

The revolutionary nature of Augustus' politics manifested itself in numerous aspects of daily life. One of these was certainly the control of time: by introducing in the calendar numerous celebrations related to the Emperor and his family, Augustus reshaped the rhythm of city life. Among these new celebrations, a leading role was occupied by birthdays, military victories and triumphs. We will try to reconstruct their fame or oblivion through the analysis of the diachronic evolution of their record in the calendars, and to verify if these festivals really assumed a role of public anniversaries, exploring their reception by the various levels of Roman society as emerges from different sources. Particular attention will be given to the date of dedication of the inscriptions in which the day of the analysed recurrences appears: were these the result of a deliberate or casual choice? Once again, the Roman calendars demonstrate their importance in the study of political history and their role as a mirror of society.

Imperial Birthdays, Victories, Triumphs

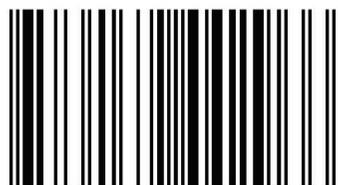


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Roman Calendars: Imperial Birthdays, Victories and Triumphs

English edition by
Tommaso Spinelli

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PREFACE

Having brought the entire Empire solely under his control, Augustus promoted a programme of urban renovation based on a new administrative partitioning of Rome into fourteen *regiones* and an elevated number of *vici*¹. The buildings and monumental evidences of the urban fabric are undoubtedly the most evident legacy of the *princeps*' work during his long reign. We find lavish praise both in words available to us through Suetonius, *ut iure sit gloriatus marmoream (i.e. urbem) se relinquere, quam latericiam accepisset*, as well as in the *Res Gestae*, in which are numerous records of construction and restorations².

Although in a less obvious way, this revolutionary action manifested itself in another fundamental aspect of daily life, the measure of time. Following the work initiated by his adoptive father Caesar, Augustus took it upon himself to correct the technical imperfections of the calendrical reform of 46 BC³, as well as intervening directly in the calendar itself so as to alter the normal rhythm of the city-time⁴.

The Augustan age and the years of the Julio-Claudian emperors saw a decisive transformation to the way in which festivals were recorded in the *Fasti* (the ancient roman name of the calendar)⁵: we are talking about the consistent introduction of new observances related to the Emperor and the members of the *domus Augusta*⁶. Where before there had only been festivals in honour of the deities of the Roman Pantheon

¹ Lastly COARELLI 2017.

² Suet, *Aug.* 28, 3: "he so beautified it that he could justly boast that he had found it built of brick and left it in marble"; *RGDA* 19-21; on political Augustan buildings, with previous bibliography: LA ROCCA 2013; VISCOGLIOSI 2013.

³ Suet, *Aug.* 31, 2; see POLVERINI 2016, 95-96, 100-103 with previous bibliography.

⁴ The theme was examined in the recent exhibition organised in Rome at the Museo Nazionale Romano at Palazzo Massimo: *Rivoluzione Augusto. L'imperatore che riscrisse il tempo e la città* (17th December 2014-2nd June 2015); for the catalogue: PARIS - BRUNI - ROGGI 2014.

⁵ In general on the Roman calendar: MICHELS 1967; SAMUEL 1972, 153-167; BRIND'AMOUR 1983; HANNAH 2005, 98-157; FEENEY 2007, 167-201; FORSYTHE 2012, 1-38; SALZMAN 2013.

⁶ In this regard see the studies of FRASCHETTI 1989, 617-626 and *id.* 2005, 5-39.

(*deorum causa*), there were now *feriae* commemorating events of human matrix (*hominum causa*)⁷.

Roman calendar must therefore be analysed not only in a quantitative sense, as instrument of time's calculation and partition, but also qualitatively, in terms of its social dimension. A calendar reflects the collective identity of its users and consequently its internal changes mirror those of the society it represents: so, a study of political history can be conducted through an inquiry of the events commemorated in the *Fasti*, especially considering omissions or subsequent eliminations⁸.

In this volume two different but equally important categories of commemorations will be analysed: the *dies natales* and victories and military triumphs, the first pertaining originally only to the private sphere, the second to the public.

These are of course just some of the events that were introduced to the calendars as annual celebrations; there will be a brief account of the others in the Appendix II at the end of the book. Only records relating to exponents of the Julio-Claudian dynasty were included in this study: this limit was in part imposed by the fact that the majority of the surviving *Fasti* are dated to the first Imperial age⁹.

The plans of inquiry used to reconstruct the fame or indeed the oblivion of these new festivals, which grew in number and importance over the years, are the diachronic evolution of the record in the calendars and their reception among the various levels of Roman society, based on what we can infer from different inscriptions. The information found in ancient literature and numismatic documentation is undeniably useful, particularly due to their roles in official propaganda, but greater attention will here be given to epigraphic documents¹⁰.

The topic under discussion here is whether the choice of the day for the dedication of various types of inscriptions was influenced by the particular observance that fell on

⁷ The distinction between *feriae deorum causa* and *hominum causa* is in Varr., *de l. l.* VI, 12; cf. FRASCETTI 2005, 12-15; regarding the topic of the festivals in Varro see LEHMANN 2003.

⁸ In general on these subjects see the considerations of LE GOFF 1986, IX-XV, 401-409, 419-423; ZERUBAVEL 2003a; *id.* 2003b.

⁹ Collected information on the surviving calendars in DEGRASSI 1963 and RÜPKE 1995, 39-160; on the recent discovery of the so-called *Fasti Albenses*: LETTA 2014 and *id.* 2017. For all the calendars we will follow here the dating proposed by DEGRASSI 1963, with the exception of *Fasti Fratrum Arvalium* for which see SCHEID 2019, 206-207.

¹⁰ The documentation regards sacred, public and private inscriptions, excluding those of funerary character.

that day. Were these generally held as public anniversaries, with a role similar to those more ancient festivals, or these coincidences were only the result of chance?¹¹.

To simplify the reading of this book, we have decided to structure it in two parts - one for each of the two types of date being analysed. Both sections begin with a brief introduction to the topic and the events discussed in each are in chronological order.

In the bibliography, we have tried to limit ourselves to the most recent publications in order to avoid an overwhelming amount of citations. In addition, we have attempted to provide a general overview of the abundant literature that resulted from the events organized in the occasion of the two thousandth anniversary of Augustus' death.

The preface and conclusion are the product of common reflections of the two authors, the first part is of Gian Luca Gregori and the second of Giovanni Almagno.

The authors would like to express their gratitude to Thomas James Munley for the translation of this text from Italian into English; his precise work has contributed to the making of this book.

¹¹ This has been previously investigated by SNYDER 1940; GRANT 1950 for the numismatic documentation; HERZ 1975a; *id.* 1978; BRUUN 2018.

PART 1
DIES NATALES

INTRODUCTION

The custom of celebrating one's own birthday had existed in Rome since ancient times¹², but it was done exclusively in a private setting¹³.

Men dedicated the ritual to their *Genius* and women to their Juno, both of which accompanied the individual from the day of their birth to their death¹⁴. As noted by *Censorinus*, blood sacrifices were not performed on a *dies natalis*, so as not to take someone's life off when someone else had received it¹⁵. Persius urges his companion Macrinus to celebrate his birthday accordingly: *funde merum Genius*¹⁶.

From the Augustan age onwards a particular type of literary composition, the *genethliakon*, in which the poet would use the birthday of a person held particularly dear as occasion to write a poem, began to grow in popularity¹⁷. Although in these compositions the exact nature of the ritual performed during birthday celebrations is not explicitly described, they are still a source of useful information.

As in all bloodless sacrifices, incense was burned, and offerings of bread, garlands and wine were made.

Ovid marked his birthday with a different sort of *genethliakon* - not expressing joy or happiness, but rather the despair of his exile - in which he described the ritual practices reserved for the *Genius* and the Juno: clad in an *alba vestis*, the celebrant would burn *tus* and offer *liba* on an altar bound with *florentes coronae*, before reciting *bonae preces*¹⁸.

¹² There are numerous attestations to *dies natales* in the comedies: Plaut., *Pseud.* 165, 179, 234, 775; *Capt.* 174; *Cur.* 656; *Epid.* 638; *Rud.* 471; Ter., *Phormio* 48.

¹³ On Roman birthday celebrations: ARGETSINGER 1992; FEENEY 2007, 156-158.; KANTIREA 2013, 37-43.

¹⁴ Hor., *ep.* II, 2, 187-188; see also Cens. 3, 1 and 5; Fest. p. 84 L.

¹⁵ Cens. 2, 2; the fact that Horace (*carm.* IV, 11, 6-7), regarding celebrations for the birthday of Maecenas, talks of *ara castis vincita verbenis avet inmolato spargier agno*, and therefore of a true sacrifice, must be explained, according to ARGETSINGER 1992, 187, with the supposition that the poet was not celebrating his own birthday, but honouring someone else's.

¹⁶ II, 3.

¹⁷ For example, Tib. II, 2; IV, 5-6, 8-9; Prop. II, 10; Hor., *carm.* IV, 11; Ov., *trist.* III, 13; V, 13; Mart. IX, 52; generally on the topic: CAIRNS 1972, 113, 136-137, 167-169.

¹⁸ *Trist.* III, 13, 13-18: *Scilicet exspectas soliti tibi moris honorem, / pendeat ex umeris uestis ut alba meis, / fumida cingatur florentibus ara coronis, / micaque sollempni turis in igne sonet, / libaque dem proprie genitale notantia tempus, / concipiamque bonas ore fauente prece.*

Prayers or vows, terms we find in other authors, were nothing more than requests that the celebrant, as well as relatives or friends, address to the *Genius*, a sort of good intentions and desires for the days to come.

A letter written by the young Marcus Aurelius, then not yet emperor, addressed to Fronto on this latter's birthday, confirms this, but it also presents us with a further point of consideration: the future ruler promised to honour Fronto's birthday with prayers and offerings to other deities, each of them linked to different aspects of life¹⁹.

These ceremonies were kept in the private sphere. During the Republican age nobody's *natalis* was publicly celebrated: we know from Plutarch that Varro asked his friend, the astronomer Lucius Tarutius, to calculate the day and hour of the birth of Romulus²⁰, while Pliny the Elder recounts that Pompey celebrated his third triumph on the day of his birthday, the 29th of September²¹. These were not however established as recurrent celebrations.

A move in this direction occurred under Julius Caesar, the first person for whom *dies natalis* were decreed public holidays, probably while he was still alive²².

There is no doubt that such a change was influenced by the Hellenistic tradition, as indeed were all those processes of individual exaltation that developed towards the end of the Republic: in fact, the Eastern rulers were in the habit of publicly commemorating their birthdays not only on the day they were actually born, but sometimes as often as once a month²³.

From this moment on, such a form of celebration became a constant and the birth of a *princeps* or a member of the Imperial family was until late antiquity²⁴ considered among the most noteworthy events marked in the calendar.

¹⁹ *Ad M. Caesarem* III, 10.

²⁰ *Plut., Rom.* 12, 3-5.

²¹ *N. H.* XXXVII, 13; *ergo tertio triumpho [...] M. Pisone M. Messala cos. pr. K. Octobres natali suo egit*; September in the pre-Julian calendar had 29 days; for the year of birth, 106 BC, see *Vell. Pat.* II, 53, 4.

²² *Dio* XLIV, 4, 4; XLVII, 18, 5.

²³ WEINSTOCK 1971, 207 nn. 10-11; PRICE 1984, 105 n. 27.

²⁴ For the documentation of late antiquity: ZECCHINI 1993, 103-116; KANTIREA 2013, 43-50.

JULIUS CAESAR

a. d. IV Idus Iulias (12th July)

As stated in the introduction, Caesar was the first to receive public tribute on his birthday and thus merits discussion here.

However, this information is not as easily determinable as we might think due to the incomplete nature of the calendars: the evidence is generally limited and the first source, the *Fasti Amiternini*, is only dated after AD 20.

<i>FASTI AMITERNINI</i> (after AD 20)	<i>NP. Fer(iae), quod [e]o die C. Caesar est natus</i>
<i>FASTI ANTIATES MINISTRORUM DOMUS AUGUSTAE</i> (AD 23-37)	<i>NP. Divi Iul(ii) natalis</i>
<i>FERIALE DURANUM</i> (AD 224/5-227)	<i>Qb natalem Divi Iuli Divo Iulio b(ovem) m(arem)</i>
<i>FASTI POLEMII SILVII</i> ²⁵ (AD 449)	<i>Natalis Iulii Caesaris</i>

It is not significant that the date of Caesar's birth is absent from the *Fasti Antiates maiores*, the oldest calendar available to us, seeing as its only consecrated days not of divine origin are the founding of Rome (21st April) and the *dies Alliensis* (18th July), sadly remembered by the Romans as the day they were defeated by the Senones at the River Allia in 390 or 388 BC²⁶.

The calendars of the first Imperial age are unfortunately lacking the month of July, therefore the record of Caesar's date of birth is not preserved to us. These calendars, in fact, do however document a series of commemorated events linked to the figure of Caesar himself, such as the dedication of the Temple of *Venus Genetrix* or the victories

²⁵ Here the date is reported erroneously as the 8th of July.

²⁶ FRASCHETTI 2005, 12-13; on the *dies Alliensis*: FRASCHETTI 1998, 744-750.

in the war against Pompey²⁷. In the *Fasti Maffeiani*, dated after 8 BC, there is instead no record of his *dies natalis*, but the 2nd of August is marked as *Ilerda's* victory over Pompey's *legati*, the 9th of the same month as the victory at Pharsalus and between the 20th and the 30th of July there are the *Ludi Victoriae Caesaris*²⁸.

In analysing the surviving texts, we can see how the wording of the annotation evolves. In the calendar of *Amiternum* it states: *C. Caesar est natus*, without any reference to his deification, which is instead referenced in the dedication of the Temple of *Divus Iulius* and in the record of the *Ludi Victoriae Caesaris*. A precise distinction is thus made between the events in his terrestrial life and those related to the divine realm reached after death.

This division is not present in the subsequent sources. In the *Fasti Antiatas Ministrorum Domus Augustae*, the *Feriale Duranum* and in the late calendar of *Polemii Silvii*, Caesar's divinity is explicitly declared.

The AD 449 calendar records his *dies natalis* as the 8th of July, but in reality neither the 8th nor the 12th, the day officially held to be his date of his birth, are his actual birthday. This was in fact the 13th of July of either 101 or 100 BC: as noted by Cassius Dio, there were certainly celebrations held on this day during Caesar's lifetime²⁹; there was only a change after his death and subsequent apotheosis³⁰. It is this same historian of the Severan age who tells us that it was written in the Sybilline books that on the final day of the *ludi Apollinares*, that took place in Rome between the 5th and the 13th of July, it was forbidden to celebrate any other deities than Apollo. The triumvirs were therefore obliged to move the commemoration of Caesar's birthday, or rather, the commemoration of *Divus Iulius*³¹, a day forward, to the 12th³².

²⁷ This statement is valid for the *Fasti Fratrum Arvalium* (30-28 BC), the *Fasti Pinciani* (after 30 BC), the *Fasti Caeretani* (before 12 BC), the *Fasti Magistrorum vici* (2 BC), the *Fasti Praenestini* (AD 6-9), the *Fasti Vallenses* (after AD 7), the *Fasti Verulani* (AD 14-37), the *Fasti Allifani* (AD 15-37).

²⁸ DEGRASSI 1963, 78-79; these last *ludi* are attested to only in this calendar and in the *Fasti Amiternini* that, as stated, also records the birthday.

²⁹ Dio XLIV, 4, 4.

³⁰ For a recent discussion of Caesar's deification see recently KOORTBOJIAN 2013, 1-49.

³¹ Dio XLVII, 18, 5-6; it is not said that this further record of the institution of the celebration by Cassius Dio was due, as stated in WEINSTOCK 1971, 22, to a failure to observe the preceding decree, but rather the fact that the status of *Divus* had led to the establishment of a new provision with respect to the preceding one.

³² ZECCHINI 1993, 104 states instead that the birthday was moved from the 12th of July to the 5th.

What do we know of this festival from its inception to its later recorded entry in the calendar of *Polemius Silvius*?

Unfortunately, there isn't epigraphic documentation. No inscriptions record the 12th of July as a day of dedication, meaning it perhaps gained importance by chance rather than a specific intention: not even the accounts of the *Fratres Arvales* offer evidence of acts carried out in honour of Caesar on that day.

A diachronic analysis of auxiliary sources may affirm, at least in part, that the commemoration of Caesar's birthday remained always alive.

The testimonials present in the *Fasti* demonstrate that his memory was not lost during the first Imperial age; further proof is found in a passage by the poet Horace. In a letter, he invites his friend Torquatus to a banquet, attempting to persuade him with the reassurance that the following day he would be able to rest: it would be, in fact, a day of festival commemorating the birth of Caesar³³. The interpretation of this passage is, in truth, much debated; even the two ancient commentators on Horace, Helenius Acron and his disciple Porphyryon, took different positions: was it the birthday of Caesar or Augustus? Acron held for Augustus, Porphyryon instead for *Divus Iulius*, quoting the following passage, the continuation of Horace's entreaty, that seems to be the definitive proof³⁴: "we are free to spend a summer's night in pleasant talk with impunity"³⁵. A summer's night would be more befitting of the 12th of July than the 23rd of September, the date of the birth of Augustus.

Porphyryon's writings, dated to the third century AD, provide evidence that at that time the date of Caesar's birthday was widely known; to give another example, the *Feriale Duranum* comes from a similar time and, even though it originated from a peripheral region of the Empire, have been the product of a central directive, and it specifies that the commemoration of the 12th of July should be observed with the sacrifice of an ox.

³³ Hor., *ep. I, 5, 9-10*: [...] *cras nato Cesare festus dat veniam somnumque dies* [...]. It is possible to also obtain a *terminus post quem* for the dating of the passage, given the reference to the vintage of the wine mentioned being during the second consulate of Titus Statilius Taurus, datable to 26 BC.

³⁴ Acro., *ad ep. I, 5, 8*; Porph., *ad ep. I, 5, 10*: *Divi Caesaris natalem significata desse <et> ipse probat dicens "aestivam noctem", quia III id[ib]us Iulias celebrabatur*.

³⁵ Hor., *ep. I, 5, 10-11*: *inpune licebit aestivam sermone benigno tendere noctem*.

There is another important piece of evidence from the Severan age, of which we'll speak several times, that is found on the internal face of the north-east pillar of the Arch of Caracalla at *Theveste*, in what is today Algeria³⁶. The inscription records the days on which, according to the last will and testament of Gaius Cornelius Egrilianus³⁷, *gymnasia* must be held in the baths, funded by his legacy of 250,000 sesterces³⁸. Among the sixty-four days mentioned - some of which are impossible to decipher, while others are attributable to *dies* on which imperial anniversaries, ancient state ceremonies and perhaps local festivals would have been celebrated³⁹ - there was also the 12th of July.

In late antiquity Caesar's birthday appears in the calendar of *Polemius Silvius*, though with an incorrect date, and despite the probably source of this document were the *Fasti of Furius Filocalus*, written in AD 354, here the reference is strangely omitted.

Between these two sources is a work by Macrobius explaining the names of the months, in which he notes that the fifth month of the year, *Quintilis*, was renamed *Iulius* because four days before the ides - i.e., the 12th of July - Caesar was born⁴⁰.

One of the last evidences of the birth of *Divus Iulius* is from the fifth century AD. The poet Sidonius Apollinaris describes a laurel that burned while Caesar was being born, fittingly interpreted as a symbol of predestination⁴¹. This image would have been a reprisal of an existing *topos* present in preceding literature, but it demonstrates the extent to which the memory of Caesar was still prevalent and, above all, how it had an active role in the representation of a man predestined for power - just as figures such as Iulus, Cyrus, Romulus, Alexander the Great and Augustus in the same context.

³⁶ *CIL*, VIII 1859 = *ILAlg*, I 3041; see SNYDER 1940, 297-317 and WESCH-KLEIN 1990, 191-193.

³⁷ *Praefectus* of the *legio XIV Gemina*, he had named his brother and sister as his heirs, entreating them to build the arch with his legacy of 250,000 sesterces (on the reconstructive hypothesis of this, see BACCHIELLI 1987), and also left silver objects of the value of 170 pounds to the *Capitolium* of the city: see *CIL*, VIII 1858 = *ILAlg*, I 3040.

³⁸ The term encompasses athletic *ludi*, as well as offers of oil and other necessities for public baths: on the subject, with a preceding bibliography, see GHEDINI 1992 and FAGAN 1999 who (particularly 269-271) proposes a third interpretative way based on a variability of meaning of the term depending on different contexts; an inscription on a wall from the baths of *Lambaesis* (*AE* 1912, 19) records that on the 11th of April there was an annual *gymnasium*: in this case the date coincides with the *dies natalis* of Septimius Severus.

³⁹ FISHWICK 1991, 499.

⁴⁰ I, 12, 34; already App., *bell. civ.* V 97, 404 had reported that the month *Quintilios* had been renamed *Ioulios*.

⁴¹ WEINSTOCK 1971, 19-22.

AUGUSTUS

a. d. VIII Kalendas Octobres (23rd September)

Augustus' birthday is the oldest attestation of a *dies natalis* marked in the calendars⁴². This is not surprising, given that as early as the Octavian's victory at *Actium* the Senate decreed there was to be a *supplicatio* on the date of his birth⁴³.

<i>FASTI FRATRUM ARVALIUM</i> (30-28 BC)	<i>NP. F(eriae) ex s(enatus) c(onsulto), q(uod) e(o) d(ie) Imp. Caesar Aug(ustus) pont(ificex) ma[x(imus)] natus est</i>
<i>FASTI PINCIANI</i> (after 30 BC)	<i>Fer(iae) ex s(enatus) c(onsulto), quod is dies Imp(eratoris) Caesar(is) natalis est</i>
<i>FASTI MAFFEIANI</i> (after 8 BC)	<i>NP. H(ic) d(ies) Augusti natalis. Lud(i) circ(enses)</i>
<i>FASTI VALLENSES</i> (after AD 7)	<i>NP. Nata[li]s Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris)]</i>
<i>FERIALE CUMANUM</i> (AD 4-14)	<i>[VIII k(alendas) Octobr(es) n]atalis Caesaris. Immolatio Caesaris hostia, supp[licatio] [Vestae]</i>
<i>FASTI PIGHIANI</i> (AD 31-37)	<i>Nat(alis) Aug(usti). Epul(um)</i>
<i>FERIALE DURANUM</i> (AD 224/5-227)	<i>[VIII] K(alendas) [Octobres o]b n[atalem] D[iv]i [Aug]usti D[iv]o Aug[ust]o b[om]b[om] m[em]o[r]iam</i>
<i>FASTI FURII PHILOCALI</i> (AD 354)	<i>N(atalis) Divi Augusti. C(ircenses), m(issus) XXIII</i>

The similarity to celebrations put in place for Caesar's birthday is clear, but from the same Augustan age there was a progressive expansion of existing ceremonies.

⁴² On Augustus' birthday see ALMAGNO - GREGORI 2016.

⁴³ Dio LI, 19, 2; generally on Octavian/Augustus: KIENAST - ECK - HEIL 2017, 53-60 and the recent biography by MARCONE 2015.

In 20 BC we note the first *circenses* and *venationes* organized by the *aediles*⁴⁴; these displays were replicated in 13 BC by the praetor Iullus Antonius when, by order of the Senate, an *epulum* was also held on the Capitoline Hill⁴⁵. From then on, celebrations more consistent in form than the simple *supplicationes* grew in popularity: Cassius Dio informs us that in 12 BC young unwed men and women were allowed to participate in the *epulum* as well as the spectacles⁴⁶. In 11 BC Drusus, then praetor, honoured the *princeps* on his birthday with *venationes* held not only in the Circus, but in other locations around the city⁴⁷. The aforementioned *ludi* were only officially recognized in 8 BC⁴⁸ and they continued after the death of the *princeps*, when it was decided that on the date of his birthday the consuls would organise *ludi* similar to those held in honour of *Mars*⁴⁹.

The situation in the eastern provinces of the Empire was obviously different: in the decree of Mytilene, dated between 27 and 11 BC (due to the presence of the surname *Augustus* and the record of *Octavia minor* being alive), the prince's actions were explicitly likened to those of the gods⁵⁰. The document, unfortunately damaged, contains the report of the diplomatic mission of Mytilene informing the prince of arrangements being made⁵¹. In particular it was decided that the Imperial birthday would be honoured with annual sacrifices in the Temple of Augustus (and perhaps in that of Zeus), and with monthly sacrifices on the day of his birth, according to abovementioned Hellenistic custom. No less significant is the decree issued by the Council and the Athenian people in 20/19 BC that set a series of honours previously offered to the *princeps* while formally establishing the commemoration of his birthday⁵². Connected to Augustus' second visit to Athens, the document presents us with a particular mode of commemoration of the *dies natalis*, that were in fact adapted to the celebrations held on the seventh day of the month of *Boedromion*, in honour of Apollo⁵³. A few days after these and a few before the

⁴⁴ Dio LIV, 8, 5.

⁴⁵ Dio LIV, 26, 2.

⁴⁶ Dio LIV, 30, 5.

⁴⁷ Dio LIV, 34, 1-2.

⁴⁸ Dio LV, 6, 6.

⁴⁹ Dio LVI, 46, 4.

⁵⁰ *IG*, XII, 2, 58 = *OGIS* 456 = *IGRR*, IV 39.

⁵¹ On the document see PRICE 1984, 55, 105, 218; FRIESEN 2001, 27, 59; ROWE 2002, 133-135, 159-160; for its possible connection to the altar of Augustus in *Tarraco*: ABASCAL PALAZÓN 2014 with previous bibliography.

⁵² *IG*, II², 1.1, 1071 = STAMIREN 1957, no. 98; cf. KANTIREA 2007, 203.

⁵³ See KANTIREA 2007, 45-48; CAMIA 2016, 259.

Eleusinian Mysteries, on the 12th of the same month - probably corresponding to the 23rd of September, which would coincide with Thrasybulus' return to the city after the expulsion of the Thirty Tyrants – the Athenians honoured the Emperor's birthday with processions and sacrifices⁵⁴.

As known Augustus was characterised during his entire reign as having a connection with Apollo: the 23rd of September was in fact chosen for the consecration of the new temple of *Apollo in Circo* built by Gaius Sosius⁵⁵. This is one of several *aedes* in the Campus Martius⁵⁶, which, restored by the *princeps* or his circle, assumed Augustus' birthday as a new *dies natalis*, a further proof of the importance conferred on that date⁵⁷.

In 9 BC one of the most significant events in this regard occurred: the proconsul Paulus Fabius Maximus⁵⁸ and the *koinon* of Asia proposed the introduction of the new solar-type Julian calendar for the province, in which the 23rd September would be the New Year's Day and the occasion of entrance in charge of the magistrates⁵⁹. The birth of Augustus is here defined as a new beginning - not in a cosmogonic sense, but soteriological: it is a day of joy, but above all of salvation and happiness for everyone, because Augustus has given new form to the world and new direction to its future⁶⁰.

If we analyse diachronically the recurrence of the birthday of the *princeps* in the calendars, we see that the oldest attestation, in the *Fasti Fratrum Arvalium*⁶¹, is practically coeval to the disposition of 30 BC, with which was instituted an initial form of public ceremony. The *Fasti Maffeiani*, dated after 8 BC, are proof of the successive institutionalisation of the *ludi circenses*, while the *Pighiani*, of the Tiberian Age, note the *epulum* that occurred on the Capitoline Hill⁶².

⁵⁴ KANTIREA 2007, 47.

⁵⁵ See DONATI - STEFANETTI 2006, 122-123.

⁵⁶ Specifically: *Iuppiter Stator in Circo*, *Felicitas in Campo*, *Mars in Campo* and *Neptunus in Campo* (see DONATI - STEFANETTI 2006, 121-122, 124).

⁵⁷ *RGDA* 35, 3; see also GROS 1976, 28-29, 34; LA ROCCA 1987, 358-362.

⁵⁸ *PIR*², F 47.

⁵⁹ Reference edition: LAFFI 1967; see also SHERK 1969, 207-208, 328-338 and *id.* 1984, 124-127. On this provision, among others: SAMUEL 1972, 174-176; WITULSKI 2010, 25-32; FRIESEN 2001, 32-36; STERN 2012, 274-284. For a new copy of this decree, not long ago discovered at Metropolis in Ionia, see DREYER - ENGELMANN 2006, 175-182.

⁶⁰ Regarding this, see the considerations of MAZZARINO 2000, 155-157.

⁶¹ According to SCHEID 2019, 206-207 these *Fasti* must be dated between 30 and 28 BC, previously they were instead dated between 36 and 21 BC by DEGRASSI 1963, 29, 44; we chose to follow here Scheid's thesis.

⁶² See DEGRASSI 1963, 80, 219.

Particular attention must be given to a document dated before AD 14, as Augustus is not yet referred to as *Divus*: the *Feriale Cumanum*⁶³. This document, probably placed in a temple dedicated to the *princeps*⁶⁴, details a series of anniversaries of the Imperial family, such as Augustus' *dies natalis* and several notable events of his career, as well as the birthdays of other male members of the family (Tiberius, Drusus and Germanicus). Unlike those prescribed for these others, the celebrations of the Emperor's birthday were characterized by a *supplicatio* to Vesta⁶⁵, but also by the *immolatio* of a *hostia*.

The void in the documentation of the surviving calendars from the Tiberian age onwards is partially filled by other epigraphs. From the area around *Cales*, in the *regio* I, comes an inscription dated to the reign of Tiberius that commemorates Augustus' birthday in both the day of its dedication and in an explicit manner in the text. The marble slab, framed by a relief of olive branches and ox skulls, would originally have fronted an altar⁶⁶, which was erected thanks to the contribution of two wealthy local freedmen and was consecrated by the *pontifices* and the *augures* of the city on the 23rd of September, AD 26⁶⁷.

In its opening lines this document confirms that the dedication had taken place on the *sacratissimo die natali divi Augusti, prosperis felicibusque auspiciis*. As in the edict of Paulus Fabius Maximus, which we have already discussed, Augustus' birthday was defined as the day from which one could take the happiest auspices, both privately and publicly: "since on no other day could each one receives a starting point more beneficial for corporate and personal improvement than the day that has been beneficial to all"⁶⁸. The expression *sacratissimus dies*, a *unicum* in the epigraphic documentation, is particularly interesting because this superlative is generally found linked to later imperial figures⁶⁹.

⁶³ DEGRASSI 1963, 279; cf. *CIL*, X 3682 = 8375 = I², p. 229 = *ILS* 108.

⁶⁴ FRASCHETTI 2000, 141-146.

⁶⁵ After Augustus became the Pontifex Maximus in 12 BC, Vesta was no longer the sole tutelary god of the common hearth, but specifically of the hearth that welcomed her, that of the *princeps*; this, as well as the general relationship between Vesta and Augustus, has been examined brilliantly by FRASCHETTI 1988, particularly 949-957.

⁶⁶ *AE* 1969/70, 110 = EDR074976 (with bibliography) [Appendix I, 1].

⁶⁷ CAMODECA 2008, 68.

⁶⁸ LAFFI 1967, 18 lines 2-3: *cumque non ullo ex die feliciora et privatim singulis et universis publice trahi possint auspicia quam ex eo*; English translation in FRIESEN 2001, 33.

⁶⁹ Cf. GREGORI 2003, 205.

The testimony of the calendars only resumes in the first quarter of the third century, with the *Feriale Duranum*, which marked an important change. From this point in time, Augustus' birthday was considered on the same level as those of the other *divi*, receiving only the immolation of an ox: sacrifices or special rituals were reserved for the reigning Emperor and his *domus*⁷⁰.

A similar alteration was found in the *Fasti of Furius Filocalus* (AD 354). Finally, Augustus' anniversary is curiously absent from the last calendar available to us - that of *Polemius Silvius*, from the middle of the 5th century - that otherwise records a series of the birthdays of deified Emperors. However, a more careful analysis reveals that the *dies natales* missing from this document are all those recorded between the 19th of August and the 1st of October⁷¹, which makes it difficult to state if Augustus' birthday was deliberately omitted⁷².

We must now face with another problem. We know from the official documents already examined, as well as the writing of Suetonius⁷³, that the birthday of the *princeps* fell on the 23rd of September. Aulus Gellius passed down to us a letter sent by Augustus to Gaius Caesar when this latter was in Syria, in which he makes reference to the day *IX kal(endas) Octobres* of AD 1, asking his adoptive son if he had enjoyed celebrating his sixty-fourth birthday⁷⁴.

According to Suetonius, however, "the Roman knights celebrated his birthday of their own accord by common consent, and always for two successive days"⁷⁵. In effect the epigraphic documentation indicates that in addition to the 23rd, the 24th of September was a day of celebration: it is therefore permissible to ask the reasoning behind this double commemoration that had an echo even outside Rome.

Augustus was born the 23rd of September, the eighth day before the Kalends of October, according to the Numan calendar. The reforms enacted by Julius Caesar in 46 BC lengthened the month of September by a day, increasing it from twenty-nine to thirty.

⁷⁰ WELLES - FINK - GILLIAM 1959, 212 col. III, line 8; MAZZARINO 2000, 157.

⁷¹ Included are the birthdays of Caesar, Nerva, Marcus Aurelius and Septimius Severus, but not those of Trajan, Antoninus Pius or Severus Alexander.

⁷² See STERN 1953, 33-34; SALZMAN 1990, 242 n. 40.

⁷³ *Aug. 5: natus est Augustus M. Tullio Cicerone C. Antonio cons. VIII Kal. Octob.*

⁷⁴ *Aul. Gell. XV, 7, 3 = CUGUSI 1979, 354 fr. 73.*

⁷⁵ *Aug. 57: equites Romani natalem eius sponte atque consensu biduo semper celebrarunt.*

As argued by Mommsen and Degrassi⁷⁶, the 24th of September therefore corresponds to the original *a. d. VIII kalendas Octobres*, the true date of Octavian's birth.

Only two calendars contain a record of *feriae* held on the 24th of September⁷⁷, but other epigraphic documents are more enlightening.

The renowned inscription at Narbonne, incised on the front and side of an altar dedicated to the *Numen Augusti*, dates from the final years of Augustus' life⁷⁸. The *princeps*' birthday is here marked as the most important of the ceremonies performed there. On the day in which *saeculi felicitas orbi terrarum rectorem edidit*, three knights and three slaves each had to sacrifice a *hostia* at the altar and then make *supplicationes* with wine and incense to the *Numen Augusti*. The celebrations were not limited to this single occasion: though in more subdued fashion - that is without blood sacrifices, but still with libations and the offer of incense - they continued until the following day, the 24th.

Similarly significant is the decree with which the *ordo* of *Forum Clodii* commemorated the construction of an *aedicula* and of statues of the imperial family in the new *Augusteum*, replacing the existing altar of *Numen Augustum*⁷⁹. Although the inscription is dated to AD 18 and represents one of the first documents relating to celebrations of *princeps*' birthday after his death, several internal elements suggest that the original ordinance came from the years in which Augustus was still alive, such as the absence of the appellation *Divus*.

This document presents the *dies natalis* of the first prince as the most important event to be celebrated by the community. As in Narbonne, it refers to the subdivision of

⁷⁶ *CIL*, I², p. 330; DEGRASSI 1963, 513; cf. also FEENEY 2007, 154-155.

⁷⁷ *Fasti Vallenses* (DEGRASSI 1963, 151): *Feria[e ---]*; *Fasti Pighiani* (DEGRASSI 1963, 219): *Fer(iae)*; neither of the two calendars, however, indicate the same for 23rd of September, the day which effectively had to be *feriatus*. KÖNIG 1972, 8, 10 suggests that the lack of further explanations for this disposition indicated that the celebration was not instituted by the Senate, and that we are dealing instead with an unofficial festival celebrated "privater", perhaps the reason why it is not included in the greater part of the *Fasti*.

⁷⁸ *CIL*, XII 4333 (cf. p. 845) = *ILS* 112 [Appendix I, 2]; on the document, among others: KNEISSL 1980; GAYRAUD 1981, 358-365; GRADEL 2002, 239-240; FISHWICK 2007b; KOORTBOJIAN 2013, 170-172.

⁷⁹ *CIL*, XI 3303 = *ILS* 154 = EDR153071 (with bibliography) [Appendix I, 3]; cf. *infra* to the 16th of November.

celebrations between the 23rd and 24th of September: it must be noted, however, that it states here that the original day to be commemorated was the 24th⁸⁰.

The picture as outlined thus far finds support in the *Acta Arvalia*; despite there being only fragments remaining, their accounts offer the possibility of further research.

The first mention available to us of Augustus' birthday in the *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* dates from AD 35; according to previous suggestion, we find a celebration marked with the offer of an ox to Jupiter - undoubtedly on the Capitoline Hill, since at that time the Temple of *Divus Augustus* was not finished yet⁸¹. After its inauguration in AD 37, the *Acta* state that on the 23rd of September of the following year the sacrifice *natali divi Augusti* was to be carried out in the *templum novum*⁸². It is also possible that the accounts of AD 38 mention a sacrifice at the *Capitolium*: it could be referring to the second day of celebrations of Augustus' birthday⁸³. A fragmentary text from AD 43-45⁸⁴ notes that on the 23rd of September a *bos mas* was sacrificed to Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill, as well as a cow at the altar of the *gens Iulia*, while on the 24th the sacrifice was moved *in Palatio* or, in other words, to the Temple of the Deified Augustus.

The celebration of Augustus' *dies natalis* performed by the Arval Brethren was interrupted in those years: under Nero in fact the sacrifices for *Divus Augustus* were moved to the day of the *Augustalia* (12th October). It is possible that it was decided only to honour the memory of the first *princeps* through this festival: later, in the Flavian dynasty, every direct record of Augustus disappeared from the *Commentarii Fratrum Arvalium*, as well as festivals commemorating preceding dynasty⁸⁵.

The records of this religious group offer another important point of consideration. In the section regarding the celebrations of AD 38, there is a mention, after the Deified Augustus, of *Diva Drusilla*, even though the sister of Caligula had died in June of that year. The successor of Tiberius gave more importance to his blood relation to Augustus. The most striking aspect of this propaganda is found, especially in the final years of his reign, in the onomastic formula of his Imperial titlature: omitting the fact that he was

⁸⁰ A reference to the problem is found in PANCIERA 2006, 130.

⁸¹ SCHEID 1998, 18 no. 7a, col. II, l. 1.

⁸² SCHEID 1998, 31 no. 12 c, ll. 92-95, 105-107.

⁸³ An early opinion on this in HENZEN 1874, 51; initially in disagreement SCHEID 1990, 421 n. 53, but differently *id.* 1998, 35.

⁸⁴ SCHEID 1998, 47 no. 18, ll 1-17; for the dating, see PANCIERA 2006, 135-136.

⁸⁵ SCHEID 1990, 422; but also FISHWICK 1991, 485 and PANCIERA 2006, 133.

the son of Germanicus and nephew of Tiberius, Caligula identified himself on coins, but also in some inscriptions of his final years issued under his name or dedicated to him, only as the great-grandson of *Divus Augustus*⁸⁶.

A demonstration is now offered to us from a Brescian epigraph founding during the excavations of the *Capitolium*, dedicated in the final weeks of the prince's life - *pro salute et reditu et victoria* of Caligula - from a priestess of *Diva Drusilla*: that his ancestor was the Deified Augustus is the only familial connection noted and, moreover, this mention is significant for its position at the beginning outside the traditional formula of filiation⁸⁷.

It is not a coincidence that Caligula chose the 23rd of September for the *consecratio* of Drusilla⁸⁸, while for the *dedicatio* of the Temple of *Divus Augustus*, completed in AD 37, he opted for the 30th of August, the day before his birthday: in this way, as we will see, the anniversaries would have been consecutive.

Similar reasoning would have influenced the choice of the date for the conferring of the title of *pater patriae*, which, according to the *Acta Arvalia*, occurred on the 21st of September⁸⁹: the Roman festivals - as has been evidenced time ago⁹⁰ - though separated by a day, were in fact felt to be connected.

There is a lack of documentation from the following decades, but an inscription in Pergamon tells us that in the time of Hadrian the religious association of the *hymnodoi* of the Temple of Augustus and Rome considered Augustus' birthday as one of the most important holy days in their calendar⁹¹. The text is inscribed on the various sides of a marble altar dedicated to Hadrian by the same "choristers", whose names were listed on the front. What interests us is written on the lateral faces: Augustus' *natalis* marks the beginning of the year and was commemorated not only annually, but each month. The birthdays of the other Emperors are mentioned instead in a generic manner and do not seem to have received similar veneration: only Livia's appears to be on the same level of importance, though is celebrated on the 21st of September and not the 30th of January, as

⁸⁶ GREGORI 2019, 247.

⁸⁷ *AE* 2014, 510 = EDR161786 (with bibliography) [Appendix I, 4]; see lastly GREGORI 2019, 245-249.

⁸⁸ SCHEID 1998, 31 no. 12c, ll. 99-104; cf. *id.* 1990, 422-424.

⁸⁹ SCHEID 1998, 31 no. 12c, ll. 83-91.

⁹⁰ BROISE - SCHEID 1980, 241; cf. SCHEID 2019, 235.

⁹¹ *IGRR*, IV 353 = *IPergamon* 374.

in the western tradition. Due to the brief time between the two commemorations, of Livia and Augustus, three consecutive days of celebration were required.

Lastly, the date of the *princeps*' birthday occurs in a series of inscriptions as a day of dedication, without an explicit reference to Augustan anniversary⁹².

On the 23rd of September AD 40, in *Philadelphia* in *Lydia* the *katoikia* honoured a family that took charge of the expenses for the celebrations and sacrifices in honour of the Imperial family⁹³. The day selected for the dedication does not seem casual: this is rendered in the Roman form translated to Greek, but we find mentioned also the month of September as having become the first of the year, according to the new terminology introduced by the reform of Paulus Fabius Maximus. The year is indicated within the Aktian era, often used in the eastern regions of the Empire during the first half of the first century AD⁹⁴.

Not long after, under Claudius, the inhabitants of *vicus Marosallensis* in the *Gallia Belgica* chose Augustus' birthday as the day to dedicate a statue to the new *princeps*⁹⁵ that, as we know, was related to Augustus through his mother Antonia⁹⁶.

Returning to Rome, from the Campus Martius and specifically the theatre of Marcellus⁹⁷, comes an inscription (perhaps from the Tiberian or Claudian age) which tells us that Lucius Sextilius Seleucus dedicated to the *collegium centonariorum*, of which he was decurion, a marble plinth and two bronze candlesticks shaped as effigies of *Cupido*⁹⁸. This same person gifted 5000 *denarii* to the *collegium*'s treasury on the condition that the annual interest, 600 *denarii*, that is 12%, was redistributed to the members of the association each year on the anniversary of the birth of *Divus Augustus*.

⁹² On the inscription in general, see: PRICE 1984, 61-62, 118, 191; FISHWICK 1991, 503, 517; BEARD - NORTH - PRICE 1998, 255-256; FRIESEN 2001, 108-113; ASCOUGH - HARLAND - KLOPPENBORG 2012, no. 117; GRAF 2013, 99-100.

⁹³ *JGRR*, IV 1615.

⁹⁴ Cf. McLEAN 2002, 174-175.

⁹⁵ *CIL*, XIII 4565 = *ILS* 7061 [Appendix I, 5]; cf. MOITRIEUX 1998; TARPIN 2002, 366 no. XXV.4.1 (where the day of dedication is indicated as the 22nd of September); HØJTE 2005, 301 no. 46; ROSSO 2006, 256-257 n. 49. The *tribunicia potestas* of the Emperor refers to AD 43/44.

⁹⁶ On this last KIENAST - ECK - HEIL 2017, 62-63.

⁹⁷ In the Theatre of Marcellus, Livia and Tiberius dedicated a statue to *Divus Augustus*, as documented by Tac., *ann.* III, 64 and above all the *Fasti Praenestini* for the day of the 23rd of April (DEGRASSI 1963, 31): *sig(num) divo Augusto patri ad theatrum Marc(elli) / Iulia Augusta et Ti(berius) Augustus dedicarunt*. See also the considerations of ORLANDI 2017 on an unpublished fragment from this area mentioning Livia before Tiberius.

⁹⁸ *CIL*, VI 9254 (cf. p. 3895) = *ILS* 7244 = EDR118471 (with bibliography) [Appendix I, 6].

Another document from Rome, whose date is contested due to the consular couple, talks about the *cultores domus divinae Augustae* that for the restoration of a porticoed structure offer *sportulae* of bread and wine⁹⁹. The day chosen for this *dedicatio* was the 23rd of September too.

There are other later documents that come from provincial locations. The birthday of Augustus is also one of those days in which *gymnasia* were planned in the baths of *Theveste*, according to the will of Gaius Cornelius Egrilianus¹⁰⁰.

Two inscriptions from Britain were both made by soldiers belonging to the *legio II Augusta* stationed at the fort of *Isca* (Caerleon), and both were found near a basilica of the *principia*. The first text is a simple record of a consecration that occurred on the 23rd of September AD 234¹⁰¹. The second document is more descriptive: a dedication from AD 244 by a centurion to the *numen* of the reigning *Augusti*, Philip the Arab and his son Marcus Iunius Philippus Caesar, and to the *Genius* of the *legio II Augusta*¹⁰². The choice of day does not seem casual, and in fact could provide the key to interpreting both of these inscriptions: making this dedication on the 23rd September would mean honouring not only the *dies natalis* of Augustus, but also perhaps that of the *legio II Augusta*, the so-called *dies aquilae*¹⁰³.

This was probably deliberate: the legion, other than its epithet, had a close bond with the first *princeps*, in both its institution and its first successes. Created by Octavian together with the consuls Hirtius and Pansa before the battle of *Forum Gallorum* of 43 BC, or perhaps as a reformation of an existing Caesarian troop, the legion seems to have been initially known as *Sabina* and then maybe *Gallica*, before it received the appellative *Augusta*¹⁰⁴. The legion participated in the most important of Augustus's campaigns: *Philippi*, *Naulochus* and the Cantabrian Wars. We must not forget that on its *vexillum* there was the symbol of Capricorn¹⁰⁵, the *princeps*' Zodiac sign and one of the main

⁹⁹ *CIL*, VI 253 (cf. p. 3004) = EDR167452 (with bibliography).

¹⁰⁰ *CIL*, VIII 1859 = *ILAlg*, I 3041; see SNYDER 1940, 297-317 and WESCH-KLEIN 1990, 191-193. Cf. *supra* to the *dies natalis* of Julius Caesar.

¹⁰¹ *CIL*, VII 104 = *RIB*, I 328; cf. TOMLIN 1995, no. 328.

¹⁰² *CIL*, VII 103 = *RIB*, I 327; cf. TOMLIN 1995, no. 327; FISHWICK 1991, 400, 406, 418, 605-606; STAUNER 2004, 242-243 no. 26.

¹⁰³ See also on this topic HERZ 1975b, particularly 193-194.

¹⁰⁴ KEPPIE 2000, 123-124.

¹⁰⁵ KEPPIE 2000, 128.

points of his visual propaganda¹⁰⁶. The 23rd of September was therefore by far the most suitable choice for the *dies aquilae* of the *legio II Augusta*.

A final epigraphic attestation to remember is dated to AD 246 and, again, is of military origin. It is a sacred dedication on a bronze plinth of a small statue of a *Genius*¹⁰⁷. The inscription was found in the *castellum* of Niederbieber in *Germania superior*, a fort erected during the reign of Commodus that hosted various auxiliary troops until around AD 260¹⁰⁸. There is mention of a *collegium Victoriensium signiferorum*, an internal association of various military units¹⁰⁹. Comparing it to a preceding document found in the same place - in which the dedication to the *Genius* was by a *vexillarius* and an *imaginifer* not linked to any particular association - could cause us to think that this inscription dates exactly to the foundation of the *collegium* itself and so, a particularly meaningful day, the 23rd of September, was perhaps chosen.

As suggested by the *Feriale Duranum*, it is highly probable that other *castra* and *castella* of the Empire were provided with lists of principal religious festivals, amongst which the *natales* of *principes* and of members of their *domus* evidently held a significant position¹¹⁰.

Ultimately, among the many festivals in the *Fasti* honouring Augustus, the commemoration of his birthday is the most mentioned and the longest survived; as with other Augustan institutions, this celebration would become a model for successive Emperors.

¹⁰⁶ On the importance of the Capricorn see now BARBONE 2013 and LA ROCCA 2017.

¹⁰⁷ *CIL*, XIII 7754 [Appendix I, 7]; see also PFAHL 2012, 162-163 no. 176.

¹⁰⁸ SOUTHERN 1989, 132.

¹⁰⁹ Seven names of the members of the association, undoubtedly those *baioli* and *vexillarii* authors of the inscription, are written on the left side of the plinth and the others on the right; on the document and in particular on the terminology used see PEREA YÉBENES 1998.

¹¹⁰ Cf. also STOLL 2007, 455.

TIBERIUS

a. d. XVI Kalendas Decembres (16th November)

Despite many of the calendars dating from the Tiberian age, we find the birthday of the second Roman Emperor¹¹¹ only marked in the *Feriale Cumanum* and in the *Fasti Antiates Ministrorum Domus Augustae*.

<i>FASTI ANTIATES MINISTRORUM DOMUS AUGUSTAE (AD 23-37)</i>	<i>Ti(berius) Aug(usti) natal(is)</i>
<i>FERIALE CUMANUM (AD 4-14)</i>	<i>Natalis Ti(berii) Caesaris. Supplicatio Vesta[e]</i>

The date is confirmed by literary sources; significant in this case is Suetonius, who said that the day of birth and the year were “so recorded both in the calendar and in the *acta publica*”¹¹².

Cassius Dio - noting that Tiberius’ birthday fell on the 16th of November - writes that the Senate wanted to rename the month in his honour. Tiberius refused the proposal, responding, “what will you do, then, if there are thirteen Caesars?”¹¹³. This response must have led the *curia* to reconsider it, therefore after the cases of Caesar and Augustus, and now this failed attempt, they did not propose such a form of veneration again. Other emperors who did desire such measures went on to impose them, even if they did not survive beyond their reigns.

¹¹¹ Generally on Tiberius: KIENAST - ECK - HEIL 2017, 70-73.

¹¹² *Tib. 5: sic enim in fastos actaque in publica relatum est.*

¹¹³ Dio LVII, 18, 2; this information, attributable to AD 17 or 18, is only known from indirect sources: Xiph. 134, 32 and 135, 4; Zonar. XI, 2, p. 438, 4-7 B (p. 5, 18-21 D); Petr. Patr., *Exc. Vat.* 5. Suetonius (*Tib.* 26, 2) documents Tiberius’ refusal to rename the months: in this case, however, maybe consequentially with *Iulius* and *Augustus*, September had to take the name of the Emperor and October that of Livia. In the province of Asia, instead, they managed to assign to the month of October - that after the reforms in AD 9 by Paulus Fabius Maximus was by then the second month of the year, after September/*Kaisarios* dedicated to Augustus - the name of Tiberius, as is evident in the *Hemerologium* conserved in the *cod. Mediceus Laurentianus*, plut. XXVIII, 26 (see LAFFI 1967, 71-75).

These were despotic and authoritarian *principes*: Caligula, who decided to rename September in honour of his father as Germanicus¹¹⁴; Nero, who gave April *cognomentum Neronis*, as well as changing May to Claudius and June to Germanicus¹¹⁵; Domitian, who turned September into Germanicus, in memory of his military victories, and October into his name¹¹⁶. Commodus, finally, went much further than his illustrious predecessors by renaming every month of the year with onomastic elements and appellatives related to his titlature: *Amazonius, Invictus, Felix, Pius, Lucius, Aelius, Aurelius, Commodus, Augustus, Hercules, Romanus, Exsuperatorius*¹¹⁷.

Returning to Tiberius' birthday and specifically to the lack of evidences in the calendars, the fact that it is not mentioned in the *Fasti Amiternini* is particularly striking, seeing as they can be dated exactly to the Tiberian age¹¹⁸. This document, in fact, contains numerous historic references, among which two events of the life of Tiberius himself: his adoption by Augustus and the unmasking of the conspiracy conceived by Marcus Scribonius Libo¹¹⁹. This absence is therefore very strange, and one must consider if there were really planned public celebrations. The loss of the month of November from coeval and successive calendars - the *Fasti Praenestini, Vallenses* and *Vaticani* - does unfortunately not allow us to come to a conclusion.

At the same time, one must note the particular nature of the two calendars in which the record of the *dies natalis* of Tiberius is preserved; although of public character, they were closely linked to the sphere of the Imperial family.

It is explicitly stated in various literary sources that Tiberius had an aversion to special honours on his birthday throughout his entire reign. As early as AD 14 he refused that lavish celebrations were held because he was respectful of republican liberties¹²⁰; in fact, the 16th of November fell during the *Ludi plebei*, which ran from the 4th to the 17th of the month, and the Emperor permitted only that they add a chariot in his honour¹²¹.

¹¹⁴ Suet., *Cal.* 15, 2.

¹¹⁵ Tac., *ann.* XV, 74, 1: *mensisque Aprilis Neronis cognomentum acciperet*; XVI, 12, 2: *et menses, qui Aprilem eundemque Neroneum sequebantur, Maius in Claudii, Iunius Germanici vocabilis mutantur*; Suet., *Nero* 55, 1: *mensem quoque Aprilem Neroneum appellavit*.

¹¹⁶ Suet., *Dom.* 13, 3; a proof of their later abolition in Macr. I, 12, 36-37.

¹¹⁷ Dio LXXII, 15, 3.

¹¹⁸ The absence from *Fasti Fratrum Arvalium* and the *Maffeiani* is fully explained by their dates: in those years, Tiberius did not in fact hold any important position.

¹¹⁹ See DEGRASSI 1963, 193; *PIR*², S 268.

¹²⁰ This is the meaning of the term *dēmōtikos* in Dio LVII, 8, 3.

¹²¹ Suet., *Tib.* 26.

We know that during his period of power, more precisely from AD 29, Sejanus publically celebrated his birthday¹²²; the day after his execution, the Senate voted that among the honours to be reserved for Tiberius there would be *ludi* held on the day of his birth, with ten horse races and a banquet - a proposal that he subsequently refused¹²³. If on the one hand this appears similar to the arrangements made for Augustus' *dies natalis*, on the other it seems that until this date none of this was yet planned.

The terms *feriae* or *ludi* are effectively absent from the calendars, but there were certainly thanks and offerings. In fact, on the 16th of November the *Fratres Arvales* honoured the Emperor's birthday with the sacrifice of an ox on the Capitoline Hill at the Temple of *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus*; two of the surviving accounts are from the reign of Tiberius and in one, although in part the result of integration, is possible to read the expression *ex decreto senatus*¹²⁴.

The third dates from the age of Caligula, who decreed in AD 40 that the birthdays of Tiberius and Drusilla should be celebrated in the same manner as that of Augustus¹²⁵.

It is safe to assume that this much more ostentatious commemoration did not survive for long¹²⁶; its abolition, in fact, could offer a plausible explanation for the missing birthday in the calendars of late antiquity, those of *Filocalus* and *Polemios Silvius*: that Tiberius was not counted among the *divi* is of little importance, as others who did not receive the *consecratio* are commemorated in these documents.

The section of the *Feriale Duranum* that would include November is unfortunately missing, which does not allow us to verify if Tiberius' *dies natalis* was still celebrated, and so we are unable to trace the development of how it was recorded from the first imperial age onwards; without doubt, in this period, the son of Livia appears on the aforementioned coinage of Trajan (probably from AD 107) but not in that of Decius, from the middle of the third century AD, which was reserved only for the *divi*¹²⁷.

¹²² Suet., *Tib.* 65; Dio LVIII, 2, 7.

¹²³ Dio LVIII, 12, 8.

¹²⁴ SCHEID 1998, 18 no. 7a, col. I, ll. 1-3; no. 7a, col. II, ll. 4-7; 32 no. 12d, ll. 5-8.

¹²⁵ Dio LIX, 24, 7.

¹²⁶ On this abolition, DEGRASSI 1963, 531.

¹²⁷ *BMCRE*, III, 144 no. 6.

Tiberius' birthday, as with Augustus', is recorded in the important municipal decree of *Forum Clodii*, in the *regio VII (Etruria)*¹²⁸. The date of the *dies natalis* is not explicitly stated, but there is mention of rituals that were to be carried out on this day. As already mentioned, this text concerns the foundation of the local *Augusteum*¹²⁹ and established a series of religious practices in honour of the *domus Augusta*¹³⁰.

In AD 18, the birthday of an Emperor was characterised by a banquet and a sacrifice. This document first and foremost describes the celebrations for Augustus, not yet defined as *divus*, and indicates that the sacrifice for Tiberius was to be a *vitulus*, a young bovine and not a male adult¹³¹: he is in fact still presented as heir. Such provisions, already in force, were therefore copied to the new inscription that commemorated the construction of an *aedicula* and of statues of the Imperial family in the new *Augusteum*¹³², before constituted only by the altar of the *Numen Augustum* recorded in the text¹³³.

The situation in the Greek area of the Empire is similar: even here, in fact, there is evidence of ceremonies honouring the birthday of Tiberius.

It was almost certainly during his *dies natalis* and not Augustus' that there were gymnastic and equestrian competitions in Messene; a fragmented decree records that in the area there were three days of celebrations in honour of the *domus Augusta*¹³⁴. Such a conclusion is obtained by the fact that the document, that describes in detail the processions and sacrifices for the Imperial cult, is dated to AD 15 and in its closing lines notes that an ambassador was sent to Rome to express condolences for the death of Augustus, as well as blessings and felicitations for the new *princeps*.

A little later is another document, similarly fragmentary, from the village of *Pherai* in Messenia¹³⁵. The decree, in which a local citizen is honoured, carries the date

¹²⁸ *CIL*, XI 3303 = *ILS* 154 = EDR153071 (with bibliography) [Appendix I, 3]; recently, with English translation: KOORTBOJIAN 2013, 172-176.

¹²⁹ See GASPERINI 2008.

¹³⁰ SCHEID 2011, 216; see also MARENGO 2005, 58-59.

¹³¹ See also GRADEL 2002, 243-244.

¹³² GASPERINI 2008, 105, argues relying on two twin dedications for Lucius Caesar and Marcus Agrippa Postumus (*CIL*, XI 3304-3305 = EDR152979 - EDR152980) placed in AD 5, that a primitive structure of the cult must already have existed before AD 18.

¹³³ On the expression *Numen Augustum* see the considerations of FISHWICK 1991, 380-381 and *id.* 2007b; otherwise ALFÖLDY - ABASCAL 2002, 99-102; MARENGO 2005, 61.

¹³⁴ *SEG* XLI, 328; see KANTIREA 2001, 54-55; *ead.* 2007, 69-70; CAMIA - KANTIREA 2010, 385.

¹³⁵ *IG*, V.1, 1359a.

of the 16th of November of AD 30/31 (of the Aktian era) and states explicitly that this was Tiberius' *dies natalis*¹³⁶.

An epigraphic dossier found at *Hypaipa*, near Ephesus, can be dated around AD 41, and although incomplete informs us of some activities for which the *hymnodoi*, discussed in the previous chapter on Augustus, were responsible¹³⁷. The *koinon* of the province of Asia thanked them for their participation in the Imperial cult, particularly for the gathering at Pergamon on the day of Tiberius' birthday. Here the "sacred synod" of the college met up and a copy of the issued decree was sent to *Hypaipa*, and eventually to other locations in which the *hymnodoi* were present. The *dies natalis* of Tiberius was one of those occasions when these choirs sang hymns in honour of the Imperial house and held festivals and banquets¹³⁸.

A series of inscriptions record the 16th of November as a day of dedication too. A document coeval to the reign of Tiberius was found in *Laphetus*, on the island of Cyprus: on that day in AD 29 the priest of the local gymnasium sacred to Hermes and Heracles dedicated at his own expense a temple and a statue of the Emperor¹³⁹. With this act was also established the priesthood of the cult of Tiberius, named as *theos* on two occasions, binding it by inheritance to the homonymous son.

More than evident is in this case the voluntary nature of the choice of the day, which corresponds to what was in Hellenistic terms called *ēmera sebastē*; particularly the inscription also notes the calendar reform introduced by Paulus Fabius Maximus, according to which Tiberius' birthday fell during second month of the year, which itself began with the *dies natalis* of Augustus¹⁴⁰.

A record of the 16th of November AD 57 as a day of consecration is found in Rome, but only the date is preserved, on an inscription which was perhaps a sacred dedication¹⁴¹.

¹³⁶ KANTIREA 2007, 71.

¹³⁷ *IGRR*, IV 1608 = *IEph* 3801.

¹³⁸ On the document see FRIESEN 2001, 104-106; ASCOUGH - HARLAND - KLOPPENBORG 2012, no. 160; GRAF 2015, 70.

¹³⁹ *IGRR*, III 933 = *OGIS* 583; see KANTIREA 2008, 100; *ead.* 2011, 253.

¹⁴⁰ On the chronology and calendar of Cyprus see MITFORD 1980, 1357-1361.

¹⁴¹ *CIL*, VI 853; see also SNYDER 1940, 235 no. 6.

A recent rereading of a text honouring an equestrian officer in *Beneventum*¹⁴², has enabled us to link it to an inscription dated to the 16th of November AD 246¹⁴³. On that day the horseman Gaius Caelius Bassaeus Donatus was honoured with a statue by his parents, Gaius Caelius Donatus and Bassea Ianuaria, who probably did something similar for their other son at the same time, always at their own expense¹⁴⁴. Both *equites Romani*, the brothers had performed the most local authority, that was the *praetor Cerialis iure dicundo*¹⁴⁵.

Finally, we must analyse three closely linked documents that all mention the same date of the 16th of November. These refer to the restoration of the winter baths (*thermae hiemales*) in *Ocriculum*¹⁴⁶, north of the original complex built in the middle of the second century AD by Lucius Iulius Iulianus¹⁴⁷. Sextus Cluvius Saturninus and Marcus Caesolius Saturninus, two notable locals¹⁴⁸, were involved in the project; in the same year, AD 341, they were honoured by the Senate and the People of *Ocriculum* with a statue each¹⁴⁹.

Noting the late date of this restoration and considering the issues raised above regarding the memory of Tiberius' birthday, it is difficult to say whether the consecration of the new winter baths and the dedication to the financiers of the project took place knowingly on the day of this Imperial *dies natalis*.

In *Ocriculum*, however, a series of statues dated to the Tiberian age that celebrated the *domus Iulia* was found, which was probably part of a sculpted group destined for the local *Augusteum*¹⁵⁰.

¹⁴² DE CARLO 2010 = *AE* 2010, 357.

¹⁴³ *CIL*, IX 1640+1599 = EDR102440; see also DE CARLO 2015, 185-187.

¹⁴⁴ *CIL*, IX 1641 = *ILS* 6495 = EDR137388.

¹⁴⁵ DE CARLO 2010, 246.

¹⁴⁶ See recently HAY - KEAY - MILLETT 2013, 59-60.

¹⁴⁷ *CIL*, XI 4090; cf. also *AE* 1995, 439.

¹⁴⁸ *CIL*, XI 4095 = *ILS* 5696.

¹⁴⁹ *CIL*, XI 4096-4097 = *LSA* 1632, 1633; a further restoration of the structure by Gaius Volusios Victor is attested to between the 4th and 5th centuries, documented in an inscription placed on the 3rd of November (*CIL*, XI 4094 = *LSA* 2682).

¹⁵⁰ ROSE 1997, 97-98; on the location DAREGGI 1982.

GERMANICUS

a. d. IX Kalendas Iunias (24th May)

Germanicus has always fascinated scholars of the Roman world; even in antiquity his fame continued until long after his death. This is evident in the calendars too: still in the third century AD, in fact, one of these records the celebration of his *dies natalis*.

<i>FERIALE CUMANUM</i> (AD 4-14)	<i>[Natalis Germanici Caesaris. Supp]licatio Vestae</i>
<i>FERIALE DURANUM</i> (AD 224/5-227)	<i>Ob natalem Germanic<i> Caē[sa]ris sup[pli]cat[i]o [me]mōri[ae Ge]rm[anici] C[a]esaris</i>

The two entries of the commemoration of Germanicus' birthday are both found in a particular type of calendar, the *Feriale*; this is different from the *Fasti* because it only states the indication of the dates with their related celebrations.

Information about Germanicus' *dies natalis* are not found in any literary source, not even in Suetonius, who, aside from other sporadic mentions, dedicates eight paragraphs to him in the *Life of Caligula*¹⁵¹.

Instead of his date of birth, the biographer tells us that Germanicus died in his thirty fourth year of life: we know that the young Caesar died in AD 19, and thus we can infer that he was born in 15 BC¹⁵². The chronological data provided by Suetonius, however, have always been considered with a certain level of caution: so there are many scholars who have proposed alternatives. In particular B. Levick, studying Germanicus' career stages in parallel with those of Drusus, suggested an early date of 16 BC¹⁵³. G. V.

¹⁵¹ Likewise, R. Cristofoli in his recent biography of Caligula dedicates the initial part to Germanicus: CRISTOFOLI 2018, 5-24.

¹⁵² Also most recently KIENAST - ECK - HEIL 2017, 73.

¹⁵³ LEVICK 1966, particularly 238-239.

Sumner investigated a similar hypothesis too, but in the end agreed with Suetonius¹⁵⁴: there does not seem to be significant reasons to doubt the biographer's words.

The importance of these two documents is therefore evident, as they are the only ones to give us the date of his birthday and how it was celebrated: both note a *supplicatio* in his honour on the 24th of May.

Despite they have the same nature, and both describe the same ritual to be performed, it is important to highlight the profound difference between the two text, which is due primarily to the huge gap, of more than two centuries, that separates them. The oldest, the *Feriale Cumanum*, was probably created before the death of Augustus who is not described as *divus*¹⁵⁵: the form of honour reserved for Germanicus is therefore appropriate for a period in which he was still alive. As with the *dies natales* of the other male members of the *domus Augusta*, a *supplicatio* to Vesta - though the text is damaged - is also required in this case.

The *Feriale Duranum* dates to the Severan age and pertains to a military environment; although it is believed that it was based on an original written during the Augustan age¹⁵⁶, it presents an updated list of the festivals that fell on the Roman year, including those related to the birthdays of the *divi* and the *divae*.

Despite the almost divine honours offered after his death, Germanicus did not receive the *consecratio*. Why, then, do we still find a record of his *dies natalis* in this document? A possible explanation can be found in the importance that he had during his life, and continued to have after his death, in the military environment¹⁵⁷. One must, however, pay particular attention to what is stated in the text: the *supplicatio* is not directed to Germanicus Caesar himself, but to his *memoria*. This word highlights to our eyes the perpetuation of memory, but was useful to overcome the practical difficulties of the ritual: by directing the *supplicatio* to his memory, his birthday could continue to be celebrated in the *Ferialia* that, listing only festive occasions, could not contain the commemoration of *inferiae*, a day of mourning which was instead possible to mark in the *Fasti*¹⁵⁸.

¹⁵⁴ SUMNER 1967, particularly 421-423.

¹⁵⁵ For the dating: DEGRASSI 1963, 278.

¹⁵⁶ NOCK 1952, 195, 203, 241.

¹⁵⁷ In this sense, see also recently McINTYRE 2017.

¹⁵⁸ FRASCHETTI 2000, 145-146.

The length of time between these two documents confirms that this anniversary enjoyed immense longevity and that it was an integral part of State celebrations. The *natalis* was certainly commemorated at the official level in the years following his death, as we can see from what survives of the *Acta* of the *Fratres Arvales* that record ceremonies held in honour of Germanicus' birthday in both AD 38 and AD 40 by the *promagister* at the head of the religious college. In the first case, an ox was sacrificed on the Capitoline Hill to *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus*¹⁵⁹; in the other, it was repeated with the addition of a cow for Juno and probably one for Minerva¹⁶⁰.

We do not have inscriptions that record the *natalis* of the son of Drusus the Elder, but a small number of epigraphs were dedicated on the 24th of May: we shall see if it is possible to establish a connection between these and the anniversary we have just analysed.

The oldest document is a damaged marble slab broken in two and found in Travestere in Rome, outside Porta Portese¹⁶¹. It commemorates the restoration, comprising embellishment and enlargement, of a *porticus* dedicated to Sol carried out by a certain Gaius Iulius Anicetus, at his own expense, as fulfilment of a previous vow¹⁶². This person is associated with the sun god in other two inscriptions coming from the former same area, as well as in a funerary dedication placed for his wife and daughter¹⁶³. The first is a request that people refrain from putting graffiti on the walls and the *tricliae* (probably rooms used for ritual banquets)¹⁶⁴ of the structure, evidently following the restoration on which Anicetus must have spent a considerable amount¹⁶⁵. The second is a record of the dedication of an altar to Sol, but we do not know if this was placed in the *porticus* or elsewhere¹⁶⁶.

Gaius Iulius Anicetus' project was authorised by a series of people, whose names written in the text in genitive, are identifiable as the *kalatores* of the sacerdotal college of

¹⁵⁹ SCHEID 1998, 30 no. 12, ll. 29-31.

¹⁶⁰ SCHEID 1998, 39 no. 14, ll. 2-7.

¹⁶¹ *CIL*, VI 2185 (cf. pp. 3304, 3758) = 31034 = EDR158568 (with bibliography); see also CHAUSSON 1995, 664-665 and lastly SCHEID 2019, 109-110.

¹⁶² On the sacred area in question see *LTURS*, V, 97-98 (D. Nonnis).

¹⁶³ *CIL*, VI 15527 (cf. p. 3517) = EDR158494 (with bibliography).

¹⁶⁴ On the expression: *ThesCRA*, IV, s.v. *triclinium*, *trichila*, 356 (G. L. Grassigli); on the habit of writing graffiti in the sacred areas see now SCHEID 2019, 9.

¹⁶⁵ *CIL*, VI 52 (cf. pp. 831, 3003, 3755) = *ILS* 4335 = EDR158492 (with bibliography).

¹⁶⁶ *CIL*, VI 709 (cf. pp. 3006, 3757) = *ILS* 4336 = EDR158493 (with bibliography).

the *pontifices* and the *flamines*¹⁶⁷. This confirms the official nature of the document; consequently, the date of the inscription, the 24th of May AD 102 (obtained from the consular couple), suggests that the chosen day was not coincidental: while it is difficult to establish a link with the anniversary of the birth of Germanicus, it is plausible that the decision was made to inaugurate the *porticus* on a day that still in the age of Trajan was one of public commemoration.

In AD 131 the *municipes et incolae* of *Tusculum* dedicated a statue to a local notable, Marcus Pontius Felix, that performed the role of *curator* of an association too¹⁶⁸. As evident in other local inscriptions¹⁶⁹, this was probably the college of the *sodales lusus iuvenalis*, which left numerous testimonies at *Tusculum*¹⁷⁰.

Given the reference to a youth association, it could be easy to establish a link with Germanicus: there was a close relationship between these colleges and the *principes iuventutis*, from the time of Gaius and Lucius Caesar. We do not know for certain that the son of Drusus the Elder received such a title¹⁷¹, but a passage from one of Ovid's *Epistulae ex Ponto* would make one think so, as there Germanicus is referred to as *te iuvenum princeps*¹⁷².

Commemorations of the princes of the Julio-Claudian dynasty were undoubtedly among the principle occasions for the organization of *lusus iuvenum*, as elsewhere established by the *rogatio Valeria Aurelia* following the death of Germanicus, that had to be applied in all the colonies and municipalities¹⁷³.

In Rome, a marble plinth with a dedication to *Silvanus Augustus* was found near the exedra northwest of the Baths of Diocletian¹⁷⁴. The *ex voto*, that would have held a statue of the god, was offered by Gaius Iulius Castrensis, certainly a freedman. The dedication, as it reads on the right side of the support, took place on the 24th of May under

¹⁶⁷ See RÜPKE 2008, 48-50.

¹⁶⁸ *CIL*, XIV 2636 = *ILS* 6209; on the document see also GINESTET 1991, 219 no. 20; ENGFER 2017, 137.

¹⁶⁹ See *CIL*, XIV 2640 = *ILS* 6213; XIV 2635 = *ILS* 6212;

¹⁷⁰ GINESTET 1991, 146-147; GOROSTIDI PI 2009-11.

¹⁷¹ KIENAST - ECK - HEIL 2017, 73.

¹⁷² II, 5, 41.

¹⁷³ DUPRÉ - GOROSTIDI PI 2007, 445-447; GOROSTIDI PI 2009-11, 174.

¹⁷⁴ *CIL*, VI 635 (cf. pp. 836, 3006) = 30805 = EDR136695 (with bibliography).

the consulate of Titus Hoenius Severus and Marcus Peducaeus Stloga, which dates it to AD 141¹⁷⁵.

Silvanus, the most venerated deity in Rome¹⁷⁶, is here honoured with the epithet *Augustus*, following a trend that spread from the first Imperial age after this term was adopted by the Emperor himself, that we now find associated with many deities in each part of the Empire¹⁷⁷.

A few years later, in AD 149¹⁷⁸, we find another offering to a deity, Hercules, here defined as *sanctissimus* and *invictus*, consecrated again on the 24th May¹⁷⁹: once more is not easy to say whether there was a specific reason for this choice. The inscription is written on a plinth which, as the text states, had to support a *crater argyrocorintha*, a bronze Corinthian vase that, according to Pliny¹⁸⁰, was one of the renowned in antiquity because it resembled silver. The dedication was made by Lucius Curtius Abascantus, who must have been a member of the *corpus custodiariorum*, an association that grew around the ancient cult of *Hercules Invictus*, located near the *Ara Maxima* and who occupied themselves with the care of the sacred area¹⁸¹. It would have been there, around the Forum Boarium in Rome¹⁸², that our document was found. Though a private dedication, it was placed by a member of a college: each of these associations would have possessed their own calendars, like a *Feriale*, in which the special days of the association itself were marked, as well as official holidays and festivals. Among these is the birthday of Germanicus, and therefore Lucius Curtius Abascantus chose to hold the dedication on a day not without meaning.

The last document to be analysed is another sacred inscription¹⁸³. In the *Mauretania Caesariensis*, a peripheral region of the Empire that is today Algeria, a gabled stele was found; it is surmounted by a triangular relief of a bust of Saturn with a harp,

¹⁷⁵ See *PIR*², H 189 and P 227.

¹⁷⁶ On the cult of Silvanus: DORCEY 1992; PANCIERA 2006, 421-437.

¹⁷⁷ On Augustan deities in Rome: PANCIERA 2006, 521-540, for Italy: GREGORI 2009, in provincial environment: ARNALDI 2006; ALMAGNO 2016.

¹⁷⁸ Under the consulate of Servius Scipio Orfitus and Quintus Sosius Priscus, but in the text the noble family name of the last consul is erroneously transcribed as *Nonius*: see *PIR*², N 149.

¹⁷⁹ *CIL*, VI 327*bis* (cf. pp. 3004, 3756) = *ILS* 3446 = EDR121707 (with bibliography) [Appendix I, 8].

¹⁸⁰ *N. H.* XXXIV, 3.

¹⁸¹ WALSER 1993, 238; WOJCIECHOWSKI 2013, 106.

¹⁸² On the sacred area: *LTUR*, III, 15-17 (F. Coarelli); see also RICHARDSON 1992, 186-187.

¹⁸³ *CIL*, VIII 20436.

flanked by two bird heads. This is a monument to *Saturnus Augustus* - the epithet, as previously discussed in relation to Silvanus, is commonly found in relation to Saturn in the African provinces¹⁸⁴. The author is named in the lower part of the stele, before the date: Lucius Gargilius Felix, identified as a *sacerdos*, probably of Saturn, dedicated the stele as the result of a vow taken on the 24th of May of a year between AD 214 and 227. In this case we do not possess a record of a consular couple, but of the provincial era, that accurately tells us how many years had passed since the institution of the province; unfortunately, the final numerical section of the stone is damaged, which makes it difficult to determine a precise date¹⁸⁵.

In light of the above, it appears we must agree with Suetonius, who, in the first chapters of the *Life of Caligula* dedicated to the young dead *princeps*, states: “but his reputation was far greater and better established at the time of his death and afterwards”¹⁸⁶.

¹⁸⁴ On Saturn in Africa: LEGLAY 1966a; CADOTTE 2007, 25-63.

¹⁸⁵ See LEGLAY 1966b, 247 no. 10.

¹⁸⁶ *Cal. 5: tamen longe maiora et firmitiora de eo iudicia in morte ac post mortem extiterunt*; regarding Germanicus' popularity, especially in the East, see: HOËT-VAN CAUWENBERGHE - KANTIREA 2013a.

DRUSUS THE YOUNGER

Nonis Octobribus (7th October)

The birthday of Drusus the Younger, son of Tiberius, is only present in the *Feriale Cumanum*¹⁸⁷. It is one of those *dies natales* that, because of the close connection of this document with the *domus Augusta*, is signalled as a day of celebration marked with a *supplicatio* to *Vesta*¹⁸⁸.

<i>FERIALE CUMANUM</i> (AD 4-14)	<i>Drusi Caesaris natalis. Supplicatio</i> <i>V[e]stae</i>
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There are few mentions of the birth of Drusus in the literary sources. Suetonius notes that when Tiberius renounced *Vipsania Agrippina*¹⁸⁹, his first wife and mother of Drusus, in order to marry Julia, the child was already born. This was confirmed by Cassius Dio, who states at that time Agrippa had just died, which occurred in 12 BC¹⁹⁰.

There have been many attempts to pinpoint the exact year of his birth. The most widely accepted theory is based on the knowledge that Tiberius, requesting the *tribunicia potestas* for his son in the Senate, stated that Drusus was now the same age as when he had received it. It was inferred, then, that Drusus was born in 15 BC¹⁹¹: there are several scholars, however, like B. Levick and G. V. Sumner who, studying the lives of Germanicus and Drusus, have suggested instead 14 or 13 BC¹⁹².

The question must for now remain unresolved; nevertheless, we are able to examine the record of his *dies natalis* in the calendars. We have already noted the

¹⁸⁷ Generally on Drusus the Younger: KIENAST - ECK - HEIL 2017, 75-76.

¹⁸⁸ See ARENA 2010a, 30; *ead.* 2010b, 149.

¹⁸⁹ Daughter of Agrippa and his first wife Caecilia: *PIR*², V 681; RAEPSAET CHARLIER 1987, 632-633 no. 811.

¹⁹⁰ Suet., *Tib.* 7, 2: *Agrippinam, Marco Agrippa genitam, neptem Caecili Attici equitis R., ad quem sunt Ciceronis epistulae, duxit uxorem; sublatoque ex ea filio Druso, quanquam bene convenientem rursusque gravidam dimittere [...]*; Dio LIV, 31, 1-2.

¹⁹¹ Tac., *ann.* III, 56.

¹⁹² For AD 13: LEVICK 1966, 231-242; for AD 14: SUMNER 1967, 427-430; for an analysis of the career of Drusus the Younger see also HURLET 1997, 210-213.

particularity of the entry in the *Feriale Cumanum*: a *supplicatio* to Vesta is required because she, community goddess par excellence, had become, after Augustus assumed the title of *pontifex maximus*, also the patron deity of the new house that had embraced her, that of the *princeps*¹⁹³.

But does the presence of this birthday in this type of document give us assurance that the 7th of October was really a *dies feriatius*? It is fair to ask; there is no confirmation as such, and this anniversary does not even appear in the *Fasti* proper, in which there is no lack of information on the day in question.

These calendars - excluding the *Antiates minores*, written after the death of the young prince and in fact only commemorating the day of his death (the *inferiae*)¹⁹⁴ - note two events on 7th of October: the first regards the *dies natalis* of the Temple of *Iuppiter Fulgur* and *Iuno Curitis*, consecrated in the Campus Martius in the middle of the Republican age¹⁹⁵; the second refers to the *ludi Augustales* that, after the death of Augustus, were celebrated for ten consecutive days from the 3rd to the 12th of October¹⁹⁶.

Inscriptions that are dedicated on the *nonis Octobribus* have yet to be found.

¹⁹³ FRASCHETTI 2005, 320.

¹⁹⁴ See DEGRASSI 1963, 209.

¹⁹⁵ See documentation in DEGRASSI 1963, 20, 37, 153; on the temples, with previous bibliography: DONATI - STEFANETTI 2006, 130-132.

¹⁹⁶ See documentation in DEGRASSI 1963, 195, 209, 516.

CALIGULA

pridie Kalendas Septembres (31st August)

The calendars of the Augustan and Tiberian age also contain the record of the *dies natalis* of Gaius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, better known as Caligula¹⁹⁷.

<i>FASTI VALLENSES</i> (after AD 7)	[NP.] <i>Nat(alis) C(aii) Caesaris Germanici</i>
<i>FASTI PIGHIANI</i> (AD 31-37)	<i>Nat(alis) Germanic(i)</i>

Suetonius confirms that Caligula was born on the 31st of August, and also tells us the year, 12 BC, in which Caligula's father Germanicus assumed his first role as consul: *C. Caesar natus est pridie Kalendis Septembris patre suo et C. Fonteio Capitone coss.*¹⁹⁸.

The birthplace¹⁹⁹ of the Emperor is discussed at length by the biographer, due to uncertainty caused by inconsistencies in the original sources. Gnaeus Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus, consul in AD 26, states that Caligula was born in Tivoli; Pliny, instead, suggests the territory of Treviri, where Germanicus stayed during his campaigns in the northern provinces²⁰⁰. Suetonius, on his part, claims to have found *in actis* proof that he was born in *Antium*²⁰¹.

¹⁹⁷ Generally on Caligula: KIENAST - ECK - HEIL 2017, 78-80 and lastly CRISTOFOLI 2018.

¹⁹⁸ *Cal.* 8, 1; on the other consul: *PIR*², F 470.

¹⁹⁹ Suetonius does the same in *Aug.* 5; *Tib.* 5; *Claud.* 2, 1; *Galb.* 4, 1; *Vesp.* 2, 1; *Tit.* 1; *Dom.* 1, 1.

²⁰⁰ *Cal.* 8, 1: [...] *ubi natus sit, incertum diversitas tradentium facit. Cn. Lentulus Gaetulicus Tiburi genitum scribit, Plinius Secundus in Treveris vico Ambitarvio supra Confluentes [...]*; on Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus: *FRHist*, I, 635 (B. M. Levick); on the passage in general: *FRHist*, I, 128 (T. J. Cornell).

²⁰¹ *Cal.* 8, 2: *ego in actis Anti editum invenium [...]*; such a conviction is reiterated at the end of his discussion (8, 5), where he mentions Caligula's love towards the city; on the relationship between the Emperor and *Antium*, see recently JAIA 2013; on the use of the first person by Suetonius and his consultation of the *acta publica*, see GASCOU 1982, 242-249, 466-467, 480-485. Cf. also CRISTOFOLI 2018, 3-4.

Cassius Dio tells us that in AD 37 Caligula inaugurated the Temple of *Divus Augustus*, also called the *templum novum*²⁰², on the 30th of August, the day before his *dies natalis*. It is difficult to say from this information whether his birthday was celebrated over two consecutive days²⁰³, but it is certainly evident that it was the *princeps*' intention to connect the two events²⁰⁴: displaying his *pietas* towards his ancestor, he sought to legitimise his power by highlighting the direct line of lineage, through his mother Agrippina, from the founder of the Principate.

There were twenty chariot races in the Circus Maximus on the 30th of August, to which Caligula added another forty the following day²⁰⁵.

Cassius Dio confirms that Caligula's birthday celebrations included *circenses* and *venationes* organized by the praetors. The same historian then describes an episode from AD 39 when Caligula punishes the two presiding consuls because they did not honour his *dies natalis* with the required *supplicatio*²⁰⁶.

These public celebrations probably would not have taken place before his ascent to power in AD 37²⁰⁷. From this moment on the 31st of August enter among those days on which a member of the *domus Augusta* was celebrated: in AD 38 the *Fratres Arvales* paid homage to the Imperial birthday with the sacrifice of an ox to *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus* on the Capitoline Hill²⁰⁸.

This day was not only celebrated in Rome. An important historical-political document provides us with interesting demonstrations. In Alexandria in Egypt the years of Caligula's reign were marked by a serious Jewish revolt, as one can read in two works of the philosopher Philo of Alexandria: the *Legatio ad Caium* and the *In Flaccum*²⁰⁹. The last one, in which are described the events of AD 38 and the violent repression by Aulus Avillius Flaccus²¹⁰, prefect of Egypt, talks about the Emperor's *dies natalis* too, and its

²⁰² Dio LIX, 7, 1-3.

²⁰³ HERZ 1975a, 97, followed also today by KIENAST - ECK - HEIL 2017, 85.

²⁰⁴ See also HERZ 1988, 10-11.

²⁰⁵ Dio LIX, 7, 2.

²⁰⁶ Dio LIX, 20, 1; similarly also Suet., *Cal.* 26, 3: *consulibus oblitis de natali suo edicere abrigavit magistratum [...]*.

²⁰⁷ DEGRASSI 1963, 504.

²⁰⁸ SCHEID 1998, 31 no. 12c, ll. 77-80; cf. HERZ 1981, 97-99.

²⁰⁹ General considerations on the work and the figure of Philo in the collected essays of CALABI - MUNNICH - REYDAMS-SCHILS - VIMERCATI 2015 and lastly NIEHOFF 2018.

²¹⁰ FAORO 2016, 34-36 no. 14 with previous bibliography.

related celebrations that, according to Philo, did not stop the persecutory action of *Flaccus*, but rather served as an occasion for some executions²¹¹.

A Greek inscription records the implementation of *Kaisareia* on the island of Chios²¹². At first this was thought to pertain to Germanicus, but L. Robert has proven that it actually refers to Caligula²¹³. The text describes the institution of a bequest intended to finance a celebration for the Emperor's birthday.

The *Tagenoi*, inhabitants of a village in the region of Sardis in *Lydia*, dedicated an altar to the Emperor, probably in commemoration of his *dies natalis*²¹⁴. In the inscription the celebration is called *Augousteios* and Caligula is defined as *neos Theos*, or "new God"²¹⁵.

Caligula himself chose the 31st August AD 40 to celebrate the *ovatio* conceded to him by the Senate on his return from an expedition in Germany, during which he repressed the rebellion of Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus and Marcus Aemilius Lepidus²¹⁶.

This does not actually appear in the calendars but was recorded by Suetonius and Cassius Dio²¹⁷. The episode was most certainly not a coincidence, seeing as the Emperor had already arrived at the gates of Rome by the 1st of June. His presence, in fact, is confirmed by the record of a ceremony performed by the *Fratres Arvales*, in which they sacrificed a cow in honour of *Dea Dia*²¹⁸. Caligula, therefore, in the same way as Pompey had marked his triumph²¹⁹, decided to await his birthday before celebrating it.

The Emperor's violent death on the 24th of January AD 41 put an end to public commemoration of his *dies natalis*, which does not appear again in any succeeding calendars. Although Caligula did not suffer an official *damnatio memoriae*, his acts were

²¹¹ *Flacc.* 74, 81, 83; see comments in HORST 2003, 152, 170, 175-176.

²¹² *IGRR*, IV 948; on the celebration of *Kaisareia* in the different regions of Greece: CAMIA - KANTIREA 2010, 382-388; CAMIA 2016, 259-265.

²¹³ ROBERT 1933, 529-533; see also GRAF 2015, 92.

²¹⁴ HERMANN - MALAY 2007, no. 43.

²¹⁵ A comparison can be made with the decree of *Cizicus* where Caligula is described as *neos Helios* (*IGRR*, IV 145).

²¹⁶ A re-examination, with previous bibliography, in DIOSONO 2013 and GHINI 2013, 26-27. Cf. a sacred dedication found in *Brixia*, *pro salute, reditu et victoria* of Caligula: *AE* 2014, 510 = EDR161786 [Appendix I, 4] and lastly GREGORI 2019, 245-249.

²¹⁷ Suet., *Cal.* 49, 2: [...] *ovans urbem natali suo ingressus est* [...]; Dio LIX, 23, 2.

²¹⁸ SCHEID 1998, 39 no. 14, ll. 10-18; see also BARRETT 1989, 167-168.

²¹⁹ Plin., *N. H.* XXXVII, 13: *ergo tertio triumpho* [...] *M. Pisone M. Messala cos. Pr. K. Octobres natali suo egit*; generally on the triumph of Pompey recently: VERVAET 2014.

abolished and his statues were removed²²⁰; his name, however, was not systematically erased from all inscriptions that mentioned him.

The 31st of August is anyway marked as a holy day in *Feriale Duranum* because of another Imperial *dies natalis*, that of the Emperor Commodus²²¹.

As is written in the *Historia Augusta*²²², Commodus was born on that day in *Lanuvium*, along with his twin brother *T. Aurelius Fulvius Antoninus*²²³.

Likewise the case of Pertinax, that we will see in the next chapter, this birthday appears in the *Feriale Duranum* thanks to Septimius Severus who, in search of dynastic legitimacy, had deified Commodus in AD 195 and wanted to present himself as his *frater*²²⁴. The end of the Severan dynasty will be the cause of the end of that celebration, which consequently does not appear in the two calendars of late antiquity, the *Fasti* of *Furius Filocalus* and those of *Polemius Silvius*.

During Commodus' reign his birthday was obviously celebrated publicly, as evidenced by an inscription from the isle of *Syrus* in the Cyclades that documents a banquet held on that day in AD 183²²⁵, or the donation of Titus Flavius Cenion in the city of *Gortyna* on Crete²²⁶. As a result of this bequest, celebrations for eight holy days were held for the benefit of the local citizens between AD 180 and 182, among which the birthday of the son of Marcus Aurelius was particularly important²²⁷.

The *dies natalis* of *Divus Commodus* also appears in the *Feriale* of *Theveste* from the age of Caracalla as one of the days on which the city was to hold *gymnasia*²²⁸.

There are few surviving inscriptions that record the date of the 31st of August. The phrase *pridie Kalendis Septembres* appears on a fragment of an amphora Dressel 20 from

²²⁰ Dio LX, 4, 5-6; most recently on the question, with previous bibliography: VARNER 2013 and CALOMINO 2016, 54-57; specifically on the statues: VARNER 2004, 23-42, 225-236; for the coins: HOSTEIN 2004, 223-224, 231.

²²¹ *Feriale Duranum*: [pr]id[ie] [Kal(endas) Septembres ob nat]alem [Divi Commodi divo] Com[modo b(ovem) m(arem)].

²²² *H. A., Comm.* 1, 2: *natus est apud Lanuvium cum fratre Antonino gemino prid. kal. Septembres*.

²²³ See *PIR*², A 1512; KIENAST - ECK - HEIL 2017, 133, 140.

²²⁴ *CIL*, VIII 19679, 23707, 27374; cf. KIENAST - ECK - HEIL 2017, 141.

²²⁵ *IG*, XII, 5, 663; cf. GRAF 2015, 70

²²⁶ *IC*, IV 300.

²²⁷ See GRAF 2015, 89-90.

²²⁸ *CIL*, VIII 1859 = *ILAlg*, I 3041; see SNYDER 1940, 297-317 and WESCH-KLEIN 1990, 191-193. Cf. *supra* to the *dies natalis* of Julius Caesar.

Luguvalium, in *Britannia*²²⁹, as well as in a piece of graffiti on the wall of a *domus* near Termini station in Rome²³⁰.

Another dedication found in *Britannia*, in what is today Ribchester, where a fort named *Bremetennacum Veteranorum* stood during the Roman occupation, is much more interesting. On the 31st of August of the year AD 241, Iulius Antoninus honoured a vow made *pro salute* of the Emperor Gordian and of a particular military organisation, the *numeri Sarmatarum Bremennacensium*, to the local god *Apollo Maponus*²³¹. Though the Severan dynasty had ended some years previously, the provenance of the inscription from a military fort in Britain where, among other things, Septimius Severus died, suggests that maybe the choice of this particular day was not so accidental.

²²⁹ *AE* 1997, 1007c.

²³⁰ *AE* 2007, 243.

²³¹ *CIL*, VII 218; see lastly TOMLIN 2018, 160-161 for all the different readings of the text.

CLAUDIUS

Kalendis Augustis (1st August)

The 1st of August is a very significant day in Roman history: it appears in fact several times in the *Fasti* in relation to various events.

Octavian's victory and the fall of Alexandria, which ended the civil war that had devastated Rome in the final years of the Republic, is undoubtedly the most important of these, and will be discussed in the second part of this book, but this day is also significant for the birth of the Emperor Claudius²³².

<i>FASTI VALLENSES</i> (after AD 7)	<i>Natal(is) Ti(beri) Claudii Germanici</i>
<i>FASTI ANTIATES MINISTRORUM</i> <i>DOMUS AUGUSTAE</i> (AD 23-37)	<i>NP. Ti. Clau<di Aug(usti) nat(alis)></i>
<i>FERIALE DURANUM</i> (AD 224/5-227)	[ob n]atalem Divi Clauđi... [Di]yφ Cl[audi]φ b(ovem) m(arem)

Suetonius recounts that the future Emperor was born on the 1st of August AD 10 in *Lugdunum*, the same day as the dedication of the altar of *Dea Roma* and Augustus that occurred here some years previously²³³, which will be discussed later in relation to Octavian's conquest of Egypt. This event also influenced the celebrations of Claudius' *dies natalis*. In fact, Augustus also chose the 1st of August as the day of dedication of the Temple of *Mars Ultor* in the new forum. Cassius Dio tells us that Claudius did not want honours on his birthday similar to those he had established for his parents, Drusus and Antonia, on whose *dies natales* games took place in the Circus²³⁴. The annual *ludi* that

²³² Generally on Claudius: KIENAST - ECK - HEIL 2017, 82-84 and the recent biography by BUONGIORNO 2017.

²³³ *Claud.* 2, 1: *Claudius natus est Iulio Antonio Fabio Africano cons. Kal. Aug. Lugduni eo ipso die quo primum ara ibi Augusto dedicata est.*

²³⁴ Dio LX, 5, 1; cf. Suet., *Claud.* 11, 2.

were held on the 1st of August were thus for the anniversary of the dedication of the Temple of *Mars Ultor*, and not for the birthday of the Emperor²³⁵.

Similarly, the *dies natalis* of Tiberius coincided with the *ludi Plebei*: the Emperor allowed the addition of a chariot in his honour during the Circus games; perhaps Claudius did something similar²³⁶.

Rather than overwrite the memory of the preceding festival, at that time there was a tendency to instead enrich existing celebrations: certainly, the extensive programme of the *ludi Martiales - circenses, venationes* and *lusus Troiae* - already offered a rich repertoire of spectacles²³⁷.

When was Claudius' birthday first publicly celebrated? It is doubtful that it happened before AD 37, when the future Emperor, with his nephew Caligula having just become *princeps*, ascended to the consulate for the first time²³⁸. The *Fasti Antiaties Ministrorum Domus Augustae*, in fact, are the first calendar to mention the date: it was originally written between AD 31 and 37, but there are a series of successive additions, among which are the *dies natales* of Claudius and Agrippina the Younger²³⁹.

In AD 38 the sacrifice performed by the *Fratres Arvales* near the new Temple of *Divus Augustus* was not yet in honour of Claudius²⁴⁰.

It is to be assumed, then, that AD 41, the year in which he became Emperor, is the most appropriate date to which we can attribute the beginning of the celebrations. On November 10th of AD 41 is dated an important document which, although marginally, mentions these celebrations: the so-called letter of Claudius to the Alexandrians²⁴¹. Among the honours that the city of Alexandria wanted to grant to the Emperor, the first that he accepted was that the day of his birthday was considered *Augustus*.

²³⁵ Dio LX, 5, 3; cf. Suet., *Claud.* 2, 2.

²³⁶ Also ARENA 2010a, 38.

²³⁷ Dio LV, 1-8; see also ARENA 2010a, 39-41.

²³⁸ Suet., *Claud.* 7; DEGRASSI 1963, 490.

²³⁹ CAVALLARO 1984, 223, 226-227.

²⁴⁰ SCHEID 1998, 31 no. 12c, ll. 71-74; as we will see, this offering must be considered in relation to the fall of Alexandria.

²⁴¹ *P.Lond.* VI 1912 = *CPJ*, II 153; recently on the document with previous bibliography: OLIVER 1989, no. 19; BURNET 2003, 71-75; KAYSER 2003, 439, 443-444, 462-463, 465-467; PFEIFFER 2010, 74-87.

Claudius himself did not miss the opportunity to add meaning to the day: in his treatise on aqueducts, Frontinus²⁴² informs us that the *princeps* chose the Kalends of August to inaugurate the *Aqua Claudia* and the *Anio Novus* in AD 52²⁴³.

The commemoration of his birthday became more important after his death and deification in AD 54. A large broken marble slab, discovered in Rome where the Circus of Caligula would have stood in ancient times²⁴⁴, documents the *ludi circenses* held on the day of his *dies natalis*²⁴⁵. This annual event is noted several times in the text celebrating the brilliant career of the charioteer Avilius Teres²⁴⁶.

This Trajan-age inscription is followed by one more slightly later document that give us a further confirmation of these games²⁴⁷. This text displays the career of another charioteer, the Moor Crescens, who rode for the Blues (*factio veneta*): he took part in his last race during the *ludi* of AD 124 held in honour of the birthday of *Divus Claudius*.

It seems that the memory of Claudius and his *dies natalis* was alive and well during the second century; it was continuously celebrated, as with those other *divi*, at least until the middle of the third century AD, as shown in the *Feriale Duranum*.

From then on, however, he slowly disappeared from record: though he appears on Trajan's coins commemorating various Emperors, he - along with Lucius Verus, Pertinax and Caracalla - is absent from those minted in honour of the *divi* by Decius in AD 250-51²⁴⁸.

²⁴² *De aq.* I, 13: [...] *quod opus Claudius magnificentissime consummavit dedicavitque <Fausto> Sulla, <Salvio> Othone consulibus, anno post urbem conditam octingentesimo tertio Kalendis Augustis* [...]; see the edition of RODGERS 2004, 73, 184 for the problems of the textual tradition of the passage. On the consuls see Tac., *ann.* XII, 52, 1; TORTORIELLO 2004, 425.

²⁴³ KIENAST - ECK - HEIL 2017, 82; as we are told by Suet., *Cal.* 21 both were initiated in AD 38 by Caligula, but from Tac., *ann.* XI, 13 we know that in reality the *Aqua Claudia* was already active from AD 47. Cf. *CIL*, VI 1256 (cf. p. 4365) = *ILS* 218a = EDR104278 for the inscription on the attic of Porta Maggiore with the record of the twelfth *tribunicia potestas* of the Emperor.

²⁴⁴ From the same area come other inscriptions related to the circus environment: see LIVERANI 1999, 33; on the Circus of Caligula with previous bibliography: COARELLI 2013.

²⁴⁵ *CIL*, VI 37834 = *ILS* 9349 = EDR104900; see also HORSMANN 1998, 135-137, 294-296; *id.* 1999, 217.

²⁴⁶ Teres is probably featured on the external surface one of a series of delicate ceramic pots decorated with scenes of circus races, made by Gaius Valerius Verdullus: see BARATTA 2017, 213-214, 233-234.

²⁴⁷ *CIL*, VI 10050 (cf. pp. 3489, 3895) = *ILS* 5285 = EDR121863 (with bibliography); on the difference between the terms *auriga* (less skilled) and *agitor* (more adept) see THUILLIER 1987; NELIS CLÉMENT 2002, 273; THUILLIER 2004.

²⁴⁸ See for Trajan: *BMCRE*, III, 143 no. 700, 145 nos. 7, 9; for Decius: *RIC*, IV, 117-118, 130-132.

His *dies natalis* is absent from the later calendars of *Filocalus* and *Polemius Silvius*: it is clear that it was no longer celebrated. Accord to G. Zecchini, his exclusion could be due to the negative reaction to his incestuous marriage with his niece Agrippina. In AD 295 Diocletian tightened the laws on marriage with an edict banning unions of close kin, and also Constans and Constantius II enacted similar measures in AD 342: the suppression of Claudius' memory probably occurred in this period²⁴⁹.

It is difficult to select the inscriptions that bear the date of the *Kalendis Augustis* as the day of their dedication, because of the many anniversaries linked to the 1st of August; we will analyse here those that probably are connected to the *dies natalis* of Claudius.

In the middle of the last century a marble slab, broken into four pieces²⁵⁰, was discovered on the Viale Aventino in Rome, in the same area as the Circus Maximus, which commemorates the construction of a marble aedicule by the *collegium Augustianum Maius*, formed of slaves and freedmen of the Imperial family²⁵¹.

The *magistri* in charge in AD 47²⁵² built the structure at their own expense, dedicating it to the Emperor Claudius, to the *Lares Domnici* of the decury to which they belonged and to the college itself. The day chosen for the inauguration was the 1st of August, which definitely in this case appears to be a deliberate reference to the Imperial birthday.

In AD 52, only five years after its dedication, the aedicule had to be rebuilt²⁵³, perhaps as a result of an earthquake that, as we are informed by Tacitus, caused numerous collapses in Rome in AD 51²⁵⁴. It is assumed that the Kalends of August was also chosen for the renewed dedication: this section of the text is unfortunately damaged, but the relevant consular couple was written by a *consul ordinarius* (Faustus Cornelius Sulla

²⁴⁹ ZECCHINI 1993, 106-108.

²⁵⁰ *CIL*, VI 40414 = EDR077494 (with bibliography).

²⁵¹ The headquarters of the college must have been near the area in which the epigraphs were found: see *LTUR*, IV, 245 (C. Lega); PANCIERA 2006, 281.

²⁵² There is now a consensus in considering the consular couple active in AD 47, where before it had oscillated between AD 44 and 45, not without excluding AD 49 and 50; see TORTORIELLO 2004, 497-500, 513-516.

²⁵³ *CIL*, VI 40415 = EDR092879 (with bibliography).

²⁵⁴ *Ann.* XII, 43, 1; from here the proposal of integration in the text to line 8: *aediculam [vi terrae motus dilapsam reficiu]ndam* (PANCIERA 2006, 284) .

Felix) and by a *suffectus* (Quintus Marcius Barea Soranus), who were in charge from June to August²⁵⁵.

The 1st of August AD 52 was therefore the anniversary of two important events: aforementioned inauguration of the *Aqua Claudia* and the *Anio Novus*, and the dedication of the religious aedicule by the *collegium Augustianum Maius*.

A plinth dedicated on the 1st of August AD 174 was found in *Celeia*, in the province of *Noricum*²⁵⁶. Situated between *Aquileia* and *Carnuntum*, we know that this was already an established community before its incorporation into the Roman empire, but it was elevated to the rank of *municipium* by Claudius²⁵⁷.

We must examine now a document found in Rome that has an indirect connection to the birthday of Claudius: a marble plinth recording a donation to the *collegium dendrophorum* by Tiberius Claudius Chresimus, upon being elected *magister quinquennialis*²⁵⁸. The entire sum, ten pieces of silver and 10000 sesterces, was to be redistributed among all the members of the association according to their individual ranks. The last four lines of the inscription, that seem to have been added later, specify that the distribution occurred the 1st of August, *dies natalis* of the college itself, in AD 206 (*Nummio Albino et Fulvio Aemiliano consulibus*): evidently, that day was not randomly chosen.

Nor must the Kalends of August being chosen for the institution of the college itself be assumed random. Following the writing of *Iohannes Lidus*²⁵⁹, it is now commonly held that Claudius reformed the cult of the *Magna Mater* in Rome, of which the *dendrophori* were devotees, or at least of its fundamental aspects²⁶⁰. One of these must have been the organisation of the college that occupied itself with the cult and with

²⁵⁵ TORTORIELLO 2004, 425, 526-528.

²⁵⁶ *CIL*, III 5200 (cf. p. 1830).

²⁵⁷ Plin., *N. H.* III, 27, 146: *a tergo Carnorum et Iapudum, qua se fert mangus Hister, Raetis iunguntur Norici. Oppida eorum Virunum, Celeia, Teurnia, Aguntum, Iuvaum, omnia Claudia [...]*. The date of this “foundation” is disputed: following ALFÖLDY 1974, 81-82, one could think AD 48, when Claudius held the censorship and recognised the privileges of Gallic aristocracy.

²⁵⁸ *CIL*, VI 29691 (cf. p. 3731) = EDR123214 (with bibliography); although the exact location of discovery of the document is unknown, it is possible that it was inside the headquarters of the college of the *dendrophori*, the so-called *Basilica Hilariana* on the summit of the Celio (see PAVOLINI 2006a, particularly 69, 74-81, 87-88).

²⁵⁹ *De mens.* IV, 59.

²⁶⁰ CARCOPINO 1941, 49-75; see also FASCE 1978, 17, 23-25; TURCAN 1989, 50-51; RIVERA 1993, 178-180; LANCELLOTTI 2002, 81-83; VAN HAEPEREN 2012, 47-48.

ceremonies in honour of *Attis*. The term *dendrophori*, in fact, means “bearers of the tree”, pertaining to the procession of the *arbor intrat* that took place on the 22nd of March²⁶¹. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the *collegium dendrophorum* chose as its own *dies natalis* that of the Emperor to which it owed its institution²⁶².

Another overlap of events on the Kalends of August occurred towards the end of the 2nd century AD, when the *dies natalis* of Publius Helvius Pertinax, successor to Commodus, was added to the calendars²⁶³.

Septimius Severus conferred a series of posthumous honours upon Pertinax: a public funeral, allowing his son access to the *flamines* of his deified father, and the institution of *ludi circenses* in memory of his *dies imperii* and, most importantly, his birthday²⁶⁴.

The calendar of *Furius Filocalus* of AD 354 shows the continuation of these *ludi*²⁶⁵; unlike Claudius’ *dies natalis*, that of Pertinax is also in the *Fasti* of *Polemii Silvii* from the 5th century AD²⁶⁶.

A series of inscriptions dated to the Kalends of August are more likely to be linked to the *dies natalis* of Pertinax than that of Claudius, even if the former is not explicitly referenced in any²⁶⁷.

²⁶¹ On the ceremony: FASCE 1978, 37-51; PENSABENE 2008, 24, 27-28; on the college of the *dendrophori* in general: SALAMITO 1987, *id.* 1990; DIOSONO 2007, 56-57, 65-67; VAN HAEPEREN 2012; DIOSONO 2015, 264-268.

²⁶² TURCAN 1989, 66; FISHWICK 1991, 488 n. 78; PENSABENE 2008, 27; VAN HAEPEREN 2012, 48.

²⁶³ *Feriale Duranum*: [ob n]atalem Divi Per[*in*]acis... [Divo Pertinaci] b(ovem) m(arem); *Fasti Furi Philocali*: N(atalis) divi Pertinacis. Circenses m(issus) XXIII; *Fasti Polemii Silvii*: Natalis Pertinacis; cf. H. A., *Pert.* 15, 6: *natus autem kal. Augustis Vero et Bibulo cons.* (AD 126).

²⁶⁴ H. A., *Pert.* 14, 9 - 15, 5.

²⁶⁵ This record is contained also in the list of the *Natales Caesarum*, outside the actual calendar; on the topic see SALZMAN 1990, 28-30.

²⁶⁶ Pertinax is missing from the aforementioned coins representing the *divi* issued by Decius: this absence is easily explained with the negligible political value he would have in a propagandistic sense.

²⁶⁷ To correct the case of *CIL*, III 1911 = *CBI* 464: in this dedication to *Silvanus Augustus* (see ALMAGNO 2016, 281-282) one must not read in the two final letters *K(alendis) A(ugustis)* (as suggested by FISHWICK 1991, 604 and NELIS CLÉMENT 2000, 279 n. 52), but *l(ibens) a(nimo)*.

Considering the connection between Septimius Severus and his predecessor²⁶⁸, this is undoubtedly the case of the dedication made on the 1st of August AD 208 in *Numidia* by the *legatus* of the province, *Subatianus Proculus*²⁶⁹, by way of Gaius Iulius Paulinus, centurion of the *cohors II Maurorum*²⁷⁰. The altar was offered *pro salute* of the Emperor, as well as of his sons Caracalla and Geta²⁷¹ and of Julia Domna, here named as *mater castrorum et Augustorum et totiusque domus divinae*²⁷².

That the inscription comes from a military environment only serves to support our thesis²⁷³: there would have been similar documents to the *Feriale Duranum* in the various *castra* of the Empire containing all the main commemorations of Rome, among which obviously were the Imperial *dies natales*.

In the *Feriale* of *Theveste*, dated to the reign of Caracalla, the 1st of August is numbered among the days on which there *gymnasia* were to be held in the baths, as stipulated by the will of Gaius Cornelius Egrilianus²⁷⁴.

The *domus divina* is invoked in another inscription in *Mogontiacum*, capital of *Germania superior*, that states that on the Kalends of August there were to be *sportulae*, namely distributions²⁷⁵. It is documented here that *Amatorius Peregrinus*, defined as *veteranus*, gifted a *signum* of Mercury. This retired soldier also donated 1000 *denarii*, the interest from which was to be distributed as *sportulae* to the *beneficiarii* of the *legatus* of the legion, presumably the *XXII Primigenia*, stationed at Mainz since the middle of the first century AD²⁷⁶. These donations must have taken place annually on the 1st of August:

²⁶⁸ LE BOHEC 1989a, 88 arrives at a similar conclusion; one must remember that in AD 208, probably in spring, dates also the *profectio* of Septimius Severus for *Britannia* (KIENAST - ECK - HEIL 2017, 150).

²⁶⁹ Ti. Claudius Subatianus Proculus: PFLAUM 1960-61, 649-651 no. 242; LE BOHEC 1989b, 401; THOMASSON 1996, 177 no. 52a.

²⁷⁰ LE BOHEC 1989a, 88.

²⁷¹ Generally on the expressions used in substitution of the erased name Geta, in this case *Parthicorum maximorum*, see MASTINO 1981.

²⁷² *CIL*, VIII 4323 = 18528; see also LE BOHEC 1980; *id.* 1986; *id.* 1989a, 7, 88 that is concerned with the inscription in relation to the particular temporary military unit of auxiliaries named in the text, the *numeri collati*.

²⁷³ *Casae*, where the inscription was found, was an enclave situated 20 km northeast of *Lambaesis* in which there was a detachment of the *legio III Gallica*: see LEPELLEY 1981, 400; CHAUSA SAEZ 1997, 46-47.

²⁷⁴ *CIL*, VIII 1859 = *ILAtg*, I 3041; see SNYDER 1940, 297-317 and WESCH-KLEIN 1990, 191-193. Cf. *supra* to *dies natalis* of Julius Caesar.

²⁷⁵ *AE* 1941, 110; see PASQUALINI 1969-70, 300 no. 76 and NELIS CLÉMENT 2000, 279, 345 no. 9.

²⁷⁶ On the legion see FRANKE 2000.

there is no consular couple in the inscription, but it is possible to date the document to the beginning of the third century AD.

A sacred inscription found in Cologne placed by the *beneficiarius* Marcus Ingenuus Ingenuinus²⁷⁷ is dated to the 1st of August of AD 239²⁷⁸. This honoured a vow *pro se et suis* to *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus* and to the *Genius loci*: it was located where the local *beneficarii* normally met. The document begins, as in the case of Mainz, with an invocation to the *domus divina*; this is not to say, however, that it can be easily linked to either *Divus Claudius* or *Divus Pertinax*. It has been shown that the difference between the phrases *domus Augusta* and *domus divina* is not clearly defined, and there is often an overlap between the two expressions²⁷⁹.

Finally, in AD 249, the *ordo decurionum* of *Minturnae* chose the 1st of August to erect a statue to Publius Baebius Iustus²⁸⁰, who had held all civic offices and was particularly generous offering gladiatorial games²⁸¹.

As in the previous examples, it is difficult here to determine whether this was a coincidental date, or a specific choice intended to relate to preceding events.

²⁷⁷ *CIL*, XIII 8207 = *CBI* 64; see NELIS CLÉMENT 2000, 121 n. 207, 279 n. 52, 416.

²⁷⁸ The P of line 6 preceding the date must not in fact be interpreted as *p(ridie)*, but as *p(osuit)*: in the first case the date would result as the 31st of July (as in *IKöln*, 93).

²⁷⁹ See CORBIER 2001, 182; FISHWICK 2007a, 294-295.

²⁸⁰ *CIL*, X 6012 = *ILS* 506 = EDR130407 (with bibliography); see also JACQUES 1984, 403-404; FORBIS 1996, 54, 119 no. 57 and recently ENGFER 2017, no. 61.

²⁸¹ See *CIL*, X 6013 = EDR129389 for his career.

AGRIPPINA THE YOUNGER

a. d. VIII Idus Novembres (6th November)

Only one calendar tells us that Agrippina the Younger, daughter of Germanicus and Agrippina the Elder, was born on the 6th of November, and this is in fact a latter addition to the original document²⁸².

<i>FASTI ANTIATES MINISTRORUM DOMUS AUGUSTAE (AD 23-37)</i>	<i>Agripp(inae) Iul(iae) natalis</i>
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Both Tacitus and Suetonius mention her birth. Tacitus states that she was born in *Ara Ubiorum*, today's Cologne²⁸³; Suetonius adds that she, as her sister Drusilla, was born when her mother was accompanying her husband Germanicus on campaigns in the northern provinces²⁸⁴.

The city was originally founded by Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, the grandfather of Agrippina; the *oppidum Ubiorum* received the title of *Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium* from Claudius, honouring the birthplace of his wife/niece.

There is some uncertainty as to the year of her birth too²⁸⁵: Agrippina and Drusilla should have been born in AD 15/16, and Livilla in AD 17 or 18 in Lesbos. As Agrippina was the eldest of the three, she must have been born in AD 15²⁸⁶, but there are some who have argued that Drusilla was the firstborn²⁸⁷.

²⁸² CAVALLARO 1984, 226-227; generally on Agrippina the Younger: RAEPSAET CHARLIER 1987, 365-367 no. 426; MOLTESEN - NIELSEN 2007; KIENAST - ECK - HEIL 2017, 86-87.

²⁸³ *Ann.* XII, 27, 1; cf. Tac., *Germ.* 28, 4.

²⁸⁴ Suet., *Cal.* 8, 3; on Agrippina and Germanicus at the northern front, see BARRETT 2006, 132-133, 139-146; they would have been born in the "Imperial residence" of *Ambitarvium*, today Koblenz at the join of the Reno and Moselle rivers: Suet., *Cal.* 8, 1; see in this regard: ECK 1993, 77-80; HURLEY 2003.

²⁸⁵ On the problem of where and when Agrippina the Younger was born, lastly: CRISTOFOLI 2018, 2-3.

²⁸⁶ GALLIVAN 1974, 116-117; BARRETT 1996, 230-232; KIENAST - ECK - HEIL 2017, 85; CRISTOFOLI 2018, 2.

²⁸⁷ HUMPHREY 1979, 130, 132, 134.

There is no doubt, however, surrounding the date of birth. The Acts of the *Fratres Arvales* of AD 57 and 58 record that on the 6th of November the birthday of *Augusta* was marked with the sacrifice of an ox for Jupiter and a cow each for Juno, Minerva, *Salus publica* and *Concordia*²⁸⁸.

We don't know precisely when the Agrippina's *dies natalis* became a public celebration, but it was probably after her marriage to Claudius in AD 49 or the following year, when she assumed the title of *Augusta*.

Although she was quickly removed from the *Palatium* by her son Nero, deprived of her Germanic bodyguards and not portrayed again on coins, not all public events in her honour were immediately suppressed²⁸⁹, and in fact, her birthday continued to be an official celebration. A further proof comes from an important commemorative monument of the Julio-Claudian family, discovered not long ago near the *Meta Sudans*, by the slopes of the Palatine Hill, in which a statue of Agrippina in AD 55/56 was positioned near to one of Claudius²⁹⁰.

The end of public celebrations of her birthday was brought about by the *damnatio memoriae* issued after her violent death in AD 59²⁹¹. Among the arrangements made following her assassination, Tacitus writes that Nero decided to commemorate her death with new *ludi*, decreeing that there were to be *supplicationes ad omnia pulvinaria* and that a gold statue of Minerva and an effigy of the Emperor were to be placed in the Curia²⁹².

It seems that was ordered to consider *nefastus* the day of Agrippina's birth. It is unclear what exactly Tacitus meant by this term: *nefastus* technically indicates a day in which it was forbidden to administer justice - as Varro said: *nefas fari praetorem 'do,*

²⁸⁸ SCHEID 1998, 59-60 no. 25b, ll. 6-10; 65 no. 27, ll. 15-17.

²⁸⁹ Tac., *ann.* XIII, 11-17; see ECK 1993, 68-69 and MORIZIO 2016, 603-604.

²⁹⁰ See PANELLA 1996, 40-46 for the mode of discovery and for the description of the structures; *ead.* 2013, 54-58.

²⁹¹ On the effects of the *damnatio memoriae* see VARNER 2004, 97-99; FLOWER 2006, 189-194.

²⁹² *Ann.* XIV, 12: *miro tamen certamine procerum decernuntur supplicationes apud omnia pulvinaria, utque Quinquatrus, quibus apertae insidiae essent, ludis annuis celebrarentur, aureum Minervae simulacrum in curia et iuxta principis imago statuerentur, dies natalis Agrippinae inter nefastos esset*; on the celebrations for the assassination of Agrippina see SCHEID 1990, 394-399.

*dico, addico*²⁹³ - but obviously, this also has a more general meaning of “blasphemous” or “sacrilegious”²⁹⁴.

The calendars are unfortunately lacunose here and as a result we are unable to determine the results of this edict: was it reported concretely, in an official manner, in the *Fasti*?

The most relevant comparison is the case of Marc Antony. Octavian, upon defeating and eliminating his nemesis, wanted to destroy his memory; among the various measures taken, he decreed that Antony’s birthday was to be considered a *dies vitiosus*²⁹⁵. The 14th of January, when Antony was born, was thus marked in the calendars: *vitiosus ex senatus consulto, Antoni natalis*²⁹⁶. The relevant term here is not *nefastus*, but *vitiosus*: this highlights the particularly “ominous” character of the day, not just the prohibition of certain activities.

Agrippina the Elder, mother of the Younger, was struck with a similar provision too. Suetonius tells us that Tiberius, having exiled her to *Pandataria* on the charge of lese-majesty, declared the day of her birth *nefastus* after her death in AD 31²⁹⁷. As with Nero, Tiberius arranged to celebrate the 18th of October, the day of death of his hated daughter-in-law, with offerings to Jupiter²⁹⁸.

It was only through her son Caligula that Agrippina the Elder was exonerated: among other things, her birthday was celebrated officially by the *Fratres Arvales*, as shown by an account of the *collegium* from AD 39, in which she is identified as wife of Germanicus and mother of Caligula²⁹⁹. The same, evidently, did not occur for Agrippina the Younger: this is perhaps the reason for the lack, after AD 59, of dedicated inscriptions dated the 6th of November.

²⁹³ *De l. l.* VI, 30; cf. also Aul. Gell. IV, 9, 5.

²⁹⁴ See *OLD*, s.v. *nefas*; s.v. *nefastus*, -a, -um, 1167.

²⁹⁵ Dio LI, 19, 3; see generally FLOWER 2006, 116-121.

²⁹⁶ Specifically the *Fasti Verulani*, but see also the *Fasti Caeretani*, *Fasti Maffeiani*, *Fasti Praenestini* and *Fasti Oppiani* (DEGRASSI 1963, 65, 72, 99, 113, 159).

²⁹⁷ *Tib.* 53: [...] *cum diem quoque natalem eius inter nefastos referendum suasisset*; on Agrippina the Elder: *PIR*², V 682; RAEPSAET CHARLIER 1987, 634-635 no. 812; SHOTTER 2000.

²⁹⁸ Tac., *ann.* VI, 25, 3: *eodem die defunctam quo biennio ante Seianus poenas luisset, memoriaeque id prodendum addidit Caesar*. [...] *Actae ob id grates, decretumque ut quintum decimum kalendas Nouembres, utriusque necis die, per omnes annos donum Ioui sacraetur*; as one notes in the words of Tacitus, on that day two years earlier, Sejanus, prefect of the Praetorians, died. On the measures against Agrippina the Elder, see VARNER 2004, 90-91; DELINE 2015.

²⁹⁹ SCHEID 1998, 37 no. 13fgh, ll. 9-14; we thus discover the date of birth, which fell between the 24th and 26th October. On the so-called *memoriae Agrippinae*: FLOWER 2006, 138-141.

PART 2
VICTORIES AND TRIUMPHS

INTRODUCTION

Triumphs are closely connected with military victories since the archaic Roman age. The first entry in the *Fasti Triumphales*, which lists these events until 19 BC, is Romulus' triumph after his victory over the *Caeninenses*, which is followed by the dedication of the *spolia opimia* of King Acron on the Capitoline Hill³⁰⁰.

From this starting point the ideology of victory as the foundation of power would root itself in the history of the city, growing after the contact with the cities of Magna Graecia and the Hellenistic world.

Successful military campaigns were marked with these extraordinary ceremonies in which the victorious general, dressed as a god, paraded through the city to the Temple of *Iuppiter* on the Capitoline Hill. The triumph was therefore one of the most important honours a general could receive³⁰¹. Centuries of Republican tradition dictated the form of its grant and celebration: the first who breaks with convention was Pompeius Magnus, followed by Julius Caesar, but it would be the Augustan Principate that marked a turning point in the conception of the triumphal ceremony³⁰².

Augustus, in fact, appropriated one of Rome's most ancient and representative institutions, and exploited it for his own gain and to advantage his heirs. From 19 BC on, any triumphs *extra domum Augusti* were suppressed; afterwards it became clear that the aim of the triumphal ceremonies was to highlight the divine role of the *princeps* as the bringer of victory, the only one who could guarantee peace and order³⁰³.

This new conception was also accompanied with a purely dynastic principle: the members of the *domus Augusta* who were granted this honour, or the minor form of triumphal entry into the city known as *ovatio*, also received a sort of official investiture before the People who enthusiastically attended the parade³⁰⁴.

³⁰⁰ DEGRASSI 1947, 65; see Liv. I, 10; Plut., *Rom.* 14, 1; Eutr. I, 2.

³⁰¹ In general on the Roman triumph see recently ITGENSHORST 2005; BASTIEN 2007; BEARD 2007 and the essays in LA ROCCA -TORTORELLA 2008; KRASSER - PAUSCH - PETROVIC 2008; GOLDBECK - WIENAND 2017.

³⁰² On the triumph during the civil war: LANGE 2016.

³⁰³ On this topic and the relationship between the triumph and the urban space: BENOIST 2005, 195, 241-255.

³⁰⁴ BALBUZA 2004, 67-74; *ead.* 2017.

THE VICTORY AT PHILIPPI

a. d. X Kalendas Novembres (23rd October)

The clash of Roman armies at *Philippi* in Macedonia in 42 BC marked a turning point between the end of the war against Julius Caesar's assassins and the beginning of the power struggle between Antony and Octavian.

<i>FASTI PRAENESTINI</i> (AD 6-9)	[<i>Caesa</i>]r Augustus vicit Phil<i>ppis posteriore proelio, Bruto occiso
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The *Fasti Praenestini* are the only document that accurately reports with precision the day of the defeat of Brutus and Cassius. Before this fragment of calendar was discovered the date of the battle was inferred from literary sources and was believed to be some point between autumn and winter of 42 BC³⁰⁵.

On the one hand, the calendar of *Praeneste* is very specific: on the 23rd of October *Caesar Augustus* was victorious at *Philippi* and Brutus was killed; but on the other, the phrase *posteriore proelio* causes us some problems.

The ancient authors all agree that there was a gap between the two battles fought in the area around *Philippi*³⁰⁶. For about a month the two armies alternated strategies of provocation and defence: in this time occurred two main battles, the first of which resulting in the death of Cassius, and the second that of Brutus.

The role played by Octavian was decidedly minor relative to Antony, who was the true victor: during the first battle the son of Caesar was in fact defeated by Brutus and forced to seek refuge with a detachment of Antony's troops³⁰⁷, whose assault would also prove decisive in the second battle³⁰⁸.

³⁰⁵ See in particular the information in App., *bell. civ.* V 124, 513; Plut., *Brut.* 47, 1,

³⁰⁶ Liv., *per. CXXIV*: [...] *altera dein die* [...]; Plut., *Brut.* 47, 2; Suet., *Aug.* 13: [...] *duplici proelio* [...].

³⁰⁷ Vell. Pat. II, 70, 1-3; App., *bell. civ.* IV 110-113, 461-475; Dio XLVII, 37, 3 - 41, 4; but see also Plin., *N. H.* VII, 45, 148; Plut., *Brut.* 41, 4-7; Suet., *Aug.* 13.

³⁰⁸ Vell. Pat. II, 70, 4; App., *bell. civ.* IV 128, 532-538; Plut., *Brut.* 49, 1-52, 8; Dio XLVII, 48, 4 - 49, 1.

Such details are obviously absent from the calendars. In the *Res Gestae* Augustus, speaking in first person, talks of this success and simply states *vici bis acie*³⁰⁹. After all the war was fought also under the *auspicia* of Octavian who, in the same way as Antony, was therefore right to claim a share in the victory³¹⁰.

It must be asked which of the two battles pertain to the date that appears in the calendar, the 23rd of October. Was it the conclusive second battle? Or was it the first, in which Cassius died and, only posteriore proelio, Brutus met his end³¹¹?

Following Suetonius, it is often believed that the first battle took place on the 23rd of October. The biographer, in fact, states that Tiberius was born the 16th of November *per bellum Philippense*³¹², but the passage does present difficulties as it is also attested the variation *post bellum Philippense*³¹³; it is important to remember Suetonius' propensity to seek coincidences between several events, even if only on the basis of a relative proximity of days.

Plutarch tells us that twenty days passed between the deaths of Cassius³¹⁴ and Brutus³¹⁵, in which case the first battle would have taken place on the 3rd of October.

It was on this day that Caesarian reinforcements were defeated in the Ionian Sea by two allies of the assassins, which caused an interruption of the supplies for the army of Antony and Octavian. The news reached Brutus on the eve of the decisive battle³¹⁶.

Although Suetonius states that one of the two *ovationes* celebrated by Octavian was to mark the success at *Philippi*, the biographer is here incorrect, as no ceremony of this sort occurred in 42 BC³¹⁷.

³⁰⁹ *RGDA* 2; cf. SCHEID 2007, 30; COOLEY 2009, 115-116; ARENA 2014, 24.

³¹⁰ SCHEID 2007, 30; for another opinion RIDLEY 2003, 167-168 who ends by stating "so low could official history sink."

³¹¹ Those who say that the battle occurred on the 23rd of October are: GAGÉ 1950, 75, 183; ROGHI 2014, 51-52; in favour of the first: HUZAR 1978, 125-127; MAGNINO 1998, 252; BRUNI 2014, 42.

³¹² *Tib.* 5.

³¹³ See IHM 1958, 113 *ad loc.*

³¹⁴ He lost his life on the day of his birthday: see App., *bell. civ.* IV 113, 475; Plut., *Brut.* 40, 4.

³¹⁵ *Brut.* 47, 5.

³¹⁶ App., *bell. civ.* IV 115-117, 479-488; Plut., *Brut.* 47, 3-5; Dio XLVII, 47, 4.

³¹⁷ Suet., *Aug.* 22: [...] *bis ovans ingressus est urbem, post Philippense et rursus post Siculum bellum*; see also ÖSTENBERG 2014, 184; LANGE 2016, 115, 157.

This was after all a civil war seeking vengeance for Caesar's assassination, as shows the dedication of the Temple of *Mars Ultor*, and for which fictitious justifications were never sought, as there were for the elimination of Sextus Pompeius and later Antony.

The *Fasti Praenestini* are the only calendar recording this event; the final part of the month of October is one of the most incomplete in any of the extant calendars, but this annotation is not found in any of the other three that still survive³¹⁸.

The explicit reference to Brutus is particularly interesting: no other antagonist of a civil war was named in official documents³¹⁹. The victory at *Philippi* does not seem to have been commemorated in official manner as a festival and was therefore not counted among the new *feriae hominum causa* that from Caesar onwards began to characterise the Roman year³²⁰. Among the honours conceded to the victors, in fact, Cassius Dio records only that the Senate decreed that for the entire year there were to be *supplicationes* offered in thanks to the gods³²¹.

The solution will maybe be found in the peculiar nature of the calendar of *Praeneste*, and especially in the erudition of its author, the grammarian *Verrius Flaccus*, that as well as official annotations also contains etiological explanations. He likely documented the episode in the manner of the *Fasti*, intended as chronicles of events; the account of the death of Brutus - different from the defeat of kings and foreign adversaries³²² - must be read in a similar way.

The incomplete record of the *Fasti Praenestini* at the beginning of October, finally, does leave the possibility that the first battle of *Philippi* could have taken place on the 3rd of October.

³¹⁸ *Fasti Fratrum Arvalium, Sabini* and *Maffeiani*: DEGRASSI 1963, 39, 53, 81.

³¹⁹ An exception is found in the *Fasti consulares*, like those of the *Amiternum*, where there are chronicles of the battles undertaken and against who: [bellu]m civil(e) Mutinese cum M. [A]ntonio, bellum in cam[p]is Ph[ilippicis] cum] M. Brut[o] e[t C. C]a[ssio], bellum Perusinu[m] cum] L. Ant[o]nio, bellum Acties(e) class[iar(ium)] cum M. Antonio (DEGRASSI 1947, 171).

³²⁰ As we are informed by App., *bell. civ.* II 106, 440-443 and as can be seen from the calendars: lastly ÖSTENBERG 2014, 189-190.

³²¹ Dio XLVIII, 3, 2.

³²² The *Fasti* describe the defeat of these lasts, while note only the death of Brutus, a sign of honour in Roman culture: see ÖSTENBERG 2014, 191; for LANGE 2016, 138, instead, the presence of Brutus is due to the fact that after *Philippi* there was no triumph celebrated.

THE VICTORY IN SICILIA

a. d. III Nonas Septembres (3rd September)

Augustus opens the 25th chapter of the *Res Gestae* with this statement: *mare pacavi a praedonibus*. The term *praedones*, as with the later use of *servi*, suggests that he is referring to the war that led to the defeat of Sextus Pompeius³²³, son of Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus, famed victor over the pirates³²⁴.

In these lines there is no explicit reference to the defeated's name, the same as in the calendars that commemorate the event.

<i>FASTI FRATRUM ARVALIUM</i> (30-28 BC)	<i>NP. Ferae et supplicationes ad omnia pulvinaria, q(uod) e(o) d(ie) Caesar August(us) in Sicilia vicit</i>
<i>FASTI VALLENSES</i> (after AD 7)	<i>NP. Ferae, [quod hoc die Imp(erator) Caesar in Sicilia vicit]</i>
<i>FASTI AMITERNINI</i> (after AD 20)	<i>NP. Fer(iae) et supplicationes apud omnia pulvinaria, quod eo die Caes(ar) Divi f. vicit in Sicilia Censorin(o) et Calvis(io)³²⁵ co(n)s(ulibus)</i>

Thanks to numerous information available in the literary sources, is possible to provide a very detailed reconstruction of this event³²⁶.

³²³ On Sextus Pompeius: POWELL - WELCH 2002 and WELCH 2012.

³²⁴ *RGDA* 25, 1: *mare pacavi a praedonibus. Eo bello servorum, qui fugerant a dominis suis et arma contra rem publicam ceperant, triginta fere millia capta dominis ad supplicium sumendum tradidi*. As pontificatus Pomponius (*Dig. L*, 16, 118): *hostes hi sunt, qui nobis aut quibus nos publice bellum decrevimus: ceteri latrones aut praedones sunt*; it is therefore clear what the *escamotage* of Augustus was to circumvent the problem of conflict. For an abstract interpretation of these words, in a more general valence see TRAMONTI 1994, 93-126; cf. also BANDELLI 2004, 67-68.

³²⁵ The consular couple indicated here is wrong, it does not refer to 36 BC but to 39 BC; for DEGRASSI 1963, 506 the error is perhaps due to the confusion with the provisional peace signed between the triumvirs and Sextus Pompeius in 39 BC.

³²⁶ Recently on the topic: LANGE 2009, 30-39; WELCH 2012, 261-184; LANGE 2016, 115-118; CORNWELL 2017, 90-97.

Sextus Pompeius was initially left free to act, as there were other more urgent problems to be dealt with, but after his blockade of shipments of wheat had reduced Rome to famine Octavian decided to intervene³²⁷.

We are told by Velleius Paterculus that the fleet, recruited and commanded by Agrippa, faced the early difficulty of a shipwreck that caused substantial losses, but after this initial setback a first victory was won in the waters of *Mylae*; at Taormina, however, there was a reversal of fate and a success for the Pompeian troops³²⁸.

Appian tells us that the decisive clash at *Naulochus* was arranged between Octavian and Sextus Pompeius: the latter proposed a battle in the open sea, an offer Octavian could not refuse³²⁹.

It was established that 300 ships had to face each other, but none of the historians - Appian, Velleius Paterculus or Cassius Dio - tell us when or where the battle took place. The fleet led by Agrippa annihilated the enemy and only 17 boats managed to run away³³⁰. Sextus Pompeius, after escaping to Asia, was killed by Marcus Titius. Only when describing his flight from the place of the battle, Appian explains: *ek tōn Naulochōn*³³¹.

Suetonius, talking about the wars undertaken by the *princeps*, states that among the first he would have fought there was *Siculum bellum*, during which Sextus Pompeius was defeated *inter Mylas et Naulochum*³³². It is therefore evident that in official propaganda this war was defined actually as *bellum Siculum*³³³; after all, in the calendars one can read *vicit in Sicilia*, and not *ad Naulochum*.

After 36 BC, it can be seen in the calendars that the meaning of the 3rd of September evolved: in the *Fasti Fratrum Arvalium* the day moves from being a *dies fastus* to be a *dies feriatius*, the abbreviation *F* was then substituted with *NP*.

The *supplicationes* had a predominant role in the victory's celebration: Appian and Cassius Dio in fact tell us that the Senate decided that an *ieromēnia* should be held on this day³³⁴. It is this ritual that distinguished such *feriae*, for the first time instituted in

³²⁷ Vell. Pat. II, 79, 1; Dio XLVIII, 1.

³²⁸ Vell. Pat. II, 79, 3-4; see also App., *bell. civ.* V 106-112, 437-471; Dio XLIX, 1, 3; 2-6.

³²⁹ *Bell. civ.* V 118, 489.

³³⁰ Vell. Pat. II, 79, 5; App., *bell. civ.* V 119, 492-496; Dio XLIX, 9-10; from the modern bibliography see RODDAZ 1984, 117-132; FERONE 1989.

³³¹ Vell. Pat. II, 79, 5; App., *bell. civ.* V 121, 502-503; Dio XLIX, 11, 17-18.

³³² *Aug.* 16, 1.

³³³ This aspect is picked up on by LANGE 2016, 118.

³³⁴ App., *bell. civ.* V, 130, 541; Dio XLIX 15, 1; see RÜPKE 1995, 518-520.

honour of Octavian, from the previous celebrations that took place on the occasion of the celebrations of the victories of Caesar³³⁵.

In the *Feriale Cumanum* there is an annotation that is lacking of the day because of the fragmentary nature of the document, which states: [--- *eo die exe*]rcitus Lepidi tradidit se Caesari. Suppli[catio ---]³³⁶.

The literary sources do however contain detailed accounts of this episode: during the war in Sicily, the triumvir Marcus Aemilius Lepidus sailed from Africa with his eight legions to fight the Pompeian *legatus* Lucius Plinius Rufus at *Lilibaeum*³³⁷ and, after the defeat of Sextus Pompeius at *Naulochus*, he went to Messina. Here, allying himself with the same Rufus, he joined both armies and attempted to take over the entire island: a disastrous operation, because his soldiers defected to Octavian³³⁸. The son of Caesar spared *Lepidus*, but deprived him of all political and military offices, allowing him in respect for tradition to keep only the title of *pontifex maximus*, which he held until his death in 12 BC³³⁹.

Why is this episode only documented in the *Feriale Cumanum*, and not in the other *Fasti* that contain a record of the victory over Sextus Pompeius? In the literary sources this event seems to be considered a whole with the *bellum Siculum*. The exact date of *Lepidus*' betrayal is therefore under discussion: even if it was initially believed that have occurred on the 3rd of September³⁴⁰, later it was suggested that it could have happened any day between the 4th and the 22nd³⁴¹.

What is marked before this record in the *Feriale Cumanum* does not seem to make reference either to *Naulochus* or to the battle of *Actium* that, as we will see, occurred on the 2nd of September³⁴². It seems that the author of the document wanted to avoid any

³³⁵ App., *bell. civ.* II, 106; see DEGRASSI 1963, 31, 66, 74, 127, 169, 225; RÜPKE 1995, 520. On the *supplicationes* in a military environment: RÜPKE 1990, 215-217.

³³⁶ See DEGRASSI 1963, 279.

³³⁷ App., *bell. civ.* V 97, 405; see also *ILLRP* 426 = *ILS* 8891 that records the fortification of the wall and gates of the city carried out by Plinius Rufus.

³³⁸ Vell. Pat. II, 80; App., *bell. civ.* V 123-126, 509-522; Dio XLIX, 11-12.

³³⁹ App., *bell. civ.* V 126, 523.

³⁴⁰ In this way see Th. Mommsen in *CIL*, I², p. 229.

³⁴¹ See GAGE 1950,180; DEGRASSI 1963, 506.

³⁴² This constitutes the first line we possess of the *Feriale Cumanum*, that because of its lacunose nature involves us another important problem: that of the first consulship of Augustus. What remains of the text has been completed since the time of Mommsen (*CIL*, I², p. 229) as follows: [XIII K(alendas) Septembr(es) eo die Caesar prim]um consulatum in[iit. Supplicatio ---]. That Octavian had assumed the consulship for the first time the 19th of August is confirmed by Tac.,

reference to the civil wars: the betrayal of *Lepidus*, in fact, was resolved without the spilling of Roman blood and Octavian's forgiveness of the triumvir was an anticipation of his future *clementia*³⁴³.

The desire to forget more embarrassing episodes, a prerogative of Augustan politics, seems to have already begun with *Naulochus*: there is no trace in the *Res Gestae* of the names Sextus Pompeius or Marc Antony, but we find accounts of wars against pirates and slaves³⁴⁴. A similar interpretation quickly circulated in court literature, evidence of a specific political thought. If in the remaining *periocha* of Livy the defeated's name is still present, defined however as who *latrociniis mare infestum redderet*, Horace instead alludes to the events of 36 BC with the expression *contra latrones atque servilem manum*³⁴⁵.

After this success, Octavian was honoured not only with *feriae* and a *supplicatio* on the 3rd of September, but also with a *columna rostrata* placed in the Forum and an *ovatio*³⁴⁶. No arch was built, however, despite the contrary testimony of Cassius Dio³⁴⁷ which convinced some scholars³⁴⁸, who believed it was represented on a denarius that alluded instead to the *arcus actiacus*³⁴⁹.

ann. I, 9 and by Dio LVI, 30, 5; *contra* instead Vell. Pat. II, 65 for whom the day would have been the 22nd of September. There should not be particular difficulty maintaining that the *Feriae* started from the month of August, so renamed in 8 BC in honour of the princeps; if this was the case, the celebration of victory over Sextus Pompeius and that of *Actium* were certainly not present in the document. BOSWORTH 1982, 158-163 has instead proposed to integrate the date of the consulate with that reported by Velleius Paterculus, therefore [*X K(alendas) Octob(res)*], and that on the same day was recorded the episode of Lepidus too: in such a way the victories of *Naulochus* and *Actium* would have been in the lost section of the *Feriae*.

³⁴³ *Contra* BOSWORTH 1982, 161 who states that because there were no hostilities "it was hardly politic to celebrate the event."

³⁴⁴ *RGDA* 25, 1; cf. SCHEID 2007, 67-68; COOLEY 2009, 213-214; ARENA 2014, 82-83.

³⁴⁵ Liv., *per.* CXXVIII; Hor., *epod.* 4, 19. By itself being the resumption of the figure of Sextus Pompeius in VI book of Lucan's *Pharsalia*, that must be analysed in relationship to his father Pompeius Magnus and put in relation with a series of "reversed" parallelisms with the VI book of the Aeneid (see NARDUCCI 1974-75; *id.* 1985, 1549-1551).

³⁴⁶ On the honours: KIENAST 1999, 55-56; LANGE 2016, 118-120.

³⁴⁷ XLIV, 15, 1; App., *bell. civ.* V 130, 538-542 without specifying them, speaks in general of a series of honours that the Senate allows to Octavian to decide whether to accept them or not: it is possible, as has been suggested, that the arch was one of these.

³⁴⁸ COARELLI 1985, 259-262; GURVAL 1995, 40-41, 47-64.

³⁴⁹ *BMCRE*, I, 102 no. 624; *RIC*, I², 60 no. 267; *LTUR*, I, 80-81 (E. Nedeergard); RICH 1998, 106; LANGE 2009, 34; *id.* 2016, 130, 195.

Appian writes that the column held a gold statue of the victor and would have been adorned with *rostra* of sunken ships, explicit reminders of his naval success³⁵⁰; this historian records that it bore the inscription, “peace, long disrupted by civil discord, he restored on land and sea”: a concept that shortly thereafter, after the victory over Antony and the subsequent end of the civil war, would become one of the cardinal points of Augustan ideology³⁵¹. The place chosen for the column, the Forum, was symbolic too, as there also stood the column commemorating the victory of Gaius Duilius in the waters of *Mylae* during the first war with Carthage³⁵².

The *ovatio* was celebrated in Rome on the 13th of November of the same year³⁵³. This form of celebration was well suited to a war that was publicised as a fight against pirates and slaves³⁵⁴. Octavian made his triumphal entrance to the city not on foot, as in the traditional *ovatio*, but on horseback, as did Caesar³⁵⁵.

The chronological gap between the 3rd of September and the day of the *ovatio* is easily explained by a general affairs’ rearrangement in Sicily documented by the ancient historians, but also by a sedition occurred amongst Octavian’s troops³⁵⁶.

The importance and ideological value of the victory is shown by its later commemorations, noted in both official and unofficial documents. Shortly after 36 BC two brothers of the *gens Papia*, *Celsus* and *Kanus*, incised an inscription on a memorial stone in a small place in the north of the ancient *Narona*³⁵⁷. This dedication speaks of *Sicilia recepta*: it is not, therefore, a commemoration of *Naulochus*, but of the “reclamation” of the island.

³⁵⁰ App., *bell. civ.* V 130, 538-542; for an analysis of the monument and its relationship with the *columnae rostratae* erected in the Forum after *Actium* see *LTUR*, I, 308 (D. Palombi); PALOMBI 1993, 321-324; cf. LANGE 2009, 162-163.

³⁵¹ On the inscription’s text see recently LANGE 2016, 47, 133; CORNWELL 2017, 86-87; a possible representation of the column can be found on the reverse of some denarii: *BMCRE*, I, 103 nos. 633-636; *RIC*, P, 60 no. 271.

³⁵² On the relationship with Gaius Duilius: LANGE 2016, 46-47.

³⁵³ DEGRASSI 1947, 87, 343.

³⁵⁴ On the characteristics of the *ovatio* see *infra* to the 28th of May; for its use as form of triumph more appropriate for a “domestic war”: FUGMANN 1991, 309-316; LANGE 2016, 45-46.

³⁵⁵ See LANGE 2016, 158-159.

³⁵⁶ App., *bell. civ.* V 128, 528-534; Dio XLIX, 11, 2 - 14, 5; see also Oros. VI, 18, 32-33; extensively and detailed on these facts: MUNDUBELTZ 2000, 169-181.

³⁵⁷ *CIL*, III 14625 = *ILS* 8893 = *ILLRP* 417; seeing the provenance, the document must be linked to the campaigns of Octavian in *Illyricum* in 35-33 BC: see ŠAŠEL KOS 2012, in particular 93-94.

No less interesting are the points raised up by the numismatic source³⁵⁸. Along with classic example celebrating naval success - the African *quinarius* with a galley on the reverse and a *Nike* with a wreath, a palm branch and a rudder on the obverse³⁵⁹ - a series was later issued which linked Diana to the success in Sicily. This goddess, in fact, appears on the reverse of some coins that bear the legend SICIL in the exergue: the reminders of imperial acclamations X, XI, and XII date them between 15 and 11 BC³⁶⁰. A similar date, after the victory at *Actium*, explains the presence of Diana: if Apollo was immediately linked to the success against Antony, his sister Diana was later attached to the victory over Sextus Pompeius³⁶¹.

Deities par excellence of expiation and punishment, the sons of Latona were invoked to justify the wars waged against those who attacked the *salus* of the *res publica*.

Only two years after *Naulochus*, the 3rd of September reappeared related to another military victory: for this day of the 34 BC, the *Fasti Triumphales Capitolini* mark in fact the triumph of Gaius Sosius in *Iudaea*³⁶².

Sent there as proconsul by Marc Antony, Sosius³⁶³ remained on his side until the battle of *Actium*, also taking up the consulate in 32 BC: only after Antony's defeat Sosius will enter Octavian's ranks, thanks to his *clementia*³⁶⁴. The restoration of the Temple of *Apollo in circo*, realised *ex manubiis Iudaeae*, will not see therefore any personal celebration, but only the exaltation of the man who had become the sole ruler of Rome³⁶⁵.

³⁵⁸ See ASSENMAKER 2008, 57-60.

³⁵⁹ *BMCR*, II, 581 no. 38, where however he affirms that "the *quinarius* not only commemorates the battle of *Naulochus*, but also the return of the legions to Africa."

³⁶⁰ *BMCRE*, I, 79 nos. 463-464, 83 no. 488; *RIC* I², 53 nos. 172-173, 175, 181-183; 54 nos. 194-197; see KIENAST - ECK - HEIL 2017, 58. A recent re-examination of the documentation and of the relevant interpretations in BALBUZA 2017.

³⁶¹ On the contrary HEKSTER - RICH 2006, 154-155 (cf. also LANGE 2009, 34) consider this association immediately following the conflict, on the basis of the existence of the sanctuary of *Artemis Phacelitidis* at *Atemisio* and on the testimony of some coin reverses (*BMCR*, II, 815 no. 4355; *BMCRE*, I, 104 no. 643; *RIC*², I, 61 no. 273) on which is seen a representation of the chapel of *Diana in Circo* (see COARELLI 1997, 486).

³⁶² DEGRASSI 1947, 87; the same record in the *Fasti Triumphales Barberiniani* (DEGRASSI 1947, 343). A descendant of Gaius Sosius, Lucius Nonius Quintilianus (RÜPKE 2008, 815 no. 2535) would not miss the opportunity to record in his funerary inscription (*CIL*, IX 4855 = *ILS* 934) of being *C(aii) S(osi)i co(n)s(ulis) triumphal(is) pronep(os)*.

³⁶³ *PIR*², S 776; FERRIÈS 2007, 470-472 no. 130.

³⁶⁴ Dio LI, 2, 4; LVI, 38, 2.

³⁶⁵ More in depth: LA ROCCA 1985, 17, 83-102.

In 34 BC, however, Sosius was still a “partisan” of Antony and this is perhaps how we should interpret the triumph celebrated on the 3rd of September, which was of course a particularly important day for Octavian. The victory over Sextus Pompeius was a huge success only for Caesar’s son and so in 34 BC, as the deterioration of the relationship between Augustus and Antony became evident³⁶⁶, it is obvious why a supporter of Antony would want to obscure the glory of such an important day in the propaganda of an adversary.

The celebration of the *bellum Siculum* did not endure, nor would it for the battle of *Actium*, as we shall see later. As we are told by Suetonius³⁶⁷, Caligula decided that such commemorations were inauspicious for the Roman People and abolished them. Through his grandmother Antonia Minor, the new *princeps* did have ties of kinship to Antony³⁶⁸, but the same could not be said with Sextus Pompeius; it is therefore difficult to discern his exact reason, if not for the simple explanation that it was a war fought between *cives Romani*.

Though by then deprived of its status as *dies feriatius*, the 3rd of September would in the 2nd century AD be associated with another event, but this time of a funeral kind. From the *Fasti Ostienses*, according to the integration proposed by A. Degrassi, we know that the *funus censorium* of Marciana, Trajan’s sister, who died the 29th of August AD 112, was held on the 3rd of September of that year³⁶⁹. The calendars, furthermore, also show Marciana’s *dies natalis*, as we can see in the *Feriale Duranum* unfortunately on an indecipherable day between the 14th and the 30th of January³⁷⁰.

³⁶⁶ On these relationships before *Actium*: DETTENHOFER 2000, 43-59; in general, on the political role of Antony from the Caesar’s period to his death and on his partisans: FERRIÈS 2007.

³⁶⁷ *Cal.* 23, 1.

³⁶⁸ KIENAST - ECK - HEIL 2017, 62-63.

³⁶⁹ DEGRASSI 1947, 191, 201 = EDR121630 (with bibliography).

³⁷⁰ KIENAST - ECK - HEIL 2017, 119-120.

THE VICTORY AT ACTIUM

a. d. IIII Nonas Septembres (2nd September)

*Famosum et magnum hoc bellum apud Actium fuit*³⁷¹. So wrote the historian *Orosius* at the end of the 4th century, a sign of the importance that the battle, which determined the defeat of Antony and Cleopatra, had and continued to have even centuries later. Although their final elimination and the end of civil wars will not occur until the fall of Alexandria in 30 BC, even today the battle of *Actium* is still considered “le mythe fondateur de l’Empire romain”³⁷².

<i>FASTI FRATRUM ARVALIUM</i> (30-28 BC)	<i>NP. Ferae ex s(enatus) c(onsulto)</i> <i>Imp(eratoris) Caesaris h(onoris) c(ausa),</i> <i>quod eo die vicit Actium</i>
<i>FASTI VALLENSES</i> (after AD 7)	<i>NP. Act[iaca victoria?]</i>
<i>FASTI AMITERNINI</i> (after AD 20)	<i>NP. Fer(iae) ex s(enatus) c(onsulto),</i> <i>quod eo die Imp. Caesar Divi f. Augustus</i> <i>apud Actium vicit se et Titio</i> <i>co(n)s(ulibus)</i>
<i>FASTI ANTIATES MINISTRORUM</i> <i>DOMUS AUGUSTAE</i> (AD 23-37)	<i>[Aug(ustus) ad Ac]ti[um vic(it)]</i>

Only the later literary sources³⁷³ have a memory of the date of the naval battle, which is not found in those of the Augustan age³⁷⁴, probably because of its indisputable and widespread fame.

³⁷¹ *Oros.* VI, 19, 10; this is also similarly expressed by *Eutr.* VII, 7: *victus est [Antonius] ab Augustus navali pugna clara et inlustri apud Actium.*

³⁷² HOËT-VAN CAUWENBERGHE - KANTIREA 2013b, 279; cf. MURRAY 2002. On *Actium* as the end of the civil wars see LANGE 2016, 121-124.

³⁷³ *Dio* LI, 1; *Zonar.* X, 30.

³⁷⁴ *Liv., per.* CXXXIII; *Vell. Pat.* II, 85.

The most detailed accounts are found in the *Life of Antony* by Plutarch and in Cassius Dio³⁷⁵. The latter assigns to *Actium* a greater importance than the following conquest of Alexandria: this battle for the Severan historian, in fact, practically ended the civil wars and Rome, consequently, assumed the form of government that would continue for centuries.

That Octavian had sole command for the first time motivated Cassius Dio to record the exact day of the event, something he did not normally do - he himself states “nor am I, in fact, accustomed to do so”³⁷⁶. The day of the victory at *Actium*, he also writes, must be counted as the first of the reign of the *princeps*³⁷⁷.

The encounter in the Ionian Sea near the Ambracian Gulf had the characteristics of a proper field battle, with probably fifty of the sixty existing legions deployed³⁷⁸.

The conflict saw numerous losses³⁷⁹ and the result remained uncertain until Cleopatra fled, quickly followed by Antony, when she saw the opportunity to escape through a gap in the enemy boats³⁸⁰.

We are informed of the measures implemented after the victory by Suetonius and Cassius Dio. The god to whom the success was attributed was Apollo, who from this moment onwards was identified with the epithet *Actiacus*³⁸¹. On the promontory of *Actium* there was already a temple to the son of *Latona* but after the victory Octavian took it upon himself to enlarge it³⁸²; as well as this, the *aedes* on the Palatine Hill, although vowed after *Naulochus*³⁸³, would benefit from this new success³⁸⁴.

³⁷⁵ Plut., *Ant.* 65-68; Dio L, 16-22 (speech of Antony to his soldiers) 24-30 (speech of Octavian to his soldiers), 31-35 (description of the battle), LI, 1-3 (consequences of victory).

³⁷⁶ LI, 1, 1; the words of Tac., *hist.* I, 1 are particularly resonant: *postquam bellatum apud Actium atque omnem potentiam ad unum conferri pacis interfuit.*

³⁷⁷ This historian, recounting the death of the *princeps*, would define the duration of his power “from the time of his victory at *Actium*.”: Dio LVI, 30, 5.

³⁷⁸ These are the calculations of GONZÁLEZ 2003, 720-721; cf. regarding the soldiers deployed: Plut., *Ant.* 68, 2-3; Oros. VI, 19, 8-9.

³⁷⁹ Vell. Pat. II, 84, 1; Plut., *Ant.* 66, 5; 68, 1; Dio L, 33, 1; 34, 1; Oros. VI, 19, 10.

³⁸⁰ Plut., *Ant.* 66, 5-8; Dio L, 33, 1-4; Oros. VI, 19, 11. A review of the battle through a new check of ancient sources and historical scholarship in LANGE 2011; for an analysis of the vision of *Actium* in the poetic evolution of Propertius see CRISTOFOLI 2004.

³⁸¹ Verg., *Aen.* VIII, 704: *Actius Apollo*; Prop., IV, 6, 70: *Actius Phoebus*; Ov., *met.* XIII, 715: *Actiaco ab Apolline.*

³⁸² Suet., *Aug.* 18: [...] *ampliato vetere Apollinis templo* [...]; Dio LI, 1, 2.

³⁸³ Vell. Pat. II, 81.

³⁸⁴ See *LTUR*, I, 54-57 (P. Gros).

Octavian decided to found a city that in the Hellenistic manner bore a sign in its name of his victory: *Nicopolis*³⁸⁵. According to Suetonius, here he instituted some quinquennial games which, as Cassius Dio states, were named *Aktia*³⁸⁶.

Virgil did not miss the opportunity to add a mythological background to this. The poet had Aeneas and his companions stop at *Actium* during their *errores* towards Italy and Rome: in the third book the Trojan exiles reached the Ambracian gulf and here, after performing rituals of purification, celebrated games called *Iliacis*³⁸⁷. Servius explained these verses as a form of *adulatio* to Augustus by Virgil; in reference to the temple and to the games he states: *unde nunc Vergilius in honorem Augusti quae ipse fecit dat eius origini*³⁸⁸. Virgil does not neglect to commemorate the battle, which is described with epic images in the eighth book: the fight itself occupies the central part of Aeneas' shield on which appear the major episodes of the history of Rome³⁸⁹.

Also Strabo, describing the coast of Epirus, speaks of the Ambracian gulf and the hinterland where the sanctuary of *Apollo Actiacus* was found: here Octavian celebrated his victory offering ten boats to the god, one for each different bank of oars³⁹⁰.

The new city of *Nicopolis* was on the other side of the gulf and was enhanced with the construction of a stadium and a gymnasium³⁹¹, home of the new *Aktia* instituted by the son of Caesar in place of the preceding Acarnanians' *agones*³⁹². The organisation of these games now penteteric began on the 2nd of September of 28 or 27 BC³⁹³.

³⁸⁵ Suet., *Aug.* 18: [...] *urbem Nicopolim apud Actium condidit* [...]; Dio LI, 1, 3; on the name with evident reference to historical practice of Alexander the Great and Pompeius Magnus see HOËT-VAN CAUWENBERGHE - KANTIREA 2013b, 291-292.

³⁸⁶ Suet., *Aug.* 18: [...] *ludosque illic quinquennales constituit* [...]; Dio LI, 1, 2.

³⁸⁷ *Aen.* III, 274-280: *mox et Leucatae nimbose cacumina montis / et formidatus nautis aperitur Apollo. / Hunc petimus fessi et parvae succedimus urbi; / ancora de prora iacitur, stant litore puppes. / Ergo insperata tandem tellure potiti / lustramurque Ioui uotisque incendimus aras, / Actiaque Iliacis celebramus litora ludis.*

³⁸⁸ Serv., *ad Aen.* III, 274-280, particularly 274; instead in v. 276, referring to the *parva Ambracia*, Servius explicitly states: '*parvae*' *autem in adulationem Augusti dictum.*

³⁸⁹ *Aen.* VIII, 675-713.

³⁹⁰ Strab. VII, 7, 6.

³⁹¹ Strab. VII, 7, 6.

³⁹² On the *Aktia*: GAGÉ 1936, 92-97; LÄMMER 1986-87; CALDELLI 1993, 24-28; PAVLOGIANNIS - ALBANIDIS - DIMITRIOU 2009; GUERBER 2013, 269-272.

³⁹³ These would stay active until the end of the III - start of the IV century AD: see HOËT-VAN CAUWENBERGHE - KANTIREA 2013b, 295-296.

Octavian monumentalised the place of his *praetorium*, paving it and adorning it with the *rostra* of the enemy boats, and dedicated it to Mars and Neptune³⁹⁴. The complex was realised on today's hill of Mikhaltitsi, behind *Nicopolis*, in a very visible and highly scenic position³⁹⁵. Though it was discovered at the start of last century, it is only in recent decades that we have managed to reconstruct an image of the complex, though very little of the original structure and its dedicatory inscription is preserved³⁹⁶.

The monument would have been formed of a double terrace separated by a long retaining wall: the upper terrace featured a Greek-style *stoa* with a large rectangular altar in the middle, whose frieze depicted piles of weapons, a triumphal procession and sacrifices. The retaining wall was adorned with around thirty-six jutting *rostra* of various dimensions torn from Antonio's ships, or perhaps reproductions of them³⁹⁷.

Above these was a long inscription, partially reconstructed from about twenty-six fragments, that commemorated the victory and, more generally, the restored peace on land and sea³⁹⁸.

The monument and the inscription are dated between 29 and 27 BC³⁹⁹, suggested by the reference to Octavian's seventh imperial acclamation and the lack of the surname *Augustus*, therefore immediately after the definitive defeat of Antony and the conquest of Egypt⁴⁰⁰. The text is redolent of the new ideology of re-established peace and of the

³⁹⁴ Suet., *Aug.* 18, 2; Dio LI, 1, 3.

³⁹⁵ Recently TOMEI 2017 argued the existence of a celebrative monument of *Actium's* victory on the Palatine Hill too. This hypothesis is put forward on the basis of some fragmentary marble reliefs, dated to the Augustan age and depicting ships, and from new information recovered in the excavation records of G. Carrettoni, just recently published. A further proof is found by the author in the coin of Gaius Antistius Vetus of 16 BC, which should represent this monument itself. Therefore, the altar would have been decorated on the base with reliefs of a naval battle scene, and probably it supported a statue of Apollo. The monument placed in the area of Apollo's sanctuary in the context of Augustus' domus on Palatine Hill, then, would have been smaller and simple to that of *Nicopolis*.

³⁹⁶ MURRAY-PETSAS 1989; ZACHOS 2001; *id.* 2003; MALACRINO 2006, 138-140.

³⁹⁷ On the number of *rostra* interpreted as a tenth of the total number of captured ships: MURRAY-PETSAS 1989, 55-56, 154 (who counts them as 33 or 35); ZACHOS 2003, 65, 74; MURRAY 2015 (with previous bibliography); on the *stoa* and the upper terrace: MURRAY-PETSAS 1989, 77-85, 91-93 and ZACHOS 2003, 77-81; on the lower terrace: MURRAY-PETSAS 1989, 85-86 and ZACHOS 2003, 70-77; on the building techniques: MALACRINO 2006, 141-142; for the decorative scheme of the altar: ZACHOS 2009.

³⁹⁸ *AE* 1937, 114 = 1992, 1534 = 1999, 1448 = ŠAŠEL KOS 1979, no. 158; see also KANTIREA 2007, 90 n. 2; LANGE 2009, 106-11; GUERBER 2013, 258-260.

³⁹⁹ See in particular SCHÄFER 1993 and GUERBER 2013, 257-258 with previous bibliography.

⁴⁰⁰ For a series of more general considerations on the historical-political significance of the monument see recently: LANGE 2016, 142-153; CORNWELL 2017, 106-115.

consequent closure of the Temple of *Ianus* in Rome that Augustus did not fail to highlight in the *Res Gestae*⁴⁰¹. As with *Naulochus*, here there was no allusion to the vanquished enemies: Octavian shows himself as the saviour of the *res publica*.

The decoration of the monuments commemorating these successes is based on an abstract and symbolic language: as at *Nicopolis*, in Rome the *rostra*, symbols of naval victory, also played the fundamental role⁴⁰².

The new tribune built in the Roman Forum had the *rostra* of the Egyptian boats captured in battle inserted into its façade; in the same location the Senate provided for the erection of other *columnae rostratae* in honour of Octavian, after the column dedicated following the victory at *Naulochus*⁴⁰³. According to Servius⁴⁰⁴, these would have originally been placed at regular intervals along the façade of the *Basilica Iulia*; only later Domitian would move them to the Capitoline Hill⁴⁰⁵. For Cassius Dio the Senate also decreed that in the Forum there should also be a triumphal arch⁴⁰⁶. This, named *Actiacus*, is a point of controversy in discussion of Roman archaeology with much debate over whether it was actually built, its location and the relationship with the following *arcus Parthicus* of 19 BC. Some believe that this latter replaced the one erected in 29 BC⁴⁰⁷.

⁴⁰¹ RGDA 13: *Ianum Quirinum, quem claussum esse maiores nostri voluerunt, cum per totum imperium populi Romani terra marique esset parta victoriis pax, [...] ter me princ[ipe senat]us claudendum esse censuit*; see also Liv. I, 19, 3: *post bellum Actiacum ab imperatore Caesare Augusto pace terra marique parta*; on the language of war and peace in Augustan epigraphy: DONATI 2014, 157-159.

⁴⁰² Unavoidable to refer to ZANKER 2006, 85-91; in particular on the value of the *rostra* see HÖLSCHER 2009, 315-317. An epigram of *Philippus of Thessalonika* collected in the *Anthologia Palatina* (VI, 236) vividly renders this idea: “see how the brazen beaks, voyage-loving weapons of ships, here preserved as relics of the fight at *Actium*, shelter, like a hive, the waxy gift of the bees, weighted all round by the humming swarm. Beneficent indeed is the righteous rule of Caesar; he hath taught the arms of the enemy to bear the fruits of peace, not war”.

⁴⁰³ Verg., *georg.* III, 28-29; for a recently-proposed new interpretation of the *columnae rostratae* of the Forum see VERVAET - DART 2016, in particular 398-411. They maintain that of the four columns mentioned by Servius (see n. *infra*), two refer to the victory at *Naulochus* and two to that at *Actium*; in both cases there would have been one dedicated each to Octavian and to Agrippa.

⁴⁰⁴ *Ad georg.* III, 29.

⁴⁰⁵ See *LTUR*, I, 308 (D. Palombi); PALOMBI 1993.

⁴⁰⁶ Dio LI, 19, 1; to this we can add another in the city of Brindisi.

⁴⁰⁷ On all the questions see, with previous bibliography: *LTUR*, I, 80-85 (E. Nedergaard); V, 226-227 (E. Nedergaard); RICH 1998; LANGE 2009, 163-166; *id.* 2016, 130-131, 195. Pertinent to the arch in question is an inscription (today lost) that was found near the Temple of *Castores* in the Roman Forum, referring in its Imperial titulature to 29 BC and in the text to the theme of the *res publica conservata* (*CIL*, VI 873 = EDR103046).

A central role in the commemoration and perpetuation of the victory at *Actium* was played by the numismatic documentation. With notable consistency, the reverses of coins bear a series of indirect reminders to this event, through a range of subjects specifically chosen to avoid association with victory in a civil war⁴⁰⁸. We see arches of triumph, *columnae rostratae* and *Victoriae* on the globe⁴⁰⁹, but particularly significant is the presence of the god Apollo. He, with the epithet of *Actiacus* and garbed as a *citharede*, recipient of the new temple on the Palatine, assumes the role of renewed internal order's guarantor: from avenger of the Eastern *hybris* to purifier of the civil war's horrors⁴¹⁰.

On a coin from 16/15 BC Apollo appears with a *patra* in his right hand and a lyre in his left, performing a sacrifice at an altar adorned with prows and anchors. This reverse bears the legend APOLLINI and in the exergue it reads ACTIO⁴¹¹. A similar policy was expressed by the mint at *Lugdunum* that in 15/14 and in 12/11 BC issued coins featuring the god in the customary *citharede* robes and a reminder of *Actium* in the exergue in abbreviated form, ACT⁴¹².

A recent exhibition on Augustus organised in commemoration of the two-thousand-year anniversary of his death brought together for the first time an important cycle of reliefs from the first Imperial age showing a series of episodes from the Augustan Principate. Despite their fragmentary nature and their scattering throughout the centuries, the reconstruction was very convincing⁴¹³. Among these, a relevant place is undoubtedly occupied by reliefs depicting a naval battle, which has been interpreted as that at *Actium* on the 2nd September 31 BC.

⁴⁰⁸ LANGE 2009, 82-90 and *id.* 2016, 121-124, 129-131, often dealt with the nature of the battle of *Actium* and on the way in which it was showed at the official level; he, in a somewhat risky manner, arrives at the conclusion that "*Actium* was considered as both a foreign and civil war in the official ideology of the regime" (2016, 122, 129) and that the war, initially undertaken against a foreign country, became civil because "there were Romans helping Cleopatra, fighting against Rome, and these citizen-traitors automatically became enemies of the state when taking up arms against Rome. At the same time they, by their actions, turned a foreign war into a civil war" (2016, 122).

⁴⁰⁹ See PANVINI-ROSATI 2000, 102.

⁴¹⁰ ZANKER 2006, 91-92.

⁴¹¹ *BMCRE*, I, 18 no. 95; *RIC*, I², 69 nos. 365-366; for a recent possible identification of this monument see TOMEI 2017, particularly 418-419.

⁴¹² *BMCRE*, I, 79 nos. 459-469, 82-83 nos. 478-486; *RIC*, I², 52 nos. 170-171, 53 nos. 179-180, 54 nos. 190-191.

⁴¹³ See SCHÄFER 2013; most recently LANGE 2016, 171-193.

The composition is ordered over two levels, closed on the right by a column and by Apollo seated on a rock in front of a tripod on the left; one more time Apollo is presented as a protective deity and guarantor of victory against the fleet led by Antony, whose ship is identifiable in the centre with a centaur as its figurehead, a symbol of his arrogance and lascivious nature⁴¹⁴.

We must now examine the evidences of the calendars. The oldest among those following the reform of Julius Caesar that are still extant, the *Fasti Fratrum Arvalium*, record the victory: after a *senatus consultum* the 2nd of September became a *dies feriatum* to commemorate the success at *Actium*⁴¹⁵.

The incomplete documentation, especially in the calendars of the Augustan age, does not allow us to effectively trace the evolution of this record; it is present in the *Fasti Vallenses* from AD 7, and in others from the Tiberian age, but it is absent from the later calendars, such as the *Feriale Duranum* and the *Fasti* of *Furius Filocalus* and *Polemius Silvius*.

Commemoration of this event, in fact, did not survive for long at the official level: it was prohibited by Caligula as he believed it to be inauspicious and calamitous for the Roman People. Suetonius refers to the disposition as an act of defamation of Augustus' memory⁴¹⁶, but there were other reasons.

The war between Antony and Octavian was not only between two *cives romani*, but two brothers-in-law: Antony had married Octavia, sister of Octavian. Their daughter, Antonia, who married Drusus the Elder, was mother of Germanicus, father of Caligula.

This latter wanted to rehabilitate the memory of his grandfather, a decision in line with his dynastic policy that centred on the figure of Germanicus. Placing the remains of his mother Agrippina and his brother Nero Caesar in the Mausoleum of Augustus must also be read in this sense⁴¹⁷.

⁴¹⁴ SCHÄFER 2013, 322.

⁴¹⁵ See also Dio LI, 19, 2 who writes that the Senate instituted an *ieromēnia* on the day of the announcement of the victory.

⁴¹⁶ Suet., *Cal.* 23, 1: *ac non contentus hac Augusti insectatione Actiacas Siculasque victorias, ut funestas p.R. et calamitosas, vetuit sollempnibus feriis celebrari.*

⁴¹⁷ Suet., *Cal.* 15, 1; for these aspects of exaltation of the familial *pietas* see BIANCHI 2006, 598, 601-602, 628 and lastly CRISTOFOLI 2018, 97-98; *contra* FRASCHETTI 2005, 38 who insists on the "accanimento contro la memoria di Augusto" by Caligula.

As previously discussed⁴¹⁸, during the final two years of his reign we see an exaltation of Augustus' figure instead, as his only grandfather and direct political predecessor⁴¹⁹.

Tacitus tells us that Germanicus had already had to confront the problem of being descended from Antony. During his travels in the East, accompanied by his wife and the young Caligula, he stopped in Epirus and then in *Nicopolis*⁴²⁰. Here he visited the place of the battle and the monument to victory, but also Antony's camps: this caused him conflicting feelings, an *imago tristium laetorumque*⁴²¹.

Cassius Dio - referring to the removal from the consulate of Gnaeus Domitius Afer by the Emperor, guilty of having celebrated the festival of the 2nd of September - undoubtedly exaggerated when he stated that Caligula wanted to present himself solely as descendant of Antony, and not of Augustus⁴²²; rehabilitation of the first did not correspond to a relegation of the second⁴²³.

As a probable effect of the abolition of the festivities for the victory at *Actium*, the *Aktia* held in *Nicopolis*, which were previously held on the 2nd of September, came to be celebrated instead on the 23rd of September, the *dies natalis* of Augustus⁴²⁴.

Deprived by now of the ambiguous relationship that the members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty had had to confront, the ideological value of this victory would be later re-evaluated under the new Flavian dynasty.

In search for political legitimisation, being them *gens obscura et sine ullis maiorum imaginibus*⁴²⁵, they will constantly refer to Augustus throughout the entire realm.

⁴¹⁸ See *supra* on the *dies natalis* of Augustus.

⁴¹⁹ GREGORI 2019, 247.

⁴²⁰ *Ann.* II, 53, 1-4; see HOËT-VAN CAUWENBERGHE - KANTIREA 2013b, 281-286. The presence of Germanicus in *Nicopolis* does not seem, as suggests SEAGER 2005, 83-84, attributable to a presumed disposition of Tiberius related to the fifty-year anniversary of the battle: in this sense also GURVAL 1995, 83 n. 166 and HOËT-VAN CAUWENBERGHE - KANTIREA 2013b, 282-283.

⁴²¹ Tac., *ann.* II, 53.

⁴²² LIX, 20, 1-2.

⁴²³ HOËT-VAN CAUWENBERGHE - KANTIREA 2013b, 286-287.

⁴²⁴ KANTIREA 2007, 90-91.

⁴²⁵ Suet., *Vesp.* 1, 1.

Next to the topic of the *res publica restituta*, which had an echo especially in coins, there is also the more specific of *Actium*⁴²⁶. The same value that this had had for Octavian was assigned to the conquest of Jerusalem, occurred on the centennial of the celebration of the defeat of Antony and Cleopatra⁴²⁷. The day the city fell, the 8th of *Gorpioios* in the Hebrew calendar, corresponded exactly to the 2nd of September of the Julian calendar⁴²⁸.

Moreover, some years before, *Iulia*, daughter of Titus, was born on the same day⁴²⁹; she played a leading role within Flavian propaganda that sought to establish a link with the Julio-Claudian dynasty, thanks also to her shared name with Livia, from AD 14 called *Iulia Augusta*⁴³⁰.

The 2nd of September, as a date of dedication in the inscription, appears only in two documents that do not appear to have any intentional link to the event.

In the first case, we have an indirect evidence of the preservation in the late Trajan-Hadrianic period of Caligula's disposition that had removed the status of *dies feriatius* from the day. At *Puteoli* the *ordo decurionum* met in the *Basilica Augusti Anniana* to pass a decree in favour of Marcus Laelius Atimetus, on whose request the decurions approved the concession of the use of the *solarium* of a specific building⁴³¹.

From *Raetia* comes the second document, a parallelepiped plinth with a damaged inscription on the main face and the reliefs of *Venus*, *Victoria* and *Iuno* on the three others⁴³². This decoration and the expression *ex iussu* in the text suggest that this is an altar, dedicated by an unknown person during the reign of Septimius Severus⁴³³. Being the place of provenance a *castellum*, *Septemiacum*, it is possible that this was an *ex voto* of a soldier, but it is doubtful that it has any connection to the great victory at *Actium*.

⁴²⁶ See ROSSO 2009, particularly 230-234 for the reminders of *Actium*; generally on Vespasian's reprisal of Augustan monetary types: SERRA 2009.

⁴²⁷ It must also be remembered that at the end of the Jewish war Vespasian settled 800 veterans near the Hebrew village of *Emmaus*, naming the new community *Nicopolis*, like Octavian before him: see GREGORI - FILIPPINI 2012, 123 n. 40.

⁴²⁸ GREGORI - FILIPPINI 2012, 122-125, 132-145

⁴²⁹ Jos., *bell. jud.* VIII, 5; X, 1; Suet., *Tit.* 5, 1-2.

⁴³⁰ See GREGORI - ROSSO 2010.

⁴³¹ *CIL*, X 1783 = *ILS* 5919 = EDR158673; cf. DEMMA 2007, 170-171.

⁴³² *AE* 2005, 1146.

⁴³³ The consulate of Caracalla and Geta indicates a date of AD 205 or 208.

THE CAPTURE OF ALEXANDRIA

Kalendis Augustis (1st August)

The Kalends of August are one of the most significant days in the history of Ancient Rome. Among the events that occurred on that day, the fall of Alexandria and Antony's suicide, episodes that marked the end of the civil war, have undoubtedly a leading role. Octavian, after that *rem publicam tristissimo periculo liberavit*, became in fact the sole bearer of power.

<i>FASTI FRATRUM ARVALIUM</i> (30-28 BC)	<i>NP. F(eriae) ex s(enatus) c(onsulto), [q(uod) e(o) d(ie) Imp. Caesar rem pu]blic(am) tristiss(imo) p[e]riculo [libera]vit</i>
<i>FASTI PRAENESTINI</i> (AD 6-9)	<i>[--- Hoc mense] Aegyptus in potestatem p(opuli) [R(omani) redacta est]</i>
	<i>NP. F(eria)[e ex s(enatus) c(onsulto)], q(uod) e(o) d(ie) Imp. Cae[sar Augustus rem publicam tristissimo periculo liberavit]</i>
<i>FASTI AMITERNINI</i> (after AD 20)	<i>NP. F(eriae) ex s(enatus) c(onsulto), q(uod) e(o) d(ie) Imp. Caesar Divi f. rem public(am) tristissim[o] periculo liberat</i>
<i>FASTI ANTIATES MINISTRORUM DOMUS AUGUSTAE</i> (AD 23-37)	<i>Aug(ustus) Alexan(driam) recepit</i>

The ancient authors, from Cassius Dio to Plutarch, and later Orosius, left very detailed accounts of the story⁴³⁴.

⁴³⁴ Dio LI, 10; Plut., *Ant.* 74-80; Oros. VI, 19, 16-19; among the modern bibliography see HUZAR 1978, 224-227; TRAINA 2003, 97-99; LANGE 2009, 77-79, 90-93; CRISTOFOLI 2016.

In contrast to what happened at *Actium*, at Alexandria there was no actual field battle⁴³⁵: the advance of Cornelius Gallus in Cyrenaica and the occupation of *Paraetionium* were countered by Antony to little effect; he then had to deal with a sort of betrayal by Cleopatra, who delivered *Pelusium*, on the east of the Nile Delta, which gave access to Egypt from Asia and the sea, into Octavian's hands⁴³⁶.

Near Alexandria Antony encountered the army of his rival and with a brief sortie of cavalry managed a final, but insignificant, victory⁴³⁷: the following day - *kalendis Sextilibus*, reported in explicit terms only by Orosius⁴³⁸ - the naval battle for which he had prepared did not take place, since his own soldiers had surrendered to the future master of Rome⁴³⁹.

Antony had no other choice but to take his own life, followed shortly after by Cleopatra⁴⁴⁰: it is difficult to ascertain whether Octavian entered the city on the 1st of August or only after the queen's death⁴⁴¹.

In any case this day was chosen by Caesar's adopted son as the end of the civil war and the start of a new era. As we are told by Cassius Dio, a senate decree would make this official: among the various honours granted to Octavian, it was decided that the day of Alexandria's conquest was to be considered *agathē*⁴⁴².

From the end of 30 BC the 1st of August became a *dies feriatius*; this can be seen in the calendars, with the *Fasti Fratrum Arvalium* being the first to report the change: the *F*, indicating that the day was *fastus*, became *NP*, surely denoting a day of *feriae*⁴⁴³.

The importance of this event in coeval and subsequent periods is very evident. In the *Fasti Praenestini* the initial header of the antiquarian-religious format, placed before each month, is occupied by the record of the victory in Egypt: [*hoc mense*] *Aegyptus in potestatem p(opuli) [R(omani) redacta est]*⁴⁴⁴. Verrius Flaccus, author of this calendar

⁴³⁵ Suet., *Aug.* 17, 3 uses the words *obsessa Alexandria*, but it is difficult to establish if an actual siege occurred.

⁴³⁶ Dio LI, 9, 1-5; cf. Plut., *Ant.* 75, 1.

⁴³⁷ Dio LI, 10, 1; Plut., *Ant.* 75, 4; Oros. VI 19, 16 speaks also in this case of a defeat of Antony.

⁴³⁸ VI, 19, 16.

⁴³⁹ Plut., *Ant.* 76, 1-3; cf. Dio LI, 4.

⁴⁴⁰ See Dio LI, 10, 7-14; Plut., *Ant.* 76, 3 - 77, 7.

⁴⁴¹ In the first case: Plut., *Ant.* 80, 1; in the second: Oros. VI, 19, 19.

⁴⁴² Dio LI, 19, 6

⁴⁴³ See DEGRASSI 1963, 29, 31; cf. also SEGENNI 2014, 61. On the alteration of the *notae dierum* see lastly SCHEID 2019, 206.

⁴⁴⁴ This is well highlighted by BRUNI 2014, 31, 39 and SEGENNI 2014, 72.

placed in the forum of *Praeneste*, had undoubtedly had in mind the text inscribed on the base of the two obelisks that Augustus had brought to Rome from Egypt while he wrote this incipit. Consecrated to the god Sol in 10-9 BC, one on the spine of the Circus Maximus, the other like the meridian's gnomon in the Campus Martius⁴⁴⁵, still bear today the inscription on their bases: *Aegypto in potestate populi Romani redacta*⁴⁴⁶.

The recurrence of these expressions would suggest the existence of a specific official formula used to describe the conquest of Egypt; the above-mentioned words are in fact also found in Macrobius. In his discussion on the names of the months in general, Macrobius notes the change of the name *Sextilis* to *Augustus* in 8 BC⁴⁴⁷. He explains this by quoting a Senate decree of the Augustan age that commemorated a series of significant episodes of Octavian's life that occurred in this month, such as the assumption of his first consulate and the triumphs celebrated in Rome, but above all that *Aegyptus hoc mense in potestatem populi Romani redacta sit*⁴⁴⁸.

The topic of *Aegypto capta* would become one of the cornerstones of Augustan ideology⁴⁴⁹, as shown by the numismatic documentation⁴⁵⁰. There are coins from 29 BC onwards that commemorate the event, some generic that only allude to the fall of Alexandria, and some that are more explicit in their iconography.

As an example of the first, we can remind quinarii struck in the east in 29 BC with a portrait of Octavian on the obverse, and *cysta mistica* of Bacchus accompanied by two snakes on the reverse, over which is a Victory with a crown and a palm frond; the legend reads ASIA RECEPTA⁴⁵¹. Of the second, there are the aurei and denarii of the VI and VII consulate of Octavian (28-27 BC), produced by an unknown mint in the East, that have on their reverse a crocodile, sacred animal of the Nile, and the legend AEGYPTO CAPTA⁴⁵².

⁴⁴⁵ Today the first is at Piazza del Popolo, the second at Piazza Montecitorio.

⁴⁴⁶ *CIL*, VI 701 (cf. p. 3006) = *ILS* 91 = EDR103043 (with bibliography); 702 (cf. p. 3757) = 30815 = *ILS* 91 = EDR103197 (with bibliography); cf. also Plin., *N. H.* XXXVI, 71-72.

⁴⁴⁷ The year is confirmed in Cens. 22; cf. the discussion in BOSWORTH 1982, 163-166.

⁴⁴⁸ I, 12, 35; see also Suet., *Aug.* 31 and Dio LV 6, 7.

⁴⁴⁹ On the subject: BELLEN 1997.

⁴⁵⁰ See ASSENMAKER 2008, 60-61.

⁴⁵¹ *RIC*, I², 61 no. 276; see GURVAL 1995, 68 and PANVINI ROSATI 2000, 102-103.

⁴⁵² *BMCRE*, I, 106 nos. 650-655; *RIC*, I², 61 nos. 275 a-b, 86 nos. 544-545; we remember also, notwithstanding debate over its authenticity, the gold copies in the Museo Arqueológico in Madrid, that on the reverse in the place of the crocodile have a hippopotamus and the legend

This latter type, with the crocodile as a symbol of Egypt, recurs later. It appears not long after the event in *Nemausus*, in Narbonne Gaul, generally bound to a palm. There is a reason: in 27 BC in fact Augustus established here a settlement for some of the veterans of the Egyptian campaign, giving to the town the rank of *colonia*⁴⁵³.

More than a century later, Trajan issued a series of so-called “restored coins” to present himself as heir to the republican tradition and to emulate the worthiest Emperors. Among these were clearly references to Augustus, as *pater patriae* and as victor in Egypt⁴⁵⁴: the crocodile was by this point so recognisable as a symbol of Egypt that its representation without any legend was enough to symbolise the conquest of Alexandria in 30 BC.

The *cistophoric tetradrachm* of 28 BC, probably from Ephesus, is worth a specific mention, as it implicitly links to the information in the *Fasti Praenestini*. One finds, in fact, an attempt to justify Octavian’s actions and the civil war itself: having saved the *res publica* from a *tristissimum periculum*, the son of Caesar is presented on the obverse as LIBERTATIS P R VINDEX. The reverse of the coin is also similarly symbolic, showing the figure of *Pax* with the *cista mystica* and a snake inside a crown of laurel⁴⁵⁵.

The 1st of August is therefore a turning point, where the civil war ended and a new phase in the history of Rome takes flight; this is also the interpretation given by Augustus in his political legacy: the highest *auctoritas* was entrusted to him only *postquam bella civilian exstinxeram*⁴⁵⁶. A similar concept is found in other authors, such as Velleius Paterculus, who states: *persecutus* (i.e. *Octavianus*) *reginam Antoniumque Alexandream, ultimam bellis civilibus imposuit manum*⁴⁵⁷.

On the basis of this evidence too, G. Alföldy proposed a new reading of a fragment of the consular *Fasti* of *Amiternum* that among the names of the consuls of those years

AEGYPTO CAPTA (see GORINI 1968, 54-58; *RIC*, I², 28-29, 86 no. 546); on the symbolic and sacred role of Egyptian animals see SMELIK - HEMELRIJK 1984.

⁴⁵³ *RIC*, I², 26-27, 51-52 nos. 154-161; for the symbolism of the crocodile see VEYRAC 1998.

⁴⁵⁴ *BMCRE*, III, 144 no. 4; see also GRANT 1950, 58 no. 6.

⁴⁵⁵ *BMCRE*, I, 112 nos. 691-693; *RIC*, I², 79 no. 476; on the theme with previous bibliography: ASSENMAKER 2008, 64-66.

⁴⁵⁶ *RGDA* 34; see the comments of SCHEID 2007, 82-92; COOLEY 2009, 256-272; ARENA 2014, 105-113.

⁴⁵⁷ II, 87, 1: “Caesar followed Cleopatra and Antony to Alexandria and there put the finishing touch upon the civil wars”; see also Liv., *per. CXXXIII*: [...] *imposito fine ciuilibus bellis altero et uicesimo anno* [...]; Flor. II, 21, 1: *hic finis armorum civilium* [...].

also listed the various stages of the civil war⁴⁵⁸. The year 30 BC in the stone is incomplete; where earlier it was supposed to read *bell[um classia]r(ium) confect(um)*⁴⁵⁹, Alföldy suggests instead *bell[a civilia p(opuli)] R(omani) confect(a)*⁴⁶⁰. The definition *bellum classiarum* does not fit the events of 30 BC, while the verb *conficio*, though not explicitly used in the literary sources or in the official acts, effectively conveys the sense of definitive conclusion of the conflict spread through its propaganda by the regime. One notes the shrewdness of the local *ordo* that did not simply place the section at the end of the suffect consuls' list of the year, but between the name of Gaius Antistius Vetus, in office from the 1st of July, and that of Marcus Tullius Cicero, who replaced him on the 13th of September: the exact gap, therefore, in which one would find the 1st of August.

The start of a new era following the conclusion of the war brings out the link between *Victoria* and *Pax*⁴⁶¹: the first was the essential prerequisite of the second, but at the same time to exercise *clementia* over defeated adversaries⁴⁶². In the new system of virtues, that from Augustus onwards will be the basis of the ideological conception of Imperial power, *Victoria* is the keystone around which the others turn and on which they depend⁴⁶³. Thanks to *Victoria*, Octavian had freed the *res publica Romana* and so he could restore the ancient order and install a new age of prosperity⁴⁶⁴.

It is important to note that some calendars for the same 1st of August contain annotations relating to a time before of Augustus, pertaining to the cults of *Spes* and *Victoria*.

The *aedes Victoriae* was probably built in 294 BC on the Palatine Hill in the area between the so-called house of Livia, the *domus Tiberiana* and the Temple of *Magna*

⁴⁵⁸ ALFÖLDY 1991; recently on this question: LANGE 2016, 133-137; VERVAET - DART 2016, 406.

⁴⁵⁹ *CIL*, I², p. 61 no. IV; DEGRASSI 1947, 171.

⁴⁶⁰ ALFÖLDY 1991, 169-170; cf. also SEGENNI 2014, 68.

⁴⁶¹ See also regarding the production of Augustan epigraphy the considerations of DONATI 2014, 159-160.

⁴⁶² *RGDA* 3: *victorque omnibus v[eniam petentib]us civibus peperci*; cf. FEARS 1981, 808.

⁴⁶³ FEARS 1981, 812.

⁴⁶⁴ FEARS 1981, 808-809; undoubtedly significant are the words of Vell. Pat. II, 89, 3-4: *finita vicesimo anno bella civilia, sepulta externa, revocata pax, sopitus ubique armorum furor, restituta vis legibus, iudiciis auctoritas, senatui maiestas, imperium magistratuum ad pristinum redactum modum [...] Prisca illa et antiqua rei publicae forma revocata. Rediit cultus agris, sacris honos, securitas hominibus, certa cuique rerum suarum possessio*.

*Mater*⁴⁶⁵. Its cult developed in Rome from the end of the 4th or the beginning of the 3rd century BC, at the same time as southern expansion in Italian peninsula through the contact with the cities of Magna Graecia that had felt the influence of the Hellenistic monarchies: here military victory had attained divine importance, offering religious justification for territorial expansion⁴⁶⁶. This concept proved popular in Rome and integrated well with the ideology of *bellum iustum ac pium* that, as seen, was the foundation of the war against Antony. The importance assigned to the cult of *Victoria* by the *princeps* is unsurprising: within a more complex reorganisation of this area of the Palatine Hill, designed to present Augustus as *novus Romulus*, some fragmented inscriptions describe a series of building operations interesting *aedes*⁴⁶⁷.

The Temple of *Spes* instead, vowed during the Punic Wars⁴⁶⁸, was located in the Forum Holitorium *extra portam Carmentalem*⁴⁶⁹. Of the three temples discovered near today's church of San Nicola in Carcere, it is by generally agreed that the Doric building would have been the Temple of *Spes*⁴⁷⁰. We know from Cassius Dio that a fire destroyed the *aedes* in 31 BC, while Tacitus notes that Germanicus consecrated the *aedes* again in AD 17⁴⁷¹; this chronological distance is notable and perhaps it should be thought that another fire or type of calamity occurred in the meantime.

In any case the reconstruction of the *aedes* was part of a project of general restructuring of the area of the Forum Holitorium that entailed, with the construction of the Theatre of Marcellus, a move towards the south and a turn towards the east of the Temples of *Ianus* and *Iuno Sospita* that were alongside the Temple of *Spes*. This Augustan project would be completed by Tiberius that, following his predecessor, continued to take advantage of these monumental area for dynastic self-promotion: in the same year as the dedication by Germanicus there was one made by Tiberius for the Temple of *Ianus*⁴⁷².

⁴⁶⁵ See RICHARDSON 1992, 420; *LTUR*, V, 149-150 (P. Pensabene); CECAMORE 2002, 120-128; DONATI-STEFANETTI 2006, 89-90; COARELLI 2012, 226-234.

⁴⁶⁶ PENSABENE 1991, 14; *id.* 1998, 30-33; cf. FEARS 1981, 775-776.

⁴⁶⁷ *CIL*, VI 31059-31060; PENSABENE 1991, 15-16 and *id.* 1998, 29-30, 34-35; on the Augustan interventions cf. also CECAMORE 2002, 128.

⁴⁶⁸ *Cic., leg.*, II, 28; *Tac., ann.*, II, 49; cf. DONATI - STEFANETTI 2006, 88.

⁴⁶⁹ *Liv.* XXV, 7, 6.

⁴⁷⁰ For previous discussion and bibliography: RICHARDSON 1992, 365; *LTUR*, IV, 336-337 (F. Coarelli); DONATI - STEFANETTI 2006, 88; PALOMBI 2006, 18-20, 36, 45.

⁴⁷¹ *Dio L.*, 10, 3; *Tac., ann.*, II, 49, 2.

⁴⁷² LA ROCCA 1987, particularly 368-369.

This latter had his ancient *dies natalis* on the 17th of August⁴⁷³, but after the new dedication this was moved to the 18th of October, the day on which Tiberius wore the *toga virilis*. Within this propagandistic plan - begun by Augustus in relation to the date of his birthday - which was designed to link the new consecrations of the temples to particularly significant events of the Principate, there was in fact no need to move the *dies natalis* of *Victoria* and *Spes*: as we know from the *Fasti Antiaties maiores*, from the half of the first century BC, it fell already on the Kalends of August⁴⁷⁴.

Through mythical histories and parallelisms, the date was also used in the poetic production of the Augustan age. Horace, in poem fourteen of the fourth book of the Odes, which is essentially an extensive aretology of the *princeps*, combines this with another military victory, those reported by Tiberius and Drusus against the alpine tribes: Tiberius in particular distinguished himself by pacifying the *Raetia*, and the campaign concluded *quo die portus Alexandriae supplex et vacuam patefecit aulam*⁴⁷⁵.

It is clear that Horace, probably taking advantage of the chronological proximity of the dates of the two events, intended to link the old success to the new, for which Augustus received his tenth imperial acclamation⁴⁷⁶. The *Fortuna* that already fifteen years before (v. 37 *lustrum tertio*) had proved favourable was also providential in this case: the assonance of the expression *belli secundos...exitus* emphasises the success, presenting it as a repetition of that which came before⁴⁷⁷.

The first of August was chosen at the official level for the dedication of an important monument: the altar of Rome and Augustus at *Lugdunum*, near to which convened the “federal council” of the *Tres Galliae*⁴⁷⁸.

There is still debate over its actual structure, on how much reliable the reverses of the coins, the only images we possess, are; we will deal only with chronology here.

It is generally held that the inauguration of the altar happened on the Kalends of August of 12 BC, but the sources that mention it do not do so explicitly. The surviving

⁴⁷³ See DEGRASSI 1963, 149 (*Fasti Vallenses*), 181 (*Fasti Allifani*).

⁴⁷⁴ DEGRASSI 1963, 16.

⁴⁷⁵ IV, 14, 14-40: “[...] for on that date when Alexandria opened all its harbour, and empty palaces to you [...]”; cf. FEDELI - CICCARELLI 2008, 579-593. Recently on these military campaigns see MARCONE 2015, 215-216 and ROBERTO 2018, 19-24.

⁴⁷⁶ In 15 or 14 BC: see KIENAST - ECK - HEIL 2017, 58.

⁴⁷⁷ FEDELI - CICCARELLI 2008, 592.

⁴⁷⁸ Recently on the subject: RICH 1993; FISHWICK 1996; FRASCONE 2011.

periocha of Livy presents it in a chronological succession of events that would suggest that year, but there is no precise date⁴⁷⁹. Nor is there in the passage of Cassius Dio: discussing the military campaigns of Drusus the Elder, the historian notes a festival still celebrated in his lifetime near the altar of Augustus in *Lugdunum*, which was founded by Drusus probably after a census in the area⁴⁸⁰.

It is Suetonius that gives us the most precise information. As we have already seen, the biographer notes that Claudius was born under the consulate of Iullus Antonius and Fabius Africanus on the same day as the dedication of the altar of Augustus⁴⁸¹.

The dedication would therefore have occurred in 10 BC and not two years prior, as suggested by the other literary passages. There are those who disagree with Suetonius due to his potential historical inaccuracies⁴⁸², and those who have inferred, based on comparisons with similar monuments such as the *Ara Pacis*, that the two distinct dates correspond to two separate moments: the *inauguratio* and the *dedicatio*⁴⁸³. Generally speaking, however, these two ceremonies did not take place the same day, even if in different years.

There are a surprising number of events that occurred on the Kalends of August: inevitably one must consider the peculiarity of Suetonius reporting chronological information and connecting it to other known episodes⁴⁸⁴, such as the birth of Augustus, which happened while the Senate discussed the conspiracy of Catilina, or that of Tiberius, while armies clashed at *Philippi*⁴⁸⁵.

In *Lugdunum* the first of August was already celebrated by the ancient local cult of the Celtic god *Lug*, who gave his name to the city, a celebration which was then assimilated into the new ceremony at the altar of Rome and Augustus⁴⁸⁶.

In this regard the numismatic documentation is particularly important⁴⁸⁷. The coins of the Augustan age bear the legend CAESAR PONT MAX on the obverse, which

⁴⁷⁹ *Per.* CXXXVIII; on the chronological imprecision of some passages of the *Periochae* see SIMPSON 1987, 591 and RICH 1993, 196.

⁴⁸⁰ Dio LIV, 32.

⁴⁸¹ Suet., *Claud.* 2, 1.

⁴⁸² See a general account in FISHWICK 1996.

⁴⁸³ TURCAN 1982, 608; SIMPSON 1987, 590-591.

⁴⁸⁴ As such already SIMPSON 1987, 588.

⁴⁸⁵ *Aug.* 94, 5; *Tib.* 5.

⁴⁸⁶ FISHWICK 2002, 12; regarding *Lug* and the 1st of August see in particular LAJOYE 2008, 131, 141, 145.

⁴⁸⁷ See *ThesCRA*, IV, 392 (A. Kossatz-Deissman)

could refer to 12 BC⁴⁸⁸. Under Tiberius, as well as later under Claudius and Nero, the mint of *Lugdunum* then issued coins that showed an image of the altar on the reverse and bore the legend ROM ET AVG⁴⁸⁹.

The altar at *Lugdunum* does not appear to have been the only monument consecrated on the 1st of August. On this day in 2 BC, probably occurred the inauguration of the *aedes* of *Mars Ultor* in the Forum of Augustus, vowed before the battle of *Philippi*⁴⁹⁰.

Our only source for this information is Velleius Paterculus, even though he only gives us the year, who notes that the *princeps* dedicated a temple to *Mars* during his shared consulship with Lucius Caninius Gallus in the year in which he exiled his daughter Julia⁴⁹¹.

Moreover, it must be noted that this event is missing from the calendars that include the *dies natales* of other temples⁴⁹². Such a day would have been chosen for its ideological and political significance, which were well aligned with the meaning of the temple. It was not only about avenging Caesar's murder, but also vengeance against all those who had betrayed the *res publica* of which Octavian-Augustus was the saviour; this is confirmed by the overall figurative scheme of the Forum of Augustus.

This seems to be validated indirectly by a previously-discussed passage of Cassius Dio, in which he states that the *ludi* that took place on the 1st of August were in memory of the dedication of the Temple of *Mars Ultor*: the Emperor Claudius in fact did not want others to be instituted for his *dies natalis*⁴⁹³.

Other sources, however, such as the calendars and Ovid, state that the *Ludi Martiales* were held on the 12th of May⁴⁹⁴. The poet in the fifth book of the *Fasti* dates the *dies natalis* of the *aedes* of Mars and the *ludi* to the 12th of May: considering the

⁴⁸⁸ *BMCRE*, I, 92-93 nos. 548-560.

⁴⁸⁹ *BMCRE*, I, 127 nos. 63-64, 279; in reference to those dated to AD 41, *BMCRE*, I, 196 no. 227 - but also *RIC*, I², 115, 121 no. 1 - speaks of an "exceptional issue celebrating the fiftieth birthday of Claudius".

⁴⁹⁰ Suet., *Aug.* 29, 2; on the problem of the day of dedication of *Mars Ultor* see SIMPSON 1977 and *id.* 1993; CASSOLA 1981; HANNAH 1998.

⁴⁹¹ Vell. Pat. II, 100, 2.

⁴⁹² Likewise, also ARENA 2010a, 36.

⁴⁹³ Dio LX, 5, 3.

⁴⁹⁴ For the calendars see DEGRASSI 1963, 456.

account of the description of the pediment and decorations of the square, there is no doubt that Ovid here is speaking of the *aedes* of *Mars Ultor* in the Forum of Augustus⁴⁹⁵.

Some have suggested that this *dies natalis* is in fact that of the previous Temple of *Mars* on the Capitoline Hill, where it is possible that the *signa* returned by the *Parthi* were initially placed⁴⁹⁶. But there is no archaeological evidence of such a monument: in addition to the description of the temporary arrangement of the *signa* in Cassius Dio, some have argued that the structure must be recognised on the reverse of some coins minted in Spain and Pergamon between 20 and 17 BC⁴⁹⁷. Others on the contrary have denied its existence, finding support in the words of Horace, who wrote *signa nostro restituit Ioui*, and of Propertius, who stated *assuescent Latio Partha tropaea Iovi*⁴⁹⁸.

It does not seem possible at present to reach a definitive conclusion.

The incomplete records of the *Fratres Arvales* regarding the Augustan and Tiberian ages do not supply information on further modes to celebrate this event. On the first of August of AD 38 the religious college sacrificed a *bos mas* in honour of *Divus Augustus*⁴⁹⁹: even if it is right to connect this ceremony to the fall of Alexandria and the end of the civil war, there is no explicit explanation as occurs in other cases.

Such a lack is not due neither to the oversight of a scribe nor directly to the liturgy of the confraternity, being as it was a ceremony under direct control of the State⁵⁰⁰.

J. Scheid has argued that this must connected to the disposition of Caligula that from AD 39 forbade the commemoration of *Naulochus* and *Actium*⁵⁰¹. He believes that even from the year before there was an initial form of prohibition of the celebration through the omission of the reason behind it, which would be followed by its definitive abolition⁵⁰². However, there are no sources that state that the Augustan anniversary of the first of August was officially forbidden or revoked; perhaps, as with *Naulochus*, this

⁴⁹⁵ *Fast.* V, 545-598.

⁴⁹⁶ On this monument and its problems: *LTUR*, III, 230-231 (C. Reusser); about the initial location of the *signa*, ROBERTO 2018, 146 still present it as a certainty.

⁴⁹⁷ Dio LV, 10, 1; *BMCRE*, I, 58 no. 305, 65-66 nos. 366-375, 114 no. 704; *RIC*, I², 43 no. 28, 44 no. 39, 46-47 nos. 68-74, 48 nos. 104-106, 82 no. 507.

⁴⁹⁸ Hor., *carm.* IV, 15, 6; Prop. III, 4, 6; see SIMPSON 1977.

⁴⁹⁹ SCHEID 1998, 31 no. 12, ll. 71-74.

⁵⁰⁰ SCHEID 1990, 420-421.

⁵⁰¹ Suet., *Cal.* 23, 1; Dio LIX, 20, 3.

⁵⁰² SCHEID 1990, 421.

festival was affected by Caligula's ruling not just for its anti-Antonian character, but also due to its connection to the civil war.

The expression *Kalendis Augustis* is present with notable frequency in the epigraphs from the Augustan age onwards. We will start with the dedications of the *magistri* and *ministri vicorum*.

In these documents the day does not appear as the date of consecration of an altar, even if this must be deduced, but as the day when this new category of officials, responsible for the rites in the urban *vici*, takes office.

There are six surviving documents. Of unknown provenance are the dedication to *Diana Augusta* made by Quintus Avilius Adaeus⁵⁰³, today lost, and the altar now conserved in the Vatican Museums with reliefs respectively of the *Genius* and the *Lares*, of two characters clad in togas suitable for the cult's celebration and of a *corona civica*⁵⁰⁴. To an unknown *vicus*, probably around the area of today's Santa Maria in Cosmedin⁵⁰⁵, belongs the altar offered to *Mercurius* - with Hercules and Diana one of the most venerated in the *Compitalia*⁵⁰⁶ - by three *magistri*⁵⁰⁷. The altar with its frontal faces decorated with a crown of oak and branches of laurel instead was pertaining to the *compitum* of the *vicus Censori*, on the Tiber Island⁵⁰⁸. The other two documents are damaged: the upper part of an altar or of a statue base, from Via Marmorata⁵⁰⁹, and two fragments of architrave, from Via Arenula⁵¹⁰.

Everyone of these inscriptions have an important element in common: all of them mark the record of the 1st of August as the day when the *magistri* and the *ministri vici* took office.

⁵⁰³ *CIL*, VI 128 (cf. pp. 3003, 3755) = EDR134390 (with bibliography) [Appendix I, 9].

⁵⁰⁴ *CIL*, VI 445 (cf. p. 3756) = *ILS* 3613 = EDR168198 (with bibliography).

⁵⁰⁵ On the localisation of the *vicus*: PANCIERA 2006, 280-281.

⁵⁰⁶ LOTT 2004, 166.

⁵⁰⁷ *CIL*, VI 283 (cf. p. 3004) = EDR128977 (with bibliography). One of the three *magistri*, Numerius Lucius Hemeros, was the protagonist of another two dedications retrospectively for Hercules and Venus: *CIL*, VI 282 = EDR076876 (with bibliography) and *AE* 1980, 54 = EDR077491 (with bibliography).

⁵⁰⁸ The faces were removed from the body in the modern age: *CIL*, VI 446 (cf. pp. 3005, 3756) = *ILS* 3612a = EDR103420 (with bibliography) [Appendix I, 10]; 447 = *ILS* 3612b = EDR105378 (with bibliography).

⁵⁰⁹ EDR005007 (with bibliography).

⁵¹⁰ EDR005012 (with bibliography).

The Augustan reorganisation of the city in fourteen *regions* and an imprecise number of *vici*⁵¹¹, as examined comprehensively by A. Frascetti in numerous publications⁵¹², was a radical overhaul of the archaic partitioning of the city in *montes* and *pagi*: apparently maintaining tradition under the guise of a formal restoration, the *princeps* in fact realised a real revolution. By reordering the *vici* at the administrative and religious level he put the city under his control: this is seen in the widespread diffusion throughout the *compita* of the cult of the *Lares* and the *Genius Augusti*⁵¹³.

The exact date of this reform of the *spatium Urbis* is contested⁵¹⁴: Cassius Dio tells us that the *princeps*, worried about the continuous outbreak of fires, created small organisations in each *vicus* led by freedmen and slaves⁵¹⁵. This corresponds to 7/6 BC, but it contrasts with some inscriptions of *compitalicii* altars that suggest a different start to the so-called Vican Era⁵¹⁶. Evidently such a reorganisation did not occur instantaneously, but over a certain period of time starting in 12 BC, when Augustus became *pontifex maximus*⁵¹⁷, and concluding in 6 BC, with the creation of the unit of *vigiles* that would take over the task of extinguishing fires previously entrusted to *magistri* and *ministri*⁵¹⁸.

If the reform's chronology is uncertain, we have no doubt about the date of the assumption of office of the *magistri*: the 1st of August. This was a day of symbolic value because it marks the end of the civil war and the start of a new period of Roman history. Thus the reorganisation of the *spatium orbis* under a single authority corresponded to that of the *spatium Urbis* under the patronage of the *Lares Augusti*.

This date would remain constant until the end of the Tiberian Age: between AD 15 and 18 the *Fasti Magistrorum Vici* record that the change of the begin of the Vican

⁵¹¹ The testimony of Pl., *N. H.* III, 66 that numbers them as 265 obviously refers to the Flavian age.

⁵¹² In particular FRASCETTI 2005, 231-232.

⁵¹³ See FRASCETTI 1998, 78-79; *id.* 2005, 234-238.

⁵¹⁴ See with previous bibliography TARPIN 2002, 138-139; LOTT 2004, 87-89; FRASCETTI 2008.

⁵¹⁵ Dio LV, 8, 6-7; cf. Suet., *Aug.* 30, 1.

⁵¹⁶ The reference is obviously to the *vicus Iovis Fagutalis*, to the *Honoris et Virtutis* and to the *Cornicularius* which date respectively to 12 BC, 9 BC and 6 BC: see *CIL*, VI 452 = *ILS* 3620 = *EDR* 121648; VI 449 = *ILS* 3617 = *EDR* 134501; *AE* 1960, 63 = *EDR* 074239.

⁵¹⁷ This is also underlined by FRASCETTI 2005, 241-242.

⁵¹⁸ For a similar interpretation also NICOLET 1989, 234; FRASCETTI 2005, 242; *id.* 2008; on the connection with fires of *magistri* and *ministri vici*: PANCIERA 2006, 265-268.

year - perhaps for reasons of practicality - from the Kalends of August to those of January⁵¹⁹.

No less significant is the presence of this date in some municipal inscriptions linked to the *Augustales*. An inscription from *Petelia* in the *regio III* talks about a person who, after having been admitted among the *Augustales*, made a series of donations in honour of the Emperor Trajan (a *bisellium* and an *imago*), as well for the *decuriones*, the *Augustales* and the people (distribution of money)⁵²⁰. The expression *primus omnium post K(alendas) Aug(ustas)* ... would suggest that members of this college took office also on the Kalends of August. This is confirmed by the *Fasti* of the *seviri Augustales* of *Trebula Suffenas*, which in the surviving fragments denote this day for the assumption of the office⁵²¹.

We will now analyse the 1st of August as a date of dedication⁵²². The first text is a dedication to *Silvanus* made by Imperial freedman Tiberius Claudius Fortunatus in AD 107⁵²³. As is evident from the expression *a cura amicorum*, his role was to introduce the *amici* of the Emperor to the receptions, perhaps also assigning them a post⁵²⁴; on the occasion of this dedication, probably of a statue, Fortunatus also held a banquet for the other members of the association. The date chosen for this munificence would not have been random: it is possible that the gift was displayed in a *compitum* and it is very probable that one of the two festivals of the *Compitalia* occurring during the year fell on the 1st of August⁵²⁵.

It could be established a link with this date also for another important college, that of the *fabri tignarii*. To a similar conclusion is arrived S. Panciera after a re-examination

⁵¹⁹ TARPIN 2002, 166-168; PANCIERA 2006, 62 and n. 8.

⁵²⁰ *CIL*, X 112 = *ILS* 6467; cf. *DE*, I, *Augustales*, 837 (A. von Premerstein).

⁵²¹ *CIL*, VI 29681 = EDR020628 (with bibliography); as affirmed by COSTABILE 2008, 153 based on the *Senatus consultum* of *Copia* on this date only the entry into the office occurred, the voting was in fact carried out previously.

⁵²² Actually of doubtful authenticity is *CIL*, VI 422* = *CCID* 434 (see also MERLAT 1951, 365-366 no. 364). It speaks of the fulfilment of a vow in honour of *Iuppiter Dolichenus* by the *praefectus vigilum* Sextus Procius Papirianus on the 1st of August, but the consular dating of AD 92 is in fact far too early with respect to the first attestation of this cult in Rome.

⁵²³ *CIL*, VI 630 (cf. p. 3757) = *ILS* 1699, 3541 = EDR158751 (with bibliography) [Appendix I, 11]; the same person is found in another dedication with an offering to *Silvanus*: *CIL*, VI 604 = EDR158752 (with bibliography).

⁵²⁴ See *DE*, I, *a cura amicorum*, 449 (E. Ciccotti).

⁵²⁵ See the testimony of Suet., *Aug.* 31, 4 who states: *Compitales Lares ornari bis annuo instituit, vernis floribus et aestivis*; the mention of spring and summer flowers would indicate dates of the 1st of May and the 1st of August.

of a series of marble plinths - some broken, others reused - found in the Roman Forum where those were offered by this college to the reigning Emperor⁵²⁶. The bases bear dedicatory inscriptions on the principal face, while on the sides are the names of the *magistri quinquennales*, the *honorati* (the retired *magistri*), the *decuriones* and lastly the *scribae*⁵²⁷.

One of these in particular, reused in the age of Maxentius⁵²⁸, has preserved the lists of the members of the college, as well as the year and day of dedication: the 1st of August AD 154⁵²⁹. The date corresponds to the first year of the XXXIII *lustrum* of the college and, since these dedications were made at the beginning of a *lustrum* and not at the end⁵³⁰, it must be assumed that the *quinquennales* of the *fabri tignarii* also took office on the Kalends of August⁵³¹.

A limestone's base statue, decorated on the sides with Mars, nude with a sword in his right hand and a shield in his left, Minerva, with the head of Medusa, and the *Genius Augusti*, recognisable from the mural crown and the cornucopia, comes from *Aquincum* in the *Pannonia inferior*. The inscription on the principal face records the fulfilment of a vow to *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus* by a local family, which occurred the first of August AD 164⁵³². The dedication was made *pro salute et reditu et victoria Imperatorum duorum Augustorum*: given the date, it would have been for the two *Augusti*, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus; the motivation was certainly the Parthian expedition of those years⁵³³. Probably, once again, the day chosen was one particularly significant in the history of Rome.

⁵²⁶ *CIL*, VI 33857 = EDR126955; 33858 = EDR104188; *AE* 1996, 189 = EDR001786; 190 = EDR001787; cf. PANCIERA 2006, 309, 312, 449.

⁵²⁷ PANCIERA 2006, 449; see also ROYDEN 1988, 127-136.

⁵²⁸ The plinth was re-dedicated by Maxentius to *Mars* and to the *conditores Aeternae Urbis suae* on a similarly significant day, the 21st of April: *CIL*, VI 33856 (cf. p. 3896) = *ILS* 8935 = EDR071738 (with bibliography).

⁵²⁹ *CIL*, VI 33856 (cf. p. 3896) = EDR144328 (with bibliography).

⁵³⁰ PANCIERA 2006, 312.

⁵³¹ PANCIERA 2006, 308, 449 n. 414.

⁵³² *CIL*, III 3432 (cf. p. 1691) = *ILS* 363 = *AE* 2007, 1171 [Appendix I, 12].

⁵³³ As such already *ILS* 363.

We must now examine another category of urban public officials, the so-called *magistri fontani*, for whom a number of inscriptions datable between the middle of the 1st and the middle of the 2nd century AD were found in Rome⁵³⁴.

The exact nature of this organisation is not entirely clear, composed as it was of people who were free, but also servile; did it have a function of water management, the supervision of the *fontes* of the city, or was it essentially a religious group⁵³⁵? The veneration of *Fons*, god of waters gushing from the ground and guarantor of their purity, had existed since ancient times; his cult was closely linked to these *fontes* that, in technical and legal terms sources rather than fountains⁵³⁶.

There is uncertainty about the related inscriptions too. They have a consistent internal structure at the begin the consular dating, followed by the list of the *magistri* and *ministri* of the year, with the day of the *dedication* at the end⁵³⁷.

An important document that we will analyse here was found on the Aventine Hill, in the area of St. Prisca. In AD166, as the consular dating suggests, four *magistri* with freedman status and four servile *magistri* made a dedication to the *Fons Scaurianus*, for which they must have been responsible, on the 1st of August⁵³⁸.

It is difficult to establish what is meant by the epithet *Scaurianus*. As according to Roman law the owner of a spring was whoever owned the land in which it was located, it was thought that the source was private property⁵³⁹. An obvious link would be with the *gens Aemilia*, in particular with Marcus Aemilius Scaurus, but his *domus* was on the Palatine Hill⁵⁴⁰; perhaps a more fitting choice would be the *Terentii* family, of which we know a Decimus Terentius Scaurianus, senator in the first decade of the second century AD, and a Quintus Terentius Scaurus, *procurator aquarum* in AD 164⁵⁴¹.

At first glance it might be assumed that also these officials took office on the 1st of August, but it is not possible to reach such a conclusion: in another document of the

⁵³⁴ On their possible relation with the dispositions taken by Nero after AD 64, about which Tac., *Ann.* XV, 43 says that he organised the presence of *custodes* to supervise the fountains, see BRUUN 1991, 143, 151.

⁵³⁵ BRUUN 1991, 143-144.

⁵³⁶ See *LTUR*, II, 255 (L. Chioffi); *ThesCRA*, IV, 242 (L. Romizzi).

⁵³⁷ PANCIERA 2006, 1048.

⁵³⁸ *CIL*, VI 165 (cf. p. 3004, 4126) = 307051 = EDR161267.

⁵³⁹ It is also possible that these public fountains were financed or built by members of specific families: as such *LTUR*, II, 258 (J. Aronen).

⁵⁴⁰ DAREGGI 1990-91, 73-74.

⁵⁴¹ See BRUUN 1991, 224-225; *PIR*², T 88, 92.

same *fons*, from AD 164, the day of dedication are in fact the Kalends of September⁵⁴². It is therefore uncertain why in the previous case the day chosen was the 1st of August.

Finally, we must talk about the character of the day; as we have said, from 30 BC it became a *dies feriatius*. The date is present in three inscriptions, all relating to the concession of a *hospitium* or a *patronatus*⁵⁴³: having been issued these documents from the assembly of local councils, it seems improbable that they would have met on a day of *feriae*.

An opisthographic and zoomorphic bronze *tabula*, in the shape of a swine, is dated to AD 14. It bears on one side a text written in Latin full of anomalies, which talks of the granting of the citizenship by the *Maggavienses* to one Amparamus and to his children, and on the other the *hospitium*'s agreement signed between the same contractors⁵⁴⁴. The document comes from Herrera de Pisuerga, the ancient Roman *castrum* of *Pisoraca* (*Hispania Citerior*): given that the inscription is dated at the end of the Augustan age, the lack of observation of a day of *feriae* linked to such an important event is initially puzzling. But is the same chronology to provide an explanation: the area had only recently been subdued and so it had not yet been completely Romanised; the inscription was also perhaps part of an attempt to adapt to the language and the procedures of the new reality.

The second document comes from *Cirta* in *Numidia*; it is a bronze *tabula* that records the treaty of *hospitium* and *patronatus* signed in AD 55 by Quintus Iulius Secundus and the *decuriones* and the colonists of the *colonia Iulia Augusta legionis VII Tupusuctu*, located in *Mauretania Caesariensis*⁵⁴⁵. The document is the copy of the recipient, given that it does not contain the formula attributable to the *cooptatio*, but only those of the *hospitium* and *receptio*⁵⁴⁶; the nature of the office (*legatus pro praetor*) of the protagonist is not entirely clear⁵⁴⁷. The name of the colony, today Tikalt in Algeria, suggests that the colonists were veterans and that the settlement was probably founded

⁵⁴² *CIL*, VI 164 (cf. pp. 3004, 3755) = 30705k = *ILS* 3889 = EDR140420.

⁵⁴³ To this regard CIMAROSTI 2012, 286-290 with previous bibliography.

⁵⁴⁴ *AE* 1967, 239 = 2002, 363 = 2012, 773.

⁵⁴⁵ *CIL*, VIII 8837 (cf. p. 1950) = *ILS* 6103; see DÍAZ ARIÑO 2012, 208, 212, 217, 227-228.

⁵⁴⁶ DÍAZ ARIÑO 2012, 217.

⁵⁴⁷ See THOMASSON 1996, 104 no. 6 and DÍAZ ARIÑO 2012, 212 nts. 72-74 for the different proposed interpretations.

by Augustus between 33 BC (the death of King *Bocchus*) and 25 BC (the rise of *Iuba II*), when Mauretania was ruled directly by Rome and not by client kings⁵⁴⁸.

The last *tabula patronatus* comes from *Paestum* and is dated to the 1st of August AD 347⁵⁴⁹. On this day the colony decided to honour *Aquilius Aper* awarding to him the *patrocinium*; this one was the son of *Aquilius Nestorius*, a man who distinguished himself for benefits towards the city. Of this latter, already *patronus* of the colony and *flamen*, we also have the *tabula patronatus*: this document is dated to the 1st of August AD 347 too. As the text states, he had already been honoured with the *patrocinium*, but he had not received the bronze *tabula*⁵⁵⁰. So, taking advantage of the occasion of a new honour for a member of the same family, the local *curia* would have undoubtedly decided to fulfil its obligation: the surviving copy is precisely the document that was exposed in the place where the local council would have met⁵⁵¹.

The choice of a *dies* originally *feriatus* for the meeting of a local council would suggest that this day had lost its meaning. We must not forget that the fall of Alexandria and the end of the civil war was only one of the events celebrated on the 1st of August; it is therefore not unlikely that for some of the texts examined in this chapter could be a relationship with the birthdays of Claudius or Pertinax, which as we have seen were in the same way publicly recorded in the *Fasti*.

⁵⁴⁸ DÍAZ ARIÑO 2012, 212 nts. 71, 73.

⁵⁴⁹ *AE* 1990, 211 = EDR081748 (with previous bibliography); on the *chrismon* that occupies the central part of the pinnacle of the *tabula*: SABBATINI TUMOLESI 1990, 254-256 and CHASTAGNOL 1995.

⁵⁵⁰ *CIL*, X 477 = EDR157430 (with previous bibliography).

⁵⁵¹ SABBATINI TUMOLESI 1990, 249-250; also those honoured possessed a personal copy that was generally located in one of the more visible areas of their *domus*.

THE TRIUMPH OF OCTAVIAN

a. d. XVIII Kalendas Septembres (14th August)

The celebration of the victories of Octavian culminated in three triumphs that took place over consecutive days in 29 BC.

Only one calendar records this event and, as we will see, it is incomplete.

<p><i>FASTI ANTIATES MINISTRORUM DOMUS AUGUSTAE (AD 23-37)</i></p>	<p><i>August(us) triumph(havit)</i></p>
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The record is meagre and generic, without any territorial specification and is also limited to only one of the three days on which Octavian paraded through the *Urbs*.

The *Fasti Triumphales* are likewise problematic: the so-called *Capitolini* are *unfortunately* lacking in this section, while the *Tabula Barberiniana* contains a record of only two of the three ceremonies, the first and the last⁵⁵².

We can create a detailed reconstruction of the event from the literary sources. In the *Res Gestae*, Augustus states: *tris egi curulis triumphos*⁵⁵³; Suetonius uses similar phrasing, but adds a definition for each triumph - *Delmaticum*, *Actiacum* and *Alexandrinum* - and a temporal specification: *continuo triduo omnes*⁵⁵⁴.

Octavian, therefore, differentiating himself from his adoptive father Caesar, who in 46 BC celebrated his four triumphs by dividing them during a month⁵⁵⁵, had three distinct ceremonies, but over a continuous timespan⁵⁵⁶.

From what is written in the *Aeneid*, this event has been considered as one tripartite ceremony⁵⁵⁷. The poet describes the triumphal procession drawn in the central section of

⁵⁵² See documentation in DEGRASSI 1947, pp. 87, 345.

⁵⁵³ *RGDA* 4.

⁵⁵⁴ *Aug. 22: curulis triumphos tris egit, Delmaticum, Actiacum, Alexandrinum, continuo triduo omnes.*

⁵⁵⁵ Suet., *Jul.* 37, 1; Dio XLIII, 22, 2; cf. WEINSTOCK 1971, 76-79; ÖSTENBERG 1999, 158 and n. 27.

⁵⁵⁶ As suggests the use of the term *triduus* by Suetonius; cf. *OLD*, s.v. *triplex*; *triduus*.

⁵⁵⁷ As such in particular ÖSTENBERG 1999, 158-159; *ead.* 2009, 287-288.

Aeneas' shield⁵⁵⁸, which is decorated with the most important episodes in the history of Rome. Virgil uses the expression *triplex triumphus* and describes Octavian, seated near the Temple of *Apollo*, observing the procession of subdued peoples and conquered territories.

Reading Virgil one can infer the general sense of the parade, but these words must be used cautiously regarding specific aspects of the event: the series of peoples and rivers named, served only to show that Octavian had achieved domination over the world⁵⁵⁹.

On the first day was the triumph for the Illyric expedition of 35-33 BC⁵⁶⁰. Appian dedicates an entire book to the different stages of the Roman conquest of the region and tells us that the Senate, after Octavian had obtained control over the entirety of *Illurida gēs*, granted him a triumph. The same Appian, however, says that this was celebrated later, at the same time as the other triumphs for the victories over Antony: once again the distinct nature of the processions appears⁵⁶¹.

Consequentially the second and third days took place the triumphs decreed by the Senate after the victory at *Actium* and the fall of Alexandria⁵⁶². Cassius Dio confirms that “the Romans forgot all their unpleasant experiences and viewed his triumph with pleasure, quite as if the vanquished had all been foreigners”⁵⁶³. Obviously the Severan historian is referring to the fact that these two successes occurred during a civil war, for which, according to Roman tradition, it would not have been possible to celebrate a triumph. Octavian, however, never showed the war against Antony as a war between *cives Romani*: appointed to the command by the oath of *tota Italia*⁵⁶⁴, he declared war against Egypt and Cleopatra in defence of the *res publica*. In 32 BC he also ritually threw the spear of the *Fetiales* in the *Campus Martius*⁵⁶⁵, which heralded the start of a foreign

⁵⁵⁸ *Aen.* VIII, 714-728.

⁵⁵⁹ ÖSTENBERG 1999, 159-162

⁵⁶⁰ Suet., *Aug.* 22 writes of *Delmaticus triumphus*, but Liv., *per.* CXXXIII affirms more precisely *ex Illuryco*; Dio LI, 21, 5-9, other than the Dalmatians, also records the Pannonians, the *Iapydes* and some Germanics and Gauls; in general on the purposes and the development of the war most recently: ŠAŠEL KOS 2018.

⁵⁶¹ App., *illyr.* 28, 83; slightly different the situation in Dio XLIX, 38, 1, who states that the triumph was granted to Octavian already after the first year of war and the conquest of *Siscia*.

⁵⁶² Dio LI, 19, 5.

⁵⁶³ LI, 21, 4.

⁵⁶⁴ *RGDA* 25, 2: *iuravit in mea verba tota Italia sponte sua et me belli, quo vicit ad Actium, duce[m] depoposcit*; on the expression *tota Italia* and its implications see lastly MARCONE 2017.

⁵⁶⁵ In this regard see RICH 2011, 204-209.

conflict: as it was a *bellum iustum ac pium*, nothing forbade to obtain and celebrate a triumph.

There was no need, therefore, as has been suggested, to attempt to minimise the importance of victory at *Actium* by inserting it between the two others⁵⁶⁶; at the same time one can't assume that this was considered a civil war and the conquest of Alexandria instead a foreign conflict: the lack of reference to Antony during the second day of triumph must not be interpreted as such⁵⁶⁷.

The three days were each linked to an area of the world now under the power of the lone sovereign of Rome - Europe, Asia and Africa⁵⁶⁸. *Actium* and Alexandria, in particular, represented two faces of the same medal. The recent reinterpretation of the *triumphus Actiacus* as a naval triumph⁵⁶⁹, though not producing significant changes at the general interpretative level, can be used to emphasise the propaganda that Octavian wanted to spread at the end of this conflict: peace on land and sea. A concept that, already appeared after the defeat of Sextus Pompeius, became predominant in 29 BC with the closure of the Temple of *Ianus* in Rome⁵⁷⁰.

The ceremony of the second day that saw “the Actians prows racing down the *Sacra via*”⁵⁷¹ was therefore a symbol of dominion on the sea, while that of the third showing the conquest of Egypt was a symbol of dominion on land.

Augustus states in the *Res Gestae* that there were at least nine *captivi* involved in the parade, but he does not add other specifications⁵⁷²; the sources that talk about note the presence of Alexander, King of Emesa, and *Adoiatorix*, son of *Domnelloaios*, who was conducted in chains with his wife and children before being executed⁵⁷³.

⁵⁶⁶ Likewise GURVAL 1995, 24, 28, 31, 33 and SUMI 2005, 216

⁵⁶⁷ On this insists HAVENER 2014, 173; as already said previously also LANGE 2016 (in particular 122-124, 129-130), who refutes the official view of *Actium* as a foreign war and affirms that Augustan ideology showed it at the same time as both an external and civil conflict.

⁵⁶⁸ As rightly pointed out by ÖSTENBERG 1999, 157-158 Pompeius Magnus and Julius Caesar had already done similar things.

⁵⁶⁹ VERVAET - DART 2016; there are hints to this already in ÖSTENBERG 2009, 51-52; *contra* LANGE 2016, 45-46.

⁵⁷⁰ One thinks also of the text, though fragmentary, of the inscription on the monument to *Victoria* at *Nicopolis*, on which see *supra*.

⁵⁷¹ Prop. II, 1, 34: *Actiaque in Sacra currere rostra via*; cf. also ÖSTENBERG 2009, 53-54.

⁵⁷² *RGDA* 4, 3: *in triumphis meis ducti sunt ante currum meum reges aut regum liberi novem*.

⁵⁷³ For the first: Dio LI, 2, 2; for the second: Strab. XII, 3, 6; 35.

Yet more spectacular - symptomatic of the fine line between reality and fiction always present in a triumph - was the presence of Cleopatra herself, together with her children and other prisoners. A statue in the likeness of the Queen supine on a *kline*, caught perhaps in the moment just before the suicide, was in fact created: Octavian therefore reclaimed the privilege of displaying her to the People, of which she had deprived him by taking her life⁵⁷⁴. Fascination with this event would last until the Renaissance, when the model of the Egyptian queen as she appeared in the triumph was recognised in the statue of the sleeping Arianna, today in the Vatican Museums⁵⁷⁵.

Commenting on the aforementioned passage of the Aeneid, Servius erroneously states that on the first day was celebrated the *Actiacus* triumph and the *Dalmaticus* on the second, dating correctly only that of Alexandria on the final day; he then adds, *tertio ipse cum Alexandrino est ingressus triumpho*⁵⁷⁶. Octavian would have therefore made his triumphal entrance in the city only the 15th of August: such an interpretation must have been based on Cassius Dio, who describes the entrance of Caesar's son for the triumph of the third day. This reading, often supported by modern scholarship⁵⁷⁷, I do not believe it is the right one: Dio's passage must in fact be contextualised and consequently the entrance to which he refers it is only be that of the 15th of August. The historian describes in detail the magnificence of procession of the *triumphus Alexandrinus*, which, after the exposition of Cleopatra, saw Octavian parading on a chariot. Obviously, this does not mean that this was the only entrance to the city of the future *princeps*: each day there were the triumphal procession and the traditional final sacrifice.

Further proof of this is found in Suetonius, who, describing the childhood of Tiberius, states that the future Emperor, still *pubescens*, participated in the *Actiaco triumpho* on horseback on the left side of the chariot of Augustus⁵⁷⁸.

⁵⁷⁴ Dio LI, 21, 8; Cleopatra knew well of the fate that awaited her, mindful of that of her sister *Arsinoe*, who paraded in the procession of Julius Caesar in 46 BC (see Dio XLIII, 19): to this regard, and in general for the prisoners in the triumphal parades of Augustus, see ÖSTENBERG 2009, 141-148.

⁵⁷⁵ See BEARD 2007, 143-144; *ead.* 2008, 72.

⁵⁷⁶ *Ad Aen.* VII, 714: *triplici triumpho tres enim Augustus habuit triumphos: nam primo die triumphavit exercitus qui Antonium vicerat navali bello, secundo qui Dalmatas vicerat, tertio ipse cum Alexandrino est ingressus triumpho.*

⁵⁷⁷ See ÖSTENBERG 2009, 287; VERVAET - DART 2016, 390; in contradiction LANGE 2016, 151 and 159.

⁵⁷⁸ *Tib.* 6, 4: [...] *dehinc pubescens Actiaco triumpho currum Augusti comitatus est sinisteriore funali equo, cum Marcellus Octaviae filius dexteriore veheretur [...].*

The only *Fasti* that contain a record of the Augustan triumphs are the *Antiates Ministrorum Domus Augustae*, just for the date as the 14th of August. This calendar is from the Tiberian age: none others that survive, either preceding or following, remember the event⁵⁷⁹. It must be asked why this happened; the only plausible explanation is that the annotation in the *Fasti* of *Antium* probably denotes a will to chronicle the event, rather than to characterise the day as *feriatus*.

It is interesting to note, in fact, how a document that has preserved the entire month of August records on the 28th⁵⁸⁰ an important commemoration closely linked to the ceremonies of 29 BC⁵⁸¹. This is the dedication of the *Ara Victoriae* inside the Curia, re-inaugurated by Octavian, according to Cassius Dio, after the celebration of the triumphs⁵⁸².

The *Fasti Triumphales* of the so-called *tabula Baberini* mark only two of the three triumphs, the first and the last. For the 13th of August they state: *Imp(erator) Caesar de Dalma[t]is Eid(ibus) Sext(ilibus) triumph(avit)*; for the 15th: *Imp(erator) Caesar ex A[egy]pto XIII K(alendas) Sept(embres) triumphavit*⁵⁸³.

August here is still *Sextilis*: the reform that changed its name in fact occurred in 8 BC. The order of the annotations leaves no doubt on the fact that there was no record of the triumph that took place on the second day.

Such an omission is not due to any sort of “political” motivation, as M. Beard instead did, suggesting that whoever wrote or commissioned the *Fasti* wanted to delete the record of *Actium* because it was part of a civil war⁵⁸⁴. This explanation, again, does not take into account the official interpretation given by the Augustan regime. Unless we are dealing with a simple error by the engraver, it is more likely that, as argued by A. Degrassi, the two triumphs celebrating the defeat of Cleopatra and the conquest of Egypt were united under one generic record⁵⁸⁵.

⁵⁷⁹ See documentation in DEGRASSI 1963, 353.

⁵⁸⁰ *Fasti Maffeiani*: DEGRASSI 1963, 79; also the *Fasti Vaticanani* (DEGRASSI 1963, 175) contain this annotation, but the preserved fragment concerns only to the end of the month of August.

⁵⁸¹ In this regard with previous bibliography CORNWELL 2017, 98-102.

⁵⁸² Dio LI, 22, 1; see *LTUR*, V, 150 (E. Tortorici).

⁵⁸³ DEGRASSI 1947, 345.

⁵⁸⁴ BEARD 2007, 303-304.

⁵⁸⁵ DEGRASSI 1947, 342-343; on the question: GURVAL 1995, 31-33; VERVAET-DART 2016, 392 n. 18; CORNWELL 2017, 83-84.

The *princeps* did not celebrate any triumphs other than those of 29 BC: as Augustus himself notes in his political biography, the Senate attempted to declare others in his honour, but he refused, accepting only Imperial salutations⁵⁸⁶.

The event became popular subject matter among the court poets. Virgil glorified the victories of Augustus, as did Propertius. In the first elegy of the second Book a series of aforementioned themes return: the importance of the conquest of Egypt, by means of the metaphor of the personification of the Nile taken in triumph; the foreign kings paraded through the city in chains; the symbolism of the *rostra*, by now a constant presence on the monuments of Rome⁵⁸⁷.

In the coins too, during the years 29-27 BC, Octavian in the garb of victor will be a popular subject⁵⁸⁸. The type of the reverse displays the classic image of the ruler on a quadriga, holding reins in his left hand and in the right a branch of laurel; the obverse, instead of the usual laurelled head, features a Victory on a prow: in her left hand is a palm frond and in her right a crown⁵⁸⁹.

References to Octavian's triumphs are also found in art. The entire frieze that runs along the inner walls of the cell of the renovated Temple of *Apollo Medicus* bore probably imagery of all the three ceremonies of 29 BC. That which survives today mainly shows the procession of the first day, the Illyric triumph: this is suggested by the ethnicity of the *captivi* depicted at the feet of a trophy on a *ferculum*. There are more generic scenes around this one that show the animals destined for ritual sacrifice, accompanied by *popae* and *victimarum*⁵⁹⁰.

This frieze, as well as the rest of the decorative motifs of the *aedes*, has the sole function of exalting the figure of Augustus: there is no reference to the triumph celebrated in 34 BC over *Iudaea* by Gaius Sosius who was responsible for the temple's restoration⁵⁹¹.

⁵⁸⁶ *RGDA* 4: [...] *tri[s] egi curulis triumphos et appella[tus sum v]iciens et semel imperator, [decernente plu]ris triumphos mihi sena[t]u, qua[ter eis su]persedi [...].*

⁵⁸⁷ Prop. II, 1, 31-34: *et Ptolomaei litora capta Phari, / aut canerem Aegyptum et Nilum, cum attractus in urbem / septem captivis debilis ibat aquis, / aut regum auratis circumdata colla catenis, / Actiaque in Sacra currere rostra Via.*

⁵⁸⁸ See ASSENAKER 2008, 63-64.

⁵⁸⁹ *BMCRE*, I, 101 nos. 616-621; *RIC*, I², 60 nos. 263-264; cf. also CORNWELL 2017, 310.

⁵⁹⁰ On these reliefs: LA ROCCA 1985, 94-95; HÖLSCHER 2009, 318-319; ZACHOS 2009, 290-291.

⁵⁹¹ LA ROCCA 1985, 95.

Furthermore, the triumphal procession of 29 BC has been recognised as one of the episodes of the Augustan Principate depicted in a series of reliefs that, originally found in a certain building related to the Imperial cult in Campania, were for the most part moved to the *Casa dos Pilatos* in Seville⁵⁹². We have already discussed these in the section on the victory at *Actium*; as well as the battle the *pompa triumphalis* is represented. One slab shows Octavian on a quadriga driven by the personification of *Virtus*, proceeding from left to right; there is also a whole series of figures which can be identified as cult members as well as, presumably, personifications of Rome and Mars⁵⁹³.

This figurative theme did not develop solely in Rome or in Italy: the altar that stood in the centre of the upper terrace of the monument to victory at *Nicopolis* also showed the triumphal procession of 29 BC in a section of frieze⁵⁹⁴. Notwithstanding the fragmentary nature of the reliefs, the central scene, in which Octavian appears on the chariot dressed in the *toga picta* and crowned with laurel, is well preserved: he is preceded by the *captivi* that were displayed to the Roman People and followed by a series of male characters⁵⁹⁵. In this frieze we see one of the innovations that would quickly become a constant of the *pompa triumphalis* of the imperial age⁵⁹⁶: Octavian paraded before all the other magistrates of Rome, which, up until that point, had always preceded the chariot of the victor⁵⁹⁷; a mirror of the new arrangement of the political order.

Some fragments, the exact explanation of which is under discussion, seem to confirm that there was a procession of boats, possibly on wheels, within the parade, testimony to the fact that *Actium* should be interpreted as a naval triumph⁵⁹⁸.

As the *Fasti Antiatas Ministrorum Domus Augustae* only contain the date of the 14th of August we have focussed on this day and inscriptions with this date of dedication.

⁵⁹² SCHÄFER 2013, 322.

⁵⁹³ SCHÄFER 2013, 322-323.

⁵⁹⁴ See ZACHOS 2009, in particular 282-300; POLLINI 2012, 191-196.

⁵⁹⁵ ZACHOS 2009, 288-300; recently LANGE 2016, 148-152 has interpreted the scene as representing specifically the procession of the second day.

⁵⁹⁶ See also ZACHOS 2009, 288.

⁵⁹⁷ VERVAET 2011 has approached the question, attempting to give a practical explanation of the arrangement of the parade on the basis of Octavian's power held already as *triumvir rei publicae constituendae* and of the *coniuratio Italiae* (RGDA 25, 2); thanks to this, both his colleague in the consulate and the other magistrates were placed under the supreme command of the son of Caesar and therefore equal to those who had taken part in the war, whose position in a triumphal procession was right behind the chariot of the victorious commander.

⁵⁹⁸ ZACHOS 2009, 289-290; VERVAET - DART 2016, 395.

It must however be noted that the 13th of August was a day in the Roman calendar on which there were multiple religious observances⁵⁹⁹, in particular the *dies natalis* of the Temple of *Diana in Aventino*, and that the 15th of August was one of the two monthly meetings of the Senate, denoted by the expression *Senatus legitimus*⁶⁰⁰.

The 14th of August appears in a single category of inscriptions: military diplomas. We possess ten documents and of all of them we immediately note two features: the provenance and the consular dating⁶⁰¹. Everyone, in fact, come from the area of the low Danube - *Dacia, Moesia inferior* and *superior, Thracia* - and all are from the years AD 97 and 99. As is normally the case for military diplomas, it is possible to join together groups of documents under a single date: the discharge of the soldiers was in fact declared through a *constitutio*, of which the diploma was the personalised and individual copy of a single soldier.

In this case it must be supposed that these discharges were related to the reorganisation of the army in that area in preparation for the first Dacian campaign conducted by Trajan between AD 101 and 102; we must not forget that the same Emperor, having just ascended to the purple, spent almost half a year in the above-mentioned territories, entering Rome only at the end of AD 99⁶⁰².

⁵⁹⁹ See DONATI - STEFANETTI 2006, 95-100, 171-172.

⁶⁰⁰ See DEGRASSI 1963, 363.

⁶⁰¹ *CIL*, XVI 44-45; *AE* 1975, 717; 2005, 1709; 2006, 1862; 2008, 1195; 2012, 1957; 2013, 2190; 2014, 1643; *RGZM* 8.

⁶⁰² See KIENAST - ECK - HEIL 2017, 116.

THE VICTORY OF TIBERIUS IN ILLYRICUM

a. d. III Nonas Augustas (3rd August)

This success refers to Tiberius' war in *Illyricum* during AD 6-9, when the local population, having already been defeated by him between 11 and 9 BC, rebelled again⁶⁰³.

<i>FASTI ANTIATES MINISTRORUM DOMUS AUGUSTAE (AD 23-37)</i>	<i>Ti(berius) Aug(ustus) Inlyrico [sic] vic(it)</i>
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The military campaign finished with a triumph's celebration, which we will discuss more in depth in the following chapter, granted to Tiberius *ex Pannonis Dalmatisque* and celebrated three years after the end of the war because of the occurrence in AD 9 of the *clades Variana*.

Here is a brief reconstruction of the events⁶⁰⁴. As explained by Cassius Dio, the unfair imposition of taxes caused, after almost fifteen years of relative peace, the rebellion of the *Dalmati Daesidates* and of the *Pannonii Breuci*⁶⁰⁵. Even before Tiberius arrived, there were some important fights in which the *legatus* Marcus Valerius Messalla Messalinus, son of *Messalla Corvinus*, distinguished himself by defeating the enemy in the area of *Siscia*⁶⁰⁶, as did *Alusus Caecina Severus*, who defended the stronghold of *Sirmium*⁶⁰⁷. The operations continued in AD 7, when Germanicus was also sent to the front⁶⁰⁸; Tiberius employed the tactic of uniting the troops of *Illyricum* with those from Macedonia to trap the majority of the rebels in the territory between two rivers, the Drava and the Sava⁶⁰⁹. Velleius Paterculus considers the events of the two following years

⁶⁰³ On this last see ŠAŠEL KOS 2011, 107-110.

⁶⁰⁴ For the description of the events see with preceding bibliography: LEVICK 1976, 62-63; HURLET 1997, 149-152; SEAGER 2005, 33-36; ŠAŠEL KOS 2015, 67-76.

⁶⁰⁵ Dio LV, 29, 1-3; LVI, 16, 3; cf. also Vell. Pat. II, 110, 2-3.

⁶⁰⁶ Vell. Pat. II, 112, 1-2; Dio LV, 30, 1-2.

⁶⁰⁷ Dio LV, 29, 3.

⁶⁰⁸ Dio LV, 31, 1.

⁶⁰⁹ Dio LV, 32, 3.

separately, as the *bellum Pannonicum* and *bellum Dalmaticum*⁶¹⁰: the first saw in AD 8 the defeat of the Pannonians, probably in the battle near the *Bathinus* river⁶¹¹. The second was initially led by the *legati* Marcus Aemilius Lepidus and Marcus Plautius Silvanus, and by Germanicus; Tiberius had to return to Rome at the beginning of AD 9⁶¹², but once back at the front he brought his army to definitive victory: penetrating the Dalmatian territory, he subdued the rebel stronghold of *Andretium*, near *Salona*, and captured both the fort and the leader of the rebels⁶¹³. The territory of *Illiricum* will split into two parts, *Superior* and *Inferior*, and later will be the provinces of *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia*⁶¹⁴.

The record in the *Fasti Antiates* must refer to one of the events of AD 8 or 9. It is generally held that the 3rd of Augustus was the date of the battle at the *Bathinus* river, that brought an end to the so-called *bellum Pannonicum*⁶¹⁵: are linked to this success the fourth imperial acclamation of Tiberius and Augustus' eighteenth⁶¹⁶.

There is no reason, however, to say that this record could not also refer to the events of the following year, namely to the *bellum Dalmaticum*. At the end of this campaign Tiberius received another *salutatio imperatoria* - his fifth, according to Cassius Dio - and relating to this occasion the mints of *Lugdunum* and Rome issued two new coins with on the obverse the laurelled head of Caesar and the legend of the new acclamation⁶¹⁷.

It seems therefore possible to link the calendar's record to the conclusion of the Pannonian expedition of AD 9⁶¹⁸. The words of Velleius Paterculus should not be an impediment against this interpretation, although he states that the news of the *clades*

⁶¹⁰ Vell. Pat. II, 114, 1; 115, 1; 116, 1; 117, 1; see the relevant considerations of ROSENBERGER 1992, 66-69 with the addition of epigraphic testimonies; the *bellum* was also defined *Batonianum* from the name of the chief of the rebels (*CIL*, V 3346).

⁶¹¹ Vell. Pat. II, 114, 4-5; see also Dio LV, 34, 4-7 for the disputes arose among the indigenous populations.

⁶¹² Dio LVI, 11 - 12, 2.

⁶¹³ Vell. Pat. II, 115; Dio LVI, 12, 3 - 16, 3.

⁶¹⁴ On the theme see: ŠAŠEL KOS 2005, 123-130 and DZINO 2017.

⁶¹⁵ Likewise: KÖSTERMANN 1953, 367; DEGRASSI 1963, 491; SYME 1979, 316.

⁶¹⁶ Actually there is no proofs of a link between the two events, but as argued previously by LEVICK 1976, 242 n. 36; BARNES 1974, 24; SYME 1979, 316; HURLET 1997, 151 and n. 367, the victory of AD 8 was the only one that explained a new Imperial salutation between the third of AD 5/6 and the fifth of AD 9.

⁶¹⁷ Dio LVI, 17, 1; see also HURLET 1997, 151 and n. 371; KIENAST - ECK - HEIL 2017, 58, 72. For the coin see: *RIC*, I², 58 nos. 235-236, 238-241; 78 nos. 469-470.

⁶¹⁸ Likewise, also BARNES 1974, 24 n. 36; the link with AD 8 is also rejected by WOODMAN 1977, 178, though with an inappropriate reasoning, given that the *hiems* of which Velleius Paterculus writes indicate the passage of the year between AD 7 and 8, when the so-called *bellum Pannonicum* finished.

Variana arrived only after five days *tantum quod ultimam imposuerat Pannonico ac Delmatico bello Caesar manum*⁶¹⁹. This probably took place in the middle of September, so the two apparently seem irreconcilable⁶²⁰. However, the expression *ultimam manum imponere*⁶²¹ is generic in nature and it is applicable also to those logistical operations that would have taken place in the area after the Roman victory.

The *Fasti Antiates*, most likely written at the beginning of AD 37⁶²², obviously give Tiberius his correct titlature as Emperor. As emphasised elsewhere, it is worth highlighting the particular nature of this document and its relationship with the *familia Caesaris*, from which depend the college established at the *domus Augusta* of *Antium* that dealt with the writing of the calendar⁶²³. This military success is in fact only marked in these *Fasti*, despite in other coeval calendars there is indeed the record of the triumph celebrated the 23rd of October of AD 12. The *comitialis* character of the day shows that this was never considered a *dies feriatius*, which would match Tiberius' known reluctance towards that type of honours, already seen in relation to his birthday.

We also find this date in some dedicatory inscriptions. A severely damaged marble slab dated to the 3rd of August AD 12, the same year of the triumphal procession, preserves only the day and year of the dedication⁶²⁴, so we are unable to make further comments.

As discussed by P. Herz⁶²⁵, the other epigraphs that report the date of the 3rd of August are all from the Severan age. Dated to AD 193 is the dedication of a statue, incised on a travertine base, from *Trebula Suffenas*⁶²⁶. The statue was erected by the local *sevirii Augustales* in honour of their colleague Aulus Sempronius Verus, who had performed to all local offices, including the religious role of *saluus*. It does seem, however, highly

⁶¹⁹ II, 117, 1: "scarcely had Caesar put the finishing touch upon the Pannonian and Dalmatian war [...]".

⁶²⁰ This is in fact the conclusion of WOODMAN 1977, 178 n. 1.

⁶²¹ Used more times by the same author, see Vell. Pat. II, 33, 1; 87, 1; 88, 1.

⁶²² CAVALLARO 1984, 226-227.

⁶²³ CAVALLARO 1984, particularly 235-245.

⁶²⁴ *CIL*, VI 852 (cf. p. 3007) = 7462 = EDR107870 (with bibliography); it is under discussion if the date preserved indicates a day of dedication or deposition.

⁶²⁵ HERZ 1975a, 251.

⁶²⁶ *AE* 1972, 163 = *Suppl. It.* IV, 35, pp. 169-170 = EDR075286 (with bibliography) [Appendix I, 13].

improbable that the choice of day was influenced by the still extant record of Tiberius' victory of AD 9⁶²⁷.

The last two documents both come from Ostia⁶²⁸. The first dates to between AD 205 and 208: on the 3rd of August the patrons of the *collegium* of the *hastiferi* of the colony consecrated the newly restored Temple of *Bellona*⁶²⁹. This *aedes*, from which comes the marble slab, must have been located in front of the *schola* of the *hastiferi*, who had close links with the temple⁶³⁰. The inscription was used to support the theory that this date had a peculiar meaning in relation to the cult of *Magna Mater* and *Bellona*: on 3rd of August AD 178 Marcus Aurelius and his son Commodus departed for the Marcomannic War⁶³¹, and perhaps they chose that day for the military nature of these deities⁶³².

The second text, also incised on a marble slab, records a dedication happened on the 3rd of August AD 224 by the *statio frumentariorum* in honour of the Imperial *domus*: the names of *Severus Alexander* and his mother *Iulia Mamaea* were later removed because of the *damnatio memoriae* issued after their deaths⁶³³. In these inscriptions there is always doubt that the day chosen for dedications by these collegiate organisations was influenced by public celebrations or public anniversaries⁶³⁴.

⁶²⁷ Questions in a generic sense of the choice of the day were also posed in *Suppl. It.* IV, p. 169.

⁶²⁸ From Ostia comes another text (*CIL*, XIV 230 = EDR073330) which could have been dedicated the *III No[nas Augustas]*; see also BRUUN 2018, 23 and n. 50.

⁶²⁹ *AE* 1948, 31 = *CCCA*, III 391 [Appendix I, 14].

⁶³⁰ On the *hastiferi* and their connection with *Bellona*: FISHWICK 1967, 143, 147-152, 154-157; on their *schola*: BOLLMANN 1998, 320-323; in general see also PAVOLINI 2006b, 209-210.

⁶³¹ *H. A.*, *Comm.* 12, 6.

⁶³² In the same way DUŠANIČ 2003, 93-94.

⁶³³ *CIL*, XIV 125 = *ILS* 2223 = EDR150104.

⁶³⁴ BRUUN 2018, 17, 23 and n. 49, takes into consideration these two in his study of the inscriptions from Ostia and suggests based on these documents that the 3rd of August was the day of a civic festival of the Ostian colony, or an unknown festival of the Severan age, if not religious too.

THE TRIUMPH OF TIBERIUS

a. d. X Kalendas Novembres (23rd October)

Only few calendars have preserved the final section of the month of October, one of these are the *Fasti Praenestini*. As we have already discussed, on the 23rd of the month fell the anniversary of the decisive Battle of Philippi, after which Brutus committed suicide, but this calendar also notes a second commemoration on that day, added some time after its original composition.

<i>FASTI PRAENESTINI</i> (AD 6-9)	<i>Ti(berius) Caesar curru triumphavit ex Ilurico</i>
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The victories won *ex Ilurico*, through which the area beyond the Adriatic was subjugated, allowed Tiberius the chance on the 23rd of October AD 12 to celebrate his second triumph. Once again, the *Fasti* are the only source that records the day of this event⁶³⁵.

Tiberius was active in these territories between AD 6 and 9: the significant gap between the end of the conflict and the triumphal parade is notable⁶³⁶. The explanation is found in the ancient authors who wrote about the event, *in primis* Velleius Paterculus, who took part in the expedition, as well as the triumph. The passage analysed in the previous chapter⁶³⁷ notes that at the same time as the victories of Tiberius the Romans were defeated at Teutoburg, a disaster in which three legions of the army were annihilated by the Germanic people led by *Arminius*⁶³⁸. As a result, Tiberius had to move immediately to the Germanic front⁶³⁹.

⁶³⁵ Erroneously in ROGHI 2014, 52 this annotation is linked to the celebration of 10 BC.

⁶³⁶ On the situation after Tiberius' victory in the area see ŠAŠEL KOS 2015, 76-79; in general on the topic of this chapter: LEVICK 1999², 43-44, 63; SEAGER 2005, 35-37.

⁶³⁷ Vell. Pat. II, 117, 1.

⁶³⁸ Lastly on this topic: ROBERTO 2018, 111-131.

⁶³⁹ Vell. Pat. II, 120, 1; see ROBERTO 2018, 146-150, also for the interpretation of this war as an *ultio*.

Suetonius tells us that he departed in AD 10, although he had returned to the *Urbs* at the end of AD 9; the same biographer states that he had decided to postpone the triumph's celebration as the city was in mourning for Varus' disaster, but he nevertheless entered Rome *praetextatus et laurea coronatus* and, after having greeted the People, went to the temples⁶⁴⁰.

It must be noted here a problem connected to these events. During the time when Tiberius remained in Rome before leaving for Germany there was the dedication of the *aedes Concordiae*, which the young prince had committed himself to restoring in AD 7⁶⁴¹. Some calendars report this date as the 16th of January AD 10⁶⁴²; the *Fasti Praenestini*, however, also marked another event on this day. The document is unfortunately incomplete, which does not allow for an accurate interpretation; after the record of the dedication of the *aedes Concordiae*, one reads: *Ti(berius) Caesar ex Pa[---]avit*. This certainly refers to one of the Illyric campaigns undertaken by Livia's son, but which? Degrassi filled the gap reconnecting it to the temple's dedication by Tiberius after he returned from Pannonia⁶⁴³. In reality the expression *ex Pannonia* should rather refer to a "triumphal" entrance to the city: in this way many have thought it relates to the *ovatio* of Tiberius after his victories of 12-9 BC in the Illyric territories⁶⁴⁴. This could be refuted on the basis of the discrepancy of the chronological order, preceded as it is by the dedication of the Temple, but it must be remembered that the religious observances were generally placed before those of "historic" character⁶⁴⁵. Finally it should be observed that

⁶⁴⁰ *Tib.* 17-18: [...] *quas ob res triumphus ei decretus est multique et magni honores [...] Triumphum ipse distulit maesta civitate clade Variana; nihilo minus urbem praetextatus et laurea coronatus intravit positumque in Saeptis tribunal senatu astante conscendit ac medius inter duos consules cum Augusto simul sedit; unde populo consalutato circum templa deductus est. Proximo anno repetita Germania cum animadverteret Varianam cladem temeritate et neglegentia ducis accidisse, nihil non de consilii sententia egit [...].*

⁶⁴¹ Dio LV, 8, 1-2; on the temple see RICHARDSON 1992, 98-99; *LTUR*, I, 316-320 (A.M. Ferroni).

⁶⁴² *Fasti Praenestini* (DEGRASSI 1963, 115); *Fasti Verulani* (DEGRASSI 1963, 161).

⁶⁴³ DEGRASSI 1963, 115: *Concordiae Au[gustae aedis dedicat]a est P(ublio) Dolabella, C(aio) Silano co(n)[s(ulibus)] / Ti(berius) Caesar ex Pa[nnonia reversus dedic]avit.*

⁶⁴⁴ See with previous bibliography HURLET 1997, 97-100, in particular for the possible integrations proposed 97 n. 93; cf. KIENAST - ECK - HEIL 2017, 70. ROBERTO 2018, 148 does not take a position on this matter.

⁶⁴⁵ Thus is created a suggestive overlap of events for this day, with an undeniable desire to connect them with what happened, as reported by the same *Fasti Praenestini* (DEGRASSI 1963, 115), on the 16th of January 27 BC, when Octavian received the appellative *Augustus* (cf. also the *Feriale Cumanum*: DEGRASSI 1963, 279).

Suetonius, in the above-mentioned passage, speaks of a “pseudo-triumphal” entrance to the city made by Tiberius between the end of AD 9 and the beginning of AD 10⁶⁴⁶.

The triumph, declared after the victory over the Pannonians and Dalmatians, was celebrated in AD 12, so indirectly its original motivation was increased by the renewed pacification of the Germanic territories⁶⁴⁷.

In addition to the triumph the Senate ordered the construction of two triumphal arches in Pannonia, one each for Tiberius and Germanicus, who had played an important role in the repression of the revolt. The son of Drusus the Elder, like the other generals, was decorated with the *ornamenta triumphalia* and *praetorian* and he was appointed consul in advance during the same AD 12⁶⁴⁸.

The day of the triumph coincided with that of the anniversary of the victory at Philippi in 42 BC; it seems strange to speak of mere coincidence.

Velleius Paterculus, who took part in the celebration alongside his brother, does not allude directly to this synchrony; he does however give us a rich account of the ceremony and the magnificence of the parade, describing the barbarian leaders in chains forced to walk behind Tiberius’ chariot⁶⁴⁹.

Suetonius tells us other particulars, such as the huge banquet offered to the People and the *congiarium* of three hundred sesterces for each one, and especially he describes the act of filial *pietas* of Tiberius who, descending from his chariot before ascending to the Capitoline Hill, knelt before Augustus⁶⁵⁰.

The *legati* involved in the war were also present at the triumph, each honoured with the *ornamenta triumphalia*⁶⁵¹. A very interesting and recent interpretation comes from Ovid’s words in one of the letters of the second book of the *Epistulae ex Ponto*, addressed to one of these *legati*, *Valerius Messalla Messalinus*⁶⁵². We read here that on the chariot of the victor were Tiberius’ two sons, Germanicus and Drusus the Younger;

⁶⁴⁶ Likewise, already WISSOWA 1923, 375-377.

⁶⁴⁷ As evident from the words of Ov., *trist.* IV, 2.

⁶⁴⁸ Dio LVI, 17, 1-2; but see also Vell. Pat. 116, 1. For a general reconstruction of the role of Germanicus in the Illyric campaign: HURLET 1997, 167; on the aspects of the dynastic propaganda of the triumph: BALBUZA 2017, 264.

⁶⁴⁹ Vell. Pat. II, 121, 2-3.

⁶⁵⁰ *Tib.* 20: [...] *ac prius quam in Capitolium flecteret, descendit e curru seque praesidenti patri ad genua summisit [...] prandium dehinc populo mille mensis et congiarium trecentos nummos viritum dedit* [...].

⁶⁵¹ Vell. Pat. II, 121, 3; Dio LVI, 17, 2.

⁶⁵² BASTIEN 2007, 395-396.

behind followed by the brothers *Messalinus* and *Cotta*, as well as the other mentioned above, *Velleius Paterculus* and *Magius Celer Velleianus*⁶⁵³. This brotherhood's exaltation found full expression through the association of the two *principes iuventutis*, Germanicus and Drusus the Younger, to the two most important brothers of antiquity, *Castor* and *Pollux*: this comparison, after Gaius and Lucius Caesares, had become a constant of imperial ideology⁶⁵⁴.

Ovid's words provide us interesting suggestions on the propaganda spread from this event⁶⁵⁵. In another *epistula* addressed to Germanicus in fact the poet regrets not having been able to participate in the extraordinary event that was the triumphal procession, of not being able to feel the joy of the ceremony that pervaded the city: his words convey a striking sense of the importance and the impact of the celebration⁶⁵⁶.

Despite being in distant land, *languida quo fessi vix venit aura Noti*, the news of the triumph of the Caesar reached him thanks to the *Fama*: as he refers to the chief of the rebels, *Bato*⁶⁵⁷, Ovid is evidently speaking of the triumph celebrated by Tiberius in AD 12⁶⁵⁸.

Tiberius is never explicitly named, contrary to Germanicus, to whom the letter is addressed: Ovid takes advantage of this occasion to predict that another triumph will be granted to the young Caesar in the future⁶⁵⁹.

The poet attempts to plead his case with Germanicus, perhaps also with a more purely political agenda⁶⁶⁰, to ensure that his appeals to return to Rome, or to be transferred somewhere closer to the *Urbs*, would be accepted. A similar prayer is also found in the *epistula* addressed to *Messalinus*, in which, much more explicitly and directly, Ovid asks his friend to intercede with the court on his behalf⁶⁶¹. *Tempus adest aptum precibus*: this is the best time to make his requests, now that victory had been won over the *Paeones*,

⁶⁵³ Ov., *pont.* II, 2, 81-84.

⁶⁵⁴ On the association of the Dioscuri with the designated heirs see LA ROCCA 1994, 79-90; recently, in the same way, McINTYRE 2016, 43-49 spoke about Germanicus and Drusus as "semidivine brothers".

⁶⁵⁵ On the words of Ovid see also the considerations of BEARD 2007, 181-182.

⁶⁵⁶ Ov., *pont.* II, 1, 5-12.

⁶⁵⁷ In this regard see ÖSTENBERG 2009, 161-162.

⁶⁵⁸ *Pont.* II, 1, 1-2, 19, 46-47.

⁶⁵⁹ *Pont.* II, 1, 53-68.

⁶⁶⁰ See the interesting considerations of LUISI 2001, 125-154.

⁶⁶¹ Ov., *pont.* II, 2.

that peace was restored in *Dalmatia* and *Illyricum*'s head is beneath the foot of Caesar, who can now crown his head with laurel on the triumphal chariot⁶⁶².

The echo of the achievements of Tiberius and of the Julio-Claudian *domus* therefore resonated well beyond Rome and Italy, all the way to the borders of the Empire.

The event was celebrated in official propaganda too. The following year we find *aurei* and *denarii* that commemorate the triumph in a classic format: Tiberius, crowned and paludatus, rides the triumphal quadriga and holds with his left hand a sceptre surmounted by an eagle and with his right a branch of laurel⁶⁶³. The coin would be reissued in the first years of the reign of the new Emperor, but Tiberius' head substituted that of Augustus, which was on the obverse on the series of AD 13-14⁶⁶⁴.

The importance of the event is further confirmed by two artefacts that stand out for their particularity and refinement of execution. These are not official monuments, but precious objects that emphasise even more the resonance of the triumph: the so-called Gemma Augustea of Vienna and one of the silver cups of Boscoreale.

In the first⁶⁶⁵ Augustus is at the centre, because under whose auspices was accomplished the victory, while Tiberius is on the left, crowned with laurel, descending from a chariot led by *Victoria*; next to him is a young prince in armour, Germanicus: he took part in the victory, but now is already prepared for new campaigns. In the lower section there is a scene that shows the providential order of the Empire expressed by the victory of the Roman troops⁶⁶⁶: on the left soldiers raise a trophy with a chained barbarian prisoner at its feet, while on the right two *captivi* are dragged by their hair. This cameo refers to the defeat of the Pannonians and the Dalmatians, but there are certainly allusions to the re-established peace in *Germania* after Varus' defeat.

The silver skyphos cup of Tiberius, twin to that of Augustus, part of the treasure discovered in the villa of Boscoreale in 1895, shows two scenes celebrating Tiberius and his triumph of AD 12⁶⁶⁷: the heir on the quadriga during the parade and a sacrificial

⁶⁶² *Pont.* II, 2, 75-80.

⁶⁶³ *BMCRE*, I, 87-88 nos. 508-512; *RIC*, I², 56 nos. 221-224.

⁶⁶⁴ *BMCRE*, I, 120-121 nos. 1-11; *RIC*, I², 93 nos. 1-4.

⁶⁶⁵ See HANNESTAD 1986, 78-80; POLLINI 1993; ZANKER 2006, 246-247.

⁶⁶⁶ ZANKER 2006, 247.

⁶⁶⁷ See in general HANNESTAD 1986, 95; BARATTE 1991; HÖLSCHER 1994, 106-111; ZANKER 2006, 242-244; FORTUNATI 2008, 125; ÖSTENBERG 2009, 109-110; GIROIRE 2013, 324.

ceremony. It is under debate if this latter refers to moment before he went to war⁶⁶⁸, or to his return⁶⁶⁹.

The hypothesis that this imagery could pertain to the triumph of 7 BC is rejected by the presence of a shield similar to the *clipeus virtutis*, held up by one of the two *Victoriae*, alluding to the official adoption of Tiberius⁶⁷⁰.

Despite the importance assigned to this day, there are no inscriptions dated *X Kalendas Novembres*, apart from one of the *tabulae Pompeianae Sulpiciorum* that, on the 23rd of October of AD 51, records the announcement in the Forum of *Puteoli* of the start of a *bonorum venditio* in favour of the creditors of Marcus Egnatius Suavis: he was an insolvent debtor, deceased and without heirs, whose belongings were now to be sold at auction⁶⁷¹.

⁶⁶⁸ HÖLSCHER 1994, 106 given that only in this occasion the general could enter the *pomerium* dressed in military clothing.

⁶⁶⁹ FORTUNATI 2008, 125 in reference to the expiatory sacrifices that took place at the Temple of *Iuppiter Stator in circo Flaminio*.

⁶⁷⁰ ZANKER 2006, 243-244.

⁶⁷¹ *TPSulp* 86 = EDR080856 (with bibliography).

THE TRIUMPH OF GERMANICUS

a. d. VII Kalendas Iunias (26th May)

The celebration of Germanicus' triumph, which took place on the 26th of May AD 17, seems to have been marked in one of the calendars, even though the record is very incomplete⁶⁷².

<i>FASTI AMITERNINI</i> (after AD 20)	[NP. Fer(iae) ex s(enatus) c(onsulto), quod] eo die [Germanicus C]aesar [triumphans in Urbem] inv[e]ctus est
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Tacitus gives us a detailed account of this event specifying both the day and the year: *C. Caelio, L. Pomponio consulibus Germanicus Caesar a. d. VII Kal. Iunias triumphavit*⁶⁷³. In his *Annales*, however, at the end of the first book, talking about the end of the first year of war and before describing the campaigns of AD 15-16 that aimed to the take back the Empire's borders to the River Elbe, the historian states: *Druso Caesare, C. Norbano consulibus decernitur Germanico triumphus manente bello*⁶⁷⁴.

After his participation in the triumph of his adoptive father Tiberius, Germanicus was sent to the north in charge of eight legions⁶⁷⁵; although his military activity in this period is not well documented, the young prince certainly had a victory between the Alps

⁶⁷² A recent exposition in Germany was dedicated to the "Triumph ohne Sieg" of Germanicus on the occasion of the two thousandth anniversary of its celebration; in this regard see the contributions in the catalogue: ABKAMP - JANSEN 2017.

⁶⁷³ *Ann.* II, 41, 2; in the same way one can also fill the gap in the relative section of the *Fasti Ostienses* under the year AD 17, see DEGRASSI 1947, 185, 215 = EDR119960 (with bibliography): [VII k. Iun. Germ]anic(us) Caes[a]r / [triumphavi]t ex German(ia).

⁶⁷⁴ I, 55, 1: "Drusus Caesar and Gaius Norbanus were now consuls, and a triumph was decreed to Germanicus with the war still in progress."

⁶⁷⁵ Tac., *ann.* I, 3.

and the Pyrenees⁶⁷⁶, and after the campaigns of AD 13 and the beginning of AD 14 he received his first Imperial acclamation⁶⁷⁷.

Germanicus was still in Gaul when Augustus died; the news of the *princeps*' death gave the soldiers an opportunity to request an increase in pay and better conditions of levy: there were also political reasons, linked to the succession of Tiberius⁶⁷⁸.

Germanicus was loyal towards his adoptive father⁶⁷⁹ and continued the military operations, attempting to reach the River Elbe. During AD 13-14, after the intervention in Gaul and the internal upheaval following Augustus' death, Germanicus was responsible of a massacre and deportation of the local population in the territory of the Marsi⁶⁸⁰. The years AD 15-16 saw instead the constant presence of troops led by the young prince beyond the Rhine trying to recover the lost standards of Varus⁶⁸¹ and to inflict a definitive defeat to *Arminius*, once again the leader of the united tribes. While the first purpose was successful, the second despite the fording of the River Weser and victory at *Idistavicus* was not fully realised: the Imperial acclamations and the declared victories hid that the possession of *Germania* was entirely provisional⁶⁸².

According to the above-mentioned Tacitus' words, the Senate early in AD 15 proclaimed a triumph during a war still in progress⁶⁸³. There were two opposing interpretations. The first suggested by D. Timpe and supported by others⁶⁸⁴, refutes Tacitus' chronology and dates the triumph to the end of AD 15 instead, in relation to the

⁶⁷⁶ As suggested by the expression *ordinato statu Galliarum* in a passage of the *Tabula Siarensis* (I, 15); already before the discovery of this document SYME 1979, 318, on the basis of Crinagora of Mitilene (*Ant. Pal.* IX, 283), arrived at a similar conclusion (cf. HURLET 1997, 170 and n. 40).

⁶⁷⁷ As pointed out by HURLET 1997, 171, there are no direct testimonies that confirm this supposition; but assuming the words of Ov., *pont.* III, 4, 88-97, and following the convincing interpretation of SYME 1979, 319-320, it seems opportune to locate the first salutation in this period, rather than before (see HURLET 1997, 171 nn. 42-43).

⁶⁷⁸ The rebellion is described by Tac., *ann.* I, 31-49, references in Dio LVII, 5, 6-7; see lastly CRISTOFOLI 2018, 5-8 and ROBERTO 2018, 151-153. For an analysis centered on the motivations of purely political character, linked to the so-called "Julia's circle" see SORDI 1979, 489-495.

⁶⁷⁹ On this aspect lingers GALLOTTA 1987, 79-84.

⁶⁸⁰ Tac., *ann.* I, 50-51; see lastly ROBERTO 2018, 154-155.

⁶⁸¹ See recently COLOMBO 2008.

⁶⁸² An account in Tac., *ann.* I, 49-52; 55-71; II, 5-26; see also in this regard ROBERTO 2018, 160-175 for the campaign of AD 15 and *id.*, 175-182 for that of AD 16.

⁶⁸³ Tacitus in fact says: *initio veris et repentino in Chattos excursu praecipit.*

⁶⁸⁴ LEVICK 1976, 144; GALLOTTA 1987, 124-125.

second Imperial acclamation⁶⁸⁵. The other one, to the opposite, accepts the historian's claim referring it to the campaigns of AD 13-14, a result therefore of the first Imperial acclamation⁶⁸⁶.

It is worth noting that in a *lex sacra* from *Gythium* in Laconia⁶⁸⁷, dated to AD 15, it is established that among the various days of festival dedicated to the different members of the Imperial family, one is consecrated to the *nikē* of Germanicus⁶⁸⁸.

The triumph's celebration only occurred in AD 17, after the young prince's return to Rome. The ancient sources emphasise its splendour and pomp, while the scholars linger instead on the political meaning of the triumph pertaining to the situation in *Germania*.

Even if Tacitus declared *bellumque, qui conficere prohibitus erat, pro confecto accipiebatur*, it is probably an exaggeration to state, as did M. Beard, that the ceremony was an "awkward" situation⁶⁸⁹. Germanicus intended to push the Roman borders over the Rhine to the Elbe, where they were before the defeat of Varus: Tiberius, very aware of the strength and prestige of his adopted son, who however had often shown his loyalty, had decided to renounce these territories, referring to a specific instruction of Augustus⁶⁹⁰.

The granting of the triumph would also have been a useful expedient to call back the young prince to Rome, as shown by the Emperor's insistence noted by Tacitus: *crebris epistulis Tiberius monebat* (i.e. *Germanicum*) *rediret ad decretum triumphum*⁶⁹¹.

This ceremony had in general the purpose to exalt the providential role of the reigning house, exhibiting to the People on the one hand the expansion of Rome in the world through the representations of conquered lands, and on the other the military force by means of the foreign kings in chains behind the triumphal chariot. The triumph of Germanicus was not different; Strabo gives a comprehensive account: there were *Thusnelda*, *Arminius'* wife, and their three-year-old son *Thumelicus*, a daughter of *Ucromirus* of the Chatti tribe, *Deudorix* of the Sicambri, *Sesithacus* of the Cherusci, and

⁶⁸⁵ *Ann.* I, 58, 5; TIMPE 1968, 45-51; ROBERTO 2018, 183-187 does not take a position on this matter.

⁶⁸⁶ KÖSTERMANN 1957, 430; SYME 1979, 322-323; HURLET 1997, 175.

⁶⁸⁷ *SEG* XI, 923; cf. OLIVER 1989, 58-65 no. 15; KANTIREA 2007, 65-69.

⁶⁸⁸ *SEG* XI, 923, ll. 10-11; cf. KANTIREA 2007, 92.

⁶⁸⁹ BEARD 2007, 107 and in general on the triumph of Germanicus 107-110.

⁶⁹⁰ ECK 2011, 23-26; on *Germania* as province and the decision of Tiberius: ECK 2015, FAORO 2015; cf. also in this regard: MARCONE 2015, 219-220 and ROBERTO 2018, 183-187.

⁶⁹¹ *Ann.* II, 26, 2.

others⁶⁹². In the same way as himself who, son of the victorious general, was on the quadriga during the triumph of Tiberius the 23rd October of AD 12, Germanicus now wanted his own numerous progeny to participate in the parade: among the five children that Tacitus does not specifically mention, there would have been Caligula too⁶⁹³.

This latter will issue a special coin to commemorate this event⁶⁹⁴. On its twenty-year anniversary, in AD 37, Caligula minted a *dupondius* with his father proceeding from right to left on the triumphal quadriga, in the presence of *Victoria*, on the obverse; on the reverse was another image of Germanicus, standing in profile facing left, with his right arm raised and a vexillum with the eagle in his left. In the centre there was the distinctive legend SIGNIS RECEPT(IS) DEVICTUS GERM(ANIS); this coin therefore not only commemorated the Germanic victories, but also the recovery of the *signa* stolen after the defeat at Teutoburg⁶⁹⁵.

The ideological value of these standards' recovery had a stronger propagandistic impact perhaps than the triumph itself; it was certainly used to show to the Roman People the re-established control over *Germania* and the vengeance taken for the offence⁶⁹⁶. At the end of AD 16, before Germanicus had returned to the *Urbs*, an arch was dedicated in commemoration of the *signa recepta*⁶⁹⁷. From Tacitus we know that this monument was placed *propter aedem Saturni*: the arch was therefore in the Roman Forum, probably between the *vicus Iugarius*, the north corner of the *Basilica Iulia* and the Temple of *Saturnus*⁶⁹⁸.

Only few small fragments of the inscription, made of *litterae alveolatae* and adorning the attic of the monument are preserved⁶⁹⁹. The arch was dedicated to Tiberius,

⁶⁹² Strab. VII, 1, 4. In greater detail on this aspect: ÖSTENBERG 2009, 138-139; on the feminine component: BENARIO 2005. Cf. also ROBERTO 2018, 187-189, 340 n. 2.

⁶⁹³ Tac., *ann.* II, 41, 3: [...] *currusque quinque liberis onustus*; on this aspect see McWILLIAM 2010.

⁶⁹⁴ See PIATTELLI 1987, 88, 91-92 also for the question of the debated assignation of the emission to Caligula.

⁶⁹⁵ *BMCRE* I, 160 no. 94; *RIC* I², 112 no. 57; see PIATTELLI 1987, 89.

⁶⁹⁶ In this sense one must remember that the *Tabula Siarensis*, which as commonly known presents the series of honours granted to Germanicus after his death, also underlines this aspect, as is seen in the expression: *Germanis bello superatis [et deinceps] a Gallia summotis receptisque signis militaribus et vindicata frau[dulenta clade] exercitus p(opuli) R(omani)* (ll. 13-15); cf. COLOMBO 2008, 142.

⁶⁹⁷ Tac., *ann.* II, 41, 1: *fine anni arcus propter aedem Saturni ob recepta signa cum Varo amissa ductu Germanici, auspiciis Tiberii*.

⁶⁹⁸ *LTUR*, I, 107 (F. Coarelli); see also DE MARIA 1988, 275-276.

⁶⁹⁹ *CIL*, VI 31575 (cf. pp. 4350-4351) = EDR115768.

but also features Germanicus, as well explained by the expression used by Tacitus: *ductu Germanici Caesaris, auspiciis Tiberii Caesaris*⁷⁰⁰.

The new ideology assigned to the triumph by the same Augustus is evident, by now a sort of obligatory and legitimising practice for the members of the *domus Augusta*⁷⁰¹; the topographic position of the arch, near to the *Basilica Iulia* dedicated to Gaius and Lucius Caesars, and to the Temple of *Castores*, with which, from Augustan age onwards, the *principes iuventutis* were associated, makes clear the role of heir and successor held by Germanicus⁷⁰².

As for the inscriptions with this date⁷⁰³, on the 26th of May AD 38 an epigraph *pro salute* of Caligula and in honour of his *Victoria et Pax* and his *Genius* was consecrated⁷⁰⁴. The text is unfortunately damaged and so we do not have information on the dedicant, but it is safe to assume that the choice of the day for the consecration was anything but casual. Beyond a simple form of well-wishing towards the reigning sovereign, the dedication must be linked to the well-known sickness that struck the Emperor at the end the first year of his reign⁷⁰⁵. More difficult to explain is the reference to *Victoria* and *Pax*. AD 38 saw the elimination of a powerful person close to the Emperor, suspected of plotting behind his back, the prefect of the Praetorians, Quintus Naevius Sutorius Macro⁷⁰⁶; this one was preceded by the assassination of Marcus Iunius Silanus⁷⁰⁷, father of Caligula's first wife⁷⁰⁸, and of Tiberius Gemellus, Caligula's cousin who had been named heir next to him by Tiberius.

In contrast, there is no connection with the triumph of Germanicus in the dedication of the *castellum* of Ali el Bani built in current Algeria in AD 230⁷⁰⁹.

⁷⁰⁰ *Ann.* II, 41, 1.

⁷⁰¹ See ARENA 2010b, 159-162; cf. also BALBUZA 2017, 265-266.

⁷⁰² LA ROCCA 1994, 85

⁷⁰³ To expound the case of *AE* 1979, 62 where, because of a transcription error, one reads *VII K(alendas) Iunias* and not, as it appears on the stone, *VI k(alendas) Iunias*: see EDR077245.

⁷⁰⁴ *CIL*, VI 811 (cf. pp. 3007, 3757) = *ILS* 192 = EDR167436 (with bibliography) [Appendix I, 15].

⁷⁰⁵ On the health of Caligula, lastly: CRISTOFOLI 2018, 100-101.

⁷⁰⁶ BARRETT 1989, 78; on the person in general see also PESANDO 2016.

⁷⁰⁷ *PIR*², I 832.

⁷⁰⁸ *Iunia Claudilla*: RAEPSAET CHARLIER 1987, 402-403 no. 470.

⁷⁰⁹ *ILAlg.*, II.3 10323; cf. SAASTAMOINEN 2010, no. 504.

THE OVATIO OF DRUSUS THE YOUNGER

a. d. V Kalendas Iunias (28th May)

Three years after that of Germanicus, Drusus the Younger⁷¹⁰ celebrated his triumphal entrance to Rome too; like the previous, this event is also found in the *Fasti of Amiternum*.

<p><i>FASTI AMITERNINI</i> (after AD 20)</p>	<p>[<i>NP. Fer(iae) ex s(enatus) c(onsulto), quo]d eo die [Drusus Caesar] [triumphans in Urbem invecus est]</i></p>
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It was possible to fill the gap of the text by the documentation of another type of *Fasti*, the *Ostienses*, that in the year AD 20, under the consulate of Marcus Valerius Messalla and Marcus Aurelius Cotta, state: *V k(alendas) Iun(ias) Drusus [Caesar] triumphavit ex Ill[yrico]*⁷¹¹.

Though the verb used is *triumphare*, we know from Tacitus that Drusus and Germanicus were actually honoured by the Senate with an *ovatio*⁷¹², a minor form of triumph: this was granted after attainment of specific results and was carried out with a typical parade.

After his father Tiberius was adopted in AD 4 by Augustus, Drusus became *Augusti nepos*⁷¹³ and until AD 11 was primarily involved in religious offices, including the pontificate⁷¹⁴. In this year, in advance of the required age, he was named quaestor⁷¹⁵; after of Augustus' death he was sent to Pannonia, probably as Imperial *legatus*, to subdue the revolt broken out here, as well as around the Rhein, at the news of the passing of the *princeps*⁷¹⁶.

⁷¹⁰ KIENAST - ECK - HEIL 2017, 75-76.

⁷¹¹ DEGRASSI 1947, 187, 216 = EDR121429 (with bibliography).

⁷¹² *Ann.* II, 64, 1; on the triumph used in service of the dynastic politics: BALBUZA 2017, 267.

⁷¹³ In general see HURLET 1997, 210-211.

⁷¹⁴ *CIL*, V 6416.

⁷¹⁵ Dio LVI, 25, 4; see HURLET 1997, 211-212.

⁷¹⁶ Tac., *ann.* I, 16-23; see also Vell. Pat. II, 125, 4 and Dio LVII, 4.

Having quickly repressed the rebellion, he returned to Rome and was publicly praised from Tiberius; the following year, AD 15, he became consul for the first time⁷¹⁷.

Following the celebration of Germanicus' triumph but before he left to go East, Drusus was sent to the Danubian front to reinforce the Roman defences and to establish peace among the local tribes, particularly between the Cherusci, once again under the leadership of *Arminius*, and the Marcomannics, lead by the one-time Roman ally *Maroboduus*⁷¹⁸.

It is unclear exactly where Drusus carried out his operation: Tacitus uses the term *Illyricum*⁷¹⁹, an expression also found in the *Fasti Ostienses*.

However, the granting of the *ovatio* refers to this campaign: the operations occurred between the end of AD 17 and AD 18 were in fact essentially of diplomatic character, not military. Aulus Gellius tells us that this form of minor triumph was awarded in the following situations⁷²⁰: “the occasion for awarding an ovation, and not a triumph, is that wars have not been declared in due form and so have not been waged with a legitimate enemy, or that the adversaries' character is low or unworthy, as in the case of slaves or pirates, or that, because of a quick surrender, a victory was won which was ‘dustless’, as the saying is, and bloodless”⁷²¹. A success had therefore to be *inpulverea incruentaque*, without bloodshed, as confirmed by Pliny, *sine cruore*, and Festus, *sine sanguine*⁷²².

Drusus deposed *Maroboduus* and instituted a client king, forcing the rebellious tribes to move beyond the Danube⁷²³; it is clear that his victory was part of this category. What is less easy to explain is why the *Fasti Ostienses* use the verb *triumphare*: probably in a generic meaning that indicates entrance to the city; though not on the quadriga, but

⁷¹⁷ Tac., *ann.* I, 30, 5; 52, 3; Dio LVI, 28, 1.

⁷¹⁸ Tac., *ann.* II, 44 - 45, 1; 46, 5; see MÓCSY 1974, 40 and HURLET 1997, 214-215.

⁷¹⁹ Tac., *ann.* II, 44, 1; III, 7, 1; 11, 1; 34, 6; we can trust the definition of Suet., *Tib.* 16: [...] *toto Illyrico, quod inter Italian regnumque Noricum et Thraciam et Macedoniam interque Danubium flumen et sinum maris Hadriatici patet* [...]?

⁷²⁰ On the theme see the well-known VERSNEL 1970, 166-178.

⁷²¹ V, 6, 21: *ovandi ac non triumphandi causa est, cum aut bella non rite indicta neque cum iusto hoste gesta sunt aut hostium nomen humile et non idoneum est, ut servorum piratarumque, aut deditione repente facta inpulverea, ut dici solet, incruentaque victoria obvenit.*

⁷²² Plin., *N. H.* XV, 125: [...] *qui primus omnium ovans ingressus urbem est, quoniam rem leniter sine cruore gesserat* [...]; Fest. p. 213 L (ll. 8-10): *ovali corona est murtea, quam habebant, qui ovantes introbant, cum bella non errant indicta, aut sine sanguine confecta*; based on Val. Max. II, 8, 1 and Liv. XL, 38, a number of around 5000 dead enemies was needed to obtain a triumph.

⁷²³ Tac., *ann.* II, 62-63; HURLET 1997, 217.

on horseback or by foot, it referred equally to the ideology of the Roman victory and the figure of the triumphant general⁷²⁴.

However, looking at documentation of other known *ovationes*, in the *Fasti Triumphales Capitolini* we find the specific term *ovans*, as shown by the examples of Octavian in 40 and of 36 BC⁷²⁵. A similar situation to that of Drusus is found in the *tabula triumphorum Barberiniana*, that lists the triumphs from 43 BC to 21 BC. Here the *ovatio* of Caesar's son for his victory over Sextus Pompeius was recorded thus: *Caesar ex Sicilia eid(ibus) Nov(embri) triumphavit*⁷²⁶.

A little is known about the ceremony's development, but we have to talk of two worthy aspects. Firstly, there is chronological gap between the granting of the honour and its celebration: as with Tiberius and then Germanicus, Drusus also had to defer his triumph necessarily on two occasions.

The Senate had decreed the *ovatio* at the beginning of AD 19; Drusus returned to Rome in the final part of the year, but the news of the death of Germanicus and the following period of public mourning caused a first postponement of the ceremony. The following year the young Caesar left again for *Illyricum*; his return in spring coincided with the trial of *Cnaeus Calpurnius Piso*⁷²⁷: this according to the words of Tacitus, but it is in disagreement with what one reads in the *Senatus consultum de Cn. Pisone patre*⁷²⁸. Drusus exited the *Urbs* to reclaim the auspices and will enter the city on the 28th of May of the same AD 20⁷²⁹.

⁷²⁴ NICKBAKHT 2005 has faced again the problem, proposing a new reading of the fragmentary text of the *Fasti Ostienses* in which, to the title of *Caesar* following *Drusus*, would follow instead the participle *ovans*: *V k(alendas) Iun(ias) Drusus o[vans] / triumphavit ex Ill[yrico]*; from here also the proposal of a new integration for the calendar of *Amiternum*: [*NP. Fer(iae) ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) quo]d eo die / [Drusus Caesar / ovans urbem ingressus est]*.

⁷²⁵ DEGRASSI 1947, 87.

⁷²⁶ DEGRASSI 1947, 343.

⁷²⁷ Tac., *ann.* III, 11, 1: *atque interim Drusus rediens Illyrico, quamquam patres censuissent ob receptum Maroboduum et res priore aetate gestas ut ovans iniret, prolato honore urbem intravit;*

⁷²⁸ See in this regard ECK - CABALLOS - FERNANDEZ 1996, 109-121, but *contra* lastly CRISTOFOLI 2018, 27-28.

⁷²⁹ Tac., *ann.* III, 19, 3: *at Drusus urbe egressus repetendis auspiciis, mox ovans introit;* cf. HURLET 1997, 218-219, 318.

Tacitus gives us a further important information; in addition to the *ovationes*, the Senate decreed that two arches were to be built to celebrate the renewed peace achieved by the successes of the young princes⁷³⁰.

These arches, according to the historian, were erected at the sides of the Temple of *Mars Ultor* in the Forum of Augustus, marking the passage to the *Subura* neighborhood. Statues of Drusus and Germanicus were also placed in this prestigious location, close to those of the *summi viri* that adorned the *exedrae* of the Forum. Next to the *elogia* of the men that had made Rome great were now added those of the men who had secured its future.

As with the arch commemorating the recovery of Varus' standards, only few structural evidences and some small marble fragments of the inscription adorning the arch's attic are preserved of the monument for Drusus the Younger⁷³¹. A convincing reconstruction of the text was proposed by G. Alföldy⁷³²: in it was glorified Drusus, but Tiberius' role too, as we can also see in the literary sources⁷³³.

Among the inscriptions containing the date we are analysing, there is certainly a link with the anniversary of Drusus' *ovatio* in the dedication of a *cippus* or a herm to the *Genius* of Tiberius⁷³⁴. The *magister* of the *pagus Amentinus*, a small territorial entity located between the III and IV miles of the Via Appia⁷³⁵, consecrated it on the 28th of May AD 27, four years after the death of the young Caesar.

Also found in Rome is the dedication to *Iuppiter Epulo* made by some *calatores* of the *VIIviri epulones*⁷³⁶. The front of the plinth bears the main inscription with the names of these people, mainly freedmen, who generally helped the members of a sacerdotal

⁷³⁰ Tac., *ann.* II, 64, 1: *simul nuntiatio regem Artaxian Armeniis a Germanico datum, decrevere patres ut Germanicus atque Drusus ovantes urbem introirent. structi et arcus circum latera templi Martis Vtoris cum effigie Caesarum, laetiore Tiberio quia pacem sapientia firmaverat quam si bellum per acies confecisset.*

⁷³¹ *CIL*, VI 40352 = EDR092843 (with bibliography).

⁷³² ALFÖLDY 1992, 101-110, thereafter in *CIL*, VI 40352.

⁷³³ *Vell. Pat.* II, 129, 3: *qua vi, consiliorum suorum ministro et adiutore usus Druso filio suo, Maroboduum inhaerentem occupati regni finibus, pace maiestatis eius dixerim, velut serpentem abstrusam terrae salubribus medicamentis coëgit egredi!*; Tac., *ann.* II, 64, 1.

⁷³⁴ *CIL*, VI 251 (cf. pp. 3004, 3756) = 30724 = *ILS* 6080 = EDR161560 (with bibliography) [Appendix I, 16].

⁷³⁵ *LTURS*, I, 50-51 (M. G. Granino Cecere); *contra* CHIOFFI 1999, 56-60.

⁷³⁶ *AE* 1936, 95 = EDR073311 (with bibliography) [Appendix I, 17].

college, in this case the responsables of the ritual banquets; on the right side is the date of dedication, the 28th of May AD 98.

Going forward in time, lesser are the possibilities of a connection to the *ovatio*: one need only remember that the *Feriale Duranum* did not contain a record of this event nor even of the *dies natalis* of Drusus the Younger.

A monument in Rome, perhaps an altar, was dedicated on the 28th of May in the year AD 205 by a group of *equites singulares*⁷³⁷. Pertains to the military sphere too, an inscription from *Vindobona* that records the offer of a votive monument to the *Fortuna Conservatrix* and to the *Genius loci* by the *beneficiarii* and the *cornicularius* of the military tribune of the *legio X Pia Fidelis*⁷³⁸. The year of dedication, AD 249, is one more time too far removed from Drusus to have any connection with his commemoration.

Finally, we know from an urban inscription that in AD 364 the *Hispaniae* honoured Flavius Sallustius with a statue in the *Basilica Ulpia* in the Forum of Trajan, celebrating his brilliant career under the reign of Julian⁷³⁹. The day chosen by the dedicants obviously does not have link with what occurred over three centuries previously.

⁷³⁷ *CIL*, VI 228 (cf. p. 3755) = *ILS* 2187 = EDR141297 (with bibliography).

⁷³⁸ *CIL*, III 4558 (cf. p. 2328,40) = *CBI* 362; see also NELIS CLÉMENT 2000, 284.

⁷³⁹ *CIL*, VI 1729 (cf. pp. 3813, 4745) = *ILS* 1254 = EDR134902 (with bibliography) [Appendix I, 18].

CONCLUSION

Despite their incomplete state of preservation, the Roman calendars in some lucky cases left us record of important Imperial events, such as birthdays, victories and triumphs.

One more time the *Fasti*, with their fragmentary information, prove to be an important historical source for us and an efficient means of propaganda for the ancient Romans, a powerful tool in the hands of those who held the power to seek the consensus.

Among the new festival added to the calendar, the celebration of the *dies natalis* became a constant from Julius Caesar onwards. Because of its Hellenistic origin, this practice was embraced tentatively by Augustus, but then progressively grew in popularity until its definitive institutionalisation. Even Tiberius, reluctant towards any type of honour, accepted the Imperial birthday as occasion to pay homage to the Emperor.

The privilege was then extended to other members of the *domus Augusta*, particularly the young princes. Even if sometimes the fate deprived them of their promised destinies, the calendars' evidence confirms their relevance from dynastic point of view⁷⁴⁰.

Agrippina is the only woman whose birthday is celebrated, but only after she became the wife of Claudius.

Both the public celebration of the *dies natalis* and the record of the granting of the *ovatio* or even the *triumphus* had a close connection to the promotion of potential heirs. Particularly the triumphal parade, in its renewed Augustan function, emphasises this⁷⁴¹: the calendars do not contain the lists of triumphs, which were set in specific *Fasti*, therefore being only some of these events marked here, this increased further their importance.

⁷⁴⁰ It is probable that an epigraphic document from the ancient *Hispellum*, the so-called “*feriale of Hispellum*”, preserved the record - according to the interpretation of PRIULI 1980, then followed by VASSILEIOU 1984 (*contra* SENSI 1977) - also of the *dies natales* of Drusus the Elder, Gaius Caesar and Lucius Caesar: unfortunately the fragmentary nature of the inscription does not allow an exact definition of their dates of birth, which is why the document was not included in this volume. By and large we can tell for the first one a date between the 4th and the 13th of April, for the second a day between the 14th of August and the 13th of September and for the third a date between the 14th of June and the 15th of July.

⁷⁴¹ On dynastic ideology under the Julio-Claudians see also the recent HURLET 2015.

The commemoration of the most important military successes is linked to the providential role of victory as organiser of the new order; in this sense the *Fasti* record all the essential stages of Octavian's political ascent: from *Philippi* to *Naulochus*, from *Actium* to *Alexandria*.

The memory of victories was more short-lived than those of birthdays: linked to the reigning Emperor, at most to his dynasty, the military successes and the resulting celebrations constituted only a temporary basis of consensus and political legitimacy.

In the Later Roman Empire, the *dies natalis* became the predominant element marked in the *Fasti*. The commemoration of birthdays lasted through time also thanks to links with the Imperial cult: the memory of the deified *principes* was the only one to survive.

There is a difference between these two types of anniversary in regard of their promotion and diffusion through the numismatic documentation. Being an efficient vehicle of propaganda, the coins often evoked victories and triumphs. Rarely, however, these celebrations survived the duration of the reign of the same Emperor, the exceptions were Germanicus in the time of his son Caligula or the representations of virtuous *principes* in the so-called "restored coins".

To the opposite, there are no coins celebrating the birthday of reigning or defunct Emperors; not even the two series of Trajan or Decius regarding the deified Emperors and not only, are directly related to the Imperial *dies natales* still commemorated at the beginning of II AD or in the middle of III AD.

From the Augustan age onwards, there was a proliferation of calendars, both due to the Caesarian reform that brought technical modifications to the year, and the new form of control of time effected by the *princeps* himself⁷⁴². However, alongside the more purely functional *Fasti*, like those of the *coloniae* or *municipia* that adapted to the new transformations⁷⁴³, there are others standing out for their particular nature. We are talking

⁷⁴² As highlighted also by PANCIERA 2006, 95-96 in his study of Latin epigraphy in the passage from the Republic to the Empire; see also FEENEY 2012, 889-890.

⁷⁴³ We remember that one of the first tasks of the *duumviri* of a Roman colony, as is evident in chapter 64 of the *Lex Ursonensis*, was to institute a public calendar listing the local festival days: *Ilviri quicumque post coloniam deductam erunt, ii in diebus decem proxumis, quibus eum magistratum gerere coeperint, at decuriones referunto ... quos et quot dies festos esse et quae sacra fieri publice placeat ...* (cf. CRAWFORD 1996, 401, 422, 434); see RAGGI 2006, 704-707 for the analysis of this function of the *duumviri* and of the terms *feriae* and *dies festi* that in the Imperial age would lose practical relevance.

about the *Fasti Praenestini* and the *Fasti Antiatres ministrorum domus Augusta*⁷⁴⁴: the first because of the erudition of its author, the second for the context of reference, the *familia Caesaris*, both seem to record some events primarily for a chronicle's aim than for their real public commemoration.

More attention compared to other studies of Roman calendar has been given here to analyse those inscriptions that in Rome, Italy or provinces had as a dedication's day a one celebrated in the calendars.

The outcome is very heterogeneous and changes from case to case: sometimes the documentation turns out to be significant, others practically nonexistent - and there is always the possibility of random coincidences.

It seems possible to affirm that a small number of epigraphs are referring to those days that, although pertaining to an event linked to the Imperial *domus*, were not outlined as *dies feriat*, which means they were not institutionalised as proper festivals.

When numerous inscriptions, whose dedication's day coincides with one of celebration analysed, are found, it is necessary to make a distinction between those who, either explicitly or indirectly, have a connection with the event and the others who were consecrated that day only because it was a public holiday.

Lastly, there are epigraphic documents for which the coincidence is undoubtedly fortuitous.

In this regard is significant the figure of the dedicant. There is a difference if this latter belongs to the middle or lower classes or if we are dealing with an official dedication, in which public functionaries were involved: in this case a link with special days in the calendar is more likely.

Due to the high number of them found, it is worth mentioning separately dedications made by soldiers and *collegia*. For the first, the basic assumption is that similar documents to the *Feriale Duranum* were placed in the various *castra* spread throughout the Empire, which made it easy for the soldiers, however far from Rome they might have been, to access accurate information on festivals and anniversaries. In the same way as the military *Ferialia*, also the collegiate organisations seem to have possessed an own domestic calendar that, besides festivals of purely religious nature and

⁷⁴⁴ For the first: BARCARO 2009, 73; ROGHI 2014; for the second: CAVALLARO 1984, 235-245.

celebrations related to the life of the college itself, included even those linked to the public sphere⁷⁴⁵.

By its the nature a calendar preserves memory but, manipulated by power to create consensus and legitimisation, it becomes itself an instrument to create memory: for this purpose were instituted such anniversaries, to lead the masses towards certain celebrations to which had been given a particular meaning.

However, today as then, success in this activity requires a careful supervision that addresses its reception to the different levels of the society⁷⁴⁶. The Roman Emperors knew this and acted accordingly.

⁷⁴⁵ See for example the *lex collegi salutaris Dianae et Antinoi*: *CIL*, XIV 2112 = *ILS* 7212 = EDR078891 (with bibliography).

⁷⁴⁶ In Italy, on the 6th of June 2013, by a D.P.C.M. (Prime Ministerial Decree), the *Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri - Dipartimento per il coordinamento amministrativo*, has instituted the “*Comitato storico-scientifico per gli anniversari di interesse nazionale*” was instituted by means of a D.P.C.M. Among its main purposes there are: the arrangement of a programme of celebrative manifestations; the promotion and diffusion, at national and international level, of events connected to these celebrations through means of mass communication; the promotion of literary, artistic, cinematographic, audiovisual, photographic works made to represent significantly to the population the values of the national identity, of the history and of the Italian memory.

APPENDIX I

SELECTION OF ANALYSED INSCRIPTIONS

1) AE 1969/70, 110 = EDR074976 (Calvi Vecchia, AD 26): *Sacratissimo die natali divi Augusti prosperis felicibusque auspiciis dedicata est per pontifices et augures, pecunia Q(uinti) Murrasi Glyconis, L(uci) Dentri Communis. VIII k(alendas) Octobr(es), L(ucio) Iunio Silano, C(aio) Vellaeo Tutore co(n)s(ulibus). Sacr(um) - - - - -?*

2) CIL, XII 4333 (cf. p. 845) = ILS 112 (Narbonne, AD 12/13): *T(ito) Statilio Taur[o], L(ucio) Cassio Longino co(n)s(ulibus), X K(alendas) Octobr(es). Numini Augusti votum susceptum a plebe Narbonensium in perpetuom, quod bonum faustum felixque sit Imp(eratori) Caesari divi f(ilio) Augusto, p(atri) p(atriciae), pontifici maximo, trib(unicia) potest(ate) XXXIII, coniugi, liberis gentique eius, senatui populoque Romano et colonis incolisque c(oloniae) I(uliae) P(aternae) N(arbonis) M(artii) qui se numini eius in perpetuum colendo obligaverunt. Pleps Narbonensium aram Narbone in foro posuit, ad quam quot annis VIII K(alendas) Octobr(es), qua die eum saeculi felicitas orbi terrarum rectorem edidit, tres equites Romani a plebe et tres libertini hostias singulas inmolent et colonis et incolis ad supplicandum numini eius thus et vinum de suo ea die praestent et VIII K(alendas) Octobr(es) thus et vinum praestent ...*

3) CIL, XI 3303 = ILS 154 = EDR153071 (Bracciano, AD 18): *Ti(berio) Caesare tert(ium), Germanico Caesare iter(um) co(n)s(ulibus), Cn(aeo) Acceio Cn(aei) f(ilio) Arn(ensi) Rufo Lutatio, T(ito) Petillio P(ubli) f(ilio) Qui(rina) Ilvir(is) decreta: aediculam et statuas has, hostiam dedicationi; victimae natali Aug(usti) VIII K(alendas) Octobr(es) duae quae p(er)p(etuo) inmolari adsuetae sunt ad aram quae numini Augusto dedic(ata) est VIII et VIII K(alendas) Octobr(es) inmolentur; item natali Ti(beri) Caesaris perpetue acturi decuriones et populus cenarent, quam impensam Q(uinto) Cascellio Labeone in perpetuo(m) pollicenti ut gratiae agerentur munificentiae eius, eoque natali ut quotannis vitulus immolaretur et ut natalibus Augusti et Ti(beri) Caesarum priusquam ad vescendum decuriones irent thure et vino Genii eorum ad epulandum ara numinis Augusti invitarentur; ara(m) numini Augusto pecunia nostra faciendam curavimus; ludos ex Idibus Augustis diebus sex p(ecunia) n(ostra) faciendos curavimus; natali Augustae mulsum et crust(u)lum mulieribus vicinis ad Bonam Deam pecunia nostra dedimus; item dedicatione statuarum Caesarum et Augustae mulsum et crust(u)la pecunia nostra decurionib(us) et populo dedimus; perpetuoque eius die dedicationis datur[o]s nos testati sumus, quem diem quo frequentior quod annis sit servabimus VI Idus Martias, qua die Ti(berius) Caesar pontif(ex) maximus felicissime est creatus.*

4) AE 2014, 510 = EDR161786 (Brescia, AD 41): *[Pro s]alute et reditu et victor(ia) [C(ai) Caesa]ris Aug(usti) principis optimi, [pontif(icis)] max(imi), pron(epotis) divi Aug(usti), trib(unicia) [potest(ate) IV], co(n)s(ulis) desig(nati) V, imp(eratori) [VI?],*

p(atris) p(atriae), p(atris) exercit(uum) [---]a P(ubli) f(ilia) Prima, sacer[d(os) divae? Dr]usillae.

5) *CIL*, XIII 4565 = *ILS* 7061 (Marsal, AD 43/44): *Ti(berio) Claudio Drusi f(ilio) Caesar(i) Aug(usto) German(ico), pont(ifici) max(imo), trib(unicia) potest(ate) III, imp(eratori) III, p(atri) p(atriae), co(n)s(uli) des(ignato), vicani Marosallenses pub(lice). Dedicata VIII K(alendas) Octob(res), anno C(ai) Passieni Crispi II, T(ito) Statil(i)o Tauro co(n)s(ulibus).*

6) *CIL*, VI 9254 (cf. p. 3895) = *ILS* 7244 = *EDR*118471 (Rome, 1st century AD): *Collegio centonariorum[---] cum basi marmorea et ceriolarib(us) duobus aereis habentibus effigiem Cupidinis tenentis calathos, L(ucius) Sextilius Seleucus decurio d(onum) d(edii). Hoc amplius ark(ae) rei p(ublicae) collegii s(upra) s(cripti) donum dedit ((denariorum)) V ((milia)) ut ex usuris centesimis eius quantitatis, quae efficit annuos ((denarios)) DC, die VIII Kal(endas) Octobr(es) natali divi Augusti erogentur ex ark(a).*

7) *CIL*, XIII 7754 (Niederbieber, AD 246): *In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae) baioli et vexillari(i) collegio Victoriensium signiferorum Genium de suo fecerunt VIII Kal(endas) Octobr(es) Pr(a)esente et Albino co(n)s(ulibus); h(i) XIII d(e) s(uo) r(estituerunt): Satullus, Sattara, Macrinus, Laetus, Apollinaris, Secundanus, Ursus, Paternus, Prudens, Marianus, Dago Vassus, Cerialis, Aturo, Victor.*

8) *CIL*, VI 327bis (cf. pp. 3004, 3756) = *EDR*121707 (Rome, AD 149): *Sanctissimo Herculi Invicto corpor(is) custodiarior(um). L(ucius) Curtius Abascantus cum Curtio Gaudente fil(io), imm(uni), a(nnorum) IIII, crateram argyrorcorintham cum basi sua et hypobasi marmorea sua pecunia donum dederunt. Dedicat(a) VIII K(alendas) Iun(ias), Ser(vio) Scipione Orfito, Q(uinto) Non(io) Prisco co(n)s(ulibus).*

9) *CIL*, VI 128 (cf. pp. 3003, 3755) = *EDR*134390 (Rome, 7/6 BC): *[D]ianae August(ae) sacrum, Q(uintus) Avillius Adaesus, magister vici qui k(alendis) Augustis primus magisterium init.*

10) *CIL*, VI 446 (cf. pp. 3005, 3756) = *ILS* 3612a = *EDR*103420 (Rome, 7/6 BC): *Larib(us) Aug(ustis), ministri qui K(alendis) Aug(ustis) primi inierunt: Antigonus M(arci) Iuni Erotis (scil. servus), Anteros D(ecimi) P(ublici) Barnai (scil. servus), Eros A(uli) P(ublici) Damae (scil. servus), Iucundus M(arci) Ploti Anterotis (scil. servus).*

11) *CIL*, VI 630 (cf. p. 3757) = *ILS* 1699, 3541 = *EDR*158751 (Rome, AD 107): *Silvano sacrum, sodal(icio) eius et Larum donum posuit Ti(berius) Claudius Aug(usti) lib(ertus) Fortunatus a cura amicorum idemque dedicavit et epulum dedit decuris n(umero) IIII, K(alendis) Augustis, C(aio) Minicio Fundano et C(aio) Vettennio Severo co(n)s(ulibus).*

12) *CIL*, III 3432 (cf. p. 1691) = *ILS* 363 = *AE* 2007, 1171 (Budapest, AD 164): *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo), pro salute et reditu et victoria Imp(eratorum) duorum Aug(ustorum), T(itus) Ael(ius) Celsus cum Petronia Respecta coniug(e) et T(ito) Ae(lio) Celsino filio, Kal(endis) Aug(ustis) dedic(averunt) f(elicit(er)?)*, *Macrino et Celso co(n)s(ulibus), v(otum) l(ibenes) m(erito)*. [*Marti --- T(itus) Ael(ius)*] *Celsinus; Genio Aug(usto) T(itus) [Ael(ius) Celsus]; [Minervae Aug(ustae) Petr(onia) Resp(ecta) ?]*.

13) *AE* 1972, 163 = *Suppl. It.* IV, 35, pp. 169-170 = EDR075286 (Ciciliano, AD 193): *A(ulo) Sempronio A(uli) f(ilio) Vero Ilvir(o) quinquennali, salio, questori pec(uniae) publ(icae), seviro, quinq(uennali) eiusdem ordinis, seviri Augustal(es) sua pecunia ponendam censuer(unt). Loc(us) dat(us) e[*x*] d(ecurionum) d(ecreto). Dedicata III nonas Aug(ustas), Q(uinto) Sossio Falconi, C(aio) Erucio Claro co(n)s(ulibus); Ilvir(atu) Q(uinti) Fuficuleni Aproniiani et C(ai) Iuli Felicissimi*.

14) *AE* 1948, 31 = *CCCA*, III 391 (Ostia antica, AD 205/208): *C(aius) Rubrius Fortunatus, C(aius) Rubrius [Iu]stus et Iscantia Prima, patroni (h)astorum (!) Ostiensium, (a)edem vetustatis colla(p)sa(m) sua pecunia fecerunt. Dedicat(a) III Nonas Aug(ustas), Geta et Antonino co(n)s(ulibus)*.

15) *CIL*, VI 811 (cf. pp. 3007, 3757) = *ILS* 192 = EDR167436 (Rome, AD 38): *M(arco) Aquila Iuliano, P(ublio) Nonio Asprenate co(n)s(ulibus), VII K(alendas) Iunias, pro salute et Pace et Victoria et Genio Caesaris Augusti -----*.

16) *CIL*, VI 251 (cf. pp. 3004, 3756) = 30724 = *ILS* 6080 = EDR161560 (Rome, AD 27): *Genio Ti(beri) Caesaris divi Augusti filii Augusti, C(aius) Fulvius Chryses, mag(ister) pagi Amentini minor(is), donum dedit. V K(alendas) Iun(ias), L(ucio) Calpurnio Pisone, M(arco) Crasso Frugi co(n)s(ulibus)*.

17) *AE* 1936, 95 = EDR073311 (Rome, AD 98): *Iovem epulonem, M(arcus) Licinius Honoratus, cala[t](or) Pactumei Rufi; L(ucius) Novius Eutactus, calator Funisulani Vettoniani; C(aius) Iulius Silani lib(ertus) Acanthus, calator eiusdem; L(ucius) Caecilius Thalamus, calator Pompei Gemini. Honore usi sua pecunia posuerunt. Dedicat(a) V K(alendas) Iun(ias), Imp(eratore) Caesare Nerva Traiano Au[g(usto)] Germanico II, C(aio) Pomponio Pio co(n)s(ulibus)*.

18) *CIL*, VI 1729 (cf. pp. 3813, 4745) = *ILS* 1254 = EDR134902 (Rome, AD 364): *Fl(avio) Sallustio, v(iro) c(larissimo), cons(uli) ordinario, praef(ecto) praet(orio), comiti consistorii, vicario urbi(s) Romae, vicario Hispaniarum, vicario quinq(ue) provinciarum, pleno aequitatis ac fidei ob virtutis meritorumq(ue) gloriam missis legat(is) ius(sione) sac(ra) Hispaniae dicaverunt. Dedicata V kal(endas) Iun(ias), Divo Ioviano Augusto et Varronian[o] cons(ulibus)*.

APPENDIX II

LIST OF OTHER HISTORICAL EVENTS MARKED IN THE FASTI

JULIUS CAESAR

DATE	EVENT	CALENDAR
17 th March	Battle of <i>Munda</i> (45 BC)	Fasti Caeretani
		Fasti Farnesiani
27 th March	Fall of <i>Alexandria</i> (47 BC)	Fasti Caeretani
		Fasti Maffeiani
		Fasti Verulani
6 th April	Battle of <i>Thapsus</i> (46 BC)	Fasti Praenestini
12 th July	<i>Dies Natalis</i> (101/100 BC)	Fasti Amiternini
		Fasti Antiatres Ministrorum
		Domus Augustae
		Feriale Duranum
20-30 th July	<i>Ludi Victoriae Caesaris</i>	Fasti Polemii Silvii (8 th July)
		Fasti Maffeiani Fasti Amiternini
2 nd August	Battle of <i>Ilerda</i> (49 BC); battle of <i>Zela</i> (47 BC)	Fasti Fratrum Arvalium
		Fasti Maffeiani
		Fasti Vallenses
		Fasti Amiternini
		Fasti Antiatres Ministrorum Domus Augustae
9 th August	Battle of <i>Pharsalus</i> (48 BC)	Fasti Fratrum Arvalium
		Fasti Maffeiani
		Fasti Allifani
		Fasti Amiternini

		Fasti Antiates Ministrorum Domus Augustae
18 th August	Temple of <i>Divus Iulius</i> (29 BC)	Fasti Allifani Fasti Amiternini Fasti Antiates Ministrorum Domus Augustae Fasti Fandozziani

AUGUSTUS

DATE	EVENT	CALENDAR
7 th January	First <i>fasces</i> (43 BC)	Fasti Praenestini Feriale Cumanum
11 th January	Closure of the Temple of <i>Ianus</i> (29 BC)	Fasti Praenestini
13 th January	Crown of Oak <i>ob cives servatos</i> (27 BC)	Fasti Praenestini
16 th January	Appellative of <i>Augustus</i> (27 BC)	Fasti Praenestini Feriale Cumanum
17 th January	Marriage to Livia (38 BC)	Fasti Verulani
30 th January	Dedication of the <i>Ara Pacis</i> (9 BC)	Fasti Caeretani Fasti Praenestini Fasti Verulani Feriale Cumanum

5 th February	Title of <i>pater patriae</i> (2 BC)	Fasti Praenestini
6 th March	<i>Pontifex maximus</i> (12 BC)	Fasti Maffeiani
		Fasti Praenestini
		Feriale Cumanum
15 th April	Victory in the battle of <i>Mutina</i> (43 BC)	Feriale Cumanum
		Fasti Praenestini
16 th April	First Imperial Acclamation (43 BC)	Feriale Cumanum
28 th April	Dedication of a statue and an <i>ara</i> of Vesta in the house on the Palatine Hill (12 BC)	Fasti Caeretani
		Fasti Praenestini
4 th July	Vow of the <i>Ara Pacis</i> (13 BC)	Fasti Vallenses
		Fasti Amiternini
		Fasti Antiates Ministrorum Domus Augustae
1 st August	Fall of Alexandria (30 BC)	Fasti Fratrum Arvalium
		Fasti Praenestini
		Fasti Amiternini
		Fasti Antiates Ministrorum Domus Augustae

14 th August	Triumph (29 BC)	Fasti Antiates Ministrorum Domus Augustae
19 th August	First consulate (43 BC)	Feriale Cumanum
	Death (14 BC)	Fasti Amiternini ----- Fasti Antiates Ministrorum Domus Augustae
28 th August	Dedication of the <i>ara Victoriae</i> (29 BC)	Fasti Maffeiani ----- Fasti Vaticanani
		Fasti Fratrum Arvalium ----- Fasti Vallenses ----- Fasti Amiternini ----- Fasti Antiates Ministrorum Domus Augustae
3 rd September	Victory at <i>Actium</i> (31 BC)	Fasti Fratrum Arvalium ----- Fasti Vallenses ----- Fasti Amiternini
17 th September	Deification (AD 14)	Fasti Fratrum Arvalium ----- Fasti Vallenses ----- Fasti Amiternini ----- Fasti Antiates Ministrorum Domus Augustae ----- Fasti di via dei Serpenti
23 rd September	<i>Dies Natalis</i> (63 BC)	Fasti Fratrum Arvalium ----- Fasti Pinciani ----- Fasti Maffeiani

		Fasti Vallenses
		Fasti Pighiani
		Feriale Cumanum
		Fasti Duranum
		Fasti Furi Philocali
5 th October	<i>Ludi Augustales</i> (post AD 14)	Fasti Amiternini
		Fasti Sorrinenses minores
12 th October	<i>Augustalia and consecratio</i> of the <i>ara Fortunae</i> <i>Reducis</i> (19 BC)	Fasti Sabini
		Fasti Maffeiani
		Fasti Amiternini
		Fasti Antiates Ministrorum Domus Augustae
		Fasti di via dei Serpenti
		Fasti Furi Philocali
18 th or 19 th October	<i>Toga virilis</i> (48 BC)	Feriale Cumanum
		Fasti Antiates Ministrorum Domus Augustae
23 rd October	Victory at <i>Philippi</i> (42 BC)	Fasti Praenestini
15 th December	Dedication of the <i>ara</i> <i>Fortunae Reducis</i> (19 BC)	Fasti Amiternini

TIBERIUS

DATE	EVENT	CALENDAR
8 th January	Dedication of the statue of <i>Iustitia Augusta</i> (AD 13)	Fasti Praenestini
16 th January	Vow of the <i>aedes</i> <i>Concordiae Augustae</i> (AD 10)	Fasti Praenestini ----- Fasti Verulani
10 th March	<i>Pontifex maximus</i> (AD 15)	Fasti Praenestini ----- Fasti Vaticanani
23 th April	Dedication of a statue to <i>Divus Augustus</i> in the Theatre of <i>Marcellus</i> (AD 22)	Fasti Praenestini
24 th April	<i>Toga virilis</i> (27 BC)	Fasti Praenestini
26 th June	Adopted by Augustus (AD 4)	Fasti Amiternini
3 rd August	Victory in <i>Illyricum</i> (AD 8 or 9)	Fasti Antiatenses Ministrorum Domus Augustae
13 th September	Unmasking in the Senate of the conspiracy of <i>M.</i> <i>Annius Libo</i> (AD 16)	Fasti Amiternini

23 rd October	Triumph over the Pannonians and the Dalmatians (AD 12)	Fasti Praenestini
16 th November	<i>Dies Natalis</i> (42 BC)	Fasti Antiates Ministrorum Domus Augustae ----- Feriale Cumanum

GERMANICUS

DATE	EVENT	CALENDAR
24 th May	<i>Dies Natalis</i> (15 BC)	Feriale Cumanum ----- Feriale Duranum
26 th May	Triumph (AD 17)	Fasti Amiternini
10 th October	Death (AD 19)	Fasti Antiates Ministrorum Domus Augustae

DRUSUS THE YOUNGER

DATE	EVENT	CALENDAR
7 th October	<i>Dies Natalis</i> (14 or 13 BC)	Feriale Cumanum
28 th May	<i>Ovatio over Illyricum</i> (AD 20)	Fasti Amiternini
14 th September	Death (AD 33)	Fasti Antiates Ministrorum Domus Augustae

CALIGULA

DATE	EVENT	CALENDAR
31 st August	<i>Dies Natalis</i> (AD 12)	Fasti Vallenses
		Fasti Pighiani

CLAUDIUS

DATE	EVENT	CALENDAR
1 st August	<i>Dies Natalis</i> (10 BC)	Fasti Vallenses
		Fasti Antiates Ministrorum Domus Augustae
		Feriale Duranum

AGRIPPINA THE YOUNGER

DATE	EVENT	CALENDAR
6 th November	<i>Dies Natalis</i> (AD 15 or 16)	Fasti Antiates Ministrorum Domus Augustae

ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations of journal titles follow the list of *L'Année Philologique* (https://aboutbrepolis.files.wordpress.com/2018/09/aph_abbr3a9viations.pdf). Other abbreviations used in this book are:

AE: L'Année Épigraphique, Paris 1888- .

BMCRE: Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum, London 1923- .

BMCR: H. A. Grueber, Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum, I-III, London 1910.

CBI: E. Schallmayer - K. Eibl - J. Ott - G. Preuss - E. Wittkopf, Corpus der griechischen und lateinischen Beneficiarii - Inschriften des Römischen Reiches, Stuttgart 1990.

CCCA: M. J. Vermaseren, Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque, I-VI, Leiden 1977-1989.

CCID: M. Hörig - E. Schwertheim, Corpus Cultus Iovis Dolicheni, Leiden 1987.

CIL: Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Berlin 1863- .

CPJ: V. A. Tcherikover - A. Fuks (eds.), Corpus papyrorum judaicarum, I-III, Cambridge 1957-1964.

DE: E. de Ruggiero (ed.), Dizionario Epigrafico di antichità romane, Roma 1895- .

EDR: Epigraphic Database Roma (<http://www.edr-edr.it>).

IC: M. Guarducci, Inscriptiones Creticae, I-IV, Roma 1935-1950.

IG: Inscriptiones Graecae, Berlin 1903- .

IGRR: R. Cagnat, Inscriptiones Graecae ad res romanas pertinentes, Paris 1906-1927.

I Ephesos: Die Inschriften von Ephesos, Bonn 1979-84.

ILAlg: S. Gsell - H.-G. Pflaum, Inscriptions latines d'Algérie, Paris 1922-2003.

ILLRP: A. Degrassi, Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae, I-II, Firenze 1965².

- ILS*: H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Berlin 1892-1916.
- IKoln*: B. Galsterer - H. Galsterer, *Die römischen Steininschriften aus Köln*, Mainz 2010².
- IPergamon*: M. Fränkel - C. Habicht, *Die Inschriften von Pergamon*, Berlin 1890-1969.
- LSA*: *Last Statues of Antiquity* (<http://www.laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk/>).
- LTUR*: E. M. Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*, I-VI, Roma 1993-2000.
- LTURS*: A. La Regina (ed.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae - Suburbium*, Roma, I-V, Roma 2001-2008.
- OGIS*: W. Dittenberger, *Oriens Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, I-II, Leipzig 1903-1905.
- OLD*: P. G. W. Glare, *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, Oxford 2007.
- PIR*²: *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*. Saec. I. II. III., Berlin 1933-2015².
- P.Lond*: H. I. Bell - W. E. Crum, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, VI. *Jews and Christians in Egypt: The Jewish Troubles in Alexandria and the Athanasian Controversy*, London 1924.
- RGZM*: B. Pferdehirt, *Römische Militärdiplome und Entlassungsurkunden in der Sammlung des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums*, I-II, Mainz 2004.
- RIB*: R. G. Collingwood, R. P. Wright, R. S. O. Tomlin, *Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, I-III, Oxford 1965-2009.
- RIC*: *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, I-X, London 1923-1994; I, London 1984².
- SEG*: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Amsterdam - Leiden 1923- .
- Suppl. It.*: *Supplementa Italica*, nuova serie, Roma 1981- .
- ThesCRA*: *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum*, I-VIII, Los Angeles - Basel 2004-11.
- TPSulp*: G. Camodeca, *Tabulae Pompeianae Sulpiciorum*. Edizione critica dell'archivio puteolano dei Sulpicii, Roma 1999.

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- ARENA 2014: P. Arena, *Augusto. Res Gestae: i miei atti*, Bari 2014.
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