 2.106, 144; Dio 44.4.4; Livy *Per.* 116; Flor.2.13.91; Suet. *Iul.* 76). See S. Weinstock, *Divus Julius* (Oxford, 1971), 200-205, for a detailed examination of the employment of the title.

however, for Augustus to portray himself as surpassing the achievements of all past Romans.

From the above discussions concerning the *quadriga* and the title *pater patriae* certain conclusions can be made. First, it is probable that the *quadriga*, with or without the figure of the emperor driving the chariot, would have been identified with Augustus and his achievements. The inscription of *pater patriae* upon the base of the statue made it absolutely certain. Furthermore, the title *pater patriae*, and the connotations associated with this term, announced to those entering the Forum that Augustus had achieved a distinctive status. How these items contributed to the overall depiction of Augustus in the Forum as the *exemplum* of leadership, remains to be examined.

It has already been established that Augustus set up the statues in the Forum, at least according to Suetonius, to provide *exempla* by which the future leaders of Rome were to be judged.²⁴ This, however, appears to have been only one of the reasons for the inclusion of the statues, and *elogia*, in the Forum. As demonstrated below, it is evident that the statuary and *elogia* were employed by Augustus to portray himself as the most distinguished, and successful, leader in Rome's history.

It is likely that Augustus may have had a number purposes in mind when he decided, or approved the suggestion, that statues be included in his Forum. The Forum was, of course, Augustus' own: he had vowed the temple, bought the land upon which it

²⁴ See Chapter 1, p. 10 n. 2.

was constructed, and paid for the project with his own resources. The structure was, therefore, the perfect locale for Augustus to proclaim, and advertise, his own lineage which had, after his adoption by Caesar, pretensions to Aeneas and Romulus.²⁵

Accordingly, Augustus set up statues in the Forum which advertised his ancestry. In the centre of the north-west *exedra*, a statue of Aeneas was surrounded by the Alban kings, and other members of the Julian line. Directly across from Aeneas, in the centre of the south-east *exedra*, was a statue of Romulus, and it is apparent that the positioning of the statues of Aeneas and Romulus in direct opposition was intentional. It is certain that Augustus' name was engraved upon the architrave of the Temple of Mars Ultor,²⁶ and it seems that the architrave was positioned exactly parallel to the statues of Aeneas and Romulus.²⁷ The resulting effect was that Augustus appeared to be connected to both Aeneas and Romulus, and this was exactly what Augustus wished to illustrate. The link between the Julii and Aeneas and Romulus had previously been established,²⁸ but Augustus reinforced this connection visually in his Forum, and in doing so he publicly announced his links with Rome's past. Augustus' use of the Forum to declare his ancestry

²⁵ See Flower (1996), 224, regarding Augustus' use of the Julian lineage to justify his leadership. See Weinstock (1971), 183, and Evans (1992), 39-41, for the origins of the Julian claim that their ancestry was linked to both Aeneas and Romulus.

²⁶ *Ov. Fast.* 5.567: *Augusto praetextum nomine templum* ('the temple having been furnished with the name Augustus'). See also Zanker (1968), 21. This is noted on the plan of Forum, p. 116.

²⁷ Zanker (1968), 21. See also W. K. Lacey, *Augustus and the Principate: The Evolution of the System* (Leeds, 1996), 201.

²⁸ See above, n. 25.

suggests that the statuary in the Forum may have been, at least initially, intended to fulfill a personal objective.²⁹

Although Augustus may have intended to make the entire Forum an advertisement of his ancestry, the Julii did not have a sufficient number of distinguished statesmen in their history to fulfill such an objective.³⁰ Augustus, then, chose to include the ancestors of the traditional ruling families of Rome, and claimed, as noted by Suetonius, that these individuals had been included because their accomplishments, leadership, and behaviour were the models upon which he had based his own life, and upon which others should model their own lives.³¹ There may, however, have been other reasons for Augustus' decision to include statues of the *summi viri* in his Forum.

Although the Republican heroes may have been chosen for their exemplary qualities, the inclusion of these men in the Forum also enabled Augustus to associate himself, and his family, with the great men of Rome's past.³² The Julii were not successful, at least politically, during the Republic,³³ and in an attempt to alleviate these

²⁹ See Rowell (1940), 141, who argues that the Forum was not entirely a public monument, but was, in part, a private monument of Augustus and his family. The 'private' use of the Forum by Augustus is also noted by Evans (1992), 114. See also Flower (1996), 226.

³⁰ Luce (1990), 126, argues that even if those related to the Julii family through marriage or adoption were taken into account, it would have been difficult to fill the 54 niches on the one side.

³¹ Suet. *Aug.* 31.5. Flower (1996), 232, argues that Augustus included these men in the Forum because they were his personal models.

³² Rowell (1941), 269-270, argues that the inclusion of the *summi viri* was designed specifically to portray Augustus and his family as having ties to the great men of the Republic.

³³ Regarding the insignificance of the Julii in the Republic see Zanker (1988), 210-211; Luce (1990), 126; and Newlands (1995), 95. See also the figures compiled by Flower (1996), 232 n.37.

shortcomings, Augustus attempted to connect the Julian family with the eminent families of the Republic.³⁴ It seems that Augustus wished to stress the historical importance of the Julii since it was their ancestors, both Aeneas and Romulus,³⁵ who were ultimately responsible for the founding of the Latin race, and Rome itself. By surrounding the statues of his own family with those of the *summi viri*, Augustus associated the destiny of Rome, and all the events in Rome's history, with the Julian *gens*.³⁶ In effect what Augustus had done, either indirectly or on purpose, was to link himself with Rome's destiny, and present himself as the legitimate successor of the *summi viri*.³⁷ The statuary of the Forum, therefore, represented a continual progression of Roman history to which Augustus was connected.³⁸

Augustus' place in Roman history, at least as it was represented by the statuary in the Forum, was not overtly proclaimed. He was responsible for having the Forum built, his ancestors played a major role in the statuary, and his name adorned the Temple of Mars Ultor. Any possible associations between Augustus and those portrayed in the statuary were, therefore, only implied. This, however, all changed when the senate decreed that the *quadriga* be set up in the Forum, and the people declared that the title

³⁴ This is suggest by Flower (1996), 234.

³⁵ See above n. 24.

³⁶ See Lacey (1996), 201; Zanker (1988), 211; and Rowell (1941), 269.

³⁷ Evans (1992), 114, and Rowell (1940), 142, and (1941), 269.

³⁸ Rowell (1941), 269.

pater patriae be inscribed upon the base of the statue.³⁹

The *quadriga* effectively transformed the Forum into a monument which proclaimed Augustus' preeminence over all over Roman leaders. Whatever functions the Forum may have had were overshadowed once the *quadriga* became part of the statuary of the monument. The *quadriga*, placed centrally in the Forum, became the focal point of the entire complex, and, as has already been noted, the statue was associated with the achievements of Augustus. As well, the title *pater* proclaimed the distinguished status that Augustus had attained. The presence of Augustus, then, dominated the Forum. No longer were the associations between the emperor and those portrayed in the statuary implied, they were now made visually clear.

In the Forum, the *quadriga*, and title *pater patriae*, defined Augustus' position in Roman history. He was portrayed as the apex of the historical progression that was represented by the statues of the Julian *gens*, and the *summi viri*.⁴⁰ The *quadriga* effectively announced that his achievements were greater than that of any other individual in the Forum, and, if there were any doubts, the title of *pater patriae* reinforced the distinguished position that Augustus had attained. It appears, then, that the Forum was employed by Augustus for his own purposes.⁴¹ The statuary may have initially been

³⁹ RG 35.1.

⁴⁰ See Kellum (1982), 127.

⁴¹ Rowell (1941), 269, argues that the Forum was an instrument of imperial propaganda. See also Evans (1992), who also suggests that the temple was used by Augustus to support, and foster, a program of propaganda.

employed by Augustus to define the position of his own family in Roman history, but, in the end, the statuary assisted Augustus in proclaiming his own position in the history of Rome. Although Augustus decreed that he was to be judged against those honoured in the Forum, there is no doubt that the *quadriga* and the title *pater patriae* effectively announced that he had surpassed the achievements of those portrayed in the Forum, and had, in fact, become the *exemplum* of leadership.

Augustus may have been depicted in the Forum as the most successful, and distinguished, leader in the history of Rome, but he deemed it necessary for his achievements to also be proclaimed verbally. This he did in his *Res Gestae* which, like the *quadriga* and title *pater patriae* in the Forum, revealed that he had surpassed the achievements of those who had come before him. The accomplishments of Augustus' predecessors were proclaimed in the *elogia*, and it appears, due to similarities in composition and content, that Augustus modelled his own *elogium* after those in the Forum.⁴² After the parallels between the documents are presented, a possible explanation for these similarities is then offered.

A comparison of the phraseology employed in both the *Res Gestae* and the *elogia* reveals that there are compositional similarities between the two documents.⁴³ For example, the *elogium* of Q. Fabius Maximus (*cos.*233) (E16) records that he came to the

⁴² Nicolet (1991), 42, asserts that the *elogia* were the models for the *Res Gestae*.

⁴³ Frisch (1980), 96-97, tabulates the similarities in composition between the two documents. His findings are summarized here.

aid of the army after it had been conquered by the enemy (*exercitui profligato subvenit*). In the *Res Gestae*, Augustus employs similar wording in describing his victory over an army of the Dacians (RG 30.2: *Dacorum...exercitus meis auspiciis victus profligatusque est*). The *elogium* of C. Marius (E22) notes that he, in his sixth consulship, freed the state from an insurrection (*rem publicam turbatam seditionibus...sextum consul vindicavit*). Similarly, Augustus uses the same terminology when he describes his victory over Anthony in 43 B.C. (RG 1.1: *rem publicam a dominatione factionis...vindicavi*). Marius' inscription also records that he, with the wealth acquired from war, built a temple for Honor and Virtus (*de manubiis...aedem Honori et Virtuti victor fecit*). This is echoed by Augustus' assertion that he built the Temple of Mars Ultor and the Forum with the proceeds from war (RG 21.1: *Martis Ultoris templum forumque augustum ex manubiis feci*). Lastly, the *elogium* of L. Lucullus (E26) announces that he had subdued the large armies of both Mithridates and Tigranes (*magnis utriusque regis copiis*). When discussing his successes in Africa, Augustus uses comparable wording (RG 26.5: *magnaeque hostium gentis utriusque copiae*). The similarities may appear minor, but, as discussed below, the parallels in terminology may indicate that the *Res Gestae* was modelled after the *elogia*.

The *Res Gestae* was, as noted above, intended to portray Augustus as the supreme *exemplum* of leadership. In order to substantiate this image, Augustus had to be depicted as either equalling, or surpassing, those who preceded him. It is, therefore, not surprising that a comparison of the *elogia* with the *Res Gestae* reveals that Augustus' achievements

always appear to be greater.⁴⁴

The most common manner by which Augustus, in the *Res Gestae*, expresses his preeminence is by stressing those deeds, or honours, which only he had accomplished, or had received. This is achieved in the *Res Gestae* through the numerous notations which indicate that Augustus was the first to accomplish one thing or another.⁴⁵ Furthermore, Augustus appears to have been concerned with portraying himself as surpassing the accomplishments of his predecessors. For example, Marius' *elogium* (E22) records that he had king Jugurtha led before his chariot in a triumphal procession. The inscription also announces that Marius was consul seven times. Augustus could not be eclipsed by such achievements, and thereby he notes that he had included regal captives in nine triumphal processions,⁴⁶ and also includes a notation to remind the reader that he had been consul thirteen times.⁴⁷ Augustus also mentions the fact that he had been *princeps senatus* for forty years,⁴⁸ and this statement must have been intended to overshadow the achievement of Q. Fabius Maximus (*cos.*233) (E16), whose *elogium* records that he was *princeps senatus* twice.

⁴⁴ Frisch (1980), 96, discusses the various ways in which Augustus, in the *Res Gestae*, is presented as being superior to his predecessors. Frisch's conclusions are summarized here.

⁴⁵ RG 10.2 (*nunquam...ante id tempus*); 12.1 (*nemini praeter me*); 16.1 (*primus et solus*); 26.4 (*neque...ante id tempus*); 30.1 (*ante me...numquam*); 31.1 (*non...ante id tempus*).

⁴⁶ RG 4.3.

⁴⁷ RG 4.4.

⁴⁸ RG 7.2.

It is clear that the *Res Gestae* was intended to portray Augustus as the exemplum of leadership. In all aspects, be it accomplishments, offices held, or honours, Augustus is depicted as surpassing his predecessors. When compared to the *elogia*, it appears that the *Res Gestae* may not only have been modelled on the inscriptions, but was intentionally composed so that Augustus would always, and immediately, be found far greater than those in the Forum.⁴⁹ The similarities in content and composition between the *elogia* and the *Res Gestae* were most likely the result of a number of factors. Since the time period within which the documents were composed is of importance, it is necessary to establish a possible date for when the *Res Gestae* may have been written.

Suetonius asserts that the *Res Gestae* was one of three documents that Augustus placed in the care of the Vestal Virgins in April, A.D. 13.⁵⁰ The document that Augustus submitted to the Vestals may not, however, have been composed entirely in this year. It is certain that Augustus had previously documented his accomplishments in writing. Suetonius asserts that Augustus had written an account of his life around 26 B.C.,⁵¹ and, in 13 B.C., Augustus apparently enumerated his achievements in a manuscript which was then

⁴⁹ Frisch (1980), 96, and Luce (1990), 127.

⁵⁰ Suetonius (*Aug.* 101. 4) confirms that one of the three documents contained an account *rerum a se gestarum* ('of his accomplishments').

⁵¹ Suetonius (*Aug.* 85.1) notes that Augustus *de vita sua quam tredecim libris Cantabrico tenus bello nec ultra exposuit* ('he published some thirteen books about his own life up to the Cantabrian war but not beyond').

read to the senate.⁵² This would suggest that Augustus was concerned with providing an account of his life for posterity much before A.D. 14. It has, therefore, been suggested that the *Res Gestae* was begun by Augustus early in his career, and was continually updated, and edited, until it was deposited with the Vestals.⁵³ Although the document did not reach its final form until A.D. 14, it has been argued, based upon evidence supplied by the *Res Gestae* itself, that the document was near to completion in 2 B.C. This argument is based on the fact that Augustus ends the *Res Gestae* with a reference to the title *pater patriae* which was conferred in 2 B.C.⁵⁴ This argument does not, however, explain the numerous references in the *Res Gestae* to the events that occurred after Augustus had received the title.⁵⁵ It is more likely that Augustus produced numerous drafts of the *Res Gestae*, before and after 2 B.C., and it was only after many changes had been done, and much editing, that he composed the final draft and submitted it to the Vestals.⁵⁶

Since it appears that the *Res Gestae* was a continual work in progress, it is

⁵² Dio 54.25.5. See also Z. Yavetz, 'The *Res Gestae* and Augustus' Public Image,' in *Caesar Augustus: Seven Aspects*, ed. F. Millar and E. Segal (Oxford, 1984), 5.

⁵³ Brunt and Moore (1967), 6, suggest that the *Res Gestae* may have been begun shortly after Augustus built his Mausoleum in 28 B.C. See also Yavetz (1984), 5-6, who proposes that Augustus began working on the document after his brush with death in 23 B.C.

⁵⁴ This is argued by Brunt and Moore (1967), 6, and by Yavetz (1984), 6.

⁵⁵ This point is raised by E. Ramage, 'The Date of Augustus' *Res Gestae*,' *Chiron* 18 (1988), 71-72. The references are also noted by Brunt and Moore (1967), 6 n.1.

⁵⁶ Ramage (1987), 13, firmly believes that the *Res Gestae* was written in A.D. 14. In another article, Ramage (1988) provides an historiographic examination of the scholarship that has concerned itself with the problems associated with the dating of the *Res Gestae*. Ramage concludes (p. 82) that there is no evidence that disputes a date of A.D. 14 for the composition of the document.

probable that Augustus was working on the document, at least in a draft form, prior to 2 B.C. It has already been established that Augustus was involved, in some way, with the composition of the *elogia*, and with the selection of individuals honoured in his Forum.⁵⁷ Augustus would, thereby, have been familiar with the wording, the structure, and the contents of the *elogia*.⁵⁸ This may have resulted in Augustus including these elements either consciously, or unconsciously, in an early draft of the *Res Gestae*. It is, therefore, reasonable to suggest that the *elogia* may have influenced the manner in which Augustus styled, worded, and composed the *Res Gestae*.

The similarities in content between the *elogia* and the *Res Gestae*, however, appear to have been deliberate. Augustus' *Res Gestae* was intended not only to proclaim his contribution to Roman history, but, more importantly, it was meant to reveal that in his accomplishments Augustus had surpassed all those who had preceded him.⁵⁹ The contents of the *Res Gestae* were, therefore, carefully chosen in order to depict Augustus as the *exemplum* of leadership. Augustus, then, made certain that his achievements appeared greater than those announced in the *elogia* so that if comparisons were made, it would be certain that his were far greater.⁶⁰

It is clear that both the Forum and the *Res Gestae* of Augustus were intended to

⁵⁷ See Chapter 1, p. 10.

⁵⁸ See Brunt and Moore (1967), 5, who assert that the *Res Gestae* developed out of the *elogia*.

⁵⁹ Flower (1996), 232.

⁶⁰ See both Luce (1990), 127, and Frisch (1980), 96.

proclaim the preeminence of Augustus. In the Forum, Augustus, represented by the *quadriga* and the title *pater patriae*, was visually depicted as being the culmination of Roman history, the successor of *summi viri*, and the *exemplum* of leadership. In the *Res Gestae*, Augustus did verbally what he had already done visually in the Forum, he portrayed himself as the greatest, and most distinguished, leader in the history of Rome. The dominant message, then, of both the Forum and the *Res Gestae* was that Augustus had surpassed the deeds of all the great men of Roman history, and was, thereby, the *exemplum* of leadership.

CHAPTER 4

THE VIRTUES OF AUGUSTUS AND THE *ELOGIA*

There seems to be little doubt that Augustus was involved in the selection of the individuals who were honoured with statues in his Forum, and in the composition of the *elogia*. There is also evidence that suggests that Augustus' *Res Gestae* and the *elogia* may have been composed concurrently. As has been previously noted, this would have not only enabled Augustus to employ the *elogia* as a model for his *Res Gestae*, both in composition and content, but would have also allowed him the liberty to compose his own *elogium* so that his achievements appeared to surpass the deeds commemorated in the inscriptions displayed in his Forum. Augustus' involvement in the composition of the *elogia* would have also permitted him to dictate what was included in the inscriptions, and to make changes to the *elogia* to serve his own purposes. Augustus may have employed the statues and the *elogia* of the Forum to define his position in Roman history, but he may have also chosen the individuals because they each exemplified one or more of the four virtues which he had been honoured for possessing, and upon which he apparently modelled his life. This chapter examines the virtues of Augustus, their depiction in the *Res Gestae*, and the representation of the virtues in the *elogia*. The main focus of this chapter is to determine how these virtues were represented in the *elogia*, and why Augustus may

have chosen to illustrate these virtues in his Forum.

In 27 B.C., the senate and people of Rome honoured Augustus with a golden shield, commonly called the *Clupeus virtutis*. This shield, which was displayed in the Curia Iulia, was given to Augustus on account of his *virtus*, *clementia*, *iustitia*, and *pietas*.¹ These were the virtues that Augustus chose to base his life upon, and continually strove to demonstrate through his actions and behaviour.² Augustus' adherence to these virtues is illustrated in the *Res Gestae* which, through its presentation of his accomplishments, demonstrates Augustus' courage, clemency, justice, and piety. In order to reveal how, and why, these virtues were depicted in the *elogia*, it is first necessary to determine the origins of the virtues that Augustus chose, and how he himself exhibited these qualities.

The importance of virtues, and the display of such qualities by a figure of authority, did not originate with Augustus, nor did it originate in Rome. The practice of attributing canons of cardinal virtues to a person, usually groups of four, five, or six qualities, which reflected the values of the individual, appears to have originated in the late

¹ RG 34.2: *clupeus aureus in curia Iulia positus, quem mihi senatum populumque Romanum dare virtutis clementiaeque et iustitiae et pietatis caussa testatum est per eius clupei inscriptionem* ('a golden shield was placed in the Curia Iulia, which, as the inscription of that shield testified, was given to me by the senate and Roman people on account of my courage, clemency, justice, and piety').

² I.S. Ryberg, 'Clupeus Virtutis,' in *The Classical Tradition: Literary and Historical Studies in Honor of Harry Caplan*, ed. L. Wallach (Ithaca, 1966), 233, suggests that Augustus himself selected these virtues. Ryberg also suggests that the virtues reveal Augustus' political 'platform'. See also A. Wallace-Hadrill, 'The Emperor and His Virtues,' *Historia* 30 (1981), 304, and Ramage (1987), 74, who both state that Augustus chose the virtues.

archaic period in Greece.³ Plato, in the *Republic*, established the doctrine of four virtues which a state ought to possess, and it was upon his fundamental canon that most variations were based.⁴ Plato's four cardinal virtues consisted of wisdom, justice, courage, and moderation.⁵ Other virtues, however, such as piety, could be included if the context so required.⁶

The Greek conception of virtues was adopted by the Hellenistic kings who, in turn, inserted the virtues into their own ideology, and claimed that their rule was based upon the virtues.⁷ The kings presented themselves as possessing the noblest virtues, and stressed that *the well being of the state was a direct result of their qualities*.⁸ Roman expansion during the Republican period, and the establishment of control in the east, brought Rome into contact with this ideology. The Greek canon of virtues were, because of Rome's continual and extensive presence in the east, slowly adapted, and applied, to Roman social, political, and religious practices.⁹ The four virtues, and variants thereof, became part of

³ See H.F. North, 'Canons and Hierarchies of the Cardinal Virtues in Greek and Latin Literature' in *The Classical Tradition: Literary and Historical Studies in Honor of Harry Caplan*, ed. L. Wallach (Ithaca, 1966), 166.

⁴ North (1966), 166-167.

⁵ Plato *Rep.* 4.427E.

⁶ See North (1966), 167, who argues that piety was sometimes included in the canon of virtues.

⁷ See Weinstock (1971), 228, and J.R. Fears, 'The Cult of Virtues and Roman Imperial Ideology,' *ANRW* 2.17.2 (1981), 850.

⁸ See Fears (1981), 850.

⁹ Fears (1981), 849 ff., discusses the Roman contact with, and assimilation of, the Greek canon of virtues.

the Roman tradition, and it is clear that these qualities were attributed to Romans throughout the Republic.¹⁰

The virtues attributed to Augustus were, therefore, not based in the Roman tradition, but rather they had their origins in Greek philosophy. Two of his qualities, *virtus* and *iustitia*, were part of the canon established by Plato, and another, *pietas*, was closely connected with the original doctrine.¹¹ *Clementia* was also ascribed by the Greeks as a virtue that should be possessed by the ideal state.¹² It seems likely, however, that Augustus chose this virtue more because of its associations with Caesar, who was praised, and honoured for his *clementia*, than for any other reason.¹³ Augustus' virtues, therefore, appear to be connected with historical precedents. As noted, *virtus*, *iustitia*, and, to a lesser extent, *pietas* were all virtues that Greek tradition had established as being the qualities which a state should possess, and *clementia* was the virtue which Caesar had more or less personified. The virtues that were chosen were very much established in Roman society. The manner in which Augustus exhibited these virtues is illustrated

¹⁰ The *elogia* from the tomb of the Scipios (*ILS* 1-10) reveals that virtues were attributed to individuals early in the Republic. *Virtus* is noted in four of the inscriptions, and other virtues, such as *honor* and *sapientia*, are also included. See Fears (1981), 869-884, who discusses the various applications of the virtues in the Republican period.

¹¹ See North (1966), 167, for the connection of piety to the original doctrine of virtues.

¹² Weinstock (1971), 234.

¹³ Cicero (*Deiot.* 40), when addressing Caesar, asserts that *multa sunt monimenta clementiae tuae* ('there are many records of your clemency'). The references to Caesar's *clementia* are numerous, see specifically Weinstock (1971), 237-243 and notes. Caesar's clemency was so consistent, and extensive, that the senate decreed that a temple, the *Clementia Caesaris*, be built in recognition for Caesar's adherence to, and display of, this virtue (*App. B Civ.* 2.106; *Dio* 44.6.4; *Plut. Caes.* 57.3). See also D. Earl, *The Moral and Political Tradition of Rome* (London, 1967), 60.

throughout the *Res Gestae*.

For the Romans, *virtus* was associated with the display of courage on the battle-field, or in other deeds performed in the service of the state.¹⁴ Augustus' *virtus* is illustrated at the outset of the *Res Gestae*. In the first paragraph, Augustus is portrayed as the courageous youngster who takes it upon himself to defend the *res publica*.¹⁵ In the following paragraph, the two victories over Brutus and Cassius again define Augustus as the heroic general.¹⁶ The theme of Augustus as the courageous general who takes on all foes for the benefit of Rome is maintained throughout the document. His *virtus* is illustrated through the references to the wars he undertook, the territories he acquired, and the triumphs he celebrated.¹⁷ Augustus' actions on the battle-field, and the services he performed for the benefit of Rome, illustrated that he indeed possessed, and displayed, *virtus*.

Clementia was perceived by the Romans as the kindness shown towards fellow citizens, and towards a defeated enemy.¹⁸ Augustus' *clementia*, like his *virtus*, is made

¹⁴ See Weinstock (1971), 230, and Earl (1967), 21.

¹⁵ RG 1.1: *annos undeviginti natus exercitum privato consilio et privata impensa comparavi, per quem rem publicam a dominatione factionis oppressam in libertatem vindicavi* ('at the age of nineteen, on my own initiative and at my own expense I raised an army, by means of which I protected the liberty of the state when it was oppressed by the tyranny of a faction').

¹⁶ RG 2: *et postea bellum inferentis rei publicae vici bis acie* ('and afterwards, when they waged war on the state, I defeated them twice on the battle-field').

¹⁷ Augustus' involvement in varying types of conflict are noted in RG 3.1; 3.4; 4.2; 24.1; 25.1-2; 26.5; 29.1; 30.2; expansion of Roman territory in 26.1-3; 27.1-3; 30.1; and triumphs are noted in 4.1 and 4.3.

¹⁸ Weinstock (1971), 234. See also Earl (1967), 60.

clear at the beginning of the *Res Gestae* by his assertion that he showed mercy to both Roman citizens and foreign peoples.¹⁹ Although his *clementia* is not stressed elsewhere, the mentioning of his merciful treatment of conquered peoples in the early part of the *Res Gestae* may have been intended to reveal Augustus' overall policy in dealing with those whom he defeated.²⁰ It was, therefore, implied that Augustus displayed *clementia* in all of his undertakings, and specifically those that he identified in the *Res Gestae*.

Iustitia, although most readily defined as justice, was, when applied to a statesman, indicative of one who governs in a just manner, and conducts himself according to the established traditions.²¹ Augustus' *iustitia* is, like his *virtus* and *clementia*, illustrated at the very beginning of the *Res Gestae*. Augustus asserts that he gained power not by taking it, but rather by following the Roman tradition of ascending the *cursus honorum*.²²

¹⁹ *RG* 3.1-2: *victorque omnibus veniam petentibus civibus peperci. Externas gentes, quibus tuto ignosci potuit, conservare quam excidere malui* ('and as victor I spared all citizens who asked for forgiveness. The foreign nations which could safely be pardoned I preferred to preserve rather than destroy').

²⁰ See Ramage (1987), 76.

²¹ Cicero provides numerous references to the importance of *iustitia*, and also defines the virtue. Cicero (*Rep.* 2.70) asserts that *sine summa iustitia rem publicam geri nullo modo posse* ('it is not at all possible to administer the state without the strictest justice'). Cicero (*Leg.* 1.42) also confirms that *iustitia est obtemperatio scriptis legibus institutisque populorum* ('justice is obedience to the written laws and to the customs of the nation'). See also Ramage (1987), 74.

²² Augustus is first enrolled in the senate (*RG* 1.2), then, as propraetor, he is given imperium by the senate (1.2-3), and finally he is elected consul by the people (1.4). As noted by Brunt and Moore (1967) 39, Augustus, in this section, records only the bare facts. Livy (*Per.* 118) asserts that Augustus was given *pro praetore imperium a senatu* ('authority as propraetor by the senate') and was enrolled into the senate. This is confirmed by the other sources (see for example, *App. B Civ.* 3.51; *Vell. Pat.* 2.61.3; *Suet. Aug.* 10.4; *Plut. Cic.* 45.3). Augustus' attainment of the consulship, however, was less than constitutional. The sources confirm that Augustus received the consulship only after he had entered Rome with his soldiers, and had, more or less, used the threat of force to obtain the office (*Livy Per.* 119; *Suet. Aug.* 26.1; *Dio* 46.45.1-3; *App. B Civ.* 3.89-92).

In the second chapter of the *Res Gestae*, Augustus' *iustitia* is revealed by his employment of Roman legalities to condemn Brutus and Cassius.²³ In both instances Augustus is portrayed as the just statesman who conforms to Roman customs in order to attain power, and relies on justice to fulfill his objectives. Although Augustus does include allusions to other facets of his *iustitia*, it is his maintenance and compliance with Roman laws, and customs, that is depicted most often in the *Res Gestae*.

Augustus' reverence for Roman tradition is clearly illustrated by his refusal to occupy any position which was inconsistent with the *mos maiorum*.²⁴ Augustus notes that he refused the position of *curator* of laws and morals, the dictatorship, the offer of a continual consulship, and he refused to become *pontifex maximus* while the incumbent was alive.²⁵ These incidents are illustrative of Augustus' portrayal, in the *Res Gestae*, as the just statesman who adheres to the laws of the state. Augustus' respect for tradition is also depicted in the manner by which he legitimizes his power and his activities.

Augustus, as noted above, stressed the fact that he attained power only through constitutional means. He does, however, emphasize the legitimacy of his rule by asserting that the offices he held, the actions he undertook, and the honours he received were either

²³ RG 2: *qui parentem meum trucidaverunt, eos in exilium expuli iudiciis legitimis ultus eorum facinus* ('I drove into exile those men who murdered my father, punishing their crime through the due process of law').

²⁴ RG 6.1: *nullum magistratum contra morem maiorum delatum recepi* ('I did not accept any office offered me that was contrary to the custom of our ancestors').

²⁵ For Augustus' refusal of the *curator legum et morum* see RG 6.1; the dictatorship, 5.1; the perpetual consulship, 5.3; and the office of *pontifex*, 10.2.

decreed, voted, or ordered by the senate and people of Rome.²⁶ By calling attention to the fact that all aspects of his rule had been authorized by the state, Augustus underscored the validity of his position, and again depicted himself as the just statesman.

Other aspects of Augustus' *iustitia* are also depicted in the *Res Gestae*. Augustus asserts that he never waged an unjust war, and since Roman tradition dictated that wars be just, his *iustitia* is again stressed since he adhered to the *mos maiorum*.²⁷ The just statesman exhibited concern for the welfare of the state, and Augustus confirms that he was no exception. When a shortage of grain threatened Rome, Augustus notes that he undertook the position of *curator annonae* and quickly alleviated the problem.²⁸ As well, Augustus notes that with the passage of laws that he himself had proposed, he restored many Roman traditions.²⁹ The concern for the legal system not only illustrates Augustus' *iustitia*,³⁰ but it is noteworthy that his laws were connected with Roman traditions which, as noted above, Augustus portrays himself as observing in the *Res Gestae*.

²⁶ Augustus asserts that he was enrolled in the senate, given imperium, and appointed propraetor by a decree of the senate (*RG* 1.2-3); appointed consul by the people (1.4); awarded triumphs and other honours by the senate (4.1-2; 9.1; 10.1; 11; 12.2;13); offered position of *curator* of laws and morals by the senate and people (6.1); carried out the orders of the senate (6.2); followed the instructions of the people and senate (8.1); given tribunician power for life through a decree of the senate (10.1); offered priesthood by the people (10.2); acted with the consent of the senate (20.4); given honours by the people and the senate (34.2; 35.1).

²⁷ *RG* 26.3: *nulli genti bello per iniuriam inlato* ('having never waged war on a nation unjustly'). Regarding the importance of waging a just war, see Cicero *Rep.* 3.35.

²⁸ *RG* 5.2.

²⁹ *RG* 8.5: *legibus novis me auctore latis multa exempla maiorum...reduxi* ('with the passing of new laws by my proposal, I restored many traditions of our ancestors').

³⁰ See Ramage (1987), 90-91.

The last virtue attributed to Augustus on the *Clupeus virtutis* is *pietas*. Although this virtue, for the Romans, denoted respect for the gods, and, therefore, applied to religious matters, it was also connected with devotion, and a sense of duty, to both family and country.³¹ Augustus' *pietas*, like his other virtues, is depicted early in the *Res Gestae*. In this instance, his *pietas* is illustrated by his sense of duty which required him to avenge his father's death.³² One of the by-products of his successful campaign was the Temple of Mars Ultor which Augustus had, when pursuing his father's murderers, vowed to build if the god allowed his act of piety to be fulfilled.³³ The Temple of Mars Ultor, and specifically its mention in the *Res Gestae*, exhibits Augustus' *pietas* on two levels. On the one hand, Augustus' respect for the gods is illustrated by the fact that he built the temple, but on the other hand, the structure served as a testimonial of Augustus' devotion to his father.³⁴ Augustus' *pietas*, as it applies to familial devotion, is illustrated in the *Res Gestae* by the references that acknowledge Augustus' loyalty to his father, and by other allusions

³¹ Cicero (*Nat. D.* 1.226) asserts that *est enim pietas iustitia adversum deos* ('for pietas is justice towards the gods') and also notes (*Inv. Rhet* 2.66) that *pietatem, quae erga patriam aut parentes aut alios sanguine coniunctos officium conservare moneat* ('pietas, which advises us to observe our duty to the country or parents or others related by blood'). See also Ramage (1987), 92.

³² *RG 2: qui parentem meum trucidaverunt, eos in exilium expuli iudiciis legitimis ultus eorum facinus et postea bellum inferentis rei publicae vici bis acie* ('I drove into exile those men who murdered my father, punishing their crime through the due process of law and afterwards, when they waged war on the state, I defeated them twice on the battle-field'). Ovid (*Fast.* 3.709-710) asserts that Augustus' actions were an act of pietas: *hoc opus, haec pietas, haec prima element fuerunt Caesaris, ulcisci iusta per arma patrem* ('this work, this duty, these were the first principles of Caesar, to avenge his father through just arms').

³³ For the vow, see Introduction, p.1 n.2.

³⁴ Discussed by Ramage (1987), 93.

that depict his *pietas* towards his family.³⁵ Loyalty to the family, however, represents only one facet of *pietas*.

Piety also denoted respect, and reverence, for the gods. This aspect of *pietas* was, therefore, associated with all matters of religion. It is apparent that Augustus, as he is depicted in the *Res Gestae*, showed respect for the gods, and for Roman religion as a whole. Augustus' loyalty to the gods is denoted by the offerings he made to the deities, and by his fulfilment of his vows to the gods which he had made in times of war.³⁶ Furthermore, his sense of duty towards the gods, and religion itself, is illustrated by the numerous religious positions Augustus held. He carefully lists these appointments,³⁷ and since he would have been required to perform certain ceremonies, and carry out religious functions in public, his *pietas* would have been displayed for all to see.³⁸ Augustus' respect for the gods is also depicted in his building programme which, as noted in the *Res Gestae*, resulted in numerous temples and shrines being built.³⁹ The restoration of temples

³⁵ Augustus' familial piety is witnessed in his execution of his father's will (15.1); the construction of the *aedem divi Iuli* (19.1); the completion of the Forum Iulium and the Basilica Iulia, which Augustus notes were begun *a patre meo* (20.3); the rededication of the Basilica Iulia in the names of his sons (20.3); the construction of the theatre in the honour of his son-in-law Marcellus (21.1); and in the numerous games, shows, and beast hunts he sponsored in the names of his sons and grandsons (22.1; 22.3). See also Ramage (1987), 93.

³⁶ Augustus' offerings are noted in RG 21.2: *dona...consacravi* ('I dedicated...gifts'); and in 24.2 *dona...posui* ('I deposited...gifts'). Augustus notes (4.1) that he fulfilled all the vows *bello nuncupaveram* ('I had proclaimed in war'). This must have included the vow made at Philippi which resulted in the Temple of Mars Ultor being built (see Introduction, p. 1 n. 2).

³⁷ RG 7.3.

³⁸ Ramage (1987), 94.

³⁹ RG 19.1-21.1.

was also part of the programme, and Augustus notes that he was responsible for the repair of eighty-two temples, and that he did not neglect any sacred building that required restoration.⁴⁰ Augustus, then, by recording the offerings he made to the gods, by listing the religious offices he held, and by giving an account of the numerous temples he either built or restored, portrays himself as respecting and worshipping the Roman deities. These actions, however, also suggest that Augustus was concerned with perpetuating the *pax deorum*.

The 'peace with the gods' was maintained through the proper observance of the religious procedures which were intended to appease the gods. Augustus, through the offerings he made, and the ceremonies that he would have performed as a member of the priestly college, was, therefore, closely involved in maintaining the *pax deorum*. It is also possible that Augustus' building programme was conducted specifically to appease the gods.⁴¹ Augustus' *pietas* towards the gods, therefore, appears to be closely connected to his *pietas* towards the state. On the one hand Augustus' actions reveal his devotion to the

⁴⁰ RG 20.4: *duo et octoginta templa deum in urbe consul sextum ex auctoritate senatus refeci nullo praetermisso quod eo tempore refici debebat* ('as consul the sixth time I restored eighty-two temples of the gods in the city with the authority of the senate, omitting none which at that time required to be repaired'). The building programme was so immense that Livy (4.20.7) refers to Augustus as *templorum omnium conditorem aut restitutorem* ('the founder or restorer of all temples').

⁴¹ Horace (*Carm.* 3.6.1-4) pronounced that *delicta maiorum immeritus lues, Romane, donec templa refeceris aedesque labentis deorum et foeda nigro simulacra fumo* ('although undeserving, you, Romans, shall suffer for the transgressions of your ancestors until you have repaired the temples and falling shrines of the gods and statues filthy from the black smoke'). Ovid (*Fast.* 2.59-66) also notes that a number of the temples had fallen (*procubere*), while others were weakened (*labefacta*) and in a state of ruin (*ruina*). Ovid suggests that since Augustus was obliged to the gods (*obligat ille deos*) he repaired the buildings [*templorum positor, templorum...repositor* ('the builder of temples, the restorer of temples')]. Ovid does not, however, provide any indication why Augustus was obliged to the gods, but it must have been either his *pietas* towards the gods, or an attempt to maintain the *pax deorum*.

gods, but on the other hand his offerings to the deities, his participation in religious ceremonies, and his building programme contributed to the maintenance of the *pax deorum* which, of course, benefited the entire state.

The *Res Gestae*, then, presents Augustus as the courageous, and victorious, leader who shows mercy; as the statesman who governs in a just manner and adheres to tradition; and as an individual who respects the gods, and is loyal to his family. The virtues that Augustus selected, and for which he received the *Clupeus virtutis*, are clearly exhibited in the *Res Gestae*, and reveal that Augustus adhered to these virtues, and seemingly based his life upon them. Augustus was not, however, the only statesman to exhibit these virtues. The *elogia* from the Forum reveal that most of the *summi viri*, and the members of Augustus' family, also were attributed with displaying one or more of the same virtues as Augustus. The connection between the *elogia* and the *Res Gestae* in terms of these virtues remains to be examined.

The *elogia* that have survived reveal that most, if not all, of the individuals whose statues were set up in the Forum were attributed with possessing at least one of the virtues for which Augustus had received the *Clupeus virtutis*. The virtues are most clearly illustrated in the fourth section of the *elogia* which, as had already been noted, depicts the *exemplum virtutis*.⁴² Unfortunately, only a small number of the *elogia* include such apparent indications of the virtues attributed to the individuals. By taking into account not

⁴² See Chapter 2, p. 32-33.

only the *exemplum virtutis*, but all information depicted on the *elogia*, it is possible to make certain conclusions regarding the portrayal of virtues in the *elogia* of the Forum.

Virtus, as described above, was displayed through courage in battle, waging war for the benefit of Rome, expanding Roman territory, and, of course, success in battle. In the *Res Gestae*, Augustus' fulfilment of each of these objectives is recorded. He is, therefore, depicted as possessing, and displaying, *virtus*. In the *elogia*, *virtus* is denoted by these same accomplishments. Courage and valour were both associated with involvement in war, and the inscriptions specifically record that ten of the individuals conducted wars against Rome's enemies.⁴³ *Virtus* was also indicated by the successful conduct of a war. It was, of course, Augustus' *virtus* that had resulted in many Roman victories, and the triumphs he received in recognition for his successes proved that he had displayed courage on the battlefield. *Virtus*, then, had also been displayed by the six *summi viri* who, like Augustus, celebrated triumphs as a result of victorious campaigns.⁴⁴ Augustus also displayed his *virtus* by expanding Roman territory through the use of

⁴³ Romulus (E7) is noted for destroying (*interfecto*) king Acron; the *elogium* of A. Postumius Regillensis (*cos.*496) (E8), although fragmentary, appears to allude to war (*Latinorum exercitum*); M. Furius Camillus (*dict.*396) (E10) subdued (*devictis*) and conquered (*subactis*) enemies of Rome; L. Papirius Cursor (*cos.*326) (E12) was involved in the *bello Samnitium*; Ap. Claudius Caecus (*cos.*307) (E13) routed (*fudit*) the Sabines and Etruscans; Q. Fabius Maximus (*cos.*233) (E16) was involved in numerous conflicts; L. Aemilius Paullus (*cos.* 182) (E19) defeated the Ligurians; C. Marius (E22) waged war (*bellum...gessit*) against Jugurtha; and L. Licinius Lucullus (*cos.*74) (E26) is noted for subduing (*superatis*) enemy forces. To this list Aeneas (E1), who conducted a war (*bellum suscepit*), could also be included.

⁴⁴ The *elogia* reveal that M. Valerius Maximus (*dict.*494) (E9), M. Furius Camillus (*dict.*396) (E10); C. Duilius (*cos.*260) (E15); Q. Fabius Maximus (*cos.*233) (E16); L. Aemilius Paullus (*cos.* 182) (E19); C. Marius (E22); and L. Licinius Lucullus (*cos.*74) (E26) all celebrated triumphs.

force.⁴⁵ The expansion of Roman territory is also referred to in the *elogia*, but it is not as pronounced as it is in the *Res Gestae*.⁴⁶ The *elogia*, then, reveal that a number of the *summi viri* were regarded as possessing *virtus*. It should, however, be noted that in all aspects Augustus' *virtus*, as it is revealed in the *Res Gestae*, appears to have been far greater than those honoured in the Forum.

Another of Augustus' virtues, *pietas*, is also found in the *elogia*. This virtue denoted respect for the gods, and a sense of duty to both family and country. As seen in the case of Augustus, membership in the priestly colleges was closely associated with *pietas*. It is clear, then, that eight of the individuals honoured in the Forum, since they too had been members of the colleges, also displayed *pietas*.⁴⁷ Augustus' *pietas* towards the gods was also indicated through his offerings made to deities, and by the construction of temples. The *elogia* reveal that these actions were also performed by Augustus'

⁴⁵ See above, n. 17.

⁴⁶ In the *elogia*, the expansion of Roman territory is not the result of aggression, but is rather the result of founding new regions. Aeneas (E1) is noted for founding Lavinium (*Lavinium condidit*); Romulus (E7) is responsible founding Rome (*urbem Romam condidit*); and C. Julius Caesar (*pr.ca.92*) (E23) is noted for the colonization of Cercena. The only possible allusion to the use of force in acquiring territory is found in the elogium of Ap. Claudius Caecus (*cos.307*) (E13) who is noted for taking towns from the Samnites (*oppida de Samnitibus cepit*).

⁴⁷ The office of augur was held by M^o. Valerius Maximus (*dict.494*) (E9); Q. Fabius Maximus (*cos.233*) (E16); L. Aemilius Paullus (*cos. 182*) (E19); C. Marius (E22); L. Licinius Lucullus (*cos.74*) (E26); and Nero Claudius Drusus (*cos.9*) (E28). The position of pontifex was held by Q. Fabius Maximus (*cos.233*) (E16); C. Julius Caesar Strabo (*aed.cur.90*) (E24); M. Claudius Marcellus (*aed.cur.23*) (E27). It is certain that other *summi viri* held these positions, but the offices have not been recorded in their *elogia*. See Chapter 2, n. 28.

predecessors.⁴⁸

Pietas, as noted, was also associated with an individual's duty, or loyalty, to the state. Augustus' sense of duty towards the state was witnessed in his maintenance of the *pax deorum* which benefited Rome, and the *Res Gestae*, in its entirety, appears to be a testament of Augustus' *pietas* towards the state.⁴⁹ It is apparent that a number of the *elogia* also record actions which clearly indicate *pietas*, or sense of duty, towards the state.⁵⁰ In all cases, the actions of the individuals were performed in a time of crisis, and the majority saved Rome, and her citizens, from possible disasters. For example, the *elogium* of M' Valerius Maximus (*dict.*494) (E9) notes that he alone resolved the secession of the plebs in 494 B.C. by persuading the senate to alleviate debts. The situation was fragile, and without Valerius' intervention the state would have been thrown into chaos.⁵¹

⁴⁸ Romulus (E7) made offerings to Jupiter; A. Postumius Regillensis (*cos.*496) (E8) built a temple for Castor; Ap. Claudius Caecus (*cos.*307) (E13) built the temple of Bellona; and C. Marius (E22) built a temple for Honor and Virtus. *Pietas* was also exhibited by L. Albinus (*tr.mil.*379?) (E11) who in a time of crisis ensured the safety of the Vestal Virgins so that the religious ceremonies would be performed.

⁴⁹ Ramage (1987), 93. Augustus' piety towards Rome, and her citizens, was publicly recognized in 27 B.C. when he was awarded the *corona civica* (RG 34.2). The civic crown was a wreath made of oak leaves which was, according to Pliny (*NH* 16.7-13), awarded to those who had saved the life of a fellow citizen. Dio (53.16.4) asserts that Augustus received the crown of oak for saving the lives of citizens, and Ovid (*Tr.* 3.1.47-48) notes that an inscription was set up which noted that Augustus had received crown because he had saved many citizens. Augustus' devotion to Rome, and her citizens, was, therefore, beyond doubt. See Zanker (1988), 92-93.

⁵⁰ Although the *elogium* of Aeneas does not readily depict any examples of *pietas*, he was, for the Romans, the original *exemplum pietatis*. He had exercised piety towards both the gods and his father by saving them from the ruins of Troy, and his statue in the Forum most likely depicted him as carrying his father on his shoulders, while his father carried the *penates*. Aeneas' *pietas* was, thereby, represented visually in the Forum, and this would have immediately reminded the Romans that he was the first Roman to display this virtue. See Zanker (1988), 202-203, and Rich (1998), 91-95.

⁵¹ See Judge (1985), 11.

C. Marius (E22) is also credited with saving the state. His *elogium* records the events of 100 B.C., when he protected the state from being thrown into complete disorder after an insurrection broke out which threatened to turn violent. In the *elogium* of Q. Fabius Maximus (*cos.*233)(E16), he is credited with saving M. Minucius Rufus (*cos.* 221) and his army, after Minucius engaged Hannibal. Minucius was quickly overwhelmed, and would have suffered defeat if Fabius had not assisted. The actions of Fabius were later mirrored by L. Licinius Lucullus (*cos.*74) (E26). Lucullus' *elogium* records that he, in 74 B.C., rescued his consular colleague, M. Aurelius Cotta, after Cotta was besieged by Mithridates. Lucullus' actions, like those of Fabius, saved Roman forces from certain defeat. The *elogium* of L. Albinus (*tr.mil.*379?) (E11) notes that he, in a time of disaster, made certain that the Vestal Virgins came to no harm so that they could perform the required ceremonies. Albinus' actions did not prevent a disaster, rather they appear to be an attempt to manipulate the *pax deorum*. Albinus' actions, and those of Valerius, Marius, Fabius, and Lucullus, are all examples of *pietas* towards the state.⁵²

The *elogia* from the Forum, then, reveal that examples of both *virtus* and *pietas* were depicted in the inscriptions. As discussed in the preceding chapter, there appears to be a connection between the *elogia* and the *Res Gestae*. Although the *elogia* recorded the deeds of Augustus' predecessors, he made certain that in the *Res Gestae*, his achievements

⁵² It should be noted that the actions of these men had also saved the lives of Roman citizens. Augustus had, of course, been honoured with the *corona civica* for saving the lives of Romans (see n. 49 above). It is, therefore, possible that these specific details were included in the respective *elogia* of these men because they had, like Augustus, rescued their fellow citizens.

surpassed those of the individuals who were honoured in the Forum. This meant that if comparisons were made between the *elogia* and the *Res Gestae*, the accomplishments of Augustus would appear far greater, and he would, thereby, be depicted as the *exemplum* of leadership. In order to be remembered as the most distinguished leader, Augustus had to be depicted as surpassing his predecessors in all aspects, and this included virtues.

Although the individuals honoured in the Forum were depicted, via the *elogia*, as possessing both *virtus* and *pietas*, Augustus, in the *Res Gestae*, clearly demonstrated that his virtues far outweighed those of his predecessors. Augustus, then, was not only the *exemplum* of leadership in terms of achievements, but was also portrayed as the most virtuous leader.

CONCLUSION

The Forum of Augustus, with its statues and accompanying *elogia*, had many purposes other than those listed by the ancient sources.¹ The Forum may have been built in order to alleviate the congestion of the courts and the other *fori*, but with the inclusion of the statuary the Forum took on another purpose. The entire complex became a monument to the achievements of Augustus, and symbolically proclaimed him as the apex of Roman history. The *elogia*, however, played an important role in Augustus' ability to present this image of himself.

Augustus was clearly involved in the building programme that produced the structure which bore his name, and evidence suggests that he was also involved, in some capacity, with the statuary and inscriptions that were incorporated into the Forum. It appears, however, that many components of the Forum were not designed by Augustus, or anyone else, but were based upon examples previously established in both literature and Roman social customs. These elements were subsequently adapted, and employed for Augustan purposes.

The *elogia*, based structurally upon Republican funerary inscriptions, recorded the name, magistracies held, and a brief account of the achievements of the individual under

¹ Suet. *Aug.* 29.1-2; Dio 55.10.2-4. See Introduction, p. 4 n. 13-15.

whose statue they were appended. The importance of the *elogia* was directly related to the image that Augustus wished to portray. It has been noted that Augustus decreed that those individuals honoured with statues, and *elogia*, in his Forum were meant to be *exempla*, and although this may have been the 'official' reason for the inclusion of the statues in the Forum, there were also 'unofficial' reasons.

In the Forum, Augustus' presence dominated the structure. His name was upon the pediment of the Temple of Mars Ultor, the *quadriga*, which would have been associated with his achievements, occupied a central position within the Forum, and his title *pater patriae* was inscribed upon the base of the *quadriga*. The statues, and the *elogia*, also enabled Augustus to link himself with Rome's past heroes, and present himself as the culmination of centuries of history. As well, the *elogia*, by recording the achievements of Augustus' predecessors, allowed for comparisons to be made between Augustus and the *summi viri*. The accomplishments of Augustus, of course, due to the *quadriga* and the title *pater patriae*, appeared to be far greater which thereby supported his image as the apex of Roman history.

Although Augustus' image as the most distinguished, and successful, leader was presented in the Forum, he also presented himself as such verbally in his *Res Gestae*. Again, the *elogia* played an important role in supporting Augustus' claims that he made in his own *elogium*. Augustus must have realized that comparisons would be made between the *elogia* and his own account of his achievements, so he was careful to present himself as surpassing those individuals honoured in the Forum in all aspects, including

accomplishment and virtues. The *elogia*, then, provided Augustus with the support he required to present himself as the greatest leader in the history of Rome.

Even in death, Augustus was portrayed as the zenith of Roman history. In his funeral procession, the image that Augustus had established for himself as the most distinguished, and successful, Roman leader was continued. His body and three images of him were at the forefront of the procession.² These were followed by the *imagines* of Augustus' ancestors, an image of Romulus, and the *imagines* of other prominent Romans, including an image of Pompey the Great.³ The procession, however, deviated from the Republican norm. Traditionally, the *imagines* of the ancestors of the deceased preceded the body, and the inclusion of *imagines* of non-relatives was not an established practice.⁴ These variations appear to have been intentional, and were most likely the result of Augustus' own designs for his funeral.

Suetonius asserts that Augustus had, when he deposited his will, the *Res Gestae*, and his summary of the condition of the empire to the Vestals, included directions for his

² Dio 56.34.1. Interestingly, one of these images, according to Dio, was in a triumphal chariot. Flower (1996), 244, suggests that the inclusion of the chariot in Augustus' funeral may have been intended to remind the populace of the *quadriga* in the Forum. See also Galinsky (1996), 206.

³ Dio 56.34.2. Rowell (1940), 139, stipulates that an *imagine* of Aeneas was included in the procession. See also Evans (1992), 113, and Flower (1996), 245. It has been suggested, due to Dio's assertion that the figure of Pompey was included in the procession, that a statue of Pompey was also included in the Forum. See Frisch (1980), 97-98. Anderson (1984), 85-86, suggests that Pompey, along with numerous others, were included in the Forum.

⁴ See Flower (1996), 99 and 245, who discusses the traditional positioning of the *imagines*. Rowell (1940), 132, points out the abnormality of including the *imagines* of non-relatives.

funeral.⁵ There is, however, no ancient account of what these directions were, but it is probable that Augustus dictated the manner in which he was to be presented, and prescribed which *imagines* were to be included in the procession.⁶ His funeral, then, in many ways mirrored the manner in which he was presented in the Forum. In both, Augustus was surrounded by images of past Romans, and in both Augustus was presented as the lead figure. The funeral procession of Augustus appears to have been the final vehicle through which Augustus could, as he had done in the Forum and in the *Res Gestae*, present himself as the supreme leader in Rome's history. It appears that even in death Augustus attempted to do what he had in life, present himself as the *exemplum* of leadership.

⁵ Suetonius (*Aug.* 101. 1-4) confirms that the Vestals were given these documents, and he asserts that Augustus included *mandata de funere suo* ('directions for his own funeral'). See also Dio 56.33.1-3.

⁶ Rowell (1940), 143.

APPENDIX : THE *ELOGIA* OF THE AUGUSTAN FORUM

The following contains the *elogia* of those individuals who have been identified as being represented with an inscription in the Forum during the time of Augustus. Each inscription in the appendix is assigned a catalogue number (E-). The entries are arranged chronologically according to each individual's place in Roman history. The founders of Rome precede the individuals from the Republican and Imperial period. These latter individuals are arranged according to the date of highest office held, with the office of dictator given predominance. A list of the abbreviations employed can be found on page one of the introduction.

E1 Aeneas

(a) Rome- Augustan Forum

Ins. Ital. 13.3, p. 9 no. 1; Paribeni, *Not. Scav.* (1933), 457-458 no. 79.*Aen[e]a[s Veneris f(ilius)] | Latin[orum rex]. | Regnav[it annos III].*

Aeneas, [son of Venus, king] of the Latins. He reigned [for three years.]

The text is that of Degrassi. 1) Paribeni om. *Veneris f(ilius)*; 2) *Latin[us]* Paribeni;3) [*annos LI*] Paribeni. Aeneas became king of the Latins after the death of Latinus(Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.64.2; cf. Livy 1.2.2-6). The duration of his rule is confirmed byDion. Hal. (*Ant. Rom.* 1.64.3).

(b) Pompeii- Forum

Ins. Ital. 13.3, p. 69-70 no. 85; *CIL* 1, p. 283 no. 20; *CIL* 1², p. 189 no. 1; *CIL* 10, 808; *ILS* 63; Wilmanns, no. 622.*Aénea[s Ven]eris | et Anchisa[e f(ilius) Troia]nos | qui capta Tr[oi]a bello s]uper|
[fue]rant in It[aliam] adduxit. | Bell]um su[scepit- - | -]en[- - | -]ibu[- - -] |
[oppidum Lavinium] cond[edit] | et ibi regnavit an]nos tris. In | [bel]lo Lauren[ti
subi]to non con|[pa]ruit appel[latus]q(ue) est Indigens | [pa]ter et in deo[rum
n]umero relatus.*Aeneas, [son] of Venus and Anchises, [led the Trojans], who had survived when Troy had been captured [by war], into Italy. [He undertook a war]...he founded [the town of Lavinium and in that place he ruled] for three years. In [the war with] Laurentum he was [unexpectedly] not present and was called [father] *Indiges* and was enrolled into the rank of the gods.The text is that of Degrassi. 3) *Tr[oi]a et incensa]* Mommsen, Hülsen, Dessau, etWilmanns; 3-4) [*s]uper|erant* Mommsen; 7) [*A]lba* Mommsen; 9) Dessau om. *et**ibi*; 9-11) [*I]nde cum proelio fact[o non con]paruisset dictus est* Mommsen; 10)*Lauren[tin]o* Dessau; *Lauren[ti ges]to* Hülsen; Mommsen, Hülsen, Dessau, et Wilmanns

om. *subito*; 12) Mommsen om. *pater*. See, for example, Livy (1.1.11), Dion. Hal. (*Ant. Rom.* 1.63.3), and Zonar. 7.1 regarding Aeneas' founding of Lavinium. Aeneas' absence at the battle at Laurentum, and the title *Indiges* is confirmed by the sources (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.63.4-5; Zonar. 7.1; Livy 1.2.6).

(c) Mérida, Spain

Two fragments: *AE* (1996), 864 a-b; J. L. De La Barrera and W. Trillmich, *MDAI(R)* 103 (1996), 119-138.

- (a) [- - -] | [- - -]R | [- - - i]n luco | [- - - n]on comparuit | [- - - e]st indiges pater | [- - - nu]merum relatus.
- (b) regna[vit - - -] | Lauren[ti - - -] | apell[atusque - - -].

Regna[vit annos tris]. *In luco* | *Lauren*[ti subito n]on comparuit | *apell*[atusq(ue) e]st indiges pater | [*et in deorum nu*]merum relatus.

He reigned [for three years]. In the Laurentian wood he was [unexpectedly] not present and was called [father] *Indiges* [and] was enrolled into the rank of the gods.

The text is that of De La Barrera and Trillmich.

E2 Silvius Aeneas

Lavinium

CIL 1, p. 283 no. 21; *CIL* 1², p. 189 no. 3; *ILS* 62a ; Wilmanns, no. 617b.

Silvius Aeneas | *Aeneae et Laviniae filius*.

Silvius Aeneas, son of Aeneas and Lavinia.

The text is that of Mommsen. Silvius Aeneas was Ascanius' step-brother (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.70; Zonar. 1.7; Diod. Sic. fr. 7.5.8). See also Mommsen, *CIL* 1, p. 283.

E3 Aeneas Silvius

Rome- Augustan Forum

Ins. Ital. 13.3, p. 9-10 no. 2; Paribeni, *Not. Scav.* (1933), 456-457 no. 78; Rowell, *TAPhA* (1937), xxxvii-xxxviii.

[Aeneas] Si[l]vius | Iuli] f(ilius) | [Aeneae ne]po[s. | Regnavit a]nn(os) XXXI.

[Aeneas] Silvius, son [of Iulus], grandson [of Aeneas. He reigned] for thirty-one years.

The text is that of Degrassi. 1) [Aeneas] Si[l]vius rex] Paribeni; 2) [Silvii regis] f(ilius) Paribeni. Paribeni's suggestion (line 2) that Aeneas Silvius was the son of king Silvius is proven by the sources (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.71.1; Zonar. 7.1; Diod. Sic. fr. 7.5.9; Livy 1.3.6-7). Aeneas Silvius' reign of thirty-one years is confirmed by Dion. Hal. (*Ant. Rom.* 1.71.1; see also Diod. Sic. fr. 7.5.9).

E4 Alba Silvius

Rome- Augustan Forum

Ins. Ital. 13.3, p. 10-11 no. 3.

[Al]ba [Silvius Latini f(ilius). Regnavit ann(os) XXXIX].

Alba [Silvius, son of Latinus. He reigned for thirty-nine years.]

The text is that of Degrassi. Line breaks are undeterminable. Alba Silvius' rule is given as thirty-nine years by Dion. Hal. (*Ant. Rom.* 1.71.1) whereas Diod. Sic. (fr. 7.5.10) assigns a tenure of thirty-eight years.

E5 (incertus) Silvius

Rome- Augustan Forum

Ins. Ital. 13.3, p. 11 no. 4; Paribeni, *Not. Scav.* (1933), 474 no. 116.

[- - - Si]lvii f(ilius). | [Regnavi]t Albae ann(os) [- - -].

...son of Silvius. [He was king] of Alba for..... years.

The text is that of Degrassi. As the cognomen Silvius was retained by all the kings of Alba (Livy 1.3.8), this unidentifiable Silvius could be one of many (see Livy 1.3.8-10; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.71.1-4).

E6 Proca Silvius

Rome- Augustan forum

Ins. Ital. 13.3, p. 11 no. 5.

[Pr]oca [Silvius Aventini filius). Regnavit Albae ann(os) XXIII].

Proca [Silvius, son of Aventinus. He was king of Alba for twenty-three years.]

The text is that of Degrassi. Line breaks are undeterminable. Proca's rule is confirmed by both Dion. Hal. (*Ant. Rom.* 1.71.4) and Diod. Sic. (fr. 7.5.12).

E7 Romulus

Pompeii- Forum

Ins. Ital. 13.3, p. 70 no.86; *CIL* 1, p. 283 no. 22; *CIL* 1², p. 189 no.4; *CIL* 10, 809; *ILS* 64; Wilmanns, no. 623.

Rómulus Mártis | [f]ilius. Urbem Rómam | [condi]dit et regnavit annós |
duodequadragintá. Isque | primus dux duce hostium | Acrone rege Caeninensium |
interfecto spolia opi[ma] | Iovi Feretrio consecra[vit] | receptusque in deoru[m] |
numerus Quirinu[s] | appellatu[s est].

Romulus, son of Mars. [He founded] the city of Rome and he reigned for thirty-eight years. And he was the first leader who, after the leader of the enemy, Acron, the king of the Caeninenses, had been destroyed, dedicated the *spolia opima* to Jupiter Feretrius. After being received into the rank of the gods, [he was] called Quirinus.

The text is that of Dessau. Plutarch (*Rom.* 29.7) asserts that Romulus ruled for thirty-

eight years whereas Dion. Hal. (*Ant. Rom.* 1.75.1; 2.56.7) assigns a period of thirty-seven years. Romulus' victory over the Caeninenses, and his despoiling of Acron is related by Plutarch (*Rom.* 16.3-5), Livy (1.10.3-5), and Dion. Hal. (*Ant. Rom.* 2.33.2)[see also *De vir. ill.* 2.3]. Plutarch (*Rom.* 16.6-8), Livy (1.10.5-7), and Dion. Hal. (*Ant. Rom.* 2.34.4) describe the dedication of the spoils to Jupiter (see also *De vir. ill.* 2.4). See Plutarch (*Rom.* 27.7; 29.1), Livy (1.16.1-8), Dion. Hal. (*Ant. Rom.* 2.56.1-7; 2.63.3-4), and *De vir. ill.* (2.14) for the death of Romulus, his divine status, and the name Quirinus.

E8 A. Postumius Regillensis (dict. 499 or 496, cos. 496)

[A. Pauly, *RE* 5 (1848), 1933-1935 s.v. 'Postumius' no. 3]

Rome- Augustan Forum

Ins. Ital. 13.3, p. 17-18 no.10; *CIL* 1², p.197 no. 22.3; *CIL* 6, 31623; Gatti, *Not. Scav.* (1890), 319 no. 3; Gatti, *Bull. Com.* (1890), 257 no.1; Paribeni, *Not. Scav.* (1933), 473 no. 109.

Latin[or]um exercitum [- - -] | cae[sis m]ulti[s milit]ibu[s- - -] | Supe[rbi f]iliis et gen[tilibus- - -] | omn[- - -]p[er]rum[p- - -] | spem [ademit- - -] | aed[em Castoris- - -] | ex s[poliis hostium] vovit.

....an army of the Latins....[when] many [soldiers had been killed].....with the sons and kinsmen of Superbus...[he took away] hope....[he vowed] the temple [of Castor] from the [spoils of the enemy].

The text is that of Degrassi. 1) *Lati[norum et - - - or]um* Hülsen et Mommsen;

3) *supe[ratis regis f]iliis vel supe[ravit* Hülsen et Mommsen. A. Postumius P. f. – n.

Albus Regillensis was dictator in either 499 (Livy 2.19.3), or in 496, the same year as his consulship (Livy 2.21.3; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.2.1-3). As dictator, Postumius defeated the sons of Tarquinius Superbus at lake Regillus (Livy 2.19.3-2.20.13; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.2.3-6.17.1). Postumius' dedication of a temple to Castor is confirmed by Livy

(2.20.12-13; see also *De vir. ill.* 16.3).

E9 M'. Valerius Maximus (dict. 494)

[F. Münzer, *RE* 8a pt.1 (1955), 116-120 s.v. 'Valerius' no. 243]

(a) Rome- Forum Romanum

Ins. Ital. 13.3, p. 37-38 no.60; Annibaldi, *Not. Scav.* (1934), 217-218.

[*Faenore gravi*] | *populum sen[atus]* | *hoc auctore l[iberavit]*. | *Sellae curuli[s locus]* | *ipsi posteri[sque ad]* | *Murciae s[pectandi]* | *caussa pub[lice datus]* | *est. Prin[ceps in senatum]* | *semel l[ectus est]*.

The senate [released] the people [from burdensome debt] with him as sponsor. [A place] with a curule chair, [for the purpose of watching], was [supplied] at public expense for him and his descendants [near] the temple of Murcia. [He was appointed] as the first man [in the senate] once.

The text is that of Degrassi. 1-2) [- - -*faenore gravi liberavit*] Annibaldi; 3) *hoc auctore [eius rei]* Annibaldi; 8-9) *Prin[ceps lectus est s]emel in [senatu]* Annibaldi.

(b) Arretium

Ins. Ital. 13.3, p. 57-59 no.78; *CIL* 1, p. 284 no. 23; *CIL* 1², p. 189 no. 5; *CIL* 11, 1826; *ILS* 50; Wilmanns, no. 624.

M(anius) Valerius | *Volusi f(ilius)* | *Maximus* | *dictator augur. Primus quam | ullum magistratum gereret* | *dictator dictus est. Triumphavit* | *de Sabinis et Medullinis. Plebem* | *de sacro monte deduxit gratiam* | *cum patribus reconciliavit. Fae|nore gravi populum senatus hoc* | *eius rei auctore liberavit. Sellae* | *curulis locus ipsi posterisque* | *ad Murciae spectandi caussa datus* | *est. Princeps in senatum semel* | *lectus est.*

Manius Valerius Maximus, son of Volusus, dictator and augur. Before holding any magistracy, he was declared dictator. He celebrated a triumph over the Sabines and the Medullini. He led the plebs down from the sacred mount when he re-established a friendship with the Fathers. The senate released the people from burdensome debt with him as the sponsor of that motion. A place with a curule chair, for the purpose of watching, was supplied for him and his descendants near the temple of Murcia. He was appointed as the first man in the senate once.

The text is that of Degrassi. 4) *Prius quam* Mommsen, Dessau, Degrassi, et Wilmanns. M. Valerius Volusi f. – n. Maximus was appointed dictator in 494 (Livy 2.30.4; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.39.2; Zonar. 7.14), and his actions as augur in 463 are mentioned by Livy (3.7.6). The Sabines, who had allied themselves with the Medullini (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.34.1), were defeated by Valerius in 494 (Livy 2.31.1; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.42.3; Zonar. 7.14). The victorious Valerius celebrated a triumph (Livy 2.31.3; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.43.1) and was voted the title Maximus (Zonar. 7.14). Valerius laid down his office (Livy 2.31.10) when the senate failed to pass his legislation concerning debt (Livy 2.31.8-9; Zonar. 7.14; see Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.23.3 for Valerius' legislation). The plebs, angered by the senate's actions, took possession of the Sacred Mount (Livy 2.32.2; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.45.2-3; Dio fr. 4.9; Cic. *Brut.* 54). Valerius diffused the situation (Cic. *Brut.* 54; Plut. *Pomp.* 13.7; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.71) and the senate subsequently voted to alleviate debts (Dio fr. 4.13; Zonar. 7.14). The senate also granted the plebs the right to elect two tribunes (Livy 2.33.1-2). Both Cicero (*Brut.* 54) and Plutarch (*Pomp.* 13.7) assert that it was the reconciliation of the plebs with the patricians that earned Valerius the title of Maximus. Livy (2.31.3) confirms that Valerius was honoured with an assigned seat in the circus (see also Asconius 13 C). The sources are silent regarding Valerius' appointment as *princeps senatus*.

E10 M. Furius Camillus (dict. 396, 390, 389, 368, 367)

[F. Münzer, *RE* 7 (1912), 324-348 s.v. 'Furius' no. 44]

Rome- *incertum*

Ins. Ital. 13.3, p. 38-39 no.61; *CIL* 1, p. 285 no. 25; *CIL* 1², p. 191 no. 7; *CIL* 6, 1308;

ILS 52; Wilmanns, no. 626.

*Veios post urbem | captam commigra|ri passus non est. | Etruscis ad Sutrium |
[a]evictis Aequis et | [V]olscis subactis | tertium triumph[a]|vit. Quart(um)
se[dato] | Velitern[orum bello et Gallis in Albano agro caesis - - -].*

He did not allow a migration to Veii after the city had been seized. After he had subdued the Etruscans near Sutrium and after he had conquered the Aequi and the Volsci, he celebrated a third triumph. (He celebrated) a fourth [after he had ended the war with the] Veliternians [and after he had destroyed the Gauls in the Alban territory...].

The text is that of Degraasi. 8-9) *Quart(um) sev[ere in] Velitern[os animadvertit - - -]*

Mommsen, Henzen, Wilmanns, et Dessau. M. Furius L. f. Sp. n. Camillus was appointed dictator in 396 (Livy 5.29.2; Plut. *Cam.* 5.1), 390 (Livy 5.49.2; Plut. *Cam.* 26.1; Dion.

Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 13.6.1-2), 389 (Livy 6.2.5; Plut. *Cam.* 33.1), 368 (Livy 6.38.4; Plut. *Cam.*

39.2), and in 367 (Livy 6.42.4; Plut. *Cam.* 40.2; Zonar. 7.24). The topic of a migration to

the Etruscan city of Veii is prominent twice in Camillus' career. Veii fell to the Romans in

396 (Livy 5.22.8) and thereafter, in 395, the plebs proposed a migration to this region in

order to establish a colony (Livy 5.24.4-7). This proposal was checked by Camillus (Livy

5.25.4-8). In 390, when Rome was captured by the Gauls (Livy 5.41.4-43.1), Camillus

liberated the city (Livy 5.49.1-7; Plut. *Cam.* 30.1; *De vir. ill.* 23.9). Afterwards, with the

city destroyed, the tribunes urged the plebs not to rebuild Rome, but rather to migrate to

Veii (Livy 5.49.8; 5.50.8). Camillus again opposed, and prevented, a migration to the

Etruscan city (Livy 5.53.1-55.1; *De vir. ill.* 23.10). In 389, Camillus defeated the

Etruscans (Livy 6.3.5-10; Plut. *Cam.* 35.4), the Aequi (Livy 6.2.14; Plut. *Cam.* 35.1), and

the Volsci (Livy 6.2.13; Plut. *Cam.* 35.1). In 388, Camillus celebrated a triumph on

account of his victories (Livy 6.4.1-3; Plut. *Cam.* 36.1). In 367, Camillus defeated the Gauls (Livy 6.42.6-8; Plut. *Cam.* 41.1-5), ended the revolt at Velitrae (Diod. Sic. 14.102.4; Livy 6. 42.4; Plut. *Cam.* 42.1), and subsequently celebrated a triumph (Livy 6.42.8).

E11 L. Albinus (tr. mil. 379?)

[Klebs, *RE* 1 (1894), 1313 s.v. 'Albinus' no. 3]

Rome- Pantheon in the Campus Martius

Ins. Ital. 13.3, p. 18-19 no.11; *CIL* 1, p.285 no. 24; *CIL* 1², p.191 no. 6; *CIL* 6, 1272; *ILS* 51; Wilmanns, no. 625.

[*Cum Galli ob*]siderent Capitolium | [*virgines Ve*]stales Caere deduxit |
[*ibi sacra at*]que ritus sollemnes ne | [*intermitte*]rentur curai sibi habuit |
[*urbe recup*]erata sacra et virgines | [*Romam rev*]exit.

[When the Gauls] besieged the Capitol, he escorted the Vestal [virgins] to Caere. [In that place] he himself exercised care so that the [sacred vessels] and religious ceremonies might not [be neglected]. [When the city had been retaken he brought] the virgins and sacred vessels [back to Rome].

The text is that of Degrassi. 1) [*Cum hostes Galli ob*]siderent Mommsen et Wilmanns. Livy (5.40.9-10; cf. 7.20.7), Plutarch (*Cam.* 21.1-2), and Val. Max. (1.1.10) confirm that in 390, when Rome was captured by the Gaul, Albinus transported the virgins and sacred vessels to Caere. Albinus' political career is uncertain. He is identified as one of the military tribunes elected in 379 (Livy 6.30.1-3; cf. Diod. Sic. 15.51.1) but this is not decisive (see Mommsen, *CIL* 1, p. 285).

E12 L. Papirius Cursor (dict. 325, 324, 310, 309, cos. 326, 320, 319, 315, 313)

[F. Münzer, *RE* 18 pt.3-4 (1949) 1039-1051 s.v. 'Papirius' no. 52]

Rome- *incertum*

Ins. Ital. 13.3, p. 39-40 no.62; *CIL*, 1 p. 287 no. 27; *CIL* 1², p.192 no.8; *CIL* 6, 1318; *ILS*

53; Wilmanns, no. 627.

*Bello Samnitium | cum auspicii repe|tendi caussa Romam | redisset atque inte|rim
Q. Fabius Amb[ust(i) filius] | Maximus mag[ister] | equitum iniu[ssu | eiu]s
proelio c[on]flicisset- -].*

In the Samnite war, when he had returned to Rome for the sake of repeating the auspices, in the meantime the master of the horse, Quintus Fabius Maximus, [the son of] Ambustus, [contrary to his orders, had engaged] in battle...

The text is that of Degrassi. 5) *Q. Fabius Amb[ustus]* Mommsen, Henzen, Wilmanns, et Dessau; 7) *equitum iu[ssu]* Mommsen, Henzen, et Wilmanns. L. Papirius Sp. f. L. n. Cursor was appointed dictator in 325-324 (Livy 8.29.9; Val. Max. 2.7.8), 310 (Livy 9.38.14), and 309. Cursor was consul in 326 (Livy 8.23.17; Diod. Sic. 17.113.1), 320 (Livy 9.7.15), 319 (Livy 9.15.11; Diod. Sic. 18.58.1), 315 (Diod. Sic. 19.66.1), and 313 (Livy 9.28.2; Diod. Sic. 19.77.1). In 325, Cursor was appointed dictator in order to carry on the war against the Samnites (Livy 8.29.8-9). Cursor set out from Rome, but due to unclear auspices he returned to Rome to take the auspices again (Livy 8.30.1-2; Val. Max. 3.2.9; *De vir. ill.* 31.1). Livy (8.30.2) confirms that Cursor ordered his master of the horse (identified as Quintus Fabius Maximus Rullianus by Livy 8.29.9-10; Fabius Maximus Rullianus by Val. Max. 3.2.9; Fabius Rullus in *De vir. ill.* 31.1) not to engage the enemy.

E13 Appius Claudius Caecus (cos. 307, 296)

[F. Münzer, *RE* 3 (1899), 2681-2685 s.v. 'Claudius' no. 91]

(a)Rome- Augustan Forum

Ins. Ital. 13.3, p. 19 no.12; *CIL* 1², p.192 no. 9; *CIL* 6, 31606; Lanciani, *Bull. Com.* (1889), 77-78; Gatti, *Not. Scav.* (1889), 34; Hülsen, *MDAI(R)* (1890), 312.

*[Complu]ra oppi[da de Samni]tib[us cepit. Sabinoru]m et Tus[corum
exercit]um [fudit. P]ac[em fie]ri cu[m Pyrrho rege prohibuit.] In ce[nsura*

viam Appiam stravit e]t aq[uam in urbem adduxit. Aedem Bellon]ae fe[ci]t].

[He took many] towns [from the Samnites. He routed the army of the Sabines] and Etruscans. [He forbade peace to be made with king Pyrrhus]. In his censorship [he laid the via Appia and he brought water into the city. He built the temple of Bellona].

The text is that of Degrassi.

(b) *Arretium*

Ins. Ital. 13.3, p. 59-60 no.79; *CIL* 1, p. 287 no. 28; *CIL* 1², p.192 no. 10; *CIL* 11, 1827; *ILS* 54; Wilmanns, no. 628.

Appius Claudius | C(aius) f(ilius) Caecus | censor co(n)s(ul) bis dict(ator) interrex (ter) | pr(aetor) (bis) aed(ilis) cur(ulis) (bis) q(uaestor) tr(ibunus) mil(itum) (ter). Com|plura oppida de Samnitibus cepit | Sabinorum et Tuscorum exerci|tum fudit. Pacem fieri cum [P]yrrho | rege prohibuit. In censura viam | Appiam stravit et aquam in urbem adduxit. Aedem Bellonae | fecit.

Appius Claudius Caecus, son of Gaius, censor, twice consul, dictator, thrice interrex, twice praetor, twice curule aedile, quaestor, thrice military tribune. He took many towns from the Samnites. He routed the army of the Sabines and Etruscans. He forbade peace to be made with king Pyrrhus. In his censorship he laid the via Appia and he brought water into the city. He built the temple of Bellona.

The text is that of Degrassi. 7) *cum [T]yrrho* Mommsen, Bormann, Dessau, et

Wilmanns; 9) *ei aquam* Mommsen, Bormann, Dessau, et Wilmanns. Ap. Claudius C.

f. Ap. n. Caecus was named censor in 312 (Livy 9.29.5; Diod. Sic. 20.36.1), and was

consul in 307 (Livy 9.42.2; Diod. Sic. 20.45.1) and 296 (Livy 10.15.12). The exact date

of his dictatorship is uncertain (see *MRR* 1.187 n.2). Livy (10.11.10) assigns Caecus as

interrex in 298, but there is no indication of when he held this position for the second and

third time (see *MRR* 1.174 n.2; cf. Cic. *Brut.* 55). He was praetor in 297 (see *MRR*

1.175) and in 295 (Livy 10.22.9), aedile in 313 and 305 (see *MRR* 1.158 and 1.167), and

quaestor in 316 (see *MRR* 1.156). The sources are silent regarding Caecus' military

tribuneships [see J. Suolahti, *The Junior Officers of the Roman Army in the Republican Period* (Helsinki, 1955), 308, who suggests Caecus held these positions around 312]. As consul in 296, Caecus, along with his colleague, Lucius Volumnius, defeated the Samnites and Etruscans (10.19.19-22; *De vir. ill.* 34.5). In 295, as praetor, Caecus again defeated the Samnites with assistance from Volumnius (Livy 10.31.5-8). Both Livy (9.29.5-8) and Diod. Sic. (20.36.1-2) confirm that Caecus built the via Appia as well as an aqueduct (see also Frontin. *Aq.* 1.5; *De vir. ill.* 34.6-7). In 280, when Pyrrhus attempted to make peace with Rome, Caecus delivered a speech denouncing the terms of the settlement (Livy *Per.* 13; *De vir. ill.* 34.9; cf. Cic. *Brut.* 61). Caecus, in 296, vowed to build a temple to the goddess Bellona if she granted him victory against the Samnites and Etruscans (Livy 10.29.17).

E14 C. Fabricius Luscinus (cos. 282, 278)

[F. Münzer, *RE* 6 (1909), 1931-1938 s.v. 'Fabricius' no. 9]

Rome- Forum Romanum (Basilica Aemilia)

Ins. Ital. 13.3, p. 40 no. 63; *CIL* 6, 37048; Vaglieri, *Bull. Com.* (1900), 61; Hülsen, *Klio* (1902), 263-264.

[*C(aius) Fabricius C(aii) f(ilius) C(aii) n(epos) Luscinus*] | [- - -] | [- - - *Lucanos Bruttiosque* | *devicit*] *et ite*[*rum de eis triumphavit* | *aerari*] *o ex isdem* [*praedam intulit* *HS* - - - | *missus*] *ad Pyrrh[um regem ut captivos* | *redi*] *meret effe*[*cit ut ei populo Romano* | *gratis red*] *derentu*[*r* - - -].

[Gaius Fabricius Luscinus, son of Gaius, grandson of Gaius,] ... [he subdued the Lucani and the Bruttii] and, [because of them, he again celebrated a triumph]. From the same [property taken in war, he deposited (?) sesterces into the treasury]...[he had been sent] to [king] Pyrrhus [so that he might ransom the captives and he brought it about that those captives were returned without payment to the Roman people..].

The text is that of Hülsen. C. Fabricius C. f. C. n. Luscinus was consul in 282 (Dion.

Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 19.13.1; 19.16.3; Val. Max. 1.8.6) and in 278 (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 21.1; Val. Max. 6.5.1). As consul in 282, Fabricius defeated the Samnites, Lucanians, and Bruttians (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 19.13.1; 19.16.3; Val. Max. 1.8.6). Dion. Hal. (*Ant. Rom.* 19.16.3) confirms that Fabricius celebrated a triumph after his victories. The amount of the deposit made by Fabricius to the treasury is calculated as four hundred talents by Dion. Hal. (*Ant. Rom.* 19.16.3). As legate ambassador in 280, Fabricius successfully negotiated the release of Roman prisoners taken by Pyrrhus (*De vir. ill.* 35.6; Cic. *Brut.* 55; App. *Sam.* 10.4-5; Livy *Per.* 13; Plut. *Pyrrh.* 20.1-5; cf. Plut. *Pyrrh.* 21.3-4; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 19.13.1-19.18.8).

E15 C. Duilius (cos. 260)

[F. Münzer, *RE* 5 (1905), 1777-1781 s.v. 'Duilius' no. 3]

Rome- Augustan Forum

Ins. Ital. 13.3, p. 20-21 no.13; *CIL* 1², p.193 no. 11; *CIL* 6, 31611; *ILS* 55; Gatti, *Not. Scav.* (1890), 319 no. 4; Gatti, *Bull. Com.* (1890), 257 no. 2; Hülsen, *MDAI(R)* (1890), 305-308.

[- - -] *navis oc*[- - | - c] *epit. Pri*[m]us *d[e Poeneis n]aval*[em | *tr(iumphum) egit. H]uic per*[mis]sum est *u[t ab e]pulis domum | [cum tibici]ne e[t f]unali rediret [et s]tatua c[u]m | [columna] pr[ope a]ream Vulc[ani p]os[i]t[a].*

...ship.... [He was the] first [to celebrate a] naval [triumph over the Carthaginians]. That man was permitted to return home [from a] banquet [with a flutist and] a torch [and] a statue along with [a column was set up near] the court of Vulcan.

The text is that of Degrassi. 2-3) *Pri*[mus - - - *triumphum n]aval*[em egit] Dessau;

4) [*s]tatua q[uoque]* Dessau. As consul in 260, C. Duilius M. f. M. n. defeated the

naval forces of Hannibal off the coast of Sicily (Polyb. 1.22.1-23.10; Val. Max. 7.3.7;

Zonar. 8.11; Flor. 1.18.7-9). The sources confirm that this was Rome's first naval victory

(Flor. 1.18.9; Livy *Per.* 17; Val. Max. 3.6.4; Sil. *Pun.* 6.665-666; Tac. *Ann.* 2.49). After celebrating his triumph, Duilius was, according to the sources, led home by torch bearers and pipers (Flor. 1.18.10; Sil. *Pun.* 6.667-669; *De vir. ill.* 38.4; Livy *Per.* 17; Val. Max. 3.6.4). The sources are silent regarding a statue of Duilius, however, the honorific column (*columna rostrata*) is referred to by both Sil. (*Pun.* 6.663-664) and Pliny (*NH* 34.20).

E16 Q. Fabius Maximus (dict. 221, 217, cos. 233, 228, 215, 214, 209)

[F. Münzer, *RE* 6 (1909), 1814-1830 s.v. 'Fabius' no. 116]

(a) Rome- Augustan Forum

Ins. Ital. 13.3, p. 21 no.14; *CIL* 1², p.193 no. 12; Lanciani, *Bull. Com.* (1889), 74; Gatti, *Not. Scav.* (1889), 33.

[*Q(uitus) Fabius Q(uiti) f(ilius) Maxim[us] | dictator bis co(n)s(ul) qui[n]quien[s] | censor interrex b[is] aed(ilis) cu[r](ulis) q(uaestor) bis tr(ibunus) mil(itum) bis pontif(ex) aug(ur)*].

[Quintus Fabius] Maximus, [son of Quintus, twice dictator, consul five times, censor,] twice [interrex,] curule aedile, [twice quaestor, twice military tribune, pontifex, and augur].

The text is that of Degrassi.

(b) Arretium-

Ins. Ital. 13.3, p. 60-62 no.80; *CIL* 1, p. 288 no. 29; *CIL* 1², p.193 no. 13; *CIL* 11, 1828; *ILS* 56; Wilmanns, no. 629.

[*Q(uitus) Fabius] | Q(uiti) f(ilius) Maximus | dictator bis co(n)s(ul) (quinquiens) cen[sor] interrex (bis) aed(ilis) cur(ulis) | q(uaestor) b(is) tr(ibunus) mil(itum) (bis) pontifex augur. | Primo consulatu Ligures sube[git] ex iis triumphavit. Tertio et | quarto Hannibalem compluri[bus] victoris ferocem subsequen[d]o coercuit. Dictator magistro | equitum Minucio quoius popu[li] imperium cum dictatoris | imperio aequaverat et exercitui | profligato subvenit et eo nomi[ne] ab exercitu Minuciano pa[ter] appellatus est. Consul quin[tum] Tarentum cepit triumphavit. Dux aetatis suae cautissi[mus] et re[i] militaris peritissimus | habitus est. Princeps in senatum | duobus lustris lectus est.*

[Quintus Fabius] Maximus, son of Quintus, twice dictator, consul five times, censor, twice interrex, curule aedile, twice quaestor, twice military tribune, pontifex, and augur. In his first consulship, he subdued the Ligurians and he celebrated a triumph over them. In his third and fourth consulships, he held in check warlike Hannibal from several victories by following him around. The dictator came to the aid of Minucius, the master of the horse, whose *imperium* the people had made equal with the *imperium* of the dictator, and he came to the aid of the army after they had been conquered, and for that reason he was addressed by the name father by the Minucian army. As consul a fifth time he captured Tarentum, he celebrated a triumph. He was considered the most cautious commander of his own generation and the most experienced in military affairs. He was appointed as the first man in the senate for two periods of five years.

The text is that of Degraasi. Q. Fabius Q. f. Q. n. Maximus Verrucosus (Cunctator) was appointed dictator in 221 (Livy 22.9.7; Val. Max. 1.1.5; see also *MRR* 1.235 n.3) and 217 (Livy 22.9.7; 22.31.8; Polyb. 3.87.6; Plut. *Fab.* 4.1; App. *Hann.* 11). Fabius was consul in 233 (Plut. *Fab.* 2.1), 228, 215 (appointed as consul *suffectus*, Livy 23.31.14), 214 (Livy 24.9.3; Plut. *Fab.* 19.1-3; Plut. *Marc.* 9.2-4), and 209 (Livy 27.6.11; Cic. *Brut.* 72).

Fabius was named censor in 230 (see *MRR* 1.227), and held the office of interrex twice, possibly in the years 222 and 208 (the dates are uncertain, see *MRR* 1.291). The sources are silent regarding Fabius' aedileship (see *MRR* 1.223), quaestorships (see *MRR* 1.222), and military tribuneships [see *MRR* 2.481; cf. Suolahti, *Junior Officers*, 308, who suggests dates around 237]. Fabius was elected as one of the three pontiffs in 216 (Livy 23.11.7), and held the office until his death in 203 (Livy 30.26.7-10). According to Livy (30.26.7-8) and Val. Max. (8.13.3), Fabius was an augur for sixty-two years (cf. Pliny *NH* 7.156, sixty-three years). As consul in 233, Fabius received a triumph for his victory over the Ligurians (Plut. *Fab.* 2.1; *De vir. ill.* 43.1). In 215 and 214, Fabius, in his third and

fourth consulships, was victorious in retaking a number of Campanian cities (Livy 23.39.6; 23.46.9-11; 24.19.4-11), all of which were garrisons of Hannibal. Fabius then advanced into Samnium and retook the cities which had revolted to the Carthaginian cause (Livy 24.20.3-7). These actions confined Hannibal in Apulia where he had established his winter quarters (Livy 23.46.9; cf. *De vir. ill.* 43.4). The sources confirm that when Fabius was dictator in 217, Minucius, the master of the horse, was given powers equal to that of the dictator (Plut. *Fab.* 9.3; Livy 22.25.10; Nep. *Hann.* 5.3; Polyb. 3.103.3-4; *De vir. ill.* 43.3). Minucius engaged Hannibal, but was no match for the Carthaginian (Plut. *Fab.* 11.2-4; Polyb. 105.3-5; Livy 22.28.4-22.29.2; Nep. *Hann.* 5.3). The master of the horse would have easily been defeated if Fabius had not saved him (Plut. *Fab.* 12.1-4; Livy 22.29.1-6; Polyb. 33.105.5-8; Frontin. *Str.* 2.5.22; Val. Max. 5.2.4). Livy (22.29.7-11), Plutarch (*Fab.* 13.1-5), and Val. Max. (5.3.4) validate that Fabius was addressed as ‘father’ by Minucius. As consul in 209, Fabius retook the city of Tarentum which was under Carthaginian control (Plut. *Fab.* 22-23.2; Livy 27.15.9-27.16.9; *De vir. ill.* 43.6). Fabius’ cautiousness and military experience is commented upon by the sources (see, for example, Plut. *Marc.* 9.2-4; Livy 22.12.8-12; 30.26.9; Polyb. 3.105.8-10). The cautious strategy employed by Fabius earned him the name of Cunctator (“The Delayer”) [Frontin. *Str.* 1.3.3; Livy 30.26.9]. Fabius’ cognomen, Verrucosus, was derived from the fact that he had a wart on his lip (Plut. *Fab.* 1.3; *De vir. ill.* 43.1). Polybius (3.87.6) asserts that the name Maximus was earned by Fabius due to his achievements and successes. Fabius was chosen as *princeps senatus* in 209 (Livy 27.11.9-12) and 204 (29.37.1).

E17 C. Cornelius Cethegus (cos. 197)[F. Münzer, *RE* 4 (1901), 1277-1278 s.v. 'Cornelius' no. 88]

Rome- Forum Romanum (Basilica Aemilia)

Ins. Ital. 13.3, p. 40 no.64; *CIL* 1², p. 341; *CIL* 6, 31630; Hülsen, *Klio* (1902), 264.

[- -] et Cenom[anos - - - | - - - d]ucem eo[rum - - -].

...and the Cenomani....their leader....

The text is that of Degrassi. C. Cornelius L. f. M. n. Cethegus was consul in 197 (Livy 32.27.5-6). As consul, Cethegus was assigned the duty of settling the revolt of the Cenomani and Insubres in Cisalpine Gaul (Livy 32.28.9; 32.29.5-6). Cethegus defeated the tribes (Livy 32.30.9-13) and celebrated a triumph on account of his victory (Livy 33.23.1-7).

E18 L. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus (cos. 190)[F. Münzer, *RE* 4 (1901), 1471-1483 s.v. 'Cornelius' no. 337]

Rome- Augustan Forum

Ins. Ital. 13.3, p. 21 no.15; *CIL* 1², p.194 no. 14; *CIL* 6, 31607; Gatti, *Bull. Com.* (1890), 255; Gatti, *Not. Scav.* (1890), 318.

[L(ucius) Corneli]us P(ublili) f(ilius) S[cipio | Asia]ticus | [co(n)s(ul) pr(aetor) aed(ilis) cu]r(ulis) q(uaestor) tr(ibunus) [mil(itum)- - -].

[Lucius Cornelius] Scipio Asiaticus, son of Publius, [consul, praetor, curule aedile,] quaestor, [military] tribune...

The text is that of Degrassi. L. Cornelius P. f. L. n. Scipio Asiaticus was consul in 190 (Livy 36.45.9; 37.1.1; Cic. *Phil.* 11.17), praetor in 193 (Livy 34.54.2; 34.55.6; Cic. *De or.* 2.280), curule aedile in 195 (see *MRR* 1.340), and quaestor in 196 (see *MRR* 1.336). The date for Scipio's military tribuneship is not certain, however, the year 195 has been suggested [see Suolahti, *Junior Officers*, 309]. When Scipio returned from Asia in 189,

after defeating Antiochus, he received the name Asiaticus (Cic. *Mur.* 31; Livy 37.58.6; *De vir. ill.* 53.1).

E19 L. Aemilius Paullus (cos. 182, 168)
[Klebs, *RE* 1 (1894), 576-580 s.v. 'Aemilius' no. 114]

(a) Rome- Forum Romanum (Basilica Aemilia)

Ins. Ital. 13.3, p. 40-41 no.65; *CIL* 1², p. 341; *CIL* 6, 31629; Gatti, *Not. Scav.* (1899), 386 no.4; Gatti, *Bull. Com.* (1899), 243-244; Hülsen, *Klio* (1902), 262-263.

*Priore consu[latu de Liguribus - - -] | ris trium[phavit altero consulatu | de
Macedonibus et rege Perse triu]mphavit | [- - -] consula|[tu - - -]lanos.*

In his first consulship, he celebrated a triumph... [over the Ligurians. In his second consulship] he celebrated a triumph [over the Macedonians and king Perseus]...in his (?) consulship...

The text is that of Hülsen.

(b) Arretium-

Ins. Ital. 13.3, p. 62-63 no. 81; *CIL* 1, p. 289 no. 30; *CIL* 1², p. 194 no. 15; *CIL* 11, 1829; *ILS* 57; Wilmanns, no. 630.

*L(ucius) Aemilius | L(ucii) f(ilius) Paullus | co(n)s(ul) (bis) cens(or) interrex
pr(aetor) aed(ilis) | cur(ulis) q(uaestor) tr(ibunus) mil(itum) tertio aug(ur). |
Liguribus domitis priore | consulatu triumphavit. | Iterum co(n)s(ul) ut cum rege |
[Per]se bellum gereret a p[o]pulo factus est. Copias regis | [decem dieb]us
quibus Mac[e]doniam atti]git delev[it | regem cum liberi]s cep[it].*

Lucius Aemilius Paullus, son of Lucius, twice consul, censor, interrex, praetor, curule aedile, quaestor, thrice military tribune, and augur. After having overcome the Ligurians in his first consulship, he celebrated a triumph. He was chosen consul a second time by [the people] so that he might conduct the war with king [Perseus]. [He reached] Macedonia [in ten days] after which he overthrew the forces of the king. He captured [the king along with his children].

The text is that of Dessau. 8-9) *ap[sens]* Bormann; 10) *[in dieb]us* Mommsen;

11) *[obtinuit] del[evit]* Mommsen; 12) *[regemque cum filius] cep[it]* Mommsen. L.

Aemilius L. f. M. n. Paullus was consul in 182 (Livy 39.56.4; Plut. *Aem.* 6.1) and 168 (Livy 44.17.4; 44.19.1; Plut. *Aem.* 10.1). In 164 he was censor (Plut. *Aem.* 38.4-5; Diod. Sic. 31.25.1; Val. Max. 7.5.3), held the office of praetor in 191 (Plut. *Aem.* 4.1; Livy 35.24.6; 36.2.6), was curule aedile in 193 (Plut. *Aem.* 3.1; Livy 35.10.11), and was augur in 192 (Plut. *Aem.* 3.1-3; see also *MRR* 1.352). Although the sources are silent, a date of 162 has been suggested for Paullus' term as interrex (see *MRR* 1.442), 195 for his quaestorship (see *MRR* 1.340), and his military tribuneships have been dated to ca. 195 [see Suolahti, *Junior Officers*, 309]. As consul in 182, Paullus marched against the Ligurians (Livy 40.16.4; Plut. *Aem.* 6.1), and in 181, after his consulship was prorogued (Livy 40.25.1), Paullus defeated the Ligurians (Plut. *Aem.* 6.2-3; Livy 40.28.1-8; Frontin. *Str.* 3.17.2) and celebrated a triumph (Livy 40.34.7-10; *De vir. ill.* 56.1). As consul in 168, Paullus was assigned Macedonia, and the war against Perseus (Livy 44.17.10; Plut. *Aem.* 10.1-3). The sources confirm that it took Paullus ten days to reach Macedonia (Plut. *Aem.* 36.3; Livy 45.41.3-4; App. *Mac.* 19). Paullus defeated the army of Perseus at Pydna (Livy 44.41.1-44.42.9; Plut. *Aem.* 19.1-22.1; Frontin. *Str.* 2.3.20), but Perseus managed to escape. Perseus fled to Samothace where he and his sons were eventually delivered to the Romans (Livy 45.6.9-12; Plut. *Aem.* 26.3-5; Flor. 1.28.9-11; *De vir. ill.* 56.3).

E20 Ti. Sempronius Gracchus (cos. 177, 163)

[F. Münzer, *RE* 2a (1923), 1403-1409 s.v. 'Sempronius' no. 53]

Arretium-

Ins. Ital. 13.3, p. 63-64 no.82; *CIL* 1, p. 289 no. 31; *CIL* 1², p. 195 no.16; *CIL* 11, 1830;

ILS 58; Wilmanns, no. 631.

[*Ti(iberius) S]empronius P(ublili) f(ilius) | Gracchus [- - -].*

[Tiberius] Sempronius Gracchus, son of Publius,...

The text is that of Degrassi. Ti. Sempronius P. f. Ti. n. Gracchus was consul in 177 (Livy 41.8.1-4; Plut. *Ti. Gracch.* 1.1; Polyb. 25.4.1; *De vir. ill.* 57.2) and 163 (Val. Max. 9.12.3; *De vir. ill.* 57.2; on his consulships, see also, Cic. *Brut.* 79; *Div.* 1.36; Diod. Sic. 34.5).

E21 Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus (cos. 109)

[F. Münzer, *RE* 3 (1899), 1218-1221 s.v. 'Caecilius' no. 97]

Rome- Augustan Forum

Fragment (a): *Ins. Ital.* 13.3, p. 21-22 no.16; *CIL* 1², p.196 no. 19; *CIL* 6, 31604.

*Q(uintus) Caec[ilius Q(uiti) f(ilius) Metellus | Numidicus | censor
co(n)s(ul) pr(aetor)- - -].*

Quintus Caecilius [Metellus Numidicus, son of Quintus, censor, consul, praetor...].

Fragment (b): *Ins. Ital.* 13.3, p. 21-22 no.16; *CIL* 1², p.196 no. 19; *CIL* 6, 31604; Lanciani, *Bull. Com.* (1889), 79; Gatti, *Not. Scav.* (1889), 34; Gatti, *Bull. Com.* (1890), 258 no. 4; Hülsen, *MDAI(R)* (1891), 151.

[- - -]statem[- - | - ce]nsor L. Eq[uitium censu prohibuit- - | -]s[- - -].

...*statem*...as censor [he excluded] Lucius Equitius [from the list of citizens].

The texts are those of Degrassi. Q. Caecilius L. f. Q. n. Metellus Numidicus (filiation is that of Broughton, *MRR* 1.545; see also, Cic. *Balb.* 11) was consul in 109 (Livy *Per.* 65; Plut. *Mar.* 7.1; Sall. *Iug.* 43.1; Asconius 68 C) and censor in 102 (App. *B Civ.* 1.28; Cic. *Dom.* 87; *Sest.* 101; *De vir. ill.* 62.1; Val. Max. 9.7.1). Metellus' praetorship has been

assigned to the year 112, but this is not certain (see *MRR* 1.538). Val. Max. (9.7.1-2) confirms that Metellus, as censor, did not record L. Equitius, who was pretending to be the son of Ti. Gracchus, in the list of citizens (cf. *De vir. ill.* 62.1, which gives the name of the pretender as Quintus; see also Cic. *Sest.* 101, who gives the name Gracchus, but with no praenomen). Metellus received the triumphal cognomen Numidicus due to his victory over Jugurtha (*Vell. Pat.* 2.11.2).

E22 C. Marius (cos. 107, 104-100, 86)

[Weynand, *RE Suppl.* 6 (1935), 1363-1425 s.v. 'Marius']

(a) Rome- Augustan Forum

Ins. Ital. 13.3, p. 22-24 no.17; *CIL* 1, p.290 no. 32; *CIL* 1², p. 195 no. 17; *CIL* 6, 1315; *CIL* 6, 31598; Wilmanns, no. 632; Hülsen, *MDAI(R)* (1890), 308-311.

[*C(aius) Marius C(aii) filius*] | *co(n)s(ul) (septies) pr(aetor) tr(ibunus) pl(ebis) q(uaestor) a)ugur tr(ibunus) mil(itum)*. *Extra* | [*sortem bellum cum I]ugurtha rege Numid(iae)*] | [*co(n)s(ul) gessit eum cepit et*] *triumphans in* | [*secundo consulatu*] *ante currum suum* | [*duci iussit. Tertium co]nsul apsens creatus*] | [*est. Quartum co(n)s(ul) Teu]tonorum exercitum*] | [*delevit. Quintum co(n)s(ul) Cimbros fugavit ex ieis et*] | [*Teutonis iterum triumph]havit. Rem p(ublicam) turbatam*] | [*s]edit[ionibus tribuni plebei et praetoris]*] | *quei arm[ati Capitolium occupaverant*] | [*sextum*] *co(n)s(ul) vindi[cavit. Post LXX annum patria per arma*] | *civilia expulsus armis restitutus septimum* | *co(n)s(ul) factus est. De manubieis Cimbric(is) et Teuton(icis) | aedem Honori et Virtuti victor fecit. Veste*] | *triumphali calceis patriciis*] | [- - -].

The text is that of Degrassi (see below for translation). 16) [*in senatum venit*] Henzen et Hülsen.

(b) Arretium-

Ins. Ital. 13.3, p. 64-66 no.83; *CIL* 1, p.290 no. 33; *CIL* 1², p. 195 no. 18; *CIL* 11, 1831; *ILS* 59.

C(aius) Marius C(aii) filius] | *co(n)s(ul) (septies) pr(aetor) tr(ibunus) pl(ebis) q(uaestor) augur tr(ibunus) militum.*] *Extra sortem bellum cum Iugurtha*] | *rege*

Numidiae co(n)s(ul) gessit eum cepit | et triumphans in secundo consulatu | ante currum suum duci iussit. | Tertium co(n)s(ul) absens creatus est. | (Quartum) co(n)s(ul) Teutonorum exercitum | delevit. (Quintum) co(n)s(ul) Cimbro fudit ex | iis et Teutonis iterum triumph[avit]. | Rem pub(licam) turbatam seditionibus tr(ibun) pl(ebis) | et praetor(is) qui armati Capitolium | occupaverant (sextum) co(n)s(ul) vindicavit. | Post LXX annum patria per arma | civilia expulsus armis restitutus | (septimum) co(n)s(ul) factus est. De manubiis | Cimbric(is) et Teuton(icis) aedem Honori | et Virtuti victor fecit. Veste | triumphali calceis patriciis | [- - -].

Gaius Marius, son of Gaius, consul seven times, praetor, tribune of the plebs, quaestor, augur, and military tribune. As consul, he waged war 'extra sortem' against Jugurtha, the king of Numidia, he captured him and while celebrating a triumph in his second consulship, he ordered that Jugurtha be led before his own chariot. While absent, he was elected consul a third time. As consul the fourth time he destroyed the army of the Teutones. As consul the fifth time he routed the Cimbri and he again celebrated a triumph over them and over the Teutones. As consul the sixth time, he protected the state which was thrown into disorder by the insurrection of the tribune of the plebs and the praetor who had armed themselves and occupied the Capitoline. After seventy years he was expelled from the country by civil war, he was reinstated through arms, and he was made consul a seventh time. As a victor, he built a temple for Honor and Virtus out of the spoils from the Cimbri and Teutones. In triumphal dress and patrician shoes...

The text is that of Degraasi. 20) [*in senatum venit*] Mommsen et Dessau. C. Marius C. f. C. n. was consul in 107 (Plut. *Mar.* 9.1; Cic. *Off.* 3.79; Sall. *Iug.* 73.7), 104 (Livy *Per.* 67; Plut. *Mar.* 12.2; Asconius 78 and 81 C; Vell. Pat. 2.12.1), 103 (Plut. *Mar.* 14.6; Livy *Per.* 67; Vell. Pat. 2.12.3), 102 (Plut. *Mar.* 14.8; Sull. 4.2; Livy *Per.* 67; Vell. Pat. 2.12.4; Cic. *Arch.* 5), 101 (Livy *Per.* 68; Plut. *Mar.* 22.3; Vell. Pat. 2.12.5; Diod. Sic. 36.10.1), 100 (Livy *Per.* 69; Plut. *Mar.* 28.5; Vell. Pat. 2.12.6; *De vir. ill.* 67.3), and 86 (Livy *Per.* 80; Plut. *Mar.* 45.1; Vell. Pat. 2.23.1; App. *B Civ.* 1.75). Marius held the praetorship in 115 (Cic. *Off.* 3.79; Plut. *Mar.* 5.2; Val. Max. 6.9.14), was tribune of the

plebs in 119 (Plut. *Mar.* 4.1; Val. Max. 6.9.14), and was quaestor in 121 (Val. Max. 6.9.14; see *MRR* 1.521). Marius was augur from 97 until his death in 86 (Cic. *Ad Brut.* 1.5.3; see also, *MRR* 2.9 n. 7). The exact date of Marius' election to the office of military tribune is uncertain [see Suolahti, *Junior Officers*, 312, who suggests a date before 119; Sallust (*Iug.* 63.4) confirms Marius was elected to this office]. As consul in 107, Marius continued the war against Jugurtha (Sall. *Iug.* 86.4-101.4; Plut. *Mar.* 9.1-10.4; Flor. 1.36.13-16) and captured him (Sall. *Iug.* 113.5-6; Plut. *Mar.* 11.2; Flor. 1.36.17; *De vir. ill.* 67.1). The sources confirm that Marius, in his second consulship, celebrated a triumph in which the captured Jugurtha was displayed (Plut. *Mar.* 12.2-4; Flor. 1.36.17-18; *De vir. ill.* 67.1; Sall. *Iug.* 114.3; Livy *Per.* 67; Vell. Pat. 2.12.1; Val. Max. 6.9.14). Both Plutarch (*Mar.* 14.6) and Livy (*Per.* 67) assert that Marius was absent from Rome when he was elected to his third consulship in 103. Marius, in his fourth consulship, defeated the Teutones in Gaul (Plut. *Mar.* 15.1-22.3; Livy *Per.* 68; Vell. Pat. 2.12.4; Frontin. *Str.* 2.4.6; 2.9.1; Val. Max. 6.9.14; *De vir. ill.* 67.2). Marius, together with the proconsul Q. Lutatius Catulus, destroyed the Cimbri in 101 (Plut. *Mar.* 24.1-27.3; Flor. 1.38.14-18; Livy *Per.* 68; Vell. Pat. 2.12.5; Val. Max. 6.9.14; *De vir. ill.* 67.2). The sources confirm that Marius celebrated a single triumph in recognition of his victories over both the Teutones and the Cimbri (Livy *Per.* 68; Plut. *Mar.* 27.5-6; *De vir. ill.* 67.2; Val. Max. 3.6.6). As consul in 100, Marius, under orders from the senate, arrested L. Apuleius Saturninus, a tribune of the plebs, and C. Servilius Glaucia, a praetor, who, after they had murdered a consular candidate, took possession of the Capitoline (Livy *Per.* 69; Plut. *Mar.* 30.1-4; Vell. Pat. 2.12.6; App. *B Civ.* 1.32; Flor. 2.4.3-6; *De vir. ill.* 67.3). In 88,

after the failed attempt to obtain the command against Mithridates, Marius, over seventy years of age, fled to Africa (regarding his age, see Plut. *Mar.* 41.3-4; Vell. Pat. 2.19.2; on his escape to Africa, see Plut. *Mar.* 41. 2; App. *B Civ.* 1.62; Livy *Per.* 77; *De vir. ill.* 67.5; Flor. 2.9.8). Marius was elected consul for the seventh time, in 86, after he, along with L. Cornelius Cinna, returned to Rome and entered the city with much violence (Livy *Per.* 80; Plut. *Mar.* 45.1; App. *B Civ.* 1.75; *De vir. ill.* 67.6; Flor. 2.9.17). Only Cicero (*Sest.* 116) and Vitruvius (*De arch.* 3.2.5 and 7. praef.17) refer to the temple built by Marius for Honor and Virtus. Both Livy (*Per.* 67) and Plutarch (*Mar.* 12.5) note that Marius, in 104, after having celebrated his triumph over Jugurtha, entered the senate in his triumphal robes.

E23 Gaius Iulius Caesar (*dictatoris pater*, pr. ca. 92)

[F. Münzer, *RE* 10 (1919), 185-186 s.v. 'Iulius' no. 130]

Rome-Augustan Forum

Ins. Ital. 13.3, p. 13-14 no. 7; Paribeni, *Not. Scav.* (1933), 459-460 no. 81; Frank, *AJPh* (1937),

90-93; Broughton, *AJA* (1948), 323-330.

[C(aius) Iu]lius [C(aii) f(i)lius] Caesar] | pater di[vi Iulii] | [p]r(aetor) q(uaestor) tr(ibunus) [mil(itum)- - -] | [C]olonos Cerce[nam deduxit].

[Gaius] Iulius [Caesar, son of Gaius,] father [of the deified Iulius,] praetor, quaestor, and [military] tribune... [He lead forth] colonists to Cercena.

The text is that of Degrassi. 2) [p]ater d[ivi Iulii] pr(aetor)] Paribeni; [p]ater d[ivi Iulii

proc(onsul)] Frank; 3) [aed(ilis) cu]r(ulis) q(uaestor) tr(ibunus) [mil(itum)] Paribeni;

[p]r(aetor) q(uaestor) tr(ibunus) [mil(itum) (decem)vir] Frank et Broughton; 4)

Cerce[ios Paribeni; Cerce[inam Frank et Broughton. The praetorship of C. Iulius C. f.

Caesar has been dated to 92, however, this is not a certainty (see *MRR* 2.17, 2.19 n.2; cf. Pliny *NH* 7.181; Frank (p.93), however, suggests a date of *ca.* 100 for the praetorship). The dating of Caesar's quaestorship and military tribuneship is also problematic. For the quaestorship, Broughton (*MRR* 2.574) indicates a date before 100, whereas Frank (p.93) suggests a date of *ca.* 104-103. Suolahti (*Junior Officers*, 312) asserts that Caesar held the military tribuneship after 100, but before 92. The final line of the inscription refers to Caesar's role as a member in the commission set up to carry out the legislation of L. Appuleius Saturninus (*tr. pl.* 103) [*De vir. ill.* 73.1; see *MRR* 1.577, 578 n.6].

E24 C. Iulius Caesar Strabo (aed. cur. 90)

[E. Diehl, *RE* 10 (1919), 428-431 s.v. 'Iulius' no. 135]

Rome-Augustan Forum

Ins. Ital. 13.3, p.11-13 no.6; *CIL* 1, p.278 no. 4; *CIL* 1², p.198 no. 27; *CIL* 6, 1310; *ILS* 48; Paribeni, *Not. Scav.* (1933), 458-459 no. 80; Lanciani, *Bull. Com.* (1889), 76; Wilmanns, no. 611e.

*C(aius) Iulius L(uci) f(ilius) Caesar | Strabo | aed(ilis) cur(ulis) q(uaestor)
tr(ibunus) mil(itum) bis (decem)vir | agr(is) dand(is) adtr(ibuendis) iud(icandis)
pontif(ex).*

Gaius Iulius Caesar Strabo, son of Lucius, curule aedile, quaestor, twice military tribune, member of a board of ten for granting, allotting, and determining territories, and pontifex.

The text is that of Deglassi. 1) Paribeni om. *Caesar*. C. Iulius L. f. Caesar Strabo was curule aedile in 90 (*Cic. Brut.* 305; *Phil.* 11.11; Asconius 25 C) and quaestor *ca.* 96 [see *MRR* 2.10, 11 n.6; cf. G.V. Sumner, *The Orators in Cicero's Brutus: Prosopography and Chronology* (Toronto, 1973), 105, who suggests a date between 100 and 96). His two appointments as military tribune have been dated to before 90 [see Suolahti, *Junior*

Officers, 312; cf. Sumner, *Orators*, 105, who suggests dates of 102 and 101]. He was a member of the same commission (*decemvir*) as C. Julius Caesar (above, E23) [see MRR 1.577, 578 n. 6; MRR 3.109]. Strabo was pontifex in 99 (Gell. *NA* 4.6.2; see also MRR 2.3).

E25 L. Cornelius Sulla Felix (dict. 82-79, cos. 88, 80)
[Fröhlich, *RE* 4 (1901), 1522-1566 s.v. 'Cornelius' no. 392]

Rome- Augustan Forum

Ins. Ital. 13.3, p. 24 no.18; *CIL* 1², p.196 no. 20; *CIL* 6, 31609; Lanciani, *Bull. Com.* (1889), 74; Gatti, *Not. Scav.* (1889), 33; Hülsen, *MDAI(R)* (1890), 311-312.

[*L(ucius) Cornelius L(ucii) f(ilius) Sulla] Felix [dict(ator)] co(n)[s(ul)] bis pr(aetor) q(uaestor)*].

[Lucius Cornelius Sulla] Felix, [son of Lucius, dictator, twice] consul, [praetor, and quaestor.]

The text is that of Degraffi. L. Cornelius L. f. P. n. Sulla Felix was dictator between the years 82 and 79. In 82 he proclaimed himself dictator (see MRR 1.73 n. 2; Plut. *Sull.* 33.1; App. *B Civ.* 1.3; 1.99; Livy *Per.* 89; Vell. Pat. 2.28.2; see also MRR 1.69), and in 81-80 he triumphed over Mithridates (Cic. *Leg. Man.* 8; App. *B Civ.* 1.101) and carried out his administrative and constitutional reforms (see MRR 1.74-76 and sources listed there). In 79, Sulla resigned the dictatorship (Plut. *Sull.* 34.3; App. *B Civ.* 1.103; *De vir. ill.* 75.12). Sulla was consul in 88 (Livy *Per.* 77; Plut. *Sull.* 6.10; App. *B Civ.* 1.56; Cic. *Brut.* 306; Vell. Pat. 2.17.1; see also MRR 1.39-40) and 80 (App. *B Civ.* 1.103; Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.130). Sulla held the praetorship in 93 (Plut. *Sulla.* 5.1-2; *De vir. ill.* 75.3) and was quaestor in 107 (Plut. *Sull.* 3.1; Livy *Per.* 66; Sall. *Iug.* 95.1; *De vir. ill.* 75.2). Plutarch

(*Sull.* 34.2) asserts that Sulla, in 79, ordered that he be called Felix ('Fortunate') due to the good fortunes which had allowed for his successes (see also, *App. B Civ.* 1.105; *De vir. ill.* 75.1).

E26 L. Licinius Lucullus (cos. 74)

[M. Gelzer, *RE* 13 (1927), 376-414 s.v. 'Licinius' no. 104]

Arretium

Ins. Ital. 13.3, p. 66-67 no. 84; *CIL* 1, p. 292 no. 34; *CIL* 1², p. 196 no. 21; *CIL* 11, 1832; *ILS* 60; Wilmanns, no. 633.

L(ucius) Licinius L(ucii) f(ilius) | Lucullus | co(n)s(ul) pr(aetor) aed(ilis) cur(ulis) q(uaestor) | tr(ibunus) militum aug(ur). | Triumphavit de rege Ponti Mithridate | et de rege Armeniae{e} Tigrane magnis | utriusque regis copiis compluribus pro|elis terra marique superatis. Conle|gam suum pulsum a rege Mithridat[e] | cum se is Calchadona contulisset | opsidione liberavit.

Lucius Licinius Lucullus, son of Lucius, consul, praetor, curule aedile, quaestor, military tribune, and augur. He celebrated a triumph over Mithridates, king of Pontus, and over Tigranes, king of Armenia after he had subdued the large forces of each king in several battles on land and sea. When that man had conveyed himself to Chalcedon, he freed his colleague when he had been driven back by a blockade at the hands of king Mithridates.

The text is that of Deglassi. L. Licinius L. f. L. n. Lucullus was consul in 74 (*Plut. Luc.* 5.1; *Cic. Verr.* 2.5.34; *Clu.* 137; *App. Mith.* 72) and held the praetorship in 78 (*Cic. Acad.* 2.1; *De vir. ill.* 74.3; see *MRR* 2.86, 88 n.2). Lucullus held the aedileship with his brother in 79 (*Plut. Luc.* 1.6; *Cic. Acad.* 2.1) and was quaestor in 88 (*Cic. Acad.* 2.1; *De vir. ill.* 74.1; see *MRR* 3.121). The date for the military tribuneship of Lucullus is uncertain (see Suolahti, *Junior Officers*, 312, who suggests sometime after 91, but before 87). The sources are silent regarding Lucullus holding the office of augur (see Broughton, *MRR* 2.213, who suggests Lucullus was augur until 56). Lucullus, after having his consulship

prorogued, returned to Rome in 66, but did not celebrate his triumph until 63 (Plut. *Cat. Min.* 29.3-4; *Luc.* 37.2-4; Cic. *Acad.* 2.3; *Mur.* 37 and 69; *Arch.* 21). Lucullus, as proconsul in Asia, Cilicia, Bithynia, and Pontus between the years 73 and 66, successfully commanded the war against Mithridates. The inscription refers to Lucullus' numerous victories in the east. These would include, for example, Lucullus' destruction of the army of Mithridates near Cyzicus in 73 (Livy *Per.* 95; App. *Mith.* 72-6; Plut. *Luc.* 9-11.1), his routing of Mithridates at Cabira in 72 (Livy *Per.* 97; Plut. *Luc.* 15-18.1; App. *Mith.* 79-81), and the events of 69 when, in his pursuit of Mithridates, Lucullus entered Armenia and defeated the armies of Tigranes and Mithridates (Livy *Per.* 98; App. *Mith.* 84-88; Plut. *Luc.* 24-31.8; *De vir. ill.* 74.6; Frontin. *Str.* 2.1.14; 2.2.4). In 74, Lucullus, after M. Aurelius Cotta was defeated by Mithridates and besieged at Chalcedon, came to the aid of his consular colleague (Plut. *Luc.* 8.1-4; *De vir. ill.* 74.4; Livy *Per.* 93; App. *Mith.* 71).

E27 M. Claudius Marcellus (aed. cur. 23)

[A. Stein, *PIR*² D, 213-215, no. 925]

Rome- Augustan Forum

Ins. Ital. 13.3, p. 14-15 no. 8; Paribeni, *Not. Scav.* (1933), 470 no. 95.

[*M(arcus) Claud[ius) f(ilius) Marc]ellu[s aed(ilis) cur(ulis)] pont[if(ex)].*

[Marcus Claudius Marcellus, son of Gaius, curule aedile, and] pontifex.

The text is that of Degraasi. M. Claudius C. f. Marcellus was curule aedile in 23 (Dio 53.28.3; 53.31.2-3; Tac. *Ann.* 1.3.1; Vell. Pat. 2.93.1) and was pontifex in 24 (Tac. *Ann.* 1.3.1).

E28 Nero Claudius Drusus (cos. 9)[A. Stein, *PIR*² D, 194-199, no. 857]

Rome-Augustan Forum

Ins. Ital. 13.3, p.15-16 no. 9; Paribeni, *Not. Scav.* (1933), 460-461 no.82.

[*Nero*] *Cl[aud]iu[s] Ti(berii) f(ilius) | [Dru]sus Ge[r]man[ic]us | [co(n)s(ul) p]r(aetor) urb(amus) q(uaestor) aug(ur) imp(erator).* | [*Exstinct]us in Germania.*

[*Nero*] Claudius Drusus Germanicus, son of Tiberius, [consul,] praetor urbanus, quaestor, augur, and *imperator*. [He died] in Germany.

The text is that of Degrassi. 4) [*est appellat]us [i]n Germania* Paribeni. Nero

Claudius Ti. f. Drusus was consul in 9 (Dio 55.1.1; Suet. *Claud.* 1.3; Vell. Pat. 2.97.3),

was praetor urbanus in 11 (Dio 54.32.3; Suet. *Claud.* 1.2-3), and held the quaestorship in

18 [Suet. *Claud.* 1.2; according to both Dio (54.10.4-5) and Tacitus (*Ann.* 3.29),

Augustus allowed Drusus to stand for the office five years earlier than was the custom].

The sources are silent regarding Drusus holding the office of augur. After his successes in

Germany, Drusus was addressed as *imperator* by his troops (Dio 54.33.5; Val. Max.

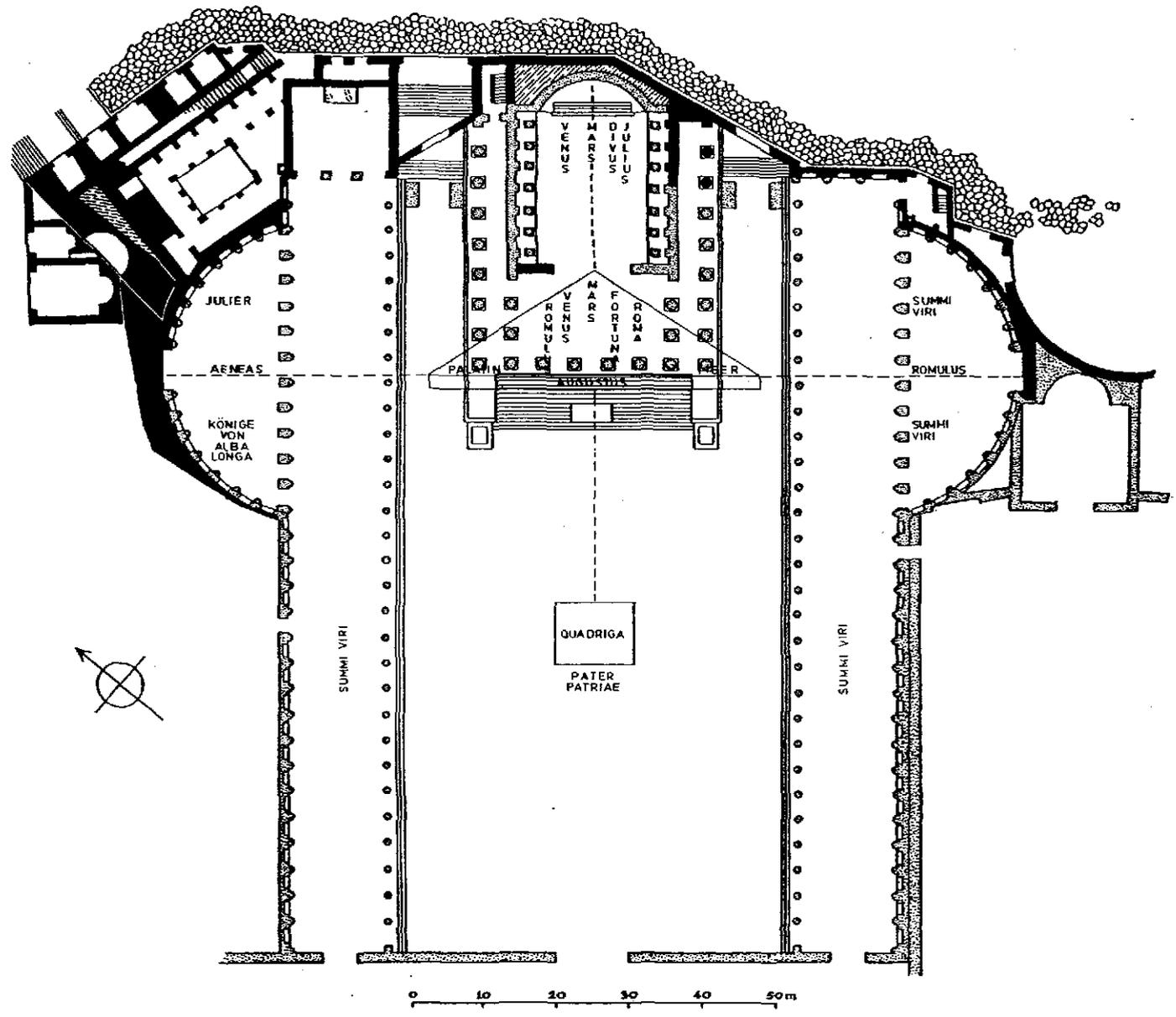
5.5.3; Tac. *Ann.* 1.3.1). The death of Drusus in Germany is confirmed by the sources

(Livy Per. 142; Dio 55.1.4-5; Suet. *Claud.* 1.3; *Tib.* 7.3; Flor. 2.30.28; Ov. *Fast.* 1.597).

After his death, the senate, in recognition of Drusus' accomplishments, bestowed upon

him the cognomen Germanicus (Suet. *Claud.* 1.3; Dio 55.2.3; Flor. 2.30.28; Ov. *Fast.*

1.597).



Plan of the Augustan Forum. From P. Zanker, *Forum Augustum; das Bildprogramm* (Tübingen, 1968), fold-out plan.

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