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OSSA QUIRINI. ROMULUS' MORTALITY AND APOTHEOSIS BETWEEN CAESAR AND AUGUSTUS

It is widely agreed that the tradition about Romulus' apotheosis – or, better, the tale about the end of the founder's earthly life according to which he vanished and came back as god Quirinus – is strongly connected to the ideological and historical-religious process that led to the apotheosis of Caesar and Augustus¹. In fact, both Caesar and Augustus strictly associated themselves to the founder and prefigured the same heavenly afterlife². There are even scholars who think that the identification of Romulus with Quirinus became a steady feature of Roman religion exactly during the age of Caesar and Augustus³.

¹ For Caesar's apotheosis see at least S. Weinstock, *Divus Iulius*, Oxford 1971, pp. 270-410 and D. Fishwick, *The Imperial Cult in the Latin West. Studies on the Ruler Cult of the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire*, I.1, Leiden–New York–Kobenhavn–Köln 1987, pp. 56-72. For Augustus see as last K. Galinski, *Augustan Culture. An Interpretive Introduction*, Princeton 1996, pp. 312-331; J. Scheid, *To Honour the Princes and Venerate the Gods: Public Cult, Neighbourhood Cults and Imperial Cult in Augustan Rome*, [in:] J. Edmonson (ed.), *Augustus*, Edinburgh 2009, pp. 275-299; T. Gnoli, *L'apoteosi di Augusto*, [in:] T. Gnoli – F. Muccioli (cur.), *Divinizzazione, culto del sovrano e apoteosi. Tra Antichità e Medioevo*, Bologna 2014, pp. 193-210.

² For Caesar see A. Alföldi, *Die Geburt der kaiserlichen Bildsymbolik. Kleine Beiträge zu ihrern Entstehungsgeschichte*, MH, 8, 1951, pp. 190-215 and W. Burkert, *Caesar und Romulus-Quirinus*, „Historia“, 11, 1962, pp. 336-337. For Augustus see J. Gagé, *Romulus-Augustus*, MEFRA, 47, 1930, pp. 138-181. See also K. Scott, *The Identification of Augustus with Romulus-Quirinus*, TAPhA, 56, 1925, pp. 82-105; D. Petrusinski, *L'apothéose d'Auguste par rapport à Romulus-Quirinus dans la poésie de Virgile et d'Horace*, „Eos“, 63, 1975, pp. 273-283; D. Porte, *Romulus-Quirinus, prince et dieu, dieu des princes. Etude sur le personnage de Quirinus et sur son évolution des origines à Auguste*, [in:] W. Haase, H. Temporini (eds.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt. Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung (ANRW)*, II 17.1, Berlin–New York 1981, pp. 333-340. On similar attempts of deification during the Republican age see C.J. Classen, *Romulus in der Römischen Republik*, „Philologus“, 106, 1962, pp. 174-204.

³ For the identification of Romulus with Quirinus and the propaganda of the *gens Iulia* see D. Porte, *op. cit.* (with further bibliography). For different opinions see A. Brelich, *Quirino. Una divinità romana alla luce della comparazione storica*, SMSR, 31, 1960, pp. 67-119 (original identification); H.D. Jocelyn, *Romulus and the Di Genitales (Ennius, Annales 110-111 Skutsch)*, [in:] *Studies in Latin Literature and Its*

As regards Caesar, his name is connected to two major Roman festivals that were linked to the origins of the town, the *Palilia* and the *Lupercalia*. The former was celebrated in the same day in which they thought that Rome had been founded. The latter was thought to be a reminder of events occurred during the life of Romulus and Remus⁴. According to Cassius Dion, a chariot race was included in the program of the *Palilia* to celebrate Caesar's victory at Munda because it was announced on the eve of the festival and thereafter the race became a fixed feature of the *Palilia*⁵. The *Lupercalia* were the set of the puzzling Mark Antony's attempt to crown Caesar as a king⁶ in 44 B.C. and, according to Cassius Dion, Caesar instituted a third team of racing *luperci*, the *Iulii*, beside the traditional two teams, *Quintilii* and *Fabiani*, that were thought to date back to Romulus and Remus⁷. What is more, according to the same author, Mark Antony was the chief of the *luperci Iulii* when he tried to crown Caesar⁸. Furthermore, Caesar, like Romulus, obtained the privilege of dedicating the *spolia opima* in Iuppiter *Feretrius'* temple⁹. Finally, in 45 B.C. it was ratified the dedication of a statue portraying Caesar in Quirinus' temple. On the basis was inscribed *deo invicto*, "to the invincible god"¹⁰.

Tradition in Honour of C.O. Brink, Cambridge 1989, pp. 39-65 (fragment by Ennius); A. Fraschetti, *Romolo il fondatore*, Roma-Bari 2002; S. Cole, *Cicero and the Rise of Deification at Rome*, Cambridge 2013, pp. 85-110 and 189-198 (Cicero's view).

⁴ See Ov. *Fast.* II 359-452; Plut. *Rom.* 21.5 and 21. 8-9; Val. Max. II 2.9; Serv. *ad Aen.* VIII 343. Both Ovid and Plutarch report a tradition according which the *Lupercalia* had been A. Fraschetti, *op. cit.* from Arcadia. Solely this tradition is reported by Liv. I 5; Dion. Hal. I 80.1; Serv. *ad Aen.* VIII 663; Aug. *C.D.* XVIII 17. Augustine (*C.D.* XVIII 12) reports a tradition according which the festival was a reminder of the primeval deluge. Finally, Pope Gelasius (*c. Andromach.* 12) argued, quoting a lost passage by Livy, that the festival was introduced during the Republican age.

⁵ See Cass. Dio. XLIII 42.3. The author stresses that the race did not honor Rome, but Caesar.

⁶ See Cic. *Phil.* 2 85-7; 3.12; 13.31; Nic. Damasc. *Aug.* 21.71-75; Plut. *Ant.* 12; Cass. Dio XLIV 11.2-3. Scholars discuss about the meaning of the event. Most of them stress the political aspect: see U. Bianchi, *Cesare e i lupercali del 44 a.C.*, *StudRom*, 6, 1958, pp. 253-259; M. Sordi, *Opposizione e onori: il caso dei Lupercali*, [in:] M. Sordi (ed.), *Fazioni e congiure nel mondo antico*, Milano 1999, pp. 151-160; J.A. North, *Caesar at the Lupercalia*, *JRS*, 98, 2008, pp. 144-160. Other scholars investigate the reasons of the choice of the *Lupercalia* for the attempt: see G. Dumézil, *La religion romaine archaïque*, Paris 1974, p. 355 (*Lupercalia* originally were a coronation rite); A. Fraschetti, *Cesare e Antonio ai Lupercalia*, [in:] F.M. Fales, C. Grottanelli (eds.), *Soprannaturale e potere nel mondo antico e nelle società tradizionali*, Milano 1985, pp. 165-186 (during the *Lupercalia* civic rules were suspended).

⁷ See Cass. Dio XLIV 6.2. Cicero (*Phil.* 13.31) mentions the abolition of an income that Caesar had assigned to the *luperci* (vectigalia Iuliana lupercorum), but does not mention *luperci Iulii*.

⁸ See Cass. Dio XLV 30.2.

⁹ See Cass. Dio XLIV 4.3. On Caesar's iconography as new Romulus see Alföldi, *op. cit.*

¹⁰ See Cass. Dio XLIII 45.3. In a letter to Atticus Cicero mentions Caesar's "cohabitation" with Quirinus (*contubernalem, ad Att.* XIII 28.3). In another letter to the same (XII 45.3), he laughs at such a cohabitation, covertly recalls the violent end of Romulus-Quirinus and wishes that Caesar shares it (see also *infra*).

As regards Octavian-Augustus, his connections to the founder are even stronger. It is told that when Octavian achieved his first consulate, he had the same auspice that Romulus had before founding Rome¹¹. It is also reported that before choosing the title *Augustus*, Octavian considered the title *Romulus*¹². Moreover, Augustus chose Romulus as his own neighbour when he built his palace on the Palatine Hill, near the place that was identified as Romulus' house (*aedes Romuli*)¹³ and near the *Lupercal*¹⁴, that he provided for being restored¹⁵ and that was believed to be the place where the she-wolf had suckled Romulus and Remus. Further, on June 29th 45 B.C. Augustus inaugurated the restored temple of Quirinus¹⁶ which was decorated with scenes de-

¹¹ See Svet. *Div. Aug.* 95 and App. *Bell. civ.* III 94.388 who explicitly recall Romulus' auspice. Other authors split the event into two moments. According to Cassius Dion (XLVI 46.2-3) Octavian saw six vultures while he was entering into the Campus Martius and twelve while he was addressing to the soldiers. According to Iulius Obsequens (69) he saw six vultures while he was introducing the army into the Campus Martius and six while he was climbing into the *Rostra*.

¹² See Cass. Dio LIII 16.6-7 who states that while they were discussing the honorific title for Octavian, he wished to be called *Romulus*, but accepted the title *Augustus* because he was aware of both the negative nuances of the name *Romulus* and the godlike nuances of the name *Augustus*. On the contrary, Svetonius (*Div. Aug.* 7) reports that the title *Romulus* was proposed by some senators who wanted honor Octavian as new founder. Further, Servius (*ad Georg.* III 27 and *ad Aen.* I 292) states that to Octavian were proposed three titles, *Quirinus*, *Caesar* and *Augustus* and that he accepted all of them because he did not want to displease any political party (for *Quirinus* see also *infra*). Finally, the *Res gestae* (34.2) mention only the title *Augustus*. Censorinus (21.8) and Velleius Paterculus (II 91) record Munatius Plancus as proponent.

¹³ Cassius Dion (LIII 16.5) meaningfully highlights the prestige that Augustus' residence gained from the proximity of Romulus' one. On the topographical problem see F. Coarelli, *Casa Romuli (area capitolina)*, [in:] E.M. Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae (LTUR)*, I, Roma 1993, p. 241 and F. Coarelli, *Palatium. Il Palatino dalle origini all'impero*, Roma 2012, pp. 129-32 (compare the objections of P. Carafa (P. Carafa, *Il Palatino messo a punto*, ArchClass, 64, 2013, pp. 731-738). On the "duplicate" of Romulus' house on the Capitoline Hill see F. Coarelli, *Casa Romuli (Cermalò)*, [in:] E.M. Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae (LTUR)*, I, Roma 1993, pp. 241-242.

¹⁴ According to A. Carandini, the *Lupercal* must be identified with a vaulted building discovered beneath the remains of the second architectural phase of Augustus' residence, which, therefore, had incorporated it. See A. Carandini – D. Bruno, *La casa di Augusto dai "Lupercalia" al Natale*, Roma-Bari 2008. This identification is not commonly accepted, see at least F. Coarelli (F. Coarelli *Palatium...*), who positions the *Lupercal* on the right side of the *scalae Caci* (pp. 132-139) and identifies the vaulted building with a *fulgur conditum* (pp. 394-395, compare P. Carafa, *op. cit.*, pp. 752-753).

¹⁵ See *Res gest.* 19.1 and App. 2.

¹⁶ See *Res gest.* 19.2; App. 2; Cass. Dio LIV 19.4. For the reconstruction of the building see F. Coarelli, *Quirinus, aedes*, [in:] E.M. Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae (LTUR)*, IV, Roma 1999, pp. 185-187 and A. Carandini, *Cercando Quirino. Traversata sulle onde elettromagnetiche nel suolo del Quirinale*, Torino 2007. One of the pediment is depicted in a fragment of the so called relief Hartwig. Scholars disagree about the identification of the figures, but agree on the theme, the origins of Rome. Therefore, the pediment was a strong iconographical testimonial for the identification of Romulus with Quirinus, see R. Parisi, *Propaganda e iconografia: una lettura del frontone del tempio di Quirino sul frammento del "rilievo Hartwig" del Museo Nazionale Romano*, BA, 73.52, 1988, pp. 27-38 and R. Parisi (ed.), *Dono Hartwig. Originali ricongiunti e copie tra Roma e Ann Arbor. Ipotesi per il Templum Gentis Flaviae*, Roma 1994, pp. 39-41, 52.

picting Romulus' and Caesar's apotheosis. To prove the importance of this temple for Augustus, Cassius Dio states that the number of its columns (76) was thought to be an omen of Augustus' lifetime¹⁷. After all, Virgil calls Augustus *Quirinus*¹⁸ and, according to Servius, *Quirinus* was one of the honorific titles that the Senate proposed to Octavian¹⁹. In fact, Augustus worked for taking possession of the tradition about Romulus' apotheosis much more than did Caesar, although less directly. According to a tantalizing reconstruction by F. Coarelli, Augustus took indirectly possession of the place of Romulus' apotheosis through the building of the *Pantheon* due to Agrippa. Most scholars think that the *Pantheon* was dedicated to the cult of the *gens Iulia* and it is situated very closely to the place where ancient authors state that Romulus vanished²⁰. What is more, the *Pantheon* and the mausoleum of the *gens Iulia* are aligned by an ideal topographical line²¹: it looks as if Augustus, who refused to let place his statue in the *Pantheon* to avoid transforming it into his temple²², traced on the ground the way through which he would have rightly entered into the building after his apotheosis. As a matter of fact, Horace prefigured Augustus' apotheosis and it is not by chance that Romulus-Quirinus is part of the group of men who had become gods for their value²³. In addition, after Augustus' death, the description of his apotheosis follows so closely the description of Romulus' one that it is stated that a man saw Augustus'

¹⁷ See Cass. Dio LIV 19.4.

¹⁸ See Verg. *Georg.* III 27.

¹⁹ See Serv. *ad Georg.* III 27 and *ad Aen.* I 292. On the passage see above, note 11.

²⁰ See F. Coarelli, *Il pantheon, l'apoteosi di Augusto e l'apoteosi di Romolo*, [in:] *Città e architettura nella Roma imperiale. Atti del Seminario del 25 ottobre 1981 nel 25° anniversario dell'Accademia di Danimarca*, ARID Suppl.X, 1983, pp. 40-46. For a different function of the *Pantheon* see A. Ziolkowski, *Pantheon*, [in:] E.M. Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae (LTUR)*, IV, Roma 1999, pp. 56-57 and A. Ziolkowski, *Prolegomena to Any Future Metaphysics on Agrippa's Pantheon*, [in:] A. Leone, D. Palombi, S. Walker (eds.), *Res bene gestae. Ricerche di storia urbana su Roma antica in onore di Eva Margareta Steinby*, Roma 2007, pp. 465-475.

²¹ See E. Thomas, *The Architectural History of the Pantheon in Rome from Agrippa to Septimius Severus via Hadrian*, „Hephaistos”, 15, 1997, pp. 174-175; Ch.J. Simpson, *The Northern Orientation of Agrippa's Pantheon*, AC, 66, 1997, pp. 173-174; H.v. Hesberg, *Das Mausoleum des Augustus*, [in:] E. Stein-Hölkeskamp, K.-J. Hölkeskamp (eds.), *Erinnerungsorte der Antike. Die römische Welt*, München 2006, p. 349; E. La Rocca, *Dal culto di Ottaviano all'apoteosi di Augusto*, [in:] G. Urso (ed.), *Dicere laudes. Elogio, comunicazione, creazione del consenso. Atti del convegno internazionale Cividale del Friuli, 23-25 settembre 2010*, Pisa, p. 183. Carandini thinks that there was an ideal alignment also between the *Pantheon* and the East pediment of Quirinus' temple which probably was decorated with the representation of Caesar's apotheosis. The representation must have been very similar to the scene depicted on the front of the so called altare Belvedere, which is interpreted as Caesar's apotheosis, see A. Carandini, *op. cit.*, p. 33. For the altar see at least R. Cappelli, *L'altare del Belvedere. Un saggio di una nuova interpretazione*, AFLPer, 22, 1984-5, pp. 89-101.

²² See Cass. Dio LIII 27.3.

²³ See Hor. *Carm.* III 3. 9-16.

figure climbing to the heaven during the cremation of his body, just like it is narrated that Iulius Proculus met Romulus transformed into the god Quirinus²⁴.

However, from an historical-religious point of view, the apotheosis of Romulus and the apotheosis of Caesar and Augustus are very different. Romulus apotheosis implies the total disappearance of the man Romulus, both his body and his name vanish: it is solely by becoming Quirinus that Romulus becomes a god. Caesar and Augustus become gods by juxtaposing the title *divus*²⁵ to their mortal name. Thanks to a decree of *consecration*, they do not identify themselves with any god, but become new divinities, although they do not become *dei*. Romulus' mortality is overtaken, but it is never erased: they let his portray (*imago*) to parade together with the portrays of all the ancestors during the funeral of the members of the *gens Iulia*²⁶. On the contrary, Caesar's and Augustus' mortality is fully erased: Cassius Dion states that Caesar's portray could not parade during Augustus' funeral because Caesar had joined the heroes²⁷ and the same author includes into the honors that were bestowed to Augustus after his death the prohibition on letting Augustus' portray parade during funerals²⁸.

By taking on the title *divus* Caesar and Augustus overtook and erased their mortality, whereas Romulus' mortality totally contrasted his new identity as god Quirinus. Such a contrast is clearly proved by the fact that besides the narration about Romulus' disappearance and return as god Quirinus existed a tradition according to which Romulus was dismembered by the senators. Ancient authors report the two versions of Romulus' end as completely contrasting and state that the latter is more rational. Only the modern historical-religious comparison found a way of putting the two versions together. It is widely acknowledged that dismemberment is not an ordinary way of putting a too despotic ruler to death: dismemberment has a religious and ritual overtone²⁹. Some scholars, who follow the comparative approach of J.G. Frazer, con-

²⁴ According to Svetonius (*Div. Aug.* 100.7) a praetor class man swore that he had seen Augustus' *effigies* climbing into the heaven during the cremation. Cass. Dio (LVI 46.2) states that the senator Numerius Atticus was rewarded by Livia with one million *sestertii* because he said that he saw Augustus climbing into the heaven. The author explicitly recalls Iulius Proculus and Romulus.

²⁵ For the history of the word *divus* see D. Wardle, *Deus or Divus: the Genesis of Roman Terminology for Deified Emperors and a Philosopher's Contribution*, [in:] G. Clark, T. Rajak (eds.), *Philosophy and power in the Graeco-Roman world: essays in honour of Miriam Griffin*, Oxford 2002, pp. 181-191. For the acceptance of the apotheosis of Roman emperors see I. Ramelli, *Divus e deus negli autori del I secolo d.C.: Lucano, Seneca e Plinio il Giovane di fronte al culto imperiale*, RIL, 134, 2000, pp. 125-149.

²⁶ See Cass. Dio LVI 34.2 and Tac. *Ann.* IV 9.

²⁷ See Cass. Dio LVI 46.4.

²⁸ See Cass. Dio LVI 46.4. For ritual overtones of all the quoted passages, see A. Fraschetti, *Roma e il principe*, Roma-Bari 1990, pp. 78-81 and Fraschetti, *Romolo...*, p. 100. Compare J.-C. Richard, *Enée, Romulus, César et les funérailles impériales*, MEFRA, 78, 1966, pp. 67-78.

²⁹ Compare the interpretation proposed by A. Fraschetti (A. Fraschetti, *Romolo...*, pp. 109-116) which is based on Roman institutions and laws.

sider the dismemberment of Romulus as an immortalizing ritual for a king who was perceived as sacred³⁰. Other scholars, who follow an historical-comparative approach, recall a characteristic Roman phenomenon, the refusal of myths (demythization). Such a phenomenon caused the scission of Quirinus into two figures, the mortal man Romulus and the immortal god Quirinus. Further problem is to define the original nature of Quirinus. A. Brelich argues that Quirinus derives from a pre-polytheistic mythical figure of the sort of the *dema*³¹. *Dema* is a Polynesian word adopted by the historians of religions to indicate a primeval mythical superhuman being who is dismembered by men and from its dismemberment originate both the most important dietary plant for the community and the bond of the community itself. According to A.E. Jensen the *demas* represent an universal stage of the human religious thought which left trace in the later polytheisms as myth about the death of a divine being (for example the Egyptian myth of Osiris)³². D. Sabbatucci, after having demonstrated the flimsiness of the historical-religious category of *dema* as it was elaborated by Jensen, affirms that Quirinus, like the Egyptian Osiris, represented the kingship. The Romans first reject such a political institution, so that the mythical king Romulus was dissociated from the god Quirinus, but later they accepted it, so that Romulus was reunited to Quirinus at the end of the Republican age³³. Finally, some scholars, who acknowledge the sacral and religious nature of Romulus' dismemberment, suggest a correlation with the comparable violent death of Caesar and his apotheosis³⁴. In fact Appianus explicitly draws a parallelism between the murder of Caesar and the murder of Romulus³⁵.

³⁰ See J.G. Frazer, *Il ramo d'oro. Studio sulla magia e la religione*, tr. it. Roma 1999; Burkert, *op. cit.*; M. Delcourt, *Le partage du corps royal*, SMSR, 34, 1963, pp. 3-25; I.E.M. Edlund, *Must a King Die? The Death and Disappearance of Romulus*, PP, 39, 1984, pp. 401-409; D. Briquel 1986, *La légende de la mort et de l'apothéose de Romulus*, [in:] P.M. Martin, Ch.M. Ternes (eds.), *La mythologie. Clé de lecture du monde classique. Hommage à R. Chevalier*, Tours 1986, pp. 15-35; D. Engels, *Postea dictus est inter deos receptus. Wetterzauber und Königsmord: zu den Hintergründen der Vergöttlichung frühromischer Könige*, „Gymnasium”, 114, 2007, pp. 103-130. Compare G. Devallet (G. Devallet, *Apothéoses romaines: Romulus à corps perdu*, [in:] A.-F. Laurens (éd.), *Entre hommes et dieux. Le convive, le héros, le prophète*, Paris 1989, pp. 110-113), who considers the dismemberment as a prerequisite for apotheosis.

³¹ See Brelich, *op. cit.* More recently, this interpretation has been proposed by A. Carandini (see A. Carandini, *Remo e Romolo. Dai rioni dei Quiriti alla città dei Romani (775/50 - 700/675 a.C.)*, Torino 2006, pp. 298-350).

³² See A.E. Jensen, *Come una cultura primitiva ha concepito il mondo*, tr. it. Torino 1965.

³³ See D. Sabbatucci, *Da Osiride a Quirino*, Roma 1984 and I. Chirassi Colombo, *Il mestiere di dio e i suoi rischi (riflessioni in chiave storico-religiosa intorno a SIG³ 760)*, [in:] D. Poli (ed.), *La cultura in Cesare. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Macerata - Matelica 30 aprile - 4 maggio 1990*, Roma 1993, pp. 410-415. However, I. Chirassi Colombo accepts the historical-religious category of *dema*, but rejects the wild comparison proposed by Jensen.

³⁴ See Burkert, *op. cit.* and Chirassi Colombo, *op. cit.*

³⁵ See App. *Bell. civ.* II 114.476.

Some verses written by Horace add further elements to this complex picture of the boundary between mortality and immortality from Caesar to Augustus. They are the verses 11-14 of the XVIth epode: the poet dreads that in the future, because of the downfall of Rome caused by the civil wars, a barbarian violates the most sacred place for Roman, the tomb of the founder Romulus, and scatters the mortal remains of the founder himself, the *ossa Quirini*.

Hor. *Epod.* XVI 11-4

Barbarus heu cineres insistet victor et Urbem
 eques sonante verberabit ungula;
 quaeque carent ventis et solibus ossa Quirini
 nefas videre, dissipabit insolens.

A barbarian man will stand upon ashes like a winner
 and on horseback he will whip Rome with the resounding hoof; what it had never been seen, he will scatter Quirinus' bones, that lack wind and sun; it is sacrilege to see them.

The passage is the only evidence of a tradition about Romulus' tomb which dates back to the classical age. In contrast, it is well known a Medieval tradition about the identification of the two Roman pyramids with the tombs, respectively, of Romulus and of Remus. The former, now vanished, was situated in the Vatican and was called *meta Romuli*, the latter is the Cestian pyramid, located at the San Paolo Gate, and was called *meta Remi*. The Medieval tradition clearly aimed at linking the places of the martyrdom of the two founders of the Christian Rome to the tombs of the founders of the pagan one³⁶.

However, according to one of the annotators of Horace's work, the Pseudoacron, during the antiquity it was widely agreed (plerique aiunt, «most people say») that Romulus' tomb, which was marked by two lions lying at the *Rostra* (in *Rostris*) and that because of its presence Romans used to praise important people after their death in the area before the *Rostra*. On the contrary, another annotator, Pomponius Porphyrio, seems sceptical about the existence of a tomb of Romulus (sic dicitur, quasi Romulus sepultus sit et non sublatus ad caelum et non discerptus, «it is said so, as if Romulus had been buried and neither carried to the heaven nor dismembered») and quotes only Varro as source of information about the location of Romulus' tomb behind the *Rostra* (*post Rostra*). To complicate the topographical picture, the Pseudoacron, who apparently quotes Varro after Porphyrio, reports that the monument was situated before the *Rostra* (*pro Rostris*).

³⁶ See Innoc. III *In solemn. Apostol. Petri et Pauli* in PL 217, 557. On evidence of a tradition dating back to the Late Antiquity see J. Geiger, *The Tomb of Remus and Romulus: an Overlooked Source and Its Implications*, „Athenaeum”, 92.1, 2004, pp. 245-254.

Porph. in *Hor. epod. XVI* 13 *Quaeque carent ventis et solibus ossa Quirini*

Hoc sic dicitur, quasi Romulus sepoltus est, non ad caelum raptus aut discerptus. Nam Varro post rostra fuisse sepultum Romulum dicit.

This is said so, as if Romulus was buried and not abducted to the heaven or dismembered. In fact Varro states that Romulus had been buried behind the *Rostra*.

Ps. Acr. in *Hor. Epod. XVI* (= Schol. GV in *Hor. Epod. XVI*) 13.14

Idest et illa, quae sepulta sunt, dissipabit. Plerique aiunt in Rostris Romulum sepultum esse et in memoriam huius rei leones duos ibi fuisse, sicut hodieque in sepulchris videmus, atque inde esse ut pro Rostris mortui laudarentur.

14 *Ossa Quirini nefas videri*

Quae ossa, cum sint sepulta, nefas est palam fieri, vel videri. ex Porph. Hoc sic dixit, quasi Romulus sepultus sit et non sublatus ad caelum et non discerptus. Nam et Varro pro Rostris fuisse sepulchrum Romuli dicit.

That is, he will scatter even these, that had been buried. Most people say that Romulus was buried at the *Rostra* and that in remembrance of this fact there were two lions, just like the ones which today we see on the tombs, and that is because of it (Romulus' tomb) that dead men are praised before the *Rostra*.

In addition, a fragmentary and ambiguous gloss by Festus seems to suggest an identification of the *lapis niger* with the tomb of Romulus because it is probably stated that the place had been used for the death of Romulus³⁷.

As a matter of fact, the topographical problem³⁸ is not the focus of this paper. It is conversely worth noting that in Horace's verses the mention of Romulus' mortal remains (*ossa*) is juxtaposed to his divine name (*Quirini*). Such a juxtaposition is not due to metrical matters³⁹, so that it looks like an oxymoron in the Roman religion which counterposed mortality and cult in a more radical way than the Greek religion that

³⁷ See Fest. s.v. *Niger Lapis* 184L.

³⁸ See T.N. Gantz, *Lapis Niger: the Tomb of Romulus*, PP, 29, 1974, pp. 350-361; F. Coarelli, *Sepulcrum Romuli*, [in:] E.M. Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae (LTUR)*, IV, Roma 1999, pp. 295-296; A. Fraschetti, *Romolo...*, pp. 100-102.

³⁹ See lastly L.C. Watson, *A Commentary on Horace's Epodes*, Oxford 2003, p. 497, but author's conclusions are different from the conclusions proposed in this paper.

admitted the cult of the heroes at their tombs⁴⁰. In fact Cicero charged Euhemerus of having totally destroyed the religion because he had shown the burials of the gods⁴¹.

Actually, the same Cicero had already hinted covertly at the mortality of Quirinus in a letter to Atticus: the orator laughs at the dedication of Caesar's statue in the temple of the god and states that he prefers Caesar to be worshipped together with Quirinus but not with Salus⁴². This passage shows that both Cicero and Atticus know the narration about the violent death of Romulus-Quirinus, so that the orator can covertly wish Caesar the same end.

However, in Horace's verses there is neither any ironic nuance nor any desecrating purpose.

Horace's verses are full of the anxiety due to civil wars. Mortal remains and divine name seem simply conciliated through the veneration for the tomb of the founder of the town in conformity with the Greek cult of the hero founder of the *polis*⁴³. It is therefore not by chance that, according to the annotators, Romulus' tomb lied in the Forum, just like many Greek founders' *heroa* (tombs and cult places) lied in the *agora*. Nevertheless, in Horace's verses Greek heroes cult tradition is revisited in an original way which is comparable to the cult of Aeneas-Iuppiter (or *Pater*) *Indiges* in Lavinium⁴⁴. In Lavinium the building that was said to be Aeneas' tomb was also his cult place, exactly like Greek *heroa*⁴⁵. Archeologists luckily have identified such a building with a remarkable tumulus grave which dates back to VII century B.C. and has been transformed into a cult place during the IV century B.C.⁴⁶. Further, also about Aeneas' death were narrated two contrasting stories. According to the former, Aeneas disappeared during the battle against Mezentius and later was worshipped as a god. According to the latter, Aeneas drowned in the river Numicus, that flowed near the

⁴⁰ See R. Schilling, *La déification à Rome. Tradition latine et interférence grecque*, REL, 58, 1980, pp. 137-152; I. Chirassi Colombo, *op. cit.*, p. 401. Compare B. Liou Gille (B. Liou-Gille, *Cultes «héroïques» romains. Les fondateurs*, Paris 1980) who argues that the veneration for the founders was the Roman version of the hero cult.

⁴¹ See Cic. *Nat. Deor.* I 119.

⁴² See Cic. *ad Att.* XII 45.3.

⁴³ See, for example, R. Schilling, *op. cit.*, p. 149 and A. Fraschetti, *Romolo...*, pp. 101-102.

⁴⁴ For the cult, see R. Schilling, *Le culte de l'Indiges à Lavinium*, REL, 57, 1979, pp. 49-68. For the comparison between Romulus' tomb and Aeneas' *heroon* see R. Schilling, *La déification...*, pp. 140-141.

⁴⁵ See Dion. Hal. I 64.4-5.

⁴⁶ See *Enea nel Lazio. Archeologia e mito*, Roma 1981, pp. 169-175; F. Fulminante, *Tumulo/heroon di Indiges/Enea a Lavinio (Pratica di Mare)*, [in:] A. Carandini, R. Cappelli (eds.), *Roma. Romolo, Remo e la fondazione della città*, Milano 2000, pp. 213-215; P. Brocato, *Materiali dell'heroon di Enea*, [in:] A. Carandini, R. Cappelli (eds.), *Roma. Romolo, Remo e la fondazione della città*, Milano 2000, p. 215. R. Schilling suggests that Augustus' mausoleum perhaps imitates the shape of Aeneas' *heroon*.

place of the battle⁴⁷. The two traditions are conciliated by Ovid who confers to the water of the river a purgatory power that erases mortality⁴⁸. It is worth noting that in the same book of the *Metamorphosis* Ovid describes Romulus' immortalization: in that case the purgatory element is air which burns Romulus' mortality⁴⁹. Finally, Aeneas' portrait paraded during the funeral of members of the gens *Iulia* just like did Romulus' one⁵⁰.

To sum up, the verses 11-14 of the XVIth Epodion let us see the watermark of a proposal born in the field of the reflection about mortality, immortality and apotheosis between Caesar and Augustus. It is a proposal which combines the Greek model of the hero cult with the Roman traditional way of divinization, the change of the name, leaving the mortal one and assuming a divine one. Anyway, the peculiar and innovative Roman way of divinization through the title *divus* was already going to overbear any other proposal.

OSSA QUIRINI.

ŚMIERTELNOŚĆ I APOTEOZA ROMOULUSA MIĘDZY AUGUSTEM A CEZAREM

Streszczenie

Powszechnie uważa się, że tradycja związana z apoteozą Romulusa i jego transformacją w boga Kwiryna miała znaczenie w ideologicznym i historyczno-religijnym procesie, który doprowadził do apoteozy Cezara i Augusta. Nie można jednak pomijać pewnych różnic. Romulus zyskał nieśmiertelność tylko dlatego, że stał się Kwirynem: Kwiryn był bogiem, Romulus zaś był człowiekiem. Portret Romulusa był demonstrowany w czasie pogrzebów jego potomków. Co więcej, mówiło się, że Romulus został zabity i rozczłonkowany. Starożytni autorzy całkowicie przeciwstawiają tę tradycję opowieści o apoteozie Romulusa, dopiero nowoczesne, historyczno-religijne porównanie daje możliwość ich pogodzenia. Z kolei przyjęcie tytułu *divus*, *divus Iulius* i *divus Augustus* wzięło górę nad ich śmiertelnością i ostatecznie ją zmasakrowało: zakazano demonstrowania ich portretu w czasie pogrzebów. W kontekście tego dość skomplikowanego problemu oksymoron *ossa Quirini*, którego Horacy użył, czyniąc aluzję w stronę świętego grobowca Romulusa w dramatycznej *Epodzie XVI* (wersy 11-14), reprezentuje inną drogę immortalizacji: grecki model kultu założyciela znajduje swój nowy wyraz poprzez rzymską cechę przyjmowania nowej nazwy. Kult Eneasza-*Pater* (lub *Iuppiter*) *Indiges* w Lawinium jest interesującym, analogicznym przypadkiem.

⁴⁷ See Dion. Hal. I 64.4-5.

⁴⁸ See Ov. *Met.* XIV 596-608.

⁴⁹ See Ov. *Met.* XIV 805-825. For a comment see G. Brugnoli, *Ossa Quirini*, [in:] G. Brugnoli, F. Stok (eds.), *Ovidius παρωδήσας*, Pisa 1992, pp. 111-34. For a comparison between Aeneas' and Romulus' immortalization see G. Devallet, *op. cit.*, pp. 107-109.

⁵⁰ See Tac. *Ann.* IV 9 (Drusus' funeral).