A Study of the Caesar Cult with Reference to the Political Aims of Augustus

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A STUDY OF THE CAESAR CULT WITH REFERENCE TO THE POLITICAL AIMS OF AUGUSTUS

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Vita Auctoris

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INTRODUCTION

The Caesar Cult, to put it briefly, was the worship of the dead Caesar. It was the worship of Caesar to whom apotheosis had come after his death. For us, however, this worship of the dead Caesar is of no great importance, nor was it common in the western provinces. There is another aspect of the Caesar Cult which pertains rather to the Genius or Numen Augusti signifying the Genius or Numen of the living Caesar.

"The worship of dead Caesars here is not of importance to us, nor was it common in the Western provinces: but that of the Genius or Numen Augusti, whether combined or not with Dea Roma, or (as was frequently the case) in quaint juxtaposition with local deities, taken, as I think it should be, as signifying the Genius or Numen of the living Caesar, is shown by the inscriptions to have been a very real force in the West." 1

It is this second aspect of the Caesar Cult which is of importance to us since it was this aspect in particular which Augustus employed in furthering his plans. There is no intention here to deny that Augustus ever used the apotheosis of Julius as a means of strengthening his own position. Indeed, it is in this sense that the Cult is taken in the
first chapter, which concerns itself with the struggle between Octavian and Antony for the leadership of Rome and the Empire.

Before continuing with the subject to hand it would be well to answer a difficulty that may arise. Fowler, in treating of the rise and growth of Caesar worship in the provinces, makes this statement:

"In this way it has been made extremely probable that the growth of Caesar worship in the provinces is so greatly varied in form that it can hardly have been the result of imperial organisation, but must rather have arisen independently in each locality—an important point for us. It was not a religion imposed from without, but a subjective expression of confidence (fides we may call it in the West) by the Romanizing provincials and Italian residents." 2

At first meeting this statement seems to contradict the problem of the thesis. This, however, is not true. The thesis does not stand or fall on the truth or falsity of the statement: "Caesar worship in the provinces was not the result of Imperial organization." In strict truth, the thesis is somewhat strengthened by Fowler's remark, for nowhere is it maintained that the Caesar Cult was the result of Imperial organization. The point of the thesis is not to show that Augustus was the founder of the Caesar Cult; rather it is to show to what use Augustus put the instrument, the worship of
the Caesars, which lay to hand.

It may be further objected that in chapter V, when dealing with the Compitalia the author surely means that Augustus was the organizer or reorganizer of these fraternities which grew up around the shrines. This is another question entirely. The first deals with the worship of the dead Caesar in the provinces; the second is concerned with the worship of the Lares amongst which Augustus placed the Genius or Numen Augusti. This worship was established long ago at Rome and was merely revived by Augustus and made to serve as a means for municipal government.

The problem before us, therefore, is to show that Augustus employed the Caesar Cult and the Cult of the living Caesar, and by this is meant the worship of the Numen or Genius, as a foundation for Augustus' position as head of the Roman Empire and as a means of unifying and governing the provinces both in the East and West.

Rome in the years preceding the advent of Jesus Christ was passing through a crisis. The Republic had degenerated and had given way to the dominant character of Julius Caesar. Julius, in turn, yielded to the daggers of enemies. His death once again plunged Rome into a quarter of a century of bloodshed, internal strife, and moral decadence, until Octavian finally became master of the Roman world and the restorer of peace and prosperity.
The struggle between the youthful Octavian and Antony for the place left vacant by the death of Julius was the occasion of Octavian's recognition of the value to him of the deification of Julius whose heir he was. Antony, too, was painfully aware of the abnormal influence Caesar's godhead lent Octavian and we see Antony immediately opposed to all of Octavian's plans furthering the recognition of Caesar's apotheosis.

During this struggle between the two aspirants to the throne, an event occurred the importance of which cannot be too greatly emphasized. During the games given by Octavian in honor of Julius, a comet appeared in the skies. This event greatly bolstered Octavian's belief in the efficacy of Julius' apotheosis as an aid in the attainment of the honors he desired, and of which Julius himself had made him heir. We shall see later on to what clever use Octavian put the appearance of this comet, which was looked upon at Rome as Caesar's spirit ascending to take its place amongst the gods.

After the battle of Actium, Octavian found himself master of Rome and the Empire. It was not an envious position for the task confronting Octavian was gigantic. Reform was needed in every stratum of society. Octavian was face to face with that common perplexity - you can lead a horse to the trough but you cannot make him drink. Octavian
had forced Rome, as it were, to the trough but he was helpless, for Rome refused to drink. Arms and physical force were impotent against the complete loss of all spiritual values which would lift Rome out of her decadent condition and bring her to happier days. Some strong remedy was required to heal the hurt from which Rome was suffering.

It is patent that all reform must ultimately come from within. In vain do leaders attempt reform through mere external discipline. It is useless to gild the outside if the inside is full of rottenness and all forms of death. This is an universal truth. It is true today; it was true at the time of Augustus. All true statesmen sooner or later recognize this fact. It was Augustus' good fortune to recognize it immediately. That is why he rebuilt so many temples and constructed numerous shrines, sanctuaries and places of worship. That is why he attempted his great religious revival. But we must not forget that in all this activity Augustus had a twofold purpose. They were; first, the refurbishing, or, in some cases, the complete renewal of spiritual values, and, secondly, the consolidation of his own position and the unification of the Empire by closely connecting himself with the gods by emphasizing his divine origin, and the complete union of authority, religious as well as secular, in the person of the princeps.

This intimate connection between Augustus and the
gods is well brought out in Augustus' adopting, so to speak, Apollo as his own special deity. Augustus was tireless in his efforts to bring this home to Rome and the provinces. The erection of the magnificent temple of Apollo on the Palatine close to the palace of Augustus, the Ludi Saeculare, and Horace's great hymn, the Carmen Saeculare are examples of Augustus' zeal in this regard.

Another important phase of Augustus' policy is the worship that grew up around the Genius or Numen Augusti. As shall be discussed later in the paper, Augustus could not demand worship as a man-god. The idea of the man-god was of eastern origin and had not yet made itself felt in Rome and Italy. Alexander could pose as such and not incur the odium which the Western Mind heaped on such a concept. Instead of following this line of conduct, by substituting his Genius or Numen in place of his own person, Augustus got the same results minus the ill repute and positive hostility which deification and worship would certainly have brought him. This cult is, perhaps, the crowning point of Augustus' political sagacity.

In proving a point of this kind, namely, the use of the Caesar Cult as a political instrument, there are, generally, two courses open. The first, and without doubt the better of the two, would be to furnish direct quotations from the principals or contemporaries, which would show conclu-
sively that they thus looked upon the Cult. This first course, however, is denied us in this particular problem for nowhere are such statements found. Consequently, we must follow the second course, which is indirect in its procedure. An attempt must somehow be made to gather together material by recalling the history of the times, the circumstances, the characters of the principals, and especially the sum total of all those important intangibles to which the Germans attach the name Zeit Geist and Sittlichkeit, all of which enter the problem and add, as they do, each its own particular and specific formula. Consequently, it was necessary to approach the problem from various angles, and to explain, in some detail, concepts, which at first acquaintance, seem not to bear upon the problem, but which in their numerous ramifications do play an important part in altering the situation.

Strict logical sequence, therefore, is not to be found in the essay. Instead, the various sections of the essay have been linked together in a more or less loose historical order. At times even this order has been interrupted in an effort to tie together events related in kind but not in time. Thus, the essay opens with the struggle between Octavian and Antony for the throne of Julius. This naturally leads us to the first triumvirate; its subsequent dissolution; the thirteen years of bloody strife which intervened; the battle of Actium, which, at long last, made Octavian mas-
ter of the Empire. The second section concerns itself with conditions at Rome and in the provinces at the end of the Republic. The third section deals with Octavian's conduct towards the old Roman Religion; his own religious revival, and the conception of a plan, which was to find its culmination in the complete unification of State, Religion, and Emperor. The fourth section departs somewhat from Augustus himself, since it shows Augustus in a passive way in the literature of the Augustan poets. The closing section, however, again returns to deal directly with Augustus, and takes up the interesting study of Augustus' political wisdom as shown in his dealings with Rome, Italy, and the provinces.
CHAPTER I

AUGUSTUS AND THE
DEIFICATION OF CAESAR.

St. Augustine has preserved for us a profound saying of that eloquent lawyer, Mucius Scaevola, concerning the three kinds of gods; one introduced by the poets, another by the philosophers, another by the statesmen.

"Relatum est in litteris doctissimum pontificem Scaevolam disputasse genera tradita deorum: unum a poetis, alterum a philosophis, tertium a principibus civitate." 1

The first kind he declares to be trifling, because many unworthy things have been invented by the poets concerning the gods; the second does not suit the state, because it contains some things that are superfluous, and some, too, which it would be prejudicial for the people to know. Only the third can be accepted.

"Primum genus nugatorium dicit esse, quod multa de diis fingantur indigna; secundum non congruere civitatibus, quod habent aliqua supervacua, aliqua etiam quae obsit populis nosse." 2
Here we have a perfect expression of the Roman tradition in respect to religion. The gods, their worship, were made to serve the state. It was in this sense that Augustus understood religion and the worship of the Roman gods and the various native and foreign cults which found their way into Italy and Rome.

The religious restoration which Augustus strove so earnestly to bring about was essentially political. For the introduction of the new form of government through which Augustus strove to save the Roman civilization needed some kind of connecting link which would bind closely to Caesar not only Rome but Italy and the many provinces conquered by the Roman Eagles. M. Grenier, speaking of the religious restoration and commenting on the two excerpts from the De Civeitate Dei cited above, says:

"Here we have a perfect expression of the Roman political tradition in respect of religion. The gods were made to serve the State. This was certainly how Augustus understood it. The religious restoration which he strove to bring about was essentially political." 3

Further on but in the same chapter M. Grenier continues:

"True to the aristocratic tradition of the Pontifices, Scaevola forgets just one thing - the religious needs of the people. Poets, philosophers, and even statesmen only represent the small minority who can express their thoughts and try to suit
their acts and attitudes to them. The people, in respect of religion, was not only the illiterate mass of the plebians, but also all the half-educated classes and all for whom abstract speculation was not more than an accessory in life, from the slave to the Knight who did business all over the Mediterranean, from the private soldier to the general, from the peasant to the Senator who looked after his property and was engaged in politics. All had henceforward other interests than those of the State, interests for which they felt the need of divine protection. No doubt they prayed to the gods from abroad, who were so full of promises. But they also had at home, in their houses and in their fields gods whom they knew, invoked, feared, or loved. Between the individual religion of the thinkers and the official worship there was a popular religion made up of the simple fancies, the pious traditions, the earnestness, and the emotion natural to man in the presence of the unknown. It formed the deep stratum which, even among the most highly cultivated, was always cropping up at some point. On this popular religion Augustus based, at least in part, his national restoration."

We shall see in a following chapter how ingeniously Augustus employed this popular religion in forwarding his political schemes and ambitions; how by linking this popular religion to the worship of his own Genius he bound closely to his own person the whole Roman world.

During the last years of Julius Caesar, Antony had made mighty efforts for Julius' deification. Whether or not
Antony was led by sinister motives is not to the point here. It is beyond dispute, however, that Caesar himself was not opposed to divine honors. He declined them because he thought the time for accepting them was not yet ripe. As a matter of fact, divinity in some form or other was essential to the type of monarchy Caesar was trying to set up at Rome. The early kings of Rome were surrounded with some sort of divinity but it was not this elective form of kingship in which Caesar was interested. Miss Taylor explains the mind of Julius Caesar on this point.

"As pontifex maximus Caesar already possessed the king's sacred functions and it was by special decree that he was to pass them on to his heir. When he was given the king's attire, associated for the Romans with the triumph where the general impersonated Jupiter, he was brought still more closely into line with the sacredness of the early king. But though Caesar was willing to see his statue beside the early kings, he did not desire to establish the elective kingship which he knew from the shadowy traditions of early Rome. What Caesar desired to set up was the hereditary divine monarchy as it survived in the East and as he had himself seen it function in Egypt." 5

Already Caesar possessed as Pontifex Maximus the king's sacred functions which, in turn, were to be passed on to his heir. To this effect Dio says:
But the thing that Caesar desired above all else, as Miss Taylor states, was to set up at Rome, or, if things went correctly, at Alexandria, an hereditary, divine monarchy as it had survived in the East and as he himself had seen it function in Egypt. To this effect Suetonius in the 79th chapter of his Julius says:

"Quin etiam varia fama percrebruit
migraturum Alexandrean vel Illium,
translatis simul opibus imperii ex-
haustaque Italia dilectibus et pro-
curatione urbis amicis permissa, pro-
ximo autem senatu Lucium Cottam quin-
decimvirum sententiam dicturam, ut
quoniam fatalibus libris contineretur,
Parthos nisi a rege non posse
Caesar rex appellaretur." 7

Alexander and his example were always before Caesar. Though the delightful companionship of Cleopatra had kept Caesar in Egypt, it was not mere pleasure that Caesar had derived from his stay. Caesar had seen the remains of the long line of Ptolemies and their divine worship. He had seen in his travels with Cleopatra with what reverence her commands were obeyed. He had been taught at first hand that godhead was a necessary part of a type of monarchy that had functioned for so many hundreds of years in the East. It
was this type of monarchy that Caesar was thinking of establishing. His plans, however, were cut short by the daggers of the assassins, not because he had become a god, but because he attempted the assumption of the kingly pomp and splendor which went with the divinity. Suetonius says that from the time that the tribunes of the commons gave orders that the fillet which had been placed in the statue of Caesar during the Latin Festival should be taken down and were sharply rebuked by Caesar, the conspirators hastened in carrying out their designs.

"Quae causa conjuratis maturandi fuit destinata negotia, ne assentiri necesse esset." 8

During the life time of Caesar it was the consul Antony who was most energetic and zealous in carrying to execution the plans on foot for Caesar's godhead. From this, one would think that he, too, after Caesar's death, would carry on the same zealous campaign. The will of Caesar, however, gave Antony cause for hesitation. Caesar had made Octavian heir to his name and the beneficiary of the major portion of his estate. Nevertheless, Octavian was still very young and his popularity was far overshadowed by Antony's own. This fact freed Antony from any really great concern about his own future. And yet, from the very first he realized that if Caesar was made a god, his testament as the will of
a god would carry far greater weight, and, as a consequence, Octavian, as the heir of a god, would have a position both with the senate and the people that would be well nigh unassailable. Consequently, he made every effort to hinder Octavian's inheritance. First he abolished by senatorial decree the dictatorship which Caesar had set up, and, secondly, he secured the election of Marcus Aemilius Lepidus as pontifex maximus. This was accomplished, according to Dio Cassius, by transferring the choice from the people back to the pontifices, from whose hands it had been taken just before the election of Caesar in 63. Nor was the election of Lepidus completely honest, for Velleius Paterculus says that Lepidus was furto creatus. In this connection Miss Taylor says:

"But the consul Antony was the person who would most naturally have carried to execution the plans on foot for Caesar's godhead, and Caesar's will had given Antony a reason for hesitating. Caesar had made his great-nephew, the young Octavius, heir to his name and the major portion of his wealth. Octavius was comparatively unknown and Antony may not have feared him seriously. And yet he must have realized that the youth might eventually be the heir to Caesar's power as well as to his name. From the first Antony seems to have seen that if he made Caesar a god, his testament as the will of a god would have superlegal standing, and his heir as the son of a god would have an unassailable position with the men
who had deified his father. And so immediately after the funeral we find Antony setting himself firmly against Caesar's deification. At once he sponsored two measures that were calculated to curtail Octavian's inheritance. The first was the abolition for all time of the dictatorship, which Antony accomplished by senatorial decree. The second was the election of Marcus Aemilius Lepidus as pontifex maximus, an office which the senate had voted should be passed on from Caesar to his heir." 9

We shall see later that it was not till 12 A.D., at the death of Lepidus, that Octavian finally became pontifex maximus and thereby became head of the Roman religion.

Antony's efforts to thwart the plans for Caesar's godhead were second only to Octavian's industrious campaign in behalf of the divinization. On his arrival in Rome, the city was astir with the killing of Amatius who had erected an altar on the site of Caesar's funeral pyre and made preparations to establish sacrifices on it to Caesar as to a god. Suetonius relates for us that the commons set up in the forum a column of Numidian marble at whose base they continued to sacrifice, make vows, and settle some of the disputes by an oath in the name of Caesar.

"Postea solidam columnam prope viginti pedum lapidis Numidici in Foro statuit inscripsitque PARENTI PATRIAE. Apud eam longo tempore sacrificare, vota suscipere, controversias quasdam
They demanded, too, that the magistrates should offer sacrifices on the altar of the false Marius, thus making the worship of Caesar bear the stamp of official approval. Octavian immediately recognized the worth of this agitation for his cause, so he set himself the task of having the decrees for Caesar's divinity put into force.

During the ludi Ceriales Octavian made preparations to have Caesar's gilded throne and garland shown in the theatre. This throne and garland the senate had voted should be shown at every theatrical performance. The aedile Critonius, however, forbade Octavian and Octavian took the matter to Antony. Antony replied that the matter should be laid before the senate. To this Octavian replied that as long as the decree was on the books he would exhibit the throne. Antony prevented this act. Now, all this we learn from Appian who says:

"καὶ ο Μέν ἐμέλλε 
ποιήσεν ως προσέτακτο θεάι
δ' ἔσταν, ἀς Κριτάνιος ἀγορανομῶν,
ἐμέλλε τελέσειν. καὶ ο Κάισαρ
ἐσ τὰς θέας τῷ πατρὶ τὸν τε
Χρύσεως Θρόνον καὶ Στέφανον
This incident is very important for us since it shows clearly that both Antony and Octavian recognized that in the godhead of Caesar, Octavian had in his hand the means to accomplish his most cherished plans. The decision on the godhead of Caesar was, however, taken out of their hands by the appearance of the comet during the games which Octavian gave in honor of Caesar's apotheosis. Suetonius says:

"Periit Julius sexto et quinqua-gesimo aetatis anno atque in deorum numerum relatus est, non ore modo de-
cernentium sed persuasione vulgi. 

Si-qui dem ludis, quos primos consecrato ei

heres Augustus edebat, stella crinita

dergasse septem continuos dies fulsit ex-

orlens circa undecimam horam, credi-
tumque est animam esse Caesaris in cae-

lum recepti; et hac de causa simul-

acro ejus in vertice additur stella." 12

The effect which this comet had on the people is told us by

Octavian himself.

"During the very time of my games

a comet was seen for seven days in the

nothern skies. It would rise about the

eleventh hour and was very bright in

all the lands. This comet, the people

thought, indicated that Caesar's soul

had been received among the immortal

gods. For that reason this symbol was

placed above the head of the statue

of Caesar which I consecrated in the

forum soon afterwards." 13

The strife between these two men, however, continued
during the years of war that finally led to the alliance be-
tween them and Lepidus and which was known as the second
triumvirate.

One of the first acts of the triumvirate was the de-
ification of Julius Caesar. By doing so the Roman triumvirs
strengthened their authority by referring it to a god and
by giving honor to that god by worship of the state cult.

The final deification of Julius represented without
doubt the victory of Octavian over Antony and was but a
breath of wind showing the direction which later events would
take. Faith and confidence in the apotheosis of Caesar were greatly strengthened by the appearance of the comet. Octavian himself made very skilful use of the idea prevalent at the time that the souls of great men were translated to the stars. In order that men might not easily forget this fact, Octavian attached the star to every statue of Caesar that was set up. By this time Caesar had become a potent god and Octavian, styling himself divi filius, was fully aware of the power which Caesar's godhead brought him. Miss Taylor briefly sums up the deification of Caesar and its effects at Rome.

"Undoubtedly then the triumvirs in deifying Caesar were doing no more than putting into force the godhead that was Caesar's before he died. The special distinctions offered were of course modified by the fact that Caesar was dead and were materially affected by the circumstances under which he met his death. Nevertheless they represented the victory of Octavian in his long struggle to establish his adoptive father in the position that was Caesar's by legal right at the moment of his assassination. The new honors were far more effective than the earlier attempts at deification had been. Caesar was now removed from envy and hatred, and his fame had been enhanced by the fact that he had died a martyr's death. Moreover, faith in his apotheosis had been strengthened by the appearance of the comet, which could readily be associated with the popular idea that the souls of great men were translated to the stars. Octavian had made skilful use of the idea, and men were reminded of it by the star placed on all the myriads of statues of
Caesar. Divus Julius was now a potent god. Nowhere is his potency more apparent than in its effects on the power of the adopted son who henceforth styled himself divi filius." 14

The alliance between Antony and Octavian which had been made for no other purpose than to revenge the death of Caesar, was, now that the assassins had been duly punished, of no more use. Both men had designs on the throne and had plans of establishing himself as a god-king. But such plans could not be carried out as long as there were two claimants. Consequently, Octavian dissolved the alliance. Antony, on the other hand, recognizing the power and prestige which the divinity of Caesar had given Octavian, lost no time in making his own divine connections known. He claimed a lineage for himself which rivalled the descent of Caesar and genealogists traced the Antonii back to Anton, the son of Hercules.

Of the two men Antony was the first to pose as a god-king. His victory in the East was accompanied by a triumphal march through Asia. Plutarch tells us that the whole of Asia was like the city in Sophocles, loaded at one time

"---with incense in the air, jubilant songs, and outcries of despair." 15

Paterculus tells us that

"having returned into Armenia, Antony
got its king Artavasdes into his power, he threw him into prison. But his passion for Cleopatra daily increasing as well as the strength of those vices which are ever nourished by wealth, licence and flattery, he determined to make war upon his country. Previously, however, he had given orders that he should be called Father Bacchus; after riding in his chariot in the character of Bacchus, through the city of Alexandria with a chaplet on his head, a golden colored robe, a thyrsus in his hand, and buskins on his feet. All this oriental display proved too much for the character of Antony and we find him finally choosing to throw in his all with Cleopatra, for was not her inheritance the throne that went back to Alexander the Great? was she not closely connected with Julius Caesar? and was there not the possibility for Antony to secure a share of the inheritance of Caesar?" 16

By this act Antony forfeited any possible alliance with Octavian and started the journey that was to come to a sad end at Actium.

Thus, we see that the divinity played an important part in the struggle for the inheritance of Caesar. From the very first both Antony and Octavian recognized the influence of the god-head of Caesar. At first, Antony attempted to hinder the deification of Caesar and thereby lessen the prestige of his rival. Outwitted by his younger competitor he finally staked his all on having himself raised to the divine honors. With what disastrous results to himself we know.
CHAPTER II

AUGUSTUS' CONDUCT
AFTER ACTIUM.

After his decisive victory at Actium, Augustus found himself complete master of the world. Antony, the last claimant to the imperial throne of Julius Caesar, was no more. Danger from Egypt in the form of an intrigue of Cleopatra was averted by the death of this celebrated queen of the Nile.

Although master, Augustus was confronted with many problems and a maze of situations which called forth all the ingenuity and resourcefulness of the new successor of Julius Caesar. Augustus was not, indeed, another Julius. He possessed neither the military ability nor the statecraft of his uncle. Therefore, he had to follow a different policy from that of his great predecessor. Accordingly, he abandoned all foreign conquest; he had the courage to "haul down the flag" in Numidia in order to save the expense of occupation. In only two directions were advances made: to wit, the acquisition of Egypt, and of the northern boundary of Rome along the Danube. This was accomplished in order to
bring peace to the frontier tribes. Augustus adopted his conservative policy despite the opposition of the populace which was ever ready for foreign conquest and craved spectacular deeds and aggressive wars. Mr. Tenney Frank, speaking of the difference between Caesar and Augustus and commenting on the rather pacifist policy of Augustus, says:

We cannot now tell whether this general militarism of the populace actually affected the emperor's course in deeds as well as in words. We may well doubt it, for in the very days when the call seemed loudest that he should wipe out the disgrace of Carrhae and follow up Caesar's work in Britain, he set himself the far less spectacular tasks of organizing Gaul and subduing the last resistance of Spain. He knew by experience that he was neither a magnetic leader of men nor a brilliant strategist. He realized that wars of conquest which would have cost the incomparable Caesar few men and little time would, under his generalship, require resources quite beyond his command. So he disregarded Britain entirely and postponed the Parthian affair to await the effects of secret diplomacy. 1

Augustus' position in the history of the world was to bring peace to the Roman Empire. With the establishment of the Pax Romana ended not only the ravages of civil wars and internal strife of partisan leaders, but also the extortion of governors of the provinces and the tax-gatherers. In as much as the governors of the provinces and the tax-gatherers had to render a strict account of all transactions to Augus-
tus, who was a jealous and watchful master and also deeply concerned for the welfare of the provinces, the old evils gave way and something like honest government took their place. Mr. Showerman says:

The senate was not the only authority to be lost in the emperor. The consuls were still elected, but not with the fierce partisanship of the olden days. The emperor himself was really the consulship. The scandals of mal-administration by pro-consul and praetor and pro-praetor came to an end. The provincial governors were responsible directly to the emperor or to the senate that knew his will. The emperor was really the governor of the provinces, and in case of abuse the court that awarded punishment.

If foreign relations offered Augustus a great field in which to display his ingenuity, what must we say of the problem which Rome itself presented him? Wealth with all its destructive influences and numberless ramifications, exaggerated individualism, a duality in the lives of most of the higher classes, the loss of religious-mindedness, the discontinuance of the old cults and the introduction of new cults, all these conspired to threaten the complete overthrow of good government.

The reaction at Rome after the Punic wars was equal to the gigantic stress and strain of the long years of desperate warfare. Wherever the government had exerted its authority in the curtailment of the commodities of life dur-
ing the conflict, there was to be found after the war a complete about-face and consequent license and mad abandonment. The times were ripe for political corruption. Government positions, acquired through bribery, opened the door to all sorts of dishonest methods, not only in private business, but also in the business of government. The governors plundered the provinces. Of them as a class might well be said what was said of Varus, the victim of Arminius, who "as a poor man entered a rich country, as a rich man left the country poor."

Foreign conquest brought a great increase in commerce and trade. As a result private fortunes reached unheard-of heights. Millionaires and multi-millionaires were not uncommon. This great wealth concentrated for the most part at Rome, had of necessity to find means of expressing itself. It did, indeed, and in a very unpleasant manner. Dress, the nourishment of the body, and all the other conventions of life ceased to be means to an end and became the end of all living. Slaves, whose number the wars had made legion, performed every duty which one man could possibly perform for another. The evils consequent upon leisure, along with the complete domination of one man over the body and soul of another, became prevalent at Rome. All these evils are the stuff which Juvenal used in his scathing satires. The emancipation of women, which, indeed, can trace its origin to the
laws passed during the Punic Wars, coupled with large private fortunes and incomes, and the shadowy relations existing between mistress and the slaves of the household, reaped a rich harvest in motivated marriages, innumerable divorces and consequent childlessness. The Roman's attitude towards this childlessness is well brought out in a passage taken from Plautus and quoted by Davis. He says:

One of Plautus' characters in the Miles Gloriosus puts the case as a good many of the middle class saw it, and Plautus — be it remembered — wrote before the days of the Empire. He says that without children he can live happily, surrounded by attentive friends; "before daybreak they are at the door, asking if I have slept well." He knows they only want his money. What matter? What matters it, who gets his money when life is over? And is the childless man were passing rich, all manner of good things flowed his way. He had more invitations than he could accept. Fine morsels and finer gifts came to him from everybody. The ladies went to all lengths to please him. The older and feeble he was, the greater their assiduity — so much sooner would come the opening of the will! Mothers thrust their daughters on him; unscrupulous men their wives. 4

Perhaps one of the greatest evils existing at this time was what one might call the dual life of the Roman. M. Boissier, commenting on an uncertain fragment from Lucilius, in which he says persons in private life respect neither the laws, nor religion, nor the gods, says:
Evidemment leur rôle est double et leurs sentiments changent suivant la situation qu’ils prennent; comme citoyens ils se trouvent portés à défendre les institutions que comme hommes ils attaquent sans scrupule. 5

Now, this complete separation existing between sentiments shown in private and in public life is always accompanied by a wave of hypocrisy which finally ends in a smug complacency in the violation of all laws and disrespect for the conventions of right living. As a consequence of this separation at Rome, Roman society was afflicted with all the evils resulting from the consciousness of faultlessness. Cynicism and loss of the religious sense, formalism, and the discontinuance of the old religious cults, and the subsequent introduction of new cults especially from Egypt, all these were widespread at the end of the Republic. Religion was effectually divorced from morality and morality from religion. Now, such a separation means the corruption and disintegration of all religion and, consequently, all morality and society. Cicero in the De Natura Deorum and the De Divinatione rails at empty formalism in religious ceremonies and scolds Rome for her moral skepticism. Already new cults were being brought in to stimulate once again the old spirit of religion, but, for the most part, these new cults became nothing but an excuse for violent moral lapses.

The thirteen years between the murder of Caesar and
the battle of Actium were only a part of that continuous dis-
integration of state which had been going on for over a cen-
tury. The empire, indeed, had increased, but the imperial
people had declined. Before the advent of Julius Caesar,
everyone felt that a profound change had come over Rome.
Various attempts had been made to right the situation: laws
had been passed; citizens had been banished and murdered;
armies had been called in to restore ancient principles; but
all had resulted in failure. The hope which had come with
the restoration of Julius Caesar was destroyed almost imme-
diately by the daggers of the assassins. The thirteen years
intervening proved one thing, that there was no alternative
to the rule of the emperor. In speaking of these thirteen
intervening years Mr. Glover says:

The thirteen years between the mur-
der of Caesar and the battle of Actium
were only a part of that experience;
for a century there had been continuous
disintegration of State. ---- There had
been civil war in Rome over and over again -
murder employed as a common resource of
politics, reckless disregard of life and
property, and thorough carelessness of
the State. The impression that England
made upon the mind of Wordsworth in 1802
was precisely that left upon the mind of
the serious Roman when he reflected upon
his country. All was 'rapine, avarice,
expense.'

Plain living and high thinking are no more:
The homely beauty of the good old cause
Is gone; our peace, our fearful innocence,
And pure religion breathing household laws.
Such complaints, real or conventional, are familiar to the readers of literature of the last century before Christ. Finally a gleam of restoration was seen when Julius Caesar began to set things in order, when he "corrected the year by the Sun" and gave promise of as true and deep-going a correction of everything else. His murder put an end to all this at the time, and it took thirteen years to regain the lost opportunity - and the years were not altogether loss for they proved conclusively that there was now no alternative to the rule of the "Prince".

Accordingly, the emperor, Augustus, set himself to discover what was to be done to heal the hurt of his people, and to heal it thoroughly. What was the real disease? was the question that most men asked; where was the root of the evil? why was it that in old days men were honest, governed themselves rightly, knew how to obey, and serve the state? Two centuries before Ennius had written:

"Moribus antiquis stat res Romana virisque."

Now, however, during the last days of the Republic, both these bases of the national life seemed lost. Were they beyond recall? Could they be restored? Just what precisely was the ultimate difference between the old Roman and the Roman of the days of Antony and Augustus? Ovid, I think, gives us the best answer, when, congratulating himself, much in the manner of some modern upstart, on the perfect congruity of the age and his personal character, says:
"haec aetas moribus apta meis."

Now, in making this statement he was quite right. And it was precisely in the measure that Ovid was right in finding the age and his own character in agreement, that the age and the national character at Rome were demonstrably degenerate. The question before the nation - why was it that two hundred years had brought such a change - was answered indirectly by the great Greek thinker of the second century B.C. when writing of the greatness that was to be Rome's. Explaining Rome's actual and future greatness he says:

The most important difference for the better, which the Roman Commonwealth appears to me to display, is their religious beliefs, for I conceive that what in other nations is looked upon as a reproach, I mean a scrupulous fear of the gods, is the very thing which keeps the Roman Commonwealth together. To such an extraordinary height is this carried among them both in private and public business, that nothing could exceed it. Many people might think this unaccountable, but in my opinion their object is to use it as a check on the common people. If it were possible to form a state wholly of philosophers, such a custom would perhaps be unnecessary. But seeing that every multitude is fickle and full of lawless desires, unreasoning anger and violent passions, the only resource is to keep them in check by mysterious terrors and scenic effect of this sort. Wherefore, to my mind, the ancients were not acting without purpose or at random, when they brought in among the vulgar those opinions about the gods and the beliefs in the punishment of Hades: much rather do I think that men nowadays are acting rashly and foolishly in rejecting
them. This is the reason why, apart from anything else, Greek statesmen, if entrusted with a single talent, though protected by ten counting-clerks, as many seals and twice as many witnesses, yet cannot be induced to keep faith; whereas among the Romans, in their magistracies and embassies, men have the handling of a great sum of money, and yet from pure respect to their oath keep the faith intact. 7

So, the great question before Augustus narrowed itself to this: had he anything at hand that would serve as a foundation for the new government he contemplated building; had he something which would serve as a unifying principle both for Italy and the provinces? Augustus thought he had just what he needed in religio but especially in a particular form of religio, namely, that form of religion which was bound up with the emperor.

The affinities which the old Roman religion had with the character of Augustus did, no doubt, aid him immensely in recognizing the services which it could render his policy. Even as a young man he was grave and reserved, taking the greatest precaution against random statements. Augustus was always a lover of regularity. Indeed, he was scrupulous in regard to appearances. Such a nature should find itself drawn to a cult which contented itself with exterior practices of devotion and worship. As we have seen earlier in the chapter, the Roman religion had degenerated into empty formalism but
this did not argue the complete loss of religious persuasions. We should rather say that the state religion was hypnotized or paralyzed, meaning that belief in the efficacy of the old cults had passed away among the educated classes, that the rabble of Rome had been accustomed to scoff at the old deities, and that the outward practice of religion had been allowed to decay.

Once convinced of the efficacy of his plan Augustus immediately set about putting it into practice. In his struggle to revenge the death of Julius and his subsequent falling out with Antony, Augustus had learnt what a telling weapon he had in the godhead of Caesar. All this we have seen in the first chapter. Now, that Augustus found himself master of Rome he once again fell back upon the help which the godhead of Julius, his own divine origin, and a religious revival could give him.

As we shall see in the following chapters Augustus' plan met with remarkable success. Utilising, as he did, the past to encourage the present age, and that by filling up old forms and names with new meaning, Augustus set men's minds upon thinking of the future. He succeeded in making both the pax deorum and jus divinum terms of force and meaning, and, by linking his own name more or less closely to those of the gods, he succeeded in giving to his government a force and power new to the political and economic history of Rome. A
glimpse of the stability of this institution created by Augustus may be got from a passage in Dill:

We may think that his religious revival was not inspired by any real religious feeling. Yet it is well to remind ourselves that old Roman religion, while it consecrated and solemnized the scenes and acts of human life, was essentially a formal religion; the opus operatum was the important thing. Its business was to avert the anger or win the favour of dim earthly powers; it was not primarily to purify or elevate the soul. Above all, it was interwoven from the beginning with the whole fabric of society and the State. Four centuries after Augustus was in his grave, it was only by a violent wrench, which inflicted infinite torture even on pagan mystics of the Neo-Platonist school, that Rome was severed from the gods who had been the guardians and partners of her career for twelve hundred years. The altar of Victory which Augustus had placed in the Senate-house, and before which twelve generations of senators after him offered their prayers for the chief of the State, the most sacred symbol of the pagan Empire, was only removed after a fierce, obstinate struggle.
CHAPTER III

AUGUSTUS

AND THE

OLD ROMAN RELIGION.

On his return from Egypt after the defeat of Antony and Cleopatra, Octavian inaugurated a plan which was to culminate in the complete unification of State, Religion and Emperor. In other words, the emperor finally became the State and Religion. Octavian's first concern was with the restoration of the temples and ceremonies connected with the various forms of worship. In his own Monumentum Ancyranum he tells us,

Duo et octinginta templ a deum in urbe ex decreto senatus refeci. 1

But what is of more importance to us than a mere restoration of the temples and shrines was that Octavian at the same time continued the dedication of shrines and monuments that had a particular association with his own achievements. In the newly finished Curia, for instance, he placed an altar of the goddess Victory to whom he owed his supremacy, and set
up beside it an ancient statue of the goddess which he had brought back from Tarentum and decked with the spoils of Egypt. Victory thus became the first of a long line of deified abstractions whose cults were especially associated with the emperor. M. Grenier might well be quoted here. He says:

Own the gods for your masters, Horace proclaims, and you establish the dominion of Rome - *Dis te minorem quod geris, imperas*. The same reverence will establish the power of their restorer. So Augustus was careful to consecrate every stage of his political career by a gift to the gods. As the avenger of Caesar he built a temple to Mars Ultor. After the victory of Actium, he placed the new order of things under the protection of Apollo, who was given a temple on the Palatine beside the palace which the emperor was building for himself. Thus, opposite the Capitol, the hill of Romulus became like a new acropolis of Imperial Rome. It always remained the hill of the Emperors.

By following this plan Octavian reanimated the old Roman religion with new stimulants; nor did he hesitate to institute new devotions. How Octavian accomplished this task M. Boissier tells us:

Cette partie de sa tâche lui était assez facile: il n'y avait rien de plus aisé que d'augmenter autant qu'on le voulait le nombre déjà si grand des dieux dans les religions antiques. Une qualification nouvelle donnée à une ancienne divinité suffisait pour en faire un dieu nouveau. C'est par ce moyen qu'Auguste
The temple and the cult of Venus Mother owed its origin to the battle of Pharsalus. Caesar promised the erection of a temple to this goddess if he were victorious. The temple was dedicated in great haste two years before his death. The work, however, was not entirely completed before the Ides of March so it was left to Octavian to bring it to completion. Octavian became very proud of that illustrious birth, and, during the first years of his reign, the image of Venus Mother appeared on all his coins.

Although the Venus Cult and the Cult of Mars Ultor were very important instruments in the hand of Octavian, yet, as M. Boissier says,

Le culte d'Apollon Palatin était personnel à l'empereur que les deux autres. 4

The temple for this cult was dedicated by Octavian in the year 28. The temple itself was built on the Palatine on the site once planned for Octavian's own house. Suetonius says:

Templum Apollonis in ea parte Palatinae domus excitavit, quam fulmine ictam desiderari a deo haruspices pronuntiarant. 5
There was a story extant at Rome at this time which found favor especially among the Asiatic Greeks, who were accustomed to such legends in their eastern homes. The story was that Octavian was the son of Apollo. Octavian gave encouragement to this legend by allowing a colossal bronze statue of Apollo with his own features to be erected in one of the porticoes attached to the temple. But in the cult he had no share. The temple enshrined for public worship not Octavian himself or his well authenticated divine ancestors, but his own patron god, a divinity of his private household, Phoebus domesticus, as Ovid calls him. Octavian subordinated his own honors to those of the god to such an extent that he had some eighty golden statues of himself melted down to increase the rich treasure of the new temple. This we learn from Suetonius:

--- atque etiam argenteas statuas olim sibi positas conflavit omnis ex-que iis aureas cortinas Apollini Palatino dedicavit. 6

By thus subordinating his own honors to those of the god, Octavian adhered closely to his determined policy, that namely, of keeping in the background but always closely connected with the worship and honor paid the new cults. In this way he escaped the odium of posing as a god, which was heaped upon Antony, yet reaped all the advantages of divine
origin and destiny.

The celebration that took place on the Palatine in honor of Apollo brings out clearly Octavian's policy. Consequently, a rather thorough description of this celebration will be in place. By way of introduction, we shall say a few words about the Ludi Saeculares.

The Ludi Saeculares take their name from the word saeculum; and the old Italian idea of a saeculum seems to have been a period stretching from any given moment to the death of the oldest person born at that moment, -- a hundred years being the natural period so conceived. Thus a new saeculum might begin at any time, and might be endowed with special religious significance by certain solemn ceremonies; in this way the people might be persuaded that a new leaf, so to speak, had been turned over in their history; that all past evil, material and moral, had been put away and a new period entered upon, a period of innocence and prosperity. According to Fowler this rite can be looked on in a twofold manner. He says:

The subterranean altar and the use of the word condere (to put away) (the altar and the word condere were used in the games of the year 249) might suggest that this rite may have had something in common with those well-known quasi-dramatic ones in which objects are buried or thrown into the water, to represent the cessation of one period of vegeta-
tion and the beginning of another. Or we may look on it in the light of one of those rites de passage in which a transition is made from one state of things to another, without any definite religious idea being attached to it. There is no doubt some mystical element in the primitive idea of the beginning and ending of periods of time, which has not as yet been thoroughly investigated. 7

Now, it is easy to see how exactly a rite of this kind with suitable modifications would fit in with Octavian's purpose. M. Boissier gives a very short description of the ceremony.

A l'époque fixée, devant un immense concours de peuple, des cérémonies pompeuses furent accomplies durant trois jours et trois nuits, au champ de Mars, près de l'antique emplacement du Territum, où dans les principaux temples de Rome. C'est le dernier jour des jeux, dans le temple d'Apollon Palatin, que fut exécuté par trois fois neuf filles et trois fois neuf jeunes garçons le chant séculaire d'Horace. 8

But let us venture to a more detailed description of this important event. On May 26, 17 A.D., an elaborate program was drawn up. On the same day and the two following days the means of purification, torches, sulphur and bitumen, were distributed to the people by the priests. All free persons, whether citizens or not, even bachelors, though they were forbidden under the recent law, de maritandis ordinibus, were
admitted to the ceremony on this occasion. During the next three days the people came to the Quindecemviri at certain stated places, and made offerings of fruges, the products of the earth.

On the night before June 1, Octavian himself sacrificed to the Greek Moira, the Parcae of Horace's hymn; on the second night to Eilithyia, the Greek deity of childbirth; and on the third night to the Mother Tellus. Octavian prayed also for the safety and prosperity of the state in every way, and also for himself, his house and his family. Along with these nightly ceremonies, each day had its own ritual. Daily Octavian offered the proper victims to Jupiter and Juno on the Capitol on the Palatine. Thus the great Capitoline temple and its deities had a full share of attention. But on the third day, the scene changes from the Capitol to the Palatine, the residence of Octavian, where he had built his great temple of Apollo; here for the first time in the ceremony is sung Horace's great hymn, the Carmen Saeculare.

Octavian himself had instructed Horace to write this hymn. The poet was to include the ideas which Octavian wanted revived, and to make resonant ideas of religion, morality, and the fertility of man, beast, and crop. He was also to include all the deities who had been addressed both by day and night and to give the most important place to those, who,
on the last day, were worshipped on the Palatine; to Apollo for whom Octavian had built a great temple close to his own house as his own special protecting deity since Actium, and Diana, who, as the equivalent to Artemis, could not but be associated with Apollo.

The Carmen Saeculare was sung twice during the celebration. Once before the Capitol and again before the Palatine, thus uniting in one performance the old religion of republican Rome with the new Imperial cult of Apollo. Here let us turn to Fowler's description of the scene before the Palatine.

The temple of Apollo was built upon a large and lofty area at the north-east end of the Palatine. On this area the choirs of boys and girls took their station, facing the marble temple, on the fastigium of which was represented the Sun driving his four-horse chariot. After singing, probably together, the first two stanzas or exordium of the hymn, they addressed this Sol:

alme Sol, curru nitido diem qui promis et celas, aliusque et idem nascere, possis nihil urbe Roma visere maius.

As they sang these last words, they turn towards the city that lay behind them, and look over it to the Tiber and the scene of the nightly sacrifices of the Tarentum;

At the sixteenth stanza the choirs again face about to the temple of Apollo, and with him and Diana again the next two stanzas have to do. Only one remains, in which as an exodus we may be sure
the two choirs of boys and girls joined; it sums up the whole body of deities, but with Apollo and Diana as the special objects of the day's worship:

haec Jovem sentire deosque cunctos
spem bonam certamque domum reporto,
doctus et Phoebi chorus et Dianae
dicere laudes. 9

Perhaps the most significant stanzas of the entire hymn are the ones beginning, quaeque vos bobus veneratur albis, and jam Fides et Pax et Honor Pudorque. Herein Horace has cleverly made Octavian himself the leading figure. The listeners forget the veiled allusion to Jupiter and Juno, forget, too, the Capitoline gods as they note the allusion to Venus, the ancestress of the Julii, the prestige of Octavian that has brought envoys from all over the world and recognize the public virtues presented here as deities - Fides, Pax, Honos, Pudor, Virtus - on whose aid and worship the new regime is based.

In the year 27 B.C. the Senate conferred upon Octavian the surname Augustus. This bit of information we learn from Suetonius, who says:

Postea Gai Caesaris et deinde Augusti cognomen assumpsit, alterum testamento majoris avunculi, alterum Munati Planci sententia, cum quibusdam consentibus Romulum appellari oppetere quasi et ipsum conditorem urbis, praevaluisset, ut Augustus potius vocaretur, non tantum novo se sed etiam ampliore cognomine,
quod loca quoque religiosa et in quibus augurato quid consecratur augusta
dicantur, ab auctu vel an avium gestu
gustuve, sicut etiam Ennius dicit scribens:

Augusto augurio
postquam incluta
condita Roma est. 10

In his treatment of this name M. Boissier says:

Rien ne fait mieux comprendre
le caractère qu'il souhaitait donner
da son pouvoir que le nom qui lui fut
décerné par le sénat en 727 et qu'il
parut accueillir avec tant de reconnaissance. 11

Octavian especially favored this name because of its
association in the popular mind with Romulus, who was famous
for the augury by which he had established his rights as
founder of the city. It will be remembered that Octavian
had, like Romulus, seen twelve vultures as a sign that heaven
favored his power.

Primo autem consulatu et augurium
capienti duodecim se vultures ut Romulo
ostenderunt. 12

The occasion was his entry into Rome for his first consul-
ship in 43. The Romans, who knew the line from the poem that
was still the national epic of Rome, the line which Suetonius
quotes from the Annales of Ennius, Augusto augurio postquam
incluta condita Roma est, would think of Romulus when they
heard the name of Augustus. The title suggested in a veiled form the name which the emperor had desired but had not dared to take. It marked him as the new founder of Rome.

According to the ancient belief that a benefactor had founded the city afresh, Octavian viewed himself as the second founder of Rome and he wished to take the name of the original founder Romulus. --- But, though the name was actually proposed for him in the senate, Octavian, who was avoiding monarchy, naturally hesitated to take the name of Rome's first king. 13

The word *augustus*, moreover, was related in origin through *augere* to *auctoritas*, the peculiar quality of the Roman senate in which Augustus as *princeps senatus* excelled all other senators. It was this quality that depended for its potency on tradition rather than on any magisterial power. The emphasis that the emperor placed on the *auctoritas* suggested by the new name is clear from the passage in the *Res Gestae*:

> After this time I surpassed all others in *auctoritas*, but of *potestas* I had no more than did those who were my colleagues in office. 14

In strict point of time, Augustus acquired the *potestas tribunicia* and the *proconsular imperium* before he finally became *pontifex maximus*, but I shall now take up this last position attained by Augustus because it is more dir-
ectly connected with the subjects thus far touched upon in
this chapter.

Before 12 A.D. Augustus had been a member of the four
great priesthooods and held many other lesser positions.
M. Boissier sums up thus:

Elle le revêtait d'abord de toutes ses
dignités: jeune encore, il avait été
nommé pontife par le peuple à la place
de L. Domitius, mort à Pharsale. Il fut
ensuite associé au collège des Augures,
a celui des Quindécinvirs et à celui des
Septémviri epulones; c'étaient les quatre
grandes associations religieuses de Rome
( quattuor amplissima collegia). Il fit
partie aussi des corporations des Féciaux,
des Titii, des Arvales. 15

Now, on the death of Lepidus, Augustus became pontifex max-
imum. As soon as he was elected he revived the tradition
of the college in all its vigor. With this intent, he hunt-
ed down all the collections of prophecies and books of ritual
not authorized by the state as he had been done after the
Punic wars. We are told that he collected over two thousand
which he caused to be solemnly burned. But he carefully
saved the Sibylline Books, making, it is true, a selection
from their oracles. Those which he preserved he had deposit-
ed in the pedestal of the statue of Palatine Apollo.

Postquam vero pontificatum maximum
quem numquam vivo Lepido auferre sus-
tinuerat, mortuo demum suscepit, quid-
quid fatidicorum librorum Graeci Latini-
que generis nullis vel earum idoneis acu-
toribus vulgo ferebatur, supra duo milia
contracta undique cremavit ac solos re-
tinuit Sibyllinos, hos quoque dilectu hab-
ito; condiditque duobus forulis auratis
sub Palatini Apollonis. 16

The influence and example of the head of the state
certainly brought about a return to the old practice of the
national worship, at least, in the middle classes, who, as a
rule, hardly pretended to liberty of religious thought, and
were more or less disposed to follow the prevailing fashion
in this matter. To do so was a manifestation of loyalty to
the political system which insured peace, security and pros-
perity. This new piety was also a reaction against rational-
ism and philosophical conceptions regarding the gods. Horace
shows these conceptions very clearly:

Parcus deorum cultor et infrequens,
Insanientis dum sapientiae
Consultus erro, nunc retrorsum
Vela dare atque iterare cursus
Cogor relictus: 17

In this connection Augustus made a move the wisdom of
which was far-reaching and subtle. He was careful not to
neglect the forms of religious sentiment still living. The
reason for this is given by M. Grenier, who says:

It was a paradoxical undertaking on
the part of Augustus, to revive piety to-
wars an essentially political religion
in the people which he excluded from po-
political life. He was astute enough to see this. So it was not only in the past that he sought his means of action.

By the aid of the official cults, he strove to give an official constitution to the popular cults and to associate them with the state religion. His restoration was accompanied by innovations intended to bring tradition into harmony with the present. Thus in particular, he brought back into life the religious associations of the cross-roads, which had been broken up as factors of disorder. With his passion for order and organization, he wanted to concentrate their scattered forces and make use of them. He made their old independence subject to the favor and obligations of a regular institution.

This important reform came as a consequence of the municipal reorganization of Rome. In 7 B.C. Augustus divided the city into fourteen districts, or regions, and each district into wards. He gave each for a center an altar of the Lares round which he reorganized one of the colleges which in old days had formed spontaneously. But to the Lares of the vicus or ward he added the Genius of the sovereign, the common head and father of the whole people of the city. This official admission of the Genius of a man, and a living man, among the Lares was in no way new or alien to Roman religious conceptions. At Delos and Pompeii we commonly find the Genius of the paterfamilias and the Juno of the mistress of the
house associated with the Penates and Lares about the family altar. It was the usual expression of the devotion and gratitude of the members of the family, servants, and clients to the patron who kept them alive. It was natural that outside the house in the streets of the city, the craftsmen, whether freedmen or slaves, should honor as the father of that immense family, the people, the ruler who gave them their prosperity, and, moreover, heaped gifts on their associations. Horace mentions this fact in one of his odes.

Te multa prece, te prosequitur mero
Defuso pateris, et Laribus tuum
Miscet numen, uti Graecia Castoris
Et magni memor Herculis. 19

The worship of the Genius of Augustus at the altar of the Lares was simply the religious form of the people's affection for the person of the emperor. Indeed, the popular worship of the Lares thus became an administrative institution.

The presidents of the colleges henceforward appeared with the prerogatives and costume of priestly and municipal officials; they were the official heads of their wards and were proud of it. Their office consisted not only in organizing religious feasts at the altar of the vicus, but also in helping with the census, doing police work, and putting out fires. The many monuments, in the form of carved altars and inscriptions, which remain of the cult of the Lares Augustales or of the Lares and
of the Genius of Augustus show us how flourishing it was. 20

Among the many problems which presented themselves to Augustus for settlement was how to retain his position as master of the state yet at the same time to keep intact the forms of the constitution. Various methods of accomplishing this object seem to have occurred to him, and to have been tried, before he established his authority on the basis on which it finally rested. A third and last attempt was made in 27 B.C. At a meeting of the senate held on January 13 in that year, he transferred the control of the state to the senate and the people. As he himself puts it in the Monumentum Ancyranum:

Rem publicam ex mea potestate in senat [us populique Romani a] r-bitrium transtuli. 21

This transfer of authority was only a temporary one and ancient as well as modern historians have not hesitated to characterize it as a political manoeuvre, since he retained the consulship and the tribunician power, and the senate immediately conferred on him the imperium proconsulare for a period of ten years with the title of Augustus. It is quite possible that he wished to make the Roman people feel the need of his directing hand by bringing them face to face with the possibility of his withdrawal from public life, and to
make the extraordinary powers which he received afresh from them seem their free gift to him.

As consul, and in the exercise of the *potestas tribunicia*, which had been conferred on him in the year 36, the principle of collegiality was observed and his incumbency of the consulship, like that of his colleagues in the office, depended upon an election in the popular assembly. It is evident that the forms of the old constitution had been preserved with great success. At the same time Augustus had secured the supreme power which he wished. The *proconsulare imperium* over the unsettled provinces gave him command of the army and the navy and the power of appointing, indirectly, all the governors of the provinces where legions were stationed. Henceforth, too, he would have no occasion to fear a rival. In his exercise of the tribunician power he was associated with colleagues of nominally equal rank, but he was raised so far above them in the eyes of the people that independent action on their part was scarcely conceivable.

Thus it was that Augustus, step by step, succeeded in gathering supreme power into his own hands until he was looked upon as the saviour and second founder of Rome. So well did he succeed in welding into one, state, religion, and emperor that the people really looked upon him as a descendant of the divine Julius who would himself, after his
death, wing his way to heaven and receive deification. The literature of the Augustan poets abundantly proves that Augustus was looked on as the saviour of the Empire. In the next chapter we shall see to what use Augustus put the literary production of his day.
CHAPTER IV

AUGUSTUS AND LITERATURE.

Cruttwell in speaking of the General Characteristics of the Augustan Age says that Augustus was relieved of the strain of bringing religious conviction back to the people by the appearance of a new literary class at Rome.

Augustus was relieved from this strait by the appearance of a new class at Rome, young authors from the country districts, with simpler views of life and more enthusiasm, of whom some at least might be willing to consecrate their talents to furthering the sacred interests on which social order depends. The author who fully responded to his appeal and probably exceeded his highest hopes, was Virgil; but Horace, Livy, and Propertius, showed themselves not unwilling to espouse that same cause. Never was power more ably seconded by persuasion; the laws of Augustus and the writings of Virgil, Horace and Livy, to be fully appreciated, must be considered in their connection, political and religious, with each other.

In the matter of bringing literature to the aid of the emperor and his political policy, Augustus was greatly helped by that astute minister of his, Maecenas. Maecenas
formed a select circle of gifted authors, chiefly poets, whom he endeavored to animate with the enthusiasm of succouring the state. In this regard M. Grenier writes:

The national reaction had begun with erudition. We see its origin in the work of Varro. Little by little it was propagated in intellectual circles, in the middle classes of the city, and among the people of the country. But poetry, above all, lent its lustre to the new patriotism and ensured its diffusion. The Muse defined Octavian's policy and placed herself at his service. Horace and Virgil were the heralds of this national reaction.

Although the writings of the Augustan poets are replete with references to Augustus and his work, I shall limit myself to only a few thoughts which, to my mind, are the most significant in their writings when viewed from a religious and political standpoint.

Earlier in the paper I mentioned the fact that Augustus, utilizing the past to encourage the present age, and filling up the old forms and names with new meanings, set men's minds upon thinking of the future. Now, one of the most powerful means at hand to do this was the Aeneid of Virgil. If one but take the time to run through the twelve books of this great epic, one will find that throughout the first six books Aeneas' conduct is characterized by a 'looking back', while in the second half of the work he is con-
tinually looking into the future. Not only does he focus his attention on the future but he is sure that the future will bring peace and prosperity. He is sure of himself and confident in his power to rule the world.

During the time of the fall of the Republic and the rise of the Empire, Rome herself was beginning to doubt whether she was capable of performing the task she had imposed upon herself. Much in the manner of Aeneas, Rome delighted to look back upon the past and rest on her laurels in a vain effort to escape the distasteful task before her. Virgil, by showing the difficulties and trials of Aeneas; how he longed to remain in Troy, how he desired to linger with Dido, how, throughout the long journey to Italy, he had to fight continually torn as he was between pietas, duty, and his own selfish satisfaction, brought before the minds of the Romans that they must stand by pietas, and, following the example of their Aeneas, Augustus, found, as it were, a new Rome.

Rome, mindful of her duty and her destiny, must not encourage the world with pretended hope as did Aeneas in those words:

\[
\text{talis voce refert curisque ingentibus aeger}
\text{spem voltu simulat, premit alto corde dolorem.},
\]

but rather lead the world on as Aeneas led his comrades in the twelfth book:

\[
\text{at pius Aeneas dextrum tendebat inermem}
\text{nudato capite atque suos clamore vocabat:}
\]
Rome must not be beguiled by the charms of a Cleopatra or the deceits of soft and pampered living; she must not give ear to the voice of a Dido as she tries to trick her guest into a complacent selfishness:

necon et vario noctem sermone trahebat infelix Dido, longumque bibeat amorem multa super Priamo rogitans, super Hectore multa.,

rather she must gaze upon the shield that her mother gave her filled with scenes of the future not of the past.

talia per clipeum Volcani, dona parentis, miratur rerumque ignarus imagine gaudet attollens umero famamque et fata nepotum.

Thus Virgil, painting the character and career of Aeneas, shows the Romans how they too must follow pietas, and, under the leadership of Augustus, the descendant of Aeneas, bring peace and prosperity to the Roman world. The intention of Virgil in writing may well be given in the words of Fowler.

The character of Aeneas, then, though not painted in such strong light as we moderns might expect or desire, is intentionally developed into a heroic type in the course of the story—a type which every Roman would recognize as his own natural ideal. And this growth is the direct result of religious influence. It is part—
ly the result of the hero's own natural pietas, innate within him from the first, as it was in the breast of every noble Roman; partly the result of a gradually enlarged recognition of the will of God, and partly of the strengthening and almost sacramental process of the journey to Hades, of the revelation there made of the mysteries of life and death, and of the great future which Jupiter and the Fates have reserved for the Roman people. In these three influences Virgil summed up all the best religious factors of his day: the instinct of the Roman for religious observance with all its natural effect on conduct; the elevating Stoic doctrine which brought man into immediate relation with the universal; and, lastly, the tendency to mysticism, Orphic or Pythagorean, which tells of a yearning in the soul of man to hope for a life beyond this, and to make of this life a meet preparation for that other. 7

We may now pass on to those other Augustan Poets, Horace, Propertius and Tibullus, who, though lacking the deeply religious nature that was Virgil's and also without his consummate art, still, in their way, greatly aided Augustus in his plan of unification and in strengthening his own position as leader of the Roman world. Their manner of accomplishing this task differed greatly from the mode Virgil used in the Aeneid. It was more direct, less concealed, and for that reason, merited quicker, though less lasting results than the work of Virgil.

Horace, though himself rather indifferent towards re-
ligion, conceded enough to the popular mind to address Augustus as Soter and Euergetes. Miss Taylor in this connection says of Horace:

The idea that Augustus was a man on earth, destined after his death, like his father, to become a god, took firm hold on the popular fancy. We can see it most clearly in the odes of Horace, the expression of a man who until the defeat of Antony had in general refrained from mention of public affairs in his verse. Now we find him voicing with unquestioned sincerity a feeling for the emperor which can hardly fail to be a real indication of the sentiment of many others who, like Horace, were weary of the storm of civil war and saw in Augustus the only hope for peace and prosperity. 8

In the well-known ode beginning Jam satis terris nivis atque dirae Horace mentions all the chief divinities of Augustus' regime, Vesta, Jupiter, Apollo, Venus and Mars, and then to the group he adds the emperor himself whom he imagines in the guise of Mercury:

sive mutata iuvenem figura
ales in terris imitaris almae
filius Maiae, patiens vocari
Caesaris ultor. 9

But more significant than these lines are the stanzas that follow in which the poet recognizes the emperor as one, who, though destined to find his place in heaven, is lingering for a while among men as the foremost among them, the father of
Such references are numerous throughout the works of Horace. For instance, when he predicts that Augustus, like Pollux and Hercules, Bacchus and Quirinus, will by his justice and his tenacity of purpose attain the heights of heaven:

hac arte Pollux et vagus Hercules
ensis arces attigit igneas,
quos inter Augustus recumbens
purpureo bibet ore nectar., 11

or, in a more veiled form:

virtus recludens immeritis mort
caelum negata temptat iter via. 12

Such poetry and sentiments were directly in line with Augustus' policy. Throughout his life Augustus shied from being directly addressed as a god. This was too opposed to the Roman mind. But to be considered the first man on earth, as the leader of the Roman world, as chosen by the gods to lead Rome on, to be rewarded for his justice and his labors
in behalf of Rome by a place with the gods, this was something that was very useful to Augustus' policy both regarding the betterment of conditions throughout the empire and the consolidation of his own position.

The muse of Tibullus emphasized still another aspect in the policy of Augustus, that namely, which was in close connection with the worship of the Genius of the emperor and the Lares of the House of Augustus. Nowhere is the muse of Tibullus more felicitous than in describing the merrymaking of the farmers and the rustics as they gather round to honor the Lares of their fathers, propitiate the Pales that they may care for their fields.

Vos quoque felices quondam nunc pauperis agris
Custodes, fertis munera vestra, Lares. 13

We have seen earlier in the paper the political use which Augustus made of the associations which grew up round the Compitalia, that is, by absorbing them in his municipal system. These compitalia had been suppressed during the Republic but had been reinstituted by Augustus. Of this reinstitution of the shrines and the use to which they were put Miss Taylor says:

And so Augustus at this time returns to his work of restoring the shrines and renewed all these sanctuaries at the compita. In them he placed fresh statues of the Lares, now known as Lares Augusti, not
vague spirits of the dead but the ancestors of his own house. Between the statues of the Lares he set up a new image in which we may recognize a god akin to the ancient Liber Pater of the cross-roads - his own Genius. 14

Now, Tibullus by a constant repetition of the joys and quiet of country life, by frequently harking back to the scene in which the paterfamilias gathers round him the entire household, by using as a theme for his work the rustic celebrations of the farmers, by doing all this he kept before the eyes of the Romans a lesson which Augustus was doing his utmost to teach Rome and the Roman world, that is, to instil once more a spirit of religion and make the Roman once more come to realize that all the good things he possessed came from the gods through the hands of Augustus, who had been chosen by the gods to rule the world. It is hard to find in Latin literature a more characteristic trait of the Italians and one which was more gratifying to Augustus than this one found in Tibullus:

Cernite, fulgentes ut eat sacer agnus ad aras
Vincaque post olea candida turba comas.
Di patrii, purgamus agros, purgamus agrestes:
Vos mala de nostris pellite limitibus,
Neu seges eludat messem fallacibus herbis,
Neu timeat celeres tardior agna lupos.
Tunc nitidus plenis confusus rusticus agris
Ingeret ardentis grandis ligna foco,
Turbaque vernarum, satrii bona signa coloni,
Ludet et exstruet ante casas. 15
CHAPTER V

AUGUSTUS' POLITICAL SAGACITY.

National traditions and the religious temperament of the people in the provinces and Rome itself differed. Consequently, the provinces and Rome demanded of the one who would rule them and attain some degree of unity between them separate treatment. As we have seen earlier in the paper, Antony claimed for himself divine origin from Bacchus and, as a descendant of this god, accompanied by Cleopatra, had travelled through Asia and Egypt where the people proclaimed him a god. Pompey, too, had been affected by this idea of divine origin and had looked to Neptune as his ancestor. But alas! his divinized origin was scuttled along with his fleet. Augustus, on the other hand, followed another plan of action which turned out very successfully.

The idea of a man-god was not prevalent at Rome. Indeed, it was quite foreign to the Roman and Italian mind nevertheless, the Italian soil was at this time rather well prepared to receive the seed of such a concept, nourish it until
it would, as it really did, blossom forth into a very real form of worship. The soldier-historian was very much in earnest when he tells us that Tiberius,

sacravit parentem suum non imperio sed religione, non appellavit eum sed fecit deum; 1

and from this point of view, rightly so; the deification of the dead Augustus was not merely an official or political act, but a genuine confession of devotion towards one who had wrought great things for the world and proclaimed a gospel of peace and prosperity. Throughout Greece, Asia, and Egypt many inscriptions have been found bearing the words *Soter, Euergetes* applied to Augustus. In Ilium, for example, one such was found bearing the following:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{Ἰλιεῖς καὶ οἱ πόλεις αἱ κοινωνικοὶ} \\
\text{τῆς [Θεοῦ ψαλτῆς καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ} \\
\text{τῆς παντοκράτορας καὶ θεοῦ ἡ} \\
\text{αὐτοκράτορας, καὶ εὐεργεσίας ταῖς εἰς ἀριθμὸν} \\
\text{καὶ ἐνταῦθα, "Ἰππαρκὸς Ἰμποσίδημος;} \\
\text{Ἰλιεῖς σὺν ὑπὸς τοῦτον} \\
\text{ἄν δραίαν ἀνέδθηκεν ἐκ τῶν ἵδιων} \\
\text{διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Σεβαστὸν καὶ} \\
\text{εὐεργετὴς τῆς} \\
\end{align*}\]

Now, one might well put the question, whence came this seed of the man-god conception.

The real successors of Alexander were Caesar and Aug-
ustus. Now, to understand the basis of the power which Augustus acquired, it is essential to go back to the monarchy of Alexander and to consider both his position as a theocratic monarch and the tradition that he passed on to his successors.

The monarchy that Alexander established was a combination of the oriental absolute rule with Greek and Macedonian traditions. While conquering the Persians, Alexander encountered the oriental conception of the king as the absolute ruler in every secular and religious office. The worship of the Persian king was given him through veneration offered his fravashi and the concrete expression of the glory, hvareno.

If scholars are right in believing that the fravashi represents an old Persian religious conception, we can interpret the cult of the living king's spirit as the worship of the fravashi. The fire that was borne before the king accords with another Persian religious conception, the idea of the hvareno, kingly glory, described in the Avesta as like a flame. The king's spirit and his glory were both symbols of the supernatural power which raised the king far above the ordinary mortal. Yet the king himself was never named with Auramazda or even with the other gods, Mithra and Anahitis, who in later times had their place in prayer beside the great god of the Persians. 3

The Egyptians, too, had a conception that was very much akin to that of the fravashi of the Persians, though the type of the cult differed.

If the Persian king in the days of
Alexander was venerated more as a saint than a god in his own realm, such was not the cult accorded the king of the ancient kingdom of Egypt which Persia had conquered. There the idea of the absolute divine monarch was rooted in immutable tradition. On earth the king was the incarnation of the majesty of the gods. --- At his death the king was thought of as joining the gods in heaven. --- It was by virtue of his divinity that the king ruled, and the foreign conqueror could only maintain his power by taking over the forms of deity that had belonged to the ancient Egyptians kings.

Again, the Egyptians believed in a divine double or guardian spirit called a ka. For the king's ka there existed a special cult, but this merged with the worship of the king as an incarnate god.

Now, when in 332 Alexander marched into Egypt, the Egyptians not only offered him no resistance but received and recognized him as a god like the Pharaohs of old. Perhaps the most significant thing that happened to Alexander in Egypt was the establishment of the city Alexandria and the worship there of his agathos daimon.

There was another act of Alexander's in Egypt which was of great importance for his cult. At one of the mouths of the Nile he founded the city of Alexandria, the first of a long series of towns to bear his name. There he must have received a cult as founder according to the regular traditions of the Greek city. If our interpretation of such a cult is correct, we should expect it to be directed towards
His Alexander's death was described not as a termination of his life but as a change. He had exchanged the life among men for a life with the gods. Like the Egyptian Pharaohs who had preceded him, he had as a god "departed into his horizon. --- His limbs had mingled with the god that had begat him." He was no longer incarnate among men but continued to exercise his divine power with the gods. It was not yet the custom, as it had been in Egypt, to emphasize the translation of the deified man to heaven, but the way was prepared for the idea to develop.

By the time Rome had extended her power to the East, divine honors for the ruler had become a fundamental characteristic of the rule that prevailed in Greek lands. Divinity established the binding authority of the king's command and as such was more a matter of practical politics than of religion. Hence it was readily offered by Greek peoples to the representatives of the Roman power.

Marcellus, who in 212 succeeded in the capture of Syracuse, and Titus Flamininus were welcomed as saviors.

The first place where the Romans encountered the eastern Greek conception of the ruler as divine was in Sicily where Marcellus in 212 succeeded in the capture of Syracuse and the overthrow of the Carthaginian government there. The Syracusians welcomed him as a saviour and established a great festival in his honor, presumably on his birthday.

Plutarch relates that the Chalcidians created a priesthood of Flamininus and that they composed a paean which celebrated
him along with Zeus and Roma and the Roman Faith. "Hail Paean Apollo, hail Titus our saviour."

The Chaloidians, thus owing their lives to Titus, dedicated to him all the best and most magnificent of their sacred buildings, inscriptions upon which may be seen to run thus to this day: THE PEOPLE DEDICATE THIS GYMNASIUM TO TITUS AND TO HERCULES; so again: THE PEOPLE CONSECRATE THE DELPHINIUM TO TITUS AND HERCULES; and what is yet more, even in our time, a priest of Titus was formally elected and declared; and after sacrifice and libation, they sing a set song, much of which for the length of it we omit, but shall transcribe the closing lines:

The Roman Faith, whose aid of yore,
Our vows were offered to implore,
We worship now and evermore.
To Rome, to Titus, and to Jove,
O maidens, in the dances move.
Dances and Io-Paeans too
Unto the Roman Faith are due,
O Savior Titus, and to you. 9

Sulla after his victories was honored in the East by an issue of gold coins with his portrait on their reverse. Pompey, as a true savior of the Orient, had many a temple built to him in the cities which he had freed from the ravages of the pirates and the power of Mithradates. Mytilene hailed him as a god and savior and named a month in his honor. At Rome the officers and the soldiers who had come back from the East could tell of the cult of Roma and of the proconsuls; and the slaves from the East who, through manumission, were steadily passing into the citizen body of the state, knew the
forms of the oriental kingdoms. Romans could even read in Latin Euhemerus' romance in which he gave support to the divinity of the ruler by showing that all the gods had once been men.

Euhemerus simply denied their existence as a species (so to speak) distinct from Man, and that is the point for us. I need not here go into his history or dilate upon his theory, of which the centrepoint was the Cretan legend that Zeus was born and also died there. He treated divine history like human, giving accounts of reigns; Zeus, for example, had played much the same part as that which so astonished the world in Alexander. 10

The concept of the man-god, however, was foreign to Roman tradition. Only one such cult was given much prominence at Rome and that was the cult of her founder King Romulus. On the whole, then, we may agree with Fowler that there was little or nothing in the old Roman religious consciousness to bring Man into close relation to deity, and the same may probably be said of the old Italian religion generally. We may even guess that the idea of a man-god was repugnant to the Sittlichkeit of the Roman, apart from his Etruscan inheritance; and this would be quite enough to explain why Augustus, who knew his people well, was so extremely cautious in handling the policy of Imperial apotheosis. 11

The idea of the man-god did, nevertheless, slowly find a way into Rome.
Thus we arrive at last at the actual deification of man in the period I am dealing with. In Rome and Italy, as we have seen, this was not a natural growth of religion, as Boissier and others fancied long ago; for there the deities were not thought of personally, and human individualism took long in developing. But elsewhere it was really natural, and the force with which it worked came gradually to react on Rome and Italy. In the great and good man, helping his subjects or his fellows, divinity revealed itself -- so they thought in those days. Even the living king may be a 'saviour', if he have wrought good works for the mass of mankind. To anticipate for a moment, Virgil never seems to speak of Augustus as divine unless he is thinking of him "as doing good service for men, as giving peace to the world after a century of anarchy." 12

The great and good man, or the great and powerful without the goodness, might be recognized as bearing the stamp of divinity, as having the divine spark within him; to such an one the old forms of cult might reasonably be transferred. This process was slow and gradual, but with the aid of Graeco-Etruscan ideas of the gods, and also of the true Roman doctrine of Genius, the idea of the man-god made its way into the Italian cities in spite of its incompatibility with the old Italian ideas of deity.

It was this idea of Genius which gave Augustus a very adequate instrument of government due to its force throughout the West.

The worship of dead Caesars here is not of importance for us, nor was it common in the western provinces; but that
of the Genius or Numen Augusti, whether combined or not with Dea Roma, or ( as was frequently the case ) in quaint juxtaposition with local deities, taken, as I think it should be taken, as signifying the Genius or Numen of the living Caesar, is shown to have been a very real force in the West. 13

The Genius of the paterfamilias was the center of family worship, and, along with the worship of the Lares, was very dear to the hearts of all Italians. The Lares were such to Virgil who loved the details of their cults, who felt the beauty and reality of their worship and who did much to make their reality felt by the multitude by throwing a soft veil of religio over their worship. Tibullus, too, may be taken as a real lover and believer in the di agrestes and from his poems we learn much concerning the large part such a cult played in the lives of the countryfolk of Italy. Now, Augustus, by a stroke of policy, avoided apotheosis, but, by a clever use of his Genius, gave the people a convenient peg on which they could hang their faith. It gave to the people a feeling of confidence in and reverence for the great system of government and civilization of which they were a part.

Incidentally it (the Numen Augusti) is useful guarantee for the government that this faith is held and kept; but among the people who thus hold and keep it it is a spontaneous expression of belief, not in a deity, but in something which you can treat as such. It is based on the same principle as the
application of Genius, Numen, Fortuna, Tutela, Virtus, and other such abstractions, to particular parts or institutions of the empire. These all seem to signify the permanent force of some inevitable institution deserving of the deepest respect and reverence, which can be expressed in terms of religion. 14

Concerning the worship of the Genius or Numen Augusti Miss Taylor writes:

The Genius Augusti speedily became for Roman citizens the object of a great state cult. It provided for the Roman emperor under veiled form a worship which was no less a ruler cult than was the more declared worship of the Hellenistic king as a revealed god on earth. As was true of the oriental ruler cult, the new worship became a symbol of the state and the observance of it an expression of loyalty to the state. 15

The policy adopted towards the eastern provinces differed from that espoused in Italy. After the battle of Actium, Augustus, accompanied by his victorious legions, traversed the Orient where, as we have seen, adoration of the sovereign was the ordinary form of obedience. All along the line of march the people were insistent that they be allowed to erect altars to one who was such a great benefactor. They clamored for the right to adore the emperor. This was given them, but with restrictions. Augustus was unwilling to be adored except in company with the goddess Roma. A second restriction
was the prohibition of Romans taking part in the cult. As a
consequence of this M. Boissier states:

Sous ces réserves, il laissa la prov-
vince d'Asie lui bâtir un temple à Per-
game, et celle de Bithynie à Nicomédie.
L'exemple était donné, et peu à peu fêtes
furent instituées, des temples s'élevèrent
dans toutes les grandes villes de l'Orient
en l'honneur de Rome et d'Augusta. L'Occ-
cident ne commença qu'on peu plus tard.
Les habitants de Terragone, chez lesquels
Auguste avait fait un assez long séjour
pendant la guerre des Cantabres en 728,
et qui sans doute avaient reçu de lui
quelque faveurs, demandèrent et obtin-
rent la permission de lui dédier un autel. 16

Augustus later adopted this same policy towards the
Gauls. In 742 many peoples of Gaul united at Lyons and de-
cided, in order the better to show their loyalty to Rome, to
erect an altar to Rome and Augustus at the confluence of the
Saone and the Rhone.

En 742, à la suite d'un mouvement
des Sicambres qu'on disait secrètement
encouragés par les Gaulois, soixante
peuples de la Gaule réunis à Lyon dé-
cidèrent, pour mieux prouver leur fi-
délité, d'élever un autel à Rome et à
Auguste au confluent de la Saône et
du Rhône. 17

Herein we see a clever bit of policy on the part of
Augustus, a policy, indeed, which was very fruitful of re-
sults. By skillfully linking his name with the name of Rome
and by permitting the provinces to pay a kind of worship to
him he knit them closely to Rome and himself. In this way
was the prohibition of Romans taking part in the cult. As a consequence of this M. Boissier states:

Sous ces réserves, il laissa la province d'Asie lui bâtir un temple à Pergame, et celle de Bithynie à Nicomédie. L'exemple était donné, et peu à peu fêtes furent instituées, des temples s'élevèrent dans toutes les grandes villes de l'Orient en l'honneur de Rome et d'Augusta. L'Oc-cident ne commença qu'on peu plus tard. Les habitants de Terragone, chez lesquels Auguste avait fait un assez long séjour pendant la guerre des Cantabres en 728, et qui sans doute avaient reçu de lui quelque faveurs, demandèrent et obtinrent la permission de lui dédier un autel. 16

Augustus later adopted this same policy towards the Gauls. In 742 many peoples of Gaul united at Lyons and decided, in order the better to show their loyalty to Rome, to erect an altar to Rome and Augustus at the confluence of the Saone and the Rhone.

En 742, à la suite d'un mouvement des Sicambres qu'on disait secrètement encouragés par les Gaulois, soixante peuples de la Gaule réunis à Lyon décidèrent, pour mieux prouver leur fidélité, d'élever un autel à Rome et à Auguste au confluent de la Saône et du Rhône. 17

Herein we see a clever bit of policy on the part of Augustus, a policy, indeed, which was very fruitful of results. By skillfully linking his name with the name of Rome and by permitting the provinces to pay a kind of worship to him he knit them closely to Rome and himself. In this way
he succeeded in getting a certain amount of unity within his wide empire. Loyalty to their savior demanded the obedience of the provinces. That the ruler at Rome be considered a god strengthened their faith in the ruler's good will towards them, and this, in turn, brought confidence once more into a world which had lost it. It was this confidence which Augustus wanted to restore to the empire, a confidence, which, as we have seen, had been wrecked by the corruption of the Roman officials.

At Rome, however, though it was impossible not to know what was going on in the provinces, a different course was followed. Augustus forbade all expressions that would make him a god and forbade all worship. The time was not yet ripe for the Romans to receive wholeheartedly a man-god. Well aware of this, Augustus cleverly linked his name with the religious ceremonies of the Lares and the Genius. This combination offered the same success as did the outward and explicit worship of the Orient. It, too, restored confidence; it made the Italians happy to obey a great benefactor. The songs of Tibullus come readily to mind and the scenes depicted therein are before our eyes presenting the rustic Italians once again the happy, contented, and, above all, the religious folk they were. We may sum up Augustus' policy towards Italy in the words of Fowler:

We may take it as certain that during
his long reign Augustus enforced the principle that the worship of a living man was a thing impossible in Roman religious law; and that he wished to be honoured as a sovereign (to quote Professor Pelham), but not as a god. However closely he might allow himself to be brought into relation with the gods of the State, however frequently he might use the machinery of the State religion for lifting himself into an abnormal in the eyes of the plebs as their supporter and benefactor, he never gave way to that oriental idea of man-worship which had perhaps possessed the mind of the more voluptuous Antony. 18
CONCLUSION

Although Augustus himself nowhere explicitly states that he used the cult as a political instrument, nor does any Latin authority make such a statement, yet, from the data supplied in the preceding chapters it may be safely stated that Augustus considered the cult not only a political instrument but an extremely efficient one.

There is no doubt that the times of Augustus were truly times of a great crisis. A mighty civilization was groaning at the approach of dissolution. Before its final departure from the pages of history, however, that civilization must prepare itself for one more gigantic effort. The world must be united and at peace for the reception of Jesus Christ and the dissemination of His Doctrine. The great Graeco-Roman civilization had but this one more task to perform after which it would crumble and fall to pieces. From its remains would spring that other still more powerful civilization of Christianity. To begin this work was the task of Augustus.

Ever since her conception, Rome had employed war as a means of subjugation and expansion. When not fighting foreign foes she was torn by internal strife, which was frequent-
ly more disastrous than external warfare. From 510 B.C. down to the days when Augustus finally defeated Antony, war reigned supreme. During these years Rome herself suffered or enjoyed the fruits bitter and sweet which war infallibly bears, economic independence breeding soon economic distress, religious fervor quickly followed by irreligiosity, morality swiftly running the whole gamut of decay from purity of home and social life to moral indifferentism; from moral indifferentism to an appalling lack of all moral restraint and a consequent plunge into materialism by throwing into utter oblivion all spiritual values, which, for the Roman and pagan world, were those abstractions represented by such terms as Pax, Virtus, Pudor. Into this welter of decadent society and hopeless despair came Augustus.

It was natural for one of Augustus' temperament and natural abilities to look for some other cure than war. He was by nature inclined towards, I will not say religion in the strict sense of the word, but rather towards a superstitious formalism. Throughout his life he was a stickler for formality. Judging from his character, then, one can very well see that reform and progress would be sought for through the medium of a religious and moral revival. There is one point, however, which we must not overlook. Augustus' first important task was the establishment of his own position. This task he performed without doubt through the aid of the god-
head of Caesar. As we have seen in the paper both Octavian and Antony recognized the increased position given Octavian through the deification of Julius Caesar.

Once established supreme in government, Augustus had next to straighten out conditions at Rome and in the provinces. Here again, Augustus succeeded in restoring something like honest government, succeeded, too, in bringing Rome and the provinces into a rather close unity. He accomplished this, as we have seen, through a clever use of the worship of the Numen or Genius Augusti in close connection with the worship of Roma, Victory, Fides and other useful abstractions.

In the restoration of the temples and other shrines of worship we have seen that Augustus had other aims than the mere revival of religious activity. The importance given the cult of Apollo, the emphasis laid on the connection existing between this cult and the various episodes of Augustus' own life along with the adoption of Apollo as Augustus' own special deity, the employment of the Compitalia as a means of municipal government, the placing of the Genius Augusti amongst the Lares of the cross-roads, all these were bits of clever politics which Augustus used to strengthen his position as head of the state.

Nowhere, perhaps, was Augustus' political sagacity so well put to use than in the different treatment accorded the provinces, Rome, and Italy. In Chapter V this difference
has been sufficiently brought out to show the wisdom of this separate conduct towards Rome and the rest of the empire, especially the Orient. While the idea of the man-god was sufficiently known and recognized in the East, yet Rome and the West were not sufficiently acquainted with this concept to adopt it into their institutions. At the time of Augustus Rome would not consent to place among the gods a living man. The thought was repugnant. Augustus, however, attained, as we have seen, the very same results through the medium of the *Numen Augusti* without at the same time incurring the odium of posing as a man-god and demanding the worship due to the gods alone.

Just how far the words of the great Augustan poets were dictated by the head of the state is problematic. Yet it is permissible to hold that much of the theme-content of these writers was dictated by Augustus himself, or, what is still more probable, by his great minister of state, Maecenas. We have already seen that the Augustan poets sympathized with the Augustan policy and greatly advanced the idea that Augustus was chosen by the gods to restore to the world peace and prosperity.

If proof were lacking to show the political wisdom of Augustus in thus employing the cult in the furtherance of his designs one could always prefer the folly of his immediate successors. With the exception of Tiberius, who closely fol-
lowed the plan of Augustus, the rest, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, forsook the safe path trod by Augustus to follow that of Antony by posing as a god. Instead of realizing the advantage of religion, these emperors could on their deathbeds make the joke that they felt themselves becoming gods. What a departure from the wisdom of Augustus! Their lack of success, however, was in proportion to their dismissal or clumsy use of the cult as a political instrument.

Here one might ask oneself whether or not there exists in the very concept of religion the elements necessary for good government. It is a plain fact of history that whenever spiritual values lose their hold on the minds and hearts of men, the plagues of social life descend and reap a terrible harvest. Perhaps no other age since the time of Augustus can better appreciate such a statement than our own. The times in which we are now living are singularly like the age of Augustus. We, too, have disregarded things spiritual and have followed in the wake of matter; we, too, are enjoying the decadence of a spent civilization and have not yet realized that the only hope for a brighter future lies in the revival of those intangibles which make or break society. Religion, for the most part, consists in just these intangibles and the sooner these spiritual values become prominent and permanent forces in our lives the sooner will come the dawn of a happier day. Augustus realized what modern pagans fail to rea-
lize. Through this realization Augustus restored peace and prosperity to his world which was clamoring for it.
NOTES

INTRODUCTION


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21,2,3.

Post id tem [ pus praestiti omnibus dignitate potes -
] atis au [ tem n ] iihlo ampliu [ s habui quam qui fuerunt m ] ihi quo -
que in ma [ gis ] tra [ t ] u conlegae.

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The Thesis "A Study of the Caesar Cult with Reference to the Political Aims of Augustus," written by Victor B. Nieporte, S.J., has been approved by the Graduate School of Loyola University, with reference to form, and by the readers whose names appear below, with reference to content. It is, therefore, accepted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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