

MARCUS AGRIPPA

A
BIOGRAPHY

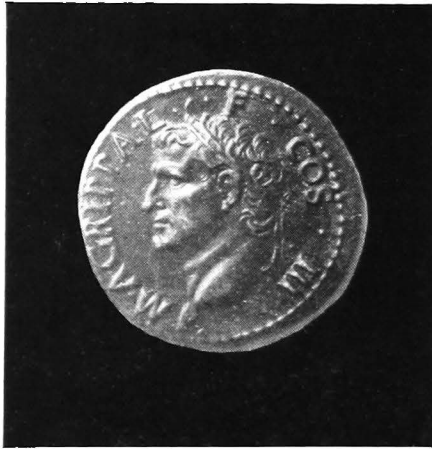


REINHOLD

MARCUS AGRIPPA

A

BIOGRAPHY



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(From a coin in the British Museum)

(Enlarged)

MARCUS AGRIPPA

A Biography

BY

MEYER REINHOLD

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TO

MY MOTHER AND FATHER

PREFACE

If Augustus was the 'architect of the Roman Empire', Marcus Agrippa was his superintendent of construction. In the history of the foundation of the Roman Empire the figure of Augustus is dominant. About him move various personalities, interesting not only in themselves, but also because they help to throw light upon the elusive character of the leading personality. Of those who believed in the monarchy because Augustus was the monarch the most important are Agrippa and Maecenas, both men of extraordinary capabilities. Yet, while the name of Maecenas, the *dulce praesidium* of the great poets of the Augustan Age, has become proverbial for literary patronage, the important contributions of Agrippa to the new political and social order which rose out of the chaos of the civil wars of the last century of the Republic and with which the name of Augustus is associated have rarely received the attention which they justly merit.

The first biography of Marcus Agrippa based upon modern methods of scholarship was written by Frandsen,¹ a sound, scholarly piece of work, if one takes into consideration the few instruments of research available to the scholar a hundred years ago.² No advance was made by the study of Motte, which, while it has the merit of correcting Frandsen's fault of treating the life of his subject, not chronologically, but under the various phases of his career, is characterized by the inclusion of much irrelevant matter and by a lack of historical breadth.³ The

¹The previous bibliography is given by Motte, VIII. The monograph of R. Mecenat, *De Vita Rebusque Gestis M. Vipsanii Agrippae Commentarius Testimoniis Scriptorum Veterum Concinnatus* (Rome, 1821), which was not available to me, appears to have been unimportant.

²The two dissertations, by Matthes and by Van Eck, which appeared shortly after Frandsen's biography, contain little more than a few corrections, qualifications, and additions to Frandsen's work.

³C. Nispi-Landi's book, *Marco Agrippa, I Suoi Tempi e il Suo Pantheon* (Rome, 1901), is worthless. See Hülsen's estimate (in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 1.899) of the archeological material in this book.

recent monograph of Dahlman is based chiefly upon secondary works, not upon a re-evaluation of the sources. Among the incidental treatments of Agrippa's influence, in histories of the Empire and of the Augustan Age, Gardthausen's appraisal of Agrippa's relations to his times⁴ is the most valuable.

None of the foregoing treatments of the life of Agrippa is based upon a complete collection of all the sources, literary, inscriptional, numismatic, archeological, relevant to Agrippa. I have attempted in my biography to include every piece of evidence which bears upon the life of Agrippa, to fix the chronology of his life as closely as possible, and to trace the influence of Agrippa upon Augustus and upon the foundation of the Roman Empire. I am aware of unevenness of emphasis in parts of my treatment of Agrippa's life. It seemed to me wiser at times to refer the reader to adequate discussions of certain topics which have engaged the attention of others, especially of military history and of archeological remains, than to present the details anew. In other cases, where I thought I could present a new fact or a new point of view, I have not hesitated to elaborate the details.

To Professor Charles Knapp, who suggested the topic of this dissertation, and read the book several times in manuscript and in proof, I am under heavy obligations. I am indebted also to Professor W. L. Westermann, who has always made himself accessible to me. I have, finally, to thank Professor M. B. Ogle, of the American Academy in Rome, and Mr. H. Mattingly, of the British Museum, for communications concerning specific points in my dissertation.

MEYER REINHOLD

New York,

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⁴1.735-761, 2.409-431, *et passim*.

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CHAPTER I

BIRTH, ANCESTRY AND FAMILY

Obscurity clouds not only the origin of Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, but also his whole life up to the time when his fortunate friendship with Octavius offered to his native ability and his powerful personality the opportunity to rise from honor to honor until he reached finally the very pinnacle of power, the co-regency of the Roman Empire. Such details as the exact date of his birth, his lineage, his parents, the members of his immediate family are in large part lost, along with numerous other details of far greater importance in the life of the man who, next to Augustus, exerted the greatest influence upon the foundation of the Roman Empire.

That Marcus Agrippa was of approximately the same age as his friend Octavius is an obvious deduction from a statement in Nicolaus of Damascus¹ that they were educated together. Dio² fixes the date of Agrippa's death during the latter half of March, 12 B.C., and Pliny the Elder mentions as one of the misfortunes in the life of Agrippa that he died *quinquagensimo uno raptus anno*.³ On the basis of the last two statements, scholars are almost unanimous in placing the date of Agrippa's birth in the consulship of M. Tullius Cicero, 63 B.C., the year of the birth of Octavius.⁴

I have pointed out⁵ that the Romans were just as careless as we are in the use of expressions of age, and that we cannot be certain of the precise interpretation of a statement of age in a given Latin author until we have demonstrated, if possible,

¹7. Augustus, as is well known, was born on September 23, 63 B. C. (see Fitzler-Seeck, 277).

²54.28. For the date of his death see below, page 126, notes 14-15.

³7.46.

⁴See e. g. Frandsen, 238; Matthes, 1; Gardthausen, 2.410, note 11; Vaglieri, in *Dizionario Epigrafico*, 1.368 (read there 691 u. c. for 631 u. c.). I have seen only one divergence from the general view. Rohden-Dessau (439) admit the possibility of 62 B. C., presumably before the second half of March. The statement in Lübker (1113), "... geb. um 62 vChr. . .", is not exact.

⁵In my article *A Contribution to Biographical Chronology*, *The Classical Weekly* 26 (1933), 172-175.

that the author is careful and consistent in his usage. How are we to interpret Pliny the Elder's statement that Agrippa died *quinquagensimo uno raptus anno*? Did he mean to convey the thought that, when Agrippa died in March, 12 B.C., he was in the fifty-first year of his life, and, therefore, only *fifty years* old, or the thought that Agrippa had *completed fifty-one years* of age? Most modern scholars, interpreting Pliny strictly, as is natural, conclude that Agrippa died in the fifty-first year of his life; on the other hand, the statement is not infrequently made that Agrippa was fully fifty-one years old at the time of his death.

The exact connotation of Pliny's words cannot be known until we establish, if possible, the usage of Pliny in statements of age, and thus set up a rule by which to interpret a given statement of this sort by him. There are few passages in all by which we may test Pliny's usage in such statements. A critical examination of these passages will show, I think, that Pliny understood and intended to convey by statements of age with *annus* and a numerical adjective the number of years *completed* at the last birthday, not the particular year of life upon which the individual had entered at the time of the event Pliny is recording.

Pliny says of Cato Maior,⁷ *Atqui hic Cato sescentesimo quinto anno urbis nostrae obiit, octogensimo quinto suo . . .* There is a tradition which makes Cato several years older than this when he died,⁸ but Pliny is apparently following the tradition which Cicero followed when he stated that Cato was born in 234 B.C. and *completed eighty-five years* of life.⁹ Cicero is surely more to be trusted than Pliny in such a matter. Hence, unless Pliny really is following still another tradition, which made Cato slightly younger at the time of his death, we must believe that Pliny meant to convey that Cato lived to be fully eighty-

⁷See e. g. Gardthausen, 1.860, 2.410, note 11; Domaszewski, 208; The Encyclopaedia Britannica¹⁴, 1.429; Bernoulli, 1.252; Dessau, 1.458. If this is the correct interpretation of Pliny's words, Agrippa may very well have been born in 64 B. C. Gardthausen, who discusses (2.410, note 11) the evidence for the date of Agrippa's birth, does not observe this, for he says that Agrippa was "ungefähr ein halbes Jahr älter" than Octavius. 79.15.

⁸See W. de Vries, *De Vita M. Porcii Catonis Majoris*, 1-2 (Dissertation, Amsterdam, 1895).

⁹Cato Maior 10; Brutus 80 *Et vero etiam tum Catone vivo, qui annos quinque et octoginta natus excessit e vita . . .*

five years old (i.e. *completed* eighty-five years of life). More striking is Pliny's reference¹⁰ to Varro, one of his authorities on agricultural matters: . . . non in grege nominando M. Varrone, qui LXXXI vitae annum agens de ea re prodendum putavit. There can be no doubt that Pliny read and used as a source Varro's *Res Rusticae*.¹¹ In the very first chapter of this treatise Varro states, *annus enim octogesimus admonet me ut sarcinas conligam antequam proficiscar e vita*. Unless it can be shown that the manuscripts of Varro or those of Pliny are at fault, we must conclude that Pliny understood by Varro's *annus octogesimus* that Varro was fully eighty years old at the time. Obviously, then, to Pliny *LXXXI vitae annum agens* and *annus octogesimus* are closely equivalent expressions.¹²

I am convinced that, when Pliny wrote that Agrippa died *quinquagesimo uno raptus anno*, he intended to state that

¹⁰18.23.

¹¹Pliny cites him in his catalogue of sources as an authority for Book 18.

¹²No doubt the impression of Varro's extreme age influenced Pliny's change in the number. See my article *A Contribution to Biographical Chronology*, 174 (see note 5, above), for examples in other Latin writers in which the emphasis on extreme age or on extreme youth operated to bring about a deviation of *one full year* from the general tradition about the age of the individual involved. Other passages in Pliny reveal his usage in expressions of age. Compare 7.154 . . . Theopompus Epimenidi Gnosio CLVII <tribuit annos> with 7.175 . . . in Gnosio Epimenide simili modo accipio . . . ut tamen in septimum et quinquagesimum atque centesimum vitae duraret annum, 2.32 Summum esse quod vocant Saturni sidus ideoque minimum videri et maximo ambire circulo ac tricesimo anno ad brevissima sedis suae principia regredi certum est . . . with 2.44 . . . vicenis diebus septenisque et tertia diei parte peragit spatia eadem quae Saturni sidus altissimum XXX, ut dictum est, annis, 20.5 (Pliny is speaking of the durability of elaterium) Melius quo vetustius, fuitque iam CC annis servatum, ut auctor est Theophrastus, et usque ad quinquagesimum lucernarum lumina extinguit with Theophrastus, *Historia Plantarum* 9.14.2 . . . ἄχρι πενήκοντα ἐτῶν σβέννυσι προσαγόμενον τοῦς λύχνους.

In his discussion of viticulture Pliny uses *secundo anno* (17.173), *tertius annus* (17.175), *septimum annum* (17.182), *quinto anno* (17.183); he evidently means, in each case, the *full* number of years of the duration of the vine. Furthermore, there are numerous instances in which Pliny uses round numbers in expressions of age with *annus* and a numerical adjective; in these he could hardly have had in mind anything but the number of years *completed*. See e. g. 10.106 Vivere palumbes ad tricentesimum annum, aliquas et ad quadragesimum, habemus auctores . . . For like expressions, to be similarly interpreted, see 7.29, 8.28, 164, 205, 11.166, 184, 35.101.

Agrippa had *completed* fifty-one years of age at the time of his death. In view of this conviction, I am forced to conclude that Agrippa was born in the year 64 B.C., after the latter part of March, or very early in 63 B.C., not, as scholars have held, necessarily in 63 B.C.¹³

Marcus Agrippa could not point to a long list of famous ancestors whose *imagines* were treasured in the *alae* of his *domus*. The *gens Vipsania*¹⁴ was practically unknown in Roman history before Agrippa embarked upon his brilliant career.¹⁵ Tacitus

¹³See note 4, above. W. v. Voigt, *Philologus* 58 (1899), 185–189, argues that Sagittarius was the natal sign of Agrippa. I cannot take Voigt's suggestion seriously. It is based, in the first instance, on the arbitrary assumption of B. Freier, *De Manilii Quae Feruntur Astronomicon Aetate*, 28, 36 (Dissertation, Göttingen, 1880), that, when Manilius wrote the horoscopes in his fourth book, he took as models famous men of his age. This principle was accepted uncritically by Voigt, and by H. Kleinguenther, *Quaestiones ad Astronomicon Libros, 7* (Dissertation, Jena, 1905). Voigt suggested (*Philologus* 58, 178–181) that Manilius had in mind Julius Caesar when he wrote the horoscopes for the sign Scorpion (4.553–559, 217–229, 778–782, 5.340–357), that Libra was the natal sign of Tiberius (189–197: Voigt cites Manilius 4.203–216, 547–552, 773–777), and that Sagittarius was the natal sign of Agrippa (Manilius 4.230–242, 560–567, 5.358–364). He cites in support similar horoscopes under the same signs of the zodiac in the *Mathesis* of Julius Maternus, and also Horace, *Carmina* 2.17.17–20, none of which in any way helps to prove his case. I am quite ready to agree with Voigt's statement (189) that Agrippa's natal sign was known as well as Augustus's was known, but I am not ready to take seriously Voigt's assumption that Manilius used Agrippa as a model when he wrote the horoscopes for Sagittarius. Voigt recently, in *Philologische Wochenschrift* 51 (1931), 489–494, 520–526, suggested, in the same manner, that Virgo was the natal sign of Germanicus. He still considers (490, 524) it "wahrscheinlich" that Sagittarius was Agrippa's natal sign. The method of these scholars seems to me faulty, particularly because, as Freier admits (28), none of the characteristics given by Manilius under the sign Capricorn (4.568–570, 791–796) suits Augustus, the only outstanding man of the time whose natal sign we know with certainty from other sources (Suetonius, *Augustus* 94.12; compare Manilius 2.507–509).

¹⁴This is the normal spelling of the *nomen*. Variants occur in inscriptions. See CIL 9.3040 *Vibpsanius*; 6.29002 *Bepssanius*; 6.29050 *Vissanius*; IG 14.495 *Βειψάνιος*. The spelling *Vipsanus* (CIL 3.3031, 3084, 8553, 5.1008, line 4, 6.38451b, 9.1451) is not, as Gardthausen (2.411, note 12) maintains, an original *cognomen* from which the *nomen Vipsanius* was derived, nor yet an error in spelling; it is a variant form. Compare Schulze, 531, note 1. With the *nomen Vipsanius* is not to be confused another *nomen*, *Vipstinius*.

¹⁵The brother of Agrippa appears to have been closely attached to Cato

calls him *ignobilis loco*.¹⁶ Velleius mentions the *novitas* of his family.¹⁷ Suetonius¹⁸ relates that Agrippa's grandson, the mad Emperor Gaius, renounced his descent from Agrippa *ob ignobilitatem eius*.

There is an extraordinary passage in Seneca the Elder,¹⁹ which I reproduce fully in translation,²⁰ partly for other reasons, but particularly because it is one of the most intimate pictures we have of Agrippa at the height of his power. The subject of the *controversia* in which the passage occurs is a charge of insanity laid against a father by a son because the father had adopted the illegitimate child of another son, which had been born of a woman of low birth.

'. . . In this *controversia* Latro made a statement which was

Uticensis. See below, page 11. I should, therefore, hesitate to be as emphatic as Matthes, who says (2), "...nullus e gente Vipsania ante Agrippam ad celebritatem pervenerit".¹⁶ *Annales* 1.3.1.

¹⁷2.127.1, 2.96.1 . . . qui novitatem suam multis rebus nobilitaverat. . . . Seneca the Elder (*Controversiae* 2.4.12) says, *Erat M. Agrippa inter eos qui non nati sunt nobiles, sed facti*. Daniel-Servius (on Vergil, *Aeneid* 8.682) says, less bluntly, . . . non adeo claro genere ortus. . . . It is interesting in this connection to note that in the second book of his autobiography (see below, page 142) Agrippa deals with the events of 37 B. C., while the second book of the autobiography of Augustus, who had much to say of his ancestry, is concerned, in part, with the events of 44 B. C. See Blumenthal, 114.

¹⁸Gaius 23.1 Agrippae se nepotem neque credi neque dici ob ignobilitatem eius volebat, suscensebatque, si qui vel oratione vel carmine imaginibus eum Caesarum insererent. Praedicabat autem matrem suam ex incesto quod Augustus cum Iulia filia admisisset procreatam. This was probably only a temporary whim of the madman. On the stone placed in the Mausoleum of Augustus near the ashes of Agrippina, which Caligula brought from Pandateria in 37 B. C. (Suetonius, Gaius 15.1), he had the following inscription cut (CIL 6.886): *Ossa Agrippinae, M. Agrippae [F.], divi Augusti uxoris, uxoris Germanici Caesaris, matris C. Caesaris Augusti Germanici principis*. Compare G. McN. Rushforth, *Latin Historical Inscriptions*, 71-72 (London, 1930). R. R. Rosborough, *An Epigraphic Commentary on Suetonius's Life of Gaius Caligula*, 36 (Dissertation, Pennsylvania, 1920), calls attention also to a coin of Caligula on which Caligula is called M. Agrippae n <epos>. Stein (213, note 4) is, therefore, incorrect in doubting the genuineness of the letter sent by King Agrippa of Judea to Caligula (Philo, *Legatio ad Gaium* 36.291) because reference is made therein to M. Agrippa as the grandfather of Caligula. ¹⁹*Controversiae* 2.4.12-13.

²⁰My translation is based upon the text of Henri Bornecque, *Sénèque le Rhéteur, Controverses et Suasores* (Paris, 1932. 2 volumes). There are some variations from this in the text of A. Kiessling, *Annaei Senecae Oratorum et Rhetorum Sententiae, Divisiones, Colores* (Leipzig, 1872).

prejudicial, not to the *controversia*, but to himself. He was declaiming in the presence of Caesar Augustus and M. Agrippa, whose sons, the grandsons of Augustus, Lucius and Gaius, Augustus at that time, it was thought, was on the point of adopting. M. Agrippa was among those who were not born noble, but became noble. When Latro was speaking the part of the youth, and was treating the matter of the adoption, he said, "Now this child, a child in fact of the lowest origin, by adoption is thrust among the nobility", and the like. Maecenas, hissing, made a sign to Latro that Augustus was in a hurry, and that he should bring the declamation to a close. Some thought this a deliberately malicious act on the part of Maecenas, for by his action he took pains not that Augustus should not hear what had been said, but that he should take special note of it. Such was the freedom of speech under the deified Augustus that, despite the great power which Agrippa possessed at that time, there were not lacking those who cast his humble origin in his teeth. *Vipsanius Agrippa* had been his name. But he suppressed the *nomen Vipsanius*, as if it were indicative of the humble rank of his father, and he called himself *M. Agrippa*. Once, when he was defending a client, his opponent, the accuser, said, "Agrippa, Marcus—and what is between them" (he desired *Vipsanius* to be understood). There was another who said, "Run! You will catch it, Agrippa, if you do not answer, Marcus—and the other"²¹.

Seneca here confirms our other sources as to the *ignobilitas* of Agrippa, and adds that Agrippa suppressed his *nomen Vipsanius*. The suppression of the *nomen* is supported by all the inscriptions, before all by the Fasti, and by all the coins of Agrippa, in which he is always called M. Agrippa, or, simply, Agrippa.²² Seneca asserts that Agrippa insisted on being called M. Agrippa because the *nomen Vipsanius* was *quasi argumentum paternae humilitatis*, and his statement is repeated by most modern scholars.²³

²¹The last sentence is corrupt, and the meaning is not certain. The following is the text of the last sentence as given by Bornecque: Fuit qui diceret, "Concurrere! Agrippa, malum habebis, nisi responderitis ad ea, Marce alterque".

²²His *nomen* is added to his name in only a few other literary sources, in addition to the passage from Seneca quoted above: Dio, Index 48, 48.20.1, Index 53; Nepos, Atticus 12.1; Censorinus 21.8.

²³See e. g. Frandsen, 226, 254-255; Gardthausen, 1.736; Dahlman, 8; Stein, 212-213. Matthes (19-20) says, "Fortasse etiam jussu Augusti ne quis Vipsaniae gentis nomine offenderetur in viro, quem ad summos honores evexerat, eo abstinuit".

There is ample evidence of the ignoble extraction of Agrippa,²⁴ but I am inclined to believe that we must look elsewhere for the motive for his official suppression of his *nomen*. Mommsen expressed the view that the omission of his *nomen* is to be explained by the close connection of Agrippa with the ruling house, in which it was the regular custom for all male members, and often for the female members, to drop the use of the *nomen*,²⁵ and by the fact that, since he was co-regent, it was not proper for Agrippa to continue the use of a private *nomen*.²⁶ The difficulty with Mommsen's explanation is that as early as the latter half of 38 B.C. Agrippa's name appears officially without the *nomen*.²⁷ We have, therefore, to deal with his suppression of his *nomen* in his official appellation long before he had any intimation that he would one day be co-regent of the Roman Empire and a member of the ruling family.

According to Seneca the Elder, Agrippa dropped his *nomen* because he was ashamed of his humble origin. It should be noted, however, that the daughter of Agrippa by his first wife (Caecilia, the daughter of Atticus) may have been named Vipsania.²⁸ Furthermore, the *nomen* reappears in the names

²⁴The omission in the Fasti of the *praenomen* of his grandfather is a confirmatory piece of evidence. Compare Mommsen, CIL 1², page 38; Gardthausen, 1.736. There is no basis of truth in the conclusions of Weichert, which Motte (175–180) outlines approvingly, that the *gens Vipsania* was rich and honorable, but *ignobilis*, that Agrippa's father was of the Equestrian Order, and that Agrippa had no cause to be ashamed of his family name. Seneca and his contemporaries knew more about the origin of Agrippa than Weichert did. ²⁵Staatsrecht, 2.765–766.

²⁶Römische Forschungen, 1.52 (Berlin, 1864); Staatsrecht, 2.766, note 1, "... es ist dies nur ein Beweis mehr dafür, dass er Mitregent war", 2.1148, note 2, "... für die Stellung des Mitregenten der private Geschlechtsname nicht passt". Gardthausen (2.410, note 9) rejects Mommsen's view, but offers no valid reason for doing so.

²⁷On coins struck by Agrippa as Governor of Gaul: *M. Agrippa Cos. Desig.* See below, page 26. See also the early inscription CIL 4.2437 (37 B. C. See below, page 28, note 1). In *private* life he was apparently still known as M. Vipsanius Agrippa. Nepos so names him, before 32 B. C. (Atticus 12.1).

²⁸Compare Tacitus, Annales 1.12.6, 3.19.4. In Suetonius (Tiberius 7.2) and on two inscriptions (CIL 5.6359, 6.9901a. In CIL 9.2201 the name *Vipsania Agrippina* is wholly restored) she is called Agrippina. Compare Prosopographia, 3.443. For Vipsania Agrippina see below, pages 37, 137. The Porticus Vipsania (see below, page 136) was begun after Agrippa's death by his sister Polla, and was named either after her or after the *gens*.

of Agrippa's numerous freedmen.²⁹ In my opinion, Seneca's statement is to be regarded as a reflection of gossip resulting from ignorance or from a misunderstanding of the true motive behind the suppression of the *nomen*. I am inclined to look for the time and the reason for that act in the similar laying aside by Octavian of his *nomen*, *Iulius*, at an early date in the beginning of his career.³⁰ May not Agrippa, in imitation of his friend, have also decided at the same time to discard his *nomen*?³¹

The *gens Vipsania* appears not to have been Roman-Latin.³² Gardthausen suggests for it Etruscan origin,³³ Marx Celtic or Venetian origin.³⁴ A study from inscriptions of the distribution of the members of the *gens* has led me to the conclusion that there is some probability that the *gens* was of Illyro-Venetian origin. The names of numerous Vipsanii appear in inscriptions of Dalmatia,³⁵ and the names of several others are known from inscriptions of Venetia.³⁶

²⁹See below, page 129, note 29.

³⁰According to Fitzler-Seeck (276), before January 1, 43 B. C., according to Mommsen (Staatsrecht, 2.766), in 40 B. C. Octavian dropped his *nomen*. In my judgment, the discarding of the *nomen* by Octavian and other prominent men of the time has not yet been adequately explained. Fitzler-Seeck hold that Octavian dropped his *nomen* "... weil er es mit allen Freigelassenen des iulischen Geschlechtes teilte"; Mommsen maintains that he did so "... offenbar um eine Scheidelinie zwischen der herrschenden Familie und den übrigen Bürgern zu ziehen". The *nomen Iulius* reappears, however, in the names of Octavian's daughter, freedmen, buildings, and colonies. McFayden (31-32) objects to Mommsen's explanation. He sees in the omission of the *nomen* in the names of Octavian and Agrippa only a reflection of the common usage with regard to the names of famous men.

³¹Weichert (cited by Motte, 178) suggested as early as 1841 that "... nulla cum <read eum> alia adductum esse arbitror causa, quam simplicitatis et brevitatis studio quodam, in quo ipsum Augustum haberet quem imitaretur".
³²Gardthausen, 1.736.

³³2.409, note 4. I cite here, without desiring to commit myself as to the significance of the fact, the *nomen Visanie* in an Etruscan inscription from Clusium, Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum 1.858 *Vel. Visanie Velos* (see note 36, below). To be compared with this is the name of M. Vissanius Eulogus (CIL 6.29050), a freedman of Agrippa or of some member of his family, or a descendant of such a freedman. See Schulze, 256.

³⁴181, note 5. He cites as evidence inscriptions of members of the *gens* at Aquileia, Verona, and Patavium (see note 36, below).

³⁵CIL 3.1931, 8553 (Epetium), 2741 (Aequum), 2923 (Iader), 3031 (Flanona), 3084 (Pharia), 3179b (?), 9415, 10183, 51 (Salona).

³⁶CIL 5.1008, line 4, 1299; IG 14.2343 = CIL 5.868 (Aquileia); CIL

We know nothing more certain about the birthplace of Agrippa than we know about the provenance of his *gens*.³⁷

5.3257, 3839 (Verona), 3065 (Patavium). The names of other members of the *gens* are found on inscriptions from regions permeated by Illyrian influence: see CIL 3.3928 (Noviodunum, in Pannonia Superior), 12416 (Moesia Inferior). Only one of all these inscriptions can be dated. In CIL 5.3257, dated in 1 B. C., *Sex. Vipsanius M. F. Clemens* appears as one of the *magistri* of Verona. It is noteworthy that the name of the pseudo-Agrippa Postumus, said by Tacitus (*Annales* 2.39–40) to have been a slave of Agrippa Postumus, was Clemens. R. Vulpe, *Gli Illiri dell' Italia Imperiale Romana*, *Ephemeris Dacoromana* 3 (1925), 129–258, does not discuss the *nomen Vipsanius*, but he emphasizes (129–130) the spread of Illyrian influence in Venetia. See, too, Carl Pauli, *Altitalische Forschungen*, 3.432–440 (Leipzig, 1891), who observes also (424) the intermingling of Illyro-Venetians and Etruscans, and cites the frequent occurrence of the name *Venete* in Etruscan inscriptions (429–431). We may perhaps thus explain the occurrence of the *nomen Visanie* (see note 33, above) in an Etruscan inscription. Members of the *gens Vipsania* are known also from inscriptions in Africa (CIL 8.5535, 7839, 14674, 18897), and from coins of Phrygia Maior (see below, page 134, note 44). In Italy proper, aside from Rome and Ostia, the *nomen* appears only at Allifae (CIL 9.2336), Auninum (CIL 9.3407), Teate Marrucinorum (CIL 9.3040), Aequum Tuticum (CIL 9.1451), and Regium Iulium (CIL 10.12). For the Vipsanii in Sicily see below, page 42, note 100. It is difficult to distinguish freedman stock from freeborn in Rome and in Ostia. The following inscriptions contain the names of *Vipsanii* who may be freeborn, but none of the inscriptions can be dated: CIL 6.2595, 2894, 6053, 36557 (Rome), 14.1781 (Ostia).

³⁷Motte (180–181) rightly rejects Weichert's conjecture that Agrippa was born outside of Rome, in some country district, for this does not necessarily follow from Pliny's characterization of Agrippa (*H. N.* 35.26) as . . . *vir rusticitati propior quam deliciis*. On the façade of the Reale Liceo Ginnasio Tulliano at Arpino there appears, along with busts of Marius, Cicero, and Agrippa, the following inscription: Arpinum a Saturno conditum, Romanorum municipium, M. Tullii Ciceronis, C. Marii, M. Vipsanii Agrippae alma patria. Compare Gardthausen, 2.410, note 7; Karl Baecker, *Southern Italy and Sicily*¹⁷, 235 (Leipzig, 1930). The historical value of this tradition, which connects Agrippa with Arpinum, is very dubious; in view of the total lack of confirmatory evidence in ancient sources and archeological remains we cannot put any faith in Arpino's boast that it was the birthplace of Agrippa. When the tradition began is not determinable. O. E. Schmidt, *Arpinum, Eine Topographisch-historische Skizze*, 32 (Programm, Meissen, 1900), notes that Pope Pius II (1458–1464) wrote to his general Napoleone Orsini, "Parce Arpinatibus ob C. Mari et M. Tullii memoriam", and that Clavelli, in his *L'Antico Arpino* (Naples, 1623), does not yet know the legend that Agrippa was born at Arpinum. Schmidt suggests, "Endlich aber genügte die Zweizahl berühmter Römer, die die Stadt hervorgebracht hatte, Marius und Cicero, dem

According to Pliny, the *cognomen* *Agrippa*³⁸ was given to M. Vipsanius because of the unnatural manner of his birth.³⁹

Concerning Agrippa's mother nothing has come down to us from ancient sources. Of his father only the *praenomen*, *Lucius*,⁴⁰ is recorded. As a matter of fact, even the Romans

Lokalpatriotismus nicht mehr: man brauchte noch einen grossen Namen aus der Kaiserzeit, und so wurde M. Vipsanius Agrippa, der Feldherr und Schwiegersonn des Augustus, zum Arpinaten gestempelt".

³⁸The name *Agrippa* appears, according to tradition, very early in Roman history, as the name of the eleventh king of Alba (Livy 1.3.9; Diodorus 7.5.10; Ovid, *Fasti* 4.49; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Antiquitates Romanae* 1.71). C. Trieber, *Hermes* 29 (1894), 126, makes the reasonable suggestion that the name *Agrippa* was inserted in the list of the mythical kings of Alba Longa by Augustan authors to glorify the name of Marcus Agrippa. Compare Marx, 183. The further suggestion of Trieber (130-132), that the name *Acrota*, substituted by Ovid, in *Metamorphoses* 14.616-617, for the name of the eleventh king of Alba, was a nickname of Marcus Agrippa, is extravagant. The name *Agrippa* was originally used as a *praenomen* (*Liber de Praenominibus* 3), then as a *cognomen*, and in later times occasionally as a *nomen*. Compare CIL 6.10283 L. Agrippa Sabinus; CIL 6.1058, 2, 96 T. Agrippa Marinus.

³⁹H. N. 7.45. In pedes procidere nascentem contra naturam est, quo argumento eos appellavere Agrippas ut aegri partus, qualiter et M. Agrippam ferunt genitum, unico prope felicitatis exemplo in omnibus ad hunc modum genitis. The granddaughter of Agrippa, Agrippina, related in her *Commentarii* that her son Nero, the future Emperor, was born in the same manner (Pliny, H. N. 7.46). The ancients, going back probably to Varro, suggested the fanciful derivation of the name *Agrippa* from *aeger* and *partus*, or *aeger* and *pes*: see e. g. Pliny, H. N. 7.45; Quintilian 1.4.25; Aulus Gellius 16.16.1; Daniel-Servius, on Vergil, *Aeneid* 8.682; *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*, 6.46 (Leipzig, 1899). Compare *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, 1.1430. Modern etymologists have not been any more successful in their attempts to explain the name *Agrippa*: see Frandsen, 225; Schulze, 230, note 5; A. Ernout and A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire Étymologique de la Langue Latine*, 28 (Paris, 1932).

⁴⁰The *praenomen* appears in the *Fasti*, Dio, Index 48 and 53, on coins, and in numerous inscriptions (e. g. the famous inscription on the Pantheon: see below, page 76). There is no factual basis for Frandsen's argument (226-228) that the rhetorician mentioned by Seneca the Elder (*Controversiae* 2.5.11), Vipsanius Atticus, a disciple of the famous Apollodorus of Pergamum, the teacher of Octavius, was the father of Agrippa, or for Frandsen's further conjecture (228-229) that Agrippa's father was one of the teachers of Octavius and that Agrippa thus early became acquainted with Octavius. Compare Motte, 179; *Prosopographia*, 3.412. For an inscription which mentions a Vipsanius Atticus, perhaps connected with the estates of Agrippa in Sicily, see below, page 42, note 100.

of the early Empire knew nothing of him.⁴¹ We know that Agrippa had at least one brother and one sister. It is clear that the brother was older than Agrippa, for, at the time when Agrippa was about seventeen years old, his brother was an associate of Cato Uticensis.⁴² Nicolaus of Damascus relates that this brother was taken captive at Thapsus and that he was spared by Caesar through the intercession of Agrippa's closest friend, the young Octavius.⁴³ He was apparently still alive when Agrippa was at the height of his power, for Dio states that once Agrippa, when he was approached by a consul with reference to a matter concerning his brother, refused to influence the case by expressing an opinion.⁴⁴ Agrippa's sister, Vipsania Polla, is known only in connection with her embellishment of the Circus Maximus and with the building of the Porticus Vipsania.⁴⁵

There is just as little evidence for the suggestion of Kiessling, Index, under Vipsanius (see note 20, above), that the Vipsanius Atticus mentioned by Seneca was a son of Agrippa by his first marriage. Compare F. Susemihl, *Geschichte der Griechischen Litteratur in der Alexandrinerzeit*, 2.505, note 202 (Leipzig, 1892); *Prosopographia*, 3.442.

⁴¹Seneca, *De Beneficiis* 3.32.4 *Utrum maius beneficium dedit M. Agrippae pater, ne post Agrippam quidem notus, an patri dedit Agrippa...?*

⁴²Nicolaus of Damascus *ἡ τούτου ἀδελφὸς Κάτωνι συνῆν, κατὰ τε φίλων σπουδαζόμενος...*

⁴³*Ibidem*. Hall (78, note 2 to section 7 of the text) observes that "... Nicolaus seems to have exaggerated the importance of Octavius' exploit..." Agrippa's brother was apparently not unimportant in the confused affairs of Caesar's time. His name is not known. Compare Matthes, 1-2. Moll (Tafel V), and Lübker (1113) give him the *praenomen Lucius*, that of his father, because he was older than Agrippa, but there is no proof that he was the only other son of Lucius Vipsanius. The *praenomina*, excluding *Marcus*, which occur in inscriptions and coins with the *nomen Vipsanius* are: *Lucius* (CIL 3.1931, 9415, 12416, 5.3839, 6.2894, 8.7839, 9.1451, 2336; on coins of Amorium: see below, page 134, note 44); *Quintus* (CIL 5.1008, line 4, 9.3407); *Gaius* (CIL 14.1781); *Sextus* (CIL 5.3257); *Publius* (on coins of Corinth: see below, page 70, note 38).

⁴⁴Dio 54.11.6. This may, however, be another brother.

⁴⁵See below, pages 135-136.

CHAPTER II

EARLY YEARS

The career of Marcus Agrippa is inseparably linked with that of Augustus. It is significant that in his first appearance in history, at the age of seventeen or eighteen, he is described as the closest friend of the young Octavius.¹ All that remains of the history of his earlier years is Pliny's laconic remark, *misera iuventa*.² In August of 46 B.C. we find Agrippa favored by the affection of Octavius. Nicolaus of Damascus adds that they had been educated together.³

How a youth of humble extraction, whose earliest life is described by Pliny as *misera*, was able to obtain an education similar to that given to the great-nephew of Julius Caesar and to win the friendship of the young Octavius, a friendship which, apart from some minor misunderstandings, continued unbroken throughout his life, we shall probably never know. His fortunate opportunity presupposes either that his family became suddenly wealthy or that his education was subsidized by someone who was interested in a youth of extraordinary promise. Is it possible that Julius Caesar pushed Agrippa forward? Caesar may have selected an intelligent boy and a promising young soldier as one of the companions of his future heir. There is an obscure passage in Manilius⁴ one of whose possible

¹Nicolaus of Damascus 7 ἦν δὲ εἰς τὰ μάλιστα Καίσαρι τῷ νέῳ συνήθης καὶ φίλος Ἀγρίππας, ἐν ταύτῳ τε παιδευθεὶς καὶ τινα ἔχων ὑπερβολὴν ἑταιρείας. Marx (184, note 3) considers the words *τινα ἔχων ὑπερβολὴν ἑταιρείας* corrupt (why, he does not say). But Aristotle uses the same idiom. Compare *Ethica Nicomachea* 9.4.6 ἡ ὑπερβολὴ τῆς φιλίας. The remark of Nicolaus I quote above is made by him in connection with his account of the sparing of Agrippa's brother by Caesar through the intervention of Octavius (see above, page 11), between July and November, 46 B. C. Compare Hall, 78, note 1 to section 7 of the text, and 79, note 1 to section 10 of the text. Nothing can be deduced concerning Agrippa's political views from the republican leanings of his brother. Families were split wide open on political questions at this time.

²H. N. 7.45. Indicative of Pliny's usage of the term *iuventa* is 10.154, in which he says that Livia was with child with Tiberius *prima sua iuventa*. She was at that time 15/16 years old.

³See note 1, above.

⁴1.797-798 . . . matrisque sub armis miles Agrippa suae. . . . For the text

interpretations is that Agrippa began his military career at a very early age. Though the usual age for entrance into military service is generally believed to have been seventeen,⁵ there must have been numerous boys from the lower classes of the population who at a very early age entered the army.⁶ If we suppose that Agrippa saw military service at an early age, we may perhaps explain the circumstances of his education and his close association with Octavius by suggesting that the young Agrippa in some way attracted the attention of Julius Caesar and was subsidized by him.⁷

When Agrippa's friendship with Octavius began, and to what extent their educations coincided we cannot determine.⁸ We may, however, safely assume that Agrippa took part in Caesar's campaign in Spain in 46-45 B.C. against the sons of Pompey.⁹ He was certainly at that time of age for military service, and I cannot in any other way explain the fact that he was sent, shortly after the Spanish campaign, with Octavius to Apollonia, where Octavius was to prepare for Caesar's projected campaign against the Parthians. Octavius had been prevented by illness from accompanying Caesar to Spain in November, 46;

and the interpretation of this passage see the edition of A. E. Housman, *M. Manili Astronomicon Liber Primus* (London, 1903); Frandsen, 231.

⁵Marquardt-Mau, 123, especially note 1; H. Blümner, *Die Römischen Privataltertümer*, 337-338 (Munich, 1911).

⁶The numerous wars, civil and foreign, during the last century of the Republic must have made necessary the pressing into service of many boys. Compare Fowler, 192. Kromayer-Veith, *Heerwesen*, 487, cite evidence from inscriptions of the Empire for recruits as young as fourteen years of age. See J. W. Foerster, *Rheinisches Museum* 36 (1881), 159, for recruits only thirteen years of age.

⁷Compare Frandsen, 179. Another good soldier, also of allegedly obscure extraction, Q. Salvidienus Rufus (see Münzer, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Zweite Reihe*, 1.2019-2021), was among the early friends of Octavius. A number of other men who attracted Caesar's attention or were among Octavius's early friends were of humble origin. Examples are P. Ventidius Bassus and Cornelius Gallus. For the former see O. E. Schmidt, *P. Ventidius Bassus*, *Philologus* 51 (1892), 198-211; for the latter see Stein, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 4.1342-1346.

⁸For the education of Octavius and for his teachers, Arius of Alexandria and Apollodorus of Pergamum, see Gardthausen, 1.50-51. Marx (184) conjectures that Agrippa was one of the pupils of Apollodorus.

⁹Whether Agrippa was with Caesar in Africa in 46 B. C. we do not know. If he was, he fought against his own brother.

as soon as he was sufficiently recovered, he set out with only a few slaves to join Caesar, but he arrived after the decisive battle at Munda.¹⁰ Nicolaus of Damascus relates that Octavius then sailed with Caesar to Nova Carthago and that he secretly took on board the ship three of his friends, who were no doubt in the army of Caesar.¹¹ Instead of showing anger when he discovered this, Caesar praised Octavius for his discrimination in the choice of intelligent and aspiring comrades.¹² There is, I think, some probability that Agrippa was one of these three friends.¹³

Octavius, after his return from Spain, was sent by Caesar in November, 45, to Apollonia.¹⁴ Most Roman youths of the period spent some time studying philosophy in one of the 'university' cities of Greece. But Apollonia was not a 'university' city,¹⁵ and, consequently, Octavius was accompanied by his teacher, the famous rhetorician Apollodorus of Pergamum.¹⁶ Study, however, was only a secondary motive for his stay at Apollonia. Troops were gathering in nearby Macedonia for the Parthian campaign of Caesar, and Octavius was sent to take part in the military manoeuvres and to win the favor of the officers and soldiers.¹⁷ The military motive for the visit to Apollonia accounts for the fact that Caesar sent along with Octavius two promising young soldiers, Marcus Agrippa and Q. Salvidienus Rufus, who had probably attracted Caesar's attention in the Spanish campaign, if not sooner.¹⁸

Suetonius relates an incident which occurred during the course of the brief stay at Apollonia. Octavius, accompanied by Agrippa, visited the abode of the astrologer Theogenes. Agrippa's horoscope was cast first. When Theogenes predicted a great and almost incredible future for Agrippa, Octavius at first

¹⁰Nicolaus of Damascus 10. Compare Hall, 79, note 1 to section 11 of the text.

¹¹Nicolaus of Damascus 11. Nicolaus (10) states that only slaves were in his retinue when he set out for Spain.

¹²Nicolaus of Damascus 11. ¹³So Frandsen, 232.

¹⁴For the date see Drumann, 4.265, note 7.

¹⁵I state this despite what Hirschfeld, in his article *Apollonia*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 2.113, says to the contrary. Compare Dessau, 1.4.

¹⁶Suetonius, Augustus 8.2; Velleius 2.59.4; Dio 45.3.1.

¹⁷Compare Drumann, 4.265-266; Gardthausen, 1.51.

¹⁸Compare Gardthausen, 1.51.

refused to reveal the date of his own birth, fearing that the fortune predicted for himself would be less promising. But he finally yielded. When he gave the date of his birth, Theogenes fell at his feet in veneration.¹⁹

In the fourth month of their stay at Apollonia, near the end of March, 44 B.C., the momentous news of Caesar's assassination reached Apollonia.²⁰ A quick decision was necessary. Octavius did not yet know of his adoption by Caesar, but, since he was the only important male relative of his great-uncle, his presence in Rome was obligatory. It was necessary for him to decide in what capacity he was to return to Italy. His friends, Agrippa and Salvidienus,²¹ advised him to march to Italy at the head of the troops in Macedonia, which had been offered to him by the officers of the legions. Wisely he rejected the proposal, for, apart from his inexperience, he did not yet know of his adoption by Caesar, nor was he apprised of the disposition of the people toward him. Accompanied by a small retinue of friends, he crossed over to Italy.²²

Our sources give us but few hints concerning the part the young Agrippa played in the quick succession of events which followed—Octavian's decision to enter into his inheritance, his journey to Rome, his protracted duel with Marcus Antonius, his rise to popularity, the civil war at Mutina, the reconciliation with Antony, the formation of the Triumvirate, the bloody proscriptions which followed, the crushing of the assassins of Caesar at Philippi in the autumn of 42 B.C.²³ No doubt Agrippa was constantly at the side of Octavian, and was one of the friends to whom Octavian time and again turned for advice.²⁴ At Brundisium, shortly after his arrival in Italy, Agrippa and Salvidienus urged him again to gather an army, from the colonies of Caesar, but, yielding to his more mature friends, Octavian again wisely decided that the time was not yet ripe for violent measures.²⁵ But, before the year was over, his relations with Antony had become so strained and his own popu-

¹⁹Augustus 94.12.

²⁰Nicolaus of Damascus 16.

²¹Velleius 2.59.5. Compare Appian 3.10; Nicolaus of Damascus 16.

²²Nicolaus of Damascus 16-17.

²³For the history of these events see Gardthausen, 1.51-178, 2.22-82; Ferrero, 3.53-207; Holmes, 1.1-89.

²⁴Nicolaus of Damascus 18, 28, 30.

²⁵Nicolaus of Damascus 18.

larity was so firmly established that he was convinced of the wisdom of making a levy of troops in Campania, illegal and revolutionary though such an act would be.²⁶ Agrippa was, of course, among the friends of Octavian who aided him in this levy of troops and took part in the war at Mutina²⁷ and the subsequent events.²⁸

Late in 43 B.C. the *Lex Pedia* was passed, by which the assassins of Caesar were interdicted from fire and water.²⁹ Agrippa was entrusted by Octavian with the official prosecution of Cassius.³⁰ Dio says³¹ that the accusers of the conspirators were influenced by promises of money from the estates of the condemned and by the grant of certain privileges, but Agrippa could hardly have been influenced by such considerations, though in all likelihood he profited by the confiscations which followed. The proceedings at the trial of Cassius were very brief and formal. Agrippa probably needed no display of oratorical talent to carry his case.

We hear of him again in connection with the proscriptions by the Triumvirs. Among the proscribed was a certain Marcus, one of the lieutenants of Brutus, who, when he was taken captive at Philippi, pretended to be a slave and was bought by a certain Barbula. The identity of Marcus was shortly afterward discovered, and through the intercession of Agrippa Barbula secured the erasure of his name from the lists of the proscribed.³²

²⁶Compare Hall, 96-97.

²⁷There is no evidence for Motte's suggestion (23) that Agrippa was one of the negotiators who won over the Macedonian legions belonging to Antony.

²⁸Nicolaus of Damascus 31.

²⁹*Res Gestae* 2 Qui parentem meum [interfecer]un[t] eo[s] in exilium expuli iudiciis legitimis, ultus eorum [fa]cin[us]; Suetonius, Augustus 10.1, Nero 3.2; Livy, Periocha 120; Appian 3.95, 4.27; Dio 46.48-49. For the legality of the procedure see Drumann, 1.246-247; Weiss's article *Lex Pedia*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 12.2401.

³⁰Plutarch, Brutus 27; compare Velleius 2.69.5. Other prosecutors were L. Cornificius (against Brutus), P. Titius (against Casca), and Capito (he seconded Agrippa). Compare Drumann, 1.246. Matthes (5) makes a slip in assigning the prosecution of Brutus to Agrippa and that of Cassius to Cornificius. ³¹46.49.3.

³²Appian 4.49. Appian adds that after Actium the situation was reversed. Marcus secured the pardon of Barbula, and they later held the consulship in the same year. Various unsuccessful attempts have been made to identify Marcus and Barbula with consuls of the years following

We are nowhere specifically told that Agrippa fought in the two battles at Philippi, but we may safely conjecture that he did.³³ At any rate, he appears in the next year, at the age of twenty-two or twenty-three, as one of Octavian's generals in the Perusine War.

Civil war loomed again in Italy when Octavian returned from Philippi in the spring of 41 B.C. Lucius Antonius and Fulvia, the ambitious brother and the wife of Marcus Antonius, the victor of Philippi, hoped to sweep Octavian aside and establish their family in sole power by placing every obstruction in the way of Octavian's assignment of land allotments to the victorious veterans. All attempts at conciliation failed.³⁴

The accounts in the ancient authorities of the manoeuvres which preceded the siege of Perugia are incomplete and confused,³⁵ but a logical sequence of events can be established by a critical analysis of the sources.³⁶ While Octavian, who had been repulsed from Nursia, was besieging Sentinum in Umbria, Lucius fell upon Rome from his headquarters at Praeneste. Informed of this movement, Octavian marched his troops hastily down the Via Flaminia, sending instructions to Salvienus, who was returning with six legions through Umbria from his journey to Spain, to continue the siege of Sentinum. Upon the approach of Octavian, Lucius immediately abandoned Rome, with the intention of joining Fufius Calenus, Ventidius Bassus, and Asinius Pollio, Antony's lieutenants in Gaul.³⁷ Octavian occupied Rome without striking a blow, and he at once sent his friend Agrippa at the head of an army to pursue Lucius from the south.³⁸

Actium. It is probable that they were *consules suffecti*, whose full names we do not know. Compare Gardthausen, 2.209-210, note 29; Klebs's article *Barbula*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 3.5; Prosopographia, 1².353.

³³Pliny's reference (H. N. 7.148) to Agrippa and Maecenas as authorities for Octavian's physical condition at Philippi supports this conjecture. So Matthes, 5.

³⁴For the events preceding the outbreak of war see Gardthausen, 1.188-200, 2.88-93; Holmes, 1.92-95.

³⁵Ferrero (3.234), Kromayer-Veith (Schlachten-Atlas, 121), and Holmes (1.95-96) despair of reconstructing the events.

³⁶See my article The Perusine War, The Classical Weekly 26 (1933), 180-182. I outline here the conclusions set forth there in detail, together with the evidence on which those conclusions are based.

³⁷Compare Ganter, 9-10. ³⁸Dio 48.13.2-5; Appian 5.30-31.115-119.

The first move of Agrippa was to seize Sutrium, a city on the Via Cassia which was important to Lucius. Agrippa's aim was to attract the attention of Lucius to himself, until Salvidienus, who had successfully completed the siege of Sentinum,³⁹ should have time to come down the Via Flaminia and close in upon Lucius's rear.⁴⁰ Agrippa's plan succeeded. Lucius turned back to dislodge Agrippa from Sutrium, and to his surprise suddenly found Salvidienus's legions blocking the road to the north. Not daring to risk an engagement, Lucius attempted to push his way north along the Via Cassia to his brother's lieutenants, with Salvidienus impeding his advance and Agrippa attacking his rear. As he advanced north, Agrippa and Salvidienus tried to catch him in the defiles of Etruria through which the road passes.⁴¹ Finally, seeing the futility of his attempts to break through, Lucius turned aside to Perugia.⁴²

It was late autumn when Lucius Antonius was forced to take refuge at Perugia.⁴³ Here he was encircled by the combined forces of Agrippa, Salvidienus, and Octavian.⁴⁴ Siege works were constructed, and Octavian sat down before Perugia, intending to starve Lucius out.⁴⁵ Meanwhile, Ventidius Bassus and Asinius Pollio, importuned by Manius, the agent of Lucius, and by Fulvia's agents, were beginning to stir. Octavian, leaving Salvidienus to hold Lucius, hastened with Agrippa across the Apennines to oppose their advance. Asinius and Ventidius, who were proceeding south slowly and without

³⁹Dio 48.13.6.

⁴⁰Appian 5.31.121-122. Appian states here that Agrippa sought to divert the attention of Lucius to himself because Salvidienus was being trailed by Asinius Pollio and Ventidius Bassus and ran the risk of being caught between two fires. However, it is not likely that Antony's lieutenants left Gaul. See my remarks in *The Classical Weekly* 26. 181 (see note 36, above).

⁴¹Appian 5.31.123. Compare Nissen, 1.256, 2.344, 355. Jung's interpretation (263, note 16) of Appian's words, that Agrippa and Salvidienus prevented Lucius from using the Apennine passes, is not correct.

⁴²Dio 48.14.1; Appian 5.32.124; Velleius 2.74.3.

⁴³Appian says (5.32.128) that it was near winter. Gardthausen (1.201) incorrectly dates this event in the summer of 41 B. C. How does Jung (269) know that the month was October? ⁴⁴Appian 5.32.125.

⁴⁵The best account of the siege of Perugia is in Gardthausen, 1.202-208, 2.95-97. See also Kromayer-Veith, *Schlachten-Atlas*, 121-122, and Blatt 24, No. 6; Jung, 269-270.

enthusiasm, and had not yet combined forces, at the approach of Octavian and Agrippa retired to their respective headquarters at Ravenna and Ariminum. At the same time, Munatius Plancus, who had been sent north by Fulvia, then at Praeneste, was driven to cover at Spoletium. Leaving a guard to detain each of these forces and to prevent them from joining one another, Octavian and Agrippa returned to Perusia to continue the siege with renewed energy.⁴⁶

Very early in 40 B.C., aware that Lucius's position was critical, Ventidius and Asinius succeeded in joining forces and in crossing the Apennines. As they were approaching Perusia with Plancus, who had joined them, Octavian sent Agrippa and Salvidienus to oppose them. Fearing that they would be surrounded by Octavian's superior forces, the lieutenants of Antony turned aside to Fulginium, only twenty miles from Perusia, where Salvidienus and Agrippa besieged them.⁴⁷ Finally, about the end of February,⁴⁸ Lucius, realizing that resistance was of no avail, and that he had been left in the lurch by Antony's legions, and since he was oppressed by scarcity of food, capitulated.⁴⁹

After the fall of Perusia, the lieutenants of Antony dispersed in all directions.⁵⁰ Octavian made an attempt to win over their troops. At Cameria Agrippa succeeded in intercepting two legions which had been abandoned by Plancus and in inducing them to come over to him.⁵¹

The Perusine War marks the first appearance in history of Agrippa as a military leader and strategist. The importance of his exploits in connection with the siege of Perusia we cannot know precisely, because of the silence of ancient historians. In all probability his accomplishments in this particular struggle

⁴⁶Appian 5.33.130-133.

⁴⁷Appian 5.35.139-140.

⁴⁸Kromayer, I., 562; Gardthausen, 2.97, note 19; Jung, 269.

⁴⁹Appian 5.35-45. For the events immediately following the capitulation of Perusia see Gardthausen, 1.208-209, 2.97-99; Holmes, 1.97-99; Domaszewski, 98-99.

⁵⁰Appian 5.50. The siege of Fulginium was probably raised as soon as news of Lucius's surrender arrived. Compare Matthes, 30, note 2.

⁵¹Appian 5.50.209, 211.

were not of great significance.⁵² It was not until 38 B.C.,⁵³ and especially in the naval war against Sextus Pompey in 37–36 B.C., that Agrippa showed his true mettle.

⁵²Salvidienus Rufus was the ranking general of Octavian at this time, and Agrippa was without doubt subordinate to him. The rôle of Agrippa in this war has been overestimated and exaggerated by a number of scholars. Domaszewski (95–96), Ferrero (3.235), Motte (33–34), and Schiller (83) put him in charge of the whole war. It is important to note that Agrippa's name has not been found on the *glandes* unearthed at Perugia, while numerous *glandes* found there bear the names of Octavian and Salvidienus. See C. Zangemeister, in *Ephemeris Epigraphica* 6.52–78.

⁵³See below, pages 25–26.

CHAPTER III

AGRIPPA'S PRAETORSHIP. HIS GOVERNORSHIP OF GAUL

After the settlement of affairs in connection with the civil war incited by Lucius Antonius and Fulvia, Agrippa returned to Rome with Octavian, and, at the early age of twenty-three or twenty-four,¹ entered upon the office of *praetor urbanus*.² He could hardly have assumed his official duties before the middle of March, 40 B.C.³

Having arranged matters in Rome, Octavian hastened to

¹This was many years below the legal age for the praetorship during the height of the Republic. Compare Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, 1.570-572; Kübler's article *Magistratus*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 14.405-406.

²Dio 48.20.2. This was apparently not his first political office. Daniel-Servius (on Vergil, *Aeneid* 8.682) informs us: nam. . . tribunus plebi quietissimus fuit. . . Frandsen (58) remarks that "Agrippa scheint diese < = the quaestorship > übersprungen zu haben, indem wir ihn sogleich mit einer höheren Würde bekleidet finden", and takes *tribunus plebi quietissimus* as a reference to Agrippa's later *tribunicia potestas*, (Frandsen, 83). My objection to this view is that Daniel-Servius states that . . . et tribunus plebi quietissimus fuit et post tertium consul. . . (27 B. C.); he cannot, therefore, be referring to the *tribunicia potestas* which Agrippa held in 18-12 B. C. Agrippa was tribune of the plebs, and perhaps also quaestor, between 44 and 40 B. C. F. P. Garofalo, *I Fasti dei Tribuni della Plebe della Repubblica Romana* (Catania, 1889), does not include Agrippa in the list of tribunes. P. Willems, *Le Sénat de la République Romaine*, 1.610 (Louvain, 1885), maintains that Agrippa began his *cursus honorum* with the praetorship. J. Niccolini, *Fasti Tribunorum Plebis, Addenda et Corrigenda*, 46 (Pisa, 1898), who does not cite Daniel-Servius, suggests 43 B. C. as the date for Agrippa's tribuneship, but also calls attention to the *tribunicia potestas* of Agrippa. Agrippa probably had little time to devote to official duties between 44 and 40 B. C., because of the continual civil strife. Perhaps that is what Daniel-Servius means by *quietissimus*. In all likelihood Agrippa had become a member of the Equestrian Order shortly after 44 B. C. The requisite property qualification was satisfied, we may suppose, by Octavian's generosity or by his own acquisitions. This conjecture is supported by the fact that Q. Salvidienus Rufus was raised to the Equestrian Order at that time through Octavian's influence. Compare Stein, 212. Münzer, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Zweite Reihe*, 1.2020-2021, maintains that Agrippa became consul (37 B. C.) without having been a member of the Senate and without having held any office previously. Stein (213, note 6) calls attention to this error. Agrippa's entrance into the Senate took place between 44 and 40 B. C. Compare, in general, Stein, 212-213.

³Compare above, page 19.

Transalpine Gaul, where, upon the opportune death of Calenus, Antony's lieutenant, he took over Antony's eleven legions and occupied the province.⁴ Before leaving for Gaul, Octavian entrusted to Agrippa the defense of Italy against Sextus Pompey, whom he had been unable, by force or persuasion, to prevent from making continual raids upon southern Italy and from disrupting the normal grain supply of Rome.⁵ In an enviable position because of Octavian's affection for him, early in July Agrippa with great splendor celebrated the Ludi Apollinares.⁶ In anticipation of the imminent struggle with Sextus Pompey, Octavian counted upon Agrippa, the man of the people, to win over the masses to his cause by generous expenditures, precisely as later, in 33 B.C., Agrippa helped by like expenditures to turn the tide in favor of his friend just before the struggle with Antony.⁷ At the Ludi Apollinares in 40 B.C. there were horse races for two days, and the boys of the noble families performed the *Lusus Troiae*, in which Agrippa took especial pleasure.⁸

Sextus, taking advantage of Agrippa's preoccupation with the games, crossed into southern Italy from his headquarters in Sicily and ravaged the coast until Agrippa's arrival forced him to run to cover.⁹

⁴Gardthausen, 1.211-212; Domaszewski, 100; Holmes, 1.102.

⁵Dio 48.20.1, 17-19.

⁶Dio 48.20.2. It is for this reason that I have called him *praetor urbanus*. The celebration of the Ludi Apollinares, which took place on July 6-13 (Fowler, 293; Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, 179-181), was regularly in the hands of the *praetor urbanus*. See Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, 2.236; Marquardt, 3.385. We need not ponder very long the question of where Agrippa obtained the money necessary for the games. In addition to the sum allotted to the *praetor urbanus* by the State (Marquardt, 3.488), Agrippa could expect contributions from Octavian and his adherents, and could draw from his own funds, which had probably been increased considerably through his friendship with Octavian.

⁷See below, pages 46-51.

⁸Dio 48.20.2. For the *Lusus Troiae* see especially Vergil, *Aeneid* 5.545-576. Compare also K. Schneider's article *Lusus Troiae*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 13.2059-2067.

⁹Dio 48.20.2. Some scholars, among them Frandsen (99) and Motte (37), following Appian 5.62.263, who does not know of this raid of Sextus, have confused this incursion with Pompey's attack in concert with Antony later in the year. Compare Kromayer, I., 557-558; Hadas, 86: "This attack was only one of the ordinary raids of Sextus, not an attack in force".

Shortly afterwards, Marcus Antonius, informed on his way back from the East of the fall of Perusia and of Octavian's seizure of his province with its eleven legions, began to make overtures to Sextus Pompey.¹⁰ Sometime in August,¹¹ Antony, Domitius Ahenobarbus,¹² and Pompey, acting in concert, fell upon Italy. Antony seized Sipontum, and laid siege to Brundisium.¹³ Pompey attempted to occupy Thurii and Consentia, but was forced to besiege both towns.¹⁴ Octavian, having returned from Gaul,¹⁵ sent Agrippa to relieve Sipontum and dispatched Servilius Rullus to Brundisium.¹⁶ On his way south Agrippa called out the veterans settled in the colonies of Caesar. They followed him without enthusiasm, and, as soon as they learned that Antony was their objective, they secretly returned to their homes. However, Octavian, who presently appeared, induced them to follow him.¹⁷ Octavian found Brundisium in a state of siege and Antony preparing to attack it, but he was unable to do anything to relieve the city.¹⁸ Shortly afterwards, news arrived that Agrippa had been successful in taking Sipontum, and that Pompey had been repulsed from Thurii, but was still besieging Consentia.¹⁹ This turn of affairs, together with the death of Fulvia in the interim, paved the way for a reconciliation between Antony and Octavian.²⁰ The intermediaries between the Triumvirs were Cocceius Nerva, Asinius Pollio, Maecenas,²¹ and Agrippa.²² At the end

¹⁰See Holmes, 1.101-103; Gardthausen, 1.213-214; Ferrero, 3.249-252.

¹¹Kromayer, I., 562.

¹²For Domitius Ahenobarbus see Münzer, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 5.1328-1331.

¹³Dio 48.27.5; Appian 5.56.239. Sipontum was a strategic point in Apulia. See Nissen, 2.848; Philipp's article *Sipontum*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, Zweite Reihe, 3.271. ¹⁴Appian 5.56.239. ¹⁵Dio 48.28.1.

¹⁶*Ibidem*. For Servilius Rullus see Stein, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, Zweite Reihe, 2.1808-1809.

¹⁷Appian 5.57.240-241.

¹⁸Appian 5.57-58.242-243.

¹⁹Appian 5.58.244; Dio 48.28.1. There is no evidence for the assertion of Matthes (32) that Agrippa repulsed Pompey from Thurii. Motte (37-38) again misconceives Agrippa's position. He regards Agrippa as director of all the operations in this conflict. See above, page 20, note 52.

²⁰Dio 48.28.2-4; Appian 5.60-63.

²¹Appian 5.64.

²²The scholiasts (Porphyrio, Acron, and the commentator of Cruquius) on Horace, *Sermones* 1.5.27, are the only sources which mention Agrippa in this connection. Their information was derived, as they assert, from

of September or early in October,²³ Antony and Octavian again came to an understanding, and proceeded to Rome.²⁴

Having returned to Rome with Octavian, Agrippa donned the garb of peace again and resumed his duties as *praetor*. In the last days of the year he was, perhaps, replaced by another *praetor* as the result of a general change in the high officials, agreed upon by Antony and Octavian.²⁵

At about the same time an event occurred which accelerated the career of Agrippa. At the Peace of Brundisium Antony had divulged to Octavian that Q. Salvidienus Rufus, Octavian's ranking general, whom the latter had left as Governor of Transalpine Gaul after the death of Calenus, had made secret overtures to him, offering to deliver to him the Gallic legions. Octavian summoned Salvidienus from Gaul, accused him before the Senate, and Salvidienus was executed or committed suicide.²⁶ A clear path to renown was now open to Agrippa, the closest friend of the Triumvir Octavian, for he now succeeded Salvidienus as the leading general of Octavian. At the same time, the fate of Salvidienus was a warning to all that friendship and former service, however much appreciated, would not save any who tried to thwart the ambitions of the 'son of Caesar'.

Livy, Book 127, which dealt, in part, with the Peace of Brundisium (see *Periocha* 127), although Horace, *Sermones* 1.5 was written in connection with a later event, Maecenas's embassy to Antony in the autumn of 38 B. C., as A. Palmer, *The Satires of Horace*⁵, 171-172 (London, 1896), Ferrero (3.288-290), and Hadas (117, note 90) hold, or the negotiations before the Peace of Tarentum in 37 B. C., as Gardthausen (1.253), Drumann (1.308, note 5, 327, note 4), and Stein (in his article *Maecenas*, in *Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll*, 14.210) maintain. For Agrippa's part in the Peace of Brundisium see Van Eck, 52-54; Motte, 186-188; Drumann, 1.308, note 5.

²³Kromayer, I., 563; E. Pais, *La Data del Trattato di Brindisi*, *Atti della Reale Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti* (Naples), *Nuova Serie* 5 (1917), 233-239.

²⁴For the Treaty of Brundisium and subsequent events see Holmes, 1.103-105; Ferrero, 3.253-256; Gardthausen, 1.216-217.

²⁵Dio 48.32.1. I say "perhaps" because Octavian's influence could have kept his friend in office, just as in 37 B. C., when Agrippa was consul, he was not affected by a general displacement of officials. See below, page 28, note 1. Matthes (6) is more dogmatic: "... hoc etiam nostro accidisse, certum est, quanquam id de eo non diserte memoratur".

²⁶See Münzer, in *Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll*, *Zweite Reihe*, 1.2021; Holmes, 1.106.

Agrippa realized from the start that his own success depended upon the success of his friend; he had the good sense always to subordinate his ambitions to the ambitions of Octavian, who rewarded his services with a share of his own honors and power and ultimately raised him to the second place in the government of the Roman Empire.

Early in 39 B.C. Octavian escorted Agrippa to Transalpine Gaul and installed him as Governor of the province.²⁷ The new Governor was faced with the task of pacifying the restless Gallic tribes, whom the removal of Antony's eleven legions had emboldened.²⁸ Agrippa's activity in Gaul in 39 B.C. is not recorded, but near the end of 38 B.C. he won a brilliant victory over the Aquitani.²⁹ News of Agrippa's first great military success reached Octavian at Rome at the same time that Maecenas reported Antony's agreement to support Octavian in the imminent war with Sextus Pompey.³⁰

Agrippa had been designated consul for the following year. In commemoration of this advancement he struck coins in Gaul

²⁷By the terms of the agreement at Brundisium Gallia Narbonensis and Gallia Comata, which Octavian had seized after the death of Calenus, were conceded to Octavian by Antony. Compare Ganter, 4. That Agrippa was in Gaul in 39 B. C. is nowhere definitely stated, but such a conjecture is admissible. Having just completed his praetorship, he was eligible to take over a province; he is not known to have been elsewhere in 39 B. C.; no other governor of Gaul is known for that year. Compare Ganter, 68-69. However, from Eutropius 7.4-6 Ganter deduces that Agrippa was already in Gaul at the beginning of 39 B. C., and was fighting in Aquitania at the time of the Peace of Misenum; but Ganter's view is to be rejected, because Eutropius's chronology is not exact. I follow Desjardins, 3.36-37, and Herzog, Gallia, 105, who place the beginning of Agrippa's governorship of Gaul shortly after the Peace of Misenum in the spring of 39 B. C., when Octavian is known to have gone to Gaul. Frandsen (100-101) believed that Agrippa was sent to Gaul on a purely military mission, not as Governor. For the question of his official title see J. Toutain's article *Gallia*, in *Dizionario Epigrafico*, 3.383. ²⁸Appian 5.75.318.

²⁹Appian 5.92.386; Dio 48.49.3; Eutropius 7.5. No details of the campaign are known. Compare Ihm's article *Aquitania*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 2.335; Hirschfeld, *Kleine Schriften*, 214. The Aquitani had been pacified in 56 B. C., by Licinius Crassus, Caesar's lieutenant (Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* 3.20-27). It required, however, still another campaign, that of M. Valerius Messala Corvinus, in 28 B. C., to subdue them finally. See Hammer, 60-66; J. P. Postgate, Messalla in Aquitania, *The Classical Review* 17 (1903), 112-117. ³⁰Appian 5.92.386.

which bore on the obverse portraits of Julius Caesar, deified, and of Octavian, and on the reverse the simple legend *M. Agrippa Cos. Desig.*³¹ Before the year 38 B.C. was over, or more probably early in 37 B.C.³² disturbances on the Rhine engaged his attention. The nature and the extent of the disorders are unknown,³³ we know only that Agrippa was recalled to Italy by Octavian just as he had crossed the Rhine into German territory, the first Roman general after Caesar to carry the standards of the Roman legions across the Rhine.³⁴

³¹For specimens of these coins, silver denarii and gold pieces, see Grueber, 2.410-412, Nos. 100-104; Babelon, 2.55-57, Nos. 129-131, 556-557, Nos. 1-3; Cohen, 1.14, No. 33, 22, No. 5, 143, No. 545; M. v. Bahrfeldt, *Die Römische Goldmünzprägung*, 100-103, No. 99 (Halle, 1923), *Nachträge und Berichtigungen zur Münzkunde der Römischen Republik*, 1.151-152, No. 37 (Vienna, 1897); H. Willers, *Geschichte der Römischen Kupferprägung*, 109-110 (Leipzig and Berlin, 1909). For the importance of these coins see Grueber, 2.410-411, note 2; Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, 2.708, note 1. There can be no doubt that these coins were struck in Gaul in the latter half of 38 B. C. Babelon at first dated them in 38 B. C. (2.56), but later changed to early January, 37 B. C. (2.555-556); Borghesi believed (2.67, 256-257) that they were struck in Italy in the autumn of 38 B. C. Ganter contradicts himself: on page 11 he says that the coins were struck by Agrippa at Lyons, on page 68 that they were struck in Italy in 38 B. C. On the obverse of some of these coins the *praenomen Imperator* appears for the first time with the name of Octavian. I do not follow the conclusion of Mommsen (*Staatsrecht*, 2.768, note 1), and McFayden (35, 37) that, therefore, Agrippa was the inventor of this distinction of Octavian. Mommsen's view is questioned also by Dessau, 1.36, note 1.

³²For the date see note 34, below.

³³Frandsen (100) speaks of a general revolt in Gaul.

³⁴Dio 48.49.3 . . . αὐτὸν . . . ὅτι καὶ τὸν Ῥῆνον δεύτερος δὴ Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ πολέμῳ διέβη, μετεπέμψατο. . . . For Caesar's passage across the Rhine see Jullian, 3.330-336. Jullian (4.102) supposes that the trouble in 38-37 B. C. originated with the Sigambri or with the Suebi. He places Agrippa's transfer of the Ubii to the left side of the Rhine at this time (4.102, note 2), as do many other scholars, but I have preferred to discuss this event, together with the great network of roads built by Agrippa in Gaul, in connection with Agrippa's second stay in Gaul (20 B. C.). See below, page 88, note 74, 90, note 76.

I cannot agree with Frandsen (101-102), who dates Agrippa's crossing of the Rhine in the summer of 38 B. C. or in 39 B. C., or with Ganter (11, 68), who argues that Agrippa crossed the Rhine in the summer of 38 B. C., ". . . da man spätestens noch im Sommer an die Ausführung eines solchen Unternehmens schreiten konnte". Ganter's dubious arguments are as follows: (1) Agrippa was already engaged in building ships in Italy in the

latter half of 38 B. C. (for this Ganter cites Dio 48.49.2-5, a passage which refers to 37 B. C.); (2) Agrippa replaced Calvisius as admiral of Octavian's fleet in 38 B. C. (here Ganter cites Appian 5.96, a passage which refers to 36 B. C. See below, page 33, note 32); (3) The coins mentioned above were struck by Agrippa in Italy in the latter half of 38 B. C. In the first place, I do not understand why the possibility of crossing the Rhine is restricted by Ganter to the summer time. Secondly, Agrippa's campaign on the Rhine took place after his victory over the Aquitani, news of which reached Rome at the same time that news came of Antony's promise of aid against Sextus Pompey, either at the very end of 38 B. C. or before the spring of 37 B. C. (Appian 5.92.386). Some time must have elapsed between the campaign in the southwestern part of Gaul and the crossing of the Rhine. I find confirmatory evidence for my view in Vergil, Eclogue 10, which L. Herrmann, *Revue Archéologique* 35 (1932), 251, dates in the end of the winter of 38 B. C. or in the spring of 37 B. C. A passage in this eclogue may with great probability be referred to Agrippa's crossing of the Rhine. The eclogue was written by Vergil to console his friend Gallus, whose mistress Lycoris had run off with his rival to the army in Gaul. The whole tone of the poem suggests the winter season (compare 20, *hiberna*, 23, *nives*). I call attention especially to verses 47-49: . . .frigora Rheni me sine sola vides. A, te ne frigora laedant! A, tibi ne teneras glacies seceat aspera plantas! Finally, Dio states (48.49.3) that, when Octavian recalled Agrippa, he offered him a triumph, but that Agrippa, who was then consul, rejected it. Frandsen (101-102) and Holmes (1.111) interpret Dio's words to mean that Agrippa was recalled early in 37 B. C. Ferrero (3.291) makes a slip in asserting that Agrippa returned from Gaul immediately after the triumph of Ventidius Bassus, on November 27, 38 B. C., at the same time that Maecenas returned from Greece.

Gardthausen (2.353-354, note 12) refers Vergil, Aeneid 8.726-727 . . . *ibat iam mollior . . . Rhenusque bicornis . . .*, to Agrippa's penetration into Germany. If Vergil, Georgics 1.509 *Hinc movet Euphrates, illinc Germania bellum*, was written in 37 B. C., the reference is probably to repercussions of disturbances on the Rhine (compare Dio 48.49.2) and to Antony's projected campaign against the Parthians, plans for which were made in the spring of 37 B. C. Compare A. Bürcklein, *Quellen und Chronologie der Römisch-parthischen Feldzüge in den Jahren 713-718 d. St.*, 65-68 (Dissertation, Leipzig, 1879); Holmes, 1.122.

CHAPTER IV

AGRIPPA'S FIRST CONSULSHIP. THE SICILIAN WAR

Summoned by Octavian, Agrippa hastened back to Rome to take over the consulship¹ and the direction of the preparations for the war against Sextus Pompey. The triumph offered to him by Octavian for his victories in Gaul he declined.² Dio alleges as the reason for the declination that Agrippa thought it improper to celebrate a triumph at a time when Octavian was in serious trouble.³ Ferrero⁴ rejects Dio's suggestion and conjectures that Agrippa declined the triumph either because his triumph ". . . would have seemed futile in comparison with that of Ventidius . . .", or because he feared the jealousy of Octavian. Desjardins⁵ suggests that Agrippa rejected the triumph offered to him ". . . afin d'éviter un contraste fâcheux pour la réputation militaire d'Octave".

¹CIL 1², pages 28, 65, 158-159; Dio, Index 48, 48.49.4, 49.23.5; Josephus, Antiquitates 14.16.4. Agrippa was designated consul perhaps as early as 40 B. C. at the Peace of Brundisium (compare Plutarch, Antonius 30). According to Appian (5.73.313), consuls for the next four years were decided upon at the Peace of Misenum in the spring of 39 B. C., but the names he lists are the names of the consuls for 34-31 B. C. Dio (48.35.1-2) states that appointments were decided upon for eight years, but he evidently included the consuls already designated for 38-35 B. C. Compare Ferrero, 3.269, note; Mommsen, Staatsrecht, 1.586, note 4; Drumann, 1.315; Hadas, 96, note 160; Holmes, 1.108, note 1. Dio states (48.53.1-3) that during the year 37 there was continual displacement of all officials, including the consuls. That Agrippa was not affected by these circumstances is proved by CIL 4.2437 (Pompeii): IV Non. Dec. usce ad VI Eid. Dec. M. Agrip. T. Stat. Cos. (December 2-8). Compare Mommsen, in CIL 1², page 38; Fitzler-Seeck, 312. It was important for Agrippa because of his military preparations to retain the *consulare imperium*. Dessau (1.28) does not know this inscription, for he states that Agrippa held office only part of the year. In CIL 5.2813 and 11.2105, in both of which Agrippa is referred to as consul, there is a space for a numeral after the word *Cos*. The inscriptions, therefore, probably refer to a later consulship (see below, pages 70, 73).

²Dio 48.49.3-4. The third imperatorial acclamation of Octavian, record of which appears on the *aurei* struck by Agrippa in Gaul (see page 25, above), is probably connected with Agrippa's victory over the Aquitani. Compare Mommsen, Res Gestae, 11.

³48.49.4. ⁴3.291. ⁵3.37, note 3.

However, there seems to me to be good reason for accepting Dio's statement. Why should not Agrippa, devoted as he was to maintaining his friend's power and convinced of the wisdom of subordinating his aspirations to those of Octavian, have avoided the celebration of a triumph at a time when, because of military reverses, Octavian's position was becoming shaky? At any rate, it is significant to note that at least twice again a triumph was offered to Agrippa and was rejected by him.⁶

Octavian and Antony had come to terms with Sextus Pompey at Misenum in the spring of 39 B.C., but the Peace of Misenum was not destined to last long. It was soon evident that neither Octavian nor Sextus was much concerned about maintaining amity. A decisive battle with Pompey was necessary to rehabilitate Octavian's popularity.⁷ The immediate cause of the war with Pompey was the defection of Menas,⁸ the freedman lieutenant of Pompey, to Octavian. Hostilities broke out, and Antony and Lepidus, each for reasons of his own, refused to cooperate with Octavian. With C. Calvisius Sabinus⁹ as admiral of his fleet and Menas as lieutenant to Calvisius, Octavian opened his campaign against Sextus. His efforts against Sextus's lieutenant, Demochares, were, however, rewarded only by a discouraging defeat and the loss of many vessels in a storm off Scylla. The forces of Octavian were no match for those of Sextus, which had been trained in naval tactics by years of piratical experience. In despair Octavian sent a hasty summons to his friend Agrippa, and placed him in charge of the elaborate preparations for a new campaign.¹⁰

The young Agrippa, at most twenty-seven years of age at this time, flushed with his recent victory over the Aquitani and with his successes against the Germans, had no more experience in naval warfare than his friend Octavian, but he set in a masterly fashion about the task of organizing his naval forces. The building of a new fleet had already been

⁶See below, pages 93, 116, 152-153. ⁷Compare Appian 5.127.525.

⁸For Menas, or Menodorus, as Appian calls him, see Modrzejewski, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 15.774-775.

⁹For Calvisius see Münzer, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 3.1411-1412.

¹⁰Dio 48.49.2-3 (= Zonaras 10.23). Hadas (118) remarks: "In the whole conflict this step was the most intelligent, or at least the most effective, which Octavian took". For the events preceding Agrippa's assumption of the direction of the war see Hadas, 93-118; Holmes, 1.106-111.

begun by Octavian in 38 B.C. in all parts of Italy, and an army of oarsmen and marines had been gathered.¹¹ Agrippa's first undertaking was the construction of a safe naval harbor (most of the western coast of Italy was at that time harborless¹²) for the building and outfitting of additional vessels,¹³ for the training of the crews, and for use as a naval base in the projected operations against Sextus. The latter controlled the lower part of the western coast, but Agrippa found a suitable spot in the Bay of Cumae. Lake Avernus¹⁴ (now Lago d'Averno) was a deep, almost oval-shaped lake, nearly two miles in perimeter and about two-thirds of a mile in diameter. In itself, it could form an excellent harbor, sheltered from storms by steep hills which were rich in lumber suitable for shipbuilding.¹⁵ Unfortunately, between this lake and the sea lay a shallow estuary, called Lake Lucrinus,¹⁶ sheltered from the stormy sea by a narrow dam of ancient origin, the Via Herculanea,¹⁷ which connected Baiae with Puteoli.¹⁸ Agrippa was faced with the problem of repairing the protecting dam, providing for the entrance of vessels into Lake Lucrinus, dredging the lake to make it navigable for war vessels, and opening a channel between Lake Lucrinus and Lake Avernus.

Our ancient sources are too fragmentary to permit a detailed description of the engineering work required to perfect the naval station.¹⁹ A volcanic upheaval in 1538, resulting in the appear-

¹¹Dio 48.49.1-2; Appian 5.92.386.

¹²Dio 48.49.5.

¹³The new vessels of Octavian were scattered all along the coast. Compare Dio 48.49.4.

¹⁴For Lake Avernus see Hülsen's article *Avernus lacus*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 2.2286; Enciclopedia Italiana, 5.623-624.

¹⁵Strabo (5.4.5) describes the lake and its surroundings. A. C. Johnson, *Ancient Forests and Navies*, Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association 58 (1927), 199-209, does not discuss the forests about Lake Avernus.

¹⁶For Lake Lucrinus see Philipp's article *Lucrinus lacus*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 13.1695-1696. Compare Strabo 5.4.5.

¹⁷Strabo 5.4.6. Compare Beloch, 172, and Plate V. This dam protected valuable fisheries in Lake Lucrinus. Compare Servius, on Vergil, *Georgics* 2.161; Strabo 5.4.4.

¹⁸Dio (48.50.1), who describes the position of the lakes, appears to have confused Lake Avernus, which he calls marshy, with Lake Lucrinus. Cassiodorus (*Variae* 9.6) also seems to have confused the two lakes.

¹⁹Agrippa probably described it in his lost autobiography. See Daniel-

ance of Monte Nuovo and the disappearance of Lake Lucrinus, destroyed all the remains of the ancient harbor.²⁰ I give here the few certain details of the work. The Via Herculanea was repaired²¹ to protect Lake Lucrinus from the frequent storms coming from the sea; it was then pierced at the two ends near Baiae and Puteoli for the entrance of vessels.²² Lake Lucrinus was dredged²³ and was connected with Lake Avernus by a channel cut through the wide neck of land separating the two.²⁴ To

Servius, on Vergil, *Georgics* 2.162 Agrippa in secundo vitae suae dicit excogitasse se, ut ex Lucrino lacu portum faceret. Dio (48.49.5) promises to describe in full the *ἔργον μεγαλοπρεπές* of Agrippa, but digresses and forgets to fulfill his promise.

²⁰For the eruption (September 27–28, 1538) see L. Preller, *Über den Monte Nuovo bei Puzzuoli, Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-historische Classe* 2 (1850), 147–153. A. E. Nordenskiöld, *Facsimile-Atlas to the Early History of Cartography*, Plate VII (Stockholm, 1889), gives an old map of Italy drawn in 1490, but unfortunately the scale of the map is too small to make it of service here. The remains today are insignificant (compare Gardthausen, 1.257). The region is now a lagoon called Maricello.

²¹Strabo 5.4.6; Vergil, *Georgics* 2.161 an memorem portus Lucrinoque addita claustra...? According to Servius (on Vergil, *Georgics* 2.161), the Via Herculanea had been in need of repairs earlier, and upon the petition of the fishing interests Julius Caesar was sent by the Senate to repair it. His construction was named after him, not necessarily *Opus Iulium*, as Lehmann-Hartleben (175) understands from Servius.

²²Dio 48.50.3; Florus 2.18.6. How does Lehmann-Hartleben (175) know that there were three entrances spanned by arches?

²³So Shuckburgh, on Suetonius, *Augustus* 16.1. It is my conviction that Agrippa planned to make Lake Lucrinus, the larger of the two lakes and the nearer to the sea, the real harbor. Compare Daniel-Servius, on Vergil, *Georgics* 2.162 (see note 19, above); Cassiodorus, *Chronicon* (717/37) *His Coss. lacus Lucrinus in portum conversus est*; Florus 2.18.6... *refossisque litoribus Lucrinus lacus mutatus in portum...* See also the *Brevis Expositio*, on Vergil, *Georgics* 2.164.

²⁴Suetonius, *Augustus* 16.1; Daniel-Servius, on Vergil, *Georgics* 2.162. Horace, *Ars Poetica* 63–65 may be another reference to the *Portus Iulius*, as the scholiast Acron observes. L. Preller, *Philologus* 2 (1847), 484–485, argues against Acron, but Motte (197–202) rejects Preller's arguments. For modern discussions of the *Portus Iulius*, some quite fanciful, see Frandsen, 140–145; Beloch, 169–173; C. Merkel, *Die Ingenieurtechnik im Alterthum*, 360–361 (Berlin, 1899); Nissen, 2.734–736; Lehmann-Hartleben, 175–176; R. T. Günther, *Earth-Movements in the Bay of Naples*, *The Geographical Journal* 22 (1903), 274–275; Gardthausen, 1.257–260, 2.131–134; Jones, 156; Motte, 190–204.

the completed first Roman war harbor Agrippa gave the name *Portus Iulius*, in honor of his friend.²⁵

Scholars are almost unanimous²⁶ in attributing to Agrippa's work in connection with the *Portus Iulius* in 37–36 B.C. the tunnel from *Avernus* to *Cumae* and the sea, mentioned by *Strabo*, now called *Grotta di Pietro la Pace*.²⁷ *Strabo*, however, expressly states that the tunnel was built by *Cocceius*,²⁸ and I see no reason for assuming that *Cocceius* was the architect of Agrippa, nor can I understand of what value such an undertaking would have been in the conduct of the imminent war.²⁹

The use of the *Portus Iulius* as a naval base was given up soon after the end of the war with *Pompey*, because the piling up of silt made it difficult to keep *Lake Lucrinus* navigable. *Misenum* became the western naval base of the Roman Empire.³⁰

²⁵*Suetonius*, *Augustus* 16.1. The naming of the harbor is probably what is meant by *Daniel-Servius* (on *Vergil*, *Georgics* 2.162): *verum huius (operis) gloriam Augusto cessit <Agrippa>*. So *Frandsen*, 141. *H. Smilda*, *Index Historicus* to *Boissevain's* edition of *Dio Cassius*, 698, incorrectly calls it 'the *Misene Harbor*'.

²⁶See e. g. *Nissen*, 2.735–736; *Frandsen*, 143; *Gardthausen*, 1.258–259; *Beloch*, 131, 170; *Lehmann-Hartleben*, 175; *C. G. Scherilli*, *Della Mera-vigliosa Spelonca Romana tra l'Antica Città di Cuma e il Lago Averno*, *Bullettino Archeologico Napolitano*, *Nuova Serie* 6 (1858), 172–176; *A. Maiuri*, *Notizie degli Scavi* 1926, 91.

²⁷*Strabo* 5.4.5. For a description of this tunnel see *Beloch*, 170–171; *Scherilli* (see note 26, above).

²⁸For the architect *L. Cocceius Auctus*, who was active in this region in the *Augustan Age*, see *Fabricius and Stein*, in *Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll*, 4.129; *CIL* 10.1614.

²⁹*Nissen* (2.735–736) suggests that the aim was to shorten the distance between *Cumae* and *Avernus*; *Gardthausen* (1.259) conjectures that the purpose was to facilitate the transportation of boats, troops, and material for ships, quickly and secretly, to the coast. Many attempts have been made to assign other architectural remains in the neighboring regions to Agrippa's work on the *Portus Iulius*, all without the slightest shred of evidence. *Beloch* (164) ascribes to Agrippa the road over *Monte Grillo*, with the *Arco Felice* (this is doubted by *Gardthausen*, 2.134) and (on pages 83–84) the present road on the sea shore from *Naples* to *Puozuoli*; *Scherilli* (175: see note 26, above) credits him with an aqueduct; *Gardthausen*, 1.259 (very generously) attributes to him the *Grotta della Sibilla*, the *Piedigrotta*, and the *Grotta di Seiano*; *Ferrero* (3.293) states that Agrippa "...conceived the idea of digging a canal between *Puteoli* and *Cape Misenum*..."!

³⁰The *Portus Iulius* was useless as a harbor in *Strabo's* time (5.4.6).

With Baiae as his headquarters,³¹ Agrippa superintended the building and the equipment of the vessels, and the mustering and drilling of the marines and crews.³² The ships built in 37 B.C. under Agrippa's supervision were a new type of high, heavy, thick-timbered warship.³³ In connection with the deforestation of the hills about Lake Avernus to provide timber for the ships it was necessary to overcome many superstitions attached to the region.³⁴ Twenty thousand slaves, whom Octavian had gathered from every available source, were manumitted and placed at Agrippa's disposal.³⁵ Most of the preliminary arrangements were completed by the winter of 37 B.C.,³⁶ and Agrippa spent the remainder of the year and the early part of 36 B.C. in training the marines and crews in the two lakes.³⁷ As part of the training, he compelled the marines to sail out on the high seas in stormy weather, in order to steel them against the dangers of storm.³⁸ The disaster of the previous year had demonstrated the necessity of protection against sudden inclemency of weather.

Lake Lucrinus was later known chiefly for its fine oyster beds (Strabo 5.4.6; Juvenal 4.141-142; Cassiodorus, *Variae* 9.6). Repairs were made on the Via Herculeana by Claudius (Pliny, *H. N.* 36.125).

³¹Dio 48.51.5, 49.1.1.

³²Velleius 2.79.1; Dio 48.51.5. According to Appian (5.96.400), Agrippa did not replace Calvisius as admiral until the defection of Menas to Sextus early in 36 B. C., but Hadas observes (122) that "... Octavian would not wait for the desertion of a traitor to replace Calvisius by the best available commander".

³³Dio 49.1.2; Appian 5.106.439. Compare Shepard, 185: "Agrippa's ships were the dreadnaughts of the age..."; Köster, 232.

³⁴Strabo 5.4.5; Dio 48.50.4-51.4.

³⁵Suetonius, Augustus 16.1; Dio 48.49.1.

³⁶Compare Seneca, *De Beneficiis* 6.32.3 *fracta classis et inter paucos dies natavit nova*.

³⁷Florus 2.18.6; Suetonius, Augustus 16.1; Velleius 2.79.1-2 *Aedificandis navibus, contrahendoque militi ac remigi, navalibusque adsuescendo certaminibus atque exercitationibus praefectus est M. Agrippa... Hic in Averno ac Lucrino lacu speciosissima classe fabricata quotidianis exercitationibus militem remigemque ad summam et militaris et maritimae rei perduxit scientiam*.

³⁸Daniel-Servius, on Vergil, *Aeneid* 8.682 *Hadrianus scribit Agrippam solitum tempestate orta milites cogere naves in fluctus urgere, ut consuetudine discriminis dempto metu redderet eos adversum pericula fortiores*.

Furthermore, he displayed an inventive genius in the improvement of military engines. Since his strength lay in the fighting skill of his marines, and not in the speed of his vessels, he foresaw the necessity of obstructing the movement of Sextus's swift ships.³⁹ Therefore, he devised an improved type of grapnel, the ἄρπαξ, by which it was possible to catch hold of the enemy ships, and to draw them close, in order to effect a transfer of legionaries onto the enemy ships. The ἄρπαξ consisted of an iron-covered block of wood, five cubits long, provided with a ring on each end. To one of these rings was attached an iron claw, the ἄρπαξ proper; to the other ring were attached many ropes. The instrument was shot by means of a catapult; when it had caught hold of an enemy ship, windlasses were employed to draw the ship close.⁴⁰ In addition, Agrippa installed on his ships an improved type of collapsible tower. These towers were so constructed that, though they were invisible before the attack, as soon as the ships closed, they were suddenly raised.⁴¹

³⁹Compare F. Miltner's article *Seekrieg*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, Supplementband 5.904.

⁴⁰Appian 5.118.491. For their effectiveness in the war see Appian 5.119; below, page 39. Appian calls these engines also κέρακες (5.106.441), or 'iron hands' (*ibidem*), as Dio (49.3.4) also names them. Such an instrument is described by Athenaeus 5.208 D. Holmes (1.112), followed by Hadas (145, note 88), observes that a similar engine had been used by Decimus Brutus at the siege of Massilia. M. L. W. Laistner, *The Classical Weekly* 25 (1932), 111, in his review of Hadas's dissertation, questions whether the *harpax* (ἄρπαξ is the correct spelling, not ἄρπαγρον) was really an innovation in Agrippa's time. Of course, the principle of the grappling iron was employed hundreds of years before. Laistner points out that Thucydides (7.62.3) mentions 'iron hands' used on ships. Yet Appian (5.119.495-496) expressly states that there was something new about Agrippa's *harpax*. For one thing, the use of catapults to shoot grappling irons a long distance was new. See W. W. Tarn, *Hellenistic Military and Naval Developments*, 152 (Cambridge, 1930). In addition, the length of the block of wood and its covering took the Pompeians unawares. They were unable with ordinary cutting instruments to reach the ropes or to cut the block itself. For this innovation of Agrippa see Kromayer-Veith, *Heerwesen*, 617; Miltner (see note 39, above).

⁴¹Servius, on Vergil, *Aeneid* 8.693 nam Agrippa primus hoc genus turrium invenit, ut de tabulatis subito erigerentur, simul ac ventum esset in proelium, turres hostibus improvisae, in navigando essent occultae. Servius mentions these improved towers in connection with the Battle of Actium, but they may very well have been used in 36 B. C. For these towers see

In the short space of a year Agrippa had revolutionized the methods of Roman naval warfare.

Mit Agrippa . . . tritt auch die römische Seetaktik in ein neues Stadium. Er ist nicht nur der Schöpfer des ersten römischen Kriegshafens "Portus Julius", sondern auch des schweren, mit ebensolcher Artillerie bestückten Grosskampfschiffes; auch die Enterhaken hat er konstruktiv verbessert . . . und die Idee versenkbarer Geschütztürme geht auf ihn zurück⁴²

Late in 38 B.C. Maecenas had brought a promise of aid from Antony.⁴³ In the spring of the next year⁴⁴ Antony arrived at Tarentum with 300 vessels,⁴⁵ but Octavian failed to meet him, perhaps, as Ferrero suggests,⁴⁶ because Agrippa's preparations had progressed so favorably that Octavian no longer needed Antony's aid. A rupture between the Triumvirs again seemed imminent. In the fall of the year⁴⁷ Octavia, Antony's wife, undertook to reconcile her brother and her husband. She won over Agrippa and Maecenas,⁴⁸ and finally Octavian consented to a parley. The meeting was arranged to take place near Tarentum at the River Taras.⁴⁹ A transfer of forces was effected at the negotiations. In exchange for 130 ships, Octavian promised Antony 20,000 legionaries, which the latter needed for his projected campaign against the Parthians, and transferred to him at once 1,000 picked men. Sextus Pompey was deprived of the honors granted to him at Misenum, and, finally, the Triumvirate was prolonged for another five years. Antony soon departed for Syria, leaving Octavian to resume the war with Pompey.⁵⁰

At this point I pause to mention the first marriage of Agrippa,

C. Torr, *Ancient Ships*, 59-60 (Cambridge, 1894). Gardthausen (2.135) points out that collapsible towers were used by Cassius at the blockade of Rhodes (Appian 4.72).

⁴²A. Köster and E. v. Nischer, in Kromayer-Veith, *Heerwesen*, 625.

⁴³See above, page 25.

⁴⁴In May, according to the chronology of J. Kromayer, *Die Rechtliche Begründung des Principats*, 57-58 (Dissertation, Strassburg, 1888).

⁴⁵Appian 5.93.

⁴⁶3.294. So Holmes, 1.112.

⁴⁷Kromayer, 51-57 (see note 44, above) fixes the time of the Treaty of Tarentum in September or October.

⁴⁸Plutarch, *Antonius* 35. ⁴⁹Appian 5.93.

⁵⁰Plutarch, *Antonius* 35; Appian 5.94-95; Dio 48.54.1-6. Compare Holmes, 1.112-113.

to the young daughter of the aged Atticus, Caecilia Attica,⁵¹ on whom Cicero in the last years of his life had lavished his affection. Cornelius Nepos relates that Agrippa, although he was in a position to marry into the noblest families, preferred the daughter of a Roman *eques*, and adds that Marcus Antonius arranged the match.⁵² It seems probable that the marriage was celebrated in 37 B.C.⁵³ But when the betrothal was arranged, whether at one of the conferences at Brundisium, Misenum, or Tarentum, or even as early as 42 B.C., or by

⁵¹The name of Agrippa's first wife is generally given incorrectly as Pomponia, e. g. by Frandsen, 233; Matthes, 15; Vaglieri, in *Dizionario Epigrafico*, 1.369; Furneaux, 1.167; Moll, *Tafel V*. Cicero twice calls her *Caecilia* (*Ad Atticum* 6.2.10, 4.3), elsewhere *Attica* or *Atticula*. When Caecilia Attica was born, her father had already by adoption changed his name to Q. Caecilius Atticus Pomponianus. Compare Drumann, 5.62, note 5, 91; Cantarelli, 168, note 2; *Prosopographia*, 3.81, No. 573.

⁵²Atticus 12.1-2. For other references to the connection of Agrippa and Atticus see Seneca, *Epistulae* 21.4; Suetonius, *Tiberius* 7.2. I can see no point in the contention of Frandsen (234), who is followed by Ferrero (3.268), that Antony's motive in sponsoring the match was a political one, to ensure Agrippa's fidelity to himself in the event of a rupture with Octavian. Drumann (5.92) rightly rejects this view.

⁵³Various dates for the marriage have been suggested: 41 B. C. (Shuckburgh, on Suetonius, *Augustus* 63.1); 40 B. C. (Ferrero, 3.268, note. Ferrero argues, "Yet I am inclined to think that it must have been so, as this was the last stay which Antony made at Rome, and he was the *harum nuptiarum conciliator*. Before Philippi the marriage was impossible, as Agrippa was then a nonentity"); 37 B. C. (Groebe, in Drumann, 5.92: he suggests that the marriage was arranged at Tarentum; so also Gardthausen, 1.747; Dahlman, 65); 36 B. C. (Moll, *Tafel V*; Cantarelli, 173-179, note 9; Furneaux, 1.167; Alice H. Byrne, *Titus Pomponius Atticus*, 100, note 312 [*Dissertation*, Bryn Mawr, 1920]); 36-34 B. C. (Frandsen, 233-235). The marriage could not have taken place before the latter half of 39 B. C., because Caecilia Attica was not of marriageable age until that time (she was born between May and September, 51 B. C. Compare Cicero, *Ad Atticum* 5.19.2; Drumann, 5.91). For women twelve years was the legal age for marriage (Marquardt-Mau, 29). However, Agrippa was away in Gaul in 39-38 B. C., and did not return to Rome until early in 37 B. C. (see above, page 26, note 34). At this time Caecilia Attica was about 14 years old, the normal age at which girls were married. At any rate, if the engagement had taken place earlier, there was no reason for delaying the marriage; if the marriage was arranged at Tarentum, in the fall of 37 B. C., the marriage must have taken place soon after. A child resulting from this marriage was betrothed at the age of one during the lifetime of Atticus, who died on March 31, 32 B. C. (Nepos, *Atticus* 22.3).

correspondence,⁵⁴ I am unable to determine. Only one child from this marriage is known, Vipsania Agrippina,⁵⁵ who was born between 37 and 33 B.C. and was betrothed to Tiberius, the stepson of Octavian, when she was scarcely one year old.⁵⁶ Agrippa was greatly attached to his father-in-law, and was deeply moved at Atticus's approaching death in 32 B.C., when the latter summoned him to his death-bed.⁵⁷

By the summer of 36 B.C. all was in readiness for the struggle with Sextus Pompey.⁵⁸ A solemn lustration of the fleet was performed at the Portus Iulius,⁵⁹ and on July 1 Octavian and Agrippa led out the huge fleet and moved toward Sicily.⁶⁰ At the same time, acting in concert with the northern fleet, with the intent of surrounding Pompey in Sicily, on the east, south, and north, Statilius Taurus,⁶¹ with Antony's squadron from Tarentum, and Lepidus, who had promised aid to Octavian, sought to converge upon the island.⁶² Hardly had their journey be-

⁵⁴Nepos (Atticus 20.4) states that Atticus and Antony maintained an active correspondence. Suitors were being sought for Caecilia when she was six and eight years old (compare Cicero, *Ad Atticum* 13.21.7; *Ad M. Brutum* 1.17.7).

⁵⁵For her name see above, page 7, note 28.

⁵⁶Nepos, *Atticus* 19.4. For Vipsania Agrippina, who was later married to Tiberius during the life of Agrippa, see below, page 137. For the fate of Caecilia see below, page 71, note 39.

⁵⁷Nepos, *Atticus* 21.4-5, 22.2. See below, page 53.

⁵⁸I have not thought it expedient to discuss in detail all the operations in this war. I give a brief outline of its course and refer the reader to the careful and detailed analysis by Hadas, 122-147, to whose bibliography I add J. Melber, *Dio Cassius über die Letzten Kämpfe gegen Sext. Pompejus, 36 v. Chr.*, *Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiet der Klassischen Altertums-Wissenschaft*, Wilhelm von Christ zum Sechzigsten Geburtstag, 211-236 (Munich, 1891); F. Miltner's article *Seekrieg*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, Supplementband 5 (1931), 897; Shepard, 184-186. Ancient sources for the war are Dio 49.1-11 (= Zonaras 10.24-25); Appian 5.97-122; Suetonius, *Augustus* 16; Velleius 2.79; Servius, on Vergil, *Aeneid* 6.612, 8.684; Daniel-Servius, on Vergil, *Aeneid* 8.682; Orosius 6.18.25-29; Florus 2.18; Livy, *Periocha* 129; *Incertus Auctor, De Viris Illustribus* 84.4; Scholiast on Lucan 6.422; *Res Gestae* 25 *Mare pacavi a praedonibus*.

⁵⁹Appian (5.96) describes the *lustratio* in detail. For the *lustratio classis* see Boehm's article *Lustratio*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 13.2035-2036

⁶⁰Appian 5.97. Dio (49.1.1), however, says the campaign began in the spring. For the date see Holmes, 1.113, note 5; Hadas, 123, note 8.

⁶¹For Statilius Taurus see Nagl, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Zweite Reihe*, 3.2199-2203.

⁶²Appian 5.97-98; Dio 49.1.1.

gun, when a violent tempest, the nemesis of Octavian's naval ambitions,⁶³ fell upon the three armaments. Many of Lepidus's transports were destroyed, but he succeeded in reaching Sicily; Statilius Taurus was driven back to Tarentum; Octavian and Agrippa, who had been hugging the coast, were forced to take shelter in the Bay of Velia.⁶⁴ After the storm had subsided, it was discovered that the main squadron, under Octavian and Agrippa, was completely disabled, and Octavian was so discouraged that he desired to postpone the campaign to the next summer. But, realizing the danger to his popularity at Rome, if he permitted Sextus to continue his raids and to disrupt the grain supply, he gave the order to repair the ships.⁶⁵

Sending Maecenas to Rome to control the hostile element there,⁶⁶ Octavian hastened to organize his forces in the extreme south of Italy. As soon as repairs on the fleet were completed, he accompanied the northern squadron to the small cluster of islands north of Sicily which was to be used as the base of operations against Pompey. Here he left Agrippa in charge and returned to the mainland.⁶⁷ Sextus Pompey, meanwhile, had been lying at anchor off Messina to block the transportation of Octavian's legionaries into Sicily. Neglecting to take advantage of the opportunity afforded by Octavian's discomfiture after the storm,⁶⁸ he had contented himself with sending his untrustworthy lieutenant, Menas, to harass Octavian's demoralized fleet. But the shrewd Menas, perhaps observing at a glance the superiority of Octavian's forces, presently transferred his allegiance and his vessels again to Octavian, after inflicting some damage to his fleet in the absence of Octavian and Agrippa.⁶⁹

From Strongyle Agrippa proceeded south and occupied Hiera, the southernmost island of the Lipara group.⁷⁰ The next day,

⁶³Drummann (4.263) observes: "Mit Neptun befreundete er sich nie".

⁶⁴Appian 5.98; Dio 49.1.3.

⁶⁵Appian 5.99; Dio 49.1.5.

⁶⁶Appian 5.99.414.

⁶⁷Appian 5.103-105; Dio 49.1.5-6 (= Zonaras 10.24).

⁶⁸Hadas (126-127) argues that the resumption of hostilities by Octavian that year was unexpected, and that Sextus's land forces were no match for the armies of Octavian in Italy.

⁶⁹Appian 5.100-102; Dio 49.1.3-4. According to Orosius (6.13.25), Menas went over to Octavian's side after he had been surrounded by Agrippa.

⁷⁰Appian 5.105.435.

at daybreak,⁷¹ Agrippa led out his fleet against the fleet of Pompey, which was strung along the northern shore of Sicily at Pelorus, Mylae, and Tyndaris. At Mylae he met the combined squadrons of Pompey and his lieutenants, Demochares⁷² and Apollophanes.⁷³ The opposing forces were well-matched. Agrippa was able to oppose to Pompey's light, swiftly-moving vessels and experienced and desperate seamen a multitude of trained legionaries in higher, heavier, more durable vessels, better outfitted than were those of Pompey.⁷⁴ The battle was long contested, but the effectiveness of the *harpax*,⁷⁵ and the superiority of Agrippa's marines, who were able to cross into the enemy ships, carried the day. By nightfall the remnants of Pompey's fleet were in retreat. The light ships of the Pompeians scurried to safety among the shoals close by.⁷⁶ Eager though Agrippa was to pursue and to surround them and to complete his victory, the danger of running his heavy vessels aground, oncoming night, and the advice of his friends not to overtax the strength of his soldiers and not to entrust his vessels to the stormy sea convinced him of the wisdom of retiring.⁷⁷

When his troops were rested, Agrippa proceeded to Tyndaris on the northern coast of Sicily, and entered the town, but was driven out by the garrison. He managed, however, to take some small towns on the coast, and presently returned to his base at Hierapolis.⁷⁸ Meanwhile, Octavian, having gathered his

⁷¹Fitzler-Seeck (314) date the Battle of Mylae during the earlier half of August.

⁷²Appian calls him Papias (5.104), but he is probably identical with the Demochares of Dio. See F. Münzer, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 4.2867, No. 7; Gardthausen, 2.137, note 11. ⁷³Appian 5.105-106; Dio 49.2.

⁷⁴Appian 5.106; Dio 49.3.1-3. ⁷⁵See above, page 34.

⁷⁶Appian 5.106-107; Dio 49.3.4-4.1 (= Zonaras 10.24).

⁷⁷Appian 5.108; Dio 49.4. Dio, himself so ready to suggest motives, expresses scepticism concerning the explanation offered by some that Agrippa made no effort to pursue because he was fighting for another's benefit and not for himself, and that Agrippa was convinced of the ingratitude of those in power. We need not take this explanation seriously. It has all the earmarks of a rhetorical school exercise. Blumenthal (287) remarks, "Man kann zweifeln, ob hier Dio wirklich auf irgendeine Überlieferung zurückgeht. Wahrscheinlich hat er nur seinem eigenen Groll auf ungefährlche Weise Luft gemacht".

⁷⁸Appian 5.109.450; Dio 49.7.4. Dio says that Agrippa sailed back to Lipara, but he probably means the Lipara group. Compare Gardthausen, 2.137, note 13; Hadas, 132, note 38.

forces on the mainland opposite Messina, profited by Pompey's absence at Mylae by crossing the straits with Statilius Taurus and his fleet. He marched upon Tauromenium, and, upon the refusal of the town to surrender, prepared to attack it. Presently Pompey, returning from Mylae, appeared with a large fleet of ships and large troops of infantry and cavalry. Octavian's position was precarious. He risked a naval encounter with Pompey, but was disastrously defeated and barely escaped with his life to the mainland.⁷⁹ At Tauromenium his infantry, under the command of Cornificius,⁸⁰ suffered miserably.⁸¹ From the camp of Messala on the mainland, Octavian sent three legions to Agrippa, with orders for the latter to send Laronius⁸² to relieve Cornificius.⁸³ Agrippa crossed over to Sicily, took Tyn-daris,⁸⁴ and his threatening presence afforded Cornificius an opportunity to escape to Agrippa with the remnant of his forces.⁸⁵

Octavian had crossed again to Sicily and encamped near Artemisium. Lepidus, who had managed to reach Sicily despite the storm, had at first attacked L. Plinius⁸⁶ at Lilybaeum, and then joined Octavian at Artemisium, while Tisienus Gallus, who had been sent by Pompey to oppose Lepidus at Lilybaeum, returned to join Pompey's forces.⁸⁷ Octavian took Artemisium, and with Lepidus moved closer to Messina.⁸⁸ Presently Agrippa appeared with his fleet and anchored close by.⁸⁹ Realizing that his numbers were inferior, for several days Sextus made no movement, but finally he decided to risk all on a naval encounter, for his real strength lay in his fleet.⁹⁰ On an appointed day, September 3,⁹¹ watched from the shore by the infantry of

⁷⁹Appian 5.109-112; Dio 49.5.2-5.

⁸⁰For L. Cornificius see Wissowa, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 4.1623-1624, No. 5. ⁸¹Appian 5.113-114; Dio 49.6-7.3.

⁸²For Laronius see Lieben, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 12.876, No. 2.

⁸³Appian 5.112; Dio 49.6.1.

⁸⁴Appian 5.116; Dio 49.7.4. Dio states and Appian (5.115.481) implies that Agrippa also took Mylae at this time, but Appian (5.116) goes on to say that Pompey's garrisons still held the coast from Mylae to Pelorus and that Octavian occupied Mylae shortly afterwards.

⁸⁵Dio 49.7.5 (= Zonaras 10.24); Appian 5.115.

⁸⁶For Plinius see Hadas, 100, note 1; Dessau, ILS 8891.

⁸⁷Dio 49.8.1-3; Appian 5.98. ⁸⁸Appian 5.117.

⁸⁹Dio 49.8.5. ⁹⁰Dio 49.8.6; Appian 5.118.

⁹¹For the date see Holmes, 1.221; Hadas, 145-146.

both sides, the opposing fleets met off Naulochus, a few miles east of Mylae. Again the ships, manoeuvres,⁹² and military engines of Agrippa proved to be superior. The result was an overwhelming victory for Agrippa. Of Pompey's huge fleet only seventeen ships managed to escape; Demochares, rather than be taken captive, committed suicide; Apollophanes and Tisienus Gallus and most of Pompey's forces deserted to Octavian.⁹³ Pompey escaped to Messana, and, with his daughter and a number of friends, fled to Antony with his seventeen remaining ships.⁹⁴ Shortly afterwards, Plinius, who had been summoned by Pompey, occupied Messana. Octavian sent Agrippa and Lepidus to oppose him, and they at once laid siege to the city. Plinius immediately sued for peace, and, despite Agrippa's desire to wait for Octavian's arrival, Lepidus accepted the surrender, and with Plinius's troops plundered the city.⁹⁵

By his two victories at Mylae and Naulochus Agrippa broke forever Sextus's naval supremacy of many years.

Seine Überwindung gelang erst durch das Eingreifen des ersten und grössten eigentlichen Seehelden, den Rom hervorgebracht, des M. Vipsanius Agrippa, des einzigen, dessen Name mit denen der grossen Admirale Griechenlands und späterer Seenationen genannt zu werden verdient.⁹⁶

The successful completion in 36 B.C. of the war with Sextus Pompey marks one of the turning points in the career of Octavian. From that time his position was more solid and his prospects brighter. For the crushing of Pompey's opposition he was greatly indebted, of course, to his friend Agrippa, his ranking general and the admiral of his victorious fleet. Natu-

⁹²Compare Kromayer-Veith, Heerwesen, 625-626.

⁹³Dio 49.9-10; Appian 5.119-121.

⁹⁴Appian 5.121-122; Dio 49.11.1. For the end of Pompey and his house see Hadas, 148-160.

⁹⁵Appian 5.122; Dio 49.11.2-3.

⁹⁶A. Köster and E. v. Nischer, in Kromayer-Veith, Heerwesen, 614. Compare O. Fiebiger, *De Classium Italicarum Historia et Institutis*, Leipziger Studien 15 (1893-1894), 281: "... Agrippae, quo nemo illa aetate rei navalis peritior erat. ..." In the harangue before the Battle of Actium which Dio (50.19.1) puts into Antony's mouth Antony disparages the ability of Agrippa, asserting that his victories at Sicily were only victories over slaves.

rally, Agrippa's own position was greatly strengthened by the increased prestige of Octavian.

Octavian had yet to deal with Lepidus, whom he stripped of most of his powers,⁹⁷ and with a serious mutiny among his own troops.⁹⁸ On November 13⁹⁹ he entered Rome in triumph; honors were heaped upon him by the Senate and by the people. Octavian, in turn, heaped honors on his friend Agrippa, the victor of Mylae and Naulochus. He bestowed upon him rich estates in Sicily from the lands which had been confiscated.¹⁰⁰ In addition, he presented to him an extraordinary military decoration, a golden naval crown, decorated with ships' beaks, and a decree was later passed granting Agrippa the privilege of wearing the crown in triumphal processions.¹⁰¹ This naval

⁹⁷Dio 49.11.2-12.4; Appian 5.123-126; Velleius 2.80; Livy, Periocha 129; Orosius 6.18.30-32. The only honor left to Lepidus was the office of *pontifex maximus*.

⁹⁸Appian 5.128-129; Dio 49.13-14. ⁹⁹CIL 1², page 180; Pais, 298-299.

¹⁰⁰It is not improbable that the estates of Agrippa in Sicily, mentioned by Horace (Epistulae 1.12.1 *Fructibus Agrippae Siculis, quos colligis, Icci*), came into his possession at this time. Compare Ferrero, 4.39; Gardthausen, 1.283; Dahlman, 30. The scholiasts on Horace (Porphyrio, Acron, and the commentator used by Cruquius) call Iccius, the friend of Horace (compare *Carmina* 1.29), *procurator Agrippae in Sicilia*. Iccius was manager of Agrippa's Sicilian estates about 19 B. C. For Iccius see Stein, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 9.819-820, No. 2. The location of part, or all, of Agrippa's Sicilian lands is perhaps revealed by the appearance of the names of several Vipsanii, some of whom are certainly freedmen, on inscriptions of Catina (now Catania). See IG 14.494 M. Βιψάνιος Ζώσιμος, 495 Βιψάνιος Ζώσιμος; CIL 10.7101 Vipsanius Atticus. Compare Gardthausen, 2.275; V. Casagrandi, *Ricordi di M. Vipsanio Agrippa in Sicilia*, in *Raccolta di Studi di Storia Antica*, 1.127-138 (Catania, 1893). Casagrandi's conjectures concerning the relationship of this Vipsanius Atticus to Agrippa and his father-in-law Atticus are the product of pure fancy. On a coin of Tyndaris a freedman, M. Vipsanus <or *Musanus*> Athen. . . . appears as *duovir*. See Adolf Holm, *Geschichte Siciliens im Alterthum*, 3.729, No. 757 (Leipzig, 1898). For other large estates of Agrippa see below, pages 61, 109, 129.

¹⁰¹Dio 49.14.3; Livy, Periocha 129; Seneca, *De Beneficiis* 3.32.4; Velleius 2.81.3; Vergil, *Aeneid* 8.683-684 (and Servius on verse 684); Ovid, *Ars Amatoria* 3.392; Pliny, *H. N.* 16.7-8. Compare Aulus Gellius 5.6.18; Festus, under *navali corona* (pages 160-161 of the edition of A. T. de Ponor [Budapest, 1889] = pages 156-157 in W. M. Lindsay's edition [Leipzig, 1913]). The crown of Agrippa is called by ancient authors variously *corona navalis*, *corona classica*, *corona rostrata*. On inscriptions of the Empire this military decoration is regularly called *corona classica*; *corona navalis* appears there

crown remained the distinctive military decoration of Agrippa, and numerous coins and gems show him crowned with the symbol of his maritime victories.¹⁰²

only once. See CIL 10.8291 = Dessau, ILS 1041; compare Steiner, 36, note 2. Suetonius (Augustus 25.3) confused this decoration of Agrippa with the decoration given to him after the Battle of Actium. See below, page 60, note 47.

A difficult problem presents itself in connection with the naval crown of Agrippa. Velleius, Livy, and Seneca state (or imply) that no Roman ever received the honor before Agrippa; Dio states that no other Roman before or after him received the honor. Compare Steiner, 36. However, we learn from Pliny that before Agrippa M. Varro was presented with a naval crown by Pompey the Great in the war against the pirates (H. N. 7.115, 16.7). Compare Fiebiger's article *Corona*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 4.1640. If we accept the restoration of a very fragmentary passage in Festus, as given by Lindsay (156), a certain M. Atilius may have received a naval crown long before Varro: <Navali corona solet donari, qui pri>mus in hostium <navem armatus transilierit>...opera, ma...est eam M. <Terentius Varro bello piratico, donant>e Cn. Pom<peio>, ... <M.> Atilius bel<lo>... Klebs, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 2.2085, calls attention to the dubiousness of this restoration. See also Kromayer-Veith, Heerwesen, 284. Furthermore, under the Empire the *corona classica* appears in numerous inscriptions as the highest *donum militare*, granted not exclusively for naval victories. Compare Steiner, 36, 47-71, 87-88; Fiebiger's article *Corona*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 4.1640; Santinelli's article *Corona*, in *Dizionario Epigrafico*, 2.1232-1235.

How, then, are we to explain the widespread tradition, as it appears in Livy, Velleius, Dio, and Seneca, that the *corona navalis* of Agrippa was a unique decoration? Steiner (36-37) attempts to do away with the evidence in Pliny for the naval crown of Varro by the fanciful explanation that Pliny misunderstood and confused his sources. He would read (37, note 1) in the fragmentary passage in Festus, <adeptus> est eam M. <Agrippa...>; Atilius he disregards. The fact remains that there was something unique about the *corona navalis* which was bestowed upon Agrippa by Octavian in 36 B. C. What this unique element was I cannot say. Frandsen (207) calls attention to Dio's statement that Agrippa was permitted by decree to wear his crown at triumphal processions, while others were required to wear a laurel crown, and also suggests the possibility of an unusual form of naval crown. So Motte, 208-209. For the naval crown see also Pais, 299-300; Marquardt, 2.577; Kromayer-Veith, Heerwesen, 284.

¹⁰²Vergil, Aeneid 8.683-684 cui, belli insigne superbum, tempora navali fulgent rostrata corona; Ovid, *Ars Amatoria* 3.392 navalique gener cinctus honore caput. For the coins from Gaul, Spain, and Rome which show Agrippa with the *corona navalis* see below, pages 64, 94, note 100, 131, 137. Egger and Fournier (in Daremberg-Saglio, 1.1536) describe the various

forms of the naval crown on these coins. For gems on which Agrippa is shown with the naval crown, and for a head which may represent him with this decoration see below, page 156, note 45, 158, note 50. For coins and gems which show Agrippa wearing the *corona navalis* combined with a *corona muralis* see below, page 93, note 94. For other allusions to the naval victories of Agrippa see below, pages 60-61, note 48.

CHAPTER V

THE ILLYRIAN WAR. AGRIPPA'S AEDILESHIP

The activities of Agrippa during the two years following the Sicilian War are hinted at in two incidental statements in Appian and in Dio, but the extent of his accomplishments in the active campaigns of 35 and 34 B.C. in Illyria and in Pannonia is not revealed by those statements.¹ Kromayer² conjectures that the extensive operations of Octavian's fleet all along the Dalmatian coast early in 35 B.C. were under the direction of Agrippa. At the difficult siege of Metulum, the capital city of the Iapydes, in the same year, when the soldiers showed fear in crossing a bridge constructed to reach the parapets of the town's fortifications, Octavian, followed by Agrippa and a few others, led the charge.³ In the following year Octavian sent Agrippa against the Dalmatians,⁴ and presently joined him. Together, after serious difficulties, including the wounding of Octavian, lack of grain, and a mutiny, Octavian and Agrippa subjugated most of the tribes.⁵

By the fall of 34 B.C. Agrippa was back in Rome.⁶ The term of the Second Triumvirate, now really a duumvirate, was

¹For the Illyrian campaigns of 35-33 B. C. see G. Veith, *Die Feldzüge des C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus in Illyrien in den Jahren 35-33 v. Chr.*, Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, Schriften der Balkankommission, Antiquarische Abteilung 7 (Vienna, 1914); J. Kromayer, *Kleine Forschungen zur Geschichte des Zweiten Triumvirats, V: Die Illyrischen Feldzüge Octavians*, *Hermes* 33 (1898), 1-13; N. Vulić, *Contributi alla Storia della Guerra di Ottavio in Illiria nel 35-33*, *Rivista di Storia Antica, Nuova Serie* 7 (1903), 489-504, reprinted in *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche* 2 (1905), 85-97; Holmes, 1.130-135; Gardthausen, 1.317-330, 2.160-164; Kromayer-Veith, *Schlachten-Atlas*, 117-122, and Blatt 24; E. Swoboda, *Octavian und Illyricum* (Vienna, 1932).

²*Hermes* 33 (1898), 4. Veith, in Kromayer-Veith, *Schlachten-Atlas*, 119, accepts this conjecture.

³Appian, *Illyrica* 20.

⁴I am unable to understand upon what grounds H. Cons, *La Province Romaine de Dalmatie*, 364 (Paris, 1882), says that Agrippa was Governor of Dalmatia in 34 B. C.

⁵Dio 49.38.3-4.

⁶Kromayer, *Hermes* 33 (1898), 19, holds that Agrippa was already in Rome in the beginning of 34 B. C., since the Aqua Marcia was repaired by Agrippa before the end of the year. But Dio (49.38.3-4) says that Agrippa was fighting in Dalmatia during part of 34 B. C.

rapidly drawing to a close, and already the struggle for supremacy between Octavian and Antony, a struggle which, in effect, involved a fundamental division between the West and the East, was foreshadowed by the strained relations between the two masters of the Roman world. When the break should finally come, it would be all-important for Octavian to fight with the whole Roman people behind him. In 40 B.C., in anticipation of the coming struggle with Sextus Pompey, Octavian had relied upon Agrippa to keep the people in good spirits by giving splendid exhibitions in the Circus.⁷ Now again, foreseeing the far more critical struggle with Antony, a conflict in which, along with Octavian, he stood to gain all or to lose all, although he had already held the highest office in the State,⁸ Agrippa, the man of the people, undertook to act as intermediary between Octavian and the masses by voluntarily standing for the aedileship,⁹ an office for which, because of the tremendous financial burden it entailed, there were at that period few (or no) candidates.¹⁰

Long years of civil discord and the personal ambitions of selfish politicians had resulted in the neglect of public works and of the comfort of the people of the city of Rome. The existing aqueducts were inadequate to supply the needs of the large population of Rome. The drainage system, the streets, and the public buildings were sadly in need of repair. Public-spirited citizens had not been lacking, but money and energy were needed.¹¹ Agrippa's plan to win the discontented masses

⁷See above, page 22.

⁸See above, page 28.

⁹Pliny, H. N. 36.104 . . . M. Agrippae in aedilitate post consulatum; Frontinus 9 Agrippa aedilis post primum consulatum. . . , 98 . . . M. Agrippa post aedilitatem, quam gessit consularis. . . ; Dio 49.43.1. See Mommsen, Staatsrecht, 1.537, note 1, and Kubitschek's article *Aedilis*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 1.451, for other examples of lower offices held after higher offices had been held. See also Motte, 54.

¹⁰In 36 B. C. and later, in 28 B. C., the work of the aediles was done by the praetors and the tribunes (Dio 49.16.2, 53.2.2).

¹¹Compare Gardthausen, 1.750. The question of the source of the money required by Agrippa to meet the expenses of his aedileship need not detain us long. The State allowed him, as aedile, a minimum sum. Octavian must have contributed generously to a cause from whose success he was to reap the greatest benefit. I cannot agree with Gardthausen (2.418, note 64) that ". . . der freigebigste Aedil, den Rom gehabt hat. . ." accepted no contributions from Octavian. The Sicilian estates (see above, page 42) of

to the party of Octavian and the new government, for whose realization he had expended his energies for ten years and had yet to fight his greatest battle, was more than a temporary measure. It was, in effect, the beginning of the new régime.¹² The aedileship of Agrippa was long remembered for the unparalleled splendor of its public games. Further, when the year was over, a long series of improvements in the public works of Rome, whose undertaking gave a new stimulus to the declining building trades and crafts,¹³ was left behind by Agrippa as a permanent memorial of his generosity and as a pledge of the interest of his party in peace, prosperity, and the welfare of the Roman people.

Mit Einem Worte: er widmete sich mit seiner ganzen Energie dem neuen Amte und übertraf durch das, was er leistete, Alles, was die römischen Aedilen jemals vor ihm und nach ihm geleistet haben¹⁴

Before the year 34 B.C. was over Agrippa inaugurated his public improvements by putting the Aqua Marcia, which had long been in need of repairs, into proper condition, and by widening its distribution through the laying of new conduits to many parts of the city.¹⁵ At the beginning of the next year,

Agrippa, and booty from the Illyrian campaign could have afforded ample sums for his expenditures. Dahlman (34) points in this connection to the fact that Agrippa was married to the daughter of Atticus, one of the wealthiest men in Rome.

¹²For the aedileship of Agrippa and its importance to the cause of Octavian see Dahlman, 32-43; Taylor, 135; Arnold, 164-165: "His aedileship of B. C. 33 marks an epoch in the history of Rome, and was the first serious attempt, so often repeated by later Emperors, to win over the Roman people to personal rule by showing them what personal rule could do for the beauty and convenience of the capital".

¹³I am indebted for this suggestion to Ferrero (4.61), but I cannot entirely agree with his assertion that Agrippa "... devoted his sole attention to providing work for the Roman artisans, who had been neglected by the government since the deaths of Clodius and Caesar".

¹⁴Gardthausen, 1.751.

¹⁵Dio 49.42.2; Pliny, H. N. 31.41; Frontinus 9. Frontinus states that Agrippa repaired the Aqua Marcia during the year of his aedileship, but Dio mentions its repair during the latter part of 34 B. C. Frontinus included (I think) the repairing of the Aqua Marcia with Agrippa's more extensive improvements in the water supply in 33 B. C. Compare Holmes, 1.136, note 1; Kromayer, *Hermes* 33 (1898), 19, note 4. For the Aqua Marcia see Platner-Ashby, 24-27; Herschel, 150-162.

33 B.C., Agrippa entered upon the curule aedileship,¹⁶ the last memorable aedileship of the Roman Republic. His expenditures were enormous.¹⁷ With all the resources at his disposal he devoted himself to the duties which Cicero prescribed for the aedile: *suntoque aediles curatores urbis, annonae, ludorumque sollemnium*.¹⁸

At his own expense he repaired all the public buildings and all the streets of Rome.¹⁹ Especially did the water supply of

¹⁶See F. Heiligenstaedt, *Fasti Aedilicii Inde a Caesaris Nece Usque ad Imperium Alexandri Severi*, 36–37 (Dissertation, Halle, 1910). Since the curule aedileship was the highest aedileship, and was open to plebeians as well as to patricians, it is natural to believe that Agrippa was curule aedile. Frandsen (62–63) and Herzog (121) assert that Agrippa was sole aedile in 33 B. C. I am not at all certain of this. The administrative duties of the aedileship were too many for one man. Agrippa may have undertaken the outlay of the necessary money, but there may have been other aediles to carry out the administrative details. M. Aemilius Scaurus, who spent his whole fortune during his aedileship in 58 B. C., is the only aedile mentioned for that year by ancient authors, but on coins of that year his name appears with that of his colleague P. Hypsaeus. Compare Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, 2.519, note 1; Kubitschek, in *Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll*, 1.458. Holmes (1.136) makes a slip in saying that Octavian was Agrippa's colleague.

¹⁷Compare Horace, *Sermones* 2.3.184. Octavian himself was not inactive in improving the city in this year. He built the *Porticus Octavia* and a library (Dio 49.43.8). ¹⁸*De Legibus* 3.7.

¹⁹Dio 49.43.1. A fragmentary inscription found on the Quirinal in 1890 (D. Marchetti, *Notizie degli Scavi* 1890, 82; CIL 6.31270) may refer to such a reconstruction. Gardthausen (2.418, note 64), Heiligenstaedt (see note 16, above), and Jordan-Hülßen (1^a.405, note 28) cast doubt on the ascription to Agrippa. Various restorations of this inscription have been attempted: see G. Gatti, *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma, Serie Terza* 18 (1890), 73–74; Gardthausen, *Rheinisches Museum* 45 (1890), 619–621 (very dubious); Ch. Hülßen, *Römische Mitteilungen* 6 (1891), 122–123, *Rheinisches Museum* 49 (1894), 404; Dessau, *ILS* 128; Jordan-Hülßen, 1^a.405, note 28. I would myself suggest the following restoration: M. Ag[rippa] L. F., | Aed. [Cur. (or curulis) et] | Imp. Cae[sar] Divi F. Cos. II, | [II]Ivir R. [P. C. iter . . . | Vi]ci Salu[taris (or Salutis) fac. curaverunt]. The length of line 3, which could hardly be much shorter or much longer than I have made it, determines the number of letters in line 1, whose letters are larger in size than those of line 3 (see Gatti's reproduction of the fragment). Because of the size of the letters in line 1, there is no room for a long name, including *praenomen, nomen, and cognomen*. The restoration *iussu*, generally given in place of my restoration *et*, I consider, with Gardthausen (2.418, note 64), very doubtful.

Rome engage his attention.²⁰ Augustus could later say, with pride, *satis provisum a genero suo Agrippa perductis pluribus aquis ne homines sitirent*.²¹ Besides rebuilding two neglected aqueducts, the Appia and the Anio Vetus,²² he brought into the city a large, new aqueduct, to which he joined the Aqua Tepula. To this new aqueduct he gave the name Aqua Iulia,²³ as before he had named his first great engineering feat, the Portus Iulius,²⁴ in honor of his friend. Furthermore, he constructed 700 cisterns, 500 fountains,²⁵ 130 *castella* for distributing water,²⁶ and on these he placed 300 figures of bronze or marble,²⁷ and 400 marble columns.²⁸

The entire drainage system of Rome Agrippa cleaned and put into proper condition. When the work was completed he rowed up the Cloaca Maxima into the Tiber.²⁹ In the Circus

²⁰Strabo 5.3.8. Compare Jordan-Hülse, 2.58-66; Gardthausen, 1.994-995. It was believed by some (compare Frontinus 25) that Agrippa invented a new type of ajutage called a *quinaria*.

²¹Suetonius, Augustus 42.1. Compare Dio 54.11.7.

²²Frontinus 9; Pliny, H. N. 36.121. For the Aqua Appia see Platner-Ashby, 21. For the Aqua Anio Vetus see Platner-Ashby, 12-13; Lanciani, 43-58.

²³Frontinus 9-10; Pliny, H. N. 36.121 (see below, page 95, note 103). Dio (48.32.3) incorrectly places the building of the Aqua Iulia in 40 B. C.; perhaps he confused the praetorship and the aedileship of Agrippa. Compare Holmes, 1.136, note 3. Gardthausen (2.608, note 8) suggests that Agrippa began the Aqua Iulia in 40 B. C. and completed it in 33 B. C. For the Aqua Iulia see Platner, 96-97; Platner-Ashby, 23-24; Jordan-Hülse, 1.466-471; Jones, 143; Herschel, 164-170; Lanciani, 83-98, 102-103.

²⁴See above, page 32.

²⁵After Agrippa's death a *senatus consultum* was passed forbidding an increase or decrease in the number of fountains established by him (Frontinus 104). For these fountains see Jordan-Hülse, 2.59-60.

²⁶Pliny, H. N. 36.121; Frontinus 9. Strabo (5.3.8) says that it was chiefly as a result of Agrippa's ministrations that there were cisterns, service-pipes, and fountains in almost every house in Rome.

²⁷Such a figure is mentioned by Festus (as edited by Lindsay, pages 370-372): *Servilius lacus. . . in quo loco fuit effigies hydrae posita a M. Agrippa*. For the Lacus Servilius in the Forum, near the Basilica Iulia, see Platner-Ashby, 314.

²⁸Pliny, H. N. 36.121. Pliny marvels at the completion of all these works in one year.

²⁹Dio 49.43.1; Pliny, H. N. 36.104; Strabo 5.3.8. Jones (152) observes that "This would no longer be possible, as the water-level of Rome has risen at least 3 metres". Pliny also describes at this point the drainage

Maximus he improved the method of indicating the number of laps covered in the races; he introduced a new system of seven dolphins for this purpose.³⁰ Olive oil and salt were distributed to all. Public baths to the number of 170 were opened by him, to be free to the people for the entire year.³¹ Finally, he celebrated the public holidays with unequalled splendor and munificence. On all festive occasions he provided, gratis, barbers for all the people.³² Fifty-nine days were celebrated with all kinds of games, among them the *Lusus Troiae*.³³ During the festival days he showered upon the heads of the people tickets entitling holders to gifts of money, clothing, or other valuable things; in addition, he placed all sorts of valuable

system of Rome. Frandsen (63) incorrectly ascribes to Agrippa the *building* as well as the *rebuilding* of the system. Jordan-Hülens (1^a.443, note 61) call attention to Frandsen's error.

³⁰Dio 49.43.2. Dio is in error when he ascribes to Agrippa the method of counting by *ova* on the *spina* of the Circus. In 174 B. C. the censors set up large eggs of wood to indicate the laps, and this arrangement became permanent (Livy 41.27.6; Varro, *Res Rusticae* 1.2.11; Cassiodorus, *Variae* 3.51.10). Agrippa may have donated new *ova* of more durable material, perhaps of bronze. Compare Platner-Ashby, 115. Pollack (in his article *Delphines*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 4.2510) also questions the truth of Dio's statement with regard to the introduction of dolphins in the Circus by Agrippa. His view is based solely on a conjectured loss of the word *delphinesque* after *ova* in the passage in Livy. On all ancient representations of the Circus the dolphins appear as its characteristic sign. Compare Jordan-Hülens, 1^a.123; Stebbins, 123-124.

³¹Dio 49.43.2-3; Pliny, H. N. 36.121.

³²Dio 49.43.3.

³³*Ibidem*; Pliny, H. N. 36.121. Matthes (77) incorrectly gives the number as 60. It may perhaps be more than a coincidence that the total number of days allotted to all the important *ludi* also amounts to 59, thus: Ludi Megalenses, April 4-10 (7 days), Ludi Ceriales, April 12-19 (8 days), Ludi Florales, April 28-May 3 (6 days), Ludi Apollinares, July 6-13 (8 days), Ludi Romani, September 4-19 (16 days), Ludi Plebei, November 4-17 (14 days). For the dates of these festivals see Fowler, 291-294; Toutain, in Daremberg-Saglio, 3.1372; Mommsen, in CIL 1^a, pages 328-329; Habel's article *Ludi publici*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, Supplementband 5. 617-628. The games regularly assigned to the curule aediles were the Ludi Romani, Megalenses, and Florales (Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, 2.517-522; Kubitschek, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 1.457; Wissowa, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 6.2750). It is important to note that, if Agrippa celebrated all the games mentioned above, he took over the expenses of the games regularly assigned to the *aediles ceriales*, *aediles plebei* (see Kubitschek, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 1.457), and even of the games usually celebrated by the *praetor urbanus* (see above, page 22, note 6).

objects in the Circus and permitted the people to scramble for them.³⁴

Another significant act under his administration was the expulsion of astrologers and quacks, who had infested the city.³⁵

It is small wonder that Agrippa's popularity³⁶ and the popularity of the government of Octavian increased tremendously. While Antony remained inactive in the East, dallying with the Egyptian queen, Octavian's adherents were lavishing their fortunes and their interest upon the people of Rome, which now became more firmly convinced that its welfare was bound up with the success of Octavian and his policies. After the celebrated aedileship of Agrippa, Octavian could turn to the problem of annihilating the influence of Antony with the assurance that the Roman people would stand behind him.

So extensive were the constructions of Agrippa in 33 B.C.³⁷ that existing facilities were not adequate for their maintenance. Hence Agrippa undertook, voluntarily, to act *operum suorum et munerum velut perpetuus curator*.³⁸ He prescribed how much

³⁴Dio 49.43.4. For his distribution of *cicer* and *faba* at the Floralia see Horace, Sermones 2.3.182, and the scholiasts on Horace (Porphyrio and Acron). Compare Persius 5.177-179; Wissowa, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 6.2750-2751.

³⁵Dio 49.43.5. Compare Tacitus, *Historiae* 1.22 *mathematicis...genus hominum...quod in civitate nostra et vetabitur semper et retinebitur*. For astrology as a fad among eminent Romans in the Augustan Age see A. Bouché-Leclercq, *L'Astrologie Grecque*, 546-570 (Paris, 1899); F. Boll and C. Bezold, *Sternglaube und Sterndeutung*, Third Edition by W. Gundel, 100-101 (Leipzig, 1926. The Fourth Edition [1931] was not available to me). In view of this hostile attitude of Agrippa to the astrologers, Bouché-Leclercq (554, note 2) hesitates to accept the suggestion that the seven niches in the Pantheon were occupied by the images of the seven planetary deities (see below, page 76, note 68), and that the legionary standards under Augustus bore astrological signs, as is maintained by A. v. Domaszewski, *Die Thierbilder der Signa*, *Archaeologisch-Epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn* 15 (1892), 182-193, 17 (1894), 34.

³⁶See Horace, Sermones 2.3.185-186 (written in 33 B. C.) *scilicet ut plausus quos fert Agrippa feras tu, astuta ingenuum volpes imitata leonem*. Verse 183 *latus ut in Circo spatieri et aeneus ut stes* may also be a reference to Agrippa. Compare I. G. F. Estré, *Horatiana Prosopographia*, 407 (Amsterdam, 1846).

³⁷Ferrero (4.61, 62, note) conjectures that the *Saepta Iulia* and the Pantheon (see below, pages 74-77) were begun by Agrippa in this year.

³⁸Frontinus 98. Compare Hirschfeld, *Verwaltungsbeamten*, 274-275; Abele, 48.

water was to be distributed to public works, to the cisterns, and to private persons.³⁹ Furthermore, he maintained his private company of slaves for the care of the conduits, *castella*, and cisterns of his water works.⁴⁰ At his death in 12 B.C. he willed this company to Augustus, who made it public property.⁴¹ Messala succeeded Agrippa in 11 B.C. as the first official water commissioner of Rome.⁴²

³⁹Frontinus 98-99. For Republican water magistrates, imperial *curatores aquarum*, and minor officials see Lanciani, 309-329.

⁴⁰Frontinus 98. In Frontinus's time this company numbered 240 men. Claudius established a private company of 460 men (Frontinus 116). For the types of workmen see Frontinus 117.

⁴¹Frontinus 98. Compare Hirschfeld, *Verwaltungsbeamten*, 275; Abele, 48. For the slaves willed by Agrippa to Augustus see below, page 129, note 29. In Frontinus's time the members of this company received salaries (Frontinus 118).

⁴²Frontinus 99. Compare Hammer, 88.

CHAPTER VI

ACTIUM

By January 1, 32 B.C. Agrippa was free of his official duties as aedile and was prepared actively to assist Octavian in the preparations for the war with Antony and Cleopatra.¹ As the ranking general of Octavian and the most skilful naval tactician of the time he was, no doubt, entrusted with the general direction of the equipment and the training of the Caesarian forces.² But, while he was assisting Octavian in the political manoeuvres at Rome early in 32 B.C., the death of his aged father-in-law, Atticus, on March 31, burdened him for a while with a private sorrow.³

By the fall of this year the forces of Antony and Cleopatra were already scattered along the western coast of Greece from Corcyra to Methone, with the main contingent concentrated in the Ambracian Gulf.⁴ In the spring of the following year, while Octavian was priming the major part of his forces at Brundisium and at Tarentum, Agrippa, assuming the offensive, crossed over to Greece.⁵ On his way across he succeeded in intercepting many of Antony's transport ships, from Egypt, Syria, and Asia, laden with food and munitions.⁶ Methone, on the southwest extremity of the Peloponnese, strongly garrisoned by Bogudes, the King of Mauretania, one of Antony's allies,

¹For the causes, remote and immediate, of this struggle, and for the numbers of the forces at the disposal of the contesting parties see J. Kromayer, *Kleine Forschungen zur Geschichte des Zweiten Triumvirats*, VI: *Die Vorgeschichte des Krieges von Actium*, *Hermes* 33 (1898), 13-70, *Die Entwicklung der Römischen Flotte vom Seeräuberkrige des Pompeius bis zur Schlacht von Actium*, *Philologus* 56 (1897), 458-466; *Gardthausen*, 1.331-368, 2.165-189.

²Kromayer, *Hermes* 33 (1898), 52, points out that Octavian's preparations required less attention than Antony's.

³Nepos, *Atticus* 21-22. See above, page 37.

⁴See Kromayer, *Hermes* 33 (1898), 59-62, and VII., 9.

⁵How does Kromayer (VII., 9, 31, and *Schlachten-Atlas*, 125) know that Agrippa set out from Tarentum? Perhaps the small squadron of Octavian's fleet sent to reconnoiter Antony's position late in the autumn of 32 B. C. was under Agrippa's command (*Dio* 50.9.2-3).

⁶*Orosius* 6.19.6.

he took by storm; he captured Bogudes and put him to death.⁷ From Methone he proceeded north, watching for transports, and making descents now and again on the coast of Greece, greatly to the discomfiture of Antony.⁸ Finally, he seized Corcyra, drove out the garrison, pursued, and destroyed it.⁹

Agrippa then rejoined Octavian, who, encouraged by the preliminary successes of his admiral, crossed over with his entire armament to Corcyra, which he made his naval base.¹⁰ While Octavian's forces moved steadily closer to Actium, Agrippa completed the blockade of the Antonians by capturing the Island of Leucas and Cape Ducato, and at the same time seizing some of Antony's vessels that were stationed at these places.¹¹ Leaving Octavian to hold Antony and to engage in preliminary skirmishes with his troops,¹² Agrippa fell upon Patrae, near the west end of the Corinthian Gulf, and there he defeated Q. Nasidius in a naval battle.¹³ Returning, late in August, to the naval base near Actium, he arrived just in time to meet the squadron of one of Antony's lieutenants, C. Sosius, who had made a surprise attack on L. Tarius Rufus, and to turn Sosius's pursuit of Tarius into a victory for the Caesarians.¹⁴

⁷*Ibidem*; Strabo 8.4.3; Dio 50.11.3; Porphyrius, *De Abstinencia* 1.25. For Bogudes see Klebs, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 3.608-609.

⁸Dio 50.11.3 (= Zonaras 10.29).

⁹Orosius 6.19.7. Dio (50.12.2) says that Octavian seized Corcyra after it had been deserted by its garrison. Ferrero, therefore, asserts (4.94, note) that Orosius confused Corcyra with Leucas, which Agrippa captured later. There is, in fact, no conflict between Orosius and Dio. Agrippa at first drove out the garrison and Octavian later occupied the place. Compare Kromayer, *Hermes* 33 (1898), 60, note 1; Holmes, 1.150, note 7. The early raids of Agrippa were feints to cover up the major attack. See Kromayer, VII., 9; Drumann, 1.479-480; Ferrero, 4.91; Fitzler-Seeck, 327. The seizure of Corcyra was a move to prepare a base of operations for the forces of Octavian.

¹⁰Dio 50.11.4-12.3; Plutarch, *Antonius* 62.3.

¹¹Dio 50.13.5 (= Zonaras 10.29); Velleius 2.84.2. Compare Dio 50.30.1; Florus 2.21.4. For the strategic importance of this move and for its date see Kromayer, VII., 19-20, 25-26, *Schlachten-Atlas*, 126.

¹²Dio 50.12.3-13.4; Plutarch, *Antonius* 63. Compare Kromayer, VII., 1-39.

¹³Dio 50.13.5; Velleius 2.84.2.

¹⁴Dio 50.14.2 (= Zonaras 10.29); Velleius 2.84.2 *Denique in ore atque oculis Antonianae classis per M. Agrippam Leucas expugnata, Patrae captae, Corinthus occupata, bis ante ultimum discrimen classis hostium superata.* Compare Livy, *Periocha* 132. Dio states that Sosius, Tarcondimotus, and others were killed. Either Dio is in error or the passage is

The day of the decisive battle was approaching. On both sides final preparations were being made. Agrippa, as in the Sicilian naval war, was to be admiral-in-chief and to direct the movements of all the forces of Octavian.¹⁵ Shortly before the battle Octavian summoned a council of war.¹⁶ Information had come that Antony and Cleopatra planned to break through the blockade and escape to Egypt.¹⁷ Octavian proposed to permit the fleet of his enemies to slip out of the strait unmolested, confident that with his smaller, swifter vessels he could easily overtake them, and that, as soon as the adherents of Antony and Cleopatra on land and on sea perceived that the flagship was trying to escape, they would immediately desert to himself. In this way Octavian, the shrewd diplomatist, hoped to win the battle without shedding a drop of blood on either side. But to Agrippa, the trained general, the situation was not so simple. He objected that it would be impossible to overhaul the enemy fleet with his ships if Antony's ships, large and heavy though they were, hoisted their sails. Moreover, what ground for confidence was there that Antony's troops would desert to Octavian? If Antony and Cleopatra escaped and their troops remained loyal, the campaign, thus far very successful, would have to be begun all over again. With his usual good sense and confidence in the military judgment of his friend, Octavian accepted the advice of Agrippa.¹⁸

Antony had learned much from Agrippa's victories at Mylae and at Naulochus. The fleet which had been built for Antony during the last few years consisted of heavy, thick-timbered war vessels, veritable colossi, standing high above the water

corrupt. Sosius was alive during the Battle of Actium, and later (compare Gardthausen, 2.191-192, note 10). For Sosius see Fluss, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, Zweite Reihe, 3.1176-1180; for L. Tarius Rufus see Groag, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, Zweite Reihe, 4.2320-2323. For the battle referred to in the text above see Kromayer, Philologus 56 (1897), 465-466, and VII., 21, 26, note 7.

¹⁵See Velleius 2.85.2 . . . Agrippae omne classici certaminis arbitrium; Acron, on Horace, Carmina 1.37.1 . . . praefecto classis Agrippa . . . ; Dio 50.14.1 . . . Ἀγρίππαν, ᾧ πᾶν τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐπετέτραπτο . . .

¹⁶For the day see Kromayer, VII., 39, note 1.

¹⁷Compare Kromayer, in Schlachten-Atlas, 126.

¹⁸Dio 50.31.1-2. Compare Kromayer, VII., 37-39, and especially his excellent remarks (39) on this incident as an index of the relations between the two men; Holmes, 1.154, 258-259; Ferrero, 4.100.

and equipped with storied towers and 'iron hands'. Agrippa meanwhile had, since the Battle of Naulochus, become convinced of certain disadvantages of heavy war vessels, for at Actium he put into action a fleet of light, swift ships. In fact, so ponderous were the ships of Antony in comparison with those of Octavian that the situation was now reversed; whereas at Mylae and Naulochus Agrippa had to rely upon war engines to prevent the free movement of Sextus's vessels, at Actium Agrippa employed the tactics that had been used in 36 B.C. by Sextus's fleet.¹⁹

On September 2²⁰ was fought the Battle of Actium, one of the decisive battles in the history of the world.²¹ Its outcome, a foregone conclusion from the start, determined the future course of world history, the foundation of the principate of Octavian, and the career of Marcus Agrippa, who, after the victory at Actium, became the second man in the Roman State.²²

Antony and L. Gellius Publicola commanded the right wing of the Antonian fleet, M. Octavius and M. Insteius the center, and Sosius the left wing. Cleopatra with her sixty vessels was in a protected position, behind the center.²³ On Octavian's side,

¹⁹Dio 50.23.2-3; Plutarch, Antonius 61.1, 62.2, 65.4-5, 66.1; Orosius 6.19.8-9; Florus 2.21.6; Vergil, Aeneid 8.693. Compare Dio 50.18.5-6, 29.1-4, 32.2-4, 34.7. See Kromayer, VII., 40-41; Kromayer-Veith, Heerwesen, 617-618; Köster, 233; Holmes, 1.259; Frandsen, 119-120; Shepard, 188.

²⁰Dio 51.1.1 (= Zonaras 10.30); CIL 1², page 328; Ephemeris Epigraphica 1.37; Josephus, Antiquitates 15.5.1.

²¹In view of the extensive literature on the Battle of Actium, I have not thought it necessary to give more than the most important details. The best treatment is that by Kromayer, VII. Recent literature on the subject includes the following discussions: A. Ferrabino, *La Battaglia d'Azio*, *Rivista di Filologia* 52 (1924), 433-472, 53 (1925), 131-132; Kromayer, in *Schlachten-Atlas*, 125-126, Blatt 24, Nos. 8-9, and in *Kromayer-Veith, Antike Schlachtfelder*, 4.662-671 (Berlin, 1924-1931); L. Hartmann, *De Pugna Actiaca a Poetis Augusteae Aetatis Celebrata* (Dissertation, Giessen, 1914); Fitzler-Seeck, 330-332; F. Miltner's article *Seekrieg*, in *Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, Supplementband* 5.897-898; W. W. Tarn, *The Battle of Actium*, *The Journal of Roman Studies* 21 (1931), 173-199, *Antony's Legions*, *The Classical Quarterly* 26 (1932), 75-81; M. A. Levi, *La Battaglia d'Azio*, *Athenaeum, Nuova Serie* 10 (1932), 1-21; Köster, 233-234; Shepard, 186-194.

²²Compare Gardthausen, 1.385.

²³Plutarch, Antonius 65.1; Velleius 2.85.2. Compare Gardthausen, 2.196-198.

Agrippa held the most important position, the left wing, opposite Antony, L. Arruntius the center, and M. Lurius and Octavian commanded the right wing.²⁴ After hours of waiting, Sosius suddenly advanced, and, while Octavian's squadron backed water to draw the enemy out, Agrippa did likewise, extending the left wing.²⁵ The manoeuvre succeeded, and, while Antony's right wing was trying to prevent Agrippa from surrounding the entire fleet, Cleopatra escaped with her sixty vessels through the confused center.²⁶ When Antony followed Cleopatra, leaving his yet undefeated fleet at the mercy of the Caesarians, the battle was over. There remained for the forces of Octavian but to capture or destroy with fire the vessels of Antony, and to follow up the victory by pursuing the fleeing vessels.²⁷

There can be no doubt that Octavian owed the naval victory at Actium to the generalship of his friend Agrippa.²⁸ "Er hat . . . die Gründung des augusteischen Kaisertums in einer welt-historischen Seeschlacht erzwungen".²⁹ That Plutarch and Dio, our leading authorities for the Battle of Actium, conceived Octavian as the director and hero of the campaign is only a

²⁴Velleius 2.85.2; Plutarch, Antonius 65.2; Vergil, Aeneid 8.682-683.

²⁵Plutarch, Antonius 66.3; Orosius 6.19.10; Dio 50.31.5. Daniel-Servius (on Vergil, Aeneid 8.682) describes Agrippa's manoeuvres. Compare Holmes, 1.155, note 4.

²⁶Dio 50.33.1-3; Plutarch, Antonius 67.3; Pliny, H. N. 19.22; Florus 2.21.8; Velleius 2.85.3; Orosius 6.19.11.

²⁷Dio 50.33.3-35; Orosius 6.19.11-12; Daniel-Servius, on Vergil, Aeneid 8.682; Vergil, Aeneid 8.694-695; Livy, Periocha 133; Velleius 2.85.3-6; Plutarch, Antonius 66, 68.1; Florus 2.21.7-8; Malalas 9.219-220.

²⁸Daniel-Servius, on Vergil, Aeneid 8.682 . . . apud Actium Antonium et Cleopatram navali certamine prope ipse <Agrippa> superavit; XII Panegyrici Latini 6.13 (as edited by A. Baehrens, page 158 [Leipzig, 1874]) . . . pro divo Augusto Actiacam victoriam . . . gener Agrippa confecit. A badly mutilated Latin inscription found in the theater of Dionysus at Athens is generally thought to refer to Agrippa's naval victories (CIL 3.6101): [Nave]s hostium deprese[rit] . . . ceperit . . .] CX IX bello maritu[mo . . .]uma ad imperium a[decierit] . . .] secundum pont[em] . . .] ad flum [. . .] marit[. . .]. Compare Gardthausen, 2.201, note 55; Mommsen, Res Gestae, 9, note 1; Schiller, 147, note 8; Rohden-Dessau, 440; Vaglieri, in Dizionario Epigrafico, 1.368.

²⁹A. Köster and E. v. Nischer, in Kromayer-Veith, Heerwesen, 614.

reflection of sources in which Octavian was credited with the deeds of his lieutenants.³⁰

Shortly after the Battle of Actium Agrippa occupied Corinth, the only Greek city which did not voluntarily open its doors to Octavian's forces.³¹

News of the victory of Actium sped to the East. When Octavian heard of its favorable reception there, he had sufficient confidence to send back to Italy the troops that had served their time. But, since he had as yet no funds with which to reward his victorious troops, and since he feared a repetition of the disorders after the Sicilian War,³² he sent them back under the command and under the watchful eye of their general Agrippa.³³ In 40 B.C. Octavian had entrusted Agrippa with the care, in his absence, of Rome and Italy, but after that time he had assigned this task to his other trusted friend and adviser Maecenas.³⁴ While Octavian was at Actium, a conspiracy directed against his life, which was led by the son of the Triumvir Lepidus, was successfully suppressed by Maecenas.³⁵ This incident, together with the danger of an outbreak among the

³⁰Compare Daniel-Servius, on Vergil, Aeneid 8.682 . . . in multis bellis cum Augusto gestis victoriam Augusto sua virtute <Agrippa> confecit. Plutarch seems to have used Augustus's Memoirs (Antonius 68.1). For the connection of Plutarch's and Dio's accounts of the battle with the Memoirs of Augustus see Blumenthal, 89-97. It is to be remembered that, particularly after the Battle of Actium, much was done by Agrippa and by the other friends and adherents of Octavian which ancient historians assign to Octavian himself. However, unless there be some tangible evidence, it would be idle to try to determine which of these deeds were accomplished by Agrippa.

³¹Velleius 2.84.2; Dio 50.13.5. Kromayer, VII., 20, Lenschau, in his article *Korinthos*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, Supplementband 4.1033-1034, and Fitzler-Seeck, 329, date the capture of Corinth before the Battle of Actium, and shortly after the seizure of Patrae (see above, page 54). But Ferrero (4.105, note; compare Holmes, 1.158) points out that Plutarch, Antonius 67.7 is proof that Corinth was still in Antony's power after the Battle of Actium. However, Velleius seems to indicate that Corinth was taken *before* the Battle of Actium. I follow Ferrero's date, although it is also possible that Corinth was taken by Agrippa earlier, and then recaptured by Antony's forces. ³²See above, page 42. ³³Dio 51.3.5.

³⁴See Stein's article *Maecenas*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 14.210-211.

³⁵Velleius 2.88.3; Appian 4.50; Dio 54.15.4; Livy, Periocha 133; Suetonius, Augustus 19.1. For Lepidus's son see v. Rohden, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 1.561.

dissatisfied veterans, who, Octavian feared, would not respect the authority of Maecenas because he was merely an *eques*, explains why Octavian sent back Agrippa to Italy.³⁶ Octavian felt that after Actium he could handle by himself the settlement of matters in the East. Moreover, much had to be done in Italy to maintain his power there and to prepare the way for his return to Italy and the establishment of the new government. He invested Agrippa, together with Maecenas,³⁷ with extraordinary power, authorizing them to open beforehand the communications which he sent from the East to the Senate and to others, and to make changes in their contents at their discretion. To this end, he entrusted them with his seal-ring, that they might be able to seal the letters again.³⁸

While Octavian was settling matters in the East,³⁹ Agrippa and Maecenas struggled unsuccessfully to control the grumbling veterans. Agrippa was forced to send repeated messages to Octavian, pointing out that his presence in Italy was imperative.⁴⁰ Early in 30 B.C. Octavian hastened to Italy. At Brundisium, where he landed, he was met by the Senate, the *equites*, and many others. Here he soon satisfied the veterans with money and allotments of land.⁴¹ This incident is a significant index of the relative positions of Octavian and Agrippa. The name, personality, and diplomacy of Octavian⁴² succeeded where the ability and the popularity of Agrippa had failed. Within a month Octavian was on his way again to the East,⁴³ where he crowned his supremacy by the annexation of Egypt after the suicides of Antony and Cleopatra.⁴⁴

³⁶Dio 51.3.5. Compare Stein, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 14.212. Malalas (9.220-222), on the other hand, states that Agrippa accompanied Octavian to the East after the Battle of Actium, but the untrustworthiness of Malalas is notorious. See Schenk, 150-151, 164.

³⁷Gardthausen (1.397, 765-766) disregards Agrippa's position beside Maecenas as Governor of Rome and Italy at this time. In fact, he states incorrectly that Agrippa was "... auf Jahre fern von Rom..."

³⁸Dio 51.3.5-6. Dio (51.3.7) states that Octavian's seal-ring at that time was a double sphinx, and reveals that Octavian used to send, by a code system, secret communications to Agrippa, Maecenas, and his other intimate friends.

³⁹See Holmes, 1.157-159. ⁴⁰Plutarch, Antonius 73.3.

⁴¹Dio 51.4.2-8; Orosius 6.19.14; Suetonius, Augustus 17.3.

⁴²Compare Tacitus, *Annales* 1.42.5 *Divus Augustus vultu et aspectu Actiacas legiones exterruit.* ⁴³Dio 51.5.1. ⁴⁴See Holmes, 1.160-171.

Meanwhile, the Senate had been heaping new honors and powers upon Octavian and preparing for his triumphal return.⁴⁵ In the summer of 29 B.C. he was back in Italy. On August 13–15 he celebrated a triple triumph for his victories in Illyria, at Actium, and in Egypt.⁴⁶ His lieutenants he praised and rewarded in his customary manner; on Agrippa he bestowed another extraordinary naval decoration, a sea-blue banner, in commemoration of his victory at Actium.⁴⁷ Numerous allusions to the naval victories of Agrippa appear on coins, statues, and buildings.⁴⁸

⁴⁵Dio 51.19–20.

⁴⁶Dio 51.21.5–9; Macrobius, Saturnalia 1.12.35; Mommsen, Res Gestae, 10; Livy, Periocha 133; Suetonius, Augustus 22.

⁴⁷Dio 51.21.3 σημειῶ κναροειδέϊ ναυκρατηρικῶ. No other such decoration has been recorded in antiquity. Compare Steiner, 30. Suetonius (Augustus 25.3), confusing this decoration with the decoration given to Agrippa after the Sicilian War (see above, page 42), states, M. Agrippam in Sicilia post navalem victoriam caeruleo vexillo donavit. Compare Frandsen, 208. Steiner (30), who does not observe that Dio states that Agrippa was presented with a *vexillum caeruleum* after the Battle of Actium, repeats Suetonius, but doubts that Agrippa ever received a *vexillum caeruleum*: "Ich glaube mit einiger Wahrscheinlichkeit ein Missverständnis voraussetzen zu dürfen, durch welches jenes in Verwechslung mit einem anderen donum militare, der corona navalis, in die Literatur gekommen". Steiner (37) is hardly convincing when he attempts to explain Suetonius's error by arguing that, since in Suetonius's time the *corona classica* was no longer a unique decoration, Suetonius, knowing that Agrippa's decoration after the Battle of Naulochus was an extraordinary one, substituted for the *corona classica* a *vexillum caeruleum*. I suppose that the *vexillum caeruleum* was given to Agrippa after the Battle of Actium in lieu of another naval crown.

⁴⁸For the representations of the naval crown of Agrippa see above, page 43, note 102. There are numerous bronze coins, struck in honor of Agrippa, after his death, which bear on the reverse a standing Neptune holding a trident and a dolphin. See below, page 132. Silver denarii issued after his death show an equestrian statue of Agrippa on a pedestal ornamented with prows. See below, page 131, note 38. *Rostra* appear on other coins. See below, page 100, note 7. On coins of Gades, in Spain, of which Agrippa was later patron, there appears an *acrostolium*. See below, page 94, note 100. Coins of Agrippias, named after Agrippa, have a prow on the reverse. See below, page 115, note 57. Some rare coins of Nicopolis in Epirus, founded by Octavian after Actium, bear a portrait of Agrippa on the obverse and a dolphin and a trident on the reverse, according to P. Gardner, Catalogue of Greek Coins <in the British Museum>: Thessaly to Aetolia, 103, Nos. 13–14 (London, 1883); this is, however, questioned by Cohen, 1.177. Agrippa is

Dio observes⁴⁹ that other honors were bestowed at this time upon Agrippa. Without doubt he was among the plebeians who were elevated to patrician rank by Octavian in 29 B.C., by virtue of the Lex Saenia, passed the year before.⁵⁰ Moreover, the *navali surgentes aere columnae* mentioned by Vergil,⁵¹ which, Servius says, were four columns constructed from the *rostra* of the captured vessels, were dedicated, perhaps at this time, in honor of Octavian and Agrippa.⁵² In all likelihood it was in 29 B.C. that Antony's residence on the Palatine was given by Octavian jointly to Agrippa and to Messala.⁵³ Perhaps it was also at this time that there came into Agrippa's possession a rich estate in Egypt.⁵⁴ To Octavian had been granted, in 30 B.C.,

represented on the colossal statue in Venice (see below, page 157) as leaning on a dolphin. Compare Stebbins, 120. Miss Stebbins (120, note 140), confusing Agrippa with Agrippa Postumus, incorrectly says that Agrippa called himself Poseidon (Dio 55.32.1). Dolphins, cockle-shells, and tridents decorated the friezes of the Baths of Agrippa (see below, page 95, note 109). Compare Stebbins, 123. For the Porticus Argonautarum of Agrippa see below, page 75. For the dolphins set up by Agrippa in the Circus Maximus see above, page 50.

⁴⁹51.21.3.

⁵⁰Res Gestae 8 Patriciorum numerum auxi consul quintum iussu populi et senatus; Dio 52.42.5; Tacitus, Annales 11.25.3. Compare Mommsen, Res Gestae, 34; C. Heiter, De Patriciis Gentibus Quae Imperii Romani Saeculis I. II. III. Fuerint, 55 (Dissertation, Berlin, 1909). If there were any truth in Dio's statement (49.43.6) that in 33 B. C. Octavian by a decree of the Senate raised some plebeians to patrician station, we should expect to find that Octavian at that time would have so favored his closest friend. But Mommsen (Res Gestae, 34) has shown that Dio is again in error.

⁵¹Georgics 3.29.

⁵²Servius and Daniel-Servius, on Vergil, Georgics 3.29. They still existed in Servius's time. In my judgment, these columns are not to be identified with the golden rostrate column, surmounted by a statue of Octavian, which was erected, according to Appian (5.130), after the Sicilian War, in 36 B. C. Compare Mattingly, 1.103, Nos. 633-636; Platner-Ashby, 134. Frandsen (209-210) makes no such distinction, and remains uncertain whether the columns were erected in 36 B. C. or in 29 B. C. Stein (Inscriptionen, 24) also connects Daniel-Servius's statement with the *columna rostrata* mentioned by Appian.

⁵³Dio 53.27.5. Compare Platner-Ashby, 156; Jordan-Hülsem, 1^a.60.

⁵⁴An *ὄστια Ἀγριππιαρῆ* is certainly mentioned in papyri, to my knowledge, only once: Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Koeniglichen Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden, 4.1047, II, 13-14 (Berlin, 1912). It is perhaps mentioned also in P. Jouguet, Papyrus de Théadelphie, 53.1 (Paris, 1911). This estate was presented to Agrippa, or to his son, Agrippa Postumus, more likely to the former, it seems to me, because Maecenas also had an

the right to appoint as many priests as he desired,⁵⁵ and we may suppose that about the time of Octavian's return from the East Agrippa became a member of many priestly colleges.⁵⁶

estate in Egypt (see Stein, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 14.216). For *obolai* in Egypt under the Empire see Rostovtzeff, 119-133.

⁵⁵Dio 51.20.3.

⁵⁶Velleius 2.127.1. None of the priesthoods of Agrippa is attested in ancient sources except the quindecimvirate (see below, page 104). Velleius speaks also of many triumphs of Agrippa and Statilius Taurus. Since Agrippa never celebrated a triumph, we may, perhaps, infer that Velleius exaggerated the number of Agrippa's priesthoods.

CHAPTER VII

THE PRINCIPATE

The year 29 B.C. marks a new step in the career of Marcus Agrippa. From his first appearance on the political stage in 43 B.C., at the age of twenty-one, at the most, he had remained the first friend of Octavian, devoting all his energies and all his military skill to furthering the ambitions of the 'son of Caesar', assured that the success of Octavian meant the elevation of his own position in the Roman State. For over ten years (43-31) he had turned from one military task to another, at Mutina, Philippi, Perusia, Brundisium, in Aquitania, Sicily, Illyria, and at Actium, sweeping aside by his military genius one after another of those who stood in the path of Octavian. After the Battle of Actium, at the age of thirty-two or thirty-three he could rest on his laurels as the greatest general of his day, undefeated on land or on sea. For the next decade his time was occupied with the greater task of assisting in the organization and the administration of the new Roman Empire, and with the problems of reconstruction for which he had shown such talent and aptitude in 33 B.C. True, he was not a statesman of the caliber of Octavian and Maecenas, but his genius for organization and administration made him an invaluable assistant in the tasks which confronted Octavian when he returned to Rome in 29 B.C.

Up to this time Agrippa had been the first friend of Octavian; now he became unofficially the second man in the Roman Empire. The new position of Agrippa is reflected, Servius thinks, in Vergil's words, *Remo cum fratre Quirinus iura dabunt*.¹ Now for the first time his portrait appears side by side with that of Octavian, on coins struck in Gaul, in the Roman colony Nemausus. These numerous and much-discussed coins, which were

¹Aeneid 1.292-293. Servius (on Aeneid 1.292) says, *Vera tamen hoc habet ratio, Quirinum Augustum esse, Remum vero pro Agrippa positum, qui filiam Augusti duxit uxorem et cum eo pariter bella tractavit*. Marx (183) considers Servius's comment untenable; but see Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, 2.745, note 2, "...Vergils Worte...werden wahrscheinlich mit Recht in den Scholien auf Augustus und Agrippa bezogen"; C. Trierer, *Hermes* 29 (1894), 130-132.

current perhaps as early as 30 B.C., show on the obverse portraits of Octavian, with his head bare or encircled with a wreath of laurel or oak, and of Agrippa, with his characteristic military decoration, the *corona rostrata*. On the reverse appears a symbolical representation of the capture of Egypt, a crocodile chained to a palm tree.²

Together Octavian and Agrippa, assisted by Octavian's able adviser Maecenas, and his numerous other friends, prepared to reorganize the Roman government. Dio Cassius devotes most of Book 52 of his Roman History to two long, tedious speeches which he attributes to the two 'ministers' of Octavian, Agrippa and Maecenas. Octavian, says Dio, was considering the question of restoring the Roman State to the Senate and the people, and took counsel about the matter with Agrippa and Maecenas. The former recommended the restoration of the Republic,³ the latter the establishment of a monarchical form of government.⁴ Octavian thanked both, but decided to adopt the advice of Maecenas; Agrippa, although he had recommended the contrary view, zealously aided Octavian in the establishment of the principate, as if he himself had advised that course.⁵

That these speeches were the products of Dio's imagination has long been recognized.⁶ Dio was an assiduous imitator of Thucydides,⁷ and fancied that he could write speeches equal to the oratorical masterpieces of his model.⁸ We may accept

²E. Muret and M. A. Chabouillet, *Catalogue des Monnaies Gauloises de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 58-62, Nos. 2740-2876 (Paris, 1889); A. Blanchet, *Traité des Monnaies Gauloises*, Part 2, 437-438, Figure 478 (Paris, 1905); Cohen, 1.179, Nos. 7-10; Ch. Robert, *Numismatique de la Province de Languedoc*, in *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, edited by Cl. Devic and J. Vaissete, 2.494-505 (Toulouse, 1875). Compare Hirschfeld, *Kleine Schriften*, 40-44 (*Die Krokodilmünzen von Nemausus*); Dessau, 2.512-513. Variant types occur on the obverse.

³Dio 52.2-13 (= Zonaras 10.32). ⁴Dio 52.14-40. ⁵Dio 52.41.1-2.

⁶P. Meyer, *De Maecenatis Oratione a Dione Ficta* (Dissertation, Berlin, 1891); Gardthausen, 1.519; Holmes, 1.177; Rohden-Dessau, 440; M. Hammond, *The Significance of the Speech of Maecenas in Dio Cassius*, Book LII, *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 63 (1932), 88-102.

⁷E. Litsch, *De Cassio Dione Imitatore Thucydidis* (Dissertation, Freiburg, 1893).

⁸E. Kyhntzsch, *De Contionibus, Quas Cassius Dio Historiae Suae*

without hesitation Dio's statement that Octavian asked the advice of his two friends, but that formal speeches were delivered at that time is highly improbable. Even more improbable is it that they delivered the speeches given by Dio.⁹ Dio had good literary tradition to follow, in the speeches of Otanes and Megabyxos before Dareius, set forth in Herodotus.¹⁰ Only one passage in the speech Dio ascribes to Agrippa has any historical value, the opening lines, in which Dio puts into the mouth of Agrippa words of devotion to the personal ambitions of Octavian.¹¹

Did Dio believe that Agrippa was republican in his political leanings? If he did, he misread the career of Agrippa. That a man who had spent over ten years fighting to establish an empire for another could still retain republican convictions is, to me, inconceivable. When Agrippa threw in his lot with his friend Octavian in 43 B.C., whatever may have been his political sentiments before that time, he resigned himself irrevocably to a monarchical form of government. There is nothing in the entire career of Agrippa before 29 B.C.¹²—much less is there anything after that time¹³—which reveals the slightest trace of republican sentiment.¹⁴ On the contrary, as Velleius aptly characterizes the career of Agrippa, he was *parendi . . . , sed uni, scientissimus, aliis sane imperandi cupidus . . .*¹⁵

Intexuit, Cum Thucydideis Comparatis (Dissertation, Leipzig, 1894). See particularly 35–41 for parallels to Thucydides in passages in the speeches of Agrippa and Maecenas.

⁹The vulgate of Suetonius's *Life of Vergil* (Reifferscheid, 68) also mentions the advice given by Agrippa and Maecenas, but the statement there is probably derived from Dio, whom the writer, moreover, did not read carefully. ¹⁰3.80–83. ¹¹52.2.1–2.

¹²His part in the saving of the lives of two Republicans, his brother (see above, page 11) and a certain Marcus (see above, page 16), is not indicative of his political sympathies. His action in these cases was dictated by personal attachments. His interest in the welfare of the people in 33 B. C. (see above, pages 46–52) was essentially a political move.

¹³Characteristic of his attitude toward the monarchy was his desire to make the Pantheon a Temple of Augustus (see below, page 76). Compare H. Willrich, *Klio* 3 (1903), 90.

¹⁴Compare Frandsen, 9–27, and his monograph *Ueber die Politik des Marcus Agrippa in Bezug auf die Römische Staatsverfassung* (Altona, 1835); Gardthausen, 1.742–743; Motte, 125–130; Dahlman, 57–58; Firth, 162. Matthes (20–23) holds to the view that Agrippa was fundamentally republican. ¹⁵2.79.1.

Is it possible that in Dio's picture of the opposite positions taken by Agrippa and Maecenas on the question of the form of government to be adopted by Octavian there is a hint by Dio of unfriendly relations between the two ministers of Octavian?¹⁶ Maecenas and Agrippa were, in every respect, antithetical personalities. The one was the descendant of Etruscan kings, a shrewd statesman, a patron of poets, indolent, and lacking in ambition for honors;¹⁷ the other was of obscure origin, a 'self-made man', a brilliant general, indifferent to poetry, extremely active, and obviously ambitious.

In the life of Vergil derived from the *Viri Illustres* of Suetonius there occurs the following criticism of the Augustan poet laureate: *M. Vipsanius a Maecenate eum suppositum appellabat novae cacozeliae repertorem, non tumidae nec exilis, sed ex communibus verbis atque ideo latentis.*¹⁸ It is not certain that the *M. Vipsanius* to whom this criticism of Vergil is attributed was the famous friend of Octavian.¹⁹ In the wording of the criticism there is perceptible a tone unfriendly both to Maecenas and to his protégé, Vergil, whom the critic calls 'the inventor of a new, affected manner, suborned by Maecenas'.²⁰ The criticism presupposes an intimacy with Greek rhetoric which we need not hesitate to ascribe to Agrippa.²¹ If the critic is, in fact, *M. Agrippa*, there is evidence of unfriendly relations between Agrippa and Maecenas in this criticism, which Marx²² considers ". . . das beste, was bis heute über die Sprache des Dichters geschrieben worden ist: es gilt nicht nur für die Erklärung des Vergilius, sondern auch für die Erklärung des Horatius".

¹⁶So Marx, 186.

¹⁷Velleius 2.88.2 . . . non minus Agrippa Caesari carus <Maecenas>, sed minus honoratus, quippe vixit angusti clavi plene contentus, nec minora consequi potuit, sed non tam concupivit.

¹⁸44 (Reifferscheid, 65).

¹⁹Rohden-Dessau (442) question the attribution of the statement to Agrippa. Marx (185) defends the attribution to Agrippa. H. Nettleship, *Ancient Lives of Vergil*, 20, note 1 (Oxford, 1879), thinks that there is no doubt that Agrippa is meant. The difficulty is that Suetonius nowhere else uses the name *Vipsanius* when he is referring to Agrippa.

²⁰The word *suppositum* is difficult to reproduce in modern idiom; it has a derogatory connotation. Compare Marx, 186-187. Octavian himself scorned *cacozeli* (Suetonius, Augustus 86.2).

²¹For the education of Agrippa see above, page 12, below, page 159.

²²194; see also 187-194.

Agrippa was no zealous friend of poetry, as were Maecenas, Messala, and Pollio. It is, therefore, not surprising to find but scant mention of him in the Augustan court poets. Apart from a possible hidden reference to him in the words *Remo cum fratre Quirinus*,²³ there is only one mention of him in Vergil, in the description of the Battle of Actium depicted on the shield of Aeneas.²⁴ In the famous prophecy of Anchises in the sixth book of the *Aeneid*,²⁵ we look in vain for the name of Agrippa in the catalogue of the great heroes of Rome. On the other hand, Marcellus, the young son-in-law of Augustus, is hailed with flattering praise. When Horace, the other great protégé of Maecenas, published the first three books of his *Odes* in 23 B.C., the first ode, the place of honor, was dedicated to Maecenas, the second to Augustus, and it was not until the sixth ode that Horace chose to pay his respects to Agrippa. It appears that Agrippa had proposed to Horace the task of composing an epic poem immortalizing his victories on land and on sea. Horace declines the proposal, with great skill, declaring that L. Varius Rufus²⁶ will undertake the task. At the same time, Horace works in a compliment to Agrippa's military prowess by the mention of Homeric heroes, ending with his usual jest. The poem certainly lacks genuine warmth,²⁷ and it precludes the possibility of any real intimacy between Agrippa and Horace.²⁸

We can hardly accept as conclusive evidence of unfriendliness between Agrippa and Maecenas a reflection (or apparent reflection) of such an attitude in the writings of Maecenas's protégés. But there is better evidence concerning the matter. In 21 B.C., when Augustus asked Maecenas's advice on his

²³See above, page 63.

²⁴*Aeneid* 8.682-684.

²⁵756-886.

²⁶For Varius see J. Wight Duff, *A Literary History of Rome From the Origins to the Close of the Golden Age*, 614 (London, 1910).

²⁷Marx, 183.

²⁸I cannot subscribe to Frandsen's view (33-34) that Horace was openly hostile to Agrippa because of Horace's early republican sympathies and Agrippa's part in the prosecution of Brutus and Cassius. On that ground Horace had more cause to be hostile to Augustus. Van Eck (33-34) rightly rejects Frandsen's view, but puts forth the untenable view that Horace, *Carmina* 1.6 was unsolicited. No more reasonable is Matthes's suggestion (18) that Horace feared to extol Agrippa because he would thus obscure the prowess of Augustus.

intention to give the hand of his daughter to Agrippa, Maecenas is reported to have said²⁹ that Augustus had made Agrippa so powerful that it was necessary to do one of two things, marry him to Julia or put him to death. Such a statement could hardly have been made, even in jest, by a friend. Even if the story is apocryphal, Dio could not write the words without being aware of a lack of sympathy between Maecenas and Agrippa. Moreover, in 17 B.C., when Augustus was planning to adopt the two sons of Agrippa and Julia, the rhetorician Latro, in a *controversia*,³⁰ made remarks which were interpreted by the audience as a slur on Agrippa's humble extraction. Maecenas, instead of disregarding the words, motioned to Latro to hurry on; the audience, Seneca Rhetor observes, considered that Maecenas's aim was deliberately malicious, to attract Augustus's attention to Latro's words. The last two incidents, together with the fact that one of Agrippa's enemies found refuge with Cornelius Gallus,³¹ another poet of Maecenas's circle, seem to me to make out a good case for my conjecture that there was hostility between the two ministers of Octavian.

Whatever may have been, in fact, their relations,³² there is no doubt that they both cooperated with Octavian in the establishment of the new government. One of the first tasks which Octavian set before himself was the purging of the Senate, which, during the civil wars, had been filled with numerous ineligible,³³ and the taking of the census, which had been neglected for over forty years.³⁴ Octavian in 29 B.C. was in his fifth consulship and was designated, with Agrippa, consul for 28 B.C. Together they proceeded to whip into shape a Senate made up of senators worthy of the position, and, at the same time, friendly to their interests. They first invited all those to withdraw who believed themselves ineligible. When only about 50 accepted this invitation, they compelled 140 others to resign, and, in addition, publicly posted their names.³⁵

²⁹Dio 54.6.5. See below, page 86. ³⁰See above, page 6.

³¹See note 39, below.

³²Duckworth (87) suggests that Maecenas was envious of Agrippa.

³³Dio 52.42.1; Suetonius, Augustus 35.1. ³⁴Res Gestae 8.

³⁵Dio 52.42.2-3; Suetonius, Augustus 35.1-3; Res Gestae 8. The power by virtue of which Octavian and Agrippa conducted the *lectio senatus* and the census of 29-28 B. C. has been the subject of much discussion. Dio (52.42.1) says of Octavian, *τιμητέους σὺν τῷ Ἀγρίππῃ*, but, since Octavian

On January 1 of the following year, 28 B.C., Octavian entered never assumed the office of censor (Suetonius, Augustus 27.5; Dio 54.2.1), we must understand from Dio that Octavian and Agrippa possessed censorial power. Moreover, the *Fasti Venusini* (CIL 9.422) have the following entry for the year 28: Imp. Caesar VI, M. Agrippa II <Cos.>. *Idem censoria potest(ate) lustrum fecer(unt)*. In the *Res Gestae* Augustus makes no reference to his censorial power. He refers very briefly to three *lectiones senatus* (*Res Gestae* 8 *senatum ter legi*). Of the census of 29–28 B. C. he says (*ibidem*)...in consulatu sexto censum populi conlega M. Agrippa egi. Moreover, the other two censuses of Augustus, of 8 B. C. and of 14 A. D., were conducted by Augustus *consulari cum imperio* (*Res Gestae* 8). Presumably the census of 29–28 also was conducted *consulari cum imperio*. Compare Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, 2.871. Mommsen (*Res Gestae*, 37–38; *Staatsrecht*, 2.337, 871) sees no real contradiction between the *Res Gestae* and the *Fasti Venusini*. He argues that Augustus reverted to the power of taking the census which in ancient days, before the creation of the office of censor, the consul had possessed, and that a *lex (centuriata)* was passed in 29 B. C. bestowing *censoria potestas* upon Octavian and Agrippa, which they retained until the census was completed in 28 B. C. Hardy (56, and his paper *Lectio Senatus and Census Under Augustus*, in *The Classical Quarterly* 13 [1919], 45–46) objects to Mommsen's explanation that a *lex* was necessary to give Octavian and Agrippa censorial powers, and argues (*The Classical Quarterly* 13.45–46) that "...the *censoria potestas* was always dormant in the consular *imperium*..." and that "All that was necessary therefore was that the senate should decree that a census should be taken, a decree which, in the absence of censors, automatically evoked the *censoria potestas* of the consuls". Similarly Hardy, 56; Shuckburgh, 137. That Agrippa participated in the *lectio senatus* of 29 B. C. cannot be doubted. Since he was not consul until January 1, 28 B. C. (according to Suetonius, Augustus 26.3, Octavian himself was not consul all through 29 B. C. But compare Dio 51.21.1), we cannot meet this difficulty, as Hardy does (56), by assuming that Agrippa's censorial activity in 29 B. C. was "unofficial". Holmes (1.261–262) rightly rejects Hardy's arguments. Whether or not Agrippa also received anticipatory *consulare imperium* in 29 B. C. we do not know (Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, 2.337, note 1). Abele's view (4–5, 9, 39) that the entire censorial activity of Augustus depended exclusively upon the *censoria potestas* is rightly rejected by F. Blumenthal, *Zur Zensorischen Tätigkeit des Augustus*, *Klio* 9 (1909), 498. See further on this subject Herzog, 130–132. Suetonius (Augustus 35.1) speaks of *duabus lectionibus, prima ipsorum <senatorum> arbitratu, quo vir virum legit, secunda suo et Agrippae*. If I understand Mommsen correctly (*Res Gestae*, 35), he connects all of this passage with the *lectio senatus* of 29–28 B. C. Hardy (*The Classical Quarterly* 13.45) holds that the words *duae lectiones* refer to two separate purgations of the Senate, in 29 and in 28 B. C. I cannot agree with Hardy, inasmuch as there was no choice by the senators themselves in 29–28 B. C., whereas in 18 B. C. the senators were at first permitted to

upon his sixth consulship, Agrippa upon his second.³⁶ In keeping with his policy of restoring the external machinery of the Republic, Octavian yielded to his fellow-consul Agrippa half of the 24 *fasces*, which he had reserved for himself in entirety up to 29 B.C.³⁷ Further honors were now bestowed upon Agrippa. About this time he married the elder Marcella, the daughter of Octavia, and now became a member of the ruling family.³⁸

select new members. I follow Shuckburgh (on Suetonius, Augustus 35) in maintaining that Suetonius confused or inverted the order of the *lectiones* of 29 and 18 B. C.

³⁶Dio, Index 53, 53.1.1; Velleius 2.127.1 *multiplicis consulatus*; Res Gestae 8; Orosius 6.21.1; CIL 9.422, 11.7412, 1^a, pages 66, 160–161; Römische Mitteilungen 19 (1904), 186. See also above, page 28, note 1.

³⁷Dio 53.1.1. On the revival by Octavian of the collegiate parity of the consuls after 29 B. C. see Samter's article *Fasces*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 6.2004; Mommsen, Staatsrecht, 2.871; Duckworth, 23. Dio adds that at the end of the year Octavian took the oath required of the consuls.

³⁸Dio 53.1.2; Suetonius, Augustus 63.1; Plutarch, Antonius 87.2. Zonaras (10.32) confused ἀδελφότης in Dio with ἀδελφότης and says incorrectly that Octavian married Octavia to Agrippa. So also Malalas 9.219. Compare Schenk, 142–143. Klebs (Prosopographia, 1.407) points out that Dio's statement does not necessarily imply that the marriage took place in 28 B. C. We are not told which of the two Marcellas Agrippa married, but I follow the general view that it was the elder Marcella. See CIL 6, page 909; Groag, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 3.2890–2891, No. 422; Klebs, in Prosopographia, 1.406–407; Lübker, 230. It is difficult to distinguish the two Marcellas in inscriptions (CIL 6.4655 mentions Marcella maior).

Suetonius (Augustus 63.1) says that there were children from this marriage, but no such children are known. It has often been conjectured from Tacitus, Annales 2.51.2, Germanicus atque Drusus. . . Haterium Agrippam propinquum Germanici fovebant, that D. Haterius Agrippa was the son of a daughter of Agrippa by Marcella (see e. g. Dessau, Prosopographia, 2.126, No. 18; Frandsen, 235–236; Moll, Tafel V; Furneaux, 1.164, 170; Gaheis, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 7.2513–2514; Borghesi, 5.39). In my judgment, the connection of D. Haterius Agrippa with a daughter of Agrippa by Marcella is to be rejected, especially because Tacitus does not call Haterius a relative of Drusus, who was a grandson of Agrippa (see below, page 137), whereas Germanicus was connected with Agrippa only by marriage (see below, page 139). A certain P. Vipsanius Agrippa appears as duumvir of Corinth on coins of Corinth struck under Caligula. See B. V. Head, Catalogue of Greek Coins <in the British Museum>: Corinth, 65, Nos. 530–534 (London, 1889); Cohen, 1.161, No. 768; A. R. Bellinger, Catalogue of the Coins Found at Corinth 1925, 3–4, Nos. 36–37 (New Haven, 1930). P. Vipsanius Agrippa was undoubtedly related to M. Agrippa, but I cannot accept Borghesi's view (2.198–202) that he was a son of Agrippa by Marcella, or a grandson of Agrippa. Gardthausen con-

The fate of Caecilia Attica, the first wife of Agrippa, is unknown.³⁹ Moreover, Octavian and Agrippa were thenceforth to be of equal rank on the field of battle; they were to have similar tents and the watchword was to come from both of them.⁴⁰

After the census, in which 4,063,000 Roman citizens were counted, was completed by the two consuls, they closed the census with a solemn *lustratio*.⁴¹ In this same year Octavian and Agrippa⁴² celebrated the first of the quinquennial games voted by the Senate in 30 B.C. in honor of Octavian.⁴³ In addi-

siders the connection improbable (2.416, note 52). I am unable to determine whether P. Vipsanius Agrippa, the duumvir of Corinth, was descended from Agrippa, or from his brother, or from some other relative of theirs who is unknown to us.

³⁹Suetonius, *De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus* 16 (Reifferscheid, 112–113) relates that one of Atticus's freedmen, Caecilia's tutor Q. Caecilius Epirota (see Stein, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 3. 1201), was suspected of intimacy with her and was banished. L. Cantarelli, *Bollettino di Filologia Classica* 4 (1897), 110–111, points out, with evident truth, that Suetonius does not say that Caecilia herself was guilty of misconduct. Epirota found refuge with Cornelius Gallus in Egypt. Suetonius says that Augustus considered this one of Gallus's most serious crimes. Obviously Epirota went to Gallus after 30 B. C., for Gallus did not become Governor of Egypt before that date, but it does not follow that Epirota did this immediately after his banishment. Nor is there any evidence for the statement of Gardthausen (1.747) that Caecilia was divorced from Agrippa when he married Marcella. Compare Frandsen, 41. Some rare coins of Nemausus (see above, page 63) show Agrippa with a beard. Hence E. Rapp, *Philologus* 21 (1864), 31–40, conjectures that Agrippa was in mourning, but I cannot accept his suggestion that Caecilia died in 29 B. C. No more conclusive is the conjecture of Cantarelli (179, note 1) that Caecilia was no longer alive in 32 B. C. because she is not mentioned by Nepos (*Atticus* 21–22) among those called to the death-bed of her father Atticus. *CIL* 6.13795 reads as follows: *Caecilia . . . M. Vipsanius . . . filius vix[it] . . .* There is little possibility, however, that this is a common tombstone of Caecilia and a son, because the inscription is only on a *tabella columbarii*. ⁴⁰Dio 53.1.2.

⁴¹*Res Gestae* 8; Suetonius, *Augustus* 27.5; Dio 53.1.3; *CIL* 9.422. Compare Duckworth, 24. I am unable to understand why Gardthausen (1.936) says that Agrippa “. . . beim Census nur eine untergeordnete Rolle gespielt hatte. . .”

⁴²Or perhaps only Agrippa, because the games were in honor of Octavian. Compare Mommsen, *Res Gestae*, 42; Motte, 79.

⁴³Dio 51.19.2. Dio says (53.1.4–5) that these games were in celebration of the victory of Actium and that they were given every fifth year by the *pontifices, augures, epulones*, and *quindecimviri*, in rotation. But Mommsen

tion to the *Lusus Troiae*⁴⁴ and other games of the circus, there were a gymnastic contest in the Campus Martius and a gladiatorial combat between the captives taken at Actium. In the course of the celebration, which extended over a period of several days, Octavian fell ill. As a result, the games were supervised by Agrippa alone.⁴⁵

Perhaps during this year, before he laid down his *censoria potestas*, Agrippa delivered an oration, or distributed a short brochure, in which he advocated that all works of art, paintings and statues, be made public property. This was still extant in Pliny's time, who characterizes it as *oratio magnifica et maximo civium digna*.⁴⁶ There was little possibility that the aristocrats who possessed most of the works of art would consent to such a proposal. Agrippa himself, however, followed his own convictions, in making public property all the works of art which he owned.⁴⁷ Pliny tells us that Agrippa paid an enormous sum, 1,200,000 sesterces, to Cyzicus for two paintings, of Ajax and of Venus.⁴⁸ Such socialistic views with regard to great works of art were, perhaps, not entirely new in the history of civilization, but the influence of Agrippa's example awakened a new interest among the common people in artistic masterpieces. Later, when Tiberius, the descendant of the aristocratic Claudii, removed the Apoxyomenus of Lysippus, which Agrippa had placed before his Thermae,⁴⁹ and substituted for it another statue, the people made such a clamor in the theater that Tiberius was forced to replace it.⁵⁰

The interest which Agrippa had exhibited in the welfare of the common people and the public works of Rome as early as 34 B.C.⁵¹ continued throughout his life. After Actium, if not connects these games with the games *pro valetudine* of Octavian (Res Gestae 9: see Mommsen, Res Gestae, 41-43). These games were celebrated probably in 24 and 20 B. C. by the *pontifices* and *augures* respectively. In 16 B. C. Agrippa, as *quindecimvir*, provided for their celebration (see below, page 106). For other references to these games see Pliny, H. N. 7.158; Suetonius, Augustus 44.3; CIL 6.877. Compare Duckworth, 25-26.

⁴⁴See above, page 22, note 8. ⁴⁵Dio 53.1.4-6.

⁴⁶H. N. 35.26. ⁴⁷See above, page 49, below, pages 74, 95-96.

⁴⁸H. N. 35.26. Compare K. Jex-Blake and E. Sellers, The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art, 92-93 (London, 1896); F. Brandstätter, Timomachus, 17-21 (Dissertation, Leipzig, 1889).

⁴⁹See below, page 95. ⁵⁰Pliny, H. N. 34.62. Compare Marx, 182.

⁵¹See above, pages 46-52.

before, he had begun new public structures, which were soon to be dedicated. In full consciousness of the popularity of Agrippa with the common people, as well as from a desire to honor him further, Octavian associated him in 27 B.C. with himself in the consulship, in the important year which marks the beginning of the principate. The three consulships of Agrippa, commemorated on numerous inscriptions and coins,⁵² remained his distinctive civil decoration, as the naval crown was his distinctive military decoration.⁵³

The part which Agrippa played in the momentous events of January, 27 B.C., has not been recorded by ancient historians, but we may safely say that by virtue of his influence as consul, as the first friend of Octavian, and as the idol of the masses, he contributed much, in advice and in action, to the establishment of the principate.⁵⁴ A great deal had yet to be done in the organization of the Roman imperial system. We shall not be far wrong if we conjecture that, although ancient authors do not mention Agrippa in this connection, the organization of the imperial military system was, to a great extent, the work of

⁵²Dio, Index 53; Velleius 2.90.1; Daniel-Servius, on Vergil, Aeneid 8.682; Censorinus 21.8; Martial 8.66. Tacitus, Annales 1.3.1, speaks of *geminatis consulatibus*, but he probably had in mind only the two successive consulships of 28–27 B. C. See also Julius Honorius (Riese, 22); *Cosmographia of 'Aethicus'* (Riese, 72); CIL 1², pages 58, 68, 160–161, 231, 236, 14.2240, 4232. For the numerous other inscriptions, from Italy, Nemausus, Emerita, cities in Greece, Ephesus, which mention the three consulships of Agrippa, see below, pages 76, 90, notes 79, 81, 94, note 97, 102, note 14, 107–108, notes 10, 12, 13, 16, 19, 135, note 51. See also above, page 28, note 1. For coins struck at Sinope, in Asia Minor, in 27 B. C., with portraits of Octavian and Agrippa see Waddington-Babelon-Reinach, 202*, No. 79; Cohen, 1.179, No. 11; Imhoof-Blumer, 231, No. 16. For numerous other coins, from Gades, Rome, and Caesaraugusta, on which the three consulships of Agrippa are mentioned, see below, pages 94, note 100, 100, note 7, 132, 137. The coins described on page 132, below, with a standing Neptune on the reverse, were restored by Titus and Domitian. The mention of the three consulships of Agrippa in Martial 8.66 is perhaps a recollection of these restored coins.

⁵³See above, pages 42–43.

⁵⁴Compare *Res Gestae* 34 *In consulatu sexto et septimo postquam bella [civil]ia exstinxeram per consensum universorum [potitus reru]m om[n]ium rem publicam ex mea potestate in senatu[s] populique Rom[an]i [a]rbitrium transtuli.* For the establishment of the principate see Holmes, 1.179–186, 263–265.

Agrippa, the most skilful soldier of Augustus.⁵⁵ Certainly the organization of the Roman imperial navy, and the construction of the eastern and western naval stations, at Ravenna and at Misenum, owed much to Agrippa's experience in naval warfare.⁵⁶

Agrippa, after his return to Rome from Actium, had not allowed his interest in the welfare of Rome to flag. In 26 B.C. he dedicated the first of a series of great architectural monuments in the Campus Martius, the *Saepta Iulia*, which he named in honor of Augustus.⁵⁷ Julius Caesar, as early as 54 B.C., had planned to replace the older voting precinct in the Campus Martius, the *ovile*, by new *saepta* (*rem gloriosissimam* Cicero calls it⁵⁸), a marble structure surrounded by a lofty rectangular *porticus* a mile long. This project had been begun by Lepidus;⁵⁹ Agrippa completed Lepidus's work and adorned the structure with stone tablets, paintings, and other works of art.⁶⁰

⁵⁵Compare J. Sulser, *Disciplina: Beiträge zur Inneren Geschichte des Römischen Heeres von Augustus bis Vespasian*, 9 (Dissertation, Basel, 1920).

⁵⁶Compare Kromayer-Veith, *Heerwesen*, 614; Frandsen, 75-77; Shuckburgh, 278. For the Roman imperial navies see O. Fiebiger, *De Classium Italicarum Historia et Institutis*, *Leipziger Studien* 15 (1893-1894), 275-461; Hirschfeld, *Verwaltungsbeamten*, 225-229; V. Chapot, *La Flotte de Misène* (Paris, 1896). Fiebiger (289-290, 292) dates the construction of the two naval bases in the early years of the principate. The harbor at Misenum existed as early as 22 B. C. (Fiebiger, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 3.2635-2636).

⁵⁷Dio 53.23.1-2. It was called in later times *Saepta Agrippiana* (*Historia Augusta*, Severus Alexander 26.7). For the *Saepta Iulia* see Platner-Ashby, 460-461. ⁵⁸Ad Atticum 4.16.14.

⁵⁹Gardthausen (2.422) makes a slip in stating that the *saepta* were begun by Cicero.

⁶⁰Dio 53.23.2; Pliny, H. N. 36.29; Martial 2.14.5-6. Compare H. Lucas, *Wiener Studien* 22 (1900), 315-317. Later there were shops in the *Saepta Iulia* (compare Martial 10.87.9-10). In this year Messala was appointed the first *praefectus urbi*, but resigned from office in a few days (*Tacitus*, *Annales* 6.11.4; Jerome, for the year 26 B. C. Compare Hammer, 83-87). Fitzler-Seeck (344), citing as evidence a passage in Florus (2.33.51) which seems to imply that Agrippa was with Augustus on the Spanish campaign of 26-25 B. C., suggest that Messala's appointment was occasioned by the absence of Agrippa from Rome. But Florus in this passage probably condensed into one statement three different campaigns. See below, page 92, note 88. It is to be remembered that Messala and Agrippa were probably close friends, for they lived together (see above, page 61). The ap-

The following year, 25 B.C., Agrippa completed the Porticus Neptuni, which he named after the god to whose favor he owed his great naval victories. The structure was adorned with a painting depicting the exploits of the Argonauts. This work appears to have occasioned the popular name for the colonnade, Porticus Argonautarum.⁶¹ It soon became one of the most frequented of the Roman porticoes.⁶²

In this same year Agrippa completed the first unit (the *laconicum*) of the first of the great Roman baths (*thermae*).⁶³

The crowning achievement of his building activity was the dedication, in this year,⁶⁴ of the Pantheon, one of the greatest

pointment of Messala in 26 B. C. as *praefectus urbi* may have been made as a mark of honor, even though Agrippa, to whom we should naturally expect Augustus to entrust the government, was at Rome. Possibly Agrippa was absent from Rome for a short time.

⁶¹Dio 53.27.1 *στοὰ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος*; Martial 3.20.11: Notitia; Curiosum (Regio IX) porticum Argonautarum. The Ποσειδώνιον, which was burned in the reign of Titus (Dio 66.24.2), is probably the same structure. The Porticus Argonautarum is sometimes identified with the Basilica Neptuni restored by Hadrian (Historia Augusta, Hadrianus 19; compare Jordan-Hülse, 1^s.574-575). The difficulty is that both names occur in the Curiosum. Is it possible that the *στοὰ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος* of Dio and the Basilica Neptuni were identical, and that the Porticus Argonautarum was another portico connected with the Baths of Agrippa (see below, page 95)? I cite in evidence the recent reading by P. Wessner, Scholia in Iuvenalem Vetustiora (Leipzig, 1931), of the scholiast on Juvenal 6.154, . . . in porticu Agrippi <a>narum <sc. thermarum> . . . in qua porticu historia Argonautarum depicta est. . . ., and the conjunction of the Thermae Agrippianae and the Porticus Argonautarum in the Curiosum. For the Porticus Argonautarum see Platner-Ashby, 81, 250, 420; Jordan-Hülse, 1^s.574-575; Platner, 376, 378; H. Lucas, Zur Geschichte der Neptunbasilica in Rom (Programm, Berlin, 1904); Gardthausen, 1.756, 2.425-426; Ch. Hülse, Österreichisches Jahreshft 15 (1912), 132-135.

⁶²Horace, Epistulae 1.6.26 (and Porphyrio on this verse) porticus Agrippae; Martial 2.14.6, 3.20.11, 11.1.10-12.

⁶³Dio 53.27.1. Since the Aqua Virgo, which fed the Thermae Agrippae, was not brought into the city until 19 B. C. (see below, page 95), it is probable that the Baths were not completed until that time. For the Thermae Agrippae see below, page 95.

⁶⁴Dio 53.27.2. Some scholars (e. g. Platner, 351; Platner-Ashby, 382; Jordan-Hülse, 1^s.497; Lübker, 760; Dessau, 1.322) maintain that the Pantheon was built in 27 B. C., because the inscription on it mentions the third consulship of Agrippa. There is no conflict between Dio and the inscription. The inscription was cut in 27 B. C., but the building was completed and dedicated in 25 B. C. Compare Dessau, ILS 129.

architectural masterpieces of antiquity. The present structure, which, although virtually a complete reconstruction by Hadrian,⁶⁵ must have been restored on the lines of the original building,⁶⁶ still bears on the frieze of the *pronaos* the simple inscription

M. AGRIPPA L. F. COS. TERTIUM FECIT.⁶⁷

Inside the temple were placed the statues of many gods,⁶⁸ in particular statues of Venus⁶⁹ and Mars, the tutelary deities of the Julian line, to whom the temple was probably dedicated.⁷⁰ If we are to believe Dio,⁷¹ Agrippa wished to place a statue of Augustus also in the temple and to name the sanctuary after him, but Augustus refused both honors. Agrippa's proposal was, in effect, an attempt to elevate Augustus to a plane equal with the gods.⁷² However that may be, a statue of Julius Caesar, now deified, was placed in the *cella*, and in the *pronaos*, on the right and the left of the entrance, were set statues of Augustus and Agrippa.⁷³ Dio remarks⁷⁴ that this is not to be interpreted as a sign of rivalry between Agrippa and Augustus, but rather

⁶⁵Historia Augusta, Hadrianus 19. Compare D. R. Stuart, Imperial Methods of Inscription, American Journal of Archaeology 9 (1905), 441-449.

⁶⁶Pliny mentions Diogenes of Athens, the decorator of Agrippa's structure, the caryatids in the intercolumniations (H. N. 36.38), and the capitals of Syracusan copper (H. N. 34.13).

⁶⁷CIL 6.896. The bronze letters are modern. For the architecture, history of the Pantheon, and for further bibliography see Platner-Ashby, 382-386; Platner, 351-358; Gardthausen, 1.757-761, 2.426-431; Jordan-Hülse, 1^a.29-30, 1^a.581-589.

⁶⁸Mommsen (Archäologische Zeitung 25 [1867], 55*) conjectures that the seven niches in the Pantheon contained statues of the seven planetary deities. This suggestion has been generally rejected (Gardthausen, 2.429, note 35; Jordan-Hülse, 1^a.581-582, note 61; Bouché-Leclercq [see above, page 51, note 35]), although Hülse now favors it (Platner-Ashby, 383).

⁶⁹The statue of Venus had earrings made from the pearls of Cleopatra (Pliny, H. N. 9.121).

⁷⁰Dio 53.27.2. Compare G. Herzog-Hauser's article *Kaisererkult*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, Supplementband 4.826. ⁷¹53.27.3.

⁷²For the connection of the Pantheon with emperor-worship see Heinen, 153-154; Taylor, 166-167.

⁷³Dio 53.27.3. The two semicircular niches in the *pronaos*, which contained the statues of Augustus and Agrippa, still exist.

⁷⁴53.27.4.

as an indication of Agrippa's affection for his friend and of the consciousness of his own unceasing benefits to the State.

The temple with Augustus' divine ancestors enshrined in it and with statues of Augustus and his future colleague and son-in-law to greet all who entered became a true symbol of the house of Augustus and its future.⁷⁵

In this same year Augustus, eager to hasten the marriage of his nephew, Marcellus, to his only daughter, Julia, and prevented by illness from attending the wedding, entrusted to Agrippa the celebration of the marriage.⁷⁶ As a further mark of honor to Agrippa, when the house of Agrippa and Messala on the Palatine⁷⁷ was burned, Augustus, whereas he compensated Messala with money, invited Agrippa to move into his own palatial residence, the *Domus Augusti*.⁷⁸

We do not hear of Agrippa in 24 B.C. The star of the young son-in-law to whom Augustus was looking for a son and heir was rising. It had been an open secret since Augustus's return from the East in 29 B.C. that Octavia's son, if all went well, would fall heir to Augustus's wealth and position. Marcellus, together with Tiberius, had served his military apprenticeship under Augustus in Spain in 26-25 B.C., just as Augustus himself in his youth had served his military apprenticeship under Julius Caesar in Spain.⁷⁹ Upon Augustus's return to Rome in 24 B.C., Marcellus had received many honors, the office of *pontifex*, the curule aedileship for 23 B.C., and the privilege of standing for the consulship ten years before the legal age.⁸⁰

⁷⁵Taylor, 167.

⁷⁶Dio 53.27.5.

⁷⁷See above, page 61.

⁷⁸Dio 53.27.5. Platner-Ashby (156) and Jordan-Hülser (1^a.60) incorrectly state that the house of Agrippa and Messala was burned in 29 B. C. For the *Domus Augusti* see Platner-Ashby, 156-158.

⁷⁹See above, pages 13-14.

⁸⁰For the life of Marcellus to 23 B. C. see Gaheis, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 3.2764-2766.

CHAPTER VIII

SON-IN-LAW OF AUGUSTUS

Early in 23 B.C., after Augustus had entered upon his eleventh consulship and Marcellus upon the aedileship, the *princeps* fell seriously ill. Desirous of settling matters before his death, he summoned the magistrates and the leading senators and knights to his bedside. The question of the succession to the principate was paramount in the minds of all. It was the general expectation that Augustus would indicate a preference for Marcellus. To the surprise of all, after speaking for a while on important public matters Augustus handed to Cn. Cornelius Piso, his colleague in the consulship, a statement concerning the troops and the public revenues, and to Agrippa his sealing.¹ Faced with the problem of providing for the continuance of the principate, to the establishment of which he had devoted his life, Augustus considered it impolitic to assume upon his own responsibility the prerogative of formally designating a successor.² But the presentation of the signet-ring to Agrippa, in the presence of the leading men of the State, while it was nothing more than an expression of personal confidence, could hardly fail to be interpreted as an informal indication of Augustus's preference.³ Agrippa enjoyed a wide popularity with the people, and Augustus was confident that, if public opinion favored a continuance of the principate, his virtual recommendation of Agrippa to the Senate and to the people would establish his friend at the head of the Roman State.⁴

Nevertheless, there was general surprise at Augustus's action in preferring Agrippa to his son-in-law and nephew Marcellus, whom he had manifestly been grooming as his successor.⁵ The fact is that Augustus did not have sufficient confidence in the judgment of an inexperienced youth, whose competence to control the machinery of the vast empire was as

¹Dio 53.30.1-2 (= Zonaras 10.33).

²Dio 53.31.4. Compare Holmes, 2.27, note 2.

³Compare Ferrero, 4.232; Motte, 234-238. Kuntz (26) observes: "The suggestion that the action of Augustus in giving Agrippa his ring implied that he was preferring him before Marcellus cannot be substantiated by the facts". Which facts? ⁴Dio 53.31.4. ⁵Dio 53.31.2-3.

yet untested.⁶ What would have happened if he had at this time chosen Marcellus and had not recovered from his illness we can only conjecture. People in Rome thought that Agrippa would not have stood aside, and that he would not have suffered Marcellus to assume the sovereignty unchallenged.⁷ After all, it was unreasonable to expect the second man in the Roman Empire, who had spent his whole life in establishing and maintaining his friend at the head of a great empire, to step aside graciously for a youth whose only recommendation lay in his pleasing personality and his close relationship to Augustus. Moreover, though Agrippa was ready to efface his personality before Augustus, he was not unambitious; he was not disposed to transfer his allegiance to a successor of Augustus and to continue his self-abnegation.⁸ No one will question the wisdom of Augustus's choice; if the *princeps* had died at this time, he would, in making Agrippa his successor, have left his position and the task of carrying on the work he had begun to the best available successor.

But the crisis passed with the speedy recovery of Augustus.⁹ As soon as he was able, he appeared before the Senate, with the intention of disclosing the contents of his will, to show that he had not assumed the right to designate a successor, but the senators, as an act of confidence, would not permit him to read the will.¹⁰ Shortly afterwards, under obscure circumstances, Agrippa, vested with extraordinary powers, departed for the East.

Rumors spread abroad in Rome that Agrippa had retired, *sub specie ministeriorum principalium*, because of secret dissension with Marcellus.¹¹ This is the earliest version we possess of the reasons for Agrippa's withdrawal from Rome in 23 B. C. Pliny's intimation¹² that he was sent into exile is not worthy of credence. It would indeed be strange to confer upon a man

⁶Dio 53.31.4. Perhaps Augustus remembered Caesar's refusal to make him *magister equitum* when he himself was but a mere youth (Pliny, H. N. 7.147).

⁷Velleius 2.93.1 . . . M. Marcellus . . . quem homines ita, si quid accidisset Caesari, successorem potentiae eius arbitrabantur futurum ut tamen id per M. Agrippam securo ei posse contingere non existimarent . . .

⁸Velleius 2.79.1 . . . parendi . . . sed uni, scientissimus, aliis sane impe-randi cupidus . . . ⁹Dio 53.30.3. ¹⁰Dio 53.31.1. ¹¹Velleius 2.93.2.

¹²H. N. 7.149 pudenda Agrippae ablegatio.

supreme military authority over all the imperial provinces,¹³ the *proconsulare imperium*, before sending him into exile. Suetonius has two different versions of the incident. In his life of Augustus¹⁴ he states that Agrippa withdrew . . . *ex levi frigoris suspicione et quod Marcellus sibi antefereatur . . .*; in his life of Tiberius¹⁵ he makes Tiberius cite as a precedent for his own retirement to Rhodes Agrippa's withdrawal in order to avoid the appearance of standing in the way of Marcellus and thwarting his public career. The explanation given in the courtly speeches of Seneca and Nero, recorded by Tacitus,¹⁶ that Augustus permitted Agrippa to retire to a place of rest after his labors, contributes nothing to a serious evaluation of the real causes. Finally, Dio explains¹⁷ that Augustus upon his recovery perceived that Marcellus was antagonistic to Agrippa and thereupon immediately sent the latter away to the East to prevent friction between his son-in-law and his friend.

It is obvious that the several ancient accounts of Agrippa's withdrawal are, on the surface, not consistent with one another. According to the versions of Velleius, Suetonius, and Tacitus, the retirement was voluntary; according to Dio and Pliny it was compulsory. I find it difficult to believe that Agrippa's retirement from Rome was forced by Augustus.¹⁸ Such an action would be strangely inconsistent with what we know of the personal relations of the two men, the recent expression of confidence in Agrippa Augustus had made by entrusting him with his seal-ring, and the bestowal of the *proconsulare imperium* upon Agrippa before his departure. The proper approach to the solution of this problem is the acknowledgment that Agrippa's withdrawal to the East was voluntary.

Dio, Velleius, and, above all, the Jewish historian Josephus, who knows nothing of the family discord in 23 B.C.,¹⁹ reveal that Agrippa went to the East in a high official capacity.²⁰ Magie,²¹ who brands all the ancient versions of the retirement

¹³See the Appendix below, pages 167-169.

¹⁴66.3. ¹⁵10.1. ¹⁶Annales 14.53.3, 55.2-3. ¹⁷53.32.1.

¹⁸I differ sharply from Motte (86-88, 238-239) who considers Agrippa's retirement "exil forcé et incontestable".

¹⁹Antiquitates 15.10.2 *πέμπεται δ' Ἀγρίππας τῶν πέραν Ἰουλοῦ διάδοχος Καίσαρι.*

²⁰See below, pages 167-175.

²¹David Magie, *The Mission of Agrippa to the Orient in 23 B. C.*, *Classical Philology* 3 (1908), 145-152.

of Agrippa in 23 B.C. as "... inconsistent, ill-founded and incredible ...",²² conjectures that the real reason for the mission of Agrippa, kept secret to avoid the wounding of national vanity and the impairment of Augustus's dignity, is to be found in the diplomatic negotiations with the Parthians for the return of the captured Roman legionary standards.²³ Magie is led to such a conclusion primarily because he refuses to admit the possibility of any misunderstanding between Augustus and Agrippa. Ingenious as the suggestion is, I feel that we cannot discard all the ancient sources as idle rumor. Hearsay in ancient sources, especially if confirmed by several authorities, is a safer guide to the truth than imagination.²⁴

Velleius, Suetonius, and Dio agree that discord between Agrippa and Marcellus, arising out of the question of the succession, was the reason for the withdrawal of Agrippa. Obviously Marcellus, to whom had been given every reason to hope for the sovereignty, did not accept with equanimity the sudden dashing of his hopes during the illness of Augustus. There is evidence that his reaction to the rebuff was a defiant one.²⁵ We may be sure that, whatever dissension there was,²⁶ Agrippa was not the aggressor. With his position in the Roman State, he could disregard the young son-in-law of Augustus as a serious rival. But Augustus's interest in the future of Marcellus revived as soon as he recovered. The question of the succession, temporarily settled in Agrippa's favor when he thought he was on his death-bed, he now desired to remain open. This

²²See Magie, page 146 of the article named in note 21, above.

²³Magie was anticipated in this view by J. C. Tarver, *Tiberius the Tyrant*, 170 (New York, 1902).

²⁴Dobiáš (304, note 15) rejects Magie's theory as fanciful. So also does Kuntz, 11, 27-28. Holmes points out (2.28) that it is highly probable that Tiberius, who actually recovered the standards, conducted the preliminary negotiations (Suetonius, *Tiberius* 9.1; Velleius 2.91.1, 94.4; Dio 54.8.1. Compare also Holmes, 2.36, note 3).

²⁵Pliny speaks (H. N. 7.149) of *suspecta Marcelli vota*; Dio reveals (54.3.1-3) the allegations of M. Primus, proconsul of Macedonia in 23 B. C., that he had undertaken an unauthorized campaign at the orders of Marcellus. Compare Gaheis, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 3.2767.

²⁶G. Ferrero, *The Women of the Caesars*, 74 (New York, 1911), asks us to believe that "... Marcellus, under the influence of Julia, assumed a tone somewhat too haughty and insolent..." and that "... this conduct of his was especially offensive to Agrippa..."

he showed by his wish to read his will to the Senate as soon as he was well, in order to make clear that he had in fact designated no successor. Augustus's purpose was not so much to vindicate himself before the Senate as to make it absolutely plain that, although at a critical moment he had deemed it the wisest act to entrust the sovereignty to Agrippa by virtually recommending him to the Senate and the people, now that the crisis was passed the informal designation of Agrippa was a closed incident.²⁷ This meant simply that Augustus intended, now that the danger was over, to reserve the succession for his son-in-law, and, as he hoped, a lineal male descendant from Julia.²⁸

Agrippa could rightly feel offended at Augustus's hasty and tactless, but for his dynastic aims politically necessary, measure.²⁹ But Agrippa was always anxious to maintain amity at the cost of any personal sacrifice.³⁰ If the situation demanded it, he was ready to step aside for a while.³¹ Augustus, on the other hand, was equally anxious to preserve the friendship of his invaluable assistant. They may have come to a mutual agreement that it would best serve the interests of all concerned for Agrippa to absent himself for a while. Either to cloud his real intent concerning the succession or as a mark of confidence Augustus obtained from the Senate a five-year grant of the *proconsulare imperium* for his friend.³² Dio states that Agrippa set out immediately, but, with more than his usual self-effacement,³³ did not make active use of his power, remaining instead at Lesbos, while his *legati* went out into the provinces.³⁴

²⁷I cannot accept Frandsen's view (43) that Augustus offered to read his will in order to conciliate Marcellus.

²⁸Compare Kuntz, 11; T. M. Taylor, *A Constitutional and Political History of Rome*⁵, 421 (London, 1923); J. C. Stobart, *The Grandeur That Was Rome*², 174-175 (London, 1920).

²⁹This, in my judgment, is the explanation of Suetonius's words (Augustus 66.3) . . . *ex levi frigoris suspicione et quod Marcellus sibi anteferretur* . . . Compare Kuntz, 27-28.

³⁰For his guiding motto see below, page 151.

³¹Compare Dessau, 1.456.

³²See below, pages 167-169.

³³53.32.1 *ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον μετριάσων*.

³⁴Ferrero (4.238) would have us believe that Agrippa's departure in 23 B. C. was "an act of vengeance", "to revenge his outraged pride". Compare Domaszewski, 187. If my analysis of the situation is correct, the ancient sources are not so inconsistent as at first glance they seem to be. The apparent discrepancies are due to a difference of emphasis on different details of the matter. Velleius and Dio emphasize Marcellus's

Frandsen, who misunderstood the relations between the two men,³⁵ pictured Agrippa as quitting Rome sullenly, currying favor with oriental kings, planning to declare himself independent, and, like a second Antony, to challenge Augustus for the supremacy in the Empire.³⁶ Gardthausen follows Frandsen, in general, but paints a somewhat milder picture of Augustus forced to make a choice between Agrippa and Marcellus, of Agrippa sulking in Lesbos, like Achilles in his tent, writing his Memoirs as an answer to Augustus's Memoirs, and making preparations for a contest, not with Augustus, but with Marcellus, if the latter should succeed to the principate.³⁷ The evidence adduced for such an opposition between the two friends is most questionable, and Frandsen's view was long ago exposed as fallacious.³⁸ At most Augustus could complain of Agrippa's occasional loss of his customary patience.³⁹ Further than that the concord which was the basis of their friendship was never disrupted. How far the efforts of an opponent of Augustus could proceed had been clearly demonstrated by the fate of Salvidienus Rufus,⁴⁰ and more recently by that of the first Prefect of Egypt, Cornelius Gallus.⁴¹ Finally, if Augustus had not had the most implicit trust in the fidelity of Agrippa, he would surely not have invested him, before he sent him to the East in 23 B.C., with the *proconsulare imperium*, the first step to the co-regency.

Agrippa set out from Rome for the East shortly after the recovery of Augustus.⁴² He made his headquarters at Mytilene

attitude after the presentation of the seal-ring to Agrippa; Suetonius emphasizes in one place Agrippa's feelings after the reading of the will, in a second place his sacrifice to prevent discord.

³⁵He conceives of their friendship as a purely practical one, and speaks (41) of Agrippa as "...den Mann, der ihm in der Opposition der gefährlichste Gegner war...", and again (47) of the "...Grösse der Gefahr abseiten des Agrippa für Augustus..." ³⁶35-47. ³⁷1.732-734, 738.

³⁸Matthes, VIII; Van Eck, 6-28; Motte, 130-145.

³⁹Suetonius, Augustus 66.3 Desideravit enim nonnumquam...M. Agrippae patientiam... ⁴⁰See above, page 24.

⁴¹Suetonius, Augustus 66.1-2; Dio 53.23.5-7.

⁴²Zumpt (79) and Schürer (1.369, note 11) maintain that Agrippa left Rome very early in 23 B. C., Korach (90) that he did so in the first half of the year. We do not know exactly when Augustus recovered, nor is it certain that Agrippa left Rome immediately after his recovery. Moreover, it seems likely that Agrippa's presence was required in Rome when

on the Island of Lesbos; thence he sent out his *legati* into the provinces under his control.⁴³ We hear very little of his activity in the East during his first stay there (23–21 B. C.). None of the many inscriptions from the East which refer to Agrippa can be attributed with certainty to this period.⁴⁴ He may at this time have visited Antioch, the capital of Syria, his special province,⁴⁵ where he built for that city several important public works.⁴⁶ Some time during Agrippa's first stay at Mytilene, Herod, King of the Jews, came to pay his respects to the vice-regent of the eastern half of the Empire.⁴⁷ Herod may have made the acquaintance of Agrippa as early as 40 B. C., when Herod paid his first visit to Italy in the fall of that year,⁴⁸ but it was not until Herod transferred his allegiance to Augustus after the Battle of Actium that any intimacy was possible between the former adherent of Antony and the friend of Augustus. However, though there was probably, from the outset, mutual respect between the powerful King of Judea and the second man in the Roman Empire, there could hardly have been any real friendship between them until Herod's visit to Agrippa at this

the Senate voted him the *proconsulare imperium* in 23, 18, and 13 B. C., and the *tribunicia potestas* in 18 and 13 B. C. (see below, pages 98–99, 124), and that the time when these powers were voted coincided with the dates of the renewal of Augustus's extraordinary powers in the same years, about July 1 (Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, 2.797, note 3. See below, page 98, note 3). Compare Pelham, 61–65.

⁴³Dio 53.32.1; Velleius 2.93.2; Suetonius, Augustus 66.3, Tiberius 10.1; Tacitus, *Annales* 14.53.3; Josephus, *Antiquitates* 15.10.2.

⁴⁴Motte (88–89) ascribes some of these inscriptions to 23–21 B. C., and dates the renaming of Anthedon in Agrippa's honor in the same period. But see below, pages 133–134, note 44.

⁴⁵See below, page 173. ⁴⁶See below, page 111.

⁴⁷Josephus, *Antiquitates* 15.10.2. Josephus fixes the winter as the time of the visit. Chijis (X–XI, 54) and Schürer (1.369, note 11) correctly point out that Herod's visit to Agrippa may have taken place in the winter of 23/22 or 22/21 B. C. Otto's conclusion (70), which is adopted by Willrich (89), that the visit took place in the winter of 22/21 B. C., a year and a half after Agrippa's arrival at Mytilene, is questionable, particularly because Herod sent his sons to Rome, not in 22 B. C., but while Varro, Agrippa's predecessor in the governorship of Syria, was still in office. Furthermore, if, as Otto maintains, Herod's visit was merely a display of his loyalty to Rome, it is reasonable to expect that it would have taken place at the earliest possible opportunity, i. e. in the winter of 23/22 B. C. Dobiaš (303) favors this date.

⁴⁸Otto, 25.

time. Thereafter, to the end of Agrippa's life, the friendship between the two men remained very close.⁴⁹ When the city of Gadara, which Augustus had given to Herod in 30 B.C.,⁵⁰ sent ambassadors to Agrippa about the time of Herod's visit to lay before him its grievances, Agrippa gave them no audience and sent them back in chains to Herod.⁵¹ About 23 B.C.⁵² Herod began to build his elegant palace in the upper city in Jerusalem, and the two most splendid halls in the palace, as well as in his castle at Jericho, he named, after Augustus and Agrippa, *Caesareum* and *Agrippeum*.⁵³

Early in 21 B.C. Augustus was in Sicily, the first stop in an administrative tour of the eastern provinces. During his absence from Rome riots, fostered by the republican elements,⁵⁴ broke out over the election of a consul to take the place which Augustus had declined. His presence in Rome was demanded, but he refused to change his itinerary, and the election disturbances continued.⁵⁵ The recent conspiracy of Fannius Caepio and Murena,⁵⁶ and the election riots convinced Augustus that it was not safe to leave Rome without a strong hand to hold it in check. As usual he turned to his friend Agrippa. Since Augustus was presently to be in the East, he recalled Agrippa,

⁴⁹Josephus, *Antiquitates* 15.10.3 *Καίσαρ μὲν οὐδένα μετ' Ἀγρίππαν Ἡρώδου προετίμησεν, Ἀγρίππας δὲ μετὰ Καίσαρα πρῶτον ἀπεδίδου φίλλας τόπον Ἡρώδη* (Otto, 55, "freilich übertrieben"), 15.10.2, 16.2.2, 5.4; *Bellum* 1.20.4 *ὁ δὲ τούτων Ἡρώδη μείζον ἦν, ὑπὸ μὲν Καίσαρος ἐφιδείτο μετ' Ἀγρίππαν, ὅπ' Ἀγρίππα δὲ μετὰ Καίσαρα*, 1.21.8; *Hegesippus* 1.34.2. Compare Juster, 1.217-218, note 4; Schürer, 1.404-405.

⁵⁰Josephus, *Antiquitates* 15.7.3, *Bellum* 1.20.3. Compare Benzinger's article *Gadara*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 7.436-437.

⁵¹Josephus, *Antiquitates* 15.10.2; compare 15.10.3. Gadara was essentially Greek and resented its submission to Herod. In 20 B. C. the Gadarenes, instigated by Zenodorus, repeated their charges before Augustus, but met with no better success (Josephus, *Antiquitates* 15.10.3). Compare Willrich, 73. Frandsen (88) speaks of the partiality of Agrippa in this matter, and Gardthausen (1.734) explains Agrippa's action ("offenbare Ungerechtigkeit" he calls it) as the result of a desire to place Herod under obligations to him. To these conclusions they were led by their mistaken views concerning a break between Agrippa and Augustus (see above, page 83).

⁵²Otto, 80.

⁵³Josephus, *Antiquitates* 15.9.3, *Bellum* 1.21.1, 21.4; *Hegesippus* 1.35.1. Compare Willrich, 80.

⁵⁴Kuntz, 30.

⁵⁵Dio 54.6.1-3.

⁵⁶Compare Fitzler-Seeck, 347.

with a view to entrusting to him the reins of government in Rome and in the western half of the Empire.⁵⁷

Whatever misunderstanding there had been between Augustus and Agrippa when the latter, under obscure circumstances, left for the East in 23 B.C., the tension vanished with the death of Marcellus late in the same year.⁵⁸ The brief marriage of Julia to her cousin had not been fortunate; the son and heir that Augustus had hoped for from the marriage had not been born, and thus Augustus's dynastic ambitions were still thwarted by the lack of a lineal male descendant. After the death of Marcellus, Augustus faced a serious problem in finding a suitable husband for his young widowed daughter. He may have thought in this connection of his two step-sons, the children of Livia, Tiberius and Drusus. But Drusus was younger than Julia, and Tiberius was engaged, or already married, to Agrippa's daughter.⁵⁹ Unwilling to draw in an outsider, and desirous of preventing a renewal of family discord,⁶⁰ Augustus solved the problem by offering Julia's hand to Agrippa when the latter arrived in Sicily from the East in 21 B.C.⁶¹

The marriage was advised by Augustus's minister Maecenas, who is said to have remarked on this occasion that Augustus had made Agrippa so great that he would now have to make him his son-in-law or put him to death.⁶² The fact that Agrippa

⁵⁷Dio 54.6.4 (= Zonaras 10.34). Frandsen, who maintains that Augustus's position was endangered by Agrippa's hostility, asks (89), "Wer weiss, welche hochfliegende gefährliche Pläne durch seine ehrenvolle Rückkehr nach Rom vor der Ausführung unterdrückt worden sind?" Compare Gardthausen, 1.734.

⁵⁸Dio 53.30.4-6; Propertius 3.18; Pliny, H. N. 19.24.

⁵⁹See above, page 37. After Agrippa's death Augustus did not hesitate to compel Tiberius to divorce Agrippa's daughter, that Tiberius might marry Julia. See below, page 137.

⁶⁰Compare Gardthausen, 1.748. Dio states (54.6.5) that Augustus married Julia to Agrippa in order to enhance Agrippa's authority in Rome while he himself was in the East.

⁶¹Dio 54.6.5; Tacitus, *Historiae* 1.15, *Annales* 1.3.1, 4.40.9; Velleius 2.93.2; Suetonius, *Augustus* 63.1; Plutarch, *Antonius* 87.2-3.

⁶²Dio 54.6.5 . . . ὁ Μακρήνας συμβουλευόμενος οἱ περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων εἰπεῖν λέγεται ὅτι τηλικούτου αὐτὸν πεποίηκας ὥστ' ἢ γαμβρὸν σου γενέσθαι ἢ φορευθῆναι. For the bearing of this remark upon the relations between Maecenas and Agrippa see above, page 68. Van Eck (23-24) regards Maecenas's statement as "jocose dictum".

was already married to Augustus's niece, Marcella, and had now to divorce the mother of his children,⁶⁵ the disparity in age⁶⁴ and in temperament between his friend and his daughter offered to Augustus's mind little impediment to a match which promised to be of political importance for the house of Augustus. We need not wonder why Agrippa acquiesced in Augustus's wishes. The hand of Julia brought with it the co-regency of the Roman Empire, and the hope of a dynasty for Agrippa, as well as for Augustus.⁶⁵

Before proceeding to the East, Augustus sent Agrippa from Sicily to Rome, to marry Julia and to bring the political situation to order.⁶⁶ The new son-in-law of Augustus quelled the election riots, and checked the advance of the Egyptian religion by forbidding the Egyptian rites to be performed within 1,000 paces of Rome.⁶⁷ Another election dispute, over the choice of a *praefectus urbi feriarum Latinarum causa*, he settled by suspending the office for that year.⁶⁸

The following year, 20 B.C., Julia gave birth to a son, the first grandson of Augustus. The child was named Gaius and a

⁶⁵Dio 54.6.5; Plutarch, Antonius 87.2; Suetonius, Augustus 63.1. Plutarch's statement that Octavia advised the divorce of her own daughter and the marriage of Agrippa to Julia need not be taken seriously. Compare Gardthausen, 2.408, note 60; Fitzler's article *Iulia*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 10.897. Marcella was thereupon married to a son of Antony (Plutarch, Antonius 87.3; Velleius 2.100.5).

⁶⁴Julia was now at most 18 years old (see Fitzler, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 10.896); Agrippa was, it seems, slightly older than her father.

⁶⁶Compare Motte, 121-122; E. Groag, Wiener Studien 40 (1918), 151-152.

⁶⁷Dio 54.6.5; compare 54.11.1.

⁶⁸Dio 54.6.6. Compare F. Cumont, *Les Religions Orientales dans le Paganisme Romain*, 77 (Paris, 1929). In 23 B. C. Augustus had forbidden the Egyptian rites within the *pomerium* (Dio 53.2.4). We may suppose that during his visit to the East Agrippa had seen with his own eyes how pernicious the Egyptian rites might be.

⁶⁹Dio 54.6.6. Agrippa's authority rested not upon the office of *praefectus urbi*, as Frandsen holds (77-82. Gardthausen, 1.809, also calls him *praefectus urbi*), but upon the *proconsulare imperium* which he had held since 23 B. C. Tacitus does not mention Agrippa among the first few *praefecti urbi* (Annales 6.11). Compare Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, 2.1060, note 2; P.-E. Vigneaux, *Essai sur l'Histoire de la Praefectura Urbis à Rome*, 55-56 (Paris, 1896); Herzog, 149-150. Vigneaux incorrectly states that Agrippa represented Augustus in Italy also up to 23 B. C. as holder of the *proconsulare imperium*. See below, page 171, note 37.

decree was passed authorizing a yearly sacrifice at the public expense on the anniversary of his birthday.⁶⁹

Agrippa did not remain long in Rome. Before the year 20 B. C. was ended,⁷⁰ his presence in Gaul was necessary, because internal strife, aggravated by incursions of the Germans, had broken out there.⁷¹ He quickly settled the troubles in Gaul and on the Rhine.⁷² Perhaps it was during his second stay in Gaul, if not in 39–38 B. C.,⁷³ that Agrippa transplanted to the left side of the Rhine, as a bulwark against the restless Germans, the Ubii, a German tribe friendly to the Romans and for a long time hard pressed by their neighbors the Suebi.⁷⁴

⁶⁹Dio 54.8.5.

⁷⁰Holmes states (2.35), and Rohden-Dessau imply (441) that Agrippa was in Rome until 19 B. C., but in all likelihood he had already left Rome before 19 B. C. A recurrence of election disputes early that year (Dio 54.10.1–2) is evidence against his presence there. Desjardins (3.183, 219) incorrectly dates Agrippa's second stay in Gaul in 22–21 B. C. Frandsen (127–128) is very specific: "Wahrscheinlich ist Agrippa bereits im Frühling 734 < = 20 B. C. > nach Gallien gegangen und daselbst bis zum nächsten Lenz geblieben".

⁷¹Dio (54.11.1) says 'Αγρίππας...ταῖς Γαλατίας προσετέχθη. Some scholars (e. g. Holmes, 2.9; Desjardins, 3.183–184, 246), following Dio's statement, describe Agrippa as Governor of Gaul in this period and *legatus* of Augustus. This view is very doubtful, because Agrippa was in Spain part of the time, and, moreover, conducted his campaigns with independent *imperium*.

⁷²Dio 54.11.2 ἐν τε γὰρ ἀλλήλοις ἐστασάζον καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν ἐκακοῦντο. καταστήσας δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἐς Ἴβηριαν μετέστη. By Κελτοί Dio always (except in 39.49.2) means the Germans. See H. Smilda, *Index Historicus* to Boissevain's edition of Dio, 136. Matthes (54–55, note 2) incorrectly regards these Κελτοί as Cimbri or southern Gauls.

⁷³See above, page 26, note 34.

⁷⁴Strabo 4.3.4; Tacitus, *Annales* 12.27.1–2, *Germania* 28.5 (compare *Historiae* 4.28, 63). Perhaps *Ubios* is to be read for *Suebios* in Suetonius, *Augustus* 21.1. Compare the textual note on this passage in M. Ihm's edition of Suetonius (Leipzig, 1908). The transplantation of the Ubii by Agrippa is generally connected with Agrippa's crossing of the Rhine in 38–37 B. C. (see above, page 25), e. g. by Frandsen, 101; Gardthausen, 1.255, 660, 737; H. Nissen, *Bonner Jahrbücher* 98 (1895), 147, 151, 104 (1899), 28–29 (Nissen corrects Gardthausen's statement [1.660] that the Ubii were the aggressors in plundering); A. von Domaszewski, in *CIL* 13², page 505; L. Schmidt, *Geschichte der Deutschen Stämme*, 2.154, 426, note 2 (Berlin, 1918); W. Reeb, *Tacitus Germania*, 172 (Leipzig and Berlin, 1930). C. Winkelsesser, *De Rebus Divi Augusti Auspiciis in Germania Gestis Quaestiones Selectae*, 1–6 (Dissertation, Bonn, 1901),

Agrippa's intervention in Gaul at this time was his first military campaign since 31 B.C. One may wonder why the most able general of Augustus took no part in the numerous wars of the decade following the Battle of Actium. Minor generals struggled to hold the frontiers; Augustus himself, in 26–25 B.C., undertook the formidable campaign against the Cantabri; new generals, Marcellus, Tiberius, Drusus, were being trained. The Parthians still retained with impunity the standards of two Roman armies.⁷⁶ Agrippa was far from idle all this time, but his attention was concentrated upon peaceful activities. The reason for Agrippa's military inactivity from 31–21 B.C. is difficult to discover. Whether his retirement from the field of battle was voluntary or was suggested by Augustus we do not know.

One of the great services rendered by Agrippa to the Gallic provinces was the construction by his soldiers of the first three great trunk roads of Gaul, diverging from Lugdunum, at the confluence of the Arar and the Rhone, one through Aquitania to the Atlantic, a second through Gallia Lugdunensis to the

argues that the Ubii were settled in Gaul during Agrippa's second visit there, but his arguments are not very convincing (compare Dessau, 1.407, note 2). Ferrero (5.97, note) also favors Agrippa's second stay in Gaul as the time of this event. I am unable to find any convincing evidence for either date.

We know no details about the transplantation of the Ubii by Agrippa. There is no evidence for a garrison built by Agrippa in Köln at this time (though this is maintained by C. von Veith, *Das Römische Köln*, 8–20 [Bonn, 1885]). H. Nissen, *Bonner Jahrbücher* 98 (1895), 156–157, corrects Veith. Moreover, the Colonia Agrippinensis, modern Köln, founded in 50 A. D. in the territory of the Ubii by the younger Agrippina, is sometimes incorrectly said to have been named after Agrippa (e. g. by Domaszewski, in *CIL* 13², page 505). Compare G. Ammon, *Germania von Cornelius Tacitus*, 165 (Bamberg, 1927); H. Nissen, *Bonner Jahrbücher* 98 (1895), 156. On the disputed question of Agrippa's other provisions for the defense of the Gallic eastern frontier, for which there is no concrete evidence, see E. Ritterling, *Bonner Jahrbücher* 114–115 (1906), 159–160; Jullian, 4.102–106; Holmes, 2.145–146.

⁷⁶Arnold (218) remarks, "It is one of the paradoxes, and perhaps one of the misfortunes of Augustus' reign, that the military genius of the soldier who had done so much to win the Empire for him was never employed against Parthia, and barely touched Germany". But see below, page 161, for Agrippa's conservative military policy.

British Channel, a third through Gallia Belgica to the Rhine.⁷⁶ From a commercial as well as from a military standpoint this great network of highways was of paramount importance in the development of the Gallic provinces.

In Gallia Narbonensis, the Roman colony of Nemausus, which had long before honored Agrippa by placing his portrait on its coins,⁷⁷ benefited greatly by Agrippa's stay in Gaul.⁷⁸ A series of public monuments whose remains are still to-day among the most attractive relics of antiquity in France was begun by Agrippa at this time. The deservedly famous Corinthian temple at Nîmes, the so-called Maison Carrée, which for a long time was thought to have been built as a temple of Agrippa's sons, Gaius and Lucius, is now, as a result of the ingenious restoration by Espérandieu⁷⁹ of the original inscrip-

⁷⁶Strabo 4.6.11. Hirschfeld (Kleine Schriften, 721, and CIL 12, page 656) deserves credit for the acute observation that Strabo does not definitely ascribe to Agrippa the fourth road mentioned in this passage, from Lyons to Marseilles (Strabo says, *τετάρτη δ' ἔστιν ἐπὶ τῆν Ναρβωνίτιν καὶ τῆν Μασσαλιωτικὴν παραλίαν*). I have nowhere seen Hirschfeld's suggestion adopted; all treatments of the much-discussed roads of Agrippa in Gaul credit Agrippa with four roads. See Jullian, 4.84, note 7, 5.85-104; H. Bazin, Vienne et Lyon Gallo-Romains, 192 (Paris, 1891); F. Vallentin, La Voie d'Agrippa de Lugdunum au Rivage Massaliote, Revue du Dauphiné et du Vivarais 4 (1880), 373-393; E. Duprat, La Route d'Agrippa à Avignon, Revue des Études Anciennes 12 (1910), 186-188; Desjardins, 4.166-169, 3.184; M. Besnier's article *Via*, in Daremberg-Saglio, 5.799-803; M. Besnier, Revue des Études Latines 7 (1929), 90. The date of the commencement of the construction of Agrippa's roads in Gaul is problematical. I can find no concrete evidence in favor of either 39-38 B. C. or 20-19 B. C. Some authorities favor 39-38 B. C.: see e. g. Jullian, 4.84, note 6; Ganter, 11; M. Besnier, in Daremberg-Saglio, 5.799; A. Grenier, Revue des Cours et Conférences 32¹ (1931), 588; Holmes, 2.5-6; E. Ritterling, Bonner Jahrbücher 114-115 (1906), 164, note 1. Others incline to 20-19 B. C.: see e. g. Frandsen, 173-174; Hirschfeld, Kleine Schriften, 721, note 1, and CIL 13, page 251; Gardthausen, 1.671-672; Winkelsesser, 5 (see note 74, above); Dahlman, 74; Desjardins, 4.165-166; Herzog, Gallia, 107-108. There is no evidence for the conjecture of C. Germain de Montauzan, Les Aqueducs Antiques de Lyon, 13-16 (Paris, 1908), that the first aqueduct at Lyons was built under Agrippa's supervision in 20-19 B. C.

⁷⁷See above, pages 63-64.

⁷⁸Perhaps Agrippa spent the winter of 20/19 B. C. at Nemausus.

⁷⁹É. Espérandieu, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Comptes-Rendus 1919, 332-340. Espérandieu restored the original inscription of one line as follows: M. Agrippa L. F. Cos. III Imp. Tribun. Potest. III

tion on the frieze, known to have been built for the colony by Agrippa.⁸⁰ Two other fragmentary inscriptions⁸¹ testify that two other buildings, besides this beautiful temple, were built in the colony through the generosity of Agrippa. It is sometimes conjectured, with some probability, that the Temple of Diana and the Thermae at Nîmes were presented to the colony by Agrippa.⁸² The Thermae were fed by an aqueduct which was carried on the impressive arches of the Pont du Gard. French antiquarians frequently attribute the construction of the aqueduct and the Pont du Gard to Agrippa.⁸³ Through Agrippa's liberality, the colony of Nemausus could boast of the most splendid buildings in all Cisalpine Gaul.⁸⁴

While Agrippa was engaged in the organization of the Gallic

Col. Aug. Nem. Dat. See also Espérandieu, *Inscriptions Latines de Gaule (Narbonnaise)*, 128, No. 417 (Paris, 1929). The temple was, accordingly, dedicated in 16/15 B. C. It was later re-dedicated to Agrippa's sons, probably after the death of Gaius in 4 A. D., when the original inscription was replaced by another of two lines: C. Caesari Augusti F. Cos. L. Caesari Augusti F. Cos. Designato Principibus Iuventutis (CIL 12.3156; Desjardins, 3.221).

⁸⁰For the Maison Carrée see É. Espérandieu, *La Maison Carrée à Nîmes* (Paris, 1929). Whether Agrippa was patron of the colony, as his son Gaius was later (CIL 12.3155), is not known. The *cella* of the temple now houses the principal archeological museum of Nîmes.

⁸¹CIL 12.3153, 3154. In my judgment the inscriptions are to be restored as follows: (CIL 12.3153) M. Agrippa L. F. Co[s]. III. . . . Dat]; (CIL 12.3154) M. Agrippa L. F. Cos. III. . . . Dat]. Compare the inscription in note 79, above, and CIL 12.3151, 3155. The two inscriptions, cut in monumental letters, are on fragments of architraves.

⁸²Frandsen, 173; Motte, 92; S. Durant, H. Durand, and E. Laval, *Album Archéologique et Description des Monuments Historiques du Gard*, 46 (Nîmes, 1853). CIL 12.3154 was actually found in the ruins of the Thermae. Pliny's words (H. N. 36.189), Agrippa certe in thermis, quas Romae fecit. . . ., indicate that Agrippa built Baths outside of Rome. For the Baths of Agrippa at Antioch see below, page 111.

⁸³Frandsen, 172; H. Quigley, *The Land of the Rhone: Lyons and Provence*, 30 (London, 1927); Dahlman, 75; Gardthausen, 1.752; Matthes, 96; Motte, 92-93; Durant, Durand, and Laval, 46 (see note 82, above); R. Peyre, *Nîmes, Arles, Etc.*, 34-36 (Paris, 1910); É. Espérandieu, *Le Pont du Gard et l'Aqueduc de Nîmes*, 9-11 (Paris, 1926). For the Pont du Gard see also G. B. Brown, *Roman Engineering Works and their Aesthetic Character: The Pont du Gard*, *The Journal of Roman Studies* 22 (1932), 47-54.

⁸⁴Compare Hirschfeld, in CIL 12, page 382. Augustus and Gaius Caesar also erected public monuments in Nemausus (CIL 12.3151, 3155).

provinces and in the adornment of Nemausus, a serious uprising broke out in the northern part of Spain. The campaigns of Statilius Taurus and of Augustus against the Cantabri and the Astures in 26–25 B.C., and several subsequent campaigns had done much to place the stubborn tribes of Northern Spain under Roman control,⁸⁵ but it required the strong hand of Agrippa to complete the pacification of the Cantabri, the last of the Spanish tribes to submit to the yoke of Rome. In the previous wars the numerous captives had been sold into slavery to their more peaceful neighbors. In 19 B.C., acting in concert, these slaves murdered their owners, returned to their mountain fastnesses, and, aided by numerous followers, seized and fortified certain positions and threatened the Roman garrisons. Agrippa experienced great difficulties before he conquered the Cantabri. Lack of good roads and the guerilla warfare of the Spaniards⁸⁶ demoralized his soldiers, not a few of whom had served in many campaigns and were now old. A mutiny broke out, and, even when Agrippa restored discipline, he could make little headway against the desperate tribesmen. Finally, after losing many men, and degrading one of his legions, because of its defeats, by depriving it of its name Augusta,⁸⁷ he succeeded in subduing the enemy. Nearly all of the enemy who were of military age were destroyed; the remainder were disarmed and were forced to descend from their mountain strongholds to the plains.⁸⁸ After 200 years of intermittent fighting

⁸⁵For these Spanish campaigns see Gardthausen, 1.674–688; D. Magie, Augustus' War in Spain (26–25 B. C.), *Classical Philology* 15 (1920), 323–339. ⁸⁶Strabo 3.4.18 speaks of the difficulties of warfare in Cantabria.

⁸⁷Perhaps the Legio I Augusta (compare Ritterling's article *Legio*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 12.1222–1223; Hübner, in *CIL* 2, Supplementum, page LXXXVIII), but not Legio X (Gemina). See Gardthausen, 2.378, note 52.

⁸⁸Dio 54.11.1–5; Horace, *Epistulae* 1.12.26–27 *Cantaber Agrippae . . . virtute . . . cecidit*; Velleius 2.90.1; Strabo 3.3.8, 6.4.2; Suetonius, Augustus 21.1. Florus (2.33.51–52), who is uncritically accepted by Hübner, in his article *Cantabria*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 3.1492, and by Fitzler-Seeck (see above, page 74, note 60), appears to state that Agrippa was with Augustus in Spain in 25 B. C., but Gardthausen has shown (2.374–375) that Florus compressed in one statement three different campaigns, those of C. Antistius Vetus, in 25 B. C., of C. Furnius, in 22 B. C., and of Agrippa, in 19 B. C. (this suggestion had been made by Motte, 245; compare also Arnold, 135, note 1, 157; Holmes, 2.8, note 4).

the backbone of the Spanish opposition was thus finally broken by Agrippa in 19 B.C., and Spain was at last a *provincia pacata*.⁸⁹

Concerning his victory in Spain Agrippa sent no communication to the Senate,⁹⁰ and with his usual self-effacement he declined the honor of the triumph voted to him at the command of Augustus, although as possessor of the *proconsulare imperium* he was legally entitled to a triumph.⁹¹ It is more than a coincidence that the *Fasti Triumphales* end with the record of the triumph of L. Cornelius Balbus in March, 19 B.C. The refusal of Agrippa, son-in-law of Augustus and sharer in the proconsular power, to accept a triumph set an important precedent. The policy of Agrippa in consistently declining the honor of a triumph was a conscious effort on his part to establish the principle of the reservation of the triumph for the *princeps* alone. The influence of his example helped to bring about the disappearance of the figure of the victorious general, and with it the dangers consequent upon the allegiance of the armies to powerful military leaders instead of to the State, one of the prime causes of the numerous civil wars in the last century of the Republic and, in consequence, of the decline of the Republic.⁹² Agrippa was content to perform his notable military services for the State without the formal reward of a triumph. A new military decoration, however, appears to have been bestowed upon him for his victory in Spain,⁹³ a *corona muralis*, which may be seen combined with the *corona navalis* on some representations of him after this time.⁹⁴

Concerning Agrippa's administrative measures in Spain we

⁸⁹Res Gestae 26 Hispanias provincias... [pacavi]. Other disturbances in Spain after 19 B. C. are known (Dio 54.20.3), but they were unimportant.

⁹⁰Compare Mommsen, Staatsrecht, 3.1107. Augustus, on the other hand, kept the Senate in constant touch with his activities in the East in 20 B. C. (Dio 54.8.3, 9.1; compare Abele, 35-36).

⁹¹Dio 54.11.6.

⁹²Agrippa again refused a triumph in 14 B. C. (see below, page 116). After 19 B. C. only to members of the imperial family were ovations or triumphs granted. For the influence of Agrippa's policy see Pais, 318-322; Mommsen, Staatsrecht, 1.135.

⁹³So Frandsen, 214.

⁹⁴The *corona muralis* always appears above the *corona navalis*. For this combination on coins see below, page 100, note 7. For its appearance on gems see below, page 158, note 50. See also page 156, note 45.

know nothing.⁹⁵ In the more civilized parts of Spain there was great rejoicing over the final conquest of the warlike Cantabri. In the province of Lusitania, in the recently established colony Emerita⁹⁶ (modern Mérida) Agrippa left an architectural memento of his visit to Spain, a Roman theater for the veterans.⁹⁷ In return, the veterans expressed their gratitude by erecting a colossal statue in his honor.⁹⁸ In Baetica, Ulia hailed him as its patron,⁹⁹ at Gades (modern Cádiz) numerous coins were issued on which he was called *patronus* and *parens* of the *municipium*.¹⁰⁰ In Tarraconensis, Carthago Nova later chose him honorary *quinquennalis* together with Augustus.¹⁰¹

⁹⁵Gardthausen's reference (1.689) to a census in Spain by Agrippa cannot be supported by any evidence.

⁹⁶See Hübner's article *Emerita*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 5.2493-2496.

⁹⁷It was completed at the same time as the Maison Carrée at Nîmes, in 16/15 B. C., as the monumental inscription which was placed above the entrance arch shows: M. Agrippa L. F. Cos. III Trib. Pot. III (CIL 2.474 = Dessau, ILS 130). Compare Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia 25 (1894), 100-101, 58 (1911), 63; E. S. Bouchier, Spain under the Roman Empire, 135 (Oxford, 1914); I. A. Richmond, The First Years of Emerita Augusta, The Archaeological Journal 87 (1930), 110-111, 115-116.

⁹⁸Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia 23 (1893), 361, 25 (1894), 97-98; Ephemeris Epigraphica 8 (1899), 364. Unfortunately, the head is missing. See the reproduction of the statue given by Richmond, opposite page 107 (see note 97, above). See also CIL 2.472.

⁹⁹CIL 2.1527 M. Agrippae Patrono.

¹⁰⁰Delgado, 2.66-67, Nos. 99-113; Cohen, 1.176, Nos. 8-12. On some of these coins the legend M. Agrippa Cos. III appears. The head of Agrippa is shown sometimes without decorations, sometimes with the *corona rostrata*. On a rare coin (Delgado, 113) Agrippa is shown in the toga, seated on a *sella curulis*. All these coins bear an *acrostolium*. Hence Hübner, in his article *Gades*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 7.457, conjectures that Agrippa converted Gades into a naval station. But compare above, page 60. Perhaps Agrippa settled some of his troops in Gades after the war, in 19 B. C.

¹⁰¹Cohen, 1.177, No. 15; Delgado, 3.70, Nos. 21-22; Vives y Escudero, 31, No. 24, 35, No. 18. These coins, which are perhaps not earlier than 18 B. C., show that Augustus and Agrippa were honorary *quinquennales* at the same time. Each delegated a *praefectus* to perform his official duties; Augustus named L. Bennius, Agrippa named Hiberus. Compare Mommsen, Staatsrecht, 2.814, note 2; J. Neumann, De Quinquennialibus Coloniaram et Municipiorum, 43 (Dissertation, Leipzig, 1892); G. F. Hill, A Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins, 138 (London, 1899). Perhaps later Q. Varus was *praefectus* for Augustus, and Cn. Staius Libo for Agrippa (see the coins in Vives y Escudero, 36, Nos. 21-23). Coins with

The date of Agrippa's return to Rome we do not know, but on June 9, 19 B.C. the Aqua Virgo, built at Agrippa's expense,¹⁰² first began to flow into the city.¹⁰³ The Aqua Virgo,¹⁰⁴ which was highly praised in antiquity and is still in use after 1,950 years,¹⁰⁵ supplied the Baths of Agrippa with water. It is probable that the first of the great Roman Thermae,¹⁰⁶ the model of all the later Thermae, was not completed, or not put into use, until 19 B.C.¹⁰⁷ Agrippa adorned his Baths with many works of art, paintings, and frescoes on tile;¹⁰⁸ in front of them he set up the Apoxyomenus of Lysippus.¹⁰⁹ In close connection with the Thermae Agrippa built a large artificial pool, the *stagnum*, and a water channel, the *euripus*, which ran from the *stagnum*

Agrippa's portrait were also struck in another city in Spain, Caesaraugusta, but after his death (see below, page 137).

¹⁰²I am unable to understand why Abele (41) says that this was done on the authority of a *senatus consultum*.

¹⁰³Frontinus 10; Dio 54.11.7; Pliny, H. N. 31.42. Pliny (36.121) dates the completion of the Aqua Virgo in the aedileship of Agrippa (33 B. C.), but Frontinus, who is a better authority for such matters, assigns the building of the aqueduct to 19 B. C. Pliny probably confused the Aqua Virgo with the Aqua Iulia (see above, page 49), even though he had Agrippa's own Memoirs before him. Compare Lanciani, 121. Schiller (208, note 2) points out that the opening of the aqueduct could have taken place in Agrippa's absence. Frontinus and Pliny (31.42) give two different explanations of the origin of the name of the aqueduct. For another explanation see Cassiodorus, *Variae* 7.6.

¹⁰⁴Platner-Ashby, 28-29; Herschel, 170-172; Lanciani, 120-128.

¹⁰⁵The Acqua Vergine. Compare Lanciani, 128-130.

¹⁰⁶Martial 3.36.5-6, 3.20.15, CIL 6.9797 Thermae Agrippae; Notitia, *Curiosum*: Thermae Agrippianae; *Historia Augusta*, Hadrianus 19, Ammianus Marcellinus 29.6.19 Lavacrum Agrippae; Sidonius Apollinaris, *Carmen* 23.495-496 *balnea... quae Agrippa dedit*; Dio 66.24.2. For the Thermae Agrippae see Platner-Ashby, 518-520; Ch. Hülsen, *Die Thermen des Agrippa* (Rome, 1910); Hülsen's article *Agrippianae thermae*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 1.899, Supplementband 1.32; Jordan-Hülsen, 1.576-579. A fragment of the *Forma Urbis Romae* found in 1900 (*Notizie degli Scavi* 1900, 633-634; CIL 6.36620) shows the general arrangement.

¹⁰⁷See above, page 75, note 63.

¹⁰⁸Pliny, H. N. 35.26, 36.189.

¹⁰⁹Pliny, H. N. 34.62. A part of the frieze of the Thermae, decorated with dolphins, cockle-shells, and tridents, reminiscent of Agrippa's naval victories, has been found (Gardthausen, 1.751, 755). So also a large block of marble from the Baths has been found, with the inscription AGRIPPA (*Notizie degli Scavi* 1881, 281; Gardthausen, 1.755, 2.423, note 17).

to the Tiber.¹¹⁰ About the *stagnum* were laid out the Horti Agrippae, with many art treasures, among them the famous Dying Lion of Lysippus, which Agrippa later brought from Lampsacus.¹¹¹ The Thermae, the *stagnum, euripus*, and gardens, together with the Pantheon, the Saepta Iulia, and the Porticus Argonautarum, encompassing a large area in the Campus Martius,¹¹² formed a great architectural unit, the *Monumenta Agrippae*.¹¹³

To connect his buildings in the Campus Martius with the other side of the Tiber Agrippa built a new bridge over the river, four of whose piers have been discovered 160 metres above the Ponte Sisto.¹¹⁴ According to some ancient sources, he also altered the course of the Tiber.¹¹⁵ It is known, too, that there

¹¹⁰Tacitus, *Annales* 15.37.3; Ovid, *Ex Ponto* 1.8.38; Seneca, *Epistulae* 83.5; Frontinus 84; Strabo 13.1.19.

¹¹¹Dio 54.29.4; Ovid, *Ex Ponto* 1.8.37; Strabo 13.1.19.

¹¹²Compare Jordan-Hülse, 1³.497: "Die grosse Regulierung des Marsfeldes, durch welche demselben seine Gestaltung für die ganze Folgezeit gegeben wurde, ist das Werk des Augustus und des Agrippa, die beide wohl vornehmlich Caesars Gedanken und Pläne ausführten".

¹¹³Tacitus, *Annales* 15.39.2. Two of Agrippa's slaves, who were assigned to the care of Agrippa's public works, are mentioned in CIL 6.5731 = Dessau, ILS 7888b, Zoticus M. Agrippae ex monumentis M. Agrippae], and CIL 6.8871 Astracalus Agri(ppae) lapidar(ius). L. Homo, *Lexique de Topographie Romaine*, 435, 551 (Paris, 1900), and Platner-Ashby, 86, conjecture that the Porticus and Templum Boni Eventus were built by Agrippa. For the chronology of Agrippa's buildings in Rome see F. W. Shipley, *Chronology of the Building Operations in Rome from the Death of Caesar to the Death of Augustus*, *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 9 (1931), 47-54. Agrippa's private property extended probably close to the Tiber, as a terminal *cippus* found in 1885 shows (CIL 6.29781): M. Agrippa Privat(um) Iter. Compare Jordan-Hülse, 1³.522.

¹¹⁴CIL 6.31545, 12-14 (a *cippus* set up under Claudius, found in 1887) . . . ripam cippis pos[it]is terminaverunt a Tr[ig]lar[io] ad pontem Agrippae]. Compare Platner-Ashby, 398; Hülse's article *Agrippae pons*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 1.898; *Dizionario Epigrafico*, 1.369-370.

¹¹⁵Porphyrion, on Horace, *Ars Poetica* 67-68 Tiberim intellegamus. Hunc enim Agrippa derivavit, qua nunc vadit; antea per Velabrum fluebat. Similar statements are made by the commentator of Cruquius, and by Acron, who attributes the work to Augustus. Motte (203) objects to the statement of the scholiasts, but not on good grounds. Agrippa was one of the heirs of Julius Caesar's plans for the reconstruction of Rome. It is quite possible that he carried out Caesar's intention to alter the course of the Tiber (Plutarch, *Caesar* 58.4).

were in the Eighth Region Horrea Agrippiana, between the Vicus Tuscus and the Clivus Victoriae.¹¹⁶

Not only Rome and provincial cities, but also towns in Italy enjoyed the benefit of public monuments through Agrippa's generosity. Septempeda¹¹⁷ and Brixia¹¹⁸ may have been among the towns which he adorned with public buildings.

¹¹⁶Curiosum; Notitia; CIL 6.9972 C. Iulius Lucifer vestiarius de Horreis Agrippianis; CIL 6.10026; Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma 42 (1915), 29-33 ... Salut. Genium Horreor(um) [A]grippianorum...; Römische Mitteilungen 40 (1925), 213-214. Compare Platner-Ashby, 260; Hülsen's article *Agrippiana horrea*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 1.899. The Horrea Agrippiana are probably to be distinguished from the Horrea Agrippiniana (CIL 14.3958).

¹¹⁷CIL 9.5576 (badly mutilated) ... de sua pe[c]. M. [A]grippae et suo... bas[il]licam fa[ci]un[dam] operi praef.

¹¹⁸CIL 5.4315. This inscription perhaps records a restoration by Hadrian in 118 A. D. of a building erected by Agrippa. Is it possible that the Balneus Agrippae, mentioned in a Pompeian wall inscription (see *Notizie degli Scavi* 1887, 39, No. 27; CIL 4.3878), has some connection with M. Agrippa?

CHAPTER IX

CO-REGENT

The expiration of Augustus's extraordinary powers in 18 B.C. marks the beginning of a new principle in the organization of the principate, that is the establishment of the co-regency, and an important new step in the career of Agrippa. Augustus's onerous administrative responsibilities had been shared by Agrippa, with unswerving fidelity, as consul in 28-27 B.C., and thereafter unofficially, down to 23 B.C. In the latter year Augustus secured for him the *proconsulare imperium* for five years over all the imperial provinces. The marriage of Agrippa to Augustus's only child in 21 B. C. and the birth of Gaius in the following year identified Agrippa's future with the future of the house of Caesar. Agrippa was not only the son-in-law of Augustus, but the father of his only male lineal descendant, the hope of his renewed dynastic ambitions.

Continued disturbances in Rome in the absence of a strong hand,¹ frequent plots against his life,² innumerable duties and problems, administrative and military, convinced Augustus of the wisdom of sharing his position and his work officially with his trusted collaborator and at the same time of providing machinery for the continuance of the principate in the event of his death. In the middle of 18 B.C., when Augustus's own powers were renewed,³ the Senate, on the motion of the *princeps*, voted to prolong the *proconsulare imperium* of Agrippa for

¹Dio 54.10.1-2. Compare Holmes, 2.147-149.

²Pliny, H. N. 7.149; Dio 54.12.3, 15; Velleius 2.91.2-4.

³Mommsen (Staatsrecht, 2.799, note 2) conjectures that Agrippa's powers were renewed at the same time that Augustus received a new grant of powers, about July 1. K. Schrader, *Jahrbücher für Classische Philologie* 53 (1889), 218, notes, citing the *Fasti Capitolini* (CIL 1, page 441 = 1², page 28), *M. Agrippa L. F. tribunici. potest. VII in hoc honore mort. e.*, argues that, since Agrippa died in March, 12 B. C., the first grant of tribunician power to him took place before March, 18 B. C. Schrader did not observe that the passage in the *Fasti* is a restoration, an incorrect one, moreover. That Agrippa did not complete the sixth year of his tribunician power is now proved by the inscription on the gateway of the *agora* at Ephesus, completed long after Agrippa's death (see below, page 135, note 51). See also above, pages 83-84, note 42.

another five years and granted to him the *tribunicia potestas* for the same length of time.⁴

The grant of the *tribunicia potestas*^{4a} to Agrippa in 18 B.C. converted his position into an official co-regency.⁵ Previously his portrait had appeared only on provincial coinages; now, as co-regent, by virtue of his proconsular-tribunician power, he was privileged to issue his own coins at Rome and in the provinces. With his usual self-abnegation he made no use of this prerogative.⁶ Even on the coins struck by the Senate during the co-

⁴Dio 54.12.4-5 . . . τῷ Ἀγρίππῳ ἄλλα τε ἐξ ἴσου πῆ ἐαυτῷ <i.e. proconsular power> καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν δημαρχικὴν ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἔδωκε. τσαυτὰ γὰρ σφίσις ἔτη τότε ἐπαρκέσειν ἔφη; Tacitus, *Annales* 3.56.3 Marcum deinde Agrippam socium eius potestatis <tribuniciae>, quo defuncto, Tiberium Neronem delegit, ne successor in incerto foret; Velleius 2.90.1 . . . Agrippae, quem usque in tertium consulatum et mox collegium tribuniciae potestatis amicitia principis evexerat. . . ; Res Gestae 6 (Monumentum Antiochenum) . . . trib[un]ic[i]a[m] [p]otestatem. . . cuius potes[t]atis conlegam et [f]is[e] ultro [quin]quens mihi a sena[tu] [de]l[ep]osoci et accepi; Suetonius, *Augustus* 27.5 (compare Mommsen, *Res Gestae*, 30-31).

^{4a}CIL 3.494, 6.32323.53, 9.3150, 3913; IG 12.5.740; inscriptions from Corinth and Susa (see below, pages 107, note 10, 164, note 91). The third year of Agrippa's tribunician power is mentioned on the inscriptions from Nemausus and Emerita (see above, pages 90, note 79, 94, note 97). Coins struck by Scato, proconsul of Cyrene sometime between 18 and 12 B. C., show, on the obverse, heads of Augustus and Agrippa face to face with the legend Caesar Tr. Pot. Agrippa. The words *Tr. Pot.* refer undoubtedly to Agrippa as well as to Augustus. See E. S. G. Robinson, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Cyrenaica* <in the British Museum>, ccxiv, 119, Nos. 36-39 (London, 1927). For Daniel-Servius's expression, *tribunus plebi quietissimus*, used of Agrippa, see above, page 21, note 2.

⁵Tacitus, *Historiae* 1.15 . . . exemplo divi Augusti, qui. . . generum Agrippam. . . in proximo sibi fastigio conlocavit (but see Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, 2.1147, note 1). The tribunician power is the essential basis of the co-regency. The proconsular power which Agrippa had held since 23 B. C. can be considered only a preliminary step to the co-regency. For the co-regency in general and for Agrippa's co-regency in particular see Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, 2.1145-1167; Kornemann, *Doppelprinzipat*, 14-18, 179, 188. Kornemann (16-17) accepts Mommsen's view that the suppression of Agrippa's *nomen* is to be explained by his position as co-regent, but I have shown that, as early as 38 B. C. (see above, page 7), Agrippa had ceased to use his *nomen* officially. Kornemann's thesis that Augustus had in mind a "Vieraugensystem" throughout his reign also seems to me to be open to question. See also the reviews of Kornemann's book, *Doppelprinzipat*, by A. Stein, *Philologische Wochenschrift* 51 (1931), 1080-1090, and by G. Corradi, *Bollettino di Filologia Classica* 37 (1931), 252-256.

⁶Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, 2.830, note 3; Gardthausen, 1.741.

regency of Augustus and Agrippa the latter's portrait never appears alone; it is always associated with that of Augustus.⁷ The establishment of the co-regency did not alter the essential theory of the principate. After 18 B.C. the *proconsulare imperium* and the *tribunicia potestas* were shared by two individuals, but there was still only one *princeps*⁸ (in the strict sense of the word as Augustus desired it to be understood), who

⁷Silver denarii struck by the *IIIVir Monetalis* C. Marius show, on the reverse, Augustus and Agrippa standing, dressed in togas, each holding a *volumen* in the left hand; there is a *capsa* or a small altar at the feet of each. Agrippa wears the combined rostral and mural crown. See Mattingly, 1.21, No. 103, 22, No. 107; Mattingly-Sydenham, 76, Nos. 163-164; Grueber, 2.95, Nos. 4646-4647; Cohen, 1.128, Nos. 457-458. Agrippa appears on the reverse of denarii struck by the *IIIVir Monetalis* C. Sulpicius Platorinus. In Type I of these coins we see Augustus and Agrippa bare-headed, seated side by side on a *bisellium* (tribune bench. See Kübler's article *Sella curulis*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Zweite Reihe*, 2.1314), which is placed on a platform ornamented with three *rostra*. See Mattingly, 1.23-24, Nos. 115-117; Mattingly-Sydenham, 76, No. 168; Grueber, 2.97, Nos. 4657-4659; Cohen, 1.141, No. 529; Babelon, 2.79, No. 236, 557, No. 5. In Type II we find a head of Agrippa without decorations, with the legend M. Agrippa, Platorinus *IIIVir*. See Mattingly, 1.23, Nos. 112-114; Grueber, 2.97, Nos. 4654-4656; Mattingly-Sydenham, 77, No. 169; Babelon, 2.558, No. 7. On the reverse of denarii, struck probably in 12 B. C. (see below, page 131, note 38) by the *IIIVir Monetalis* Cossus Cornelius Lentulus, Agrippa is shown wearing the combined rostral and mural crown; the coins bear the legend M. Agrippa Cos. Ter, Cossus Lentulus. See Mattingly, 1.25, No. 121; Mattingly-Sydenham, 77, No. 172; Grueber, 2.101, No. 4671; Babelon, 2.79, No. 235, 557, No. 4. These coins of Cossus Lentulus were reissued by Trajan (Babelon, 2.576, No. 18; Cohen, 1.178, No. 6). Gold coins with Agrippa's portrait, very rare, struck at Rome only by Platorinus, show, on the reverse, Agrippa with the combined rostral and mural crown, with the legend M. Agrippa, Platorinus *IIIVir*. See Mattingly, 1.23, Nos. 110-111; Grueber, 2.96, No. 4653; Mattingly-Sydenham, 77, No. 170; Babelon, 2.558, No. 6. It is important to note that on none of these coins does Agrippa's portrait appear on the obverse (Cohen, 1.177-178, Nos. 1-3, 6, confused obverse and reverse). Not until after his death does his portrait appear on the obverse of coins minted at Rome (see below, page 131). None of the coins described above antedates 18 B. C., when Agrippa became co-regent; if we follow Mattingly's new chronology (I.xcvii) of the *IIIViri Monetales*, none of them was issued before 13 B. C.

⁸Bormann's suggestion that the *duo principes* mentioned in CIL 11.6058 are Augustus and Agrippa is rejected on chronological grounds by E. Groag, *Klio* 14 (1915), 55, 56, note 2. Moreover, the reading is not beyond question (Prosopographia, 1.451, No. 1122, 2.345, No. 220).

maintained his preeminence in the State by virtue of his *auctoritas*.⁹

The question of the succession to the principate, which had been the cause of misunderstanding between Augustus and Agrippa in 23 B.C., was thus temporarily settled by the elevation of Agrippa to the co-regency. Although it is unquestionably true that Augustus made no formal designation of Agrippa as successor, and that after the adoption of Agrippa's two sons, Gaius and Lucius, in 17 B.C., Augustus hoped and planned for

⁹This principle of the principate is summed up by Augustus, *Res Gestae* 34 (Monumentum Antiochenum, Herausgegeben von W. M. Ramsay und A. von Premerstein, *Klio*, Beiheft 19 [1927], 96-97) *Post id tem[pus] auctoritate [omnibus praestiti; potest]atis au[tem] n[on]hilu[m] ampliu[s] habu[i] quam ce[ter]i qui m[er]iti quo[que] in ma[gis]tra[t]u conlegae f[uerunt]*. Kornemann, *Mausoleum*, 42-43, *Festschrift*, 230-231, 233-234, citing as authority Mommsen's view of the unequal collegiality of the *princeps* and the co-regent (*Staatsrecht*, 2.1161, 1163-1164), argues that this statement of Augustus cannot be referred to the powers of Augustus's co-regents, Agrippa and Tiberius. This view is seriously open to question. U. Wilcken, *Zur Genesis der Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse* 1932, 241-245, criticizing the stand of Mommsen and Kornemann, remarks (245) that "...Kaiser Augustus und Theodor Mommsen verschiedene Ansichten über die *potestas* der Mitregenten, ja darüber hinaus über das tiefste Wesen des Prinzipats gehabt haben". Wilcken's interpretation of *quoque* by 'each' is unquestionably correct. Hardy (161), too, sees no objection to applying this statement of Augustus to the *tribunicia potestas*. No one will hesitate to accept the view that *de facto* the positions of Augustus and his co-regent were unequal. But ought one to speak, as Mommsen does (*Staatsrecht*, 2.1153, 1155-1166; compare Kornemann, *Doppelprinzipat*, 14; Schulz, 83) of 'secondary *tribunicia potestas*' and 'secondary *proconsulare imperium*' (if that *imperium* was, in fact, *maius*, and extended over all the provinces of the Empire)? Or is it more in accord with the truth (as we know it from Augustus's own statement) to say that constitutionally the *tribunicia potestas* and the *proconsulare imperium maius* of the co-regents of Augustus were in no way inferior to those powers as held by the *princeps*, and that the inferiority of the co-regents lay in their secondary *auctoritas*? Conflict between the equal powers of the *princeps* and the co-regents could be avoided by a private understanding between Augustus and his trusted co-regents. Compare Herzog, 159-160. See also Mommsen, 2.880, note 5, 1146; C. E. Van Sickle, *The Coregency and the Succession in the Early Roman Empire*, *The University of Chicago, Abstracts of Theses, Humanistic Series* 6 (1927-1928), 235-239. For the significance of *auctoritas* see R. Heinze's excellent article *Auctoritas*, *Hermes* 60 (1925), 348-366.

the ultimate succession of his two grandsons, the contention of Mommsen,¹⁰ that Agrippa was only co-regent, but not presumptive successor (because he had not been adopted by the *princeps*), and that Augustus's aim was to secure the succession of Gaius and Lucius immediately after his death, with Agrippa as their guardian, if he should survive Augustus, cannot be substantiated by any evidence.¹¹ What would have happened if Agrippa had survived Augustus we can only conjecture. It mattered little to Augustus if his son-in-law and friend Agrippa succeeded him; ultimately the Julian line, represented by Agrippa's sons Gaius and Lucius, would inherit the principate. In my judgment, it is reasonable to conclude that in the event of the death of Augustus while Gaius and Lucius were still in their minority, Agrippa, as holder of the proconsular-tribunician power, would have taken over the control of the government.¹²

Raised to a position of comparative independence¹³ by the grant of powers almost equal to those of Augustus, Agrippa was honored from this time all over the Roman world as the colleague of the *princeps*. Numerous cities and towns, in Italy,¹⁴

¹⁰Staatsrecht, 2.1147, note 2, 1164. Mommsen's view is cited with approval by Kornemann, Doppelprinzipat, 13-14.

¹¹It is true that Dio (54.18.1) calls Gaius and Lucius at the time of their adoption in 17 B. C. *διαδόχους τῆς ἀρχῆς*, but this does not exclude Agrippa from succeeding to the principate before they should.

¹²So also Frandsen, 53; Marsh, 236, 257; Shuckburgh, 279.

¹³Dio 54.12.2 ὁ δὲ Ἀγρίππας ἐς τὴν αὐταρχίαν τρέπον τινα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προήχθη.

¹⁴Most of the honorary inscriptions set up in Italy during the lifetime of Agrippa are to be dated, probably, between 18 B. C. and 12 B. C.: CIL 9.2200 (Telesia) [M. Agrippae L. F. . . .] Imp. is. . . .; 9.4779 (Forum Novum) M. Agrippae L. F. Cos. Ter[t.]; 14.82 (Ostia) [M. Agrippae Cos. . . .]; 9.3913 (Alba Fucens) M. Agrippae Trib. Po[est.] co. . . .; 9.262 (Gnathia) [M.] Agrippae L. F.] Imp. X[Vviro] Sacr. Fa[ciund.] Patro[no] P[ubl]ic[e]; 9.4677 = Dessau, ILS 6543 (Reate) [M. Agrippae L. F. Cos. Tert. P[ra]efectur. Reatin. Patrono; 10.4616 (Cubulteria) M. Agrippae Patrono ex D. D.; 10.4831 (Rufrae) M. Agrippae L. F. Patrono Rufrani vicani quorum aedificia sunt; 14.2230 (Mons Albanus) [M. Agrippae C]os. Ter[.] Trib. Potesta[te] VI[.] Patrono; 11.6814 (Claternae) [Agrippae Plat[rono]; Ephemeric Epigraphica 8 (1899), 148, No. 592 (Casinum) M. Agrippa. . . .] Cos. . . . See also an inscription from Carales in Sardinia (CIL 10.7559) M. Agrippa L. F. Co[s.] III; a bronze plaque of unknown origin (IG 14.2419¹) M. Ἀγρίππας ὁ βασιλεὺς ῥήτορας. At Agrigentum in Sicily coins were issued which bore a portrait of Augustus on

Spain,¹⁶ Greece,¹⁶ and throughout the East¹⁷ dedicated statues to him, selected him as patron, and bestowed honorary offices upon him. But Agrippa had also to face the dangers of his new position. Many plots were organized against Augustus and his colleague Agrippa, both at the time of the purgation of the Senate in 18 B.C.,¹⁸ and later.¹⁹ This *lectio senatus* was only a preliminary to the elaborate social legislation introduced by Augustus, in the evolution of which Agrippa undoubtedly played a major part.²⁰

Another child, a daughter, whom they named Julia, had been born to Julia and Agrippa in 19 B.C., or early in 18 B.C.²¹ In 17 B.C. a second son, Lucius,²² was born. Shortly afterward, Augustus adopted both Gaius and Lucius, employing the very formal ceremony *per aes et libram*.²³ A short time before the adoption the incident described above occurred²⁴—the remark made by the *rhetor* Latro which was interpreted by the bystanders as a slur on Agrippa's humble extraction.²⁵ The old patrician families did not look with favor upon the plebeian who had been elevated to patrician rank and to the second highest position in the State. When he died in 12 B.C., they

the obverse and, perhaps, a portrait of Agrippa on the reverse. See R. S. Poole, Catalogue of Greek Coins <in the British Museum>: Sicily, 23, No. 165 (London, 1876).

¹⁶See above, page 94. The office of honorary *quinquennalis* of Nova Carthago he held as co-regent in common with Augustus (see above, page 94, note 101). Compare also Kornemann, Doppelprinzipat, 16, note 4.

¹⁷See below, pages 107-108.

¹⁸See below, pages 116-117, 123, 135, note 51, 152, note 14.

¹⁹Dio 54.12-14. Undoubtedly Agrippa assisted in this *lectio senatus*. That he did so in an official capacity is not likely, for he did not at this time possess *consulare imperium* or *ensoris potestas*. See above, pages 68-69, note 35. ²⁰Dio 54.15.1 (= Zonaras 10.35).

²¹For the social legislation of Augustus see Holmes, 2.41-46; Fitzler-Seeck, 353-354.

²²Suetonius 64.1; IG 12.8.381. The date of Julia's birth is not certain. See Mommsen, Ephemeris Epigraphica 1 (1872), 57-58, Hermes 13 (1878), 246; Fitzler's article *Iulia*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 10.906.

²³He was named probably after Agrippa's father (see above, page 10).

²⁴Dio 54.18.1 (= Zonaras 10.35); Suetonius, Augustus 64.1; Velleius 2.96.1; Tacitus, Annales 1.3.2; Eusebius, and Jerome, Year of Abraham 2001. Compare Dessau, 1.456-457. ²⁵Page 6.

²⁶Seneca, Controversiae 2.4.13 *Iam iste ex imo per adoptionem nobilitati inseritur.*

attended with great reluctance the festivals instituted in his honor.²⁶ The adoption by Augustus of Agrippa's children was undoubtedly unwelcome to the noble families.

As the climax of his social and religious revival²⁷ Augustus planned to signalize the new Golden Age of peace and well-being by the celebration, for the fifth time in the history of the Roman people, of the *Ludi Saeculares*. After the chronology had been arranged to reconcile the year 17 with the tradition, in February of that year the Senate decreed the celebration of the festival and the *Quindecimvirate* College entrusted the direction of the celebration to its two outstanding members, Augustus and Agrippa, the sharers of the tribunician power.²⁸ Various preliminary decrees, preparatory measures, and purificatory ceremonies²⁹ preceded the actual celebration, which began on the first night of June. In the light of a full moon,³⁰ on a spot in the *Campus Martius* called *Tarentum*, Augustus sacrificed nine lambs and nine kids to the *Moirae*, praying for their blessing. Then *ludi scaenici* were given, and 110 matrons arranged *sellisternia* for Juno and Diana.³¹ On the two subsequent nights in the same manner Augustus sacrificed thrice nine cakes to *Ilithyia* and then a pregnant sow to *Terra Mater*.³² On the day

²⁶See below, page 131.

²⁷Nilsson's article *Saeculares ludi*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Zweite Reihe*, 1.1717: "Die Säkularfeier ist ein Meisterstück der Religionspolitik des Augustus".

²⁸CIL 6.877 = 32324; CIL 6.32323.52-53; *Res Gestae* 22 [pr]o conlegio XVvirorum magis[ter con]legii collega M. Agrippa lud[os] saeculares C. Furnio C. Silano Cos. [feci]; *Censorinus*, *De Die Natali* 17.11 *Quintos ludos C. Furnio C. Iunio Silano Coss. anno DCCXXXVII Caesar Augustus et Agrippa fecerunt*; *Dio* 54.18.2; *Suetonius*, *Augustus* 31.4. When Agrippa became a *quindecimvir* (*Dio* 54.19.8; CIL 6.32323.44, 107, 132, 150; CIL 9.262, for which see note 14, above) we do not know; perhaps this happened as early as 29 B. C. (see above, page 62). A. v. Domaszewski, *Österreichisches Jahreshft* 6 (1903), 60, note 20, thinks that Agrippa after 18 B. C. was a member of the same priestly colleges to which Augustus belonged (*Res Gestae* 7). But see above, page 62, note 56. Agrippa was not, however, one of the *magistri* of the *Quindecimvirate* College, as was Augustus (compare CIL 1^a, page 29). The direction of the games by Augustus and Agrippa was authorized not by the Senate, as Hardy (104) and Holmes (2.50) maintain, but by the *quindecimviri*. See Mommsen, *Res Gestae*, 92-93; Kornemann, *Festschrift*, 229.

²⁹CIL 6.32323.1-89. ³⁰H. Dessau, *Klio* 10 (1910), 360-362.

³¹CIL 6.32323.90-102. ³²*Ibidem*, 115-118, 134-138.

of June 1 Augustus and Agrippa each sacrificed on the Capitol a white bull to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, praying for his blessing on the Roman people, and afterwards there were *ludi* and *sellisternia*.³³ On the following day Augustus and Agrippa each sacrificed a white cow on the Capitol to Juno Regina, and prayed for her blessing.³⁴ Then in the absence of Augustus³⁵ Agrippa officiated at the prayers of the matrons to Juno.³⁶ On June 3, the final day of the formal ceremonies, Augustus and Agrippa offered thrice nine cakes to Apollo and Diana on the Palatine, and offered a prayer for their blessing. Then 27 boys and 27 girls, both of whose parents were alive, sang on the Palatine and then on the Capitol in responsive measures the hymn which Horace had composed at the imperial order for the occasion.³⁷ Thus ended the religious celebration; but the festivities of all sorts continued for many days after. On June 12 Agrippa gave chariot races.³⁸

³³*Ibidem*, 103–110. ³⁴*Ibidem*, 119–122.

³⁵Dessau, ILS 5050, note 31. ³⁶CIL 6.32323.123–124.

³⁷*Ibidem*, 139–149; compare also Zosimus 2.5 for the whole celebration. There are numerous discussions of the *Ludi Saeculares* of 17 B. C.: see e. g. G. Wissowa, *Die Saecularfeier des Augustus, Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Römischen Religions- und Stadtgeschichte*, 192–210 (Munich, 1904); Mommsen, *Ephemeris Epigraphica* 8 (1899), 225–274; Nilsson's article *Saeculares ludi*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Zweite Reihe*, 1.1712–1717; Gardthausen, 1.1002–1017, 2.617–630; W. Warde Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People*, 438–447 (London, 1911), *Roman Essays and Interpretations*, 111–126 (Oxford, 1920); W. Vollbrecht, *Das Säkularfest des Augustus, Gymnasial-Bibliothek, Heft 33* (Gütersloh, 1900). O. Baziner's book, *Ludi Saeculares* (Warsaw, 1901), is in Russian. For an echo of the *Ludi Saeculares* at Athens see P. Graindor, *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 1 (1922), 440–443.

³⁸CIL 6.32323.165 M. Agrippa quadrigas [misit . . .]. Agrippa appears to have maintained a racing stable; in CIL 6.10046 several of his freedmen, M. Vipsanius Migio (or Mugio), M. Vipsanius Calarnus, M. Vipsanius Dareus, M. Vipsanius Faustus, are mentioned as charioteers. CIL 6.3051*, 3052*, which mention nine M. Vipsanii, with freedman *cognomina*, connected with the chariot races, have been condemned as forgeries of Ligorio. Compare Gardthausen, 1.745; Dessau, ILS 5313, note 6. In CIL 6.10094 = Dessau, ILS 5269 there is mention of a freedman, M. Vipsanius Narcissus, *rogator ab scaena*, who may have been one of the men maintained by Agrippa in connection with *ludi scaenici*.

CHAPTER X

REGENT OF THE ORIENT

Shortly after the celebration of the *Ludi Saeculares*, Agrippa, accompanied by his wife and his children,¹ departed again for the East, before the end of 17 B.C., or early in 16 B.C.² He possessed now *maius imperium* over the governors of all the provinces east of the Ionian Sea.³ In September, 16 B.C. the college of *quindecimviri* arranged the celebration of the *ludi pro valetudine Caesaris*,⁴ the costs were defrayed by Agrippa, but in his absence his fellow-priests presided at the games.⁵

In the latter half of 15 B.C. Agrippa and his retinue arrived in Syria. As soon as news of Agrippa's presence near Judea reached Herod, he hastened to pay his respects to his friend, who was now co-regent of the Empire.⁶ Our ancient authorities are silent concerning the whereabouts of Agrippa between the time he left Rome and the time of his arrival in Syria, but numerous inscriptions enable us to trace his itinerary as he made his way leisurely across Greece into Asia Minor. At

¹See below, pages 116-117, 123.

²Agrippa was no longer in Rome when Augustus left for Gaul, shortly after the dedication of the Temple of Quirinus, which took place, probably, on June 29, 16 B. C. (compare Mommsen, *CIL* 1², page 310; J. G. Frazer, *Publii Ovidii Nasonis Fastorum Libri Sex*, 4.343-344 [London, 1929]), for Dio tells us (54.19.6) that at that time Augustus left Rome . . . τὸ μὲν ἄστυ τῷ Ταύρω μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης Ἰταλίας διακεῖν ἐπιτρέψας (τόν τε γὰρ Ἀγρίππαν ἐς τὴν Συρίαν αὐθις ἐστάλκει. . .). For this reason the celebration on September 2, 16 B. C. of the *ludi pro valetudine Caesaris*, at the expense of Agrippa, was supervised not by Agrippa in person, but by his fellow-*quindecimviri* (Dio 54.19.8 τὴν πενταετηρίδα τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ διεώρτασαν, τοῦ Ἀγρίππου. . . διὰ τῶν συνιερέων ἀναλώσαντος). Motte (249-250) and Schürer (1.320, note 24) rightly reject the view of those who maintain that Agrippa presided at the *ludi* and did not leave for the East until after September 2, 16 B. C. (for this view see e. g. Matthes, 73; Frandsen, 84-85; Gardthausen, 2.485-486, note 2; Voigt, 131-132, 134). Fitzler, too (in his article *Iulia*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 10.898), favors the end of 16 B. C. as the date of Agrippa's departure; but elsewhere (Fitzler-Seeck, 356) he puts this event in 17 B. C. Korach (93) is in favor of the end of 17 B. C. as the date, but there is no reason for excluding early 16 B. C. Nor is there any reason for excluding the end of 17 B. C. (as Zumpt, 81, does).

³See below, page 170. ⁴See above, page 71, note 43.

⁵See note 2, above. ⁶See below, page 112.

Corcyra,⁷ Taenarum,⁸ Gythium,⁹ Corinth¹⁰ (where one of the tribes of the newly organized city had been named after him¹¹), Oropus,¹² Delos¹³ statues were erected in his honor.¹⁴ At Sparta C. Julius Eurykles struck coins with his portrait,¹⁵ and a newly organized honorary college, the Agrippiastae, set up a statue to its patron.¹⁶

We know from Pliny¹⁷ that Agrippa suffered from some acute

⁷CIG 1878 Ὁ δᾶμος ὁ τῶν Κορκυραίων Μάρκον Ἀγρίππαν αὐτοκράτορα, τὸν αὐτοῦ πᾶτρ[ω]να καὶ σωτήρα, θεοῖς.

⁸CIL 3.491 = IG 5.1, page 229 (this inscription was found in the shrine of Neptune; it may belong to a statue of Agrippa or to one of his son, Agrippa Postumus) [M. Agr]ippae [L.?] F.

⁹IG 5.1.1166 Μάρκον Ἀγρίππαν . . . τὸν αὐτᾶς ἐνεργέ[ταν] ἃ πόλις.

¹⁰American Journal of Archaeology 23 (1919), 167 = A. B. West, Corinth: Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School at Athens, 8, Part 2, 14-15, No. 16 (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1931) M. Agrippae Cos. Tert. Trib. Potest. D. D. Tribus Vinicia Patrōno. This was probably one of a series of statues erected, by decree of the decurions, by each of the tribes to Agrippa as patron of the colony.

¹¹American Journal of Archaeology 22 (1918), 196, 26 (1922), 457 = West, 90, No. 110 (see note 10, above) Tribus Agrippia.

¹²Ephemeris Archaeologikē 1886, 57-59 = IG 7.349 (in the Amphiarcon) Ὁ δῆμος Μάρκον Ἀγρίππαν Δευκίου ὄν τρις ἕκατον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἐνεργέτην. Compare Graindor, 49-50.

¹³Rheinisches Museum 22 (1867), 292 = Th. Homolle, Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique 8 (1884), 155 . . . [Ὁ δῆμος] . . . Ἀγρίππ[α]ν . . . τρις [ἕκατον τ]ὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἐνεργέτην. Another inscription from Delos, published by Homolle (*ibidem*), from the base of a statue of Agrippa Postumus, is incorrectly assigned to Agrippa by V. von Schoeffer, De Deli Insulae Rebus, Berliner Studien 9 (1889), 221, and by F. Dürbach, Choix d'Inscriptions de Délos, 1.261-262, No. 173 (Paris, 1922). For inscriptions set up at this time in honor of Julia, as the wife of Agrippa, at Delos, Andros, and other places in the East, see notes 64-72, below.

¹⁴That Agrippa was honored at Megara is not certain, for in the inscription from Megara (IG 7.64-65) Agrippa's name is wholly restored.

¹⁵Athenische Mitteilungen 6 (1881), 14, No. 2; Imhoof-Blumer, 172, No. 87. The obverse of these coins shows a head of Agrippa with the inscription ΑΓΡ.

¹⁶CIL 3.494 = IG 5.1.374 [M. Agrippa]m Cos. Tert. [Tribuni]e. Potest. . . . [A]grippiastae [et prince]ps C. Iu[li]us [Dexi]machus Prtolai[F.]; [Μάρκον Ἀγρίππαν ἕκατον τὸ γ' δημο]αρχικῆς ἐξου[σίας] . . . Ἀγρίππιασταί [καὶ πρέσβυς Γά]ιος Ἰούλιος [Δε]ξιμαχος Πρα[τολάου]. C. Iulius Deximachus, the *magister* of the Agrippiastae, was probably a member of the family of Eurykles. Compare Groag, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 10.578; E. Kjellberg, C. Iulius Eurykles, *Klio* 17 (1921), 49.

¹⁷H. N. 7.45, 23.58.

foot-ailment (gout?) in the last years of his life and that the pain was so intense that, without the knowledge of Augustus, Agrippa resorted to foot baths in hot vinegar, a dangerous method of relieving the pain, because through its use he ran the risk of losing all sensation in his legs. It is probably in this connection that Agrippa visited the shrine of Asclepius at Epidaurus and in gratitude for some benefit set up a monument to the god.¹⁸

His visit to Athens was commemorated by a huge honorary monument, in front of the Propylaea on the Acropolis, a statue of Agrippa represented in a chariot drawn by four horses.¹⁹ The benefactions of Agrippa to the city of Athens we do not know in detail.²⁰ In the Ceramicus, the Agrippaeion, a covered theatre for recitations, was built by him or was named after him.²¹

Before crossing over into Asia Minor Agrippa perhaps visited

¹⁸Ephemeris Archaeologiké 1885, 84-85 = IG 4.1363 Ἀγρίππας τῷ θεῷ τῶν Ἀσκληπιῶν εὐχαριστῶν. On the upper surface of the base there remain the outlines of the feet of two figures, and, near one pair of feet, a small animal.

¹⁹Only the colossal base remains, with the following inscription (IG 3.575): [Ὁ δῆ]μος Μ[άρκων] Ἀγρίππ[α] Δε[υκίου] υἱὸν τριῖς θ[ε]ταρ[χ]ον τῶν [ἐ]α[ρ]τοῦ ἐ[ὐ]εργέτη[ς]. Compare W. Judeich, Topographie von Athen², 216 (Munich, 1931); Graindor, 48-49. The base supported other statues before the Agrippa group was erected. See W. B. Dinsmoor, American Journal of Archaeology 24 (1920), 83. Another inscription from Athens (IG 3.576) attests that the *quadriga*-monument was not the only statue of Agrippa in Athens: Ὁ δῆμος Μάρκων Ἀγρίππας Δευκίου υἱὸν τῶν ἐαυτοῦ εὐεργέτην. This latter statue was perhaps set up at the time of Agrippa's first crossing to the Orient. For an inscription from the Theatre of Dionysus often thought to refer to Agrippa's naval victories see above, page 57, note 28.

²⁰M. L. D'Ooge, The Acropolis of Athens, 277 (New York, 1908), conjectures that Agrippa had a share in the construction of the great Roman stairway on the Acropolis.

²¹Philostratus, Vitae Sophistarum 2.5.3, 8.2. It is sometimes connected with the Odeion mentioned by Pausanias (1.8.6), but this is dubious. See Wachsmuth's article *Agrippaeion*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 1.898; Judeich, 350 (see note 19, above); Graindor, 49, 178, 180. All the cities in Greece where statues were erected in Agrippa's honor are near the coast, except Sparta. The inscriptions may mark the stops in his itinerary: Corcyra, Taenarum (?), Gythium, Sparta, Argos (?; see below, page 122), Epidaurus, Corinth, Megara (?), Athens, Oropus, Delos. He may also have stopped at Patrae. See below, page 110.

the Thracian Chersonese at this time.²² Agrippa was, in fact, owner of the whole of the Chersonese before his death.²³ How and when this land came into his possession is not known. We may conjecture that his ownership of this great estate dates from the beginning of the co-regency, 18 B.C.²⁴ At any rate, we know that he took back to Rome the Dying Lion of Lysippus, from Lampsacus²⁵ in the Troad, directly across the Hellespont from the Chersonese; and in nearby Parium coins were issued with portraits of Augustus and Agrippa.²⁶ Agrippa's presence in this region in 15 B.C. is highly probable, for we know that at this time he restored to Cyzicus its freedom, of which it had been deprived by Augustus during his tour of the Orient in 20 B.C.²⁷ It was on this occasion, probably, that he purchased from Cyzicus the paintings of Ajax and of Venus which he displayed at Rome.²⁸

One of Agrippa's important administrative tasks at this time

²²At Sestos statues were erected to Agrippa and Julia together. See Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique 4 (1880), 517

'Ο δῆμος	'Ο δῆ[μος]
'Ιουλιαν θεὸν αὐτοκράτορος	Μάρκον 'Αγρίπ[παν] . . .
Καίσαρος θεοῦ υἱοῦ Σεβασ[τοῦ].	

²³Dio 54.29.5. See below, page 129.

²⁴Hirschfeld (Kleine Schriften, 518) holds that the Chersonese was presented by Augustus to Agrippa. Rostovtzeff (287) observes that, since the Chersonese was *ager publicus*, Agrippa, or the previous owner, purchased the land from the State, actually or fictitiously. T. Frank, The Journal of Roman Studies 17 (1927), 156, note 2, suggests that Agrippa exchanged some property with the Treasury for the Chersonese. See also Gardthausen, 1.837-838; Kornemann's article *Domänen*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, Supplementband 4.245-246.

²⁵Strabo 13.1.19. See above, page 96.

²⁶Cohen, 1.179, No. 12; Imhoof-Blumer, 255, No. 138; W. Wroth, Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Mysia <in the British Museum>, 103, No. 85 (London, 1892); G. MacDonald, Catalogue of Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection, 2.275, No. 11 (Glasgow, 1901).

²⁷Dio (54.23.7) says that Augustus in 15 B. C. *Κυζικηνοῖς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀπέδωκε*. But from the inscription of Antonia Tryphaena we know that it was Agrippa who actually restored freedom to the city of Cyzicus. See Athenische Mitteilungen 16 (1891), 141 = Revue des Études Grecques 6 (1893), 8 = Dittenberger, 799 = IGR 4.146.7-8 . . . οὐχ ἰστορήσασα <'Αντωνία Τρύφαινα> ἡμᾶς ὡς παλαιῶν Κυζίκου κτίσμα [ἀ]λλὰ ἐπιγυνοῦσα νέαν 'Αγρίππα χάριν . . . Compare A. Joubin, Revue des Études Grecques 6 (1893), 17; Gardthausen, 1.837; F. W. Hasluck, Cyzicus, 183-184, 240 (Cambridge, 1910).

²⁸See above, page 72.

was the assignment of lands in the eastern provinces to discharged veterans, while Augustus established veteran legionaries in Gaul and in Spain.²⁹ Since a colony was founded at Patrae, in Achaia, in 16 B.C., Agrippa may have been personally responsible for the settlement of the veterans there on his way across to the East.³⁰ Also his presence in the Troad in 15 B.C. may perhaps be explained by the founding about this time of the colony *Alexandreia Troadis*.³¹

From the Troad Agrippa proceeded to Syria, where, in the latter half of 15 B.C.,³² he assigned lands to the veterans of two legions, V Macedonica and VIII Augusta, in Berytus, the first Roman colony in Syria.³³ Until recently it was believed that

²⁹Res Gestae 28 Colonias in Africa, Sicilia, [M]acedonia, utraque Hispania, Achai[a], Asia, S[y]ria, Gallia Narbonensi, Pi[s]idia militum deduxi. Compare Dio 54.23.7.

³⁰So Voigt, *Philologus* 58 (1899), 187, note 56. Compare Ritterling's article *Legio*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 12.1241; Kornemann's article *Coloniae*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 4.549, No. 248. This is denied by Gardthausen, 1.839. The settlement of legions in Patrae and Berytus is mentioned together by Eusebius and Jerome (see note 33, below).

³¹Alexandreia was founded between 27 and 12 B. C., probably about 14 B. C., according to Kornemann, in his article *Coloniae*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 4.550, No. 254; Ritterling, in his article *Legio*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 12.1227, 1241.

³²The date of the allotment by Agrippa of lands in Berytus is often given as 14 B. C., e. g. by Ritterling, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 12.1215, 1643-1644 (but compare 12.1573, where Ritterling gives the date as 15 or 14 B. C.); Mommsen, *Res Gestae*, 65; Marquardt, 1.427-428; Kornemann, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 4.532, No. 115, 552, No. 270. Voigt's date, 16/15 B. C. (130), is based on his dubious chronology of the Bosporan campaign (see note 51, below). However, since the assignment of lands in Berytus took place before Agrippa's voyage to the Euxine (see Eusebius and Jerome, cited in note 33, below; compare Voigt, 130), very early in the spring of 14 B. C., and, since Agrippa was in Syria before the winter of 15 B. C. (see below, page 112), there is every likelihood that this assignment took place before the winter of 15 B. C., as Frandsen (93) long ago perceived, and as Benzinger (in his article *Berytos*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 3.322) maintained.

³³Strabo 16.2.19 ... <Βηρυτὸς> δεξαμένη δύο τάγματα, ἃ ἔδρυσεν Ἀγρίππας ἐντραῖθα. . . ; Eusebius, *Year of Abraham* 2001 (*Versio Armeniaca*) *Colonia est deducta Berytum et Patras*; Syncellus 314 A; Jerome, *Year of Abraham* 2003 (in the edition by Schoene, 2.142); compare Pliny, *H. N.* 5.78. It is interesting to note that some coins of Berytus have a dolphin and a trident (Gardthausen, 2.488, note 14. Compare above, page 60). See also Benzinger's article *Berytos*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 3.322; Mommsen, *Res*

Agrippa was the founder of the colony. However, there is evidence that the colony was in existence many years before this time; the two legions established there by Agrippa³⁴ in 15 B.C. were only a strengthening of the settlement.³⁵

In view of Agrippa's policy of erecting at his own expense public structures in large cities of the Roman Empire it is certainly accidental that we have so little positive evidence for his building activity during his two visits to the East. Only Malalas, the Byzantine chronicler from Syrian Antioch, has left us a few details on this subject. If we may trust Malalas, Agrippa visited Antioch twice, each time adding to the public works of the capital of Syria. On his first visit³⁶ he constructed an entire new quarter outside the east gate, together with public Baths, both of which were named after him. Moreover, to increase the seating capacity of the theatre of Antioch he raised its height by the addition of a zone.³⁷ When he visited the city for a second time, most likely when he established the veteran legions in Berytus in 15 B.C., he restored the stadium, which had been damaged by a recent earthquake,³⁸ and was a spectator at the games.³⁹

Gestae, 119; Gardthausen, 1.839-840; Bouchier, 113-114. Strabo adds (*ibidem*) that Agrippa enlarged the territory of Berytus, so that it reached the source of the Orontes in northern Massyas. A. H. M. Jones, *The Urbanization of the Ituraean Principality*, *The Journal of Roman Studies* 21 (1931), 266, argues that this area must have included the territory of the colony Heliopolis, founded after Agrippa's death (Domaszewski, 206, incorrectly states that Agrippa founded Heliopolis).

³⁴In view of the connection of Agrippa with Berytus it is not improbable that CIL 3.156 (from Berytus) refers to him: I. O. M. Pro Sal[ut]e Agrippae].

³⁵That veterans of the Legio VIII Gallica were already established in Berytus before 27 B. C., probably shortly after Actium (compare Nonnus, *Dionysiaca* 41.389-398), is proved by CIL 3.14165⁶ M. Cornelius C. F. Fab. Leg. VIII Gallica. See Ritterling, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 12.1215, 1242, 1573, 1643-1644, 1664; Kornemann, Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 4.532, No. 115, 552, No. 270.

³⁶On Malalas's statement that Agrippa accompanied Augustus to the East after the Battle of Actium see above, page 59, note 36. Probably the first visit, if there were two separate visits, took place during Agrippa's first stay in the Orient. See above, page 84. ³⁷Malalas 9.222.

³⁸Perhaps the same which shook Paphos in Cyprus in 15 B.C. (Dio 54.23.7).

³⁹Malalas 9.225. Compare C. O. Müller, *De Antiquitatibus Antiochenis*, *Commentationes Societatis Regiae Scientiarum Gottingensis* 8 (1841), 284,

Among the honors accorded to Agrippa as a member of the family of Augustus was the inclusion of his name, along with the names of other members of the ruling family, in the list of the honorary months in the calendar of Cyprus, after 21 B.C., perhaps about the time that he was in this region.⁴⁰

The presence of Agrippa in Syria in 15 B.C. was probably the occasion for the visit of Herod to his friend,⁴¹ as soon as he was made aware of the nearness of the co-regent to Judea.⁴² Herod importuned Agrippa to visit Jerusalem. Agrippa yielded, and together with his retinue accompanied Herod to Judea in the fall.⁴³ Herod received him with great munificence in his newly

and the map opposite page 334, for the location of the suburb developed by Agrippa and for his Baths; Bouchier, 64, and A Short History of Antioch, 95 (Oxford, 1921).

⁴⁰This calendar, of which Ἀγριππῆαιος is the second month (the first was, of course, reserved for Augustus), and which also contains honorary months named after Livia, Octavia, Julia, Tiberius, and Drusus, is known from two late sources: (1) A Chaldaean dodecaeteris from Codex Parisinus 2420, published by F. Boll, *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum*, 2.139-150 (Brussels, 1900). See especially 2.144.17, 145.9-10 ἀπὸ μηνὸς Νοεμβρίου καὶ Ἀγριππῆαιου, 148.28-149.1 ἀπὸ μηνὸς Ἀπελλαίου καὶ Νοεμβρίου καὶ Ἀγριππῆαιου; (2) The Liber Glossarum, Edited by G. Goetz, *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*, 5.165 (Leipzig, 1894): Agripeos ellenorum <sic!> lingua febroarius mensis dicitur. Ἀγριππῆαιος was a month of 30 days, equated with November 2-December 1 in the Julian calendar. The equation in the Liber Glossarum of the month with February is probably due to the incorrect equation of the month Σεβαστός with January instead of with October. The calendar was in existence some time between 21 B. C. and 2 B. C., when it was replaced by a new calendar whose months were named after various attributes of Augustus exclusively. Compare Dittenberger's article *Agrippaίος*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, Supplementband 1. 32, and his article *Druseios*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 5.1738-1739; *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*, 6.692; V. Chapot, *Les Romains et Cypre, Mélanges Cagnat*, 75 (Paris, 1912); Bischoff's article *Kalender*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 10.1596, No. 99; J. F. Mountford, *De Mensium Nominibus*, *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 43 (1923), 102, 112; K. Scott, *Greek and Roman Honorific Months*, *Yale Classical Studies* 2 (1931), 207-212, 268; G. Herzog-Hauser's article *Kaisererkult*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, Supplementband 4.825.

⁴¹So Motte, 102, note 3; Frandsen, 93; Voigt, 134. See above, page 106.

⁴²Josephus, *Antiquitates* 16.2.1 ἐπειχθεὶς πρὸς αὐτόν. . . .

⁴³Compare Otto, *Zeittafel* following page 160. Matthes (57) dates the visit incorrectly in 16 B. C. Chijs (XII-XIII, 55) and Waddington (91) incorrectly set it in 17 B. C. Compare Schürer, 1.370, note 15; Dobiáš, 317, note 70.

founded cities, Sebaste and Caesarea, and in his fortress towns, Alexandreum, Herodeum, and Hyrcania. When Herod and Agrippa arrived at Jerusalem, the people came out in festive garb to welcome Agrippa. In turn, Agrippa offered a hecatomb to the God of the Jews and feasted the people with great liberality. The Temple, on one of whose gates Herod had inscribed the name of his friend,⁴⁴ the priests, and the reverence of the people of Jerusalem interested him intensely; he delighted during his stay there to walk about the Temple,⁴⁵ which he adorned with many dedicatory offerings, and to watch the religious ceremonies. When, at the oncoming of winter, he left for Mytilene, after Herod had heaped gifts upon him and his friends, he was escorted to the harbor by all the people, who showered flowers in his path.⁴⁶

Agrippa's departure from Jerusalem was in part necessitated by disturbances in the Cimmerian Bosphorus. A certain Scribonius,⁴⁷ who claimed to be a grandson of Mithradates the Great, had usurped the power of the recognized king, the aged Asander,⁴⁸ and to legitimize his rule had married Asander's wife, Dynamis,⁴⁹ the daughter of Pharnaces and the granddaughter of Mithradates. Agrippa had sent Polemon, King of Pontus, to expel the pretender, but the Bosphorans murdered Scribonius before the arrival of Polemon. In fear that they would be

⁴⁴Josephus, *Bellum* 1.21.8.

⁴⁵The architecture of the Temple could not have been without interest to Agrippa.

⁴⁶Josephus, *Antiquitates* 16.2.1-2; Philo, *Legatio ad Gaium* 36-37. Nicolaus of Damascus, in his speech before Agrippa in behalf of the Jews of Ionia (Josephus, *Antiquitates* 16.2.4, ad finem), reminds Agrippa of his visit to Jerusalem. Compare Otto, 72; Willrich, 89-90; J.-A. Hild, *Les Juifs à Rome devant l'Opinion et dans la Littérature*, *Revue des Études Juives* 11 (1885), 25-26. To Motte (100-102) Agrippa's amicable relations with Herod and the Jews are incomprehensible. He cannot believe that Agrippa's attitude to Herod was more than condescension, or, despite the express statements of Nicolaus, Philo, and Josephus, that Agrippa sacrificed to the God of the Jews, the *taeterrima gens* of Tacitus.

⁴⁷For Scribonius see Stein, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Zweite Reihe*, 2.859-860.

⁴⁸For Asander see Wilcken, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 2.1516-1517; W. v. Voigt, *De Asandro Bospori Rege* (Programm, Kiev, 1894).

⁴⁹For Dynamis see Rostovtzeff, *Dynamis*; Stein, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 5.1879-1880.

subjected to Polemon, they now resisted his intervention in their affairs.⁵⁰

Very early in the spring of 14 B.C.⁵¹ Agrippa hastened toward the Bosporus; Herod, who came to his assistance with a squadron of ships, found that he had already gone from Lesbos. Proceeding to the region of the disturbances, he met Agrippa at Sinope, in Paphlagonia, on the coast of the Euxine opposite the Bosporus.⁵² But the threat of Agrippa's presence was sufficient. It was not necessary for him to cross the Euxine, for the Bosporans laid down their arms.⁵³ From Sinope Agrippa reorganized the kingdom of the Bosporus, and laid down the main lines of the future policy of Rome toward that kingdom. With the consent of Augustus, Dynamis was married to Polemon (Asander had committed suicide when he fell from power), and thus the north and the south sides of the Euxine were united again, as in the time of Mithradates the Great.⁵⁴ In effect a vassal of Rome, the Cimmerian Bosporus was burdened with the obligation of providing troops for the Roman army.⁵⁵ Among the other measures taken by Agrippa, Chersone-

⁵⁰Dio 54.24.4-5; Lucian, *Macrobioi* 17; Strabo 11.2.3.

⁵¹Voigt (127-134), whose conclusions are accepted by Brandis, in his article *Bosporos*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 3.779, argues for 15 B. C., but neither his method of argumentation nor his conclusions are sound. His view is rejected also by Schürer, 1.370, note 15. Incorrect, too, is Domaszewski's date (206), 16 B. C.

⁵²Josephus, *Antiquitates* 16.2.2. Josephus, or his source, Nicolaus of Damascus, probably exaggerates the extent of Herod's services. Compare Otto, 72.

⁵³Dio 54.24.6; Eusebius, *Year of Abraham* 2002; Jerome, *Year of Abraham* 2004; Eutropius 7.9; Orosius 6.21.28 *Bosforanos vero Agrippa superavit et signis Romanis, quae illi quondam sub Mithridate sustulerant, bello recuperatis victos ad deditionem coegit.* Compare Latyshev, 2.XXXVII-XXXVIII; Gardthausen, 1.842-844. Gardthausen (1.844, 2.492, note 38) accepts Orosius's statement about the recovery of the standards by Agrippa, but, since Augustus in the *Res Gestae* (29) does not mention these standards, and since the Bosporans had been on good terms with the Romans for many years before this time, Orosius's statement does not deserve credence. Waddington (91) incorrectly holds that Agrippa's Bosporan expedition began in 16 B. C. and that he was occupied with the arrangements in that connection until the spring of 14 B. C.

⁵⁴Dio 54.24.6. Compare Rostovtzeff, *Dynamis*, 102, note 25.

⁵⁵See the inscription from Pisidian Antioch, published by G. L. Cheesman, *The Journal of Roman Studies* 3 (1913), 254-257, in which a *praefectus cohortis Bosporanorum*, about 8-7 B. C., is mentioned.

us, though nominally free, was made politically dependent upon the kingdom of the Bosphorus.⁵⁶

Agrippa's intervention in the affairs of the Bosphorus was later commemorated by the adoption of the name Agrippias by one of the Bosporan capital cities, Phanagoria,⁵⁷ and by the issuance, by Queen Dynamis, of a series of gold staters with portraits of Augustus and Agrippa.⁵⁸

In accordance with the policy he adopted after the conclusion of the Cantabrian War, Agrippa sent no communication to the Senate concerning his measures in the Bosphorus, and his action set a precedent for all future Roman generals. Instead, he sent his report to the *princeps*, who was then in Gaul. At

⁵⁶Strabo 7.4.3 speaks of the dependence of Chersonesus upon the Bosphorus. An inscription from Chersonesus mentions a *συμμαχία* with Polemon and the sending of an armed force to him. See Latyschev, 1².419. Another inscription (Latyschev, 1².704) preserves the beginning of a letter from Polemon to Chersonesus, and a third (Latyschev, 1².354) mentions a mission to Dynamis. The reorganization of the Bosphorus by Agrippa will be discussed by Rostovtzeff in the forthcoming second volume of his *Skythien und der Bosphorus* (Volume 1 was published in Berlin, 1931). I know of his conclusions, outlined above, from a note in his article *Caesar and the South of Russia*, *The Journal of Roman Studies* 7 (1917), 43-44, note 4. Compare also Rostovtzeff, *Iranians*, 151-153; E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, 593 (Cambridge, 1913); Dessau, 2.619-620.

⁵⁷Latyschev, 2.356, 360, 363. Some copper coins of this period from Phanagoria bear on the reverse a prow, with the legend 'Αγριππίων. See W. Wroth, *Catalogue of Greek Coins <in the British Museum>*: Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, and the Kingdom of Bosphorus, 1, Nos. 1-3 (London, 1889); Barclay V. Head, *Historia Numorum*², 494-495 (Oxford, 1911). The new name of the city was probably Agrippias, not Agrippias Caesarea (this is the name which Latyschev, 2.XXXVIII-XXXIX, who is followed by Tomaschek, in his article *Agrippia Caesarea*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 1.898-899, deduced from inscription 363, in which 'Αγριππίων Κασαπέων ἄρχοντες are mentioned. The ἄρχοντες mentioned may have been magistrates of two different towns). A. V. Orieshnikoff (cited by Rostovtzeff, *Dynamis*, 100) conjectures that, simultaneously with the renaming of Phanagoria, the other capital city of the Bosphorus, Panticapaeum, across the straits on the European side, adopted the name Caesarea. Compare Rostovtzeff, *Iranians*, 157-158. See the similar series of copper coins from this region with the legend Κασαπέων on the reverse, in Wroth, 1, Nos. 4-5. It is questionable whether Phanagoria adopted the name Agrippias before the death of Agrippa, in 12 B. C. See Rostovtzeff, *Dynamis*, 105.

⁵⁸Rostovtzeff, *Dynamis*, 100, 105, note 30; Minns, 601, Plate VII, Nos. 1-3 (see note 56, above). The coins range from 8 B. C. to 7 A. D.

Rome supplications were offered in the name of Agrippa,⁵⁹ but the triumph voted to him by the Senate he again declined. Thereafter, *ornamenta triumphalia* for victorious generals, which Tiberius and Drusus were the first to receive,⁶⁰ replaced the celebration of a triumph.⁶¹

While Agrippa was in Paphlagonia, settling matters in the Bosphorus, news came from the Troad that his wife Julia, while on a visit to Ilium, had attempted to cross at night the Scamander, which was swollen with heavy rains, and had almost lost her life. In anger Agrippa imposed a fine of 100,000 silver drachmae upon the inhabitants of Ilium because of their failure to make provisions for the reception of his wife. The people of Ilium sent an embassy to Amisus, where Agrippa was then staying, but the ambassadors did not dare to present their case personally before him. Instead, they appealed to Nicolaus of Damascus, the minister of Herod, and through Herod's intercession the fine was revoked. The embassy had previously departed in despair, and Nicolaus, who was on his way to Chios and Rhodes, delivered in person the letter of Agrippa to Ilium.⁶² It is perhaps as a result of this beneficence to the city that the people of Ilium set up an honorary statue to Agrippa, whom, as a member of the Julian family, they hailed as *συνγενῆς τῆς πόλεως*.⁶³

⁵⁹Mattingly (1.c.vii) thinks that coins struck at Rome in 13 B. C., with a *quadriga* and a palm tree, refer to Agrippa's victories in the East.

⁶⁰Suetonius, Tiberius 9.2; Dio 54.31.4, 33.5. Compare Mommsen, Staatsrecht, 1.466. The view of some (see e. g. S. Peine, De Ornamentis Triumphalibus, 3-4 [Dissertation, Leipzig, 1885]; A. Bruhl, Les Influences Hellénistiques dans le Triomphe Romain, Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire 46 [1929], 94) that Agrippa was the first to receive *ornamenta triumphalia* is untenable. Compare Mommsen, Staatsrecht, 1.466, note 1. Agrippa's action in accepting military decorations, the naval crown, the naval banner, and the mural crown, was the model for this policy (compare below, page 153).

⁶¹Dio 54.24.7. Compare Mommsen, Staatsrecht, 1.135-136; Pais, 318-325. See above, page 93, note 92.

⁶²C. Müller, Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum, 3.350 (Paris, 1874); F. Jacoby, Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker, 2, Part A, 421-422 (Berlin, 1926); Josephus, Antiquitates 16.2.2, ad finem. Compare Gardthausen, 1.845-846.

⁶³IGR 4.204 = Dittenberger, 776. Only the base is preserved with the following inscription: Μάρκος Ἀγρίππαι τὸν συγγενεῖα καὶ πατρῶνα τῆς πόλεως καὶ εὐεργέτην, ἐπὶ τῇ πρὸς τὴν θεὸν εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον εὐνοίᾳ.

The autobiography of Nicolaus of Damascus, who recorded the above incident, is the only literary authority for the presence of Julia in the East with Agrippa at this time. But a series of inscriptions, in which she is honored as the daughter of Augustus and the wife of Agrippa, confirms without a shadow of a doubt Nicolaus's statement. At Andros,⁶⁴ Delos,⁶⁵ Mytilene,⁶⁶ Samos,⁶⁷ Cos,⁶⁸ Paphos in Cyprus⁶⁹ statues were erected to her as the wife of Agrippa.⁷⁰ Sestos,⁷¹ on the Thracian Chersonese, and Ceramus,⁷² on the Gulf of Cos, honored Agrippa and Julia together.

After the situation in the Bosporus was settled, Agrippa, instead of making the return journey by sea, decided to tour the Asiatic provinces. Accompanied by Herod,⁷³ he travelled through Paphlagonia, Cappadocia, and Phrygia Maior to Ephesus on the coast.⁷⁴ From Ephesus they crossed by ship to Samos. Here Herod showed great generosity toward all the

Compare P. Haubold, *De Rebus Iliensium*, 45-46, 48 (Dissertation, Leipzig, 1888). Haubold incorrectly dates the Ilium incident in 16 B. C., and the above inscription in 23-22 B. C. (45, note 3). The word *συργεῖα* shows that the inscription was not set up before 21 B. C.

⁶⁴IG 12.5.740. T. Sauciuc, *Andros*, 90 (Vienna, 1914), calling attention to the mention of the *tribunicia potestas* after Agrippa's name in this inscription, conjectures that Agrippa and Julia both visited Andros at this time.

⁶⁵Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique 2 (1878), 399, No. 7 = Dittenberger, 777.

⁶⁶IGR 4.64 = IG 12.2.204. IGR 4.114, in which Julia is called *νέα Ἀφροδίτα*, may also belong to this period.

⁶⁷IGR 4.1717 = Athenische Mitteilungen 44 (1919), 35-36, No. 23.

⁶⁸R. Herzog, *Koische Forschungen und Funde*, 229, No. 223 (Leipzig, 1899).

⁶⁹The Journal of Hellenic Studies 9 (1888), 243, No. 69.

⁷⁰Compare Fitzler's article *Iulia*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 10.898. Fitzler conjectures that Julia toured alone the western coast of Asia Minor while Agrippa was in Syria, Jerusalem, and in the Black Sea region.

⁷¹See note 22, above.

⁷²The Journal of Hellenic Studies 11 (1890), 128, No. 15 *Ἀγρίππα καὶ Ἰουλίαν*.

⁷³Otto (73) observes that "Die Fahrt des H.<erodes> zu und mit Agrippa zeigt uns den König auf dem Gipfel seiner Macht".

⁷⁴His presence at Ephesus was commemorated by the minting of bronze coins with portraits of himself and Julia, and the legend *M. Ἀγρίππα Ἰουλίαν*. See Cohen, 1.180. For the names of Agrippa and Julia on the entrance gate of the *agora* at Ephesus see below, page 135, note 51.

Greek cities, and was instrumental, according to Josephus, in securing from Agrippa privileges for certain cities.⁷⁵

While Herod and Agrippa were at Samos, many of the Jewish communities in the Greek cities took advantage of the opportunity to send embassies to Agrippa to complain of infringements of the privileges assured to them by the Roman government. The Greeks resented the sharing in the citizenship of the various cities by a people which detached itself from and looked down upon the cult of the local gods.⁷⁶ Despite prohibitory edicts, the Greeks forced the Jews to appear in court on the Sabbath and on other holy days, and interfered with the transmission of the sacred temple money to Jerusalem, in some cases even appropriating the money illegally. Upon Herod's intercession Agrippa agreed to give the Jews an audience. Nicolaus of Damascus,⁷⁷ the minister of Herod, was chosen to present the case of the Jews before a tribunal consisting of Agrippa and various assessors, Roman officials, foreign kings, and dynasts.⁷⁸ In his speech Nicolaus complained of the offenses by the Greeks against the established religious customs of the Jews, in particular their compulsion of Jews to attend court on the holy days, and their tampering with the temple money. In conclusion, he petitioned Agrippa to confirm to the Jews the long-established religious privileges, which the Greeks were trampling under foot.⁷⁹

The Greeks made no denial of the charges of the Jews, but attempted to defend their action by citing the principle that worship of common gods is an essential of citizenship held in common. They demanded that the Jews, their fellow-citizens, consent to do honor to the local gods or be excluded from citizenship.

The upshot of the matter was that Agrippa, announcing his readiness to grant to the Jews any request which was not detrimental to the Roman government, confirmed the privileges

⁷⁵Josephus, *Antiquitates* 16.2.2, *Bellum* 1.21.11. Compare Otto, 72-73; Willrich, 91-93.

⁷⁶Compare W. M. Ramsay, *The Jews in the Graeco-Asiatic Cities*, *The Expositor* 5 (1902), 22-29; Schürer, 3.126-127.

⁷⁷He had rejoined Herod after his visit to Chios and Rhodes (see above, page 116).

⁷⁸Josephus, *Antiquitates* 16.2.3.

⁷⁹Josephus, *Antiquitates* 16.2.4.

of the Jews,⁸⁰ i.e. exemption from attending court on the Sabbath, and the right of sending their temple money unmolested to Jerusalem.⁸¹ The decision of Agrippa could not

⁸⁰Josephus, *Antiquitates* 16.2.5, 12.3.2. Compare Schürer, 3.125–126; Juster, 1.214–215, 240, note 2, 381, note 4; Dessau, 2.725–726; H. Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, 3.227–228 (Leipzig, 1905); I. Heinemann's article *Antisemitismus*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, Supplementband 5.17; Otto, 73; Th. Reinach's article *Judaei*, in Daremberg-Saglio, 3.623.

⁸¹Josephus in the introduction to his account of the dispute (*Antiquitates* 16.2.3 [28]) says of the Jews, . . . στρατειῶν καὶ λειτουργιῶν ἀναγκαζόμενοι κοινῶν καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα δαπανῶν τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων, ὧν ἀπέβησαν αἰεὶ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοῖς ἐπιρρησάντων κατὰ τοὺς οἰκελοὺς ζῆν νόμους. This statement has led many scholars to conclude that the Jews complained of compulsion in the matter of service in the local militias and the performance of liturgies, and that Agrippa exempted them from these obligations: see e. g. Frandsen, 91; Domaszewski, 206–207; Heinemann (see note 80, above); H. Willrich, *Juden und Griechen vor der Makkabäischen Erhebung*, 9 (Göttingen, 1895). Willrich, however, now rejects his former statement, following Otto, 73. But it would have been idle for the Jews to make such a request, for we know that the Romans never exempted the Jews *en masse* from either of these obligations. Compare Otto, 73; Juster, 2.275, note 9, 278, note 5.

Furthermore, Nicolaus of Damascus in his speech before Agrippa makes no mention of exemption from military service or from the performance of liturgies. More decisive are the contents of the letters of Agrippa to Ephesus and Cyrene (see notes 85, 87, below), and of previous and subsequent decrees concerning the Jews (*Josephus, Antiquitates* 16.6.1–7), which deal only with religious privileges. Beyond the infringement of religious privileges, Nicolaus speaks only of taxes imposed by the Greeks upon the Jews (τέλη δ' ἐπιτιθέμεντες), but what he means by this is not clear. In his letter to Cyrene Agrippa forbids the confiscation of sacred money to meet fictitious taxes (τελῶν μὴ ὀφειλομένων). I believe that all the difficulties can be met if we understand by τέλη illegal levies made upon the temple money, which was exempt from taxation, to meet civic expenses. In consequence, I take the passage above from Josephus to mean that the Jews complained, not of compulsion to perform military service and liturgies, but of the illegal taxation and the appropriation of sacred money, exempted by the Roman government, to meet such civic expenses.

I am unable to understand why Willrich (93–94, 178–179) brings into connection with the dispute of the Jews and the Greeks before Agrippa in 14 B. C. the third of the recently discovered constitutional edicts from Cyrene. This edict (see Premerstein, 426–427, 466–473; Stroux-Wenger, 10–13), which was issued in 7/6 B. C., establishes the principle that provincials who had obtained Roman citizenship belong to the highest legal category in their native communities, and that, with the exception of those to whom immunity from taxes had been granted at the same time that the citizenship was bestowed, they are all obligated to perform the liturgies

have been other than it was, unless he was ready to go counter to previous decrees establishing and confirming the religious privileges of the Jews in the Diaspora.⁸² This he refused to do.⁸³

In all probability it was on this occasion⁸⁴ that Agrippa sent sharp notes, which have been recorded by Josephus, to two of the offending Greek cities. His letter to the Ephesians⁸⁵ con-

incumbent upon this legal category. Even if the principle enunciated in the edict was in existence in 14 B. C., Willrich must first establish that all the Jews concerned in the dispute before Agrippa were new Roman citizens, before he seeks to apply the principle of the edict to explain the Jewish trouble in 14 B. C. Compare Premerstein, *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* 51 (1931), Romanistische Abteilung, 437; Stroux-Wenger, 47, note 2. But the problem is not as complicated as Willrich imagines it to be. The whole dispute is concerned with the demand of the Greeks in the cities of Asia Minor that the Jews, who had long enjoyed a sort of local citizenship in the cities (Juster, 2.3, 6; Schürer, 3.124, 131; Dessau, 2.727), join in the worship of the local cults. There is no evidence for Willrich's assumption that the Jews involved are new Roman citizens, whose claim to the citizenship in their native cities is being contested by the Greeks.

⁸²The existence of these previous edicts accounts for the statement of Josephus (*Antiquitates* 16.2.5 [58]) that the dispute before Agrippa was not a trial, but an *ἔρτευξις*. I differ from Juster, 1.240, note 2, who rejects Josephus, on insufficient grounds.

⁸³Josephus, *Antiquitates* 12.3.2 (126) ὁ γὰρ Ἀγρίππας ἀπεφώνητο μηδὲν αὐτῷ καινίσειν ἐξεῖναι.

⁸⁴B. Niese, *Hermes* 11 (1876), 480, note 1, P. Viereck, *Sermo Graecus Quo Senatus Populusque Romanus Magistratusque Populi Romani . . . Usi Sunt . . .*, 110–111 (Dissertation, Göttingen, 1888), and Juster, 1.150, note 2, 159, 382; note 2 (but see 1.240, note 2, where he seems to connect the letters with the dispute of 14 B. C.), maintain that the decrees to Ephesus and Cyrene were issued by Agrippa between 23 B. C. and 13 B. C., not necessarily at the time of the complaint of the Jews before Agrippa at Samos in 14 B. C. But we do not know that Agrippa had *maius imperium* over the senatorial provinces before 18 B. C., nor is it likely that he did (see the Appendix, below, page 171). Agrippa unquestionably communicated his decision in 14 B. C. to the Greek cities, and, since these are the only documents of Agrippa which Josephus records, I see no reason why we should not connect them with the dispute of 14 B. C.

⁸⁵Josephus, *Antiquitates* 16.6.4 Ἀγρίππας Ἐφεσίων ἀρχουσι βουλῇ δῆμῳ χαίρειν. Τῶν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀναφερομένων ἱερῶν χρημάτων τὴν ἐπιμελείαν καὶ φυλακὴν βούλομαι τοὺς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ Ἰουδαίους ποιεῖσθαι κατὰ τὰ πατριαῖα τοὺς τε κλέπτοντας ἱερὰ χρήματα <Niese would read here γράμματα> τῶν Ἰουδαίων καταφεύγοντάς τε εἰς τὰς ἀσυλίας βούλομαι ἀποσπᾶσθαι καὶ παραδίδοσθαι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, ᾧ δικαίῳ ἀποσπῶνται οἱ ἱερῶν βουλοῖ. Ἐγγραψα δὲ καὶ Σιλανῶ τῷ στρατηγῷ ἵνα σάββασι μηδεὶς ἀναγκάζῃ Ἰουδαίων ἐγγυᾶς ὁμολογεῖν.

tained, together with the advice that he had notified Silanus, Governor of Asia, that no Jew was to be compelled to furnish bail on the Sabbath, the injunction that no infringement was to be made upon the privilege of the Jews in Asia to send sacred money to Jerusalem. Furthermore, persons who had stolen sacred money from the Jews and had fled to places of asylum were to be removed from these places of asylum and handed over to the Jews for punishment.⁸⁶ In a similar letter to Cyrene⁸⁷ he confirmed the previous instructions of Augustus concerning the privilege of the Jews to send money unhindered to Jerusalem, and ordered the restoration by the authorities in the cities of the Pentapolis of all sacred money which had been confiscated to meet taxes not actually owed by the Jews, or which had been appropriated for any other reason whatsoever.

The amicable relations between Agrippa and the Jews is reflected by the name of one of the synagogues at Rome, the *'Αγριππήσιοι*.⁸⁸

It was later necessary for the proconsul of Asia, Julius Antonius, to write to the Ephesians in 4 B. C. confirming the decrees of Augustus and Agrippa (Josephus, *Antiquitates* 16.6.7).

⁸⁶Compare Juster, 1.382. It is noteworthy that Agrippa instructs the governor of the province, not the Ephesians, about legal procedure.

⁸⁷Josephus, *Antiquitates* 16.6.5 *Μάρκος Ἀγρίππας Κυρηναίων ἄρχουσι βουλῇ δῆμῳ χαίρειν. Οἱ ἐν Κυρήνῃ Ἰουδαῖοι, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἤδη ὁ Σεβαστὸς ἐπέμψε πρὸς τὸν ἐν Λιβύῃ στρατηγὸν τότε θύτα Φλάβιον, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἐπιμελουμένους, ἵνα ἀνεπικωλύτως ἀναπέμψῃται τὰ ἱερὰ χρήματα εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, ὡς ἔστιν αὐτοῖς πάτριον, ἐνέτυχόν μοι νῦν, ὡς ὑπὸ τινων συκοφαντῶν ἐπηρεαζόμενοι καὶ ὡς ἐν προφάσει τελῶν μὴ ὀφειλομένων κωλύουσιντο· οἷς ἀποκαθιστάνειν κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον ἐνοχλουμένοι, καὶ εἰ τινων ἱερὰ χρήματα ἀφῆρηται τῶν πόλεων τοὺς εἰς ταῦτα ἀποκεκριμένους καὶ ταῦτα διορθώσασθαι τοῖς ἐκεῖ Ἰουδαίοις κελεύω.*

⁸⁸This synagogue, which probably had its place of worship in the Trastevere, is known from three Greek inscriptions found in Jewish cemeteries in Rome: CIG 9907; N. Müller, *Die Jüdische Katakomba am Monteverde zu Rom*, 127-128, No. 3 (Leipzig, 1912) = N. Müller, *Die Inschriften der Jüdischen Katakomba am Monteverde zu Rom*, Herausgegeben von N. A. Bees, 5-6, No. 2 (Leipzig, 1919); *Notizie degli Scavi* 1919, 65-66, No. 10. I follow the general view, in opposition to Müller, in considering it more probable that the synagogue was named after Marcus Agrippa than that it was named after one of the Jewish kings, Agrippa I or Agrippa II. Whether the Agrippesioi were so named out of honor to Agrippa or because the members of the synagogue were all slaves or freedmen or both of Agrippa is not certain. Compare Schürer, 3.81-82, *Die Gemeindeverfassung der Juden in Rom*, 15-16, 34 (Leipzig, 1879); S. Krauss, *Synagogale Altertümer*, 249-250, 254-255 (Berlin and Vienna, 1922), and his article *Syna-*

After the decision in favor of the Jews, Herod took leave of Agrippa and sailed from Samos to Judea, and Agrippa departed for his winter residence in Lesbos.⁸⁹ Other administrative acts of Agrippa in the East are recorded on two inscriptions. Concerning his intervention in the affairs of the town of Eresus, on the Island of Lesbos, we do not know the details.⁹⁰ A recently discovered inscription from Argos, of great importance because it leaves no doubt that Agrippa's *imperium* extended over the senatorial province Achaia,⁹¹ records a letter from Agrippa to the Argive *gerousia*, in which he confirms his previous decision permitting the *gerousia* to continue to function and to maintain its former prestige, and his restoration of many of its lost rights.⁹²

Agrippa spent the winter at Mytilene, and in the first half of 13 B.C. returned to Italy. Before his departure from Lesbos,

goge, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Zweite Reihe*, 4.1304; E. Bormann, *Wiener Studien* 34 (1912), 361-363; H. Vogelstein and P. Rieger, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom*, 1.39, 475, No. 120 (Berlin, 1896). Later, Agrippa's eldest son, Gaius, was patron of the Jews (Josephus, *Antiquitates* 17.9.5, *Bellum* 2.2.4). Compare J. -A. Hild, *Revue des Études Juives* 11 (1885), 26.

⁸⁹Josephus, *Antiquitates* 16.2.5 (62). The reading in most of the MSS. of Josephus is *καὶ τότε μὲν ἀνεχώρησεν ἀπὸ Λέσβου, ἀπὸ δὲ Σάμου πλεῖν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπ' οἴκου διέγνων*. . . . The words *ἀπὸ Λέσβου* are certainly wrong; we probably ought to read *ἐπὶ Λέσβου*, as Frandsen (91-92), who is followed by Voigt (133), suggested. Niese's omission of *ἀπὸ Λέσβου* is less attractive.

⁹⁰IGR 4.7 = IG 12.2.531. This fragmentary letter of Augustus to the Eresians mentions a previous regulation of Agrippa (lines 17-18).

⁹¹See the Appendix, below, page 170.

⁹²Published by W. Vollgraff, *Mnemosyne* 47 (1919), 263-264:

Γερύτων

Ἀγρίππας Ἀργείων γέροντι τοῖς ἀπὸ
 Δαναοῦ καὶ Ὑπερμήστρας χαιρεῖν.
 Ἐγὼ τοῦ τε διαμείναι τὸ σύστημα
 ὑμῶν καὶ φυλάξαι τὸ παλαιὸν ἀξίωμα
 τὴν αἰτίαν ἐματῶ σφόδρα παρεσχη-
 μένῳ καὶ πολλὰ τῶν καταλελυμένων
 ὑμῖν ἀποδεδωκότεν δίκαιον πρὸς τε
 τοῦτῶν προνοεῖν ὑμῶν [προθύμως]
 ἔχω καὶ τὴν [
 νομίζ[

The inscription breaks here. For the *gerousiai* in Greek towns during the Empire see Vollgraff, 264-268; J. Miller's article *Gerontes*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 7.1267-1268.

Herod came again to Mytilene and left with Agrippa his eldest son, Antipatros, together with many gifts.⁹³ Whether Julia and her children accompanied Agrippa back to Rome or preceded him is not certain. The fourth child of Agrippa and Julia, Agrippina, appears to have been born while the family was in the East,⁹⁴ for her statue is included among the statues set up, in all probability at the time of the return journey, in honor of Agrippa and his family, at Thespieae⁹⁵ and at Delphi.⁹⁶

⁹³Josephus, *Antiquitates* 16.3.3.

⁹⁴Mommsen, *Hermes* 13 (1878), 246, points out that Agrippina, who was younger than her sister Julia, was born in the month of October, between 15 and 13 B. C., probably in 14 or in 13 B. C.

⁹⁵A. Plassart, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 50 (1926), 447-448, Nos. 88-89:

Ὁ δῆμος Ἀγριππῖναν Μάρκου Ἀγρίππα θυγατέρα.
 Ὁ δῆμος Μάρκον Ἀγρίππαν Λευκίου υἱὸν Μούσαις.
 Ὁ δῆμος Λούκιον Ὁ δῆμος
 Καίσαρα. Γάϊον Καίσαρα.
 Ὁ δῆμος Ἰουλίαν αὐτοκράτορος
 Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ θυγατέρα, γυναικα Μάρκου Ἀγρίππα Μούσαις.

These statues were set up in the Hieron of the Muses.

⁹⁶Dittenberger, 779. These inscriptions belong to statues of Julia and her children, Lucius, Gaius (?), and Agrippina. The absence of the name of the elder daughter, Julia, in the inscriptions from Thespieae and Delphi is either the result of an accidental loss in both cases or an indication that she did not accompany her parents to the East.

CHAPTER XI

DEATH AND INFLUENCE

The return of Agrippa from the East in 13 B.C. and that of Augustus from Spain and Gaul on July 4,¹ 13 B.C., are probably to be connected with the simultaneous expiration of their extraordinary powers.² At the time when Augustus's powers were renewed the *tribunicia potestas* of Agrippa was prolonged for another five years, and his *proconsulare imperium* was extended to include all the senatorial as well as all the imperial provinces.³ The renewal of the powers of Augustus and Agrippa in 13 B.C. involved no essential alteration in the theory of the principate or of the co-regency. The only novel element was the extension of Agrippa's proconsular powers (which between 18 B.C. and 13 B.C. were probably limited to the eastern

¹Gardthausen, 1.853, 2.497-498, note 11. Gardthausen (1.859, 2.503, note 26) maintains that the return of Agrippa took place after July 4, probably in the autumn of 13 B. C., but this does not follow from Dio's mention of his return (54.28.1) at the same time that he speaks of his departure for Pannonia early in 12 B. C. Agrippa may have returned to Rome even before Augustus. Since it seems likely that his presence was required in Rome at the time of the renewal of his powers (see above, page 83, note 42), I believe that he returned to Rome about the middle of the year. Compare Voigt, 134.

²Ferrero (5.149, note, 164; he is followed by Dahlman, 83-84) holds that Agrippa returned to Rome to take over the command of an offensive campaign against the Germans, and that Agrippa outlined the plan of invasion used after his death by Tiberius and Drusus. Compare also Dessau, 1.416. This view, which is supported by nothing except the fact that the German campaign began in 12 B. C., is seriously open to question. Agrippa's military policy was very conservative; all of his campaigns were defensive in nature. I believe that the death of Agrippa in March of 12 B. C. removed a powerful conservative influence from Augustus and opened the way for many radical changes, among them the introduction of an offensive military policy. See below, pages 161-162.

³Dio 54.28.1; see the passages from the *Res Gestae* and Suetonius cited above, page 99, note 4; CIL 14.2230. The sixth year of Agrippa's *tribunicia potestas* is mentioned also on the inscription on the gate of the *agora* at Ephesus (see note 51, below). For the coins struck on this occasion see above, page 100, note 7. Compare Abele, 47.

provinces),⁴ to include now, as did the proconsular powers of his colleague Augustus, all the provinces of the Empire.⁵

Agrippa did not remain long in Rome. Serious disturbances which had broken out in Pannonia in 14 B.C.⁶ threatened the security of the northern frontier. M. Vinicius⁷ had been successful in holding at bay the warlike tribes for a while, but his position became finally so perilous that the intervention of Augustus's best available general was imperative early in 12 B.C.⁸ Although it was still winter, Agrippa set out to take over the command of the war in Pannonia. But the fame of his military prowess had gone before him. The approach of the great general was sufficient to frighten the Pannonians into submission.⁹

As soon as the Pannonians were under control, Agrippa returned to Italy. In Campania,¹⁰ where he had gone to rest, he

⁴See the Appendix, below, pages 171-172.

⁵Ferrero (5.187-188; he is followed again by Dahlman, 85) conceives of a rearrangement in the co-regency at this time, involving a division of civil and military power between Augustus and Agrippa, and asks us to believe that "... the supreme military authority, which had formerly belonged to the Senate, now came into the power of one man!", and that "Henceforward the State was no longer guided by two colleagues of equal power, but by a priest and a soldier who had divided the supreme authority between them"! Ferrero also observes (5.188, note) that "... Agrippa was made commander-in-chief, with power independent of the proconsular authority..." With what power, then? ⁶Dio 54.24.3.

⁷For Vinicius see Prosopographia, 3.435-436, No. 444.

⁸Frandsen (134-135), Matthes (58-59), and Gardthausen (1.1057) date this event incorrectly in 13 B. C.

⁹Dio 54.28.1-2; Velleius 2.96.2. The manuscripts of Velleius are corrupt at this point (compare Frandsen, 134-137). The sense is best expressed by the following text: Subinde bellum Pannonicum, quod inchoatum ab Agrippa Marcoque Vinicio, avo tuo, Cos. <or consulari>, magnum atroxque et perquam vicinum imminebat Italiae, per Neronem gestum est. The words *Marcoque Vinicio, avo tuo, Cos.* are not meant to date the event (Vinicio was *consul suffectus* in 19 B. C.), but to indicate that the ancestor of the Vinicius to whom Velleius dedicated his work fought in Pannonia, probably as lieutenant of Agrippa in 12 B. C. Compare A. v. Premerstein, *Ein Elogium des M. Vinicius Cos. 19 v. Chr., Österreichisches Jahressheft* 7 (1904), 215-239, particularly 238; J. Asbach, *Analecta Historica et Epigraphica Latina*, 34-35 (Dissertation, Berlin, 1878); G. Zippel, *Die Römische Herrschaft in Illyrien bis auf Augustus*, 302-303 (Leipzig, 1877).

¹⁰How does Gardthausen (1.860) know that Agrippa had estates near the Gulf of Naples? The conjecture of L. Koraeh, *Monatsschrift für Ge-*

fell seriously ill.¹¹ At Rome,¹² where Augustus, who had lately assumed the office of *pontifex maximus*, was exhibiting gladiatorial games in the name of his two adopted sons on the occasion of the festival of the Quinquatrus,¹³ news arrived between March 20 and March 23¹⁴ that the condition of the colleague and son-in-law of the *princeps* was critical. Instantly Augustus hastened from Rome, but he arrived to find his friend no longer alive.¹⁵

The passing of his great collaborator, in the prime of his life (he was only 51 years old at the time of his death¹⁶), was an inestimable loss to Augustus. A sad procession escorted the remains to Rome, where Augustus laid the body of his colleague in state in the Forum. With a curtain between himself and the corpse, because as *pontifex* he was forbidden to look upon a dead body,¹⁷ Augustus delivered the funeral oration over his

schichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums 38 (1894), 532, that the word *Καυκασία* in Dio is a corruption from the name of some town in Gallia Cisalpina or Histria, is needless. Agrippa may have passed through Rome after his return from the Pannonian campaign, or he may have gone directly to Campania.

¹¹Dio 54.28.2 (= Zonaras 10.34).

¹²Holmes (2.72) makes a slip in stating that Augustus was at Athens.

¹³Compare Wilhelm, 13-14.

¹⁴The Quinquatrus was celebrated on March 19-23, but, since bloodshed was forbidden on the first day (Ovid, *Fasti* 3.809-814), we may infer that Augustus received the news some time during the last four days. Compare Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, 57-62; J. G. Frazer, *Publii Ovidii Nasonis Pastorum Libri Sex*, 3.144-148 (London, 1929).

¹⁵Dio 54.28.3; Velleius 2.96.1; Tacitus, *Annales* 3.56.3; Livy, *Periocha* 138 Agrippa, *Caesaris gener, mortuus*. The shortest distance from Rome to Campania was about 100 Roman miles. With great speed this distance could be covered in about a day. See L. Friedländer, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms*¹⁰, 1.333-336 (Leipzig, 1922), and for the speed of the Roman imperial post A. M. Ramsay, *The Journal of Roman Studies* 15 (1925), 60-74. Since Agrippa may have died on the same day that the courier left with news for Rome, and since Augustus may have received this news as late as March 23, the date of Agrippa's death falls somewhere between March 19 and March 24. Agrippa may have died from complications brought on by the acute foot-ailment (gout?) with which he was afflicted in the last years of his life (see above, pages 107-108).

¹⁶Pliny, *H. N.* 7.46 . . . *brevitate aevi, quinquagensimo uno raptus anno* . . . See above, pages 1-4.

¹⁷Dio (54.28.4), expressing his own ignorance as to why this was done, rejects the reasons usually given, namely, that Augustus was forbidden to

deceased friend.¹⁸ The *laudatio* contained no mention of an illustrious ancestry; the history of Agrippa begins with his own glorious deeds. Then, with honors and ceremonies similar to those used later at the burial of Augustus,¹⁹ the funeral procession followed the body to the Campus Martius, where it was cremated. Although Agrippa had prepared his own tomb near his great group of monuments,²⁰ the ashes were interred, as were the ashes of Augustus's first son-in-law, in the Mausoleum of Augustus.²¹

The premature death of Agrippa, in the course of the first year of the renewal of the co-regency, was not merely a private sorrow for his own house and the house of Augustus, but a great national calamity. Numerous portents, foreboding dire catastrophe to superstitious Romans, were connected by them with this most memorable event of the year. Owls flew about the city; a bolt of lightning struck the house at Mt. Alba where the consuls resided during the *Feriae Latinae*; fire destroyed many buildings in the city, among them the Casa Romuli, which was

look upon a dead body because he was *pontifex* or because he exercised censorial powers at that time. In Dio's day the question was only an academic one; beyond question during the early Empire a *pontifex* was forbidden to behold a dead body. See Seneca, *Ad Marciam* 15.3; Dio 54.35.4. Compare Matthes, 14, note 1; Motte, 250-251; Gardthausen, 2.505, note 34; F. Vollmer, *Laudationum Funebrium Romanorum Historia et Reliquiarum Editio*, *Jahrbücher für Classische Philologie*, Supplementband 18 (1892), 461, note 1.

¹⁸Dio 54.28.3. Compare H. Malcovati, *Caesaris Augusti Imperatoris Operum Fragmenta*, XXXV (Turin, 1928).

¹⁹See Suetonius, Augustus 100.

²⁰The *Aedes Agrippae* in the Campus Martius, mentioned by Suetonius (Augustus 97.1), which is sometimes identified with the Pantheon (e. g. by Shuckburgh, on Suetonius, Augustus 97.1), is more probably the burial monument built by Agrippa in his lifetime. A fragment of the *Forma Urbis Romae*, restored as [MONUMENTUM] [AJGRI] [PPAE] by Ch. Hülsen, *Römische Mitteilungen* 18 (1903), 48-54, gives the location of the tomb near the Monumentum Iuliorum. Hülsen points out (51) that *aedes* may mean 'tomb' (see *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, 1.911, 915-916). Compare Jordan-Hülsen, 1^a.572-573; Platner-Ashby, 476; Stein, *In-schriften*, 53; Kornemann, *Mausoleum*, 3. Stein's assertion (note 1) that Augustus built the tomb of Agrippa I do not think probable; nor do I follow the statement of Kornemann that this tomb was not built until Agrippa became co-regent.

²¹Dio 54.28.5; *Consolatio ad Liviam* 67-68 *Condidit Agrippam quo te, Marcelle, sepulcro, et cepit generos iam locus ille duos.*

set afire by burning sacrificial meat dropped upon it by crows.²² In the late summer of the year a comet made its appearance, and, after hovering for many days over the city, seemed to disappear in flashes of light.²³

When the will of Agrippa was made public, it was revealed that he had left to the Roman people his gardens and his *Thermae*,²⁴ for the free enjoyment of the people. In order to ensure revenue for their maintenance, he set aside for this purpose certain of the lands which he had left to Augustus, and the latter straightway made them public property.²⁵ Augustus was the principal heir. To him Agrippa left his great provincial

²²Dio 54.29.7-8 (= Zonaras 10.34).

²³Dio 54.29.8 *τό τε ἄστρον ὃ κομήτης ὀνομασμένος ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἄστεως αἰωρηθεὶς ἐς λαμπάδας διελύθη*. This comet has been identified, with great probability, with the famous Halley's comet. The visibility of the comet from August 26 to October 20, with the perihelion passage on October 8, 12 B. C., was recorded in detail in the Chinese annals. See J. Williams, *Observations of Comets, from B. C. 611 to A. D. 1640*, Extracted from the Chinese Annals, 9-10 (London, 1871). All modern discussions of this comet which I have seen deduce from Dio that the comet was seen in Rome before the death of Agrippa, i. e. before March 19-24. To reconcile this date with the date recorded in the Chinese annals Gardthausen (2.504-505, note 31) offers the highly unscientific suggestion that Halley's comet was seen in Italy early in the year 12 B. C., before the death of Agrippa, then disappeared behind the sun, and finally reappeared in the East in August. But Dio does not say that the comet appeared before the death of Agrippa; he says merely that it was one of the portents observed about that time (54.29.7 . . . *σημεῖα ὅσα πρὸ τῶν μεγίστων συμφορῶν συμβαίνειν σφίσιν ἐκώθε*. . .). The comet connected by the Romans with Caesar's death, the *sidus Iulium*, also did not appear until several months after the Ides of March, 44 B. C. (see Gardthausen, 1.54, 2.24-25, note 26; Gündel's article *Kometen*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 11.1186-1187). For the comet of 12 B. C. see Gündel, 1187; J. Holetschek, *Untersuchungen über die Grösse und Helligkeit der Kometen und ihrer Schweife*, *Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Vienna), Mathematisch-naturwissenschaftliche Classe* 63 (1896), 352; *The New International Encyclopaedia*,³ 5.651-652; J. Russell Hind, *The Comets*, 55-56 (London, 1852); P. H. Cowell and A. C. D. Crommelin, *The Perturbations of Halley's Comet in the Past*, *Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society* 68 (1908), 668-669. Gündel and Hind date the appearance of the comet incorrectly in 11 B. C. ²⁴See above, page 95.

²⁵Dio 54.29.4. Compare L. Homo, *Le Domaine Impérial à Rome*, *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire* 19 (1899), 111-112. I am unable to understand why Homo (112, note 1) maintains that these lands must have been in Rome.

estates, the whole of the Thracian Chersonese,²⁶ and probably his estates in Sicily,²⁷ and in Egypt.²⁸ Part of the great legacy to Augustus was the company of slaves²⁹ which Agrippa had

²⁶Dio 54.29.5. See above, page 109. Compare Homo, 112 (see note 25, above). That the Chersonese remained part of the imperial possessions is confirmed by the mention in an inscription of a *procurator Augusti regionis Chersonesi* as late as the second century A. D. See Hirschfeld, Verwaltungsbeamten, 19–20, note 4, 372, note 6.

²⁷See above, page 42, note 100. Hirschfeld (Kleine Schriften, 573) thinks that Agrippa's Sicilian estates did not pass to Augustus, but he gives no reasons for his view.

²⁸See above, page 61, note 54.

²⁹Slaves and freedmen of Augustus and Tiberius with the *agnomen Agrippianus* are former slaves of Agrippa who came into the possession of Augustus at this time. Among these slaves were C. Iulius Divi Aug. L. Cozmsus Agrippianus (CIL 6.5202–5203); Philotimus Agrippianus (CIL 6.4808); Princeps Caesaris Ser. Agrippianus (CIL 6.5299); Castor Ti. Caesa(ris) et Aug. L. Agrippianus (CIL 6.5223); Acastus Caesaris Aug. L. Agrippianus (CIL 6.5849); Philargus Divi Aug. L. Agrippianus (CIL 6.8012); Atticus Agrippianus, Caesaris disp(ensator) (CIL 6.8820); Philemon Agrippianus, Zoilus Agrippianus (CIL 6.33768, 8756; compare 4455); Tib. Claud. Coinnagus Atticus Agrippianus (CIL 13.2449). Compare Ch. Hülsen, *Sopra i Nomi Doppi di Servi e Liberti della Casa Imperiale*, *Römische Mitteilungen* 3 (1888), 223, 230–231; Hirschfeld, *Kleine Schriften*, 518. I do not follow the suggestion of R. Paribeni, *Notizie degli Scavi* 1922, 417, Nos. 51, 53, that the Ti. Iulius Diogenes Remothalcianus mentioned in two inscriptions, in one along with a Vipsania Urbana, was a former slave of Rhoemetalces of Thrace, who passed into Agrippa's possession, then by the will of Agrippa into Augustus's possession, and was finally manumitted by Tiberius. The name *Agrippianus* is lacking. Furthermore, it is not certain that Vipsania Urbana was personally manumitted by Agrippa. For other slaves of Agrippa see above, page 96, note 113. Numerous *M. Vipsanii* and *Vipsaniae* of freedman stock are known, but it is difficult to distinguish which were manumitted by Agrippa, which by his daughters, and which were descendants of such freedmen. The following were probably manumitted by Agrippa: M. Vipsanius M. L. Zoticus (CIL 6.5730; he is perhaps the same as the slave of Agrippa mentioned above, and perhaps the same as the Βειψάνος Ζώτικος known from an inscription from Catina, Sicily. See above, page 42, note 100); Vipsania M. L. Stibas (CIL 6.5730); Vipsania M. L. Acume (CIL 6.5731); Vipsania Agrippae L. Martha (CIL 6.6184); M. Vipsanius Salvius, M. Vipsanius Fortunatus (CIL 6.8871); M. Vipsanius Migio (or Mugio), M. Vipsanius Calamus, M. Vipsanius Dareus, M. Vipsanius Faustus (CIL 6.10046; see above, page 105, note 38); M. Vipsanius Agrippae L. Antiochus Sittianus, M. Vipsanius Agrippae L. Troilus Sittianus (CIL 6.18269). These former slaves of Agrippa probably came into his possession in some way from the well-known Sittius family, for which see Münzer, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Zweite Reihe*, 3.408–411; Vipsania Lesbia (?) (CIL 6.29010. Gardt-

organized and maintained to keep in condition the aqueducts and the fountains which he had constructed.³⁰ These too Augustus made public property, when he organized the *cura aquarum* in 11 B.C.³¹ Among other bequests to Augustus were perhaps marble quarries in Phrygia which had supplied Agrippa with materials for his many buildings.³² The will of Agrippa seems also to have made some provision for his children.³³

Augustus did everything in his power to perpetuate the memory of his late collaborator.³⁴ Out of the sums left to him by Agrippa Augustus distributed to each citizen of the Roman *plebs* 400 sesterces in the name of his friend.³⁵ Shortly after the

hausen, 2.408, note 55, observes that the name Lesbia may be a reminiscence of Agrippa's long stay at Lesbos); M. Vipsanius Musaeus (CIL 6.29012); M. Vipsanius Agr[ippae (or Agrippinae?) L. . . .] (CIL 6.39051); for the Vipsanii in Sicily see above, page 42, note 100; Vipsanius Philargius (or Philargyrus), mentioned by Suetonius, *De Viris Illustribus* (Reifferscheid, 136), Isidorus, *Etymologiae* 1.22, as an innovator in shorthand writing, may also have been a freedman of Agrippa (compare *Prosopographia*, 3.443). Other instances are doubtful, e. g. CIL 6.4835, 5019, 5732, 6038, 8877, 12782, 20912 (compare 28990), 28992-28996, 28998, 28999, 29001, 29004, 29005, 29007, 29009, 29011, 29050, 33201, 33281, 38491b, 39053; 10.8059⁴⁴⁴, 1403a, Column 2, 18. In what connection the funeral society *Collegium Agrippianum* (CIL 6.10255 = 37847) stood to Agrippa I am unable to say.

³⁰See above, page 52. ³¹See above, page 52.

³²From a plinth of a column of pavonazetto (*marmor Phrygium*), now lost, with the identification mark [M. AGR]IPPAE (CIL 15, page 988), Hirschfeld (*Verwaltungsbeamten*, 147, note 1) concludes that the Phrygian quarries known to have been among the imperial possessions passed into Augustus's hands through the will of Agrippa. C. Dubois, *Étude sur l'Administration et l'Exploitation des Carrières. . . Dans le Monde Romain*, 81-82 (Dissertation, Paris, 1908), also points out that the columns of Agrippa's Pantheon were of *marmor Phrygium*. Compare Fiehn's article *Steinbruch*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Zweite Reihe*, 3.2278-2279; Marquardt, 2.262, note 6.

³³Several brick tiles from Bruttium with the identification marks of the children and the grandchildren of Agrippa (CIL 10.8041, 1: C. L. Caesar; 8041, 19: Lepidae; 8041, 20: Lepidae et Agrippinae; 8041, 21: Lepidae M. Silani) suggest that Agrippa possessed tile-kilns in that region. See Mommsen, CIL 10.8041, 1; Gardthausen, 2.505-506, note 37; Hirschfeld, *Kleine Schriften*, 545-546. Mommsen is not certain whether these came into the possession of Agrippa's children directly through the will of Agrippa or through grant by Augustus. ³⁴Dio 54.29.5.

³⁵Dio 54.29.4 . . . καθ' ἑκατὸν δραχμὰς τῷ δήμῳ ὡς καὶ ἐκείνου κελύσαντος δένειμε. Mommsen (*Res Gestae*, 61) identifies this distribution with the

death of Agrippa a posthumous son was born to Julia, and Augustus named him Agrippa in memory of the child's father.³⁶ Games (probably yearly) were instituted, and Augustus himself, whenever he was present in Rome, supervised the gladiatorial combats at these games. He insisted, moreover, that all the people join in honoring the memory of his great friend, although none of the foremost families went willingly to the festivals in honor of the plebeian who had risen to the second highest place in the Roman State.³⁷

Commemorative silver coins were struck in Rome shortly after Agrippa's death.³⁸ It is perhaps also at this time that a *senatus consultum* was passed authorizing the issuance of the first of a series of copper *asses*, of which numerous specimens have been found, that show, on the obverse, a head of Agrippa wearing the *corona rostrata*, with the legend M. AGRIPPA L. F.

congariarium mentioned by Augustus, Res Gestae 15 . . . tribunicia potestate duodecimum quadringenos nummos tertium viritum dedi. Accordingly, the distribution took place in the second half of 12 B. C. Compare also Josephus, Antiquitates 16.4.5; CIL 9.5289. Gardthausen (2.506, note 39) rejects Mommsen's view, maintaining that Augustus could not rightly include in the statement of his own *impensae* expenditures made in accordance with the provisions of Agrippa's will. But Gardthausen did not observe the word *as* in Dio, which shows that this distribution was not actually one of the provisions of Agrippa's will, or the word *tamquam* in Mommsen.

³⁶Dio 54.29.5; Suetonius, Augustus 64.1. See the inscriptions from Mytilene in note 49, below. Gardthausen (2.844, note 1) conjectures that Agrippa Postumus was born after June 26, 12 B. C.

³⁷Dio 54.29.6. Compare Frandsen, 240. For the great games on the fifth anniversary of his death see below, page 135. I do not understand why Mommsen (Res Gestae, 61), who is followed by Gardthausen (1.861), says that elaborate preparations delayed the games in Agrippa's honor for five years.

³⁸Coins of the *IIIvir Monetalis* Cossus Cornelius Lentulus (see above, page 100, note 7) show on the reverse an equestrian statue of Agrippa wearing a helmet and a trophy, the whole supported by a pedestal ornamented with prows. See Mattingly, 1.25, Nos. 122-123; Grueber, 2.101, Nos. 4672-4673; Mattingly-Sydenham, 77, No. 171; Cohen, 1.121, No. 418. Those of L. Lentulus show on the reverse Augustus crowning with a star an heroic statue of Agrippa, who holds a victory in the right hand and a staff in the left hand. See Mattingly, 1.26, Nos. 124-125; Mattingly-Sydenham, 77, No. 173; Cohen, 1.121, No. 419. The inscription on the reverse of these coins is L. Lentulus Flamen Martialis. Hence Mattingly (1.cvii) conjectures that the statue reproduced on these coins stood in the Temple of Mars Ultor.

Cos. III, and, on the reverse, a standing Neptune holding in the right hand a dolphin and in the left hand a trident, with the letters S.C.⁸⁹

Though Agrippa was buried with imperial honors, in the same

⁸⁹See Mattingly, 1.142-143, Nos. 161-166; Mattingly-Sydenham, 108, Nos. 32-33; Cohen, 1.175-176, No. 3; Babelon, 2.558, Nos. 8-10. See the frontispiece. The problem of the date when these coins were minted has called forth a variety of opinions among scholars. Mommsen (*Staatsrecht*, 2.830, note 3) believes that they were issued under Tiberius. H. Willers, *Geschichte der Römischen Kupferprägung*, 205 (Leipzig and Berlin, 1909), and M. v. Bahrfeldt, *Nachträge und Berichtigungen zur Münzkunde der Römischen Republik*, 3.178-179 (Hildesheim, 1919), favor the reign of Claudius as the time of their issuance. L. Laffranchi, *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica* 23 (1910), 26-31, and Mattingly, 1.cxxxiii, cxi, Roman Coins, 137, are undecided between Tiberius and Caligula, though Mattingly now favors the latter. I have collected all the specimens of these coins which I could find. The following variant reverses occur with the obverse described in the text above: (1) Imp. Caesar Divi F. August. Imp. XX (Babelon, 2.559, No. 1; Cohen, 1.178, No. 5); (2) Radiate head of Augustus, with the legend Divus Augustus Pater (Mattingly-Sydenham, 108, No. 35; Cohen, 1.178, No. 4); (3) Ti. Caes. Divi Aug. F. August. P. M. Tr. Pot. XXIII, S. C. (Cohen, 1.176, No. 4; Babelon, 2.559, No. 5); (4) Ti. Caes. Divi Aug. F. P. M. Tr. Pot. XXIII, S. C. (Cohen, 1.176, No. 5; Mattingly-Sydenham, 107, No. 29); (5) Pontif. Maxim. Tribun. Potest. XXXVII, S. C. (Mattingly, 1.143, No. 170); (6) Pontif. Max. Tribunic. Potest. XXXVIII, S. C. (Cohen, 1.175, No. 1; Babelon, 2.559, No. 3); (7) An altar, with the legend S. C. Proident. (Cohen, 1.175, No. 2; Babelon, 2.559, No. 2; Mattingly-Sydenham, 108, No. 34). I date these coins as follows: (1) 11/12 A. D. (see Mattingly, 1.xciii); (3) June 27, 21 A. D.-June 26, 22 A. D.; (4) June 27, 22 A. D.-June 26, 23 A. D.; (5) June 27, 35 A. D.-June 26, 36 A. D.; (6) June 27, 36 A. D.-June 26, 37 A. D. Since Agrippa was born in 64 or 63 B. C. (see above, pages 1-4), I would suggest that the coins with Reverse (1) were issued by Augustus to commemorate the seventy-fifth anniversary of Agrippa's birth; that the coins with Reverses (3) and (4) were issued by Tiberius on the occasion of the eighty-fifth anniversary of Agrippa's birth; that the coins with Reverses (5) and (6) were issued by Tiberius on the occasion of the one hundredth anniversary of Agrippa's birth. At about the same time when the coins with Reverses (5) and (6) were issued at Rome a similar series of coins was struck in Spain, at Caesaraugusta (see below, page 137). I would further suggest that the prototype of these coins (described in the text above) was issued at the time of Agrippa's death. Specimens of the 'prototype' have been found with the countermark TI AV in an incuse square (Mattingly, 1.143, Nos. 167-169). The 'prototype' coinage was restored by Titus and Domitian (Babelon, 2.559, 570-571, Nos. 1-2; Cohen, 1.176, Nos. 6-7; Mattingly, 2.285, No. 281, 416, No. 510). The coins with Reverses (2) and (7) cannot be definitely dated.

manner in which Augustus and Tiberius were later buried, and though in the worship of the Lares he was associated with Augustus,⁴⁰ a formal deification by the State was, of course, never accorded to him.⁴¹ At the most, the possibility of the existence of a local cult on the Island of Lesbos is supported by inscriptions in which Agrippa is honored as *θεὸς σωτήρ*.⁴²

News of the death of the co-regent sped to all parts of the Empire. The presence of Herod in Italy in 12 B.C.,⁴³ shortly after the death of Agrippa, is perhaps to be connected with the funeral of his friend. The city Anthedon, on the coast of Judea, which Herod had rebuilt, he renamed Agrippias in honor of his deceased friend.⁴⁴ Moreover, upon the birth of a grandson

⁴⁰CIL 10.3691 (Cumae): Lares Augus. Agrippa. How the fragment CIL 10.3691a, Potestatis D. Agrippa, which was found with 3691, is to be interpreted I do not know. Compare Beloch, 152.

⁴¹The interpretation by Mattingly (Roman Coins, 149, note 1. This interpretation is cited with approval by Taylor, 196, note 35) of the coins struck at Rome by L. Lentulus at the time of Agrippa's death (see note 38, above) as "... a sort of unofficial consecration of Agrippa" is rejected by E. Bickermann, *Die Römische Kaiserapotheose*, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 27 (1929), 8, note 4. Compare also Mattingly, 1.c.vii; Taylor, 196; Gardthausen, 2.505, note 32; Hirschfeld, *Kleine Schriften*, 486. There is, of course, no evidence of divine worship in the inclusion of Agrippa in the stars of the Milky Way in the court poet Manilius's catalogue of the *fortes animae* (1.797-798). Compare T. Breiter, *M. Manilius Astronomica*, 2.31-32 (Leipzig, 1908). The citation by Heinen (176) and Taylor (271-272, 274-275) of inscriptions in which Agrippa is called *κτίστης*, *εργετής*, *σωτήρ*, *συγγενής*, 'patron', and of cities and games named in his honor, as evidence of divine honors and the cult of Agrippa in the East hardly deserves serious consideration.

⁴²IGR 4.70a = IG 12.2.171 (compare IGR 4.70b) *Μάρκω Ἀγρίππᾳ <sic!> θέω σ(α)ῶτηρι καὶ κτίστᾳ τᾶς πόλιος*; IGR 4.68b = IG 12.2.168 *Μάρκω Ἀγρίππᾳ θέω [σ(ῶ)τηρι καὶ κτίστᾳ τ]ᾶς πόλι<λι>ος...*; IGR 4.67c = IG 12.2.166 (compare *Athenische Mitteilungen* 13 [1888], 60-62) *Μ. Ἀγρίππᾳ θέω σῶτηρι τᾶς πόλιος...* The above inscriptions are from Mytilene. A similar inscription comes from Thermae: IGR 4.21 = IG 12.2.203 *Ὁ δᾶμος θέων σῶτηρα τᾶς πόλιος Μάρκων Ἀγρίππᾳ τὸν ἐργετᾶν καὶ κτίσταν*.

⁴³Josephus, *Antiquitates* 16.4.1.

⁴⁴Josephus, *Antiquitates* 13.13.3, *Bellum* 1.4.2, 5.4, 21.8. In *Bellum* 1.21.8 the city is called *Ἀγρίππειον*, but this is probably a slip. Compare Schürer, 1.389-390, 2.118-119; Benzinger's article *Anthedon*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 1.2360. Otto (78) and J. Assmann, *De Coloniae Oppidisque Romanis, Quibus Imperatoria Nomina Vel Cognomina Imposita Sunt*, 86 (Dissertation, Jena, 1905), maintain that the new name *Agrippias* was given to Anthedon while Agrippa was still alive. But Eusebius (in the

in 10 B.C. (the future King of Judea, Agrippa I), Herod named him M. Julius Agrippa.⁴⁵ The frequent occurrence of the name Agrippa in Judea,⁴⁶ in Syria, and in other parts of the East, as well as in the West, is, in the last instance, traceable to the influence of Marcus Agrippa.

Agrippa's memory lived on in the Orient. On the Island of Cos⁴⁷ games were celebrated in his honor.⁴⁸ Many inscriptions from Mytilene show that his memory was perpetuated there long after his death.⁴⁹ At Cyzicus he was remembered as the restorer of the freedom of the city, and was honored as its new

edition by Schoene, 2.142) places the renaming of the city after the assumption by Augustus of the office of *pontifex maximus*, and in Chronicon Paschale (193 D) the event is dated in the consulship of Messala and Quirinius (12 B. C.). In my opinion it was a fixed policy of Agrippa not to permit such honors to himself during his lifetime. The new name of the city is perhaps found on some coins of Anthedon with the portrait of King Agrippa II, Ἀγρίππ(έων), but the name does not seem to have lasted very long. See F. W. Madden, History of Jewish Coinage, 108 (London, 1864); G. F. Hill, Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Palestine <in the British Museum>, xlv-xlvi (London, 1914). For the renaming of Phanagoria in the Cimmerian Bosphorus, probably after Agrippa's death, see above, page 115. Also in Bithynia a town, of which we know only the name, *Agrippenses* (Pliny, H. N. 5.149), was named after Agrippa. The inhabitants of Amorium in Greater Phrygia did not call themselves *Οδοψάνοι* in the early Empire, though W. H. Waddington, Revue Numismatique 1851, 157-158, and Gardthausen (1.739-740, 2.412-413, note 28) so concluded from some coins of the city. Other coins show that members of the gens *Vipsania* (not freedmen), e. g. L. Vipsanius Silvanus, Vipsanius Justus, became established in Amorium in some way. See B. V. Head, Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Phrygia <in the British Museum>, xxvii-xxviii, 51-52, Nos. 25-27, 32-33 (London, 1906); Hirschfeld's article *Amorion*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 1.1876.

⁴⁵For Agrippa I, see Rosenberg, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 10.143-146.

⁴⁶Compare the frequent occurrence of the name in Otto's genealogical table of the house of Herod (following page 16); CIG 4539, 4594.

⁴⁷Not on the isthmus of Corinth, though Gardthausen so states (1.740).

⁴⁸Ἀγρίππῃα. See Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique 5 (1881), 230-231, 234-235 = Dittenberger, 1065.13.

⁴⁹IGR 4.79g = IG 12.2.164 M. Ἀγρίππᾶ τῷ σώτηρι καὶ τῷ παιδὶ αὐτῷ M. Ἀγρίππᾶ; IGR 4.65b = IG 12.2.169 Μάρκῳ Ἀγρίππᾶ καὶ τῷ παιδὶ αὐτῷ Μάρκῳ Ἀγρίππᾶ; IGR 4.69 = IG 12.2.170 [Μ]άρκῳ Ἀγρίππᾶ τῷ σώτηρι καὶ [τ]ῷ παιδὶ αὐτῷ [Μ]άρκῳ Ἀγρίππᾶ [παιδ]όπαιδι τῷ [Σεβ]άστῳ θέῳ; IGR 4.78a = IG 12.2.172 [Μάρ]κῳ Ἀγρίπ[πᾶ τῷ] σώτηρι [τᾶς π]όλιος καὶ [τῷ παιδ]ὶ αὐτῷ [Μάρκῳ] Ἀγρίππᾶ; see also note 42, above.

founder.⁵⁰ At Ephesus the south entrance gate of the *agora*, completed in 4/3 B.C., was dedicated to Augustus and Agrippa, together with Livia and Julia.⁵¹ Alabanda⁵² in Caria, and Amisus⁵³ in Pontus many years after his death issued coins which bore his portrait.

Naturally, his name was kept alive longer in the West. In 7 B.C., on the fifth anniversary of his death, great public funeral games, with gladiatorial combats, during which all the people except Augustus wore mourning garb, were celebrated in the *Saepta Iulia*, which Agrippa had built.^{53a} At the same time Augustus, who, as the principal heir of Agrippa, had carried on the building operations left unfinished at the time of his friend's death, opened to the public use the *Campus Agrippae* in the Seventh Region, between the *Via Lata* and the hills.⁵⁴ After Agrippa's death his sister Polla⁵⁵ had begun, in accordance with provisions in his will, a large *porticus* in the western part of the

⁵⁰See above, page 109, note 27.

⁵¹The attic of the gate bears in large bronze letters the following inscription:

Imp. Caesari Divi F. Augusto Pontificali	M. Agrippae L. F. Cos. Tert. Imb. <sic!> Tribunic.
Maximo Cos. XII Tribunic. Potest. XX et	Potest. VI et
Liviae Caesaris Augusti Mazaeus et	Iuliae Caesaris Augusti Fil. Mithridates Patronis

See *Österreichisches Jahreshft* 7 (1904), *Beiblatt*, 50; *Forschungen in Ephesos*, Veröffentlicht vom Österreichischen Archäologischen Institute, 3.52-53 (Vienna, 1923); Dessau, ILS 8897. See also the restoration of the gate, which was adorned with statues of Augustus, Agrippa, Livia, and Julia, in the *Forschungen* (opposite page 48). It is strange to find Agrippa and Julia honored together in 4/3 B. C., when Julia had already been many years married to Tiberius.

⁵²The obverse of some coins from Alabanda shows heads of Agrippa, and his sons, Gaius and Lucius, all surmounted by stars. See Cohen, 1.187; B. V. Head, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Caria, Cos, Rhodes, &c.* <in the British Museum>, 5, No. 28 (London, 1897).

⁵³Agrippa's head appears on coins struck at Amisus in 9/10 A. D. See *Waddington-Babelon-Reinach*, 77, No. 70a.

^{53a}Dio 55.8.5. Compare Wilhelm, 59-60.

⁵⁴Dio 55.8.3; Aulus Gellius 14.5.1; *Notitia*; *Chronographus Anni 354*, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Auctorum Antiquissimorum*, 9. 148 (Berlin, 1892). Compare Hülsen's article *Agrippae campus*, in *Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll*, 1.898; Platner-Ashby, 90; Jordan-Hülsen, 1^a.457-458.

⁵⁵See above, page 11.

Campus Agrippae. On the walls of this colonnade, which was named Porticus Vipsania after Polla, or after the *gens Vipsania*, was portrayed the map of the world⁵⁶ for which Agrippa had gathered information in the latter part of his life. The *porticus* was not yet completed in 7 B.C. Upon the death of Polla shortly afterwards, Augustus himself finished it.⁵⁷ In the same year in which he dedicated the Campus Agrippae Augustus completed the *diribitorium* left unfinished by Agrippa. This massive structure, for the sorting and counting of the votes cast in the elections, stood in the Campus Martius in close relation with the Saepta.⁵⁸ Pliny⁵⁹ counts it among the great wonders of Rome, and Dio⁶⁰ describes it as the largest building ever covered by a single roof.⁶¹

Years later (11/12 A.D.), on the occasion of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the birth of Agrippa, Augustus reissued the copper *asses* struck at the time of Agrippa's death.⁶² When the Res Gestae of Augustus, that astute piece of imperial propaganda, was made public after the death of Augustus, Agrippa's name was found mentioned along with the names of the other members of the imperial household who had at one time or another been marked out for the succession to the principate.⁶³

Afterwards, Tiberius, on the occasion of the eighty-fifth anniversary, and again, on the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Agrippa, reissued the *asses* minted after the death of Agrippa.⁶⁴ With the coins struck by Tiberius at

⁵⁶See below, pages 142-148.

⁵⁷Dio 55.8.3-4; Pliny, H. N. 3.17, 6.139; Martial 4.18.1-2; Tacitus, *Historiae* 1.31; Plutarch, *Galba* 25.5. In the *Notitia* (Regio VII) the name is corrupted to Porticus Gypsiani. Martial (1.108.3) mentions the laurel trees in its gardens. Hülsen identifies it with the Porticus Europae mentioned by Martial (2.14.3, 5, 15, 3.20.12, 7.32.12, 11.1.11). Compare Jordan-Hülsen, 1^a.458-459; Platner-Ashby, 430.

⁵⁸Ch. Hülsen, *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma* 21 (1893), 119-142. ⁵⁹H. N. 36.102. ⁶⁰55.8.3-4.

⁶¹See also Suetonius, *Claudius* 18.1; Dio 59.7.8, 66.24.2. One may judge its size from a superfluous beam left as a curiosity in the Saepta, a beam of larch 100 feet long and 1½ feet thick (Pliny, H. N. 16.201). Compare Platner-Ashby, 151; Jordan-Hülsen, 1^a.562-564; Hülsen's article *Diribitorium*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 5.1168.

⁶²See note 39, above.

⁶³See W. L. Westermann, *The Monument of Ancyra*, *The American Historical Review* 17 (1911), 5-6. ⁶⁴See note 39, above.

Rome in 35–37 A.D. are to be connected the similar series of copper coins from Caesaraugusta, in Spain, which were issued about that time.⁶⁵

Long after his death orators and poets included his name among those of the ancestors of the Caesars.⁶⁶ But the tradition of Agrippa lived on especially in his many splendid buildings in Rome and in other large cities of the Empire, and in his descendants.⁶⁷

The history of the house of Agrippa after his death unfolds itself like the scenes of a Greek tragedy.⁶⁸ Of all his children only one, Vipsania Agrippina, the daughter of Agrippa's first wife, Caecilia Attica, met a natural death.⁶⁹ Her happy marriage with Tiberius ended soon after the death of her father, when Tiberius was forced by Augustus to divorce her and marry Julia.⁷⁰ She was married later to a son of Pollio, and became by him the mother of several future consuls.⁷¹ She did not live to see her son by Tiberius, Drusus II,⁷² desig-

⁶⁵See Cohen, 1.177, Nos. 13–14; Delgado, 3.48, Nos. 41–42; Vives y Escudero, 84, No. 66.

⁶⁶This follows from Suetonius, Gaius 23.1 (see above, page 5, note 18). Compare Marx, 182. If Varius actually wrote an epic on the *res gestae* of Agrippa, as Horace (Carmina 1.6.1–4: see above, page 67) promised Agrippa, it has not come down to us.

⁶⁷M. Vipsanius Sp. F. Ter(etina tribu) Gallicanus, the grandson of C. Iulius Aug. Lib. Libanus, a freedman of Augustus (CIL 6.20109), is not necessarily an illegitimate son of Agrippa by a daughter of Libanus. He may be the son of a freedman of Agrippa.

⁶⁸Pliny, H. N. 7.45 . . . infelici terris stirpe omni, sed per utrasque Agrippinas maxime, quae Gaium, quae Domitium Neronem principes genuere totidem faces generis humani . . . ; Velleius 2.93.2. Compare Frandsen, 241.

⁶⁹Tacitus, Annales 3.19.4–5 . . . Vipsania . . . excessit, una omnium Agrippae liberorum miti obitu, nam ceteros manifestum ferro vel creditum est veneno aut fame extinctos. She died in 20 A. D.

⁷⁰Tiberius was compelled to divorce her, although he was very fond of her and although she was again with child (Suetonius, Tiberius 7.2–3; Dio 54.31.2).

⁷¹Tacitus, Annales 1.12.6; Dio 57.2.7, 60.27.5. Compare CIL 10.1682 Cn. Asinio Pollionis et Agrippae nepoti Puteolani patrono, publice (= Dessau, ILS 933). Compare also Tacitus, Annales 6.23.3 tot consularium parenti <= C. Asinius Gallus>; Annales 4.61 Fine anni <26 A. D.> excessere insignes viri, Asinius Agrippa, claris maioribus quam vetustis. . . .

⁷²For Drusus see Gardthausen, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 10.431–434. Drusus was ashamed of his descent from Atticus (Tacitus, Annales 2.43.7).

nated successor by Tiberius and poisoned soon after by Sejanus.

When Agrippa died in 12 B.C., there were left behind with Julia four children, the eldest of whom, Gaius, was, at the most, eight years of age; shortly afterwards a posthumous son was born, Agrippa Postumus.⁷³ Even before Agrippa's death, the tale of Julia's infidelity to her husband—how much truth there is in this tradition we cannot tell—was one of the choicest morsels of gossip in Rome, and Agrippa is said to have died with the tormenting knowledge of her faithlessness.⁷⁴ However that may be, the political marriage between Julia and Agrippa, whose ages and temperaments were far from congenial, could hardly have been very happy.⁷⁵

Of the children of Agrippa and Julia, Gaius⁷⁶ and Lucius,⁷⁷ whom their grandfather Augustus had adopted and had brought up under the most favorable circumstances, were from a very early age regarded as the future successors of Augustus.⁷⁸ But the *principes iuventutis*, the future *principes civium*,⁷⁹ died prematurely, the latter at Marseilles in 2 A.D., the former in Lycia in 4 A.D.⁸⁰ Augustus now turned to Agrippa Postumus,⁸¹ whom he adopted together with Tiberius in 4 A.D.⁸² Livia, however, ensured the sole succession of her son Tiberius, by effecting the banishment of Agrippa Postumus, and, when Tiberius became *princeps*, Agrippa Postumus was put out of the

⁷³See above, page 131.

⁷⁴Pliny, H. N. 7.46 . . . raptus . . . in tormentis adulteriorum coniugis . . . ; Macrobius, Saturnalia 2.5.3, 9. Tacitus (Annales 1.53.4) mentions Sempronius Gracchus (see E. Groag, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, Zweite Reihe 2.1371–1374) in this connection. Suetonius (Tiberius 7.2) records the common gossip that Julia had a passion for Tiberius while Agrippa was still alive.

⁷⁵Compare Fitzler's article *Julia*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 10.899; Gardthausen, 1.748, 1099; E. Groag, Wiener Studien 40 (1918), 152.

⁷⁶For Gaius Caesar see Gardthausen, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 10.424–428.

⁷⁷For Lucius Caesar see Gardthausen, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 10.472–473.

⁷⁸Compare Kornemann, Doppelprinzipat, 18–24.

⁷⁹Ovid, Ars Amatoria 1.194; CIL 11.1421, 12–13.

⁸⁰Compare Res Gestae 14.

⁸¹For Agrippa Postumus see Gardthausen, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 10.183–185.

⁸²Suetonius, Augustus 65.

way. Agrippa's elder daughter, Julia,⁸³ who was married to L. Aemilius Paullus,⁸⁴ was involved in the conspiracy organized by her husband and was banished. She too died a violent death.

The tragedy of the house of Agrippa continues with his younger daughter, Agrippina,⁸⁵ who was married to Germanicus and was the mother of nine children.⁸⁶ Of the six sons of Agrippina, the three who lived to manhood, Nero, Drusus III, and Gaius were, in turn, the designated successors of Tiberius. But Nero and Drusus were both put out of the way by Sejanus, and ultimately the principate fell into the hands of Gaius, the mad grandson of Agrippa.⁸⁷ Of the three daughters of Agrippina,⁸⁸ none of whom died natural deaths, the eldest, Agrip-

⁸³For Julia see Fitzler, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 10.906-908; IG 12.8.381.

⁸⁴For Aemilius Paullus see v. Rohden, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 1.580, No. 115. One child of this marriage is known, Aemilia Lepida, who was married to M. Junius Silanus (compare note 33, above), by whom she had three sons, all of whom met violent deaths, and two daughters. Another child of Julia, born after her exile, Augustus did not permit to be recognized (Suetonius, Augustus 65.4). Aemilia Lepida (or another child whose identity we do not know) erected a statue to her grandfather Agrippa in the Basilica Aemilia, as an inscription found there shows. See Ch. Hülsen, *Klio* 2 (1902), 239-240 = CIL 6.36907 [M. A.]gripp[ae] . . . Pa[ul]i [F? . . .] Av[er] . . .]. Hülsen considers the dedicant a son of Julia and Paullus, but we do not know of any such son.

⁸⁵Tacitus, *Annales* 1.41.3; Dio 57.5.6-7. For Agrippina see E. Bondurand, *La Première Agrippine* (Nîmes, 1875); *Prosopographia*, 3.443-444, No. 463. She is designated as the daughter of Agrippa on the inscription from the Mausoleum (see above, page 5, note 18) and on other inscriptions, e. g. those given in *Athenische Mitteilungen* 5 (1880), 197, 14 (1889), 102, No. 42; CIL 9.2635. See also the inscriptions from Delphi and Thespiæ cited above, page 123, notes 95-96.

⁸⁶Suetonius, Gaius 7.

⁸⁷Aurelius Victor, *De Caesaribus* 3.2; Suetonius, Gaius 23.1 (see above, page 5, note 18). For Caligula, as he was nicknamed, see Gelzer, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 10.381-423. Tiberius left, as co-heir with Caligula, Tiberius Gemellus (Gardthausen, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 10.536-537), the son of Drusus II and the great-grandson of Agrippa, but Caligula had him murdered in 37 A. D. The sister of Tiberius Gemellus, Julia (Fitzler, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 10.908-909), was later put out of the way through the influence of Messalina.

⁸⁸The second daughter, Julia Drusilla (Fitzler, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 10.935-937), was married to L. Cassius Longinus. CIL 10.5170 may be restored as follows: [M. A.]grippa[e] L. F. L.? Cassi[us] Long[inus].

pina,⁸⁹ is the most important. Ambitious as her mother had been, she became the wife of the Emperor Claudius, and succeeded in placing her son Nero, the great-grandson of Agrippa,⁹⁰ on the throne. Finally, she was murdered at the command of her own son. With the violent death of the depraved Nero in 69 A.D. ends the house of Agrippa. Before Agrippa himself is obscurity; after him is a trail of unhappiness, disgrace, shame, madness, and bloodshed. Against this background the heroic figure of Agrippa stands out in high relief.

⁸⁹For Agrippina see Lackeit-Hasebroek, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 10.909-915.

⁹⁰Dio 63.8.2.

CHAPTER XII

THE WRITINGS OF AGRIPPA

Despite his untiring activity throughout his life in the military and administrative affairs of the Roman government, Agrippa yet found time in his brief, active life to set down in writing a number of works, whose contents are, unfortunately, for the most part, lost. The following are the known writings of Agrippa, the complete loss of the first three of which the biographer of Agrippa must greatly regret.

(1) *Oratio de Tabulis Signisque Publicandis*¹

It is not certain whether this address, still extant in the time of Pliny the Elder, in which Agrippa advocated the confiscation by the State of all works of art in private possession, was delivered in public or only distributed as a pamphlet.²

(2) *Commentarii de Aquis*³

Agrippa, as unofficial curator of the water supply of Rome since his aedileship in 33 B.C.,⁴ kept a private record of the quantities of water permitted to public works and to private persons. It is hardly likely that this record was ever published.⁵

¹Pliny, H. N. 35.26 . . . post eum <= Julius Caesar > M. Agrippa, vir rusticitati propior quam deliciis. Exstat certe eius oratio magna et maximo civium digna de tabulis omnibus signisque publicandis, quod fieri satius fuisset quam in villarum exilia pelli. If the style of Agrippa was at all influenced by his character, we should expect it to have been simple and powerful. Schanz (467, 566) labels it 'Attic'. I do not follow Teuffel (14), who deduces from Pliny's words, *vir rusticitati propior quam deliciis*, that Agrippa had a "derben Geschmack" in literature. A peculiarity, which Agrippa shared with some of his contemporaries, was the use of *simus* for *sumus* (Marius Victorinus grammaticus 6.9.5 Messala Brutus Agrippa pro *sumus simus* scripserunt).

²See above, page 72. How great the oratorical ability of Agrippa was cannot be determined. We know, however, that he undertook to defend clients in court (Seneca, *Controversiae* 2.4.13: see above, page 6), and that in the prosecution of the murderers of Julius Caesar Agrippa was the accuser of Cassius (see above, page 16). Compare Schanz, 466-467.

³Frontinus 98 qui <= Agrippa >, iam copia permittente, discipit quid aquarum publicis operibus, quid lacibus, quid privatis daretur; 99 Augustus quoque edicto complexus est, quo iure uterentur qui ex commentariis Agrippae aquas haberent. . . .
⁴See above, pages 51-52.

⁵Compare Jordan-Hülse, 2.58-59. There is little probability in Gardthausen's assertion (2.417, note 57) that this record was part of Agrippa's

(3) *De Vita Sua*⁶

The disappearance of the autobiography of Agrippa, the extent of which,⁷ and the date of whose composition we do not know,⁸ is a regrettable loss not only for the biographer of Agrippa, but also for the historian of the foundation of the Roman Empire, over which Agrippa exerted a tremendous and far-reaching influence.⁹

(4) *Commentarii Geographici*

Lastly,¹⁰ I come to a work of whose contents we may gain a fair conception, the *Commentarii* accompanying Agrippa's map of the world, which is of great importance in the history of ancient geography. Since the time that Frandsen made the first, incomplete, collection of the fragments of this work,¹¹ numerous studies have appeared, almost exclusively by German scholars,

Memoirs. Compare H. Peter, *Historicorum Romanorum Reliquiae*, 2.LXXVII, note 3 (Leipzig, 1906).

⁶Daniel-Servius, on Vergil, *Georgics* 2.162 Agrippa in secundo vitae suae dicit excogitasse se ut ex Lucrino lacu portum faceret. The sentence which follows, *verum huius (operis) gloriam Augusto cessit*, is not based on a statement of Agrippa, as *cessit* shows (compare Motte, 152, note 2), but is probably a reference to the name Portus Iulius (see above, page 32, note 25).

⁷The citation by Pliny (H. N. 7.148 . . . Philippensi proelio morbi, fuga et triduo in palude aegroti et, ut fatentur Agrippa ac Maecenas, aqua subter cutem fusa turgidi latebra . . .) of Agrippa as authority for Augustus's illness at Philippi is probably from Agrippa's autobiography. The *Commemoratio Aedilitatis* mentioned by Pliny (H. N. 36.121) may be only a section of the Memoirs. Seneca's knowledge of Agrippa's guiding principle may be based upon the Vita of Agrippa (*Epistulae* 94.46: see below, page 151, note 11).

⁸Gardthausen (1.749), Schanz (466, 551), and Peter (2.LXXVII. See note 5, above) suggest Agrippa's first stay at Mytilene, 23-21 B. C., as the time of composition. Schanz (467) would connect Agrippa's invitation to Horace to write an epic of his deeds (see above, page 67) with the composition of the autobiography.

⁹Compare Teuffel, 15-16; G. Misch, *Geschichte der Autobiographie*,² 150 (Leipzig and Berlin, 1931); Schanz, 467, 551; Peter, 2.LXXVII, 64-65 (see note 5, above); Motte, 151-154.

¹⁰Hardly to be mentioned among the personal writings of Agrippa are the letters to Ephesus and Cyrene, which Frandsen (202-203) and Motte (154) include here, or the recently discovered letter to the Argive *gerousia* (see above, page 122, note 92). Compare Gardthausen, 2.417, note 56. Motte (154) assures us that the "ton impératif" of the letters to Ephesus and Cyrene are adequate proof of their authenticity! ¹¹196-200.

on the map of the world prepared by Agrippa.¹² In view of this extensive literature and the limited scope of my work, I cannot attempt to do more than to indicate the nature, importance, and influence of Agrippa's work in this particular field.

Our principal source is Pliny, H. N. 3.17 Agrippam quidem in tanta viri diligentia praeterque in hoc opere cura, cum orbem terrarum urbi¹³ spectandum propositurus esset, errasse quis credat et cum eo divum Augustum? is namque complexam eum porticum ex destinatione¹⁴ et commentariis M. Agrippae a sorore eius inchoatam peregit. Agrippa's premature death in 12 B.C. prevented the fulfillment of his purpose to exhibit in a conspicuous place in the city a map of the known world. Among his papers were plans, and records of all sorts of information which he had gathered preparatory to the graphic representation of his map of the *orbis terrarum* on the walls of a new portico. The construction of the Porticus Vipsania¹⁵ and the

¹²Partsch (see the list of abbreviations); Riese, VII–XVII; D. Detlefsen, Varro, Agrippa und Augustus als Quellenschriftsteller des Plinius für die Geographie Spaniens, in *Commentationes Philologicae in Honorem Theodori Mommseni*, 23–34 (Berlin, 1877), Untersuchungen zu den Geographischen Büchern des Plinius: I. Die Weltkarte des M. Agrippa (Programm, Glückstadt, 1884), Ursprung, Einrichtung... (see the list of abbreviations); O. Cuntz, Agrippa und Augustus als Quellenschriftsteller des Plinius in den Geographischen Büchern der *Naturalis Historia*, *Jahrbücher für Classische Philologie*, Supplementband 17 (1890), 473–526; E. Schweder, Ueber die Weltkarte und Chorographie des Kaisers Augustus, *Philologus* 54 (1895), 319–344; A. Klotz, *Quaestiones Plinianae Geographicae: Quellen und Forschungen zur Alten Geschichte und Geographie*, Herausgegeben von W. Sieglin, Heft 11 (Berlin, 1906), *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 172 (1910), 469–498, *Die Geographischen Commentarii...* (see the list of abbreviations); F. Braun, *Die Entwicklung der Spanischen Provinzialgrenzen in Römischer Zeit: Quellen und Forschungen zur Alten Geschichte und Geographie*, Herausgegeben von W. Sieglin, Heft 17 (Berlin, 1909); C. Pallu de Lessert, *L'Oeuvre Géographique d'Agrippa et d'Auguste*, *Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* 68 (1909), 215–298; Schanz, 458–460, 464–466; Kubitschek's article *Karten*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 10.2100–2112; F. Gisinger's article *Geographie*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, Supplementband 4.644–647. For further bibliography see Gardthausen, 2.549; Schanz, 459, 466; Teuffel, 15; and the notes in the remainder of this chapter.

¹³The MSS. read *orbi*.

¹⁴The emendation of *destinatione* to *delineatione*, suggested by C. E. Gleye, *Philologus* 68 (1909), 318, is unnecessary.

¹⁵See above, pages 135–136.

map,¹⁶ which was begun by Agrippa's sister Polla and was not yet finished in 7 B.C.,¹⁷ Augustus carried to completion shortly afterward.

Strabo, who was in Rome about the time the map was completed, describes it as follows:¹⁸ 'It is mostly the ocean which delineates the land and gives it form, creating bays, seas, straits, isthmuses, peninsulas, and capes. The rivers and the mountains contribute to the effect. By these means continents, and peoples, and the positions of cities, and the other details (*ποικίλματα*) of which the geographical chart (*ὁ χωρογραφικὸς πίναξ*) is full, are perceived to good advantage. Included is the multitude of islands scattered in the seas and along every coast'. The size of the map¹⁹ and its shape²⁰ cannot be definitely determined.

A late source, Julius Honorius,²¹ records a geodetic survey of the *orbis terrarum* by four Greeks, Nicodemus, Didymus, Theudotus, and Polyclitus, begun in the consulship of Julius Caesar and Marcus Antonius, and completed early in the reign of Augustus. Honorius gives, moreover, the exact number of years, months, and days required by each of the surveyors to complete the triangulation of the quarter of the world allotted to him. But the complete silence of earlier sources, particularly Strabo, Pliny, and, above all, the *Res Gestae* of Augustus (who would hardly have omitted the mention of such a monumental accomplishment) makes it necessary for us to regard with suspicion this statement about a new survey of the world, ordered by Julius Caesar and completed under Augustus.²² The statement of Honorius is, however, too detailed to be

¹⁶Pliny (H. N. 6.139) gives the position of the city Charax from the map in the Porticus Vipsania. ¹⁷Dio 55.8.4. ¹⁸2.5.17.

¹⁹Klotz (41) estimates its height as between 6 and 10 metres.

²⁰Detlefsen (106-107), Partsch (*Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie* 24 [1907], 1058), and Klotz (42-43) are in favor of a rectangular shape. For my part, I do not see how we can establish whether the map was rectangular or oval.

²¹Riese, 21-22. The similar report in the so-called Aethicus Ister (Riese, 72) is derived from Honorius.

²²Compare Schanz, 458; Teuffel, 15; Partsch, 76-78; Detlefsen, 20, 104; Schürer, 1.521-523. Gardthausen, 1.936, implies a "Reichsvermessung". Agrippa's map is sometimes connected with the census of the Roman Empire, e. g. by Holmes, 2.5; W. T. Arnold, *The Roman System of Provincial Administration*, revised by E. S. Bouchier, 103-104 (Oxford,

discarded bodily as a product of pure fancy. The four Greeks mentioned may have been commissioned to prepare from existing works on geography and from the itineraries in the State archives the materials which Agrippa used for the details of his map of the world.²³ For the measurements of the provinces of the Roman Empire Agrippa could rely upon accurate itineraries; for other parts of the world he had to rely upon the works of the Greek geographers.²⁴

In 20 B.C. the famous *miliarium aureum*, on which were inscribed the names of the important cities of the Empire with their distances from Rome, was erected in the Forum.²⁵ Dio says that Augustus erected it, but, since Augustus was at that time in the East, may we not conjecture that it was set up by Agrippa, who was then Governor of Rome and Italy,²⁶ and that it had some connection with Agrippa's map of the world?

The only author who mentions Agrippa in connection with the map of the world is Pliny the Elder. He cites Agrippa in his catalogue of sources as a leading authority for Books 3-6 of the *Historia Naturalis*, and mentions his name in the text of those books thirty times as authority for geographical details.²⁷ Pliny's information is derived probably from the *Commentarii* of Agrippa. These *Commentarii* contained the rough informa-

1914); V. Chapot, *La Province Romaine Proconsulaire d'Asie*, 95, note 2 (Paris, 1904), but the nature of the details of the geographic material, boundaries, length and width of lands, distances, the inclusion of lands outside of the Empire, etc., makes such a connection highly improbable. Compare Schürer, 1.522. A census of the Empire and a survey of the world under Augustus are connected in late sources, Isidorus, *Etymologiae* 5.36.4; Cassiodorus, *Variae* 3.52; Fulgentius Planciades, *De Aetatibus Mundi* (cited by Detlefsen, 20).

²³Compare Kubitschek's article *Iulius (Honorius)*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 10.625-627.

²⁴Compare Klotz, 464. ²⁵Dio 54.8.4. ²⁶See above, pages 87-88.

²⁷3.8, 16, 37, 86, 96, 150; 4.45, 60, 77, 81, 83, 91, 98, 99, 102, 105, 118; 5.9, 40, 65, 102; 6.3, 37, 39, 57, 136, 164, 196, 207, 209. Martianus Capella's references to Agrippa (6.632, 634) are derived directly from Pliny (3.16, 37). The pertinent passages in Pliny have been collected by Motte, 164-168; Riese, 1-8; F. Philippi, *De Tabula Peutingeriana*, 30-39 (Dissertation, Bonn, 1876). I cite several passages to give some idea of the details which Pliny borrowed from Agrippa: Pliny 3.150 A *Drinio ad promunturium Acroëraunium CLXXV* Agrippa prodidit, universum autem sinum Italiae et Illyrici ambitu XXVII; 3.37 *longitudinem provinciae Narbonensis CCCLXX* p. Agrippa tradit, latitudinem *CCXLVIII*; 3.8 *oram eam <= Baetica >* in universum originis Poenorum existimavit M. Agrippa.

tion on the basis of which the map was prepared, and were published, perhaps anonymously as an official publication,²⁸ by Augustus.²⁹ It is now generally agreed that this compilation was already in the hands of Strabo, who cites it occasionally for the geography of Italy and its islands.³⁰

Based upon the *Commentarii* of Agrippa, though not directly,³¹ are two short fifth-century geographical tracts, indepen-

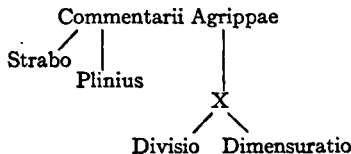
²⁸Schanz, 465. In the *Divisio* (Riese, 15: see note 33, below) the name of Augustus displaces the name of Agrippa: quem <= orbem> divus Augustus primus omnium per chorographiam ostendit. Similarly in *Dicuil* (see below, page 147): quem divus Augustus primus omnium per chorographiam ostendit. Compare Detlefsen, 112-113; Klotz, 39.

²⁹Augustus apparently did not do much to bring the geographical details up to date. Compare Klotz, 39; Detlefsen, 3. Nor did Agrippa himself keep his *Commentarii* up to date. So far as we can determine now, they contained some details which were no longer accurate many years before Agrippa's death. For example, the reorganization of Spain after Augustus's Cantabrian campaign (26/25 B. C.) is not taken into account by Agrippa. Compare Klotz, 390. See also Detlefsen, *Untersuchungen...*, 16-17 (see note 12, above); M. Rostovtzeff, *Skythien und der Bosphorus*, 1.43 (Berlin, 1931).

Against the general view (which I follow), that Augustus edited and made public the *Commentarii* of Agrippa essentially as they were left by Agrippa, Detlefsen has obstinately held to his often disputed opinion that all the information in Pliny was obtained from annotations added directly on the map in the *Porticus* in the free space representing the seas near the various lands, or from a miniature hand copy of the map, whose existence he is forced to assume arbitrarily in order to explain the similarity of statements in Pliny and later geographic tracts based upon the map of Agrippa. Detlefsen defended his view most recently in *Die Anordnung der Geographischen Bücher des Plinius und ihre Quellen: Quellen und Forschungen zur Alten Geschichte und Geographie*, Herausgegeben von W. Sieglin, Heft 18, 11-16 (Berlin, 1909). Detlefsen's view is disputed by J. Patsch, *Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie* 24 (1907), 1054-1057; A. Klotz, *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* 28 (1908), 1051, *Quaestiones Plinianae...*, 13-15 (see note 12, above), *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 172 (1910), 406-410, 471, *Klio* 24 (1931), 40-45; Schanz, 465.

³⁰5.2.7, 8, 6.1.11 ὡς ὁ χωρογράφος φησίν, 2.1 ἐν δὲ τῇ χωρογραφίᾳ... λέγεται, 2.11, 3.10.

³¹Klotz (48) thus represents the relation of these tracts, Strabo, and Pliny to the *Commentarii* of Agrippa:



dent of each other, the *Dimensuratio Provinciarum*,³² and the *Divisio Orbis Terrarum*,³³ which was used by the Irish monk Dicuil in the year 825 in the opening chapters of his *De Mensura Orbis Terrae*.³⁴ Also the geographical survey of Orosius³⁵ can be traced back to the common source of all these compilations, the *Commentarii* of Agrippa.³⁶

With the help of information in these late tracts passages in the geographical books of Pliny, in which Pliny does not specifically name Agrippa as his source, can be identified as excerpts from the *Commentarii* of Agrippa, and thus the essential contents of the *Commentarii*³⁷ and of the map on the walls of the Porticus Vipsania can be reconstructed. Agrippa divided the whole *οικουμένη* into twenty-four complexes of lands,³⁸ without any regard for political or geographical conditions. Of these groups Agrippa recorded such details as the boundaries, length and width, distances between important cities, measures of coasts, names of lands, peoples, cities.

The method and the results of Agrippa were characteristically Roman. Naturally, he could not disregard the notable contributions to the science of cartography by the Alexandrian geographers, Eratosthenes, Hipparchus, and their successors. The map of the world evolved by the Greek geographers is the basis of the map of Agrippa.³⁹ But astronomic determinations are foreign to his method. His aim was not scientific, but practical.⁴⁰ His collection of geographic information was only a

³²Riese, 9-14; Detlefsen, 16-18; Wissowa's article *Dimensuratio provinciarum*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 5.647.

³³Riese, 15-20; Detlefsen, 10-13; Wissowa's article *Divisio orbis terrarum*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 5.1236-1237.

³⁴See Detlefsen, 13-16. ³⁵1.2.

³⁶See Detlefsen, 18-19; A. Klotz, Beiträge zur Analyse des Geographischen Kapitels im Geschichtswerk des Orosius (I 2), in Charisteria Alois Rzach zum Achtzigsten Geburtstag Dargebracht, 120-130 (Reichenberg, 1930).

³⁷The *Commentarii* have been reconstructed from the fragments by Klotz, 386-462.

³⁸For the lands in the twenty-four groups see Detlefsen, 5, 21-56; Kubitschek's article *Karten*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 10.2106.

³⁹Compare Partsch, 75, *Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie* 24 (1907), 1060; Klotz, 462-463; Gardthausen, 1.937.

⁴⁰Compare Klotz, 463; Detlefsen, 4, 99, 117; F. Gisinger's article *Geographie*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, Supplementband 4.646. Gardthausen

necessary preliminary to the fulfillment of his purpose of showing to the Roman people the extent of the *Imperium Romanum*, which was almost co-extensive with the *orbis terrarum*. "Politisch, wenn man will national, nicht wissenschaftlich, war auch die Tendenz von Agrippas Weltkarte".⁴¹ The work of Agrippa, it is true, was not the product of critical study. In scientific merit it is not to be compared with the great advances made by the Greek geographers. Nevertheless, it is undeniable that Agrippa deserves to be mentioned among the leading figures in the history of cartography.

Die Weltkarte des Agrippa war die grossartigste Leistung der Römer auf dem Gebiete der Geographie Bewirkte die Weltkarte bei den Römern auch keinen Aufschwung der wissenschaftlichen Geographie, so war sie doch epochemachend für die graphischen Darstellungen der Erde.⁴²

(1.936-937) sees a military purpose in the geographic work of Agrippa. We know from Vegetius (*De Re Militari* 3.6) that generals used detailed itineraries and elaborate maps. Perhaps the *Commentarii* of Agrippa were a compilation of items of geographic information which Agrippa, as the leading general of Augustus and the director of his military policy until 12 B. C., had kept at his disposal long before his death, and upon the basis of which he proposed to draw up a map of the world.

⁴¹Heinze, 80.

⁴²Schanz, 460. Compare E. Schweder, *Philologus* 54 (1895), 321; K. Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, 3.212 (Berlin, 1892). Detlefsen's unfavorable estimate of the accomplishment of Agrippa (117) is contested by Partsch, *Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie* 24 (1907), 1059-1061, and by Kubitschek, in his article *Karten*, in *Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll*, 10.2109. Compare also Partsch, 80. For the importance of maps in the Roman Empire see W. L. Westermann, *On Inland Transportation and Communication in Antiquity*, in *Political Science Quarterly* 43 (1928), 380-382. Ultimate dependence upon Agrippa's map of the world has often been claimed for many later world maps, e. g. the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, the map of Augustodunum described by Eumenius in 297 A. D. (*Pro Restaurandis Scholis* 20, 21), the maps of Julius Honorius and of the cosmographer of Ravenna, the map of Theodosius, and maps of the Middle Ages (see Schanz, 460-464). Detlefsen (9, 113) rules out all except the map of Augustodunum and the *Tabula Peutingeriana*. But Klotz critically points out (41-43; *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 172 [1910], 407) that all these connections are arbitrary assumptions.

CHAPTER XIII

THE PERSONALITY OF AGRIPPA

The personality and the career of Marcus Agrippa are not intelligible if one does not have a clear comprehension of the constant friendship which dominated the lives of Augustus and his able minister. History does not reveal the origin of this celebrated friendship¹ between the son of an obscure plebeian and the future master of the Roman world²—a friendship as proverbial among the Romans as that of the two Laelii and the two Scipios.³ Trained in the army of Julius Caesar and taught by the teachers of the young Augustus, Agrippa remained from his early years to the end of his life the closest and most trusted friend of Augustus.⁴ From the time when the news of the assassination of Julius Caesar was received in Apollonia, in the spring of 44 B.C., throughout the tumultuous events which followed—the civil wars, the foundation and the organization of the Empire—Agrippa's counsels ranked highest in the estimate of his somewhat younger friend.

It has often been said that one of the elements of Augustus's greatness was the faculty of attaching to himself able and dependable collaborators who possessed in high degree qualities and talents which he himself lacked. Of these the most competent was Marcus Agrippa. No one merited more the implicit confidence which Augustus always reposed in him. The great military and administrative talents of Agrippa never failed his

¹Dio 48.20.2 ... πάντων φίλος ὦν τῷ Καίσαρι. . . ., 51.3.7, 54.29.1, 31.1; Nepos, Atticus 12.1 . . . intima familiaritate coniunctus adolescenti Caesari. . . .; Appian, 5.31.122 Ἀγρίππας . . . φίλος τῶν Καίσαρι. . . .; Nicolaus of Damascus 7 (see above, page 12, note 1); Aurelius Victor, Epitome 1.16; Marcus Aurelius 8.31; Josephus, Antiquitates 15.10.3, Bellum 1.20.4; Velleius 2.88.2, 90.1.

²It is conceivable that Julius Caesar early recognized the unusual capabilities of Agrippa and attached him as a comrade to his future heir. See above, pages 12–13.

³Velleius 2.127.1; Valerius Maximus 4.7.7 . . . Decime <the correct *praenomen* is Caius> Laeli, . . . M. Agrippa, alter virorum, deorum alter maximus amicum, et certa mente et secundis omnibus sortiti. . . .

⁴It is a mistake to say, as Stein does (in his article *Maecenas*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 14.212–213) that Maecenas was closer to Augustus in friendship than Agrippa, and received a larger measure of his confidence.

friend. By his victories at Mylae and Naulochus he crushed the power of Sextus Pompey, in his celebrated aedileship he prepared the way for the new government of Augustus, and by his brilliant victory at Actium he won for Augustus undisputed mastery over the Roman Empire. Without the aid of Agrippa in these critical situations the ambitions of Augustus could never have been realized. After Actium, Agrippa contributed more than any other of Augustus's adherents to the solution of the numerous problems of reconstruction, the reorganization of the government, the administration of Rome, Italy, and the provinces, the protection of the frontiers, the organization of the imperial army and navy, the adornment of the city of Rome. His energies were redoubled after his marriage to Augustus's daughter Julia, and to the last moment of his life, despite a painful illness, he continued to devote himself, with the same resolution and success, to the welfare of Augustus and the State. Many new projects were cut short by his untimely death. But by that time the principate of Augustus was firmly established.

A man without ancestral traditions, Agrippa was able to rise from obscurity to the second place in the Roman Empire. His varied talents and powerful personality needed but an opportunity, such as the friendship of Augustus afforded him, to find free expression. He knew the great difficulties which his humble extraction placed in the way of an independent rise to power, and he knew that it was the friendship of Augustus which made possible his brilliant career.⁵ No other of Augustus's able associates received from him a greater share of power, or more rewards and honors than did Agrippa.⁶ The obscure plebeian, through the friendship of the 'son of Caesar', was able to begin his public career at an early age, to reach the highest office in the Republic at an age when, as a rule, ambitious men were still

⁵Velleius 2.90.1 . . . Agrippae, quem usque in tertium consulatum et mox collegium tribuniciae potestatis amicitia principis evexerat. . . ; Daniel-Servius, on Vergil, Aeneid 8.682 Sed hic Agrippa, non adeo claro genere ortus, viribus et societate Augusti ad summos honores pervenit; Tacitus, Annales 1.3.1; Dio 48.20.2.

⁶Plutarch, Antonius 87.1 . . . τὴν πρώτην παρὰ Καίσαρι τιμὴν Ἀγρίππου <ἐχόντος> . . . ; Velleius 2.127.1; Dio 53.1.2, 56.38.3. Compare Van Eck, 24-26.

going through the minor offices, to amass a great fortune, to marry one of the richest heiresses in Rome, the daughter of Cicero's friend Atticus.⁷ After Actium, Augustus raised him to patrician rank; enriched him further,⁸ brought him into the circle of the imperial family by bestowing upon him first the hand of his niece, then the hand of his daughter, permitted him the honor of a second and a third consulship, enrolled him in many priestly colleges, in 23 B.C. recommended him as his successor and divided with him the control of the imperial provinces, and finally made him co-regent of the Empire, and his presumptive successor.

The amity between the two friends, indispensable to the ambitions of each, was never seriously shaken. The establishment and the maintenance of the great Empire which rose from the bloody ruins of the Republic formed their common interest.⁹ Only once was there any occasion for misunderstanding. Augustus's lack of tact in the pursuit of his dynastic ambitions offended the feelings of Agrippa, who had good reason himself to hope for the succession to the principate.¹⁰ But there was never any thought on the part of Augustus to dispense with the invaluable services of his *alter ego*, the man who had done more than any other to lay the foundations for his monarchy, nor was there ever any thought on the part of Agrippa to withdraw his support from the government of the man who had elevated him to the second place in the Empire. To prevent discord Agrippa was prepared to make any personal sacrifice. His conduct was guided by the motto¹¹ 'Concord causes even small projects to prosper, discord frustrates the greatest projects'.

In some respects Agrippa surpassed the man whom he had helped to place upon a throne. Yet he never aspired to sup-

⁷See above, pages 35-37.

⁸For the large estates of Agrippa see above, pages 42, 61, 109, 128-129.

⁹For Agrippa's political views see above, pages 64-65.

¹⁰See above, pages 78-83.

¹¹Seneca, *Epistulae* 94.46 M. Agrippa... *dicere solebat multum se huic debere sententiae, 'Nam concordia parvae res crescunt, discordia maximae dilabuntur'; hac se aiebat et fratrem et amicum optimum factum.* This was a well-known Roman proverb. It appears first in Sallust (*Iugurtha* 10). See A. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter und Sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer*, 89 (Leipzig, 1890).

plant him, and never abused the power which Augustus entrusted to him. On the contrary, he always sought to efface himself, and to sacrifice his personality to Augustus.¹² He was “. . . einer jener Kaisermacher in der Geschichte, deren Ehrgeiz gestillt ist, wenn sie den Herrscher geschaffen haben”.¹³ Always we see him occupying the second place.¹⁴ Agrippa was the real successor of the great military leaders of the Republic. He could have been the most formidable rival of Augustus. But, apart from his loyalty to his friend, he realized how greatly it would serve the public interest to keep all the influence concentrated in the person of the *princeps*, whose personality had eradicated the party strife which had destroyed the Republic.¹⁵ He claimed no glory for his great services and achievements¹⁶ and deprecated all excessive honors to himself.¹⁷ As a result of his consistent self-abnegation many of his achievements have been set down in history to the credit of Augustus,¹⁸ and the name of Augustus dominates the history of the period in which, in reality, Agrippa exerted a potent influence.

Some of his great engineering and architectural achievements—the Portus Iulius, the Aqua Iulia,¹⁹ the Saeptra Iulia²⁰—Agrippa dedicated to the glory of the Julian *gens*. The celebration of a triumph, the most coveted honor of every ambitious Roman, no one of the generals of Augustus deserved more than Agrippa. Yet at least three times Agrippa declined this honor.²¹

¹²Dio 54.29.2. ¹³Kornemann, Doppelprinzipat, 188.

¹⁴Compare e. g. Josephus, *Antiquitates* 15.10.3; Servius, on Vergil, *Aeneid* 8.682. This appears clearly in the ceremonies of the *Ludi Saeculares*. Augustus alone celebrated the important night ceremonies (see above, page 104). See also the two inscriptions belonging to the busts of the two friends placed side by side in Myra, Lycia (E. Petersen and F. von Luschan, *Reisen in Lykien, Milyas und Kibyris*, 43, Nos. 78–79 [Vienna, 1889]). No. 79 bears the dedication to Agrippa: [Μάρκ]ον Ἀγρίππαν τὸν εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτήρα τοῦ ἔθνους Μυρῶν ὁ δῆμος. The inscription to Augustus (No. 78) is longer and more adulatory.

¹⁵Compare Motte, 119–120. ¹⁶Dio 53.23.4.

¹⁷Compare Taylor, 196, note 33.

¹⁸See above, pages 57–58, 96, note 115, 109, note 27, 146, note 28.

¹⁹Apparently the Aqua Virgo was at first named Aqua Augusta (Dio 54.11.7).

²⁰He desired to call the Pantheon the *Augusteum*. See above, page 76.

²¹See above, pages 28, 93, 116. Velleius (2.127.1) implies incorrectly that Agrippa celebrated *multiplicis triumphos*. Meanwhile, other generals were celebrating triumphs for insignificant victories (Dio 54.12.1).

The title *imperator* he seems to have refused entirely, or to have assumed only in the last years of his life.²² In place of such rewards as these for his many great victories, Agrippa was content with extraordinary military decorations granted personally by Augustus.²³ He thus established three important precedents, the reservation of the triumph and the title *imperator* for the *princeps*, the sending of communications by generals concerning their activities to the *princeps*, not to the Senate, and the substitution of *ornamenta triumphalia* for triumphs as rewards for victorious generals. The restoration of the allegiance of the Roman armies to the civil administration instead of to powerful military leaders, through the diversion from great leaders (like himself) to the head of the State (the *princeps*) the tremendous influence which *triumphatores* and *imperatores* enjoyed under the Republic was one of the notable achievements of Agrippa.²⁴

Even as co-regent he continued to sacrifice his personality to Augustus. Many of the prerogatives of his position he deprecated. He struck no coins, and was satisfied with the appearance of his portrait on the reverse of coins issued by the

²²Only on a few municipal and provincial inscriptions does the title *imperator* appear with the name of Agrippa: CIL 9.262, 2200 (see above, page 102, note 14); IG 1878 (see above, page 107, note 7); the inscription on the Maison Carrée at Nîmes (see above, page 90, note 79. But on the contemporary inscription from Emerita [see above, page 94, note 97] the title is not present); the inscription from Ephesus (see above, page 135, note 51). A coin from Sinope bears the legend Agrippa Cos. III Imp. . . . See Waddington-Babelon-Reinach, 202*, No. 79. In view of the omission of the title on numerous other inscriptions of Agrippa, it is possible that in the few instances noted above its use was unofficial. Compare Mommsen, Staatsrecht, 2.1156, note 2; Vaglieri, Dizionario Epigrafico, 1.369; Rohden-Dessau, 439; Vrind, 157-158. For Agrippa's policy in refusing the title *imperator* see McFayden, 35-37. McFayden suggests as an additional reason for the refusal by Agrippa of the title that Agrippa disdained the title because it had become greatly cheapened. It is possible that Agrippa consciously followed the policy of his great military predecessor, Julius Caesar, who appears to have despised the title (compare McFayden, 16, note 4), and that Tiberius, the military successor of Agrippa, consciously carried on the same policy, when he refused to assume the *praenomen Imperator* on his accession (compare McFayden, 53).

²³The naval crown, the naval banner, the mural crown. See above, pages 42-43, 60, 93.

²⁴See above, pages 93, 115-116. Compare Schiller, 148.

senatorial mint.²⁵ His refusal to permit cities²⁶ and legions to be named after him²⁷ was in keeping with his policy of self-effacement. But the honors due to his high position were not lacking. He was the patron of many cities,²⁸ and his statue stood in numerous cities of the Empire.²⁹ No one knew better than Augustus that he possessed in Agrippa the "... unerreichte Muster eines Mitregenten, der nichts für sich, alles für den Prinzeps tat und wollte . . ."³⁰ Agrippa was confessedly, like Bismarck, "... ein leidenschaftlicher Anhänger der Devise . . . aliis inserviando consumor . . ."³¹

But it would be a mistake to suppose that Agrippa possessed no ambition for power. Between Agrippa and the luxury-loving Maecenas, who preferred a tranquil life far from the public eye, there was a wide chasm. A common interest, their loyalty to Augustus, joined them; but there was no bond of sympathy and little love between the pleasure-loving patron of poets and the practical-minded, energetic soldier and administrator.³² Agrippa's desire for power was limited only by his unswerving allegiance to Augustus.³³ So long as his friend remained alive, Agrippa was ready to acknowledge a master. He was willing even to tolerate a rival, recommended by Augustus, for the succession to the principate. But Marcellus, the first recog-

²⁵See above, pages 99-100. ²⁶See above, page 115, note 57, 134, note 44.

²⁷A cavalry squadron, the Ala Agrippiana, may have received its name from him. See CIL 3.600, 12.2231, 13.6235; IG 3497; The British Museum Quarterly 5 (1930-1931), 12-13. Compare J. Vaders, *De Alis Exercitus Romani*, 26-27 (Dissertation, Halle, 1883); Gardthausen, 1.739; G. L. Cheesman, *The Auxilia of the Roman Imperial Army*, 161, 173 (Oxford, 1914).

²⁸See above, pages 94, notes 99-100, 102, note 14, 107, note 7, note 10, 116, note 63, 135, note 51.

²⁹See above, pages 94, 102, note 14, 107-108, 116-117, 123, 133-135, notes 42, 49, 51, above, note 14, below, note 91.

³⁰Schulz, 60. Compare Kornemann, *Doppelprinzipat*, 188.

³¹Bismarck's Briefe an den General Leopold v. Gerlach, *Neu Herausgegeben von H. Kohl*, 41 (Berlin, 1896). Pliny (H. N. 7.46) comments upon the *praegrave servitium* of Agrippa to Augustus. Compare G. Ancy, *L'Opinion sous Octavien*, 61 (Dissertation, Paris, 1901). Agrippa's self-sacrificing personality recalls the career of Bismarck. He has been called 'the Bismarck of the Augustan Age'. Compare Motte, 112; E. Müller, *Cäsaren-Porträts*, 1. 10, 31 (Bonn, 1914).

³²See above, pages 66-68. ³³Velleius 2.79.1 (see above, page 65).

nized prospective successor of Augustus, would have faced the threat of Agrippa's challenge (such was the popular opinion, at any rate), if both had survived Augustus.³⁴ There can be little doubt who would have been the victor, if such an emergency had arisen. After the death of Marcellus, Agrippa's marriage to the daughter of Augustus, and his acquisition of powers almost equal to those of the *princeps* placed him in a position to become the next master of the Roman world.

Personal aggrandizement was not the incentive of Agrippa's ambition for power.

'He used the honors which Augustus gave him not for personal gain or for private advantage, but for the benefit of Augustus himself and of the commonwealth'.³⁵ 'All his wisdom and bravery he devoted to the greatest advantage of Augustus,³⁶ and all the honor and power which he received from Augustus he expended in benefiting others. As a result, he was never in the least vexatious to Augustus³⁷ or an object of envy to others. He helped Augustus organize the monarchy with the resolution of one really covetous of royal power, and won over the people by his beneficences with the zeal of the most ardent adherent of democracy'.³⁸

The welfare of Augustus and the State were the two compelling interests of Agrippa. Motives essentially political dictated his first benefactions to the citizens, but he retained throughout his life a genuine interest in the well-being of the Roman people. His memorable aedileship, the unrivalled splendor and munificence of his many public games,³⁹ for which he himself had a genuine love; his especial interest in the water supply and the drainage system of Rome, his numerous public structures built for the use of the people, his exhibition of many great works of art, his unparalleled generosity made him the idol of the common people,⁴⁰ and gave him a tremendous influence over the masses. It must have served Augustus's purposes uncommonly well to be assured of the support of the masses through Agrippa, the support of the Equestrian Order through Maecenas, and the allegiance of the Senatorial Order to himself. Only the disdainful aristocrats eyed with disfavor Agrippa, the

³⁴See above, page 79.

³⁵Dio 53.23.4; similarly 54.29.1, 52.2.2.

³⁶Similarly Dio 53.23.4.

³⁷Similarly Dio 53.23.3.

³⁸Dio 54.29.2-3.

³⁹See above, pages 22, 50, 71-72, 105, 106.

⁴⁰Dio 53.31.4, 23.3; Horace, Sermones 2.3.185-186.

stern, proud plebeian, who possessed neither the ancestral traditions nor the elegant refinements which might have recommended him to the noble families.⁴¹ *Vir rusticitati propior quam deliciis* is Pliny the Elder's characterization of him.⁴²

The most realistic portraits of Agrippa are to be seen on the commemorative copper coins struck at Rome after his death.⁴³ The face reflects the powerful, commanding personality of the man. That *torvitas* of which Pliny speaks⁴⁴ is strikingly visible on the countenance. A powerful, muscular neck supports a broad head, with strong chin, showing a tendency to be double, firm mouth, thin, tightly-compressed lips, slightly-bent nose, deep-set eyes shaded by enormous, almost overhanging, brows, above which rises a massive, wrinkled forehead crowned with his characteristic military decoration, the *corona rostrata*. The full, stern features leave an impression of tremendous strength, great will-power and determination, infinite reserve force.

The well-defined features on the coins have enabled us to identify numerous portraits of Agrippa, of which the most famous is the splendid marble head in the Louvre.⁴⁵ The fea-

⁴¹See above, pages 103-104, 131. For Caligula's attitude toward the memory of his grandfather see above, page 5, note 18.

⁴²35.26.

⁴³See above, pages 131-132, and the frontispiece. See also the other coins mentioned above, page 100, note 7.

⁴⁴H. N. 35.26.

⁴⁵Bernoulli, 1.255-256; A. Hekler, Greek and Roman Portraits, 174 (New York, 1912); A. Furtwängler and H. L. Ulrichs, Greek and Roman Sculpture, Translated by H. Taylor, 228-230 (London and New York, 1914). Closely related to the Louvre bust are the heads in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence, and in the Museo Torlonia, Rome (the latter head is, however, not ancient). See Bernoulli, 1.256-257; Bankó, 260-261, Figures 152-153; E. A. Stückelberg, Die Bildnisse der Römischen Kaiser, Tafel 3 (Zürich, 1916). Bankó (257-265) conjectures that a marble head in the Museo Nazionale, Naples, and a bronze head in the Museum in Speyer are portraits of Agrippa as he appeared in the early part of his career. For other ancient heads of Agrippa see Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek: Billedtavler til Kataloget over Antike Kunstvaerker, Tafl XXXIX, Nos. 608-609 (Copenhagen, 1907); Bankó, 262, Figures 154-155, 264-265, Figures 158-159; J. Bankó and P. Sticotti, Archaeologisch-Epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn 18 (1895), 66-67 (it is not possible to determine whether the crown on this head is a naval crown or a mural crown. If it is a simple mural crown, the ascription to Agrippa is doubtful); A. Michaelis,

tures are somewhat softened, but the characteristic sternness, strength, heavy, contracted brows, deep-set eyes, firm chin are unmistakable.

There must have been numerous statues of Agrippa not only in all other parts of the Empire, as the many inscriptions show, but also in Rome itself. Agrippa himself placed one in the *pronaos* of the Pantheon.⁴⁶ One of his grandchildren erected a statue of Agrippa in the Basilica Aemilia.⁴⁷

In the Museo Civico in Venice there is a colossal, imposing statue of Agrippa, brought probably from some Greek city. The massive frame of the great conqueror appears in heroic nudity; his left hand is supported by a dolphin, and his right hand wields a sword.⁴⁸

Ancient Marbles in Great Britain, Translated by C. A. M. Fennell, 557, No. 69 (Cambridge, 1882). É. Espérandieu, Recueil Général des Bas-Reliefs, Statues et Bustes de la Gaule Romaine, 2.470, No. 1732 (Paris, 1908), mentions a white marble bust of Agrippa found at Cahors, now lost. For other doubtful heads and for heads which are not ancient see Bernoulli, 1.260-262; Michaelis, 267, No. 95, 723, No. 54; Espérandieu, 1 (Paris, 1907), 341-342, No. 528. A bronze bust found at Susa in 1904, now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York, has been identified as a head of Agrippa, chiefly on the basis of the inscription found at the same time (see note 91, below). See G. M. A. Richter, The Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 10 (1915), 23-24, Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 144-149 (New York, 1915), Handbook of the Classical Collection, The Metropolitan Museum of Art², 295-296 (New York, 1927); Espérandieu, 3 (Paris, 1910), 335-336, No. 2451. I have examined the original and can find little resemblance to the known portraits of Agrippa. The identification is rejected also by Bankó, 263, note 15.

⁴⁶See above, page 76. This statue was probably of bronze (Bernoulli, 1.260, note 3).

⁴⁷See above, page 139, note 84. A statue of Agrippa at Rome is perhaps referred to in Horace, Sermones 2.3.186. Statues of Agrippa are shown on the coins struck at Rome at the time of his death (see above, page 131, note 38).

⁴⁸Bernoulli, 1.257-260. Compare B. Sauer, Antike Feldherrnbildnisse, Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum 41 (1918), 385. The identification with Agrippa is doubted without cause by W. v. Voigt, Philologus 58 (1899), 186, note 54. For the colossal statue from Emerita, the head of which is lost, see above, page 94. E. H. Swift, A Group of Roman Imperial Portraits at Corinth, American Journal of Archaeology 26 (1922), 135-138, hazards the conjecture that the torso of a semi-nude, over life-size male figure, found with other imperial portraits in the Basilica Iulia at

The portrait of Agrippa has also been recognized on reliefs,⁴⁹ gems,⁵⁰ and on one of the Bosco Reale gold cups.⁵¹

Corinth, is part of a statue of Agrippa. Compare F. P. Johnson, *Corinth: Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, 9.78-79, No. 140 (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1931).

⁴⁹L. D. Caskey, *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Catalogue of Greek and Roman Sculpture*, 195-196, No. 112 (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1925). This relief is from Athens. The identification of the figure in cuirass and *paludamentum* on the well-known San Vitale Relief (now in the Museo Nazionale, Ravenna) with Agrippa is disputed. See Bernoulli, 1.262, 2, Part 1,257; F. Poulsen, *Porträtstudien in Norditalienischen Provinz-museen*, Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, *Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser* 15, 4 (1928), 63-65, Tafel XCIII, Abbildung 149, XCIV, Abbildung 150; Bankó, 263, note 15. The hooded figure on the south frieze of the Ara Pacis (planned in 13 B. C. and dedicated in 9 B. C.) has sometimes been identified with Agrippa, e. g. by A. v. Domaszewski, *Die Familie des Augustus auf der Ara Pacis*, *Österreichisches Jahreshft* 6 (1903), 60-61; E. Petersen, *Ara Pacis Augustae*, 107-108 (Vienna, 1902), *Die Ara Pacis Augustae*, *Österreichisches Jahreshft* 9 (1906), 302. But the head hardly resembles the known portraits of Agrippa, and the identification with Agrippa is probably erroneous. See Bankó, 263, note 15; J. Sieveking, *Zur Ara Pacis Augustae*, *Österreichisches Jahreshft* 10 (1907), 183-184; F. Studniczka, *Zur Ara Pacis*, *Abhandlungen der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Philologisch-historische Klasse* 27 (1909), 914; E. Reisch, *Wiener Studien* 24 (1902), 427.

⁵⁰Bernoulli, 1.263, No. 2 (on two gems, of chalcedony and of carnelian, Agrippa is shown with the *corona rostrata*), No. 3 (= 2, Part 1,127. This gem, of agate, shows, on the obverse, a head of Agrippa wearing the *corona rostrata*, and, on the reverse, a head of Julia), No. 4 (= 2, Part 1,48. On this gem, of sardonyx, Agrippa is represented with a combined *corona rostrata* and *corona muralis*); E. Babelon, *Catalogue des Camées Antiques et Modernes de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1897), 113, No. 246 (this is similar to Bernoulli, No. 3, except that Agrippa wears a combined *corona rostrata* and *corona muralis*), No. 245 (= Bernoulli, No. 4), 396, No. 146 (Agrippa appears as in Bernoulli, No. 3); A. Furtwängler, *Die Antike Gemmen* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1910), I.XLVII, No. 61, 2.228, No. 61 (= Bernoulli, No. 4); Mastiglio, *Zwei Antike Kameen*, *Münchener Altertums Verein* 1916 (Nov. 27), *Antiquitäten Rundschau* 15 (1917), 44 (these two periodicals were not available to me). For other possible portraits of Agrippa on gems see P. Fossing, *The Thorvaldsen Museum: Catalogue of the Antique Engraved Gems and Cameos*, 176, No. 1185 (Copenhagen, 1929); H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems and Cameos, Greek, Etruscan and Roman in the British Museum*, 307, No. 3225-3226 (London, 1926). The gem (of onyx) in Vienna, cited by Bernoulli, 1.263, No. 1, is not antique. See F. Eichler and E. Kris, *Die Kameen im Kunsthistorischen Museum*, 224, No. 650 (Vienna, 1927).

⁵¹A. H. de Villefosse, *Fondation Eugène Piot: Monuments et Mémoires*

Such was the outward appearance, severe and inelegant, of the man who could shed tears at the death of his first father-in-law,⁵² and who spent enormous sums of money on famous works of art with which to adorn his public structures.⁵³ Agrippa was not, like his great predecessor Marius, merely an unlettered, uncouth soldier, without the refinements of the cultured men of his time. The best teachers in Rome, the teachers of Augustus himself, had instructed him in his youth, and he had not been denied the opportunity of going to Greece to complete his education.⁵⁴ The recitations of rhetoricians interested him,⁵⁵ he had sufficient training in rhetoric to undertake the prosecution of Cassius, to defend clients in court, to issue a pamphlet, highly praised by Pliny the Elder, in which he advocated the confiscation by the State of the numerous works of art hidden in the villas of the wealthy.⁵⁶ Moreover, his map of the world makes him an important figure in the history of ancient cartography.⁵⁷ As regards literature, however, he did not share in the fashionable dilettantism of the upper classes.⁵⁸ It is true that he himself wrote an autobiography, that he invited Horace to commemorate his military achievements in an epic poem, and that Augustus dedicated to him, jointly with Maecenas, his autobiography.⁵⁹ But the poets of the Augustan Age found in him no ardent patron of their art.

Agrippa was preeminently a soldier,⁶⁰ a military leader of

Publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres 5 (1899), 137-138, 152, Plates 31, No. 1, 32, Nos. 1-2. The figure in helmet and cuirass, presenting the subjected provinces to Augustus, is thought to be that of Agrippa. For the portraiture of Agrippa, in general, see also E. Strong, *La Scultura Romana*, Traduzione Italiana di G. Giannelli, 2.364 (Florence, 1926); Arnold, 166; A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des Klassischen Altertums*, 1.27 (Munich and Leipzig, 1885); R. Rochette, *Agrippa*, *Revue Archéologique* 9 (1852), 174-176; E. Müller, *Cäsaren-Porträts*, 1.10, 31-32, 2.18-19 (Bonn, 1914-1924).

⁵²Nepos, Atticus 22.2.

⁵³See above, page 72.

⁵⁴See above, page 14.

⁵⁵See above, page 6. For the lecture hall in Athens, which was, perhaps, built by Agrippa see above, page 108.

⁵⁶See above, pages 72, 141. For the criticism of Vergil's art attributed to Agrippa see above, page 66.

⁵⁷See above, pages 142-148.

⁵⁸Compare Schiller, 147; Marx, 182.

⁵⁹Plutarch, *Comparatio Demosthenis et Ciceronis* 3.1.

⁶⁰Tacitus, *Annales* 14.53.3 *bellorum socius*, 1.3.1 . . . M. Agrippam . . . *bonum militia et victoriae socium* . . . ; Servius, on Vergil, *Aeneid* 1.292 . . . Agrippa . . . *cum eo < = Augusto > pariter bella tractavit*.

extraordinary ability. He was the real heir to Julius Caesar's military talent, as Augustus was the heir of Caesar's ability as a statesman.⁶¹ Destined for a military career at an early age, Agrippa spent a good part of his active life in the military camp.⁶² After the Perusine War, in which his skill as a military strategist is revealed to us for the first time, he was the ranking general of Augustus. The Roman legions followed him victoriously wherever he went, to Aquitania, across the Rhine (he was the first Roman general, after Julius Caesar, to cross the Rhine), against Sextus Pompey and Marcus Antonius, to Illyricum, to Cantabria, to the Bosporus, to Pannonia. His three great victories over the fleets of Pompey and Antony established him as the greatest admiral in Roman military history. Invincible on land and on sea,⁶³ he was undisputedly the most capable general of his time, an individual military type, "... der durch das unbeschränkte Vertrauen des Monarchen gestützte, militärisch allmächtige Kronfeldherr . . ."⁶⁴ Resourceful, enterprising,⁶⁵ efficient, he was feared in all parts of the Empire. In his last two campaigns, his mere approach frightened the rebellious peoples into submission.⁶⁶

Augustus acknowledged Agrippa's vastly superior ability in the military sphere, and always yielded to his better judgment.⁶⁷ On the other hand, Agrippa was no shrewd statesman. He was not gifted with that subtle intellect, that ability to handle delicate situations which distinguished Augustus, and his other minister Maecenas.⁶⁸ But in the practical matters of

⁶¹Gardthausen, 1.735.

⁶²Pliny, H. N. 7.45 . . . exercito aevo inter arma, mortisque ac noxia accessu . . .

⁶³Horace, *Carmina* 1.6.1-4 *Scriberis Vario fortis et hostium victor Maeonii carminis alite, quam rem cumque ferox navibus aut equis miles te duce gesserit.* See also the scholiasts on this ode. Compare Kromayer-Veith, *Heerwesen*, 614; Gardthausen, 1.738.

⁶⁴Kromayer-Veith, *Heerwesen*, 463. See the excellent appraisal of the character and military achievements of Agrippa by N. von Baumbach, in *Führertum*², 63-75 (Berlin, 1930).

⁶⁵For his revolutionary innovations in Roman naval warfare see above, pages 34-35.

⁶⁶The Bosporan and Pannonian campaigns. See above, pages 114, 125. No sooner was he dead than the Pannonians rose up again in revolt (*Dio* 54.31.2).

⁶⁷See above, page 55.

⁶⁸Compare Gardthausen, 1.743-744; Arnold, 165. See above, pages 23,

organization and administration he proved himself a consummate master, . . . per omnia extra dilationes positus consultisque facta coniungens.⁶⁹ Possessing no previous experience in naval warfare, he set himself the task of whipping into shape the fleets of Augustus. In a year's time he built the first Roman war harbor, revolutionized the Roman methods of naval warfare, and created the efficient fighting machine which broke the power of Sextus Pompey and Marcus Antonius.⁷⁰ As Augustus's minister of war, he was the real organizer of the imperial army and navy, and the director of the military policy of Augustus and of the activities of the Roman armies.⁷¹ Often he was entrusted by Augustus with the administration of Rome and Italy.⁷² As co-regent he governed effectively all the eastern provinces of the Empire.

The influence of Agrippa made itself felt widely over the policies of Augustus. It is more than a coincidence that in 12 B.C., shortly after the death of Agrippa, the definitely conservative military program of Augustus's government suddenly turned into an offensive policy. Although he was the most capable general of the Empire, Agrippa was never actuated by any desire for conquest. Rich lands lay to the north, south, and east of the Empire, easy prey for an ambitious conqueror. But Agrippa's many campaigns were invariably defensive, aimed at preserving the *status quo*.⁷³ Although he visited the eastern part of the Empire twice, the Parthians, the most persistent enemies of the Romans, never felt the might of his sword. The conquest of Britain, begun by Julius Caesar and advocated by the militaristic elements in the State, did not attract his military skill. At the beginning of his military career he crossed the Rhine into Germany, but the true nature of his military policy on the Rhine is revealed by his transplantation of the pro-Roman Ubii to the left bank of the Rhine to protect

59. I am unable to discover upon what grounds Arnold says that Agrippa was afraid of Augustus.

⁶⁹Velleius 2.79.1. ⁷⁰See above, pages 29-35.

⁷¹Compare Seneca, De Beneficiis 6.32.3.

⁷²See above, pages 22, 58-59, 87-88.

⁷³Jullian, 4.56-57: "... la guerre lui était indifférente en elle-même, il n'a fait, sur le Rhin et ailleurs, que les campagnes utiles au salut présent de l'Empire, et il n'a vu dans la victoire que le moyen de créer un état de choses durable".

the frontier against the less civilized tribes farther east. During the decade after the Battle of Actium he was in the prime of his life; yet in the many wars during those years he led no troops.⁷⁴ So long as Agrippa lived, his conservatism dominated the military policy of Augustus.⁷⁵ But Agrippa's military successors were spirited young men, Tiberius and Drusus, the step-sons of Augustus. The death of Agrippa, in 12 B.C., was the signal for the launching of an imperialistic policy on the Rhine and the Danube.⁷⁶ Other radical changes followed the death of Agrippa. The huge navy, organized as a permanent part of the imperial forces by Agrippa from the fleet of Augustus and the great war-vessels captured at Actium and kept ready for service so long as he lived, lost all importance after his death.⁷⁷ Shortly after March, 12 B.C., Augustus closed the senatorial mint at Rome, and there were no issues of gold and silver coins by the Senate after that time.⁷⁸

Agrippa was as great in the works of peace as in the art of war. His unflinching interest in the welfare of the people manifested itself chiefly in a dominating passion for building. In the realization of the policy of beautifying Rome, which was so strongly encouraged by Augustus, Agrippa played a leading part, second only to that played by the *princeps* himself.⁷⁹ His architectural and engineering works were preeminently practical—aqueducts, fountains, porticoes, Thermae, roads, a voting precinct, a theatre, a bridge, a harbor. His generosity was not limited to Rome and to Italy. Wherever he went in the provinces, in Gaul, Spain, Greece, Syria, he left behind archi-

⁷⁴See above, page 89.

⁷⁵Compare Gardthausen, 1.738, 1049; Jullian, 4.56–57. The conservative military policy ascribed by Dio to Augustus (54.9.1, 56.33.5–6) may well have been the policy laid down by Agrippa.

⁷⁶W. A. Oldfather and H. V. Canter in their study, *The Defeat of Varus and the German Frontier Policy of Augustus*, University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences 4, 2 (1915), came to the conclusion that Augustus's policy on the Rhine was never imperialistic. See against their view E. Sadée, *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* 36 (1916), 459–473; M. Gelzer, *Historische Zeitschrift* 115 (1916), 601–605; F. B. Marsh, *The Reign of Tiberius*, 42, note 1 (London, 1931).

⁷⁷Kromayer-Veith, *Heerwesen*, 614.

⁷⁸Mattingly, 1.xcvii, *Roman Coins*, 111–112, 132.

⁷⁹Seneca, *De Beneficiis* 3.32.4 . . . Agrippa . . . tot in urbe maxima opera excitavit quae et priorem magnificentiam vincerent et nulla postea vin-

tectural monuments.⁸⁰ Few, however, of the numerous buildings of Agrippa have been preserved. Remarkable for its beauty and preservation is the Maison Carrée at Nîmes.⁸¹ Above all stands the Pantheon of Agrippa, the living symbol of the grandeur that was Rome.

It is a striking fact that besides the Pantheon, which was not strictly a temple, to our knowledge only one of the many buildings of Agrippa, the Maison Carrée at Nîmes, was dedicated to the worship of the gods.⁸² That he was not entirely without respect for the gods cannot be denied.⁸³ As a member of the priestly college of *quindecimviri*, he shared with Augustus the direction of the *Ludi Saeculares*. Furthermore, he took administrative measures against the encroachment of superstition and oriental religion upon the old Roman religion.⁸⁴ But "... die Profanbauten Agrippa's charakterisiren den Realismus des 'selbstgemachten' Mannes, der seine Erfolge und seine hohe Stellung sich selbst und nicht etwa der Gunst der Götter verdankte".⁸⁵

The private life of Agrippa is dwarfed by his public life. We hear that he was an affectionate brother.⁸⁶ In none of his three marriages did he find lasting happiness, least of all in his last marriage, with Augustus's daughter Julia, of whose shameless conduct all Rome knew but Augustus himself. An interesting bit of realism is the story that Marcus Cicero, the son of the great orator, notorious for his drunkenness, once struck Agrippa with a wine goblet.⁸⁷

Among his personal friends were Herod the Great, King of

cerentur, 6.32.3; Suetonius, Augustus 29.5 Multaque <monumenta> a multis tunc exstructa sunt... a M. vero Agrippa complura et egregia. Compare Dessau, 1.320-323; Gardthausen, 1.751-761, 2.419-431.

⁸⁰See above, pages 89-91, 94, 108, 111. ⁸¹See above, pages 90-91.

⁸²Augustus, on the other hand, took a special interest in the temples of the gods, and he recorded with great pride the many sacred edifices which he built and repaired (*Res Gestae* 19-21).

⁸³See the inscriptions from Epidaurus and Ilium cited above, page 108, note 18, 116, note 63. His sacrifices and his offerings to the God of the Jews (see above, page 113) were only acts of courtesy to his host Herod.

⁸⁴See above, pages 51, 87.

⁸⁵Gardthausen, 1.746 (compare 1.495); Frandsen, 256-257; Klotz, 38.

⁸⁶Seneca, *Epistulae* 94.46 (see note 11, above).

⁸⁷Pliny, *H. N.* 14.147.

the Jews,⁸⁸ M. Valerius Messala Corvinus,⁸⁹ C. Cestius,⁹⁰ Cottius and his family,⁹¹ princelings of the Cottian Alps, and perhaps also Antonius Musa, the physician of Augustus.⁹²

Ancient and modern authors⁹³ alike are unstinting in their praise of the character and the achievements of Agrippa. None of the scandalous gossip which went the rounds of Rome in that age was directed at him. Only one alleged weakness in his character is recorded, the official suppression by Agrippa of his plebeian *gens* name, Vipsanius. Some of his contemporaries interpreted this action as caused by a desire to conceal his low

⁸⁸See above, pages 84–85, 112–113. ⁸⁹See above, pages 61, 74, note 60.

⁹⁰On the inscription from the Pyramid of Cestius at Rome (CIL 6.1375) Agrippa is mentioned together with Messala and others as one of the heirs of C. Cestius Epulo (see Münzer, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 3.2005, No. 7). With characteristic generosity he yielded his share of the inheritance to the brother of Cestius, L. Cestius, who had apparently been cut off by the will.

⁹¹See the inscription found at Susa, published by E. Ferrero, *Bollettino di Filologia Classica* 11 (1904–1905), 71, 89–90; L. Cantarelli, *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma* 32 (1904), 365–366; *Revue Archéologique* 4 (1904), 448, No. 173. The inscription is perhaps to be restored as follows: M. Agrippae L. F. [Cos. III Tri]b. [Pl]otest. [Cottius] Do[nni F.] et Cotti Cotti F. The full name of Cottius was M. Iulius Cottius (compare CIL 5.7231). Since Cottius received citizenship from Augustus, we should expect the *praenomen* C. with the *nomen* Iulius. The *praenomen* M. is, like the same *praenomen* in the Romanized name of King Agrippa I (see above, page 134), apparently derived from the *praenomen* of Agrippa. Compare S. A. Morcelli, *Opera Epigraphica*, 1.83 (Patavium, 1819).

⁹²The short treatise *De Herba Vettonica*, falsely ascribed to Antonius Musa, bears a dedication in the form of a letter to M. Agrippa. See *Corpus Medicorum Latinorum*, 4.3–4 (Leipzig and Berlin, 1927); Schanz, 548. Even though the treatise is not a genuine product of Musa, the connection of Agrippa's name with his may be based upon good authority. One of the two short poems also ascribed to Musa, the *Precatio Omnium Herbarum*, is not dedicated to Agrippa, as Schanz (*ibidem*) states, but to his son M. Agrippa Caesar. See E. Baehrens, *Poetae Latini Minores*, 1.141 (Leipzig, 1879).

⁹³See, for example, Schiller, 146–149; Jullian, 4.56–57; Firth, 247–253; Ferrero, 5.190–191; Arnold, 164–165; Dahlman, 94–97; Shuckburgh, 278–279; J. C. Tarver, *Tiberius the Tyrant*, 115–118 (New York, 1902); E. Beulé, *Auguste, Sa Famille et Ses Amis*, 201–258 (Paris, 1867). Beulé's criticism of Agrippa's devotion to Augustus is biased by his own anti-monarchistic convictions. See Motte, 145–150.

plebeian origin, but they may have misunderstood the true motive behind the suppression of the *nomen*.⁹⁴

Agrippa was one of the brilliant figures of the Augustan Renaissance. Powerful in intellect⁹⁵ and in body, he was impelled, by a restless energy and an inexhaustible capacity for labor,⁹⁶ from one important task to another. "Agrippa was one of the master toilers of the world".⁹⁷ In his character are combined the old and the new, the *gravitas* and the austere Roman virtues⁹⁸ extolled and exemplified by a Cato, and the liberalizing *humanitas* of the new Graeco-Roman culture,⁹⁹ a sense of devotion to the State, and a firm adherence to the monarchistic principle. Yet he was not corrupted by the vices which had well-nigh destroyed the old, true Roman character. Conscious of his merits and of his great services to the State,¹⁰⁰ he was nevertheless unassuming, modest,¹⁰¹ generous, considerate, and upright.¹⁰²

The untimely death of Agrippa was an irreparable loss both to the State and to Augustus. The State lost a great public servant, and Augustus a loyal friend, whose cooperation he missed to the end of his life.¹⁰³ In his old age, overwhelmed with the shame which the knowledge of his daughter's conduct brought to him, he deplored the loss of Agrippa's support.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁴See above, pages 5-8.

⁹⁵Seneca, *Epistulae* 94.46 M. Agrippa, *vir ingentis animi* . . .

⁹⁶Velleius 2.79.1 . . . M. Agrippa . . . labore, vigilia, periculo invictus . . . ; Aurelius Victor, *Epitome* 1.16; Pliny, *H. N.* 3.17.

⁹⁷Arnold, 166.

⁹⁸Velleius 2.79.1 . . . M. Agrippa, *virtutis nobilissimae* . . .

⁹⁹Compare Furtwängler-Urlichs, 230, note 1 (see note 45, above). Klotz's statement (466), that Agrippa was a "... *vir vere Romanus*, der von der feineren griechischen Kultur nicht berührt war", is based upon an incomplete appraisal of his character.

¹⁰⁰Dio 53.27.4.

¹⁰¹Dio 49.42.3, 53.32.1, 54.11.6; Aurelius Victor, *Epitome* 1.16.

¹⁰²Compare Frontinus 9; Josephus, *Antiquitates* 16.2.2. To avoid prejudicing the judgment of an official he refused, when approached in a matter concerning his own brother, to express an opinion (see above, page 11).

¹⁰³Seneca, *De Beneficiis* 6.32.3 *tota vita Agrippae et Maecenatis vacavit locus*; Dio 54.29.5.

¹⁰⁴Seneca, *De Beneficiis* 6.32.2 . . . *saepe exclamavit: "Horum mihi nihil accidisset, si aut Agrippa aut Maecenas vixisset"*. *Adeo tot habenti milia hominum duos reparare difficile est.*

After Agrippa's death Augustus accepted Tiberius as successor to Agrippa. Kept in the background while Marcellus and Agrippa were alive,¹⁰⁶ Tiberius now fell heir to the high position of his father-in-law. Tiberius studied the career and appreciated the greatness of Agrippa. He probably served his military apprenticeship under the skilled eye of Agrippa.¹⁰⁶ Afterwards, he followed Agrippa's example, in withdrawing from Rome to Rhodes, when Augustus began to push forward his two adoptive sons, Gaius and Lucius.¹⁰⁷ When he became *princeps*, he commemorated the anniversaries of Agrippa's birth by reissuing the coins struck at the time of his death.¹⁰⁸ That the character of Agrippa should have made a vivid impression upon Tiberius is easily understandable.¹⁰⁹ The same sternness, practical-mindedness, conservatism, devotion to duty, capacity for toil distinguish the personalities of both men.¹¹⁰

The stress of civil strife in the last century of the Republic had raised many men of low estate to great heights. Foremost among these was Marcus Agrippa, . . . qui novitatem suam multis rebus nobilitaverat . . .¹¹¹ But 'of all whom the civil wars had made famous and powerful, he alone was fortunate in his public life'.¹¹² He lived a full, rich life, and, through the nobility of his character, his moderation, his self-sacrificing service to Augustus and to the State, the variety of his talents and accomplishments he recommended himself to a writer of a later generation as 'the noblest man of his time'.¹¹³

¹⁰⁶Tacitus, *Annales* 6.51.2.

¹⁰⁶Compare G. P. Baker, *Tiberius Caesar*, 18 (New York, 1928).

¹⁰⁷See above, page 80.

¹⁰⁸See above, page 132, note 39. Compare Kuntz, 30-31.

¹⁰⁹Compare Tarver, 117 (see note 93, above).

¹¹⁰For the life and character of Tiberius see Gelzer's article *Iulius (Tiberius)*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 10.478-536.

¹¹¹Velleius 2.96.1.

¹¹²Seneca, *Epistulae* 94.46 M. Agrippa . . . qui solus ex iis quos civilia bella claros potentesque fecerunt felix in publicum fuit . . .

¹¹³Dio 54.29.1 . . . ἀριστος τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀνθρώπων διαφανῶς γενόμενος . . .

APPENDIX

THE POWERS OF AGRIPPA IN THE EAST

The problem of the administrative powers which Agrippa possessed during his two visits to the Orient (23–21 and 17/16–13 B.C.) is of sufficient importance to warrant a separate discussion. This question has for a long time engaged the attention of scholars, but it has not yet received adequate treatment.

In the middle of the year 23 B.C., after the question of the succession to the principate had evoked a slight misunderstanding between Agrippa and Augustus,¹ Agrippa departed suddenly for the East. Our ancient sources at this point are fragmentary and confused.² We read in Dio³ . . . μαθῶν (Augustus) τὸν Μάρκελλον οὐκ ἐπιτηδείως τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ διὰ τοῦτ' ἔχοντα, ἐς τὴν Συρίαν εὐθὺς τὸν Ἀγρίππαν . . . ἔστειλε. καὶ ὅς ἐκ μὲν τῆς πόλεως εὐθὺς ἐξώρμησεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἀφίκετο, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον μετριάζων ἐκέισε μὲν τοὺς ὑποστρατήγους ἔπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν Λέσβῳ διέτριψε. Dio limits Agrippa's authority, during both his visits to the East, to the province of Syria,⁴ and adds that, on the occasion of his first visit there, instead of taking over personal control of the province, with more than his usual self-effacement he remained on the Island of Lesbos (part of the senatorial province of Asia) and sent *legati* into Syria.

Velleius⁵ mentions Agrippa's destination, but does not define his powers: . . . Agrippa, qui sub specie ministeriorum principatum profectus in Asiam But Josephus describes Agrippa's position in 23 B.C. as follows:⁶ πέμπεται δ' Ἀγρίππας τῶν πέραν Ἰονίου διάδοχος Καίσαρι. Josephus regards Agrippa as vice-regent from 23 B.C. of the provinces east of the Ionian Sea. He places Agrippa side by side with Augustus in the administration of the Roman Empire (. . . δύο . . . τὴν ἀρχὴν Ῥωμαίων διεπόντων τοσὴνδε τὸ μέγεθος οὖσαν, Καίσαρος καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν Ἀγρίππου . . .). Of Agrippa's departure from the Orient in

¹See above, pages 78–83. ²Compare Korach, 90–91. ³53.32.1.

⁴Compare also 54.19.6 τὸν τε γὰρ Ἀγρίππαν ἐς τὴν Συρίαν αὐθις ἐστάλκει (17/16 B. C.); 54.28.1 κἀν τούτῳ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ἐκ τῆς Συρίας ἐλθόντα. . . (13 B. C.). ⁵2.93.2. ⁶Antiquitates 15.10.2.

⁷Antiquitates 15.10.3.

13 B.C. Josephus speaks as follows:⁸ Ἀγρίππου γε μὴν ἀνιδόντος εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην μετὰ τὴν διοίκησιν τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας δεκαετῆ γεγενημένην . . .⁹ Here Josephus by Ἀσία must mean not the senatorial province Asia, but the continent Asia. His reference to Agrippa's 'ten-year administration of the Asiatic provinces', which were the primary interest of Josephus in his History of the Jews, does not necessarily contradict his earlier statement that Agrippa was vice-regent of the provinces east of the Ionian Sea. To be sure, Agrippa was in the East only about six years. Josephus is not ignorant of Agrippa's four-year absence from the East¹⁰ (21-17/16), but he reckons the time elapsed between the two extreme dates (23-13) of Agrippa's authority over the eastern provinces.¹¹

Josephus understood the nature and the extent of Agrippa's powers in the East better than did Dio Cassius.¹² It is impossible to consider Agrippa simply as Governor of the imperial province Syria from 23-13 B.C., as Dio implies. Dio's own statement that Agrippa sent *legati* (ὑποστράτηγους¹³) into Syria, while he himself remained at Lesbos, is evidence that Agrippa's powers were extraordinary, greater than the powers of an ordinary imperial *legatus*.¹⁴ No delegation of powers was possible for an imperial *legatus* because his own powers were dependent upon the *proconsulare imperium* of the *princeps*.¹⁵ Moreover, since Agrippa was not *praefectus urbi* in 21-20 B.C.,¹⁶ he must have possessed extraordinary authority as Governor of Rome and Italy. In 20-19 we find him first in Gaul,¹⁷ then

⁸Antiquitates 16.3.3.

⁹Compare Antiquitates 16.2.1 . . . Μάρκον Ἀγρίππαν . . . καταπεπλευκέναι πάλιν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν . . . (15 B. C.).

¹⁰See note 9, above. The emendation of δεκαετῆ to ἐξαετῆ, suggested by C. Mancini, Atti della Reale Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti (Naples) 12, Part 2 (1887), 63, is unnecessary.

¹¹Compare Mommsen, Res Gestae, 163, Staatsrecht, 2.1151, note 5; Gardthausen, 2.407, note 53; Dobiáš, 317-318, note 74.

¹²Compare Korach, 91.

¹³Compare Mommsen, Staatsrecht, 2.1156, note 5. For Dio's use of the word ὑποστράτηγος see Vrind, 82-90.

¹⁴Compare Liebenam, 362; Schürer, 1.320; Mommsen, Res Gestae, 165; Korach, 90.

¹⁵Mommsen, Staatsrecht, 2.245. ¹⁶See above, page 87, note 68.

¹⁷For the improbable contention that Agrippa was Governor of Gaul at that time see above, page 88, note 71.

in Spain. It is noteworthy that Florus, in his treatment of the Cantabrian campaigns,¹⁸ distinguishes Agrippa from the two previous generals, Antistius and Furnius, whom he expressly calls *legati* of Augustus. Finally, Dio¹⁹ comments upon Agrippa's failure to report the results of his activities in Spain to the Senate, which can only mean that Agrippa's powers had been bestowed upon him by the Senate, not by Augustus. These powers granted to Agrippa by the Senate before he left for the Orient in 23 B.C. can be defined only as the *proconsulare imperium*.²⁰ From this time to the end of his life Agrippa shared with Augustus the military and administrative control of the imperial provinces of the Empire.

Ancient sources are almost entirely silent concerning Agrippa's activity in the East in 23–21 B.C. His headquarters were at Mytilene, in the province of Asia, and he appears to have visited Antioch, the capital of the province of Syria.²¹ Very different from his first visit to the East was his second visit, 17/16–13 B.C. This time he went there as official co-regent, the *collega minor* of Augustus,²² possessing the combined tribunician-proconsular power.²³ His *proconsulare imperium* now unquestionably extended not only over all the imperial provinces of the Empire, but also over all the senatorial provinces in the eastern half of the Empire.²⁴ By virtue of this power he was able to restore to Cyzicus its freedom,²⁵ impose a fine upon Ilium,²⁶ order the city of Ephesus to respect the religious privileges of the Jewish inhabitants, instruct the Governor of the province of Asia that no Jews were to be forced to give bail on the Sabbath,²⁷ take measures for the city of Eresus on Lesbos,²⁸ and reorganize the kingdom of the

¹⁸2.33.51–52. ¹⁹54.11.6.

²⁰Compare Herzog, 159, note 1; Arnold, 184; Korach, 91. Mancini, 58–59 (see note 10, above), implies that Agrippa did not have *proconsulare imperium* from 23–21 B. C.; he limits Agrippa's authority to the province of Syria. Ferrero (4.239, note), too, regards Agrippa as only *legatus Augusti* in Syria during his first visit to the East, but his remarks are unsound.

²¹See above, page 84. ²²Mommsen, *Res Gestae*, 164.

²³See above, pages 98–99.

²⁴Compare Waddington, 90; Zumpt, 81–82; Halgan, 212; W. Rossberg, *Quaestiones de Rebus Cyrenarum Provinciae Romanae*, 58–59 (Dissertation, Leipzig, undated).

²⁵See above, page 109. ²⁶See above, page 116.

²⁷See above, pages 120–121. ²⁸See above, page 122.

Bosporus.²⁹ In the same manner, he sent orders to Cyrene concerning the Jewish troubles in 14 B.C.³⁰ Not only the governors of Asia, but also the governors of the senatorial province Achaia were subject to his *maius imperium*, as Hertzberg long ago observed.³¹ The recently discovered letter of Agrippa to the *gerousia* of Argos³² now leaves no doubt of this.³³

Josephus's words, τῶν πέραν Ἰονίου διάδοχος Καίσαρι, are, consequently, based upon good authority. With Agrippa's powers in 17/16–13 B.C. are to be compared the powers granted to his son Gaius in 1 B.C.,³⁴ and the powers granted to Germanicus when he went to the Orient in 17 A.D., of which Tacitus says,³⁵ tunc decreto patrum permissae Germanico provinciae quae mari (Ionio) dividuntur, maiusque imperium, quoquo adisset, quam iis qui sorte (i.e. proconsuls of senatorial provinces) aut missu principis (i.e. *legati* of imperial provinces) obtinerent.³⁶

Agrippa's second visit to the East is to be sharply differentiated from his first mission there. All his activities during 17/16–13 B.C. point to the conclusion that at the time of the establishment of the co-regency in 18 B.C. Agrippa, by decree of the Senate, received *maius imperium* over the proconsuls of the senatorial provinces east of the Ionian Sea, i.e. Achaia, Crete and Cyrene, Asia, Bithynia and Pontus, and Cyprus. At the same time his *proconsulare imperium* over all the imperial provinces of the Empire was renewed. Mommsen holds that the proconsular power of the co-regent was not territorially limited, and that Agrippa possessed from 23 B.C. to the end of his life

²⁹See above, pages 114–115. ³⁰See above, page 121.

³¹G. F. Hertzberg, *Die Geschichte Griechenlands unter der Herrschaft der Römer*, 1.525 (Halle, 1866).

³²See above, page 122, note 92.

³³W. Vollgraff, *Mnemosyne* 47 (1919), 268–269, concludes too hastily from this rescript that Agrippa had *maius imperium* over Achaia as early as 23 B. C. But see below, page 171.

³⁴Suetonius, *Tiberius* 12.2 *Gaium Orienti praepositum*; *Orosius* 7.3; *Zonaras* 10.36. Compare Mommsen, *Res Gestae*, 165; Gardthausen, 1.1133, and his article *Iulius (Caesar)*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 10.425.

³⁵*Annales* 2.43.2.

³⁶Compare Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, 2.1158, notes 3–4. Vrind (156, note 383) cites Dio 48.28.4 . . . Ἀντώνιος δὲ πάντα τὰλλα τὰ ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰόνιον, τὰ τε ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὄντα, ἀπέλαχε.

proconsulare imperium over all the provinces of the Empire.³⁷ He, as well as others,³⁸ has failed to make any distinction between the extent of the powers granted to Agrippa in 23, in 18, and in 13 B.C.³⁹ Waddington has correctly pointed out⁴⁰ that there is no trace of authority by Agrippa over the senatorial provinces before his second visit to the East. There is no proof, and, in fact, no probability, that Agrippa possessed *maius imperium* over the proconsuls of the senatorial provinces in 23–18 B.C.⁴¹ Between 21 and 19 B.C. Augustus was himself in the East and made readjustments not only in the senatorial provinces Achaia, Asia, and Bithynia, but also in the imperial province Syria.⁴² Josephus, it must be admitted, speaks of Agrippa's 'ten-year government of the Asiatic provinces', and calls him τῶν πέραν Ἰονίου διάδοχος Καίσαρι in 23 B.C. Neither of these statements is irreconcilable with the view that between 23 B.C. and 21 B.C. Agrippa had under his direct control only the eastern imperial provinces. With this view can be partially reconciled Dio's statement that Agrippa went to the East in 23 B.C. as Governor of Syria. The modest conduct exhibited by Agrippa between 23 B.C. and 21 B.C., upon which Dio comments, consisted apparently in remaining outside the heavily-garrisoned provinces under his control.⁴³

Even his *maius imperium* between 18 B.C. and 13 B.C. was limited, in fact, if not by the empowering *senatus consultum*, as was the *maius imperium* of Germanicus in 17 A.D., to the

³⁷Res Gestae, 163–164, Staatsrecht, 2.1156, 1157, and note 3. Compare also Dessau, 1.457; Halgan, 213–214. Mommsen's view, which is adopted by Pelham (62, note 1), that Agrippa possessed *proconsulare imperium* as early as 27 B. C. (Res Gestae, 163; Staatsrecht, 2.1151) is certainly to be rejected. Compare Herzog, 159, note 1; Kuntz, 27.

³⁸E. g. Arnold, 184.

³⁹Staatsrecht, 2.1151, note 5, 1157, note 3. Compare Vrind, 158, note 388.

⁴⁰Page 89. Compare Gardthausen, 2.486, note 3. However, in 2.407–408, note 54, Gardthausen sets himself down in favor of *maius imperium* for Agrippa as early as 23 B. C.

⁴¹Compare Zumpt, 79–82; Motte, 243; Dittenberger, 776, note. Mommsen's view that Agrippa possessed *maius imperium* from 23 B. C. is shared by Herzog, Gallia, 107; Vrind, 156; Borghesi, 8.128.

⁴²Dio 54.7. Compare 54.6.1. Herod seems to have received from Augustus at this time general supervision over Syria (Josephus, Antiquitates 15.10.3, Bellum 1.20.4), perhaps until Agrippa's return in 15 B. C.

⁴³Compare Zumpt, 79–80.

provinces east of the Ionian Sea.⁴⁴ When the co-regency was renewed in 13 B.C., the *imperium* of Agrippa was so formulated that it extended, as did the perpetual *imperium* possessed by Augustus from 23 B.C.,⁴⁵ over *all* the provinces of the Empire, both imperial and senatorial.⁴⁶ Similar to the powers which Agrippa now possessed were the powers bestowed upon Tiberius twenty-five years later, of which Velleius says,⁴⁷ . . . *senatus populusque Romanus postulante patre eius, ut aequum ei ius in omnibus provinciis exercitibusque esset quam erat ipsi, decreto complexus est*, and of which Suetonius says,⁴⁸ . . . *lege per consules lata, ut provincias cum Augusto communiter administraret . . .*⁴⁹

⁴⁴See against Mommsen's view that the *proconsulare imperium* of the co-regent was never restricted territorially Schulz, 60-61; Kornemann, *Doppelprinzipat*, 41, 113, 196; Herzog, 159, note 1; Korach, 91; Vrind, 156.

⁴⁵Compare Abele, 31.

⁴⁶Dio 54.28.1 . . . *μείζον αὐτῷ τῶν ἑκασταχόθι ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀρχόντων ἰσχύσαι ἐπερέψας* <Augustus>. Compare the similar expression in Dio (53.32.5) for Augustus's *maius imperium* in 23 B. C., . . . *ἐν τῷ ὑψηλῷ τὸ πλεῖον τῶν ἑκασταχόθι ἀρχόντων ἰσχύειν ἐπέτρεψεν*. Compare Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, 2,859, note 3.

The general view (see e. g. Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, 2,859-860) that Augustus possessed life-long *maius imperium* from 23 B. C. has been disputed by D. McFayden, *The Princes and the Senatorial Provinces*, *Classical Philology* 16 (1921), 34-50, *The Newly Discovered Cyrenaean Inscription and the Alleged Imperium Maius Proconsulare* of Augustus, *Classical Philology* 23 (1928), 388-393. But the new Cyrene edicts contain ample evidence that Augustus's authority over the senatorial province Crete and Cyrene, for example, was a legal one, not one based upon his *auctoritas*. See against McFayden's view Premerstein, 435, *Klio* 22 (1929), 163, *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* 51 (1931), *Romanistische Abteilung*, 438; Holmes, 1,265-267; Stroux-Wenger, 61. If it is necessary to add to the arguments against McFayden's view, I point out that Agrippa unquestionably possessed *maius imperium* over the proconsuls of the senatorial provinces east of the Ionian Sea from 17/16 B. C. (voted to him in all probability in 18 B. C.) to 13 B. C. At the same time he held, in addition, the tribunician power and the proconsular power over all the imperial provinces. Are we to believe that the co-regent had wider constitutional powers from 18 B. C. to 13 B. C. over the provinces than the *princeps* himself possessed? Also there seems to me to be a connection between the first grant of *proconsulare imperium* to Agrippa in 23 B. C. and the extension of Augustus's powers over the senatorial provinces at that time, as reported by Dio.

⁴⁷2.121.1.

⁴⁸Tiberius 21.1.

⁴⁹Compare Vrind, 157.

A progressive enlargement of Agrippa's proconsular powers is thus established. In 23-18 B.C. he held *proconsulare imperium* over all the imperial provinces; in 18-13 B.C. he held authority over all the imperial provinces and over the senatorial provinces east of the Ionian Sea; from 13 B.C. to 12 B.C., when he died, he had *imperium* over all the provinces of the Empire.⁵⁰

No governors of the province of Syria are known between 23 B. C. and 13 B.C.⁵¹ Syria is probably to be regarded as Agrippa's special province throughout that period.⁵² To be sure, he visited Syria only twice, for short periods, during that entire time.⁵³ From 21 B.C. to 17 B.C. he was in the West; in 20 B.C. Augustus interfered in the administration of Syria. The province, together with Cilicia and Pamphylia, was administered by Agrippa's *legati*.⁵⁴ It is possible, too, that Cyprus from 23 B.C. to 22 B.C., at which time it was converted into a senatorial province, and the imperial province composed of Galatia, Eastern Phrygia, Pisidia, Lycaonia, and Isauria, were subject to Agrippa's direct control during his first stay in the Orient.⁵⁵

The problem has been raised⁵⁶ whether during Agrippa's 'ten-year' administration of the eastern part of the Empire the ordinary governors of the eastern provinces, senatorial proconsuls and imperial *legati Augusti*, continued to function or were replaced *en masse* by *legati* of Agrippa. Vrind's assertion^{56a} that between 23 and 13 B.C. no proconsuls of the eastern provinces are known is not true. P. Paquius Scaeva was probably the first proconsul of Cyprus, in 22 B.C.; he was proconsul of Cyprus again, *extra ordinem*, in 15 B.C.⁵⁷ In his letter

⁵⁰In 12 B. C. Agrippa was already active in Pannonia (Dio 54.28.2).

⁵¹For L. Cornelius Piso see below, page 175. Fitzler-Seeck (351) mention M. Titius as Governor of Syria in 20 B. C., but Mommsen has shown (Res Gestae, 141-142, 166) that Titius was more probably Governor of Syria about 8 B. C. E. Honigmann, in his article *Syria*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, Zweite Reihe, 4.1629, dates his governorship in 10/9 B. C.

⁵²See Liebenam, 362-363; Schürer, 1.321; Gardthausen, 2.407, note 54; Mommsen, Res Gestae, 164-165; Waddington, 88; Honigmann, 1629 (see note 51, above).

⁵³See above, pages 84, 110-112. ⁵⁴Compare Zumpt, 80.

⁵⁵Compare Waddington, 89; Motte, 239.

⁵⁶See e. g. Marquardt, 1.417. ^{56a}Page 155.

⁵⁷CIL 9.2845 = Dessau, ILS 915. See Abele, 45; K. Scott, Greek and Roman Honorific Months. Yale Classical Studies 2 (1931), 207-208. Scato

to the Ephesians, in 14 B.C.,⁵⁸ Agrippa mentions (M. Junius) Silanus,^{58a} then Governor of Asia, whom he calls *στρατηγός* (not *ἀνθύπατος*, the normal word for proconsul). Waddington⁵⁹ sees in the designation of Silanus as *στρατηγός* an indication that between 18 B.C. and 13 B.C. the senatorial provinces of the East were governed by *legati* of Agrippa and that the proconsuls were suppressed. This conclusion, which depends entirely upon the interpretation of the word *στρατηγός* (a word, which is, in fact, sometimes used to mean 'proconsul'⁶⁰) hardly seems probable. It is more likely that the ordinary proconsuls continued to govern the senatorial provinces,⁶¹ subject to the *maius imperium* of Agrippa, as was the case when Germanicus was vice-regent in the East. But Agrippa's power was somewhat greater than the power of Germanicus,^{61a} for the imperial province of Syria, together with Cilicia and Pamphylia,

was proconsul of Cyrene between 18 and 12 B. C. (see the coins above, page 99, note 4a). No proconsuls of Achaia are known between 23 B. C. and 13 B. C. The proconsulship of L. Aquilius Florus, which is sometimes dated about 14 or 12 B. C. (e. g. by L. R. Dean, *American Journal of Archaeology* 23 [1919], 163-166), is now to be placed in the reign of Claudius. See A. B. West, *Corinth: Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, 8, Part 2, 31-35 (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1931).

⁵⁸See above, page 120, note 85.

^{58a}For Silanus see Münzer, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 10.1095-1096, No. 172.

⁵⁸⁹⁻⁹². So also Vrind, 155.

⁶⁰See D. Magie, *De Romanorum Iuris Publici Sacrique Vocabulis Sollemnibus in Graecum Sermonem Conversis*, 86 (Leipzig, 1905). Conclusive evidence for the usage in official documents of the word *στρατηγός* in the sense of 'proconsul' is now to be found in the first of the new Cyrene edicts of Augustus (line 33; compare also line 37). Compare Premerstein, 439. It is noteworthy that in his letter to Cyrene (see above, page 121, note 87) Agrippa uses the word *στρατηγός* of a former governor of Cyrene, Flavius, or Fabius (compare Groag, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 6.1744), to whom Augustus had sent a rescript.

⁶¹Compare V. Chapot, *La Province Romaine Proconsulaire d'Asie*, 284 (Paris, 1904); Halgan, 212-214; Mancini, 59 (see note 10, above); Zumpt, 82. Chapot (312) properly includes Silanus in his catalogue of the governors of Asia. E. Groag, *Österreichisches Jahreshft* 21-22 (1922-1924), 474-475, following Waddington's interpretation of the word *στρατηγός*, believes that M. Plautius Silvanus (consul 2 B. C.), not M. Junius Silanus, was Governor of Asia in 14 B. C., as *legatus* of Agrippa.

^{61a}Compare Waddington, 90; Vrind, 155.

was, as it seems, governed by his *legati*, not by the *legati* of Augustus.

However, none of Agrippa's *legati* is known. Varro, who, Mommsen⁶² thought, was one of Agrippa's *legati*, is more probably Agrippa's predecessor in Syria, for Josephus, who mentions Varro before the arrival of Agrippa, states⁶³ that Varro communicated with Augustus concerning an administrative matter.⁶⁴ Dio mentions L. Cornelius Piso, consul 15 B.C., who conquered the Thracians in 13–11 B.C., as Governor of Pamphylia in 13 B.C.⁶⁵ An inscription discovered recently in Cilicia (Hierapolis)⁶⁶ confirms earlier conjectures that Piso was in reality Governor of Syria. That Piso, a former consul, was a subordinate *legatus* of Agrippa⁶⁷ is difficult to believe. It is not impossible, however, that Piso was Agrippa's immediate successor,⁶⁸ the first *legatus Augusti* in Syria since 23 B.C., and that Augustus transferred him the same year to Thrace.⁶⁹

In conclusion, I summarize the results at which I have arrived concerning the powers of Agrippa in the East:

(1) Agrippa possessed *proconsulare imperium* over all the imperial provinces from 23 B.C. to 12 B.C.

(2) Syria was his special province from 23 B.C. to 13 B.C. Since he did not administer it personally, it was governed by his *legati*, none of whose names is known.

(3) In 18–13 B.C. he possessed *maius imperium* over the proconsuls of the senatorial provinces east of the Ionian Sea, i.e. Achaia, Crete and Cyrene, Asia, Cyprus, Bithynia and Pontus.⁷⁰

(4) In 13 B.C. his *maius imperium* was extended to the senatorial provinces west of the Ionian Sea.

⁶²Res Gestae, 165–166.

⁶³Antiquitates 15.10.1, Bellum 1.20.4.

⁶⁴Compare Schürer, 1.320; Korach, 89–90; Liebenam, 361.

⁶⁵54.34.6 . . . Παμφυλίας, ἣς ἡρχε . . .

⁶⁶J. Keil and A. Wilhelm, Österreichisches Jahresheft 18 (1915), 51–52.

⁶⁷As Keil and Wilhelm (see note 66, above) suggest. Compare Groag, 475 (see note 61, above).

⁶⁸Agrippa's ten-year control over Syria ended in the middle of 13 B. C.

⁶⁹Compare Marquardt, 1.417, note 4; Groag's article *L. Cornelius Piso*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, 3.1397, Supplementband 1.272; Dobiáš, 318, note 77.

⁷⁰That Macedonia was included in these provinces is doubtful.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Abele—Theodor A. Abele, *Der Senat unter Augustus* (Dissertation, Strassburg, 1907. This is published also in *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums*, Band 1, Heft 2 [Paderborn, 1907]).
- Appian—Appian, *Bella Civilia*, Edited by L. Mendelssohn, *Appiani Historia Romana*, Editio Altera, by Paul Viereck (Leipzig, 1905).
- Arnold—W. T. Arnold, *Studies of Roman Imperialism*, Edited by E. Fiddes (Manchester, 1906).
- Athenische Mitteilungen—*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* (1876-).
- Babelon—Ernest Babelon, *Description Historique et Chronologique des Monnaies de la République Romaine*. 2 volumes (Paris, 1885-1886).
- Bankó—J. Bankó, *Zum Porträte des Agrippa*, *Österreichisches Jahreshft* 14 (1911), 257-266.
- Beloch—Julius Beloch, *Campanien*² (Breslau, 1890).
- Bernoulli—J. J. Bernoulli, *Römische Ikonographie*. 2 volumes, in 4 parts (Stuttgart, 1882-1894).
- Blumenthal—Fritz Blumenthal, *Die Autobiographie des Augustus*, *Wiener Studien* 35 (1913), 113-130, 267-288; 36 (1914), 84-103.
- Borghesi—Bartolomeo Borghesi, *Oeuvres Complètes*. 10 volumes (Paris, 1862-1897).
- Bouchier—E. S. Bouchier, *Syria as a Roman Province* (Oxford, 1916).
- Cantarelli—L. Cantarelli, *Cecilia Attica*, in his *Studi Romani e Bizantini*, 167-179 (Rome, 1915).
- Chijs—J. A. van der Chijs, *Dissertatio . . . De Herode Magno, Judaeorum Rege* (Dissertation, Lugduni Batavorum, 1855).
- CIG—*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*. 4 volumes (Berlin, 1828-1877).
- CIL—*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. 15 volumes (Berlin, 1862-).
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