Res Publica Constituta: Actium, Apollo and the Accomplishment of the Triumviral Assignment

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Abstract

This thesis will focus on the battle of Actium and the ways in which the Caesarian regime represented and commemorated this conflict and turned it to Octavian/Augustus's purpose. It will be argued that Actium was relatively more important than Alexandria in the ideology of the regime, but at the same time that the two battles must be understood together, as part of the accomplishment of the assignment of the triumvirate (constituting the *res publica* to order and ending the civil war). The focus will thus be on the period between 43-27 BC.

It will be suggested that the powers given back to the Senate and Roman people in 27 BC were in fact the powers of the triumvirate. The arrangements of 28-27 BC thus constitute the accomplishment of the triumviral assignment. It will be stressed that, according to the regime, Apollo had a major role to play in this development, helping Octavian to win the battle of Actium. There are many possible themes that could have been exploited, but the nexus of Actium, Apollo, civil war and peace all centre round the triumvirate and triumviral assignment.

There is a generally held consensus amongst scholars that Actium was presented as a foreign war and that Octavian/Augustus tried to conceal that it was in fact a civil war. This thesis will reflect on the issue and challenge this consensus. Antonius decided to make war on his own country and thus a foreign war turned into a civil war. Similarly, it is more or less universally held that the battle of Actium was decided due to a prearranged battle plan by Antonius and Cleopatra; from the outset they wanted to flee. Instead it will be argued that it is much more likely that the battle was decided by Cleopatra's treachery.

Dedication

My parents, for all their support,

Marlene, for giving me the little nudge out the door and

in memory of my sister Rene and my father Knud

Acknowledgements

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Abbreviations

AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AJP	*American Journal of Philology*
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*
BABesch	*Bulletin Antieke Beschaving (Annual Papers on Classical Archaeology)*
BICS	*Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*
BMC	Mattingly, H., *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, vol.1 and vol.3 (London 1923/1936)
CAH	*The Cambridge Ancient History*
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
CQ	*The Classical Quarterly*
CR	*The Classical Review*
EJ	Ehrenberg, V. & Jones, A.H.M., *Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius* (2nd edn., reprinted with addenda, Oxford 1979)
HZ	*Historische Zeitschrift*
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*
IGRR	R. Cagnat, J. Toutain et al. (ed.), *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res romanas pertinentes*¸ vols, 1, 3, 4 (no more publ.), (Paris, 1901-1927, repr. 1964)
ILLRP	Degrassi, A., *Inscriptiones Latinae liberae rei publicae* (Florence, 1975-1963).
ILS	Dessau, H., *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* (Berlin, 1892-1916).
IRTripol	*The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania*

JRA	*Journal of Roman Archaeology*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
LIMC	Balty, J.C. (ed.), *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae,* (Zürich and Munich, 1981-1997).
LTUR	Steinby, E.M. (ed.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae,* (Rome, 1993-1999).
MAAR	*Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*
MDAI (A)	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*
MDAI (R)	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*
Nicopolis 1	Chrysos, E. (ed.), *Nicopolis 1. Proceedings of the first International Symposium on Nicopolis (23 - 29 September 1984),* (Preveza, 1987).
Nicopolis B	Zachos, K., *Nicopolis B. Proceedings of the Second International Nicopolis Symposium (11 - 15 September 2002),* 2.vols., (Preveza, 2007).
PBSR	*Papers of the British School at Rome*
PCPhS	*Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*
RE	*Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*
RIC	Sutherland, C.H.V., *The Roman Imperial Coinage* 1² (London, 1974).
RG	*Res Gestae Divi Augusti*
RRC	Crawford, M.H., *Roman Republican Coinage* (Cambridge, 1974).
TAPA	*Transactions of the American Philological Association*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

Chapter 1: Introduction

Prodigies were a standard feature of Roman historiography and Octavian was no exception:

> *Apud Actium descendenti in aciem asellus cum asinario occurrit: homini*
>
> *Eutychus, bestiae Nicon erat nomen; utrisque simulacrum aeneum victor*
>
> *posuit in templo, in quod castrorum suorum locum vertit.*
>
> ("At Actium as he was going down to begin the battle, he met an ass with his driver, the man having the name Eutychos [Lucky] and the beast that of Nikon [Victor]; and after the victory he set up bronze images of the two in the sacred enclosure into which he converted the site of his camp") (Suet.*Aug*.96.2).[1]

The setting is the hill of Michalitsi, north of the future Nicopolis at Actium, where the statue of the donkey and the driver was erected on the Victory Monument of Octavian (Plut.*Ant*.65.3). Together with rams from captured enemy ships the statue showed that Octavian was helped by the gods in his victory at Actium.[2] The luck might refer to Apollo, who also had a statue on the monument, as he was the god that helped Octavian to victory (see chapter 5). Octavian clearly though it was important to spread the story of divine intervention at Actium. The legend of Actium was born.

This thesis will focus on the battle of Actium and the ways in which the Caesarian regime represented and commemorated this conflict and turned it to

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[1] Translated by Rolfe 1951. Suet.*Aug*.96 gives a list of Augustus' omens before battle.

[2] See Ogilvie 1965: 403f; Pelling 1988: 265, 281; Lorsch 2000 on the propaganda of omens. Regarding the difficulties of using such stories as biographical, see Laurence and Patterson 1999, especially 194-197.

Octavian/Augustus's purpose. It will suggest that Actium was relatively more important than Alexandria in the ideology of the regime, but at the same time that the two battles must be understood together, as part of the accomplishment of the assignment of the triumvirate (restoring the *res publica* to order and ending the civil war). The focus will thus be on the period between 43-27 BC.

It will be suggested that the powers given back to the Senate and Roman people in 27 BC were the powers of the triumvirate. The arrangements of 28-27 BC thus constitute the accomplishment of the triumviral assignment. This is a more precise description of events than the much more traditional idea of the restoration of the *res publica*. It will be stressed that, according to the regime, Apollo had a major role to play in this development, helping Octavian to win the battle of Actium. There are many possible themes that could have been exploited, but the nexus of Actium, Apollo, civil war and peace all centre round the triumvirate and triumviral assignment. This is the story of the Victor and how he "wrote" the history of the period. This does not turn this thesis into uncritical praise for Augustus, but the purpose is to explain the ideology of the regime, instead of proving it wrong.

There is a generally held consensus amongst scholars that Actium was presented as a foreign war and that Octavian/Augustus tried to conceal that it was in fact a civil war. This thesis will reflect on the issue and challenge this consensus. There is a tendency to look at this period in a deterministic manner. This was the civil war that should not have been; in 36 BC the civil wars were ended after the victory over Sextus Pompeius, and the powers of the triumvirate were to be laid down. But in the end the foreign war against Cleopatra had to be fought. In this war Antonius decided to make war on his

own country and thus a foreign war turned into a civil war. This blurring of foreign and civil war was the result of the war of words, the build-up to the war itself; the fight to position oneself as anything but the aggressor. Similarly, it is more or less universally held that the battle of Actium was decided due to a prearranged battle plan by Antonius and Cleopatra; from the outset they wanted to flee. Instead it will be argued that it is much more likely that the battle was decided by Cleopatra's treachery.

Chapter 2 will focuses on the pre-Actium period, on *pax*, civil war and Apollo, from the death of Caesar to Naulochus in 36 BC, stressing their ideological justification as seen from Octavian/Augustus's point of view. It will be argued that the triumvirate was the cornerstone of this justification and that fixed-term tasks, similar to the constituting of the *res publica*, become the standard way to justify monarchy (see also chapter 7). Chapter 3 focuses on the war against Antonius and Cleopatra; how it was represented and how Octavian justified his position within the state after the triumviral period had lapsed at the end of 33 BC. It will be stressed that the accomplishment of the triumviral assignment was the central justification once more. The war was declared on Cleopatra, but later Antonius decided to fight with her against the *res publica*, thus turning a foreign war into a civil war. It will be argued that the ideology of the regime never denied or downplayed the civil war aspect. Chapter 4 will focus on the battles of Actium and Alexandria, first and foremost Actium. It will counter the idea that Actium was not a real battle and stress that the battle was decided because of Cleopatra's treachery.

Chapters 5-7 will look at the commemorations of the victories of Actium and Alexandria. Chapter 5 will focus on the onsite commemorations of the battle of

Actium, especially the Victory Monument of Octavian. This monument is becoming more and more important due to the fabulous new findings by Zachos. The monument will be re-evaluated and it will be suggested that the key to understanding the monument and its connections to Rome is its monumental inscription. Chapter 6 will look into the honours presented to Octavian at Rome by the Senate after the wars at Actium and Alexandria, and before he returned to the city in 29 BC. These honours have been understudied and thus this excursus aims to shed light on these honours in their chronological setting, to show the great importance of the two victories. Chapter 7 focuses on the period between 29 and 27 BC. It will be suggested that there is a likely connection between the temple of Apollo on the Palatine and the battle of Actium. The importance of peace will be stressed, as the symbol of the accomplishment of the triumviral assignment. It will be suggested that this settlement of 28-27 BC constitutes the accomplishment of the triumviral assignment, the fulfilment of the responsibility entrusted to the *triumviri rei publicae constituendae*.

Stressing the importance of this particular nexus is new and promises to shed light on the justifications of Octavian/Augustus in the period 43-27 BC. Syme famously wrote "The Triumviral period is tangled, chaotic and hideous. To take it all for granted, however, and make a clean beginning after Actium, or in 27 BC is an offence against the nature of history and is the prime cause of many pertinacious delusions about the *Principate* of Augustus" (1939: 3, n 2). Augustus focused on the good result, peace, and not so much the hideous nature of the civil war itself, but he probably would have agreed, as this is indeed the picture presented in the *RG*; there is no Caesarian/Augustan history without triumviral history.

The Actian ideology has received renewed interest since 1995 due to the provocative book *Actium and Augustus. The Politics and Emotions of Civil War* by Gurval. The book's central arguments are that Actium was less important in public perception at the time than scholars traditionally have thought, and that it was not until Virgil's account in the *Aeneid* that Apollo was credited with a role in the victory.[3] This thesis will try to show that in both instances this is a misconception of the ideology of the regime, but Gurval has presented scholars with an opportunity to look at Actium with new eyes, taking his criticism into account. One major problem in the theory of Gurval is that he does not look at the onsite commemorations at Actium. It also minimises the historical evidence and instead focuses one-sidedly on poetry. One of the problems for every kind of work on the Augustan period is the lack of contemporary evidence. This of course does not mean it was never there, as later sources would have worked from contemporary evidence, at least implicitly, using evidence that derived from contemporary evidence. But much Latin historiography has simply not survived.[4] Gurval's book is very negative in its approach, as it concentrates on things that are, according to the author, wrong; Alexandria is of far greater importance than Actium according to Gurval, but Alexandria does play a very minor role in the book.

Osgood's *Caesar's Legacy. Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire* from 2006 needs mentioning because it is a book on the triumviral period, something that

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[3] For a good statement of the traditional view which Gurval is attacking see Zanker 1983. See Pelling 1997: 289f for a critical review of Gurval 1995. Specifically on Apollo, see Millar, J.F. 1998: 549, stressing that even without contemporary sources it is difficult to believe Gurval, as retrospective developments (28 BC) are not exceptional in poetry (549). According to Hekster and Rich 2006: 164 it is unlikely that the contemporaries would not have made any connection between the temple and Actium. See also Hutchinson 2006: 152. According to Welch 2005: 81f Gurval overemphasises his dismissal of Actium. Milnor 2005: 50, n 7 suggests that the problem is that Gurval does not believe in an Augustan ideology.

[4] See Kraus 2005, especially 181.

has been extremely understudied in the English speaking world. The book is, at least partly, trying to be the new *The Roman Revolution*. Syme's book was different in approach in 1939, but could now be described as the traditional approach to Actium and Octavian/Augustus. The fame of the book has meant that the English language has not had a standard monograph on Augustus since 1939. Even though Osgood tries to give a comprehensive picture of the period, there seems to be no overall synthesis, and as such the book presents a mainly narrative picture of the period in question. Osgood rightly stresses that the myth of Actium at Rome may have been "different" from the battle known in other parts of the empire.[5] While this is no doubt true, the commemorations onsite seem to show that the regime presented the victory in a similar fashion at Actium and at Rome. Osgood disagrees with Gurval, but he never engages with his statements, nor does he give Actium the space it deserves in a book on civil war and the triumviral period.[6]

The single most importance piece of ancient evidence for the ideology of Augustus is the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* (*RG*).[7] Nowadays there seems to be a tendency to approach the *RG* as a means of revealing Augustus and his deceptive ways, what might be called the right-or-wrong approach to history.[8] The German epigraphist

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[5] Osgood 206: 351. See also Nappa 2005: 1, rightly stressing the possibility that the perception of "Actium" changed over time.

[6] Osgood 2006: 384.

[7] Lange (forthcoming) will discuss this issue at greater length. See now Scheid 2007. This volume has come out too late for more than limited consultation. The lacunas in the Latin text are only indicated by square brackets where the text of Brunt and Moore has been shown to be wrong. See chapter 6 and 7.

[8] There is a tendency among historians to try to make known, to expose, something that has been concealed. See Hedrick 2000: 133. Syme 1939: 522 stresses the *RG* as "the hall-mark of official truth". Similarly Yavetz 1984: 23; Jones 1977: 168f; Ramage 1987: 32-37. Eder 1990: 71; Osgood 2006: 182 stress that civil war issues are omitted from the *RG*. Of course the *RG* constitutes Augustus' truth, his ideology, but what is missing is an explanation for why he wrote as he did. Already in the 18th Century the moderate policy of Augustus was thought by some to be intended to conceal the realities of despotism. See Erskine-Hill 1983: 249-266, describing this appropriately as 'the spread of a Tacitean view'. Cartledge 1975: 31 adopts a working hypothesis that Augustus was a crook. This might indeed be true, as was probably Antonius, but it is difficult to see how that should increase the understanding and knowledge of Augustus.

Alföldy rightly observes that the *RG* is different from biographies, and in continuation of this point stresses that inscriptions did not normally focus on the negative qualities of the honorand.[9] That Augustus does stress civil war more than once seems not to have distracted him from that conclusion (*RG* 3.1; 34.1). One might say that the ending of the civil wars is stressed, but the good ending only makes sense as a counterbalance to the not so good, i.e. the civil war itself. One might suggest that negative things are not left out, but used to stress the coming of a new and better age of universal peace. Had Augustus tried to deceive he would have jeopardised his *res gestae*. Not to mention the negative sides of Octavian would be absurd; it is by addressing the negative aspects that justification becomes possible.

The *RG* was a document written by Augustus, presented to the world as such (Suet.*Aug*.101.1-4; Dio 56.33.1) and read in the Senate after his death. The documents kept by the Vestal Virgins including the *RG* were sealed and the instructions were simple; the intention was to have the document, the *RG*, inscribed on bronze tablets in front of Augustus' Mausoleum on the *Campus Martius* (*ante Mausoleum* according to Suet.*Aug*.101.4) (see fig.1).[10] Suetonius mentions that they were *tabulae*. There was also a document with instructions for his funeral; nothing was left to chance. This is the context Augustus chose himself; the *RG* is an inscription, a fact too often overlooked by modern scholars who write as if the *RG* was a literary text. Unlike a literary text an inscription is always part of a monument.[11] Millar points out that we

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[9] Alföldy 2005: 32. To be fair Alföldy 1991 is a brilliant example of the difference between approaching inscriptions and historical writing.

[10] Ammianus Marcellinus 17.4.16 mentions two obelisks, perhaps Augustan, perhaps later, as they are not mentioned by Strabo and Pliny. Buchner in a recent excavation has found two bases, the level most likely being Augustan, and thus there are four bases and the *RG* can be placed *ante Mausoleum* and the obelisks close as well. See Buchner 1996: 163-167. The obelisks are Apollo's and spoils from Egypt.

[11] Ramage 1987 and Ridley 2003 neither stress the inscription and its context. Rehak 2006 accepts that the context of the *RG* is the Mausoleum (54-58), but oddly sees a difference between the monarchical buildings of the *Campus Martius* and the "Republican" *RG* (8). Haselberger 2007: 35 is surprised that

ought to look up from our book and doing so, we would see the Mausoleum with the statue of Augustus. He concludes that nobody, in antiquity that is, would be clever enough to read it as a republican 'document'.[12] This is how Augustus wanted to be perceived by posterity.[13] Thus one conclusion to be made already is the difference in audience between the document and the inscription, the document being Augustan and the inscription Tiberian, the inscription being set up in a garden open to the public, the former being read out to the Senate (Suet.*Aug.*100.4; 101).

Fig. 1: The *Campus Martius* in Augustan times. Image source: Zanker 1990: 145. **See printed edition of thesis.**

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the Mausoleum is not mentioned in the *RG*, but forgets to explain that the inscription was put in front of it. Alföldy 1991: 292 stresses that an inscription always belongs to a monument.
[12] Millar 1984: 58. See also Rehak 2006: 8.
[13] *RG* 8.5 does mention posterity.

Looking at the specific nexus of this thesis, as mentioned in the *RG*, the Augustan Peace altar is mentioned in *RG* 12, the next chapter mentions the closing of the temple of Janus, the honour after the victories of Antonius and Cleopatra that pleased Augustus the most (Dio 51.20.4). The *Ara Pacis* was put up later, but the inscription's chronology is relative. According to *RG* 13 the temple of Janus was closed when victories had secured peace by land and sea throughout the empire. Similar statements appear in Livy 1.19.3 on Actium and the inscription from the Victory Monument at Actium itself: Actium meant peace.[14]

The 'Horologium' commemorates the capture of Egypt, as mentioned in the inscription on the base; the obelisk of course belongs to Apollo, Augustus' patron god and helper at Actium.[15] The Mausoleum is best looked at in the context of 32 BC and the will of Antonius, with his wish to be buried in Alexandria next to Cleopatra. The Mausoleum in Rome is the perfect counterpart to Alexandria.[16] The field of Mars turned into the field of peace, a symbol of Octavian/Augustus' peace after his victories. Importantly, the entrances of both the Mausoleum and the Augustan Peace Altar point inwards to the *Campus*, not out to the *via Flaminia* or the Tiber.

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[14] See Murray and Petsas 1989: 76. According to Rosenstein 2007: 232 the Romans did not use the term *pax* for reconciliation after civil war, but *concordia*. But in fact the term *concordia* is not used in the *RG*, civil war and peace are. To make no connection between the two in the inscription makes little sense.

[15] The dedication of the inscription is to *Soli donum dedit* (*CIL* VI 702; Taf.109.1), and also mentions *Aegypto in potestatem populi Romani redacta*, closely resembled in *RG* 27.1. Sol points to Apollo, see Champlin 2003: 114. On Apollo as the patron god of Octavian, see Hekster and Rich 2006.

[16] Suet.*Aug*.100.4 mentions that the structure was built in his sixth consulship: *sexto suo consulatu extruxerat.* Clearly it could not have been built in 28 BC and Dio 53.30.5 even suggests it was not finished in 23 BC. 32 BC is by far the most likely candidate looking at context. For the struggle with Antonius and his will, see Dio 50.3.5; Plutarch *Ant*. 58.4. Octavian did choose to finish the tomb of Antonius and Cleopatra in Alexandria and allow them to be buried there (Suet.*Aug*.17.4). See Kraft 1967 for 32 BC; Rehak 2006: 31-61; Haselberger 2007: 51, 63-65.

According to Buchner the birthday of Augustus was central to the area and on the 23rd September (Augustus' birthday and *feriae* for Actium) a shadow from the obelisk would point to the centre of the Peace Altar. Sadly, this theory did not stand the test of time and a physicist from Tübingen.[17] However, Gabba rightly points to the oddity that Augustus mentions his own birth in *RG* 13; Roman history is divided into two parts and Augustus' birth is the turning point. This makes Augustus a godlike person, perhaps sent by the gods.[18] According to Bosworth and Gradel the *RG* might be Augustus' argument, his *apologia*, for state divinity.[19] Perhaps the 'proposition' did not come as a surprise for anybody: the victory in the war against Cleopatra and Antonius meant peace for Rome, all visible on the *Campus Martius* when the *RG* was inscribed as Augustus' last alteration to the area, a peace that was only possible with Augustus.

What is vital for this thesis is that the *RG* is how Augustus wanted to be perceived and how he himself perceived the past, his own past, and how he justified his actions. There is no reason to believe that the chapter divisions do not go back to the original inscription and Augustus' draft and thus a reading of structure is possible.[20] Therefore, a theory about the *RG* should in principle be in agreement with all chapters of the inscription, but also with the historical and ideological context. Heuss rightly points out that the inscription should be used in its entirety, not just for cherry-picking.[21]

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[17] Buchner 1982 and 1988: 240-245. For the criticism see Schütz 1990: 432-457, comprehensively refuting the measurements of Buchner. Schütz stresses that even if Buchner was correct, the shadow to pierce the *Ara Pacis* on the birthday of Augustus would have been invisible six metres from the monument (1990: 451). Buchner 1996: 161-168 has tried to hit back, but his theory seems tenuous. See also Rehak 2006: 62-95; Barton 1995, especially 44-46 for criticism of Buchner. A new defence of the theory of Buchner, with his blessing, has now been launched in Haselberger 2007: 169, n 220.
[18] In the interpretation of Gabba 1995: 11-14. This bears resemblance to the idea of the Messiah (Norden 1924). See Suet.*Aug.*100.3 and 94.3.
[19] Bosworth 1999; Gradel 2002: 281. See also Weber 1936: 102-104.
[20] See Brunt and Moore 1967: 2.
[21] Heuss 1975, especially 56 and 62.

Chapters 2, 3 and 7 of this thesis will include a close reading of the *RG*. As mentioned it will be argued that the triumviral assignment is central to the introduction and conclusion of the *RG*, as well as the inscription in general. This is the ideology of the regime, as it was perceived by Augustus himself.

One area that has attracted a lot of attention is the relationship between the "Augustan" poets and Octavian/Augustus, especially focusing on the Principate. Eagleton, writing on today's society, concludes that ideas/ideology do not have to be produced by the ruling class; perhaps they are just ideas which happen to be in the possession of the rulers (Eagleton 1991: 44). Of course the poets are not non-elite, but that does not make them ideologists of the regime. Feeney describes with good reason the connection between the poets and the regime as a dialogue (1992, especially 3; 1998; Alföldi 1970; Zanker 1990; Kennedy 1992: 37).[22]

An example is the *Aeneid*; White concludes that it is not important if Augustus requested it, but in what terms it was presented (115). It is not known if he had a say regarding the actual story (142f). White is not saying there was no interference (123), but Octavian/Augustus' relation with poets was not different than that of a typical member of the upper classes (206).[23] And often, for many reasons, the poets

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[22] Feeney 2007: 133 rightly observes that studies of ideology sometimes create an impression of a very homogeneous system. He, perhaps not unfairly, mentions Zanker 1987 as an example.

[23] White 1993: 95. For the traditional view that the poets reproduced the ideas of the regime, see 99-109. Kennedy 1992, reflecting on the terms 'Augustan' and 'Anti-Augustan', concludes that they are problematic and that it is dangerous to assumes that a particular statement is ether one or the other (especially page 40). Gale 1997, especially 77-78 agrees and concludes that poems can be read in different ways and there are often conflicting and self-contradictory elements inherent in the text. According to Gale the diversity of opinion is the product of difference in agenda amongst modern scholars; they find in the text what they are looking for (77). They dismiss or downplay elements in a poem in disagreement with their view. Often scholars disagree which parts of the poem are 'sincere' and 'ironic' (86). Gale observes that the 'literariness' of poetry makes it impossible to regard the poem

elaborated on Augustan thematic by themselves (206). Thus, there was a dialogue between the poets and the regime.[24] Nappa rightly concludes: "Whatever subversions we may detect within the text, it is virtually beyond question that the poet reaped tremendous advantages from his relationship with the princes. This does not, it is true, mean that Vergil was a sycophant, opportunist, or even an unthinking partisan, but if we cannot tolerate anything but modern liberalism in an author, then we will have to abandon Vergil" (2005: 17).

Henderson observes that there were strong reactions to civil war in the sources of the late Republic and later (1998). It was part of Roman life in and after the Late Republic and thus reactions continued to appear in the ancient testimony. Of course civil war was disgraceful.[25] But, as Caesar earlier, Octavian knew to use it for his own sake, against his enemies.[26] Nothing shows that Augustus tried to stop the civil war from being mentioned; but there is hardly a reason why the official line should contribute to this picture. Truth is hardly the issue here, and in fact Augustus as mentioned accepted that it was indeed a civil war (*RG* 34). The contemporary writers, it will be suggested, shared the experience of the civil war period which was vital in creating the ideology of the Augustan age. Oral memory stretches over approximately three generations which means that Actium and the civil war were well known and part of the collective

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as a straightforward ideological or political message (91). See also chapter 3 on the term 'subversive' in connection with 'Augustan' poetry.

[24] There has been criticism of White. Bowditch 2001 seems to be writing against something that only partly exists (12f on White). White does not say there was no patronage, but he considers Augustus as a traditional member of the upper classes.

[25] Ando 2002: 138 on the disgrace and the spirit of Italian unity in the Georgics around the time of Actium.

[26] According to Collins 1972: 957 the strongest note running through the *Bellum Civile* is that Caesar's cause was that of peace, even though this is only claimed once (1.5.5). Furthermore, the enemies of Caesar caused the turmoil and thus were to blame according to Caesar (1.32.3). See also Henderson 1998: 37-69 on Caesar and civil war. Both *On the civil war* and the *Gallic wars* are presented as despatches from a governor reporting back to the Senate according to Henderson (37). This is Caesar's justification, his commentary on the civil war. As concluded by Henderson the *Kriegschuldfrage* was vital and Caesar, according to Caesar, did not start the civil war (especially 43).

memory during the Augustan age.[27] For the contemporaries, unlike us, who can only remember the war through its literary texts, this was within living memory. This of course does not show that the war was portrayed as a civil war in the official ideology, but nothing suggests with any certainty that Augustus did, one way or the other, force his contemporaries not to mention the civil war.[28]

Looking in more detail at ideology, a traditional view sees ideology as a false consciousness, but again, truly effective ideologies must make at least some minimal sense of people's experience, must conform to some degree with social reality.[29] Looking at modern society, Eagleton gives six definitions of ideology.[30] Of course the concept of ideology was different in ancient times, but the content was not. Writing history is describing old societies with modern words. Looking at Octavian/Augustus it becomes evident that more than one of the six possibilities should be used. The fact that peace comes after a long period of civil war may be described differently from person to person; an opponent of the regime may have said that peace was hardly the issue, one-man-rule was. A supporter may have stressed that this was a great victory

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[27] Regarding collective memory, see Assmann 1999:13: There are 'Epochenübergraifendes Gedächtnis', supported by normative texts like the bible, and 'Kommunikatives Gedächtnis', which is oral. It needs pointing out that in both cases there is a 'Gedächtnisschwund'. Also interesting is the political level and memory, because there can both be an 'Erinnerungspolitik' and a 'Vergessenspolitik' (15). See also Gowing 2005: 1-17, pointing to some of the problems of 'surrogate memory', because of particular stories closeness to what people taking part in a given incident thought about it. True or false memories, they still are memories, and if shared, collective memories (10).

[28] Seneca *Ben*.5.25.2 on a story about Tiberius and *optanda erat ablivio* ("it was the emperor's wish to forget"). Translation by Gowing 2005: 1. Gowing then uses Millar's 'the emperor was what the emperor did' to stress that he was what he remembered (1). For Millar, see 1992: viii. This is fascinating, but can hardly be used as a general description of the emperors.

[29] Eagleton 1991: 10-14.

[30] Eagleton 1991: 29-30: 1): Natural process of production of ideas, beliefs and values in social life. This is political and epistemologically neutral and close to 'culture'. 2): Ideas and beliefs which symbolise the conditions and life experiences of a specific group or class. 3): Promotion and legitimation of the interest of such social groups in the face of opposing interests. 4): Retains emphasis on the promotion and legitimation of sectoral interests, but confine it to the activities of a dominant social power. Helps unify a social formation. 5): Help to legitimate the interests of a ruling group or class specifically by distortion and dissimulation. 6): Retains emphasis on false or deceptive beliefs but not arising from the interests of the dominant class, but the material structure of the society as a whole (29-30).

and now everybody could live peacefully. Thus different individuals or groups had different beliefs, values and attitudes towards the triumvirate and Octavian/Augustus. Vitally, the ideology of the regime is instituted to persuade these groups and to justify the actions of the regime. Again, dialogue between these groups and the regime is the likely scenario. And in more general terms, Octavian/Augustus is a 'perfect subject' for a study of ideology, as the person Augustus is largely hidden from us. Kennedy writes:

> "Conventionally we tend to look upon Augustus as a person, but he was more significant as an *idea*. The power of Augustus was a collective invention, the symbolic embodiment of the conflicting desires, incompatible ambitions and aggressions of the Romans, the instrumental expression of a complex network of dependency, repression and fear" (1992: 35).

This idea of Augustus as a collective invention or dialogue, or part of it at least, is exactly what this thesis tries to explain. In Roman history the word propaganda is probably more used than ideology.[31] Praise is dismissed as panegyric, whereas criticism is looked upon more positively.[32] Syme writes:

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[31] See Weber and Zimmermann 2003. Syme 1939, chapter 11 stressed political catchwords, but also that Persons not Programmes dominated the Late Republic (149). Kennedy 1992: 31f observes that concepts can change over time. Mackie 1992: 66 on popular Ideology at Rome defines it as "more than an instrument of class – or self – interest". One problem is that many scholars do not define the words they use. Zanker 1990 uses the word "Selbstdarstellung" to describe the ideology of Augustus, but at the same time Zanker sees a dialogue and therefore dismisses the 'Propagandaapparat'. Zanker 1995: 10: "Man wird von einem Archäologen nicht erwarten, dass er sich auf eine Definition des Begriffs Intellektueller einlässt". Kienast 1999: 261-307 has the sound opinion that propagandistic skills are needed for political "Meisterschaft". A typical definition would be Wolters 2003: 179, who defines propaganda as "als bewusste Manipulation bzw. Verbreitung falscher Nachrichten".

[32] Stahl 1990: 179 observes that the Second World War and later Vietnam meant that militarism and imperialism were perceived as negative and this "spilled over into the reading of literature". Augustus could not have been perceived positively by the poets.

> "Neglect of the conventions of Roman political terminology and realities of Roman political life has sometimes induced historians to fancy that the Principate of Caesar Augustus was genuinely Republican in spirit and in practice – a modern and academic failing. Tacitus and Gibbon knew better" (1939: 3).

This is the right-or-wrong approach to history already mentioned. Stahl rightly observes that the reputation of Augustus is positively changing, as European tyrants and the World War II are now a distant past.[33] It is time to move on. Weber and Zimmermann conclude that panegyric speech or writing can actually be "Aufrichtig" (2003: 32). Syme's dismissal may be correct, but it does not bring us much closer to the ideology of the regime. Morgan's conclusion stands; Propaganda cannot or should not ignore the prevailing mood of the public.[34]

It will for now be presupposed that everybody knew there was a civil war going on; Romans took part in it, and they fought against fellow Romans. Warfare in the ancient world was personal, in decision-making, and certainly also by soldiers doing the actual fighting face to face.[35] Egypt's role is interesting, and one result of the ending of the civil wars was that Rome conquered Egypt, but the war at Actium and

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[33] Stahl 1998: xxiv-v.
[34] Morgan 1999: 128; Johnson 1976: 7f.
[35] Campbell 2002: 1. The question of making war in general make sense in literature has been studied by Fussell, looking at the trench warfare in the First World War. This is not to say that this material can be used to understand the Augustan age, but it does stress the huge impact of war. According to Marwick 1974: 11-14 there are four features of war: destruction and disruption, testing the society's institutions and reforming them in some cases, participation, in this case that the men fighting men were a large part of the population, and the result, a large psychological impact and legacy. The ideas of Marwick are also used by Patterson 1993: 92-93 in describing the civil war period of the Late Republic. The conclusion is that warfare had a huge impact on people, both socially, economically and psychologically. There is no doubt that a huge emotional impact from the civil war is visible in the poetry of the period. See Liebeschuetz 1979: 55; Wallace-Hadrill 1993: 8-9.

Alexandria was fought between Roman generals who both believed they were fighting for the *res publica*.

A central issue is how to look for civil war in any given ancient testimony. Things are mentioned differently by each author, but there seem to be three main possibilities: to mention civil war as a civil war, not to mention civil war (but just war), or to state directly that something was not a civil war, but a foreign war (against Egypt). This might be taken as deception. But if the main adversaries are of the same origin, meaning Romans, and Romans did the fighting, surely that means a civil war. But in the case of Actium there is a blurring of foreign and civil war.[36] Livy, living himself through the period of civil war, is suggestive (1.23.1):

> *Haec nuntiant domum Albani. Et bellum utrimque summa ope parabatur, civili simillimum bello, prope inter parentes natosque, Troianam utramque prolem,…*
> ("With the answer the Albans returned to their city, and both sides prepared for war with the greatest energy-a civil war, to all intents and purposes, almost as if fathers were arrayed against sons;…") (translated by Foster 1919).[37]

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[36] There is an abundance of civil war in the Georgics: The murder of Caesar (1.466-68), which seems to be a turning point in the *Georgica*, the clashing of Roman armies at Philippi (1.490) and even the bees do have civil wars (4.67-87). This story of the bees does point to contemporary fear of civil war, or perhaps better, continuant civil war. And rightly stressed by Nappa 2005: 170 "It seems impossible, furthermore, that the rival kings who fought these wars will not have suggested Octavian and Antony" (4.106). Wilkinson 1982: 32 agrees that the bee kings are Antonius and Octavian. Surprisingly there is no queen.
[37] See also Morgan 1998: 183 stressing that there is civil war in the second half of *Aeneid*, because Trojans were fighting Latins. They would later make up Rome. Lucan 7.545-96 describes the civil war as citizens against citizens, relative against relative (see also 5.721-815 on the relationship between Pompeius and his wife Cornelia; he wants to send her away to safety on Lesbos, she wants to stay with him).

This seems a good definition of civil war: fathers and sons killing each other. And in Livy's own time the Romans and the Albans were of course Roman citizens. This might indeed be Livy presenting the present in the past.[38]

The contemporary authors together with the rest of society shared the experience of civil war. In 49 BC Cicero (*ad fam*.16.12.2) mentions that *me clamante, nihil esse bello civili miserius* ("in spite of my outcries that the worst of all miseries is a civil war").[39] Seneca in the *Controversiae* mentions a telling epigram by the Augustan historian T. Labienus stressing *optima civilis belli defensio oblivio est* (10.3.5: "the best defence against civil war is to forget it").[40] The horrors of civil war are stressed, but mentioning it (in writing) does not make you forget it; civil war must be remembered so that it hopefully will not happen again. To write that it should be forgotten is a rhetorical exercise.

The civil war changed Rome forever and Actium was the turning point in that war. In fact the battle of Actium became the date for a new era in Macedonia, Thessaly, Asia

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[38] See also 4.2: *Domi plus belli concitari quam foris*. There is more war at home than abroad. In 4.9 the *legati ab Ardea* come to Rome and begs for help to their city. The city is described as a city with no peace, but *intestina arma*, because of a faction, which is more destructive than foreign wars, famine and pestilence. On this, see von Haehling 1989: 118, who sees this as a warning against civil war. The faction is of course very interesting, as it is mentioned prominently in *RG* 1.1, but surely goes back to 44 BC. Furthermore Livy 1.13.2f with the Sabine women being mother and daughters, and thus the war is a civil war between Romans and Sabines: *Ex bello tam tristi*, a sad war. Livy even mentions that the war is *nefando* (*nefas*), is impious, because of this. See also Ovid *Fasti* 3.201f, mentioning civil war. The story is also known from other ancient sources, see Miles 1995: 186f; Jaeger 1997: 30-56. On the idea of the present in the past in Livy, see von Haehling 1989, using a strictly linguistic approach, not looking at the historical context. He concludes that contemporary history is not used much in the 1st Pentade (77). Against this idea, see Chaplin 2000: 30. See also Davies 2004: 21 on the reliability of the stories in Livy. Liebeschuetz 1979: 91 on the use of religion: The reforms of Numa as a means of putting right the problems of the late Republic. Miles 1995: 92 connects Camillus and Augustus.

[39] Translated by Williams 1926. See also Sallust on the terrible effects of civil war (*Bellum Catilinae* 61.7-9), and Tac.*Ann*.3.28.1 with the famous *non mos, non ius*, a truly fascinating description of civil war, although he only says *discordia*. But *discordia* is used in the Late Republic in connection with civil war. See Cicero *Phil*.7.25; 13.1; Virgil *Ecl*.1.71. See also Osgood 2006: 153. Ennius also used *discordia* in connection with civil war. See Skutsch 1985: fr.225-226.

[40] Translated by Winterbottom 1974. Milnor 2005: 235 rightly stresses the oddity in bringing civil war into it at all, if you want to forget it.

Minor and Syria.[41] But Augustus realised that victory was not enough, peace was what people wanted. He also realised early on that whatever he did, it needed to be justified, one way or the other. That is why the triumvirate was so vital, together with the divine intervention of the gods (Apollo, Mars and Neptune) and this is why Actium, civil war, peace and the triumvirate should be understood together; the triumviral assignment was the justification and peace the end-result. Peace sounds so much better than victory after civil war.

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[41] Leschhorn 1993: 225-228; Feeney 2007: 140.

Chapter 2: The Triumvirate

The focus in this chapter will be on the themes of this thesis in the pre Actium period, i.e. *pax*, civil war and Apollo, from the death of Caesar to Naulochus in 36 BC, stressing their ideological justification as seen from Octavian/Augustus's point of view. These justifications later have implications for the war at Actium and Alexandria, as well as the settlement of 28-27 BC. It will be shown that the triumvirate was the cornerstone of this justification, a factor that has been neglected by scholars. The justifications are often contrary to those of Antonius, but the focus here is mainly on Octavian/Augustus.

Octavian was in Apollonia, the city of Apollo, on the 15th March 44 BC when Caesar was murdered. Here he learned that he was mentioned as the heir of Caesar and therefore returned to Italy.[1] After a popular reaction from the veterans of Caesar at Brundisium, Octavian decided to accept his inheritance.[2] Vitally, in the will Octavian/Octavius was adopted into the family and name of Caesar (Suet.*Iul*.83.2; Plut.*Brut*.22.3; 57.4; App.*B.C*.2.143; 3.14; Dio 45.3.2; Nic.Dam.18.33).[3]

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[1] Strabo 13.4.3; Vell.2.59.4; Nic.Dam.16; Sen.*Ep*.15.2.46; Suet.*Aug*.8.2; 89.1; App.*B.C*.3.9.30; Dio 43.51.7. Heir of Caesar, see Suet.*Div.Iul*.83; Dio 44.35.2.

[2] Toher 2004: 174. See also Vell.2.59.5; App.*B.C*.3.10.35-11.39; Nic.Dam.FGrHist.90, F130.47-57; Dio 45.3.2.

[3] On the names of Octavian/Augustus, see Syme 1958a. According to Cicero Cic.*Phil*.3.6.15; *Phil*.13.9.19; 13.11.24f Antonius attacked Octavian for owing everything to his name. See Scott 1933: 12f; Charlesworth 1933: 173f. On the will, see Schmitthenner 1973: 65-76; 91-93; Dettenhofer 2000: 29; Sumi 2005: 128f. According to Schmitthenner 1973: 26 the adoption was not very important for Octavian, and was only valid if Caesar would not get a son (*postumus filius*). See also Dettenhofer 2000: 28f. Schmitthenner is contesting the idea of Weinstock 1971: 14 stressing that Caesar made Octavian his heir (Schmitthenner 1973: 97, n 8). Against Schmitthenner, see Kienast 1999: 3-8 stressing that the early relationship between Octavian and Caesar has been underrated by Schmitthenner. According to Schmitthenner the will was not even a real adoption (1973:32-35 and 39-64), but this is not in accordance with Suet.*Aug*.68.1: Antonius did not attack the will, but the unnatural relation (*stupro*). See also Osgood 2006: 31 with further bibliography. That the will was only a private document is obvious (So Schmitthenner 1973: 36; Dettenhofer 2000: 28f), but does hardly change the political implications of the will.

To accept the adoption and name of Caesar meant that Octavian had to protect the memory of his father. According to Florus the civil war between Antonius and Octavian was a result of the will of Caesar (2.15.1): *Prima civilium motuum causa testamentum Caesaris fuit* ("The first cause of civil dissension was Caesar's will") (see also Tac.Ann1.9.3-4; 1.10.1).[4] On the 16th March Lepidus called for the vengeance of Caesar from the *rostra* in the Forum (Nic.Dam.27.103), supported by the former soldiers of Caesar (Nic.Dam.17.49). Octavian's filial *pietas* was thus a factor uniting the three men who would go on to form the triumvirate.[5] Importantly, from 1st January 42 BC, Octavian became *Divi filius*.[6]

2.1: The champion of the *res publica*: Octavian's political beginnings

The *RG* is a good starting point in understanding the early political days of Octavian and will here be used to describe the period down to the triumvirate. The inscription seems to have an introduction and a conclusion: chapters 1-2, perhaps including 3 and chapters 34-35. Ramage is right in stressing a chronological coherence, with the 19-year-old *privatus* (*RG* 1.1) who becomes *pater patriae* (*RG* 35.1).[7] This chapter will

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[4] Translated by Forster 1984.

[5] On ideological labels like *pietas*, see Syme 1939: chapter 11; Mackie 1986: 310 stresses the flexibility of concepts like *pietas*.

[6] According to Weinstock 1971: 399 Octavian only called himself *Divi filius* after Brundisium (Sept.40 BC), but surely it was important earlier. According to Bringmann and Schäfer 2002: 133f Octavian used the name from 44 BC. On the deification of Caesar, see Dio 47.18.4; Weinstock 1971: 370-410. See Hekster and Rich 2006: 156, n 32 with further bibliography. The divine Caesar was not exclusively used by Octavian; Antonius also found good use of the god. See Weinstock 1971: 378. Kienast 2001 criticises Syme (1939: 317f; 1958b: 432-34) for the conclusion that Octavian early on distances himself from Caesar.

[7] Ramage 1987: 19. According to Mommsen 1887a: V the *RG* must be divided into three sections; *honores* (1-14), *impensae* (15-24) and *res gestae* proper (25 to the end). Hardy 1923: 14-18 stresses *RG* 1-3 as the introduction. Weber 1936: 150 makes chapters 1-2 stand out, together with 34-35 (217-224); Gagé 1950: 13-16 on the triple division of the *RG* (*RG* 34-35 as conclusion). Yavetz 1984: 14-15 observes that we ought not to rigorously accept the three parts. According to Kornemann 1921: 28-40 the *RG* is written in stages: *RG* 1-4 constitutes the 'Urmonument'. The *RG* was begun 28 BC according to Kornemann, perhaps because this is they year the Mausoleum was build according to Suetonius (1921: III). This is difficult to determine and the document seems to have been edited to a final version (see Gagé 1950: 16).

focus on chapters 1 and 2, whereas chapter 34 will be discussed later in chapter 7 of this thesis. *RG* 1 reads:

> *Annos undeviginti natus exercitum privato consilio et privata impensa comparavi, per quem rem publicam a dominatione factionis oppressam in libertatem vindicavi. Eo nomine senatus decretis honorificis in ordinem suum me adlegit, C. Pansa et A. Hirtio consulibus, consularem locum sententiae dicendae tribuens, et imperium mihi dedit. Res publica ne quid detrimenti caperet, me propraetore simul cum consulibus providere iussit. Populus autem eodem anno me consulem, cum cos. uterque bello cecidisset, et triumvirum rei publicae constituendae creavit.*
>
> ("At the age of nineteen on my own responsibility and at my own expense I raised an army, with which I successfully championed the liberty of the republic when it was oppressed by the tyranny of a faction. On that account the senate passed decrees in my honour enrolling me in its order in the consulship of Gaius Pansa and Aulus Hirtius, assigning me the right to give my opinion among the consulars and giving me *imperium*. It ordered me as a propraetor to provide in concert with the consuls that the republic should come to no harm. In the same year, when both consuls had fallen in battle, the people appointed me consul and triumvir for the organization of the republic") (translated by Brunt and Moore 1967).

The chapter reveals a fascinating tripartition: What Augustus did, what the Senate did and what the people did. First the tyranny of a faction turns a coup d'état into something legitimate. Ridley comments on this in a chapter called "Lies", but in fact

Augustus does explain that he was a *privatus* who raised an army, and then goes on to give his view of why this was an acceptable action.[8] In the ideology of the regime, legal or not, he did what he did to save the *res publica*.

There is a debate amongst scholars whether Octavian/Augustus 'copied' Caesar or Cicero in especially *RG* 1, but perhaps this is after all not that important. Octavian used labels familiar to a Roman readership, how else would he have explained his actions? *Libertas* is according to Syme best defined as the spirit and practice of Republican government (1939: 155f). But there was no alternative set of notions Octavian could have used and thus he used *res publica*, however he chose to define it. What was important for Octavian was that Antonius had oppressed the *res publica* through the tyranny of a faction and thus it had to be liberated (see chapter 5 for the legend *Libertatis P R Vindex*).[9] Of course the 'betrayal' of *Libertas* is used as a description of the losing faction. Pompeius and Caesar had done the same (Syme 1939: 155), as Sulla before them (App.*B.C.*1.57).[10] Augustus does not mention a

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[8] For the illegality and a very negative approach, revealing Augustus and his lies, see Syme 1939: 155; Brunt and Moore 1967: 38; Bleicken 1998:509-510. This is one of two main possibilities in addressing *RG* 1.1. Sumi 2005: 161 on the more positive approach, suggesting that Augustus rightly viewed this event as the commencement of his political career. Hardy 1923: 27 believes *RG* 1.1 refers partly to Actium and partly to the liberators, not Antonius. But the raising of the private army and its justification can only refer to Mutina.

[9] A *factio* is a group of political partisans. In Late Republican Rome this was associated with oligarchy. See Sall.*Jug*.31.15; Caesar *Bell.Civ*.1.22.5; *Bell.Gal*.6.11.2; Cic.*Brut*.44.146; *Att*.7.9.4; *De Re Publica* 1.44. On *factio*, see Seager 1972. The republican sources ever only speak of one *factio* at the time. The word is used to describe your enemies. In the Greek world a group within a *polis*, who where prepared to sacrifice the autonomy of their city to gain or hold on to power in the *polis* were called *stasis*. This is also the word for 'civil war'. The ideal was *homonoia* (*Concordia*) . See Hansen 2004: 133f on *stasis*.

[10] The question is if Octavian 'copied' from Cicero *Phil*.3.5 and *De Re Publica* 2.46 or Caesar *Bell.Civ*.1.22.5. See also Velleius 2.61.1; Suet.*Aug*.26. According to Taylor 1949: 9-10 Cicero defines *factio* in *De Re Publica* 3.23 as an oligarchy. Caesar used the word against his enemies in the Senate, stressing oligarchy by combining the word with *dominatio* and the genitive *paucorum*. Similar Weber 1936: 141. Favouring Cicero, see Walser 1955: 354-356; Bellen 1985: 163; Eder 1990: 91; Kienast 1999: 33, n 125. But to use words of Cicero does not mean Octavian learned politics from Cicero as pointed out by Chilver 1950: 421. Wirszubski 1968: 100-123, especially page 103 with a list of the examples of the ancient use of the phrase used in *RG* 1.1 (*libertas* and *factio*). Welwei 1973 stresses the saving of the *res publica* (30). This was freedom from Antonius more than a question of 'Staatsrecht'. According to Braunert 1974: 358 Augustus in *RG* 1.1 portrayed his acts not as revolutionary but "als verfassungskonform dargestellt", because of the Senate's role. This does illustrate the problem in most

magistrate in *RG* 1.1; he presented *his* case and it was for others to judge. This is the point of politics: to persuade and convince.

Next the Senate voted Octavian *imperium* and ordered him as a propraetor to make sure the *res publica* would come to no harm (*RG* 1.2-3). Cicero was right in stressing that the weakness of the Liberators was that they had no men under arms and no money, whereas Octavian had both (*Att*.14.4.2).[11] The main justification in 44-43 BC was that Antonius started the war against Decimus Brutus at Mutina. This is only indirectly mentioned in *RG* 1.1, but this is most likely the idea behind mentioning the tyranny of a faction.

At Mutina during 44-43 BC the civil unrest turned into civil war. Antonius wanted to exchange Macedonia with Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul and even keep the Macedonian legions and thus brought armed men on the appointment day (Cic.*Phil*.1.2.6; 2.42.108; *Att*.14.14.4; App.*B.C*.3.30.118).[12] This caused problems as Decimus Brutus had been given this assignment already (*Cisalpina*).[13] On the 9th of October Antonius went to Brundisium to pick up the Macedonian legions (Cic.*Fam*.12.23.2; App.*B.C*.3.40), but Octavian seems to have acted quickly and one of the Martian legions and the 4th Legion decided to join Octavian (App.*B.C*.3.45-46; Plut.*Br*.23.1). At that point Octavian was also raising an army of Caesar's veterans as

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of the discussions amongst scholars: this is not 'Staatsrecht', but political justification. On the vast scholarship on *libertas* and the *RG*, see Ramage 1987: 66-68.

[11] The necessity of Money and soldiers/people in Rome go together, as the price of loyalty went up. According to App.*B.C*.1.60 all changed with Sulla and the sack of Rome. See also Plut.*Sull*.12.9-14; App.*Mithr*.22.84. Thus the Macedonian legions changed sides partly because of money. Even the murderers of Caesar had to pay (App.*B.C*.2.120). According to Alföldi 1976: 103f the price of loyalty could not go down and payments were necessary, not voluntarily. See also Osgood 2006: 44f.

[12] Rice Homes 1928: 15f and 192-96. On the illegality, see Livy *Per*.117; Osgood 2006: 40.

[13] Kienast 1999: 23f.

mentioned so conspicuously in *RG* 1.1.[14] Octavian's early movements were a counterbalance to the wrongs of Antonius (*RG* 1.1: *rem publicam a dominatione factionis oppressam*). In fact Octavian raised his private army in Oct-Nov 44 BC, whereas the decrees of *RG* 1.2 which made it legitimate followed in early January 43 BC, with Octavian assuming *imperium* on 7th January (EJ, p.44).[15]

In the end Mutina was relieved by the consuls and Octavian, and as a result Decimus was given a triumph, even though this was a civil war, Octavian only an *ovatio* (Cic.*Phil*.6.8). Furthermore, the Senate addressed the soldiers of Octavian without consulting him first (Vell.2.62.5; Dio 46.41.2). As a result Octavian marched on Rome and demanded the consulship (*RG* 1.4), though not eligible. Both Consuls of the year (Hirtius and Pansa) had died at Mutina.[16] Force won the day; the Senate tried to regain the support of the soldiers and failed.[17] Octavian also came to terms with Antonius, through the mediation of Lepidus, and formed the triumvirate (RG 1.4).[18] Octavian's change of sides is passed over in silence in the *RG*, which speaks only of honours, first by senate and then by the people.

2.2: The triumviral assignment

At a meeting near Bononia at the end of October 43 BC, Antonius, Lepidus and Octavian joined forces and agreed to cooperate. Their collaboration was later given

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[14] Rice Holmes 1928: 33; Brunt and Moore 1967: 38; Kienast 1999: 30. Syme 1939: 162 does not mention *RG* 1.1, but the result is the same; Octavian had no standing before the law.
[15] See Brunt and Moore 1967: 38f.
[16] There were rumours that Octavian was behind the killing of the consuls. See Suet.*Aug*.9; Dio 46.39.1; Tac.*Ann*.1.10.1. This is not supported by App.*B.C*.3.71; Vell.2.61.4 and there is nothing in Cicero either. For Cicero, see Scott 1933: 18.
[17] Suet.*Aug*.26.1; App.*B.C*.3.88; Dio 46.41.3; 46.42.4; 46.43.1.3-4. Rice Holmes 1928: 34-66; Kienast 1999: 36-37; Sumi 2005: 178f.
[18] See also Vell.2.65.1 stressing the common enemies of Antonius and Octavian, but also that Antonius threatened to join forces with Brutus and Cassius. Plut.*Brut*.27.1 suggests the Senate's favour of Brutus and Cassius. See also App.*B.C*.3.80; 3.96.

legal force by a plebiscite, the *Lex Titia*, carried through the assembly by the tribune P. Titius on the 27th November: the three men were now *tresviri rei publicae constituendae* for a period of five years.[19] This was a plebiscite and thus, returning to *RG* 1, it was the people, not the Senate or Octavian who took the decision, at least in the inner logic of the inscription and the triumvirate. In reality the Roman people did not have a choice. The triumvirate, it will be shown in this chapter and subsequently in chapter 7, is vital for an understanding of the period 43-27 BC and the justification of it.

The title of the triumvirate is at the same time a justification; the triumvirs were 'constituting' the *res publica*, they were setting the state, the *res publica*, to right.[20] In the edict on the proscriptions in Appian (*B.C.*4.10) the triumvirs mention Sulla as their model (App.*B.C.*1.97 on Sulla's proscriptions). Caesar was perhaps *dictator rei publicae constituendae*, but the only evidence is a fragmentary inscription from Taranto. A similar title had previously been used by Sulla (*Lex Valeria*, see Cic.*De Leg.Agr.*3.2.5). Appian seems to stress a title similar to the triumvirs (*B.C.*1.99: *rei publicae constituendae*), although Sulla's position was not for five years (App.*B.C.*1.98-99).[21] Given the evidence it is likely that the triumvirs used Sulla as a model; they used *rei publicae constituendae* and thus described the assignment,

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[19] Bononia: Livy *Per.*120; Dio 46.55.3; App.*B.C.*4.2; *RRC* 492/1 (M ANTONIVS III VIR R P C, showing Antonius and reverse: C CAESAR III VIR R P C, showing Octavian); *RRC* 492/2 (M LEPIDVS III VIR R P C); *RRC* 493/1 (C CAESAR IMP III VIR R P C PONT AV, showing Octavian. Reverse: M ANTONIVS IMP II VIR R P C AVG, showing Antonius). *Lex Titia*: *RG* 1.4; *Fasti Colotiani*, see EJ, p.32; Dio 47.2.2; App.*B.C.*4.7. In Latin sources often *triumviratus*, but not in official Latin documents. See Vell.2.86.2; Livy *Per.*129; Tac.*Ann.*3.28.2; Flor.2.16.6; Suet.*Aug.*27.1. On the use of the title, see Bleicken 1990: 11-12. For Greek texts, see Reynolds 1982: Doc.6, 5-8. See Bleicken 1990: 12. Regarding the plebiscite, see Hardy 1923: 30; Brunt and Moore 1967: 39f. Coins with the legend III VIR R P C, see *RRC* 489-490; 492-497; 516-518; 520-523; 525; 527-529; 531; 533-534; 536-542; 544-545 (See Crawford 1974: 739-744).
[20] See Fadinger 1969: 31-56; Bleicken 1990: 21-65; Eder 1990: 92-97; Kienast 1999: 37f.
[21] See Fadinger 1969: 32f, 50.

whereas Caesar it seems as *dictator perpetuus* did not have any limitations at all.[22] But limitations or not, it is vital to remember that the period of the triumvirate was profoundly marked by violence, illegality and arbitrary exercise of power.[23] As a balancing observation it is nonetheless important to understand the justifications which were presented for the triumvirate, since these helped to shape the triumvirs' subsequent actions.

Appian, trying to define the triumvirate, stresses that three men were in possession of all power in the *res publica* (*B.C.*5.1). His account of the establishment of the triumvirate gives us our fullest statement of the nature of the powers it conferred (*B.C.* 4.2, 7; Dio 46.55.3-4 is less precise). He states that the triumvirs had power equal to the consuls, and in addition they received the right to appoint the magistrates in advance and the provinces were divided between them (4.2, 7).[24] The allocation of provinces must be seen as part of the constituting of the state; the triumvirs were splitting the Roman Empire between them.[25] As Girardet has shown, the *imperium* of

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[22] On Caesar and the inscription from Taranto, see Badian 1990: 34f. Meier in the third edition of the Taschenbuchausgade of *Caesar* takes this into account and accepts it (1993: 592). See also Kienast 1999: 37, n 142 with scholarship. Against this, see Bringmann 1988: 25. For Caesars appointment as dictator for life, see Cic.*Phil*.2.86; Flor.1.13.91; Dio 44.8.4.

[23] See Millar 1973: 50 and 50-61.

[24] Fadinger 1969: 55-56 stresses "schrankenlosen Macht", Bleicken 1990: 21-65 on the other hand that there were limits to their formal powers. Rich 1992 rightly points out (as Syme 1939) that they did no always stay within these formal powers. In the end what mattered was military power (112f).

[25] At Bononia Octavian received both Africa's, Sardinia, Sicily and other islands in the proximity (Dio 46.55.4-5; 56.1; App.*B.C*.4.2 only mentions Africa, but *B.C.* 4.53 mentions both. See also Suet.*Aug*.27.1), Lepidus received Spain and *Gallia Narbonensis*, and Antonius the rest of Gaul. Because of problems with Sextus Pompeius Octavian clearly received the least interesting part of the deal. See Fadinger 1969: 39; Kienast 1999: 38. The East was still under the rule of the murderers of Caesar. After Philippi 42 BC Antonius received *Gallia Comata*, *Cisalpina* was to become autonomous, and Africa, plus he was to bring peace to the East. Octavian received Spain, Numidian Africa, whereas Sardinia and Sicily was under the rule of Sextus Pompeius. Italy was controlled by all three men (App.*B.C*.5.3; Dio 48.1.2ff; Livy *Per*.125; Flor.2.16.1). Lepidus, who had not taken part at Philippi, might get part of Africa. This seems to have happened in 40 BC (App.*B.C*.5.12; Dio 48.20.4; 23.5. See Kienast 1999: 42. Antonius still received most, and Octavian was to settle the veterans in Italy (Suet.*Aug*.13.3; Vell.2.74), which was never going to be easy. In 40 BC Q. Fufius Calenus, Antonius' governor in Gaul died and Octavian took advantage of the situation and took over the province (App.*B.C*.5.51; Dio 48.20.3). At Brundisium the Empire was more or less divided in East and West, with Octavian promising to fight Sextus Pompeius and Antonius the Parthians. At Misenum Sardinia,

the triumvirs was an *imperium consulare* valid both *domi* and *militiae,* not a proconsular *imperium.*[26] Vitally, all powers in the state seem to equal the *potens rerum omnium* of *RG* 34.1 (see chapter 7). The reason behind this formulation was with all probability that the triumvirs were trying to avoid the title of dictator (App.*B.C.*4.2; Dio 46.55.3).[27] There is a difference between the formal vote, the *Lex Titia,* and "Realpolitik". Syme thus famously described the triumvirate as a dictatorship of three in essence but not name.[28]

Apart from Appian's statement at *B.C.*4.2 that it was for 'the resolution of the civil wars', it is uncertain what justification was given for establishing such an office. Appian writes (*B.C.*4.2):

> "…, and a new office charged with the resolution of the civil wars would be created by law for Lepidus, Antonius, and Octavian" (translated by Carter 1996).[29]

The civil war mentioned is that against the murderers of Caesar, as it is the only civil war in this period. Even though Dio does not give any details on the proscription edict, Appian does cite a Greek translation of the Latin original (*B.C.*4.8-11). The beginning of the edict reads:

Sicily and Corsica was accepted as belonging to Sextus Pompeius (Livy *Per.*127; Vell.2.77.1-2; Plut.*Ant.*32.1; App.*B.C.*5.72; Dio 48.36). After the victory over Sextus at Naulochus Lepidus was derived of his triumviral powers and only two triumvirs were left (Vell.2.80; App.*B.C.*5.122-126; Dio 49.11.2).

[26] Girardet 1990a: 326-332; 1990b: 95-100; 2000: 181.

[27] See also Cic.*Phil.*1.3f; 1.32; 2.91; 3.30; 5.10; App.*B.C.*3.25.37; Dio 44.51.2; 45.24.2; 45.32.2; 46.24.2; 47.15.4.

[28] Syme 1939: 188. See also Mommsen 1992: 72; Pelling 1996: 1; Osgood 2006: 60. There seems to be a tendency in English scholarship to ignore what the assignment of the triumvirs was.

[29] For revenge as something positive in Augustan times, see Stahl 1990: 202f.

"Marcus Lepidus, Marcus Antonius, and Octavius Caesar, the men appointed to regulate the Republic and restore it to order, declare: if it were not for the treachery of criminals who were pitied when they begged for mercy, and when they received mercy became enemies of their benefactors and subsequently conspirators against them, Gaius Caesar would not have been killed by men whom he took prisoner, spared out of pity, admitted to his friendship, and favoured *en masse* with office, honour, and gifts, nor would we have been compelled to deal *en masse* with those who have insulted us and proclaimed us enemies of the state. But as it is, we observe from the plots laid against us and from the fate of Gaius Caesar that their evil nature cannot be tamed by kindness, and we would rather arrest our enemies first than suffer at their hands" (translated by Carter 1996).

The authenticity of this edict is disputed, but most scholars accept it as genuine, even though the full text is not necessarily given.[30] The edict mentions the *clementia* of Caesar; it did in the end cause his death. The triumvirs did not want to repeat the mistake of Caesar and were thus accused of taking up arms against the *res publica*

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[30] See Gowing 1995: 251-251 and n 12. This is supported by Osgood 2006: 63-64, with scholarship in note 11. The name "Octavius Caesar" is certainly a surprise, but according to Osgood 2006: 64, n 10 this may be a later insertion into the original text. Appian refutes all the pledges in the edict in the surrounding narrative, which is taken by Gowing as a sign that it is genuine (Gowing 1995: 251). See also Osgood 2006; Bleicken 1990: 46; Henderson 1998: 17; Kienast 1999: 41. On the proscriptions, see Syme 1939: 187-201; Gowing 1995: 247-269; Henderson 1998: 11-3; Kienast 1999: 39-41. Osgood 2006: 108 who stresses the *lex Titia* as legal basis for the proscriptions. Against this idea, see Bringmann 1988: 31. See Vell.2.66.1 with the Augustan view blaming Antonius and Lepidus for the proscriptions. Reynolds 1982: no.9, line 12 and no.8, line 80 may point to the triumvirs being conceived as promagistrates not magistrates, and thus contradictory to App.*B.C.*4.2.7. But as pointed out by Rich 1992: 113 it cannot be certain that their powers in respect to the provinces were proconsular, as indeed some of their legates. Girardet 1995: 147 sums up the German position by calling the triumvirate an 'Ausnahmeamt'. Ramsey 2005: 36, looking at the juridical powers of the triumvirs in Rome, points out that a third of all jurors in criminal trials were loyal Caesarians, the triumvirs did not need to exercise routine juridical powers in Rome. See also Rich 1992: 113 suggesting they might be to busy. Against this Millar 1973: 59-61. According to Bringmann 1988: 35 all *acta* of the triumvirs needed ratification, but Reynolds 1982, no.8 shows that also the future *acta* of the triumvirs were ratified. See Bleicken 1990: 27f. Val.Max.6.2.12 stresses that the powers of the triumvirs were *legibus solutus*, but this is not in agreement with Dio and Appian.

(4.8). The whole edict seems to lay the blame for the proscriptions in the Senate, as the triumvirs were only reacting to a threat.

The notion of civil war is an integral part of the proscriptions and the triumvirs clearly had no problems stressing that (4.8). The ending of the civil war was after all the task they set out to accomplish. As part of that the territory of 18 cities in Italy were set aside for the settlement of the soldiers of the triumvirs after the ending of the civil war (App.*B.C.*4.3). Looking past the question of ideology the modern view on the proscriptions is summed up well by Kienast:

> "Dieser blutige Terror sollte für alle Zeiten einen düsteren Schatten auf das Bild des Caesar Augustus werfen" (1999: 39).

But the justification should not be forgotten; this was not just a question of power, as the triumvirs tried to make a case for what they did. The title of *tresviri rei publicae constituendae*, Appian *B.C.*4.2 and 4.8-11 is the only direct evidence on the task of the triumvirate, but it seems reasonable to assume that Titius would have made some sort of speech when proposing the law, purporting to show why it was necessary. It is thus necessary to distinguish between the formal assignment, namely *rem publicam constituere*, and the justification which we can assume was given at the time. For the initial five-year period, that justification, and thus the triumvirs' primary task, was to end the civil war. The only civil war at this period in time was the civil war against the murderers of Caesar. A fair hypothesis thus would be that avenging Caesar was part of the ending of the civil war and thus the task of the triumvirs.

This is in fact close to the information given in other ancient evidence. Thus the justification chimes with the motivations ascribed for Octavian's entry into public life and resort to civil war in the account of Tac.*Ann*.1.9.3 (*pietate erga parentem et necessitudine rei publicae…ad arma civilia actum* ("filial duty and the needs of a country…had driven him to the weapons of civil strife") (translated by Moore and Jackson 1931). Dio makes Octavian claim the same motivation in the (fictitious) resignation speech which he composed for him for 27 BC (53.4.4):

> "I do this so that you may learn from my actions themselves that I did not set out from the start to win a position of power, but genuinely wanted to avenge my father, who had been foully murdered, and to rescue the city from the great troubles that assailed it one after another" (translated by Rich 1990).

The opposition and the *clementia* of Octavian is also mentioned (53.4.1), as is the threat of Antonius and Cleopatra and Sextus Pompeius. This is most likely a description of the triumviral assignment. The speech of Octavian is about setting things to right after the period of civil war.

The Caesarian view on the murder of Caesar is nicely illustrated by Velleius: Caesar would rather die than live in fear and his *clementia* was betrayed by those who killed him (2.57.1-2). As mentioned, *pietas* became part of the triumvirate, as it united the three men. The battle of Philippi is later described by Ovid in his *Fasti* (3.709-710):

> *hoc opus, haec pietas, haec prima elementa fuerunt*
> *Caesaris, ulcisci iusta per arma patrem.*

("This, this was Caesar's work, his duty, his first task by righteous arms to avenge his father") (translated by Frazer 1931).[31]

Tacitus in the *Annales* does not mention the triumvirate by name in 1.9-1.10, but he does in 1.2 and there is no doubt that is what he is talking about; the filial duty and necessity (*necessitudine rei publicae*) are mentioned, in the same sentence as civil war.[32] Again, these are the two assignments of the triumvirate: to end the civil war and as part of that avenge Caesar. Lepidus and Antonius and mentioned and then Tacitus follows (*Ann*.1.9):

> *Non regno tamen neque dictatura, sed principis nomine constitutam rem publicam*
>
> ("Yet he organized the state, not by instituting a monarchy or a dictatorship, but by creating the title of First Citizen") (translated by Moore and Jackson 1931).

This does point forward and backward, forward from the settlement of 27 BC (see chapter 7) and back to the triumviral assignment; the assignment was to 'constitute' the *res publica* and end the civil wars. In *Ann*.1.10 Tacitus then describes the same events, but takes the negative approach: *Ann*.1.9 was propaganda and the proscriptions, Cassius and Brutus, Sextus Pompeius and even Lepidus and Antonius

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[31] See also Cic.*Phil*.13.20.46; Tac.*Ann*.1.10.1.
[32] Syme 1958b: 272 sums up what could be described as a typical Syme comment on *Ann*.1.9-1.10: "He sets forth what men of judgement had to say about the whole life and career of Caesar Augustus. The necrological commentary falls sharply into two parts, for and against. Eulogy is the shorter portion".
For Syme this is judgement day. But with *Ann*.1.2 it becomes more difficult. Yes, Octavian did do bad things, but good things as well; he first and foremost brought peace.

lost out to Octavian, who had used the filial duty and crises of the state merely as a cloak, to gain power (*Ann*.1.10).

The hypothesis that the tasks of the triumvirs, as part of the ending of the civil war, also dealt with avenging Caesar may also be supported by the *RG*. The triumviral assignment is mentioned in the last line of chapter 1. *RG* 2 reads:

> *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 the murderers of my father, avenging their crime through tribunals established by law; and afterwards, when they made war on the republic, I twice defeated them in battle") (translated by Brunt and Moore 1967).

Philippi is thus an expression of filial *pietas* of Octavian, but at the same time part of the justification of the triumvirate, as the murderers of Caesar made war on the *res publica*. The assignment of the triumvirate was thus partly accomplished with the battle of Philippi in 43 BC. Setting the *res publica* to right of course meant defending the state, ending the civil war by defeating the enemies of Rome. This was in accordance with the *Lex Pedia*, the law against the murderers of Caesar (Vell.2.69; Livy *Per*.120; Suet.*Aug*.10, App.*B.C*.3.95).[33] Hardy rightly observes that the chapter

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[33] Ridley 2003: 75f focuses on the things the chapter does not say, instead of on what it does say. This phenomenon is made famous by Syme 1939: 523 stressing that "The record is no less instructive for what it omits than for what it says". Ridley also stresses that the chapter does not explain itself, and this might be true, at least to the modern reader (97). The triumvirate does not get mentioned. In the chapter on 'Lies' he observes that Antonius not Octavian defeated them in battle (167). See also Hardy 1923: 31; Brunt and Moore 1967: 40. This might in principle be true, but he was one of two generals with *imperium* and thus there is nothing wrong, apart from the missing name of Antonius (see chapter 6 of this thesis on '*damnatio memoriae*'). This was a joint operation, but it is also obvious that Augustus did not want to share his filial *pietas* with anybody.

comprises events that happened before and after the establishment of the triumvirate (1923: 31). The *Lex Pedia* was passed in the period between Octavian's and Pedius' taking up the consulship on 19th August 43 BC (EJ, p.33, 50) and the appointment of the triumvirs in November. According to Appian the triumvirs decided that Octavian and Antonius were to make war on the murderers of Caesar (*B.C*.4.3). There was no *clementia* for the murderers of Caesar, even though tyrannicide was not a crime at Rome.[34] *RG* 3.1 constitutes in many ways a small conclusion of the inscription right at the outset. It reads:

> *Bella terra et mari civilia externaque toto in orbe terrarum saepe gessi,…*
> ("I undertook many civil and foreign wars by land and sea throughout the world,…") (translated by Brunt and Moore 1967).

This is a general statement and thus not just on Philippi, but Philippi was a civil war, as was Actium (see chapter 3). So far the *RG* does seem to reveal itself as Augustus' 'commentaries' on the civil wars. The fact that Octavian had changed sides and was now fighting on Antonius' side (*RG* 1.4), his enemy at the outset of *RG* 1.1, would have been obvious for the contemporary reader, but this is in principle not about Antonius, but what Octavian/Augustus did for the *res publica*. The triumvirate is only very loosely defined in *RG* 1.4, but in chapter 2 a picture emerges: Caesar is avenged and this constitutes a partial success in the *constitutio rei publicae*, although not enough to end the civil wars (see chapter 7 for the second part of this argument).

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[34] Brunt and Moore 1967: 40.

2.3: The renewal of the triumvirate

The triumvirate, instituted 27 November 43 BC, did initially terminate at the end of 38 BC (*Fasti Colotiani*, see EJ, p.32). It was renewed for five years at the meeting at Tarentum in the autumn 37 BC (*Fasti Cap.*, see EJ, p.33; App.*B.C.*5.95; Dio 48.54.6; Plut.*Ant.*35.4). Even though Appian states that this renewal was made without asking the people, this does not preclude that this happened subsequently.[35] According to one tradition that makes the triumvirate illegal from 1st January 37 till Tarentum in September or October of the same year (see chapter 7).[36] Most likely the five years were retrospectively dated back at Tarentum, as the first five year period had lapsed 31st December 38 BC. This may be supported by the *fasti capitolini*, from Augustan times, as the entry for the 1st of January 37 BC has the title of *IIIviri reipubl. Constit. caussa* (EJ, p.33).[37]

When the triumvirate was initiated it seemed more than likely that the task, ending the civil war, hunting down Brutus, Cassius and the other murderers of Caesar and the aftermath of the threat, including a period of setting to right the *res publica*, sending the soldiers to colonies etc. after having ended the civil war, would be done in five years. The settling of veterans after Philippi was to be provided by Octavian in 41 BC (App.*B.C.*4.3).[38] The brother of Antonius, L. Antonius, as consul of the year together with Antonius' wife Fulvia, tried to postpone the providing of allotments to the

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[35] See App.*Ill.* 28. According to Gray 1975: 21; Eder 1990: 94 it was Octavian who insisted on the popular ratification. This is based on the fact that Octavian refers to his position as renewed on coins but Antonius does not. This seems a very dodgy inference.

[36] See Kienast 1999: 53. According to Kromayer 1888: 2 the *Lex Titia* was within the law and the problems occurred only when they stayed in power after 38 BC. Pelling 1996: 26 stresses that the triumvirate expired, but they did not resign. He observes that the *decemvirs* did not lay down office when their term expired (*Livy* 3.36.9; 3.38.1; 3.54.5-6).

[37] The triumvirs are listed before the consuls for this year, and this appears to reflect the renewal. Modern scholars have taken this as implying that they held office from 1st January. See Gray 1975: 20.

[38] App.*B.C.*4.3. On the veteran settlements after Philippi, see Fadinger 1969: 42-43; Kienast 1999: 43. On the number of veterans, see Brunt 1971: 488-498 (50,000). On the impact of the settlements, see Osgood 2006: 108-151.

veterans of the triumvirs until Antonius returned to Italy. In the end this turned into the civil war of Perusia.[39] The soldiers and L. Antonius were spared as a symbol of *clementia* (RG 3.1, also referring to Philippi and Actium).[40] The city is not mentioned in the Res Gestae, but not much between Philippi and Actium is, although Naulochus is not forgotten (RG 25.1).[41] In 40 BC the civil war was again ended and having settled the veterans the assignment would seem to have been fulfilled, but the triumvirs did not declare the *res publica* as constituted. Instead they stayed in office after the end of 38 BC, where the triumvirate officially lapsed, without formal ratification.

But not all was well and the impact of Sextus Pompeius in Rome was felt in 40 BC. During games in the circus people applauded a statue of Neptune carried in procession, and performed violence on the statues of Octavian and Antonius (Dio 48.31.5). But 40 BC also saw a change in the relationship between Sextus Pompeius and the triumvirs, Octavian married Scribonia, the sister of Sextus Pompeius' father-in-law L. Scribonius Libo, and early in 39 BC the pact of Misenum brought peace between the adversaries. Livy *Per*.127 mentions *cum vicinus Italiae hostis Sex. Pompeius*: because he was close to the border of Italy and because he had cut off the grain to Rome peace was a necessity (The peace of Misenum 39 BC). The treaty meant that Sextus Pompeius kept Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica, but had to give up mainland Italy and allow grain to Rome, and thus stop the famine.[42] But Sextus Pompeius does not seem to have kept his word and problems reappeared in 38 BC. As

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[39] Rice Holmes 1928: 93-98. On the role of Antonius, see Kienast 1999: 44.
[40] Livy *Per*.126; Vell.2.74.4; Suet.*Aug*.15.1-3.6.
[41] Perusia missing from the *RG*, see Syme 1939 (1952): 523; Ridley 2003: 76; Osgood 2006: 182. To none of them is it important why Perusia was perhaps not mentioned. There is a lot of civil war in RG 1-3, so that can hardly be the answer.
[42] App.*B.C.*5.72; Dio 48,36,5. Rice Holmes 1928: 106f; Kienast 1999: 49f and sources page 50, n 185.

mentioned Livy *Per*.128 is in no doubt that Sextus Pompeius was to blame.[43] Octavian

thus divorced Scribonia and married Livia (Vell.2.79.2; 94.1; Tac.*Ann*.1.10;

Suet.*Aug*.62.2; 69.1; Dio 48.34.4; 43.6; 44.1-4). At the meeting at Tarentum the

triumvirate was prolonged by five years. Antonius provided Octavian with ships to

fight the war against the pirate. Octavian would later provide 20,000 soldiers to

Antonius and his campaign against Parthia (see chapter 3).[44]

But there were also problems between the triumvirs. At Brundisium in 40 BC the

legions of Octavian did not admit the ships of Antonius to the harbour. In the end the

soldiers did not want to fight each other and the result was the treaty of Brundisium.

This might be seen as an indication of the problems to come, but at the time the

reconciliation must have been more important and the marriage between Octavia and

Antonius was the cornerstone in the relationship between the triumvirs in the period to

come.[45] The treaty of Tarentum supports this; the triumvirs tried to make the

triumvirate work and war was not inevitable. Ranke sums up a general idea that

Antonius and Octavian were never real friends.[46] This might be true, but is beside the

point. People who are not friends do not automatically make war on each other.

Instead they tried to accomplish the triumvirate.

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[43] Gowing rightly stresses the disagreement in the sources. Menodorus defected to Octavian and handed over Sardinia to Octavian (Dio 48.45.6-7; App.*B.C*.5.80; Suet.*Aug*.74). Sextus Pompeius was angered by the defection and despatched Menecrates to raid Volturnum and Campania (Dio 48.46.1). It was thus legitimate for Octavian to restart the hostilities. App.*B.C*.5.77 disagrees with this and stresses that the defection had nothing to do with it and happened later (*B.C*.5.81) See Gowing 1992: 192. App.*B.C*.5.77 does not refute that Sextus Pompeius used piracy, but Octavian was not innocent either.
[44] Plut.*Ant*.35; App.*B.C*.5.95ff; Dio 48.54. Rice Holmes 1928: 112; Kienast 1999: 52f.
[45] See Pelling 1996: 17f. The conflict must be seen in context with the war at Perusia and nothing suggests that it was not in the end solved (treaty of Brundisium and Misenum) with the marriage between Octavia and Antonius after Fulvia had died. See also Rice Holmes 1928: 103f. For the reconciliation, see Livy *Per*.127; vell.2.76.3; 78.1; Tac.*Ann*.1.10; Suet.*Nero*.3.1; App.*B.C*.5.60-4; Dio 48.28.3; 31.3.
[46] Ranke 1882: 384.

The triumvirate was, as mentioned, renewed for five years at the meeting at Tarentum in the autumn 37 BC. The problem is that no justification for the renewal is reported in the ancient evidence, but surely must have been offered at the time. During the initial five years of the triumvirate new problems had appeared: Parthia, an external threat, and Sextus Pompeius, an internal one. These tasks, agreed at Brundisium in 40 BC (App.*B.C.*5.65), most likely provided the justification of the extension of 37 BC, as more time was needed to complete the additional tasks. The triumvirate's initial five years had lapsed, but the peace of Misenum did not hold and there was a direct threat to Italy. This was thus part of the extended assignment, of the *constitutio rei publicae*. These extended tasks were conceived as the ending of the civil war and the Parthian war, as is supplied by Octavian's statement promising to lay down power after Naulochus (App.*B.C.*5.132). These problems could not possibly have been foreseen when the triumvirate was initiated, but were now used as justification to prolong the triumvirate.

Brundisium thus holds the key to an understanding of the renewal of the triumvirate. After the renewed problems with Sextus Pompeius what was left was still to end the civil war and save the *res publica* from foreign dangers, something incorporated into the assignment. This way Brundisium constitutes a vital change in the justification of the triumvirate, as the foreign war against Parthia becomes part of the new tasks of the triumvirs. This is in fact the standard justification used by Augustus during his reign from 27 BC (see chapter 8).

2.4: Apollo and Octavian: the origins of a divine relationship

The struggle for *potentia* was also fought with the gods; Neptune had his favourite Sextus Pompeius, as did Dionysus Antonius and Apollo Octavian. Their fathers were important, but at the same time this was indeed a divine struggle. Apollo was in many ways well suited to the role of divine protector and helper of Octavian, as he was already connected to one of the key elements of the triumvirate, as the bringer of peace.

As Rome had a civil war on its hands all sides focused on peace as a result of their own inevitable victory.[47] The 4th *Eclogue* by Virgil is a good example of the longing for peace during times of civil war. The year is 40 BC, and a child is expected; a child to bring an end to civil war and bring the golden age back to Rome, the kingship of Apollo, and the *Saturnium regnum* (4.8-10).[48] According to Servius (*Ecl*.4.10):

> *TUUS IAM REGNAT APOLLO ultimum saeculum ostendit,*
>
> *quod Sibylla Solis esse memoravit.*

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[47] See Wistrand 1980 with scholarship and ancient sources. See also Osgood 2006; DeBrohun 2007: 263 on Livy and the hope of lasting peace. See Weinstock 1971: 394 on the coins of Flaminius Chilo (44-42 BC?) with Caesar and *pax* (*RRC* 480/24).

[48] For the Golden Age, see Feeney 2007: 108-137. The first text to speak of an actual return to the Golden Age is the 4th *Eclogue* of Virgil (131). Ovid *Met*.15.857-60 associates Augustus with the Age of Iron (135). This was not a homogeneous ideology (133). The civil war is in fact not mentioned directly in the 4th Eclogue, but 4.13f, mentioning guilt, most likely is a comment on the civil war age. The poem is a prophecy and the child seems therefore most likely too be no human individual, but a symbol of the "messianic" tones of the poem. Thus the son mentioned in the poem is not likely to have been the daughter of Marcus Antonius and Octavian's sister Octavia, a marriage resulting in the pact of Brundisium. Charlesworth and Tarn 1934: 44f; Clausen 1994: 121 believe that the pact of Brundisium of 40 BC between the triumvirs is the setting of the poem. Against this Nisbet 1978: 63; 69. Coleman 1977: 150 stresses that the pact is not mentioned in the text. See Syme 1939: 219f regarding the child and the possible candidates. He selects Antonia the Elder, born in 39 BC. See also Clausen 1994: 122. Regarding the Christian idea of Jesus as the divine child in the 4th *Eclogue*, see Norden 1924 and Becker 2003. The eastern idea of Norden has come under a lot of criticism, see Clausen 1994: 128f; Nisbet 1978: 71. The paternity of Pollio, giving one of his two sons Asinius and Saloninus Pollio the role as the child, is nowhere hinted in the poem, and thus unlikely (Norden 1924: 11f; Coleman 1977: 150f). Another suggested identification is Marcellus, the son of Octavia, but the problem is chronology. See Becker 2003: 457.

("Now rules your Apollo refers to the last age, which the Sibyl said was the age of the Sun") (translated by Gurval 1995: 109).[49]

The last age is that of Apollo, the first age that of Saturn, or alternatively and even likely, Apollo will reign in the Saturnian age.[50] The context is in many ways a traditional Gold-silver-bronze-iron cycle.[51] The poem mentions the consulship of C. Asinius Pollio, a follower of Antonius, as the beginning of the new age.[52] Animals, living peaceful together, are a symbol of what is to come (4.21-25). But the new age is not entirely secured and there are still wars to come (4.31-36).[53] But still, the 4th *Eclogue* is a messianic poem in the broadest sense, a poem that expressed the hope of the contemporaries, the ending of the civil wars and longing for peace.

Traditionally the battle of Naulochus in 36 BC has been connected with Octavian's proclamation to build the Apollo temple next to his house on the Palatine.[54] Hekster and Rich have shown conclusively that the announcement of the Palatine temple to be built to Apollo in 36 BC is evidence of a special relation between Octavian and Apollo.[55] They have clarified the nature of the decision. The relationship may have

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[49] Nisbet 1978: 62 stresses that the sun mentioned by Servius does not come from the text of Virgil. Suet.*Aug*.94.4 mentions a dream of Octavius, Octavian's father, where the sun would rise from Atia's womb.

[50] Nisbet 1978: 62 on the age of Apollo, which begins with the birth of the child and is not distinct from the *Saturnia regna*. Norden 1924: 14-24 on the age of Apollo. Zosimos 2.6.16f, quoting a Sibylline poem of the Augustan age, mentions Apollo as the regent of the new age.

[51] This points to a Greek context of the poem, because of this cycle is found in Hesiod, Works and Days 106-201.

[52] See Syme 1939: 218-220.

[53] Coleman 1977: 30 is quite right in stressing that this might come from the Sibylline books, mentioned at the very opening exposition of the poet. The idea of a child bringing a new age of peace is very common in the Near-East (132). He is also right in stressing the date between 41 and early 40 BC, because the poem stresses the future, and because Pollio resigned in early 40 BC.

[54] For the sources on the temple and its artwork see Hekster and Rich 2006: 149 n 2. The vital sources regarding the reason behind the building of the temple are Dio 49.15.5; Vell.2.81.3; Suet.*Aug*.29.3.

[55] Hekster and Rich 2006: 160. See also Gurval 1995: 91-113. On *Apollo Palatinus* and the reasons behind building the temple, not to be found in the battle of Naulochus, but in the stroke of lightning, thus indicating the gods wish to be given a temple on the spot on the Palatine, see Hekster and Rich

originated then, with the *haruspices* picking Apollo as the provider of the thunderbolt, the site of the future temple being struck by lightning.[56] Alternatively, and more probably, the *haruspices* picked Apollo because Octavian had already established the relationship with the god. Importantly, there is no connection between the temple on the Palatine and the battle of Naulochus.[57]

Tracing the relationship between Apollo and Octavian back in time is more problematic and a reconstruction therefore speculative.[58] When Caesar delivered the *laudatio* at his aunt's funeral, he mentioned Venus (Suet.*Div.Iul*.6.1), the divine ancestors of the *Iulii*; Livy mentions that the *Iulii* claimed to be descendants of Ascanius, the son of Aeneas.[59] This is not extraordinary, and similar stories are found for both patrician and plebeian families.[60] Thus looking at Octavian and Apollo, it needs to be explained why he picked Apollo in the first place.[61] The answer may

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2006: 151-152. This makes the relationship between Apollo and Octavian a question of luck and indeed religious belief. For this and even what could today be called superstition, see Suet.*Aug*.90 and 92, also mentioning lightning. For the story on the Apollo temple and the lightning, see Suetonius *Aug*.29.3.

[56] Hekster and Rich 2006: 155-160, especially 157 on lightning taken up as public prodigies.

[57] Hekster and Rich 2006: 151-152; 165-166.

[58] Galinsky 1996: 216 rightly stresses that Apollo was less constrained by Roman tradition, but also a Greek god. Hekster and Rich 2006: 151-152 on haruspices. On the likelihood of a connection before 36 BC, see 160-162; 166. See also Taylor 1931: 118-20; Simon 1957 (especially chapter two: 30-44); Zanker 1983; 1990: Chapter two. For a very different conclusion, see Gurval 1995: 91-113, suggesting that Apollo and *Apollo Actius* were not the same and that the early stories on Apollo are later Augustan inventions.

[59] Livy 1.3.2 and Ogilvie 1965: 42f. The *Iulii* were an Alban family, and ancestors of Ascanius, founder of Alba, Iulus being another name of Ascanius, all according to family legend.

[60] Wiseman 1987: 208 and 211. For the enormous interest in Trojan descent in the period, see page 211. Weinstock 1971: 15-18 on Venus as the ancestral god of the *Iulii*. Suet.*Aug*.1 makes a connection between the *Octavii* and Mars. It might seems strange that Octavian did not pick Mars, but he already had a role as the avenging god, as *Mars Ultor*, and he was the god of the *gens Octavia*, not the *gens Iulia*.

[61] Weinstock 1971: 12-15 clearly overemphasizes the story of the dedication of the *Apollo Medicus* temple by the consul of the year 431 BC Cn. Iulius (Livy 4.25.3; 4.29.7). He was consul of the year; he did not vow the temple. It is a prodigy temple, not a temple build be a victor. One of the ancestral gods of the family was Vediovis (*CIL* I 807). According to Aulus Gellius 5.12.12 a statue of the god in the god's temple on the Capitoline is said to be Apollo because he holds arrows. See Weinstock 1971: 8-13. Against this, see Alföldi 1975: 166. There is also the question of the cognomen Caesar. According to Servius Apollo in his role of god of Medicine had patronage of people born by 'Caesarian' operation (Serv.*Aen*.10.316). See Weinstock 1971: 12 and n 7. A similar story in Pliny *N.H*.7.47, but he does not mention the family. All in all it seems that the connection between the *gens Iulia* and Apollo is quite fragile.

simply be that his opponents' gods were male gods, perhaps more appropriate in (civil) war. A statue of Apollo in the Palatine temple was in the likeness of Augustus.[62] This might point to the very personal war of words between Antonius, Octavian and Sextus. Divine imitation became standard during the triumviral period.[63]

During Sextus Pompeius' early years in Sicily he emphasised that he was the son of Neptune.[64] Dio states that this was because his father had ruled the sea (48.19.2).[65] Stage two in the struggle between Sextus Pompeius and Octavian began in 38 BC, with the former's naval success against Octavian. Dio implies that Sextus Pompeius after the victory was strengthened in the belief that he was the son of Neptune and that the god gave him the victory (48.48.5). As a result he put on a dark blue robe and sacrificed horses and even men in the straits of Messina (Dio 48.48.5; App.*B.C.*5.100).

Antonius on his part had a divine ancestor in Hercules, but his divine imitation was also, or even mostly, directed towards Dionysus (see chapter 7).[66] That Antonius perceived himself as the new Dionysus, thus going from divine ancestry to divine imitation is proven by an inscription from Athens dated to 39 BC, mentioning him as the "new Dionysus".[67] But if we are to believe Plutarch, all citizens of Ephesus in 41

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[62] Scholiast on Horace *Epist*.1.3.17; Servius *Verg.Ecl*.4.10. See Welch 2005: n 13, 186.

[63] Pollini 1990 on the triumvirs, 342-350 on Octavian. On Octavian and Apollo on coins, see *RIC* 1² 31. Coins from the period just before or after Actium showing Apollo, see *RIC* 1² 271 and 272. Regarding coins showing Octavian with the possibly features of Apollo, see Pollini 1990: 349.

[64] See Hadas 1930: 114; Taylor 1931: 120f; Zanker 1990: 48; Gurval 1995: 91.

[65] Against this idea, see Gowing 1992: 309f: He sees the relationship between Sextus and Neptune as part of a republican tradition. The relationship between the son, his father and Neptune, is evident on the coins of Sextus minted in Sicily 42-40 BC, see *RRC* 520 (no. 511/2a to 3c). Pompeius Magnus with dolphin and Neptune, see no.483/1-2. On Sextus use of his father in his propaganda (*RRC* 477), see Powell 2002: 107-13 and 120-125.

[66] See Pollini 1990: 345 and n 47 and 48, with the evidence; Scott 1929; Zanker 1990: 53ff; Gurval 1995: 92f; Mannsperger 1973: 386; Hekster 2004: 162.

[67] Hekster 2004: 162 and n 18 regarding the inscription (*IG* II², 1043, 22-4; Dio 48.39.2).

BC welcomed Antonius to their city as Dionysus (*Ant*.24.3).[68] Antonius seems to have picked Dionysus because of the fight against the Parthian Empire and because of Alexander the Great, the great defeater of the Persians; Antonius thus trying to act in the traditional role of a Hellenistic king. Dionysus was relevant because of a myth depicting the god as the conqueror of Asia, perhaps originating from the times of Alexander.[69]

Apollo at Philippi

The conspirators used Apollo on their coins, but according to Valerius Maximus the watchword of the triumvirs at Philippi was 'Apollo' (1.5.7). Contrary to this Plutarch stresses that Brutus used 'Apollo' as his watchword at the battle (*Brut*.24.7).[70] The context in both sources is Brutus predicting his own death at his birthday party in Athens shortly before the battle, citing Homer and thus naming Apollo as the god causing his defeat and death (Iliad 16.849). [71] And even if the triumvirs did use the watchword Apollo, they would have used it jointly.[72] As pointed out by Moles, Brutus and Cassius used '*libertas*' as watchword in the first battle of Philippi, and thus the triumvirs might have used 'Apollo'.[73] Hekster and Rich on the other hand stress that '*libertas*' is used on the coins of Brutus, and thus he could have used '*Libertas*' in the

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[68] The earliest coins with Dionysus imitation are dated to 39 BC as the inscription, as is indeed the story on *Neos Dionysus* found in Dio 48.39.2.

[69] Hekster 2004: 54f on the triumph over the Armenians in Alexandria and Antonius appearing as Dionysus. See also Fadinger 1969: 150-153; On Alexander, see page 169-176. For the myth of Dionysus, see Bosworth 1999: 2f. See also chapter 3 below on the Parthian question. Scott 1929: 133 stresses that Dionysus and Osiris are identical and that Antonius marked himself as a successor of Hellenistic kings. He also stresses the role as king of Egypt, but this might be overstating the issue?

[70] Weinstock 1971: 14f; Moles 1983: 251 points out that Plutarch is more likely to have changed and amended the story for literary reasons, but there can be no certainty on this question on literary grounds. Gurval 1995: 98- 100 goes for Plutarch, but he ignores Dio 47.43.1, who stresses *libertas* as the watchword of Brutus in the first battle. For the coins, see *RRC* 498-508, Apollo on 503, 504, 506/2.

[71] Mannsperger 1973: 394. Plutarch used the dying words of Patroklos (*Iliad* 16.849), thus implying that Apollo killed Brutus (394, n 41).

[72] Simon 1957: 34; Hekster and Rich 2006: 160-161.

[73] Moles 1983: 251. The evidence is Dio 47.43.1; 47.38.3; 47.42.2-4; App.*B.C.*4.90ff.

first battle and 'Apollo' in the second.[74] For Brutus Apollo must have been a symbol of *libertas*, the god helping the first Brutus to the expulsion of the tyrants.[75]

The evidence seems to point slightly more to the murderers of Caesar after all, since the possibility of both sides using the same watchword seems completely unlikely. But of course both sides may have used Apollo as their divine helper.

Legend and calumny: Atia

There is no evidence suggesting a festival to Apollo at the time of the conception of Augustus and thus the story of Apollo as the father of Octavian may be a later invention. In fact the story of Atia and her 'meeting' with the god Apollo, disguised as a snake in the temple of the god, is a version of a common story in the Greco-Roman world.[76] This story is presented as a dream of Atia, but awake her body had a spot shaped as a snake. The story is very similar to that of Alexander the Great, both represented as ruler of the world (Suet.*Aug*.94).[77] It must be remembered that the important factor here is not the question of reality or fiction, but how the story was used and when it was invented.

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[74] Hekster and Rich 2006: 160-161.

[75] Livy 1.16 and Dion.Hal.4.69.

[76] Suet.*Aug*.94.4 and Dio 45.1.2. For a general discussion of the Atia story, see Lorsch 1997: 796; Kienast 1999: 218f; Weber 2000: 147-153; 2003: 302-304. See Bosworth 1999: 1-18 on the god-sent child. For the conception of Romulus and Remus, see Livy 1.4.2. He implies that Rhea Silvia invented Mars as the father to her sons.

[77] Weber 2000: 145; Bosworth 1999. On the saviour, see Wallace-Hadrill 1993: 89-96; Gabba 1995: 11-14, on the *RG* 13. Augustus' birth is mentioned in *RG* 13 (see chapter 1). Regarding Alexander and also Scipio, see Livy 26.19.7; Simon 1957: 16 and 31. Suetonius attributes the story of Atia and Apollo to the Theologumena by Asclepiades of Mendes. Hekster and Rich 2006: 161 stress the problematic nature of the story and the great difficulty in dating it. Weber 2003: 303 stresses that the Atia story must be dated between 30-27 BC because the story is Egyptian, but this seems overstating any geographical significance. See Weber 2000: 151f; Lorsch 2000: 47. Weber 2003: 310 and Wallace-Hadrill 1993: 86 even opens for the possibility that the story was created after the death of Augustus. Gagé 1955: 571 believes it is an early invention by Octavian. Gurval 1995: 100 stresses that Asclepiades of Mendes is an obscure work and if contemporary, he asks why other sources do not mention it. Although a valid question, this statement does not prove the evidence wrong. For connections between Alexander the Great and Apollo, see Feeney 2007: 48.

Would it seem unlikely that Dio 45.1.2 was right in stressing that Caesar was influenced by this story to focus on Octavian as heir? Dio is not easily trusted on this matter. According to Feeney the foundation of the temple of Apollo 431 BC, in the Republican calendar, is the 23rd of September. Suetonius mentions this date as the birthday of Augustus (*Aug.*5). The 23rd September 63 BC is also before the calendar reform of Caesar, but the question is whether Suetonius gives the Republican or the Julian date? Feeney concludes that it is likely that Augustus was born, although not conceived, during the festival of Apollo (2007: 154).[78]

The single most important and highly problematic piece of evidence regarding the Atia story is the *Epigrammata Bobiensia* 39, written by Domitius Marsus between the lifetime of Caesar and 31 BC:[79]

> *Domitii Marsi de Atia matre Augusti:*
>
> *Ante omnes alias felix tamen hoc ego dicor,*
>
> *Sive hominem peperi femina sive deum.*[80]
>
> ("By Domitius Marsus about Atia, the mother of Augustus: And I am called fortunate above all women, whether I, a mortal woman, gave birth to a man or god") (translated by Gurval 1995: 101).

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[78] The theory relies on Suerbaum 1980: 334-335. According to the ancient evidence the *natalis Augusti* was a.d.IX K. Oct (23rd September), or a.d.VIII k. Oct (24th September). See EJ, p.52f; Degrassi 1963: 512-14. According to Suerbaum the 24th September is the pre-Julian date and the 23rd the Julian date. There was thus, it seems, disagreement in 'Augustan' times on the issue.

[79] Weinstock 1971: 14. See also Lausberg 1992: 259-268; Schmitthennner 1973: 97 and n 8; Weber 2000: 151f; Weber 2003: 303; Simon 1957: 32 dates it to 43/42 BC. See also Courtney 2003: 300-3 and Byrne 2004, on the little we know and have of Domitius Marsus.

[80] According to Courtney 2003: 304f: "The poem looks much more like a literary exercise than a document in a propaganda war" (304). But why should the literary quality and the propaganda war exclude each other. Byrne 2004: 255 makes it seem likely that the allegedly patronship by Maecenas mentioned in Martial (8.55[56].21-24; 7.29.7-8) is a construction of the Neronian age. Maecenas is the ideal patron, but there is nowhere else in the evidence anything that suggests an active relationship between Domitius Marsus and Maecenas (261).

A second epigram, the *Epigr.Bob*.40, is a funerary epigram to Atia, who died in 43 BC, but even this cannot show with any certainty that the epigrams are early. Gurval stresses that the story would be unlikely in the 40s BC, because of the precarious political position of Octavian and because his reputation derived from Caesar, not Atia.[81] But if Octavian wanted to create a birth story like Alexander the Great, it could not have been done without his mother.

The epigrams seem to show that Domitius Marsus was involved in the struggle over divinities in the triumviral period.[82] This fits very well within the context of the struggle for divine relationship between Sextus Pompeius, Antonius and Octavian. Of course this does not date the epigrams. But if the information given by Quintilian (*Inst*.3.1.18) about a letter from Apollodorus, the tutor of Octavian in Apollonia, to Domitius Marsus is to be used at all, it points to an early connection between Domitius Marsus and Octavian, but this is hardly conclusive.[83]

Legend and calumny: the feast of the 12 gods

At a banquet of 12 gods, mentioned by Suetonius (*Aug*.70.1-2), Romans impiously dressed up and imitated gods, Octavian himself playing the part of Apollo (The Torturer), not Jupiter. This might be the best attestation of an early relationship. Suetonius attributes the story to a letter of Antonius, but why did he choose to mention Octavian together with Apollo? [84] It is likely that there was already a connection

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[81] Gurval 1995: 101f.
[82] Byrne 2004: 258 on pro-Octavian propaganda.
[83] Byrne 2004: 259, suggesting that Domitius Marsus was together with Apollodorus and Octavian in Apollonia.
[84] On Suetonius, see Carter 1982: 191-192. On this propaganda of Antonius, see Charlesworth 1933: 175; Hekster and Rich 2006: 161. Gurval 1995: 97 sees the story as an answer of Antonius to the

between Octavian and Apollo at this point. The letter of Antonius would no doubt have had its biggest effect as a contemporary piece of propaganda, during the famine of between 39 and 37 BC.[85] If the chronology is correct it seems even more odd that Antonius would make a connection between Apollo and Octavian, because of the 4th *Eclogue*. This would give Octavian the chance to use Apollo positively.

Summing up

Returning briefly to the child of the 4th *Eclogue*; one possibility is that Octavian himself was the child, although this would be strange because of the date (40 BC). This goes back to Servius' comments on the 4th *Eclogue* (4.10), cited above.[86]

At the time of creation there was no connection between Octavian and the child. But the longing for peace (4.17) and the ending of the civil wars (4.13f) are vital for an understanding of a period of civil war. Virgil is certainly implying that the child is born in the reign of Apollo; the central part of the poem (lines 4-10) begins and ends with Apollo.[87] The 4th *Eclogue* is very close to the later Augustan ideology. Thus, to conclude, as Gurval does on the 4th *Eclogue*, that the story was nothing to do with Octavian, is too simple.[88] The story does not tell why Octavian picked Apollo as his patron god, but gives a possible setting for understanding why and at the same time understanding the 'Augustan' ideology in context.

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allegations of Octavian. See also Scott 1933: 32. According to Gurval 1995: 94-8 it is a problem that only Suetonius mentions this banquet, that it was a private affair and that there was no outrage in Rome. Charlesworth 1933: 175; Pollini 1990: 345 believe the story to be fictitious.
[85] App.*B.C.*5.77. See Taylor 1931: 119; Hekster and Rich, 2006: 161. For a pro-Octavian story on a banquet with Marcus Antonius as participant, see Vell.2.83.2.
[86] Marincic 2002: 152 balances the identification of Octavian as saviour in Virgil *Eclogue* 1 against the mentioning of Pollio, and concludes that the case against Octavian is strong.
[87] On the Sibyl, see Potter 1994: 58-97.
[88] Gurval 1995: 107-10.

It is thus very likely that Octavian already before 36 BC had picked Apollo as his patron god. Especially the rivalries with Sextus Pompeius and Antonius seem a logical context for this decision. Octavian then did one better with Apollo: Both of his fathers were gods. This was a vital part of the politics of the day.

2.5: Sextus Pompeius and the accomplishment of the triumviral assignment

As mentioned the veterans of the triumvirs were settled in Italy in 41-40 BC, and again in 36 BC.[89] The triumviral assignment it would seem was coming to an end after Philippi. This changed in July 36 BC, when a military campaign was launched against Sextus Pompeius. On the 3rd September 36 BC (EJ, p.51) Octavian with Agrippa as the admiral in chief (App.*B.C.*5.96; Livy *Per*.129) attacked Sextus Pompeius and decisively defeated him at Naulochus, a few miles east of Mylae. Agrippa was rewarded with the *corona navalis* for his role.[90] After the battle Lepidus was ousted and a mutiny quelled; the triumvirate was down to two men, as Lepidus was stripped of his triumviral *potestas*, divided now between the two remaining triumvirs (App.*B.C.*5.1).[91] At Artemisium, close to Mylae, there was an old temple to Artemis Phacelitis (Dio 49.8.1).[92] This is most likely shown on a coin with Diana on the obverse and a temple enclosing a military trophy on a naval base; in the pediment stands a *triskeles*, the emblem of Sicily.[93]

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[89] Brunt and Moore 1967: 42; Keppie 1984: 126.
[90] Vell.2.81.3; Virgil *Aen*.8.683-4; Dio 49.14.3; Livy *Per*.129, Sen.*Ben*.3.32.4. According to Pliny *N.H.*16.7 Varro was the first to receive this honour.
[91] Rice Holmes 1928: 117, n 3; Pelling 1996: 36; Hekster and Rich 2006: 150.
[92] See Hekster and Rich 2006: 154.
[93] On Diana, see *RIC* 1² 172-3; 181-3; 194-97; 204. See also Taylor 1931: 131-32; Trillmich 1988: 507-5-8; Hekster and Rich 2006: 154f. For the date of this coin, see chapter 6. The coin might not be from 36 BC, but close to Actium. Later, in 15-10 BC, coins from Lugdunum celebrated the naval victory of Naulochus with Diana the Huntress and underneath the legend 'SICIL' (see chapter 7).

Octavian returned to Rome on the 13th November, entering the city in *ovatio* (App.*B.C.*5.130; Dio 49.15-16). This was an appropriate honour after a slave war; the slave wars of 132, 99 and 71 BC all provided the victor with an *ovatio*.[94] He entered on horseback not on foot in the traditional manner (EJ 34; *RG* 4.1; Suet.*Aug.*22).[95] Importantly, as later after Actium and Alexandria (see chapter 6), Octavian accepted the honour of declaring the day of the victory (3rd September) *feriae* (EJ, p.51). He was voted other honours as well: he was given a house paid from public funds (Dio 49.15.5).[96] Dio 49.15.1-3 mentions an arch and then goes on to state that Octavian declined some of these honours. Appian *B.C.*5.130 lists the honours but does not mention the arch, mentioned by Dio. Dio may be trusted on the decrees of the Senate, not on the implementations. To identify the arch on *RIC*² 267 with Naulochus seems unlikely (see chapter 7).[97]

The tribunician powers were not given to Octavian for life as stated by Appian (*B.C.*5.132), but Octavian received the *sacrosanctitas* of the tribune and the right to sit on the tribune's benches (Dio 49.15.5-6).[98] Appian connects this honour with Octavian's promise to restore powers to the *res publica*. As already mentioned the triumvirs did on different occasions speak of laying down the triumviral powers. According to Palmer Octavian recognised the unpopularity of the triumvirate and thus wanted to exchange the triumvirate with the powers of the tribune for life. In the end this did not happen because the triumvirs did not resign (App.*B.C.*5.130).[99] But the

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[94] Mommsen 1992: 78 states that the description of the war as a slave war was not entirely inaccurate. See also Sumi 2005: 31; Hekster and Rich 2006: 150.
[95] Palmer 1978: 320; Hekster and Rich 2006: 150.
[96] See Kienast 1999: 55f for an overview of all the honours.
[97] *RIC* 1² 267. See Rich 1998: 106. Against this and suggesting Naulochus as more likely see Gurval 1995: 40-41 and 47-64. He focuses on the portraiture of Augustus more than the historical context as Rich.
[98] See Pelling 1996: 68-69.
[99] Palmer 1978: 322f.

unpopularity of the triumvirate may have less to do with this after all: peace had returned and in the ideology of Octavian the civil wars were ended. He had in fact accomplished the triumviral assignment and thus 'had' to give the powers back to the *res publica*. The promise was to do this after Antonius returned from his Parthian campaign (App.*B.C.*5.132).[100] In the end it did not happen as Antonius did not want to come to Rome and lay down his powers (See chapter 3). Antonius would of course have disagreed with this presentation of what happened.

Octavian was presented with a column in the *Forum Romanum* with prows, a golden statue of himself and an inscription: "Peace, long disrupted by civil discord, he restored on land and sea" (App.*B.C.*5.130: *estasiamenen*, from *stasiazo*, to be in *stasis*, i.e. a state of factional dispute or civil war).[101] The first time the slogan "*pace parta terra marique*" is mentioned in surviving Latin texts is the inscription of the Victory Monument at Actium (see chapter 5). But in the ideology of the young triumvir Naulochus, prematurely as later became apparent, was the symbol of the ending of the civil wars (App.*B.C.*5.130. See also Suet.*Aug.*16.1).[102] Dio mentions a symbolic gesture; the soldier who announced the victory at Rome placed his sword at the feet of Jupiter because there would be no further use for it (49.15.2). Dio also mentions that after the death of Sextus Pompeius Antonius was given the honour to dine at the temple of *Concordia* with his wife and children (49.18.6), similar to the honour bestowed on Octavian in 36 BC after Naulochus, but in the temple of Jupiter

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[100] Palmer 1978: 322f.

[101] Translated by Carter 1996. This does of course not mean that the translation is close to the Latin original, but it may indeed have used both 'peace' and 'civil war'. For *pax* and 36 BC, see Weinstock 1960: 44-50.

[102] See Wallmann 1989: 268-274. According to Dettenhofer 2000: 38 this is at least partly the civil war mentioned in *RG* 34.1. This cannot be, as the date is wrong. See chapter 7.

on the Capitol. The temple of Jupiter points to the victory itself, the temple of *Concordia* stresses that this was an internal strife, a civil war.[103]

In *RG* 2 the murderers of Caesar make war on the *res publica* (*bellum inferentis rei publicae*) and are defeated in battle; in *RG* 25.1 the slaves handed back to the masters similarly had made war on the *res publica* (*arma contra rem publicam*). These are the only two instances in the *RG* where the justification of the war is the taking up arms against the *res publica*. The context and the use of *res publica* seem to suggest a civil war, as mentioned in *RG* 3.1 and 34.1. The victory over Sextus Pompeius constitutes the accomplishment of the triumviral assignment according to Octavian/Augustus. Later civil war broke out again and thus the final accomplishment of the triumviral task was not Naulochus but Actium (see chapter 7).

According to the propaganda of the triumvirs Sextus Pompeius did not just use slaves, he was also a pirate. Syme states that "In reality an adventurer, Pompeius could easily be represented as a pirate".[104] The 9th *Epode* of Horace sums up the 'Augustan' take on the war:

> *Ut nuper, actus cum freto Neptunius*
>
> *dux fugit ustis navibus,*
>
> *minatus urbi vincla, quae detraxerat*
>
> *servis amicus perfidis?*

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[103] Rosenstein 2007: 232 stresses that *Concordia* rather than peace is used for civil war. See also chapter 3 in this thesis.
[104] Syme 1939: 228; Osgood 2006: 203. See *RG* 25.1; Horace *Ep*.4.17-20; 9.7-10; Vell.2.73.3; App.*B.C*.5.541; Flor.2.18.1-2; Virgil *Aen*.6.612f; Serv.*Verg.Aen*.6.612.

("That's what we did, not long ago, when the ships of Neptune's general were burnt, and he fled, driven from the sea – the man who had threatened to fasten on the city the chains he had removed from the treasonous slaves whom he had befriended") (translated by Rudd 2004).[105]

Augustus used the image of Pompeius Magnus in his propaganda, although the adversary of his father.[106] Sextus Pompeius was destroying this idea, but of course it must also be remembered that Pompeius Magnus famously defeated the pirates.[107] This is indeed '*damnatio memoriae*'; Augustus tried to destroy the status and honour of Sextus Pompeius (see chapter 6). Looking at *RG* 25.1, Augustus stressed:

> *Mare pacavi a praedonibus. Eo bello servorum qui fugerant a dominis suis et arma contra rem publicam ceperant triginta fere millia capta dominis as supplicium sumendum tradidi.*
>
> ("I made the sea peaceful and freed it of pirates. In the war I captured about 30,000 slaves who had escaped from their masters and taken up arms against the republic, and I handed them over to their masters for punishment" (translated by Brunt and Moore 1967).[108]

The label piracy does, as mentioned, not seem unfitting for Sextus Pompeius. As for the question of slaves, there is no doubt that the ideology of Augustus did stress a specific and negative picture of his opponent. Ridley and Welch stress that Octavian

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[105] Watson 2002: 226f, comments that Sextus Pompeius is dismissed "by a process of revisionist falsification, as of no military account" (See also 219).
[106] See *RG* 20.1. Pompeius was in fact not stressed as a negative figure in the Augustan sources. See Horace *Odes* 2.7 and Henderson 1998: 154; 2001: 139-140 on the rehabilitation of Pompeius during the reign of Augustus.
[107] Seager 2002: 40-49.
[108] For an overview regarding Sextus Pompeius and pirates and slaves, see Ridley 2003: 183-187.

did what Sextus Pompeius did and used slaves (Dio 48.19.4), as is in fact mentioned in ancient testimony (Dio 47.17.4; 48.49.1; Suet.*Aug*.16.1 on the use of slaves in the navy).[109] There are two points to be made, looking at the ideology of Octavian: the fact that the triumvirs used slaves does not change the fact that so did Sextus Pompeius. Secondly, the slaves of Sextus Pompeius were escapees, whereas the slaves of Octavian were not.

De Souza rightly observes that the pact of Misenum seems to have given the slaves fighting for Sextus Pompeius their freedom (App.*B.C.*5.72; Dio 48.36), but as mentioned above Sextus Pompeius does not seem to have kept his side of the deal. Perhaps the slaves were promised their freedom, but there was no need for Octavian to accept this after his victory.[110] The fact that the triumvirs did not acknowledge their freedom seems a slightly naïve way of criticising Octavian.

Regarding piracy, the raids on Italy and the blockade of grain to Rome does seem to make Syme's conclusion valid (using Dio 48.46.1). Appian (*B.C.*5.77-78; 80) suggests that the claim of piracy is suspicious, but he does in fact mention the raids of Sextus Pompeius on Italy (*B.C.*5.77). The official ideology of the regime of Octavian/Augustus does seem to have justification in real actions.

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[109] Ridley 2003: 183-187 on *RG* 25 in the chapter 'Lies'. Welch 2002: 42f. Powell and Welch 2002 makes a positive re-evaluation of Sextus Pompeius. Welch 2002: 54 talks about the perverted (by Octavian) history of Sextus. Against Syme and pirates Powell 2002: 118, stressing that the Romans did not think of him as a pirate. It is difficult to see how this necessarily makes him less of a pirate. See also Stone 2002: 135 on the hostile propaganda of Octavian and slaves. Gowing 2002: 200 stresses that Octavian did stress the negative things, like slaves, pirates and his identification with Neptune. That Neptune, later vital for Octavian at Actium is negative seems absurd (see chapter 6); that the identification is negative is also odd, Octavian had Apollo as his patron god.
[110] Regarding the promise, see De Souza 1999: 189.

It seems that even if the picture of Sextus Pompeius is distorted, the fact remains: he could be described as a pirate and he did use slaves. De Souza concludes that the piracy theory derives from the propaganda of Octavian; piratical methods were used according to him, but the label 'pirate war' is unjust, but when are 'piratical methods' piracy?[111] No wonder Octavian used the label in the war of words.

Sextus Pompeius 'made a mistake' by having Sicily as his base; this was too good for Octavian not to use, as Sicily was associated with slave rebellion.[112] Therefore, Augustus mentions for the second time in *RG* 27.3 that he recovered Sicily and Sardinia *occupatas bello servili*. *RG* 25 is the justification of the war, but Augustus also wanted to stress that he recovered Roman land. Lucan (6.422) stresses that Sextus Pompeius was a pirate, unworthy of his father. And even Livy, the alleged Pompeian, represents Sextus Pompeius in the same way as all other Augustan sources (*Per*.128).

According to Octavian the victory over Sextus Pompeius symbolised the ending of the civil war and thus the accomplishment of the triumviral assignment. On an ideological level Sextus Pompeius was dismissed as a pirate who used slaves. What was left was for Antonius to accomplish his assignment and end the war against Parthia. The honours given to Octavian in Rome in 36 BC can be seen as predecessors to the honours after the victories at Actium and Alexandria (see chapter 6/7).

2.6: Conclusion

Even though one objective of the *RG* and the ideology of the regime in general was to provide Augustus with justification of the period from the death of Caesar down to the

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[111] De Souza 1999: 191.
[112] Bradley 1989: chapters 3-4.

end of the 'triumviral' period in 27 BC, Augustus does accept that he sometimes did things contrary to the *mos maiorum*, but then, at least in the official ideology, always for the greater good of the *res publica*. He even used military might instead of politics, but only when the state was under threat for tyranny or slaves.

The triumvirate was an assignment with the task to end the civil wars and constitute the *res publica*. The powers of the triumvirs are notoriously difficult to establish, but it is vital to accept a difference between the *Lex Titia* and 'Realpolitik'. It will be shown in chapter 7 that the triumvirate contained what could be described as all the powers in the Roman state. Turning to the assignment: at the first instance Antonius and Octavian defeated the murderers of Caesar at Philippi. Later new assignments were added to the triumviral task (Sextus Pompeius and Parthia) and in 36 BC Octavian and his admiral Agrippa won against Sextus Pompeius at Naulochus, thus accomplishing the assignment of the triumvirate, ending the civil war. One result of Naulochus and Lepidus' dismissal from the triumvirate was the creation of a situation where the Roman Empire was divided into two parts: East versus west.

The ending of the civil war was vital for the triumvirate, as it was vital for all combatants in the civil wars; the wish for peace was of course a wish for victory. The triumvirate is a symbol of the civil wars, but also of the ending of civil strife; this was a necessary evil it might have seemed.[113] The period from the death of Caesar is extremely violent and is a battle for supremacy of the Roman state. But in 36 BC Octavian may not have thought there would be another civil war, or at least did think the ending of it was a wise ideological step to take at the time. The final war against

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[113] See Barton 2007 on the price of peace, the Romans accepting submission under the *Pax Augusta* (252). But for Augustus and no doubt some Romans as well this was about saving the *res publica*.

Antonius for the supremacy was perhaps not as yet conceived. It seems vital to stress its non-inevitability and at the same time that the tasks currently at hand realistically could be done in five years. This was not the case and thus five more years were necessary; the triumvirate was thus formally renewed on the pretext that this was needed (the renewal in 37 BC). Importantly, these tasks were in fact agreed at Brundisium (App.*B.C.*5.65).

In 36 BC after the lightning struck on the Palatine near the house of Octavian, Apollo became the patron god of Octavian. His role in the victories of Octavian was set, even though he had no role in the victory over Sextus Pompeius; the role was filled by his sister Diana, who had a temple near the battle site. The role of Apollo prior to 36 BC is far more problematic, but taken together the sources point to an early connection, perhaps going back to Octavian's stay at Apollonia when Caesar was murdered.

The *RG* is a piece of ideology and thus Sextus Pompeius is treated as a pirate and slaves are given a prominent role, but the story is not a lie, even though Augustus might have painted a specific picture of the war. *RG* 25.1 mentions that the slaves were given back to their masters. This is a question of normality. Furthermore, Octavian decided to burn old records of debts (App.*B.C.*5.130; Dio 49.15.3; Oris.6.20.6-7) and burned documents relating to the conflict (App.*B.C.*5.132). He did something similar after Actium (see chapter 6), after the civil war had erupted once again. He thought and made it appear as if he had accomplished the triumvirate. It was time to wait for Antonius to accomplish his part (see chapter 3). In conclusion, all the themes of this thesis, which it will be shown were so vital at the time of Actium, are already visible at this early stage of his career.

Chapter 3: Approach to War

This chapter will focus on the way Octavian/Augustus represented the war against Antonius and Cleopatra, looking at the approach to war 36-32 BC, the breakdown of the relationship between the two triumvirs and the status of Octavian after the ending of the triumviral period. There is more to be gained, new insight, by looking at the chronology of the period in detail.

The focus will especially be on how each protagonist sought (or may have sought) to put himself in the right. This is relevant because the triumvirate is a vital part of this justification, as the completion of the triumviral assignment lay at the heart of this dispute. *RG* 25 mentions an oath taken by Italy and the western provinces, which is part of the justification and legitimisation of war. The triumvirs, it will be shown, were constrained by their assignment, at least in the ideological struggle of the period.

It will be suggested that the war was represented as a foreign war; Octavian successfully avoided starting a civil war, but he did not, as so often proposed by modern scholars, dispute that this was also a civil war. Looking at the chronology and the context of events from 36-32 BC and a catalogue of sources mentioning Actium, it will be shown that even if there was an official stress on Cleopatra as the formal enemy, this did not conceal that Actium was at the same time a civil war.

3.1: The breakdown of a 'friendship'

As mentioned in chapter 2, in accordance with the agreement reached at Tarentum, Antonius provided Octavian with ships to fight the war against Sextus Pompeius and

later Octavian was to provide 20,000 soldiers to Antonius' campaign against Parthia.[1] The triumvirate was formally renewed on the pretext that a second five-year term was needed in order to deal with Sextus Pompeius and Parthia. This followed from the triumviral assignment and the tasks should be discharged by respectively Octavian and Antonius, but with each co-operating and with an exchange of forces. This goes beyond what the sources say, but it is plausible to suppose that these were the grounds given for the renewal - a justification was surely presented. Importantly, these tasks were in fact agreed at Brundisium (App.*B.C*.5.65; 5.132 about restoration of order in Italy and Octavian's promise to surrender his powers when Antonius returned from Parthia, as the civil war was over).

In 36 BC Antonius' campaign began when after dynastic problems in Parthia he offered peace, if the captured Roman standards and prisoners were returned; in fact he wanted to invade (Plut.*Ant*.37.1; Dio 49.25.1).[2] This was of course what finally happened under Augustus in 20 BC, a settlement that saw the standards and captives returned, even though there was no military victory, only a diplomatic accord. The standards sought were those lost by Crassus in 53 BC at Carrhae and in 40 BC by L. Decidius Saxa.[3]

By 37/36 BC Antonius had also resumed his affair with Cleopatra.[4] This implied a threat to his relationship with Octavian. A breakdown was always likely from this point onwards, but never inevitable. Livy *Per*.130 stresses that *M. Antonius dum cum*

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[1] Plut.*Ant*.35; App.*B.C*.5.95ff; Dio 48.54. See Rice Holmes 1928: 112; Pelling 1988: 213-216; Kienast 1999: 52f.
[2] See Rice Holmes 1928: 123-12; Syme 1939: 259-275 for a description of Antonius and the east.
[3] *RG* 29.2.
[4] Osgood 2006: 244f, 305. The affair goes back to 41-40 (Plut.*Ant*.28-29; App.*B.C*.5.11). See Pelling 1996: 12.

Cleopatra luxuriatur tarde Mediam ingressus bellum ("While M. Antonius was revelling with Cleopatra, he at long last (*belatedly*) invaded Media").[5] Livy here reproduces criticism that Antonius delayed invasion because of Cleopatra, while Plut.*Ant*.37-38 suggests he hurried home for her sake.[6] According to Plutarch Cleopatra was there but not part of the campaign (i.e. as client ruler) (*Ant*.37.3). The Cleopatra factor was already the key. In the end Antonius lost the campaign and 20,000 Roman legionaries and 4,000 horsemen (Plut.*Ant*.50). The promised 20,000 men from the meeting at Tarentum were more vital than ever.

Ober rightly points out how different the course of subsequent events might have been had Antonius not suffered defeat against Parthia. Had he brought back the standards and forced a submission of the Parthian king, it would have enhanced his prestige considerably and countered the victories of Octavian and Agrippa.[7] His army would also have been stronger, both psychologically and in relation to sheer numbers. He would certainly have been less dependent on Cleopatra and thus a conflict between the two triumvirs would have been less likely, at least on that account. It might also have forced the two to agree in the short term, as they would have been equally strong.

In 35 BC Antonius' wife Octavia was sent to Athens by her brother Octavian, bringing, it appears, not the promised 20,000 men, but only 2,000. Antonius sent her home, where she stayed in his house and even took care of his children with Fulvia

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[5] Translated by Schlesinger 1967. It seems more appropriate to translate *dum* with belatedly.
[6] For a criticism of the information in Livy, deriving perhaps from Dellius, see Pelling 1988: 224; 1996: 32. According to him the preliminary marches and the preparatory campaigns meant Antonius attacked remarkably early (in or before July). On the information that Antonius wanted to spend the winter with Cleopatra, not in Armenia, Pelling suggests this to be wrong, as it would only have been possible if the campaign would have been delayed altogether.
[7] Ober 2001: 42-43. Scott 1933: 35 suggests that "From 36 to 32 the storm of civil war was brewing". This might be so, but it is important to remember that this development was not inevitable. See below.

(Plut.*Ant*.53-54.1; Dio 49.33.3f).[8] Cleopatra had been preferred, something that must have enraged Octavian, even though it gave him political opportunities against Antonius (*Ant*.53.1).[9]

According to most scholars there is a clear connection between the treaty of Tarentum and the 2,000 soldiers sent to Antonius in 35 BC. This shows that Octavian was in the wrong, as the number should have been 20,000 (Plut.*Ant*.35).[10] But we cannot be sure that the 2,000 was "payment" for the ships against Sextus Pompeius, if they were first instalment or indeed something extra because of the situation. After the trip to Athens by Octavia Antonius and Octavian fell out and in the end the 20,000 never appeared.

Octavia had a role to play at Tarentum and again in 35 BC, but that does not show that the two are linked. Looking at the sources a different picture emerges. Plutarch does not stress the 2,000 soldiers, but the likely disrespect for Octavia, which Octavian would use as an excuse for declaring war (Plut.*Ant*.53-54.1).[11] Dio is briefer, but the soldiers were sent to Antonius because Octavia begged for this to happen (49.33.3f).[12] Appian stresses cavalry (*B.C*.5.138), but vitally, all three sources observe that Octavia suggested this. Furthermore, this was not part of Antonius' criticism of Octavian in 32 BC and he did accept the troops in 35 BC according to Dio.

During this period Octavian launched his Illyrian campaign. Although the coastal strip was already a province it was an area of unrest and contrary to that of Antonius, the

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[8] See Rice Holmes 1928: 130; Scott 1933: 36f; Syme 1939: 265; Kienast 1999: 60; Osgood 2006: 243.
[9] Kromayer 1898: 21-22; Pelling 1996: 26 on the context and 39 on the divorce.
[10] Rice Holmes 1928: 130; Syme 1939: 225; Pelling 1988: 215-216; 245; 1996: 39; Bleicken 1998: 256-262; Eck 1998: 30. Against this, see Mommsen 1992: 81; Kromayer 1898: 15; Tarn and Charlesworth 1934: 77. They do not connect the two incidents and instead stress that Octavian tried to get back on good terms with Antonius.
[11] For Plutarch, see Pelling 1988: 243-248.
[12] For Dio, see Reinhold 1988: 65f.

campaign of 35-33 BC brought victory, also to the hinterland.[13] After the victory over Sextus Pompeius in 36 BC Octavian once more tasted military glory. Antonius answered back by conquering Armenia, perhaps to stabilise what he had lost during the Parthian campaign.[14] In 34 BC he celebrated a 'triumph' in Alexandria, something impossible outside Rome (Livy *Per*.131; Vell.2.82.3; Jos.*Ant.Iud*.15.4.3; *Bell.Iud*.1.18.5; Plut.*Ant*.50.2; Tac.*Ann*.2.3; Dio 49.39-40; Oros.6.19.3).[15] This was taken to show that the story about Antonius transferring the city of Rome to Cleopatra and the seat of government to Alexandria might indeed be truth (Dio 50.4.1).

In 34 BC the conflict changed from dispute to open rift. Dio and Plutarch's accounts of the breakdown pass rapidly from the donations of 34 BC to the final break in 32 BC; they summarize the growing tensions of 33 BC in brief (50.1.1-2.1; *Ant*.55). On the 1st January 32 BC Octavian verbally attacked Antonius because he made donations of land to Cleopatra (see below). These donations were actually made at the 'triumph' of 34 BC. Antonius had in a despatch to the Senate sought ratification of his *acta*, including the donations, and offered to give up power. This arrived in early 32 BC but was never presented (Dio 49.41.4-6; see below section 3). He had given Cleopatra the title 'Queen of Kings' and Caesarion, the child of Caesar, the title 'King of Kings', at the same time accepting the young boy as the son of Caesar (Plut.*Ant*.54-55; Dio

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[13] See Rice Holmes 1928: 130-131; Syme 1939: 239f on the campaign and stressing that Octavian needed to show that he was the peer of Antonius in military matters.

[14] So Kienast 1999: 59. Slightly surprising Antonius minted coins 34 BC, celebrating the conquest of Armenia, depicting both him and Cleopatra. Foreign powers are not normally part of Roman triumphal celebrations. See *RRC* 543.

[15] Fadinger 1969: 150-153; Woodman 1983: 211-212; Kienast 1999: 61. According to Osgood 2006: 338f much of this is simply made up (the triumph and the giving away of land), but he misses the context of the 'triumph', i.e. the campaign against Parthia. This is very much in line with the information later found in the will of Antonius. Woodman 1983: 213f and Pelling 1996: 40; 1988: 241 suggest that the 'triumph' in Alexandria was in fact a Dionysiac procession. This of course could also be used by Octavian (see chapter 2).

49.39.2-41; 50.1; 2.1; 3.3).[16] The so-called Alexandrian donations even involved Roman land; Antonius had just made Armenia into a Roman province, but it also involved more established Roman territory, e.g. parts of Syria.[17] This must be seen in the light of a renewed war against Parthia, but had a negative impact in Rome.[18] The peace looked fragile, but it was not enough to result in war.

But already in 33 BC the crisis between the two triumvirs was worsening. Agrippa was aedile, which had huge political importance, as he gave games and initiated a building programme, built aqueducts etc, all of which strengthened the support for Octavian in Rome. This was all very different in respect of scale and the status of Agrippa.[19] The political importance is shown by the fact that Agrippa had been a praetor in 40 BC and consul in 37 BC. For someone of his eminence to assume the aedileship was unusual and probably prompted by the coming war.

Dio 50.1 sums up the propaganda struggle in 33 BC (see also Plut.*Ant*.54ff), with Antonius charging Octavian with having removed Lepidus, and having taken possession of land and troops of Sextus Pompeius (Antonius wanted half); Caesar on the other hand charged Antonius with holding land that was not his, including Egypt, with having killed Sextus Pompeius, whom Octavian was willing to spare (Dio rightly disbelieves this), and with misbehaving towards Armenia. But pride of place in the

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[16] Kromayer 1898: 37ff; Rice Holmes 1928: 137; Kienast 1999: 62-63. Fadinger 1969: 125 and 150-189 stresses that the speech belongs to 32 BC, but the donations and the will need to be separated. The donations belong to the 'triumph' of 34 BC, as is clear from Dio 49.41; Plut.*Ant*.54.

[17] See Pelling 1996: 40 and Reinhold 2002: 57f on the gifts to the children of Cleopatra. Cleopatra is also given the title 'Queen of Kings' and Ptolemy Caesar, her son, the 'King of Kings. See *RRC* 543 and Kleiner 2005: 25. She fails to mention that the titles are Persian and the context was the war against Parthia. For the reorganisation in the east from Pompeius to Augustus, see Dio 49.41.1-4; Plut.*Ant*.54.3-5. See also Bowersock 1965: 42-61.

[18] Kienast 1999: 61.

[19] See Sumi 2005: 208f.

charge sheet went to the gifts for Cleopatra and her children and the naming of the little boy Caesarion (50.1.3-5).

3.2: The end of the triumvirate

At Misenum in 39 BC Antonius and Octavian designated the consuls up to 31 BC, naming themselves for 31 BC (App.*B.C*.5.73; Dio 48.35). Appian adds that they hoped then to restore the '*politeia*'. They perhaps envisaged that by then they would have accomplished the triumviral assignment and could restore their powers to the people.[20] What is important is that the winner of the war approaching at the end of the 30s BC would have had to address this question.

Importantly, Octavian did not use the title triumvir after 33 BC, whereas Antonius still did.[21] A coin from the summer 31 BC bears the legend 'M ANTONIVS AVG IMP III COS TERT III VIR R P C', with Victoria on the reverse (*RRC* 545/1). Perhaps Octavian did not want to be seen as a colleague of Antonius. After the will of Antonius was read out he was stripped of the triumviral *potestas* (Dio 50.4.3) (see below). If he made war on Octavian he would make war on the *res publica* as a *privatus*. The coin shows that Antonius had a different view on this. The alternative version is that Octavian felt constrained by the terminal date and tried to counter the illegitimacy of Antonius' keeping of the title of triumvir. In reality there was little difference, as both 'triumvirs' still had their triumviral powers.

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[20] Wilcken (1925/1969): 42 stressing the restoration. Fadinger 1969: 108 on the other hand stresses that they might not have planed for a second five-year term in 39 BC.
[21] Kromayer 1888: 11; Reinhold 1988: 93; Kearsley 1999: 53. If Dio 50.7.1-2 is to be trusted he suggests that Antonius thought of himself as triumvir in 31 BC, as he told his troops in the speech before the battle (fictitious) that he would give back these powers after the victory. See Reinhold 1988: 98f.

According to Mommsen the renewed triumvirate was extended to the end of 33 BC, but it did not expire until given up by its holders and in the end this was done by Octavian on the 13 January 27 BC.[22] Kromayer challenged this 'abdication' theory as early as 1888; in his view, the triumvirate did lapse in 33 BC, and Octavian's actions in 32 BC constituted a coup d'état.[23] But none of the ancient sources claim that the powers of the triumvirs had lapsed at this point. The time of the triumvirate was up, the five-year period had ended, but they had to decide when and how this would happen in reality (Dio 49.41.6; Livy *Per*.132). The fact that Octavian did not use the title anymore should not be confused with the idea that they had lost the triumviral powers. Slightly different from Mommsen, Fadinger suggests that Octavian was not a triumvir in 32 BC, but still in possession of the triumviral *potestas*. This is most likely true, as this is supported by ancient evidence. In chapter 7 below it will be shown that what was given back in 27 BC was the triumviral *potestas*, as observed by Mommsen/Fadinger.[24]

Appian *Illyr*.28 states that the second five-year period was to end 31 December 32 BC.[25] According to Dio 49.41.6 Antonius suggested that both triumvirs laid down

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[22] Mommsen 1887b: 702-742, especially 718-719. This idea has found support, see Girardet 1990a: 324, n 4 on the German scholarship. See also Brunt and Moore 1967: 48-49; Rich 1992: 114; Pelling 1996: 27, 67.

[23] Kromayer 1888: 2-21, stating that the triumvirate did lapse in 32 BC (9) and thus the actions of Octavian in 32 BC equal a 'Staatsstreich' (15) and it was not the triumviral powers which were given back in 27 BC (11f). See also Kromayer 1898: 40; Syme 1939: 225, 270-1; Gray 1975: 15; Bringmann 1988: 38; Bleicken 1990: 68; Sumi 2005: 212. Girardet 1995: 149 also dismisses Mommsen, but does not see a 'Staatsstreich' in 32 BC. Fadinger 1969: 214-222, close to Mommsen.

[24] Fadinger 1969, especially 143-145.

[25] See also Livy *Per*.132; Dio 50.4.3, *CIL* 5.525= EJ 57 and Tac.*Ann*.1.2.1, but these sources cannot for certain solve the matter. See Benario 1975 and Reinhold 1988: 224-225 listing the scholars in favour of the lapsing of the triumvirate in 33 or 32 BC. Petzold 1969: 339 rightly asks why the triumvirs should obey the terminal date. Appian has been dismissed because of his chronological unreliability by Fadinger 1969: 108f, see page 84-136 for all sources. This is supported by Kromayer 1888: 2-9; Syme 1939: 277, n 6; Benario 1975, especially 305; Bleicken 1990: 14-16; Girardet 1990a and 1995; Kearsley 1999: 53; Pelling 1996: 67; Osgood 2006: 243 with scholarship. The main scholar suggesting 32 BC is Gabba 1970: lxviii-lxxix (see Reinhold 1988: 224). The inscriptions and papyri used in

their powers and a despatch was sent to Sosius and Ahenobarbus at the end of 33 BC, including a letter to the Senate that he would, given the right circumstances, give up his triumviral powers.[26] But Livy *Per*.132 stresses that Antonius was unwilling to return to Rome and lay down his powers. This comment by Livy only makes sense if Octavian suggested Antonius should return to Rome so that they could lay down the triumviral powers.

What we have here is a very complex process of diplomacy it would seem; claims and counterclaims were part of this, even though a lot is in the dark for us today. This can therefore only be a reconstruction. Antonius, as mentioned above, suggested they lay down the powers in a despatch of 33 BC, counted by Octavian in 32 BC, suggesting the same, but as claimed by Livy, Antonius refused. Crevier fittingly describes this as follows: "Octavius took very artful measures".[27]

Most likely each of these claims had conditions attached, conditions unacceptable for the opponent. In 33 BC Antonius seems to have linked this to a demand for ratification of his *acta*, including the so-called Alexandrian donations. The demand most obviously would have been connected to a claim that the triumviral assignment had been completed. Antonius had conquered Armenia (not Parthia) and the donations represented a reorganisation of the east (34 BC). Octavian had seen off Sextus Pompeius and ended the civil war. Dio and Livy seem to represent the case of each triumvir and thus we are in the unique position to evaluate the war of ideology, knowing how each protagonist presented his case.

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support of 32 BC cannot affect the issue, see Girardet 1995: 158ff. *ILS* 77 from Trieste could as well date from 2nd January 33 on.
[26] Gray 1975: 17-18, Fadinger 1969: 197-198; Reinhold 1988: 77.
[27] Crevier 1754: 16.

The best approach to the period in general, looking at ideology, is thus to stress the question of justification. There are two main sources regarding the question of the end date of the triumvirate, Appian (*Illyr*.28) as mentioned and Augustus himself (*RG* 7.1). It might be suggested that that two uninterrupted periods, as in the *RG*, would pass over any complications, but in fact it would only make the year 32 BC problematic, as Octavian was in principle a *privatus*. But trying to explain the ideology of the Princeps the *RG* mentions that Octavian was triumvir for ten continuous years: *triumvir per continuos annos decem* (7.1). Augustus was in his own words not triumvir in 32 BC.[28]

It is most likely that the terminal date for the triumvirate was the end of 33 BC, but the triumvirs retained their powers after that date. That the triumvirs at various points did speak of laying down the triumviral powers (App.*B.C.*5.73, 132; Dio 49.41.6 [see above: the despatch to the senate which arrived in early 32 BC was never presented]; 50.7.1 [Antonius' speech before Actium];[29] Livy *Per*.132) suggests that the triumvirate did not lapse automatically. In 32 BC Antonius was stripped of the consulate and his other powers (Dio 50.4.3: *exousia*), which can only refer to the triumvirate.[30] The delay in renewing the triumvirate's first term until 37 BC is easier to understand if there was no automatic lapse. Vitally, Octavian did continue as a triumvir in all but name in contrast to Antonius, as he was still in possession of the

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[28] See Girardet 1995: 150-161 with scholarship on this. Suet.*Aug*.27.1: *per decem annos*. Apart from *RG* 7.1 this is different than App.*B.C.*5.95 and Dio 48.54.6 who mention another *pentaetie*. This might suggest that the triumvirate had not expired when renewed 37 BC. See Fadinger 1969: 108f. It seems more likely that App.*Illyr*.28 is wrong and even though Appian does use the autobiography there can be no confidence that he drew this statement from that work. Chapter 7.1 of the *RG* still is the best evidence, and certainly looking at the ideological side of the issue.

[29] The speeches in general in Dio are fictitious rhetorical pieces. See Millar 1964: 78-83; Rich 1990: 11-12.

[30] Wilcken 1925/1969: 51.

powers, because the assignment had not been successfully carried out, even though the terminal date had been reached.

One way of saving the legitimacy of Octavian in 32 BC has been put forward by some scholars, as part of a trend to normalise the triumvirate: the triumvirs only retained powers in the provinces, i.e. as proconsuls.[31] During a Senate meeting in early 32 BC Octavian sat between the consuls (Dio 50.2.5), but it is believed the meeting was outside the *pomerium*. But the proconsuls were not allowed to sit between the consuls, and the triumvirate would hardly have degraded into a proconsulate.[32] Furthermore, the powers of a proconsul cannot be spoken of as *potens rerum omnium* either (*RG* 34.1. See chapter 7).

If it is accepted that Octavian was not a triumvir in 32 BC, he needed either to keep his triumviral powers or acquire a new legitimate position. Octavian was consul in 31 BC, but not in 32 BC.[33] Augustus in *RG* 34.1 describes his own powers in 28-27 BC:

> *In consulatu sexto et septimo, postquam bella civilia extinxeram, per consensum universorum potens rerum omnium,*
>
> ("In my sixth and seventh consulship, after I had extinguished civil wars, and at a time when with universal consent I was in complete control of affairs,…")
>
> (translated by Brunt and Moore 1967).[34]

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[31] Girardet 1990a, especially 338-342; 1995: 151; Lewis 1991, especially 61 and Bleicken 1990: 38-39 and 57-62; Kearsley 1999: 53. On normality, see Gruen 1974; Millar, F. 1973 and 1998; Ungern-Sternberg 2004 in a German approach to the question stresses the normality, but defines this as a question of a "crises without an alternative", quoting Meier's Res publica amissa (1997). According to Ungern-Sternberg the main participants did not propose a different constitution (106). This seems a very deterministic approach to the period.
[32] Rich 1992: 114. See also Millar 1973: 59.
[33] EJ, p.35.

The consensus mentioned in *RG* 34.1 goes back to 32 BC: Augustus mentions his powers in 28-27 BC and how he got them *per consensum universorum*. This is best explained by *RG* 25.2, mentioning the oath to Octavian in support of the war at Actium.[35] The oath to Octavian in the year 32 BC should be seen as some kind of political justification; it did not bestow powers on Octavian but justified him keeping the triumviral powers after the triumvirate had ended.[36] The oath justified him fighting for the *res publica* against the enemies Cleopatra and Antonius.[37]

This leaves a time span from the 1st January 32 BC to the time the oath was taken. Even if one accepts a 'Notstand', this can hardly be dated to the senate meeting in January and the attack by Sosius. But the war was coming and the assignment of the triumvirate had not been accomplished and thus Octavian kept his powers. Nothing in the ancient evidence suggests that this was illegal.

Summing up, there are two issues in this discussion: Firstly, the triumvirate had been renewed up to the end of 33 BC. Secondly, the status of the triumvirs after the date had passed is unclear, they either were still entitled to the title of triumvir or not

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[34] Botteri 2003: 264 has found a new fragment of the *RG*. This fragment from Antiochia shows that *potens* is the correct reading of *RG* 34.1, not *potitus*. See this thesis chapter 7.
[35] See Ridley 2003: 220-222 on *per consensum universorum potitus (potens) rerum omnium* and the disagreement of when the consensus was gained by Octavian. Regarding *potens rerum omnium*, the question is if it goes with *transtuli* or *exstinxeram*? If *transtuli* is essential the year is 27 BC, if the civil wars are the essential, the year is 29 BC (221f). But importantly, this still does not change the question of the consensus. Kromayer 1888: 20 suggests that the consensus partly derives from the oath. Turpin 1994: 433 assumes that the consensus belongs to 27 BC, but there is no vote or oath in *RG* 34.1. See also 428. He ignores in *consulatu sexto et septimo* (*RG* 34.1) and focuses on 27 BC (431). He also isolates *RG* 34.1 from the rest of the inscription, which is absurd. See below and chapter 7.
[36] Benario 1975: 304 and Reinhold 1988: 225; Wallmann 1989: 313-318; Pelling 1996: 53; Osgood 2006: 363-364.
[37] von Premerstein 1937: 60ff; Fadinger 1969: 332; Kienast 1999: 67-69. According to Kornemann 1921: 100 this was part of the 'Entlastung' of the usurpation of 32 BC.

(Antonius used it, Octavian did not). But there is not doubt that their powers continued (Mommsen 1887b; Fadinger 1969; Rich 1992, Pelling 1996).

3.3: Endgame: the year 32 BC

A major problem working with the chronology of 32 BC is that the two main sources Plutarch and Dio are very late and relatively brief, whereas fuller accounts like the Memoirs of Augustus and Livy are lost. In his biography of Atticus, Cornelius Nepos sums up the final struggle between Antonius and Octavian very precisely: both desired to be the leading man (*princeps*) not only of the city of Rome but of the world (*Att*.20.5).[38] This is the judgement of a contemporary.

At the outset of 32 BC the situation was as follows: Antonius had lost in Parthia and his planned renewed attack was discredited by the propaganda of Octavian, who on the other hand had a victory over Sextus Pompeius and Illyricum to show. He had ended the civil war and was, in his own view, the protector of Italy and Rome.

The relative chronology for the year 32 BC was established by Kromayer many years ago (1898) and is as follows. On the first of January Sosius, one of the consuls and a supporter of Antonius, attacked Octavian in the Senate.[39] According to Dio 49.41.4-6, despatches of Antonius had been received, seeking ratification of the Donations of

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[38] On the date, see Horsfall 1989: 8f. Chapters 19-22 belong to 32-27 BC, since Octavian is called Caesar (19.1 and onwards written after death of Atticus 32 BC).

[39] Dio 50.2.3. There is disagreement whether the attack by Sosius on Octavian did take place on the 1st of January or later, see Rice Holmes 1928: 234-235. The natural meaning of the language of Dio points to the 1st of January. See Reinhold 1988: 88-89, especially 88. Against the 1st of January, see Gray 1975: 15-17, deciding for the 1st February. It is claimed that the exchanges over Antonius' suppressed message during 32 BC (Dio 49.41.4-5) must have preceded Sosius' attack. But this is not a necessary assumption, as this development could have occurred between the attack of the 1st January and Octavian's decisive intervention. Secondly, Domitius Ahenobarbus as *consul prior* (named first in the Fasti) would have presided in January, but this would not have precluded Sosius from speaking. For a discussion of chronology with literature, see Fadinger 1969: 195, n 1; Kienast 1999: 64-66.

Alexandria and proposing that both triumvirs should lay down their powers, but these were not presented to the Senate: in the case of the reference to the Donations, it was the pro-Antonian consuls Sosius and Domitius who were responsible for the suppression of this damaging information. This development is best seen as occurring early in the consular year 32.[40]

At a second senate meeting, according to Dio 50.2.5 shortly after the first, Octavian, sitting between the consuls, attacked Antonius and Sosius and promised to produce documents at a later meeting that would show the injustice of Antonius (Dio 50.2.3). It has been suggested that this was a coup d'état, since Octavian had brought along a guard of armed soldiers and friends at this meeting, and on the assumption that Octavian had no legal right to preside over the Senate.[41] If it is accepted that Octavian was still in possession of the triumviral powers this assumption is clearly wrong. As a direct result both consuls C. Sosius and Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, accompanied by 'not a few' senators (Dio), left Rome for Antonius in the east.

At a subsequent senate meeting Octavian 'read and said what he wished' (Dio 50.3.2). Presumably the items read included the documents to which he had referred at the previous meeting. This cannot have been Antonius' will, since this only came to his knowledge later (see below). Very likely the main exhibit was Antonius' earlier despatch to the Senate, seeking approval for the Donations of Alexandria. Perhaps Octavian "forgot" to mention the part of the despatch in which Antonius offered to lay down the powers of the triumvirate.

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[40] Gray 1975: 17-18, Fadinger 1969: 197-198; Reinhold 1988: 77.
[41] Dio 50.2.5. Kromayer 1898: 42; Syme 1939: 270f; Gray 1975: 15 supports the idea of a coup d'état. Against this, see Fadinger 1969: 214-222 stressing that Octavian's armed guard was logical after the attack of Sosius (215-216) and Dio does not support the idea of a coup d'état (221).

According to the traditional view the number of senators fleeing Rome was 300. [42]

This is an inference from Augustus' claim that more than 700 Senators fought with him at Actium (*RG* 25.3), and the fact that the total number of senators was over a thousand (Suet.*Aug.*35.1; Dio 52.42.1). [43] This is a simple calculation in principle, but surely some did not join either, some were too old etc. The number going to Antonius might thus have been much smaller. [44]

Dio 50.3-4 then reports the subsequent events: the consuls went to Antonius; Octavia was divorced; Titius and Plancus deserted Antonius and fled to Rome; alerted by them to its existence, Octavian seized the will of Antonius from the Vestals; the declaration of war followed. [45] The will, like the despatch of Antonius to the Senate in 33 BC, had provided Octavian with good cards against Antonius; the despatch was not enough for war, but the will certainly helped.

Domitius Ahenobarbus, consul of the year, gave the advice to Antonius that Cleopatra should leave his camp (Plut.*Ant.*56.2-3. cf. 58.2, 59.2-4; Horace *Epode* 9.11-16). This is a vital clue that Cleopatra was present in the camp right from the outset. Later Antonius divorced Octavia and again, Cleopatra was the main reason behind this. [46] Plutarch clarifies that Antonius moved from Ephesus to Samos and then Athens,

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[42] So e.g. Syme 1939: 278 and n 3.

[43] Syme 1939: 278 and n 3.

[44] So rightly Brunt and Moore 1968: 68f. Similarly Reinhold 1988: 89f, but he does suggest that 400 is a possibility as well. Mommsen 1992: 85 says "Eine Anzahl Senatoren ging jedoch mit den beiden Konsuln nach Ephesus". This is wrongly corrected in Mommsen 1992 by Demandt n 106, stressing 300 as mentioned by Syme. Eck 1998: 33 has a figure of 'weit mehr als 300'.

[45] Vell.2.83 gives a vivid picture of the problems involved in changing sides in a civil war. Plancus did not do so because of his conviction, but because treachery was in his nature (he was a traitor, a *proditor*).

[46] Livy *Per.*132; Plut.*Ant.*57; Dio 50.3.2; Orosius 6.19.4. See Kienast 1999: 65. See also Dio 50.5 for Cleopatra's misuse of Roman soldiers as bodyguards. For the context of 32 BC and focusing on Cleopatra's harming role for Antonius in the development, see Grant 1972: 185-202.

where Octavia was divorced (*Ant*.56ff). According to Eusebius the divorce dates to the Macedonian month Daisios, which is May-June (*Chron*.2.140 (Schoene)).[47] Even after the divorce Geminius was sent to Antonius by his friends in Rome to persuade him to send Cleopatra away; she was the problem in Rome (Plut.*Ant*.59). Vitally, Plutarch mentions Gaius Calvinus Sabinus' attack on Antonius in the Senate in 32 BC for gifts to Cleopatra and wrong behaviour towards Octavia (*Ant*.58). Looking at the approach to war the enemy was first of all Antonius, even though he was the slave of Cleopatra.[48]

The divorce is a fixed point and makes it possible to date a range of events between this point in time and the outbreak of the war. But in between these two dates there is uncertainty regarding the relative chronology of events. Dio makes the reading of the will immediately prompt the declaration of war, but Plut.*Ant*.58-60 implies that there is quite a gap between them, which is correct, as shown above. Cleopatra's presence in Greece meant Octavian could use that as a means of declaring war against a foreign enemy, something the friends of Antonius must have guessed might happen. The next move was clearly Antonius'. According to Livy the plan to attack Italy was the reason for war. Furthermore, the divorce of Octavia, even though a private matter, did not help their relationship (*Per*.132) (see below). Vitally, the retaining of Cleopatra with Antonius' forces made it possible for Octavian to declare the war on a foreign enemy.

The presence of Cleopatra in Athens resulted in L. Munatius Plancus and M. Titius fleeing to Octavian in Rome where they revealed the existence of Antonius' will, to be

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[47] Kromayer 1898: 44; Pelling 1988: 259.
[48] Dio 50.5.2; 25.1; Servius *ad.Verg.Aen*.8.696. For the idea that she wanted to be the queen of Rome, see Propertius 3.11.45; Dio 50.5.4 and 51.15.4. Dio 50.27.1 also mentions Antonius as an Egyptian, not a Roman. Pliny *N.H*.33.50 has a story about the *luxuria* of Antonius, even outraging Cleopatra.

found in the complex of the Vestal Virgins.[49] Octavian gained access to and illegally seized the document.[50] According to Dio 50.4.1-2 even the most intimate friends of Antonius disliked the revelations in the will. The will contained damning information, first of all naming the non-Roman children with Cleopatra as his heirs and the wish to be buried in Alexandria next to Cleopatra (see chapter 1).[51]

At some point after this Antonius was stripped of the consulate and his other powers (Dio 50.4.3; Plut.*Ant*.60), i.e. the triumvirate.[52] Again, the mission of Geminius mentioned by Plutarch implied that this follows the exposure of the will and precedes the deposition from the consulate, which most likely happened at the same time as the declaration of war (*Ant*.59; Dio 50.4.3 gives the same chronology).

Looking at the chronology and the ancient evidence a picture emerges: Both Antonius and Cleopatra were enemies of Octavian and the *res publica* in the ideology of Octavian, but Antonius still had the possibility to send Cleopatra home and stop fighting the *res publica*, Cleopatra not. The divorce of Octavia no doubt settled this; war could not be avoided, but what kind of war would it be (foreign or civil)? In the end war was declared on Cleopatra, as she was allegedly planning a war on Rome

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[49] Plut.*Ant*.58; Suet.*Aug*.17.1; Dio.50.3.3ff. See Kienast 1999: 66-67 and n 235 with scholarship.

[50] Fadinger 1969: 234 on the *Lex Cornelia de falsis* from 81 BC, making it illegal to open the will of a living person.

[51] Fadinger 1969: 233-244; Goodman 1997: 265; Kienast 1999: 67, who calls the plans for burial in Alexandria an "erstaunlicher Missgriff". The will and its consequences are especially accentuated by Dio 50.4.2, whereas Plut.*Ant*.58f does not give the will the same importance as Dio and Velleius does not mention it at all. Syme 1939: 283, n 3 uses this to conclude that Dio is to be disbelieved. Suet.*Aug*.17 does in fact mention the will and the burial in Alexandria. Pelling 1988: 261 stresses that the public reaction with horror in Dio is not to be found in Plutarch. His conclusion is that Dio is close to the propaganda of Octavian, but even so, this was still the story he told in 32 BC. Wallmann 1989: 310 stresses that the will was produced by Antonius 34-33 BC.

[52] Antonius clearly did not accept this decision and minted coins with his status as consul for the third time (*RRC* 545-546). See also Reinhold 1988: 93.

(Dio 50.4). This is most likely wrong, but at this point Antonius was losing the war of words.[53]

According to Syme the will might be a forgery, a piece of propaganda, but apart from perhaps the reading out of the will by Octavian in the Senate, nothing supports this view and the information given is close to the letter of Antonius to the Senate regarding his reorganisations of the east, including the Alexandrian donations.[54] Importantly, the revelation of the will changed everything.

During 32 BC the army and fleet of Antonius and Cleopatra moved from Ephesus to Samos and then to Actium. Antonius moved from Ephesus to Samos, to Athens, where he divorced Octavia in early summer and then in late summer he and Cleopatra were at Patrae, with their fleet at Actium.[55] The question is whether these movements to Western Greece happened before the declaration of war and if they were known in Rome at the time of the declaration of war. At Rome it was claimed that Antonius and Cleopatra were planning to make war on the *res publica* and to invade Italy and Rome (Livy *Per*.132; Vell.2.82.4; Tac.*Ann*.3.18; Plut.*Ant*.56.1-2; 58.1-2; 60.2; 62; Pausanias 4.31; Dio 50.3.2; 50.9.2; 50.12-13; Florus 2.21.1-3).[56] Horace mentions in the *Odes* that Caesar followed Cleopatra, who fled *ab Italia* (1.37.16). Italy, not Greece is

[53] Grant 1972: 185-186 on the marriage of Antonius with Cleopatra, mentioned in late but not contemporary sources (Eutropius 7.6.2 and Orosius 6.19.4).
[54] Syme 1939: 282. Similarly Bleicken 1998: 274; Eck 1998: 35 observes that Octavian might not have told the Senate everything. Johnson 1976: 111-129; Wallmann 1989: 311f, conclude that there is no reason to doubt its validity. On the scholarship on the validity, see Reinhold 1988: 90-91. Grant 1972: 193 points out that Cleopatra and the children could not be the heirs of a Roman, but this seems not to take the power of the person in to consideration. Against this Johnson 1976: 111-129; Rice Holmes 1928: 246-247. On the letter to the Senate, see Fadinger 1969: 154-176.
[55] See Kromayer 1898: 57; Pelling 1996: 52.
[56] See Kromayer 1899: 9; Fadinger 1969: 189-194; Woodman 1983: 212. Eder 1990: 99 observes that the assembling of the army at Ephesus was in preparation of the war against Parthia, but Ephesus still showed Octavian to be right; they planned an attack on Italy. Patrae and Actium was of course much closer to Italy. Pelling 1996: 48 rightly stresses that the decision of Antonius to bring Cleopatra so close to Italy was a mistake from a political point of view. According to Murray 2004: 8 Antonius wanted to invade Italy.

emphasised. The declaration of war against Cleopatra was in the ideology of Octavian a reaction to a specific threat to the safety of Rome. Livy stresses that Antonius organised a campaign to invade Italy and gathered huge forces at sea (Ephesus, Samos and Actium) (*Per*.132).[57] Importantly, Cleopatra was with Antonius close to Rome and thus a foreign war could be declared.

Pelling rightly stresses that the fleet of Antonius could hardly have gathered on the west coast of Greece before August 32 BC and thus disagrees with Plutarch's comment that the delay of Antonius in attacking Italy was a mistake (*Ant*.58.3). There is no knowing if Antonius and Cleopatra planned this attack, most likely not, but ideologically it was too good to be true for Octavian: the enemy was at the door and something needed doing.[58]

The consequence was the declaring of war, which happened late summer of the year.[59] At some point in time the *indictio belli* had been transferred to the *Campus Martius*, where a spear was thrown into 'enemy' territory.[60] Octavian in 32 BC, declaring war on Cleopatra alone, imitated this.[61] This rite was perhaps an invention, perhaps a reinvention.[62] According to Rich it was not a proclamation of war to the enemy, but simply a ritual proclamation of war.[63] At the time the spear was thrown Cleopatra (and

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[57] On Antonius' decision to attack Italy, see also Dio 50.3.2; Florus 2.21.1-3. It is implied in Plut.*Ant*.56.1-2, 4, 57.3, 58.1-2. See also Woodman 1983: 212.
[58] See Pelling 1996: 52, stressing that the attack was unlikely.
[59] Kromayer 1898: 43; Pelling 1996: 54.
[60] Thrown from or over the *Columna Bellica* at the Temple of Bellona, see Wiedemann 1986: 478-483; Rich 1976: 57 on the rite. On the preliminaries of war, see Rich 1976: 56-118.
[61] See Kienast 1999: 68; Reinhold 2002: 54-58; Fadinger 1969: 223-264.
[62] Rich 1976: 57, n 3 sees it as a revived rite, whereas Wiedemann 1986: 482 and 484 stresses it might be an invention. Servius *Auctus* 9.52 mentions that the rite was used against Pyrrhus, but this has been rejected by Rich 1976: 57, n 3, who rightly points out that the war would have been declared on Tarentum not Pyrrhus and that the story contains anomalies. See also Wiedemann 1986: 480f.
[63] Rich 1976: 106.

Antonius) might have been in Western Greece, close to Italy.[64] Dio 50.4.4f says that Octavian initiated the ceremony as a *fetialis*.[65] In the words of Reinhold Octavian used the rite "in order to dramatize the legitimacy of a declaration of war against Cleopatra".[66] Plutarch agrees with Dio that the war was declared on Cleopatra alone (*Ant*.60).

Italy and the western provinces swore an oath of allegiance to Octavian (see also above).[67] Octavian thus gained support, perhaps as a counterbalance to the demonstration of loyalty to Antonius taken by client kings and dynasts at Samos around the same time (Plut.*Ant*.56.4-5; 61.1-2). The *coniuratio Italiae*, it must be assumed, happened before the declaration of war.[68] If this is so, it might have been secured before the enemy arrived at Actium. The vital point was that Cleopatra stayed with Antonius close to Italy. Had she left for Egypt it would have been very difficult to declare a foreign war. As mentioned the oath is best seen as part of the build-up of support before the declaration and did not give him new powers, but allowed him to keep his triumviral powers. The naming of Octavian as the commander in the war then

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[64] See Kromayer 1898: 43.

[65] Wiedemann 1986: 482. See Livy 1.32.4. Rich 1976, chapter 3 stresses the *rerum repetitio;* the demand for satisfaction came to be performed not by the *fetiales* but by the *legati* appointed by the senate (57).

[66] Reinhold 1988: 94.

[67] Regarding the *per consensum universorum* (*RG* 34) and the oath see Kunkel 1969: 320; Petzold 1969: 334-351; Fadinger 1969: 296-332. Against this connection, see von Premerstein 1937: 42f concentrating on the problems of 'Staatsrecht' and Berve 1936: 241-242, dating the consensus to 28-27 BC because of *transtuli* and pointing out that the *per consensum universorum* would not have been possible until after Actium (246). On the oath, see also Dio 50.6.6; Kienast 1999: 69. Osgood 2006: 357-358 seems to believe that the oath gave Octavian the command, but *RG* 25 does not mention new powers and a decision to bestow any powers on Octavian. Lewis 1991: 59, n 12 rightly points out that *RG* 25 neither shows that Octavian lacked *imperium* nor that the oath conferred it.

[68] So rightly Eder 1990: 99f; Osgood 2006: 357. Linderski 1984: 79-80 suggests that the oath was a military oath like *RG* 3.3 (*sacramento*), but the fact that the word is used in *RG* 3 but not *RG* 25 does suggest it might not be. There might indeed be little difference between the different oaths as pointed out by Linderski, but if it is a military oath it must belong after the declaration of war. But this oath is not just a traditional military oath as stressed by Linderski, but an oath giving support for Octavian in a coming war. Linderski underestimates Octavian's use of old traditions in new ways. He also stresses that Octavian was *dux privatus*, which was not the case, as he still had the powers of the triumvir. See also Sumi 2005: 210-212.

accompanied the declaring of war, as 'demanded by Italy'. Also important, the western provinces had not demanded it, but still took the oath, most likely following the declaration of war; this was important for Octavian. In *RG* 25.2 Octavian describes the oath as follows:

> *Iuravit in mea verba tota Italia sponte sua, et me belli quo vici ad Actium ducem depoposcit; iuraverunt in eadem verba provinciae Galliae, Hispaniae, Africa, Sicilia, Sardinia.*
>
> ("The whole of Italy of its own free will swore allegiance to me and demanded me as the leader in the war in which I was victorious at Actium. The Gallic and Spanish provinces, Africa, Sicily and Sardinia swore the same oath of allegiance") (translated by Brunt and Moore 1967).

Augustus himself was in no doubt that he did not do anything wrong when retrospectively writing the *RG*: *RG* 26.3 mentions that he had never fought an unjust war (*nulli genti bello per iniuriam inlato*). Even though this is referring to the fighting in the Alps, the implication must be taken to mean that he had never done so in all wars he had fought. Suet.*Aug*.17.2 mentions the oath of *tota Italia* and its function seems a political justification rather than the bestowing of powers to Octavian. The justification for the war against Cleopatra was that she was preparing a war against Rome.

Part of the purpose of the oath may also have been to undermine the argument, no doubt used by Antonius, that the *res publica* was in the domination of the faction of Octavian, and thus he, Antonius, would free it. This is *RG* 1.1, but the other way

around. The fact that both consuls had fled to Antonius would have supported this idea, and has been connected to the alleged *coup d'etat* by Syme (1939: 270f), but in a brilliant counter argument by Octavian it was undercut, as all Italy rallied to Octavian. The state was not under the domination of a clique, because all of Italy and more than 700 Senators had rallied to Octavian's cause. Furthermore, the consuls left Rome "privately"; they were not doing their jobs.[69]

Closest to an understanding of this context and the war against Cleopatra is perhaps Dio, stating that the war was declared on Cleopatra, in reality against Antonius (50.4.5). There was going to be a civil war, the question was who was going to start it. Octavian waited to declare war till the will was produced and then wisely declared it against Cleopatra, but the decisive factor most likely was the force of the enemy moving into position in Western Greece. There was a long period from the initial discussion in the Senate, the revelation of the will of Antonius and the declaration of war.

One element in the declaration of war was the declaring of Cleopatra a *hostis*. But there is also the related question whether Antonius was declared a *hostis*. This was used against inner enemies, trying either to avoid civil war, or as a means of resolving it.[70] Dio states in 50.4.3-4 that the war was declared on Cleopatra and that Antonius was not declared a *hostis* (see also Plut.*Ant*.60.1), but was deprived of all of his powers and of the consulship which he was due to hold in 31 BC. Octavian thus avoided the odium of beginning a civil war. At the same time he made sure that Antonius became *privatus*, much as Octavian in his early career (*RG* 1.1). If Antonius

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[69] See Crevier 1754: 18.
[70] On declaring an inner enemy *hostis*, see Kneppe 1994: 57.

were to take up arms against Octavian and the *res publica*, he would declare war on the *res publica* and thus declare himself a *hostis*.[71] Both would then be *hostes*, but again, at this point in time Antonius had the possibility to abandon Cleopatra. In reality all of this was rather unimportant perhaps, but as justification it was important.

Against this Suetonius (*Aug*.17.2) and Appian (*B.C*.4.38, 4.45) assert that Antonius was declared a *hostis* in 32 BC. Appian names a certain Sergius as the only member of the Senate who voted against the *hostis* declaration, in gratitude for Antonius' having saved him from proscription. There is a clear disagreement in the source material and both traditions cannot be right.

According to Fadinger Octavian had Antonius declared a *hostis*, at first without formal declaration, which was then later executed, most probably after Actium. Pelling holds that the declaration perhaps happened later in 32 BC, or early 31 BC.[72] However, Appian associates the *hostis* declaration with the cancellation of Antonius' designation to the consulship, a measure which Dio shows took place at the same time as the declaration of war against Cleopatra. A timing before the outbreak of hostilities is also indicated by Suetonius' vaguer reference, stating that, although Antonius had been judged *hostis*, his relatives and friends were allowed to join him. Most likely, Appian and Suetonius are merely referring loosely to the declaration of war against Cleopatra and associated removal of Antonius' powers and offices, and it was against the latter that Sergius cast his solitary vote.

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[71] According to Andersen 1938: 35 Antonius was not declared a *hostis* before Actium, but it changed after Actium because Antonius had fought in the war. This is correct, but it seems important to stress that he was not declared a *hostis* after the war either; he declared himself a *hostis* by taking up arms against Rome.

[72] Fadinger 1969: 245-264; Pelling 1988: 264, 1996: 54; Wallmann 1989: 315-317. See also Dio 50.6.1 and 50.23.3-6. Reinhold 1988: 93 on Dio and Antonius as *hostis*. Dio 52.31.10 mentions that a Roman waging war on the monarch should not be tried, but declared *hostis*.

Antonius was not declared a *hostis* because that would have meant that Octavian had begun the civil war. Instead, he succeeded in representing Antonius as beginning the civil war, by remaining at Cleopatra's side and so turning the foreign war into a civil war.[73] This also meant that there was a way back for 'everybody', as mentioned in *RG* 3.1:

> *Bella terra et mari civilia externaque toto in orbe terrarum saepe gessi, victorque omnibus veniam petentibus civibus peperci.*
>
> ("I undertook many civil and foreign wars by land and sea throughout the world, and as victor I spared the lives of all citizens who asked for mercy") (translated by Brunt and Moore 1967).[74]

In the end the *clementia* did not include Antonius, as it did not include the murderers of Caesar mentioned in *RG* 2. But vitally, there never was a *hostis* declaration and Antonius was presented as beginning the civil war, by opting not to break with Cleopatra.

To sum up, Antonius had provided Octavian with good cards. Antonius' despatch to the Senate in 33 BC, most likely read in the Senate by Octavian in 32 BC, the will of Antonius, his divorce of Octavia, Cleopatra's presence with his army of Antonius and their advance to Western Greece all provided Octavian with ideological justification. Cleopatra had chosen to stay with Antonius close to Rome and thus made a foreign war possible and justifiable. But when Antonius helped Cleopatra against his

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[73] Cf. Pelling 1996: 54, correctly noting that through standing by Cleopatra Antonius became in his enemies' view 'a self-confessed enemy of Rome'.

[74] Regarding the way back, see Crevier 1754: 31, who states that Antonius was not declared a *hostis*, as this would have meant the same fate for all with him.

fatherland a foreign war turned into a civil war, or so at least in the ideology of Octavian.

3.4: Bellum Externum, Bellum Civile

It is a common misconception amongst modern scholars to say that the war at Actium was represented by the regime only as a foreign war against Cleopatra.[75] A few protests have been raised to this commonly held view.[76] And indeed, the traditional view is wrong, as the war against Antonius was also a civil war. This has been shown, looking at the historical context and the approach to war, and will be supported below by interpreting contemporary and later sources.

The fact that the war was declared on Cleopatra (Dio 50.4.4) should not make us forget that Augustus mentions the same war as a civil war (*RG* 34.1). Octavian wanted to avoid starting the civil war, but there were Romans helping Cleopatra, fighting

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[75] Benario 1975: 309 observes that it was a foreign war and perceived as such at first, but this later changed, i.e. with *RG* 34.1. For the idea that this was not a civil war, but only a foreign war, see Poduska 1970; Hannestad 1988: 56f; Reinhold 1988: 115; 2002: 54; Eder 1990: 100; Southern 1998a: 96; Galinsky 1996: 82; Murray 2002: 354; Kleiner 2005: 205, 222; Osgood 2006: 351, 375; DeBrohun 2007: 257. Kneppe 1994: 70 stresses a foreign war against Cleopatra and the un-Roman behaviour of Antonius. Similar Meier 1980: 257; Scott 1933: 43ff; Wallace-Hadrill 1993: 7. While this is not wrong, it does not show that it was just a foreign war. Christ 1995: 254 talks wisely about the triumph as overshadowing the horrors of the civil war, which seems a very sensible explanation, but he also points to necessity to liquidate the legacy of civil wars (on Augustus and Vespasian) (256). Kienast 1999: 68 mentions that the civil wars were ended with the defeat of Sextus Pompeius (Appian) and thus the war was against Cleopatra, to "Festhalten an der Fiktion", that the civil wars were terminated 36 BC. Similar Wallmann 1989: 314; Eck 1998: 35f, who even cites the consensus (*RG* 34.1), but 'forgets' that Augustus mentions the civil war in the same sentence. Another problem is that a triumph is not possible in a civil war and thus Actium was not a civil war in the ideology of the regime, see Gurval 1995: 28; Sumi 2005: 216. According to Gurval 1995: 15-16 Augustus himself did not see Actium as a civil war. His claim is therefore that the poets mention something Augustus does not like, namely civil war (189-191, 229, 230, 244, 259). On page 245 he concludes: "Like Horace and Propertius, Vergil recognized the painful reality of Roman civil war"). See also Griffin 2005: 308: The Eclogues are not a promising start for an Augustan classic, because it mentions civil war.
[76] A notable exception in the scholarship is Woodman 1983: 211-13, stressing that Antonius should not be forgotten as an enemy. Pelling 1996: 54 stresses that war was declared on Cleopatra, 'the real enemy', but Antonius was not forgotten. Similar already Scott 1929: 137. DeBrohun 2007: 275 rightly suggests that foreign and civil war almost had become the same thing, culminating in the battle of Actium, but then wrongly continues: "It was among Augustus' greatest achievements at last to disentangle the two".

against the *res publica*, and they automatically became enemies of the *res publica* when taking up arms against the state. At the same time they, by their actions, turned a foreign war into a civil war. Octavian never denied that he fought Antonius; indeed he defended the *res publica* against him. In reality of course this was always a civil conflict, into which Antonius had allowed Cleopatra to be embroiled.

Everybody knew Antonius was the enemy, but he was not declared a *hostis* and it was not declared as a civil war, partly because Octavian did not want to be the one to break the peace gained after the victory over Sextus Pompeius, ending the civil war. In the end he was able to represent Antonius as attacking his fatherland and helping the enemy of Rome, his mistress Cleopatra. The long time from the reading of the will to the declaration of war was used for preparations, not just military preparations, as Octavian had to convince the Romans that the army and fleet of the enemy at Patrae and Actium was to be used to attack Italy and Rome.

According to Wallace-Hadrill this equals the myth of Actium: the war was not perceived as the triumph of military despotism, which it of course was, but as a symbol of salvation; Octavian rescued Rome from destruction.[77] There is no doubt that the positive ending of the civil wars was preferred, but it was still a civil war.

Had Actium been a civil war, it would, according to Johnson, have diminished the achievements of Augustus.[78] But luckily the civil war did also provide a foreign victory, the capture of Egypt. Octavian/Augustus could not change a civil war into a foreign war, but he could declare war against Cleopatra and have Antonius, helping

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[77] Wallace-Hadrill 1993: 1. See also Syme 1939: 440-441; Murray 2002: 354.
[78] Johnson 1976: 76 and 96.

her against his fatherland, begin the civil war, later ended by Octavian, who at the same time accomplished the triumviral assignment.

Rich and Williams stress that "Octavian's side represented the war not as a civil war against Antony, but as an external war against the Queen of Egypt".[79] This is a common way of describing the conflict, implying it ought to have been represented as a civil war. But first, Augustus never said it was not, secondly, he stressed victory and peace, and thirdly, everybody knew and mentioned civil war. How can one conceal something like that? Perhaps for posterity, but the mentioning of the civil war in the first line of the concluding chapter 34 of the *RG* shows this idea to be wrong.

Syme observes that "The official Roman version of the cause of the War of Actium is quite simple, consistent and suspect – a just war, fought in defence of freedom and peace against a foreign enemy: a degenerate Roman was striving to subvert the liberties of the Roman People, to subjugate Italy and the west under the rule of an oriental queen" (1939: 270). This is also explained as follows: "The clue is to be found in the character of the War of Actium – as it was designed and contrived by the party of Octavianus. It was not a war for domination against Antonius – Antonius must not be mentioned" (275). On Syme's view Octavian in reality staged a *coup d'etat* and was the aggressor, but he represented Actium as a just war against a foreign enemy and Antonius was not to be mentioned. Syme does not accept that it was a civil war in the Augustan ideology.

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[79] Rich and Williams 1999: 184.

Syme sums up the importance of the *coniuratio Italiae* by calling the chapter on 33-32 BC '*Tota Italia*' (RG 25.2), and the chapter on the battle of Actium '*Dux*' (also *RG* 25.2): this was the justification for war and even a patriotic war (1939: 293), even though this was of course only propaganda. Syme's main approach is to reveal what is behind the ideology, the naked power struggle. This was of course much more acceptable in 1939 than it ought to be today.[80]

The final word in this section must be on the *RG*. Ridley makes a surprising comment on the inscription on Actium and civil war.[81] Although the *RG* is late, the information, according to Ridley, has implications even before Actium. In two passages, Ridley alleges, Augustus contradicts his propaganda claim that the Actium conflict was just a foreign war, namely in his reference to the extinguishing of civil wars at *RG* 34.1 but still more starkly with his characterization of Antonius at *RG* 24 as *is cum quo bellum gesseram*. He writes: "Without his realising it, Augustus' attempt to monopolise attention in a war as if there were only the victorious side, and at the same time to conduct his usual obliteration of rivals' memories, has backfired. He has revealed the gender of his real opponent in a civil war and thus undone years of official propaganda" (Ridley 2003: 125). Augustus cannot be caught out as easily as this. The phrase *is cum quo bellum gesseram* does not exclude Cleopatra as co-belligerent; Antonius is singled out here just because it was he who despoiled the Asian temples.

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[80] Syme 1939: chapters 20-21. He sums up his view as follows: "Neglect of the conventions of Roman political terminology and of the realities of Roman political life has sometimes induced historians to fancy that the Principate of Caesar Augustus was genuinely Republican in spirit and in practice – a modern and academic failing. Tacitus and Gibbon knew better" (3). This is criticism of English scholars, but also the German tradition (Mommsen). Even though Syme is partly right in his criticism, he at times neglects to understand the ideology, because of his preoccupation with revealing Augustus. He has done so in many cases, but it is time to move on and understand Augustus as well. For the differences between Mommsen and Syme, see Linderski 1990. He also observes the admiration of Gibbon and Tacitus they had in common.
[81] Ridley 2003: 124f. Regarding civil war and the *RG*, see also Berve 1936: 245. Jones 1977: 169 oddly observes that Augustus only mentioned civil war twice in the *RG* (3.1; 34.1). How many times should it be mentioned it could be asked?

Actium (*RG* 25) was clearly a civil war, as well as a foreign war. Octavian/Augustus never attempted to conceal this, but merely pinned the blame on Antonius for making it so.

3.5: Actium as a civil war

Looking at chronology and the historical context it was been established that war was declared on Cleopatra, but when Antonius helped her making war on the *res publica* he was represented by Octavian as turning the conflict into a civil war. This section will now look into the ancient testimony on Actium, to examine in more detail if Actium was accepted as a civil war or a foreign war. *RG* 34.1 stresses:

> *In consulatu sexto et septimo, postquam bella civilia extinxeram,…*
>
> ("In my sixth and seventh consulship, after I had extinguished civil wars,…")
>
> (translated by Brunt and Moore 1967).

Similar *RG* 3.1 stresses *Bella terra et mari civilia externaque*. The chapter also mentions 600 ships, thus stressing Naulochus and Actium, both civil wars.[82] Egypt is mentioned in *RG* 27.1 as a foreign expansion and thus the victory over Egypt and Cleopatra cannot constitute the ending of the civil wars as mentioned in *RG* 34.1, at least not on its own. The ending of the civil wars must include Actium (*RG* 25.2), as part of the triumviral assignment. The accomplishment of the assignment was vital for Octavian.[83] In the *RG* this is stressed by the continuation of civil strife in *RG* 1.1 and 34.1 (introduction and conclusion. See chapter 7).

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[82] Poduska 1970: 33f sees no connection between Antonius, Actium and civil war in the *RG*.
[83] According to Berve 1936: 245 *RG* 34.1 is not about the civil war, but the restoration of the *res publica*, but he does not take the triumviral assignment into account.

Gurval stresses that *RG* 25 is more a defence than a glorification of victory, and he might be right, civil war is after all nothing to be proud of.[84] He stresses that Augustus "assumes a somewhat defensive attitude toward the Actian campaign" (1995: 134f), which is part of downplaying the civil war (1995: 135). This is exactly why Augustus stressed the *ending* of the civil wars, as in *RG* 34, and peace after victory, as in *RG* 13. According to Gurval Augustus did not see Actium as a civil war (15-16), and he sees no connection between *RG* 25 and *RG* 34, but this is simply wrong. Civil war is mentioned in the first line of *RG* 34, and that civil war can only be Actium. Gurval isolates a chapter of the *RG*, but that was never the intention. The adversary in chapter 24 is Antonius, as mentioned above, and the oath in *RG* 25, for the war at Actium, is again mentioned prominently in *RG* 34 as consensus, in the same sentence as civil war.

Turning to the historians Livy *Per*.133 reads:

> *Caesar…in urbem reversus tres triumphos egit, unum ex Illyrico, alterum ex Actiaca victoria, tertium de Cleopatra, imposito fine civilibus bellis altero et vicesimo anno.*
>
> ("Caesar returned to Rome to celebrate three triumphs, one for the campaign in Illyricum, a second for his victory at Actium, and the third over Cleopatra. He made an end to the civil wars in their twenty-second year") (translated by Schlesinger 1967).[85]

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[84] Gurval 1995: 16.
[85] Gurval mentions this source four times, but without ever discussing that Livy stresses Actium as a civil war and the turning point in history (1995: 25, n.8; 27, n.14; 30, n.18 and 31, n.21). Milnor 2005: 193 n 12 on the Augustan historian Pompeius Trogus' work *Historiae Philippicae,* states*:* "He does not, of course, discuss the civil wars". This is not truth, as the civil war against Cassius and Brutus is mentioned in 42.4.7. According to Mellor 1999: 187 Justin, whose excerpts is what survives of Trogus,

Velleius, an unqualified enthusiast of the Augustan regime, clearly had no problems mentioning Actium as a civil war.[86] Following his relatively extended treatment of the Actium campaign (2.84-86), Velleius briefly sums up the sequel as follows (2.87.1):

Proximo deinde anno persecutus reginam Antoniumque Alexandream, ultimam bellis civilibus imposuit manum.

("The following year Caesar followed Cleopatra and Antony to Alexandria and there put the finishing touch upon the civil wars") (translated by Shipley 1924).

This is echoed in 88.1 *ultimam bello Actiaco Alexandrinoque Caesar imponit manum*.

Seneca beautifully stresses the difference between the triumvirate and the Principate, Octavian and Augustus in *De Clementia* 1.11.1:

... fuerit moderatus et clemens, nempe post mare Actiacum Romano cruore infectum, nempe post fractas in Sicilia classes et suas et alienas, nempe post Perusinas aras et proscriptiones.

("Granted he was restrained and merciful - to be sure, after the sea at Actium had been stained by Roman blood, after his own and others' fleets had been

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omitted everything unpleasant to know or unnecessary to imitate from Trogus. One wonders if this would involve civil war. Alonso-Nunez 1987: 66-70 stresses Trogus as being against the Roman expansion and as not pro-Roman. Why should he not mention the civil war? Cornelius Severus (Courtney 1993: 320-328, Sen.*Suas* 6.26 is on civil war) also mentioned civil war, but the date is not secured. On fragmentary historians and civil war, see Braund 1992 (Lucan): XIX.
[86] See Woodman 1983: 291 on the civil wars, beginning in 49 BC and ending in 29 BC.

wrecked in Sicily, after the altars of Perusia and the proscriptions") (translated by Morgan 1998: 182).

This is strong language and critical as well, but again it must be remembered that Augustus accepted that Actium was a civil war. And vitally, Seneca stresses that the actual battle of Actium had Romans fighting Romans (see chapter 4). Seneca is close to *RG* 2 and 3.1 (civil war and *clementia*, at least for some), but he is also ruthlessly honest about the civil war period.[87]

Suetonius stresses *bellum Actiacum*, which as mentioned also covers the capture of Alexandria, since it is not mentioned in chapter 20 on the foreign wars. In chapter 9 he writes:

> *Bella civilia quinque gessit: Mutinense, Philippense, Perusinum, Siculum, Actiacum.*
>
> ("The civil wars that he waged were five, called by the names of Mutina, Philippi, Perusia, Sicily, and Actium") (translated by Rolfe 1951).

Carter draws a contrast between Suetonius' honesty in describing Actium as a civil war, with Appian's practice which he explains in terms of the supposed propaganda of Augustus (1982: 99). This misinterprets Appian, who in *Praef*.14 describes the Roman acquisition of Egypt as the product of the last of the civil wars. Thus in making the

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[87] See also Apocolocyntosis 10.2: *in hoc terra marique pacem peperi? ideo ciuilia bella compescui? ideo legibus urbem fundaui, operibus ornaui?* ("Is it for this I have made peace by Land and Sea? For this have I calmed intestine wars? For this, laid a firm foundation of law for Rome, adorned it with buildings") (translated by Warmington 1969). This sums up the ideology of the Augustan regime nicely and still the civil war is mentioned, or more precise, as in *RG* 34.1, the positive result, that is the ending of the civil wars.

lost *Egyptian Wars* the culmination of his work, Appian (himself a native of Egypt) was representing the Actium and Alexandrian wars not as a foreign rather than a civil war, but as the conclusion of the civil wars.

Tacitus (especially *Ann*.1.3 and 1.9-1.10) describes the period of the triumvirate as one of civil war, and in *Ann*.1.9-1.10, where the pros and cons of Augustus are compared, civil war is mentioned in both. The vital question for Tacitus is how Octavian behaved within this framework, in the civil war; the question of civil war itself was not raised, nor was the regime's alleged cover up.[88]

Turning last to the Augustan poets, they are highly problematic. In Horace *Odes* 1.37.2-3 Cleopatra is the enemy alone without Antonius (Cleopatra as *fatale monstrum*).[89] The same goes for Propertius 3.11.31-32. *Odes* 3.14 is central regarding civil war; Augustus returns from Spain in 25 BC and Horace observes (14-16):

> *ego nec tumultum*
>
> *nec mori per vim metuam tenente*
>
> *Caesare terras.*
>
> ("I shall not be afraid of insurrection or violent death while Caesar is in charge
>
> of the world") (translated by Rudd 2004).[90]

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[88] See also Manilius 1.907-21 and Florus 2.21.2, clearly stressing Actium as a civil war.

[89] According to Lowrie 2007: 82 this shows that Actium was perceived as a foreign war.

[90] See also Nisbet and Rudd 2004. They stress that *vim* refers not to foreign wars but violent disorder at home; the jurists associate *vis* with *metus* (Ulp.*Dig*.4.2.1). Horace uses *vis* together with civil war in *Odes* 4.15.17f. (2004: 187). West 2002: 129 stresses that Horace takes lightly on it to take the spotlight away from Augustus.

Lowrie rightly asks the question why Horace would recall the civil war at this point and what that would mean for his support or rejection of the ideology of the regime.[91] The subjugation of Spain is not a civil war, but it was significant as the temple of Janus was closed in 25 BC.[92] The war of the *Socii* (18), Spartacus (19), recalling perhaps also the war against Sextus Pompeius, Philippi (28: *consule Planco* 42 BC) and Janus (not mentioned) (see chapter 6), surely reflects back on the civil war period.[93]

The return of Augustus 24 BC, not the campaign in Spain, guaranteed that there was no more civil war. Civil war is relevant above all because of concern for Augustus' life. If he was to die, so soon after the end of the civil wars, it would have seemed only too likely that civil wars would return. This view must have been common at the time, as the civil war was clearly fresh in mind. There is a movement from civil war to peace, but a fear that civil war might return, even though the victories of Augustus help, and perhaps even more so, his return to Rome.[94] This is very much in line with the ideology of the regime.

And Horace ought to know what civil war meant as he had himself fought at Philippi.[95] He never gives an account of the battle itself, but he did not have to. Everyone knew what had happened.

In *Epode* 9, which will be discussed in more detail in chapter 4, Horace mentions Antonius, although not by name; this is it seems less a question of foreign or civil war,

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[91] Lowrie 2007: 84f.
[92] See Brunt and Moore 1967: 54f.
[93] See Nisbet and Rudd 2004: 188 for the wine jar recalling the war of the *Socii*.
[94] See Syme 1939: 333 for 24 BC.
[95] See Nisbet 2007: 8. Harrison 2007: 24 strangely observes that Horace did not try to conceal the fact.

but about both foreign <u>and</u> civil war. According to Watson Actium was a foreign war because Antonius is not mentioned by name.[96] In Horace Cleopatra is no doubt the enemy, but very important, Romans are her slaves, and thus Romans are fighting Romans (11-16). Future generations will refuse to believe it; it is so unheard of. But of course it will be remembered thanks to Horace. This shows the intention of the poem to inflict a '*damnatio memoriae*', but certainly not to forget Antonius (see chapter 6).[97]

The gender of the fugitive is also very revealing and according to Mankin *aut…ille Cretam* (line 29) suggests a man, not a female Egyptian.[98] The context of the poem does the same by stressing that "the enemy has put on a cloak of mourning instead of his scarlet one" (27-28).[99] Antonius is not mentioned by name, but he is clearly the enemy.[100] This is a blurring of foreign and civil war.

The army standards (line 15) must be understood together with *Romanus*. According to Watson this plays on the male prejudices against female presence in a military camp.[101] This is no doubt true, but Cleopatra was not only there, she was in charge of

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[96] Watson 2003: 313; 2007: 97; Lee 1998: 226. Horace mentions Actium as a civil war in *Epistles* 1.18.61-63 (*adversarius est frater*).

[97] According to Cairns 1983: 93 Antonius is not mentioned in the poem at all, but he does not explain the *Romanus* in line 11. Cairns 1983: 85-87 dismisses the possibility of Antonius being the enemy in lines 27-32 because of was not defeated on land and took another route. Instead it is Hannibal. But Antonius was defeated on land, fighting or not, and the route is hardly important. The Sextus story also suggests a connection to Antonius, as in the *Epode* 9 in general. He also suggests that *terra marique victus* (27) points to Hannibal as well, but again the context shows that Antonius is most likely, since the term is used on the inscription of the Victory Monument at Actium (See chapter 5). According to Johnson 1976: 73; Nisbet 1984: 14 Antonius was not the enemy at Actium (see chapter 4).

[98] Mankin 1995: 177: *ille* may serve to emphasize this point.

[99] Countering the idea of Cairns above (Antonius not mentioned), using Livy 33.47ff, the exchange of the scarlet cloak of the general with that of a common soldier is a story attributed to Pompeius after Pharsalus (Caesar *B.C.*3.96.3; Plut.*Caes*.45.8), Lepidus (Vell.2.80.4) and Sextus Pompeius after Naulochus (App.*B.C.*5.122; Dio 49.17.3). See also Plut.*Demet.*46.6, significant because his life is pared with Antonius. The context is surely that of a Roman general. See Mankin 1995: 176f.

[100] Rightly so Watson 2003, especially page 333.

[101] Watson 2003: 324.

Roman soldiers. This could be used as clear proof of her plan to conquer Italy and Rome; this is the aggression (Livy *Per*.132) and a misuse of Roman legionaries (Dio 50.5). The standard is a symbol of the Roman soldier, or in this case, of their disgrace.[102]

Gurval accepts that the poem is on Actium (138) and even civil war, at least the war against Sextus (146). He concludes: "The conflict is civil war, and however much support Horace gave Octavian's cause, these sympathies did not lead the poet to deny this painful reality" (159). Horace is saying something Augustus does not want to hear? Gurval is putting everything upside down: It all goes back to the assumption that for Octavian civil war was negative and should not be mentioned.[103] Gurval concludes that there is an absence of civil war in the poetry of Horace: "His record of Roman, civil war (the battles of Mutina, Philippi, Perusia, Naulochus and Actium), however, is conspicuously absent from the Horatian corpus".[104] This is clearly wrong.

Propertius mentions Actium on a number of occasions and in 2.1.27-34 the context is civil war. He writes:

> *Nam quotiens Mutinam aut civilia busta Philippos*

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[102] Mankin 1995: 167f on the standard as a symbol. See also Keppie 1984: 67f on the importance of the standard, and 224f on coins with standards.

[103] Griffin talks about a couple of dutiful celebrations of Actium (*Epod*.1 and 9) (2005: 313). A more positive approach is found in Morgan 2000: 89-91, stressing that civil war was bad because there is no conquest and thus Horace mentions this conquest of Romans who have abandoned Roman values. Nisbet and Rudd 2004: xxi point out that Fraenkel's (1957) thought that Horace accepted the ideology without taking into account the violence and deception that characterized Octavian's seizure of power. They also agree that the idea of looking at Horace as subversive does not take into account the closeness of the poet and the regime, symbolised by Maecenas and Augustus, Augustus wishing him to become his secretary (Suet.*vita* 18) (xxi). Henderson 1998: 108 even mentions Horace as a courtier, the difficulty is of course to decide what that means and his idea of Maecenas as the spin-doctor of Octavian seems a bit old-fashioned (79).

[104] Gurval 1995: 10, 10-12 on the poetry in general. Gurval does accept that Propertius (189-191) and Virgil (244) do mention Actium as a civil war.

aut canerem Siculae classica bella fugae,

eversosque focos antiquae gentis Etruscae,

et Ptolemaeei litora capta Phari,

aut canerem Aegyptum et Nilum, cum attractus in urbem

septem captivis debilis ibat aquis,

aut regum auratis circumdata colla catenis

Actiaque in Sacra currere rostra Via;

("For as often I sang of Mutina or Philippi, where Romans brought Romans to the grave, or the naval war and the rout off Sicily, or the ruined hearths of Etruria's ancient race, and the coasts of Ptolemaic Pharos captured; or I should sing of Egypt and the Nile, when, haled into Rome, if flowed flagging with its seven streams captive; or the neck of kings encircled with chains of gold and Actian prows speeding along the Sacred Way:…") (translated by Goold 1999).[105]

The Actian and Alexandrian campaigns are treated here together with the earlier civil wars, Mutina, Philippi, Perusia and Sicily. The absence of the Illyrian wars is surely significant, as it no doubt shows the importance of the wars of Actium and Alexandria, even though the poem does not say anything explicitly about civil war and the two victories.[106]

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[105] See also 2.15.44; 2.16.38; 2.34.61; 4.6.17; 4.6.67 for Actium.

[106] Hubbard 2001: 100f stresses that 2.1 is not tactful because of the mentioning of civil war, which is a misconception of the ideology of the regime. Stahl 1985: 102 stresses that Propertius is a child of civil war, which makes him anti-Octavian (117), because Augustus perceived Actium is a foreign war (126). He mentions the *RG*, but not chapter 34.1. DeBrohun 2003: 211-212 talks about Actium's "hidden" status as a civil war, downplayed in the official ideology, but this is "manipulated" by Propertius, because he mentions Actium as a civil war, at the same time stressing Cleopatra. This is in fact close to the ideology of the regime.

Propertius 2.15.41-48 claims that if everybody lived a life of wine and women there would have been no Actium. According to Stahl the poem shows overt defiance of the regime.[107] But if it is accepted that everybody knew Actium as a civil war and if it is accepted that the regime acknowledged that it was a civil war, there is no defiance. But perhaps there is even more. Nobody wants civil war, but Antonius started it by supporting Cleopatra. Perhaps the poem is being ironic here; perhaps this is a criticism of Antonius, famous for wine and women? This is after all the subject of 2.16 (and 2.34), where Antonius flees from Actium out of love of Cleopatra, thus betraying his fatherland.

In Virgil's *Aeneid* Antonius is finally mentioned by name (8.685), but otherwise the poem does not suggest more than the other contemporary evidence, more civil war, even though *discordia* is mentioned in line 702, together with *Bellona* (703) (see also chapter 6). Actium is the centrepiece of the shield of Aeneas (675).[108] The enemy at Actium is clearly both Antonius and Cleopatra (685-688):

> *Hinc ope barbarica variisque Antonius armis,*
>
> *Victor ab Aurorae populis et litore rubro,*
>
> *Aegyptum viresque Orientis et ultima secum*
>
> *Bactra vehit, sequiturque (nefas) Aegyptia coniunx.*
>
> (Here Antonius with barbaric might and varied arms, victor from the nations of
>
> the dawn and from the ruddy sea, brings with him Egypt and the strength of

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[107] Stahl 1985: 215-233.
[108] Gransden 1976: 161-187, Actium as centrepiece see 162.

the East and utmost Bactra; and there follows him (o shame) his Egyptian

wife) (translated by Fairclough 1934).[109]

According to Kraggerud there is no civil war in the *Aeneid*, but in book 8 Virgil did

not hide it altogether.[110] This is absurd; either civil war is mentioned or it is not. Civil

war is in fact also mentioned in book 1 in the prophecy of Jupiter in book. Peace will

eventually be secured and (*Aen*.1.292f):

> *…Remo cum fratre Quirinus*
>
> *Iura dabunt,…*
>
> ("Quirinus with his brother Remus, shall give laws") (translated by Fairclough
>
> and Goold 1999).

Bosworth stresses the prophecy (*Aen*.1.286-96) as meaning that Augustus ended the

civil wars and brought peace, and later stresses that he conquered the world and

achieved peace.[111] The *spoliis Orientis* with which Augustus arrives in heaven are

mentioned as well as Romulus and Remus giving laws together; the result is the

closing of the temple of Janus (*Aen*.1.293f). There is a blurring of foreign conquest

and civil war as in book 8, as in the ideology of the regime.[112]

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[109] *Ope* is better translates as 'riches', see Gransden 1976: 178.

[110] Kraggerud 1998: 15. See also 13. See also Glei 1998: 119. Against this, as mentioned above, Morgan 1998: 183 stresses that there is a lot of civil war in the Aeneid, because the Latins and the Trojans fighting later make up Rome. DeBrohun 2007: 263-269 stresses that the prophecy of Jupiter 1.257-96 and the future age of peace under Augustus (1.286-96) is connected with Romulus' killing of Remus: this is a problem according to her because a reconciliation of Romulus and Remus and the end of civil war is a clear contradiction. This implies of problem with civil war, but if Actium was accepted as a civil war and the closing of Janus 29 BC the result of this, the civil war is ended 29 BC, and Romulus and Remus reconciled. The problem is that she thinks that Augustus did not accept Actium as a civil war, only as a foreign war (266).

[111] Bosworth 1999: 6.

[112] According to DeBrohun 2007: 256 the Romans made a clear distinction between foreign and civil war. This is clearly wrong.

According to Woodman Virgil stresses the togetherness of the twins and omits all mention of the killing, as stressed by Livy (1.7.2). They are also different in their approach to civil war; Livy sees Romulus' killing as the precursor of the civil wars, whereas Virgil sees civil war in immediate terms, which is Actium.[113] But in fact the ending of the civil wars under Augustus is what they have in common. Livy 1.19.3 in connection with *Per*.133 mentions Actium as a civil war and the closing of the temple of Janus after Actium. Similarly Virgil mentions the closing of the temple of Janus (*Aen*.1.293f) together with the fratricide of Romulus (292f), or more precise, he mentions that they will give laws together, meaning there will be no more civil war (surely this is a clever way of using the known killing of Remus in a new way). This is in fact the same conclusion as reached by Livy (1.19.3). The enemy is portrayed as a Roman general, even though Antonius is not always mentioned directly, and civil war is hinted at or spelled out differently, but the fact remains, Actium was a civil war.[114]

3.6: Conclusion

After Octavian had successfully ended the civil wars in 36 BC and Antonius had reorganised the east after his victory over Armenia in 34 BC the triumviral assignment had been accomplished, apart from Parthia. What remained was for the two triumvirs to decide when and how to give back the triumviral powers to the *res publica*. Of course we cannot presume they would really have retired into private life, any more than Octavian was to do in 27 BC. But, if this had not turned into war, they would have had to stage a two-man version of the 27 settlement, allowing them to claim they had returned the powers of the triumvirate. The breakdown between the two men was

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[113] Woodman 1989: 135 and n 21.
[114] See also Ovid *Metamorphoses* 15.826-28.

not inevitable -- although likely ever since Antonius resumed his relationship with Cleopatra in 36 BC.

Both triumvirs proposed to a surrender of powers, but the offers seem phrased in a way that the other would find it hard to agree. In 33 BC Antonius seems to have linked this to a demand for ratification of his *acta*, including the so-called Alexandrian donations. Octavian's counterclaim demanded Antonius return to Rome and lay down his powers. Instead of giving back the powers the relationship between the triumvirs deteriorated and claims and counterclaims took over. In this battle of words Antonius gave Octavian a string of good cards to play: the despatch to Rome offering to lay down the triumviral powers also contained the so-called donations of Alexandria, giving among other things Roman land to foreigners. The will of Antonius later followed, with his wish to be buried in Alexandria, not Rome.

After Octavian's appearance with a guard at a senate meeting in early 32 BC, the pro-Antonian consuls Sosius and Domitius and a small number of like-minded senators decided to leave Rome and head for the camp of Antonius: war was closing in. Octavian brilliantly countered the fact that Antonius could claim to fight for the *res publica*, both consuls being on his side, with the *coniuratio Italiae.* Both triumvirs according to themselves were right and the other wrong; the battles of words meant that both presented themselves as fighting for the *res publica* against foreign and civil enemies.

In the end war was declared on Cleopatra, because she was with Antonius in Greece. What were they doing there with an army if not attacking Italy? Most likely a direct

assault on Italy was not part of their plans, but they were certainly preparing for war. Antonius would have had his own justificatory account, claiming to be freeing Rome from the domination by a faction. But Cleopatra's presence in the camp and his continued liaison with her greatly weakened his case. The supporters of Antonius recognised this and urged him to send Cleopatra home to Egypt, which he declined. Antonius himself was not declared a *hostis*, as Octavian did not want to provoke a renewed outbreak of the civil wars he had ended in 36 BC. It was up to Antonius to decide what to do; to fight against Octavian with Cleopatra meant allowing Octavian to represent him as making war on his own fatherland. Of course Antonius most likely tried to present his association with Cleopatra as just traditional support by a friend of the Roman people. But such a justification for the liaison was thin indeed.

The standard perception of the war against Antonius and Cleopatra amongst scholars is that the war was declared on Cleopatra, not Antonius, and that the ideology of the regime tried to conceal that Actium was also a civil war. This is wrong, as the sources, contemporary and later, are in agreement that the war at Actium was indeed a foreign and a civil war. Vitally, this is also the case in the *RG* of Augustus.

Chapter 4: *Bellum Actiacum Alexandrinumque*

This chapter focuses on the battles of Actium and Alexandria, mainly Actium (see fig.2). Even though the subject is ideology, the question of what really happened cannot be excluded, as it is vital for judging the 'propaganda'. The chapter will try to examine the importance of Actium and will counter the idea that it was not a real battle. Furthermore, Antonius' intentions will be addressed and it will be suggested, contrary to the consensus amongst scholars, that Cleopatra's betrayal decided the battle of Actium.

Fig. 2: Map of Actium. Image source: Murray and Petsas 1989: xi. **See printed edition of thesis.**

There has for many years been a dispute as to what actually happened at the battle of Actium on the 2nd September 31 BC. The so-called Kromayer-Tarn-debate takes its origin in their different examination and evaluation of the ancient testimony.[1] Kromayer in a brilliant piece of revisionism argues that the position of Antonius had become hopeless and therefore, he decided to make a breakout. This conclusion focuses on a statement by Dio 50.15.1, stressing that Cleopatra was implementing this prearranged plan, not betraying Antonius.[2] According to Kromayer this corrects the old and mistaken theory that the battle was lost because of Cleopatra's treachery, a point that has been accepted by subsequent scholars, including Tarn.[3]

Tarn in 1931, building on Ferrabino's conclusions from 1924, disagrees with this conclusion and focuses on Horace *Epode* 9, the earliest evidence on the battle to come down to us. Antonius wanted to fight not flee, but treachery of the fleet forced him in the end to flee.[4] Horace is, according to Tarn, conclusive against the Kromayer-Dio account of the battle.[5] Antonius wanted to win, but alternatively, he had a Plan B, to make for Egypt.[6] This view of the battle is supported by Syme.[7] Tarn's theory

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[1] For a brief but thorough reassessment of the debate, see Murray and Petsas 1989: 131-137; Murray 2002: 345. Schlange-Schöningen 2005: 77-80 asks a lot of the correct questions regarding the battle, but concludes that it cannot be answered what really happened at Actium.

[2] Kromayer 1899: 33; Rice Holmes 1928: 253-258, written before Tarn but disagreeing with Ferrabino (see note 4), Richardson 1937: 158-159; Carter 1970: 213; Grant 1972: 208, 211; Johnson 1976: 48-49; 55; Pelling 1996: 57; Kienast 1999: 7; Bringmann 2007: 100; Reinhold 1988: 104f on scholarship.

[3] See Kromayer 1899, especially 1, 33f; 1933: 377-380; Tarn 1931: 173 and especially 196; Grant 1972: 213; Murray and Petsas 1989: 133 summing up the modern view that Cleopatra did not betray Antonius. Cleopatra's betrayal has found support in the 20c, but Domaszewski 1909: 154f; Beike 1990: 145 seem to be exceptions.

[4] Tarn 1931: 173; 1934: 104-5; Syme 1939: 297. Ferrabino 1924 was the first to use *Epode* 9 and argue that one of Antonius' generals refused to fight and returned to port. Sosius' treachery decided the battle (1924: 458-459; 470-471).

[5] Tarn 1931: 183. Kromayer disagreed and answered the attack of Tarn in 1933. Richardson 1937 followed this up, dismantling most of the ideas of Tarn and forcing a reply from Tarn in 1938, but his idea had already been canonized in the *CAH* 10. Kromayer's theory is now canonized in *CAH* 10² by Pelling.

[6] Tarn 1931: 188.

[7] Syme 1939: 296.

presupposes that a large part of the fleet of Antonius deserted and that the memory of this desertion was suppressed in all but one source.

According to Tarn Horace is a primary source, whereas Livy, Velleius, Florus, Plutarch, Dio and Orosius are secondary. He concludes that it is better to rely on Horace because of Dio's use of rhetoric.[8] This seems to be a misconception of history, judging ancient evidence by modern historical standards and furthermore, all writers used rhetoric or literary techniques.[9] On the other hand it is correct that the account of Dio is largely rhetorical, and must be contrasted to the much fuller narrative of Plutarch, which includes much more circumstantial detail. The problem with Dio, as understood by Tarn, is his closeness to the ideology of the regime, and that he made a small victory look much more substantial than it was.[10] According to Tarn, the historical tradition created a myth about Actium: the victory against all odds. [11]

Murray rightly observes that the understanding of the battle has not advanced significantly since the Kromayer-Tarn-debate.[12] Most scholars since Syme have

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[8] Tarn 1931: 182; 1938: 168. This is rejected by Kromayer, suggesting that Plutarch's source can be traced back to the battle and that Dio used Livy and the autobiography of Augustus (1933: 363f). See Tarn 1934: 100-106 on the historical tradition and the build up to the battle (105).

[9] On history and rhetoric, see Wiseman 1979: 27-40. Oakley 1997: 7-10 dismisses the idea that history is a branch of rhetoric, but he accepts that rhetoric is important in out understanding and approach to history. See also Woodman 1988: 87-88, 102f, n 20. See Wiseman 1979: 47-48 on the difference between ancient and modern historians, rightly stressing that the modern concept of the historian as a judge, weighing the evidence, does not apply to the ancients.

[10] Tarn 1931: 182.

[11] Tarn 1931: 197-182 stresses a connection between the battle of Cos, Salamis and Actium, all three won against all odds. The battles of Samothrace or Cos was perhaps the battle won by Antigonus Gonatas against Ptolemy II. Commemorating a battle against Egypt hardly constitutes a victory against all odds. There is no obvious connection between the coins used by Tarn and any other battles than Naulochus and Actium. For criticism of Tarn, see Kromayer 1933: 375. One coin shows a naked male figure, perhaps Neptune, standing with one foot on a globe (reverse), with a bust of Victoria on the obverse (*RIC* 1² 256). The other shows Octavian in a quadriga (reverse), with Victoria standing on prow, holding wreath and palm (obverse) (*RIC* 1² 263). The coins are most likely connected with the triumphs of 29 BC (see chapter 6). On the ideological connections between Salamis and Actium, see Hölscher 1984.

[12] Murray 2002: 340. See also Reinhold 1988: 222f.

accepted Kromayer's conclusions over Tarn's.[13] But the ideology may after all not be that far from the realities of battle. This chapter will reconsider this vital question and challenge the consensus on the battle of Actium.

4.1: The historical tradition

Briefly examining the historical tradition on the battle of Actium, this section will stress the contemporary origin of the tradition. Livy writes on Actium in 1.19, which must be dated close to Actium itself, but in its final form after 27 BC because the title Augustus is mentioned.[14] The Augustan books where he described the battle were published after Augustus' death, and are now lost, but some information can be extracted from the *Periochae* (Livy *Per*.121). *Per*.133 begins with the victory at Actium and then describes the fleeing of Antonius to Egypt. Book 132 is on the prehistory of the war and thus the battle of Actium clearly had prominence in Livy, as the preliminaries and the battle are in separate books. Livy does not describe a battle, but a campaign.

Velleius writes summary history and is close to the events themselves. He has a lot of phraseology in common with Livy and he must have had access to all published sources on the battle and would have been able to talk to people who took part.[15] Florus' main source seems to have been Livy, and some manuscripts use the

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[13] See Murray and Petsas 1989: 132, n 6.

[14] Regarding the date of Livy 1.19, most likely it is a late insertion (Numa, Augustus and then returning to Numa points to an insertion: so Luce 1965: 211-218; Woodman 1988: 135; Moles 1993: 151. It follows that Livy could have started writing before Actium. Ogilvie 1965: 94 suggests that 27-25 BC is the likely date, 27 BC with the giving of the title Augustus and 25 BC with the second closing of the temple of Janus. See also Oakley 1997: 109f. The idea of a later insertion was first suggested by Weissenborn und Müller 9ed. 1908: 10 (first ed. 1885). On the date of the preface of Livy, before or after Actium, see Miles 1995: 92, n 49; Henderson 1998: 315.

[15] On phraseology, see Woodman 1983: 52, 68, 105, 126f, 134, 169, 171, 181, 185, 189, 201, 210, 249, 267.

description 'epitome of Livy'.[16] Suetonius is surprisingly brief on the battle itself, especially taking into consideration that he held offices in the imperial administration, making it possible for him to study the papers of Augustus (*a bibliothecis, ab epistulis*). He writes (*Aug.*17.2):[17]

> *Nec multo post navali proelio apud Actium vicit in serum dimicatione protracta, ut in nave victor pernoctaverit.*
>
> ("Not long afterwards he won the sea-fight at Actium, where the contest continued to so late an hour that the victor passed the night on board") (translated by Rolfe 1951).

Suetonius is not a historian but a biographer and is clearly more interested in the build up and the commemorations of Actium (*Aug.*17-18 on the commemorations at Actium), but he does state that Actium was a civil war (*Aug.* 9.1).

Plutarch's sources for the battle included the autobiography of Augustus (*Ant.*68).[18] Livy seems to be of lesser importance in Plutarch, but he might have used Pollio, an Antonian until 40 BC.[19] We do not know what sources Dio used on the Augustan age, but they may have included Livy, Cremutius Cordus and Aufidius Bassus, apart from the autobiography of Augustus.[20] The latest source is Orosius *Historiae Adversum*

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[16] On Florus and the use of Livy and the manuscripts, see Bessone 1993: 80-117. Regarding Livy as one of more sources, see Forster 1984: VIII.

[17] Wallace-Hadrill 1983: 5. See Suet.*Aug.*87 on Augustus' style in letters and *Aug.*101 on the details of the will of Augustus.

[18] Pelling 1988: 26.

[19] Pelling 1988: 30 on Livy, 27 on Pollio. Plutarch did not reread the autobiography of Augustus writing his *Antonius*, thus stressing unreliability, but he must have read it writing his *Augustus* (1988: 26).

[20] See Rich 1990: 5-8 on Dio's sources. See also Kromayer 1933: 363; Reinhold 1988: 7f.

Paganos from 416-417/18, a Christian who used Eusebius, Suetonius, Florus, Livy or the *Periochae* of Livy.[21]

Tarn suggests in his answer to Richardson's article (1937): "That history must be written from primary evidence and not secondary" (1938: 168). But the historical tradition goes back to the period of the battle itself, as Livy and other Augustan authors must have had 'easy' access to information about the battle as contemporaries.

4.2: Horace and Actium: the odd one out?

Epode 9 is concerned with different stages of the battle and was most likely written after the final battle itself, as lines 21-38 seem to be on the aftermath of the battle.[22] Kraggerud rightly observes that there is a difference between the dramatic 'now' of the poem and the time of publication.[23] This section is a re-evaluation of Horace, looking at the poem in the context of the ideology of the regime. It will suggest that Tarn's approach to the battle, as mentioned above, is implausible.

According to the 1st-c *Elogia in Maecenatem* 1.45-46 Maecenas was at Actium, according to Appian (*B.C.*4.50) he was in Rome. In *Epode* 1, 11-24 Horace reveals his

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[21] Tarn 1931: 182 on Dio. Deferrari 1964: XX on the ancient evidence. He also points out that Orosius had a thorough knowledge of Horace (XV).

[22] Watson 2003: 310-313 suggests convincingly that the lines 11-18 treat the events before the battle, 19-20 the battle itself and 21-38 the aftermath (312). Against this Wistrand 1958: 21 and 39, who dates *Epode* 9 before the final battle. See also Kromayer 1933: 382, n 4.

[23] Kraggerud 1984: 11 and 66. According to Williams 1968: 212-215 the celebration at the beginning of the poem is the one taking place at the end, dating the poem after Actium (15). Syme 1978: 1-3 and 48 stresses the danger in assuming that a poet describes an event as it happens and publishes it soon after. According to Tarn 1931: 176 Horace wrote the *Epode* within a few days of the battle, but was not present at the battle. Instead the information used to write the poem comes from the despatch of Octavian, sent to Maecenas in Rome and containing the truth. See also 1934: 105. There is no knowledge regarding such a despatch, even though it is highly likely, but it would probably have been sent to what was left of the Senate in Rome. Henderson 1998: 113 rightly stresses: "When Roman statesmen glossed their decrees, they knew they were writing themselves onto the pages of history". Why on one hand give the bare facts and on the other create an ideology different from those facts? A despatch must have been both a tool of explanation and justification.

intentions to go and fight. Maecenas was in Rome in late 31 BC, but this does not exclude he possibility that he was at Actium.[24] Gurval rightly observes that *nauseam* (line 35) evoked seasickness in the contemporary reader, but this does not show that Horace was at Actium. Perhaps it refers to the anticipated drunkenness of the poet (Caecuban wine).[25] This might be a question of the 'care for Caesar's matters' which drink was now to dissolve. To take *Epode* 9 at face value is dangerous.[26] Most likely Horace was not present at Actium.

The poem begins with the future celebration and victory banquet for the victory at Actium (9.1-10), at the same time recalling the victory over Sextus Pompeius, the general of Neptune, who had befriended slaves (9.7-10), all very close to *RG* 25 (see chapter 2). Mentioning both Naulochus and Actium makes Horace more of a propagandist according to some scholars.[27] But who would not praise the ending of fraternal strife?

Lines 17-20 of *Epode* 9 contain a description of the battle of Actium:

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[24] Vell.2.88.2; Dio 51.3.5. See Mankin 1995: 161. Wistrand 1958: 11-14 concludes that App.*B.C.*4.50 mixed up the Actian and Alexandrian campaign (11-13). See also Nisbet 1984: 9f on the evidence. Wistrand also observes that a friend was expected to be at the side of a friend who went on a dangerous journey, using Actium and the battle against Sextus Pompeius as an example (1958: 15-17). For the debate on the presence at Actium, see also Fraenkel 1957: 75; Kraggerud 1984: 66-128; Nisbet 1984: 9-17; Watson 2003: 3, n 28 and page 310; Nisbet and Rudd 2004: XIX; Nisbet 2007: 11-12; Harrison 2007: 26. For the idea that Maecenas was in charge of Rome, See Syme 1939: 292 and Fraenkel 71f, n 6.

[25] Gurval 1995: 157f. On seasickness see also Fraenkel 1957: 73; Wistrand 1958: 5, 33; Mankin 1995: 180; Watson 2003: 335-336.

[26] The strongest evidence against Horace's presence at Actium is perhaps Horace himself, even though he suggests that he took part in a battle later than Philippi (*Epist.*1.20.23; *Odes* 2.6.7-8; *Epod.*1.1-4). In *Odes* 2.7 on Philippi, Horace stresses his shield not his practical doings in battle (see *Sat.*1.6.48). This is a symbolic and poetic perspective and holds no information of what really happened. So Harrison 2007: 24-25.

[27] See Gurval 1995: 145 with scholarship. According to Gurval Horace mentioned civil war, even though Augustus would have liked him not to. Cairns 1983: 83; Mankin 1995: 163-164 believe that civil war was not mentioned. Of course it was a civil war; the Romans certainly had not forgotten the blockade of Rome by Sextus Pompeius.

at huc frementes verterunt bis mille equos

Galli, canentes Caesarem,

hostiliumque navium portu latent

puppes sinistrorsum citae

("But two thousand Galatians have turned their snorting horses in our direction, chanting Caesar's name; and the sterns of the enemy's ships, after making off at speed to the left, skulk in harbour") (translated by Rudd 2004).[28]

These lines constitute the middle part of the poem (38 lines) and it contains the name Caesar, mentioned for the second time. The description of the turning points on 'land and sea' does not contain much fighting, but this can hardly be used to stress that there was not much fighting at Actium. Four lines in a poem cannot decide this matter (Propertius used two: 4.6.55-56).[29]

The most debated word of the poem is probably *sinistrorsum*. If the lines 17-20 are accepted as a description of the battle of Actium, the turning point in the battle at sea seems to be a retreat of the forces of Antonius. A proposed scenario is that the forces of Antonius, during the fighting itself, realised that they would lose and thus decided or were forced to return to harbour. The term *latent* (*lateo*) together with *puppes sinistrorsum citae* does seem to suggest that they escaped or hid from something,

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[28] Gurval 1995: 147 oddly mistranslates *puppes* as prows.
[29] The idea put forward by Wistrand 1958: 24-26 that lines 19-20 must by related to the failed attempt to break out by C. Sosius is dismissed by Watson 2003: 326 because it was not important enough, the triumph being mentioned just after. Surely lines 19-20 are a description of the final battle, which would otherwise go undescribed. Regarding Propertius, the actual battle has Apollo firing the first shot, Octavian the second, Cleopatra suffers defeat and Caesar looks at the spectacle proudly from the sky (55-60).

meaning the fleet of Octavian.[30] This is a retreat and *sinistrorsum* most likely means back to the harbour.[31]

According to Tarn, using the conclusion by Ferrabino, the ships of Antonius refused to fight and then returned to the Ambracian Gulf.[32] But this idea cannot conclusively be supported by Horace's words. Alternatively, when Agrippa tried to outflank Antonius' right, Antonius' ships to the north then had to decide what to do; had they turned around they would have been vulnerable and thus 'backed water to port' (see below).[33] The problem with conclusions like this is that it is only possible with external information. If other sources had not mentioned Amyntas the 2000 Galli in Horace would have made no sense to us today.[34] The conclusion seems to be that the lines 19-20 can never be decoded.

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[30] Watson 2003: 326-328; Kraggerud 1984: 93. Gurval 1995: 151-152 suggests that *portu latent* means that the two lines 19-20 refer to ships movements before battle, but he 'forgets' *sinistrorsum citae*, which can only mean that they had to withdraw from the fighting or at least from the battle scene and back to the Ambracian Gulf.

[31] Nisbet 1984: 13; Watson 2003: 327. Mankin 1995: 170 prefers a literal sense, not 'to port'. According to Morrison 1996: 167 it must refer to the ships in the line, fighting.

[32] Ferrabino 1924: 458-459; 470-471; Tarn 1931: 174-177; 192-194. Rice Holmes 1928: 256-257 rightly points out that it would have been difficult for the readers to infer treachery in *sinistrorsum citae*. He suggests that the port is Egypt, which seems unlikely looking at the setting of the poem. Similar Cairns 1983: 90-91. Kromayer 1933: 379 refuted the idea of Tarn, suggesting an engagement likely to have occurred before the final battle. See also Richardson 1937: 159f.

[33] Pelling 1986: 180-181 and on page 197 he suggests that *sinistrorsum* means back to port. See also Southern 1998b: 143.

[34] For Amyntas' desertion, see Plut.*Ant*.63.5; Vell.2.84.2. See also Plut.*Ant*.61.3; Dio 50.13.8. Grant 1972: 188, n 16 points out that the bodyguards of Cleopatra were Galatian (Josephus *B.J.*1.397 and *A.J.*15.217. This does not automatically mean that Dio 50.5 is wrong to suggest that there were Roman soldiers in Cleopatra's bodyguard. For the importance of Amyntas' defection, see Kromayer 1899: 23-24. See also Tarn 1934: 104f; Watson 2003: 326. M. Titius and Statilius Taurus had already defeated Antonius' cavalry once and thus the possibility of using cavalry in battle was slim (Dio 50.13.5; Livy *Per*.132).

In line 27 *terra marique victus* is mentioned.[35] This is similar to lines 17-20: Amyntas' defection represents the battle on land and the fleet's return to the Ambracian Gulf, most likely after initial fighting, represents the battle on sea.

According to Watson Actium was a foreign war because Antonius is not mentioned by name (see chapter 3), but he does accept that line 27 mentions Antonius as a *hostis*; the following mention of the general's cloak makes this a clear reference to Antonius.[36] This is odd at first, as he was never declared a *hostis* (see chapter 3).[37] Surely the answer is that he was not declared a *hostis*, but made himself a *hostis* because he helped Cleopatra and betrayed his fatherland: Antonius turned a foreign war into a civil war. This is not a revisionist description of Antonius by Horace, quite the contrary; he is close to the official line of the regime, as showed in chapter 3. *Punico* does reveal the Roman general; no name was needed.[38] And vitally, a *hostis* declaration was not needed, as Antonius made war on his country, helping Cleopatra, a formally declared *hostis*.

The poem ends with Antonius and Cleopatra fleeing and celebrations (29-38). Gurval rightly observes that Antonius and Cleopatra were still on the run.[39] But it must be remembered that the objective behind the campaign that ended with Actium, in the

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[35] Mankin 1995: 175f suggests that this means totally defeated. According to Wurzel 1938: 375 this is not about the victory mentioned in 17-20, but about Antonius' "Urteil" of the battle. This seems a bit pedantic, the victory inflicting this defeat still goes back to 17-20, and since it is so close to the official ideology it must be a description of the battle (17-20), won on 'land and sea'.
[36] Watson 2007: 97, page 332-333 on *hostis*.
[37] Watson 2003: 332-333, using Fadinger 1969: 245-252, suggest that the declaration of Antonius as *hostis* took place in 31 BC and thus he suggests a late date for the poem and suggests that Horace was engaged in a revisionist rewriting (333). But as shown in chapter 3 Antonius was not declared a *hostis* and thus line 27 cannot help regarding the time of composition.
[38] Watson 2003: 333 for *Punico*, the general's mantle. According to Cairns 1983: 87 *Punicus* might suggest oriental luxury.
[39] Gurval 1995: 140. Watson 2003: 333f points out that the route mentioned by Horace is not the route taken by Antonius and Cleopatra fleeing Actium. See also Mankin 1995: 177.

official ideology, was defending Italy and Rome from the enemy who had all their troops close to Italy, protecting Rome against its enemies in accordance with the triumviral assignment. The Actian campaign was represented as a defensive war against an aggressor, and thus, in the ideology of the regime, a huge success. And why did Antonius and Cleopatra have troops so close to Italy if not to attack? Nonetheless, the poem cannot be taken to support the theory of Tarn that the fleet of Antonius' deserted him; *Epode* 9 cannot be taken to resolve the matter.

4.3: Antonius' intentions going into battle: ideology and what really happened

There is a generally accepted modern consensus on the central issue regarding the battle of Actium, which rejects the account given in the ancient evidence, according to which Cleopatra decided to flee and Antonius to follow her. Instead the modern consensus is that the withdrawal was a prearranged plan, a theory that dates back to Kromayer, although he was articulating what had already been suggested. Aside from Dio's narrative, arguing for a decision to withdraw at the council before battle, this is not mentioned in any other source.

The main critic of Kromayer was Tarn, who as mentioned above, assumed that the fleet of Antonius deserted him and as a result he and Cleopatra were forced to flee. The implausibility of Tarn's contribution to this debate has had the regrettable effect of making it appear more difficult to defend the idea that Antonius wanted to fight and win, as the evidence in fact suggests. This section will re-examine what happened at Actium. It will focus in detail on the arguments presented by Kromayer, in order to suggest that there are alternative possibilities; it will be suggested that the most likely scenario is the betrayal of Antonius by Cleopatra.

4.3.1: The situation before the battle

Actium is a defensive position and similar positions had earlier proven fatal for Pompeius and the murderers of Caesar.[40] Antonius was of course already in a defensive position, as he was clearly losing the battle of words (see chapter 3). Vitally, Antonius hardly chose Actium for battle. When Augustan writers wrote history, Antonius did choose Actium for battle, as he and Cleopatra were planning to invade Italy. However, in reality there is hardly much truth in that. But if they were planning an invasion, Actium is an excellent position from which to start a naval war; there is a protected harbour, it is possible to command the southern approaches to Italy, to seal off the Adriatic and the eastern shores of Italy, and it is close to Rome. In the end Octavian did not wait till spring, as Antonius probably thought, having set up his winter quarters in Patrae, leaving his fleet at Actium.[41] Patrae is thus about 200 Km away and Octavian arrived first at Actium, not Antonius (Dio 50.13.1). Antonius was taken completely by surprise.[42]

Looking at the manoeuvres before battle, Antonius made sure the sails were on board, something unusual in ancient times.[43] Fighting close to land you would not need the sails, and thus this might also show an intention to flee, or more likely, have the option to do so if the battle went wrong.[44] The riches of Antonius and Cleopatra were

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[40] Ober 2001: 40.
[41] Dio 50.11-13. Kromayer 1899: 9.
[42] Kraggerud 1984: 70. Carter 1970: 208 stresses that the plan of Octavian was to avoid battle until at full strength and then drive the enemy back and the fleet, deprived of land support would have to flee. But why stake a surprise attack and then wait? According to Southern 1998b: 137 Antonius had decided against repeating the pattern of the last two civil wars, where the battles were fought on land. This is contrary to the ancient evidence.
[43] Plut.*Ant*.64 and Dio 50.31.2. See Kromayer 1899: 35; Pelling 1996: 58.
[44] Tarn 1931: 189; Johnson 1976: 49.

also on board (Dio 50.15.4). Furthermore, Antonius decided to burn part of his ships.[45]

This is the reason why Kromayer in 1899 accepted Dio 50.15.1 and the intention of

Antonius and Cleopatra to flee, something most scholars agree with today.[46] Southern

gives another possibility that should not be entirely dismissed; perhaps Antonius

wanted to use the wind to outmanoeuvre Octavian/Agrippa and encircle him.[47]

Kromayer rightly asks why Antonius accepted a sea battle; the answer was that the

blockade of Agrippa made his choices limited.[48] According to Kromayer's theory the

raids and capture of Greek cities by Agrippa meant Antonius was blockaded: The fleet

of Octavian was clearly superior before Actium, Agrippa capturing Methone, Patrae,

Leucas and perhaps Corinth, which led to a blockade of the Ambracian Gulf and the

fleet of Antonius. Leucas effectively completed the blockade of the fleet of Antonius

in the Ambracian Gulf (1899: 9-28). [49] This also meant that the supply routes of

Antonius were cut off.[50]

But the blockade theory has one serious problem; Octavian could hardly hold it with

winter approaching and both sides had to bring the issue to battle. Furthermore, was

Florus right in stressing Leucas as part of a Roman blockade (2.21.4)? Velleius

(2.84.2) and Dio (50.14.5) record Agrippa taking Leucas, Patrae and Corinth, but

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[45] Dio 50.15.4; Plut.*Ant*.64.1. See Pelling 1988: 276. See also Horace *Odes* 1.37. See Tarn 1931: 183f and 1934: 105, implying that Octavian burned the ships after the victory, not Antonius. In 1931: 192 he calls the idea that Antonius burned ships "The silly perversion". But this is contrary to all the evidence (Dio 50.15.4 and Plut.*Ant*.64.1). See also Richardson 1937: 155f; Pelling 1988: 276.
[46] Kromayer 1899: 33. See introduction above.
[47] Southern 1998b: 141.
[48] Kromayer 1899: 9. So already Leake 1835b: 34.
[49] See also Richardson 1937: 159; Johnson 1976: 48; Reinhold 1988: 103. On Corinth, see Dio 50.13.5, who puts the capture of Corinth before Actium, Plut.*Ant*.67.7 after. The best account on the build up to the battle is still Kromayer's article from 1899. According to Grant 1972: 205-207 loosing Methone meant loosing the war, as there would be a blockade of Actium.
[50] Vell.2.84.1, Dio 50.13.5-6, 14.4; Florus 2.21.4. See Woodman 1983: 221f. See also Kromayer 1899: 19-20, 25-26; Reinhold 1988: 103. Oros.6.19.6 on Agrippa's interception of supply ships.

perhaps this was only raiding; it seems less than certain that he captured them all. It would have been difficult to retain these places under the circumstances without weakening the battle force needed for the fight against Antonius. Plutarch does show that Corinth may not have been retained (*Ant*.67.7). Perhaps the blockade was not effective after all.

It must also be remembered that naval warfare was a seasonal activity and sea travel was only deemed safe during a period of five months in spring and summer, whereas fleets avoided sailing in winter.[51] As mentioned above, Antonius had his winter quarters at Patrae when Octavian attacked. It seems Octavian tried to surprise Antonius, which did not work.

The captures/raids by Agrippa were important, blockade or not, because it meant Antonius lost part of his fleet before the final battle at Actium. Furthermore, Orosius 6.19.5ff, Velleius 2.84.1, Dio 50.11-15, 50.27.8 and Plutarch *Ant*.63, 68.4 all point to desertion, disease and hunger amongst Antonius' troops.[52] Ultimately, the attack on Methone gave Octavian the possibility to cross to Corcyra (Corfu) and then Actium.[53] The final battle was approaching, this time inevitable.

4.3.2: Ship numbers

A further central part of Kromayer's thesis is that Antonius was outnumbered in ship numbers and had no prospect of winning (1899: 30-32; 1933: 375f). In fact, on this view, he had only one option, to flee. There seem at the outset to be two incompatible traditions in respect of ship numbers: one in which Antonius had the advantage and a

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[51] Wees 2004: 219.
[52] On the desertions, see Woodman 1983: 222 with a list.
[53] Richardson 1937: 156, n 15; Osgood 2006: 372.

Livian tradition (Florus and Orosius) in which Octavian had the advantage.[54] Florus states that Octavian had 400 ships and Antonius fewer than 200 (2.21.5). It must be assumed that the 60 ships of Cleopatra are not part of this figure (Plut.*Ant*.64.1; 66.3; Oros.6.19.9). Orosius stresses that Octavian had 260 ships (30 without beaks) against 170 for Antonius (6.19.9). He also mentions that Octavian left Epirus with 230 ships and thus Agrippa's ships may not be part of the 230. Perhaps the differences between Florus and Orosius are after all not that big.[55] Vitally, Octavian had more ships than Antonius in this tradition. Whether this means that Livy perhaps gave Octavian a huge advantage (Florus) or a small one (Orosius) is impossible to say, and the answer partly depends on the numbers in the fleet of Agrippa.

The other tradition gives Antonius the advantage: Plutarch mentions 250 ships for Octavian versus 500 for Antonius (*Ant*.61.1-2; 68.1). But perhaps the ships of Agrippa are missing in this figure as well. Dio complicates matters by observing that not all of the fleet of Antonius was at Actium (50.12.1). He also stresses that Antonius lost ships before the final battle (50.14.1-2), partly because of a storm (50.31.2).[56]

Dio seems, however, to stress that the fleet of Antonius was superior to that of Octavian (50.18.4-5; 50.19.4).[57] But according to Johnson Antonius would have been expected to say that his fleet was superior in his speech before the battle (fictitious speech) and furthermore, he is talking about size and not numbers.[58] In Dio 50.33.6-7

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[54] See Johnson 1976: 24-39; Reinhold 1988: 113 for the modern discussions on ship numbers.
[55] So Johnson 1976: 25f.
[56] Johnson 1976: 27 and n 21.
[57] According to Dio 50.18.5-5; 19.4 the fleet of Antonius was larger than Octavian's. See Kromayer 1933: 375, n 1; Richardson 1937: 154, n 8.
[58] Johnson 1976: 31f. According to Dio 50.29.1ff; 32.1ff the ships of Octavian were lighter than Antonius', but according to Dio 50.18.5-6; 23.2-3; Plut.Ant.61.1; 64.1; 65.1f; Florus 2.21.3; Oros.6.19.9 Antonius' ships were taller than the ships of Octavian. See Kienast 1966: 16.

and 50.28.6 the talk is not about ships but men, in 50.29 about size not numbers.[59] Antonius had more men because his ships were larger in size, not necessarily larger numbers of ships.

Looking closer at Plutarch, he stresses that Octavian captured 300 ships in the battle of Actium (*Ant*.61.1-2; 68.1), but he may of course be wrong, as he might have misunderstood 'Actium'. Perhaps this meant that Augustus claimed to have captured 300 ships in the campaign (see chapter 3 and 5 on 'Actium' as a campaign).[60] Perhaps the 500 ships of Antonius mentioned by Plutarch are thus the ships he had at the beginning of the campaign.

Augustus mentions in *RG* 3.4 that he captured 600 ships in naval engagements; according to Appian these were 30 at Mylae (App.*B.C*.5.108) and 255 at Naulochus (App.*B.C*.5.118 (300 ships on each side); App.*B.C*.121 (17 of Pompeius' ships escaped and 28 were sunk)).[61] To this figure the 300 captured ships at Actium mentioned by Plutarch must be added. The figure is thus almost 600, as mentioned in the *RG*. If the figure is accepted there are 315 captured ships for the rest of the fighting at Leucas, Patrae, later at Alexandria, apart from the battle of Actium itself. According to Dio 51.10.4 the fleet of Cleopatra did not engage Octavian's ships and surrendered. Surely these ships are part of the 600 ships mentioned in the *RG*. Even if these numbers are highly problematic, this means that either Augustus deliberately

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[59] Johnson 1976: 34f.
[60] See also Johnson 1976: 29. Pelling 1996: 55; 1988: 138 accepts Plutarch and his number of 500 (*Ant*.61). Antonius had 500 but only managed 250 against Octavian in the final battle (1996: 57). According to Murray 2002: 340-341; 2007: 446 this figure is reliable because the Victory Monument at Actium is a tithe, a dedication of 10% of the captured ships. That would be 30 rams, but Murray 2007: 46 does accept that there were 36 rams, which is substantially more than 30. Apart from that and the mentioned problem of how to understand Plutarch, there is mention of a ten ship-monument at Actium, but it is not the Victory Monument (see Strabo 7.7.5 and chapter 5 of this thesis).
[61] Appian tells the rest went up in flames or were captured (5.121). How many went up in flames it is impossible to say.

overestimated the numbers in the fleet of Antonius in the *RG* or, much more likely, the 300 mentioned in the autobiography were indeed the ships seized not during the final battle, but the Actian campaign.

Octavian captured around 300 ships in the Actian campaign, but the question remains how many ships each side had at Actium. It seems possible that Plutarch was simply mistaken and that Dio complicated the matter for us with Antonius' speech before the battle. Alternatively, there are two incompatible traditions. But it does seem likely that Octavian had the larger fleet, although it cannot be ruled out that the fleets may have been similar in numbers. Importantly, the evidence substantiates neither the position of Tarn that this was a victory against all odds, nor the position of Kromayer that Antonius was badly outnumbered. This also means that the evidence cannot be used to show with any kind of certainty that Antonius could not have won.

4.3.3: Sources

Looking at the evidence on the battle only Dio seems to undermine the prevailing idea that Cleopatra decided to flee and Antonius followed her. As mentioned Kromayer supports the idea that the 'fleeing' was prearranged as suggested by Dio 50.15.1.[62] According to Dio the council before the battle had Cleopatra suggest that they flee and fight another day, as the battle was lost before it was fought.[63] Perhaps the most extreme example of supporting this idea is found in Osgood, who concludes that in

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[62] Kromayer 1899: 33f; Rice Holmes 1928: 253, tracing the idea back to Merivale (1851) and more recently Admiral Graviere (1885). See also Rawlinson 1880: 452. In fact it is also found in Leake 1835b: 36 and can at least be traced back to Gilles 1807: 810.
[63] Kromayer 1899: 44 and 48; Leake 1835b: 36

some ways Antonius did have the better of the day, outwitting Octavian.[64] This is absurd.

Reinhold rightly observes the problematic contradiction in Dio's account and concludes that 50.33.1-2 appears to be the propaganda of Octavian, thus implying that 50.15.1, mentioning the prearranged plan, is not.[65] But perhaps the panic in 50.33.1-2 is the more likely scenario, as it finds support in the other sources, suggesting Cleopatra led the flight, whereas the prearranged plan is not supported by any other ancient evidence. According to Pelling Cleopatra's treachery is unlikely because the Augustan poets did not know about it.[66] The same poets do not say that Cleopatra fled because of a prearranged plan either. Vitally, Dio is isolated amongst the ancient evidence and contradicts himself.

Dio 50.33.1-2 seems very close to the information in the rest of the ancient evidence, as it focuses on Antonius and his disbelief when he learned that Cleopatra was fleeing. According to Plutarch Cleopatra ran away at a time when the battle was yet to be decided; it is at this crucial point that Antonius chose Cleopatra above his men (Plut.*Ant*.66). He did not even believe she was behind the fleeing and instead mentions her fleet. The double treachery by Cleopatra and Antonius was no doubt perfect for propaganda purposes, but so was the plan of Cleopatra accepted by Antonius (Dio 50.15), as it stressed Antonius' inability to behave like a Roman. Thus both stories might derive from the propaganda of the victor.

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[64] Osgood 2006: 374. Similarly Cairns 1983: 91, stressing that Antonius was not technically defeated.
[65] Reinhold 1988: 114. Similar Johnson 1976: 55 on the allegedly suppression of the intentions to escape.
[66] Pelling 1988: 284.

The main problem with approaching Cleopatra's betrayal is that both sides (Kromayer and Tarn) agree this never happened.[67] Kromayer uses Dio 51.15 and Tarn, stressing that Actium was not much of a battle, based this on his interpretation of Horace *Epode* 9 (betrayal of the fleet). The main evidence for Cleopatra's betrayal is a Late Latin translation of Josephus *C.Apion*.2.59:

> *Sed quid oportet amplius dici, cum illum ipsum in nauali certamine relinquens,*
>
> *id est maritum et parentem communium filiorum, tradere eum exercitum et*
>
> *principatum et se sequi coegit?*
>
> ("But what more need be said, when she, deserting even him - her husband and
>
> the father of their children – in the naval battle, compelled him to surrender his
>
> army and imperial title to follow her?" (translated by Thackeray 1926).[68]

Relinquens is perhaps better translated as 'leaving' not 'deserting', but there surely is no prearranged plan in Josephus. Similar Virgil *Aen*.8.704ff mentions that Actian Apollo fires the first shot of the battle and as a result the enemy flees (707-8):

> *ipsa videbatur ventis regina vocatis*
>
> *vela dare et laxos iam iamque immittere funis.*
>
> ("The queen herself was seen to woo the winds, spread sail, and now, even
>
> now, fling loose the slackened sheets") (translated by Fairclough 1934).

Velleius agrees and stresses that Cleopatra took the initiative in the flight and that Antonius chose her above his soldiers (2.85.3). In fact this is also found in Plutarch (*Ant*.66.3), Florus (2.21.8-9) and Dio (50.33.2).

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[67] See especially Kromayer 1899; Tarn 1931: 196; Grant 1972: 213; Murray and Petsas 1989: 133 ignores the evidence, as there is agreement on this matter in the modern debate.
[68] Pelling 1988: 284 suggests that Cleopatra's betrayal is mentioned first by Josephus. This is hardly true. See below.

All ancient evidence on the battle can be dismissed as propaganda of the regime. The only possibility is to work with historical probability and use the evidence at hand. All the evidence suggests that Cleopatra betrayed Antonius, with the exception of Dio, who contradicts himself. Dio and Kromayer are most likely wrong.

4.3.4: The course of battle

What happened in the course of battle is very difficult to tell (see fig.3), as Dio is no doubt very rhetorical, four obscure lines in a poem (Horace *Epode* 9) cannot decide the matter, but Plutarch does seem very detailed in the matter. According to Tarn the treachery of the fleet of Antonius decided the battle, although this was not the intention beforehand.[69] But the ancient evidence does not support this idea, as it is not even possible to establish this as likely in Horace. Perhaps Antonius did this out of love for Cleopatra (Plut.*Ant*.66; Vell.2.85.3; Propertius 2.16.39).

If Tarn's interpretation of Horace is to be believed it also means that the flank where Antonius himself was fighting was actually the flank returning to harbour, either before or after initial fighting (see above). This might be another example of mocking Antonius, even though Horace does not mention his position. Alternatively, and much more likely, the return to harbour happened as a result of Antonius' fleeing.

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[69] Tarn 1931: 173; 1934: 104-5; Murray 2002: 350.

Fig. 3: Battle plan Actium, Rice Holmes 1928, facing p. 147. **See printed edition of thesis.**

Maps say a lot about the perception of the battle of Actium. The above map shows different phases of the battle, but fails to supply the full geographical context, as Leucas is missing. Cleopatra and Antonius had to get round Leucas to flee the scene of battle. Chrysostomou and Kefallonitou 2001: 7 seem to have forgotten this vital point, showing that they fled due south, but have incorporated the betrayal of the fleet of Antonius (Tarn 1931) in their map. Rice Holmes' map also contains contours of the landscape, which is vital in understanding what happened on land. Morrison 1996: 160; Murray 2002: 360; Pelling 1996: 30 have good battle maps, but they do not show the development of the battle itself.

Looking at the battle in more detail, Carter mentions the constricted waters at Actium. This is important because the plan of Antonius, according to Carter, was to fight close to land so that the more manoeuvrable ships of Octavian could not sail round the ends of his line. But in the end Agrippa refused battle and Antonius was forced to take the initiative, which meant open waters but also a position to use sails.[70] This might give a clue to the plan of Antonius; perhaps he wanted to fight close to the narrow mouth of the Gulf, as the Greeks did at Salamis.[71] This does not necessarily tell us anything regarding the ship numbers in battle, but it is a logical way of trying to protect your ships. Of course Octavian/Agrippa knew the battle of Salamis as well and thus did not accept battle close to land, where their manoeuvrable ships would lose their advantage (Plut.*Ant*.62).

When Agrippa tried to outflank the right wing of Antonius, Publicola responded and the centre was separated from the flank and as a result the centre was thrown into confusion (*Ant*.66). It does not seem plausible that Octavius, the commander in the centre, knew nothing of this possibility, especially if it happened according to a prearranged plan. And more importantly, could Antonius have guessed that this would happen, as it was caused by Agrippa's manoeuvres?

The result of the manoeuvre was a gap in the middle of the fleets; a gap used by Cleopatra to flee. Rodgers observes that Cleopatra charged towards the centre and

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[70] Carter 1970: 215-219.
[71] Rodgers 1937: 86; Green 1996: 153-198; Strauss 2004: 87; Lendon 2005, especially 67.

made off (1937: 533).[72] This idea is similar to the *diekplous*, used by the Greek navy at Salamis. It literally means 'rowing through and out'; a line of triremes rowed through a gap in the enemy line and attacked.[73] But Agrippa and Octavian would have known these famous tactics as well and tried to cover their centre.

According to Carter Antonius reckoned with this gap and the plan was to save at least part of his fleet.[74] Kromayer suggests that Antonius took the northern flank, as it would be easier to flee to the south (1899: 40f), but this does not explain how Cleopatra did the same from her position behind the lines. He uses Plut.*Ant*.66 and concludes that Cleopatra broke through the middle of the enemy line ("sie bricht vor, bricht durch" (1899: 46). Clearly Kromayer thought fleeing from the scene of battle was not a problem at all, as he does not mention how the plan should otherwise be executed.[75] In 1933 he articulated the idea in is present form, talking about the gap ('Lücke') in the middle (1933: 362; 377-378).

Following this logic, Cleopatra would have had to flee through the middle at any rate, as she could not go north against the wind and not south, as this would have made the passage around Leucas impossible. According to Kromayer Antonius' fleet was breaking, as already mentioned above, but the fleet of Octavian is more difficult, as there is no information about this. Surely Octavian would have done everything to avoid a gap appearing in his line, as it would have made a counterattack by Antonius possible.

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[72] Rodgers 1937: 533. See also Kromayer 1899: 40-48; Rice Holmes 1928: 156; Pelling 1996: 58f; Murray 2002: 353.
[73] Strauss 2004: 21-22.
[74] Carter 1970: 220-224. Similar Johnson 1976: 53-56.
[75] Similar Leake 1835b: 38.

If Dio 50.23.1-3 does indeed suggest that Octavian had foreknowledge of the intentions of Antonius, knowledge of his battle plan, as suggested by Johnson (1976: 54), this might suggest that Octavian allowed Cleopatra and Antonius to flee, as it effectively ended the war. But this is all speculation. Vitally, this could not have been foretold by Antonius and thus used as part of his battle plan.

In fact Dio 50.31.4 suggests that the outflanking of his fleet made Antonius move forward, trying to engage in battle, not because he wanted to, but because he had to.[76] This again points to an unwanted situation that allowed Cleopatra to flee. Scholars might also have been slightly misled by the position of Cleopatra, most likely as a reserve. Was she ready to flee or was she a reserve positioned just behind the lines?[77]

Even though Plutarch mentions the gap in the centre (*Ant*.66.3), the statement that Cleopatra fled through "the midst of the combatants" need not imply she used the gap. There is also a question of the relative positions of the fleets in battle. It might indeed and most likely have begun as stressed on a battle plan by Rice Holmes (1928 facing page 147: see fig.3 above), but what happened next? If they were not in a straight N-S line (more or less); if the line had moved more towards E-W it would have been easier to use sails and get round Leucas and the gap might not have been needed.

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[76] Another factor at Actium is the wind. The wind is consistent, if wind can ever be, in this area (Kromayer 1899: 42 and n 3; Leake 1835b: 25 and 44. See also 38 and 41; Rice Holmes 1928: 258f; Rodgers 1937: 531; Carter 1970: 218). Carter mentions that from close to land if would be difficult to get round Leucas, even in the afternoon (219). Plut.*Ant*.65.7 does stress that there was no fighting before midday, but can we be certain this is because of prearranged plan to flee? It must be remembered that the wind was only one of many factors in this alleged plan. And surely Agrippa and Octavian knew about the local wind as well. The main evidence for the wind is Plut.*Ant*.66.2. According to Plutarch the battle of Salamis was also decided by knowledge (Themistocles) of wind (*Them*.14.2-3). See Strauss 2004: 153.
[77] On Cleopatra as reserve, see Rodgers 1937: 532.

Vitally, Antonius and Cleopatra could not at the outset have been sure that the battle would turn out like this. They could not have been sure to dominate the battle and thus make the flight possible. The sources indicate that they did not dominate the battle. Perhaps this was what they hoped, but even that seems unlikely. Perhaps they wanted to fight close to land to win, but as this did not happen Plan B was to flee and thus they accepted battle further out at sea. But why did they not try to get away with more of the fleet, and what about the army on land? The abandoning of the army suggests that something did not go according to plan. According to Southern remaining at Actium instead of marching away meant doom.[78] It is unlikely that Antonius chose between the army and the navy: marching away meant losing the navy, trying to flee at sea, leaving behind the army, had the same effect. Antonius was losing the war; nothing went according to plan.

At the time of the flight the battle scene must have been in chaos, with ships trying to board, trying not to get rammed and protecting their oars.[79] In conclusion, there was a relatively static battle, evolving into chaos when the engagement began. How could anybody guess what happened? Fundamentally, a battle plan intending to create a gap in the middle of the fighting ships seems unlikely and impossible. Kromayer's idea that Antonius and Cleopatra could control the battle and as a result Cleopatra could flee through the middle of the enemy line, the only possible way through, using the sea breeze, seems implausible for the same reasons.

4.3.5: *Antonius' intentions going into battle*

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[78] According to Southern 1998b: 140.

[79] Rodgers 1937: 11 on oars; Morrison 1996: 359-60 on tactics in ancient warfare (page 9f on the use of rams). For the differences between land and sea battles, sea battles being allegedly tactical unconstrained because there were no sea battles in epic, see Lendon 2005: 161.

It seems unlikely that it would be possible to retain the navy and the army after fleeing and thus fleeing would equal losing, not just the battle, but the whole war. It is hardly plausible to think that the army would have stayed loyal after they witnessed their general fleeing. If this is accepted, there would be no point in fleeing, as the end result would be the same, to lose. It is thus implausible to accept a Plan B that contains a strategy to regroup and fight another day. At the outset it seems that Octavian got much more out of Actium than he could ever have hoped for, but the question is how that came to pass. Historical probability dictates that Antonius most likely thought he could win, but being the good general he was, he had a Plan B. Rodgers believes that Antonius did not merely try to escape, but instead:

> "Like every good commander, Antony was ready for the worst while hoping for the best".[80]

This certainly fits a Roman general better. Rodgers also suggests that his plan was to escape with as many soldiers as possible, if he did not win (1937: 535). [81] The problem is that he did not do so, but left his fleet and army behind. It seems that Cleopatra and Antonius left the battle before it was decided, as stressed by Plutarch, the most thorough source on the battle, and thus the answer may lie somewhere else. The likely scenario is that during battle, before it was decided, Cleopatra lost her nerve and fled to Egypt.

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[80] Rodgers 1937: 535. As a Vice Admiral in the US Navy in the time of the great battleships his verdict is the result of military knowledge as a commanding officer.
[81] Similar Grant 1972: 211, suggesting that that was the plan, but in the end they were not able to achieve this. This is in principle possible, but not what the evidence suggests.

And what could be gained from the naval battle? Not territory, as that would still have to have to be decided by a battle on land. Why did Antonius not return to his army and fight after the defeat in the naval battle? Mommsen is certainly right in stressing that most likely the legions of Antonius were at Actium to be used in the land war.[82] Of course they were also fighting at sea, but could have been easily deployed after the battle on sea. Most likely the naval engagement was only part of the intended battle and to the surprise of everybody Cleopatra ran away and the land battle never materialised (Plut.*Ant*.68).[83]

Mommsen dismisses the prearranged plan and he neither believes in treachery, nor 'petulant' treachery: Cleopatra fled because she thought it best for her fleet. He suggests that she wanted to win the naval battle, something the Ptolemies mastered. In the end it was understandable for Cleopatra to flee, saving her fleet, when things went wrong, but incomprehensible that Antonius made after her.[84] The idea that Cleopatra needs to be remembered as the ruler of Egypt is a vital contribution to this discussion. That Antonius' flight was deemed incredible by contemporaries is the conclusion of Plut.*Ant*.68.

Perhaps Antonius thought he had a chance to prevail. His intentions were to win a victory or alternatively, he had a Plan B as the good general he was: fleeing and fight another day. But losing the battle and fleeing would most likely lose him his fleet and his army and thus the war. A Plan B as stressed by Tarn seems likely, but the reaction

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[82] Mommsen 1992: 85.

[83] Potter 2004: 78 suggests that the fleet was always of lesser importance than the legions. Rodgers 1937: 5 stresses that maritime war was secondary to land war, as water is neither habitable nor productive.

[84] Mommsen 1992: 85-86. Similar Gardthausen 1891: 377-383, who accepts Cleopatra's betrayal; Beike 1990: 145. See also Ranke 1882: 387-388. The view of Mommsen is very similar to the standard 18c view on the battle, accepting Cleopatra's betrayal and dismissing the prearranged plan. See Crevier 1754, especially 51. See also Hooke 1771: 405f; Rollin 1841 (18ed): 404.

of Antonius when Cleopatra fled suggests that he was not ready for it; Cleopatra lost her nerve. The hopelessness of Plan B is suggestive; especially leaving the army behind seems a gamble.

A preconceived plan involving a manoeuvre through the middle of the fighting seems implausible. Kromayer's theory that Antonius wanted to flee and fight the war somewhere else seems improbable; to flee was to accept overall defeat. An alternative to the traditional view of Kromayer's reconstruction appears. The lines were stretched and the gap appeared and Cleopatra, to the surprise of Antonius, fled. This is supported by the ancient evidence (even by Dio), whereas Kromayer's theory is implausible.

4.4: A glorious victory without much fighting: less than 5,000 dead

RG 3.1 is informative in its justification of the wars of Octavian. It stresses:

> *Bella terra et mari civilia externaque toto in orbe terrarum saepe gessi, victorque omnibus veniam petentibus civibus peperci.*
>
> ("I undertook many civil and foreign wars by land and sea throughout the world, and as victor I spared the lives of all citizens who asked for mercy.")
>
> (translated by Brunt and Moore 1967).

And the last sentence of the chapter reads:

> *Naves cepi sescentas praeter eas, si quae minores quam triremes fuerunt.*
>
> ("I captured six hundred ships, not counting ships smaller than triremes.").

Augustus does not stress the number of casualties (Naulochus, Actium), but focuses instead on the number of ships captured and his *clementia*. In chapter 25 Augustus mentions the number of slaves (30,000) given back to their masters after the victory against Sextus Pompeius, but no numbers on Actium, except for the senators who fought with him, as a means of justification (25.3).

Syme, building on Tarn's 1931 article, reaches the conclusion that there was little fighting and few casualties at Actium.[85] Similarly, Pelling writes: "The whole battle produced only 5,000 casualties, an amazingly small number by the standards of a sea-battle. Octavian did his best to make it a little more spectacular: a few ships were fired". Pelling, echoing the words of Syme (1939: 297: "Shabby affair") concludes that the battle was a "lame affair".[86] This dismissal of the battle seems to go back to Plutarch (*Ant*.68.2), but this seems a misrepresentation of Plutarch. Perhaps Velleius was too dismissive of Antonius when stating that the battle was decided before it was fought (2.84.1). It is always possible to dismiss poetry and its 'literariness', but in the *Aeneid* 8.671-728 there is no doubt that it is portrayed as a moment of extreme danger for Rome. Horace *Odes* 1.37.6-8 even goes as far as to mention the possible destruction of Rome, Propertius 4.6.41-44 describes the fear (41: *solve metu patriam*) and the necessity of victory; Octavian had to defend Rome. Suetonius observes that the fighting continued all day and to so late an hour that Octavian had to spend the night on board his ship (*Aug*.17.2; see also Vell.2.85).

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[85] Syme 1939: 297.
[86] Pelling 1996: 59 for both quotations. He does accept that the battle was vital. Similar, see Starr 1941: 7; Pelling 1988: 287; Mommsen 1992: 86; Carter 1970: 224f; Wallace-Hadrill 1993: 3; Southern 1998b. See Reinhold 1988: 115f with more scholarship. Johnson 1976: 71-72 acknowledges the ideological and moral greatness of the battle, less so the military greatness. The idea that there was not much fighting is not new, see Rawlinson 1880: 452.

Vitally, Plutarch *Ant*.68.2 seems to give away more than presented here.[87] The figure of 5,000 derives from Augustus' autobiography.[88] The number of dead in the battle was not 5,000 according to Plutarch, but in fact no more than 5,000 dead, which most likely meant that is was less than or no more than 5,000, thus stressing the relative small number of dead.[89]

The rule of 5,000 enemies killed as the required minimum for receiving a triumph was invented to oppose people who wanted a triumph for insignificant battles (Valerius Maximus 2.8.1; Oros.5.4.7). By ancient standards Actium was not an insignificant battle.[90] And surely the greatness of a naval battle must be measured on the victory itself, its decisiveness and the number of captured ships, as seems to be normal in the ancient evidence, and not the number of dead enemies.[91] Perhaps qualifying for a triumph was the sole reason why Augustus mentioned that specific figure.[92] But why not put the figure higher, why say that it was no more than 5,000? 'No more' does suggest that he was trying to keep the figure down. Perhaps Augustus wanted to stress his right to the triumph and at the same time suggest that the number of casualties was as low as possible, bearing in mind that it was a civil war. Declared as a foreign war, Romans still killed Romans at Actium. Augustus tried to accentuate and downplay Actium at the same time.

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[87] On the legions see Pelling 1996: 59.
[88] Pelling 1988: 26 and 288. See also Tarn 1931: 178.
[89] On the number of dead in the battle, see Johnson 1976: 40-43.
[90] Getting a triumph for expanding Rome, see Livy 31.5; 36.1 on Fulvius, who won back Capua after its revolt to Hannibal, but did not receive a triumph. Murray and Petsas 1989: 141; Murray 2002 suggests that the Victory Monument supports the idea that it was a real battle. He thus argues against the consensus, but the problem is that the monument cannot show if the ships were lost in battle or dismantled after surrendering, with or without fighting.
[91] According to Polybius 16.7.1 the number of dead Macedonians at the battle of Chios 201 BC was 9,000. But Polybius also tells that the Romans at the battle of Eknomos in 256 BC lost 24 ships, but none of the ships were captured with their crew (1.28.13).
[92] Val.Max.2.8.1.

Florus fails to give details on the actual battle and Velleius says the men of Antonius fought long but gives no details. He stresses instead the desertion of Antonius (2.85). Orosius agrees with the long fight and mentions that it was a serious slaughter (6.19). Dio agrees with fierce and bitter struggle and long fighting (50.33), and Plutarch also accepts that the battle was long (*Ant*.68), and gives the figure of less than 5,000 casualties. Orosius mentions the figure of 12,000 dead and 6,000 wounded, 1,000 of whom would die (6.19.2).

Johnson concludes on the issue of the 5,000: "If Augustus himself recorded this figure in his memoirs, as Tarn contends, either he was not attempting to make a small battle into a large one or 5,000 was indeed a large number of men lost. In either case Tarn's view is defeated".[93] Augustus did not try to make Actium into something it was not.

According to Kromayer there is the possibility that the 5,000 only meant fighting men, but Plutarch only mentions 'bodies'.[94] There simply is no evidence to support the theory of Kromayer. And notwithstanding, Augustus still had the small figure, even though it is not unlikely that Orosius might be closer to the truth.

The next question must be who did the fighting? Velleius observes that when Antonius decided to follow Cleopatra he left his soldiers behind (2.85.3). The role of the commander is to punish desertion, and here the soldiers of Antonius did nothing wrong, as they did not desert him; he deserted them (2.84.3). Canidius Crassus

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[93] Johnson 1976: 43.
[94] Kromayer 1933: 369; Grant 1972: 212; Murray and Petsas 1989: 135-136. Murray 2002: especially 347 suggest that the fighting war fierce and uses number of ships to do so. But the number of ships cannot reveal the fierceness of the battle. What we know regarding the number of dead in the battle is 5,000.

commanded the men of Antonius and they were Roman legionaries. Velleius concludes that it is a civil war (ending at Alexandria, 2.87.1). Similarly, Horace *Epode* 9 does stress *Romanus* (line 11).

Plutarch mentions a figure of 100,000 fighting for Antonius against 80,000 for Octavian (*Ant*.61). According to Kromayer fewer than half of the soldiers of Antonius were Romans/Italians.[95] This has been dismissed by Tarn, who suggests that Antonius had 65,000 Romans and fewer soldiers than the figure given by Plutarch. He concludes that Octavian had more soldiers at Actium.[96] These are number games, but importantly, there seems to be no support in the evidence to suggest that most or many of the soldiers of Antonius were non-Romans.

Apart from the Roman soldiers and senators on both sides, the difference between the two is reflected in Antonius' position as triumvir in the east; fighting for him were the client kings of the east, including Cleopatra, whereas Octavian could recruit soldiers in Italy. *RG* 25 mentions the senators fighting for Octavian at Actium. This was not just a civil war, but also a conflict between the west under the standards of Octavian against the east under Cleopatra and her lover Antonius (Horace *Epodes* 9.11-16). The blurring of civil and foreign war again becomes obvious. The east-west conflict should not be overestimated though, as the enemy was not the east, but Antonius and Cleopatra.[97]

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[95] Kromayer 1898: 68. Rice Holmes 1928: 147 suggests that 2/3 of his men were Orientals.
[96] Tarn 1932, especially 80. According to Kienast 1966: 10f there were many Romans in the fleet of Antonius as well. Tarn 1932 also suggests that Octavian could have brought more men had he thought he needed them, because he commanded Italy (79). According to Brunt 1971: 504-507 the forces of Antonius were below strength. He mentions 60,000 Italians fighting for Antonius (507).
[97] Plutarch gives a very thorough and long list of client kings who fought alongside Antonius at Actium, containing names from the "Roman east" (*Ant*.61). Eurycles, king of Sparta, was fighting for Octavian, as his father was killed by Antonius (Plut.*Ant*.67.2-3). Sparta was one of only two Greek cities, the

Octavian/Augustus, it seems, tried to keep the casualty figure down, as Romans were killing Romans. If the triumph-idea is accepted, the closeness between Augustus' autobiography, the *RG*, and Horace becomes central: this was a civil war, the victory was great, but the number of dead relatively small in the end. The actual number of casualties was thus most likely higher, perhaps as high as the number in Orosius, going most likely back to Livy or the *Periochae* of Livy (see above).

4.5: From Actium to Alexandria

After the battle of Actium, Octavian sent envoys to Canidius Crassus and the army of Antonius. Ultimately, the army was abandoned by Crassus and the other officers and the legions changed sides (Plut.*Ant*.68.2-3; Dio 51.1.4). They had been ordered into Macedonia by Antonius (Plut.*Ant*.67.5) and remained intact for seven days (*Ant*.68.3). The picture given is that of a Roman army devoted to their general, even though Antonius did not live up to this (*Ant*.64.2-4).[98] Antonius' army was later incorporated into the forces of Octavian and some were disbanded (Dio 51.3.1-2).[99] This is an example of the *clementia* of Octavian (*RG* 3). The partisans of Antonius were pardoned, but Canidius Crassus and Cassius of Parma, murderers of Caesar (*RG* 2), were not allowed to live.[100]

After Actium Octavian took up winter quarters at Samos 31-30 BC. He used this period to reorganise the East, on many levels accepting the arrangements of Antonius,

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other being the Mantineans, who fought on Octavian's side at Actium (Pausanias 4.31.1; 8.8.12). For an overstatement of the East-West-conflict, see Ranke 1882, chapter 13; Syme 1939: 461.
[98] Pelling 1988: 288 on the negotiations between the army and Octavian. He stresses that Canidius was loyal towards Antonius, the army was disloyal. This does seem overstressing the point, as Antonius had after all left them in battle. Similar Grant 1972: 212f.
[99] See Reinhold 1988: 125-128. Regarding the soldiers of Antonius, see Keppie 1983: 79f.
[100] Vell.2.87.3.

using client kings.[101] The new changes still left Greek affairs in the hands of Greeks, and all in all the political aims of Octavian seem to have been reconciliation, not punishment.[102]

In early 30 BC Octavian had to go back to Italy to attend to a problem with the disbanded soldiers.[103] There seems to have been some kind of financial discontent; the riches of Egypt were needed more than ever.[104] According to Syme Octavian was in no haste pursuing the fugitives (1939: 298). This seems wrong, but Octavian tried to be cautious before approaching the final battle. This seems a good example of the favourite saying of Augustus *festina lente* (Suet.*Aug*.25.4; Gell.*NA*.10.11.6).[105]

The envoys of Cleopatra and Antonius sent to Octavian illustrate that the tides were turning, as they offered that Cleopatra should abdicate and Antonius should live as a *privatus*. Octavian only replied to Cleopatra, suggesting that she kill Antonius or banish him (Plut.*Ant*.72-73.1; Dio 51.6.4-5). A second embassy offered money from Cleopatra and Antonius offered suicide, if Octavian would spare Cleopatra (Val.Max.50.1.19; Dio 51.8.1-4). A third embassy offered gold (Dio 51.8.4-7; Plut.*Ant*.73.1; 74.1). Importantly, Octavian offered nothing, as he did not have to.

L. Pinarius Scarpus had the command of four legions at Cyrene (Dio 51.9.1) and the remainder of the fleet of Antonius and Cleopatra was at Paratonium, close to Scarpus,

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[101] Kienast 1999: 71; Bowersock 1965: 85-86; Reinhold 1988: 122-123.
[102] Bowersock 1965: 90 and 99. He also points out that the shift in allegiance within the ruling class of Rome made is almost impossible for the Greeks (2). In principle they ought to have changed sides when the war began or at least when Antonius made war on Italy and Rome. Macmullen 2000: 2-4 and 29 stresses the importance of Greek culture in Rome and concludes like Bowersock that the changes were after all minimal with the victory of Octavian.
[103] Suet.*Aug*.17.3; Plut.*Ant*.68.4; Dio 51.4.1; Vell.2.88. See Rice Holmes 1928: 159f.
[104] Pelling 1996: 61-62.
[105] Augustus apparently used Greek not Latin. See Carter 1982: 120.

who declared for Octavian. The four legions were taken over by Gallus who attacked Alexandria from the west, Octavian from the east, having marched through Syria.[106] As he closed in on Alexandria, Cleopatra ordered her men not to oppose Octavian.[107] During winter more client kings changed sides as well, like Amyntas and Herod before them.[108] Cleopatra seems to have acted in the best interest of Egypt, trying that is to save her throne and the country.

There seems not to have been much fighting at Alexandria; the final attack was on 1st August 30 BC. The ships sent to oppose Octavian raised their oars in friendly gesture. Antonius won a cavalry engagement (Dio 51.10.4), but his infantry was defeated and Alexandria surrendered (Strabo 17.1.10; Livy *Per*.133; Vell.2.87.1; Plut.*Ant*.76.1; Suet.*Aug*.17.3; 71.1; Dio 51.10.2-5). According to Plutarch (*Ant*.76) the desertions happened before the final battle and according to Dio (51.10.2) they happened after.[109] Either way, the war was over.

Livy reports that a false rumour that Cleopatra had been killed drove Antonius to suicide (*Per*.133). According to Plutarch it was Cleopatra who deceived Antonius to think she was dead and as a result he committed suicide (*Ant*.76). Dio also suggests that Cleopatra betrayed Antonius at Pelusium (51.10.4-6; see also Plut.*Ant*.76.2).[110] The love of Antonius and Cleopatra's betrayal surely must be seen as a continuation of the story at Actium.

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[106] See Pelling 1996: 59-63.
[107] Jos.*Ant.Iud*.15.6.7; *Bell.Iud*.1.20.3; Plut.*Ant*.74.1; Flor.2.21.9; Suet.*Aug*.17.3; Dio 51.9.5-6; Oros. 6.19.14.
[108] Pelling 1996: 61.
[109] Kromayer 1898: 65; Rice Holmes 1928: 163, n 5, both supporting Plutarch.
[110] See Rice Holmes 1928: 164; Reinhold 1988: 133; Kienast 1999: 72.

The death of Cleopatra soon followed. Plutarch, Suetonius and Dio all stress that nobody knows for certain how she died (*Ant*.86.2; *Aug*.17.4; 51.14.1).[111] Perhaps, as Syme suggests, it would have been an embarrassment for Octavian if she lived (1939: 298f), as Caesar had earlier encountered criticism when he led Cleopatra's sister Arsinoe in his triumph, although she was not killed after the triumph, but later by Antonius to please Cleopatra (Josephus *Ant.Iud*.15.4.1; App.*B.C*.5.9; Dio 43.19.3). The problem with the approach of Syme is the lack of ancient evidence.[112] More likely Cleopatra was too proud to be led in the triumphal procession (Horace *Odes* 1.37; Livy *Per*.133).

After the victory Octavian gave a speech to the Alexandrians announcing his *clementia* (Dio 51.16.3-4, Plut.*Ant*.80.1). The fact that Alexander founded the city is stressed by Dio, who also mentions Octavian's visit to see the great king (16.5). In Suetonius this story is used as an antithesis to the rule of the Ptolemies and to Cleopatra and Antonius (*Aug*.18; 17 with Cleopatra and Antonius).

Cleopatra and Antonius were buried in Alexandria in the *tumulus* Cleopatra had been building. Even at this point Octavian played the game of propaganda, as this was in accordance with the will of Antonius (see chapter 3). This must be seen in connection with the Mausoleum of Octavian on the *Campus Martius* (Suet.*Aug*.17.4 using the word *tumulus*, but the word Mausoleum for the tomb of Augustus, see 100.4; 101.4).[113] Octavian fought for Rome, Cleopatra for Egypt, but supported by Antonius.

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[111] The sources mention snakebite and poison. See Pelling 1988: 319; Reinhold 1988: 135f; Osgood 2006: 388. Perhaps Cleopatra died on the 10th of August. See Pelling 1988: 318; 1996: 63, n 331.
[112] See also Nisbet and Hubbard 1970 on *Odes* 1.37; Grant 1972: 224-227. Pelling 1988: 318 rightly suggests that if this had been suspected Tacitus surely would have mentioned it in *Ann*.1.10.
[113] See Rice Holmes 1928: 168, n 3 with more sources.

As for the offspring of Cleopatra, Antyllus, the eldest son of Antonius, and Caesarion, son of Caesar, were killed, but the rest of her children were provided for by Octavia (Dio 51.15.5; Plut.*Ant*.81.1; 87; Vell.2.87.2; Suet.*Aug*.17.5).[114] Helios is not heard of again, but his sister Selene was used in dynastic politics and married to Juba of Mauretania.[115]

The capture of Alexandria in the end could be no more than the postscript to the battle of Actium, as is shown clearly by the desperation in the final acts of Antonius and Cleopatra. Octavian needed the riches of Egypt to pay the soldiers, but at the same time he took the time needed to secure his position in the whole of the Roman Empire.

4.6: Actium and Alexandria: one or two wars?

The way events turned out presented problems of conceptualizing the victories, which is reflected in the ambivalent practice of our sources; some mention one war and some mention two. There had been two campaigns in two quite different theatres, of which the first at Actium was in fact decisive, but the second at Alexandria had brought the conflict to an end. In reality of course this was one war, and it is often so described of in our sources. But some slipped understandably into speaking of two wars (e.g. Velleius), and this helped to justify the celebrating of two triumphs (see chapter 6). Sometimes *bellum Actiacum* (and similar phrases) was used just for the first campaign, but sometimes the battle's decisiveness led to the label being applied to the whole conflict. Importantly, each phase was to receive its own commemorations (see chapter 6).

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[114] See Pelling 1988: 323-327; 1996: 64; Kienast 1999: 73.
[115] See Syme 1939: 300; Pelling 1988: 325.

Livy 1.19 writes:

> *post bellum Actiacum ab imperatore Caesare Augusto pace terra marique parta.*
>
> ("After the battle of Actium, when the emperor Caesar Augustus had brought about peace on land and sea") (translated by Foster 1919).

1.19 stresses *post bellum Actiacum* and thus seems to imply that the war ending in August 30 BC is summed up under the heading 'Actium'.[116] In *Per.*133 there is an emphasis on both wars; the subject of book 133 was clearly the battle of Actium and the capture of Alexandria. In 1.19 Livy also mentions that *Augustus* brought about peace on land and sea; the title Augustus needs stressing here. This passage was written after 27 BC and still the battle of Actium remains the turning point. Even though the temple of Janus was closed in 29 BC after Alexandria, the whole war was called *bellum Actiacum*. This is hardly a surprise, because Actium was the decisive battle in the war, but the war itself did not quite end with the battle. Suetonius *Aug*.9 also mentions *bellum Actiacum* and it clearly refers to the whole war, as Alexandria is not mentioned as a foreign war (*Aug*.20).

RG 25.2 mentions the war in which Octavian was victorious at Actium, and even though Egypt is mentioned in 27.1, the consensus of chapter 34.1, going back to the oath mentioned in *RG* 25.2 together with Actium, points to the same idea as found in Livy; Actium in *RG* 25.2 gives the name of the whole war against Cleopatra and Antonius, even though it stresses *ad Actium*. There is a blurring of foreign and civil

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[116] Johnson 1976: 30. Gurval 1995: 15 accepts this to be on the closing of the temple of Janus, but does not seem to see other implications. On Livy 1.19, see Ogilvie 1965: 93-95.

war, as the war was declared on Cleopatra and one result of the (civil) war was that Egypt became part of the Roman Empire.

The surviving fragments of the so-called Carmen De Bello Actiaco refer clearly to the Alexandrian war, not the Actian, but in fact *tumultus Actiacos* is mentioned in column 3.4-5/lines 23-24. Courtney stresses an Augustan date for the poem, perhaps from the *Res Romana* of Cornelius Severus or Rabirius, mentioned by Velleius 2.36.3.[117] This is dismissed by Gurval, who holds that the role of Actium in the poem is impossible to determine (1995: 14). Pelling observes that the modern name is wrong, as the subject is Alexandria.[118] But apart from the fragmented nature of the poem and the fact that Actium is mentioned, *Bellum Actiacum* is an Augustan description of the battles of Actium and Alexandria.

Velleius 2.88.1 correctly stresses *bello Actiaco Alexandrinoque*, but for him Actium was the vital battle of the war (2.84.1):[119]

> *Caesare deinde et Messala Corvino consulibus debellatum apud Actium.*
> ("Then, in the consulship if Caesar and Messala Corvinus, the decisive battle took place at Actium") (translated by Shipley 1924).

And this glorious day is even more accentuated at 2.86.1: *fortuna publica*. Alexandria on the other hand gets a brief mention in the conclusion of the civil wars (2.87.1). Importantly, for Velleius there were clearly two wars.

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[117] Courtney 1993:334-340.
[118] Pelling 2001: 297.
[119] See Woodman 1983: 218ff on the relative importance of Actium in Velleius.

The magistrate list in the inscribed *Fasti*, several of which include headings for wars, show, like Velleius, that the wars of Actium and Alexandria were perceived as either one or two wars. Of the *fasti* which survive for the relevant years there are headings as follows: *Fasti Amiterni* (Degrassi 1947: 170-1) under 32 BC stresses Bellum Acties(e) class[iarium] cum M. Antonio, under 30 BC Bell[um classia]r(ium) confect(um); *Fasti Cuprenses* (244-5), under 32 BC stresses [Bellum Actie]nse (entry for 30 lost); *Fasti Venusini* (254-5) stresses Bellum Acti(ense), under 32 BC and Bellum Alexandreae under 30 BC. This might be the result of two triumphs, suggesting two separate wars. But there is no literary source suggesting that there were two wars, and the triumphs are difficult, since one campaign could not in principle give two triumphs (see chapter 6).

There is a clear ambivalence towards the question of how to conceptualize the victories, as there is a single war and two triumphs. A Greek epigram of Augustan date, preserved on a papyrus, in many ways sums up the story of Actium and Alexandria:

> "Master of Actium, sea-fighting lord, memorial of Caesar's deeds and witness of his prosperous labours; whose name is on the lips of Time, for in your honour Caesar calmed the storm of war and the clash of shields, and there he cut short the sufferings of fair Peace, and came rejoicing to the land of Nile, heavy-laden with the cargo of Law and Order, and Prosperity's abundant riches, like Zeus the god of Freedom; and Nile welcomed his lord with arms of bounty, and his wife, whom with golden arms the river laves, received the shower, apart from stress or strife, that came from her Zeus of Freedom, and

truly the very name of war was extinguished. -- Hail, Lord of Leucas, one and only noble president at the victorious deeds wrought by Augustus, our Zeus the son of Cronus!" (translated by Page 1942).[120]

Apollo, the master of Actium and Leucas is mentioned in connection with the two victories of Octavian, with the emphasis on Actium. They bring peace and law and order, even prosperity.

4.7: Conclusion

Both *Epode* 9 and the historical tradition on the battle are clearly contemporary in origin. Tarn's theory that the fleet of Antonius betrayed him cannot be substantiated by four lines in a poem. Partly as a consequence of Tarn's shortcomings there is a modern consensus, going back to Kromayer, on the central issue regarding the battle of Actium, which rejects the account given in the ancient evidence, that Cleopatra fled and Antonius followed her; the withdrawal was instead a prearranged plan.

Looking at this theory, there are numerous problems. The blockade so important to the general argument of Kromayer may not have been as effective as he thought. Similarly, the ship numbers are notoriously difficult, but cannot with any certainty show that Antonius was numerically outnumbered to a degree that he had no possibility of winning. Looking at the ancient evidence and historical probability it seems striking that all the evidence, even partly Dio, as he contradicts himself, suggests that Cleopatra betrayed Antonius. There seems little reason to accept Dio, and dismiss all the other evidence.

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[120] Page 1942: no.113. See also Bowersock 1965: 139.

Antonius' intentions going into battle were most likely to win, and alternatively, make for Egypt (Plan B). Tarn was certainly right that this does not have to be part of a prearranged plan to flee. The idea, going back to Kromayer, that it would be easy to flee from the scene of battle, most likely a scene of complete chaos, must be dismissed as implausible. A plan which includes creating a gap in the middle of the lines of fighting is implausible and does not take into account the positions of the ships of Octavian. Much more likely the scenario is as follows: Antonius knew that fleeing would lose him not only the battle but the war, and thus he went into battle trying to win. At some stage during the encounter Cleopatra lost her nerve and to the surprise of everybody, including Antonius, fled for Egypt. Even more surprising, Antonius then decided to follow her, leaving his army and navy behind. Nothing went according to plan. The ancient evidence must be preferred. Tarn and Kromayer were wrong. The fact that a land battle was not fought at Actium is the real surprise.

Analogies between Salamis and Actium are difficult and problematic, partly because of Plutarch, who stresses the importance of wind in the outcome of the battles. They were naval battles and the battles brought victory within a striking distance of the Greeks/Octavian, but neither battle was the last battle of the war. Importantly, Plataea, a traditional infantry battle, won the Greeks their victory. Alexandria on the other hand was only a postscript to Actium, as the infantry battle at Actium never happened, even though the armies were there. All changed when Cleopatra ran away and Antonius followed her.

Because Actium was also a civil war it became important to stress that not many Romans lost their lives. This did not diminish the victory, but showed Augustan society's wish to move on from the period of civil war. The number of casualties stressed by Augustus is probably low. The figure of less than 5,000 was a necessity on one level, Octavian wanting to justify the triumph, but at the same time Augustus wanted to justify the civil war. Actium did after all not provide Rome with new dominions as Egypt did in 30 BC.[121]

In the ideology of the regime it was opportune to stress that a foreign power was planning to attack Rome with the help of Romans. Octavian did not begin the civil war, Antonius did by helping Cleopatra. Augustus did not try to make a small victory larger and more magnificent; he tried to downplay the effects of civil war and at the same time celebrate the great victory at Actium. The actual number of casualties is thus most likely higher than the 5,000. Tarn is wrong that this was an insignificant battle. Furthermore, nothing in the *RG* suggests that Augustus tried to make Actium a victory against all odds.

Looking at the military significance of the battle of Actium it was thus a huge success; Octavian won the battle, which decided the war. He could now claim to have saved Rome. What was left was to finally defeat Antonius and the remaining Romans on his side. This also meant conquering Egypt, fitting it seems as the war was declared on

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[121] Getting a triumph for expanding Rome, see Livy 31.5; 36.1. Augustus in the *RG* brilliantly avoided this problem by not just addressing it in the text (*RG* 27.1 on Egypt), but in the heading of the inscription itself: *Rerum gestarum divi Augusti, quibus orbem terrarum imperio populi Romani subiecit, et impensarum quas in rem publicam populumque Romanum fecit* ("The achievements of the Divine Augustus, by which he brought the world under the empire of the Roman people, and of the expenses which he bore for the state and people of Rome") (translated by Brunt and Moore 1967).

the Egyptian queen. But conquering Egypt was only a postscript to Actium. The desperation of Antonius and Cleopatra clearly suggest that the war was lost already.

This was in some respects one campaign, even though two separate theatres of war and two separate victories; decisively won at Actium and ended at Alexandria, and in this sense it was the *Bellum Actiacum Alexandrinumque*. But there is a clear ambivalence in the ancient evidence towards the question of how to conceptualize the victories, as there was a single war, but two triumphs (see chapter 6).

Chapter 5: Onsite Commemorations of the Battle of Actium

The important monograph by Murray and Petsas and the impressive new findings by Zachos have caused renewed interested in an almost forgotten monument: a victory monument built on a hill sacred to Apollo, overlooking the city of Nicopolis, founded by Octavian to commemorate the battle at Actium.[1] At the base of the hill the Actian games were situated, moved by Octavian from the old sanctuary of Apollo on the other side of the bay, to just outside his new city. One major problem in the recent scholarship on Actium is that Gurval's book on the subject, so far the only detailed monograph on the Actian ideology of Augustus, almost completely ignores this monument.[2]

Furthermore, as a consequence of the archaeological nature of the monument most recent scholarship has been archaeological in character, and a re-examination of this new material and the different approaches to the monument and its monumental inscription is now due. This inscription, it will be suggested, is the key to understanding the monument and its connections to Rome. The inscription will also be used to evaluate the new archaeological conclusions and their connection to the 'Augustan' ideology. It will try to show how important Actium was to Octavian, exemplified by the onsite commemorations. This chapter will thus try to give the monument its place both at Actium and in Rome, and try to recreate the early history of the Victory Monument.

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[1] Murray and Petsas 1989; Zachos 2001; 2003; 2007, vol.1-2 on Nicopolis, Actium and the Victory Monument.
[2] Gurval 1995: 66 and n 115, 116. He is content to conclude that the area was dedicated to Mars and Neptune and vitally, not Apollo.

5.1: Two victory cities

After his victories at Actium and Alexandria Octavian built two victory cities onsite, in commemoration of these victories: the city in Egypt exists today only in the ancient evidence, whereas the city at Actium and its monuments partly survive and are also mentioned more frequently in the sources (Strabo, Suetonius and Dio, see below; see also Propertius 4.6.15ff and 4.6.67-70).[3]

Both cities must be seen in the context of the Hellenistic tradition of building victory cities, which was imitated by the Romans.[4] Alexander built the first Nicopolis to commemorate the battle of Issus and Pompeius built his Nicopolis in *Armenia Minor* after the expulsion of Mithradates from Pontus.[5] This city seems to have been a result of synoecism: a mixed colony of veterans and natives.[6]

Dio 51.18.1 is the main text to provide an understanding of the two cities of Octavian; the Egyptian Nicopolis was modelled on the already founded city at Actium, with the same name and similar games (51.1.1-2). According to Strabo the old temples at Alexandria were not properly taken care of or were even abandoned because of the new temples in Nicopolis (17.1.10).

There were three Roman legions stationed in Egypt after the conquest, all at Nicopolis according to Capponi, which seems to suggest the relative importance of the newly

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[3] Tac.*Ann*. 2.53 on Germanicus travelling to Nicopolis and Actium to see the place of the battle of his forefathers, Augustus being his great-uncle and Antonius his grandfather.
[4] On the Hellenistic tradition of victory cities, see Krinzinger 1987: 112-114; Jones 1987: 99-108; Purcell 1987: 76. On the Alexander-*imitatio* of Pompeius, see Gelzer 1949: 59; Bosworth 1999; Christ 2004: 35-39, 79-80, 102, 202-203. See also Dreizehnter 1975, especially 213-215, 235-240, concluding that Pompeius did not imitate the foundation of cities, as he only founded one. Against this Gurval 1995: 69, n 125, mentioning at least 7 cities in the East.
[5] Jones 1987: 106, n 33 on Alexander and Strabo 12.3.28; Dio 36.50.3; App.*Mith*.105.494 and 115.561 on Pompeius. See also Jones 1937: 158, 172; Gelzer 1949: 105.
[6] Jones 1937: 158.

founded city.[7] The problem is that there seems to be no contemporary evidence to support this modern view, as Strabo (17.1.12) does not mention the name Nicopolis. As for the later material, it cannot with certainty date Nicopolis, as a military camp, back to Augustan times.[8] Strabo does mention 'the city', but that refers to Alexandria and cannot with certainty be taken to refer to Nicopolis.

At Actium Herod the Great, client king of Rome, showed his allegiance to the new regime by building most of the public buildings (Josephus *A.J.* 16.146), but this may be an exaggeration. According to Gurval Herod had to contribute, thus implying that Augustus did not want to pay and the city was not that important.[9] But certainly Herod would have been more than happy to contribute, being a former supporter of Antonius.

The reorganized games at the cities were quinquennial, equal in status to the Olympic Games (Dio 51.18.1). The games in Greece were sacred to *Apollo Actius* (Strabo 7.7.6) and the *Actia* was in fact the model for games in many other locations.[10] They

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[7] Capponi 2005: 17-18, 20-21. See also Clauss 2004: 132-3, suggesting Nicopolis was planned as a military camp.

[8] For the legions of Augustus in Egypt, see Speidel 1984: 317-321. According to Tac.*Ann*.4.5 the three legions of Augustan times were reduced to two by AD 23. Alston 1995: 28 observes that later in the first century BC there was one legion at Nicopolis. This seems to be an interpretation of Strabo, mentioning 'the city' (Alexandria), perhaps referring to Nicopolis. This is not necessarily what Strabo says. There are many references to Alexandria and the area, meaning Nicopolis, especially in inscriptions, but they are all later, from the 1st and 2nd C. (see Alston 1995: Appendix 1 and Appendix 2, especially 192-193).

[9] Gurval 1995: 83. On Herod and Nicopolis, see Roller 1998: 228-229.

[10] Reinhold 1988: 120 with scholarship and 226 on the Actian games in the Empire (Ancyra, Alexandria, Antioch, Pergamum, Iguvium in Italy and perhaps in Jerusalem etc.). See also Hekster and Rich 2006: 162-163; Tidman 1950: 123-5; Gurval 1995: 74-81 observes that there seems to be a lack of evidence for these games (78, n 151). There seems to be a lapse from the 1C. BC because of civil war. There is a rise in the 1C. AD and a peak in the 2 and 3C. AD. See Newby 2006: 38f. Thus the absence of inscriptions from the Augustan period does not necessarily mean an absence of the games themselves. On the pre-Augustan games, see Habicht 1957: 102-109. Coins with the legend 'Actia' are known form the 4C. BC. From the 3C. BC the Acarnanians undertook the conduct of the games. See Tzouvara-Souli 2001: 241f. For the later history of the Actia, which continued well into the 3C. AD, see Pavlogiannis and Albanidis 2007: 57-76.

were instituted in 31 BC (Dio 51.1.3) and celebrated for the first time in 27 BC.[11] It is likely, but uncertain, that the day of the games was the 2nd September.[12] That the games of both cities were celebrated every fifth year does suggest a connection between them (see chapter 6 and 7 on the games in Rome).

The 'sacred five-year games at Alexandria' (*ho hieros pentaetericos agon*) are referred to in two career records of the Flavian-period athletes from Naples (*IGRR* 1.445-6).[13] These games are presumably those founded at Nicopolis, but here strikingly attributed to Alexandria; this does seem to indicate a decline in the importance of Nicopolis in Egypt. One of the victors won a lot of contests as a boy, and the Alexandrian one is described as '*Ak…*', usually completed *Ak[tiakōn paidōn]* or *Ak[tiakōn ageneiōn]*. This is the only basis for supposing that the games in Egypt were Actian, but is it correctly restored? Perhaps the kappa should have been a gamma and the reading thus just *ageneiōn* (literally 'beardless')?[14] Gurval is right in concluding that it does not prove the point, but if the supplement is correct, it is striking that 'Actian' should have turned up in this context at all.[15]

Surprisingly Gurval concludes that Dio 51.18.1 is most likely wrong: in his view, the Egyptian Nicopolis was founded first and formed the model for Nicopolis at Actium.[16] To build a 'Nicopolis' is to imitate Alexander and thus try to be the new Alexander.[17]

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[11] Hekster and Rich 2006: 163; Rieks 1970, especially 116; Lämmer 1986: 29; Kienast 1999: 461, n 37.
[12] Murray and Petsas 1989: 129; Lämmer 1986: 29; Strauch 1996: 161.
[13] For text and translation, see Wallner 2001.
[14] Antiochia has a category called 'Aktian boys', but this seems to unique on this inscription. See Frisch 1988: 180. This is presumably modelled on a category in the Nicopolis games.
[15] Gurval 1995: 78, n. 151 with the ancient testimony and modern discussions. Oddly Gurval leaves out the part of the inscription with 'Ak' and transcribes Alexandria as Antiochia.
[16] Gurval 1995: 73f.
[17] Gurval 1995: 67-74. Bosworth 1999: 1-18 suggests that Augustus imitated Alexander in the *RG* by stressing world conquest and apotheosis. This way all wars become foreign wars according to Bosworth.

Whilst in Alexandria Octavian got the idea of building victory cities. He concludes, contrary to Dio 51.18.1, that Nicopolis near Alexandria was first and most important. This is clearly wrong and completely unsubstantiated; Nicopolis at Actium came first.

Suetonius mentions the story that Octavian did not want to see corpses (*Ptolemaeum*), only Alexander (*Aug*.18.1; Dio 51.16.5). The chapter also contains information about the building of Nicopolis at Actium, imitating Alexander, whereas the Nicopolis at Alexandria is not mentioned here or elsewhere in Suetonius. The connection with Alexander is obvious, but Suetonius does show that Alexander and Actium work fine in a Roman setting.[18]

Nicopolis at Actium was built first according to our only source and the games at Alexandria appear to copy those at Actium, perhaps they even had the same name. But even so, they are still games in their own right. And importantly, the games of Nicopolis in Egypt became the games of Alexandria. Both cities were important to the victor.

5.2: Nicopolis and the victory monument: the literary evidence

The three main texts on the Victory Monument and the other commemorations at Actium are Strabo, Suetonius and Dio:[19]

> Strabo 7.7.5-6 (324-5): (5) "Next … come two other harbours -- Comarus, the nearer and smaller of the two, which forms an isthmus of sixty stadia with the Ambracian Gulf, and Nicopolis, a city founded by Augustus Caesar, and the

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[18] See Gurval 1995: 71.
[19] See Murray and Petsas 1989: 9-12 on the ancient testimony.

other, the more distant and larger and better of the two, which is near the mouth of the gulf and is about twelve stadia distant from Nicopolis.

(6) Next comes the mouth of the Ambracian Gulf. Although the mouth of this gulf is but slightly more then four stadia wide, the circumference is as much as three hundred stadia; and it has good harbours everywhere. That part of the country which is on the right as one sails in is inhabited by the Greek Acarnanians. Here too, near the mouth, is the sacred precinct of the Actian Apollo - a hill on which the temple stands; and at the foot of the hill is a plain which contains a sacred grove and a naval station, the naval station where Caesar dedicated as first fruits of his victory the squadron of ten ships – from vessels with single bank of oars to vessels with ten; however, not only the boats, it is said, but also the boat-houses have been wiped out by fire. On the left of the mouth are Nicopolis and the country of the Epeirote Cassopaeans ….

In later times, however, the Macedonians and Romans, by their continuous wars, so completely reduced both Cassope and the other Epeirote cities because of their disobedience that finally Augustus, seeing that the cities had utterly failed, settled what inhabitants were left in one city together - the city on this gulf which was called by him Nicopolis; and he so named it after the victory which he won in the naval battle before the mouth of the gulf over Antonius and Cleopatra the queen of the Egyptians, who was also present at the fight. Nicopolis is populous, and its numbers are increasing daily, since it has not only a considerable territory and the adornment taken from the spoils of the battle, but also, in its suburbs, the thoroughly equipped sacred precinct – one part of it being in a sacred grove that contains a gymnasium and a stadium

for the celebration of the quinquennial games, the other part being on the hill that is sacred to Apollo and lies above the grove. These games – the Actia, sacred to Actian Apollo – have been designed as Olympian, and they are superintended by the Lacedaemonians. The other settlements are dependencies of Nicopolis. In earlier times also the Actian games were wont to be celebrated in honour of the god by the inhabitants of the surrounding country – games in which the prize was a wreath – but at the present time they have been set in greater honour by Caesar" (translated by Jones 1924).

Suetonius *Augustus* 18.2: *Quoque Actiacae victoriae memoria celebratior et in posterum esset, urbem Nicopolim apud Actium condidit ludosque illic quinquennales constituit et ampliato vetere Apollinis templo locum castrorum, quibus fuerat usus, exornatum navalibus spoliis Neptuno ac Marti consecravit.* ("To extend the fame of his victory at Actium and perpetuate its memory, he founded a city called Nicopolis near Actium, and provided for the celebration of games there every four years; enlarged the ancient temple of Apollo; and after adorning the site of the camp which he had occupied with naval trophies, consecrated it to Neptune and Mars") (translated by Rolfe 1951).

Dio 51.1.2-3: "In honour of the date he dedicated to Apollo of Actium from the captured vessels a trireme, a quadrireme and one each of the other sizes of warships up to ten, and he built another and larger temple on the spot. He also founded a musical and gymnastic contest, which included horse-racing, to be held every four years; the festival was to be sacred, as such celebrations are termed in which there is a distribution of food, and he named it Actia. Besides

this he established a city on the ground where he had pitched his camp; this was effected by bringing together some of the neighbouring peoples and evicting others, and the place was named Nicopolis. On the spot where his tent had stood, he built a plinth of square stones, which was ornamented with the rams of the captured ships, and erected on it a statue (*hedos*) for Apollo, which was open to the sky" (translated by Scott-Kilvert 1987).[20]

5.3: The new city of Nicopolis and the temple of Actian Apollo

Nicopolis must have been settled soon after 31 BC and was perhaps dedicated in 29 BC, when Octavian would have passed Actium on his way home to Rome, as an administrative, economic and religious centre.[21] It was built as a result of a forced synoecism, within a wide geographical area, from Epiros in the north to Aetolia in the south, cutting across ethnic divisions (see fig.4).[22] The *chora* of Nicopolis extended thus from the mountains of Kassopaia to the borders of the neighbouring Roman colony of Patrae in the South and from Leucas to the river Acheloos.[23] Nicopolis was even growing after its settlement according to Strabo (7.7.6). The area seems to have suffered before the building of the new city, and the city undoubtedly changed the outlook of North-Western Greece completely. The scale and ambition were unprecedented.

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[20] He translates *hedos* as shrine, but it is more likely a statue. See below.
[21] Schober 1936: 516. Strauch 1996: 91 suggests that Nicopolis had a role to play in the economic crises of the region (122). Rizakis 1997: 28 describes Nicopolis as an "economic powerhouse". For Nicopolis in general see Chrysos 1987; Strauch 1996: 156-184 and page 156 for the size of Nicopolis (80,000- 100,000); Isager 2001, and the essays in *Nicopolis 1* and *Nicopolis B*.
[22] Pausanias 7.18.9; 5.23.3; 7.18.8; 8.24.11; 10.38.4. On the cities' dependence on Nicopolis, Strabo 7.7.5-6; 10.2.2; Suet.*Aug*.18.2; Dio 51.1.3; Zonaras 10.30; Serv.*Verg.Aen*.3.276; *Mamertinus in Paneg.Lat*.11.9; *Anth.Pal*.9.553. For the forced synoecism, see Zachos 2003: 77, page 65 mentioning some of the cities: Ambrakia, Anaktorion and Leukas, and Murray and Petsas 1989: 4f. Bowersock 1965: 93-95, points out that Romanization was never the idea behind Nicopolis. See also Alcock 1993: 133-136.
[23] See Chrysostomou and Kefallonitou 2001: 12.

Fig. 4: Map of North-Western Greece. Nicopolis was built as a result of a forced synoecism, with a wide geographical area, from Epiros in the North to Aetolia in the South, cutting across ethnic divisions. Image source: Chrysostomou and Kefallonitou 2001: 12. **See printed edition of thesis.**

According to Pliny there was a free city of Nicopolis and an Actian colony in the area, perhaps inhabited by veterans from the battle (*N.H.*4.5):

...et in ore ipso colonia Augusti Actium cum templo Apollinis nobili ac civitate libera Nicopolitana.

("The colony founded by Augustus, Actium, with the famous temple of Apollo, and the free city of Nicopolis") (translated by Rackham 1942).

This is supported by Tacitus, who mentions *Nicopolim Romanam coloniam* (*Ann.*6.5.10), but he also calls the city *urbem Achaiae Nicopolim* (*Ann.*2.53).

Purcell and Ruscu have recently argued that Nicopolis, like Patrae, was a double community -- a Greek city and a Roman colony side-by-side.[24] Earlier scholars accordingly have not understood the duality in cities like Nicopolis and its constitutional setting.

Support for the double community hypothesis has been found from the epigraphic record. About a third of persons attested on inscriptions from Nicopolis have the Roman *tria nomina*, but this fact cannot in itself carry weight, since these persons could have been settlers or received individual citizen grants or be the descendants of such. However, Ruscu has noted the presence of four veterans all belonging to the tribe *Sergia* and has argued that this is best explained by supposing that Nicopolis was a *colonia* and attributed to that tribe.[25] Ingenious as this argument is, it can hardly be conclusive.

Support for the double community hypothesis has also been seen in an inscription from the Macedonian city of Serrhae (*CIL* III 7334 = *ILS* 2080), according to which the veteran Octavius Secundus was decurion in unnamed colonies and had been awarded the *ornamenta* of *duovir* in Actia Nicopolis and an Ulpia (the inscription breaks off at that point).[26] Grants of *ornamenta duoviralia* are widely attested and in

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[24] Purcell 1987; Ruscu 2006. Further in support of the double community hypothesis see Mee and Spawforth 2001: 389; Purcell 2005: 99; Osgood 2006: 377; *contra*, see Doukellis 1990: 401. On Patrae (but denying the parallel with Nicopolis), see Kahrstedt 1950; Strauch 1996: 185-193. In fact this discussion on Nicopolis is not new, as Mommsen 1919 (8.ed): 270-273 stresses the Greek city, as the synoecism was Greek, and no Roman city was ever built that way. If was a *civitas libera* and the games were Greek. Kornemann 1900: nr.109, page 531 on the other hand criticised Mommsen and suggested Actium as *colonia Augusti Actium* (Pliny).
[25] Ruscu 2006: 253-4; cf. Purcell 1987: 88-89, 89, n 78.
[26] Cf. Ruscu 2006: 250, who wrongly appears to take the word *colonis* in the inscription as applying to Nicopolis. On the date of the inscription, see Kahrstedt 1950: 560.

principle only colonies, or Roman communities, had duovirs.[27] But it seems not unconceivable that the Greek city of Nicopolis had acquired this status by the time of the allegedly 2ⁿᵈ Century inscription.[28] Another problem is the numerous gaps in the inscription; was it well formulated in the first place and has it been accurately recorded and reconstructed? [29]

According to Ruscu, the reason why this dual community is not mentioned in the evidence is that the colony was weaker than the Greek city and was absorbed.[30] This does not explain why the contemporary Strabo did not mention a colony, while the later Roman writers Pliny and Tacitus did. According to Ruscu the Romans were likely outnumbered, but would Octavian settle a small Roman colony in a huge Greek city?[31] And it must be remembered that in other known double communities Roman colonies had been imposed on existing cities, whereas Nicopolis would uniquely represent the founding of two adjacent cities.

Nicopolis had six representatives in the Amphictyony at Delphi, a council connected with temples, games and cults.[32] And importantly, Strabo and even Suetonius, the most thorough Latin source on the city, do not mention Nicopolis as a colony. In fact

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[27] *Ornamenta duoviralia* are commonly attested, see *ILS* indexes, vol.3: 689. According to Kahrstedt 1950: 560, the wording might imply just that Ulpia was a *colonia*.
[28] So Kahrstedt 1950: 560.
[29] See also Purcell 1987: 89, n78; Strauch 1996: 168, n 54 on this inscription. Both suggest that the inscription is problematic and not conclusive.
[30] Ruscu 2006: 254f.
[31] Ruscu 2006: 255.
[32] Pausanias 10.8.3-5. He was less interested in Roman affairs, but the changes of Augustus are mentioned, like the foundation of Patrae as a colony (7.17.5; 7.18.7; 7.18.9; 7.22.1; 7.22.6; 10.38.9), Augustus and Nicopolis (10.8.3-5). See Habicht 1985: 102.

none of the Greek sources do so, they concentrate on the synoecism. It appears to be a Greek city.[33]

Moreover, hardly any of the inscriptions of the city are in Latin (a mere 5%).[34] Most important are the coins of the city: Roman colonies mint Latin coins, Greek cities mint Greek coins. The coins of Nicopolis are Greek.[35] According to Ruscu this simply means that one of the communities minted coins, in this case the Greek.[36] This seems very strange indeed, and even if accepted, it does seem to stress the Greek city more than the Roman colony.

Ruscu also uses an imperial coin issue, *RIC* 1² 272, one of the 'IMP CAESAR' issues produced by an Italian mint either before or immediately after Actium, which shows Octavian with laurel, ploughing with oxen and so this clearly refers to city foundation. The obverse depicts Apollo, and Kraft inferred from this that the reverse alluded to Nicopolis; Ruscu accepts this, and insists that the reverse should refer to colony foundation.[37] However, neither inference is conclusive, and the coin may just allude to colony foundation in general, which was of course extensive in the post-Actian period.

Looking at the Augustan colony of Patrae, this city, even if this idea of a dual community is accepted, minted Latin coins which referred explicitly to its status as

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[33] According to Servius *Virgil.Aen*.3.501 Nicopolis was a *civitas libera* or *foederata*. See Schober 1936: 516; Murray and Petsas 1989: 4; Zachos 2003: 65; Isager 2001: 7. Jones 1987: 102 points out that since Pliny and Tacitus knew the colonies founded by Augustus they might have misunderstood Nicopolis as a colony. Alcock 1993: 133 suggests *civitas libera* but also the possibility of a dual community. The name Nicopolis does suggest a Greek city, as the other cities of Nicopolis were Greek. See Ruscu 2006: 253. The exception is Nicopolis of Pompeius in *Armenia Minor*.
[34] Strauch 1996: 168. The people sitting in the Amphictyonies at Delphi were not Roman citizens (169).
[35] Burnett et al 1998: 272-273 (plate 69); Kahrstedt 1950: 559-560; Kraay 1976, especially page 235; Tzouvara-Souli 2001: 242.
[36] Ruscu 2006: 252-253.
[37] Kraft 1969: 11-14 (denying that Nicopolis was a colony); Ruscu 2006: 252-3. Gurval 1995: 58-59 prefers a post-Naulochus dating. On the dating of the 'IMP CAESAR' series see below chapter 7.

colony.[38] Patrae's status was clearly that of colony, whatever the status of the locals. And as rightly pointed out by Brunt, Strabo's reference to Romans in Patrae (10.2.21) does not even imply non-Romans there.[39]

The Actian games, sacred to Apollo, were presided over by the Spartans, who fought on Octavian's side at Actium.[40] They were Greek games, but it seems unlikely that the Spartans would preside had there been a Roman community close at hand, as the games hardly would have excluded Romans.[41]

Returning to Pliny, he mentions two different localities, both the free city and the Roman colony: *Colonia Augusti Actium* and *Civitas Libera Nicopolis*; Nicopolis is not called Actium.[42] The other side of the bay, close to the old sanctuary of Apollo, has never been proper excavated, and it cannot be excluded that there might have been a colony in that area.[43]

But it is not likely that Nicopolis would become, with positive help from Octavian, the main centre of the area, if there had been a colony of veterans close at hand. He would hardly have moved the games of Apollo to the other side of the bay had there been a Roman colony. The supposed colony is not mentioned by any Greek writers and not

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[38] Kahrstedt 1950: 559-560, also mentioning the Latin coins of Corinth; Burnett et al 1998: 258-260 (plate 63). Kahrstedt 1950: 560 dismissed a Roman colony because of the missing coins.

[39] Brunt 1971: 599.

[40] Pausanias 4.31.1. Strabo does not mention the theatre on site, and thus it might have been built later then the other buildings. Strabo perhaps wrote major parts of his work before 7 BC, see Murray and Petsas 1988: 5, n 27 and page 12, n 13 on the theatre. Bowersock 1961 on the Spartans and Eurycles, especially page 112 on the *Actia*, the fighting at Actium and the refuge of Livia to the Spartans after the Perusine war (Dio 54.7.2). The father of C. Iulius Eurycles, who had fought for Octavian at Actium, had been killed by Antonius for piracy (Plut.*Ant*.67).

[41] Strauch 1996: 169 on citizenship.

[42] Mommsen 1919: 271, n 1 believes Tacitus to be partly right in mentioning the *colonia Romana*, suggesting it was build by the Romans, not that it was a Roman colony. Pliny on the other hand he thought to be just wrong.

[43] Triandi 2007 points out that area of the temple has not been excavated etc since the 19C. Kahrstedt 1950: 560 suggest that the only possibility for a colony in the area is the south side of the strait.

all Latin writers.[44] Pausanias 7.18.7 mentions Patrae as a Roman colony, but not Nicopolis. The overwhelming weight of the evidence points to an at least predominantly Greek city and a Greek setting.

To sum up, the only way to rescue the statements of Pliny and Tacitus seems to be to postulate that Octavian founded not only the Greek city of Nicopolis, but also a Roman colony on the south side of the strait. Purcell and Ruscu's hypothesis of a dual identity for Nicopolis seems unconvincing, but not entirely impossible. It cannot be excluded completely, as Pliny and Tacitus are not easily dismissed. Importantly, at least the predominant city to which the Victory Monument was adjacent was Greek. Nicopolis was a Greek city.

The city at Actium was clearly connected to Apollo; the god had an old temple at Actium and the games were in his name. The games belonged to the city, the city of Apollo. The relationship between Octavian and Apollo was clearly strengthened at Actium (see chapter 2 for the early relationship). According to Gurval, Apollo Actius is mentioned for the first time in Latin literature in Virgil *Aen*.8.704-5.[45] But as rightly stressed by Stahl, Virgil started work on the *Aeneid* c. 29 BC. [46] A Greek epigram (*Anth.Pal.* 9.553), most likely of Augustan date, stresses:[47]

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[44] Zachos 2003: 66 on the chessboard town plan of Nicopolis. But this only suggests Roman involvement, hardly Romans living there. See T.L. Donaldson's map of Nicopolis in Leake 1835a. According to Bowden 2007: 138 the streets of the town were aligned to the Victory Monument.
[45] Gurval 1995: 87-136, especially 130.
[46] Stahl 1998: 71-72.
[47] Stahl 1998: 72. Mommsen 1919: 271. Gurval 1995: 14 n 23 mentions the Greek evidence, the *Anth.Pal.* and a Greek literary papyrus (see Page 1942, no.113), but his examination is in his own words limited to the Latin evidence. It seems odd to leave out Greek evidence, just because it has been less explored (see page 14). *Anth.Pal.*6.236 mentions beaks, Actium and peace, 6.251 Apollo of Leucas and the shores of Actium, 9.553 the divine city Nicopolis that Apollo received for his help at Actium. Taken together with Page 1942: no.113, stressing Apollo and the two victories of Octavian at Actium and Alexandria (cf. above Chapter 4), this evidence seems very close to the ideology of the regime, stressing Apollo, victory at Actium and *pax*.

"To replace Leucas, and fertile Ambracia, and Thyrreum, and Anactorium, and Amphilochian Argos, and all the surrounding cities that the furious onslaught of war destroyed, Caesar founded me, Nicopolis, a divine city. Phoebus receives this reward for the victory at Actium" (translated by Paton 1917).

At the battle of Actium the characteristic luck represented once again by Apollo seems to have given Octavian the victory over his enemies: as mentioned Apollo already had an old sanctuary at Actium (for *Apollo Actius*, see Virgil *Aen*.8.704; Propertius 4.6.67f), situated on the peninsula called Actium, on the southern side of the entrance to the Ambracian Gulf.[48] This peninsula is flat land and thus the temple of Apollo must have been very visible from the waters outside the gulf where the battle of Actium stood.

Apollo benefited extensively from the onsite commemorations: the old temple of Apollo was rebuilt and nearby a ten-ship monument was put up to commemorate the victory.[49] This was a so-called *dekanaia*, ten whole ships.[50] On the other side of the bay Nicopolis was founded, with Apollo as its patron god.[51] North of the city the Actian Games were refounded with theatre and stadium, at the hill sacred to Apollo.[52]

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[48] Picard 1928: 221, n 6; Kirsten-Kraiker 1967: 753 wrongly seem to believe a temple to Apollo and to Neptune was situated on the hill.
[49] On the ancient temple to Apollo, see Suet.*Aug*.18.2. On the ten-ship monument, see Strabo 7.7.5, who mentions that this monument had burned when he visited the site. See also Propertius 4.6.15-18 on the ten-ship monument and 4.6.67-70 (see chapter 7).
[50] Zachos 2003: 65 mentions this as a very Greek monument. See also Murray and Petsas 1989: 116. Kienast 1999: 461 and n 36 seems to suggest that the ten-ship monument equals the Victory Monument.
[51] Strabo 7.7.5; Suet.*Aug*.18.2; Dio 51.1.2-3; *Anth.Pal*. 9.553.
[52] Strabo 7.7.6 on the moving of the games to the other side of the bay.

This is situated just beneath the Victory Monument at the base of the hill. On this same hill a Victory Monument was built to commemorate the victory.[53]

Apollo might also have migrated to Nicopolis.[54] *Apollo Agyieus* was perhaps transferred to Nicopolis from Ambracia or Apollonia, most likely on the orders of Octavian.[55] Interestingly, a *baetyl* on the Palatine may point to this *Apollo Agyieus*.[56] Apollo remains Apollo, although worshipped under different names.[57] The coins of the city also point to the huge importance of Apollo: *Apollo Actius* is present on the coins from the foundation to the end of the functioning of the mint of the city.[58]

The new city of Nicopolis at Actium was a Greek city. Actium had an old temple to Apollo, but after Actium the god became the patron god of the new victory city, because of the old temple, his role in the battle of Actium and his previous connections to Octavian.

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[53] Suet.*Aug*.18.2; Dio 51.1.2-3; *Anth.Pal*. 6.236; Propertius 4.6.15ff: Suet.*Aug*.96.2; Plut.*Ant*.65.3.
[54] Tzouvara-Souli 200: 245 concludes that the god of the colonists became the protector of Octavian. But the relationship of Apollo and Octavian had existed for a long time (see chapter 2).
[55] Tzouvara-Souli 2001: 243f.
[56] Tzouvara-Souli 2001: 244; Strauch 1996: 172; Hekster and Rich 2006: 167.
[57] According to Tzouvara-Souli 2001 *Apollo Actius* and *Apollo Leucadius* seem to merge in Nicopolis. A coin from Nicopolis has a representation of *Apollo Leucadius* (243). This cult was active from at least the 4C. BC onwards. Propertius 3.11 on the connection between Actium and Apollo, here as Leucadian. The different Apollos are difficult to tell apart. See Franke 1976: 160 and Gagé 1936: 48. Against this Paschalis 1987, especially 67. Stahl 1998, especially page 68, concludes that in Virgil's *Aen*. 3.268-93, Aeneas is setting up a trophy near Actium. Isager 2007: 30 mentions the small town visited by Aeneas as the mythical forerunner for Nicopolis. Virgil then returns to the area in book 8 on the battle of Actium. Gurval 1995: 81-85 also comments on Virgil *Aen*.3.274-80 and stresses that *Apollo Leucadius* and not *Actius*. This is a very rigid understanding of the subject; after all in 8.704-5 it is *Apollo Actius* that intervenes and wins the day. A Greek literary papyrus, most likely 'Augustan', mentions the 'Master of Actium' and then the 'Lord of Leucas', in both instances Apollo and in connection with the victories of Octavian at Actium and Alexandria (Page 1942: no.113; see chapter 4).
[58] Tzouvara-Souli 2001: 242.

5.4: The victory monument and its inscription[59]

The monument is situated on the southern slope of the hill Michalitsi, close to the top, with a view of the flatlands below, towards Nicopolis. The Ambracian Gulf lies to the left and the Ionian Sea to the right, and Actium and the entrance to the Ambracian Gulf lie more or less straight south (see fig.5).

Fig. 5: View from the Victory Monument at Actium towards Nicopolis and view of the monument from the plain below. Image source: Carsten Lange autumn 2006.

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[59] For a general description of the monument, see Murray and Petsas 1989 and especially Zachos 2003: 81-92, with illustration on page 69, for the newest discoveries and reconstruction. For a reconstruction of the monument, see also Murray and Petsas 1989: 85-94, illustration on page 88-89. See also *Nicopolis B*, vol.2: 284-287, 307-311 for reconstructions etc. of the monument. The monument is situated in Epirus and recent years seem to have brought about a new interest in the area, also in the Roman remains. See Wiseman and Zachos 2003: 1 on the 'Nikopolis project', looking at the southern Epirus from earliest to medieval times. In 1986 a 'Committee for the Preservation of Nikopolis' was appointed by the Greek Minister of Culture (6). There also is or was an 'Actium project', searching the sea floor for remains of the battle, involving William S. Murray, The University of South Florida and The Greek Ministry of Culture. See http://luna.cas.usf.edu/~murray/actium/brochure.html

Doukellis observes that the monument is relatively isolated, but forgets that the games for Apollo with theatre and stadium are situated by the monument, at the base of the hill.[60] They are clearly built with this connection in mind. Gagé suggests that Octavian took auspices on the spot before the battle,[61] most likely to Mars and Neptune, and perhaps to Apollo. After the war the altar of the monument was probably used for sacrifices at the games.

The Victory Monument was rediscovered as recently as 1913 by Philadelpheus, who thought it to be a temple. Later it was realised that this was the monument mentioned by Suetonius and Dio, first of all because of the inscription. Indeed, the first in modern times who seems to have understood that Michalitsi was the place of the tent of Octavian and thus the site of the Victory Monument was William Martin Leake.[62] The site was surveyed in the 1970s by Petsas and in the 1980s by Murray and Petsas, resulting in the 1989 volume. Since 1995 the new excavations have been carried out by Zachos.[63] But importantly, Rhomaios in 1925 was the first scholar to suggest an open-air sanctuary with rams.[64] The monument is thus a *tropaeum*, with trophies from war; in this case rams from enemy ships (see fig.6**)**.[65]

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[60] Doukellis 1990: 405. Gagé 1955: 510 implies that the Victory Monument is at the base of the hill, not on Michalitsi itself. See also 1936: 75-76. Zachos 2001: 31 observes that the monument traditionally would have been on the battlefield, not as it was on the hill. The fact that this hill was sacred to Apollo both Gagé and Zachos believe is the answer. Rose 2005: 58 points out that triumphal monuments rarely were intended to exist in isolation.
[61] Gagé 1955: 509-510; Murray and Petsas 1989: 86 and n 103.
[62] Leake 1835b: 40. For Leake as a topographer, see Murray and Petsas 1989: 12-14; Macgregor Morris 2007: 249-252.
[63] Zachos 2001; 2003.
[64] Murray and Petsas 1989: 12-21 and 22-33 on the discoveries and surveys. See also Zachos 2003: 66f.
[65] On ship monuments, see Rice 1993: 242-247.

Fig. 6: Reconstruction of the Victory Monument at Actium. Image source: *Nicopolis B*, vol.2: 310**. See printed edition of thesis.**

Reconstruction of the Victory Monument at Actium. Image source: Konstantaki et al. 2001: 40. **See printed edition of thesis.**

The new excavations by Zachos on this hugely damaged monument (see fig.7) have brought to light extremely significant new findings: he has shown that the upper terrace has an altar (measurements: 6x22 m.), located at the centre of the upper terrace, thus making the monument an open-air sanctuary (see fig.8).[66] He has found a triumphal relief and a semicircular base showing Apollo with lyre and eleven other gods (see fig.9).[67] The triumphal relief is a slight problem, if the date is 29 BC (see below), as this would have been before the triple triumph at Rome. But of course the altar, or at least the ornaments, may be later. Zachos has also found fragments of rams, armour, fasces, a ram's head and other pieces from what seems most likely to be a triumphal procession.[68] There is a triumphal chariot with two children inside the chariot; these he believes to be Alexandros Helios and Cleopatra Selene, the children of Antonius and Cleopatra (see fig.10).[69] This cannot be correct, as Dio 51.21.8 does not put them in the chariot but of course in front of it, as part of the triumph, together with an effigy of their mother; they were, of course, the enemy.

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[66] Zachos 2003: 82 for the measurements. For the two terraces, see 68f. For a reconstruction by Zachos of the altar, of course highly circumstantial because of fragmentary nature of the finds, see *Nicopolis B*, vol.2: 311. For the locating of the altar, see Zachos 2007: 413f, also stressing its fragmentary nature.

[67] Zachos 2003: 89, with illustrations on page 90: Apollo is shown with lyre, the Apollo of peace. See also *Nicopolis B*, vol.2: 313-314 for illustrations. The original location on the monument of this base is unknown. See Zachos 2007: 414. According to Schäfer 2007 there might be a connection between the triumphal relief of Actium and a relief in the Casa de Pilatos in Spain, inasmuch as they show the triumph of 29 BC. The relief in Spain might belong to a group of reliefs with this particular theme, like a relief in Budapest (see also Prüchner 1980). See *Nicopolis B*, vol. 2: 353 for an illustration of the Spanish relief, and page 319 for a similar depiction of a triumphal chariot from the Actium relief. Even though the triumph of 29 BC seems a possibility for the Spanish relief, it does not seem conclusive.
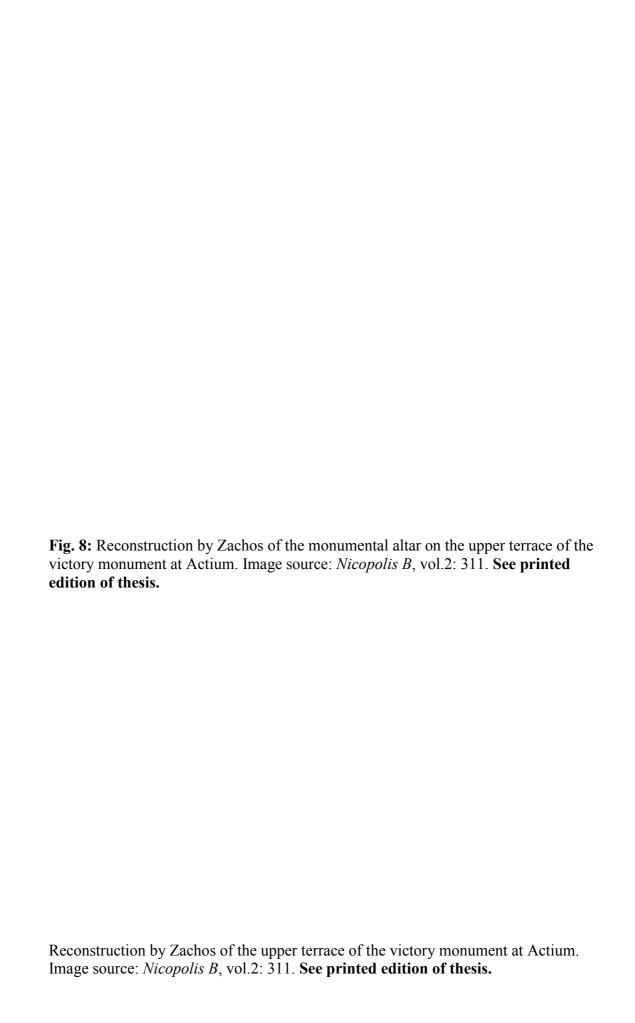
[68] Zachos 2003: 83-91. According to Murray 2004: 9 21,000 pieces have been found, of which 1,129 display their original decoration. Rejoining the pieces correctly will be a very difficult task. See *Nicopolis B*, vol.2: 299-305, 315-321 for illustrations of some of these fragments (see below).

[69] Zachos 2003: 91-92. See *Nicopolis B*, vol.2: 319 for an illustration. According to Suet.*Tib*.6.4 Marcellus and Tiberius participated on horseback and thus Zachos 2007: 425-428, especially 428 suggests that it is after all Helios and Selene, even though that is historically not correct. According to Zachos the relief is only a representation of the events at Rome and does not equal reality. The children are symbols of reconciliation and *clementia*. The idea that this is a generic triumph, at least partly, seems fair enough, but who would understand the symbolic nature of the two children in the chariot? At the same time Zachos thinks that one of the people represented on the relief is in fact the *consul ordinarius* Sextus Appuleius (424f).

Fig. 7: The Victory Monument at Actium in its current state of preservation. Image source: Carsten Lange autumn 2006. **See printed edition of thesis.**

Fig. 8: Reconstruction by Zachos of the monumental altar on the upper terrace of the victory monument at Actium. Image source: *Nicopolis B*, vol.2: 311. **See printed edition of thesis.**

Reconstruction by Zachos of the upper terrace of the victory monument at Actium. Image source: *Nicopolis B*, vol.2: 311. **See printed edition of thesis.**

Fig. 9: Semicircular base showing Apollo with lyre and eleven other gods, found by Zachos at the Victory Monument. Image source: *Nicopolis B*, vol.2: 313. **See printed edition of thesis.**

Close-up of the semicircular base showing Apollo with lyre together with Diana. Image source: *Nicopolis B*, vol.2: 313. **See printed edition of thesis.**

Fig. 10: Triumphal chariot with two children inside the chariot, from the monumental altar of the Victory Monument at Actium. Image source; *Nicopolis B*, vol.2: 319. **See printed edition of thesis.**

The scale of the monument is truly impressive, the façade measures 63 metres; the upper terrace 62x50 metres, the inscription on the façade of the lower terrace should in its restored form occupy approximately 56 metres.[70] The bronze rams are even more impressive, the largest being a ten, meaning 10 oars on each side of the ship (see fig.11).[71] There is no doubt at all that the rams must have been visible from a long distance, the green colour from the bronze must have been impressive.

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[70] Zachos 2003: 77 for the measures of the monument, and Murray and Petsas 1989: 74 for the inscription. The *vacat* is 3 meters.

[71] On the size of the rams, deduced from the size of the sockets, see Murray and Petsas 1989, especially page 41; Murray 2002; 2007. One of four rams from antiquity that has so far been found is from Athlit in Israel. The ram, from a Ptolemaic warship, is smaller than the rams of the Victory Monument, but weighs 465 kg. For illustrations of the rams and the monument and rams on ships, see *Nicopolis B*, vol.2: 333-345. For the Athlit ram, see 343.

Fig. 11: Reconstruction of ram inserted in lower terrace wall of the Victory Monument at Actium. Image source: *Nicopolis B*, vol.2: 309. **See printed edition of thesis.**

But for now we only have Zachos's preliminary views and descriptions. Much may thus change still; it is all down to Zachos. According to him the monument with its floral decoration is similar to that of the *Ara Pacis* and he concludes regarding the altar, which only survives in fragments and its base, that "The Nikopolis altar will be shown to be a worthy precursor of the Ara Pacis itself".[72]

During the campaign Octavian's tent was situated on the hill, which might be the sole reason for the monument being built there. According to Strabo the hill was sacred to Apollo (no monument is mentioned). The monument itself is a terrace monument with two terraces; the lower terrace contains a monumental inscription above 36 naval rams, the upper an altar surrounded on three sides by a *stoa*. The lower terrace implies

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[72] Zachos 2003: 89 and 92 for the quotation; Zachos 2007: 429f. Murray and Petsas 1989: 6 suggest the monument as the most important by 'Augustus' outside Italy.

that the monument is a victory or trophy monument (*tropaeum*), the upper that it is an altar. [73] Dio mentions that the sanctuary was to Apollo, Suetonius that the monument was to Mars and Neptune. This is the setting, but there is a straight contradiction between Dio and Suetonius (see below).

The inscription

The inscription was put up on the lower terrace, above the rams (see figure 12). There is a huge problem reconstructing it because of missing pieces.[74] Part of the standard reconstruction by Murray and Petsas seems very problematic, the last sentence being modelled on Suetonius, rightly so or not (see below):

vacat Imp · Caesa]r · Div[i · Iuli ·]f · vict[oriam · consecutus · bell]o · quod · pro [·r]e[·]p[u]blic[a] · ges[si]t · in · hac · region[e · cons]ul [· quintum · i]mperat[or · se] ptimum · pace [·] parta · terra [· marique · Nep]tuno [· et · Ma] rt[i · c]astra [· ex ·] quibu[s · ad · hostem · in]seq[uendum egr]essu[s · est · navalibus · spoli]is [· exorna]ta · c[onsacravit *vacat*

("Imperator Caesar, son of the Divine Julius, following the victory in the war which he waged on behalf of the *res publica* in this region, when he was consul for the fifth time and *imperator* for the seventh time, after peace had been secured on land and sea, consecrated to Neptune and Mars the camp from which he set forth to attack the enemy, now ornamented with naval spoils")

(reconstruction and translation by Murray and Petsas 1989: 76 and 86).

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[73] Zachos 2003: 65 Murray and Petsas 1989: 77-85 on the *stoa*.
[74] On the inscription and when what pieces were found, see Murray and Petsas 1989: 62-77, n 71 with scholarship. On the missing blocks, see page 76, n 86. See also Zachos 2001: 33. 2003: 74-76.

Fig. 12: Part of the monumental inscription of the Victory Monument at Actium. Image source: Carsten Lange autumn 2006. **See printed edition of thesis.**

The inscription is today placed in front of the monument itself. It was originally placed over the rams on the lower terrace. Image source: Carsten Lange autumn 2006. **See printed edition of thesis.**

The inscription has received little attention in recent years, apart from the reconstruction itself. As mentioned Murray and Petsas have restored the last part of the inscription using Suet.*Aug*.18.2: …*locum castrorum, quibus fuerat usus,*

exornatum navalibus spoliis Neptuno ac Marti consecravit ("the site of the camp which he had used, adorned with naval spoils, he consecrated to Neptune and Mars"). This does seem a highly optimistic reconstruction.[75] Zachos accepts, perhaps provisionally subject to continuing study of new finds, all of Murray and Petsas reconstructions, with one notable exception: a new block has the letters TI · NEP and thus enables us to correct the reference to the gods to [MAR]TI · NEPTUNO [QUE].[76] Mars thus needs to be placed before Neptune. The traditional reading derives from Suet.*Aug*.18.2: *Neptuno ac Marti*.

At the outset; the inscription seems to be fairly traditional; that of a Roman magistrate. The significance of the phrases [MAR]TI · NEPTUNO [QUE], *in haec regione*, *pace parta terra marique* and *pro rep.* will be considered below.

The date

A further challenge for scholars today is the exact date of the inscription. It mentions that Octavian was imperator for the 7th time, which must be from August 30 BC, after the capture of Alexandria. Octavian was imperator for the 6th time after Actium and for the 8th time in 25 BC. There is thus a time span, because the consular date is lost in

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[75] They thus prefer '*Consacravit*' to '*dedicavit*', as suggested by Oliver 1969: 180. See also Murray and Petsas 1989: 64-71 and 76 for the suggestions by different scholars. They also prefer '*quintum*' to '*quinctum*' because of *RG* 8.1, 15.1, 15.3 and 21.3 (77, n 88). Suet.*Aug*.18.2 is translated by Rolfe 1951.

[76] Zachos 2003: 76. He was found six new blocks. Carter claimed in 1977 to have found a new block 'RIT', but according to Murray and Petsas 1989: 64 this as a misreading of a block because it was turned upside down (G 15 reads 'BLIC'). Carter in a review of Murray and Petsas 1991: 185 refuses this and stresses that he read correctly. What ever the answer may be, this particular block has not turned up again. Carter 1977: 228 rightly observes that no modern scholar has seen all blocks.

a lacuna. But importantly, the cognomen Augustus is missing and the time frame must thus be between August 30 BC and 16th January 27 BC, when he received the title.[77]

Pace parta terra marique is traditionally connected to the closing of the temple of Janus in 29 BC (see below). Schäfer concludes that 29 BC is the most suitable date, and that Octavian was perhaps there himself, on his way home.[78] This is most likely, but it must be stressed that the evidence is highly circumstantial.

5.5: A Roman monument at a Greek city

According to Zachos the Victory Monument at Actium is a symbol of victory and power.[79] The question arises why Octavian would decide to build a monument showing Rome's power to the Greek population of Nicopolis, as they were not the enemy. Perhaps the monument at Actium was part of the reconciliation between Greece and Octavian, as almost all cities remained loyal to Antonius. Bowersock concludes that the anti-Eastern propaganda ended with Actium and saved the Greco-Roman world.[80] The Victory Monument with its inscription seems to illustrate this exact point: Octavian brought peace to the region. A collective punishment of Greece

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[77] Rich 1996: 95-96: the 7th acclamation must be for Alexandria and not Crassus' victories, as mentioned by Dio 51.25.2 and thus after 1st August 30 BC. Schäfer 1993: 241: imperator for the 7th time, from August 30 BC to 25 BC (8th time). The consulate points to 29 BC, but *quintum* is a reconstruction and it might be *septimum* (242f). There is the missing cognomen Augustus, thus a date before 16th January 27 (246). He concludes that the period between the 11th January 29 BC (closing of the temple of Janus) and the 16th January 27 BC is the time frame (247). This means there is no connection between the inscription and the Actian games, since they are later, and also no connection to the dedication of the city of Nicopolis (247).
[78] Schäfer 1993: 248; Zachos 203: 76. See also Murray and Petsas 1989: 127-129 on the possibility of Octavian being present.
[79] Zachos 2003: 65. Hölscher 2006: 33-34 sees the monument as a symbol of universal and abstract imperialism, but then accepts it as part of the reunification of the two parts of the Empire. See also Malacrino 2007: 372.
[80] Bowersock 1965: 123f.

would have been unwise and thus was isolated to cities like Athens.[81] Nicopolis, the associated ideology apart, was a great benefaction to Greece.

If anything it gives the Greek population the glorious good news: the war is over. Murray and Petsas also try to emphasise victory more than *pax*.[82] In Augustan terms this discussion would have seemed odd; chapter 13 of the *RG* stresses that this peace had been won through victory; they are one and the same. As is emphasised in chapter 2, Actium was also a civil war and thus peace probably appeared better than victory. The inscription does not mention the specific battle and the victory, an omission which seems strange in a Greek context, especially because Greece was not the enemy. *In hac regione* was important because it was not possible to get a triumph if Actium was only a battle, but again, in a Greek context this is hardly important.

According to Suetonius (*Aug*.18.2) both Nicopolis and the Victory Monument were built *quoque Actiacae victoriae memoria celebratior et in posterum esset* ("To extend the fame of his victory at Actium and perpetuate its memory").[83] This is a very precise description of what Octavian did and Suetonius even mentions that the monument was dedicated to Mars and Neptune. Importantly, why did Suetonius mention the monument if not because the main focus and context was Roman/Rome. The Romans

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[81] Strauch 1996: 78-79; Bowersock 1965: 90 and 99 on the punishment. Bowersock also stresses that the shift in allegiance within the ruling class of Rome made is almost impossible for the Greeks (2). Macmullen 2000: 2 and 29 concludes, like Bowersock, that the changes were after all minimal with the victory of Octavian (4). According to Dio 54.7.2f the punishment of Athens happened in 21 BC, which is dismissed by Strauch 1996: 79, whereas Rich 1990: 180 suggests both 31 and 21 BC were possibilities, but if 21 BC, Athens involvement with Antonius could hardly have been the reasoning as suggested by Dio. Dio 54.7 contrasts Sparta and Athens, but Athens was after all still a free city (as Nicopolis) (Strauch 1996: 86). Plutarch balances this view on the punishment of Athens with the story that Octavian came to Athens after Actium to come to terms with the Greeks and to distribute grain to the population of the city (*Ant*.68). Pelling 1988: 288 on Plutarch, who seems to have been very interested in showing the agony of Greece.
[82] Murray and Petsas 1989: 131.
[83] Translated by Rolfe 1951.

were meant to remember Actium, and the city Nicopolis and the Victory Monument helped to do exactly this.

In the Hellenistic world, as later in Rome, monumental trophies were often erected years after the battle and not always on the exact location of battle, often even in capital cities, like the altar of Pergamum.[84] The Victory Monument is very different from the victory monument of Augustus at La Turbie (overlooking Monaco), celebrating the victory over the Alpine tribes 7-6 BC; the inscription is quoted by Pliny and has a record of all the subdued Alpine tribes (*N.H.*3.136-138; *CIL* 5.7817). The monument at La Turbie was put up by the *SPQR*, whereas the monument at Actium was not. La Turbie like the *Tropaeum Traiani* later was traditionally Roman, put up as a warning for those barbarians who had not as yet understood the new state of affairs.[85]

The monument itself does seem to point to something both Roman and Greek. The terrace model seems to be both Greek and Roman, known from both Italy (Praeneste) and Greece (the Asklepieion at Kos), and thus does not give away the answer.[86] Although the *stoa* might point to something Greek, altars are of course both Greek and Roman. There is most certainly an Augustan trend towards using monumental altars, as shown by the altar of Augustan Peace, the altar of *Fortuna Redux* and *Roma et Augustus* at Lyon. The battle of Actium led to a cult of naval rams, mostly in Rome. There had been rostral monuments in the city since 338 BC and all in all a Roman

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[84] Chaniotis 2005: 233-236. On Greek and Roman trophy monuments, see Hölscher 2006, who sees them as signs of power (especially 27). According to Bowden 2007: 137 the separation of cult and the civic area is un-Roman, making the Victory Monument "reminiscent of the Classical and Hellenistic *polis*". This is surely a misunderstanding, as this is first of all a Victory Monument and because it is on the hill because the camp of Octavian was there during the battle. It is also a very visible spot from the sea and the plains below. The town of course could not be on the hill.
[85] Hannestad 1988: 172f.
[86] Murray and Petsas 1989: 86; Zachos 2003: 69, also mentioning Praeneste and adding Tibur.

tradition seems most likely here. [87] Thus both the terrace and *rostra* idea could be both Greek (*Rostra*, Diodor 17. 114)[88] and Roman and the conclusion already reached by Gagé in 1936 that the monument was indeed both Greek and Roman seems still the most likely, and is also supported by Murray and Petsas.[89]

Some of the fragments found by Zachos show marks of Roman identity: a triumph and Romulus and Remus and the *lupa*.[90] But there is Greek iconography to be found as well. An Amazonomachy appears here, as on the Apollo Sosianus temple in Rome.[91] This might indeed be a pro-Octavian message, stressing the East-West-conflict and the war with Cleopatra. Again, the problem is that Zachos has not published all the fragments and it is thus impossible to suggest much at this stage, but there seems to be a mix of Greek and Roman iconography. All is highly speculative because the context is partly unknown. But the presence of Amazons at Actium and in Augustan Rome surely must be seen in connection with the defeat of Cleopatra.

There is also a question of topography and geography. One main route from Rome to Athens, by land and sea, would go from Brundisium to Leucas and the Ambracian Gulf and Nicopolis, and thus may explain the idea of putting up a Roman

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[87] Jucker 1982: 89. On Roman *rostra* see Murray and Petsas 1989: 19.
[88] Rice 1993: 242 for Hellenistic ship monuments.
[89] Gagé 1936: 57-58. Murray and Petsas 115-124 and 121-124 on Octavian and *rostra*, and page 92f on stoas in Rome and Greece.
[90] Zachos 2001: 38-39; 2003: 79. For the triumph, see *Nicopolis B*, vol.2: 315-321, with procession, a ram, bulls, trumpets, a triumphal chariot and lictores with fasces. For Romulus and Remus with the *lupa*, see *Nicopolis B*, vol.2: 302. For a reconstruction of this procession, see Zachos 2007: 411-434. The procession is typical for cult (415). There seems to have been one continuous relief on the altar, with the triumphal procession above representations of armour (418). See *Nicopolis B*, vol.2: 311.
[91] For the Amazonomachy and the temple of Apollo Sosianus. and the possible role of Octavian in the temple's rebuilding, see La Rocca 1985; 1988a: 121-136; Viscogliosi 1993: 49-54; Bertoletti et al 1997: 65-70, illustration on page 26-27; Claridge 1998: 245-247; Haselberger 2007: 83. Zachos 2003: 83 on a marble cylindrical base for a statue with a scene of an Amazonomachy, now at the museum at Nicopolis. According to Bol 1998: 145-146; Zachos 2003: 84 it is Augustan. Chrysostomou and Kefallonitou 2001: 61 point to a date under Trajan or Hadrian.

monument.[92] The visibility of the monument on the hilltop must also have been quite impressive. Hölscher fittingly calls this model 'landscape trophies'.[93]

The local Greek setting of the monument should not make us forget Rome, as the inscription explains the battle of Actium in Roman/Latin terms (see below). It is an onsite commemoration of a Roman victory and this is the reason for the monument, a victory that ended the civil wars. The monument is a hybrid between Greek and Roman; it uses Greek iconography, as does the ideology of the regime in general. This is about victory, but also about freedom and peace according to the official ideology. The main thing that turns the monument into something 'Augustan' is its inscription. The use of a Hellenistic slogan 'Rule over Land and Sea', but turned into the 'Augustan' slogan 'after peace had been secured on land and sea', is vital (see below).[94]

Latin and Greek

There is one aspect, one paradox of the inscription that seems to have avoided attention almost completely: the inscription is in Latin.[95] The noticeable exception is Stahl in 1998, who in a critique of Gurval briefly suggests that the Latin may stress an orientation towards Rome as an alternative to the eastern perspective.[96] Of course

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[92] Cicero on his way back from Greece to Rome in 50 BC took the route from Athens to Rome via Patrae, Leucas and Actium (*ad Fam*.16.2; 16.4; 16.6). See also Stahl 1998: 56; Isager 2007.

[93] Hölscher 2006: 33. He mentions Caesar's trophy at Zela, Octavian's monument at Actium and La Turbie. They were aimed to impress. According to Tsakoumis 2007 the central axis of the monument reaches the main gate of Nicopolis. It is a landmark of reference for Nicopolis.

[94] For the Hellenistic slogan of 'Rule over Land and Sea' turning into an Augustan slogan, see Momigliano 1941.

[95] There is nothing on the Latin in Gagé 1936; Oliver 1969; Carter 1977; Murray and Petsas 1989; Schäfer 1993; Gurval 1995; Zachos 2001, 2003.

[96] Stahl 1998: 70.

scholars know it is in Latin, but apparently this is thought unimportant and thus the question why has not so far been answered.

The inscription is not in Greek or in both languages as later the *RG* (in Galatia).[97] There is no Greek context, although the neighbouring city is Greek. Perhaps Romans on the way to Athens were the intended readers, or are we even to assume that Octavian promoted the monument at Rome, in a way now lost to us, apart from the fact that it commemorated the victory onsite, something that was known and expected in Rome.

Gurval denies that the setting of Nicopolis and its commemorations were mentioned in Rome, but this is mistaken, as Propertius mentions the monuments at Actium (4.6), perhaps even Virgil (*Aen*.3.268-93), and the later comments by Suetonius clearly show that the Victory Monument was very well known at Rome.[98] The locality with its monuments did have a place in the minds of the Romans.

The inscription seems also to be somewhat unusual. An inscription in Latin much more notable in the context of Roman imperialism is found at Delphi: after his victory over the Macedonians at Pydna L. Aemilius Paullus put up a rectangular pillar monument at Delphi with an equestrian bronze statue of himself on top and with a Latin inscription:

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[97] Madsen 2002: 104 rightly points out that bilingual inscriptions had two purposes, to inform the Greek population about important things, and at the same time to emphasize that they were living under Roman rule. See *ILLRP* 337ff for inscriptions in Latin and Greek from the East.

[98] Gurval 1995: 81 on the failings in Rome to mention Nicopolis and the games, on page 130 that Apollo Actius is first mentioned in the *Aeneid*. Against this Isager 1998: 403f; 2007; Hekster and Rich 2006: 163. On page 66, n 114 Gurval mentions that the war memorial (ten-ship monument) was short-lived, mentioning Strabo 7.7.6: it burned. Strabo does for some reason not count in Gurval's idea of Augustan Rome, because he writes in Greek.

L. Aimilius L. F.inperator de rege Perse | Macedonibusque cepet.[99]

According to Polybius, Perseus was erecting columns at Delphi and wanted to set his statues on top of them; Paullus appropriated for his own statues these unfinished columns, situated in front of the temple of Apollo (30.10.1-2; Livy 45.27.5-7; Plut.*Aem.Paul*.28.1-2, 4). These are spoils of war, like the rams of the Victory Monument, but what springs to mind is the difference between this inscription and Octavian's at the Victory Monument. Paullus does not mention Rome and the *res publica*; he only mentions Paullus and the enemy. This is Roman imperialism, whereas Octavian stresses victory and peace, but no enemy.

This takes us to the question of who put up the inscription. Normally a Greek city or indeed any city putting up an inscription would mention that they had done so on the inscription, and a Greek city would normally have used Greek doing so, although Greek cities from time to time did put up a Latin inscription as a special gesture. Since no city is mentioned and the inscription is in Latin we have indication that Octavian was himself behind it.[100] The likely scenario is that he took the decision to build a monument and put up an inscription, just as he founded Nicopolis etc.

Another way of looking at the inscription is by putting it into context with monumental inscriptions. Alföldy in a famous article describes this new phenomenon: one could see his entire name, not just the abbreviation (Augustus), and the same goes for his offices. This is exactly the case at the inscription from Actium. Furthermore,

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[99] *ILLRP* 323=*CIL* 1² 622 = *ILS* 8884. See Flower 2006: 62f. Another example of a Latin inscription in the east is found on Samos: Claudius rebuilds a temple of Dionysus (Smallwoood 1967: nr.316).
[100] According to Murray and Petsas 1989: 77 it closely corresponds with inscriptions found in Rome; the bases of two obelisks in Rome dedicated to Sol (*CIL* VI 701 and 702).

they were in marble, with letters cut deep into the marble, and then painted to 'look shiny' against the marble background, as a symbol of the golden age. They were often bronze letters, but made to look like gold.[101] The golden letters or paint is not certain at Actium, but since there are no holes the inscription must have been painted.

To sum up, the city seems Greek, the inscription was Roman in character and the political setting in Rome seems likely as a context. Octavian would hardly have taken such an active part if the audience were just the local Greek population. The builders of the Victory Monument used reticular masonry on the supporting wall beneath the inscription. This is hardly ever used in Greece. Furthermore, the construction technique used was *opus reticulatum*, a very Roman and un-Greek way of building.[102] The technique used was Roman and that makes the monument Roman, even if the iconography was a hybrid. It seems not unlikely that the army built this monument. Perhaps Latin is not odd in a Greek context, but an inscription only in Latin and without mentioning the enemy makes little sense in a local context, but very much sense in a Roman context. This was a Roman monument for Romans, built onsite, and thus of course also given a Greek context.

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[101] Alföldy 1991: 294-299. For the visibility of the letters of the Victory Monument, see Bringmann and Schäfer 2002: 183. The letters were 0.30 metres high. This is similar to inscriptions by Augustus: La Turbie (37cm); Inscription of Augustus in the Forum Romanum (26.5cm or less) and Mars Ultor temple (23cm). For this, see Alföldy 2003, especially page 11.
[102] For the construction method, see Malacrino 2007. The monument at Actium is the earliest surviving example of an export of *opus reticulatum* to a Roman province (377). The technique thus shows an impact of Rome on Greek architecture and a clear sign of Roman presence. It was later taken up by local elites and a symbol of being Roman (372, 377). The same building style was used in Rome, building the Mausoleum of Augustus (378). Corinthian tiles were used (Zachos 2003: 79), but the method of building seems more important here. For illustrations, see *Nicopolis B*, vol.2: 277-281.

5.6: The victory monument and its gods

We are faced with a conflict in the evidence over the dedicatees of the monument, creating a problem of how to resolve this. Given the usual translation of *hedos* as shrine, there is no possible way of making the two sources compatible.[103] Suetonius *Aug*.18.2 states that the campsite was consecrated to Mars and Neptune; Dio 51.1.2-3 says that a *hedos* of Apollo was set up there. But there are possible solutions:

A): The camp was dedicated to Mars, Neptune and Apollo and Suetonius was wrong. Gagé tried to resolve the problem by suggesting that all three gods were mentioned in the inscription.[104] The problem is that this does not seem to be tenable, looking at the pieces found from the inscription.

B): The upper part of the monument was dedicated to Apollo, the lower to Mars and Neptune. This is contrary to Suetonius' evidence.

According to Zachos the monument functioned both as a Victory Monument and as a sanctuary to Apollo, the sanctuary perhaps being mentioned by Dio (*hedos*): the lower part with ship rams was a Victory Monument to Mars and Neptune, and the upper part a sanctuary to Apollo.[105] In his recent article on the issue Zachos confirms that the *hedos* equals the altar to Apollo on the upper terrace (see below).[106] He observes that

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[103] See Murray and Petsas 1989: 11.
[104] Gagé 1936: 70-71. Bringmann and Schäfer 2002: 183 suggest that the military character of the monument would have disqualified Apollo, but this is completely contrary to Virgil *Aen*. 8.704.
[105] Zachos 2001: 9 and 2003: 65, 83. An almost identical idea has been brought forward by Schäfer (Bringmann and Schäfer 2002: 183), who believes Suetonius' mistake goes back to the inscription itself, not mentioning Apollo, as the lower part of the terrace was only dedicated to Mars and Neptune, the upper to Apollo. See also Isager 2007: 32.
[106] Zachos 2007: 417.

because the hill is sacred to Apollo as mentioned by Strabo (7.7.6) the monument must be to the same god.[107]

But this has implications too; the more the division between the lower and upper terrace is insisted upon, the more important it becomes that the dedication itself is to Mars and Neptune. Apollo most likely gave Octavian the victory at Actium and the god most certainly did benefit immensely from the commemorations at Actium, but he is not mentioned in the dedication. It must also be remembered that the two terraces were built because the ground is unstable in the area.[108] This does not show Zachos to be wrong, but perhaps indicates that it was not a primary intention to make the monument a dual monument, but a simple necessity. This idea seems a modern invention in order to bring together the conflicting ancient evidence.

C): The camp was dedicated to Mars and Neptune, as mentioned by Suetonius, and thus Dio is wrong. Murray and Petsas rightly observe that neither Plutarch nor Strabo nor Suetonius mentions any *hedos* of Apollo.[109] This is a possible solution, as the inscription, in its reconstruction, only mentions Mars and Neptune. Murray and Petsas conclude that the hill was sacred to Apollo, the monument to Mars and Neptune.[110]

The fragments found by Zachos show Romulus and Remus together with the *lupa* and dolphins.[111] Mars is of course the father of Romulus and Remus, as shown on the *Ara*

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[107] Zachos 2003: 82.
[108] Malacrino 2007: 372.
[109] Murray and Petsas 1989: 87-91.
[110] Murray and Petsas 1989: 11-12 and 87. This is still supported by Murray 2007: 445, written after the initial publications of Zachos.
[111] Zachos 2001: 38-39 mentions Romulus as the first triumphator. See also Zachos 2003: 79. For the dolphins, see Zachos 2003: 79. They most likely symbolise the victory at Actium. See Malacrino 2007: 373, n 10.

Pacis, and dolphins point to Neptune.[112] Taking the small pieces together, Mars and Neptune are present, but so is Apollo, as Zachos has found a triumphal relief and a semicircular base showing Apollo with lyre and 11 other gods, mentioned above.

Looking at the reconstruction of the inscription by Murray and Petsas, using Suetonius, they are, as mentioned above, mistaken: instead of 'Neptune and Mars', a new block found by Zachos puts 'Mars' first. Quite possible the solution to the chosen gods and their order is the simple one that peace by land and sea, but through victory, means Mars (land) and Neptune (Sea); this is also found in Horace *Epode* 9.27 on Actium.

D): If *hedos* (Dio 51.1.2-3) is taken to mean statue the sources can be reconciled and this is in fact a normal sense of *hedos*, whereas 'shrine' is hardly attested. But if so, there is still so far no archaeological evidence to support a statue of Apollo, but it must be remembered that the statues of Lucky and Victor (Plut.*Ant*.65.3) have not been found either.[113]

According to Dio 51.1.3 there was a *hedos* in the sanctuary, which seems to mean statue of a god in Dio. In 48.14.5-6 Dio refers to a statue of Juno which survived the sack of Perusia and was transferred to Rome in accordance with a dream of Octavian; 59.28.4 refers to Caligula's attempt to remove the statue of Jupiter from Olympia. In both '*hedos*' is used and the meaning is clearly '(cult) statue'. There might thus after

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[112] Octavian seems to have taken over Neptune from Sextus Pompeius. App.*B.C.*5.98 mentions that Octavian sacrificed to Neptune before the battle of Naulochos. See also *RIC* 1² 256, likely to show Neptune.

[113] Malacrino 2007: 379 on the statue bases that have been found on the monument. According to Zachos 2007: 413 there are three statue bases on the upper level of the monument, but one of them seems to be later then the two others. At the eastern base a fragment of a dress of a statue has been found. Zachos does not tell why one base is later, but even so, if Lucky and Victor was a statue group, using only one base, Apollo might have been there as well.

all have been a statue of Apollo on the upper part of the monument. Murray and Petsas are certainly wrong in dismissing this interpretation of *hedos*, but Dio of course may be wrong.[114] He might have thought that not only the hill was sacred to Apollo, but also the monument itself.

The fact that the games are Apollo's makes a statue more likely. But perhaps it was after all a change, as the games are from 28 BC and the inscription was set up in 29 BC. It is not impossible that the monument was first dedicated to Mars and Neptune and then, when the games of Apollo had been moved, Apollo was included in the monument with a statue.[115]

But whatever the solution, all three gods played an important role in the area: Apollo was the main god of the victory area, Mars and Neptune are the specific dedicatees of the campsite monument, and more than one god helped achieve the victory at Actium. An ordinary general might have one divine helper; Octavian had three (Virgil *Aen*.8.692-705 on the gods helping at Actium, especially Venus and Neptune).

One of the ways in which the Actium victory was commemorated at Rome was by making the 23rd September, the birthday of Octavian, a public holiday, and we learn from the Fasti of the Arvals that sacrifices were made to Mars, Neptune and Apollo on

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[114] Murray and Petsas 1989: 11, n 7, also mentioning the different possible translations of *hedos*. One of their suggestions is that *hedos* can also be 'seat' (n 7). According to Zachos 2001: 37 the altar of Apollo at Amyklea near Sparta was known as the *Thronos* of Apollo. Gagé 1936: 55 and Stahl 1998: 63 and 72 are right it seems in stressing that *hedos* may indeed be a statue. Murray and Petsas' main argument against this is in fact the context of the monument, which, rightly so, does not seem to suggest a prominent position of Apollo.
[115] According to Jucker 1982: 97 a denarius of C. Antistius Vetus from 16 BC, with the reverse depicting *Apollo Actius* with lyre and *patera* next to an altar and standing on a raised platform, might show the monument at Actium. The platform seems to be some kind of *rostra*, with rams visible and flanked by two anchors (*RIC* 1² 365-6). This is a possibility although it is not certain at all (see chapter 7).

that day (see below chapter 6). It was most likely because they were the gods of Actium that they received these sacrifices.[116]

The conclusion of Murray and Petsas seems still to stand; the monument was dedicated to Mars and Neptune. The sources are not impossible to reconcile, but to separate the upper and the lower part of the monument seems an oddity and even though the monument was dedicated to Mars and Neptune, which surely connects them to the altar, there very likely was a statue (*hedos*) of Apollo on the upper terrace.

5.7: Conclusion: the victory monument and Augustan ideology

Nicopolis was a Greek city and there might not have been a Roman colony in the area. And still we find a Roman monument with a Latin inscription. The monument at Actium was built to commemorate the victory against Antonius and Cleopatra, at the same time stressing the peace that the regime hoped would follow on from the wars. This is part of the accomplishment of the triumviral assignment, and at the time the inscription was put up in 29 BC the assignment had been more or less accomplished, as the civil wars were ended and the temple of Janus closed (see chapter 6).

The monument was a symbol of this development, the rams the symbol of victory at the battle of Actium, later also used extensively in Rome (see chapter 6/7). At this stage it is impossible to go further until Zachos' further publications, but more can be derived from the inscription, put up to commemorate the event of the dedication of the monument.

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[116] As pointed out by Gagé 1936: 58-66, especially 62; 1955: 512; Weinstock 1971: 209.

The three gods that helped at Actium were Apollo, Mars and Neptune. The monument was dedicated to Mars and Neptune, as mentioned in the inscription, but Apollo received a number of onsite commemorations and might have had a statue on the upper part of the monument.

The battle had great implications for the wording of the inscription, and *in hac regione* is vital because it was impossible to receive a triumph for a single battle (see chapter 4). According to Murray and Petsas *in hac regione* would not have been used for the naval battle on 2nd September; instead it commemorates the campaign that ended at Actium.[117] Similarly *RG* 25.2 mentions *belli quo vici ad Actium*, not *proelium* or *pugna*. But this hardly means that the inscription does not commemorate the battle on the 2nd September.

Bellum is also vital, even though the monument mainly commemorates the bringing of peace, which was achieved on the 2nd September, at least in the official ideology. If the date of 29 BC is accepted, after the capture of Egypt, in principle the same war, the inscription accentuates that Octavian won at Actium, which brought peace to the Roman world. Actium is thus relatively more important than Egypt. Of course the inscription is set up at Actium, not Alexandria, but this is close to the information found in the *RG*.

Pace parta terra marique is almost neutral (peace was obtained). It is traditionally connected to the closing of the temple of Janus in 29 BC and may come from the SC, in which the honour of closing the temple of Janus was mentioned, since the closing

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[117] Murray and Petsas 1989: 138.

of the temple was a decision of the Senate.[118] Alternatively, and perhaps even likely, it was mentioned already in the despatch from Octavian to the Senate after his victory, declaring his victory. This on the other hand does not exclude the possibility that the phrase was even older (App.*B.C.*5.130 on 36 BC and the victory over Sextus Pompeius). Importantly, the Victory Monument was erected to celebrate the coming of peace after the victory at Actium, and this was also celebrated in Rome with the closing of the temple of Janus (see chapter 6). It gives the monument at Actium a very Roman context. Importantly, peace secured by land and sea, is secured through victory (as in *RG* 13).

Pro republica might point in the direction of the triumvirate, as it is close to the description in *RG* 2 (see chapter 2). It is also close to the *re publica conservata* on an inscription from 29 BC, found in the Forum Romanum, and most likely to have come from the Actian arch. And the obverse legend *Libertatis P R Vindex* on a contemporary cistophorus, whose reverse commemorates *pax*, and the *corona obsidionalis*, a military distinction given to Octavian for saving the community, pointing to the defence of the liberty of the Roman people (and close to *RG* 1). All this material must be seen in relation to the war against Antonius and Cleopatra.[119] A blurring of foreign and civil war, looking at Actium as Alexandria, is evident, and the assignment of the triumvirate seems fitting. This fact also explains the relative vagueness of the inscription. No details on the enemies, but an accentuation of *pax*.

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[118] Schäfer 1993: 241 on the SC.
[119] Rich and Williams 1999: 184-185. The parallel passages to the inscription of the Victory Monument: *re publica conservata* (inscription from 29 BC. See EJ 17). *Libertatis P R Vindex* (Cistophori. See *RIC* 1², 476). *corona obsidionalis* (Pliny *N.H.*22.13 and Dio 51.19.5). *IRTripol* 537:…*bello quod imp. Galba pro re publica gessit.*

The conquering of Egypt is described as a conquest in the contemporary evidence.[120] At Actium there is no such explanation.[121]

Most Latin inscriptions of similar kind begin with the name and magistracy of the person putting up the inscription (See *ILS* 91 = *CIL* 6.701 and 702); the name is followed by the date (magistracy) and the reason for the dedication and the inscription. According to Cornell "For practical purposes the important thing to remember about Roman dates is that events were associated in the first instance with the names of the consuls of the year in which they took place. Locating that year in any general scheme of chronology, whether Olympiads, or years after the founding of the city, or years before or after Christ, is a secondary and necessarily somewhat artificial process".[122] The inscription of the Victory Monument begins with the name of Caesar, but then describes the victory in the war, which he waged on behalf of the *res publica*. Actium is not mentioned, but as an onsite monument this was hardly necessary, and *in hac regione* is mentioned. Then comes the date of the inscription with the mentioning of the consulship and imperator title of Octavian. The event is not the consulship, but the victory at Actium. Furthermore, Octavian does not mention the triumvirate, as he was not a triumvir at Actium. But, as mentioned above, *pro republica* does suggest the triumviral assignment, not the least when taken together with *pace parta terra marique*, stressing the result of victory. The inscription ends with the consecration of naval spoils to the gods Mars and Neptune. This is a monument for a naval victory.

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[120] *Fasti Prae.*: [*Aegypt*]*us in potestatem po*[*puli Romani redacta.*] (EJ, p.49); *Fasti Arv.*; *Fasti Amit.*; *Fasti Ant.* See EJ, p.49. See also *ILS* 91 = *CIL* 6.701 and 702 (bases of obelisks in Rome dedicated to Sol).
[121] This is also the case in the *Fasti*. See *Fasti Arv.*; *Fasti Amit.*; *Fasti Ant.* (EJ, p 51).
[122] Cornell 1995: 401. See also Feeney 2007: 14, 171.

This monument could have been built in Rome. It was not, but it must have been intended for Romans more than Greek locals. Of course the monument was also used in a local context, for the games to Apollo, the patron god of Octavian and Nicopolis. The personal involvement of Octavian stresses the huge importance of Actium, here exemplified by the onsite commemorations. There is a clear connection between the regime's ideology as deduced from the Victory Monument and later the *RG*: the stressing of the triumvirate and related to that peace obtained through victory, the description of the battle of Actium as a campaign, the difference between Alexandria and Actium, meaning the relative importance of Actium, accentuated by the date of the inscription after the capture of Alexandria, the so-called *damnatio memoriae* of the enemy and the monumentality of the inscription itself. As Zachos connected the *Ara Pacis* and the Victory Monument, it is possible to connect the inscription of the same monument with the *RG* and the Augustan ideology in general. At the Victory Monument the importance of the battle of Actium in the official ideology can clearly be seen.

Chapter 6: Waiting for Caesar

Honours were an important part of the Roman state, and more so during the triumvirate and the Principate. They were used to negotiate between the *Princeps* and his subjects, showing loyalty, gratitude and support. The *Princeps* on the other hand had to show modesty by not accepting all, but without being ungrateful.[1] This chapter will look into the honours given to Octavian by the Senate after the wars at Actium and Alexandria, and before he returned to the city in 29 BC, but including his triumphant entry into Rome. These honours have been seriously understudied.[2] They are first examined as a whole, and then particular honours with special relevance for the themes of this study will be given further consideration, trying to re-evaluate the honours given to Octavian after his victories at Rome, to show the importance of these victories and their connection to the triumviral assignment.

6.1: Honouring the absent victor: Dio 51.19.1-20.5

After having described the battles of Actium (book 50) and Alexandria, Dio turns to the city of Rome in 51.19 and the period before Octavian's triumphant return from the East.[3] In this period of waiting for Caesar, from the 2nd September 31 BC to his return in August 29 BC, the Senate passed a number of resolutions in honour of his victories,

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[1] Rich 1998: 71. Wallace-Hadrill 1982a on the ambivalence of the *Princeps* between citizen and king, the *Princeps* showing restraint; 1990 regarding the significance of honours. See also *RG* 5 and 6.
[2] Andersen 1938 is brief and does not attempt to look at all honours in context. He rightly stresses that the honours are not the actual decrees by the Senate, but a list by Dio. He also stresses the chronological problems in Dio (9). Reinhold 1988 does not believe in any chronological qualities in Dio and he is in general also very brief in his commentary.
[3] For Dio 51.19-20, see Reinhold 1988: 146-155.

together with honours in relation to the diplomatic dealings with Parthia in 29 BC, 'all' listed by Dio.[4]

Reinhold argues that the lists of 51.19-20 are made with little regard to chronology. It is true that the implementations are mentioned later, in 51.20.4, but Dio does give what seems a very accurate understanding of the different honours given to the different victories (Actium, Alexandria and the Parthian settlement).[5] The whole excursus is awkwardly inserted into the narrative of Octavian's doings, but within the excursus the various phases in the conferment of honours are in fact precisely dated, with Janus and the *augurium Salutis*, the final pair, as the exception (see below).

The honours were explicitly in response to news from the East, most likely despatches from Octavian, clearly so for Parthia (Dio 51.20.1). Octavian may thus have been able to shape the formulation of the Senate by what he said in his despatches, as in the choice of *quinquennial* games in Rome, most likely influenced by his innovation of similar games at Actium (see below and chapter 5).

The first list of honours are those related to the naval victory at Actium 31 BC (51.19.1-3); Octavian was granted a triumph as over Cleopatra, although traditionally a triumph would not have been decreed until the commander returned to Rome. Arches with trophies were erected at Brundisium and in the *Forum Romanum*.[6] The

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[4] According to Reinhold 1988: 145 the Parthian settlement must be placed in 26-25 BC, preferring Justin 42.5.6-9. There is a puzzle here, with Justin and Dio appearing to talk of the same events. Concluding that it all took place in 25 BC seems a very drastic one. It is more likely that some Parthian business was transacted in 30 BC, reported to the Senate by Octavian in a despatch, whose receipt prompted the final batch of honours (Dio 51.20.1). See Rich 1990: 171.
[5] Reinhold 1988: 151. See also Fadinger 1969: 305-306, especially n 2; Andersen 1938: 20, who rightly stresses the honours given for the three victories are mentioned together. But this is clearly a list and most honours are clearly connected to a specific victory.
[6] *RIC* l² 267.

temple of *Divus Julius* was to be adorned with rams from ships.[7] *Quinquennial* games were instituted in Rome (*RG* 9.1. See below). There was to be *a hieromenia* on the birthday of Octavian on the 23rd September and again on the anniversary of the battle on the 2nd September: that is, those days were declared *feriae*, as the inscribed calendars confirm (see below).

When entering the city Octavian was to be greeted by the Vestal Virgins, the Senate and the Roman people with wives and children. This honour was not accepted, as mentioned by Dio 51.20.4. Later Augustus continued to insist on a modest mode of return, as in 19 and 13 BC (*RG* 11-12), but at the same time he ensured lasting commemorations (monumental altars to 'Fortune' and 'Peace').

In this context the '*damnatio memoriae*' of Antonius is mentioned (the monuments of Antonius are either destroyed or effaced); this came just after Actium (19.3), not in 30 BC, as mentioned by Plutarch (Plut.*Cic*.49.6).[8] Antonius' birthday was declared 'black' (EJ, p.45: *vitiosus*), and his kin was forbidden to use the *praenomen* Marcus (Plut.*Cic*.49.6).[9] There were more honours, prayers, effigies and the privilege of a front seat, but Dio does not go into detail. The 'prayers' (*eukhai*) must mean *supplicationes*, certainly voted on this occasion as after all Octavian/Augustus' victories (*RG* 4.2, noting that these were won on 'land and sea', a slogan used in connection with the battle of Actium: see chapter 5).

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[7] Frontin.*Aq*.129.1; Dio 56.34.4.
[8] According to Plut.*Cic*.49.4-6; *Ant*.86.5 the '*damnatio memoriae*' was in the consulship of Cicero's son (13th September 31-31st October 30 BC). Dio records it being before the death of Antonius in 30 BC, Plutarch after, but Plutarch seems to have used the death of Antonius as a dramatic counterbalance to the injustice against Cicero. See Andersen 1938: 35-36; Babcock 1962: 31; Fadinger 1969: 247, n 2; Reinhold 1988: 147. Dio is more credible.
[9] See Suerbaum 1980: 327-334 on Antonius and Oakley 1997: 567 for such bans in general.

Dio's second list (51.19.4-7) groups together the honours conferred after the arrival of the news of the capture of Alexandria and death of M. Antonius on 1st August 30 BC, noting that Cicero's son was suffect consul at the time. Dio opens this list with the vote of crowns and *hieromeniai*. The latter must here be *supplicationes*, with Dio carelessly switching his terminology. The reference to crowns may be a generalization from the vote of the *corona obsidionalis*, mentioned by Pliny (*N.H.*22.13). Pliny reports that the crown was granted on 13th September 30 BC, and perhaps this was the date when all this batch of honours was voted. The *corona obsidionalis* ('siege crown'), a military distinction given to Octavian for saving the community, was originally presented to a soldier who saved a whole army.[10] Its significance now is clarified by the decree, mentioned soon after by Dio, that the anniversary of the capture of Alexandria should be a 'lucky day', that is *feriae*. Calendars report that this was decreed because on that day Octavian had liberated the *res publica* from the gravest danger (EJ, p.49; see below).[11] It was this saving of the *res publica* which had earned Octavian his 'siege crown'.

For the victory Octavian was voted a further triumph, over the Egyptians. Dio stresses that Antonius and other Romans fighting against Octavian were not mentioned because this would have been improper: there was no need to stress the civil war. According to Dio (19.6), the date of Alexandria's capture was also to mark the "beginning of the reckoning", that is, a new era. It is uncertain whether Dio means a new era for Egypt or for Rome as well.[12] If Dio meant Rome, Octavian rejected the honour, as we have no knowledge of it.

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[10] See Weinstock 1971: 148-152.
[11] The same honour was given under similar circumstances to Caesar in 45 BC. See Weinstock 1971: 148-152.
[12] See Bell 1934 (1971): 285, n 1; Reinhold 1988: 149.

Octavian was offered the *tribunicia potestas* for life, and the right to give aid within the *pomerium* and up to a mile outside (Dio 51.19.6), but he probably declined. From 23 BC he was in possession of the powers of the tribune and the fact that Augustus later reckoned his *trib.pot.* from 23 BC confirms that he received it then. The alternative view is that Octavian accepted just the *ius auxilii* in 30 BC.[13] He had already been given the *sacrosanctitas* of the tribune in 36 BC.[14] According to Dio 49.15.5 he also then received the *ius subsellii*, the right of a seat on the tribunes' bench in the Senate. Dio adds that he should protect all who would call upon him for help, also up to one mile outside the *pomerium*. This none of the tribunes could do. Torelli has pointed that the *Ara Pacis* was placed exactly one mile from the *pomerium*, where the oldest tradition placed the momentous transition of the magistrate's power from the *imperium militiae* to the *imperium domi*. This is a symbol of the peaceful *imperium domi*.[15] It was time to work for Rome in peace.

He was also to judge appeal cases and have a vote like Athena's in all courts (Dio 51.19.7). According to Reinhold this meant he was the final court of appeal, or an alternative court with direct primary jurisdiction.[16] This was something new and as a triumvir Octavian seems to have had to do with jurisdiction only indirectly. This

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[13] Rich 1990: 169 argues that Octavian did not accept the tribune's power of helping citizens (*auxilium*) in 30 BC, as this is hardly separable from the rest of the powers of the tribune. The classic statement of this view, see Last 1951 (1969). Against this, see Andersen 1938: 25-28; Reinhold 1988: 229-230; Pelling 1996: 68-69.

[14] App.*B.C.*5.132; Oros.6.18.34. Contrary to this Dio 49.15.5 stresses that he accepted the *sacrossantitas* of the tribune. Augustus mentions both in *RG* 10.1. See Reinhold 1988: 149-150 and 229-230 for the development of the powers.

[15] Torelli 1982: 29-30.

[16] Reinhold 1988: 150-151. Millar 1973: 59-61 observes that the information in Dio is "notoriously puzzling", but later the *Princeps* did exercise jurisdiction (259). This is rejected by Bleicken 1962: 72-73; 1990: 47. Against this Rich 1992: 113 pointing out that the silence of the sources should not be pressed; and if they did not conduct jurisdiction if might be because they were too busy. A new study by Ramsey suggests that the triumvirs did not exercise routine juridical authority in Rome because it was not necessary; a third of all jurors in every trial were loyal Caesarians. Octavian did not need to exercise this authority (2005: 20-37, especially 36-37).

would have been an opportunity for Octavian to show his *clementia* (*RG* 3.1): There need not be a clear connection between the jurisdiction and these acts of *clementia* (*RG* 34.2), but the jurisdiction as mentioned by Dio seems to suggest the same as *clementia*; it was time to move on after the period of civil war. This is further supported by the vote of Athena: Caesar's vote as Athena's in the Areopagus at Athens should be decided by Octavian; he should decide on the question of acquittal.[17] Even if Dio is wrong here, he paints a picture of the returning victor, extending his *clementia* to Rome.

The section ends with the ruling of the Senate that priests and priestesses were to pray for Octavian, as well as the Senate and people, and at all public and private banquets a libation was to be poured to him (Dio 51.19.7).[18] The honour of pouring a libation to Octavian was implemented and became a long-lasting practice, as the evidence of Horace and Petronius shows (*Carm*.4.5.31-36; *Sat*.60). Marius had been honoured in the same way, but spontaneously, not by Senate decree, as an expression of the popular belief that he had saved Rome from the Gauls (Plut.*Mar*.27.5).[19] Likewise Octavian saved Rome from grave dangers.

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[17] Cary 1917: 55. Reinhold 1988: 230 is critical towards Dio on this.

[18] This has been linked with the discussion of emperor cult and cult to the *genius* of the emperor, but cult to the living emperor in Italy was not dedicated to his *genius*, but to himself (Gradel 1992; 2002: 77-81). See Taylor 1931: 216-223 with the traditional view on *genius*. In Dio this is not perceived as cult, as he dismissed this in 51.20.8. According to Gradel 2002: 207-212, especially 209 the libation is connected to the private household *lares* and was performed to the emperor himself. But the libation mentioned in 51.19.7 is public and decreed by the Senate. Lott 2004: 106-117 stresses that there was no worship of the *Genius Augusti* in the neighbourhoods. If not to the *genius* of Octavian this story might suggest cult to a living person.

[19] Flower 2006: 88f.

Book 51.20.1 also mentions the oath taken on the 1st of January 29 BC to ratify the acts of Octavian.[20] It approved the acts of Octavian, and was taken on the 1st of January, as also later during the Principate (Dio 53.28.1; 57.8.4-8). This oath in fact took place every year from 42 BC.[21] The return to normality is evident.

Dio then turns to the Parthians (51.20.1-3). He is referring back to 51.18.2-3 and a diplomatic success gained with King Phraates of Parthia during 29 BC. On receipt of his despatch, the name of Octavian was included in public hymns equally with the gods, although Dio seems vague here and this might just refer to the *carmen Saliare*, as mentioned in *RG* 10.2. Dio has an apparent tendency in this section to allude to specific grants with vague plurals, as with crowns mentioned above. The hymn of the *Salii* may originally have been designed to ensure the safety of Rome at war; the safety of Rome was thus connected to the safety of Augustus.[22] This is obvious in the *RG*; chapter 9 mentions the festival to the health of Augustus, chapters 11-12 are about the safe return of the *Princeps* (from Syria and Spain). According to Taylor this did place him on a par with the gods.[23] Without Octavian this would not have happened, there would be no security and no peace (*RG* 13).

A tribe was to be called 'Julian', but this was not accepted by Octavian.[24] A similar honour was earlier voted to Caesar (Dio 44.5.2), but not implemented.[25] The tribal

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[20] According to Reinhold 1988: 151 "these measures were voted at this time" might refer to the honours in 51.19.5-7, but they may also include 51.19.3 on the '*damnatio memoriae*' of Antonius. This is wrong and the reference is clearly to 51.19.5-7. Dio's chronological indications are quite explicit. On the acts and the 1st January, see Reinhold 1988: 151.-152. The oath was taken every year from 42 BC and during the *Principate*. See Rich 1990: 163-164.
[21] App.*B.C.*2.106.
[22] Brunt and Moore 1967: 52.
[23] Taylor 1931: 236.
[24] Reinhold 1988: 152.
[25] Weinstock 1971: 158-162.

membership was included with full nomenclature, and thus if one of the 35 tribes had been renamed in this way, it would certainly have been attested epigraphically.

Finally there was the honour of wearing the triumphal crown at festivals, not just at the triumph itself. [26] Like the name *imperator* this shows the ever victorious Octavian.[27] The senators who participated in the victory were to be part of the triumphal procession dressed in *toga praetexta*. The day Octavian entered the city should be honoured with sacrifices by the whole people (Dio 51.21.1-2). This day was to be holy forever according to Dio, but there are no references to it in the calendars on the 13th of August and thus it must have been declined. Octavian also received powers to name priests, although this may be a slight exaggeration.[28]

In 51.20.4 Dio then reports that Octavian accepted all but a few of these honours. As mentioned Dio stresses that the welcome of all the people on returning to Rome was declined by Octavian; this might have been a special case, as it would have had to be declined in advance to stop it happening.[29] In other instances there might not have been an explicit refusal, just non-implementation. It might indeed be that Dio only knew that a decree was passed, not whether it was implemented.[30]

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[26] Rich 1990: 162. In 36 BC Octavian was given the right to wear the laurel crown at all times (Dio 49.15.1) and in 29 BC the right to wear the gold crown and perhaps the rest of the triumphal dress at all festivals. This was later extended to New Year's Day (Dio 53.26.5).

[27] The *proenomen imperatoris* seems to go back to the *ovatio* after the peace of Brundisium 40 BC. See EJ, p.33 (*fasti triumphales* **Barberin?????i**). See also Kienast 1999: 48.

[28] According to Reinhold 1988: 152 Dio is talking about the 3C. But it is not at all sure why that has to be the case. Stepper 2003: 33, 42, 117 traces this power back to Caesar and suggests that there were no limitations to it.

[29] Andersen 1938: 20f suggests that the reason was that Octavian did not arrive after the battle of Actium, but surely this could easily have been postponed.

[30] Rich 1998: 78-79. According to Andersen 1938: 9-23: Dio's lists of Senate decrees, conferring honours on Caesar and Augustus, come from a special work recording *senatus consulta*. It is more likely that it came from earlier annalistic historians, his main sources. This source may have been primarily concerned with recording the conferring of the honours, not the issue of implementation. See Swan 2004: 21-23; Rich 1998: 78.

Finally Dio lists the honours that pleased Octavian the most, the closing of the temple of Janus and the holding of the ancient *augurium salutis* (see below). This may suggest that the foremost example of the *res gestae* of Octavian in the official ideology was not the victory, not the triumph, but the ending of the war and the bringing of peace, as part of the triumviral assignment (see chapters 2 and 7).

The honours given to Octavian after the victories over Antonius and Cleopatra at Actium and Alexandria were numerous and accentuate both the great importance of both victories and of Octavian, the provider of victory and peace after civil war, and hopefully, most likely not exclusively on an ideological and political level, the bringer of normality to the *res publica* after turmoil. The ideology gave the Romans something they wanted: peace.

6.2: Victory festivals

Feriae

This section will focus on the honours that sought to establish permanent commemorations of the victories at Actium and Alexandria through festivals. There were *feriae* for Actium on the 2nd and the 23rd of September and for Alexandria on the 1st August (Dio 51.19.2 for Actium; 51.19.6 for Alexandria).

Dio's list thus contains a holiday for Actium on the birthday of Octavian. This must have been designed to emphasize its importance; Octavian was portrayed as the saviour of the *res publica*. Earlier the birthday of Caesar had been celebrated in public and the 4th *Eclogue* of Virgil, *RG* 13, and the calendar of the province of Asia tells the

story of a period obsessed with 'Messianic' birth.[31] The conclusion was for all to see: without the birth of Octavian no peace. Augustus' birthday was also used as the date for many temple dedications.[32]

The *feriae* are attested in the *fasti*: September the 2nd (EJ, p.51) mentions the victory at Actium:

> Amit.: *fer. Ex s.c. quod eo die imp. Caes. Divi f. Augustus apud Actium vicit se Titio cos.*
>
> ("Public Holiday by decree of the senate because on this day Imperator Caesar Augustus, son of the Deified, won at Actium when he and Titius were consuls") (translation in Cooley 2003: C31).

> Arv.: *feriae ex s.c. imp. Caesaris h(onoris) c(ausa) quod eo die vicit Actium.*

On the 23rd of September the Arvals mention sacrifices to the three gods Mars, Neptune and Apollo; they are the three gods of Actium (see chapter 5):

> *b np. M[er]k(atus). F(eriae) ex s(enatus) c(onsulto), q(uod) e(o) d(ie) Imp(erator) Caesar Aug(ustus) pont(ifex) ma[x(imus)] natus est: Marti, Neptuno in Campo, Apo[l]lini ad theatrum Marcelli* (Degrassi 1963: 512; EJ, p. 52).

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[31] Weinstock 1971: 211 for the public celebrations on Caesar's birthday. Regarding Augustus, see Kienast 1999: 215 and n 41 with sources and scholarship. See Coleman 1977 on the 4[th] *Eclogue*, Degrassi 1963: 512 on the *fasti* of the Arvals and EJ 98 on the new calendar of Asia Minor based on Augustus' birthday (9 BC).

[32] Rüpke 1995: 403; 2001: 189-190 with a list. The *Ara Numinis Augusti* at Narbo AD 12/13 celebrated the birthday of Augustus (EJ 98a). See Suet.*Tib*.26. And these celebrations did take place all over the empire, see Weinstock 1971: 210. This idea of the 'fall' and recovery makes Augustus seem indispensable. See Wallace-Hadrill 1982b: 25; Feeney 2007: 112f.

The inscribed Arval *fasti* were clearly written in several stages, as different letter forms were used. The entry on the battle of Actium does not mention the title Augustus and it was thus written before 27 BC. The entry on the 23rd September, the birthday of Augustus, mentions Augustus as *Pontifex Maximus*, from 12 BC; this is all written in the same hand. According to Gradel this does not refer to the dedication dates of the temples, but to mark the birthday of Augustus, but it might also point to a new dedication of the temples.[33] It seems very unlikely that the sacrifices mentioned by the Arvals were instituted in 12 BC or later. It is much more likely that they go back to the SC in 30 BC, as mentioned by Dio. This seems only a technicality. The gods of the Arvals were the gods of Actium.[34] As mentioned by Dio 51.19.2 the *feriae* on the birthday and the anniversary of the battle of Actium did celebrate the same victory. Paradoxically Actium seems to have lost out, since the 23rd September became the bigger celebration and lost its particular association with Actium.

The anniversary of the victory at Alexandria was to be a lucky day and the calendar of Egypt was to begin with 1st August (see above).[35] As already noted, the calendars' entry on the 1st August stresses the reason for the vote: *quod eo die rem publicam tristissimo periculo liberavit* (mentioned in the fasti Arvales, Praeneste and Amiternum, EJ, p.49).[36] This no doubt derived from the Senate's decree itself: the festival marked Octavian's saving of the *res publica* from the gravest danger.

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[33] Gradel 2002: 131. See also Gagé 1936: 58-66, 1955: 512; Murray and Petsas 1989: 90. Rüpke 1995: 46-47 points to a first edition around 29/28 BC and a second in 2 BC. It is a mystery why the birthday was not in the first edition.
[34] As pointed out by Gagé 1936: 58-66, especially 62, Gagé 1955: 512 and Weinstock 1971: 209.
[35] Capponi 2005: 28. Even though the 1st August is important, Augustus waited till the 29th August to declare himself ruler of Egypt, as this is New Year's Day. See Rehak 2006: 79.
[36] See also Oros.6.19.16; Macr.*Sat*.1.12.35; Eus.*Chron*.2.140. For the importance of the 1st of August, see Reinhold 1988: 148-149.

An SC from 8 BC renamed the month *Sextilis* as August; cited by Macrobius, it gives as the reason that Augustus held his first consulship and his triumphs in that month and furthermore, that Egypt was conquered and the civil wars ended (*Saturnalia* 1.12.35 (EJ 37)). The ending of the civil war in August is not mentioned in the parallel sources.[37] The *Ara Romae et Augusti* at Lugdumum was dedicated on the 1st of August, and it is also the date of the dedication of the compital altars in 7 BC.[38] Thus, both victories left important traces in the calendars of Rome.

Quinquennial games

According to Dio 51.19.2 games were to be held at Rome, *quinquennial* as the games at Actium, but *pro salute Caesaris* in Rome; they did not survive Augustus, as they were linked to his *salus*. At Actium they were still held in late antiquity.[39] *RG* 9.1 states clearly:

> *Vota pro salute mea suscipi per consules et sacerdotes quinto quoque anno senatus decrevit. ex iis votis saepe fecerunt vivo me ludos aliquotiens sacerdotum quattuor amplissima collegia, aliquotiens consules.*
>
> ("The senate decreed that vows should be undertaken every fifth year by the consuls and the priests for my safety. In fulfilment of these vows games have frequently been celebrated in my lifetime, sometimes by the four most

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[37] Dio 55.6.6 dates the event to 8 BC and stresses the consulship and victories. See also Suet.*Aug*.31.2; Livy *Per*.134. See also Swan 2004: 67f.
[38] The altar of *Roma et Augustus* at Lugdunum was dedicated on the 1st August. See Rich 1993. The vicomagistri, instituted 7 BC, took office on that day. See Lott 2004: 81-127, especially 85. The temple of *Mars Ultor* was most likely not dedicated on the 1st August, but on the 12th May; there is no reference in the calendars to a festival to Mars on the 1st August. See Rich 1998: 83-85.
[39] Gurval 1995: 80-81.

distinguished colleges of priests, sometimes by the consuls.") (translated by Brunt and Moore 1967).[40]

According to Dio 53.1.4-5 the festival was decreed in 31 BC after the battle of Actium and first held in 28 BC (*RG* 9.1; Suet.*Aug*.44.3).[41] Similar games were voted for Caesar in 44 BC (pentaeteric); they were *pro salute Caesaris*, but were never executed.[42] Most likely the games of 28 BC, the first of this kind to be held at Rome, were prompted by the re-foundation of the games at Actium, as described in chapter 5. They were thus partly Greek games, as *quinquennial* games were common in the Greek world.[43] The games were celebrated by the consuls and the four most important priestly colleges in turn.[44] The games are known from 16 BC and AD 9.[45]

Weinstock and Gurval try to minimize the connection between these games and Actium. Weinstock's theory is that all honours of 'Augustus' were modelled on earlier

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[40] Following Brunt and Moore, but reading *salute* (with Scheid 2007: 9, 41-2) rather than Mommsen's *valetudine* (The lacunose Latin text can otherwise be restored from the Greek version): Vota p[ro salute mea susc]ipi p[er cons]ules et sacerdotes qu[in]to qu[oque anno senatus decrevit. ex iis] votis s[ae]pe fecerunt vivo m[e ludos aliquotiens sacerdotu]um quattuor amplissima colle[gia, aliquotiens consules. Taylor 1931: 155; Gagé 1955: 512-513; Hekster and Rich 2006: 165, n 83 accept that the games in RG 9.1 are the games held in 28 BC. Gurval 1995: 121, n 80 stresses that Augustus makes no connection between the vows or the games and Actium. But the fact that the games in RG 9.1 are every fifth year, as the games at Actium makes the connection likely, especially because games like that were new at Rome.

[41] On these games see Hekster and Rich 2006: 165; Weinstock 1971: 310-317; Reinhold 1988: 146; Gurval 1995: 120-123. According to Weinstock 1971: 311 they were decreed 30 BC which is clearly a mistake.

[42] Weinstock 1971: 310. Dio 53.1.5 states they were held "for some time". The text is corrupted but this is the most likely reconstruction of the text. See Rich 1990: 133.

[43] Rich 1990: 133; Hekster and Rich 2006: 165. Suet.*Nero*.12.3 on the *Neronia* stresses they were the first Greek games in Rome. This is likely to mean that they were the first full style Greek games in Rome. See Newby 2006: 40f.

[44] Dio 53.1.5. See Hekster and Rich 2006: 165. The four colleges were the Pontifices, who had general responsibility over Roman religion, Augurs divination, *septemviri* banquets to Jupiter and *quindecimviri* the custody of the Sibylline books.

[45] Dio 54.19.8; *RIC* 1² 369 (aureus by C. Antistius Vetus); *CIL* 6.877a on 16 BC and Pliny *N.H.*7.158 on AD 9.

honours of Caesar, thus stressing those games.[46] Gurval mistakenly confuses the *quinquennial* votive games with the games to Jupiter for Augustus' safe return on his departure from Rome, vowed in 16 BC and held in 13 BC on Augustus' return. Furthermore, Gurval observes that the *quinquennial* games mentioned by Dio 51.19.2 are not specified; there is no name or character of the festival mentioned.[47] But since they were *quinquennial* and since they were mentioned in the list of honours "presented" to the victor after the battle of Actium, as stressed by Dio, his does seem a rather odd conclusion. Furthermore, it seems natural to assume that Apollo was the god honoured at these games, as at Actium (see chapter 7).[48]

6.3: '*Damnatio memoriae*': dishonouring Antonius

According to Dio the '*damnatio memoriae*' of Antonius took place before his death, after the battle of Actium (51.19.3-5): This involved the tearing down or effacing of the memorials of Antonius, declaring his birthday 14th January *dies vitiosus* and forbidding the use of the surname Marcus by any of his kin. The birthday is mentioned in the *fasti Verulani*: [*V*]*itiosus ex* (*senatus*) *c*(*onsulto*). *Ant*(*oni*) *natal*(*is*).[49] As shown in chapter 3 Antonius was never actually declared a *hostis*.

Looking at '*damnatio memoriae*' in more general terms, the ideas put forward by Hedrick on the Late Roman Empire will here be used on the Augustan age; Antonius was not mentioned by name, but this to dishonour him, not at all to forget him.[50]

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[46] Weinstock 1971: 310-317. On page 315 n 9 he holds (on Dio 53.1.4): "Dio cannot be right in asserting that they commemorated the Actian victory".
[47] Gurval 1995: 120-123. He believes the games are Roman (122).
[48] Hekster and Rich 2006: 165.
[49] Degrassi 1963: 159. See also Weinstock 1971: 209. Later during the reign of Claudius it was restored (Suet.*Clau*.11.3).
[50] Hedrick 2000 chapter 4: "Remembering to forget" and especially 114. The phrase '*damnatio memoriae*' is modern, but *memoria damnata* is ancient and is referring to a posthumous prosecution or conviction of person charges of treason. See Hedrick 2000: 94; Vittinghoff 1936, especially 12-13, 21;

According to the traditional view on '*damnatio memoriae*' Hedrick is wrong. Davies states: "Unlike the Greeks, however, who recorded an act of destruction in public decrees so that it should become an exemplum to all, the Romans appear to have aimed at total eradication of memory, inasmuch as it was possible".[51]

According to Vittinghoff the first erasure for political reasons in Rome was in fact Antonius in 30 BC.[52] Importantly, Flower is right in stressing that there was no standard system of penalties.[53] The *Senatus consultum de Cn. Pisone patre*, although later (AD 20) is a useful case of reference; lines 73-75 mention the '*damnatio memoriae*' of Piso.[54] Surely the SC and the fact that the inscription was to be copied in the empire, mentioning the '*damnatio memoriae*', shows that the objective was to remember the dishonoured Piso. In fact the erasure was only ordered on the inscription on the statue of Germanicus dedicated by the *Sodales Augustales* on the *Campus Martius*.[55]

Looking at the epigraphic evidence the names of Antonius and the *Antonii* were erased on the *Fasti Consulares* in 30 BC, before Octavian's return to Rome, at a time when the Senate had no reason to believe that this was a decision that Octavian would

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Flower 2006. Dio 51.19.3 makes it clear that the Senate had a say in the '*damnatio memoriae*' of Antonius. Champlin 2003: 29-30 looks at the '*damnatio memoriae*' of Nero, where the destruction of monuments and statues were more a question of the chaos after the murder of Nero; this had nothing to do with a public mandate. Champlin also suggests that the widespread practice of recarving portraiture of emperors might less be a question of '*damnatio memoriae*' and more so a question of reusing the marble (2003: 30).

[51] Davies 2000: 38. For the idea that Antonius should not be mentioned, see Syme 1939: 275; Scott 1933: 43-44; Grant 1972: 198. Woodman 1983: 212 rightly stresses that it is odd not to mention Antonius and at the same time make him the slave of Cleopatra.

[52] Vittinghoff 1936: 20-21. He mentions M. Claudius Marcellus in 42 BC, but that was in Athens (20-21). He dismisses M. Manlius Capitolinus (23). See also Flower 2006: 48-51. In the Greek city states the erasure of names from inscriptions can be traced back to the 6C. BC, see Flower 2006: 18-41. On the Hellenistic period, see Bayliss 2006.

[53] Flower 2002: 208; 2006: IX. Sumi 2005: 3 stresses the destroying of the homes of the enemies of the state, for example Cicero (Cic.*Dom*.101).

[54] For the text, see Eck, Carballos and Fernández 1996. See also Flower 1998: 23-31, 56-59.

[55] Flower 2006: 135.

disagree with. Later a restoration was carried out, which must have occurred after Octavian's return to Rome in 29 BC.[56]

The alternative occasion is the disgrace of Antonius' son Iullus Antonius in 2 BC, for his part in the adultery case of Julia.[57] According to Velleius he was a remarkable example of the *Clementia* of Augustus (2.100), even letting him marry Marcella, his sister's daughter. Apart from Antonius' eldest son Antyllus, who was killed, the other children were brought up by Octavia (Plut.*Ant*.87.1). In the end Iullus Antonius was forced to commit suicide in 2 BC. But vitally, according to Tacitus *Ann*.3.18 the name of Marcus Antonius and his son Iullus still remained in the records.

The *Fasti Triumphales* were put up perhaps around the time of the erection of the Parthian arch.[58] But there is no sign of erasure of the name of the *Antonii* on these *fasti*; the erasure and restoration must have happened before the inscription of the *Fasti Triumphales*.[59] Why in 2 BC erase the name only in one of the *fasti*? The incident involving Iullus Antonius seems too small a matter for a '*damnatio memoriae*'.[60] Taylor did concede it might be an unauthorised action.[61] But an unauthorised intervention by the Senate in 2 BC seems much less likely than in 30 BC.

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[56] Johnson 1976: 141 and in general chapter 5. See also Woodman 1977: 123 on 2.100.4; Flower 2006: 116-121.
[57] Tac.*Ann*.3.24l; 4.44; Vell.2.100; Dio 55.10.15.
[58] Nedergaard 2001: 119, no.35.
[59] Johnson 1976: 140.
[60] See Johnson 1976: 138-163, especially page 141 and 162 with criticism of Taylor 1946: 3-6; 1950: 94. The *fasti Aventini* inscribed in 2 BC has the *Antonii* intact, but that does not tell when the '*damnatio memoriae*' did happen.
[61] Taylor 1946: 6.

The reason for making the association with Iullus Antonius is the belief that the *Fasti Consulares* were inscribed on Augustus' arch set up after the victory over Parthia.[62] The Parthian arch is late (20 BC) and thus Dio's information about the honours given to Octavian after Actium cannot be right, so the only alternative is Iullus Antonius.[63] But this does not have to be so; it is only a problem if there was no Actian arch, but as will be shown in chapter 7, there most likely was. According to Taylor there was insufficient time for constructing an arch between September 31 and November 30 BC, but surely it cannot be discounted as a possibility.[64] Nedergaard stresses that the single Actian arch could not facilitate the inscription, but this also rests on a misunderstanding (see chapter 7).

There is no literary evidence to support the erasure of the *Antonii* from the *fasti*; Tacitus says Augustus did not allow it (*Ann*.3.18), Plutarch and Dio only mention the throwing down/wiping of Antonian monuments. The setting suggests that the erasure happened after Actium.

Chapter 24 of the *RG* might help in understanding the '*damnatio memoriae*' of Antonius in its Augustan context, although it must be remembered that none of the adversaries of Augustus are mentioned by name in the *RG*.[65] The non-mentioning of Antonius is thus part of a general omission, but everybody reading between the lines must have recognise Antonius is not mentioned by name, not to forget him but to dishonour them. *RG* 24.1 reads:

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[62] Taylor 1946; 1950; Nedergaard 2001.
[63] Nedergaard 2001, especially 119-121.
[64] Taylor 1950: 93-95; Nedergaard 2001: 120. Against this Johnson 1976: 143.
[65] According to Flower 2006: 117 the reason behind this is that Augustus had no desire to commemorate civil war. This is absurd as the inscription mentions civil war (*RG* 3.1; 34.1). She does not engage with the theory of Hedrick and thus misses the point that they were not mentioned by name, but on purpose, to stress their dishonouring. Everybody knew who they were and that it was a civil war: that was the whole idea.

In templis omnium civitatium provinciae Asiae victor ornamenta reposui quae

spoliatis templis is cum quo bellum gesseram privatim possederat.

("After my victory, I replaced in the temples of all the cities of the province of

Asia the ornaments which my late adversary, after despoiling the temples, had

taken into his private possession") (translated by Brunt and Moore 1967).

Ridley, as mentioned in chapter 3, believes that *is cum quo bellum gesseram* has

undone years of propaganda as the enemy is a man (2003: 125). Even though Ridley is

right in principle, this was never a mistake by Augustus; this was '*damnatio*

memoriae' (as *RG* 1.1).

The chapter is datable since it begins with "after my victory", the context showing it

most likely to be Actium. It might relate to his return from Asia in 30/29 BC, but the

victory must surely refer to Actium, mentioned in *RG* 25.2.[66] The wrongs of Antonius,

the unmentioned adversary, are put to right by Octavian, giving back temple

ornaments to the rightful owners. Furthermore, Augustus mentions that he had statues

of himself in Rome melted down and put the money gained to use, by giving golden

offerings to Apollo, the patron god of Octavian and helper at Actium. Octavian thus

thanked Apollo for the victory at Actium. No doubt the statues of Octavian in Rome

were an embarrassment for Octavian, but the setting in the *RG* is the wrong-doings of

Antonius.[67]

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[66] Asia Minor in chapter 24 is the only instance in the *RG* where provincials are mentioned, where it is not stressing the recovery or conquest of the Roman state, but this is not about Asia Minor, but about Antonius. In fact even Italy is often left out. See Brunt and Moore 1967: 3-4.
[67] According to Pausanias Octavian himself did remove the statue of *Athena Alea* after Actium; Pausanius did explain the Romans had done it before and the Greeks as well, plundering Troy (8.46.2-4).

RG 24 is the last chapter of the *impensae* section of the inscription; the first chapter of the *res gestae* proper on wars is *RG* 25, mentioning Actium (25.2). The adversary in *RG* 24 is the same as in *RG* 25. All contemporaries most have known or at least suspected that Antonius is the person mentioned here. In fact there would hardly be any point referring to this person if nobody knew who it was (*RG* 1.1). And the reader is helped by Augustus, who mentions the battle of Actium in *RG* 25.

The result of the '*damnatio memoriae*' is clearly visible in the sources: Antonius is not mentioned by name. This seems later to have changed and Antonius is mentioned in book 8 of the *Aeneid* (685). Often the influence of Cleopatra over Antonius is stressed in the sources, but Cleopatra is not there to substitute for Antonius, but to disgrace him even more.[68] Importantly, although the evidence does show a decision of the Senate, this changed at Octavian's arrival at Rome and the restoration of the name of the *Antonii* in the *Fasti Consulares*. Similarly, the non-mentioning of Antonius in the evidence was not a formal decision.

6.4: The temple of Janus

Having mentioned that Octavian accepted all but a few of the honours presented to him (Dio 51.20.4-5), Dio adds that the closing of the temple of Janus pleased Octavian the most. The function of this small rectangular temple in the *Forum Romanum* was, in the words of Livy 1.19.2, to be an *index pacis bellique* (Varro *L.L.*5.165; Livy 1.19;

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[68] Horace *Epode* 911ff; Dio 50.5.3; Plut.*Ant*.60.1; Serv.*Verg.Aen*.8.678; 696. See Woodman 1983: 212-213.

Pliny *N.H.*34.33).[69] The temple was in bronze with two side walls and double doors at each end; in the middle of the temple there stood a statue of Janus. The location of the temple is unknown (see fig.13).[70]

Fig. 13: Reverse of coin of Nero from 64 BC, minted to celebrate his tenth year as emperor and at the same time the fiftieth year of the consecration of Augustus, with the legend: *Pace P.R. Terra Marique Parta Ianum Clusit S.C*, also minted to celebrate the peace with Parthia (*RIC* 1² Nero: 50-51). Image source: Elsner and Masters 1994: figure 9, between page 120 and 121. **See printed edition of thesis.**

Together with the closing of the temple of Janus Dio mentions the *augurium salutis*, another seemingly ancient rite revived by Octavian or/and the Senate in 29 BC. It was an augural rite connected to the ceasing of war and preparations for war amongst the Romans, asking the gods for the posterity of the *salus populi Romani*. Dio 37.24.1-3 mentions it in the context of civil war.[71] Dio is the only source for a pre "Augustan" date. Perhaps it is no coincidence that, according to Dio, it was last performed in 63 BC, the year of the birth of Augustus, in the consulship of Cicero, the year of the

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[69] So in Procopius *bell.Goth* 1.25. For Janus as an ancient temple, see Livy 1.19; Plut.*Numa* 20; Ovid *Fasti* 1.258; Pliny *N.H.*34.33; Sen.*Apocol*.9; Dio 89.13; Serv.*Aen*.7.607; Procop.*bell.Goth*.1.25. On the different names of Janus, see Platner and Ashby 1926: 278f.

[70] For the statue of Janus, see Macrob.*Sat*.1.9.10; Pliny *N.H.*34.33. Platner and Ashby 1926: 279-280; Richardson 1992: 207f; Tortorici 1996: 92f; Haselberger 2002: 148.

[71] Suet.*Aug*.31.4 and *CIL* 6.36841. See Reinhold 1988: 153; Latte 1960: 140, 298; Kienast 1999: 80; Sumi 2005: 214f.

conspiracy of Catilina.[72] After all Augustus is the great model emperor for Dio.[73] The ritual was, similar to the closing of the temple of Janus, intended to demonstrate that the state was at peace. According to Ovid *Salus* and *Janus* together with *Pax* and *Concordia* were worshipped together on the 30th March (*Fasti* 3.881-82).[74]

The temple of Janus is thus used in the Augustan era to mark phases of peace/pacification. Similarly to Livy 1.19.2 Augustus writes (*RG* 13):

> *Ianum Quirinum, quem clausum esse maiores nostri voluerunt cum per totum imperium populi Romani terra marique esset parta victoriis pax, cum, priusquam nascerer, a condita urbe bis omnino claussum fuisse prodatur memoriae, ter me principe senatus claudendum esse censuit.*
>
> ("It was the will of our ancestors that the gateway of Janus Quirinus should be shut when victories had secured peace by land and sea throughout the whole empire of the Roman people; from the foundation of the city down to my birth, tradition records that it was shut only twice, but while I was the leading citizen the senate resolved that it should be shut on three occasions") (translated by Brunt and Moore 1967).

This is stressing *pax*, but *pax* through victory. According to Varro (*L.L.*5.165) there were two closings prior the age of Augustus, first by the supposed founder of the institution Numa and then after the First Punic War in the consulate of T. Manlius (235 BC). Varro mentions the historian L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, cos.133, as the

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[72] See Kienast 1999: 93, n 47. The name is also close to *auctoritas*, so prominently mentioned in *RG* 34.3. Against a connection between *augurium* and Augustus, see Erkell 1952: 9-39, also dismissing the connection between the name Augustus and the old *augusto augurio* mentioned by Ennius (27-30).
[73] Rich 1990: 17; 1989: 102 on the model emperor.
[74] Sumi 2005: 214f; Palombi 1996: 91f.

source, excluding the idea that Octavian created all of the ideology of the closing, and suggesting that is went back to the Punic Wars:

> *et ius institutum a Pompilio, ut scribit in annalibus Piso, ut sit aperta semper, nisi cum bellum sit nusquam; traditum est memoriae Pompilio rege fuisse opertam, et post T. Manlio consule, bello Carthaginiensi primo confecto, et eodem anno apertam.*
>
> ("and the custom was established by Pompilius, as Piso writes in his annals, that it should always be open unless there was no war anywhere. Tradition records that it was closed during Pompilius' reign and later when T. Manlius was consul at the end of the First Punic War, and it was opened in the same year") (translated by Forsythe 1994, no. 15, page 453).[75]

In Livy the warlike Romulus and the peaceful Numa are contrasted[76]. Numa built the temple of Janus; it was "*clausus pacatos circa omnes populos*" (19.2), closed when all people around were pacified. A connection with Romulus as found in the *fasti Praenestini* (EJ, p.45) and Servius (*Aen*.1.291) is an alternative possibility.[77] Furthermore, there is a tradition that the temple was in existence when Titus Tatius and the Sabines attacked Rome (Macrobius 1.9.17-18), or that it was erected as the result of the battle (Ovid *Fasti* 1.258-276; Serv.*Aen*.1.291; 8.361).[78]

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[75] See also Kienast 1999: 223; Rich 2003: 331f. For the period before Augustus, see Forsythe 1994: 185-193.

[76] Levene 1993: 134.

[77] The name *Quirinus* (*RG* 13) associated Janus with a native Italian god of war. Quirinus was also assimilated to the deified Romulus from the 3C. See DeBrohun 2007: 259.

[78] See Wissowa 1912: 103-104; Platner and Ashby 1926: 278-280; Ogilvie 1965: 93-94; Brunt and Moore 1967: 54-55; Tortorici 1996: 92-93.

The closing of the temple in 235 BC is odd because of the year and the consul mentioned; surely the closing ought to be 241 BC and the ending of the First Punic War, but the tradition mentions T. Manlius not A. Manlius, the consul of 241 BC. [79] According to Wissowa it was in fact about T. Manlius and his wars against Sardinia and Liguria. [80] Livy stresses the conclusion of the First Punic War (1.19.3: *post Punicum primum perfectum bellum*), but since the written evidence all point to T. Manlius, the consul of 235 BC, the year 235 BC was perhaps exceptional. Are we to believe that they waited to 235 BC before they closed it? Hardly.

The importance of Numa in the Augustan period is also visible from an *as* issued by Cn. Calpurnius Piso in 23 BC, depicting both Numa and Augustus. [81] It must though be remembered that the *gens Calpurnia*, and thus Cn. Calpurnius Piso, the man who made this coinage, did take their name after Numa's son Calpus. But this special relationship and vested interest in the matter does of course not suggest that the story can not be traced back to the Punic War. [82]

Ennius is another source on this matter if he is indeed talking about the temple of Janus. [83] Skutsch has taken the known date of 241 or 235 BC and then placed the

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[79] Varro *L.L.*5.165; Livy 1.19; Vell.2.38.3.

[80] Wissowa 1912: 104. Vell.2.38.3. Forsythe 1994: 190 connects the triumph of T. Manlius in 234 BC and the First Punic War, but a lapse from 241 to 235/234 BC seems very long indeed.

[81] *RIC* 1² 390-93. See Galinsky 1996: 34f. In 48-49 the elder Piso, cos. 23BC, minted coins with Numa and Apollo, and an issue in honour of Pompeius (*RRC*: 446/1, 334 and 346).

[82] According to Wiseman 2004: 161 the closing of Janus may be a 3C. invention, Numa creating the legendary precedent. See also Latte 1968: 846-847; Harris 1979: 190f. He points out that Varro's mention of Piso must mean that the use of the temple of Janus as a means of describing war and peace is not an Augustan invention.

[83] Skutsch 1985: 402.

Ennius fragment in that particular context, which at the outset does seem fair.[84] Ennius writes:

Postquam Discordia taetra Belli ferratos postes portasque refregit (225 Skutsch 1985).

("After hideous Discord had broken open the iron-clad doorposts and gate of war") (translated by Cloud 1993: 134).

Discordia most likely points to civil strife.[85] The description is later echoed by Virgil *Aen*.1.293-294 mentiong the "gates of war" and stressing civil war. The same goes for Horace *Satires* 1.4.60; both quote Ennius.[86] Servius (*Aen*.7.622) does mention Ennius as the source of the quotation by Virgil. Thus it seems fair to suggest that Ennius was in fact talking about the temple of Janus. This suggests knowledge of the function of Janus in the 2C. BC, but perhaps the triumph of T. Manlius is less convincing in a setting of civil war? Vitally, Ennius was talking about the opening of the temple in time of war or civil war, not the closing of it in times of peace.[87]

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[84] See also Cornell 1986: 245. He points out that the middle pentad of Ennius' Annals was about war (249), thus perhaps explaining why 235 BC could have been exceptional if there was indeed no war. See also Forsythe 1994: 191f; Latte 1968: 847 on Ennius and Janus.

[85] Cicero *Leg*. 3.9 and Virgil *Ecl*.1.72f for *discordia* and civil strife. See Cloud 1993: 134; Weinstock 1960: 44-58: 45. The opposite of *discordia* is *concordia*, but also *pax*. According to Rosenstein 2007: 232 the Romans did not use the term *pax* for reconciliation after civil war, but *concordia*. But *concordia* is for example not used in the *RG*, civil war and peace are.

[86] Horace is much more difficult since the setting is not history or myth, but the moral justification of the genre of Satire. See Brown 1993: 127.

[87] Similar Virgil *Aen*.603-606 is about the opening, not the closing of the temple of Janus. But of course this relates to foreign and civil war and the closing is about civil war, the opening about foreign war. See also *RG* 13. On Virgil, see Fowler 1998, especially 162.

Ogilvie holds that the absence of closings from 235 BC to 29 BC suggests that the ideology of closing the temple was not generally recognised.[88] Wissowa concludes that the temple only became a symbol of peace with Augustus, even though some sources stress war (keeping war imprisoned) more than peace.[89] Harris concludes that the year 241 BC might have been exceptional, and because there was always war there were no closings.[90] The three decreed closings under Augustus (*RG* 13) of course do suggest that behind the closing there was no idea of a lasting peace. Varro (*L.L.*5.165) does not mention the word 'peace', but says that the gate was always open except when there was no war anywhere: "*ut sit aperta semper, nisi cum bellum sit nusquam*" ("That the gate should always be open except when there was no war anywhere") (translated by Kent 1938).

Summing up, the stressing of the peaceful side of the temple of Janus, the mentioning of peace not war, seems an Augustan invention. The first closing does seem mythical; the second on the other hand is certainly historical. Whether the closing was 241 or 235 BC it is impossible to say.

Octavian's first closure of the temple of Janus

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[88] Ogilvie 1965: 93f; Kienast 1999: 223; Wissowa 1912: 104.
[89] Wissowa 1912: 101 on Italy and 104-105 on an Augustan origin of the index of peace. He rightly holds that the Augustan poets are stressing the imprisonment of 'peace' or 'war', see Ovid *Fasti* 1.281; Horace *Epist*.2.1.255 (peace). Virgil *Aen*.1.293ff; 7.607 (war). One problem with Ovid is that there seems to be a contradiction between keeping wars imprisoned (*fasti* 1.123-124) and keeping peace imprisoned (1.281), but according to Green 2000: 302-309 the subject ought to be *populus* not *pax*. This is also in accordance with *Pont*.1.2124 where Augustus locks the civil wars behind bars.
[90] Harris 1979: 191, n 1.

Dio 51.20.4-5 does not say when the temple was closed, but although vague, he does imply that it was closed before the return of Octavian.[91] The entry of the *Fasti Praenestini* for the 11th of January states:

> …*d*[*ebellavit imp. Caesar Augustus tertium*] *ab Romulo et Ianum c*[*lausit se V et Appuleio cos.*]
>
> ("[...Imperator Caesar Augustus for the third time] since Romulus closed Janus [when he himself for the fifth time and Appuleius were consuls]") (EJ, p.45; translation from Cooley 2003: 47).[92]

This text seems to suggest that Octavian closed the temple himself which is at the outset impossible given the date, since Augustus returned to Rome on the 13th August.[93] One problem is that the right side of the stone is lost. The mentioning of Janus, Romulus, and Augustus, the new Romulus, could be panegyric, and Verrius Flaccus, the ex slave and tutor of the grandchildren of Augustus, might have been taking active part in developing the ideology of Augustus. While there are problems with 11th January it has been generally taken to be 29 BC (as restored in the Fasti Praenestini), on the basis of the clear implication in Dio's narrative that it took place before Octavian's return.

Livy might also suggest a personal role for Octavian when stressing *clausus fuit…ab imperatore Caesare Augusto* (1.19.3). Suetonius (*Aug.*22) cannot be taken to indicate that Octavian performed the act himself and neither can Horace (*Odes* 4.15.9).

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[91] On the first closure of Janus 11th January, see Syme 1939: 303; 1978: 25; Rice-Holmes 1928: 172f; Reinhold 1988: 153; Kienast 1999: 80 suggest 11th January. On Janus in Augustan literature, see DeBrohun 2007.
[92] The *Fasti Praenestini* can be dated AD 6-9, see Beard, North and Price 1998, vol.2: 64.
[93] On Octavian closing the temple, see Forsythe 1994: 192.

Perhaps the implication in Livy, Suetonius and Horace is that his achievements led to the closure. Orosius (6.20.1ff) is very strange indeed, but perhaps there is method in the madness. The central point to be made must be that the epiphany of Christ (6th Jan.) belongs together with peace. This is a normal Christian use of the reign of Augustus, a positive figure because of the birth of Christ and because of *pax*, whether the peace of Augustus or Christ.[94] The victory of Augustus and peace is thus connected to the victory and peace of Christ.[95] He also dates the triple triumph and the name Augustus to the 6th January. Vir. Ill. 79.6 does claim that Octavian himself did close the temple with his own hand (*sua manu*), but this is not the best of sources.

The evidence is not conclusive, and it is difficult to deny completely the possibility that Octavian did the closing of the temple of Janus in person. But perhaps the most likely date is the 11th January 29 BC, before his triple triumph and before Octavian returned to Rome. Alternatively, the 11th January 28 BC is a possibility; Octavian would be there in person, but this would be a long delay from the victory over Egypt. Livy *Per*.133 states after the triple triumph of 29 BC Octavian ended the civil war in its twenty-second year, meaning 50 BC, or, from 49 BC, the year Caesar crossed the Rubicon, meaning 28 BC. Of course this is only the summaries of Livy, not Livy himself. 29 BC still seems more appropriate, but not certain. If 28 BC is accepted the date of the Victory Monument at Actium could change to that year as well, but does not have to, as the slogan *pace parta terra marique* may have been used the SC or the despatch from Octavian after the victory (see chapter 5). But whether 29 or 28 BC, it is very puzzling why the date should be 11th January.

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[94] See Hardie 1998: 21 and n 56.
[95] See Rich 2003: 356. See also Erskine-Hill 1983: 27-38 for the early Christians stressing the Augustan age as a period of peace.

The most probable scenario is thus that the Senate decreed the closing, as stated in the *RG*, after the victory over Antonius and Cleopatra in 31 or 30 BC. The inscription of the Victory Monument at Actium might indicate that the closing was for Actium and the decision taken before Alexandria, because of the use of *pace parta terra marique*. Livy 1.19.3 on the other hand cannot with certainty be used to show this; Actium is often used to describe the whole war against Antonius and Cleopatra, as shown in chapter 4.[96] Even so, naval victories and Janus had been connected in the Roman past, as C. Duilius dedicated a shrine to the god in thanks for his naval victory over Carthage at Mylae 260 BC (Tac.*Ann*.2.49). And if the inscription at Actium is dated to 28 BC, the result might be the same; Actium was the vital battle, and thus the use of the slogan correct, but the job was only done with the conquest of Egypt in 30 BC. 29 BC seems appropriate because of the triumph, but it is odd that they did not wait till Octavian arrived. On the other hand, it would then have coincided with the triumph.

Returning to the *RG* and the ideology of Augustus, the context of *RG* 13 is interesting. In Chapter 11 and 12 two altars are decreed by the Senate, the altar to *Fortuna Redux* 19 BC and the *Ara Pacis* 13 BC. In both instances the setting is a decree on Augustus' return to the city of Rome.[97] Peace is named after Augustus in chapter 12 (*Ara Pacis Augustae*). Importantly, the chronology of the *RG* is relative; the closing of Janus comes first in chronological terms but last in the *RG*, after the two altars (*RG* 11, 12).

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[96] Against this Herbert-Brown 1994: 189.

[97] On these returns, see Halfmann 1986: 115. He acknowledges that Augustus does not talk about "Sinn und Zweck seiner Provinzreisen" (115), but mentions that they are *honores* given to Augustus because of these travels. This is of course right, but the implications in the *RG* are different. The setting is about *honores*, but also religion. The idea of Gardthausen 1896 I: 806f, also found in Syme 1939: 331f, and in Halfmann 1986: 16, that Abwesenheit von Rom was good, because of the political climate, and Anwesenheit in den Provinzen was good because of clients etc, may be right, but the *RG* cannot be used to strengthen this argument, as implied by Halfmann 1986: 16, 21.

In fact Janus is the god of 'comings' and 'goings', apart from being an index of war and peace.[98] There is thus a distinct movement from war to peace in these chapters of the *RG*, similar to the field of Mars turning into the field of peace (see chapter 7).

In *RG* 13 Augustus stresses the tradition that the closing of the temple of Janus goes back to the founding of Rome. In many ways Numa is more appropriate than Romulus; Cicero and Livy clearly show a peaceful Numa, but perhaps he is too peaceful, since Octavian had just won a triple triumph like Romulus (see below).[99] Perhaps this is the reason why Augustus did not mention the name of the founder of the temple; perhaps the flexibility suited him. And vitally, under Augustus it was decreed to be closed three times, versus two in Roman history.[100] In the end this was more important than the legendary past.

The first time the slogan "*pace parta terra marique*", used in connection with the closing of the temple of Janus, is mentioned in surviving Latin texts is the inscription of the Victory Monument at Actium, even though App.*BC*.5.130 makes it likely that the slogan was used after the victory over Sextus Pompeius 36 BC (see chapter 2). With all probability the phrase was used in the despatch from Octavian to the Senate or the SC of the Senate, as mentioned in chapter 5. *Terra marique* is a Hellenistic

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[98] Forsythe 1994: 187.

[99] Cic.*Rep*.5.3; Livy 1.19.

[100] For the second closure following Augustus' Spanish campaign 25 BC, see Dio 53.26.5; Oros.6.21.11. According to Syme 1989: 115 Janus was opened on Augustus' departure for the East. As pointed out by Rich 1998: 73; 2003: 355-356 it would then surely have been closed on his return, and this would not have gone unreported in the evidence. Instead it might have been shut until his departure for Gaul 16 BC. See Weinstock 1960: 48. Regarding the discussion of two or three closings of the temple, see Rich 2003: 332 and 355f. The last closure is of uncertain date. Rich argues plausibly that there may not be a third closing, and that it remained open till the reign of Nero (356). Importantly, even though Suet.*Aug*.22 mentions three closures, *RG* 13 only mentions that it was decreed three times. Orosius 6.22.1 has the shrine closed in 2 BC (the nativity of Christ), but this is Christian fiction. Against this Syme 1984: 1179-1197; 1991: 441-450. Later Nero in 64 BC to celebrate his tenth year as emperor and at the same time the fiftieth year of the consecration of Augustus issued a series of coins, one with the legend: *Pace P.R. Terra Marique Parta Ianum Clusit S.C*, also minted to celebrate the peace with Parthia (see fig.13). See Champlin 2003: 140. See *RIC* 1² Nero: 50-51 etc. See Champlin 2003: n 92, page 308 on the Nero coins with this legend. Augustus was clearly renowned as the bringing of peace.

slogan, but together with *pace parta* it first appears under Octavian.[101] Appian mentions an inscription on a rostral column on the *Forum Romanum* commemorating Octavian's victory over Sextus Pompeius (*B.C.*5.130):

"Peace, long disturbed, he re-established on land and sea".[102]

What seems to have happened is that the Hellenistic slogan of "Rule over Land and Sea" was turned into the "Augustan" slogan of "*pace parta terra marique*". Universal rule became universal rule and *pax*. The closing of the temple of Janus seems to be a reinvention of Augustus. The slogan and especially the focus on peace, not war (as Ennius and Varro), is the great difference. Furthermore, the connection between the closing of the temple and the *augurium salutis* was a novelty. The closing itself most likely happened in 29 BC, before Octavian returned to Rome, perhaps on the 11th January. Importantly, the closing of the temple of Janus must be connected with the triumviral assignment.

6.5: The triple triumph of 29 BC

The single most important written evidence concerned with the triumph is Dio, first of all because of its length. The triple triumph of Octavian was held on the 13th to the

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[101] For the use of the slogan in context, see Momigliano 1941: 53-64: For the Hellenistic slogan of 'Rule over Land and Sea' turning into an Augustan slogan, see 62-63. See also Ogilvie 1965: 94. The parallel sources for the slogan in connection with the closing of the temple of Janus are Livy 1.19: *post bellum Actiacum ab imperatore Caesare Augusto pace terra marique parta*, *RG* 13 at already quoted (*terra marique*, see also *RG* 3 and *RG* 4), Suetonius *Aug.*22: *Ianum Quirinum semel atque iterum a condita urbe ante memoriam suam clausum in multo breviore temporis spatio terra marique pace parta ter clusit* ("The temple of Janus Quirinus, which had been closed but twice before his time since the founding of the city, he closed three times in a far shorter period, having won peace on land and sea"). Translated by Rolfe 1951. See also Seneca *de Clementia* 1.9.4; *Apocolocyntosis* 10.2; *Laudatio Turiae* 2.25. In the Apocolocyntosis Seneca talks about ending the civil wars and the peace following, mentioning *Janus Pater* in 9.2.

[102] Rich 2003: 331f, stressing that coins with *pax* from Italian and Eastern mints belong to the same time (*RIC* 1² 252-253, 476). See also Weinstock 1960: 47.

15th August 29 BC, the first day as a result of the victory over the Dalmatians, the second representing the naval battle of Actium and the third the victory over Egypt (Dio 51.21).[103] As noted already the triumphs of Actium and Alexandria were among the honours decreed in Octavian's absence (Dio 51.19.1, 5). There is a clear ambivalence towards the question of how to conceptualize the victories, as there was a single war, but two triumphs (see chapter 4); but having decreed Octavian a triumph after Actium, the Senate could hardly have failed to decree him another after the capture of Alexandria. Furthermore, Octavian did not have to accept, but chose to go ahead and celebrate two triumphs for one war. The triple triumph is mentioned in *RG* 4.1:

Bis ovans triumphavi et tris egi curulis triumphos et appellatus sum viciens et sempel imperator, decernente pluris triumphos mihi senatu, quibus omnibus supersedi.

("I celebrated two ovations and three curule triumphs and I was twenty-one times saluted as *imperator*. The senate decreed still more triumphs to me, all of which I declined") (translated by Brunt and Moore 1967).

It should be noted that *RG* 4.2 mentions *terra marique* and thus the connection between the closing of the temple of Janus (*RG* 13) and the triumphs of Augustus was there for all to see; the result of these victories on land and sea is *pax* (see also *RG* 3.1).

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[103] On the triumphator in general, see Weinstock 1971: 60-71. On the triple triumph of Octavian, see Syme 1939: 303; Kienast 1999: 76.

One interesting issue is the postponement of the Illyrian triumph. It was initially postponed in 35 BC because the Dalmatian campaign was still to follow (Dio 49.38.1). After this time Octavian did not spend much time at Rome, although a good possibility to hold the triumph would have been his one-day consulship in 33 BC (Dio 49.43.6). But at this point in time it perhaps seemed better to wait, since Octavian must have known at this point that larger things were to come. The importance of this triumph might be found in a relief from the temple of Apollo Sosianus, most likely showing a triumph against Germanic people.[104]

Romulus celebrated three triumphs, important also because the *Fasti Triumphales* began with Romulus and ended with Octavian at the time of his triumphs.[105] This would also explain why Augustus declined all triumphs after Alexandria (*RG* 4.1); although he did carefully mention that he was saluted as *imperator* 21 times. Furthermore, it should also be remembered that Augustus stopped campaigning in person after the Cantabrian wars in 26-25 BC, and it would then have been an anti-climax to celebrate triumphs for victories won by legates fighting under his auspices (*RG* 4.2). The campaign in Spain in the end had to be finished by Agrippa in 19 BC.[106]

Perhaps the biggest surprise regarding the battle of Actium is that it did get a triumph after all. Valerius Maximus clearly states that a triumph in a civil war was not possible (2.8.7). This does not mean that Actium and Alexandria were not part of a civil war, and as already observed in chapter 3 there was a blurring between foreign and civil war. To hold a triumph after a civil war was in fact nothing new. Caesar celebrated a

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[104] La Rocca 1985; 1988a: 121-136. See also Claridge 1998: 247. Bertoletti 1997: 70-71 for an illustration of the relief. For the general tendency to underestimate the Dalmatian triumph, see Östenberg 1999: 159.

[105] Degrassi 1947: 64f, cf. 534. See Hickson 1991: 137 on the three triumphs.

[106] Carter 1982: 114, 197.

triumph over King Juba, but even though he did not parade an image of Pompeius in his triumph, the suicide of Cato and others were dragged along as visual images. However, Caesar's final triumph, following his defeat of Pompeius' sons at Munda in 45 BC, was over wholly civil opponents.[107]

Turning to the triple triumph, they were the first triumphs to be celebrated on three consecutive days; Caesar's first four triumphs had been within one month, but with intervening days (Suet.*D.J.*37.1). Furthermore, the *RG*, Suetonius (*Aug.*22) and all other sources distinctly mention three triumphs and not a multi-day triumph, as celebrated earlier.[108]

The *Fasti Triumphales*, which perhaps adorned the Actium Arch in the *Forum Romanum* shows that Octavian triumphed on 13-15 August 29 BC (EJ, p.35),[109] although the *Fasti triumphales Barberini* mistakenly omits the triumph of Actium. Gurval is quite right in pointing out that it is strange that the second triumph of Actium is missing without any breakage in the inscription. He suggests that the Actian triumph was a mistake or a rush emotion by the Senate after the news of the victory reached Rome. Gurval follows Henzen and holds it was conflated with day three, if not for the sake of brevity because it was the same war, then because they were

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[107] Beard 2003: 33. Gurval 1995: 28: "Above all, the manner in which the victory was represented avoided any suggestion of civil war". Not mentioning it is hardly the same as not knowing. After the triumphs of L. Munatius Plancus and A. Aemilius Lepidus late 43 BC, in principle over Gauls and Spain, the soldiers shouted that the triumph was over Germans not Gauls, the Latin word *germanus* also meaning brother (Vell.2.67.4. See also App.*B.C.*4.31; Degrassi 1947: 87). For the pun on brother, see also Quint.8.3.29. See Woodman 1983: 155. On triumph and civil war, see Sumi 2005: 189-192.

[108] Flaminius (Livy 34.52; Plut.*Flam.*13-14; Degrassi 1947: 78f, 553) and Paullus (Livy 45.40; Plut.*Aem.*32-34; Diod.31.8.9-13; Degrassi 1947: 80f, 556) both celebrated three day-triumphs, Pompeius two days (Pliny *N.H.*7.26.98-99; App.*Mith.*116-117; Plut.*Pomp.*45; Dio 37.21.2; Degrassi 1947: 84f, 566).

[109] For the debate of attributing the *fasti* to a specific building, see Nedergaard 2001: 107-127 and Claridge 1998: 99.

closely linked in the public opinion.[110] This is not supported by the sources though, and Actium was the turning point in the war (see chapter 3). Mommsen thought the stone cutter was in error because of three similar entries beginning with 'IMP CAESAR'.[111] The *Fasti Capitolini Triumphales* has a lacuna between the triumphs of Norbanus 34 BC and Carrinas in 28 BC. Degrassi concludes that the gap is about 16 lines which must mean that Actium did get its own entry, thus supporting Mommsen.[112]

The vital question is how to measure the relative importance of the three triumphs.[113] Gurval implies that Octavian on purpose downplayed the Actian triumph by placing it as the middle triumph.[114] It seems more likely and far less extreme to suggest that chronology decided which triumph would be first, in the middle and on the last day of the triple triumph ceremony. Actium was most certainly not downplayed and the triumph was not declined.[115] Octavian could just have opted for one triumph for the whole war over Cleopatra, but he did not. Furthermore, as will be shown below and in chapter 7, the victories' lasting contribution to the outlook of the city of Rome was huge. Actium produced rams, Egypt produced riches.

Three in one or three separate triumphs

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[110] Gurval 1995: 31-32. See *CIL* I, p.479 and *CIL* I², p.78.
[111] Mommsen 1883: 10.
[112] Degrassi 1947: 86.
[113] For the question of the relative importance of the triumphs, see Gurval 1995: 19ff.
[114] Gurval 1995: 28, the triumphs in general: 19-36. Similar Walker 2007, especially 488: "The triumphant conclusion of a civil war was a challenge of presentation, resolved by sandwiching the celebration of Actium between the less controversial victories over Illyria and Egypt". But apart from the triumph and the building programme in Rome surely the Victory Monument at Actium makes this conclusion absurd, especially in a book on Nicopolis, containing articles on the monument. See chapter 5, 7.
[115] Rightly so Osgood 2006: 384, n 131.

Using the shield of Aeneas (8.671-728), Östenberg argues that these triumphs were different to many others; she argues that the triple triumph was a combined manifestation, because of Virgil's *triplex triumphus* (8.714).[116] According to Östenberg this is also what Dio shows, as Octavian only entered the city on the last day of the triumph (51.21.9). This seems to be forcing the material too much. Dio is compiling the material and making three triumphs seem like one because it is easier that way, but there are still three distinct triumphs. But even if Dio is not conclusive, Servius seems to suggest that Octavian only entered on the last day.[117] Weinstock believes this to be wrong and concludes that Octavian did enter on all three days.[118] It seems though very possible that Octavian only entered on the last day, as it was hardly acceptable to have the 700 senators enter Rome in procession twice and because it would have made much more impact to enter only on the last day, also as a sign of moderation. Importantly, there are still three very distinct triumphs, all important, and with different spoils. Gurval is wrong to suggest that the Actian triumph was downplayed by Octavian.[119]

Returning to Virgil, Octavian is seated in front of the temple of Apollo on the Palatine (*Aen*.8.720), a temple not dedicated until 28 BC.[120] Virgil is not writing history but poetry, which does not require chronology. But there is no doubt, Actium was the important triumph and *Apollo Actius* goes to show that (*Aen*.8.704).[121]

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[116] Östenberg 1999: 156.
[117] Serv.*Virg.Aen*.8.714: *Triplici triumpho tres enim Augustus habuit triumphos: nam primo die triumphavit exercitus qui Antonium vicerat navali bello, secundo qui Dalmatas vicerat, tertio ipse cum Alexandrino est ingressus triumpho.* See Östenberg 1999: 288.
[118] Weinstock 1971: 76.
[119] Gurval 1995: 28.
[120] It has also been pointed out by Millar 2000, especially 412 that the triumph did of course not end at the temple of Apollo as mentioned (*Aen*.8.714-722, 720-722 on the temple) and would not have, had it been build at this point; the triumph would have ended on the Capitol, at the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. Nero actually later ended his triumph at the temple of Apollo (2000: 415).
[121] For the scholarship and approaches to the shield of Aeneas, see Casali 2006: 185.

Aen.8.720-8, the final scene on the shield, describes people and places in the triple triumph of Octavian. According to Östenberg Octavian wanted to do better than Pompeius and Caesar and use his triumphs to announce the conquest of the world and its three continents.[122] But although the victory over Antonius meant Asia would be under the control of Octavian, the triumphs were only in Europe and Africa. The Galatian Adiatorix and Alexander of Emesa (Arabia) were part of the triumph, but there was still no fighting in Asia.[123] That the Morini, defeated by Carrinas, were included in the first triumph is most probably wrong.[124] And what about Dahae and the river Araxes in Armenia, why should they have been included in the triumph?[125] Östenberg asserts they might have had a role to play at the battle of Actium, but this was unknown territory. It seems much more likely that Virgil is mentioning an imaginary scene with both the known triumphs, but importantly, at the same time embracing triumphs to come.[126] This passage thus cannot be used to elucidate the triumph of 29 BC. This is similar to the *Georgica*, mentioning the Ganges (3.27). Octavian did claim to have conquered the world, and did put this to show prominently in the *RG* (praef), but to claim to have conquered the world could hardly be made on the grounds of the triumphs; peace by land and sea could.

According to Dio 51.21.7 Egyptian booty was displayed on all three days of triumphs (see also Suet.*Aug*.18). McKay even concludes that the Alexandrian triumph was

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[122] Östenberg 1999: 156-162.
[123] Östenberg 1999: 160.
[124] Rich 1996: 97. Against this Östenberg 1999: 160.
[125] Östenberg 1999: 161.
[126] Like Horace *Carmen Saeculare* 53-60. See Harrison 1997: 75.

more eye-catching.[127] The riches from Egypt were justification and proved the greatness of Octavian's achievement, but does it show the relative importance of Alexandria over Actium? Virgil writes in the *Aen*.8.685:

Hinc ope barbarica variisque Antonius armis,

Victor ab Aurorae populis et litore rubro,

Aegyptum viresque Orientis et ultima secum

Bactra vehit, sequiturque (nefas) Aegyptia coniunx

(Here Antonius with barbaric might (*ope* rightly riches? See Gransden 1976: 178) and varied arms, victor from the nations of the dawn and from the ruddy sea, brings with him Egypt and the strength of the East and utmost Bactra; and there follows him (o shame) his Egyptian wife) (translated by Fairclough 1934).

There are two levels in these lines, looking at *ope barbarica*: these are the riches to be shown in the triumphs of Octavian, especially on the last day, celebrating the conquest of Egypt. But these riches are also a symbol of the decadence of Antonius and the East (*RG* 24). *RG* 21.3 mentions Octavian's refusal to accept the *aurum coronarium*, the gold for crowns contributed by the *municipia* and colonies of Italy to his triumph of 29 BC. This is declined to show that Italy was different; provincials after all still had to pay. But he also showed restraint as in *RG* 24; this was not Antonius, but Octavian. This was not the East, but Rome and Italy.

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[127] McKay 1998: 210. Similar Gurval 1995: 21. Of course this was a giant show and thus Alexandria was important as was Actium and of course also the triumph over the Dalmatians. Regarding the show, see Beard 2003: 21-43.

To stress the relative importance of Alexandria on the grounds of booty alone seems wrong, also because Actium is much more central in the topography of the city and on the triumphal route (see chapter 7). Egypt did in fact produce much more booty than Actium, because there was no local enemy at Actium and thus no booty. On the other hand Actium did produce one vital artefact; rams. Summing up, there are clearly three separate triumphs, as there are three Senate decrees.

The procession

According to Dio 51.21.8 Helios and Selene, the children of Cleopatra and Antonius, were part of the triumph, together with an effigy of their mother (third day).[128] Plutarch mentions that this last day triumph also showed an image of Cleopatra with a snake (*Ant*.86).[129]

Propertius tells us that rams were part of the triumphal procession: "*Actiaque in Sacra currere rostra Via*" (2.1.35).[130] The rams no doubt accentuated the naval battle of Actium, probably on the second day. No source goes into detail regarding the enemy of the second day in the spectacle itself, but it would have had rams, weaponry and booty and princes and kings in procession. Zachos implies that the fragments of the relief of the Victory Monument at Actium show the second day of triumph (see also chapter 5).[131] Since the fragments have only partly been published this may or may not be the case. The relief from the monumental altar on the monument at Actium may just show a generic triumph.

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[128] See also Eusebius *Chron*.II.190 (Schoene). See Hardie 2006: 36-37.
[129] Beard 2003: 33.
[130] Östenberg 2003: 45 and 51.
[131] Zachos 2003: 90-92.

Beard rightly stresses that the triumphator was in competition with everything else happening at the triumph; the triumph itself being something flexible.[132] But the order of procession on the last day was according to Dio strange, because the magistrates and senators did not take the traditional front position (51.21.9).[133] In *RG* 25.3 Augustus writes:

Qui sub signis meis tum militaverint fuerunt senatores plures quam DCC, in iis qui vel antea vel postea consules facti sunt ad eum diem quo scripta sunt haec LXXXIII, sacerdotes circiter CLXX.

("More than seven hundred senators served under my standards at the time (Actium), including eighty-three who previously or subsequently (down to the time of writing) were appointed consuls, and about one hundred and seventy who were appointed priests") (translated by Brunt and Moore 1967).

Perhaps there was no breach, but special circumstances. A large part of the senators and the magistrates had been part of the fighting at Actium, and thus they had to be relocated in the triumph, as in fact implied by Dio 51.20.2. Kromayer suggests that the 700 Senators mentioned in *RG* 25.3 were all soldiers of Octavian, even if they did not go to Actium, and therefore they were behind him during the triumph.[134] This seems more likely that the alternative view that this reversal of normal positions stressed Octavian 'monarchical' position in the state.[135]

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[132] Beard 2003 stressing the flexibility of the Roman triumph. See page 39 on competition. See also Sumi 2005: 9.
[133] Östenberg 1999: 11 and 264. On Dio and the Senate, see Rich 1990: 1f.
[134] Kromayer 1888: 19.
[135] Sumi 2005: 216-217; Zachos 2007: 422.

The evidence does not seem to suggest that Actium was downplayed as the middle triumph; it was the middle triumph because it was the middle victory. All three triumphs were important and therefore celebrated as triumphs. Importantly, the Actian and Alexandrian triumphs had been voted to the absent Octavian by the Senate, rather than waiting for his return in the traditional republican way. He did not have to accept the Senate's decrees for two separate triumphs - but he did.

6.6: Conclusion

Looking at the honours conferred on Octavian after the victories at Actium and Alexandria, as listed by Dio, a picture emerges: they were honours for the absent victor and thus Octavian did not accept or even approve of all the honours. Furthermore, it seems the honours given after Actium did not take into account that a new set of honours would be needed after Alexandria; thus one war in the end produced two triumphs. And vitally, both sets of honours point to the assignment of the triumvirate and the hope that Octavian would help the *res publica* back to normality and peace (absence from civil war, not war in general).

The *quinquennial* games in Rome seem to have been prompted by the games at Actium; Apollo was thanked for his contribution to the victory at Actium. As the capture of Alexandria was celebrated on the 1st August, the battle of Actium received two days: the anniversary of the battle and the birthday of Octavian. Again, the honours are best stressed in continuation of the triumviral assignment; Octavian had ended the civil wars and conquered Egypt, and thus he was presented with honours. Now it was time to do for Rome in peace what he had already done in war.

In this process the enemy Antonius was dishonoured but not forgotten ('*damnatio memoriae*'), he still had a role to play. His family on the other hand was spared; the *clementia* of Octavian was part of the return to normality. The '*damnatio memoriae*' of Antonius initiated by the Senate is an example of an honour rejected by Octavian; the Senate had no grounds for believing this would cause problems, but Octavian changed it after his arrival at Rome. The story most likely shows that the Senate was not instructed what kind of honours Octavian wanted and in this case they got it wrong.

No honour pleased Octavian more than the closing of the temple of Janus, the index of war and peace. In fact the stressing of peace more than war seems an "Augustan" invention and most likely must be seen in light of the ending of the civil war. Even though the second closing of the temple after the Second Punic War, the first by Numa being mythical, probably is historical, there still seems to be an "Augustan" reinvention of Janus and peace. The connection between the closing and the *augurium salutis* is clearly a novelty. The first closing under Octavian most likely appeared before his return to Rome in 29 BC, as a result of the ending of the civil wars and the freeing of the *res publica* from grave danger. The 'three' closings under Augustus suggest that there was still work to be done by Augustus and for the *res publica* (see chapter 7).

The triple triumph of 29 BC was the visible proof of these victories. All three triumphs were important, first and foremost Actium and Alexandria. They were different as wars and as triumphs, and they were commemorated differently, but

regarding the relative importance of the two, this is in many ways an odd question to ask. What can be said is that in the Augustan evidence 'Actium' was sometimes used to describe the war against Antonius and Cleopatra, including Alexandria, as shown in chapter 3. The Victory Monument at Actium does seem to have a special relation to Rome that Alexandria or Nicopolis in Egypt does not seem to have (see chapter 5). And the impact of Actium at Rome does seem to have been bigger, as it received its own monument (the Actian arch) and the rams decorated the *Forum Romanum* (see chapter 7). The rest is mainly down to differences in the victories themselves: Actium produced rams and Egypt produced the riches of Egypt.

Even though they were in principle one war they received two separate triumphs; Octavian ended the civil wars and conquered Egypt. The blurring of foreign and civil war was also highly visible at Rome. But the ideology stressed at Actium (chapter 5) clearly equals the one at Rome; Octavian and the Senate worked together on the commemoration of the victories of Octavian.

Chapter 7: *Res publica constituta*

Octavian returned to Rome in 29 BC and entered the city in a triple triumph 13-15th August (see chapter 6). He remained in Rome until the summer of 27 BC. In the city Octavian tried to boost euphoria; the triumphs, dedication of temples and quinquennial games in 28 BC. The plebs and the veterans received money distribution from the spoils and Dio even suggests that the boost to the money supply meant that interest rates fell to a third of the previous level (51.21.5).[1] In 29-28 BC Octavian carried out a *census* with Agrippa, which included a revision of the Senate.[2] In 28 BC 82 temples were restored as part of refurbishing the city of Rome and pleasing the gods, as civil war had its cause in the neglect of the gods (Livy 3.20.5: *neglegentia deum*).[3] Octavian also made a show of personal modesty by melting down 80 statues of himself and used the proceeds to dedicate tripods in the temple of *Apollo Palatinus*.[4]

A Greek literary papyrus, most likely contemporary, mentions a ship with a cargo of Law and Order and prosperity.[5] This process of returning to normality ended in 27 BC with the return of the triumviral *potestas* to the Senate and people, as a symbol of the accomplishment of the triumviral assignment; the *res publica* was finally constituted. This chapter covers the period from the return of Octavian to Rome in 29 BC to the settlement of 28-27 BC and will focus on the commemorations of the victory of Actium (and Alexandria) at Rome and the settlement of 28-27 BC, thus bringing

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[1] Dio 51.21.2; 53.1.3-2.3 on the spectacles, dedications and benefactions. See Rich and Williams 1999: 189.
[2] *RG* 8.2; Suet.*Aug*.27.5, 35.1; Dio 51.42.1-4, 53.1.3; EJ 323 (*census*). *RG* 8.2 must then be seen in continuation of his policy statement, his manifesto, in *RG* 8.5 on moral legislation (Brunt and Moore 1967: 52), but also the continued work of Augustus to 'set the state to right'.
[3] *RG* 20.4; Livy 4.20.7; Suet.*Aug*.30.2; Dio 53.2.4; Horace *Od*es 3.6.1-8; Ovid *Fasti* 2.63. See Rich and Williams 1999: 189-190. Regarding the neglect of the gods, see Ogilvie 1965: 431f.
[4] Zanker 1990: 90-96 for the context of the tripods.
[5] Page 1942, no.113. See also Bowersock 1965: 139; above chapter 4.

together all the themes of this thesis, i.e. *pax*, civil war, Apollo and Actium. Instead of the traditional view that Octavian claimed to have restored the Republic/*res publica*, it will be suggested that the settlement equals the accomplishment of the triumviral assignment, a major difference being that it was thus much more unproblematic that the Senate gave new powers to Augustus in 27 BC.

7.1: The reshaping of the Forum Romanum

This section will look at monuments built in the *Forum Romanum* in connection with the victories over Antonius and Cleopatra (see fig.14). Zanker rightly stresses the 'Umgestaltung' of the *Forum Romanum*; it changed significantly with the victories of Octavian.[6]

The temple of Divus Julius

The temple was authorised in 42 BC by the triumvirs and dedicated on the 18th August 29 BC.[7] In front of it was the *rostra aedis divi Iuli*, with rams from the battle of Actium (Dio 51.19.2; 56.34.4; Frontin.*Aq*.129.1). On one of the reliefs of the *Plutei Traiani* the emperor stands in front of the temple, with rams clearly visible.[8] In *RG* 21.2 Augustus stresses that he used the proceeds of booty to dedicate gifts in the temple to *Divus Julius*, Jupiter, *Mars Ultor*, Vesta and Apollo. According to Dio 51.22.2-3 these spoils were from Egypt.

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[6] Zanker 1990: 85-90, especially 85.
[7] Dio 47.18 on the triumvirs and Dio 51.22.2-3 on the date of dedication. See also *RG* 19.1. On the temple, see Platner and Ashby 1926: 286-288; Gros 1996: 116-119; Claridge 1998: 97-99.
[8] See Zanker 1972: 13; Hannestad 1988: 192-194. The rams are also visible on a coin of Hadrian. On the coin, as on the *Plutai Traiani*, the emperor is shown addressing the people form the *rostra aedis divi Iuli*. See *BMC* vol.3 1936: 433, nr.1309ff.

Figure 14: *Forum Romanum* Augustan times AD 10. Image source: Zanker 1990: 86. **See printed edition of thesis.**

The temple should be seen in connection with the accomplishment of the triumviral assignment; Caesar was avenged and the temple with the rams from Actium shows that Octavian connected this with the ending of the civil wars.

Rostra

Caesar decided to remove the old rostra at the northwest end of the *Forum Romanum*, but the rebuilding seems to have happened after 42 BC; there is no doubt it was finished by Augustus.[9] It was adorned with rams, most certainly also from Actium.

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[9] Dio 43.49.1. See Platner and Ashby 1926: 451-455; Richardson 1992: 335-336; Claridge 1998: 81-84; Verduchi 1999: 214-217; Haselberger 2007: 75-77.

According to Zanker the *columna rostrata* commemorating the victory over Sextus Pompeius was situated at the *rostra* (App.*B.C*.5.130).[10]

The Curia Julia

In the *Curia Julia*, dedicated in 29 BC, Octavian placed an altar and a statue of *Victoria* from Tarentum.[11] There were also spoils of war from Egypt (Dio 51.22.2). A coin mostly likely depicts the Curia, with *Victoria* on a globe at the apex of the pediment (*RIC* 1² 266, perhaps same *Victoria* on *RIC* 1² 268) (see fig.15). Gurval oddly suggests that the coin shows the victory at Naulochus.[12] He rightly points out that Dio 51.22.1-2 places the statue of *Victoria* in the Senate chamber and thus not on the pediment.[13] But the engraver of the coin would have had great problems showing the statue inside the building. The altar in the Curia was certainly dedicated on the 28th of August 29 BC (EJ, p.51). This together with the coin and Dio 51.22.1-2 does suggest that the coin must be dated after the dedication of the altar of *Victoria* in 29 BC. The Curia clearly commemorates the victories of Actium and Alexandria. At the same time there was a Late Republican tradition of *Victoria* as the bringer of peace;

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[10] Zanker 1990: 87.
[11] Dio 51.22.1; Suet.*Aug*.100.2; Herodian 5.5.7. See also Reinhold 1988: 158. On the statue from Tarentum, see Fadinger 1969: 294. On the *Curia Iulia*, see Platner and Ashby 1926: 143-146; Zanker 1990: 85f; Tortorici 1993: 332-334. Weinstock 1971: 11-112 on Augustus and *Victoria*.
[12] Gurval 1995: 62. There are two large series of aurei and denarii with the legends 'CAESAR DIVI F' (*RIC* 1² 250-63) and 'IMP CAESAR' (*RIC* 1² 264-74). The dates of the series are disputed. Kraft 1969: 5-25 stresses they are after 29 BC. This is supported by Trillmich 1988: 507, 510-511; Kienast 1999: 391. Most scholars date them before the victory over Antonius and Cleopatra; some may even commemorate the victory over Sextus Pompeius. See Crawford 1974: 246-7; Mannsperger 1991: 363-75; Gurval 1995: 47-65. For the disputes in general, see Rich and Williams 1999. Octavian assumed the title imperator in 29 BC according to Dio 52.41.3-4, but this may be a mistake. See Rich and Williams 1999: 171f, n 7. *RIC* 1² 252 with the legend *Pax* might point to 36 BC, or after Actium or Alexandria, it is impossible to tell. *RIC* 1² 273 shows a temple enclosing military trophy on a naval base; the triskelis is shown in pediment. This is the emblem of Sicily, but still, even though it commemorating the victory of 36 BC it may have been minted later. *RIC* 1² 257 shows a naked male figure on a rock holding a lyre. This might indeed be Apollo with his lyre. *RIC* 1² 263K and 264 show rams, with again could point to both naval victories.
[13] Gurval 1995: 62.

something brought to great prominence by Octavian/Augustus because of the civil war and the triumviral assignment (*RG* 13).[14]

Fig. 15: Coin, mostly likely depicting the *curia*, with *Victoria* on a globe at the apex of the pediment (*RIC* 1² 266). Image Source: Zanker 1990: 87. **See printed edition of thesis.**

Four-column-monument

According to Servius Octavian built a monument of four columns after the victory over Egypt (Serv.*Virg.Georg*.3.29; Virgil *Georg*.3.29: *Nilum ac navali surgentis aere columnas*). The victory over Egypt is stressed, but at the same time the text says *multa de navali certamine sustulit rostra*. There is talk of a naval battle. Virgil in the *Georgica* 3.29 mentions the Nile as a counterbalance to the Ganges and the future victories of Octavian (3.27); he would conquer the whole *oikumene*. The rams from the hostile fleet must refer to Actium, not Egypt. In principle it could also be Naulochus, but when published in 29 BC surely Actium is more likely. Again, the two battles of Actium and Alexandria are mentioned together (see chapter 4). The description is close to the *Aeneid* where the rams (8.684) are also mentioned

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[14] Hölscher 1967: 143-155, 159-164; Koortbojian 2006. Octavian was of course portrayed as 'bringer of victory', not just as 'bringer of peace'. *RG* 13 and the inscription of the Victory Monument at Actium make it clear that victory and peace were used together by Octavian/Augustus.

prominently: *rostrata corona* refers to Actium because the battle is mentioned in line 675 and *Apollo Actius* in line 704.

According to Palombi the monument commemorating the victory over Sextus Pompeius (App.*B.C*.5.130) was later refitted after Actium, from one to four columns.[15] The monument was placed on a very conspicuous spot in the middle of the *Forum Romanum*.[16] Sehlmeyer on the other hand connects this monument with the Curia, by using a coin showing the Curia (*RIC* 1² 266): The columns on the coin allegedly show the *rostra*, melted down and reused as columns, as the coin depicts plain columns without rams.[17] This is strange indeed, since the rams are normally displayed as rams. Sehlmeyer explains that Actium was problematic and could not be celebrated directly and in public, because it allegedly would have provoked the Senate.[18] But if Actium was problematic, Octavian would hardly have accepted the triumph and put up rams all over the Forum. A coin, showing a rostral column mounted by a figure, most likely Octavian, may indeed be depicting this monument (*RIC* 1² 271. There is only one column, not four, but this may of course be a close-up), clearly showing rams, although it may also be the monument erected after the victory over Sextus Pompeius.

This certainly is a monument built to commemorate Actium and perhaps also the capture of Egypt. It must also be assumed that the monument was made with still visible rams, as they were hardly interesting if not *rostratae*.

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[15] Palombi 1993: 308.
[16] Palombi 1993: 326f. Similar Zanker 1990: 86-87; Platner and Ashby 1926: 134, stressing Naulochus.
[17] Sehlmeyer 2002: 224-226.
[18] Sehlmeyer 2002: 223f.

The Arch of Actium

The arch of Octavian in the *Forum Romanum* was most likely built on that particular location because of the triumph, as part of the triumphal route. The triumphal procession would have passed through it, perhaps the purpose of the *fornices* and arches.[19]

There is quite a lot of disagreement on the arches of Augustus on the *Forum Romanum*. As it stands there is only one arch found and two possible identifications, the arch of Actium and the arch of Parthia.[20] Johnson rightly points out that it would seem very odd indeed if no monument commemorated Actium after 19 BC; that is if the Parthian arch took over from the demolished Actium arch.[21] Nedergaard's excavations have shown that the arch is a triple arch, which according to her can only mean the Parthian arch, because the Actian arch was a single arch.[22] Rich stresses that the engraver of the coin, showing the Actian arch as a single arch, might have been unaware that it was a triple arch and thus simply depicted it as a single arch.[23]

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[19] Favro 1994: 158. On Late Republican arches, see 163, n 26; Gurval 1995: 37. Wallace-Hadrill 1990: 146 observes that the arch changed during the Late Republic, from individual initiative, into an honour by the *SPQR*. Rose 2005: 33, in a very thorough investigation of the Parthians in Augustan Rome writes: "The viewer was left with the sense that the Parthian settlement represented the culmination of all earlier triumphs, and with the hope that the latest closings of the Gates of Janus, which lay within easy reach of the arch, would commemorate the advent of an enduring peace". But there is no link with the closing of the temple of Janus and the Parthian settlement, and the victory over Parthia did not produce a triumph.
[20] See Kleiner 1989: especially 198-200 regarding the scholarship on the arches of Augustus.
[21] Johnson 1976: 136.
[22] Nedergaard 2001: 113. This is accepted by Rose 2005.
[23] Rich 1998: 109. See *RIC* 1² 267 for the Actium arch and *RIC* 1² 508-10 with a single arch and the legend 'SPR SIGNIS RECEPTIS', which can only refer to the Parthian standards. See Rich 1998: 98f. The Parthian arch is also shown as a triple arch, see *RIC* 1² 131-7. Rose 2005: 35, n 75 seems to think Rich 1998 suggests that a single arch was turned into a triple arch, but this is not so. Rich 1998: 104-105, 109, 114-115 suggest a triple arch all along.

According to Dio one honour commemorating Actium was an arch on the *Forum Romanum* (51.19.1). He also mentions one for Parthia (Dio 54.8.3 and *Schol.Veron. in Verg.Aen*.7.606) and one after Naulochus in 36 BC, but since this last honour was declined shortly after it was decreed, it seems an unlikely candidate on a coin. Dio 49.15.1-3 states that Octavian declined some of these honours and Appian (*B.C*.5.130) lists the honours, but does not mention the arch. The coin showing an arch most likely must be identified as the Actian arch.[24] Dio 54.8.2-4 on the honours given to Augustus after the Parthian success mentions an *ovatio*, which is clearly wrong and contradicts Dio 54.10.4, where he says Augustus entered the city by night.[25] Dio may be trusted on the decrees of the Senate, not on the implementations (see chapter 6).

Importantly, Augustus did not accept a triumph in 20 BC. Dio 51.19.1 even mentions in detail that the arch of Actium was to be erected in the Forum, even though a few honours were not accepted (51.20.4).[26] This must be held against the information given in the commentary to Virgil by a 5th or 6th Century palimpsest from Verona commenting on *Parthos reposcere signa* ("to demand back the standards from the Parthians") in *Aen*.7.606. The scholiast writes:

Quae Licinio Crasso interfecto interceperant Parthi: haec reportavit Augustus. Huius facti notae repraesentantur in arcu, qui est iuxta aedem divi Iulii.

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[24] *RIC* 1² 266. See Rich 1998: 106. Against this and suggesting Naulochos as more likely see Gurval 1995: 40-41 and 47-64. He focuses on the portraiture of Augustus more than the historical context.
[25] Rich 1998: 77-79. On the number of ovations given to Augustus, see *RG* 4.1; Suet.*Aug*.22; Dio 48.3.3; 49.15.1; Oros.6.18.34, 20.6 Dio also mentions a temple to *Mars Ultor* on the Palatine which probably never existed, see Rich 1998: 79-82.
[26] Reinhold 1988: 146; Kienast 1999: 78f.

("The Parthians had captured these after killing Licinius Crassus; Augustus recovered them. Emblems of this achievement are displayed on the arch which is next to the temple of Divus Julius") (translated by Rich 1998).

The possibilities seem twofold: either the Actian arch must be found somewhere else in the Forum or one of the arches was not accepted.[27] Dio conveys the impression that all the honours given in 20 BC were put into effect, which they were not, and thus Actium is the more likely.[28] The compromise conclusion by Rich suggests that the arch of Actium was built and later alterations meant it could accommodate the standards. The scholiast does in fact not say that the arch was erected to display the standards.[29] The theory of Rich works without having to reject part of the evidence, and at the same time takes the archaeological material into account. The arch in the Forum was the arch of Actium, later changed to accommodate the standards regained from Parthia.

Part of this discussion on the arches of Augustus is an inscription originally found in the Sixteenth Century in the *Forum Romanum* but subsequently lost. This may or may not have been attached to the arch:[30]

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[27] This idea has now found support in Haselberger 2007: 73. In note 87 Haselberger observes that Rich 1998: 106-107 accepts that it cannot be entirely excluded that the Actian arch must be found somewhere else. This flexibility is used against Rich and it is no longer necessary to engage with his argument and conclusion, even though contrary to Haselberger's view.
[28] Rich 1998: 106-108.
[29] Rich 1998: 109. See also Johnson 1976: 131-138, especially 137 for a similar conclusion. Nedergaard 2001: n 55 acknowledges Rich 1998, but she does not engage with his arguments, even though they are partly an answer to her articles on the arches of Augustus (Nedergaard 1988: 224-239 and 1993: 80-85.
[30] Rich 1998: 100f, 114; 1999: 184f; Johnson 1976: 134.

Senatus populusque Romanus / Imp(eratori) Caesari divi Iuli f(ilio) co(n)s(uli) quinct(um) co(n)s(uli) design(ato) sext(um) imp(eratori) sept(imum) / re publica conservata.

("The Roman Senate and people to Imperator Caesar, son of the deified Julius, consul for the fifth time, consul designated for the sixth time, *imperator* for the seventh time, the *res publica* having been saved") (*CIL* VI 873= EJ 17.) (translated by Rich 1998).

Gurval suggest that only the date of 29 BC may point in the direction of the arch; an arch he thinks was never built.[31] Looking at the inscription he instead suggests that the *Curia Julia*, the temple of *Divus Julius*, the temple of Minerva or the columns were possibilities. But the temple of *Divus Julius* would have honoured Caesar not Octavian, Minerva seems wrong because there is no mention of the goddess; the inscription would seem inappropriate.[32] As for the *Curia Julia*, the focus on *Victoria* would hardly have been missed. As for the columns, they are hardly more suitable than an arch.

Another problem is the measurements of the inscription, which show that it cannot have been placed on the central arch.[33] But if a triple Actian arch is accepted it might fit on one of the side arches instead, and this might also explain why Actium was not mentioned in the inscription, as it would have been mentioned in the inscription on the central arch.

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[31] Gurval 1995: 36-47, 42 on the inscription. Concluding it to belong to the arch of Actium, see Wallace-Hadrill 1990: 146; Rich 1998: 100-114; Rich and Williams 1999: 184-185.
[32] Gurval 1995: 42. Nedergaard 2001: 125 n 51 suggest the temple of the Deified Julius.
[33] Gurval 1995: 42 on the measurements.

Having established that the inscription refers to an honour from 29 BC there is a fascinating issue of chronology, since the arch was decreed just after Actium. Complicating matters even more, the freeing or saving of the *res publica* must be dated to the 1ˢᵗ August 30 BC, the day of the capture of Alexandria (see chapter 6).[34] If it is accepted that the *res publica* was *conservata* in 30 BC, the inscription can only refer to a decree that is later than the original decreeing of the arch of Actium. Alternatively, this may simply reflect the date the inscription was first erected. The most likely scenario is thus a further honour in 29 BC, perhaps a modification of the arch as later after the returning of the Parthian standards.

The inscription is also close to the *Pro republica* and *pax* as found on the inscription from Actium (see chapter 5). This does suggest the accomplishment of the triumviral assignment by Octavian; they surely must refer to the same ideas and slogans, and thus the arch of Actium does seem very fitting.

7.2: Apollo Palatinus and Actium

Dio 53.1.4-5 does not state explicitly that there is a connection between the dedication of the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, near the house of Augustus, and the quinquennial festival in honour of the Actian victory, but since Apollo is mentioned in the sentence on the Palatine temple, Dio perhaps thought there was no reason to mention the god a second time. The question is how far the temple dedicated in 28 BC turned into a victory monument, commemorating the victory at Actium.

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[34] On the *corona obsidionalis* (30ᵗʰ Sept. 30 BC), see Pliny *N.H.*22.13 and Dio.51.19.5. On the connection between the capture of Alexandria and freeing the state, see EJ, p.49; Rich and Williams 1999: 184f.

The decision behind the founding of the Palatine temple has already been described in chapter 2. The temple of Apollo was built in 36 BC after the site was struck by lightning, not because of the battle of Naulochus the same year, but at the time of its dedication in 28 BC the world had changed. In chapter 5 it was shown that Apollo was held to have been instrumental at Actium. This must have seemed a stroke of good luck to Octavian; Apollo kept helping and was thanked in numerous ways.[35]

Later in 19 BC this connection was made evident by Virgil in the shield of *Aeneas* (8.671-728). *Apollo Actius* helps Octavian win the battle at Actium (704ff).[36] Entering Rome in triumph the poem has Octavian seated at the entrance to the temple of Apollo on the Palatine (720) (see chapter 6). Propertius 4.6 from 16 BC is about the origins of the temple of *Apollo Palatinus*.[37] Again, the god is given the temple because of his help at the battle of Actium (55-60).

Gurval has rightly pointed out that the date of dedication, the 9th October 28 BC, does not suggest a connection to Actium.[38] According to him contemporaries did not make this connection; the myth was later established by Virgil and Propertius. *Apollo Actius* is mentioned for the first time in Latin literature in the *Aen*.8.704-5.[39] The question whether Apollo was worshipped under the epithet *Actius* on the Palatine remains

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[35] Regarding luck, see Hekster and Rich 2006: 165, 162-165 on the relationship between Apollo and Octavian in connection with the temple of *Apollo Palatinus*. Gagé 1955: 524 interprets it as an *ex-voto* for the battle of Actium.

[36] Harrison 1997: 70 suggests that the shield's stories are about survival and continued supremacy of Rome. Camillus and the crisis of 390 BC seems feting in connection with Augustus and Actium, as the battle saved Rome from danger.

[37] See also Propertius 4.1.3; Ovid *Ars Amat.*3.389-94 for a possible connection.

[38] Gurval 1995: 119. For the date see EJ, p.53; Dio 53.1.3.

[39] Gurval 1995: 87-130 on the temple, 130 on Virgil. And then for the second time in Prop.4.6 (130).

fascinating, but may after all be the wrong question; the question ought instead to be if the Palatine temple of Apollo was connected to Actium.[40]

As stressed in chapter 6 a connection between the dedication of the Palatine temple and the quinquennial games of 28 BC seems more than likely.[41] Decreed after Actium in 31 BC, as mentioned by Dio 51.19.2, quinquennial games were to be held at Rome; the first year would thus be 27 BC, not 28 BC, when the first games took place. Most likely what happened is that Octavian wanted the Palatine temple dedicated and thus the games were initiated early, together with the dedication. In 27 BC Octavian left Rome and thus 28 BC was preferred. This suggests a strong connection between the Palatine temple of Apollo and the quinquennial games.

Having established that a connection between the Palatine temple and Actium is likely, but uncertain, as the main Augustan evidence is relatively late, iconography may help getting closer to an answer of the question. This can only be speculative due to the state of evidence, but will show, partly as the result of a cumulative effect, that with all probability there is a connection.

Propertius and the iconography of the Apollo Palatinus complex
Propertius 2.31 on Cynthia and infidelity was the main evidence on the iconography of the temple of *Apollo Palatinus*, and was most likely written just after the opening of the temple.[42] It mentions the portico with Danaus and his daughters (4), a statue of

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[40] According to Günther 2006: 374 the claim that the temple was founded because of Apollo's help at Actium is not historically correct. This seems an odd way to approach poetry; Propertius is part of a changing perception of *Apollo Palatinus*, a change connected with Actium.
[41] Hekster and Rich 2006: 165. See also chapter 6.
[42] On the iconography and building programme of the Palatine temple, see Zanker 1983: 21-40; 1990: 59-61, 90-96; Kellum 1985: 169-176; Simon 1986: 19-25, 128-129.; Carettoni 1988a and b: 263-272;

Apollo with a silent lyre (5-6), the altar itself (7), the temple in marble (9), on the pediment the chariot of the sun stresses Apollo as the sun god (11) and the doors depict the success of Apollo in battle; one shows the invading Gauls under Brennus in 278 BC trying to sack Delphi, but in the end they are defeated by Apollo, the other the punishment of the Niobids, who boasted about her superiority to Leto because she had 14 children, Leto only two. Her children were killed by Apollo and Diana. This might refer to the civil wars after the death of Caesar and Octavian's defence of the fatherland.[43] According to Harrison the story connects the vengeance of Caesar by Octavian and the vengeance of Apollo, with Delphi as the symbol of civilisation, similar to Rome.[44] Line 16 mentions another statue of Apollo, between his mother and sister.[45]

Propertius does not stress why the temple and the portico were built, as Cynthia is the 'real' subject of the poem.[46] In Propertius the first line of the poem focuses on Cynthia asking why Propertius is late. The temple becomes an excuse and the setting a rendezvous with Cynthia. The closeness to the event itself probably made an explanation unnecessary.[47]

Lefèvre 1989; Gurval 1995: 123-127; Galinsky 1996: 213-224; Kienast 1999: 231-238; Hekster and Rich 2006, especially n 3 with scholarship and 162-165. For the archaeological excavations, see Hekster and Rich 2006: n 1, with scholarship. On Propertius, see Richardson 2006: 302; Hubbard 2001: 44; Welch 2005: 89. Regarding Cynthia, the best manuscripts of 2.31/32 connect the two poems. Most editors separate them, but according to Richardson 2006: 301 and Welch 2005: 94 they belong together.

[43] On the Gauls, see Pausanias 1.4.4 and 10.23; Cic.*Div*.1.81. On the Niobids see Gagé 1955: 537; Hekster and Rich 2006: 149, n 3 and 163; Welch 2005: 87. Beard, North and Price 1998, vol.1: 199 stress that the doors show the defeat of those who disobeyed Apollo; this evoked Apollo's role at Actium.

[44] Harrison 1998: 232. On the symbols of civilisation, see Galinsky 1996: 219.

[45] See Last 1953: 29 dismissing the old theory that lines 15-16 is a description of the pediment; the Sorrento base and Pliny (see below) suggest freestanding statues.

[46] Hubbard 2001: 43f observes that the subject is only the opening of the portico not the temple itself, but most likely they were dedicated at the same time. On Propertius and Cynthia, see Richardson 2006: 3-16.

[47] The date of Horace *Odes* 1.31 is difficult. The *odes* were published 23 BC, but since revisions were unlikely close to 23BC the poem is best dated close to the events. See Nisbet and Rudd 2004: xix-xx for dates and publication.

Importantly, Propertius 4.6 is about the origins of the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, as all poems of book 4 are aetiologies.[48] The god is given the temple because of his help at the battle of Actium. The woman in line 57 is Cleopatra, not mentioned by name; *solve metu patriam* (41) refers to the war against the enemies of Rome (see chapter 3).

In lines 15-86 the setting is not Rome and the Palatine but Actium. Then the poem returns to the outset, to the banquet after the sacrifice. Line 17 states *Actia Iuleae pelagus monumenta carinae*, which must refer to the monuments at Actium (see chapter 5). According to Isager *monumenta* in lines 67-68 refer to Actium and the 10-ship monument at the old temple of Apollo. This way the lines 67-68 become identical with line 17, the second mention of *monumenta* refers to both Actium and the Palatine temple (67-70):[49]

Actius hinc traxit Phoebus monumenta, quod eius

una decem uicit missa sagitta ratis.

Bella satis cecini; citharam iam poscit Apollo

victor et ad placidos exuit arma choros.

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[48] On the scholarship and approached to Propertius 4.6, see Gurval 1995: 249-252; Welch 2005: 79; Hutchinson 2006: 152-155. The poem is from 16 BC. Maecenas wished Propertius to work on important historical and epic themes (cf. 2.1.17-46; 3.9.47-60). According to Stahl 1985: 121 the silence of Propertius, meaning the lack of praise of Octavian and epic poetry, in book 1, especially when comparing with Horace and Virgil, is significant. Propertius is different according to Stahl, but the question remains if this means the poet is negative towards the regime (see also page 189). See this thesis chapter 3 on Propertius and civil war.

[49] Isager 1998: 400-405, especially 404f. This is supported by Hekster and Rich 2006: 163. Lines 67-68 and *monumenta* points to the battle site, especially the ten-ship monument and to the Palatine temple. Hubbard 2001: 134f stresses that Propertius 4.6 is about Actium, but falsely, meaning this was not originally the case.

("For this feat did Actian Apollo win his temple (*monumenta*), that each arrow he launched sank ten ships. I have sung enough of war: victorious Apollo now demands his lyre, and doffs his armour for dances of peace") (translated by Goold 1999).

If a connection to the Palatine temple is denied here, Propertius never gets back to his starting-point, which would be odd.[50] In Propertius the Apollo of war (Actium) becomes Apollo of Peace (Rome).[51] In the ideology of the regime *pax* is of course also stressed at Actium itself (see chapter 5 on the inscription of the Victory Monument). Lines 69-70 then return to Rome; Apollo has sung enough of war and with his lyre dances a peaceful dance.

Welch compares the peace-like Apollo of 2.31 with Apollo and his bow in 4.6, exchanged later in the same poem with a lyre; Apollo becomes the artistic Apollo of 2.31.[52] This she concludes exposes the fiction of the temple, a discrepancy between what happened at Actium and how it was represented in Rome.[53] This is largely a misunderstanding; peace was the product of war, of victory, as stated by Propertius 4.6 and indeed Augustus himself in *RG* 13. Apollo as an artist dances and celebrates peace (4.6.69-70), because the same Apollo with bow had helped in battle, securing the victory. It is the same Apollo; Welch seems to believe otherwise.[54]

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[50] Hutchinson 2006: 166 suggests that 67-68 is only referring to the monument at Actium, and not directly to the Palatine temple.
[51] Isager 1998: 405.
[52] Welch 2005: 80-81.
[53] Welch 2005: 102f.
[54] Welch 2005: 106. See also DeBrohun 2003: 220-225; Günther 2006: 376-377 on the changing roles of Apollo.

Summing up, it has traditionally been observed that the lines 15-18 point to Actium, whereas 67-8 point to the Palatine temple of Apollo.[55] Instead *monumenta* suggest that is should be understood as alluding both to the monuments at Actium and, returning to the original subject, to the Palatine temple. Whether this refers only to the ten-ship monument or the Victory Monument as well is impossible to answer. The *monumenta* in line 67 is to be taken as ambiguous and both Rome and Actium with its monuments are stressed. There is no doubt that Virgil's *Aeneid* and Propertius 4.6 changed the way the Palatine temple to Apollo was mentioned in poetry, but this does not mean they invented the connection between Apollo (*Palatinus*) and Actium, as is disproved by the site of Actium itself (see chapter 5).

The portico of the Danaids

In *RG* 19 Augustus mentions the Apollo temple: *Apollinis Palatio cum porticibus*. The temple and the portico belong together.[56] The portico surrounding the sacred area most likely contained the statues of the 50 Danaids and their father, plus perhaps the sons of Aegyptus.[57] Danaus, having fallen out with his brother Aegyptus, fled from Egypt to Greece and with Apollo's help, conquered Argos. The sons of Aegyptus had been betrothed to the daughters of Danaus; they pursued the Danaids to Argos and demanded them in marriage. On the wedding night the Danaids with one exception, Hypermestra, followed the command of their father and killed the bridegrooms. The 49 Danaids were punished for their crimes in Hades, condemned to carry water in leaking jars in eternity.[58]

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[55] Cairns 1984: 133.
[56] Propertius 2.31.1f. (*Phoebi Porticus*) suggests the same. On the complex, see Quenemoen 2006.
[57] On the statues, see Zanker 1983: 27; Simon 1986: 21-23; Balensiefen 1999: 190-198; Tomei 1990: 35-48.
[58] See Apollodorus 2.1.5; Horace *Car*.3.11.25-52, Ovid *Her*.14. According to Servius On *Aen*.10.495 the Sword-Belt of Pallas (*Aen*.10.495-505) is on the Danaids: *insculptum Danaidum nefas*.

Traditionally the portico has been linked with the struggle of Octavian against Antonius and Cleopatra. According to Harrison there are three main possibilities: firstly, the Danaids symbolised the civil war (Zanker 1983), secondly, barbarian defeat (Simon 1986; Lefèvre 1989), and thirdly, the Danaids are the barbarians instead of the sons of Aegyptus (Harrison 1998: 233f).[59]

Looking at the Augustan age the deeds of the Danaids were seen as a crime.[60] But there are at times differences between the poets and the ideology of the regime. According to Beard, North and Price the statues recalled the temple to Apollo at Argos by Danaus, but it seems much more important that Apollo is in fact not part of the remainder of the story; he has no say in the deeds of the Danaids and there is no special link with the god. Another link is thus necessary and civil war a possibility. It remains though a puzzle that the Danaids were normally perceived as criminals. Furthermore, did Octavian settle for the iconography after the battle of Actium, or earlier after 36 BC?

Apollo and Hercules: the fight for the tripod

In *RG* 24.2, datable to just after Actium, Augustus mentions the melting down of statues of himself in Rome, to be turned into golden offerings to Apollo. Suetonius

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[59] On the different ideas of identification, see also Champlin 2003: n 34, page 302. Kellum 1985: 173-174; Simon 1986: 19-25; Wyke 1992: 117; Hölscher 2004: 75; Kleiner 2005: 177; Welch 2005: 86 Harrison 2006: 173 suggest Cleopata. Zanker 1983: 27-31 mentions civil war. Lefèvre 1989: 14 mentions the triumph over Cleopatra and Antonius. Galinsky 1996: 220 suggests that the story tells of Greece versus Egypt. Beard, North and Price 1998: 199 mention the impious sons of Aegyptus; Milnor 2005: 51 sees both villains and victims; see page 51 for Actium and the Danaids.

[60] See Hardie 1990: 520; Harrison 1998: 231. Putnam 1998: 199f suggests, using Ovid, that the Danaids and their father were bad. Augustus may have meant the Romans to see them in positive terms, but there is no consensus with the poets (200). *Ara.Am.*1.73-74 on the Danaids and the murder of their poor cousins. *Trist.*3.1.59-64 on the Daneids and their barbarous father. See also Horace *Odes* 3.11.25ff; Tibullus 1.3.79-80. Gurval 1995: 123-127 dismissed any relation between the temple and Actium.

Aug.52 tells the same story but stresses that the offerings were tripods (*cortina*, referring to the tripod at Delphi).[61]

Earlier Cassius and Brutus had used the tripod together with *Libertas*, as did Sextus Pompeius.[62] The tripod of Apollo was a clearly recognisable and a powerful political symbol.[63] A similar famous use of the tripod is found at Delphi, where the Greeks put up a tripod from the spoils of war against the Persians.[64]

The tripod of Apollo is also shown on a terracotta plaque from the Palatine temple complex. It depicts the contest between Apollo and Hercules over the Delphic tripod, and it has been suggested that this symbolises the struggle between Antonius and Octavian (see fig.16). There are nine surviving plaques showing this exact image of the struggle. [65]

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[61] Dio 53.22 does not mention Apollo and the story is part of his digression on the imperial finances, and thus it may not be in 27 BC. See Rich 1990: 156; Rich and Williams 1999: 190.

[62] *RRC* 498/1, 499/1 (C. Cassius and *Libertas*/tripod); *RRC* 500/1 (C. Cassius and tripod); *RRC* 502/1; 502/4 (Brutus and *Libertas*/tripod); *RRC* 511/1 (Sextus Pompeius, with Pompeius Magnus and the son facing each other, tripod behind son). All coins are from 42 BC.

[63] See Kellum 1985: 171 on victory, connecting the tripod with Delphi.

[64] Thuc.1.128-35, [Dem.]59.98. See also Flower 2006: 27.

[65] Zanker 1983: 34f; Lefèvre 1989: 20; Welch 2005: 87f; Hekster and Rich 2006: 163f. Galinsky 1996: 222f. A catalogue of the plaques is found in Carettoni 1988b: 267-272. The best preserved copy is found in the Louvre, although it is much smaller. See Carettoni 1988b: 267; *LIMC* 2.2 page 333 for the Louvre and one Palatine plaque. See Simon 1986: 129. For an illustration of the plaque, see Taf.6. They were found on the Palatine during the excavations of Carettoni in 1968 and are of the so-called Campana type. For the surviving plaques, see Carettoni 1988b: kat.121, page 269.

Fig. 16: Terracotta plaque from the Palatine temple complex, depicting the contest between Apollo and Hercules over the Delphic tripod. Image source: Simon 1986: between page 51 and 53. **See printed edition of thesis.**

Hercules was the divine ancestor of Antonius, although his divine imitation was also, and even preferably, directed towards Dionysus.[66] The story of the struggle for the Delphic tripod is not an 'Augustan' invention and thus Octavian used a known story.

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[66] See Pollini 1990: 345 and n 47 and 48, with the evidence; Mannsperger 1973: 386; Gurval 1995: 92f; Hekster 2004: 162; Osgood 2006: 240f. Zanker 1990: 52-73 on the other hand holds that Hercules must not be forgotten. There is indeed an abundance of evidence to suggest the connection between the two. See Plut.*Ant*.4; 36; 60; App.*B.C.*3.16; Plut.*Comp.Demetr.Ant*.3.3 on Cleopatra as Omphale. Furthermore, there is a set of *aurei* from 42 BC with the triumvirs on the obverse and the mythological ancestors on the reverse (*RRC* 494.2a). Hekster 2004 rightly points to the problematic nature of some of the evidence. He dismisses the story of Omphale. See also Pelling 1988: 123-124 suggesting Antonius used both. Cicero *ad Caes.Iun*, fr.7 mentions a statue of Hercules-Antonianus in Rome. An Arrentine ware from around 30 BC may show Antonius and Cleopatra, plus Omphale with Hercules' club and Hercules by her side. See Kuttner 1995: 286, n 23 rightly stressing it to be satirical. See also Zanker 1990: 67.

Importantly, even though Antonius might have directed his attention towards Dionysus, in Rome he and his family would still have been known as descendants of Hercules.

The story goes that after an archery contest to win Iole, the daughter of Eurytus of Oechalia in marriage, Hercules was denied his price. In the end Iphitus, son of Eurytus, was thrown off the wall by Hercules. He got purified, but ended up with a dire disease. He travelled to Delphi but did not get an oracle; as a result he wanted to plunder the temple (as Antonius in Asia Minor) and ended up stealing the tripod of Apollo, who tried to retain it. Jupiter intervened with a thunderbolt and Apollo retained the tripod. Hercules got his oracle and the disease was cured, but Hercules was sold by Hermes to Omphale of Lydia in Asia Minor as a slave, to serve three years.[67]

Propertius also uses the story.[68] The subject of 3.11 is female power and Propertius gives a catalogue of dominating women, all Orientals; Omphale is mentioned in lines 17-18.[69] As in 2.16 (and 2.34), where Antonius flees from Actium out of love for Cleopatra, 3.11.29-32 suggests the nature of the relationship between Cleopatra and

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[67] The main evidence for the story is Apollodorus 2.6.1-3. On the attempt to carry of the tripod, see Plut.*De El apud Delphos* 6; Paus.3.21.8, 8.37.1, 10.13.7; Cicero *De Natura Deorum* 3.16.42; Serv.*Verg.Aen*.8.300; Scholiast on Pindar, *Olymp*.9.29 (43); Hyginus *Fab*.32. Apollodorus tells the older edition of the story, Diodorus the younger (4.31.5). In Diodorus Omphale and Hercules are married and there is nothing on the struggle with Apollo. For the context of the story, see Suhr 1953. Lucian *Dial.decr*.13.2, *De hist.scr*.10; Tertullian *De Pallio* 4 see the story as degradation for Hercules. For the story represented in Greek and Roman art, see Suhr 1953: 259. See Also Gagé 1955: 36; Galinsky 1996: 222f; Kleiner 2005: 175. At Delphi there is also conflicting evidence; Apollo and Dionysus are not always in opposition and at Delphi there is a conjoint sovereignty. See Zaidman and Pantel 1992: 197f.

[68] Suhr 1953: 252. See also Ovid *Fasti* 2.305ff; Her.9.53-118; *Amatoria* 2.217.221; Propertius 3.11.17ff, 4.9.45ff. Hekster 2004: 163 mentions that the story is absent in other historians than Plutarch, but he forgets Propertius.

[69] See Hubbard 2001: 108; Richardson 2006: 359f. Welch 2005: 124f points to Antonius and Cleopatra and anti-Antonian propaganda in both 3.11 and 4.9. According to Richardson 2006: 359 the poem might have been written for the anniversary of the quinquennial games at Rome.

Antonius. This contextual reading of the poems of Propertius does suggest that in 3.11.29-32 Cleopatra and Antonius' story is connected to the story of Omphale and Hercules:

> *Quid, modo quae nostris opprobria nexerit armis,*
>
> *et, famulos inter femina trita suos,*
>
> *coniugii obsceni pretium Romana poposcit*
>
> *moenia et addictos in sua regna Patres?*
>
> (What of her who late has fastened disgrace upon our arms, and, a woman who fornicated even with her slaves, demanded as the price of her shameful union the walls of Rome and the Senate made over to her dominion?) (translated by Goold 1999).

In line 40 the disgraced line of Philip is mentioned, quite likely referring to Cleopatra, especially as the threat of the Nile is mentioned in line 42.[70] This refers back to line 31 where the marriage between Antonius and Cleopatra is mentioned as a shameful union (*coniugii obsceni*) for which Cleopatra is to be rewarded with Rome itself. But vitally, the reference to the woman and her fornication, even with slaves, most likely refers to the story of Omphale and Hercules.

The Roman galleys are mentioned in line 44 as *rostra Liburna*, the Liburnian ships with rams used by the navy of Octavian.[71] The triumph is next in lines 49-50, mentioned together with the provider Augustus. Leucadian Apollo comes in line 69

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[70] See Camps 1966: 108 rightly suggests that Cleopatra was disgraced because she entangled Antonius, the consequences in line 29ff and 58. See also Richardson 2006: 363.
[71] Dio 50.32.2. See Camps 1966: 108; Reinhold 1988: 114.

and the end of war in line 70.[72] This is clearly about the battle of Actium and its consequences. Like Camillus mentioned in line 67, Augustus saves Rome.

In Propertius 4.9 about the *Ara Maxima*, Hercules and the festival of *Bona Dea*, the climax is the double humiliation of Hercules; he is a female slave, suggesting that Omphale is the man (4.9.47-50).[73] This does not necessarily point to Antonius and Cleopatra, but surely it is a strong possibility.[74]

Looking at the Palatine plaque of the struggle in detail there is information to be added. Hercules, who stands on the right with his right hand on the tripod, is shown in open profile, whereas Apollo's opposing stance, with his right arm to the fore, puts him in closed profile. There are two basic ways of telling the story visually: the 'stand-up fight' with Apollo and Hercules facing each other and the 'running fight', depicting Hercules having seized the tripod and running away with Apollo pursuing him.[75] It must be stressed that the artist was to some extent constrained by a pattern common to all the plaques: all show a vertical central object, faced by two flanking figures.

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[72] Mentioned as Apollo of Leucas, this might still refers to the old temple of Apollo at Actium. See Camps 1966: 112. But even if it refers to Leucas the fact still remains that there is a connection between Apollo and Actium. See Richardson 2006: 368.

[73] For the poem, see Richardson 2006: 471, 475 on the humiliation; Hutchinson 2006: 215, who does not suggest Antonius and Cleopatra. Feeney 2007: 161 observes that Octavian returned to Rome in 29 BC on the 12th August, the day of the sacrifice to Hercules Invictus at the *Ara Maxima*, to associate himself with Hercules' ideology. Or perhaps to dishonour Antonius and make his arrival in Rome coincide with the sacrifice to the god of his enemy.

[74] Hutchinson 2006: 206.

[75] For the different ways of representing the story, see *LIMC* 2.1: 1009-1040. The main groups are 1009-1012 with both divinities, facing each other, holding on to the tripod, 1013-1021 with Apollo setting after Hercules, and receiving help from Artemis and Leto, 1022-1033 with Apollo setting after Hercules, and 1040 with the peace between the two combatants. At the outset the story with Apollo with or without help, setting after Hercules, is by far the most popular. See also Parke and Boardman 1957: 278f; Kellum 1985: 170.

The first scheme at times involves lifting the tripod from the ground, clearly visible on the Palatine plaque. But the plaque may after all be different from other representations of the story, as subsidiary figures are missing.[76] This representation on the other hand shows figures not normally part of this story, namely two small *Victoria* statues facing each other on the tripod itself. Since Hekster and Rich have conclusively shown that the temple has nothing to do with the victory over Sextus Pompeius, the battle referred to surely is Actium.

The more common and older of the stories is the second one with Hercules running away, so why was this not chosen instead?[77] Perhaps the answer is the struggle itself; if this shows Octavian fighting Antonius an outcome with Hercules running away with his price would hardly be suitable. On the plaque the struggle seems uncertain in outcome, but of course all knew that Octavian and Apollo would prevail in the end. There is no Jupiter and no other gods, there is no running off with the tripod, there is the unlikely possibility of Hercules winning, a peaceful outcome, or perhaps Apollo is trying to take the tripod back contrary to the story on the tripod, without Jupiter's help, but in accordance with the battle of Actium.

There is a second terracotta plaque with interest to this matter, as it shows a *baetyl* (see fig.17).[78] The cult object of Apollo is adorned with lyre, bow and arrow, as symbols of war and peace (Propertius 4.6). As noted in chapter 5 this cult object is known from Nicopolis at Actium.[79] It is also found on wall painting in the 'Room of

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[76] Parke and Boardman 1957: 279 (Hermes, Zeus, Athena and Artemis).
[77] Parke and Boardman 1957: 279.
[78] Simon 1986 Taf.6 for an illustration of the plaque.
[79] See Tzouvara-Souli 2001: 236f, on the *baetyl* and the cult of Apollo at Actium and Apollonia.

the Masks' in the 'House of Augustus' and the 'Triclinium' of the 'House of Livia'.[80]
This makes it likely that such a cult object was to be found in the sanctuary itself,
dedicated to Apollo.

Fig. 17: Terracotta plaque showing a *baetyl*, the cult object of Apollo, from the *Apollo Palatinus* temple complex. This is adorned with lyre, bow and arrow, as symbols of war and peace. Image source: Simon 1986: between page 51 and 53. **See printed edition of thesis.**

Gurval suggests that the iconography of the complex does not require Augustan
allusions, but he does not engage with the material to explain the meaning of the
Danaids and the plaques.[81] Why exactly were these stories told in the temple? If the

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[80] Hekster and Rich 2006: 167.
[81] Gurval 1995: 125f for the doors and the plaques, but the Danaids are only mentioned at length in notes 90-91 on the scholarship.

two plaques are considered together with the context of the tripod, as mentioned in the *RG*, it becomes likely that the iconography of the temple of Apollo on the Palatine was changed to reflect the battle of Actium, even though it must be accepted that the material is not conclusive. To accept that all elements point to Naulochus seems more than unlikely. The question arises if Octavian would have given his enemy ownership of a god and the answer might be that Antonius was already connected with the god in question, and perhaps the story, where Hercules' figure is negative, was just too good not to use.

Statues of Apollo in the Palatine Sanctuary

A denarius of C. Antistius Vetus from 16 BC, with the reverse depicting *Apollo Actius* with lyre and *patera*, next to an altar and standing on a raised platform, has been much debated. The platform seems to be some kind of *rostra*, with rams visible and flanked by two anchors (*RIC* 1² 365-6) (see fig.18). There seems to be four possibilities about what the coin depicts: a statue in the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, a statue on the Victory Monument at Actium, a new monument erected around 16 BC, or no monument at all. An Apollo statue with lyre is known from Rome, as Pliny *N.H.*36.35, in a list of artworks at Rome, mentions one by Timarchides from the Apollo temple *in circo*.[82]

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[82] See Platner and Ashby 1926: 15; Hölscher 2004: 105. See Isager 1998: 162f for the catalogue in Pliny.

Fig. 18: Denarius of C. Antistius Vetus, 16 BC, reverse (*RIC* 1² 365-6). *Apollo Actius* with lyre and *patera*, next to an altar and standing on a raised platform, apparently *rostra*, with rams visible and flanked by two anchors. Image source: Murray and Petsas 1989: 17. **See printed edition of thesis.**

Hekster and Rich conclude it might allude to an unknown monument, recently erected and with uncertain location.[83] There was a revival around that time, with coins showing the victory of Actium and Naulochus, and with Virgil and Propertius taking up the subject again (see above). According to Jucker the Victory Monument at Actium is a possibility.[84] As shown in chapter 5 there most likely was a statue (*hedos*) of Apollo on the upper terrace of the monument, it did have rams, and of course the epithet *Apollo Actius* is very fitting. The Apollo found by Zachos on a semicircular base is an Apollo of peace with lyre, but it may not be identical to the *hedos* of the monument and this Apollo does not wear long robes, as the Apollo of the Vetus

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[83] Hekster and Rich 2006: 164, 155, n 29.

[84] Jucker 1982: 97, building on an old theory by Picard 1957: 260-262, but dismissed by most scholars. He concludes, like Zachos, that Apollo must have had a presence at the monument at Actium (100). This is dismissed by Murray and Petsas 1989: 91, because the sources do not mention this Apollo statue (see discussion on *hedos* in chapter 5) (see also Hekster and Rich 2006: 164, n 80) and because the sockets have the wrong shape. This does seem an odd dismissal, coins are not accurate. Jucker 1982: 96-100 on the other hand dismisses the theory that the coin shows a statue in front of the temple on the Palatine. This is accepted by Gurval 1995: 285f. See Stahl 1998: n 46, page 79f on some of the recent scholarship. Regarding the link between Diana and Naulochus, see RIC 1² 172-3, 181-3, 194-7, 204; see Hekster and Rich 2006: 154f.

coin.[85] Perhaps a coin from Rome would most likely show a monument from Rome, or perhaps even a generic Victory Monument at Actium and Rome.[86]

Like Actium the Palatine can be shown to have a statue, or more correctly, statues of Apollo. Perhaps the Apollo mentioned in Propertius 2.31.5-6, the Apollo with silent lyre, is shown on the coin.[87] But there are no firm grounds for connecting the two. Zanker suggests that the coin shows that there were rams on the Palatine, a clear connection with Actium (1990: 90f). The problem with this theory, as with the unknown monument, is that there is no external evidence to support it; nothing but the coin suggests rams in the Palatine sanctuary. What it does show is that the ideology of the regime, directly or indirectly, produced coins with *Apollo Actius* and rams in 16 BC; this was not isolated to the years just after the battle. And even if there is no sure connection to the Palatine there is no doubt there was a statue, similar to the one shown on the coin, in the sanctuary.

The Sorrento base shows a statue group with three gods, Apollo, Diana and Leto, which equals the description of Propertius 2.31.15-16 (see fig.20).[88] Propertius was very specific and seemingly precise in his description of sites and monuments and the same goes for statues; Apollo in musical guise surely must have been part of the

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[85] See Zachos 2003: 89, with illustrations on page 90. See also chapter 5.
[86] Perhaps this revival was meant to remind the Romans of the past deeds of Augustus, but at the same time make a connection to the Parthian settlement of 20 BC and later the *Ara Pacis* in 13 BC. Augustus kept working for the Roman peace. See Rich 2003.
[87] For this, see Zanker 1983: 31f and 1990: 90f, combining the coin with Propertius 2.31.5-8. See also Isager 1998: 406-407; Welch 2005: 83-87, supporting Zanker's idea.
[88] For representations of the three divinities together, see *LIMC* 2.1: 630-666, 630-43 shows Apollo with lyre. Hekster and Rich 2006: 155 rightly conclude that the statue group mentioned in Propertius must be the one the Sorrento base group derives from. The gods are Greek originals (Pliny *N.H.*16.24.25, 32); see Zanker 1990: 242-247.

Palatine complex.[89] This is similar to the Apollo on the Vetus coin and similar to the Apollo of peace in Propertius 4.6.67-70, visiting Actium, but this does not make sure a connection between Apollo of Actium and the Palatine temple before 16 BC. The statue of Apollo on the base is wearing musical dress and is holding a *kithara*.[90] Behind the three gods a tripod is clearly visible, and the information taken together suggests that the Sorrento base is modelled on a statue group on the Palatine. Augustus himself as mentioned in the *RG* (24) made a connection between Actium and the Apollo temple on the Palatine, stressing the tripod. The likely scenario is that the statue of the Apollo of peace would fit with the triumviral assignment and the universal peace stressed by the regime, in Rome and at Actium, and therefore, it would later become so popular in poetry (Virgil and Propertius).

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[89] Isager 1998: 406f. There is an assumption that Apollo on the Palatine is an Apollo of Peace. According to Isager this is a question of minimizing the reminders of civil war (406). That Apollo must likely in one and more statues is shown in musical guise does not show the downplaying of civil war, as *pax* refers to the accomplishment of the triumviral assignment. The Lyon (*RIC* 1² 170-1; 179-80; 190-93) and Vetus' issues (*RIC* 1² 365-6) showing 'APOLLO ACT' may indicate monuments and statues. Isager 1998: 408 rightly stresses that there may indeed have been cult statues at Actium similar to the one on the Palatine.

[90] Roccos 1989: 579f. Traditionally the statue is connected to a Greek original by Skopas mentioned by Pliny *N.H.*36.36. This seems to complicate the matter more than necessary. What is important is that the group of three gods mentioned by Propertius can also be seen on the base. Pliny does not mention a group of three gods. According to Roccos 1989 the statue group was a newly commissioned work in classicizing style. See also Zanker 1983: 33, 1990: 242, and Simon 1986: 24f. A forth figure on the base, dated to the Augustan period, might be the Sibyl and thus related to the moving of the books to the Palatine complex (Suet.*Aug.*31) (24).

Fig. 19: The Sorrento base, showing a statue group with three gods: Apollo, Diana and Leto. A tripod is visible behind the gods. Image source: Simon 1986: 25. **See printed edition of thesis.**

Looking at representations of Apollo, showing only Apollo, there are numerous possibilities, amongst others Apollo could be represented without attributes (*LIMC* 2.1, kat.no.5-18), with weapons (18a-81), for instance with his bow, as on the Apollo-

Hercules plaque from the Palatine temple of Apollo (67-80).[91] Apollo could also be portrayed with lyre (82-238), with laurels or other floral ornaments (239-316), shown as having power over animals (317-380), with *genius* in hand (390-397), with *phiale* (398-461), and with other gods (630-985).[92] Most of the mentioned representations can then be subdivided: Apollo standing, Apollo seated, Apollo with other divinities etc.

Octavian thus had a choice and he chose Apollo the bringer of peace, as on the semicircular base showing Apollo with lyre and 11 other gods.[93] Apollo with lyre is also central to the poetry of Propertius (2.31.5-6), on the Sorrento base, showing most likely a statue group from the Palatine temple (Propertius 2.31.15-16), on the coin of Vetus (*RIC* 1² 365-6), and from the site of the house of Augustus on the Palatine.[94]

The strongest suggestion of a connection between *Apollo Palatinus* and Actium is Actium itself; this was the god who gave Octavian the victory together with Mars and Neptune (see chapter 5). The plaques with Apollo and Hercules and the small *Victoria* figures also point to Actium, and the *baetyl* to Apollonia and Nicopolis. The Apollo in musical guise, the Apollo of peace, works less convincingly with 36 BC because there is no connection between the temple and the victory over Sextus Pompeius. The battle of Actium seems to have changed the iconography.

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[91] Pliny's description of the Apollo statues in the *Apollo Sosianus* temple also suggests that there were more than one possibility (*N.H.*36.34-35: a naked Apollo and Apollo with lyre are mentioned). See Isager 1991: 162-163.
[92] On the iconography of Apollo with lyre, see Flashar 1992.
[93] Zachos 2003: 89, with illustrations on page 90: Apollo is shown with lyre, the Apollo of peace.
[94] Tomei 1998: 37, showing a fresco with Apollo with lyre. A series of aurei and denarii issued at Lugdunum 15-10 BC commemorates Actium (and Naulochus). The reverse of the issues show Apollo with lyre, in long drapery as on the Sorrento base and the Vetus coin, and the legend 'ACT' (*RIC* 1² 170-1, 179-80, 190-3). See Hekster and Rich 2006: 154-155.

Summing up, the Apollo temple most likely changed into a victory monument, but also stressing peace after war, as elsewhere in Rome and onsite at Actium. The Apollo of peace in Propertius 4.6.31ff is striking as he appears as the lyre-player rather than the archer. This would indeed have been fitting also for the Apollo at Actium (the *hedos* on the Victory Monument), as the Victory Monument was a monument celebrating victory and peace (see chapter 5). Vitally, it is unlikely that the Romans of 28 BC would not have connected *Apollo Palatinus* and the battle of Actium.

7.3: The constitution of the *Res publica*: the settlement of 28-27 BC

This section is not a discussion of the so-called *res publica restituta*, but will instead suggest that the settlement of 28-27 BC equals the accomplishment of the triumviral assignment. The pretext of the triumvirate was to constitute the *res publica*. As mentioned in chapter 2 and 3 the triumvirs promised to give back their triumviral powers on more than one occasion, in accordance with the original assignment to constitute the res publica (*triumviri rei publicae constituendae*). This 'problem' had to be addressed at some time, as the accomplishment of the assignment meant that the job was done, but this could hardly be claimed before the powers were given back to the Senate and the people. The triumvirate lapsed at the end of 33 BC (see chapter 3), but the assignment was not accomplished and thus Antonius and Octavian kept their powers. After the victory at Actium and Alexandria there was only one 'triumvir' left. The closing of the temple of Janus in 29 BC symbolises that universal peace had been established, and thus the next logical step was the settlement of 28-27 BC, as mentioned so conspicuously in *RG* 34.1:

In consulatu sexto et septimo, postquam bella civilia exstinxeram, per

consensum universorum potens rerum omnium, rem publicam ex mea potestate

in senatus populique Romani arbitrium transtuli.

("In my sixth and seventh consulships, after I had extinguished civil wars, and

at a time when with universal consent I was in complete control of affairs, I

transferred the *res publica* from my power to the dominion of the Senate and

people of Rome") (translated by Brunt and Moore 1967).[95]

This equals the surrender of the extraordinary powers of the triumvirate to the Senate

and people.[96] The question is of course if Augustus claimed, as suggested by most

scholars, to have restored the *res publica*. It seems vital that *RG* 34 does not use the

word *restituere*.[97] Furthermore, looking at RG 34, the settlement of 28-27 BC was a

process, as Augustus mentions two years, not a single act, as in Dio (53.2.6-22.5).

This is supported by a new aureus of Octavian, dated to 28 BC. The reverse of the

coin shows Octavian, togate, seated on the *sella curulis*, holding a scroll; the legend

reads: 'LEGES ET IVRA P R RESTITVIT' (see fig.20).[98] Thus the ending of the civil

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[95] Botteri 2003: 264 has found a new fragment of the *RG*. This fragment from Antiochia shows that *potens* is the correct reading of *RG* 34.1, not *potitus*. See also Drew-Bear and Scheid 2005, especially page 233-236. Lebek 2004: 60: points out that the idea of *potens*, goes back to Kassel. See Krömer 1978: 135 for this. See Lebek for scholarship on the issue. The reading *per consensum universorum* [*potitus rerum omn*]*ium* goes back to Mommsen 1883. After the findings of Ramsey, see Ramsey and von Premserstein 1927: 95 and Tab.XIV with the fragment containing the letters M and OM: [*potitus rer*]*um om*[*n*]*ium*. On the vast amount of scholarship on *RG* 34, see Ramage 1987: 154-157.

[95] Regarding the period between 32 BC and 27 BC, see Fadinger 1969: 144 and 302f. Fadinger also observes that is it impossible to see any difference in relation to Octavian's powers between the year 33 and 32 BC (137).

[96] For discussions of the surrender of powers in 27 BC, see Syme 1939: 313-330; Lacey 1996: 77-99; Kienast 1999:78-98; Rich and Williams 1999: 188-212, page 190, n 71 with bibliography on this question. According to Mommsen 1887b: 702-742, especially 718-19; Fadinger 1969: 143-149 suggests that the powers given back in 27 BC were the powers of the triumvirate. See also Girardet 1990: 324, n 4; Brunt and Moore 1967: 48-49; Rich 1992: 1114.

[97] On this discussion, see Rich and Williams 1999: 204-212.

[98] See Rich and Williams 1999. A new specimen discovered in Blackburn confirms the authenticity of the aureus. See Abdy and Harling 2005: 175-176. See also Koortbojian 2006: 189-190, who observes that the 'rights and laws' were the traditional responsibility of the magistrate, whereas victory was regarded as a benefit of the gods; this changed with the victory coins Octavian. Contrary to this view that the settlement was a process, see Turpin 1994: 431-437, suggesting oddly that 28 BC is mentioned but of no importance. He also suggests that the consensus mentioned in *RG* 34.1 is about 27 BC, and does not go back to 32 BC. This neglects the inner logic of the *RG* and the historical context. Millar

wars was honoured with the closing of the temple of Janus in 29 BC, the laws and rights are restored in 28 BC and the armies and provinces were given back on the 13th January 27 BC.[99] Saving the *res publica* was the claim made by Octavian; this is only possible if the powers were given back, otherwise the *res publica* could hardly be claimed to have been saved. Hekster and Rich rightly suggest that although the new *aureus* uses the word *restituere*, this cannot with any certainty show that Augustus claimed to have restored the state.[100]

Fig. 20: Gold aureus of Octavian, 28 BC. Reverse shows Octavian, togate, seated on a *sella curulis*, holding out a scroll, with legend 'LEGES ET IVRA P R RESTITVIT'. Image source: British Museum website, http://www.bmimages.com/preview.asp?image=00031092001&imagex=31&searchnum=0003 **See printed edition of thesis.**

According to Dio (53.2.5) and Tacitus (*Ann*.3.28.1-2) the illegal acts of the triumviral period were annulled in 28 BC; both authors stress the difference between war and peace. According to Rich and Williams this might have been a mere declaration with

1973: 61-67 and Judge 1974 express doubt about the modern consensus that Augustus claimed to have restored the *res publica*.
[99] See Rich and Williams 1999, especially 198-202, rejecting Dio, but accepting that the armies and provinces were given back on the 13th of January.
[100] Rich and Williams 1999: 204-212.

little practical effect.[101] Are we to believe that the acts of Octavian were ratified in 29 BC (Dio 51.20.1) and now partly cancelled? There is nothing to suggest that the regime saw the triumvirate as anything but legal and thus this information is a surprise. Perhaps this must be seen together with the acceptance of the war against Antonius and Cleopatra as a civil war (chapter 3); not all had been perfect, but it was time to move on.

Having transferred the triumviral powers to the Senate and people, Augustus was given a range of honours, as 'nobody', including himself, wanted him as a *privatus*. He was given an oak crown for 'saving the citizens', according to the *Fasti* of Praeneste (13th of January), and the title of Augustus (Fasti of Praeneste gives the 16th January as the date, Ovid Fasti 1.590 the 13th, the *Feriale* of Cumae the 15th, and Censorinus *de die natali* 21.8 the 17th).[102] Importantly, the transferring of powers to the Senate and people must have happened on the 13th January, when the Senate started to confer honours on Octavian.[103] According to Ovid 'On that day, too, every province was restored to our people' (*Fasti* 1.589: *redditaque est omnis populo provincia nostro*) on the 13th January.[104] Rich and Williams rightly observe that neither Ovid nor Augustus in the *RG* make reference to the fact that Augustus subsequently agreed to retain a share of the provinces, but this was of course known by all and could thus be isolated from the honours of 27 BC.[105]

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[101] Rich and Williams 1999:197. According to Kienast 1999: 82-83 Octavian was ready, for all to see, to change what he had done illegally during the civil wars.
[102] See Degrassi 1963: 112-15, 279, 396-400 regarding the *Fasti* of Praeneste and the *Feriale* of Cumae. See Rich and Williams 1999: 191.
[103] Rich and Williams 1999: 191.
[104] Translated by Frazer 1931.
[105] Rich and Williams 1999: 191. Regarding the settlement in January 27 BC, see also Livy *Per*.134, on the provinces, but does not mention the surrender of power; Vell.2.89.3-4, stresses restoration, but is vague and does not mention the powers of Augustus; Suet.*Aug*.7.2; 28.1; 47 claims that he thought about restoring the *res publica*. See Carter 1982: 127f. A fundamental problem is Livy 3.20.1, stressing the concept *res publica restituta*, but isolated from the settlement of 27 BC, or indeed a restoration of

One reason why Augustus retained the consulship every year down to 23 BC may have been that it effectively postponed the issue of his place within the state. But as mentioned, even though Octavian gave all provinces back to the *res publica*, the Senate subsequently gave a bulk of them back to Augustus.[106] This was justified in the same way as the triumviral assignment; Augustus retained the provinces and the army because he had an assignment, in this case the empire-wide pacification. This is what Dio describes as 'the overall care and leadership (*prostasia*) of the state'.[107] The provinces were only accepted for a limited period (ten years), as mentioned by Dio 53.12.2, but perhaps Augustus always intended this period to be prolonged, as the assignment was still not accomplished.[108] This happened in 18 BC, Augustus accepting a five-year renewal, soon extended to ten, and then again for ten years in 8 BC, AD 3 and AD 13.[109]

A large issue of cistophoric tetradrachms was struck in Asia, perhaps at Ephesus, in 28 BC (*RIC* 1² 476). This celebrates the ending of the war against Cleopatra and Antonius and has the phrase 'LIBERTATIS P R VINDEX' as its obverse legend; the reverse legend shows a personification of *Pax* (see also chapter 5) (see fig.21). According to Rich and Williams this issue refers to the political settlement of 28-27

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the *res publica* in general (rightly so Galinsky 1996: 64). Strangely enough Tacitus does not mention this settlement (*Ann*.1.2 and 3.28). See Rich and Williams 1999: 193. Dio gives the most detailed account on the issue: 53.2.6-22.5 on the provinces and 52.1-41.2 on the Agrippa-Maecenas-debate, whether Octavian should retain or give up power. See Rich 1990 and Rich and Williams 1999: 195-197, concluding that Dio is wrong on his timing, as the giving back of power is a process of 28-27 BC. Regarding the sources, see also Millar 1973: 61-67.

[106] See Millar 1989: 93-97, stressing that this division was formally between the Roman people and Augustus; Rich 1990: 141-143; Rich 2003: 346f. Augustus did not monopolise the legions in 27 BC, as there were legions in public provinces. See Rich 1990: 140. The imperial provinces in 27 BC were Gaul, Spain, Syria and Egypt (Dio 53.12.4-8). See Rich 1990: 141.

[107] See Liebeschuetz 1986: 345-65; Rich 1999: 139f; Rich and Williams 1999: 212.

[108] See Rich 2003: 347.

[109] Dio 53.16.2; 54.12.4-5; 55.6.1; 12.3; 56.28.1; 39.6. See Rich 2003: 348.

BC, as does the new aureus mentioned above. This might go back to a decree of the Senate, with 'LEGES ET IVRA P R RESTITVIT' as the ground for conferring an honour on Octavian, the honour itself being the title 'LIBERTATIS P R VINDEX'.[110] This is all in perfect agreement with the accomplishment of the triumviral assignment.

Fig. 21: Cistophorus of Octavian, struck in Asia, perhaps at Ephesus, in 28 BC (*RIC* 1² 476 = *BMC* 691). This large issue celebrates the ending of the war against Cleopatra and Antonius: the obverse credits Octavian as 'LIBERTATIS P R VINDEX'; the reverse shows a personified *Pax*. Image source: British Museum website, http://www.bmimages.com/preview.asp?image=00031813001&imagex=38&searchnum=0003 **See printed edition of thesis.**

Turning to *RG* 34.1 the inscription appears to have an introduction and a conclusion: chapters 1-2, perhaps including 3 and chapters 34-35 (see chapter 2).[111] *RG* 2 reads:

> *Qui parentem meum trucidaverunt, eos in exilium expuli iudiciis legitimis ultus*
>
> *eorum facinus, et postea bellum inferentis rei publicae vici bis acie.*

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[110] Rich and Williams 1999, especially 187.
[111] According to Ramage 1987: 38, 59, 71 *res publica* in the *RG* means Republic (not state) and thus *RG* 34.1 is about the restoration of the *res publica*/*libertas*. Girardet 1993: 209 also connects *RG* 1 and 34 to conclude that this was about the restoration of the *res publica*. But there are other possibilities. See below.

("I drove into exile the murderers of my father, avenging their crime through tribunals established by law; and afterwards, when they made war on the republic, I twice defeated them in battle") (translated by Brunt and Moore 1967).

RG 3.1 constitutes in many ways a small conclusion of the inscription right at the outset. It reads:

Bella terra et mari civilia externaque toto in orbe terrarum saepe gessi,…
("I undertook many civil and foreign wars by land and sea throughout the world,…") (translated by Brunt and Moore 1967).

This is very close to *RG* 13 and the slogan of peace through victory. According to Gruen, "the Res Gestae places emphasis not on peace but on pacification".[112] He stresses foreign not civil wars. However, Weinstock demonstrated many years ago that the peace of the Augustan era was not only a question of expansion, but also a question of civil war: *pax* is both internal and external.[113] Dio comes closest of the sources to understanding the context of Actium and the war against Antonius and Cleopatra, stating that the war was declared on Cleopatra, in reality of course, against Antonius (50.4.5). There was going to be a civil war, the question was who was going to start it. In the end Antonius and Cleopatra did, moving their troops close to Italy (Actium and Patrae); when Antonius in the end did help Cleopatra at Actium, he became automatically an enemy of Rome. He started the civil war.

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[112] Gruen 1985: 54; Syme 1989: 116.
[113] Weinstock 1960: 45. On *pax* and victory, see Rich 2003. The blurring of civil and foreign war is obvious in Virgil *Aen*.8.685ff, mentioning both Antonius and Cleopatra as the enemies. According to DeBrohun 2007: 256 the Romans made a clear distinction between foreign and civil war. This is clearly wrong.

And in *RG* 34, the conclusion of the *RG*, the ending of the civil wars appears prominently. Thus the *RG* does seem to reveal itself as Augustus' 'commentaries' on the civil wars. The triumvirate is only very loosely defined in *RG* 1.4, but Caesar is avenged in chapter 2 and the civil war ended in chapter 34. *RG* 2 constitutes a partial success in the constituting of the *res publica* and *RG* 34 the accomplishment of the assignment. This is very close to the information given by Appian and Dio (see chapter 2).

In fact the triumviral assignment, including the civil war, is the setting in the preface and conclusion of the *RG*. Moreover, these parameters are found in the three opening chapters (*RG* 3, 15 and 25) of the main sections of the *RG*, *honores* (*RG* 3-14), *impensae* (*RG* 15-24) and *res gestae* proper (*RG* 25-33): *RG* 3 on the civil wars, *RG* 15 on the giving of money to the poor in Rome in accordance with the will of Caesar, and *RG* 25 on Naulochus and Actium. Similarly for the closing chapters: *RG* 24 as already mentioned; *RG* 33 focuses on the fruits of peace, with *RG* 14.1 mentioning Gaius and Lucius as the possible exception. Even if the traditionally perceived tripartite structure of the inscription should be dismissed as too rigid, it is still necessary to explain why specific things are mentioned and in what context.

Returning to the powers of the triumvirate, the inscription might reveal even more. Augustus in *RG* 34.1 describes his own powers in 28-27 BC as *potens rerum omnium* (I was in possession of all things). The likely scenario is the continuation and retention

of the triumviral *potestas*, but detached from the magistracy itself (see chapter 3). [114]

All the powers in the *res publica* cannot be explained within the powers of the consul (Octavian held this continuously from 31 BC). The termination of the triumvirate is the end of 33 BC; *RG* 7.1 states *triumvir per continuos annos decem*. Octavian was not triumvir in the year 32 BC.

Potens rerum omnium clearly focuses on Octavian's position prior to the surrender of these powers in 28-27 BC and not 32 BC, but since no decision is known giving Octavian all powers in the state, this should be seen rather as a statement of the position established *de facto* through the victory over Antonius. There is no new command in *RG* 25 or in our external sources.

As mentioned in chapter 3 the oath of allegiance to Octavian in the year 32 BC is best seen as some kind of political justification. In the *RG* Augustus does not set out to describe his powers and positions in constitutional terms. This is also the reason for relating that more than seven hundred senators served under him during the battle of Actium (*RG* 25). This oath leads to *per consensum universorum potens rerum omnium* (*RG* 34.1). The consensus justified the fact that Octavian was still in possession of the triumviral powers; it justified him fighting for the *res publica* against the enemies Cleopatra and Antonius. [115] This is similar to the way in which the two triumvirs divided the *potestas* of Lepidus in 36 BC; Octavian now was in complete possession of all powers in the *res publica* because he defeated Antonius in battle. [116] The powers

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[114] Regarding the period between 32 BC and 27 BC, see Fadinger 1969: 144 and 302f. Fadinger also observes that is it impossible to see any difference in relation to Octavian's powers between the year 33 and 32 BC (137).

[115] von Premerstein 1937: 60ff; Fadinger 1969: 315-332; Kienast 1999: 67-69.

[116] App.*B.C.*5.1. Fadinger 1969: 296ff.

that had been shared between the triumvirs devolved to Octavian, which made him in effect *potens rerum omnium*.

That Octavian was fighting for the *res publica* is visible in the external evidence as well. Part of the inscription of Octavian's Victory Monument at Actium reads:

> *vacat Imp · Caesa]r · Div[i · Iuli ·]f · vict[oriam · consecutus · bell]o · quod · pro [·r]e[·]p[u]blic[a] · ges[si]t · in · hac · region[e*
>
> ("Imperator Caesar, son of the Divine Julius, following the victory in the war which he waged on behalf of the *res publica* in this region,…") (translated by Murray and Petsas 1989: 86, 76 for the Latin original). [117]

Pro republica does seem to point in the same direction as *RG* 2. This is also close to *re publica conservata*, on an inscription firmly dated to 29 BC, found in the Forum Romanum, and most likely to have come from the Actian arch. Similarly, the 1st Augustus 30 BC, the day of the capture of Alexandria, was *feriae* because Octavian "freed the *res publica* from very grave danger (*rem publicam tristissimo periculo liberavit*).[118] This Octavian could only claim if he also constituted the *res publica*. After having accomplished the triumviral assignment the *res publica* was indeed constituted; *RG* 34 constitutes the giving back of the powers of the triumvirate to the Senate and people. The assignment had been accomplished successfully, the civil war was terminated.

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[117] .

[118] Rich 1998: 100-114 and Rich and Williams 1999: 184-185 on the inscription (EJ 17) and the arch. For the 1st August, see EJ, p.49.

7.4: Conclusion

In connection with his victories and his triple triumph Octavian participated in the refurbishment and reshaping of Rome, not least the *Forum Romanum*. The old political centre of the *res publica* now commemorated the victories of Octavian. The arch of Actium and the naval spoils all point to the centrality of the battle of Actium in the ideology of the regime, but there were both spoils of Actium (rams) and riches of Egypt. The triumviral assignment is clearly visible in these commemorations, including the temple of *Divus Julius*, spoils from the victories and an inscription found in the Forum and dated to 29 BC, clearly stressing that the *res publica* was *conservata*. This most likely belonged to the Actian arch, but even if not, it still shows the ideology of the regime in 29 BC; Octavian had saved Rome from grave danger (see chapter 6). The *Victoria* statue in the Curia and the triumph itself clearly stress that this saving of the *res publica*, the bringing of peace, was a product of war, of victory.

One question that has been debated substantially is the possible connection between the temple of Apollo on the Palatine and the battle of Actium; did the temple, announced in 36 BC, after lightning stuck, turn into a victory monument after Actium, celebrating this particular victory, or did that happen later with the *Aeneid* and Propertius 4.6? The quinquennial games held in 28 BC are most likely connected with the temple of Apollo and are thus a link between Rome and Actium, between the games at Rome and the similar games at Actium to Apollo. The fact that Propertius 2.31 and Horace *Ode*s 1.31 do not tell us why the temple was built hardly shows that the link to Actium was non-existent before the *Aeneid*.

Looking closer at the iconography of the temple, the portico of the Danaids has for a long time been the centre of disagreement. If the Danaids were fighting Egypt, as Octavian, it seems a problem that Augustan poetry perceives them as criminals. On the other hand, the poets do not automatically present us with the ideology of the regime.

A vital part of this discussion on iconography is a plaque from the temple complex, depicting the fight between Apollo and Hercules over the tripod. The tripod was used as a symbol of *libertas* in Late Republican Rome. Antonius' divine imitation was directed primarily towards Dionysus, but it was well known that his ancestor was Hercules. Propertius 3.11 and 4.9 suggests a connection between Antonius/Hercules, Cleopatra and the battle of Actium. But would Octavian give Antonius ownership of a god? The answer might be that the story was too good not to use and that Hercules was portrayed negatively in this particular story.

The plaque itself also holds more than is normally assumed. Two small statues of *Victoria* on the tripod suggest a victory and Actium is the only logical possibility, as the temple was not associated with the battle of Naulochus. A second plaque showing a *baetyl* might also point to Actium. Furthermore, there was an Apollo statue, one of several, in the temple complex showing Apollo as a lyre player, the Apollo of peace. The celebration of peace is connected to Actium and the Victory Monument at Actium (see chapter 5), as it is part of the triumviral assignment. Even though the evidence is circumstantial, it is hard to believe that the Romans in 28 BC would have made no connection between the temple of Apollo on the Palatine and the battle of Actium.

The reshaping of Rome was part of a return to normality after the civil war. It all was centred round the constituting of the *res publica*, or the settlement of 28-27 BC. After having saved the *res publica* Octavian needed to give his powers back, as the assignment of the triumvirate had been accomplished. Of course "nobody", least of all Octavian, wanted him to become a *privatus* and thus in 27 BC he was given honours and powers. The justification was fairly similar to the one used for the triumvirate. Augustus was to retain provinces and armies because he had a new assignment, in this case empire-wide pacification.

This process is described in *RG* 34.1; together with *RG* 1-3 this shows the huge importance of the triumviral assignment in the official ideology. The *res publi*ca was constituted in 28-27 BC and the powers of the triumvirate were given back. In *RG* 34.1 Augustus describes the powers given back in 27 BC as *potens rerum omnium*. These powers are hard to define without the triumvirate, and certainly cannot be explained with the powers of a consul. They are best traced back to 32 BC, as the consensus of *RG* 34.1 most likely is the oath of 32 BC. This justified politically that Octavian was still in possession of the triumviral *potestas*, even though not a triumvir. In *RG* 34.1 the civil wars are ended, as the *res publica* was saved; the assignment had been successfully accomplished. A close reading of the *RG* suggests that although this was accomplished by the victories at Actium and Alexandria, the new regime stressed *pax* as much as victory.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

Forte Puteolanum sinum praetervehenti vectores nautaeque de navi Alexandrina, quae tantum quod appulerat, candidati coronatique et tura libantes fausta omina et eximias laudes congesserant: per illum se vivere, per illum navigare, libertate atque fortunis per illum frui.

("As he sailed by the gulf of Puteoli, it happened that from an Alexandrian ship which had just arrived there, the passengers and crew, clad in white, crowned with garlands, and burning incense, lavished upon him good wishes and the highest praise, saying that it was through him they lived, through him that they sailed the seas, and through him they enjoyed their liberty and their fortunes") (Suet.*Aug*.98.2) (translated by Rolfe 1951).

The story belongs to the time just before the death of Augustus, when he was on his way to quinquennial games at Neapolis, held in his honour (Dio 55.10.9; 56.29.2; Vell.2.123.1). Carter rightly stresses the religious character of the setting; it sounds like a prayer to a god (1982: 203f). Even though it is not mentioned directly by Suetonius, liberty was the result of the accomplishment of the triumviral assignment, and thus the bringing of peace, at least in the ideology of the regime. The triumvirate was thus vital for the establishment of the Principate. Who ever "invented" this and similar stories, focused on the positive result of the civil wars more than the actual fighting. But there is no reason not to believe that most Romans of the period would have agreed: Augustus had brought peace after civil war.[1] This should not be confused

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[1] For the epigraphic celebrations of the peace of Augustus, see especially EJ 42, 98 = Cooley 2003 K28, H34. Cf. Rich 2003: 332.

with the absence of war; the Romans wanted internal peace, they were not against Roman expansion.

As has been shown, the triumvirate was an assignment with the main task of ending the civil war. This has been deduced from a close reading of first and foremost the *RG* and Appian. The title of the triumvirate was at the same time its justification; the triumvirs were 'constituting' the *res publica*, they were setting the state to right. This is how Augustus justifies it in the *RG*, where chapter 1 stresses the triumvirate with full title and chapter 2 mentions the murderers of Caesar, making war on the *res publica*. This was part of the triumviral assignment to end civil war.

The murderers of Caesar were defeated by Antonius and Octavian at Philippi. At first the jobs at hand could realistically be done in five years. This was in the end not the case and thus a second five-year period was necessary (agreed at Tarentum 37 BC), to accomplish successfully the new tasks of Parthia and Sextus Pompeius. This was in fact agreed at Brundisium in 40 BC and constitutes a vital change in the justification of the triumvirate, as the foreign war against Parthia became part of the new tasks of the triumvirs. Similar fixed-term assignments are the standard justification used by Augustus during his reign from 27 BC (see below). In 36 BC Octavian defeated 'the pirate' Sextus Pompeius at Naulochus (*RG* 25.1).

The return to normality in 36 BC (burning of debts, documents relating to the conflict etc.) gives us a taste of Octavian's actions after Actium and Alexandria. A skirmish with Lepidus after Naulochus led to his dismissal from the triumvirate and thus the Roman Empire was divided into two parts. In 36 BC Octavian also decided to declare

publicly the end of the civil wars, as he, according to himself, had accomplished his part of the assignment of the triumvirs. Perhaps the final war against Antonius and Cleopatra was not yet perceived, even though it must have seemed a possibility at this stage.

The year 36 BC, when lightning struck the Palatine near the house of Octavian, also saw a special relationship between Apollo and Octavian strengthened. His role in the victories of Octavian was set, even though he had no role in the victory over Sextus Pompeius (Diana). The role of Apollo as Octavian's patron god prior to 36 BC is problematic, but taken together the evidence points to an early connection, very likely going back to Octavian's stay at Apollonia when Caesar was murdered.

After Octavian had successfully ended the civil wars and Antonius had reorganised the east after his victory over Armenia in 34 BC the triumviral assignment had almost been accomplished; Antonius had in principle not yet accomplished the additional assignment of Parthia. At some point the two triumvirs would have to decide how to give back the triumviral powers to the state. Each made proposals, but on terms that the other would find it impossible to accept. Thus the relationship between the triumvirs deteriorated. Antonius does not seem to have helped himself, as the despatch offering to lay down the triumviral powers also contained the so-called donations of Alexandria, giving among other things Roman land to foreigners. The will of Antonius later followed, with his wish to be buried in Alexandria, not Rome.

At the Senate meeting in January 32 BC the consuls and a smaller number of senators decided to flee to the camp of Antonius. Octavian was at this stage most likely not a

triumvir, but in possession of the triumviral *potestas*, due to the oath of 32 BC and the claim that the *res publica* was in danger. Octavian brilliantly countered the fact that Antonius could claim to fight for the *res publica*, both consuls being on his side, with the *coniuratio Italiae*. Both triumvirs presented themselves as fighting for the *res publica* against foreign and civil enemies. In the end war was declared on Cleopatra, most likely because she was with Antonius in Greece. Most likely they were not planning to invade Italy, but for the contemporaries the question arose: what was she doing with an army if not attacking Italy? Antonius himself was not declared a *hostis*, because Octavian did not want to provoke a renewed outbreak of the civil wars he had ended in 36 BC. But if Antonius were to help Cleopatra, he would be making war on his own country, i.e. a civil war.

Amongst scholars the standard perception of the war against Antonius and Cleopatra is that it was declared on Cleopatra, and that the ideology of the regime tried to conceal that Actium was a civil war. This is wrong, as the sources, contemporary and later, are in agreement that the war at Actium was both a foreign and a civil war, as also stressed in the *RG*. The ideology of the regime never denied or downplayed the civil war aspect.

Another aspect of the conflict where there is a modern consensus is the actual battle of Actium 2nd September 31 BC. The theory of Tarn that the fleet of Antonius betrayed him cannot be substantiated by four lines in Horace's *Epode* 9. As a consequence of Tarn's shortcomings there is a modern consensus, going back to Kromayer, which rejects the account given in the ancient evidence: the withdrawal of Cleopatra happened as the result of a prearranged plan, not because she fled the scene of battle.

This theory uses Dio as its evidence, but even Dio contradicts himself on this particular matter, also suggesting that Cleopatra betrayed Antonius. There are other serious faults with the theory; the blockade so important to the argument of Kromayer may not have been as effective as he thought. The ship numbers are notoriously difficult and it cannot with any certainty be shown that Antonius was numerically outnumbered. The cumulative arguments presented by Kromayer do not in the end make his conclusion more likely.

Antonius wanted to win and if that was denied him, his Plan B was to flee for Egypt. The theory by Kromayer presupposes that it would be easy to flee the scene of battle, but this must be dismissed as implausible, as a plan which includes creating a gap in the middle of the lines of fighting ships is absurd. Antonius must have known that fleeing would lose him both the battle and the war. It is much more likely that at some stage during the battle Cleopatra lost her nerve and fled for Egypt. Nothing was going according to plan. The ancient evidence seems to be right and Tarn and Kromayer were wrong; the battle of Actium was decided by the Cleopatra's betrayal, and the real surprise is the land battle that never happened.

One aspect that often is forgotten by scholars is the blurring between "reality" and "ideology". The figure of no more than 5,000 dead was a necessity to justify a triumph, but at the same time Augustus wanted to justify the civil war and therefore the number of dead Romans needed to be kept down. The battle of Actium was in fact a huge success, as it was the battle that effectively decided the war. What was left was the final defeat of Antonius and Cleopatra, but conquering Egypt was only a postscript to Actium. This campaign could rightly be called *Bellum Actiacum Alexandrinumque*,

even though there were two separate theatres of war and two separate victories and triumphs. The war was decisively won at Actium, but ended at Alexandria.

Octavian decided to commemorate his victory at Actium with an elaborate Victory Monument outside the newly founded Greek city (at least predominantly) of Nicopolis. Even though it may rightly be called a Victory Monument, as it displayed the rams as symbols of victory, it also announced peace in its inscription. This symbolises the accomplishment of the triumviral assignment. At this stage there are many unanswered questions, which must await further publications by Zachos, but till then more can be derived from the inscription, which has been surprisingly understudied, especially in its ideological context.

In the official ideology Octavian received divine help at Actium: the monument was dedicated to Mars and Neptune, but Apollo, who already had a temple at Actium, received a number of onsite commemorations and seems to have had a statue (*hedos*) on the upper part of the monument. The monument's inscription most likely belongs to the year 29 BC, after the capture of Egypt, but still stresses that Actium brought peace to Rome.

Pace parta terra marique is traditionally connected to the closing of the temple of Janus in 29 BC and must have been used in the SC in which the honour of closing the temple was mentioned, but most likely originates with the despatch from Octavian to the Senate after his victory. It is very possible that the phrase even goes back to the victory over Sextus Pompeius and the ending of the civil war in 36 BC. *Pro republica* might point in the direction of the triumvirate, as it is close to the description in *RG* 2. Furthermore, the *re publica conservata* on an inscription from 29 BC, most likely to

have come from the Actian arch, the obverse legend *Libertatis P R Vindex* on a contemporary cistophorus, whose reverse commemorates *pax*, and the *corona obsidionalis*, a military distinction given to Octavian for saving the community, all point to the defence of the liberty of the Roman people (close to *RG* 1.1). All this material must be seen in relation to the war against Antonius and Cleopatra. This is best explained as descriptions of the assignment of the triumvirate and gives the monument at Actium a very Roman context.

Of course this does not exclude the possibility that the monument was also used in a local context, but it was surely intended for Romans. The fact that the inscription is in Latin, not Greek, something that has been almost universally ignored by scholars, shows its connections to Rome. There is a clear connection between the regime's ideology as deduced from the Victory Monument and later the *RG*: the stressing of the triumvirate and, related to that, of peace obtained through victory, the description of the battle of Actium as a campaign and the relative importance of Actium over Alexandria.

The honours conferred on Octavian after the victories at Actium and Alexandria, as listed by Dio, are surprisingly understudied. They were honours for the absent victor. It appears the honours given after Actium did not take into account that a new set of honours would be needed after Alexandria and thus one war in the end produced two triumphs. The honours were presented to Octavian because of his accomplishment of the assignment of the triumvirate. Apollo was also thanked at Rome for his contribution to the victory at Actium. The quinquennial games seem to have been prompted by the games at Actium. Alexandria was celebrated on the 1st August; the battle of Actium received two days: the anniversary of the battle and the birthday of

Octavian. The '*damnatio memoriae*' of Antonius initiated by the Senate is an example of an honour rejected by Octavian. Antonius was dishonoured by not being mentioned, but he was not forgotten; '*damnatio memoriae*' was a very flexible tool.

No honour pleased Octavian more than the closing of the temple of Janus. The stressing of peace more than war seems an invention by Octavian and the connection between the closing and the *augurium salutis* is clearly a novelty. The first closing under Octavian seems to have appeared before his return to Rome in 29 BC, as a result of the ending of the civil wars and the freeing of the *res publica* from grave danger.

The triple triumph of 29 BC was the visible proof of the victories of Octavian. They were different as wars and as triumphs, and they were commemorated differently. There is a clear ambivalence in the ancient evidence towards the question of how to conceptualize the victories, as there was a single war, but two triumphs. In the 'Augustan' evidence 'Actium' is sometimes used to describe the war against Antonius and Cleopatra, including Alexandria. They were different as victories, as Actium produced rams and Egypt produced riches. However, the question of the relative importance of the two victories should not be overemphasized; Octavian ended the civil wars and conquered Egypt. But importantly, the ideology stressed at Actium clearly equals the one at Rome. Octavian and the Senate worked together on the commemoration of the victories of Octavian. They showed the importance of the two victories and at the same time stressed the importance of the triumviral assignment.

In connection with his victories and his triple triumph Octavian participated in the refurbishment of Rome, first of all the *Forum Romanum*. The arch of Actium and the naval spoils all point to the importance of the battle of Actium. Again, the triumviral assignment is clearly visible in these commemorations, including the temple of *Divus Julius* with rams, spoils from the victories and an inscription from the arch of Actium, clearly stressing that the *res publica* was *conservata*.

More problematic is the question of the connection between the temple of Apollo on the Palatine and Actium. The temple, announced in 36 BC, did most likely turn into a victory monument after Actium, giving Apollo the role at Rome he had onsite at Actium. Virgil's *Aeneid* and Propertius 4.6 did not invent this connection, but instead supported the claims made by the regime. The quinquennial games held in 28 BC are most likely connected to the temple of Apollo and thus constitute a link between Rome and Actium. The iconography of the temple is disputed, but a plaque depicting the fight between Apollo and Hercules over the Delphic tripod has been understudied in this connection. The tripod was used as a symbol of *libertas* in Republican Rome. Antonius' divine imitation was directed primarily towards Dionysus, but it was well known that his ancestor was Hercules. Normally Octavian would hardly give Antonius ownership of a god, but perhaps the story was too good not to use, especially as Hercules was portrayed negatively in this particular story. The plaque itself surprisingly has two small statues of *Victoria* on the tripod, suggesting a victory; Actium is the only logical possibility, as the temple was not associated with the battle of Naulochus (Diana). This is the old story of good versus evil and in the end Apollo/Octavian prevailed.

Furthermore, there was an Apollo statue in the temple complex showing Apollo with a lyre, symbolising Apollo as the bringer of peace. This is again similar to the Victory Monument at Actium and suggests the triumviral assignment. Even though the evidence is circumstantial, it is difficult to believe that the Romans in 28 BC would have made no connection between the temple of Apollo on the Palatine and the battle of Actium.

After having claimed to have saved the *res publica* Octavian needed to give his powers back to the Senate and the People, as the assignment of the triumvirate had been accomplished, but also to claim the accomplishment itself. The ending of the civil wars was in principle the result of the victory against Antonius and Cleopatra, but in the *RG* Egypt is portrayed as a foreign expansion (27.1) and thus Actium (25.2) must be the victory that ended the civil wars. The blurring of foreign and civil war and the fact that this was the same war makes this conclusion more difficult, but still the most likely, based on the ancient evidence. The '*res publica constituta*', the settlement of 28-27 BC, which equals the accomplishment of the triumviral assignment (*triumviri rei publicae constituendae*), was the result of the ending of the civil wars and the freeing of the *res publica* from grave danger. Of course Octavian was not going to become a *privatus* and thus in 27 BC he was given more honours and new powers, after he handed back the triumviral powers. As earlier with the triumvirate the justification for the retaining of provinces and armies was new fixed-termed assignments, this time the empire-wide pacification (see below).

In *RG* 34.1 Augustus describes his position before the return of powers in 28-27 BC as *potens rerum omnium*. His powers at this point are best defined as the triumviral

powers, now all vested in him, and certainly cannot be explained as the powers of a consul or a consular *imperium*. They are best traced back to 32 BC, as the *consensus* of chapter 34.1 can only be the oath of 32 BC (*RG* 25.2 on the battle of Actium), thus connecting Actium and the ending of the civil wars. The triumvirs shared all the powers in the state, but in the end the only one left was Octavian, having retained the powers of his two fellow triumvirs. These were the powers he gave back in 28-27 BC: *potens rerum omnium*. In 32 BC Octavian was still in possession of the triumviral *potestas*, even though not a triumvir. Together with *RG* 1-3 this shows the huge importance of the triumviral assignment in the official ideology. The *res publi*ca was constituted in 28-27 BC and the powers of the triumvirate were given back, as the assignment had been successfully accomplished with the ending of the civil wars. Thus Actium and Alexandria, the victories of Octavian, provided Rome with peace and safety. As a result Augustus, in his own words, had more *auctoritas* than anybody else (*RG* 34.3) and naturally eventually became *pater patriae* (*RG* 35.1).

The nexus of Actium, Apollo, civil war and peace all centre round the triumvirate and triumviral assignment. This is how the Victor "wrote" the history of the period; this is how Augustus justified the triumviral period and this is how he wanted to be perceived by posterity.

Looking beyond the period of 42-27 BC there was a revival of Actium and Naulochus around 16 BC, with coins featuring both victories, and with Virgil and Propertius taking up the subject of Actium again. Already in 17 BC there were sacrifices to Diana and Apollo for the good fortunes of the Romans by Augustus and Agrippa on

the Palatine in connection with the *Ludi saeculares*.[2] According to Gurval the connection between the Palatine temple and Actium was invented by Virgil in the *Aeneid*, published 19 BC, and later taken up by Propertius 4.6 in 16 BC (1995: 87-136). This is a perverse conclusion, as it is against the abundance of evidence linking Apollo and Actium together long before 19 BC, not least onsite at Actium. Perhaps the revival was connected to an unknown monument from 16 BC, as this may be depicted on a contemporary coin. This revival no doubt had the purpose of reminding the Romans of the past deeds of Augustus.

It may also show an indirect connection between the triumviral assignment and the new assignment of Augustus to bring empire-wide pacification. Fixed-term tasks, similar to the constituting of the *res publica* and ending the civil wars, became the standard way for Octavian/Augustus to justify monarchy. In 27 BC the provinces were only accepted for a limited period (ten years), but then prolonged, as the assignment was still not accomplished. This happened in 18 BC, Augustus accepting a five-year renewal, soon extended to ten, and then again for ten years in 8 BC, AD 3 and AD 13 (see chapter 7). The Parthian settlement of 20 BC and the *Ara Pacis* in 13 BC are part of this development (see Rich 2003). Later Ovid in the *Fasti* summed up some of the ideas that had been part of the regime's ideology since Actium, writing on the day of the dedication of the *Ara Pacis*:

> *Ipsum nos carmen deduxit Pacis ad aram.*
> *haec erit a mensis fine secunda dies.*
> *frondibus Actiacis comptos redimita capillos,*

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[2] *CIL* 6.32323, line 139-146; Zosimus 2.5.1-5.

Pax, ades et toto mitis in orbe mane.

("The course of my song hath led me to the altar of Peace. The day will be the second from the end of the month. Come, Peace, thy dainty tresses wreathed with Actian laurels, and let gentle presence abide in the whole world") (1.709-12) (translated by Frazer 1931).

This is a powerful eulogy to *Pax Augusta*, dressed with Actian laurel, whose presence is requested by Ovid. But this is not idealised peace, as the soldiers still bear arms (715) and the enemies may fear Aeneas' sons (717). According to Green there is an incompatibility between the *Ara Pacis* and the idea of a return to the Golden Age on one hand, and Ovid's insistence on arms etc. on the other.[3] This is a misunderstanding of the ideology of the regime. *RG* 12 does stress that the altar is decreed on Augustus' return after his arranging of affairs in Spain and Gaul. Vitally, *RG* 13 stresses that the temple of Janus was closed *cum per totum imperium populi Romani terra marique esset parta victoriis pax*. Similar statements appear in Livy 1.19.3 and the inscription from the Victory Monument at Actium itself. This suggests that Ovid was indeed very close to the ideology of the regime: Actium meant peace, as the result of victory, peace after civil war (*RG* 25.2 and 34.1).[4]

The *Ara Pacis* was not the only change to the *Campus Martius*, as Agrippa built the *Pantheon* in his third consulship (27 BC).[5] Dio 53.27.1-2 lists the *Pantheon* and the *basilica Neptuni* and *thermae Agrippae* under the year 25 BC, but he may just have

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[3] Green 2004: 233-236, especially 236.
[4] See Murray and Petsas 1989: 76.
[5] *CIL* VI 896.1. On the *Pantheon* of Agrippa, see de Fine Licht 1966: 172-9; Rich 1990: 163 on Dio 53.27.1-3. Dio was unaware that the temple he knew was not that of Agrippa, but that of Hadrian. Dio also rejects that it was a "temple of all gods", even though this is true. Dio also tells the story of Agrippa wanting to set up a statue of Augustus in the temple, which was refused by Augustus. It seems unlikely that Agrippa did offer this honour of cult to Augustus without first discussing the matter with Augustus. According to Ziolkowski 1994: 275f the temple was later turned into a *Pantheon*.

grouped them together there.[6] Tacitus describes the buildings as *monumenta Agrippae* (Tac.*Ann*.15.39). The gods worshipped in the temple are the same as later in the temple of *Mars Ultor*: *Divus Julius*, Mars and Venus.[7] Ziolkowski wrongly suggests, using Dio 53.27.1, that the complex was built to celebrate Agrippa's victories by land and sea; in fact Agrippa was commemorating his achievements as Octavian's admiral.[8] For this he was rewarded with the *corona navalis*.[9] Livy suggests that this was presented to Agrippa after the victory over Sextus Pompeius 36 BC (*Per*.129). The patron god of Sextus was of course Neptune.[10]

Pliny tells a story about Cleopatra's pearls, one ending in the possession of Octavian. This pearl was cut into two pieces and used as earrings for Venus in the *Pantheon* (*N.H*.9.121-122).[11] Originally there were two pearls. The story goes that Antonius and Cleopatra discussed how it would be possible to spend 10,000,000 sesterces on a single banquet. In the end Cleopatra spent that alone on her own meal; vinegar was used to melt one of the pearls, the largest ever, and it was then consumed. This story is similar to the one found in *RG* 24: the decadent east versus the Roman west, Antonius (/Cleopatra) versus Octavian, the private *luxuria* of Antonius and Cleopatra versus the public expenses of Octavian. And vitally, the story connects the *Pantheon* and the battles against Antonius and Cleopatra.

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[6] Rich 1990: 163.
[7] Dio 53.27.2-3.
[8] Ziolkowski 1999: 56; Haselberger 2007: 119. Rich 1990: 163 on Agrippa as the admiral of Octavian.
[9] Vell.2.81.3; Virgil *Aen*.8.683-4; Dio 49.14.3; Livy *Per*.129, Sen.*Ben*.3.32.4. According to Pliny *N.H*.16.7 Varro was the first to receive this honour.
[10] Hadas 1930: 114; Taylor 1931: 120f; Zanker 1990: 48; Gurval 1995: 91. The relationship between the son, his father and Neptune, is evident on the coins of Sextus minted in Sicily 42-40 BC. On this, see *RRC*: 511/2a to 3c). Pompeius Magnus with dolphin and Neptune, see no.483/1-2.
[11] See also Macr.*Sat*.3.17.18; Kleiner 2005: 161-162. Similar an image of Cleopatra in the temple of *Venus Genetrix* was not torn down by Octavian but remained there as a trophy (App.*B.C*.2.102; Dio 51.22.3). Kleiner 2005: 149 stresses with Dio that Cleopatra is glorified in Augustan Rome, which does seem a misconception, as she was the enemy. Reinhold 1988: 158 rightly stresses that Dio relishes the irony of the golden statue of Cleopatra in the temple of Venus.

One of the temples mentioned in the *fasti* of the Arvals is *Neptunus in campo* (see chapter 6). According to Ziolkowski this suggests that the *Pantheon*, with the *basilica Neptuni*, is in fact the mentioned temple, as Dio 66.24.2 does mention the basilica as a temple.[12] More problematically, he suggests that the temple of Mars mentioned by the Arvals is also referring to the *Pantheon*, because of the cult statues of Venus and Mars. The *Pantheon* is according to Ziolkowski the temple of *Mars in campo*.[13] The temple of Mars has traditionally been connected to the temple of Mars *in Circo*, but the evidence does stress it to be *in campo*.[14] Ziolkowski concludes that the temples of Mars and Neptune *in campo* would facilitate and then become an ill-defined *Pantheon* and a basilica to Neptune.[15] This is a fascinating theory but one that can hardly be shown to be correct, but there is a good point in suggesting a connection between the temples of Mars and Neptune *in campo* and the complex surrounding the *Pantheon*.

Of course the *Pantheon* does suggest a temple to the *gens* with Venus and *Divus Julius*, and Mars, the father of Romulus, as in the Forum of Augustus and the temple

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[12] Ziolkowski 1999: 56. The *dies natalis* of *Neptunus in Campo* is 1st December, see Degrassi 1963: 93, 99, 198-99. The calendars mentioning the 1st December are contemporary or later than the Arval inscription, according to Ziolkowski 1994: 262. He concludes that they are two different structures. The other possibility is that Gradel 2002: 131 is right that this does not refer to the dedication dates of the temples, but marks the birthday of Augustus. See also chapter 6.

[13] Ziolkowski 1994: 261. This is rejected by Haselberger 2007: 113, n 143, 139, n 176, but without engaging with the suggestions of Ziolkowski.

[14] Dio 56.24.3; *Consolatio ad Liviam* 231; Ovid *Fasti* 2.857-860. See Ziolkowski 1999: 56. For the theory that Dio is referring to the temple *in Circo*, see Richardson 1992: 245; Ziolkowski 1994: 262 with scholarship. For the view that there was a temple of *Mars in Campo*, see Platner and Ashby 1926: 329; Coarelli 1997: 187-195, suggesting a location near the *Ara Martis*; Haselberger 2002: 165, stressing an unknown temple on the *Campus Martius*. The date of the temple of course depends on the theory accepted, but Dio 56.24.3 makes 9 BC the *terminus ante quem*.

[15] Ziolkowski 1999: 56; 1994: 264f. According to Richardson 1992: 245 there never was a temple to Mars *in campo*. Platner and Ashby 1926: 329 mention the possibility of a temple, but in conjunction with the ancient altar of Mars *in campo*. See also Coarelli 1997: 182-197. On the *basilica Neptuni*, see Platner and Ashby 1926: 81; Richardson 1992: 54.

of *Mars Ultor*.[16]   But according to Ziolkowski the *Pantheon* was built to commemorate Actium.[17] There is no doubt that Mars and Neptune as a pair are connected to Actium, thus equalling the pairing reported by the Arval Fasti (see chapter 5). The fact that the *fasti* of the Arvals mention temples to Mars and Neptune *in campo*, together with Apollo *ad theatrum Marcelli* on the birthday of Augustus, knowing as it is from Dio 51.19.2 that the birthday was used for thanksgiving for the victory at Actium, it seems acceptable to suggest some kind of connection between this information and the complex built by Agrippa. That the temples perhaps were built later than the honours mentioned by Dio is a technicality. Perhaps Agrippa built the complex to facilitate the thanksgivings, as Octavian could hardly have done it himself. It is no surprise that the Augustan Peace Altar in the end was built in the same area: the field of Mars had indeed turned into a field of peace because of Octavian's victories on "land and sea".

In 32 BC Octavian started building his Mausoleum on the field of Mars, as a counterbalance to the tomb of Antonius and Cleopatra at Alexandra. The last Augustan change to the building programme of the *Campus Martius*, as envisaged by Augustus, was the *RG*, put up in front of his Mausoleum after his death. In the *RG* Actium is the vital battle, as it brought peace and ended the civil wars. Egypt alone cannot constitute the ending of the civil war, as it is mentioned as a foreign expansion in *RG* 27.1, and thus Actium is the only other possibility. The *Ara Pacis* stresses peace, the Horologium the victory over Egypt, and Agrippa's commemoration of

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[16] On the *gens* and the temple, see Kleiner 2005: 161. In this connection she stresses the alliance between Caesar and Cleopatra, but surely she was an enemy of Rome, and tolerated only as a defeated enemy.

[17] Ziolkowski 1994: 271. According to Lesk 2007: 33 this was the main victory monument in Rome commemorating the battle of Actium, but in fact the arch of Actium and other monuments in Rome, i.e. the Palatine temple of Apollo and the *Forum Romanum* did as well.

Mars and Neptune stresses Naulochus and Actium. As with the Palatine and the *Forum Romanum* the *Campus Martius* turned into an Augustan project. The field of war became the field of peace: Actium ended the civil war and the capture of Alexandria saved the *res publica* from grave danger, all in accordance with the triumviral assignment. Thus the *res publica* had indeed been constituted.

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