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The Political, Social, And Religious Life Of The Golden Age At The Time Of Horace And Virgil

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THE POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND RELIGIOUS LIFE

OF THE GOLDEN AGE AT THE TIME OF HORACE AND VIRGIL

by

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Being submitted as a partial fulfillment for

the requirements for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts

at

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The Political, Social, and Religious Life of the Golden Age at the time of Horace and Vergil

The purpose of this thesis is to portray the Political, Social, and Religious Life of the Golden Age, at the time of Horace and Vergil. I have followed closely Fowler's "Social Life at Home" and his "Religious Experiences of the Roman People." I also made special use of Boak's "History of Rome."

It is a pleasure here to express my grateful appreciation to the Rev. Paul B. Kirchen, Professor of Latin, at Mount St. Charles College, at whose suggestion and under whose direction this work was undertaken. The author also wishes to express his sincere thanks to Rev. P. Brett for his aid and also to Miss G. McRaith, Librarian, for valuable assistance in securing manuscripts for the completion of this work.
It is appropriate that I say something concerning the lives of these, the two great writers of the Augustan Age, Vergil and Horace.

Publius Vergilius Maro was born on the fifteenth of October in the year 70 B.C. in the first consulship of Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus and Marcus Licinius Crassus at a village in the neighborhood of Mantua. Vergil belonged to what we call the plain people. It is on record that his mother's family possessed little distinction, and his father's less. Vergil's childhood and boyhood days were spent on his father's farm. Vergil spent his early school days at Cremona. After a few years training there he went to Milan where he studied under the masters of the time, but later he went to Rome in order to secure the best instruction possible. (1)

In those days there were no colleges or universities. Masters held their classes either in their own houses or in the more spacious homes of wealthy Roman gentlemen. The young Vergil gave himself to instruction of this kind for four or five years. He studied Greek and Latin literature, grammar, rhetoric and philosophy. (2) His parents desired that he should become a lawyer and enter a public career. All ambitious people looked in this direction in those days. Other professions as we know them did not exist.

The hopes of the family were rudely disappointed by one

(1) Battleship, H. Life of Vergil
(2) DeWitt, Norman W. Life of Vergil
calamity after another. In 49 B.C. when Vergil was twenty years of age, civil war broke out between Caesar and Pompey. Vergil served in this war with Caesar. After the civil war and the death of Caesar, good fortune seemed to favor Vergil. While defending his lands Vergil was saved from probable death at the hands of a centurion by the intervention of Maccenas, the intimate friend of the young Caesar. This chance encounter led to a life long friendship. From boyhood, Vergil had been writing poetry. The new friend recognized his talents and introduced him to the leading men of Caesar's court. In the esteem of this brilliant circle he steadily rose from year to year until at last he became foremost poet of the whole Roman empire. He held many public and civil offices under the government of the time.

Vergil was by disposition so shy that he would take refuge in the nearest shop if the crowds recognized him in the streets and followed him. (1) He was much attracted to the philosophy of the Epicureans, who laid great stress upon friendliness and sincerity. The first fruits of his genius were in ten short poems known as the Eclogues. Next he wrote the Georgics, in four books. His last and greatest work was the Aeneid, which tells of the origin of Rome and the Caesars. Vergil died in 19 B.C. at Brandusium on the 26th of September. His ashes were, at his request, buried near Naples, where his tomb was, a century afterwards worshipped as a holy place. (2)

(1) Netteship, H. Life of Vergil
(2) Mackail Vergil
"No Roman author except Cicero has left anything like so complete a self-revelation as Horace." (1) His own works tell all that is essential. Q. Horatius Flaccus was born at Venusia, December 8, 65 B.C. Like Vergil Horace was of humble origin. He was a country child, the son of a freedman. Through his own self-denial and thrift, he acquired a small holding of land in Apulia. The convulsions of his times helped him to become the poet of peace and reconstruction, for nearly two thirds of his life was passed amid struggles of political factions and the alarms and out breaks of civil war. (2)

At the age of eighteen years he went to Athens to complete his studies, and while there, Marcus Brutus passing through the city on his way to Macedonia, Horace, accompanied by other Roman youths, joined the army, became military tribune, fought in the last battle for the freedom of Rome at Philippi, and saved his life by flight. Though he saved his life, he forfeited his estate and was reduced to great want, till Vergil introduced him to Maecenas, through whose interests he gained his patrimony. Augustus now became his friend, and offered to make him his secretary, which office Horace declined. When Maecenas was sent to Brundusium to conclude a treaty between Augustus and Anthony he took with him Horace, Vergil, and other literary friends; and not long after he presented Horace with the Sabine villa to which he retired for the rest of his days. His "Odes"

(1) Haight, Horace and his Art of Enjoyment
(2) Duff, J. Wright, Horace.
are models of that kind of composition, and his "Epistles" and "Satires" abound with acute and vivacious observations, while his "Poetic Art" presents the difficulties of poetical composition and the principles which should guide the poet in his work. Horace died suddenly, in the year 8 B.C.

The Golden Age was divided into two periods. The Ciceronian period and the Augustan period. It was at this time that the Roman literature attained its zenith for inspiration, quality and lasting influence. (1) The literature of this period was the output of an epoch rendered momentous by the final battle-stress of republican politics and the birth throes of empire. To these two great periods, the Ciceronian and the Augustan, belong the greatest poetry, the greatest oratory, and, save for Tacitus, the greatest history ever written. It was an age of scholars and critics. The best creations of this time are read throughout the civilized world. It left a heritage to the world which never will be forgotten. The Augustan period lasted from 43 B.C. to 14 A.D. This is the period with which I will deal on extensively in this work.

The spirit of the Augustan Age survives in the verse of two poets whose works remain, out of many which were written and enjoyed their share of popularity during the half century

(1) Duff, J. Wight "Literary History of Rome"
in which Augustus was master of the Roman world. It is from Vergil that we best understand how the past career and great destiny of Rome impressed the imagination from the Republic to the Empire. But of actual life, and the spiritual and intellectual movement of the age, our best and sole witnesses are the poets Vergil and Horace. It is to Vergil and Horace that the Augustan era owes its rank among the great eras of poetry. It is from these two poets that we are today able to estimate the political, social and religious life of their time. (1)

The fall of the republic was not attended with those disastrous consequences which were feared and foretold alike by the friends and foes of Rome. The success of Octavius, over Antony and Cleopatra, caused universal rejoicings in Rome, where the people wearied of protracted warfare, wished for repose, if not liberty. Thus when Octavius assumed power we see the fall of the Republic and the Beginning of the Augustan age. Octavius assumed power with extreme caution; and although well aware that the entire state regarded him as a monarch, he still pretended to consider himself as no more than any private individual whom the commonwealth had honoured with its confidence and the management of its public affairs. On the other hand, the senate sided with the people in servile adulation of the victor.

In disposing of his rivals, Octavius paved a way for a stable government. Public sentiment at the time demanded a
strong administration, even if it could only be attained at the expense of the old republican institutions. But while ambition and duty alike forbade him to relinquish his hold upon the realm of the state Augustus shrank from realizing the ideal of Julius Caesar and establishing a monarchial form of government. From this he was deterred both by the fate of his adoptive father and his own cautious, conservative character, which gave him such a shrewd understanding of Roman temperament. His solution of the problem was to retain the old Roman constitution as far as was practicable, while securing for himself such powers as would enable him to uphold the constitution and prevent a renewal of the disorders of the preceding century. What powers were necessary to this end, Augustus determined on the basis of practical experience between 27 and 13 B.C. And so his restoration of the commonwealth signified the regime of force and paved a way for his reception of new authority legally conferred upon him. Nothing had contributed more directly to the failure of the republican form of government than the growth of the professional army and the inability of the senate to control its commanders. Therefore, it was absolutely necessary for the guardian of peace and of the constitution to concentrate the supreme military authority in his own hands. Consequently in January 27 B.C. the birthday of the new order, Octavian, by vote of the senate received for a period of ten years the command and administration of Gaul, Spain, and Syria. On the 16th of January 27 B.C. the Senate conferred on Octavian
the title of Augustus by which he was henceforth regularly
designated. It was a term which applied to no definite
powers, but being an epithet equally applicable to gods or
men, was well adapted to express the exalted position of
the bearer. Thus little by little he assumed the absolute
power of the Roman empire. He had the right to call and
dismiss the senate, held command military command and with
the senate provincial administrations.

Under the leadership of Augustus the foreign policy was
gradually developed. An extension of boundaries seems to
have been at first included in his constructive ideas for
Rome. Egypt was added to the list of provinces and because
of the richness of the profits of the land and the feudal
system in existence for cultivation, he assumed direct respon­
sibility for its control.

The social classification of the Romans into the senatorial,
equestrian and plebian orders passed, with sharper def­
initions, from the republic into the principate. For each
class a distinct field of opportunity and public service was
opened; for senators, the magistracies and the chief military
posts, for the equites, a new career in the civil and military
service of the nation, and for the plebs service as privates
and subaltern officers in the professional army. However,
these orders were by no means closed castes; the way lay open
to able and successful men for advancement from the lower to
the higher ranks, and for the consequent infusion of fresh
vitality into the ranks of the former. In Augustus' relation
to Senate, Knights, and Plebs, he seems to have been a sincere experimenter toward a constitutional dyarchy. After three reforms by the Senate by which upstart members were removed and the opposition diminished, the powers of decrees was left to it, as well, as a share in the control of the provinces; more offices were open to the senators, the question of succession was always nominally in their hands, and the dignity of their position was constantly recognized.

The senatorial order was composed of the members of the Senate and their families. Its distinctive emblem was a broad purple stripe worn on the toga. Sons of the senators assumed this badge of the order by right of birth; equestrians, by grant of the princeps. However, those of the former who failed to qualify for the Senate were reduced to the rank of equestrians. The possession of property valued at 1,000,000 sesterces ($50,000) was made a requirement for admission to the Senate. The prospective senator was obliged to fill one of the minor city magistracies known as the board of twenty, next to serve as a legionary tribune and then, at the age of twenty five, to become a candidate for the quaetorship, which gave admission to the Senate. From the quaetorship the official career of the senator led through the regular magistracies, the aedileship, the tribunate, and the praetorship, to the consulship. As an ex-praetor and ex-consul a senator might be appointed a pro-magistrate to govern a senatorial
province; a legate to command a legion or administer an imperial province; or a curator in charge of some administrative commission in Rome or Italy.

During the republic the Senate had been the actual center of the administration and Augustus intended that it should continue to be so for the greater part of the empire. Through the ordinary magistrates it should govern Rome and Italy, and through the pro-magistrates, the senatorial provinces. Furthermore, the state treasury, the aerarium saturni, supported by the revenues from Italy and the Senate's provinces, remained under the authority of that body.

However, to render it capable of fulfilling its task and to reestablish its prestige, the Senate which now numbered one thousand had to be purged of many undesirable members who had been admitted to its rolls during the civil wars. Therefore, in 28 B.C. Augustus in his consular capacity supervised a revision of the senatorial list whereby two hundred unworthy persons were excluded. On that occasion his name was placed at the head of the new roll as princeps senatus. A second recension ten years later reduced the total membership to six hundred. A third, in 4 A.D. commenced through a specially chosen committee of three with the object of further reducing their number was not carried out. The Senate was automatically recruited by the annual admission of the twenty quaestors, but in addition, the princeps enjoyed the right of appointing new members who
might be entered upon the roll of the Senate among the past holders of any magistracy. In this way many prominent equestrians were admitted to the senatorial order.

For the conduct of his share of the public administration the princeps required a great number of assistants in his personal employ. For his legates to command the legions or his provinces with delegated military authority Augustus could draw upon the senators, but both custom and the prestige of the Senate forbade their entering his service in other capacities. On the other hand, freedmen and slaves, who might well be employed in a clerical position, obviously could not be made the sole civil servants of the princeps. Therefore, Augustus drew into his service the equestrian order whose business interests and traditional connection with the public finances seemed to mark them out as peculiarly fitted to be his agents in the financial administration of the provinces.

The equestrian order in general was open to all Roman citizens in Italy and the provinces, who were eighteen years of age, of free birth and good character, and possessed a census rating of 400,000 asses (§20,000). Admission to this order was in the control of the princeps, and carried the right to wear a narrow purple stripe on the toga and to receive a public house, the possession of which qualified an equestrian for the imperial civil and military serv-
vice. Like the careers of the senators, that of the equestrians included both military and civil appointments. At the outset of his cursus honorum the equestrian held several military appointments, which somewhat later came regularly to include a prefecture of a corps of auxiliary infantry, a tribulato of a legionary cohort, and a prefecture of an auxiliary cavalry corps. Thereupon he was eligible for a procuratorship, that is, a post in the imperial civil service, usually in connection with the administration of the finances. After filling several of these procuratorships, of which there were a great number of varying importance, an equestrian might finally attain one of the great prefectures, as commander of the city watch, administrator of the corn supply of Rome, commander of the imperial guards, or governor of Egypt. At the end of his equestrian career he might be enrolled in the senatorial service. Thus through the imperial service, the equestrian order was bound closely to the princeps and from its ranks there gradually developed a nobility thoroughly loyal to the new regime.

The comitia, which had so long voiced the will of the sovereign Roman people was not abolished, although it could no longer claim to speak in the name of the Roman people as a whole. It still kept up the form of electing magistrates and enacting legislation, but its action was largely determined by the recommendations of the princeps and his trib-
munician authority. While the city plebs, accustomed to receive its free distributions of grain, and to be entertained at costly public spectacles, was a heavy drain upon the resources of the state, this third estate in the Italian municipalities supplied the subaltern officers of the legion. These were the centurions, who were mainstay of the discipline and efficiency of the troops, and from whose ranks many advanced to an equestrian career.

The reforms introduced by Augustus and his ministers into the Roman constitution were numerous and most important. He tended to abolish those mischievous enactments which the unscrupulous selfishness of former political leaders had introduced for their own welfare. The army, consisting of nearly five hundred thousand troops, was distributed throughout the provinces, and large bodies of military men were concentrated in the principal sea-coast towns of Italy. An improved system of justice was also introduced, and means taken to suppress the disgraceful system of bribery which had pervaded the legislature during the latter years of the republic. The city was protected for the first time by a nightly police. Augustus was a great admirer of commerce—a branch of industry to which the Romans were at all times comparative strangers. The restoration of peace, the suppression of piracy, and a more equitable and intelligent government in the provinces did much to restore the prosperity to Italy and the provinces. These beneficent reforms were however, supplemented by many other reforms, Augustus
made a systematic change of the financial system of the Empire, he aided public improvement both in the national and municipal governments.

We see here that the whole political system and conditions of the age were built around Augustus. This was one of the weaknesses of the government. The other weakness was the fact that the princeps was more powerful than the senate. Thus, we see that the senate depended on the emperor for cooperation, if none was given then the result was failure. But in conclusion we must confirm that the period in which Augustus reigned was one of the greatest in the political history of the world. (1)

(1) Boak, History of Rome, 565 A.D.
Roman society under the Principate exhibits, in general, the same characteristics, as during the last century of the Republic. Rome itself was a thoroughly cosmopolitan city, where the concentration of wealth and political power attracted the ambitious, the adventurous and the curious from all lands. Whole quarters were occupied by various nationalities, most prominent among whom were the Greeks, the Syrians, and the Jews, speaking their own languages and plying their own trade. With the freeborn foreign population mingled the thousands of slaves and freedmen of every race and tongue. During the first and second century the population of Rome must have been in the neighborhood of one million. Inevitably in such a city there were the sharpest contrasts between riches and poverty, and the general bankruptcy of the empire. This was largely due to the great numbers of public buildings erected by the various emperors and to the lavish employment of marble in public and private architecture at the time of Augustus. The temples, basilicas, fora, aqueducts, public baths, theatres, palaces, statues, and parks combined to arouse the enthusiastic admiration of travelers and the pride of the inhabitants.

The task of feeding the city plebs and providing for their entertainment was a ruinous legacy left by the Republic to the principate. Although the number of recipients of free corn was not increased before Augustus, the public
spectacles became ever so numerous and more magnificent. The spectacles were of three main types: the chariot races in the circus, the gladiatorial combats and animal baiting in the amphitheatre, and the dramatic and other performances in the theatre. The expense of these celebrations fell upon the senatorial order and the princeps. Indeed, the most important function of the consulship, praetorship came to be the celebration of regular festivals. The sums provided for such purposes by the state were entirely inadequate and so the cost had to be met largely from the magistrates' private resources. The extraordinary spectacles were all given at the expense of the princeps who also at times granted subventions to favored senators from the imperial purse. The cost of the public shows placed as heavy a drain upon the fortunes of the senatorial order as did the summa honorium upon the holders of municipal offices.

A new feature of the Roman society under the principate was the growth of the imperial court. In spite of the wishes of Augustus to live on a footing equal with the rest of the nobility, it was inevitable that the exceptional political power of the princeps should give a corresponding importance to the household organization. Definite offices developed within the imperial household not only for the conduct of public business but also for the control of slaves and freedmen in the domestic service of the princeps. (1)

(1) Book History of Rome page 294.
The chief household officials were the chamberlain and the chief usher. Because of their intimate personal association with the princeps their influence over him was very great, and as a rule they did not hesitate to use their position to enrich themselves at the expense of those who sought the imperial favor. From among the senators and equestrians the princeps chose a number of intimate associates and advisors who were called his "friends." When forming part of his comitatus away from Rome they were known as his companions. In connection with the imperial audiences a certain degree of ceremony developed with fixed forms or salutation which differentiated the rank and station of those attending these functions. In the society of the capital the personal tastes of the princeps set the fashion of the day.

Characteristic of the times was the new form of clientage which was a voluntary association of master and paid retainer. Under the republican men had throngs of adherents to greet them at their morning reception and accompany them to the forum. It had now become obligatory for practically every man of wealth to maintain such a retinue, which should be at his beck and call at all hours of the day and be prepared to serve him in various ways. In return the patron helped to support his clients with fees, food, gifts of clothing and rendered them other favors. The clients were recruited partly from freedmen, partly from
citizens of low birth, and partly from persons of the better class who had fallen upon evil days. In general the lot of these pensioners does not seem to have been a very happy one, and their large numbers are to be attributed to the superior attraction of city over country life, and to the stigma which in Rome rested upon industrial employment.

The restoration of peace within the empire, the extension of the Roman military highways throughout all the provinces, the establishment of a single currency valid for the whole empire, and the low duties levied at the provincial customs frontiers combined to produce an hitherto unexampled development of commercial enterprise. Traders from all parts of the provinces thronged the parts of Italy, and one merchant of Hierapolis in Phrygia has left a record of his seventy-two voyages there. But Roman commerce was not confined within the Roman borders, it flourished with outside peoples particularly those of the East. From the parts of Egypt on the Red Sea large merchant fleets sailed for Southern Arabia and India, while a brisk caravan trade through the Parthian and Bactrian kingdoms brought the silks of China to the Roman markets. Even the occasional presence of Roman merchants in China is vouched for by Chinese records. Among all the races of the empire the most active in these merchantile ventures were the Syrians, whose presence
may be traced not only in the commercial centers of the East, but also in the harbors of Italy and throughout all the western provinces.

The increasing opportunities for trading stimulated the development of manufacturing, for not only could raw materials be more easily procured but towns favorably situated for the manufacture of particular types of goods could find a wider market for their products. However, industrial organization never attained a high degree of development. In the production of certain wares such as articles of bronze, silver, glass, and especially pottery and bricks, the factory system seems to have been employed, with a division of labor among specialized artisans. In general, however, this was not the case and each article manufactured was the product of one man's labor. In Italy, however, and probably throughout the western provinces, the bulk of the work was done by slaves and freedmen.

The first thing to note in studying the daily life at Rome is that the Romans, like the Greeks were busy much earlier in the morning than we are. In part this was the result of the southern climate, where the nights are never so long as with us, and where the early mornings are not so chilly and damp in summer or so cold in the winter. But it was probably still more the effect of very imperfect lighting of houses, which made it difficult to carry on work, especi-
ially reading and writing, after dark, and suggested early retirement and early rising in the morning. Oil lamps were unknown, and candles were the only means of light used, thus we see the Romans were not able to turn night into day as we do in our modern life. The lighting of the streets was quite an unusual thing in Rome, except on great triumphal marches of the returning armies at night.

An industrious man, especially in winter, when this want of artificial light made time most valuable, would often begin his work before daylight; he might have a speech to prepare for the senate, or a brief for a trial, or letters to write. Within the first two hours of daylight the busy man had to find time for a morning meal, the idle man who slept later might postpone it. Breakfast consisted of bread either dipped in wine, or eaten with honey, olives or cheese. The meal over, the man of politics or business would leave his house, outside of which his clients and friends or other hangers-on would be waiting for him and proceed to the Forum accompanied by these people in a kind of procession. Some would go before to make room for him, while others followed him, if bent on election business, he would have experienced helpers, either volunteers or in his pay. Every Roman of importance liked to have, and usually did have, a train of followers or friends in descending to the Forum on a morning from his house. Arriving at the Forum if not engaged in a trial or summoned to a meeting of the Senate, of busy in
canvassing he would mingle with the crowd, and spend a social in meeting and talking with friends, or in occupying himself with his investments with the aid of his bankers and agents.

After a morning spent in the Forum he might return home in time for lunch which had taken the place of the early dinner of the olden times. Exactly the same thing affected the hour of these meals as has affected those of our own within the last century or so; the great increase of public business of all kinds has with us pushed the time of the chief meal later and later, and so it was at Rome. The senate had an immense amount of business to transact, and the increase in oratorical skill, as well as the growing desire to talk in public extended its sittings till nightfall. After lunch, if a man were at home and at leisure, followed the siesta. This is the universal habit in all southern climates, especially in summer. After a siesta the Roman partook of his bath. Most well appointed private houses had by this time a bath room or a set of bathrooms, providing every accommodation according to the season and the taste of the bather. This was indeed a modern improvement, in the old days the Romans only washed their arms and legs daily and took a bath every ninth day.

After the bath came the dinner, usually about the
ninth hour. The dinner was, in fact, the principal private event of the day, it came when all business was over, and you could enjoy the privacy of family life or see your friends and unbend with them. This meal was the one at which entertainment took place. In the old days of household simplicity the meals were taken in the atrium, the husband reclining on a lectus, the wife sitting by his side and the children sitting on stools. The slaves too in the olden time took their meal sitting on benches in the atrium, so that the whole family was present. Afterwards the atrium ceased to be the common dining-place and special chambers were built, either off the atrium, or in the interior part of the house, or even upstairs, for the accommodation of guests, who might be received in different rooms, according to the season and the weather. These rooms were so arranged as to afford the greatest personal comfort and the best opportunities for conversation; they indicate clearly that the dinner is no longer an interval in the day's work, but a time of repose and ease at the end of it. After dinner and the course of entertainment the household retired to bed.

The Romans of all people had a wonderful capacity for enjoying themselves out of doors. Many days were given over to a general free day from work. There were many holidays during Augustus's time. Some commemorating the gods, others commemorative of great men, while other days
commemorated great victories of the Roman armies. During these festival days, the government would put on what we would call a show. First in the morning a triumphal procession would pass through the city. Then after the procession the people would retire to the Colosseum where gladiatorial contests, chariot races, foot races and other sports would be held. The people would be guests of the government as it were. All these processions were dear to the Roman people as we see in the writings of the great men of literature. We can pass over these times without reflecting on the personal conduct of the Romans of this age. Although the vices of slavery and of the area were evident in these times, yet they had a certain high degree of morality which cannot be condemned. The luxurious extravagance of imperial Rome has been equalled and surpassed yet society has not, in any way, done anything that could reproach that of the principate.
The revival of the state religion by Augustus was the most remarkable event in the history of the Roman religion, and one almost unique in religious history.

It is a long descent from the inspiring idealism of Virgil to the cool, tactical attempt of Augustus to revive the outward forms of the old religion. It seems strange that two men so different in character and upbringing should have been working in the same years in the same direction yet on planes so far apart. How far the two were directly connected in their work we cannot know for certain. It is said that the subject of the Aeneid was suggested to Virgil by Augustus, and it is quite possible that this may be true; but it by no means follows from this that the inspiration of the poem came from any other source but Virgil's own thought and feeling. We also know that Augustus from the first appreciated the Aeneid, and that he saved it for all time; but it is by no means clear that it inspired him in his efforts towards moral and religious regeneration. Perhaps the truth is that both were moved by the wave of mingled depression and hope that swept over Italy for some years after the death of Julius, and that each used his experience in his own way and according to his opportunities.

A revival of religious ceremonies it was not, for what we understand by that term had never existed at Rome; but it was an attempt to give expression, in a religious form...
under State authorization to certain feelings and ideas
not far removed in kind from those which in our own day
we describe as our religious experience. Whether Augustus
himself shared in those feelings and ideas it is, of course,
impossible to conjecture. But as a man's religious con-
victions are largely the result of his own experience and
of that of the society in which he lives, and as Augustus'
own experience for the twenty years before he took this
work in hand had been full of trial and temptation, I am
disposed to guess that he was rather expressing a popular
conviction which he shared himself than merely standing apart
and administering a remedy. And this view seems to me to
be on the whole confirmed by the tone and spirit of the
great literary works of the age.

"Augustus did not become pontifex maximus till the year
12 B.C., nineteen years after he had crushed Antony at Act-
ium; he waited with scrupulous patience until the headship
of the Roman religion became vacant by the death of Lep-
ides. But this did not prevent him from pursuing his rel-
igious policy with great earnestness before that date, for
he had long been a member of the pontifical college, as
well as augur and quindecemvir. No sooner had he returned
to Rome from Egypt than the work of temple restoration began,
the outward and visible sign to all that the "pax deorum,"
was to be firmly re-established."(1)

(1) Fowler, W.H. Religions Experience of the Roman
People.
The restoration of the temple buildings implies also a revival of the old ritual, the "cura et caerimonioa."

As to this we are perfectly informed,—we have no correspondence of this age, as of the last, and the details of life in the Augustan city are not preserved in abundance. But Ovid comes to the rescue here, as in secular matters, and on the whole the evidence in his Fasti suggests that the old sacrificing priesthoods, the Rex and the Flamines, were set to their work again. He tells us for example, how he himself, as he was returning to Rome from Nomentum, had seen the Flamen Quirinalis carrying out the "exta" of a dog and a sheep which had been sacrificed in the morning in the city, to be laid on the altar in the grove of Quirinus. In spite of all its disabling restrictions, it was possible once more to fill the ancient priesthood of Jupiter; and of the Rex sacrarum and the other flamines we hear in the early Empire. They were in the "pontificia" of the pontifex maximus, and as after 12 B. C. that position was always held by the Princeps himself, it was not likely that they would be allowed to neglect their duties. Other ancient colleges were revived or confirmed by the inclusion of the Emperor among their members, e.g. the Petiales, of whom he had made use when declaring war with Antony and Cleopatra; the Sociales Titienses, an institution of which we have lost the origin and meaning; the Salii, Luperci, and above all the Fratres Arvales, the brotherhood whose duty it had once been to lead a procession round the crops in May, and so to ensure the "pax deorum" for the most vital material of human
subsistence. The corn-supply now came almost entirely from Africa and Egypt; the inner meaning of this old ritual could not be revived, and we must own that all this restoration of the old caerimoniam must have appealed rather to the eye than the mind of the beholder. It was necessary to put some new element into it to give it life. Here we come upon a most important fact in the work of Augustus, which will become apparent if we take a rapid glance at the work and history of the Fratres, and then go on to find further illustration of the curious mixture of old and new which the Roman religion was henceforward to be.

The brethren were twelve in number, with a magister at their head and a flamen to assist him; they were chosen from distinguished families by co-operation, the reigning Emperor being a member. Their duties fell into two divisions, which most aptly illustrate respectively the old and the new ingredients in the religious prescriptions of Augustus, as they were carried out by his successors. The first of these is the performance of the yearly rites in honour of the Dea Dia, the goddess or numen without a substantival name, whose home was in the sacred grove, and who was the special object of this venerable cult. Secondly the care of vows, prayers, and sacrifices for the Emperors and other members of the imperial house. I must say a few words about each of these divisions of duty.
The worship of the Dea Dia took place in May on three days, with an interval always of one day between the first and second according to the old custom of the calendar. On the first, preliminary rites were performed at Rome in the house of the magister; on the second was the most important part of the whole ceremony, which took place at the sacred grove. These rites will give a good idea of the old Roman worship, and of the exactness with which Augustus sought to restore it. At dawn the magister sacrificed two porcae piacularae to the Dea, and then a vacca honoraria, after which he laid aside the toga praetexta or sacrificial vestment and rested till noon, when all the brethren partook of a common meal, of which the porcae formed the chief part. Then resuming the praetexta, and crowned with wreaths of corn ears, they proceeded to the altar on the grove, where they sacrificed the agna opima, which was the principal victim in the whole ceremonial. Other rites followed, such as the passing round, from one to another of the brethren, fruits gathered and consecrated on the previous day, each brother receiving them in his right hand and passing them on with his left; and the singing of the famous Arval hymn to Mars and the Lares to a rhythmic dance-tune. Then after another meal and chariot-racing in the neighboring circus, they returned to Rome and finished the day with further feasting. A cynical reader of these Acta might suggest that the appetites
of the good brethren were made more of than than their pietas; but the feasting may be just as much a part of the ancient practice as any of the other curiosities of the ritual." (1)

The utensils employed were of the primitive sun-baked clay, and seem to have been regarded with a veneration almost amounting to worship. "Longe, when a tiny fig-tree sprouted on the roof of the temple, piauala of all suitable kinds had to be offered to Mars, Dea Dia, Janus, Jupiter, Juno, Virgines divae, Famuli divi, Lares, Mater Larum, Fons, Hora, Vesta, Mater, Vesta deorum deorumque, Adolenda Commodenda Deferenda, and sixteen divi of the imperial families. As the date of this extraordinary performance is A. D. 165, nothing can better show the extent to which the revival of elaborate ritual had been carried by Augustus, and the amazing tenacity with which it held its ground." (2)

The second part of the activity of the brethren illustrates the new element which Augustus adroitly insinuated into the old religious forms; but I shall not dwell upon it for the worship of the Caesars in its developed form is not of either Roman or Italian origin, any more than the other kinds of cult which were now pressing in from the East; and it thus lies outside the range of my subject. The revival of this old priesthood, and doubtless of others, the Salii for example, was turned to account to mark the

(1) W. Warde Fowler. Roman religious experience
(2) Ibid.
sacred character and political and social predominance of imperial family. All events of importance were the occasion of vows, prayers, or thanksgivings on the part of the Fratres; births, marriages, successions to the throne, journeys and safe return, and the assumption of the consulship and other offices or priesthoods.

With the Romans, as with other peoples, the ritual of worship consisted of sacrifice and prayer; the two being, so far as we know, always combined. Sacrificium was the act of making over to the deity some property of the worshipper; sacrum being "that which belongs to a deity." The nature of the sacrifice depended partly on the function of the particular deity, partly on the object aimed at by the sacrificer. Thus the Roman husbandman offered the first-fruits of all crops to the numina concerned with their welfare; at the Vestalia in June, a festival preliminary to the harvest, the Vestals offered sacred cakes, made in antique fashion, of ears of corn which they had already plucked in May; at the Parilia in April, baskets of millet, cakes, and nails of milk, were offered to Pales, the deity of husbandmen. But the available evidence shows that animal sacrifices were also in use from the earliest times, as we might expect from the nature of Italian husbandry, which was always largely occupied with the rearing of stock. The wealth of the old Roman farmer consisted chiefly of cattle, and in State-festivals we find ox, sheep, and pig as victims, all
three together in some well-known rites, such as the Ambabalia. The pig, however, as the less honourable animal, was rarely used apart from the other two, except in expiatory sacrifices. As in Greece, male victims were offered to male deities and female victims to goddesses, in historical times; and each deity had a favourite victim, e.g. Janus preferred a ram, Jupiter a white heifer, Robinus, a red dog, here the combination of the ox, sheep and pig, and, at the curious festival of this god on October 15, a war-horse was sacrificed in a peculiar manner.

The ritual of the altar was often extremely elaborate. All that need here be said is that the victim which must be unblemished was slain by the assistants of the priest, after its head had been sprinkled with wine and with fragments of the sacred cake. In all ordinary sacrifices the internal organs, and especially the liver, were carefully examined, and if of good omen, and such as would satisfy the deity, were placed upon the altar, while the rest of the animal was eaten. The prayer was probably said at this point; the priest, or whoever was the sacrificer, said it with his head covered, in order to shut out evil influences from his eyes, and under his breath, while a sibicon played the tibia to drown all ill-omened sounds. The bystanders kept meanwhile a strict silence. The prayer was the expression of a desire, perhaps almost a claim, on the
part of the worshippers, that the deity would further their interests in some matter within the range of his activity, either by averting evil or doing positive good; there is no trace in the Roman religion of prayer for other than material blessings. To obtain the desired result, every detail of the ritual had to be gone through correctly; any mistake or accidental hindrance made it necessary to begin the whole process over again and to offer an expiatory sacrifice. This was usually a pig, which was sacrificed with the same ritual as the ordinary victim. On great occasions such a piaculum was offered the day before the festival, in order to expiate any omission that might happen the next day: it was then called a percos praecansiones.

The most beautiful and interesting of all the Roman acts of worship, which is found elsewhere in Italy, as at Luguvium, is that called the lustratio, which was used whenever city, army, crops, or flocks had to be purified or protected from evil influences. Apart from certain quaint and primitive rites of this kind in use a the Lupercalia and the Farilla, which survive from the oldest Palatine settlement, the typical lustratio consisted of a procession which went round the object to be purified, stopping at particular well-marked spots, and offering there sacrifices and prayer. As described in Cato, de agriculturna, and also by Virgil, the lustratio of the farm consisted of a procession which went round the fields when the crops were ripening; the sacrifices in this case took place at the end
of the third round, and a prayer was offered for the protection of the farmer and his family, as well as of the farm itself, including the pasture as well as the arable. The actual words of this prayer may be read in the 141st chapter of Cato's works.

With the introduction of Greek dialects in the first age of the Republic, there came in also the Gracca ritus, which the Romans always carefully distinguished from their own ritual. The only detail of it which we know for certain is that the head of the sacrificer was in this case uncovered; but with it, and under the influence of the Sibylline books and their keepers, there came also other ceremonies, the most famous of which was the lectisternum. This was seen for the first time in 399 B.C. when Apollo and Latone, Hercules and Diana, Mercurius and Neptunus were exhibited reclining on couches in the Greek fashion, and seeming to partake of a meal laid out in front of each of them, as they reposed with their left arms on cushions. Here the whole population of the city might share in the rites, while, in the strictly Roman ritual, only the sacrificing priest officiated and entered the temple. These innovations mark the first appearance of a tendency, constantly recurring in Roman history, to seek for a more emotional expression of religious feeling than was afforded by the old forms of sacrifice and prayer. In Livy's account of the Lectisternia we seem to discern something in the nat-
ure of the sense of sin, or at least of pollution, something in the relation of the State to the supernatural: a religious or feeling of fear and awe, which the old Roman rites were not adequate to soothe.

But this acute reformer contrived to combine with the old worship the idea of the Empire and of his own supremacy. Apollo was believed to be a god specially connected with the family of the Julii, and it was Apollo of Actium who had assisted him in the most critical moment of his fortunes. In 28 B.C. he therefore dedicated to Apollo Palatinus a splendid temple on a site which was his own personal property, thus founding a cult, which, beginning as a private concern of his own family, was destined, as he no doubt anticipated, to become one of the most important in Rome. Again in his new Forum, NE. of the Forum Romanum, he built a temple of Mars Ultor, the avenging deity of the murder of Julius, which he destined to supersede in some degree the great Capitoline temple of Jupiter; for here, instead of at the latter temple the youths of the Imperial family were to assume their toga virilis; here the triumphantor was to deposit his insignia after his triumph; and here, after each lustrum, the Censors were to drive a nail into the wall. Lastly, a new temple of Vesta was built on the Palatine hill, directly connected with the house of the Imperial family; not superseding the old temple below,
but showing none the less that the heart and life of the
State were bound up with the hearth and home of the reigning princeps.

Augustus did not officially allow himself to be wor-
shipped in his lifetime in Rome or Italy. But in Rome he
placed the image of his Genius between those of the two
Lores Compitales at the meeting-points of the streets through-
cut the city; and, in the chief city of each province, where
the concilium provinciae met, he was worshipped in combina-
tion with Dea Roma. After his death he was officially
deified, as Julius had been before him, and a guild was in-
stituted, the Sodaliscs Augustales, to take charge of his cult.

"Henceforward the worship of the Caesars becomes a leading
fact in the history of the Empire; but, as it was in truth
rather a political than a religious institution, and had its
roots rather in ideas and customs of the East than in any
truly Roman conception of the divine nature, its further
detail must be omitted here."(1)

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(1) Sandys, Sir John

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province; a legate to command a legion or administer an imperial province; or a curator in charge of some administrative commission in Rome or Italy.