The Classical Review

<http://journals.cambridge.org/CAR>

Additional services for *The Classical Review*:

Email alerts: [Click here](#)

Subscriptions: [Click here](#)

Commercial reprints: [Click here](#)

Terms of use : [Click here](#)

Livy and the Name Augustus

Lily Ross Taylor

The Classical Review / Volume 32 / Issue 7-8 / November 2018, pp 158 - 161

DOI: 10.1017/S0009840X00011926, Published online: 27 October 2009

Link to this article: http://journals.cambridge.org/abstract_S0009840X00011926

How to cite this article:

Lily Ross Taylor (2018). Livy and the Name Augustus. The Classical Review, 32, pp 158-161
doi:10.1017/S0009840X00011926

Request Permissions : [Click here](#)

et 'Bene vos, bene te, patriae pater, optime Caesar'

dicite suffuso in sacra verba mero.

Another class of MSS. (*m*, *D*, *C*, and others) read *sint bona verba*, but editors weary themselves trying to emend *in sacra verba* of the older MSS. The explanation of this variant is obvious if we look at the *fragm. Ilf.* (also *C*?). There we have apparently:

i. sacra

dicite suffuso sint bona verba mero.

I have no doubt that the archetype of *R* and *V* was glossed in the same way, and that some copyist interpreted *i. sacra* as a correction (*ī sacra*). The right reading is to be deduced from *sint bona verba*; it is possibly *sic bona verba* (Baehrens), though I would suggest *sub bona verba*.

When a gloss accommodates itself to the metre, the danger of its intrusion is great. In VI. 99, 100 the MSS. have:

ite pares a me. perierunt iudice formae

Pergama. plus laedunt quam iuvet una
duae.

Ovid is not adverse to using the ablative of instrument of persons; see

Palmer, *Her.* V. 75, XII. 162, and Draeger II. p. 548. But I do not think there is an instance to match 'perierunt iudice formae Pergama,' nor do I feel satisfied that Ovid wrote 'ite pares a me.' Now some commentator—not the original glossator—has written at the bottom of the page in *C*, illustrating line V. 110 'in libro inferiori (*i.e.* VI. 99, 100) eiusdem sententiae versus

Pergama Troiano perierunt iudice formae:
laedere plus possint quam iuvet una duae.'

Is it possible that the writer has preserved the true version of VI. 99, 100? *Ite pares a me* may be only a gloss on line 98—'res est arbitrio non dirimenda meo.' The glossator could have borrowed *ite pares* from *A.A.* III. 3 ('ite in bella pares'), or he may have been thinking of Calpurnius, *Ecl.* II. 99 ('este pares'). The gloss would oust the first words of line 99, and the lines would owe their present shape to the patchwork of a subsequent corrector.

E. H. ALTON.

Trinity College,
Dublin.

LIVY AND THE NAME AUGUSTUS.

LIKE the great writers of the Augustan Age, Livy was a warm supporter of the Emperor and his policies. He touches but very slightly (I. 3. 2), to be sure, on the connexion of the Julian house with Aeneas and the tradition of the origin of Rome which the *Aeneid* brought into popular knowledge some years after Livy wrote his first book. It may even be doubted whether the more immediate ancestry of Augustus was the subject of panegyrics in the later books of the historian who praised Pompey so highly that the Emperor dubbed him a Pompeian,¹ and who questioned whether the birth of Julius Caesar had brought more good or more harm to the Roman state.² But Livy's attitude toward Augustus himself is clearly attested by the evidence for the warm personal relations

that existed between them and, better still, by several references to the Emperor in Livy's history. Indeed every one of his definite allusions to events of his own day—there are only five—is concerned with the achievements of the Emperor.³ Except in one case, where the statement that Germany was but lately a pathless wilderness (IX. 36. 1.) makes indirect allusion to the prowess of the Emperor's arms, Augustus is mentioned by name. He is 'templorum omnium conditor ac restitutor' (IV. 20. 7); in his reign the temple of Janus was closed for the second time since its foundation (I. 19. 3); under his auspices the troublesome province of Spain was at last thoroughly subdued (XXVIII. 12. 12); in connexion with his new

¹ Tacitus, *Ann.* IV. 34.

² Seneca, *Nat. Quaest.* V. 18. 4.

³ Cf. Dessau, *Festschrift für Otto Hirschfeld* (1903), p. 164.

marriage law he is represented as reading in the senate the speech in which Quintus Metellus Macedonicus made a similar proposal a hundred years before (*Per.* LIX.). To these explicit references Professor Dessau has made the not improbable suggestion that two others may be added. He sees in the statement of the *Praefatio*, 'donec ad haec tempora quibus nec vitia nostra nec remedia pati possumus perventum est,' an allusion to the marriage law which Augustus proposed in 28 and then withdrew (*Propertius*, II. 7).¹ He thinks that the discussion in IV. 20 of the circumstances in which the *spolia opima* were dedicated by Aulus Cornelius Cossus may have been dictated by a desire to explain the refusal of the right to dedicate *spolia opima* to Marcus Licinius Crassus in 27 B.C.²

In this connexion it seems worth while to call attention to a striking use in Livy of the word *augustus* in contrast to *humanus* which, though without definite allusion to the Emperor, is apparently an intentional commentary on the meaning of the title which the Octavian assumed in 27 B.C. The five cases of the use all occur in the first decade. Now Livy was writing the first book between January 27, when the Emperor took his new title, and 25 B.C., and it is very probable that the first decade was completed within the next few years. The references come therefore shortly after the Emperor began to be called Augustus. The passages are: I. 7. 9 (of Hercules) 'habitum formamque viri aliquantum ampliorem *augustio remque humana*'; V. 41. 8 (of the appearance of the old men waiting in the Forum for death at the hands of the Gauls) 'ornatum habitumque *humano augustio rem*'; VIII. 6. 9 (of a vision appearing to Decius and Manlius), in 'quiete . . . visa species viri maioris quam pro *humano habitu augustio tisque*'; VIII. 9. 10 (of Decius preparing for the *devotio*): 'aliquanto *augustior humano* visus sicut caelo missus piaculum omnis deorum irae.' The

contrast is less direct in *Praefatio* 7: 'datur haec venio antiquitati ut miscendo *humana* divinis primordia urbium *augustiora* faciat.' Although *augustus* is constantly used in a religious sense, the only close parallel to this use is found in a passage of Valerius Maximus that may well be an echo of Livy: I. 8. 8 (of a description of the vision of Julius Caesar that appeared to Cassius at Philippi): 'quem . . . vidit humano habitu *augustio rem* purpureo paludamento amictum.' The similarity between these passages and Cassius Dio's definition of the new name is marked: (53. 16. 8) Αὔγουστος ὡς καὶ πλεῖόν τι ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπους ὧν ἐπεκλήθη· πάντα γὰρ τὰ ἐντιμότερα καὶ τὰ ἱερώτατα αὐγουστα προσαγορεύεται.

Livy seems to be defining the new name as if he feared that its true significance might not be understood. Later in a passage that refers explicitly to the Emperor Ovid does the same thing in somewhat different terms. Here, too, there is a suggestion of the contrast between *augustus* and *humanus*. *Fasti*, I. 605-612:

Nec gradus est ultra Fabios cognominis ullus :
illa domus meritis Maxima dicta suis.
sed tamen humanis celebrantur honoribus
omnes,
hic socium summo cum Iove nomen habet.
sancta vocant augusta patres : augusta vo-
cantur
templa sacerdotum rite dicata manu.
huius et augurium dependet origine verbi,
et quodcumque sua Iuppiter auget ope.

Suggestions as to the reason why *augustus* was the title selected by Octavian have recently been made by Professor Haverfield and Professor W. Warde Fowler. The former, noting the close association of the words *augustus* and *augur*, thinks that the abbreviation AUG. for *augur*, found on coins of Mark Antony that must have been in circulation in 27 B.C., may have suggested to Octavian the title Augustus which is also frequently abbreviated AUG.³ Against this suggestion which seems in general improbable it may be particularly urged that the abbreviation AUG. for *Augustus*, though common on

¹ Cf. Dessau, *Festschrift für Otto Hirschfeld* (1903), pp. 461-466.

² Dessau, *Livius und Augustus*, in *Hermes*, XLI. (1906), pp. 142-151.

³ Haverfield, *Journal of Roman Studies*, V. (1915), pp. 249-250.

later coins, cannot be dated before 19 B.C.¹ On the early coins and on nearly all the inscriptions of Augustus the name is written in full. Professor Fowler, in his new book *Aeneas at the Site of Rome*, hazards a most illuminating conjecture. He would read as an attribute the word *augustus* in the line (*Aen.* VII. 678): 'Hinc augustus agens Italos in proelia Caesar.' Following a suggestion of Nettleship that the account of the battle of Actium in the description of Aeneas' shield was originally written as a separate poem shortly after the battle, he was very tentatively suggests that the line quoted from that description 'may in fact have been responsible for the famous name.'

But an adequate explanation of the choice of *augustus* seems to be provided in the special religious connotation of the epithet which exactly fitted the Emperor's needs.² Although he did not actually claim personal divinity, Octavian must already have appreciated the aid in legalising his power that was rendered by the worship which his oriental subjects and, to a far lesser degree, his western subjects as well were ready to accord to him and to his house.³ In styling himself *divi filius* as early as 37 B.C. he was probably not unconscious of the effect of such a title in establishing his rule. After Actium there was need of a new name to indicate his peculiar position of pre-eminence in the reconstituted state. It was both safer and more effective to take a name of religious import that would indicate

the 'germ of a deity in him,'⁴ rather than to call himself Romulus as he wished but dared not do.⁵ The Emperor, therefore, had recourse to the old custom of having the senate vote a descriptive title⁶—one that differed, as Ovid shows, from the titles that were voted to the heroes of old in that attributed to him not human but divine characteristics. In the Greek *σεβαστός* he found an impressive title that may well have been coined for the occasion, for it occurs first, it would seem, in the history of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (II. 75) published in 7 B.C., and is rarely used except in references to the Imperial family. Cassius Dio's statement about the word indicates that it was unfamiliar: (53. 16. 8) *καὶ σεβαστὸν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐλληνίζοντες πως, ὥσπερ τινα σεπτόν, ἀπὸ τοῦ σεβάσθαι προσείπον.*

The Latin *augustus*, on the other hand, is used often by Cicero, regularly in a religious sense,⁷ and frequently as a synonym of *sanctus* and *religiosus*.⁸ Of these words *religiosus* was unsuitable for a name because of its ambiguity, and *sanctus*, the word that the Christians later made peculiarly their own, was too common to be distinctive. *Divinus*, regularly the opposite of *humanus*, would have seemed to make too explicit a claim to divinity, though the emperors of the third century did not hesitate to apply it to their families. The choice naturally fell on *augustus*, a word which, through its etymological connexion with *augere* and perhaps with *augur*⁹ too, had a particularly rich

¹ The abbreviation *Aug.* occurs first on coins dated after the dedication of the altar of Fortuna Redux, December 15, 19 B.C. Cf. Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum*, III., p. 30. Professor Haverfield cites no case of the abbreviation *Aug.* in inscriptions earlier than the *Monumentum Ancyranum*.

² On the name *Augustus* see Cassius Dio, 53. 16; Suet. *Aug.* 7; *Mon. Anc.* c. 34; *CIL.* I², pp. 307 f.; Censorinus, *De die natali*, 21. 8; Velleius, 2. 91. For further references see Gardthausen, *Augustus und seine Zeit*, pt. 2, pp. 297 f.

³ Cf. Pelham, *The Domestic Policy of Augustus in Essays on Roman History* (1911), pp. 109-113; W. S. Ferguson, *Legalised Absolutism en route from Greece to Rome in Am. Hist. Rev.* XV:II. (1912-1913), pp. 29-37.

⁴ Warde Fowler, *Roman Ideas of Deity* (1911), p. 126.

⁵ Cassius Dio, 53. 16. 7; cf. Florus II. 34. 36: 'Tractatum etiam in senatu in quia condidisset imperium Romulus vocaretur; sed sanctus et reverentius visum est nomen Augusti ut scilicet iam tum dum colit terras ipso nomine et titulo consecraretur.'

⁶ Cf. Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, III. pp. 212-213.

⁷ Only in Brutus 295 does Cicero use the word in the sense of *magnificus, admirabilis*, common in later times. See the *Thesaurus*.

⁸ Cicero, *Har. Resp.* 12, *satis sanctum, satis augustum, satis religiosum*. Cf. also Verr. V. 186; *N.D.* I. 119; II. 62. 79; III. 53; *Tusc.* V. 36.

⁹ See the *Thesaurus* and Walde's *Lateinisches-etymologisches Woerterbuch*. The con-

connotation. Professor Conway has noted that the conception of physical superiority, natural from the connexion with *augere*, is strong in the word in *Aeneid* VII. 678. He thinks that it probably indicated a certain enlargement in the figure of Augustus in

nexion with *augur* is maintained by Zimmermann, *Archiv für lateinisches Lexicographie*, VII. pp. 435 f. Cf. Professor O. L. Richmond's interesting comments, *Journal of Roman Studies*, IV. (1914), p. 216.

Aeneas's shield.¹ It is worthy of note that the same idea of physical superiority, not often predominant in the word, as a glance through the cases cited in the *Thesaurus* will show, is strongly emphasised in four of the cases which I have cited from Livy.

LILY ROSS TAYLOR.

American Academy in Rome.

¹ Quoted by Warde Fowler, *Aeneas at the Site of Rome*, p. 112.

LATIN POETIC ORDER WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO HORACE EPODES 5. 19.

I HAVE for some years been making a close study of word-order in Horace's *Odes* and *Epodes*. The conclusion has been forced upon me that the order of words is no more negligible in poetry than it is in prose. It is true that orders occur in poetry which would not be equally common in prose; and yet such non-prose orders are surprisingly few. One common type, however, with rare parallels in prose, merits special attention. It has a psychological interest which may be thus illustrated. Suppose we enter a room and see upon a table a red flower in a silver bowl. What makes more impression on the mind? Is it the antithetical colours, red and silver, and the antithetical objects, flower and bowl? Or is it the antithesis of the combinations, red flower and silver bowl? English decides for the latter; Latin poetry, more often, for the former; and, with rare exceptions, the two colours (literal or metaphorical) are put first and the two objects last. Thus while prose might write *flos purpureus stat in lance argentea*, poetry will prefer the grouping *purpureus argentea stat flos in lance*, or chiasmic orders such as *argentea purpureus stat flos in lance*, etc.

This grouping, as I have said, is in prose very rare. I know one case in Cicero, viz. *De Off.* 2. 7. 23, *reliquorum similes exitus tyrannorum*, and two cases in Livy, viz. 6. 34. 7, *parvis mobili rebus animo muliebri*, and 22. 2. 3, *omne veterani robur exercitus* (where, however, the MSS. show variations); and, doubtless, other parallel instances may be

found. But in poetry the device is a commonplace.

The neatest type is seen in the formula adj. A, adj. B, verb, noun A, noun B. Compare Lucr. 5. 1068, *suspensis teneros imitantur dentibus haustus*; Verg. *Aen.* 7. 10, *proxima Circaeae raduntur litora terrae*; Ovid. *Her.* 4. 80, 81, *exiguo flexos miror in orbe pedes*; seu *lentum valido torques hastile lacerto* and *passim*.

Less common is the formula adj. A, adj. B, verb, noun B, noun A, as in Hor. *Odes* 3. 7. 25: *niveum doloso credit tauro latus*.

These two types, with the verb in the centre, we will call types α^1 and α^2 respectively. The formula adj. A, adj. B, noun A, noun B, and the verb anywhere, we will call β^1 ; the formula adj. A, adj. B, noun B, noun A, or adj. B, adj. A, noun A, noun B, both with the verb anywhere, we will call β^2 . All four types occur in Horace's *Odes* and *Epodes*, and make a total of nearly 200 instances.

Of type α^1 the first case in the *Odes* is I. 2. 11, 12, *superiecto timidæ natarunt æquore damæ*; of type α^2 , I. 3. 10, *fragilem truci commisit pelago ratem*; of type β^1 , I. 3. 23, *impias non tangenda rates transiliunt vada*; and of type β^2 , I. 1. 14, *Myrtoum pavidus nauta secet mare*.

A notorious line in Lucan (8. 343) should, I think, be regarded as a case of type β^2 , viz.:

*quem captos ducere reges
vidit ab Hyrcanis (A) Indoque (B) a litore (B)
silvis (A).*