



Imperial Image

Guide for A Level OCR Classical Civilisation:
Component Group 2: Culture and the Arts

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12482

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Teacher's Introduction

The aim of this guide is to develop the knowledge and skills required to answer questions for OCR's Classical Civilisation A Level examination: H408/22 and AS H008/22 **Imperial Image**. The material is the same for both examinations, though the level of demand is less for AS.

OCR prescribed material

OCR has published a list of prescribed images of visual and material culture. Learners should be familiar with the images as these may be used for questions in examinations. Discussion of the prescribed material is included in this guide, but restrictions of copyright mean that this guide does not always include the image or the exact translation of literature. The OCR prescribed literature booklet can be found at: [zzed.co.uk/12482-OCR-prescribed](https://www.zzed.co.uk/12482-OCR-prescribed)

The list of prescribed visual and material sources can be found at: [zzed.co.uk/12482-OCR-sources](https://www.zzed.co.uk/12482-OCR-sources)
The list is on page 23 of the specification.

This guide is divided into sections:

1. **Section A:** where any relevant historical, political and thematic context is introduced, covering the OCR specification. Both prescribed visual and literary sources are included. Activities based on the question styles in the exam will help learners develop their skills.
2. **Section B:** covers Augustus's reputation after his death and includes the longer extracts of literature: *Res Gestae* and Suetonius's *Life of Augustus*. These longer extracts use the OCR booklet of prescribed literature but do give a commentary and supporting activities.
3. **Section C:** draws together themes and topics and includes examination advice.

Integration of prescribed sources

Prescribed visual and literary sources have been integrated into Section A at points where most appropriate and relevant. However, learners should be aware that sources can be used for several themes and topics, and the further use of these is suggested in Section C. Many topics include some extra source material, knowledge of which will be given credit.

Our aim is to provide as complete a study guide as possible for learners and so we have included versions of the shorter poems in the prescription. A commentary is provided for each of the prescribed authors, covering any relevant themes and topics, as set out in the specification. Owing to copyright restrictions, this guide uses translations which may vary from the OCR translations in the prescribed literary source booklet. However, key proper names and references in most cases match. OCR does say that any translation may be used, though the OCR prescribed translation will appear on any question papers. Centres which have an electronic version may wish to cut and paste in passages as they are printed in the OCR booklet.

Quotations from authors

The learning of lists of quotations from authors and scholars is not necessary. The instruction 'detailed reference' does not require this and is not expected by examiners. However, if quotations are remembered and used, these are expected to be accurate to the word. Indirect reference to what an author or a scholar says is given credit, as are detailed relevant paraphrases.

February 2024



A web page containing all the links listed in this resource is conveniently provided on ZigZag Education's website at [zzed.co.uk/12482](https://www.zzed.co.uk/12482)

You may find this helpful for accessing the websites rather than typing in each URL.

Section A: Augustus's image during his lifetime

Early history of Rome

Foundation myth 1

After the fall of Troy, different stories follow the return of the heroes. Homer writes the *Odyssey* about the return of Odysseus. Later, Aeschylus writes about the return of Agamemnon in his play of the same name. But what of the Trojans? Did they all die? There is one name that recurs in art and literature and that is Aeneas. Aeneas is the son of Venus and Anchises, a member of the Trojan royal family, cousin of Priam, King of Troy. Aeneas leaves Troy with his father and son Ascanius (also known as Iulus) to find a new home. He gathers a band of refugees and begins his wanderings across the Mediterranean. Aeneas lands on the west coast of Italy at the mouth of a river called Tiber. The local people are called Latins. They live in Latium and their king is King Latinus. After a bloody battle, Aeneas defeats the local chieftain Turnus. He and his people can now settle at last and found a new city and people.

Activity 1

Draw up a family tree of Aeneas and his son. This is important, as Augustus claimed he was descended from Venus. Give Aeneas's son, who left with him from Troy, the name Iulus. This is also important as we will see later.

But this is just one myth...

Foundation myth 2

The historian Livy relates the story which may be familiar to you, the founding of Rome by Romulus and Remus. As a historian, Livy would have believed this to be factually correct. He was writing from 59 BC to AD 17, some 1,000 years after the supposed Trojan War.

The Vestal... Rhea Silvia... gave birth to twins. She named Mars as their father, either because she really believed it, or because the fault might appear less heinous if a deity were the cause of it. But neither gods nor men sheltered her or her babies from the king's cruelty; the priestess was thrown into prison and the boys were ordered to be thrown into the river.

By a heaven-sent chance it happened that the Tiber was then overflowing its banks and stretches of standing water prevented any approach to the main channel. Those who were carrying the children expected that this stagnant water would be sufficient to drown them, so, under the impression that they were carrying out the king's orders, they exposed the boys at the nearest point of the overflow...

The locality was then a wild solitude. The tradition goes on to say that after the floating cradle in which the boys had been exposed had been left by the retreating water on dry land, a thirsty she-wolf from the surrounding hills, attracted by the crying of the children, came to them, gave them her teats to suck and was so gentle towards them that the king's flock-master found her licking the boys with her tongue.

Livy *Early History of Rome* 1, 4–7 (with omissions)

Livy goes on to say:

Romulus and Remus were seized with the desire of building a city in the locality where they had been exposed...

In a terrible twist, Romulus killed his brother Remus to take sole control of the city.

Activity 2

Go to zzed.uk/12482

1. Read Livy Book 1 Chapters 2–3. A link is provided here, but any version is suitable: zzed.uk/12482-Livy
How successful is Livy in linking the two foundation accounts?
2. A summary of the founding myths of Rome can be found in this YouTube presentation:
zzed.uk/12482-founding-myth
A longer discussion of the foundation myth can be heard on this BBC podcast (43 minutes):
zzed.uk/12482-founding-myth-2

The true facts

Rome is a settlement in a geographical basin. The rain runs off seven foothills of the Apennines and drains into the Tiber. The river then flows out to sea at the port of Ostia. The original inhabitants of Rome were Etruscans and there is evidence of Bronze Age (pre-Roman) settlements. Priests were sent to the area to trade cattle. According to the historian Livy, Rome was founded in 753 BC by Romulus and Remus, like Romulus, although these probably were the original Etruscan kings. There were seven hills in the basin of Rome.

Activity 3

For a summary: Seven Kings of Rome in 10 Minutes, see this YouTube presentation: [zze](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zzewjyfjyfU)



The Rome basin with the river Tiber flowing through it.

Expulsion of the kings

The last king of Rome was supposedly Tarquinius Superbus. He was expelled from the city in 509 BC by a woman called Lucretia. In fact, this probably marks the end of Etruscan rule in Rome. It was a popular takeover bid by the local inhabitants. Livy's version is much more violent and witty. According to tradition, Tarquinus was expelled in 509 BC.

The republic and growing dissent

The Romans decided that they would no longer have kings. Historically, this period is known as the Roman Republic. Power came into the hands of leading families, often referred to as *patricians*. They had absolute power there were two joint leaders called *consuls* elected every year. These were called *dictators* at this stage and a new class of men was created. These were not old families but new families called *equites*. The general population was referred to as *plebs*. This is not a derogatory term to describe ordinary Romans. Rome started to have influence on her neighbours through conquests, called the Latin League. So Rome dominated the whole of Italy and began to expand into the Mediterranean, fighting battles and wars along the way.

As a result of Rome's conquests there was a plentiful supply of slaves. The free but poor Romans worried about how they would earn a living. Why pay when you can have a slave? Tiberius Gracchus came up with solutions to the people's problems. In 133 BC, Tiberius Gracchus suggested

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poor. This was seen as a threat to wealthy landowners. Tiberius Gracchus and his son Gaius Gracchus became another champion of the people. Yet he was rounded up and massacred on the Aventine Hill. They had started the idea of rights for the poor and this was seen as a threat.

In 108 BC, Marius made the army a profession. A Roman joined up, rather than being a slave. After leaving the army, veterans were given land mainly in rural Italy. This caused resentment and resulted in the Social Wars – in other words the people of Italy fought each other for control of the land. Marius was disappointed. Supperer of both factions fought and died in 86 BC and Sulla in 78 BC. The Roman state was falling apart – even the slaves were rebelling. A famous revolt was one led by Spartacus.

Civil war

Power passed to Pompey (106–48 BC). He was busy in the provinces of the growing empire, but made a mistake of not keeping an eye on matters back in Rome. A young man called Gaius Caesar was winning favour back in Rome. But he was not powerful yet. In 63 BC, Pompey offered to give him command of Gaul, having been fighting loyally with him. This move was opposed by Cicero, a famous lawyer and orator, who was beginning to take sides again. During Pompey's time in power, a politician called Catiline tried to seize power but his attempt was crushed by Pompey in the streets. Eventually Caesar and Pompey fell out. Full civil war broke out on 7th January 49 BC. Caesar voted 'dictator for life' in 45 BC.

NB Caesar was never Emperor. In 44 BC on 15th March – *Ides of March* – Caesar was assassinated by Brutus and Cassius.

Augustus, as Octavian, is linked to Julius Caesar

Activity 4

This YouTube presentation shows the life of Julius Caesar in four minutes: zzed.uk/12482-Caesar-presentation. Create a timeline of this short biography.

A more detailed podcast (46 minutes) on the life and reputation of Julius Caesar can be found at zzed.uk/12482-Caesar-podcast.

The presentation tells us that Julius Caesar, who lived 100–44 BC, came from the ancient Roman family of the *Iulii*, also called the Julian family. On page 2 we have seen that Aeneas's son Iulus founded the city of Rome. The family claimed that they were descended from Iulus and, therefore, were related to the gods and so had divine origins.

On the other hand, Augustus belonged to a wealthy but far less important family, the *Octavii*. Until he established his rule, Augustus was called Octavian. Augustus was related to Julius Caesar, who was Augustus's great-uncle. After his death, Caesar specified, in his will, that his adopted son should be called Gaius Julius Caesar. In fact, Augustus did do this, giving up the name Octavian. He was his heir and should inherit his power too. So you can see the first step in Augustus's plan to establish his image, namely abandoning his old (weak) family name and linking his name to the great Julius Caesar.

Examination advice

As can be seen, Augustus and various different names can get confusing, so for this examination, questions will refer to Augustus. However, some sources use Octavian or he is clearly listed in the specification. If the name Octavian is used, it should be added in brackets, thus:

Example given by OCR as clarification:

One place where it wouldn't necessarily be credited would be if there were a 1-mark question about his name prior to 27 BC, where Augustus would clearly not be the correct answer.

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Augustus was well aware that he had to convince other important Romans that he was the heir, so he set about consolidating his position and his image. Julius Caesar had been popular with the ordinary citizens, *plebs*, so Augustus wanted to show them he was just like Caesar. He arranged for the ordinary citizens to get seventy-five denarii each. A denarius could buy a loaf of bread and a pound of meat. Augustus did not have access to that amount of money so he borrowed it. The redistribution of wealth became popular with the ordinary people of Rome who definitely accepted him as their leader.

Putting on games for the people of Rome was another way of winning favour. Julius Caesar had promised the people games in honour of Venus. In July 44 BC, Augustus kept these games in honour of Venus, a comet a 'bright star' in the sky. This was regarded as an omen of significance, which was interpreted as the soul of Julius Caesar ascending into the sky, giving his blessing to Augustus. The people were pleased anyway, as games meant free food.

Activity 5

Read the extract below from Suetonius's *Life of Julius Caesar* (88) and from what you have learned, answer the question:

How far do you agree that the comet was the best way for Augustus to secure his power?

He died in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and was ranked amongst the Gods, by decree, but in the belief of the common people. For during the first games which were consecrated to his memory, a comet blazed for seven days together, rising at midnight; and it was supposed to be the soul of Caesar, now received into heaven. Likewise, he is represented on his statue with a star on his brow.

However, Augustus was not the only one who wanted power. Mark Antony, an important follower of Julius Caesar, gave Caesar's funeral speech – a flavour of this can be found in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*.

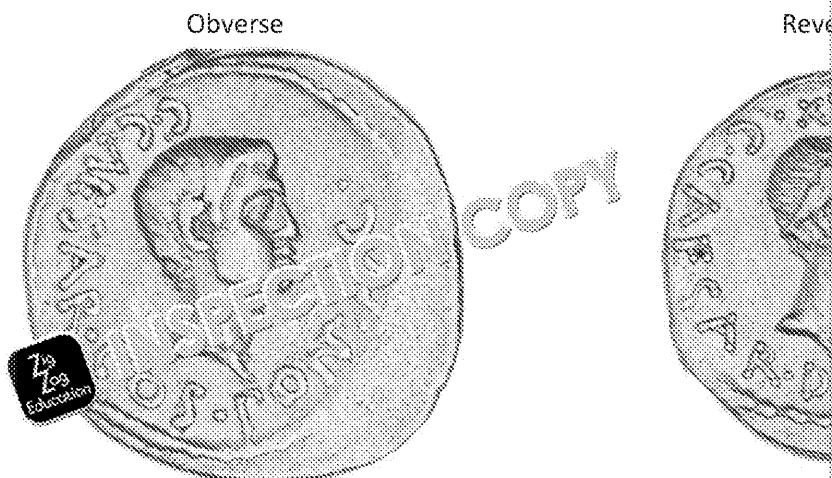
Activity 6: Independent research

Read Antony's speech from *Julius Caesar* Act 3, Scene 2:
I come to bemoan my general's woe...
I come to bury Caesar, not to praise him...

Antony started off by offering support to Augustus, who was still very young at the time. The ruling class, *senators*, were worried about what Antony would do and thought they should support the younger Augustus. They elected him into the *Senate*, a sort of Roman parliament but he was not given the power to command the army. He was sent against Antony's army, which he fought at the Battle of Mutina in 43 BC. In the Roman army, national army, and individual generals ran their own armies. Antony retreated after the battle but the Senate did not give Augustus the honour of a victory. Instead of going after Antony, Augustus demanded to be made *consul*, the highest rank in politics. After an excuse of an election, Augustus was voted consul in August 43 BC. Augustus had risen to power almost as quickly as he had risen to the rank of *consul*.

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The images above show two sides of the same coin, minted in 43 BC when Augustus and Lepidus were in power. The coin, referred to as the *obverse* (*obv.*), depicts Augustus facing to the right, bare-headed. The inscription when translated in full say: 'Gaius Caesar, consul, priest of the augurs'. The back, referred to as the *reverse* (*rev.*), depicts Lepidus, also looking right; on his head he has a laurel wreath. This was awarded to military commanders who had won a *triumph*. Caesar's inscription says: 'Gaius Caesar, dictator in perpetuity, *pontifex maximus*'.

The coin is important for both the similarities and the differences:

| Similarities | Differences |
|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Heads face the same way Inscriptions constructed the same way: name; political offices; religious role | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Augustus has a 'lower' level of power than Caesar not dictator Augustus does not have a wreath Pontifex maximus was a role for the whole state |
| | |

The coin suggests that Augustus is linked to Julius Caesar in terms of the style of authority, but without reaching excessive powers. Augustus is reassuring the ruling class that he has the same ambitions as Julius Caesar. He creates an image of greater humility. At the same time, he wants to be associated with Julius Caesar.

Activity 7

- When considering the coin, here are some questions to consider:
 - Who is most likely to see an aureus, a gold coin?
 - How does the coin help with advertising Augustus's appearance?
 - How does the coin advertise both Julius's and Augustus's achievements?
- On the coin find the Latin abbreviation for: Augur, Dictator, Consul. Which was the most powerful?

Rather than pursue Antony, Augustus then actually formed an alliance with him and Lepidus. This was still in 43 BC and took place a year after Julius Caesar's assassination. They were given the name *the triumvirate*. Julius Caesar had also been in a three-man 'triumvirate' with Lepidus and Pompey doing the same, but this time the alliance was made for the three of them to have powers for five years. Brutus and Cassius, the ringleaders of the plot to kill Caesar, were pursued by Antony and Augustus and defeated at the Battle of Philippi, Greece. Augustus then built a new Forum to Mars, the god of war, if he were to be successful. He kept to his promise to the Senate that Julius Caesar was a god. This made Augustus the son of a god, happy to promote. The term *divus* meaning 'divine' showed divine origins, and Augustus was known as *divi filius*, 'son of a god'.

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Augustus as a military general

After the Battle of Philippi, the Republic was divided up for the purposes of administration. Antony was away in the East, planning an attack on the Parthians. Italy strengthening his image. For the people of Rome, as far as Antony was concerned, he was the 'man who made Augustus Emperor'. On the island of Sicily, the son of a former enemy of Julius Caesar, Sextus Pompeius, had been threatening the grain supply, causing widespread hunger among the poor. Again, Augustus seized the initiative. In 36 BC, Augustus seized Sicily, with his top general Agrippa, beat Sextus Pompeius in the Battle of Naulochus. This time when he returned home he was welcomed. The following year he led (Albania) campaigns between 35 and 33 BC and where he would once again be successful. Augustus was given the title: *imperator*, meaning 'the conqueror'. By contrast, Antony's campaign in Parthia was a disaster. Augustus had won his positions. However, how much was due to Agrippa's military career, or was it just 'spin'?

Activity 8

1. Watch this YouTube presentation about Agrippa: www.youtube.com/watch?v=12482-agrippa
Do you agree that he was the 'Man who made Augustus Roman Emperor'?
2. Who was more beneficial to Augustus's early image: Julius Caesar or Agrippa?

Lepidus was soon pushed aside, leaving Augustus and Antony as the two remaining leaders of the Republic. In the East, Augustus had the advantage of being in Rome. Not many ordinary people were interested in what was going on hundreds of miles away, but they were interested in what was happening in their own city. Augustus used this attitude to his advantage by appeasing the poor in Rome with a building programme and 'handouts'. Some he did himself, others he got his supporters to do.

| Building | Handout |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| • Temple to deified Julius Caesar | • Gift of grain (for food and clothes) |
| • Amphitheatre | • Free admission to the baths |
| • Sewer repairs | |

Activity

How would the gifts above win favour? At whom are these gifts aimed: just ordinary Romans or the elite?

Augustus and the propaganda war

Antony was married to Augustus's sister Octavia, but in 41–40 BC he started an affair with Cleopatra. In 35 BC, Octavia went to visit Antony in Athens. Octavia brought him a large amount of money, arms, and bodyguards. Antony accepted her gifts but would not see her again. When Octavia returned to Rome, Augustus was furious at this insult. He claimed that Octavia was a bad wife and that Antony had not given her the treatment that would be expected of a noble wife. Antony next insulted Augustus by celebrating a triumph in 36 BC. He had military success in Armenia and celebrated his triumph, but in Alexandria, Egypt, he shared the triumph with Cleopatra. Cleopatra shared this triumph, and they had two gold thrones at the celebrations. Cleopatra's claim to the Egyptian throne, but it was viewed as a 'queen' in Rome as if Antony was over them. The Roman people would never accept a 'foreign' queen to rule them. Here are some claims made by Augustus and Antony.

| Claim | Augustus | Antony |
|--|----------|---|
| • I have a Roman wife | | • Antony has a 'Roman' wife |
| • Antony is a 'Roman' general | | • Antony is completely masculine (the Romans did not accept any feminine side to males) |
| • Antony wants to be king (the Romans had had bad kings and did not use the title) | | • Antony wants to be king (the Romans had had bad kings and did not use the title) |
| • Antony's will says he wants Cleopatra's children to rule Egypt | | • Augustus wants to be a 'foreign' king (Julius Caesar and Pompey had been 'foreign' kings) |
| • Antony wants to move the capital to Egypt | | • Augustus wants to be the 'successor' of Philip II of Macedonia |

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The final showdown: the Battle of Actium

Antony had put his will in the Temple of Vesta. Augustus grabbed it and read it out to the politicians. The fact that Antony wanted to be buried in Alexandria was viewed as propaganda, Augustus persuaded the Senate to declare war on Cleopatra. To reinforce his building of his mausoleum in Rome, showing his eternal dedication to the Romans.

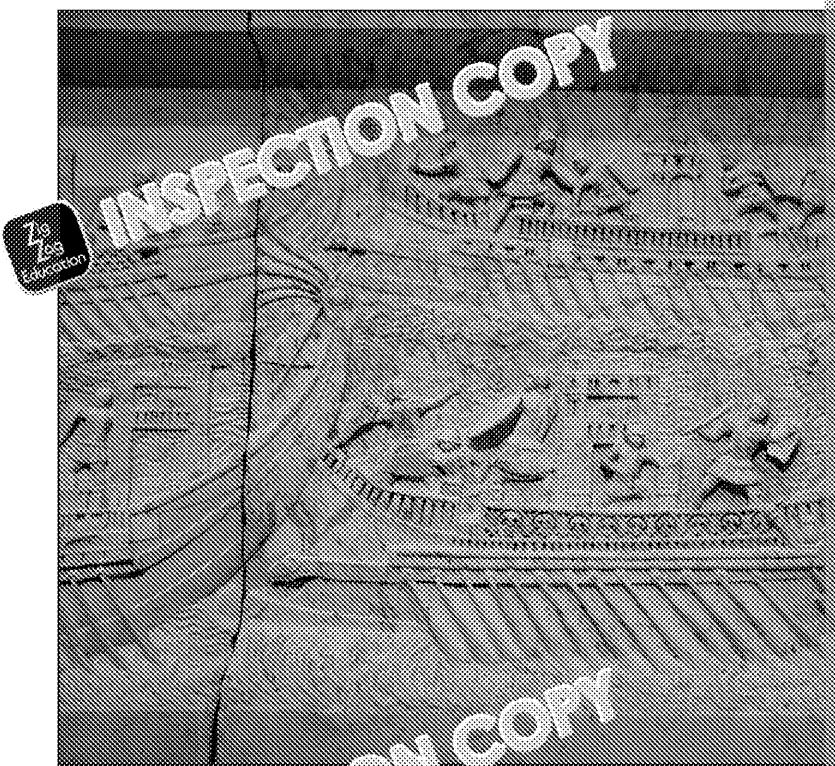
The final clash came at the Battle of Actium, in Greece, which took place on 2nd September 31 BC. It was a battle which was masterminded by his general, Agrippa. The result was that Antony and his fleet were pursued around the island of Corfu in the Mediterranean until 1st August 30 BC, when they were defeated. Cleopatra committed suicide. Egypt then came under the control of Augustus. In 27 BC, Augustus founded the *principate*, a way of ruling with sole power, like a king. It is at this point that Octavian, as he had strictly been named, took the title of *rex*, meaning 'king'. He was at this point that Octavian, as he had strictly been named, took the title of *rex*, meaning 'king', or 'serene'. Augustus began a massive 'upgrade' of Rome and was a patron to the poets Virgil, Horace and Propertius.

Examination advice

Reminder of examination advice: note the OCR clarification from page 4:

One place where it wouldn't necessarily be credited would be if there were a 1-mark question about his name prior to 27 BC, where Augustus would clearly not be the correct answer.

In years to come, this battle would be used by Augustus in the promotion of his image. This image of the years of first century AD shows the naval battle in progress.



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Activity 10

Either: find out more about the Battle of Actium through your own independent learning
OR Make a powerpoint account of the Battle of Actium
OR Watch this YouTube presentation, around 30 minutes long: [zzed.uk/12482-a](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zzed.uk/12482-a)

Then try to answer:

1. What made the Battle of Actium a success for Augustus?
2. Why was the Battle of Actium so important for the future rule of Augustus?

The positive spin begins

First things first, Augustus had to pay his army. So, he minted coins.

Obverse: Silver denarius showing the bare head of Octavian (Augustus) and reverse:



The images above show two sides of the same coin. This time, it is a silver denarius. The front, obverse, shows Augustus with a bare head. The back, reverse, shows the goddess *Pax*, Peace. In one hand she is holding a cornucopia (a horn of plenty) and in the other a branch of olive (a symbol of peace) and in the other a horn of plenty, known as a *cornucopia*. The message here is that through the peace the soldiers have just fought and with it comes an abundance of peace and prosperity. The reverse has the Latin CAESAR and DIVI. F, meaning Caesar, son of a consul.

Even today there are several examples of this coin. The prescribed image of the silver denarius can be seen on the British Museum website from where any additional notes can be added: www.zigzageducation.com

Activity 11

Give two reasons why a soldier would be pleased to get this coin.

Poets join the spin

Maecenas was what we would call today a 'spin doctor' – a man employed to manage the image of a politician or government. Maecenas was a political advisor to Augustus, as well as a patron to a new group of 'Augustan' poets. He encouraged the poets in his circle to write favourable poems about the Battle of Actium. The earliest poems about the Battle of Actium was written by the poet Horace.

Quintus Horatius Flaccus was a Roman poet who lived from December 65 BC to November 8 BC. He was born into a poor family in the dying days of the Republic, and when the civil wars broke out, Horace was not from the middle classes; he was not even from the middle classes. He was the son of a freedman, a 'freed slave' and a 'tax collector'. Keen for his son to do well, Horace received a good education. At the age of 18 or 19, Horace continued his education in Athens at the Academy founded by the philosopher Aristotle.

While Horace was in Athens, civil war broke out in Rome. Many of the young Romans supported the cause of Brutus against Julius Caesar. Horace joined himself to Brutus and became a member of the Brutus' army. He was given a rank usually given to sons of patricians. His military career was cut short, however, when he was captured by Mark Anthony's army at the Battle of Philippi. Despite being on the losing side against Augustus and Mark Anthony, he was not executed. Instead, he was granted amnesty to his former opponents, Horace became a civil service clerk, and in his free time he wrote poems. He caught the eye of the poet Virgil, who introduced him to Maecenas. In 38 BC, Horace joined Maecenas' literary circle.

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When, O happy Maecenas, shall I, overjoyed by Caesar's victory, drink with you under Jupiter) the Caecuban wine reserved for festive banquets, while the lyre plays a tune in the Dorian mode, others in the Greek mode? As lately, when the Neptunian admiral's navy burned, fled, after having menaced those chains to Rome, which, like a friend, slaves. The Roman soldier (alas! you, our posterity, will derive the fact), for a woman and can be subservient to shrivelled eunuchs; and among the military standards, the Indignant at this the Gauls turned two thousand of their cavalry, proclaiming Caesar, navy, going off to the left, lie by in prison? Triumph! are you delaying the golden Hail, Triumph! You neither, nor Africanus, back a general equal from the Jugurthine war; raised him a shame over Carthage. Our enemy, beaten both by land and sea, has charred Carthaginia in the morning. He will either seek Crete, noble for her hundred cities, read the winds; or the Syrtes, harassed by the south; or else is driven by the uncertain sea. By bowls, and the Chian or Lesbian wine; or, what may suppress this rising nausea of mine, is my pleasure to dissipate care and anxiety for Caesar's affairs with delicious wine.

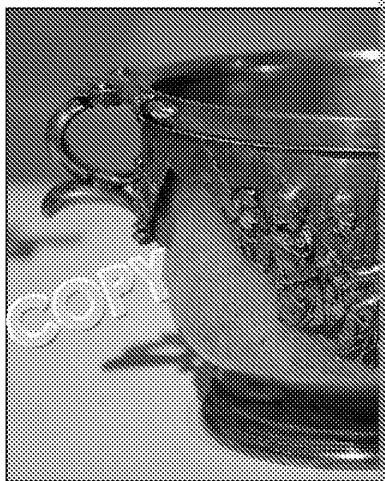
Classical references

Caecuban wine: a good-quality Italian wine.

Gauls turned two thousand of their cavalry, proclaiming Caesar: the Gauls had been on Antony's side but joined Augustus for the Battle of Actium. Their leader was King Amyntas.

Jugurthine war; nor Africanus: Horace equates the Battle of Actium to previous great victories of the Romans, namely the Jugurthine wars, in which Marius was victorious, and the Carthaginian wars against Hannibal. Scipio Africanus refers to Africanus after defeating Hannibal.

drinking bowls: these were *skyphoi*. The *skyphos* in the image to the right shows a general with his arm outstretched receiving representatives from the countries he had conquered.



Discussion

Notice how the only two people mentioned by name in the poem are Maecenas and meaning Augustus. *Roman soldier* refers to Antony, and *for a woman and shame* refers to Cleopatra. There is little detail of the Battle of Actium itself, apart from the battle: *the fleet of the opposing navy...* The poem ends with a neat piece of ring closure, returning to references to wine and celebration.

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Activity 12

How does this poem give a positive view of the emperor Augustus? You might consider:

- How Horace describes the emperor, and use literary terms and choice of words.
- The effect the emperor has had on morale back in Rome.
- How Augustus measures up to previous generals.

The translation below has been divided into stanzas, or verses, as Horace originally sometimes ran over to the next, as Horace's poem also did.

Now it is time to drink; now with unfettered feet
 it is time for beating the earth; now
 it is time to decorate the gods' sacred couches
 comrades for Salian feasts.

Previously it would have been wrong to birth
Caecuban wine from the old Capitol, while the maddened queen
 was still plotting ruin for the Capitol
 and planning the destruction of the empire

with deeply corrupted men sick
 with disease, violent with all sorts of
 hopes, and drunk with Fortune's
 favour. But it calmed her frenzy when

there was scarcely a single ship unhurt by the flames,
 and Caesar returned her mind,
 crazy with Mareotic wine,
 to true fears, flying from Italy

with straining oars, like a hawk
 hunts gentle doves or a swift hunter
 hunts a hare over the plains of
 snowy Thessaly, to put in chains

that deadly monster, who, intending
 to die more nobly, did not have a
 womanish fear of the sword, nor fled
 a hidden shore with her son in

but, having Caecuban to drink, her kingdom fallen
 with a calm heart, was brave
 to handle poisonous asps and drink their dark
 venom into *her body*.

having chosen to die, she was fiercer,
 unwilling to be taken by hostile
galleys of war and to be led as an ordinary woman,
 not a lowly lady, in a proud triumph.

Classical references

Salian feasts: Kline's translation has 'feast', but Horace's original is in the plural, as intended. 'Salian feast' was a proverbial phrase for a sumptuous feast. The Salian priests who leapt and jumped about. Horace is encouraging this type of celebration as Rome is no longer under threat from Antony and Cleopatra, a cause for rejoicing.

Caecuban: a strong, intoxicating wine.

Capitol: one of the hills of Rome, it was important as the temple of Jupiter stood there. The leaders, were sworn in there. The hill therefore had political and religious importance.

Mareotic: a Caecuban wine, so appropriate for Cleopatra to drink.

Italy: (Kline has 'Rome') but Horace refers to Italy here.

Thessaly: an area of Greece, near where the Battle of Actium took place.

galleys: Augustus's admiral Agrippa actually used small Liburnian galleys which had a coast of eastern Italy. Agrippa realised that they were swift, and used them again.

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Discussion

This poem encourages the audience (it would have been read aloud) to prepare for the future, referred to as the *nunc est bibendum* ode or the *Cleopatra* ode. Published in 23 BC, the poem was written in the autumn of 30 BC, when the news of Cleopatra's suicide reached Rome. Augustus's defeat of Mark Antony and Cleopatra at the Battle of Actium and the death of Cleopatra, but it does not mention Mark Antony by name, nor Cleopatra, who is plainly the 'queen' referred to throughout as 'the queen'.

The first five stanzas are a rather gloating celebration of the defeat of Cleopatra, who is here seen as a *fatal monster*, which is actually a better translated as *doom-bringing power*.

Activity 13

How does Augustus portray Cleopatra? Choose words and phrases from the first five stanzas.

The final three stanzas, however, change quite radically in their tone and focus, as the final three stanzas focus on the face of defeat. This is an attempt to be 'sparing the defeated' rather than noting the victory. Augustus, as part of the promotion of his image, was keen to be seen as a 'noble' ruler. However the simile *like a hawk...* does not seem to fit in with the tone of the poem. Why is Cleopatra portrayed as a dove or hare?

Activity 14

How far does Cleopatra behave in a noble way in the last three stanzas of the poem?

In all of this we must not forget Augustus's imperial image.

Activity 15

How far do you agree that this ode only represents Augustus 'implicitly' (Robert Harris)?

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Propertius adds his support

Propertius was also an Augustan poet. He was born and raised in Umbria, and from Asium, which is modern-day Assisi. When Propertius was still young, his father as Horace's family had done, when Augustus gave lands to his veterans in 41 BC.

Why do you wonder that a woman influences my life? ... I drag me, a man, under me the foul taunt of cowardice, because I long to break the chains and shatter my bonds. I used to foretell his coming doom, when I taught a soldier fear. I once boasted like you in example teach you to be afraid.

The witch Leucippis drove the blazing bulls beneath yokes of steel, and sowed bairnish warriors, and closed the fierce gaping jaws of the guardian snake, so that the Golgotha halls. Maeotian (Amazon) Pentesilea once dared to attack the Danaan (Greek) ships, she whose bright beauty conquered the conquering hero, when the golden helmets

Omphale the Lydian girl, bathed in the Gygean lake, rose to such a reputation for beauty that she had set up his pillars in a world made at peace, pulled out soft spinner's wool with her teeth, established Babylon the Persians' city, so that it rose a solid mass with rampart of stone, might be sent in opposite directions around the walls, and not graze the sides with the Euphrates through the middle of the city she had founded, and commanded Bactria.

Why should I accuse heroes, why the gods of a crime? Jupiter brings shame on his mention the woman who has fastened disgrace upon our army, that woman well deserves the punishment who demanded the walls of Rome and the Senators enslaved to her rule, the rewards of her guiltiness. Guilty Alexandria, so skilled in deceit and Memphis so often bloody with our woes, of his three triumphs! Rome, no day will ever remove the shame. Better for you Poet to the Phlegrean Fields (Naples) or that you'd bow your neck to your father-in-law.

Perhaps that prostitute queen of iniquity Clitopis, that one disgrace burned by her to oppose our Jupiter with her Aspidum and forced Tiber to endure the threats of her trumpet with her Aspidum, chased the Liburnian rams with her poled Nile, the Tarpeian Rock and sat in judgment among weapons and statues of Marius.

The city, high-throned on seven hills, that rules the whole Earth, was terrified of a few threats. What advantage was it to have shattered the axes of Tarquin whose life is 'Proud', if now we had to endure this woman? Take a triumph, Rome, saved by Aeneas for him! You fled then to the winding streams of a frightened Nile: your hands received the arms bitten by the sacred asps, I saw the limbs draw in sleep as it worked its sleep, enslaved by constant wine drinking: 'I was not as much to be feared, Rome, with

Curtius by closing the open space, set up his own monument, and Decius with Cocles' path still tells of the cutting of the bridge, and there's one who won the name of Caesar founded these walls, may the gods protect these walls: with Caesar alive, Rome still stands, of Jupiter.

Where are Scipio's ships now, where are Camillus's standards? And you O Bosphorus, might, or where are Hannibal's spoils, or trophies of Syphax and Pyrrhus?

Apollo of Actium will speak of how the line turned to flight: one day of battle, one day of weaponry. But you, sailor, when you're leaving or making for harbour, be mindful of

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Classical references

witch of Colchis: Medea, helped Jason (son of Aeson, so Aeson's halls refer to his parents)

Activity 16

This four-minute presentation from YouTube is taken from an old film which won an Oscar for best film in 1932. It is groundbreaking for its time. The extract shows the point where Jason is helped by Medea. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Kbzzed.uk/12482-Jason>

Penthesilea: (image, right) the Amazon queen of Troy, who assisted Troy in the Trojan War. Achilles killed her by luring her on removing her helmet.

Omphale: a queen of Lydia in modern Turkey to whom Hercules was enslaved for a year.

Semiramis: a queen of Assyria, most of which is modern Iraq, who was said to have restored its city Babylon, giving it a new city wall and who built a city at Bactra.

Alexandria, Memphis, Canopus: Egyptian cities.

three triumphs: Pompey was known for celebrating three triumphs. He was killed in Egypt about four years before the death of Julius Caesar, dying on the beach, *the sand*.

Phlegrean Fields at Naples: in 50 BC, Pompey fell seriously ill in Naples, a large port town near Pompeii. The Phlegrean Fields are a volcanic area around the Bay of Naples. Proper would have been better for Pompey to have died when he was ill, or have given in to Julius Caesar, rather than commit suicide.

Philip: Philip of Macedon from whom Cleopatra claimed descent.

sistrum: a rattle shaken in the worship of the Egyptian goddess Isis.

Liburnian rams: fast boats with ramming prows used by Agrippa and Augustus in the Battle of Actium, when up against barges pushed by pirates in a so-called Nile barge.

among weapons and shields: *of Marius*: these were on the Capitol.

Tarquin: the last king of Rome. His son's outrageous behaviour resulted in his overthrow by the Republic.

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Activity 17: Independent research

Find out about: Curtius, Decius, Cocles (Horatius) and Corvus – all heroes of Rome. Find out about each of them and why they were heroes.

Also find out about the generals: Scipio, Camillus, Hannibal, Syphax and Pyrrhus.

Discussion

Primarily this love poem, *elegy*, is not principally about the image of Augustus. Propertius is a dominating woman and the servile man using both mythological and historical figures to compare himself to them. He compares himself to Jason, Antony and Achilles but not to Cleopatra, who is not mentioned by name. The theme of a man being a slave to a woman is a common theme in poetry. Propertius has fallen in love with a woman, Cleopatra, who is enslaved to her. He feels that he is like Jason, Achilles and Hercules, and like the women that they fell for.

By bringing Cleopatra and the Egyptians to the forefront of this poem, Propertius is making a political statement, so, the war that he is fighting against the Egyptians. The theme of fear is one that characterises Propertius's attitude towards Egypt. Cleopatra was a real threat. Note the comparisons to Jason, Achilles and Hercules and the women that they fell for.

1. prostitute
2. incestuous
3. foul
4. obscene husband (Antony)

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Activity 18

How does Propertius show that Egypt and her queen were a threat to Rome?

Select words and phrases from the elegy to explain what he says, and select literary devices that help him get his message across. You could consider: rhetorical question; metaphors; mythological allusions; choice of graphic and emotional words; contrasts.

Augustus in his role as *imperator* is emulating the gods in the poem: *Take a triumph, Rome, for a long life for him! ... with Caesar gone, Rome should hardly need fear the wrath of the gods*. There is a reminder of how great the threat Rome should be to Augustus: *Apollo of Actium who turned to flight the day of war carried off so great an amount of weaponry. But be making for Leucadia, be mindful of Caesar over all the Ionian Sea.*

Apollo, as we shall see later, was very important to Augustus. Antony had the god as his patron and as god of wine this is why Antony and Cleopatra are always depicted as drunk: *Augustus was a constant wine drinker*. Augustus dedicated his victory at Actium in Greece to Apollo at Leucadia (western Greece). Propertius also implies that in *one day of battle* Augustus outdid the great generals of the past who spent years on war.

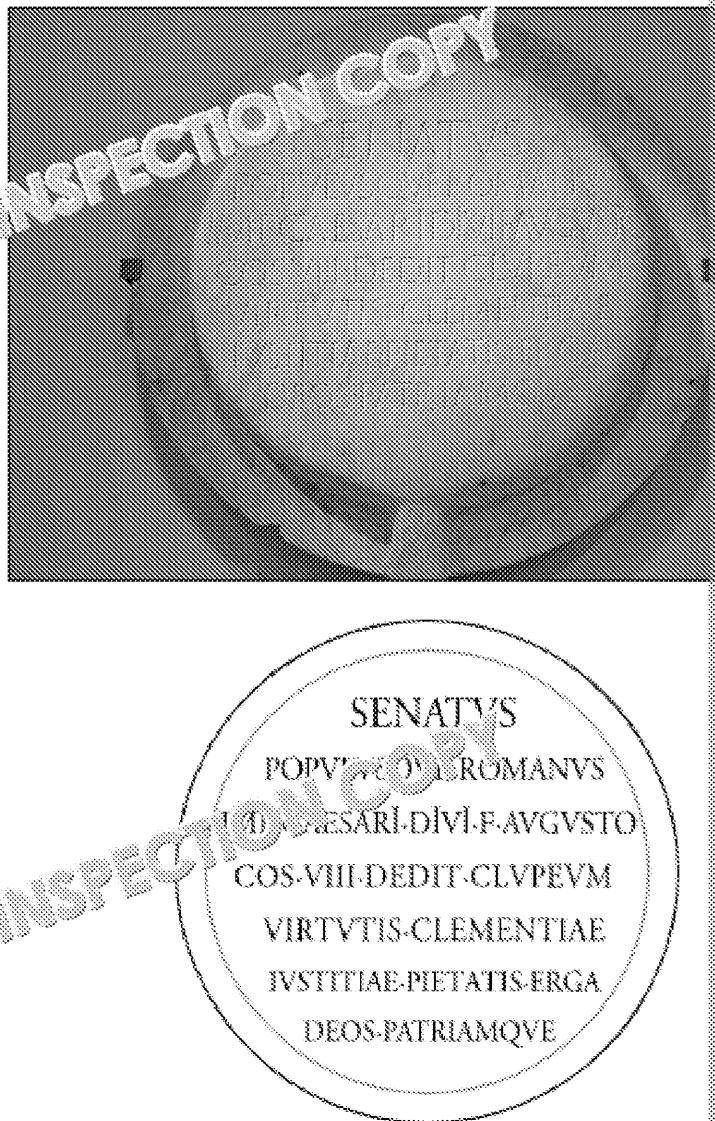
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Augustus the republican

In 27–26 BC, the members of the Senate showered Augustus with honours, including giving the title *princeps*, chief citizen. They also commissioned a golden shield which was copied and sent all over the Roman Empire. The image below comes from G



On the clipeus was inscribed the word 'Senate', who commissioned the shield, but also (a reminder that Rome was a republic!). The third line states that the shield (had been given to Augustus. His titles are IMP for *imperator*, and DIVI. F, son of a god, his highest office, COS, consul and for the eighth time, VIII. The next two lines are the what the Senate considers are Augustus's cardinal (meaning door hinge, everything)

In Latin the virtues are:

| | |
|------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>virtus</i> | Courage, strength |
| <i>clementia</i> | Mercy |
| <i>iustitia</i> | Justice |
| <i>pietas</i> | Duty to gods, state and family |

Augustus never tried to show that he was not going to be a dictator like Julius Caesar, who was despised. He wanted to show that he was supporting the Republic. The aureus of Augustus is trying to persuade the ruling classes (who would have more access to the threat to the Republic, while all the time establishing his rule known as his *Principate*, first citizen).

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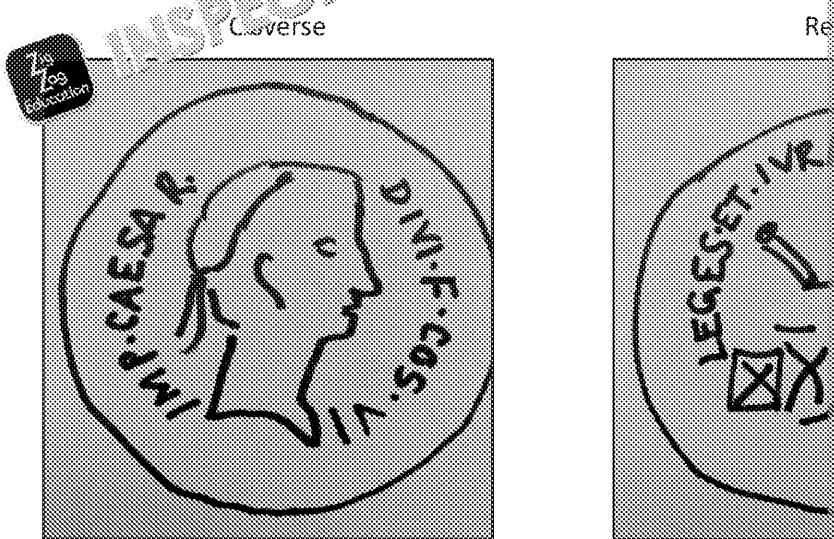
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The coin can be viewed on the British Museum website: zzed.uk/12482-museum

Examination advice

Practise making simple drawings of the prescribed coins – no plans. You could make a copy of the coin to support your analysis in essays. Drawings and are very much welcomed by examiners.



The front, obverse, of the coin shows Augustus. Around the coin is written firstly the title, which is familiar to most Romans as Augustus had had many military successes by 28 BC when he became the first Roman皇帝. Augustus also had the title *CAESAR* (Caesar) in common with Julius Caesar, and we also see the word *divi filius* – of the divine.

We now see another title, *COS*. This stands for *CONSUL*. A consul was the highest political office in the Republic. Men from aristocratic backgrounds entered the Senate as apprentices until they could reach consul. There were two consuls elected each year and they were always elected by Jupiter on the Capitol. There were two to prevent one man from becoming too powerful. Augustus had a lot of power by the Senate and as he gradually became sole ruler, he did not want to stop this. In fact, he was so keen to 'support the Republic' that he gave up – or at least stopped using – the powers he had been given. This is called the *First Settlement* and was to show he was not a dictator. It indicates that by the time the coin was minted, Augustus was consul for the sixth time and had a wreath which is not clear on the coin except for the ribbons tying it on.

The reverse probably marks the First Settlement. The inscription reads *LEGES* (laws for the people) *R* (Roman) *RESTITUIT* (he restored). In Latin, often V = U. So, Augustus probably restored the laws and rights for the Roman people. The figure is probably Augustus holding a scroll. At his feet is a scroll box. Of course, being consul for many times ensured that he had a lot of power.

Activity 19

If you had been a member of the ruling classes, would you have been reassured by the appearance of this coin?

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Augustus restores religion

During the civil war years, people had been so concerned for their own survival that they had lost. Augustus set out to revive many religious practices and temples as he saw that the citizens. Many cultures today still retain a close link between politics and religion. The Romans. Priesthoods and ceremonial leadership were part of a politician's career and took part now.

Shows of public religion were important for the Romans. In fact, quite often ordinary Romans would sacrifice animals at funerals. Restoration of festivals would have been realised this.

Augustus in many ways which further unified society. The *Lares* were an important part of hearth, fields, boundaries or plenty. The statues of *Lares* were situated in the home during family meals and at all-important family events. They were linked closely to the store cupboard and ensured that food was in the house. *Lares*, however, were not just for the home. They had much wider uses: the state, cities and towns, roads, seas, agriculture. Local neighbourhoods, called *vici*, were housed in the crossroad shrines to the *Lares Compitales*. The worship of these were very important to ordinary citizens, but, as with many festivals, they were also used during the civil wars.

The image, right, is from Pompeii, a town occupied by many people from lower in society, such as men who had been slaves but were now free, *freedmen*. Scholars think that this is an image of people gathering for a festival at the crossroads, the *Compitalia*.

The image below is from Herculaneum, the bay of Naples. It is a meeting of freedmen. Having been slaves, they were not regarded highly by freeborn citizens, but one role they could play was to be a member of the College of *Augustales*. This was a priestly college dedicated to the *Genius Augusti*, to his life spirit. It was linked to the *Compitalia*. The *Augustales* numbered 300 members, mostly from Augustus and later emperors, though the Senate and the emperor had central control. Publicly, Augustus very much discouraged being 'worshipped', but there was a firm link to him.

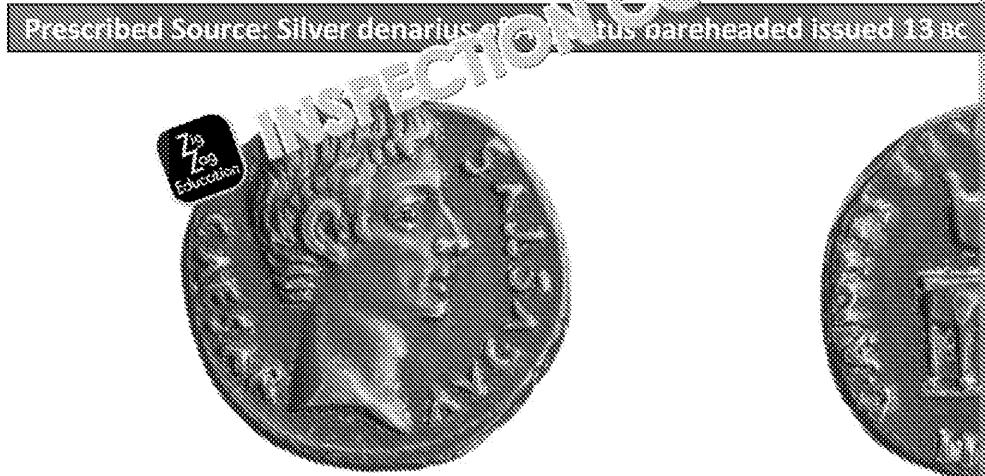


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In 7 BC, Augustus revived the Lares festival, and 1st May was dedicated to the *Lares Genii Augusti* was held on 1st August, the swearing-in day for Roman magistrates of Augustus's victory at the Battle of Actium. Statues representing the *Genius Augusti* to Lares of the Compitalia.

In 13 BC, some twenty years after gaining power, Augustus was elected chief priest. In this, he issued a coin.



Activity 20

Practise drawing an outline of both sides of the coin.

The obverse still shows Augustus (he has not changed much in twenty years!) with the title AUGUSTUS. On the reverse are four images of objects used in religious ceremonies.

| Latin name | Translation | Use |
|------------|-------------|--|
| tripus | tripod | For offerings in temples, burning incense. |
| simpulum | ladle | Pouring wine offerings called <i>libatio</i> over victims. Shows someone was a man. |
| lituus | curved wand | Used by augurs, who predicted the future by the flight of birds. Shows someone was a man. |
| patera | dish | Often with a 'navel' it was used for libations. Shows implied religious reverence called <i>pietas</i> . |

The inscription around the reverse says: C ANTISTIUS REGINUS III VIR. It is not certain if Antistius Reginus was one of Julius Caesar's commanders in the army. Here, he is shown as a man of high status. He would have been very old, as Julius Caesar at this time had been dead for some time. It is possible to believe him to be the man who issued the coin for Augustus, and he did issue other coins for other moneyers and belonged to a college of twenty men for casting and striking bronze coins. He held an important position in the *Republic*.

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Activity 21

How does this coin show that, as well as Augustus is gaining an even tighter grip on



Temple of Palatine Apollo

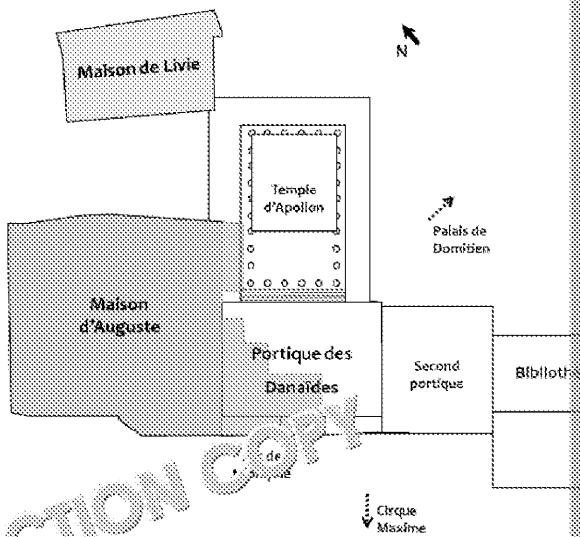
Augustus also wanted to encourage people to return to visit temples, so he started From 28 BC, Augustus started to repair temples, which amounted to eighty-two in temples, including Minerva and Mars Ultor (Mars in his role as Avenger), appropriating the names of the original structures. One of Augustus's early moves was to choose Apollo as the god of the sun and the Julian calendar. Augustus chose Bacchus the god of wine, but Apollo was the god of prophecy and inspiration. In 28 BC, Augustus built a temple to Apollo on the Palatine Hill, a hill reserved as a religious area.

Activity 22

Go to

A 3D reconstruction of the Temple of Palatine Apollo can be found on YouTube: [zzed.uk/12482-apollo](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zzed.uk/12482-apollo). Notice the colours, materials and decoration.

In this French plan, below, the Temple of Apollo can be seen next to Augustus's house.



Augustus had intended to dedicate the temple to celebrate Agrippa's victory in the Battle of Actium. Augustus started buying land, but lightning apparently determined where the foundations should be. Conveniently, after the Battle of Actium Augustus was able to name the Temple to the sun god. The temple no longer exists, and scholars argue about its design. Adding all their knowledge, we know that the temple was built on a raised platform, nine metres above the surrounding land. Apart from the platform, the temple was built of white marble with six columns across the front. We know that the columns were in the Corinthian style, as some pieces have survived. There was a portico, a covered walkway, which included a library. The columns were made of yellow marble taken from Numidia. Inside, the cult statue was of Apollo, with his mother Leda and her twin daughters, the sisters of Apollo, Diana and their mother Leto. The doors to the temple were of ivory. On the roof of the temple was a golden eagle. Apollo was the sun god. Altars were outside temples, and Apollo's was surrounded by altars to the sun.

Propertius wrote an elegy about the Temple of Palatine Apollo.

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The priest makes a sacrifice: let our utterances be silent for sacrifices and let the h altars. Let a wreathed Rome compete with ivy-clusters of Philetas, and let the urn Cyrene. Give me soft essential oil, and offerings of pleasing incense, and let the v times round the hearth. Sprinkle me with water, and by the newly built altar let the song from Phrygian vessels. May offence be far from here. Inspe insults be elsewhere path for the priest.

O Muse! We will tell of the Temple of Actium: Apollo: O Calliope, the theme is w are spun in the name of Caesar: while Caesar is sung, Jupiter, I beg you yourself

By the Athaman Actium there is a harbour of Phoebus Apollo, whose bay hush Actium's open water, a memorial of the Julian fleet, not a difficult route of sailors met: a mass Empire stood on the water, but fortune did not favour their oars equal

One fleet was doomed by Trojan Quirinus and javelins shamefully grasped in w Augustus's ship, it sails filled with the favour of Jupiter, standards for a long time country. And now Nereus had bent the formations in twin curves, and the water weapons, when Phoebus Apollo, leaving Delos, firmly rooted under his protection bear the anger South Winds), stood over Augustus's ship, and a strange flame sh lightning flash.

He did not come with his hair streaming over his neck, or with the peaceful song that expression that gazed on Agamemnon, Pelops's son, and brought troops from funeral fires, or as he relaxed in death the Python writhing in its coils, the serpent

Then he spoke:

'O Augustus, saviour of the world, sprung from Alba Longa acknowledged as greatest conquer now by sea! Already the land is yours! My bow supports your side, and your shoulders favours you. Free your country from fear: she relying on you as her prop the nation's prayers. If you do not dare, Brutus the augur of Rome's wall flying, coming from the Palatine, and they dare to come too near with their oars: waves while you are near should suffer a queen's sails. Do not let it frighten you with a hundred ships: their fleet slides over an unwilling sea. Though their prows are stones, you'll know they are hollow timbers and painted terrors. The cause makes bold unless it is just, shame cuts down his weapons. The time has come, commit your battle: I lead the Julian prows with laurel-bearing hand.'

He spoke and consumed the contents of his quiver with the bow: after his shots, C won, through Apollo's support: the woman was punished: broken sceptres floated father Caesar amazed from his comet of Venus said: 'I am a god: and this is proof

Triton honoured all with music, and all the sea-goddesses applauded, as they circled the woman, trusting vainly in her swift vessel, sought the Nile; she sought this on another. The gods made that a better outcome. What sort of a triumph would one where Jugurtha had been led before.

Hence Apollo of Actium gained his temple, each one arrow destroyed ten ships.

I have sung of war enough: Apollo the victor now deserts my lyre and lays aside peace. Now let guests in white robes enter the luxuriant grove: and let innocent red wine be poured from Falernian essence, and Cilician saffron three times bathe my inspiration for drunkenness: Locnus, you are used to being an inspiration to you

Let one poet sing the enslavement of the Sycambri of the marshes, let another sing Cephean Medea: let another record how the Parthians recently acknowledged defeat the standards of Remus, for he will soon give his own: or if Augustus spares the enemies those trophies for those boys of his, his grandsons, to win. Crassus, rejoice! if you stand: we can cross the Euphrates to your grave.'

Thus I will pass the night with drinking, thus with song, until the rays of dayligh

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Classical references

The opening lines have details of a Roman sacrifice, possibly recalling the one held for Apollo. Everyone had to be *silent*: the victim in this case is a *heifer*, *incense* was burnt without any unwelcome noises, *altars* were where victims were burned, and blood was spilt. Propertius feels Rome can do anything as well as Greece. *laurel*: used as a mark of military victory and a link to Apollo, who is shown wearing a laurel wreath.

Calliope: was actually a muse of epic poetry and this is a *satire*. Perhaps Propertius felt that this elegy (love poetry) was more suited to epic poetry. There is not much on love and pine: ships were made of pine.

Trojan Quirites: Roman soldiers linked to Trojan Aeneas in the foundation myths.

Nereus: son of Poseidon and Sea.

Delos: island where Apollo was born. He fixed it where it is now situated.

Agamemnon: during the Trojan War, Apollo sent a plague to the Dorian (Greek) camp. Agamemnon refused to give back Briseis to her father, a priest. Apollo was angered. Briseis was given to Agamemnon.

Python: Apollo killed a giant snake called Python at Delphi in Greece and set up his temple there (in the future).

Alba Longa: city founded by Aeneas near the site of Rome.

Centaur: half man, half horse; in art, *centaurs* represent barbarians (a reference to the Gauls). They were said to have been painted on Antony and Cleopatra's ships.

laurel-bearing: used to spray water at a sacrifice, a mark of military victory and a symbol of victory, wearing a laurel wreath.

Jugurtha: an enemy defeated by Marius in 105 BC and paraded in a triumphal parade in Rome, before the Romans.

Bacchus: Antony's champion, son of Jupiter.

Sycombri: a Gaulish tribe which tried to invade the Roman province Gaul in 16 BC.

Cephean Monstrum: Ethiopian king who tried to invade the Roman province Egypt.

Parthians: they had originally been victorious over the Romans but were now defeated.

grandsons: Gaius and Lucius Caesar, adopted in 17 BC. (See the coin and discussion of the coin).

Crassus: had led his army to disaster against the Parthians, modern Iraq, where they were defeated.

Discussion

This poem is one of celebration: the words *lyre*, *white robes*, *roses* and *saffron* are all words used for celebrations. The celebration is Augustus's victory at Actium and is appropriate to the opening of the Temple of Apollo. Augustus has strong ties to Apollo and their closeness is emphasised. Augustus is the next to attack after Apollo. Apollo then makes an eighteen-line speech praising Augustus, emphasising that Augustus never styled himself as a god, only as *divi filius*, *divi filius*.

We have here a very positive image of Augustus: he is a *god* and has the support of the gods. He is a successful military leader. Again, Antony is *named*, and Cleopatra is a *woman*.

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Activity 23

How does this poem consolidate the following?

Augustus's image as:

- *divi filius*, son of a god
- of divine heritage
- *imperator*, military leader
- *princeps*, first citizen of the Republic
- promoting the importance of religion

Use words and phrases to explain the imagery and consider literary effects.

The bulk of the poem describes events surrounding the Battle of Actium and is described in detail in the notes. Most importantly, the last few lines show that Augustus has finally brought peace to the Mediterranean.

Activity 24

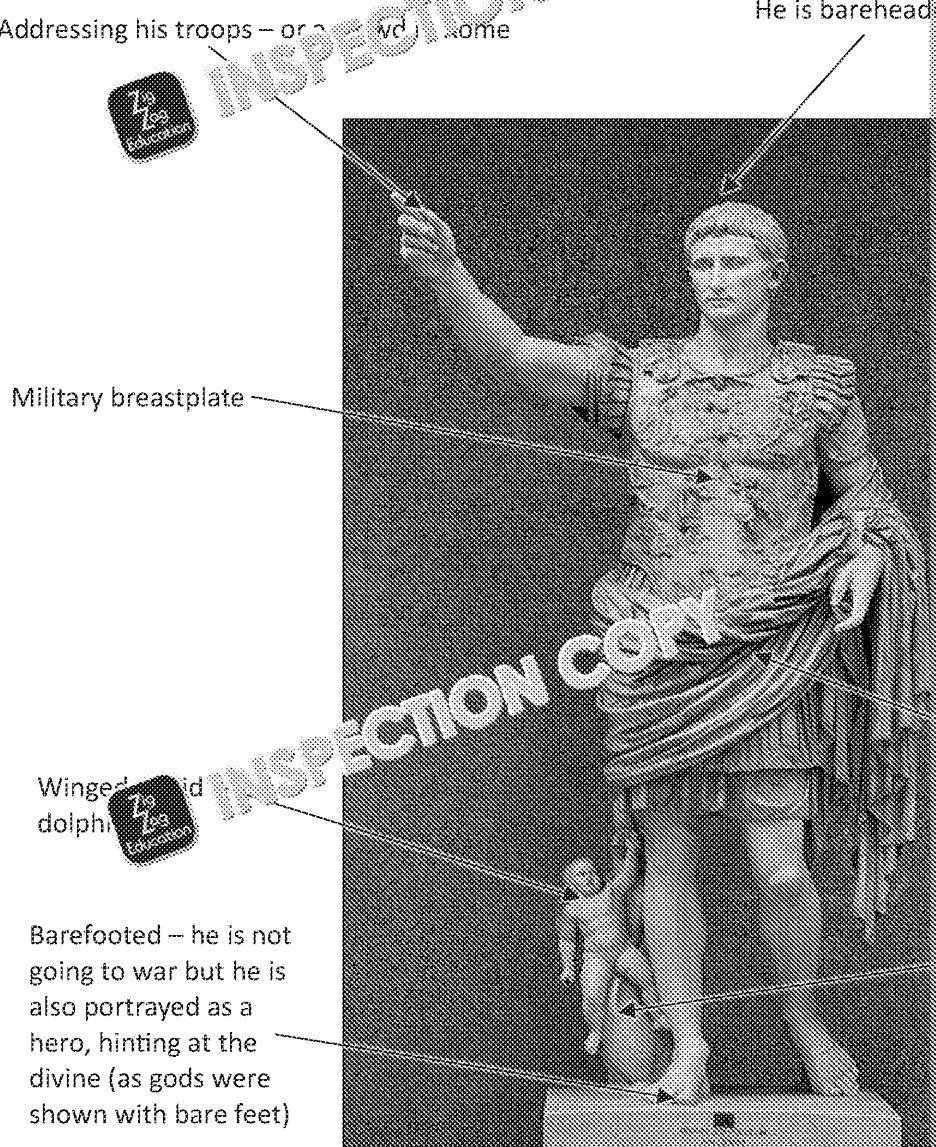
How far do you agree that this poem is more useful in telling us about the Battle of Actium than the Odes of Horace 1.37?

Augustus restores peace

Augustus could now claim that Rome was at peace. He used imagery and literature to reinforce this message. This time was styled the *Pax Augusta*. This important message was displayed in the *Forum of Augustus* in Rome. It is a marble statue but probably made of bronze.

Prescribed Source: Augustus of Prima Porta

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Let us have a closer look at the breastplate. It is packed with symbolism.

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Activity 25

Identify the following in the image below:

| Place on breastplate | Figure | |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Shoulders | Sphinx | Conquest of Egypt |
| Top middle | Heavens and sky held up | Success reaches the sky |
| Top left | Soil in his chariot | Sun representing the sky |
| Top right | Dawn | Sprinkling dew |
| Middle left and right | Humor | Conquered provinces |
| Bottom left | Varuna | Augustus's supporters |
| Bottom right | Diana | Apollo's twin sister |
| Bottom right | Pax or Tellus | Peace or the Earth |
| Right centre figure | Bearded Parthian (King possibly) | Return of the standards |
| Left centre figure | Mars or Tiberius (Augustus's stepson) | Receives the standards |



Examination advice

If asked what material this statue is made of, the correct answer can be either metal or bronze. There is disagreement over the date of the statue. Some people think it was made as early as 20 BC, and others think it was made in AD 14 as a memorial. Either date is acceptable again when you consider Augustus's image after his death.

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Remember, this statue is a copy. The original statue of Augustus of Prima Porta may have been created to celebrate Augustus's victory over the Parthians. However, this victory could have been won before the return of the standards. The Parthian empire covered much of modern-day Iran and Iraq, and the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, which still flow (and still flows) through. Romans fought against the Parthians three times. In 53 BC, Crassus suffered a loss against the Parthians. Crassus, a member of the first triumvirate, was killed. What was more humiliating was that the Roman standards, rather like a banner or flag, which had marched, were lost to the Parthians. Neither Julius Caesar nor Octavian (Antony could get to the standards) could succeed. He reclaimed the Roman standards but through *diplomacy*. The Parthians and agreed to restore the Roman standards. This coin is produced at this period, thus offering back the Roman standards.

Activity

1. This [Zig Zag Education](https://www.zigzag-ed.com/12482-Porta) six-minute presentation offers background and assessment of the coin. There are some additional details to add to notes.
2. How far does the Prima Porta statue convince you that Augustus was a man of the people?

Go



The images above show a denarius, which was a common coin used by the ordinary people. The obverse is not Augustus but Feronia, wearing a crown and a necklace. She was an ancient Roman goddess who brought health and wealth and was popular with the ordinary people of Rome. The reverse is by Petronius Turpilianus, the moneyer, around 19–18 BC. On the reverse, a Parthian is offering the standard. It commemorates Augustus's diplomatic triumph.

Augustus now had expanded the empire to distant provinces and he needed to show his successes. He did not tell them the vast amounts of personal fortune he gained by this. The excuse for any campaign was to right wrongs, as in the war against the Parthians. He did not tell them about these campaigns.

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Caesar our god, plans war against rich India cutting with his fleet through the waves.
Men, great are the rewards: the end of the earth prepares triumphs. The Tiber and your rule. Although late, the province will come under Ausonian rods of office. Latin Jupiter. Go, get going, prows, expert in war and set your sails: and armoured you! I am singing auspicious omens. Avenge Crassus and Parthian disasters. Go and tell

Father Mars and fatal lights of sacred Vesta. It may the same day will come before us axles heaped up with spoils, horses carrying at the cheers of the people, and a girl, I'll begin to read the list of names of captured cities, the weapons of the fleeing trousers and the captives sitting beneath their weapons.

Venus, may you yourself protect your offspring: let it be eternal, you see this head. Let the prizes go to those whose efforts earn them. It will be enough for me to cheer

Translated by me from Latin Propertius. Elegies. Lucian

Classical references

rich India: in fact, this is a reference to the war with Parthia. India is used for the Parthians.

Parthia's trophies will get used to Latin Jupiter: the spoils from campaigns were displayed on the Capitol Hill.

Avenge Crassus: Crassus lost the standards at the disaster at Carrhae in 53 BC.

Vesta: in her temple burned a fire which was never allowed to go out. It was believed that if it did, the world would end.

Discussion

Caesar our god: Propertius is one of the few poet in Scenae's group of poets to mention Augustus. Horace only says Augustus will be a god in death. There is also the reminder of rule also refers to Augustus. Victory for Augustus meant a triumphal procession, standing with his girlfriends watching the procession.

Activity 2

- Find phrases from the elegy which show:
 - Caesar riding in a chariot in the procession
 - A vehicle being carried; pictures and names of cities
 - The type of weapons used by the Parthians
 - Captive chiefs of the Parthians
 - The route of the procession
- How does Propertius use language to convey his enthusiasm in this elegy?
- How did Augustus use the return of the standards from the Parthians to his advantage? Refer to the Parthian campaign in your answer.

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No need for Julius Caesar

At the beginning of his principate, Augustus had a need to emphasise his link with Caesar had had his faults and being a dictator was one. The last thing Augustus was a dictator. He was promoting his image as 'saviour of the Republic'. There was one Julius Caesar as a god and, therefore, Augustus as *divi filius*, son of a god. The coin Games of Venus was very convenient, and so Augustus minted a coin in 19–18 BC Julius Caesar.



Julius Caesar is no longer on the coin. The obverse shows a solar Augustus, still as a man more than twenty years ago). He is not wearing a military crown as Julius Caesar was a god and divine, DIVVS IVLIVS. The comet reminds people of the comet at the gates with all his faults. Augustus has dethroned himself.

Activity

Practise drawing an outline of the obverse and reverse.

Examination advice

Watch out for small words in what appear to be general essay titles.

Notice in the activity below the examiner has put **always**. This is a way that examiner can encourage a good essay and an excellent essay which qualifies for marks in the top band.

Julius Caesar was important to Augustus's image but was he **always**? Yes – we have to accept the principate. No – there were possible dangers of his association which Augustus sought to avoid.

Activity 29

'Julius Caesar was always important for Augustus's image.' How far do you agree?

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Ovid joins the spin

Ovid is regarded as an Augustan poet. Unlike earlier poets, such as Horace, Ovid did not like fighting or war and did not regard war as a noble or heroic matter.

In addition, he was not a fervent supporter of Augustus's regime. Horace was close to Maecenas as his powerful patron so was almost bound to praise the new regime and its circles, neither was he following a political career.

Most of Ovid's poetry was racy and risqué. He wrote about his experiences as a soldier. This was not what Augustus wanted his principate to be remembered for. We should tighten morals. Ovid wrote Book 8 on Metamorphoses. The poem traces the history of the deification of Julius Caesar through 250 myths, 15 books and 11,995 lines. It is literature that you can't know. The theme of work overall is transformation and change. Animals, trees and plants, but humans always retain some of their pre-transformed nature.

Extracts from Ovid's Metamorphoses, Book 8, lines 745-760

[745] Apollo's son (Asclepius) came to us from abroad, but Caesar is a god in his country, peace, he rose by wars, which closed in triumphs, and by civic deeds to glory quiet. His offspring's love exalted him as a new, a heavenly, sign and brightly flaming star. Julius Caesar not one is more ennobling to his fame than being father of his glorious son. To him to subdue the Britons guarded by their sheltering sea or lead his fleet victories of the papyrus bearing Nile; to bring beneath Quirinus's (Rome's) rule rebel Numidia, Pontus, proud of Mithridates' name; to have some triumphs and deserve far more than man, with whom as ruler of the human race, O gods, you bless us past all reckoning.

[760] And, lest that son should come from mortal seed, Julius Caesar must change. His mother of Aeneas was aware of this and saw a grievous plot plotted against her son. In a conspiracy preparing for his death, with a fierce face she met each god and said: 'I prepare myself against my cause with how much treachery it dooms the head which the Trojan Iulus. Shall I also be harassed through all time by fear well grounded? First I must wound the son with my Calydonian spear; and then I tremble at the tottering who my son drives through long wanderings, tossed upon the sea, descending to the realm of Turnus - or, if I should speak the truth, with Juno! Why do I recall disasters? Present dread forbids my looking back at ills now past. See how the wicked sword forbids it now, I pray you, and prevent the deed, let not the priest's warm blood quench

More, Brookes, 1859-1942: <https://www.the-classical-civilisation.com>

Classical references

Apollo's son: Asclepius, a new god introduced to Rome. He was a god of healing.

Britons... Nile... rebel Numidia, Juba... Pontus... Mithridates: Ovid refers to Caesar's conquests.

Iulus: the alternative name for Aeneas's son, Ascanius. Through that name the Julian line of emperors is traced.

the son of Tydeus is Diomedes, and *Calydonian* is an adjective describing his home town, Calydon, in Achaia. Diomedes wounded Venus in the Trojan War.

waging war with Turnus: when Aeneas finally landed in Latium, Italy, he had to fight Turnus, the king of Alba Longa.

Juno: after Paris chose Venus as the most beautiful goddess, Juno hated the Trojans and plotted to prevent Aeneas from founding the Roman race.

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Discussion

Caesar is a god: this refers to Julius Caesar, but Ovid does not make too much of him. The emphasis is firmly on Augustus: *his offspring's love exalted him as a brightly flaming star and than to be father of so great a man*. The audience is reminded of Venus, the golden mother of Aeneas. She complains to the gods about Aeneas's Trojan War and hints at the assassination of Caesar. See how the wicked swords of the gods are used to bring about the death of Caesar. Venus asks for Caesar not to be murdered.

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Activity 30

How is Augustus portrayed in this passage? How is he described? How far do you approve of Ovid's approach?

[779] Such words as these, full of her anxious thoughts, Venus proclaimed through the gods were moved, and, since they could not break the ancient sisters' iron decree of approaching woe. It is declared, resounding arms heard from the black clouds and clarions heard through all the highest heavens, forewarned men of the crime. The frightened world a livid light; and in the night-time torches seemed to burn amid the blood fell in rain-showers. Then Lucifer, the morning star, shone blue with all his light. The chariot of the moon was sprinkled with red blood. The Stygian owl gave to the places, tears were shed by the ivory statues. Dirges, too, are said to have been heard by unknown speakers in the sacred groves. No victim gave an omen of good life: the imminent, the liver's cut-off edge was found among the entrails. In the Forum, it is said temples of the gods dogs howled all through the night, and silent shades who shook the city. But portents of the gods could not avert the plots of men and stay the naked swords were brought—into the sacred Senate House. No other place in all the world was there for perpetrating such a dreadful crime! With both hands high up Venus beat her breast, hide the last of great Aeneas' line, as in time past she had hid Paris from fierce Aeneas from the sword of Diomede.

Classical reading

ancient sisters: the three Fates; fate could not be changed, not even by the gods.

Stygian: an adjective referring to the Styx, which was a river in the underworld. It was associated with the underworld.

Activity 31

How does Ovid create an air of foreboding leading up to the assassination of Julius Caesar?

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[807] But Jupiter, her father, cautioned her and said, 'Do you my daughter, without the fixed decrees of the ancient sisters? Unaided you may enter the abode of the gods, a register of deeds the future brings. These, wrought of brass and solid iron with which through all eternity, and have no weakening fears of thunder-shocks from heaven. They are perfectly secure from all destruction. You will surely find the destinies of man engraved in everlasting adamant. It is certain. I myself, have read them there; and my mind. I will repeat them so that you may have unerring knowledge of those fates. Man on whose behalf you are so anxious, already has completed his allotted time owed to life on earth. You with his son, ~~Augustus~~, who now as heir to his estate in government, will cause him, as he left, to reach the heavens, and to be worshipped as a god. Your son will plan revenge on ~~Caesar~~, who killed his father and will have our aid in all his wars. Scarred Mutina, Philippi, Sicilian, Egypt: Augustus's great victories. Notice how they are listed in the listing of Julius Caesar's campaigns.

Classical references

Mutina, Philippi, Sicilian, Egypt: Augustus's great victories. Notice how they are listed in the listing of Julius Caesar's campaigns.

Activity 32: Independent research

Find out more details about the victories of Augustus as listed by Ovid. Extra info on essays about Augustus as a military leader. The term *imperator* may be used in a

Activity 33

How far does the passage above reinforce Augustus's reputation as *imperator*?

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[843] Jupiter hardly had pronounced these words, when kindly Venus, although she was of the Senate, and caught from the dying limbs and trunk of her own Caesar his divine spirit so that it could dissolve in air, but bore it quickly up, toward all the stars of light, gleam and blaze and set it free. Above the moon it mounted into heaven, leaving as a star it glittered in the sky. There, wondering at the younger Caesar's deeds, Jupiter was superior to all of his, and he rejoiced because his son was greater even than himself to regard his own deeds as the mightier! Fame, that moves ~~the~~ ^{the} earth and untrammelled him even against his own desire and in that one point he obeyed his will. And so the fame of Agamemnon, Aegeus yields to Theseus, and Peleus to Achilles, or, to name the gods, so Saturn yields to Jove. Now Jove rules in high heavens and is the lord of shades, Augustus rules in the earth—so each is both a father and a god. Gods when both ~~the~~ ^{the} earth gave way, and native gods of Italy, and Father Quirinus and you, Mars, the father of Romulus the invincible, and Vesta, Diana, hallowed Phoebus Apollo ever worshipped at his hearth, and Jupiter who rules the citadel of other gods—all gods to whom a poet rightfully and with all piety may make appeal beyond our time, when great Augustus shall forsake the earth which he now governs to that far height to hear his people's prayers!

Classical references

The passage features sons who became more famous, or who were greater warriors.

| Father | Son |
|----------------------|----------------------------------|
| Atreus | Agamemnon |
| Aegeus | Theseus |
| Peleus | Achilles |
| Saturn (a god) | Jupiter (so referred to as Jove) |
| Native gods of Italy | Mythical gods |

Discussion

Ovid plays down Julius Caesar as a mortal (and dictator) but emphasises Augustus even hints that the real author of Caesar's deification was Augustus. The build-up to using graphic vocabulary. Jupiter prophesised what will happen, underlying the rise to power as part of Fate. The gods praise Augustus and his achievements and assess him as a god: *and he rejoiced because his son was greater even than himself... when great which he now governs, and rise up to heaven.*

Activity 34

Using words and phrases from the whole of the extract from Ovid, how does Ovid describe the scene?

- Augustus has divine origins
- The Senate and Republic are important
- Augustus does not enjoy leadership
- Revenge on Julius Caesar's death is legitimate
- Augustus will bring peace
- Augustus is humble

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The perfect family with perfect morals

We have seen how Augustus used Julius Caesar and his ancestors to legitimise his now 'imperial' family to promote his image and values. In the first place, Augustus' imperial family to live. He chose the Palatine Hill. This was the site of the oldest structures in Rome, which had been the area where many famous politicians lived, such as Cicero and Mark Anthony. The house of the politician Hortensius and it became the nucleus for a group of palaces. The Palatine became the home of the emperors solely. The palaces were sumptuously decorated.



No expense was spared in the imperial residence. However as nobody else lived there, it could not be checked and, indeed, Augustus was keen to promote the idea that he was a citizen could not check his claim.

Augustus had three wives during the course of his life: Claudia (married 42 BC), Scribonia, whom he divorced after two years. Scribonia gave him his only child, Julia. His third wife, Livia, was married in 37 BC, six years before the Battle of Actium. Livia was the daughter of an old and noble family, the Claudii. She had been married to a Tiberius Claudius Nero, the father of his two sons, Tiberius and Drusus.

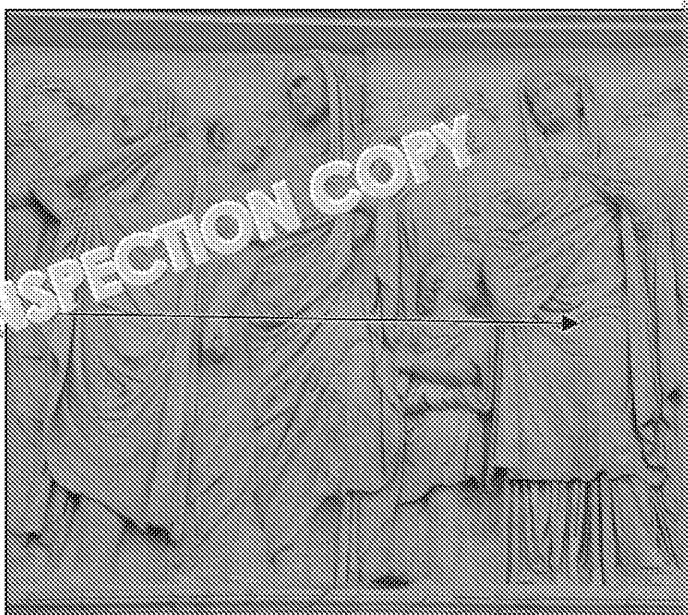
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Made in 31 BC, this head depicts Livia in the same year as the Battle of Actium. The material is a stone called basanite, which came from Egypt, hence Egyptian basanite. This is a subtle point that Augustus can get material from anywhere in the Roman Empire, especially from Egypt, which had recently been defeated.

We can be fairly sure that this is a reasonable 'like-ness' of Livia. Roman sculpture reflected people as they looked, so Livia has a sharp and long nose, a small mouth and chin. She is looking serious, as would be expected of a respectable married woman. The term for such women is *matrona*. Her hair is neatly arranged, and she has a bun at the back of her head. This was a fashionable hairstyle at the time. She was like the mother of the state.

Livia played an important part in the promotion of Augustus as a moral family man. Her image appears on a construction completed in 9 BC called the Ara Pacis, the Altar of Peace, commissioned by the Senate in honour of Augustus's military success in Spain and Gaul, modern France. For more detail see page 47 onwards.



The Ara Pacis was surrounded by decorative panels called friezes. The southern frieze on the far right. What most scholars believe to be Livia is shown with her head covered in a religious event. The whole imperial family is taking part in a religious procession. This emphasises that all the family supports Augustus's religious and moral renewal.

Livia was also celebrated in a poem by Horace.

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O citizen, like Hercules was said
to have sought the laurel death can alone buy,
conquering Caesar has come back to his household gods
from the Spanish shore,

and his wife, rejoicing in an illustrious husband,
having sacrificed to just gods, let her appear now
with our famous leader's sister, and ~~in a~~
in a holy ribbon,

the mothers of ~~girls~~ ^{boys} youths, now
safe. And you ~~boys~~ ^{boys} and girls
still without husbands, spare us
ill-omened words.

This day is truly a holiday for me,
let it banish dark cares: I shall not fear an uprising,
nor dying by violence, while Caesar
controls the earth.

Go boy, seek perfume and garlands
and a jar that remembers the Marsian War,
if any have been able to escape
the roaming Spartacus

And tell graceful Neaera to hurry
and fasten her hair, scented with perfume, in a knot:
if there is a delay because of her hateful doorkeeper,
go away.

Greying hair softens my enthusiasm
for arguments for heat. ~~I~~ ^{It} was
I would not ~~be~~ ^{be} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~my~~ ^{my} ~~hot~~ ^{hot} youth,
When Plancus ~~was~~ ^{was} consul.

Classical References

with our famous leader's sister: Octavia was Augustus's sister.

dressed in a holy ribbon: ribbons or *fillets* were worn for religious ceremonies.

Marsian War: this was also known as the Social Wars. People who lived in Italy, but not in Rome, wanted Roman citizenship.

Spartacus: a true character, not just in the movies, and a slave who led the Servile War in 73 BC. The name implies that Spartacus had a fondness for drink.

Neaera: a fictional girlfriend.

Plancus: Plancus was consul in 42 BC.

Discussion

This poem celebrates the return of Augustus from his campaigns in Spain and Gaul. The laurel wreath was worn in the triumphal procession. Horace feels that there is peace in the world and that the hands of the ~~Augustan~~ family. *This day is truly a holiday for me*: Augustus had brought peace to the earth, but *Life* (Livy), *sacrificed to just gods and dressed in a holy ribbon*, is maintained.

The poem then shifts to matters of love. Horace was born in 65 BC, and so tells us that he can return to the time when he was free for, as far as he was concerned, more love.

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Activity 35

What impression of Livia is given of her by the prescribed sources you have studied? Consider: The Head of Livia; The Panel from the Ara Pacis; Horace Odes 3.14.

If Livia was the mother of the state, then Augustus was the father of the state. (This was accepted, but not until 2 BC at the age of 60.) Like all heads of Roman households, the running of his house and setting standards. During the civil wars, families had which developed into greed and ambition. This led to the morals and customs of being forgotten or deliberately abandoned. Augustus needed to turn this attitude reflected in Horace's Odes 3.14.

Prescribed Text: Horace Odes 3.14

Though undeserving, for your ancestors' guilty behaviour you must pay,
Roman, until you've restored the temples,
and the tumble-down shrines of the gods
And statues, filthy with black smoke.

You rule because you present yourself lower than the gods
Be that your base, credit them the outcome.

Neglected gods have given
many woes for mournful Italy.

Twice already Pacorus and Monaeses
Have crushed our inauspicious attacks
Smiling that to their paltry treasures
they have added our spoils.

Our city, torn by civil wars,
Dacian and Ethiop almost destroyed.
These with their dreadfully fierce
better with Scythians.

An age rich in wickedness
has first the marriage-bed, our children, our homes;
from this source disaster's flood
spread over our land and people.

The young girl early takes delights to be taught
Greek dances, and is accomplished in the arts,
and now dreams about sinful affairs,
from her tenderest years:

soon at her husband's dinners she searches
for younger adulterers, nor does she mind to whom she
grants her sudden unlawful pleasures
when the lights are removed.

But she gets up, openly, when ordered,
not without her husband's knowledge, either some merchant
calls, or captain of a Spar
an extravagance yet to be shamed.

Not for these delights did youth arise
who the sea stained for us with Punic blood,
felled Pyrhus, and huge
Antiochus, and dread Hannibal;

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this was a hardy offspring of rustic soldiers,
taught to turn the clumps of earth
with a Sabine hoe then
to bring in cut wood on the whim of a strict mother,
when sunset changed the shadows of the mountains
and taken the yoke from the wearing oxen,
bringing in a welcome time
as his chariot goes away.

What has the harmful day not brought forth?
Worse than grandpa's or parents has produced
ourselves, you worse than to give
offspring in the world.

Translation: London

Classical references

Pacorus: a Parthian who invaded Syria (hence the use of *twice*, meaning two Parthians).

Monaeses: a Parthian who attacked Antony.

Dacian: modern Romania.

Ethiop: a loose reference to Egyptians and Antony and Cleopatra.

Punic: Carthaginian. Hannibal was an enemy of Rome who fought in the Punic Wars.

Pyrrhus: a King of Epirus in Greece who invaded Italy in 280 BC.

Antiochus: a Syrian king defeated by the Romans in 188 BC.

Discussion

Horace wrote this poem in 23 BC. He is collecting what Augustus was thinking. In the poem he is critical of the fall of moral standards. After the poem was written, Augustus took his moral reforms further. In 18–17 BC a set of laws was passed: the *Leges Iuliae*, Julian Laws. They encouraged marriage and 'proper' breeding of children. The laws discouraged divorce so much that it was explicit in the regulations of the young wife and how she prostitutes herself for her husband. The decline has given Rome's enemies the upper hand. The answer is to return to the ancestors and to repair the temples. The final verses remind the Romans of the 'old' days when Augustus as *pater patriae* would fulfil the need for strong moral leadership.

Activity 36

How does Horace show, by his use of language, his disgust at what society has become?

Augustus's own family fell foul of the new moral regime, in particular, Julia, his only daughter, who was married off by Augustus at the age of fourteen. Julia married Marcellus, but he died before they were married. Julia was sixteen. There were no children. In 21 BC, Augustus married Julia off to Tiberius, who was nearly 25 years older, but it was a typical arranged marriage. Agrippa and Julia's son, Gaius, was born. After the death of Agrippa, Augustus's stepson, Tiberius, son of Livia, married Julia. Both Tiberius and Julia were very unhappy.

In following Roman mores, a woman was expected to be entirely faithful to her husband. When Julia was arrested for adultery and treason, Romans at the time believed her lover to be a slave. As the law did not allow a slave to be executed, Augustus could not really execute her so opted for Julia's exile. She was confined on an island (the island of Ventotene) with no men in sight, forbidden even to drink wine. Five years later, Julia was allowed to return to the mainland, though Augustus never forgave her. She had embarrassed Augustus and the Empire.

Initially, too, the poet Ovid was probably unaware of what Augustus's new regime

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On the success of writing his love poems, *Amores*, Ovid was swept along and wrote an explicit description of the art of love written by an expert (himself). This was probably sensing this, Ovid wrote a book on the antidote to love, but this was not enough. The wrong place at the wrong time – we do not know the details, but some scholars himself gave two reasons, referred to by him as *carmen et error*, ‘a poem and a mistake’. He was exiled, too, to Tomis in modern-day Romania on the Black Sea. Nothing could have been a socialite like Ovid.

Activity 37: Independent research

Find out more about the Julian Laws.

The panel of the Ara Pacis, shown on page 34, not only depicted Livia but the whole family. This gave an image of unity within the family. It also showed the children. It showed the *succession*.

Succession was going to prove a huge problem both for Augustus and the empire. Mary Beard points out, Augustus was not the actual son of Julius Caesar and Augustus. Besides, Augustus went to great lengths to show he wanted to preserve the Republic. Then again, he wanted to show that the Roman Empire was secure. He did this from Julia's marriage to Agrippa. These were Gaius and Lucius. They are thought to be the panel of the Ara Pacis. They enhance Augustus's image as a father figure but Augustus formally adopted Gaius and Lucius as his sons. They appeared on coins after his adoption.

Prescribed Source: Augustus of Gaius and Lucius



The reverse of the coin is shown in the image above. The two boys Gaius and Lucius are named at the bottom of the image: C.L. CAESARES, which stands for ‘The Caesars’. Gaius, on adoption, took on the name Caesar. The coin in the image is quite worn, but we can see on the British Museum website, that on the reverse was also the inscription:

AUGUSTI F: Sons of Augustus, following the example of their father.

COS DESIG: Consuls designate. They are already shown as men, as they are wearing the toga, to take the highest rank in politics, as he had.

PRINCIPES: The best among the young. Augustus was *princeps* and they would have been the *principes* of Rome.

Gaius was born in 20 BC, and Lucius was born in 17 BC, with the coin being minted when they were 15 years old. They were not too young to join the army and sadly they both died young. Lucius was taken ill and died in AD 2 while in Gaul, and Gaius died in AD 4 in Armenia.

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path of succession again. His daughter Julia had had another son, Agrippa Postumus in AD 6. Finally, Augustus adopted Tiberius, the son of Livia, in AD 4. Tiberius was a successful general, as was his brother Drusus. Scholars think Tiberius is the one shown in the *Prima Porta* statue receiving the standards from the Parthians as he did actually do.

Each boy holds a spear and sword, possibly referring to their military training or to the games. Between the figures are a *simpulum* and a *lituus* (see page 11).

The obverse has the head of Augustus with a laurel wreath and the non-military oak wreath. The inscription is AVGUSTVS DIVI F PATER PATRIAE, *Augustus, son of a god, father of the country*.

Activity

1. Practise drawing an outline of the obverse and reverse.
2. How does this coin show that the imperial family has religious devotion, divine status and political power?

Practical Activity: Horace's Odes 4.4

Like the lightning's agent,
Whom Jove over all the wandering birds
Made king, having proved himself faithful
in auburn Ganymede;

Once youth and inborn power sent him
new to his tasks. He quits the nest with trepidation,
when winter's storms have ceased,
And zephyrs of returning spring

teach him unaccustomed efforts
he swoops down on the fold
now onto resisting serpent's head
love of a feast and of drink drives him

As a tender goat content on grazing on the grass
spots looking up from her food,
a lion cub weaned on fresh milk of his tawny mother
and is about to die by his inexperienced tooth:

Horace, *The Odes and Carmen Saeculare of Horace*. John Conington, 1890.

Discussion

The opening lines describe an eagle, the bird associated with Jupiter, *Jove*. *Ganymede* was a goat that Jupiter found attractive and had an eagle carry him up to his home to be his cup-bearer. The poem ends with the goat realising the danger of the lion cub.

Activity 40

What do we learn about the eagle's character in the opening lines?

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Similarly, the Vindelici saw under the Rhaetian Alps
Drusus waging wars—whose custom
they learned through immemorial years
to wield Amazonian axes

in their right hands. I have put off asking:
It is not right to know everything – but for so long
the victorious hoards far and wide
conquered in turn by the strategies of the ~~young~~ ^{older} man

They realised what mind duly nurtured and what character
duly nurtured in an ~~aurum~~ ^{gold} age one could do,
what the ~~patres~~ ^{old} ~~boys~~ ^{boys} of Augustus
could do for ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~young~~ ^{old} Nero boys.

The brave are created by the brave and good.
It is in bullocks, in horses, the virtue of their fathers
nor do fierce eagles produce
a weakling dove.

But education draws forth the power within,
and correct cultivation strengthens the hearts:
should manners fail, the faults
dishonour well born things.

Discussion

These next lines highlight the qualities of the *Nero* boys, stepsons of Augustus. They were born in 15 BC.

Activity 41

In what way is Augustus indirectly praising the lines of the poem above?

O Rome who ~~first~~ ^{first} ~~best~~ ^{best} you owe to the Neros,
let the river Ixtaurus be witness, and Hasdrubal
defeated and that glorious day,
when the shadows fled Latium,

which first smiled in cheering victory,
when terrible Hannibal rode through Italian
cities, like a flame through pine-torches
or the East wind over the Sicilian seas.

After this, by fortune aiding efforts,
Roman youth thrived: her shrines
laid waste by the impious uprising of the Carthaginians
had their gods restored.

And at last the treacherous Hannibal said:
'like a deer, the prey of ravening wolves'
we rush afire those whom it is a ~~task~~ ^{task}
triumph to elude and e

The race was ~~long~~ ^{long} from burned Troy
brought its ~~stolen~~ ^{stolen} objects, tossed on Tuscan waters,
its children, its aged fathers,
to Italy's cities,

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like an oak trimmed by double headed axes
on Mount Algidus, rich in dark leaves,
through losses, through slaughter, from the sword
draws new strength and spirit.

The Hydra did not grow stronger with its cut body
against Hercules, grieving at being defeated:
nor was a greater monster raised
by Colchis or by Echonian Thebes.

Plunged in the deep, it emerges fierce
wrestle with it with great fury
it will overthrow the accomplished victor
and wage battle for their wives to tell.

No proud messages shall I send now
to Carthage: lost, lost is
is all hope, and the fortune,
of my name since Hasdrubal was destroyed.'

There is nothing that Claudian hands will not achieve,
which Jove protects with kindly authority,
And watchful potencies clear the path
through the acute dangers of war.

Classical references

river Metaurus: a river in Italy where the Romans fought the Carthaginians in 202 BC. Gaius Claudius Nero, an ancestor of Tiberius and Drusus who led the Romans.

Hasdrubal: brother of Hannibal.

Hannibal: leader of the Carthaginians. He is remembered for his invasion of Italy.

Algidus: a mountain in Italy, about 12 miles south of Rome. It is still dark or shaded.

Hydra: a monster fought by Hercules as one of his twelve labours. It had seven heads, off, two grew back in a place.

Colchis: a dragon guarded the Golden Fleece, which Jason had to find.

Echonian Thebes: the founder of Thebes, Cadmus, had to fight a dragon.

Activity 42

How does Hannibal manage to praise Rome and Augustus in his speech?

The image, right, is a bust of Tiberius, one of the *Nero boys*. Notice the line around the top of his armour. This was so that heads could be 'updated' as fashions (such as hairdos) changed or as people aged. This is why museums have several heads of emperors and not so many whole statues.

Activity 43

Using the sources you have studied so far, do you agree that Augustus was successful in his intention that the imperial family should be role models?

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The Golden Age

Nearly everything was now just as Augustus had designed. He promoted the idea of the Golden Age. In his *Metamorphoses* 1, lines 89–112, Ovid describes the Golden Age:

First was the Golden Age. Then rectitude spontaneous in the heart prevailed, and seen, for laws unframed were all unknown and needless. Punishment and fear of harsh decrees were fixed on brazen plates. No supplies were outside the countenance, dwelt without a judge in peace. Descended north ~~steps~~, shorn from its height, to trackless waves of alien shores, nor ~~distress~~ ~~ills~~ were known to wandering men entrenched for time of war; ~~no~~ ~~war~~ ~~trumpets~~, straight, nor horns of conflict, shields nor swords. There was no thought of martial pomp — secure a happy multitude of her own ~~life~~ ~~earth~~ produced a store of every fruit. The harrow touched by ploughshare ~~gathered~~ ~~her~~ fields. And man, content with given food, and none comest fruits and wild strawberries on the mountain sides, and ripe blackberries clinging and sweet acorns on the ground, down fallen from the spreading tree of Jove. Even zephyrs soothed and warmly cherished buds and blooms, produced without a seed unploughed gave many fruits; the fields though not renewed white glistened with rivers flowed milk and nectar, and the trees, the very oak trees, then gave honey of

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Activity 44

In what ways was the Golden Age 'idyllic'?

Examination advice

In the specification, OCR lists Augustus as a *cultor* (p. 10). This was never a term used in his time. However, Augustus can be said to be *cultor* in his promotion of the arts, his promotion of literature through *Musei*, his role in his provision of entertainment.

Augustus celebrated the start of the new Golden Age with *Secular games*. Today 'secular' is associated with non-religious activities. This was not the case in Roman times. The Latin word *saeculum*, translated as *century* or *era* or *age*. The Secular games were 'good old days'. The Secular games therefore celebrated the end of the *saeculum* and the beginning of another. The festival lasted for three days and nights:

So, when a hundred years and ten
Bring round the cycle, game and song
Three days, three nights, shall charm again
The festal throng.

The song, in the form of a prayer, was addressed to Apollo and Diana. It especially favoured Horace, commissioning him, after writing the very supportive odes, to write a song for the Secular games of 17 BC. The hymn was sung by 2,000 youths and girls at the new temple of Apollo on the Palatine Hill and again on the Capitol Hill.

A marble inscription recording the festival and the part played by Horace still survives.

Activity

See the image of the marble inscription here: zzed.uk/12482-Secular-Games

- PALATIO: the Palatine Hill is where Augustus lived
- APOLLO: Augustus's guardian and champion god
- CARMEN: records that the hymn was sung at the games
- Q HOR: records that Horace wrote the hymn (see COMPOSIT)

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This version has been left as a rhyming hymn as translated by John Conington. It is available on the [Gutenberg](http://www.gutenberg.org) website, where you can download the prescribed Horace's *Odes* and *Carmen Seculare*.

Activity 46

Read the Carmen Saeculare aloud. After reading, consider /> discuss if in a group or individually, what the poem means to you or your audience.

Phoebus and Diana, huntress fair,
To-day and always magnify
Bright lights of heaven, record our prayer
This day, the 1st of June,
On which Babylon's volume wills
That youths and maidens without stain
To gods, who love the seven dear hills,
Should chant the strain!
Sun, that unchanged, yet ever new,
Lead'st out the day and bring'st it home,
May nought be present to thy view
More great than Rome!
Blest lithyia! be thou near
In travail to each Roman dame!
Lucina, Genitalis, hear,
Whate'er thy name!
O make our youth to live and grow!
The fathers' nuptial counsels speed,
Those laws that shall on Rome bestow
A plenteous seed!
So when a hundred years and more
Bring round the cycle of the song
Three days, three nights, shall charm again
The lithyia song.
Ye too, ye Fates, whose righteous doom,
Declared but once, is sure as heaven,
Link on new blessings, yet to come,
To blessings given!
Let Earth, with grain and cattle rife,
Crown Ceres' brow with wreathen corn;
Soft winds, sweet waters, nurse to life
The newly born!
O lay thy shafts, Apollo, by!
Let suppliant youths obtain thine ear!
Thou Moon, fair 'regent of the sky,'
Thy maidens hear!
If Rome is yours, if Troy's remains,
Safe by your conduct, sought and found,
Another city, other fanes
On Tuscan ground
For whom lithyia piles of slain,
Aeneas, on broad highway,
Destined, pure heart, with greater gain
Their loss to pay,
Grant to our sons unblemished ways;
Grant to our sires an age of peace;

Grant to our nation peace
And large increase
See, at your shrine, who
Prays Venus and Aeneas
O prompt him still the
The fallen to spare
Now Media dreads our
Our victories land afar
Scythia and Ind in su
So proud before.
Faith, Honour, ancient
And Peace, and Virtue
Come back to earth;
With teeming horn
Augur and lord of sacrifice
Apollo, darling of the
Who heal'st our fram
Have made it pine
Lov'st thou thine own
Prolong the glorious
To other cycles, bright
Through time to come
From Algidus and Alpes
List, goddess, to our
To praying youths the
Diana queen!
Thus Jove and all the
So trusting, wend we
Phoebus and Dian's song
And this our strain

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Classical references

Sibyl's: in order to show that Augustus had not just 'invented' his new Golden Age, he had been prophesied in the *Sibylline Books*. These were supposed to have been prophecies made by the Sibyl, a priestess of Apollo, and a collection of her prophecies was kept by fifteen priests who interpreted what was written from the original Greek verse.

seven dear hills: Rome stands in a geographical basin surrounded by seven hills. Hill have already been discussed in this guide. Another, the Aventine, is ment

Lucina, Genitalis: both of these are titles of the goddess Diana, sister of Apollo.

Ceres: goddess of the harvest.

Media dreads our Alban steel: Media is another name for Parthia, and Alba refers to the Parthian wars and the return of the standards.

Discussion

Augustus is praised in the song.

- The song is addressed to his patron Apollo (*Phoebus*) and the god's sister *Diana*
- His introduction of the Julian Laws: *Those laws that shall on Rome bestow Aeneas' Empire*
- His ancestry is mentioned: *Aeneas made a broad highway, Destined, pure he was, Venus and Anchises' heir!*
- His military success over the Parthians: *Now Media dreads our Alban steel*
- His respect for the gods and religious revival: *Lov'st thou thine own Palatian*
- Augustus could not survive on his own image alone. The citizens of Rome need a Golden Age.

Examination advice

Examiners frequently ask for a beginning with **How far...** or **To what extent...** counterargument is required. Without a counterargument, answers cannot be considered complete. Introduce the counterargument with words such as **However**, or **On the other hand**.

Activity 47

How far do you agree that the Carmen Saeculare would make the people at the Golden Age? In the counterargument you could consider whether the image of Aeneas the Golden Age.

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Augustus's building programme

It was not much good having a new Golden Age if Rome, the centre of the revival naturally started on a building plan.

As part of his religious revival, Augustus set about repairing and building temples. The Temple to Apollo.

Activity 48

Revise details and the poem about the Temple of Apollo using pages 20–22.

We have seen that the Temple of Apollo represented:

- The celebration of the Battle of Actium (its correct dedication was to Actian Mars)
- The restoration of the Golden Age
- Augustus's cardinal virtue of *pietas*

 Go to [zzed.uk](http://www.zigzageducation.com)

Activity 49

Propertius saw the building and describes it in one of his poems. Read the poem references. What images were used as decoration? [zzed.uk/12482-Propertius](http://www.zigzageducation.com/zzed.uk/12482-Propertius)

Another temple, built near the entrance to the Capitol Hill by Augustus, was a small temple to Jupiter the Thunderer, *Jupiter Tonans*. It was dedicated in 22 BC and played an important role in the Secular games, the religious and arts festival held in 17 BC, when the Carmen Saeculare was performed. Augustus issued a denarius in 19 BC to mark the building.



The obverse says CAESAR AVGVSTVS and the reverse has the temple. It does not exist today, but from this coin we can tell that there were steps up to the entrance and that there were six columns. A statue of Jupiter was in the temple and would have been seen in the inner sanctuary from the top of the steps. The reverse has (I)OV, which stands for Jove, another name for Jupiter. TON is for *Tonans*, Thunderer.

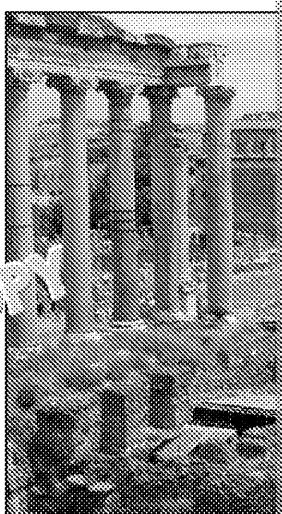
From prehistoric times, people brought offerings in the basin formed by the surrounding hills. Possibly, men traded cattle there for centuries. At times this had become the Forum where political, legal and religious activities took place. The image, right, may be familiar.

However, as Rome grew, the Forum became crowded and it was not big enough. A new, larger Forum was needed – the need which Augustus addressed.

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Almost nothing can be



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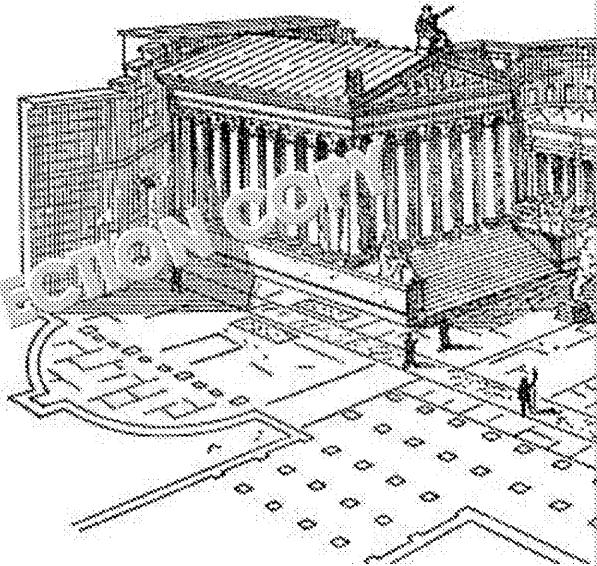


To build a Forum was a great advantage for Augustus. It was a place open to all the public, unlike his buildings on the Palatine. It was multipurpose, so many different people would use it. It was begun in 20 BC but not formally opened until 2 BC. Like the ~~the~~ Forum, it was rectangular in shape with porticoes down each side. The space was dominated at one end by a temple, the temple to Mars Ultor. The porticoes curved out around the temple end.

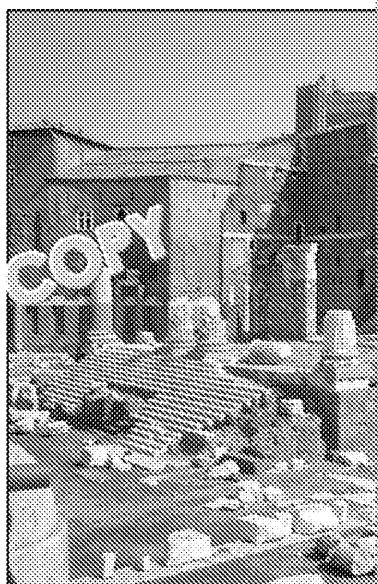
This curve is known as an *exedra*. There was a huge wall behind the temple; the 'spin' was that it was a fire wall, but it conveniently hid the slum area of Rome. This claim was partly true, as the slum housing was mainly made of wooden frames, so fires were common. There was also a smell, particularly in the summer.

The image (page 51) shows the Temple of Mars Ultor. Augustus had promised to build a temple if he was successful in the battle of Philippi way back in 42 BC. All Roman temples, Mars Ultor was raised up, dominating the Forum. Stairs can be seen leading up to a platform. There were originally eight columns across the front and eight down the sides. The flooring had multicoloured marble brought from around the empire, including Egypt. Inside the temple was the cult statue of Mars Ultor, Mars the Avenger. Either side of him were statues of Venus and Julius Caesar.

The covered walkways and *exedrae* were lined with statues of famous Romans, and a statue of Augustus. The west *exedra* had statues of Aeneas and his descendants; the east of the open forum was a statue of Augustus riding a chariot, with the inscription PATER PATRIAE. As the god of war, it was appropriate that military souvenirs were kept in the temple. The Parthian standards. Of course, this did not just serve as a cult building – it was vis



An artist's impression of the Forum of Augustus.



The Forum of Augustus today.

Activity 50

1. This three-minute ~~video~~ [video](#) shows some of the details in the Forum. Make notes on the Forum: [Forum](#)
2. How does the Forum of Augustus show each of the following?
 - Augustus's divine heritage
 - Augustus as *imperator*
 - Rome was in its Golden Age
 - Augustus's *pietas*
 - Augustus as *pater patriae*

Go to [zz](#)

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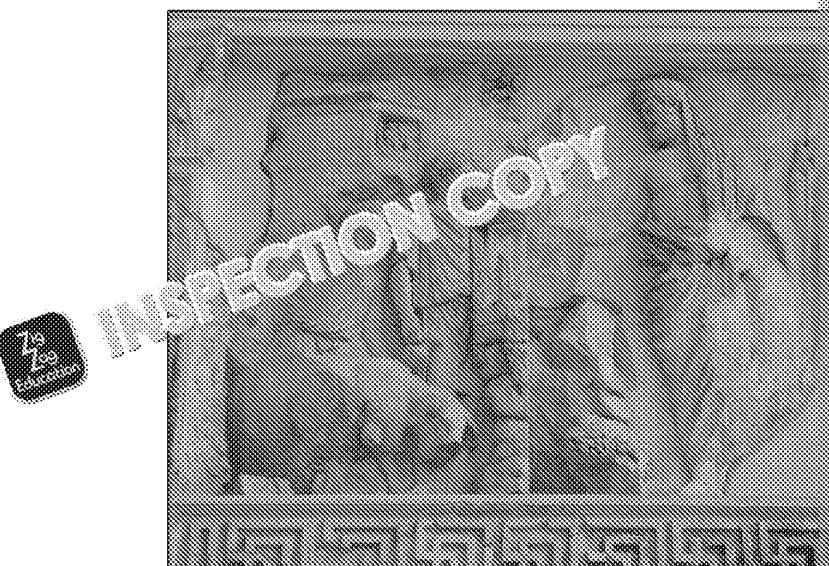
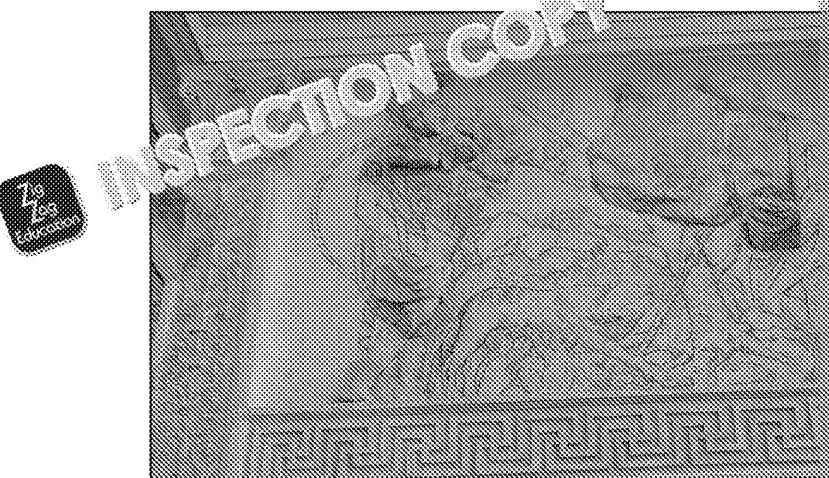


The Ara Pacis, Altar of Peace, was commissioned by the Senate in 13 BC to honour Gaul and Spain. It dates from 9 BC and was made of marble. The altar went far beyond the walled area with an entrance at either end. It was situated on the Appian Way, a major road into Rome, so it would have been seen by both citizens and non-citizens.



West end of the Ara Pacis

The **west frieze**: upper panels (also called registers) seen at either side of the entrance.



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The upper left-hand image is linked to the moment that the shepherd (on the right) suckled two babies (drawn), Romulus and Remus, being suckled by the she-wolf. Mars on the right is the father of the twins and ancestors of Augustus.

The lower right-hand image has been interpreted two ways by scholars:

1. Aeneas stands offering sacrifice, with his head covered, in front of his son Ascanius, who is surrounded by guardian spirits, which he brought from Troy, are housed in a shrine on the hill.
2. Numa Pompilius, the second king of Rome. Numa (v. 1) is supposedly responsible for the religious introductions.

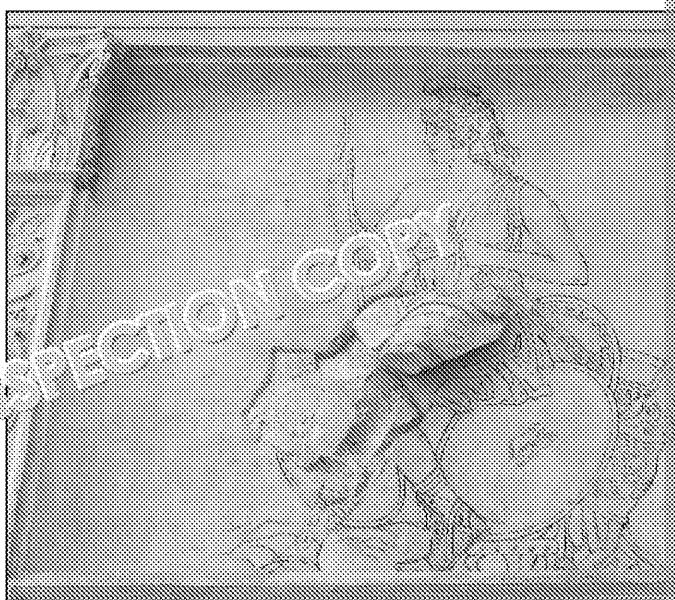
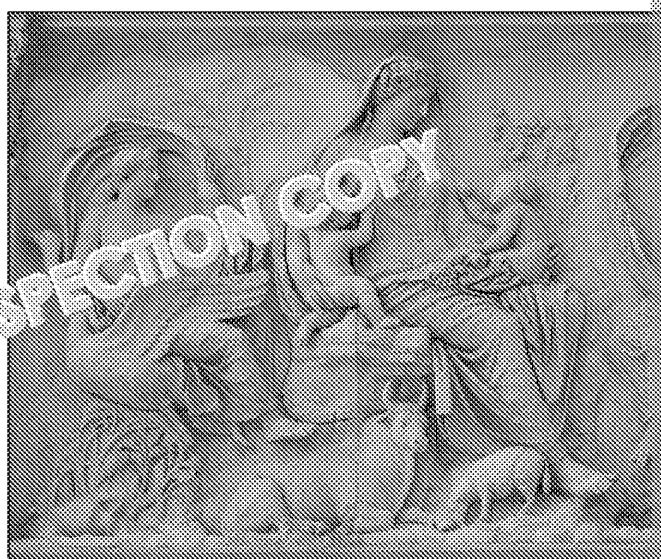
Examination ad

As follows:  the example of little words meaning a lot. It is possible to give this will score a very low mark. The question asks for **at least one** reason. This could be 'because Aeneas is in it', which would not score much more. Try to give a detailed a second or counterargument. A top-level answer would consider both interpretations.

Activity 51

Which interpretation better suits the planned image of Augustus? Give at least one reason for your answer.

The east frieze: upper panels



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The left-hand image is very well preserved. Scholars have interpreted the goddess

1. Tellus: Earth
2. Ceres: goddess of plenty
3. Venus: ancestor of Augustus
4. Pax: peace

The goddess is surrounded by animals and is flanked by two semi-nude females. It is thought that the image is actually his wife Livia.

The right-hand image is heavily fragmented, and scholars have linked the tiny fragments on a throne of wearers to the goddess. It has been decided based on coins depicting the

Activity

Which interpretation better suits the planned image of Augustus? Give at least one reason for your answer.

The north frieze (upper frieze)

The north and south frieze are very well preserved and depict a religious procession.

The north wall shows senators and priests. The senators are wearing togas, and carry staves. The figure at the back, possibly also a priest, is holding a box of incense which was used on the Ara Pacis showing their support for Augustus.



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The south frieze (upper frieze)

The south frieze depicts priests, lictors and the imperial family.

Augustus



The south frieze shows the imperial family. The family are preceded by the *flamines*, the first person on the left, then he is in front of priests called *flamines* (with the others called *lictors*, one of whom is carrying an axe. Even if Augustus is the other figure (scholars disagree), then both are dressed the same). The other male members of the family is 'simply' part of the family. The whole family supports Augustus, and the successive children on the frieze. (Some scholars think these are the children of foreign rulers).

The lower frieze

The lower frieze of the altar was covered with a floral pattern all the way around. The viewer that Augustus's regime has brought in the Golden Age when every aspect of society was in balance.

Activity 53

Watch this YouTube presentation for a summary of the Ara Pacis: [zzed.uk/12482](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zzed.uk/12482). How does it fit in with the creation of Augustus's image?

Finally, it seemed that Augustus had placed himself where he wanted to be. He had celebrated everything Augustus. Much of what is celebrated on the Ara Pacis is related to the family.

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Phoebus rebuked me loudly on his lyre, me, wanting to sing of battles and conquer
my little sails on the Tyrrhenian sea. Caesar, this age of yours has restored

rich crops to the fields, and brought back the standards to our Jupiter, torn from us
free from all wars,

closed the gates of Janus' temple, and restrained the in lawlessness, straying
driven out crime, and summoned the ancient rites again,

through which the name of Rome and Julian strength grew great, and the fame as
stretch from western be the Danube to the regions where it rises

With Caesar as guardian, no civil madness or force will drive out the peace, no arm
makes enemies, nor wretched towns.

Those who drink from the deep Danube will not break the Julian laws, nor the Germans
Persians, nor those who are born near the river Tanais (Don).

And we on working days, and on holy days, among the gifts of laughing Bacchus
wives we'll pray duly first to the gods,

then, in the manner of our fathers, bravely, in verse, that's accompanied by Lydian
leaders who have played their part, Troy, Anchises, and the offspring of kindly Venus.

Classical references

Phoebus: Apollo.

Tyrrhenian sea: the sea off the west coast of Italy.

lawlessness: Horace in his original Latin actually refers to 'rites', which cover immorality.

offspring of kindly Venus: not Aeneas but the Julian line.

Discussion

Horace directly addresses Augustus in this Ode, *Caesar*. Under his rule Horace tells us,

| | |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| It is an age of plenty (see Ara Pacis, page 48) | <i>rich crops to the fields</i> |
| The Parthian standards have been returned | <i>brought back the standards</i> |
| There is peace | <i>closed the gates of Janus</i> |
| Civil war is over | <i>no civil madness or force</i> |
| Morality has returned | <i>will not break the Julian laws</i> |

Activity 54

How far does this elegy make a good summary of Augustus's achievements?

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Augustus's image in the empire

So far, we have seen the importance to Augustus of securing his position with the people of Rome. Yet he was emperor over a large area of the Mediterranean and beyond. How did he project his image to those who were not based in Rome?

Activity 55: Independent research

Find a map of the Roman Empire at the time of Augustus. Save or print it off and use it to see where Augustus's messages were publicised.

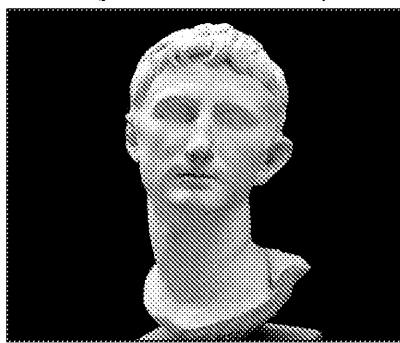
Activity 56

Why would a bust be a good way to promote Augustus's messages away from Rome?

Augustus needed the peoples of the empire to know his image. Naturally busts allowed people to know who their emperor was.

Heads of Augustus:

Bergama, Modern Turkey



Meroe, Sudan (near Egypt)



Activity 57

Listen to this BBC Sounds podcast. It lasts about fourteen minutes and discusses the busts in the Meroe Head: [bbc.co.uk/sounds/12482-podcast-heads](https://www.bbc.co.uk/sounds/12482-podcast-heads)

Why do we have so many heads of emperors? Because statues of them were frequently made in different poses and hairdos. We have very few heads of an elderly Augustus. He wanted to promote the image of a young, active, vigorous emperor. He is also shown in the Prima Porta statue and on the Ara Pacis.

Certainly, any Romans living in the empire could relate to the toga-wearing Roman inhabitants of the empire were Romans. As non-Romans, such people had different leaders. Augustus realised this and adapted his image to suit.

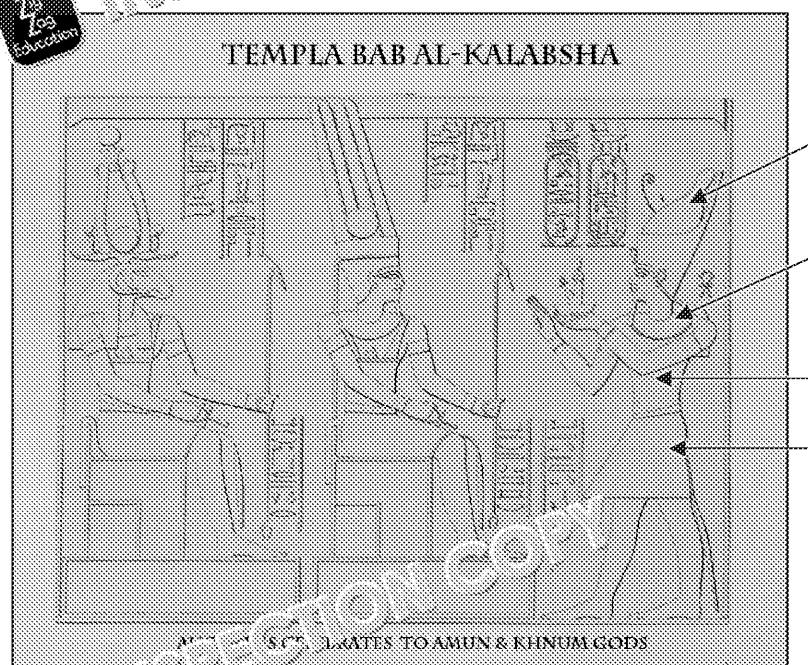
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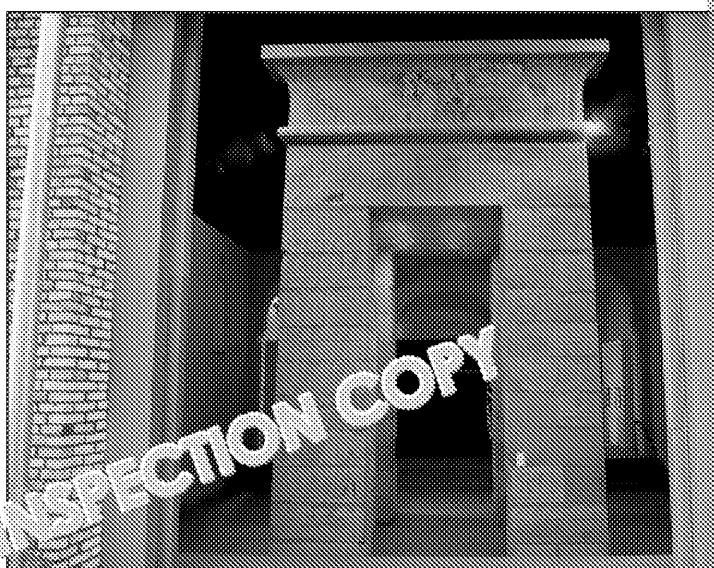
Kalabsha Temple

The temple was built at Aswan, on the river Nile in Egypt, during the reign of Augustus, after the Battle of Actium, and dedicated to the Nubian god Mandulis. The Egyptian Osiris were worshipped here, too. The temple is a standard Egyptian plan. A monolithic block was built into an open courtyard followed by a columned hall, called a *hypostyle hall*. This hall beyond which served as halls for offerings. From 1962 to 1963, this temple was removed to the island of New Kalabsha in order to save it from the rising waters of the Nile as a result of the Aswan Dam.

Importantly for Augustus, the temple and his image included in the decoration, bring him closer to the gods. He is portrayed as an Egyptian pharaoh in several places on the temple walls and offering to the gods.



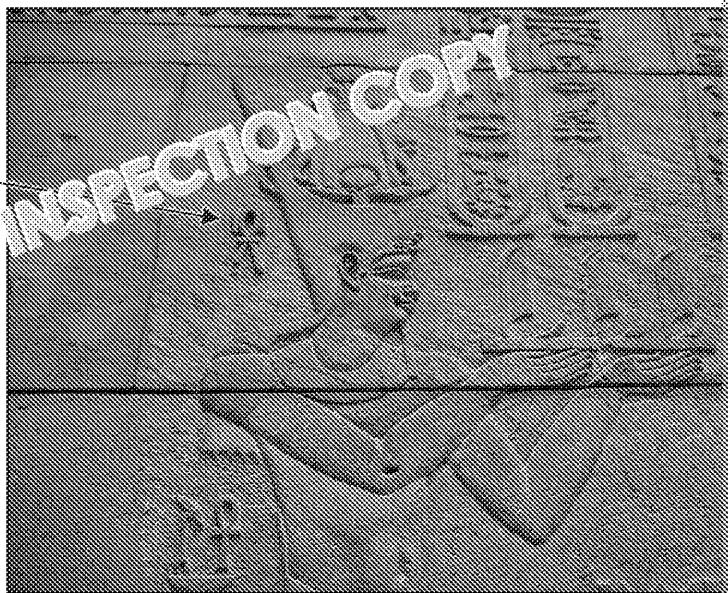
In the image above, Augustus, with the Egyptian goddess Maat in his hand, brings offerings to the Egyptian gods Amun and Khnum. Like most Romans, Augustus was happy to worship and respect the gods of other cultures.



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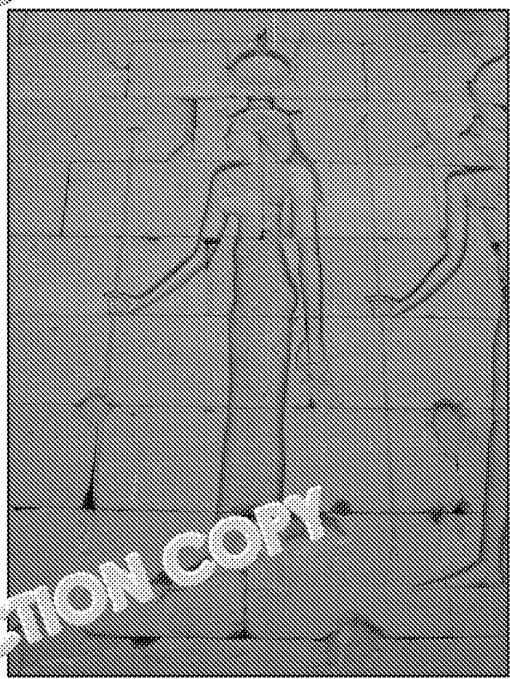
Prescribed Source: Images of Augustus on the Sebasteion, Sebaste

Today the entrance gateway to the temple (see previous page) is housed in the St. Berlin. The image below is part of the prescribed image, from the gateway, of Augustus. Standing in the Egyptian pose, he is wearing the white crown of Lower Egypt.



Isis stands opposite him. In fact, the goddess Isis became a very popular 'cult' with the Romans. The word 'cult' is not necessarily sinister but just refers to the worship of non-Roman gods as opposed to Roman gods. Temples to Isis have been found in Pompeii and London.

The image, below, comes from another part of the Kalabsha Temple but depicts the same prescribed image. She is a tall goddess standing on a platform holding a *throne glyph*. She has cow horns and a vulture at the front.



Activity 58

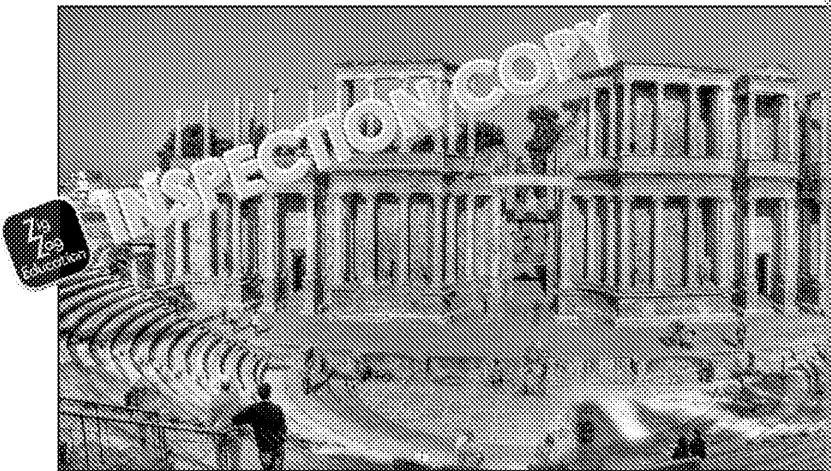
Explain how far the images of Augustus on the Kalabsha Temple would have been acceptable to the people of Egypt.

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Augustus also expanded his building programme beyond Rome. The aim was to impress both the Romans and Rome's emperor. For example, the image below shows the Temple of Augustus at Pula in Croatia (a country which had partly been conquered, but the rest of which Augustus controlled). It was originally built in 16–15 BC, during his principate. (It has changed over the years.) It was built to encourage the people of the city to enjoy the Roman-style entertainment and culture.



Augustus also promoted Roman religion but he did not want to be worshipped as a god. This was unacceptable to the Romans. However, in Egypt and in other parts of the empire he was worshipped as a god. To compromise, Augustus is shown with images of Egyptian gods on the coins he issued. The image on the left shows the Temple of Augustus at Pula in Croatia. It was dedicated to Roma and Augustus. The inscription on the base of the temple reads: 'To Roma and Augustus Caesar, son of the deity, (DIVI F), father of the fatherland (PATER PATRIAE), the people of Pula dedicated this temple'. The temple was also dedicated to Augustus, but not as a god. People in Pula who wanted to worship Augustus could do so in the temple, but any Romans would not see him as a god.



Similarly, the idea of Peace (*Pax*) was spread across the countries of the Roman Empire. The image below shows the Altar of Peace (Pax) from Narbonne, in France. It is an altar where animals would have been sacrificed to the goddess Pax (PACI) and the peace is described as Augustan (AVG). The garland is an oak crown (AOA) and was given to the people of Gaul by the emperor Augustus to encourage the people of Gaul to remember who brought them peace.

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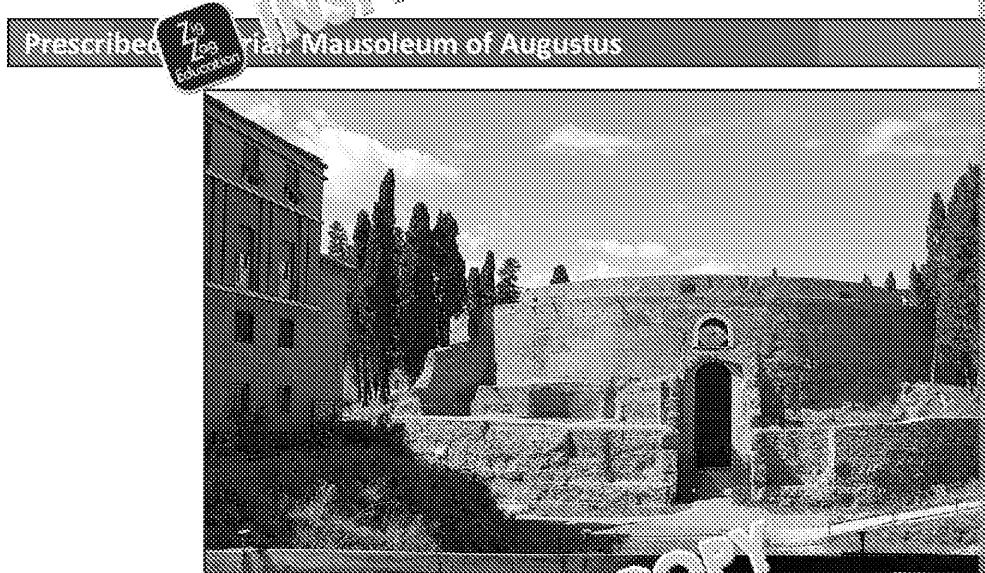
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Section B: How successful was Augustus in creating his image, even after death?

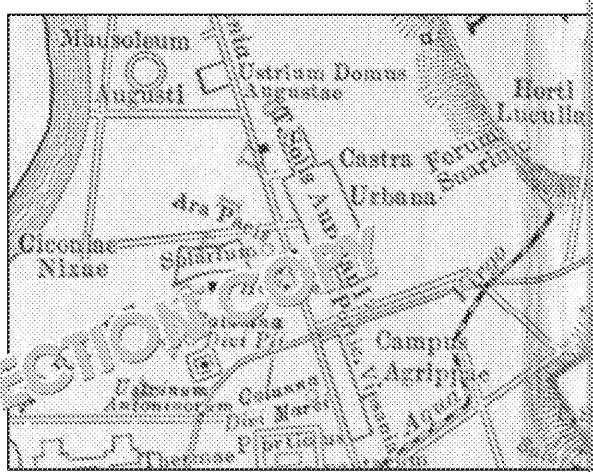
In Section A we saw the various ways that Augustus promoted himself and the empire. In Section B we shall see how successful Augustus was and how he was viewed at the time.

Augustus strove to protect his image after his death. Not long after Antony died, Augustus built a massive mausoleum for himself and his family in Rome, which sent the message that he was with them (not like Antony, he wanted to be buried in Egypt).



All Romans wanted to be remembered after death, and depending on wealth, many roads into cities where they lived those of their family could be housed. Augustus' course on a massive scale was showing the people of Rome that he was important. The Mausoleum of Augustus was completed in 28 BC but had already been open to the public in 27 BC. As with huge temples, it was of brick, as seen in the image above. It was covered in white marble and had a tall entrance. It stood in a park, so people could enjoy their visit! The mausoleum was built as not to overpower other buildings in Rome.

(Notice also the Ara Pacis in the straight road, the Flaminian Way.)



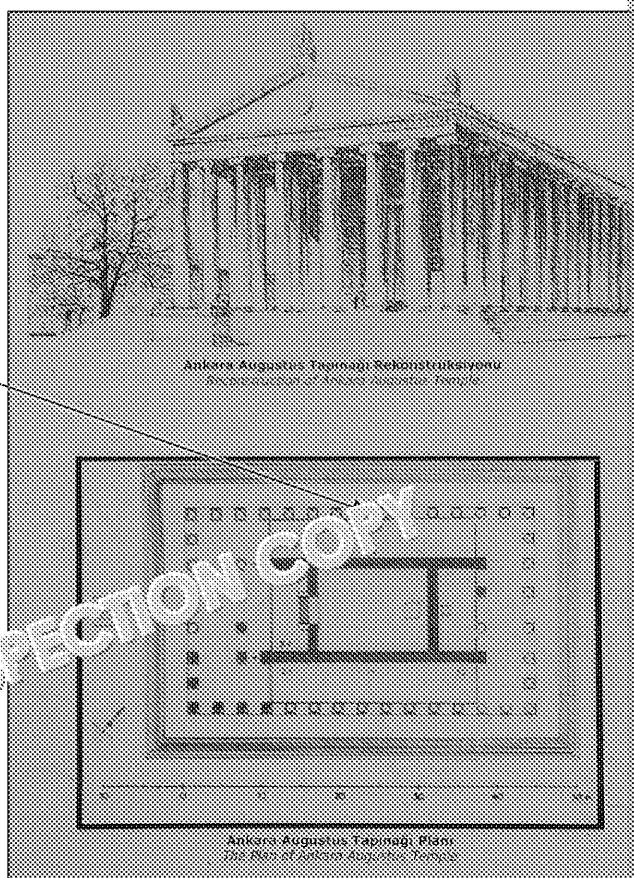
What is perhaps more important for the study of Augustus's image is the epitaph amounting to around 2,500 words. The epitaph lists 'what I have done', better kn

The link to the OCR text is below. The notes and discussion in this guide follow the published source. Read the relevant sections as indicated. [zzed.co.uk/12482-Res-Gestae-Augustus-OCR-Text-and-Notes](https://www.zzed.co.uk/12482-Res-Gestae-Augustus-OCR-Text-and-Notes)

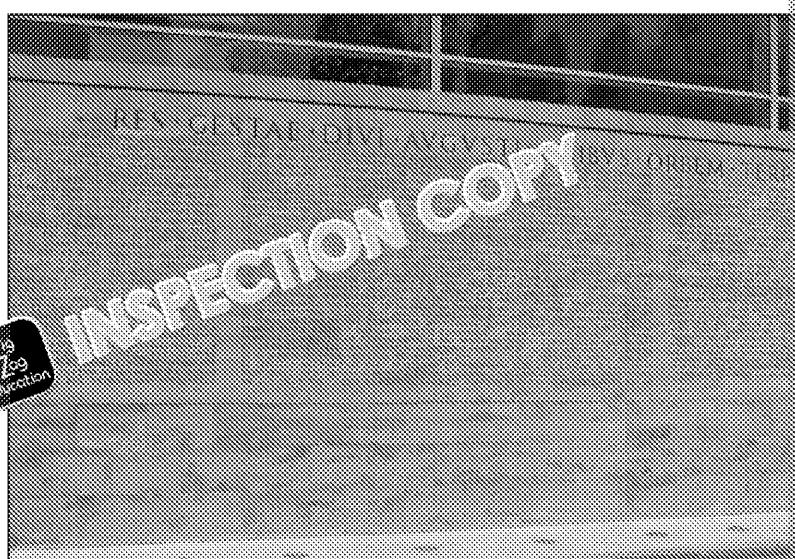
The Res Gestae forms a sort of official autobiography of Augustus. However, we know how Augustus wanted to be remembered. The text, which was inscribed on two pillars in Rome, was copied and sent all over the empire. The original in Rome was destroyed in the fire of 80 AD. A copy of the inscription in the Temple of Roma and Augustus (Anıtcahı in modern Turkey) is shown below. The text was not complete, but there were other copies made and other inscriptions in Anatolia (modern Turkey), and in Ankara (Turkey) and Apollonia (Albania). This reconstruction is by a famous scholar - Nagy (1974).



Text written
on the inside
of the cella



A modern reconstruction of how the text of the Res Gestae may have looked. This reconstruction was done by the dictator Mussolini.



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The style of the Res Gestae is very matter of fact. For example, section 29 has:

... I compelled the Parthians to return to me the spoils of three Roman armies and the friendship of the Roman people. I deposited these standards in the inner shrine of the temple of Mars Ultor as an offering to the gods. I am the Avenger...

In assessing the literary merits of the Res Gestae, consider:

- Augustus uses the first person: *I, me* (Julius Caesar uses *we* in his account *Gallic Wars*)
- There are few adjectives, and atmospheric devices are lacking
- Choice of words: positive vocabulary
- Avoidance of use of *adjectives*
- Emphasis on the relationship between Rome and people

Activity 5>

Use this as a checklist to assess sections as you read them.

I–2 Augustus comes to power: OCR p. 2

Classical references

At the age of nineteen: this was 44 BC. Augustus was then called Octavian.

faction: this refers to Mark Antony and his supporters whom he fought at the Battle of Philippi.

admitted me into its order: 43 BC. The Romans did not use our dating system but were consul in that year. In 43 BC, Gaius Pansa and Aulus Hirtius were consuls. Both Mutina and Augustus seized control of the army.

murdered my father: this refers to the revenge that Augustus undertook after the death of his adopted father. He assures the reader that it was *by legal means*.

twice in battle: there were two Battles of Philippi; the first one was lost by Augustus. In the second battle, although he was not at either battles, as he was 'ill', although some people are saying is that 'under his command' rather than in person!

Discussion

Augustus here tells us how he raised an army *and at my own expense*. He also lists the titles he held.

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>admitted me into its order</i> | Augustus, then called Octavian, became a senior member of the Senate. |
| <i>consular position in declaring opinions</i> | The power of a consul. After a matter for discussion, the consuls gave their opinions in strict order. Augustus took this position as if consul. |
| <i>imperium</i> | Power attached to the office of leading officials, marked by having lictors, like bodyguards, carry out their orders. |
| <i>propraetor</i> | Someone who had all the powers of a praetor, an official with legal powers. |
| <i>consul</i> | As both consuls had different powers, he actually demands that the reader mention it here. |
| <i>triumvir</i> | The second triumvirate: Antony, Lepidus and Augustus. |

Activity

Who does Augustus not mention by name in these sections of the Res Gestae, and

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3–4 Augustus's military exploits as *imperator* and his celebration

Classical references

triremes: Roman fighting ships were powered by rowers. A trireme had three banks of oars, one on each side of the hull, with three rows of oars per bank. The oars were long wooden poles with metal blades at the end. The oars were used to move the ship through the water. The ship was also used for battle, with soldiers on board. The ship was used for many years, and was a very important part of the Roman fleet.

as rewards for military service: Augustus rewarded his veterans with land taken from the Gauls and other tribes. He established colonies, which were local towns of veterans. Both Horace's and Virgil's poems mention 'confiscations' to be given to veterans.

Activity 61

Read this extract from Virgil's *Eclogues*, book 1. It is the first of a set of pastoral poems written early in Virgil's career. Why do you think Tityrus is better off than Meliboeus? Augustus was very pleased to read this.

MELIBOFUS

[1] You, Tityrus, lie under the canopy of a spreading beech, wooing the woodland
we are leaving our country's bounds and sweet fields. We are outcasts from our
beneath the shade, teach the woods to re-echo 'fair Amaryllis'.

TITYRIUS

[6] O Melibeous, it is a god who gave us this peace – for a god he shall ever be! Lamb from our folds stain his altar. Of his grace my cattle roam, as you see, and on my rustic pipe.

Translated by H R Fairclough: <https://www>

ovations: these were lesser celebrations than a triumph.

curule triumphs: to obtain a triumph a general had to have killed at least 5,000 enemies in a single battle, and to do this in a city on a chariot (curule).

nine kings or children of kings were led before my sight refers to the exhibition mentioned by Propertius in his Elegy 3.4.1-27.

Activity 6

This seven-minute YouTube presentation explains the triumph: zzed.uk/12482-triumph

What were the rules for getting a triumph? What was the order of the procession?

Discussion

Augustus promoted the idea of 'sparing the defeated', which he refers to as: *parcere subiectis et leni肠ur*. He is humble in his victory. Augustus is keen to show what, through his

Activity 63

Using Propertius Elegy 3.4 (page 27) as well as Res Gestae 3–4, explain how Augustus won the people of Rome and the senators at the same time.

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5–7 Augustus's powers rejected and offices accepted: OCR pp

dicatorship: Julius Caesar had been dictator. Originally an emergency and temporary 'perpetual dictator', also referred to as 'dictator for life'. Augustus did not want to be seen as a dictator.

consuls: Marcus Marcellus and Lucius Arruntius were consuls in 22 BC; Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa and Gaius Caesar 19 BC; Publius Lentulus and Gnaeus Lentulus 18 BC; Paullus and Gaius Maximus and Gaius Norbanus 17 BC.

tribunician power: originally a post to represent the people's interests in the Senate, Augustus brought this into his own hands, bringing in his moral reforms.

first in the senate: Augustus had the right to speak first in debates.

pontifex maximus: chief priest. When Augustus had this post, he was then able to issue laws.  230 images of Augustus, 20 show him with a covered head as priests did.

augur: he was made an augur, a position which foretold the future, or will, of the state from the song of birds.

Arval brother: there were twelve Arvals. Originally to purify the fields, they became priests, devoting their time to honour the imperial family.

Companion of Titius: we are not sure what this post was. Some say it was an old post given to a king from a neighbouring tribe to Rome at the time of Romulus. Others say it was quite an obscure priesthood but revived by Augustus.

fetial priest: priests used in making treaties and declaring war. Another obscure post.

Activity 64

Look at the silver denarius on page 19. Which source ^{the coin} or sections 5–7, is the best source for Augustus's religious image?

AND

In sections 1–7 how does Augustus present his relationship with the Senate and the people?

8 Augustus and the structures of Roman society: OCR p. 4

patricians: as mentioned on page 3, these were the aristocracy elite, noble families of the Republic. There were about fifty families, but by Augustus's time only fourteen remained. The number decreased by civil war. In 29 BC, Augustus created new patricians.

roll of the senate (roll not role): this refers to Augustus reviewing the list of senators. In 70 BC there were around one thousand! To be a senator, a man now had to be worth one million sestertii. In 65 BC, ninety men went from the list, and by 18 BC the roll was down to six hundred.

census: the census of 70 BC had 900,000 citizens. Under Augustus:

- 28 BC – 4,063,000
- 8 BC – 4,233,000
- AD 14 – 4,937,000

lustrum: a religious ceremony of purification done at the end of taking a census.

Discussion

Augustus plays down the role of *magister equitum* here. He had been crucial as his general and *magister equitum* in the war of 49–47 BC.

Activity 65

What image of himself does Augustus give in section 8? Consider what he says about himself. The following may be relevant: brief, lacking adjectives, bare, lacking detail, use of business-like, clear, efficient.

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9–12 Religious honours: OCR pp. 4–5

Classical references

vows for my health: there were many different types of prayers (vows) for Augustus between praying for him and treating him like a god.

games were celebrated: games were only celebrated with good reason. In this case Augustus's well-being and mainly sponsored by those who had a priesthood (these were often in honour of the death of an important person), such as the games for Augustus says: *during my lifetime*.

four greatest colleges of priests: these were pontifex, augur, and two groups – 'the pulvinaria': these feasted on religious occasions.

Salian hymn: the *Salii* were an ancient priesthood made up from old aristocratic families. The hymn that was so old hardly anyone could understand the language. Augustus's words that the population would recognise.

pontifex maximus: Augustus took this position on 6th March 12 BC. Julius Caesar had the date indicated by the two consuls).

altar of Fortuna Redux: Fortune the Homebringer. This was a small altar but important. It held the Parthian Standards. It was dedicated in December 19 BC.

temples of Honour and Virtue at the Porta Capena: the main road out of Rome, through the Capena gate. The two temples were associated with victories and triumphs. Generals have mostly passed by these temples.

Vestal Virgins: these were girls and ladies who ensured the home fire burned in the hearth. The Romans were superstitious that if it went out, then Rome would be destroyed. They attended in public the most important religious occasions.

Syria: the list of consuls tells us this was 12 BC.

Augustalia: this is unusual as most festivals were named after gods.

cognomen: a family name given to an ancient Roman citizen.

Campania: Campania covers the Bay of Naples, including Pompeii. Augustus passed from Greece.

Spain: Augustus was in Spain and Gaul from 16–13 BC.

Altar of Augustan Peace: see pages 47–50.

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13 The Gates of Janus: OCR pp. 5–6

Discussion

In the Forum was a shrine to Janus. It was made up of two side walls with gates as doors were traditionally shut. In times of war, therefore, they were open. The closing of the gates was a symbolic gesture as part of the *Pax Augusta*. Augustus was keen to continue the tradition of the gates of Janus as a reminder of Rome's origins in Rome's early history. This is seen in Virgil's *Aeneid*.¹

There are twin gates of War, so runs their name, *conspicere* in grim Mars' sanctity, of brass and masses of everlasting iron, *clavis* a fast, and Janus the guardian ness threshold. There, when the ser'ice of the Fathers stands fixed for battle, the consuls Quirinus and the Gabius, *clavis* (belt), with his own hand unbars the grating doors, battles forth. The valiant *host* follow on, and the brazen trumpets blare harsh with this use their *faucis* *base* they ordered Latinus to proclaim war on the followers of Aeneas. He withheld his hand, and shrank away averse from the abhorred *sub* *scutis* blindly in the dark. Then the Saturnian queen of heaven (Juno) glided from the sky, open the lingering gates, and swung sharply back on their hinges the iron-bound

14 The Succession: OCR p. 6

Activity 67

Reread page 38 about the coin showing Gaius and Lucius. What information is this evidence for the Res Gestae 14? Is there any extra information given in the Res Gestae?

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¹ Mackail, J W (John William), 1859–1945

15–18 Augustus's generosity towards the people and his veterans

Classical references

| Position | Year | Gift |
|---|-------------------------|---|
| (from Julius Caesar's will) fifth consulship | May/June 44 BC 29 BC | 300 sesterces 400 sesterces (to Augustus) AND 1,000 sesterces |
| ALSO 29 BC | | |
| tenth consulship | 24 BC | 400 sesterces |
| eleventh consulship | 23 BC | Twelve rations of grain |
| twelfth year of tribunician power | 12/11 BC | 400 sesterces |
| eighteenth year of tribunician power / twelfth consulship | 5 BC | 60 denarii each |
| thirteenth consulship | 2 BC | 60 denarii |

Examination advice

Learners are not expected to know years, dates of consulships held and amounts. The table could be offered as supporting evidence for questions requiring discussion of the consolidation of power or his generosity as a personal characteristic.

Discussion

Augustus is very keen to emphasise his *personal generosity*. The Roman state would help the poorer members of society, but not on a regular basis. The Romans did not help also in the state's interest to hand out, for example, corn, to prevent rioting. This began at the beginning of Augustus's rule when he had defeated Antony, and it is estimated that 800 million sesterces – about a third of his lifetime's worth.

Section 16 shows how Augustus rewarded those soldiers who had been loyal to him in 30 BC, just one year after the Battle of Actium. Remember that the poets Horace and Virgil were given to the ex-soldiers to settle and form their own towns, referred to as *colonies*. In Section 17, Augustus also 'bailed out' the treasury, emphasising his image of statesmanship. The province of Asia was supposed to pay Rome an amount referred to as a *tribute*; however, because of earthquakes and they were unable to pay, so Augustus generously stepped in. In his career occupation, hence the reference, 'to soldiers who had served for twenty or more years'. Calling men up when there was a need. Normally, the state would fund an army, but Augustus funded a *military treasury* himself. Some Roman taxes were collected in the provinces, but when these were 'insufficient', Augustus says he stepped in again. He does not say where he got the money from.

Activity 68

'Generous to all.' How far do Sections 15–18 show that Augustus was generous to 'all'? This 'generosity' requires a certain amount of payment.

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19–21 Augustus's building programme: OCR pp. 7–9

Classical references

| Public building | Religious building |
|--|--|
| Curia | Senate house had been destroyed in riot |
| Chalcidicum | In the Forum |
| Portico at the Flaminian Circus | Named after his ancestor who won a naval battle 137–163 BC |
| | A couch for the gods at the Circus Maximus |
| Theatre of Pompey | First stone theatre |
| Aqueducts | Doubled the capacity of the Aqua Marcia |
| Forum of Julius | Jupiter the Thunderer |
| Basilica between the Temple of Castor and the Temple of Saturn | Incomplete when destroyed by fire |
| Flaminian Way from the city to Ariminum | All bridges except Mulvian (two miles north of Rome) and Minucian (not known) Queen Juno and Jupiter the Liberator on the Aventine |
| Theatre at the temple of Apollo | Ca group bought from private owners |
| | Temple of the Lares |
| | Temple of the Penates |
| | Temple of Youth |
| | Temple of the Great Mother |
| | Eighty two temples |
| | Temple of Mars the Avenger and the Forum of Augustus |

Discussion

The list shows how Augustus stamped his mark everywhere in Rome. The buildings fell into two types, public buildings and religious buildings, but also into buildings restored after damage, completed after being started by Julius Caesar, and new buildings.

Examination advice

Examiners will not expect knowledge of every building, but an example of each from the list would offer supporting detail in answers.

Activity 69

Find an example of the following:

- A public building completed
- A new public building
- A new temple
- A public building restored
- A temple restored

Independent research: Find out more about some of the buildings in the list.

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22–23 Entertainment for the people: OCR p. 9

gladiatorial shows: originally gladiators fought at funerals, but Augustus realised the entertainment of the ordinary citizens.

athletic games: these were like the games held in Greece with boxing, wrestling

Games of Mars: these games coincided with the dedication of the Temple of Mars

in the circus or the amphitheatre: this refers to the Circus Maximus used for animal hunts of African beasts; the first built in Rome by the general that of Statilius Taurus, the first built in Rome by the general

I gave a naval battle show for the people across the Tiber: Augustus built a large artificial island. It was wood and stone and also named after his two deceased heirs, Gaius and Lucius.

Discussion

It is important to know that the Colosseum, which most people today associate with the rule of **Caligula**, was built during the rule of **Augustus**. He realised that what was important was keeping people entertained. He organised hunts of African beasts; the lavish shows were emphasised by: *in which about three thousand animals were killed*. By putting on games in the names of his family and colleagues, he reinforced the idea that the empire was safe and that he would introduce other members of his family so as to promote the succession.

24–33 Augustus's activities outside Rome: OCR pp. 9–12

| | |
|-------|--|
| 24 | Augustus respects sacred and revered objects in Asia Minor (Turkey) |
| 25 | Expels pirates, returns slaves. He lists countries which had been assigned to the triumvirate. |
| 26 | Augustus's influence beyond the Roman Empire |
| 27 | Conquest of Egypt, recovery of countries |
| 28 | Founding of colonies |
| 29 | The Parthian Standards |
| 30 | The expansion of the empire |
| 31 | Foreign diplomats – Augustus the diplomat |
| 32–33 | Foreign rulers seek his friendship |

Discussion

Considering the amount of emphasis placed on the Pax Romana, there is a fair amount of Augustus's time spent on wars, campaigns and battles. Conquering generals had the right to loot what they wanted, but Augustus was a different kind of ruler. In sparing, the defeated Augustus says: *as victor I replaced the ornaments...* although he had taken them: *he with whom I had fought the war...* (24). Extending the idea of the Pax Romana to the whole empire applied to many emperors who followed, and Augustus records the extent of the Pax Romana for himself in the *Res Gestae* (30). He records the extent of the Pax Romana for Augustus (*I brought them under the rule of the empire...* [30]), his influence on the whole empire, as he mentions his diplomatic achievements: *Embassies from kings in India and from the Parthians* (31) (notice *often*). Also, people *sought our friendship*. There are some scholars who think that the figures in the procession on the Ara Pacis are the children of foreign rulers sent to learn 'Roman ways' (32). Augustus also records the extent of the Pax Romana in the *Res Gestae* (33): *in sent all his sons and grandsons to me in Italy* (32).

Activity 70

How far does Augustus acknowledge the help of others in his achievements in the *Res Gestae*?

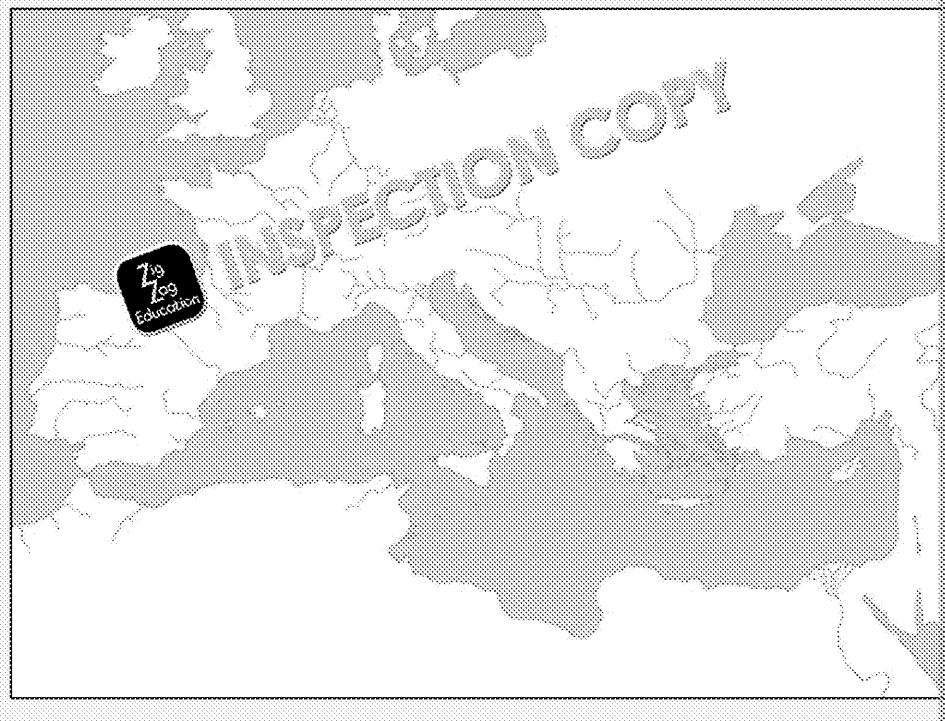
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Activity 71

Using a search engine, see how many countries and places listed by Augustus you can map below.



34–35 *pater patriae*: OCR pp. 12–13

Classical references

courage, clemency, justice, and moderation: these were the virtues listed on the clipeus

I was severely ill: ~~at the age of~~ of age: it is interesting that Augustus is rarely depicted as promoted the ~~fact~~ that he was vigorous.

pater patriae: the title awarded in 2 BC reflected the fact that he was acting as the head of the household.

Discussion

Augustus says two contrasting things here:

1. after I had extinguished civil wars, after by universal consent, I was in control (likely true)
2. I transferred the republic from my power to the control of the senate and the people 'on paper'

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Activity 72

Do you consider that section 34–35 represents a good summary of Augustus's actions?



A different image of Augustus

Poets do not always 'spin'

We have seen how the Augustan poets Horace and Propertius praised Augustus for regeneration and buildings. Yet there are instances where some criticism can be detected.

Postumus, were you able to leave a crvining ~~girl~~ ^{girl} as a soldier follow standard glory of Parthia's spoils of such great value? with Galla begging so much not to do misers perish equally, and ~~any~~ ^{any} else puts his weapon before a faithful bridal b-

You madman ~~you~~ ^{you} with your cloak thrown on, tired out, you will drink the water in the meantime ~~you~~ ^{you} will pine away indeed at each unfounded rumour, lest your courage the arrows of Medes rejoice in your death, or iron armoured horseman on an armour wept over be brought back in an urn. This is how they return, who fall in those places.

O Postumus, you are three or four times lucky in chaste Galla! You deserve a different fate. What shall a girl do, protected by no fear, with Rome the teacher her luxury living to conquer Galla, and she will not remember your harshness. For, on whatever day a modest Galla will hang from your neck.

Postumus will be another Ulysses with a wife to be admired. Such long delays did ten years the death of the Cicones and Mount Ismara captured, Calpe; soon your Circe's tricks; the lotus, and binding herbs; Scylla and Charybdis, separated by a bellowing on Ithacan spits (the daughter Lampetie grazed them for Phoebus); then weeping girl of Aeaea, Calypso, and swimming for so many nights and days of storms the silent souls; approaching the Sirens' waters with deaf robbing; renewing his arm suitors; and thus made an end of his wanderings. Not in vain, because his wife stands will outdo Penelope's loyalty.

Classical references

Araxis: a river in Crete, on the way to Parthia.

girl of Aeaea: Circe came from Aeaea, Calypso from Ogygia.

Aelia Galla: scholars do not know why Galla is called this.

Activity 73

These YouTube presentations give a summary of the story of Ulysses. He is most often told as a hero, and his story was told by Homer.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=12482-Odysseus-1> and <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=12482-Odysseus-2>

(There is a Part 3 if you have time to watch it.)

Then read the final paragraph again and try to identify the events as shown in the poem.

Discussion

Postumus has gone fighting in the East, but Propertius says Galla will be faithful. As war and sea were only to make money, hence the reference to *misers* (Kline has given a different interpretation). Propertius had been promoting peace, but, if we believe the scholar Heyworth: 'The propaganda of the regime was exposed as a myth; in reality, the idea of the regime and its supporters separates the two'.

There could be a parallel here between the aspects shown here of Augustus's military campaigns and the soldiers never returning. The long comparison says nothing about Postumus. He, or his wife, is glorified as one of Augustus's veterans, but Galla and her faithfulness is. Love and

Activity 74

Do you detect any criticism of Augustus in this poem?

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Another author in the group of Maecenas was Virgil, who wrote the *Aeneid*. Then whether the *Aeneid*, despite supposedly praising of Augustus, contains subtle criticism. The scholar Donatus tried to prove that every line in the *Aeneid* praised Augustus. As

However, the *Aeneid* does not portray Aeneas and Augustus as perfect, and some questions the morality of empire and the divinity of Rome's leaders. Both Aeneas 'son of a god', and Augustus is portrayed as a direct descendant of Aeneas. When *Aeneid* it is not a positive start. He finds himself in a storm, and responds in a sur

At once the limbs of Aeneas were ~~shaken~~ [sic] [sic] with cold; he groans, and, stretching out his hands, says with such a voice: 'Oh, how many times blessed, those who chanced to die beneath the boughs of Troy! ... Could I not have fallen on the Trojan plains' (I. 100-101)

When Aeneas is in the Underworld, he is advised by his father, Anchises:

'You, Roman, remember to rule the people with power (these will be your arts), to spare the defeated, and subdue the proud' (VI. 851-853)

Aeneas is *pius* Aeneas, loyal to his family and respectful of his elders. He has *pietas* was listed as having on the *clipeus virtutis*. It is expected that Aeneas will take his arrogant while also showing restraint. When Aeneas finally meets the leader of his appealed to, to show mercy. Turnus even refers to Anchises, as if to remind Aeneas has lowered his eyes 'in submission' and stretched out his hands 'in defeat': he is humbled man. Aeneas, however, does not spare the defeated. This is not *pietas*, the epithet had promised. This is the exact opposite: *furore*, unrestrained violence; pi control himself.

In the end some scholars have argued that Aeneas' *pietas* has eroded his moral human suffering. Once that has been established, Virgil suggesting that Rome's flawed too?

Activity 75

Listen to the [podcast from Oxford University: zzed.uk/12482-OU-Podcast](http://zzed.uk/12482-OU-Podcast)

In the first fifteen minutes, the podcast discusses whether there is criticism in Virgil of the podcast may also be useful for revision.)

Go to zzed.uk/12482-OU-Podcast

We have seen on pages 29-32 that Ovid's *Metamorphoses* ends with the Augustan section. We have seen him praise Augustus's family, and the poem has a serious tone. The scholars Segal and Holleman have commented, and the scholar Segal suggested that in fact Ovid was not being serious about Augustus. The scholar Holleman also regarded the whole section as making fun of Augustus. The scholar Holleman also suggested that Ovid was exiled as a result of writing the lines.

Activity 76

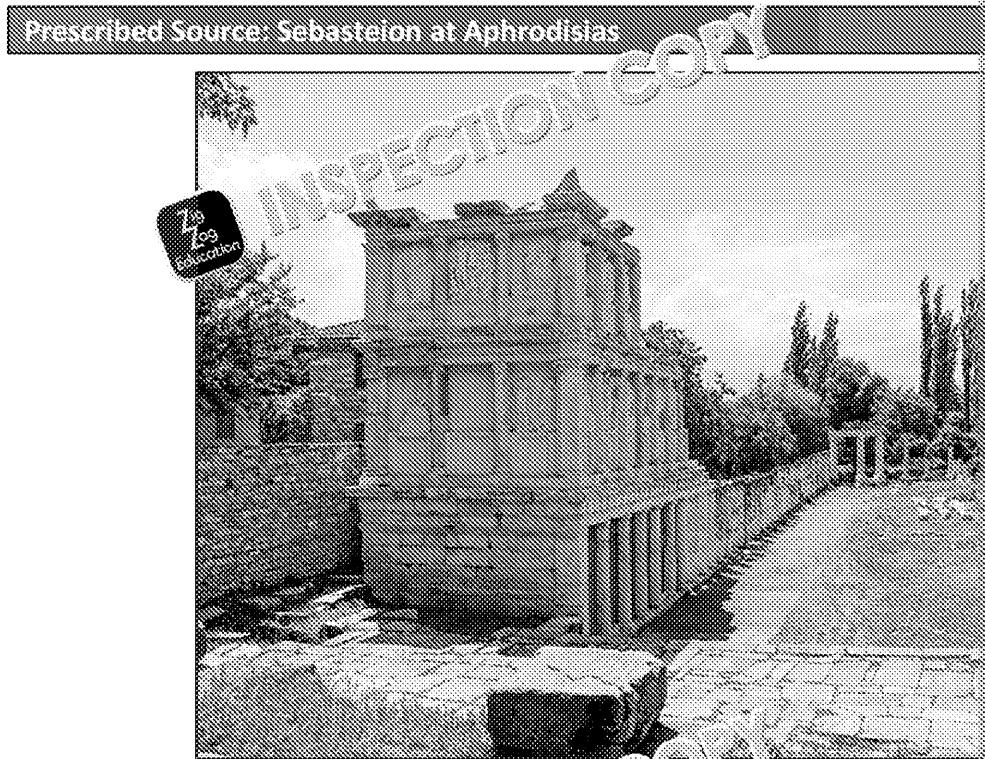
Read OCR version pp. 37-40 or the version on page 29-32.
Do you see any humour? How far do you agree that Ovid is genuine?

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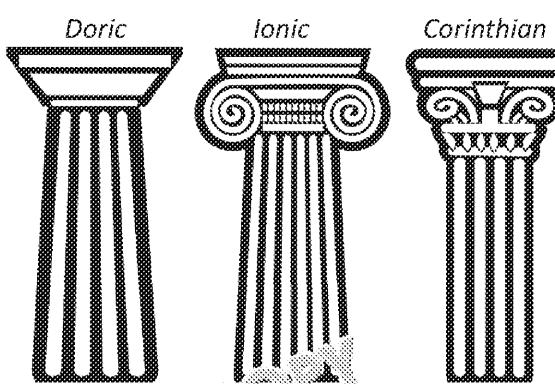


After Augustus

When Augustus came to power in AD 14, and Tiberius became emperor, so began Claudian. It seems that what Augustus had laid down was going to continue. This in 1979-81.



The Sebasteion was a large temple complex dedicated to Aphrodite and the Julian cult. It started in AD 20, just after the death of Augustus, and dates from the reign of Tiberius, the last Julio-Claudian. The complex was paid for by two important families of Asia Minor, mostly in Turkey. There was a temple and a narrow avenue, 90 x 130 m. Down each side of the avenue were two portico-like buildings, each 12 m high, decorated with three different kinds of columns, Doric, Ionic and Corinthian orders.



These north and south buildings had major reliefs in their upper two sections for columns made the images look like picture frames. Some two hundred reliefs were projected, and more than forty were recovered in the excavation. They featured Roman and images of people from Augustus's empire, such as Ethiopians and Spaniards.

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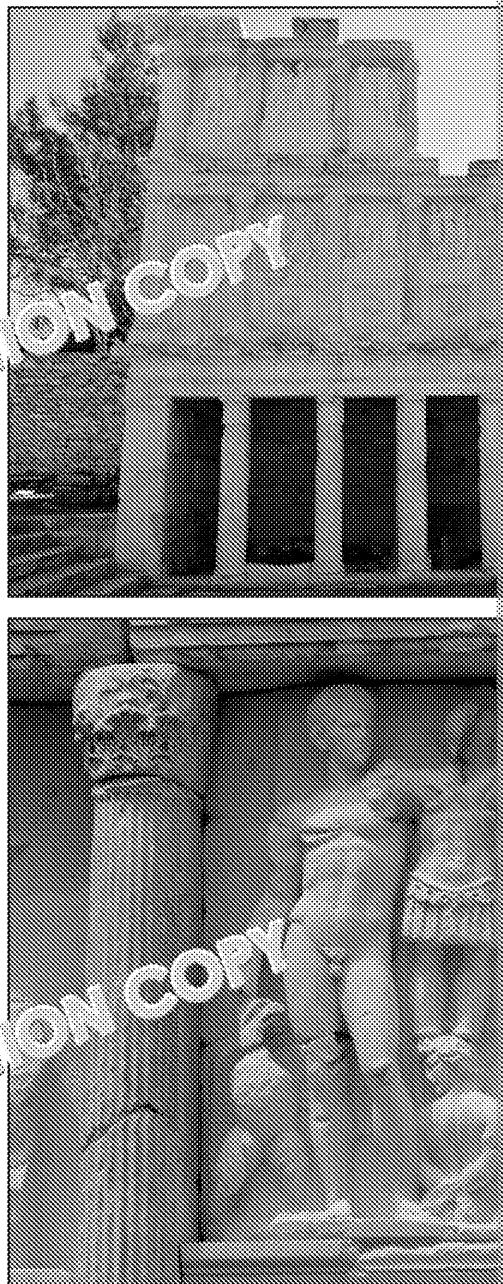


On the south side, the decorations above the portico are sculptural reliefs and show the Greek Aphrodite, who is Roman Venus, her son Aeneas and the link to Augustus and the other Julian emperors. The subject of the reliefs on the top level is Roman emperors and the Olympian gods. The emperors are depicted as divine warriors. The emperors shown are Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius and Nero, with younger priests and imperial women. Their most important activity is victorious war over barbarians.

On the north side, the second level had a long series of representations of the nations of Augustus's empire, each pictured as a statue between the columns of the architecture. An inscribed label named each figure in Greek. The idea was a visual catalogue of Augustus's empire. The places and peoples were among those claimed as conquered or brought into the empire under Augustus. The focus was on the wilder peoples on the edges of the empire, who presumably had been 'civilised' by Augustus.

This panel, framed by two Corinthian columns, shows Augustus on the left. He is naked, as Greek heroes and gods were usually depicted in this way in sculpture. He is barefooted, as many young he is despite being in his seventies when he died. The figure to the right is winged. In the middle is a suit of armour which Augustus has taken from an enemy with his arms bound behind his back. In the bottom left-hand corner is an eagle. It is to be counted among the divine.

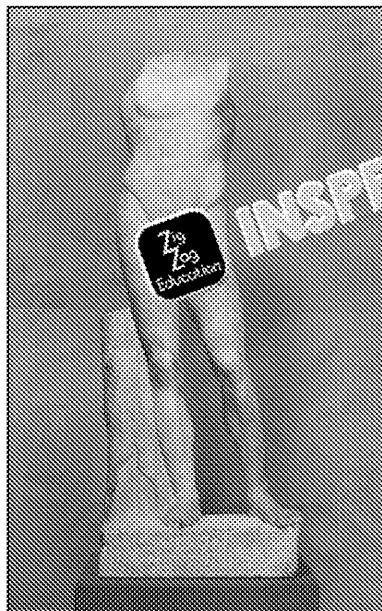
Other images elsewhere promoted the fact that Augustus was now a god. His heirs struck a coin, and on the obverse one of his titles is son of the Divine Augustus. The biological mother, and Augustus's widow, Livia, as Pax. Pax



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We have already seen the Prima Porta statue of Augustus as an *imperator* (pages examination advice, some scholars think the statue was a memorial to Augustus aspects of the statue can be interpreted as Augustus being divine. He has the poss right leg and his feet bare, just as in the statue to the left, which is of his champion



The statue to the right is called the Apollo Belvedere. It stood in the courtyard of a 'Romanised' copy of a Greek original, which is why Apollo is wearing Roman sandals similar and also the cloak and outstretched arm.

Activity 77

What image of Augustus is shown in the Prima Porta statue? You should consider what the statue represents.

Nero, the last of the Julio-Claudians, was not the best emperor, and in AD 68 he was overthrown. There was then a power struggle between individual generals and their armies. From these emperors, Vespasian emerged as a stable ruler. A new dynasty was begun called the Flavians. The emperor that many people have heard of was Hadrian, and one man working in his reign was Suetonius.

Examination advice

Suetonius was **not** a poet. The OCR booklet uses a translation from a website called Suetonius.org. The work of Suetonius is not poetry. Reference to the work of Suetonius will not gain marks on poetry.

Suetonius was not strictly speaking a historian but rather a biographer. Some scholars think that, writing today, he would have been writing a gossip column for a newspaper and not a history book. He did have an advantage using his access to the imperial archives. He produced *The Lives of the Caesars*, which started with Julius Caesar (though, of course, Caesar was not an emperor) and ended with Domitian. It was published in AD 121, almost a hundred years after the death of Augustus. He could not have known that Hadrian would become emperor, even though Hadrian was a distant relative.

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7 His various names: OCR p. 41**Classical references**

Ennius: Ennius was a poet who wrote about two hundred years before Augustus.

Activity 78

Make a list of Augustus's names.

8 A brief summary of his life: OCR p. 42**Activity 79**

Make a timeline of Augustus's life, using the dates provided in the OCR translation.

9 His involvement in civil war: OCR pp. 42–43

| Battles | | |
|----------|----------|-----------------|
| 43 BC | Mutina | Mark Antony |
| 42 BC | Philippi | Brutus and |
| 41–40 BC | Perusia | Lucius Antonius |
| 36 BC | Sicily | Sextus Pompey |
| 31 BC | Actium | Mark Antony |

10 Mutina: OCR pp. 43–44**Classical references**

Apollonia: modern Albania.

optimates: a sort of conservative party formed by aristocrats.

Hirtius and Pansa: two consuls in 43 BC. They both died in the Battle of Mutina, leaving

Discussion

Suetonius explains the infighting with which Augustus was involved: *Augustus conspired in Caesar's death*.

Activity 80

How far does Suetonius give a positive image of Augustus in section 10? How far does he criticise him?

11 Claims against him of treachery: OCR p. 44**Discussion**

This is one of the first examples of the scandals which Suetonius seems to like to tell them, however, as *rumours*.

Activity 81

Why do you think Suetonius included this section of gossip? What effect does it have on Augustus's image after death?

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17 His victory over Antony and Cleopatra: OCR pp. 44–45

Classical references

Gaius Sosius and Gnaeus Domitius: they were the consuls in 32 BC and sided with the city of Bononia: modern Bologna.

Samos: a small island belonging to Greece, off the west coast of Turkey. (Remember fought in Greece.)

Brundisium: on the 'heel' of Italy.

headlands of the Peloponnese: one Aegean, the other off the coast below the Cerasus. Augustus's route took him westwards across the Aegean sea, around the bottom of Greece to a *base* (a small port) opposite Brundisium.

Discussion

One important person is missing from Suetonius's account, and that is Agrippa. He was victorious, showing that Augustus's version of events as promoted by himself and after death.

Activity 82

How does Suetonius show that Augustus was an excellent general in section 17?

20 His imperial campaigning: OCR p. 45

Discussion

There are two pictures of Augustus here: one that he actually did not take part in a *two foreign campaigns*); the other that he was actually *weak* and so did not see

21 His consolidation of empire: OCR p. 46

Classical references

Mars the Avenger: Suetonius 46.

Discussion

Augustus as a diplomat and magnanimous conqueror gives a positive image:

- *he never warred against any nation without just and necessary cause*
- *he insisted... barbarian leaders swore an oath... to keep the peace faithfully*
- *Augustus refrained from a more severe punishment*
- *exercising power with moderation*
- *And once, when there were several rival claimants to the throne, they insisted on the candidate he chose.*

Activity 83: Independent research

Find out where the places are, which are listed in section 21.

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22 Peace and triumphs: OCR p. 47

Celebrations

| | | |
|-------|------------|---------|
| 40 BC | Philippi | Ovation |
| 36 BC | Sicily | Ovation |
| 29 BC | Dalmatia | Triumph |
| | Actium | Triumph |
| | Alexandria | Triumph |

Ovations were granted when wars were declared between nations or states, with inferior, such as Spartacus and the Servile Wars. The general celebrating the ovation was in a chariot but dressed in a toga and wearing a toga not a uniform. Propertius describes 'Peace' (page 25).

26 His consulships: OCR p. 47

Activity 84

Make a list with dates of Augustus's consulships. Make sure you know what a consul is.

28 Sole ruler: OCR p. 48

Discussion

Suetonius does not accept Augustus's assertion that he was protecting the Republic. He claims that the Republic no longer existed, and *he decided to retain power in his own hands as sole ruler*.

29 Public works: OCR pp. 48–49

Activity 85: Independent research

Make a list of the public works mentioned by Suetonius and find some images. As with Res Gestae, buildings could be divided into two areas: public buildings and residential. It is not necessary to learn them all, but use **some** as supporting detail in answers.

31 Religious reforms and memorials OCR p. 50

Classical references

Lepidus: he was one of the Triumvirs with Augustus and died in 13 BC.

Sibylline Books: these were supposed to have been prophecies from the Sibyl. She and a collection of her prophecies were kept by fifteen priests. Horace mentions them on page 43.

calendar: during the time of Julius Caesar, the calendar had got out of sync – so, during the summer – and he started to correct this. Augustus finishes what was started. This is why September, which was originally the seventh month (Latin *septem* is seven) is the eighth month of our year.

Goddess Safety: the goddess who was often consulted by augurs (who observed the flight of birds) for the state welfare.

Flamen Diculus: high priest of Jupiter.

Lupercalia: this was a pastoral festival held annually on 15th February to purify the fertility. Sacrifices took place in the Lupercal, the cave where Romulus and Remus were looked after by the she-wolf. The skin of the animals was made into leather strips and these were thrown into the Tiber and then a route through Rome. Women tried to be touched by the leather strips in the hope of becoming pregnant.

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Compitalia (Lares of the Crossroads): a festival held twice a year at crossroads to protect where two roads crossed.

statue of Pompey: the statue of Pompey had stood in the portico of the Curia of to meet and where Caesar was assassinated.

Discussion

As has been said before, during the civil wars most people were preoccupied with temples and buildings was not a priority. Augustus' revised practices and festivals, the time, had been started near the ~~found~~ ^{re} of Rome. Some were quite obscure. Suetonius does not seem to mention these reforms.

Activity 86

Identify the frequency of words used for restoration and revival.

34 Revision of the laws: OCR p. 51

Discussion

Most of the laws mentioned in section 34 are about moral legislation as they cover:

| | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| Profligacy | Wasteful extravagance |
| Adultery | Affairs with those beyond marriage |
| Chastity | Refraining from sex outside marriage |
| Bribery | Asking for favours with money or goods |
| Procreation of higher society | Having children |

According to Suetonius, these reforms were unpopular: some *groused* *open rebellion* *overly stringent*. It seems Augustus had to remove or change some aspects of his laws. It is correct in thinking that Propertius and Ovid were critical of Augustus's regime. Perhaps the reforms, which were very difficult to enforce in any case.

35 His personal life: OCR p. 52

Activity 87

How far does this section show that Augustus was 'humble and modest'?

36 His respect for established law and custom: OCR p. 53

Quite a few 'republican' activities are listed here:

- Freedom of speech in wills
- Elections
- Voting
- Cross-examination in court, prosecutions and acquittals
- The law applies to all, including friends
- Senate approval

Discussion

Augustus claimed to have restored the Republic, and the activities detailed in this section are familiar to republicanism. However, as Suetonius knows, there was a string of imperial rule ¹² well established.

Activity 88

How far does this show the great influence that Augustus had? In other words, did he just by turning up to events?

57, 58, 64 Public marks of affection, father of the country, his son pp. 54–55

Classical references

Curtian Pool: a well or pool at the entrance to the Forum.

Apollo of Sandal Street: there was a street where sandal makers were grouped.

Jupiter of the Tragedians: the statue is lost.

Valerius Messala: 64 BC – AD 13; public speaker, orator, and patron of literature. He ended up as a supporter of Augustus.

Gaius and Lucius: the two sons who died at a young age and were named after him.

Discussion

Possibly these sections are the best indicator of the success of Augustus's efforts. It seems people did like him or accepted the spin. The appeal is noticeable among the equestrian order, the middle classes, voted to celebrate his birthday, and the statue of craftsmen and actors. It is easy to see how he becomes a father figure and this is reflected in the speech by *Messala*, a gifted orator, seems to have been so moving that Augustus wept.

Activity 89

How does section 64 show that Augustus was a good example of a Roman pater familias?

However, the final sections of Suetonius's *Life of Augustus* contain a far less flattering picture. These come as a contrast to sections 57–64.

65 Deaths and scandal: OCR pp. 56–57

Classical references

two Julias: Augustus's daughter and his granddaughter were exiled.

Lucius and Gaius: his two sons.

Agrippa Postumus: his grandson, the youngest son of Agrippa and Julia.

Tiberius: he was Livia's son from her first marriage and became the second emperor.

Discussion

Augustus dealt harshly with anyone who was at risk of damaging his image. He wanted to set his family as an ideal, but they actually fell short of expectation.

68 Accusations of homosexuality and effeminacy: OCR p. 57

This section contains discussion of sexual practices.

The Romans were generally a heterosexual (straight) society. Whereas homosexuality was punished by law, it was not socially accepted, particularly when used to gain favour. Augustus was charged with this when he was accused of being homosexual. The charge was made by Antony as *unnatural relations* and he used the other phrase *submissus* to describe Augustus. Homosexuals were also referred to as *sodomites*. An insult to any Roman man was to say that he *soften the hairs on his legs by singeing them*, which was behaving like, looking like a woman. This insult would not fit the image of Augustus wanted.

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69 His adulteries: OCR pp. 57–58

This section contains description of sexual practices.

It seems from the evidence of Suetonius that Augustus was bisexual, as Suetonius various women. This of course does not match his public image for the model image in his own moral legislation on adultery. Suetonius claims he slept with the women to get information. He even did this *before the man's eyes* (but how could they refuse?)

Tertulla or *Terentilla*, or *Rufilla* are not known to be real and are probably the female 'Dick or Harry'.

70 His other vices: OCR pp. 58–59

Classical references

feast of The twelve Gods: this feast dates from when Augustus was still the young as gods and Augustus dressed up as Apollo. The feast was scandalous because there was famine in Rome at the time.

Mallia: this could be the name of the financier of a place.

Corinthian bronzes: these were popular antiques. The writer Pliny also had one.

gambling: gambling was a favourite form of entertainment played by all levels of society as a social and moral hazard. In section 71, we are told that Augustus invited 250 gold pieces and seems to have encouraged the game. He even supports his son (he later exiles!). Augustus passed laws restricting gambling except during the Saturnalia, with a fine of quadruple the stakes, should gamblers be caught – but this was rarely enforced and it was common knowledge that many later emperors and aristocrats were as fond of gambling as Augustus.

proscriptions: these were used by Augustus and the subsequent triumvirate to name the state. To be *proscribed* meant that property was confiscated, and individuals was able to fund his armies through property seizures.

Sicilian campaign: 36 BC.

Discussion

Whereas Augustus had given a positive picture of his principate, Suetonius again. It is perhaps understandable that Mark Antony would not be very flattering, but the mood in Rome, and Suetonius includes an anonymous piece of poetry, which uses the words *Caesar... mendaciously... fresh adultery*. Suetonius claims that the poem was still in circulation after the death of Augustus.

71 His reputation: OCR pp. 59–60

This section contains description of sexual practices.

Classical references

a letter in his handwriting... And in another letter he writes... remember that Suetonius had access to palace records.

Quinquatria: a festival sacred to Minerva celebrated in March.

Activity 90

How far do sections 69, 70 and 71 destroy all Augustus's hard work on his image?

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93 Omens of imminent power: OCR p. 60

Classical references

Apollonia: Albania.

livers: after sacrificing an animal, its liver was inspected, and the marks were studied to understand the will of the gods or the future.

Discussion

Romans, even at the time of Suetonius, took seriously signs and wonders as omens, which were regarded as foretelling a good and bad future. A modern audience may regard the events in this section as a scientific event or coincidence, but Suetonius is genuine in his belief and includes this section with seriousness.

A bronze liver with areas marked out, used to train priests

Activity 91

How far does Suetonius give a balanced view of Augustus in his *Life of Augustus*?

Tacitus

Dated to around a similar time as Suetonius, we have an assessment of Augustus. Tacitus was born around AD 56 when Augustus had been dead for over forty years. In his historical work, *Annals*, he follows a year-by-year account from Augustus to the present, not to be biased:

... and all which follows, without either bitterness or flattery, from any motives
Annals 1.1.1

Tacitus was not really neutral, as he believed that the Senate was weak against the emperors. Some scholars say he was a 'republican'. He was keen to point out the wastefulness of the emperors.

Activity 92

What image is given of Augustus below?

When after the destruction of Brutus and Cassius there was no longer any armament, when Pompeius was crushed in Sicily, and when, with Lepidus pushed aside, the Julian faction had only Cæsar left to lead it, then, dropping the title of triumvir, he was a consul, and was satisfied with a tribune's authority for the protection he won over the soldiers with gifts, the populace with cheap corn, and all men with what he gave, and so grew greater by degrees, while he concentrated in himself the functions of the magistrates, and the laws. He was wholly unopposed, for the boldest spirits had perished in proscription...

At home all was tranquil, and there were magistrates with the same titles; there was a new generation, sprung up since the victory of Actium, and even many of the older men during the civil wars. How few were left who had seen the Republic!

Thus, the state had been revolutionised, and there was not a vestige left of the old republic. Inequality, all looked up to the commands of a sovereign without the prestige of a general, while Augustus, in the vigour of life, could maintain his own position, and ensure the general tranquillity.

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Section C: Topics, themes and examination

Sections A and B have covered the prescribed material and other supporting sources. This table is a table of some sources to be considered when answering questions on the set topics.

| Topic | Prescribed sources | Other sources |
|--|--|---|
| Augustus and Julius Caesar | Aureus of Octavian and Julius Caesar Denarius with Comet Ovid Metamorphoses 1.5–6 | Suetonius Life of Augustus 10, 17, 20 |
| Augustus as <i>imperator</i> Augustus and his campaigns | Horace Odes 1.36–7 Odes 1.37 Propertius 3.11 Prima Porta Statue Propertius 3.4 Res Gestae 3–4 Suetonius 10, 17, 20 | Relief commissary Boscoreale Sky Denarius of Ferrutius |
| The Parthian Campaign | Prima Porta statue Propertius 3.4 | Denarius of Ferrutius |
| Augustus brings peace | Denarius with Pax Prima Porta statue Ara Pacis Res Gestae 13 Suetonius 22 | Altar to Peace |
| Augustus and the state | Aureus of Augustus with a scroll Res Gestae 1–2 Suetonius 26, 28 | Clipeus virtutis |
| Augustus and religion | Temple of Apollo Silver denarius with Augustus's implements Propertius 3.6 Res Gestae 5–7 Res Gestae 9–12 Suetonius 31, 95 | Meeting Hall of the Senate Plan of Temple of Mars Ultor Fresco from Pompeii |
| Augustus and his family | Head of Livia Ara Pacis Horace Odes 3.14 Aureus Gaius and Lucius Horace Odes 4.4 Mausoleum of Augustus Res Gestae 14 Suetonius 53, 64 | Bust of Tiberius |
| Augustus's moral policy and society, <i>pater patriae</i> | Horace Odes 3.6 Res Gestae 8 Res Gestae 15–18 Res Gestae 22–23 Res Gestae 34–35 Suetonius 24, 56, 57 | Fresco from the House of Augustus |
| Augustus and the Golden Age | Carmen Saeculare | Ovid Metamorphoses 1.5–6 Marble inscription |
| Augustus's building policy | Temple of Apollo Forum of Augustus and Temple of Mars Ultor Ara Pacis Res Gestae 19–21 Suetonius 29 | Coin of Jupiter |

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| Topic | Prescribed sources | Other sources |
|------------------------|--|---|
| Augustus in the Empire | Prescribed coins Kalabsha Temple Res Gestae 24–33 Suetonius 21 | Heads of Augustus Theatre at梅特拉 Temple of Augustus Altar of Peace Image of Isis at Philae |
| Criticism of Augustus | Propertius 3.12 Ovid Metamorphoses 15.745–870 Suetonius 11, 65, 68, 70, 71 | Virgil Aeneid 6.855–870 |
| After Augustus | Sebastion at Aphrodisias Pax Roma statue Suetonius Life of Augustus | Coin of Tiberius |

Types of sources

Questions in Section B of the examination frequently ask for the assessment of the following types of sources:

| Types | Prescribed sources | |
|-------------------------------------|--|--|
| Coins | Aureus of Octavian and Julius Caesar Denarius with Pax Aureus with Augustus and scroll Silver denarius with religious implements Denarius with comet Aureus Gaius and Lucius | Feronia at Aricia Tiberius at the Temple of Mars Ultor |
| Poetry | Propertius • Elegies 3.4, 3.11, 3.12, 4.6 Horace • Epodes 9 • Odes 1.3, 1.6, 3.14, 4.4, 4.15 • Satires 1.9, 2.9, 3.9 • <i>Saeculare</i> Virgil Aeneid • Metamorphoses 15.745–870 | Virgil Aeneid 6.855–870 |
| Buildings | Ara Pacis Mausoleum of Augustus The Forum of Augustus in Rome | Temple of Mars Ultor Temple of Mars Ultor Temple of Mars Ultor |
| Images of Augustus | Augustus of Prima Porta statue The Ara Pacis Augustae Kalabsha Gate All prescribed coins The Sebastion at Aphrodisias (after his death) | Heads of Augustus |
| Sources after the Death of Augustus | The Sebastion at Aphrodisias (after his death) Suetonius The Lives of the Twelve Caesars: Augustus 7–11, 17, 20–22, 26–27, 30–31, 34, 53, 56–58, 64–65, 68–70 | Tacitus Annals 12.26–27 |

Modern scholars

What modern scholars have said about Augustus is important to consider and should be included in Section B of the examination. Some quotations are included below as a start to discussion.

Other articles can be read at: zzed.uk/12482-scholars

 Go to zzed.uk/12482-scholars

| Scholar | Quotation |
|--------------------|--|
| Catherine Edwards | zzed.uk/12482-PC-overview |
| Duncan Kennedy | 45-70 BC, in a broadcast |
| Mary Beard |  Julius Caesar was Augustus's passport to power |
| Edwin Ramage | Augustus had at least two problems with Caesar (being dictator and popular) |
| Richard Frank | We are often told that it is impossible to legislate morality. The ancient Romans would have disagreed. |
| Mary Beard | The Roman Empire was flooded with Augustus's face as part of a systematic campaign to spread the word that a new Rome had arrived |
| Adrian Goldsworthy | (The Emperor Julian mid fourth century), 'wrote a satire imagining a banquet where the gods welcomed Rome's deified emperors. Augustus is there, but is depicted as a strange, unnatural figure, constantly changing colour to blend with his surroundings, like a chameleon.' |
| Wallace-Hadrill | Augustus's transformation of Rome was a long and gradual process |
| Adrian Goldsworthy | 'Everything else [Augustus] believed in his life was based on his success... [but] and we should never forget this |
| Paul Zanker |  Apollo's role for purification and for punishment of any excess |
| Clare Rowen | After the victory was won, Apollo took on the role... of peace and reconciliation |
| Alison Cooley | zzed.uk/12482-Warwick-Coins |

About the examination

- Both A Level and AS examinations use the same visual and literary material.
- In the examination, Source A tests knowledge of visual material and Source B tests knowledge of literary material.
- Each source has short questions attached. The short questions in total are worth 10 marks and are worth 10 marks in any way across the two sources.
- There are two longer questions [A Level: 10 marks | AS: 8 marks] where answers must be based on the sources.
- A final question [A Level: 20 marks | AS: 16 marks] in Section A links the two sources. It is compulsory to use the sources on the paper as a starting point, but it is generally not necessary to use the sources in the final question.
- Section B has two questions [A Level: 10 marks | AS: 25 marks]. One is based on a theme from the sources and the other is based on a theme from the sources.

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Understanding the passage

It is surprising to examiners that too many candidates have only *read* the prescribed content. Let us look at the passage below.

It would not be unreasonable for an examiner to ask: 'What was the Capitol?' as well as sources. Similarly, learners should know who Augustus means when he refers to 'n' also used in several places in the *Res Gestae*, and so it would be important to know

Knowledge of the references in the prescribed literature is tested through short answers of visual sources. Five marks are allocated for this over Source A and Source B in the examination. For example:



1. From what metal is this denarius made?
2. What image is shown on the reverse of the coin?

The answers need only be brief:

1. Silver
2. Comet (not the name Divus Iulius as this is not an image)

Examination advice

There is no need to start a new page in the answer booklet or on typed answers.

Source B: Horace *Carmen Saeculare*

Grant to our sons unblemished ways;
Grant to our sires an age of peace;
Grant to our nation power and praise,
And large increase!

See, at your shrine, with victims white,
Prays Venus and Anchises' heir!
O prompt him still the foe to smite,

1. Name one god to whom the *Carmen Saeculare* is addressed.

Either: *Venus* / *Anchises* or *Diana*

2. Why does Horace mention Venus and Anchises?

At least one question will ask *why* or *explain* or similar and requires an explanatory response is needed but be careful not to write too much.

Venus and Anchises were grandparents of Iulus [1], and Augustus was linked to the Iulii family, who claimed descent from Iulus. [1]

Longer questions

You may also be asked to write about the general theme of a piece of literature or activities to practise this have been included in the guide to various prescribed pieces.

Let us look again at the passage above from the *Res Gestae*. As you read through the text, think about the general theme. In the passage, Augustus mentions his building programme, and this question will focus on.

Activity 93

What other buildings can you find which were part of Augustus's building programme? Use the passage, the text in the box and any extra sources?

Look at the passage below and consider this question:

How does Horace praise Augustus in these lines?

Source B: Horace *Carmen Saeculare*

Grant to our sons unblemished ways;
Grant to our sires an age of peace;
Grant to our nation power and praise,
And large increase!

See, at your shrine, with victims white,
Prays Venus and Anchises' heir!
O prompt him still the foe to smite,
The fallen to spare!

Now Media dreads our *Augustus*,
Our victories stand as *Augustus* o'er;
Scythia and *Media* in supppliance kneel,
So proud before.

Faith, Honour, ancient Modesty,
And Peace, and Virtue, spite of scorn,
Come back to earth; and Plenty, see,
With teeming horn.

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At A Level, these questions are marked with AO2 (explanation) and AO1 (reference). You must make at least five points. At AS, the examination question will always state: Make

| AO2 | |
|--|---|
| Augustus is of divine descent | <i>Prays Venus and Anch</i> |
| He celebrates Augustus's victories | <i>Now Media dreads ou</i> |
| But Augustus has been promoting the idea of being merciful | <i>...n fallen to spare! (A</i> |
| Horace reminds the audience of the virtues of Augustus | <i>Faith, Honour, ancient And Peace, and Virtue</i> |
| And that is a time of plenty | <i>and Plenty, see, With teeming ha</i> |

However, a poet's use of literary devices could also be used to, say, praise Augustus or somebody. Below is part of Horace Odes 1.37.

Activity 94

How does Horace give a negative impression of Cleopatra in the passage?

Previously it would have been wrong to bring forth
Caecuban wine from the old stores, while the maddened queen
was still plotting ruin for the Capitol
and planning the destruction of the empire
with deeply corrupted men sick
with disease, violent with all sorts of
hopes, and drunk with Fortune's
favour. But it calmed her frenzy when
there was scarcely a single ^{city} left by the flames,
and Caesar returned ^{to the camp} to a
crazy ^{city} ~~and~~ ^{and} wine,
to true ^{and} ~~and~~ lying from Italy
with straining oars, like a hawk
hunts gentle doves or a swift hunter
hunts a hare over the plains of
snowy Thessaly, to put in chains
that deadly monster, who, intending
to die more nobly, did not have a
womanish fear of the sword, nor find
a hidden shore with her speedy ship,

Fill in the grid. Some have been done for you.

What he says

Cannot bring himself to mention Cleopatra

Extreme language

She is dangerous

Negative ~~and~~ ^{is used for her followers}

How

maddened queen

plotting ruin

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The final question in Section A of the examination draws the two sources together.

How successful was Augustus in convincing the ordinary people of Rome that he deserved to be the first Roman Emperor? You may use Source A and/or Source B as a starting point, and your own knowledge.

If we use the coin and the *Carmen Saeculare* by Horace, these can be our starting points. Source A (below) is used for the counterargument and addresses how *unsuccessful* Augustus was in convincing the ordinary people of Rome that he deserved to be the first Roman Emperor. Notice also that the Kalabsha Gate is not relevant as the question refers to *Rome* and not Egypt. The question will be long.

| | | |
|---|---|--|
| Source A: coin | Ordinary people would see images on a denarius | The freshest sense about whether he deserved to be the first Roman Emperor |
| Source B: | Ordinary people attended the Secular games | |
| Suetonius | He gave money from Caesar's will. He paid for corn from his own money. Suetonius says he was popular. | |
| Res Gestae | He restored temples in the areas of the poor, e.g. Street of Sandals | For Mars, the god of war, after the fire |
| Own knowledge (it is not necessary to say 'from my own knowledge') | Moral fibre | No moral fibre |

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Section B of the Exam

The general pattern for this section is that one question deals with types of sources. A quotation may be used asking *how far* or to *what extent* candidates agree. This forget a counterargument! Also take note of the lines in italics: *Use classical sources, and secondary sources, scholars and/or academic works to... should also consider possible interpretations of sources by different audiences.*

'It is easier to give a positive image with visual material rather than literature.'

Activity 95

Below are some sources to consider. How could they be used to answer the questions?
What other sources could be used?
What is the counterargument?
What have scholars said?

| Literature | Visual |
|------------|--|
| Res Gestae | Coins |
| Horace | Prima Porta |
| Propertius | Forum of Augustus and Temple of Mars Ultor, Many named buildings |
| Ovid | |

Other essay titles to consider:

1. Coins were the best way to convey Augustus's message.
Hint: NB best and what were Augustus's messages?
2. Augustus's success as a general depended on other men.
Hint: Don't forget his family!
3. 'The people's family.'
Hint: Make a list of all the people and the sources that tell us about them.
What source would be good for a counterargument?

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