

Extended essay cover

Candidates must complete this page and then	n give this cover and their final ver	sion of the extended essay to their supervisor.
Candidate session number		
Candidate name		
School name		
Examination session (May or November	er) May	Year 2015
Diploma Programme subject in which this e		Latin Group 2 whether it is group 1 or group 2.)
Title of the extended essay: An a in Roman literature use	unalysis of fugustu d to shape Roma	s Caesar's influence
Candidate's declaration		
This declaration must be signed by the		
The extended essay I am submitting i Baccalaureate).	is my own work (apart from	guidance allowed by the International
I have acknowledged each use of the visual.	words, graphics or ideas of a	another person, whether written, oral or
I am aware that the word limit for all ex to read beyond this limit.	xtended essays is 4000 word	ds and that examiners are not required
This is the final version of my extended	essay.	
Candidate's signature:		Date: 2/9/15

Supervisor's report and declaration

The supervisor must complete this report, sign the declaration and then give the final version of the extended essay, with this cover attached, to the Diploma Programme coordinator.

Name of supervisor (CAPITAL letters)

Please comment, as appropriate, on the candidate's performance, the context in which the candidate undertook the research for the extended essay, any difficulties encountered and how these were overcome (see page 13 of the extended essay guide). The concluding interview (viva voce) may provide useful information. These comments can help the examiner award a level for criterion K (holistic judgment). Do not comment on any adverse personal circumstances that may have affected the candidate. If the amount of time spent with the candidate was zero, you must explain this, in particular how it was then possible to authenticate the essay as the candidate's own work. You may attach an additional sheet if there is insufficient space here.

When began this process, he knew he wanted to do something that focused on emperor Augustus in some way. First, he looked at coins and wanted to investigate how coins were used to propagandize Augustus, but found a paucity of resources and evidence, so he had to adapt his focus and decided to look at how Augustus attempted to instill his moral reforms into a rather sullied culture. Eventually, a focus on literature developed, as that was the venue in which Nilay was able to acquire the most effective primary sourcing. Another battle encountered was that his topic very closely paralleled the content of I required that he pull from items not specifically delineated by his the IB syllabus; current IB list of works studied. Throughout this process, I was able to see develop a strong thesis with solid grounding in significant segments of works from th den Age that gave him a reasonable basis on which to draw his conclusion. I am proud of the piece he has submitted.

This declaration must be signed by the supervisor; otherwise a mark of zero will be issued.

I have read the final version of the extended essay that will be submitted to the examiner.

To the best of my knowledge, the extended essay is the authentic work of the candidate.

As per the section entitled "Responsibilities of the Supervisor" in the EE guide, the recommended number of hours spent with candidates is between 3 and 5 hours. Schools will be contacted when the number of hours is left blank, or where O hours are stated and there lacks an explanation. Schools will also be contacted in the event that number of hours spent is significantly excessive compared to the recommendation.

I spent

2

hours with the candidate discussing the progress of the extended essay.

Supervisor's signature:

Date: 2/19/15

Assessment form (for examiner use only)

Candidate session number

	Achievement level				
Criteria	Examiner 1	maximum	Examiner 2	maximum	Examiner 3
A research question	2	2		2	
B introduction	2	2		2	
C investigation	3	4		4	
D knowledge and understanding	3	4		4	
E reasoned argument	4	4		4	
F analysis and evaluation	Ý	4		4	
G use of subject language	Y	4		4	
H conclusion	卫	2		2	
I formal presentation	4	4		4	
J abstract	1	2		2	
K holistic judgment	4	4		4	
Total out of 36	34				
e of examiner 1: ITAL letters)			Ехап	niner number:	
e of examiner 2: PITAL letters)			Exan	niner number:	
ne of examiner 3:			Exan	niner number:	

IB Assessment Centre use only: B: IB Assessment Centre use only: A:

An Analysis of Augustus Caesar's influence in Roman literature used to shape Romar <i>pietas</i>
To what extent did Augustus Caesar utilize literature to instill a sense of <i>pietas</i> in the Romans?
February 2015
Word Count: 3,993
In Partial Requirement for the IB Diploma, May 2015 Session

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Abstract

This essay investigates the "extent to which Augustus Caesar utilized literature to instill a sense of *pietas* in the Romans." The essay is broken up into three main parts. The first part is Augustus' influence on Horace and his *Odes*. The second part is Augustus' influence on Vergil and his Aeneid. The third part is Augustus' own writing about his achievements. In all of the works mentioned in this essay, Augustus is being exemplified and spreading the virtue of *pietas*. For example, Horace's Roman Odes contain Roman values that people could easily understand and follow. Some of these values include being patriotic towards the fatherland or obeying the gods. These refer back to the teaching of *pietas* and are used to show how a proper Roman should act. In Vergil's Aeneid, Aeneas is used to show the importance of family and religion. He is illustrated as a pious individual, who mirrors the image of Augustus himself. The aspect of family and religion is terms of *pietas* plays in favor of Augustus' idea of uniting the Roman Empire and restoring its former glory. Augustus also writes down his achievements in order to show the Romans how successful of a leader he was. This would create strong feelings of loyalty and would make Romans want to follow in the steps of Augustus. Augustus' goal was to create an ideal image of a Roman centered around the virtue of *pietas*, and by influencing individual poets and writing about his achievements he accomplished that goal thoroughly.

Word Count: 252

Introduction

The fall of the Roman Republic was due in part to the degradation of the morals in people and their attitude of anti-establishment. They were greedy and self-indulgent in their actions with low morals. As the cities started to get even more crowded, Romans used the bricks from temples to build homes. However, due to the fall of the Roman Republic the right man was able to step up at the right time: Augustus Caesar as the new Roman Empire's *Princeps*, or first citizen. He wanted to bring back the Roman virtues and unite the people of Rome. In order to do this he had to avenge the death of Julius Caesar to set an example of his filial responsibilities. After completing this task, he pursued the method of using religion or *pietas* in order to bring the Romans together. To properly spread the knowledge of *pietas* and how a proper Roman acts, he influenced poets to emphasize Roman virtues in their literature. He also wanted the people to treat him like a father, or rather *pater patriae*, which coincides with the culture of *pietas*. This essay will be focusing on the teachings of *pietas*, which is Latin for a sense of duty or loyalty to the gods or family.

A multitude of resources were examined to understand the extent to which Augustus used literature to promote *pietas* in the Romans. Specifically works of Horace, Vergil, and Augustus himself will provide evidence for the promotion of *pietas* and will be analyzed.

Plan of Investigation

Primary and secondary sources will be used to analyze Augustus' influence in literature around the topic of *pietas*. Since the *Aeneid* by Vergil has heavy indications of *pietas* and the promotion of the image of Augustus, it will be used as a primary source. Other primary sources will include the Roman Odes by Horace, works of Suetonius, and the Res Gestae by Augustus,

¹ Paul A. Bishop, "Rome: Transition from Republic to Empire."

which is about the achievements of the divine Augustus written by himself. Secondary sources will include articles from Jstor pertaining to interpretations of these different primary sources.

Other secondary sources include scholarly books covering the reign of Augustus. The biases of the secondary sources were taken into consideration when extracting information from them.

Evidence

I. Horace

Horace's extraordinary poetic skills became apparent to Augustus through Maecenas, who was a close friend of Augustus' and had found Horace and admitted him into his literary circle. Seeing the grand potential of Horace, Augustus offered him to leave the patronage of Maecenas and join him as his secretary. Horace refused the invitation because he knew if he started to write panegyrics, then his self-respect would diminish because he would be writing under the influence of a politician. However, this did not stop the efforts by the emperor. Recognizing the innate writing ability of Horace, Augustus knew that his work would be immortal and people would adhere to his work. According to Suetonius, Augustus would often send letters to Horace in hopes of extending their friendship. He then wrote a letter to Horace exclaiming the following: "Irasci me tibi scito, quod non in plerisque eius modi scriptis mecum potissimum loquaris; an vereris ne apud posteros infame tibi sit, quod videaris familiaris nobis esse? After receiving this letter, Horace felt obligated tow rite the following Epistle 2.1 to his

² "Life of Horace." Trans. Bill Thayer. Suetonius Life of Horace

³ Oxford Dictionary defines panegyrics as "a public speech or published text in praise of someone or something

⁴ Karl Galinksy, *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus* (Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 2005) 312 ⁵ "Life of Horace"

⁶ "You must know that I am not pleased with you, that in your numerous writings of this kind you do not talk with me, rather than with others. Are you afraid that your reputation with posterity will suffer because it appears that you were my friend?"

emperor: "Cum tot sustineas et tanta negotia solus, Res Italas armis tuteris, moribus ornes, Legibus emendes: in publica commoda peccem,Si longo sermone morer tua tempora, Caesar." Realizing that he must talk about the deeds of the emperor, Horace agreed to write about Augustus. What Augustus wanted was an epic centered on him in a panegyric kind of style. However, Horace did not end up writing such a thing and refused to accept that Augustus came from a divine lineage. Instead he complied to write about pursuing Roman virtues. He took this pursuit because he felt an absence of the "patriotic feeling for the one-ness of Italy." Thus he became one of the patriotic voices for Augustus and attempted to instill *pietas* in the Romans using Book III and Book IV of the *Odes*. 10

In *Ode 3.2* Horace promotes a patriotic tone throughout the poem. "dulce at decorum est pro patria mori, 11" represents the duty a soldier or citizen has towards his State. With the State being the ultimate power, it is important for a Roman to serve the empire and fulfill his duty. This goes along with the teaching of pietas since it is a duty towards the fatherland. Furthermore, in the last two stanzas of *Ode 3.2* the theme of pietas in regards to trust is more prevalent. "fideli...silentio, 12" is important when it comes to the culture of pietas because it allows for a sense of duty in knowing what is right and what is considered wrong. If a Roman cannot contain

"Life of Horace"

Robert Bly, trans. Robert Hass 163

⁷ "Seeing that single-handed thou dost bear the burden of tasks so many and so great, protecting Italy's realm with arms, providing it with morals, reforming it by laws, I should sin against the public weal, Caesar, if I wasted thy time with long discourse."

[&]quot;Life of Horace"

⁸ Galinksy 312

⁹ George K. Strodach, "Pietas: Horace and Augustan Nationalism." 138

¹⁰ Odes 1-6 of Book III are considered to be Roman Odes that address the Roman virtues dictated by Augustus

[&]quot;Honorable and sweet to die for one's country," (Ode.111.2.13)

Robert Bly, *Horace, The Odes,* ed. J.D. McClatchy, trans. Robert Hass (Princeton, Princeton UP, 2002) 163 "Trustworthy silence," (Ode.III.2.25)

the secrets rites of Ceres¹³, then they cannot be trusted with the duty of something important leading them to be considered unprincipled. It is said that those who divulge the secrets of Ceres endanger themselves and those around them, whether they be innocent or guilty, to the wrath of Jupiter. Thus it is important to be trustworthy in order to handle the responsibilities of a duty.

Surrendering full will to the empire and carrying the trust needed to carry out an order and protect individuals are important values that Horace depicts in order to achieve *pietas*.

Refraining from using the divine lineage of Augustus to emphasize *pietas*, Horace uses *Ode 3.3* to compare Augustus to other extraordinary entities. A direct comparison is made between Augustus and legendary entities like Bacchus, Pollux, and Hercules. ¹⁴ This idea of Augustus being equals among the heroes is depicted by "quos inter Augustus recumbens. ¹⁵". These powerful beings were highly admired and considered heroic in the Roman Empire, and the fact that Horace represents Augustus as equals to them shows the legendary character of the emperor and illustrates him as a savior. With the image of Augustus portrayed so highly, an extreme desire to be loyal to such a figure was created. Delineating Augustus as an esteemed figure is not the only way Horace instilled *pietas* in the Romans in *Ode 3.3*, but rather he also uses the gods to instill a fear in Romans and compel them to obey the rules. For example, he claims that Juno has allowed Rome to expand its empire as long as Rome stays true to "hac lege. ¹⁶" If Rome were to break the laws set by Juno, particularly the one about restoring Troy in its greed, then she will personally lead an army to Rome and destroy the empire. This is indicated by "Troiae renascens alite lugubri fortuna tristi clade iterabitur ducente victrices"

¹³ A reference to the guarded religious secrets of Demeter, goddess of the harvest. It is believed that these secrets reveal a ritual that unites the devotee with the god along with the promise of divine power ¹⁴ Strodach 140

Robert Bly, trans. Carl Phillips 165

16 "By this law"

^{15 &}quot;Augustus, at ease among them," (Ode.III.3.11)

catervas coniuge me lovis et sorore. ¹⁷, With this overwhelming threat of the powerful gods, the Romans would be forced out of fear to obey the laws set by the State. Furthermore, near the end of *Ode 3.3* Horace addresses his Muse, which represents him invoking his own sense of *pietas*. Asking his muse "quo, Musa, tendis?" emphasizes the fact that he had been obeying his muse the entire time he was writing the poem. ¹⁹ Romans would notice this invocation and realize that they must also obey those who were of a higher class, particularly Augustus since he was the emperor. Horace uses *Ode 3.3* to emphasize the exemplary figure of Augustus, the obligation to obey the laws, and the responsibility each Roman has towards Augustus.

In *Ode 3.6* Horace changes the approach he had when trying to instill *pietas*. Instead of giving examples of gods that should be honored or of Augustus who should be regarded highly, he talks about the failures of Rome and the reasons behind them being the deterioration of religion. "dis te minorem quod geris, imperas: hinc omne principium: huc refer exitum. Di multa neglecti dederunt Hesperiae mala luctuosae, ²⁰, shows how the gods will always be around and unless they are treated with respect, the problems that Rome faces will continue. The poem continues to talk about the civil wars and the wars that Rome had lost, blaming it all on the Romans neglecting the gods. ²¹ This poem would raise a sense of shame in Romans since doing something as simple as "donec templa refeceris aedesque labentes deorum et foeda nigro

1

Robert Bly, trans. Carl Phillips 169

Robert Bly, Trans. Richard Howard 181

¹⁷ "If Troy's fortune rises again, ill-omened it will do so, and her utter disaster, too, will be repeated- I myself, Jove's wife and sister, shall lead the conquering forces," (Ode.III.3.61-64)

Robert Bly, trans. Carl Phillips 169

"My Muse, where are you off to?" (Ode.III.3.70)

¹⁹ Andrew Murdison, "Moral Unity in Horace's Third Book of Odes," 5

²⁰ "Once you ruled by religion; honor your gods- they were the beginning, they will be the end. Neglected, they will perpetrate horror after horror on Hesperia," (Ode.III.6.5-8)

²¹ Strodach 142

simulacra fumo, ²², was not done. This realization of the degradation of religion coincided with Augustus' goal to restore *pietas*. The Romans would feel obligated to restore religion and promote the welfare of Rome, thus falling in accord with the culture of *pietas*.

After accomplishing a great many deeds of stopping civil wars, expanding the empire, and protecting the Roman empire, Augustus Caesar returned to Rome in 13 BCE from the duties of protecting Gaul and Italy against German invaders. In celebration of his return Horace wrote *Ode 4.5*. The tone in this *Ode* has taken a more celebratory tone and more of a willingness to write panegyrically about Augustus. Compared to *Ode 3.14*, which celebrated the return of Augustus in a more personalized and not as dramatic way, *Ode 4.5* has more enthusiasm and is a much grander celebration.²³ Evidence of *pietas* having increased in the Romans can be noticed with the "sic desideriis icta fidelibus quaerit patria Caesarem.²⁴" With this having been said, it can be noted that the sense of duty in Rome had been restored and that the Romans were satisfied with the new Rome.

This admiration and respect for Augustus is continued in *Ode 4.15*. The following achievements of Augustus Caesar are discussed: "*fruges et agris rettulit uberes et signa nostro restituit Iovi derepta Parthorum superbis postibus et vacuum duellis.*²⁵" Augustus had carried out his obligations as a Roman emperor and provided stability to the empire. These actions created a sense of pride and devotion in the Romans, which further emphasized Augustus' goal to instill *pietas*. Being the last *Ode* in the series of 4 books, this concluding poem created a lasting effect

²² "Crumbling temples must be rebuilt, altars made worthy of the sacrifice restored," (Ode.III.6.2-4) Robert Bly, Trans. Richard Howard 181

²³ Kurt A. Raaflaub, Between Republic and Empire Interpretations of Augustus and His Principate (Berkeley, U of California, 1990) 275

²⁴ "This country, stricken by loyalty, yearns for the quick return of Caesar," (Ode.IV.5.15-16) Robert Bly, Trans. John Kinsella 273

²⁵ "Has brought bounty to our fields, restored to our gods those standards stripped from proud Parthian columns, closed the iron doors to the temple of war," (Ode.IV.15.5-8) Robert Bly, Trans. J. D. McClatchy 303

of the eminence of Augustus as a Roman emperor in the Roman readers. ²⁶ The phrase "custode rerum Caesare non furor civilis aut vis exiget otium, ²⁷" would especially resonate feelings of safety and admiration because they knew that they were in the hands of Augustus. With this *Ode* the other name of Augustus, pater patriae, made sense to the people since he was someone who protected the fatherland. With the Romans full of pride and loyalty towards their leader, Augustus' goal of emphasizing *pietas* through the works of Horace was accomplished.

II. Vergil

As part of Maecenas' patronage, Vergil would write wonderful works of art. According to Suetonius, when Augustus was returning from the Battle of Actium in 31 BCE Vergil read him the *Georgics*. ²⁸ This complex poetry written by Vergil himself included impressive passages that were dedicated to the praise of Augustus. One of the passages included this phrase: "*Mox tamen ardentis accingar dicere pugnas Caesaris et nomen fama tot ferre per annos, Tithoni prima quot abest ab origine Caesar.* ²⁹ "Having heard this Augustus grew eager to witness an epic centered on himself. However, Vergil was mindful of his self-respect when writing for a politician. When Augustus realized that no poet was going to write an epic centered on him, he urged the poets to write about enhancing morals such as *pietas* through their poems. Vergil was prepared to write for Augustus in an enlightening way, painting him as someone destined for the heavens and the savior of an unsteady world in order to emphasize loyalty and *pietas*. This is

Trans. A.S. Kline "Virgil: The Major Works"

²⁶ Janice M. Benario, "Book 4 of Horace's Odes: Augustan Propaganda." 341

While Caesar stands guard, no turmoil at home, no arms aboard can unbalance the peace," (Ode.IV.15.17-18)

Robert Bly, Trans. J. D. McClatchy 303

^{28 &}quot;Suetonius: The Life of Vergil." Internet History Sourcebooks Project

^{29 &}quot;Soon I'll prepare myself to speak of Caesar's fiery battles, and take his name forward, famous, for as many years as Caesar's are far from immortal Tithonus's first birth," (Geo.III.46-48)

typically difficult for other poets to write about since it takes away their self-respect, but Vergil is excited to write for Augustus.³⁰ Encouraged by Augustus, Vergil began work on the *Aeneid*, which would demonstrate the mythological origin of Augustus Caesar and would be the closest representation of an epic centered around Augustus. The *Aeneid* would also demonstrate a significant amount of *pietas* and influence many Romans in the way that Augustus wanted.

Near the beginning of Book I, Vergil starts out with Jupiter's prophecy of the future fame of Rome: "nascetur pulchra Troianus orgine Caesar, imperium Oceano, famam qui terminet astris, Iulius, a magno demissum nomen Iulo... Aspera tum positis mitescent saecula bellis. 31", This prophecy indicates that Augustus will be deified and that he already has a close connection with the gods. According to Grebe, Augustus "represents the culmination of Roman history." All of his ancestors had found cities: Aeneas had found Lavinium, Ascanius had found Alba Longa, Romulus founded Rome, and Augustus reestablished Rome after its perpetual chaotic atmosphere 32. Not only did he find Rome, but he also expanded it with his conquests in Egypt, Germania, Hispania, Africa, and many other territories. The fact that Augustus had found a city and built it into a great power further emphasizes his relationship with the mythical characters preceding him. This emphasis brought upon by Jupiter's prophecy and the powerful linear line of Augustus intensifies the prestige of Augustus. Romans would feel a sense of duty and obligation to appease this god-like individual and by being loyal to him, there would be a sense of establishment and belonging that heightened the values of Romans.

The most significant imagery of *pietas* is demonstrated in Book II when Aeneas is

³² Grebe 47

³⁰ Fergus Millar, Caesar Augustus: Seven Aspects (Oxford, Clarendon) 193

^{31 &}quot;From this noble stock there will be born a Trojan Caesar to bound his empire by Oceanus at the limits of the world, and his fame by the stars. He will be called Julius, a name passed down to him form the great lulus. In time to come, have no fear you will receive him in the sky, laden with the spoils of the East. He too will be called upon in prayer. Then wars will be laid aside and the years of bitterness will be over," (Aen.1.286-91) Trans. Sabine Grebe. "Augustus' Divine Authority and Vergil's "Aeneid" 47

leaving burning Troy. "ergo age, care pater, ceruici imponere nostrae; ipse subibo umeris...mihi paruus Iulus sit comes...tu, genitor, cape sacra manu patriosaue penatis.³³" Fulfilling his filial responsibilities, he sought his father in order to carry him on his back to. He also fulfilled his duty towards his son and wife by taking them to safety. Not only does he have a duty toward his family but he also brings along the *Penates*, which are the household gods. This represents the future religion of Rome and how highly it must be regarded. It is given to the father because the head of the family is the one who is generally in charge of the gods³⁴. The combination of the duty toward family and the duty toward the gods illustrates the ultimate form of *pietas*. Furthermore, it has been claimed that Augustus is considered to be a second Aeneas. 35 If Aeneas is such a pious individual devoting his life to protecting his family and his religion, imagine Augustus protecting his family (the Roman empire in its entirety) and the religion that brought together the Romans. This powerful image would resonate in the mind of Romans when they read this section and it would create a strong sense of patriotism towards Augustus. Due to Aeneas' strong inclination to protect his family, when his wife Creusa went missing during their travel out of the city, he set his father, son, and *penates* down in a safe place and went back into the battlefield to find her as evident by the following text: "ipse urbem repeto et cingor fulgentibus armis, stat casus renouare omnis omnemque reuerti per Troiam et rursus caput objectare periclis. 36" He risked his own life to keep his family together. This can be compared to ...

^{33 &}quot;Come then, dear father, clasp my neck: I will carry you on my shoulders: that task won't weigh on me. Whatever may happen, it will be for us both, the same shared risk, and the same salvation. Let little lulus come with me, and let my wife follow our footsteps at a distance. You servants, give your attention to what I'm saying. At the entrance to the city there's a mound, an ancient temple of forsaken Ceres, and a venerable cypress nearby, protected through the years by the reverence of our fathers: let's head to that one place by diverse paths. You, father, take the sacred objects, and our country's gods, in your hands:" (Aen.II.707-717) Trans, Kline

³⁴ Paul Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* 204 ³⁵ Jasper Griffin, "Virgil" **6**4

³⁶ "I myself seek the city once more, and take up my shining armour. I'm determined to incur every risk again, and retrace all Troy, and once more expose my life to danger," (Aen.II.749-751)

Augustus fighting in the Battle of Actium in order to bring peace to the Roman Empire. He is risking his own life to fulfill his duty toward the State, while Aeneas risked his life to fulfill his duty towards his wife. They are both exemplars of duty to the state, gods, and family, and the Romans would highly admire them and hoped to emulate their actions.

In Book IV an example of *pietas* in the sense of filial responsibilites is displayed. Aeneas fulfills his father Anchises' wish and travels down to the underworld to meet him. However, he had to talk to the Sibyl who instructed him to find the golden bough and to also bury the restless soul of one of his sailors in order to make his way down to the underworld and be guaranteed safe passage out of there. Going though the arduous tasks on behalf of his father, Aeneas finally makes his way down to the underworld. When his father sees him the first thing he says is "uenisti tandem, tuaque exspectata parenti vicit iter durum pietas?³⁷". By fulfilling his filial duties, Aeneas is setting an example of how Romans should act towards their father. This obedient type of attitude was what Augustus wanted in the Romans. Thus Vergil does an excellent job at depicting Augustus' goals and emphasizing the filial responsibilities of pietas.

Pietas is depicted yet again in Book VIII when Aeneas has landed on the shores of Latium. While resting on one of the river banks, Aeneas receives a dream from Tiberinus, who is a river god. In the dream Tiberinus tells Aeneas about the location of where he will set up his city. After he wakes up, Aeneas goes to this location and does the following: "Ecce autem subitum atque oculis mirabile monstrum, candida per siluam cum fetu concolor albo procubuit uiridique in litore conspicitur sus; quam pius Aeneas tibi enim, tibi, maxima luno³⁸." The

Trans. Kline

³⁷ "Have you come at last, and has the loyalty your father expected conquered the harsh road?" (Aen.VI.687-88) Trans. Kline

³⁸ "But behold a sudden wonder, marvelous to the sight, gleaming white through the trees, a sow the same color as her white litter, seen lying on the green bank; dutiful Aeneas, carrying the sacred vessel, sets her with her young before the altar and sacrifices her to you, to you indeed, most powerful Juno." (Aen.VIII.81-84)

placement of the *penates* in the area where the city will grow signifies the importance of religion that will come to be. For Aeneas, adhering to the god was of utmost important and thus *pietas* played a vital role in his life. He hoped that the future generation would follow his example and be just as pious as he is. This kind of attitude can be seen with Augustus too since he is trying to invoke a piety in the Romans in order to unite them.

In addition to the location of the *Penates*, in Book VIII the description of Aeneas' shield is given. Although most of the shield has a war like tone with the Battle of Actium being at the center of the shield, religion is also depicted on the shield. ³⁹ One of the drawings include "at *Caesar, triplici inuectus Romana triumpho moenia, dis Italis uotum immortale sacrabat. maxima ter centum totam delubra per urbem.* ⁴⁰ "The exaggeration of three hundred great shrines being built signifies the importance of religion. To Augustus it was important to have *pietas* because it promoted his attempts to restore religious devotion. He believed that the assurance of the gods was needed in order to be a proper Roman, therefore he emphasized the important of religion to all Romans.

III. Augustus

Before Augustus could publish any literature of his own he had to be sure that his authority was accepted and that his political program was also accepted. He learned from the arrogant mistakes of Julius Caesar and did not accept any titles that would put his authority in danger. He only celebrated when his authority was embraced, but the celebration was not to emphasize his power but rather to "immortalize the program" and secure the Roman Empire.

Trans. Kline

³⁹ Grebe 53

⁴⁰ "Next Augustus, entering the walls of Rome in triple triumph, is dedicating his immortal offering to Italy's gods, three hundred great shrines throughout the city." (Aen.VIII.714-16)
Trans. Kline

Augustus wrote the *Res Gestae* to pressure the upcoming generations to maintain his achievements. 41 "Commentum id se ut ad illorum (vitam) velut ad exemplar et pise, dum viveret, et insequentium aetatium principes exigerentur as civibus. 42" The following examples are pulled from the *Res Gestae*, and, although they are achievements written by him giving it a bias quality, the source is reliable because it provides a first hand account of what was accomplished in the eyes of Augustus.

The *Res Gestae 2* discusses the actions that Augustus took to avenge his father adoptive Julius Caesar due to his filial responsibilities. "Qui parentem meum trucidaverunt...at postea bellum inferentis rei publicae vici bis acie⁴³," was what Augustus did. Romans would recognize this achievement as a vengeance ploy to bring justice to his father, which in turn promotes the virtue of pietas. This filial responsibility can be seen again in *Res Gestae 15* where Augustus donates money to the Roman plebs under the will of his father. The money donated was from his private wealth and was for the good of the people. By doing this he fulfilled his noble duty to the people and the filial duty to his father. ⁴⁴ Both of these *Res Gestae* are set up to exemplify the virtue of pietas in Augustus and to provide citizens with a figure to model themselves on.

In addition to filial responsibilities, *pietas* also covers the importance of religion and obeying the gods. In the *Res Gestae 19* Augustus claims that he built the following temples: temple of Apollo, temple of divine Julius, temples on the Capitol of Jupiter Feretrius and Jupiter the Thunderer, the temple of Quirinus, the temples of Minerva and Queen Juno and Jupiter

⁴¹ Raaflaub 274

⁴² "He had designed this so that the citizens could measure both him himself, as long as he lives, and the great men of following ages by the life of these men [of the past] as by a template." (Suet. Aug. 31.5) Raaflaub, Trans. G. Williams 274

⁴³ I drove into exile the murderers of my father, avenging their crime through tribunals established by law; and afterwards, when they made war on the republic, I twice defeated them in battle." (RG.2) Trans. P.A. Brunt, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti: The achievements of the Divine Augustus*, " (London, Oxford UP, 1967) 19

⁴⁴ Brunt 15

Libertas on the Aventine, temple of the Lares, temple of the Di Penates, temple of Youth, and the temple of the Great Mother on the Palatine. The large list of temples emphasizes the degree to which Augustus promotes *pietas* and prayers. Encouraging Romans to take part in religious activites further contributed to the culture of Romans and revitalized morals. Even though Augustus excluded his name from the temples, everyone would know who the patron of the building was. The establishment of temples would display the relationship between Augustus and the gods, further promoting the image of Augustus and the desire to model oneself after him.

Res Gestae 34 depicts the sacrifice Augustus makes in good faith. "per consensum universorum potitus rerum omnium, rem publicam ex mea potestate in senatus populique Romani arbitrium transtuli, ⁴⁷," shows that Augustus could have become a dictator and ruled the people ruthlessly should he choose to do so. However, his morals contradict that type of rule. He envisioned Rome to be the greatest power in the world led by the people themselves. This showed how Augustus was not a tyrant and he held his virtues. He had a duty to secure the Roman Empire and he did that by eliminating civil wars. Once the duty was complete he handed the power back to the senate out of respect. This large self-sacrifice awarded him with the name Augustus, which means the great or venerable one. ⁴⁸ In Res Gestae 35 Augustus' goal of being the father figure of the empire was reached. This achievement was written circa 2 BCE when he had been awarded the title pater patria. Romans now had a fatherly figure they could be loyal to and fulfill their filial responsibilities in respect to Augustus⁴⁹. Since Augustus still had major

⁴⁵ Brunt 27

⁴⁶ John Richardson, *Augustan Rome 44 BC to AD 14: The Restoration of the Republic and the Establishment of the Empire* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh UP, 2012) 208

the Empire. (Edinburgh, Edinburgh UP, 2012) 208

47 "And at a time when with universal consent I was in complete control of affairs, I transferred the republic from my power to the dominion of the senate and the people of Rome," (RG.34)

Trans. Brunt 35

⁴⁸ Brunt 35 ⁴⁹ Brunt 36

influence in the Roman Empire, the people were in fact fulfilling their filial responsibilities to the State and coming together as one under the virtue of *pietas*, just like how Augustus wanted.

Conclusion

Augustus utilized literature to promote *pietas* to a great extent. Without the help of Maecenas, Augustus may not have noticed both Horace and Vergil. After realizing the grand potential of both poets, August was set on having them both write for him. Augustus pressured Horace to write his *Odes*, which promoted the image of Augustus and called on Romans to do a better job at praying to the gods. As for Vergil, when Augustus insisted on him to create an epic, he started work on The Aeneid. The epic promoted the bloodline of Augustus and advocated the virtue of *pietas* through Aeneas. With Augustus being a second Aeneas, the Roman people adhered to the say so of Augustus and loyalty was built. To promote *pietas* even further, Augustus wrote about his achievements. These spectacular achievements promoted his own image in the Roman Empire due to his achievements of expanding the empire, stabilizing it, and spreading prosperity throughout the lands. Thus he had instilled pietas in current Romans and future Romans through his own poetry. In conclusion, Augustus can be seen as a savior of Roman religion and a promoter of the Roman virtue of *pietas*. He created an ideal image through the works of Horace, Vergil, and himself that he wanted all of his Romans to follow and model themselves after. His influence in the poets brought about prosperity in the Roman world that corrected the problems faced in the Roman Republic.

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Appendix A - Ode 3.2

Angustam amice pauperiem pati robustus acri militia puer condiscat et Parthos ferocis vexet eques metuendus hasta vitamque sub divo et trepidis agat 5 in rebus. Illum ex moenibus hosticis matrona bellantis tyranni prospiciens et adulta virgo suspiret, eheu, ne rudis agminum sponsus lacessat regius asperum 10 tactu leonem, quem cruenta per medias rapit ira caedes. Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori: mors et fugacem persequitur virum nec parcit inbellis iuventae poplitibus timidove tergo. Virtus, repulsae nescia sordidae. intaminatis fulget honoribus nec sumit aut ponit securis arbitrio popularis aurae. 20 Virtus, recludens inmeritis mori caelum, negata temptat iter via coetusque volgaris et udam spernit humum fugiente pinna. Est et fideli tuta silentio merces: vetabo, qui Cereris sacrum volgarit arcanae, sub isdem sit trabibus fragilemque mecum solvat phaselon; saepe Diespiter neglectus incesto addidit integrum, 30 raro antecedentem scelestum deservit pede Poena claudo.

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Appendix B - Ode 3.3

Iustum et tenacem propositi virum non civium ardor prava iubentium, non voltus instantis tyranni mente quatit solida neque Auster, dux inquieti turbidus Hadriae, nec fulminantis magna manus lovis:

5

si fractus inlabatur orbis. inpavidum ferient ruinae. Hac arte Pollux et vagus Hercules enisus arces attigit igneas, 10 quos inter Augustus recumbens purpureo bibet ore nectar; hac te merentem. Bacche pater, tuae vexere tigres indocili iugum collo trahentes; hac Quirinus Martis equis Acheronta fugit, 15 gratum elocuta consiliantibus lonone divis: 'Ilion, Ilion fatalis incestusque iudex et mulier peregrina vertit 20 in pulverem, ex quo destituit deos mercede pacta Laomedon, mihi castaeque damnatum Mineruae cum populo et duce fraudulento. Iam nec Lacaenae splendet adulterae 25 famosus hospes nec Priami domus periura pugnaces Achivos Hectoreis opibus refringit nostrisque ductum seditionibus bellum resedit. Protinus et gravis 30 irae et invisum nepotem, Troica quem peperit sacerdos, Marti redonabo; illum ego lucidas inire sedes, discere nectaris sucos et adscribi quietis ordinibus patiar deorum. 35 Dum longus inter saeviat llion Romamque pontus, qualibet exules in parte regnato beati; dum Priami Paridisque busto 40 insultet armentum et catulos ferae celae inultae, stet Capitolium fulgens triumphatisque possit Roma ferox dare iura Medis. Horrenda late nomen in ultimas 45 extendat oras, qua medius liquor secernit Europen ab Afro, qua tumidus rigat arva Nilus: aurum inrepertum et sic melius situm, cum terra celat, spernere fortior 50 quam cogere humanos in usus omne sacrum rapiente dextra,

quicumque mundo terminus obstitit, hunc tanget armis, visere gestiens, qua parte debacchentur ignes, 55 qua nebulae pluviique rores. Sed bellicosis fata Quiritibus hac lege dico, ne nimium pii rebusque sidentes avitae tecta velint reparare Troiae. 60 Troiae renascens alite lugubri fortuna tristi clade iterabitur, ducente victrices catervas coniuge me Iovis et sorore. Ter si resurgat murus aeneus 65 auctore Phoebo, ter pereat meis excisus Argivis, ter uxor capta virum puerosque ploret.' Non hoc iocosae conveniet lyrae; quo, Musa, tendis? Desine pervicax 70 referre sermones deorum et magna modis tenuare parvis.

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Appendix C - Ode 3.6

Delicta maiorum inmeritus lues, Romane, donec templa refeceris aedisque labentis deorum et foeda nigro simulacra fumo. Dis te minorem quod geris, imperas: 5 hinc omne principium, huc refer exitum. Di multa neglecti dederunt Hesperiae mala luctuosae. Iam bis Monaeses et Pacori manus non auspicatos contudit impetus 10 nostros et adiecisse praedam torquibus exiguis renidet. Paene occupatam seditionibus delevit urbem Dacus et Aethiops. hic classe formidatus, ille 15 missilibus melior sagittis. Fecunda culpae saecula nuptias primum inquinavere et genus et domos: hoc fonte derivata clades in patriam populumque fluxit. 20 Motus doceri gaudet Ionicos

matura virgo et fingitur artibus. iam nunc et incestos amores de tenero meditatur ungui. Mox iuniores quaerit adulteros 25 inter mariti vina, neque eligit cui donet inpermissa raptim gaudia luminibus remotis. sed iussa coram non sine conscio surgit marito, seu vocat institor 30 seu navis Hispanae magister, dedecorum pretiosus emptor. Non his iuventus orta parentibus infecit aequor sanguine Punico Pyrrhumque et ingentem cecidit 35 Antiochum Hannibalemque dirum; sed rusticorum mascula militum proles, Sabellis docta ligonibus versare glaebas et severae matris ad arbitrium recisos 40 portare fustis, sol ubi montium mutaret umbras et iuga demeret bobus fatigatis, amicum tempus agens abeunte curru. Damnosa quid non inminuit dies? 45 aetas parentum, peior avis, tulit nos nequiores, mox daturos progeniem vitiosiorem.

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Appendix D - Ode 4.5

Divis orte bonis, optume Romulae custos gentis, abes iam nimium diu; maturum reditum pollicitus patrum sancto consilio redi.

Lucem redde tuae, dux bone, patriae; 5 instar veris enim voltus ubi tuus adfulsit populo, gratior it dies et soles melius nitent.

Ut mater iuvenem, quem Notus invido flatu Carpathii trans maris aequora cunctantem spatio longius annuo dulci distinet a domo, votis ominibusque et precibus vocat,

curvo nec faciem litore dimovet. sic desideriis icta fedelibus 15 quaerit patria Caesarem. Tutus bos etenim rura perambulat, nutrit rura Ceres almaque Faustitas, pacatum volitant per mare navitae, culpari metuit fides. nullis polluitur casta domus stupris. mos et lex maculosum edomuit nefas, laudantur simili prole puerperae, culpam poena premit comes. Quis Parthum paveat, quis gelidum Scythen. 25 quis Germania quos horrida parturit fetus incolumi Caesare? Quis ferae bellum curet Hiberiae? Condit quisque diem collibus in suis et vitem viduas ducit ad arbores; 30 hinc ad vina redit laetus et alteris te mensis adhibet deum: te multa prece, te prosequitur mero defuso pateris et Laribus tuum miscet numen, uti Graecia Castoris 35 et magni memor Herculis. 'Longas o utinam, dux bone, ferias praestes Hesperiae!' dicimus integro sicco mane die, dicimus uvidi. cum sol Oceano subest. 40

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Appendix E – Ode 4.15

Phoebus volentem proelia me loqui victas et urbes increpuit lyra, ne parva Tyrrhenum per aequor vela darem. Tua, Caesar, aetas fruges et agris rettulit uberes 5 et signa nostro restituit Iovi derepta Parthorum superbis postibus et vacuum duellis Ianum Quirini clausit et ordinem rectum evaganti frena licentiae 10 iniecit emovitque culpas et veteres revocavit artes per quas Latinum nomen et Italae crevere vires famaque et imperi

15 porrecta maiestas ad ortus solis ab Hesperio cubili. Custode rerum Caesare non furor civilis aut vis exiget otium. non ira, quae procudit enses et miseras inimicat urbes. 20 Non qui profundum Danuvium bibunt edicta rumpent Iulia, non Getae, non Seres infidique Persae, non Tanain prope flumen orti. Nosque et profestis lucibus et sacris 25 inter iocosi munera Liberi cum prole matronisque nostris rite deos prius adprecati. virtute functos more patrum duces Lydis remixto carmine tibiis 30 Troiamque et Anchisen et almae progeniem Veneris canemus.

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Appendix F – Aeneid Book I 278-296

His ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono: imperium sine fine dedi. Quin aspera luno, quae mare nunc terrasque metu caelumque fatigat. 280 consilia in melius referet, mecumque fovebit Romanos rerum dominos gentemque togatam: sic placitum. Veniet lustris labentibus actas, cum domus Assaraci Phthiam clarasque Mycenas servitio premet, ac victis dominabitur Argis. 285 Nascetur pulchra Troianus origine Caesar, imperium oceano, famam qui terminet astris,— Iulius, a magno demissum nomen Iulo. Hunc tu olim caelo, spoliis Orientis onustum, accipies secura; vocabitur hic quoque votis. 290 Aspera tum positis mitescent saecula bellis: cana Fides, et Vesta, Remo cum fratre Quirinus, iura dabunt; dirae ferro et compagibus artis claudentur Belli portae; Furor impius intus, saeva sedens super arma, et centum vinctus aenis 295 post tergum nodis, fremet horridus ore cruento.'

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Appendix G – Aeneid Book II 701-755

'iam iam nulla mora est; sequor et qua ducitis adsum, di patrii; servate domum, servate nepotem. vestrum hoc augurium, vestroque in numine Troia est. cedo equidem nec, nate, tibi comes ire recuso.' dixerat ille, et iam per moenia clarior ignis 705 auditur, propiusque aestus incendia volvunt. 'ergo age, care pater, cervici imponere nostrae; ipse subibo umeris nec me labor iste gravabit; quo res cumque cadent, unum et commune periclum, una salus ambobus erit. mihi parvus Iulus 710 sit comes, et longe servet vestigia coniunx. vos, famuli, quae dicam animis advertite vestris. est urbe egressis tumulus templumque vetustum desertae Cereris, iuxtaque antiqua cupressus religione patrum multos servata per annos; 715 hanc ex diverso sedem veniemus in unam. tu, genitor, cape sacra manu patriosque penatis; me bello e tanto digressum et caede recenti attrectare nefas, donec me flumine vivo abluero.' 720 haec fatus latos umeros subiectaque colla veste super fulvique insternor pelle leonis, succedoque oneri; dextrae se parvus Iulus implicuit sequiturque patrem non passibus aequis: pone subit coniunx. ferimur per opaca locorum. 725 et me, quem dudum non ulla iniecta movebant tela neque adverso glomerati examine Grai. nunc omnes terrent aurae, sonus excitat omnis suspensum et pariter comitique onerique timentem. iamque propinquabam portis omnemque videbar 730 evasisse viam, subito cum creber ad auris visus adesse pedum sonitus, genitorque per umbram prospiciens 'nate,' exclamat, 'fuge, nate; propinquant. ardentis clipeos atque aera micantia cerno.' hic mihi nescio quod trepido male numen amicum 735 confusam eripuit mentem, namque avia cursu dum sequor et nota excedo regione viarum, heu misero coniunx fatone erepta Creusa substitit, erravitne via seu lapsa resedit, incertum: nec post oculis est reddita nostris. 74() nec prius amissam respexi animumue reflexi quam tumulum antiquae Cereris sedemque sacratam venimus: hic demum collectis omnibus una defuit, et comites natumque virumque fefellit.

quem non incusavi amens hominumque deorumque,
aut quid in eversa vidi crudelius urbe?

Ascanium Anchisenque patrem Teucrosque penatis
commendo sociis et curva valle recondo;
ipse urbem repeto et cingor fulgentibus armis.
stat casus renovare omnis omnemque reverti
750
per Troiam et rursus caput obiectare periclis.
principio muros obscuraque limina portae,
qua gressum extuleram, repeto et vestigia retro
observata sequor per noctem et lumine lustro:
horror ubique animo, simul ipsa silentia terrent.
755

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Appendix H - Aeneid Book VI 684-689

isque ubi tendentem adversum per gramina vidit
Aenean, alacris palmas utrasque tetendit, 685
effusaeque genis lacrimae et vox excidit ore:
'venisti tandem, tuaque exspectata parenti
vicit iter durum pietas? datur ora tueri,
nate, tua et notas audire et reddere voces?

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Appendix I – Aeneid Book XIII 79-83

sic memorat, geminasque legit de classe biremis remigioque aptat, socios simul instruit armis. 80

Ecce autem subitum atque oculis mirabile monstrum, candida per silvam cum fetu concolor albo procubuit viridique in litore conspicitur sus:

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Appendix J – Aeneid Book XIII 709-719

illam inter caedes pallentem morte futura
fecerat ignipotens undis et lapyge ferri, 710
contra autem magno maerentem corpore Nilum
pandentemque sinus et tota veste vocantem
caeruleum in gremium latebrosaque flumina victos.
at Caesar, triplici invectus Romana triumpho
moenia, dis Italis votum immortale sacrabat. 715
maxima ter centum totam delubra per urbem.
laetitia ludisque viae plausuque fremebant;

omnibus in templis matrum chorus, omnibus arae; ante aras terram caesi stravere iuvenci.

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Appendix K – Res Gestae 2

Qui parentem meum trucidaverunt, eos in exilium expuli iudiciis legitimis ultus eorum facinus, et postea bellum inferentis rei publicae vici bis acie.

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Appendix L – Res Gestae 15

Plebei Romanae viritim HS trecenos numeravi ex testamento patris mei et nomine meo HS quadringenos ex bellorum manibiis consul quintum dedi, iterum autem in consulatu decimo ex patrimonio meo HS quadringenos congiari viritim pernumeravi, et consul undecimum duodecim frumentationes frumento privatim coempto emensus sum, et tribunicia potestate duodecimum quadringenos nummos tertium viritim dedi. Quae mea congiaria pervenerunt ad hominum millia numquam minus quinquaginta et ducenta. Tribuniciae potestatis duodevicensimum, consul XII, trecentis et viginti millibus plebis urbanae sexagenos denarios viritim dedi. Et colonis militum meorum consul quintum ex manibiis viritim millia nummum singula dedi: acceperunt id triumphale congiarium in colonis hominum circiter centum et viginti millia. Consul tertium decimum sexagenos denarios plebei quae tum frumentum publicum accipiebat dedi; ea millia hominum paullo plura quam ducenta fuerunt.

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Appendix M – Res Gestae 19

Curiam et continens ei Chalcidicum templumque Apollinis in Palatio cum porticibus, aedem divi luli, Lupercal, porticum ad circum Flaminium, quam sum appellari passus ex nomine eius qui priorem eodem in solo fecerat, Octaviam, pulvinar ad circum maximum, aedes in Capitolio Iovis Feretri Iovis Tonantis, aedem Quirini, aedes Minervae et Iunonis Reginae et Iovis Libertatis in Aventino, aedem Larum in summa sacra via, aedem deum Penatium in Velia, aedem Iuventatis, aedem Matris Magnae in Palatio feci.

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Appendix N – Res Gestae 34 and 35

[34] In consulatu sexto et septimo, postquam bella civilia exstinxeram, per consensum universorum potitus rerum omnium, rem publicam ex mea potestate in senatus populique Romani arbitrium transtuli. Quo pro merito meo senatus consulto Augustus appellatus sum et laureis postes aedium mearum vestiti publice coronaque civica super ianuam meam fixa est et clupeus aureus in curia lulia positus, quem mihi senatum populumque Romanum dare virtutis

clementiaeque et iustitiae et pietatis caussa testatum est per eius clupei inscriptionem. Post id tempus auctoritate omnibus praestiti, potestatis autem nihilo amplius habui quam ceteri qui mihi quoque in magistratu conlegae fuerunt.

[35] Tertium decimum consulatum cum gerebam, senatus et equester ordo populusque Romanus universus appellavit me patrem patriae, idque in vestibulo aedium mearum inscribendum et in curia Iulia et in foro Aug. sub quadrigis quae mihi ex s.c. positae sunt censuit. Cum scripsi haec annum agebam septuagensumum sextum.

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