

MATER FAMILIAS

SCRITTI ROMANISTICI PER MARIA ZABŁOCKA

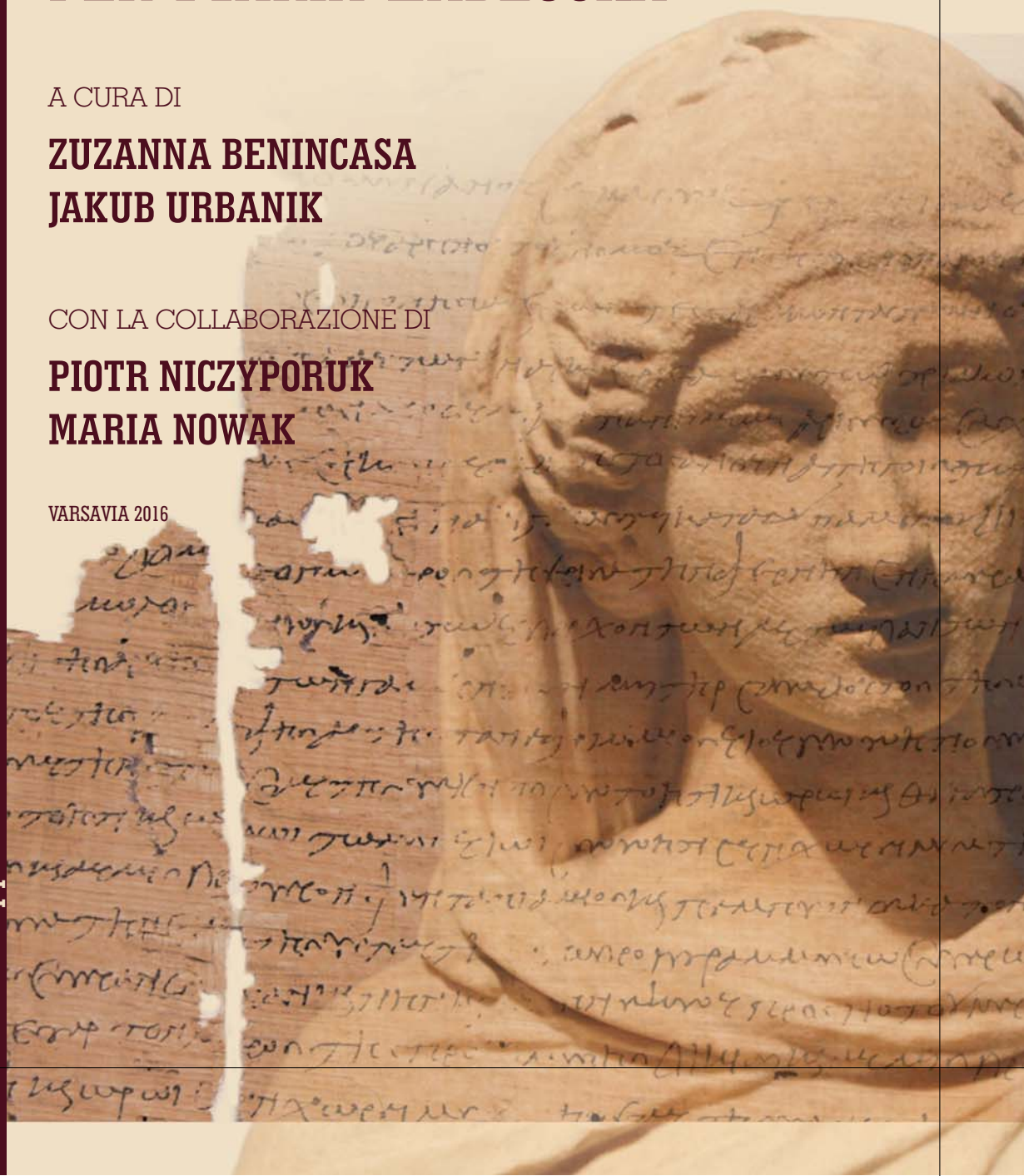
A CURA DI

**ZUZANNA BENINCASA
JAKUB URBANIK**

CON LA COLLABORAZIONE DI

**PIOTR NICZYPORUK
MARIA NOWAK**

VARSAVIA 2016



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Mater Familias
Scritti per Maria Zabłocka

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**REMARKS ON MARS ULTOR,
AUGUSTUS, AND EGYPT***

MARS ULTOR WAS BY NO MEANS a traditional Roman deity. The name of Mars Ultor is not known from the pre-Augustan times. No Greek or Roman myth explicitly presents Ares or Mars as an avenger. However, in the times of Augustus, Mars the Avenger became a well known divinity of the Roman empire. The Augustan cult of Mars Ultor was a part of the official Roman religion and played also a role in the imperial propaganda.

In this paper we are not going to analyse the architecture of the temple of Mars Ultor at Rome and the history of this building. This is not a study of the Augustan propaganda either. The purpose of these brief remarks is merely to reconsider concisely one of the aspects of the intricate problem of the origin of this strange divinity.

The most explicit statement about the beginnings of the cult of Mars Ultor can be found in Suetonius, who says the following about Augustus:

Suet. *Aug.* 29: Publica opera plurima extruxit, e quibus vel praecipua: Forum cum aede Martis Ultoris, templum Apollinis in palatio, aedem Tonantis Iovis in Capitolio. Fori extruendi causa fuit hominum et

* This paper was written at Rome during a brief research stay granted by the Lanckoroński Foundation

iudiciorum multitudo, quae videbatur non sufficientibus duobus etiam tertio indigere; itaque festinatius necdum perfecta Martis aede publicatum est, cautumque ut separatim in eo publica iudicia et sortitiones iudicum fierent.

Aedem Martis bello Philippensi, pro ultione paterna suscepto, voverat; sanxit ergo, ut de bellis triumphisque hic consuleretur senatus, provincias cum imperio petitori hinc deducerentur, quique victores redissent, hic insignia triumphorum conferrent.

A different information concerning Augustus and the temple of Mars Ultor can be found in Cassius Dio:

Dio Cass. LIV 8.3: καὶ νεὼν Ἄρεως Τιμωροῦ ἐν τῇ Καπιτωλίῳ κατὰ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Φερετρίου ζήλωμα, πρὸς τὴν τῶν σημείων ἀνάθεσιν καὶ ψηφισθῆναι ἐκέλευσε καὶ ἐποίησε.

This evidence induced many researchers to assume that there were two temples of Mars Ultor in Rome. This impression was increased by Ovid's statement that there were two occasions to celebrate the avenger.¹ Also the vow made at the beginning of the *bellum Philippense* is confirmed by Ovid (Ovid. *Fasti* v 569 and 578). The epithet of the divinity is also definitely expressed by the poet:

Ovid. *Fasti* v 577: *templa feres et, me victore, vocaberis Ultor.*

Octavian made his vow before the battle of Philippi (23 October 42 BC). This seems quite probable in view of the uncertainty of the prospective result of the struggle. However, later dates were also proposed for this event. The fact that Octavian made his vow to Mars is also a matter of course. Mars was not only a warlike god, patron of battle, but also the father of Romulus and Remus, and the husband of Venus, the divine protoplast of the Iulii.

The avenger of the 'father' (*i.e.* Julius Caesar) as a motive of the Augustan propaganda is self-evident.

¹ Ovid. *Fasti* v 595: 'rite deo templumque datum nomenque bis ulto'.

Florus (II 14) writes: 'dum Octavius mortem patris ulciscitur.' And he explains the reason of the second Triumvirate (27th November 43 BC) in the following way: 'inultus pater et Manibus eius graves Cassius et Brutus' (Florus II 16).

Florus' statement is obviously a late echo of the Augustan propaganda. Ovid's testimony concerning the vow is not contemporary either. Ovid states that the vow was made by the young Octavian: 'voverat hoc iuuenis tum, cum pia sustulit arma' (*Fasti* v 569).

The contents of the vow is thus related by the poet:

Ovid. *Fasti* v 573–578: si mihi bellandi pater est Vestaeque sacerdos
auctor, et ulcisci numen utrumque paro,
Mars, ades et satia scelerato sanguine ferrum,
statque favor causa pro meliore tuus.
templa feres et, me victore, vocaberis Ultor
voverat et fuso ab hoste redit.

Cerfaux and Tondriau thought² that in reality Octavian intended only to fulfil Julius Caesar's desire

Suet. *Caes.* 44: Martis templum, quantum nusquam esset, extruere.

Their idea, however, is contrary to the tradition of Octavian's allegedly spontaneous vow and also contradicts the meaning of the epithet Ultor, which can only be applied to the specific situation in the times of Octavian.

Augustus himself states the following:

Res gestae divi Augusti 21.1: ... in privato solo Martis Ultoris templum forum-
que Augustum ex manibiis feci.

² Cf. L. CERFAUX & J. TONDRIAU, *Le culte des souverains*, Tournai 1956, p. 286; cf. also L. MORAWIECKI, 'Monopteros na monetach aleksandryjskich typu Σεβαστὸς Καίσαρ' [Monopteros on the Alexandrian coin of the Sebastos Kaisar type], [in:] *Starożytna Aleksandria w badaniach polskich*, Warszawa 1977, pp. 71–98; cf. esp. pp. 74; 93.

Augustus does not mention the temple on the Capitol, which is known from Cassius Dio's passages cited above.

It was always considered an interesting matter of discussion, why the temple in the Forum, vowed in the year 42 BC, was only dedicated by Augustus forty years later.

A standard answer to the question, first given by H. Jordan, focused on difficulties with acquisition of land from private owners.³

Another plausible explanation is the long-lasting execution of the high quality decoration of the temple and forum by the best artists and of the best materials. The remnants in the Museo dei Fori Imperiali show the excellent quality of the marble which was used for the building.⁴

The Forum was dedicated in 2 BC. Anyway, Augustus did not hurry to commemorate the *ultio paterna*.

The numismatic evidence and also the explicit statement by Cassius Dio seem to confirm the existence of a (provisory?) temple of Mars Ultor on the Capitoline Hill. The reason of founding the temple seems not to be the old victory but a more recent event – the return of the Roman military *signa* from Parthia (*signis receptis*). The return of the *signa* in 20 BC was an unexpected event which became another occasion to erect a temple to Mars Ultor. The date of the installation at Rome of the *signa recepta* seems to be the year 18 BC (see below the arguments of Morawiecki).

Lesław Morawiecki in a paper published in 1977 analysed the numismatic evidence and concluded that there was in Rome only one temple of Mars Ultor, the one erected in the Forum Augusti.⁵

The remains of the temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum Augusti can be seen in the area of the Fori Imperiali at Rome. It was a *peripteros octostylos* with Corinthian columns in marble of excellent quality. However, there is no archaeological trace of the other temple of Mars Ultor, the one on the Capitol.

³ H. JORDAN, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* 1 2, Berlin 1885, p. 442.

⁴ See Lucrezia UNGARO, 'Il Foro di Augusto' and 'La memoria dell'antico', [in:] *Il Museo dei Fori Imperiali nei Mercati di Traiano*, Roma – Milano 2007, pp. 118–169.

⁵ MORAWIECKI, 'Monopteros' (cit. n. 2), p. 92..

There are numerous coins with the legend *Martis Ultoris*. The coins show on the obverse the head of Augustus to the right with the legend CAESAR AVGVSTVS and on the reverse a round shrine with columns and legend MARTIS VLTORIS. There are slight variations in the shape of the shrine. The association of these emissions with the passage of Cassius Dio concerning the erection of the νεὼς Ἀρεως Τιμωροῦ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ as a receptacle of the military σημεῖα became a commonplace in the historical literature concerning the times of Augustus.

The σημεῖα or *signa militaria* can be seen on these coins. However, there is no direct evidence to the date of these emissions. Earlier authors maintained that the *signa recepta* were deposited on the Capitol on the 12th of May 20 BC. However, as Morawiecki correctly pointed out, the *signa* could not be deposited there at that date since they were not yet in Rome. According to Morawiecki such an act was only possible in the year 18 BC.⁶

The discussion of the precise date of the temple (or temples?) of Mars Ultor is complicated and seems irrelevant to our considerations.

We must return to the statement of Augustus that the temple and the forum were erected *e manibiis*. The *manibia* were certainly a result of a war different from the civil war, the *bellum Philippense*. It was most probably the *bellum Actiacum* which officially was a war against Cleopatra, the queen of Egypt. The abundant spoils from Egypt⁷ were likely to finance the splendid forum. Anyway, the lapse of time between the vow and the fulfilment implies also a possibility of a transformation of the ideology behind the construction of the temple.

Mars and Apollo played a very special role in the Augustan propaganda. Mars was a god of war and the national god of the Romans. Apollo was a divine protector of the *princeps*.

In 30 BC Octavian defeated Antony and Cleopatra and incorporated Egypt as a new province into the Roman empire. The notion of *ultio paterna* could be now extended to the *bellum Actiacum*. Why should the conquest of Egypt be considered an act of vengeance, the *ultio* of Caesar?

⁶ MORAWIECKI, 'Monopteros' (cit. n. 2), p. 77.

⁷ Suet. *Aug.* 41; Cf. P. GREEN, *D'Alexandre à Actium*, Paris 1997, p. 739; M. GRANT, *Cleopatra*, London 1972, p. 224.

We must return to Julius Caesar and his Egyptian episode in 48/47 BC. Caesar went to Egypt as a consequence of the war with Pompey. However, his engagement in the internal struggle for power within the Ptolemaic dynasty, the prolonged sojourn in Alexandria and the *bellum Alexandrinum* with the subsequent journey on the Nile, was considered in Rome a result of Caesar's relationship with Cleopatra. Octavian's propaganda accused the Egyptian queen of sorcery. Her wiles attracted Caesar and caused the love affair. In the version propagated by Octavian, Cleopatra seduced Caesar using not only a black magic, but also poison. The same motive appeared in the later adventure of Antony in Egypt (Plut. *Ant* 37.5–6).

Lucan, one of the numerous anti-Egyptian Roman writers, wrote in the first century AD, but his information came from the Augustan propaganda. Lucan has no doubts as to the methods of the Egyptian queen:

Lucanus, *De bello civili* (= *Pharsalia*) x 360: expugnare senem potuit Cleopatra venenis.

x 367: ... rex hinc coniunx, hinc Caesar adulter.

It is more than probable that for propaganda purposes Octavian's expedition to Egypt could be interpreted as an act of vengeance. It is not necessary to insist that the interpretation of Julius Caesar's *liaison* with Cleopatra as an outrage done to Caesar by the Egyptian queen is absolutely off the mark. In reality, Caesar's expedition to Egypt was not only the pursuit of Pompey but also an intervention in the Egyptian internal affairs in favour of Cleopatra. Cleopatra was expected to become a Roman ally against her brother who officially was a friend of Pompey. Caesar's friendship and alliance with the Egyptian queen did not begin with the famous meeting in Alexandria. Already before his arrival to Egypt Caesar corresponded with Cleopatra (Cassius Dio XLII 34.3) Further developments were obviously not due to Cleopatra's sorcery. The relationship with Caesar was rather troublesome for Cleopatra who had to tolerate Roman military and political presence in Egypt as a price for her rule over Egypt.

In the warlike nature of Mars and of the Greek Ares, there was also enough place for the role of avenger. Ares fought on the side of the

defenders of Troy, the ancestors of the Romans. Mars was the consort of Venus and a cognate of the Iulii. The god of war could be considered the patron of the warlike effort of the heir and adoptive son of Caesar. In terms of propaganda he helped him to avenge his father. Thus the military victory over Julius Caesar's murderers in the *bellum Philippense* could become the subject of the allegoric idea of a vengeance of Mars Ultor.

Another deity closely associated with Augustus was Apollo. Apollo was the divine author of the victory in the *bellum Actiacum*.

The Egyptian god Horus was in the Hellenistic world interpreted both as Apollo and Ares. His Egyptian name (*Hr*) was associated with a similar Greek name of Ares. The planet Mars was the 'red Horus' of the Egyptians. Horus' solar nature brought about the identification with Apollo. The Upper Egyptian town of Ἀπόλλωνος πόλις ἡ μεγάλη, Apollinopolis Magna, modern Edfu, was renowned for the great temple of Horus built in the Ptolemaic period.

It is common knowledge that Horus was the avenger of his father Osiris, murdered by his brother, the wicked god Seth. The Egyptian myth of Osiris was generally known in the Hellenistic world.

The idea of Ares = Horus, the avenger of Osiris, as a divine parallel to the role of Octavian in the drama of Caesar, was not a difficult invention.

The attitude of Augustus towards Egypt was rather negative. We do not know, whether this attitude was genuine or apparent. Anyway it was related to the traditionally suspicious and hostile attitude of the senatorial milieu of Rome towards the Egyptian religion. Augustus' reported respect of foreign ceremonies which were well established and contempt of the rest belonged to his image of admirer of the *mos maiorum* (Suet. *Aug.* 93).

Octavian demonstrated his friendship to the Alexandrian philosopher Areios. Our knowledge about Areios' person and his influence on Augustus is very limited.⁸ Suetonius states that Augustus' *contubernium* with Areios included also the philosopher's sons Dionysius and Nikanor and that Augustus learnt a lot from them (cf. Suet. *Aug.* 89).

A possibility of their influence on the ideas of the conqueror concerning Egypt and its religion cannot be rejected.

⁸ Plut. *Ant.* 80.1; Cass. Dio LI 16.3-4; Suet. *Aug.* 89.

We do not know whether the reported sayings of Augustus about the tombs of the Ptolemies⁹ and about the cult of Apis (Cassius Dio LI 16.5) are genuine. Suetonius states only that he declined to visit the sacred bull (Suet. *Aug.* 93).

All reported negative comments of Augustus on Egypt were certainly a part of the official propaganda accompanying the conquest of Egypt. The atmosphere of hate of Egypt and its culture and customs is present in the Roman literature. The Augustan inspiration of the anti-Egyptian propaganda is evident. Suffice it to remind Virgil's *Aeneid* book VIII and all the anti-Cleopatra enunciations of Roman writers from Propertius to Lucan, Pliny, Flavius Josephus and Florus. Visual propaganda accompanied the aggressive literature.¹⁰

Horace, who allegedly honoured Cleopatra as *non humilis mulier*, in reality insinuated that the Egyptian queen was not a 'normal' woman but a *fatale monstrum*, a furious and constantly drunken virago, *deliberata morte ferocior* (Hor. *Carm.* 1 37). Virgil, who is celebrated as the 'greatest of the Golden Age poets',¹¹ was an unusually talented flatterer and propagandist of Augustus. An even more gifted poet, Ovid, also ingratiated the omnipotent ruler. (Some remarks on Ovid's exile will be soon a topic of a paper by the present writer).

It is probable that at the moment of the conquest of Egypt, the malicious Roman conqueror mocked the bizarre religion of the conquered land. His contempt for the 'corpses' of the Ptolemies seems to be even more evident. However, it is not sure that such an attitude of Augustus was permanent. An allusion in Suetonius' life of Augustus shows that Octavian visited the country on the Nile, including the *χώρα*, not only Alexandria. It seems that the conqueror was not indifferent to the curiosities of the land on the Nile, except its most famous sacred animal.¹²

⁹ Suet. *Aug.* 18.1; Cassius Dio LI 16.5; G. GERACI, *Genesi della provincia Romana d'Egitto*, Bologna 1983, p. 18, n. 28.

¹⁰ Cf. S. WALKER & P. HIGGS, *Cleopatra of Egypt, from History to Myth*, London 2001, nos 356, 357.

¹¹ Cf. Barbara LEVICK, *Augustus Image and Substance*, Harlow 2010, p. 262.

¹² Suet. *Aug.* 93: 'In peragrande Aegypto paulo ad visendum Apin supersedit.'

A fortuitous encounter in the gulf of Puteoli with a ship carrying Alexandrian passengers who hailed Augustus as their benefactor, was readily interpreted as a good omen. Augustus' reaction was enthusiastic. He divided forty *aurei* among his retinue and exacted from every one an oath that the gift will be spent exclusively on buying commodities from Alexandria! (Suet. *Aug.* 98.2).

A laudatory mention of the Alexandrian god Sarapis, undoubtedly associated by Octavian with the venerable memory of Alexander, seems to demonstrate that Augustus did not reject *a limine* the entire Alexandrian tradition (Cassius Dio LI 16.3–16.4).

In 28 BC Octavian prohibited Egyptian cults *intra muros* of Rome. In 21 BC Agrippa even enlarged that zone.¹³ Whatever was Augustus' true attitude towards Alexandria and Egypt, the religious and philosophic ideas brought from Egypt could be successfully used in Augustus' Rome.

Obelisks, symbols of the sun, imported in 10 BC, can be considered a simple war trophy. They came to Rome from Heliopolis via Alexandria. However, an obelisk which in the complex of the *Ara Pacis* played the role of a pointer in a sundial (*solarium*), showing the date of Augustus' birthday, the 23th of September, assumed in the Augustan concept the role of a symbol of the sun god Apollo, the patron of the *princeps*. It is also a monument of the victorious end of the civil wars, which were closed by the triumph over Egypt. The inscription on the base of the obelisk read: *Aegypto in potestatem populi Romani redacta*.

The *aula Isiaca* on the Palatine is an evidence to the fact that the Egyptian artistic motives were accepted by the new master of Rome. Among the remnants of the temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum of Augustus, there is a splendid relief, showing the face of Jupiter-Ammon with ram's horns (now in the neighbouring Casa dei Cavalieri di Rodi).¹⁴

The image of Ammon was an allusion both to Alexander the Great and to his foundation, the Egyptian Alexandria, conquered by Augustus. In Alexandria a statue of Apollo was erected as a monument of the

¹³ Cf. A. ŁUKASZEWICZ, *Kleopatra. Ostatnia królowa starożytnego Egiptu* [Cleopatra. The Last Queen of Ancient Egypt], Warszawa 2005, p. 387.

¹⁴ UNGARO, 'La memoria dell'antico' (cit. n. 4), ill. 202, p. 154.

Roman triumph with an inscription which in a pompous verse praised the benefits of peace brought to Egypt by 'Caesar' (*Sel. Pap.* III 113).

Another Alexandrian monument must be mentioned, representing the astrological symbol of Capricorn. It may surprise, because Augustus was born as C. Octavius on the 23th September, when the sun raised in Libra. Capricorn was often thought to have been Augustus' ascendent (*horoskopos*), but it was not. The only possible explanation of the presence of Capricorn among the symbols used in the Augustan propaganda is that Capricorn was the sign of the Zodiac which presided over Octavius' conception. Indeed the moment of the conception of the future *princeps* must have belonged to the period of December/January of 63 BC when the Sun was in Capricorn.

A significant fact is that the title of Augustus was bestowed upon Octavian on the 16th of January 27 BC. We should not go too far in interpreting the date as corresponding exactly to the supposed day of Augustus' conception. However, it seems important that the 16th of January, like the 13th when he received the oak crown, also belongs to the period when the Sun is in Capricorn.

Augustus also struck silver coins with the sign of Capricorn.

It may be useful to remind here the entire passage of Suetonius which shows the importance attached by Augustus to *omina* and especially to their publication for propaganda purposes:

Suet. *Aug.* 94.12: In secessu Apolloniae Theogenis mathematici pergulam comite Agrippa ascenderat; cum Agrippae qui prior consulebat, magna et paene incredibilia praedicerentur, reticere ipse genituram suam nec velle edere perseverabat, metu ac pudore ne minor inveniretur. Qua tamen post multas adhortationes vix et cunctanter edita exsilivit Theogenes adoravitque eum. Tantam mox fiduciam fati Augustus habuit, ut thema suum vulgaverit nummumque argenteum nota sideris Capricorni, quo natus est, percusserit.

The above passage is extremely interesting. It shows some aspects of character of the future Augustus, who was jealous of the excellent horoscope of Agrippa. Augustus' later publication of his own extremely favourable horoscope was not only a sign of his *fiducia fati* but rather of

his sense of propaganda. Also the enhancement of the act of *adoratio* of the young man by the Greek astrologer Theogenes is certainly an element deliberately exposed by the unknown original source of Suetonius' account. By the way Suetonius seems to believe that Capricorn was the sign under which Augustus was born ('nota sideris Capricorni, quo natus est').

Augustus' coinage contains evidence of the importance attached to the conquest of Egypt. Coins bearing the image of crocodile as symbol of the conquered land on the Nile are well known. Less popular is a splendid golden quaternion showing the head of Augustus on one side and a beautiful hippopotamus with legend *Aegypto capta* on the other side, now in the Museo Arqueológico Nacional in Madrid. The image of Augustus is encompassed by the legend: *Imp. Caesar Divi F. August. cos. VII*. This shows that the coin, probably minted in Pergamon, belongs to the important year 27 BC, three years after the conquest of Egypt.

On the obverse there is a small sign of Capricorn situated under the head of Augustus, like on an *aureus* of the same year, perhaps being also a product of the Pergamon mint.¹⁵

The *aureus* is obviously not the same emission which is mentioned by Suetonius (above), who speaks of silver coins (*nummus argenteus*).

The very fact of the symbolic enhancement of the conception and of the birth of Augustus is significant. During the reign of Augustus, a mythology was meticulously built up around his allegedly divine origin. Allusions in the propaganda works of Roman poets reflected great expectations of a new golden age. Virgil's famous *Fourth Eclogue*, perhaps of the year 40 AD, concerning most probably the expected child of Antony and Octavia, is one of the patterns of an extremely successful 'prophetic' propaganda.¹⁶

In Suetonius we find a story quoted from Julius Marathus, of a portent concerning the birth of Augustus, similar to the prediction which inspired fear of Herod and caused the Massacre of the Innocents! The

¹⁵ G. GENTILI (ed.), *Cleopatra Roma e l'incantesimo dell'Egitto*, Milano 2013, p. 180, n. 106.

¹⁶ Cf. H. RUSHTON FAIRCLOUGH (ed. & trans.) [in:] Virgil, *Eclogues; Georgics; Aeneid* I–VI, London 1999 (rev. G. P. GOOLD), p. 2; D. A. SLATER, *The Classical Review* 26 (1912), pp. 114–119; ŁUKASZEWICZ, *Kleopatra* (cit. n. 33), pp. 248–249.

significant wording of the *prodigium* reads: 'regem populo Romano naturam parturire' (Suet. *Aug.* 94.3).

According to Suetonius, it was common knowledge that Publius Nigidius Figulus, when informed of the birth of a son to Octavius and of the hour of the birth, announced that the ruler of the world had been born ('dominum terrarum orbi natum', Suet. *Aug.* 94.5).

According to Dio, Octavius was so terrified, that he reacted with an idea of killing the infant, but Nigidius said that it was impossible (Cassius Dio XLV 1.2–5).

This passage of Dio shows, among other aspects, the utility of the motif of the traditional Roman aversion towards kings for the Augustan propaganda. The story was particularly useful if compared with Julius Caesar's notorious desire of becoming a king. In Octavian's case it was not himself or his father, but *natura ipsa* that decided about his royal destiny.

A very significant evidence to Augustus' usage of Egyptian motifs in propaganda concerning his divine conception and birth can be found in a passage taken by Suetonius from the books entitled *Theologumena* by Asclepias of Mendes. During a service of Apollo a serpent came to Atia and glided up to her ('irrepsisse ad eam pauloque post egressum'). After this strange *concubitus*, on Atia's body appeared a mark like a serpent. In the tenth month after this event, Augustus was born and therefore he was considered the son of Apollo (Suet. *Aug.* 94.4).

We have to point to the similarity of this story to the legend of the Egyptian wizard and ex-pharaoh Nectanebo, his serpent and queen Olympias, mother of Alexander the Great.¹⁷

Even more 'Egyptian' is the dream of Atia before Augustus' birth, in which the *intestina* of his mother were elevated to the stars and expanded over the whole earth and heaven. Octavius, the father of Augustus had a dream in which the sun rose from his wife's womb (Suet. *Aug.* 94.4).

The image of the Egyptian goddess Nut giving birth to the sun is undoubtedly the prototype of this story.

¹⁷ Ps.-Callistr. *Vita Alexandri* I 1.4–I 13.2, cf. Helmut VAN THIEL (ed. & transl.), *Leben und Taten Alexanders von Makedonien Der griechische Alexanderroman nach der Handschrift L*, herausgegeben und übersetzt, Darmstadt 1974, pp. 2–19.

From the context discussed above it results as a logical consequence that the idea of the Egyptian god Horus, the avenger of his father Osiris, could influence the Augustan concept of Mars Ultor.

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