

The purpose of this paper is to discuss the relationship between ceremony and social memory by analyzing Augustus' incorporation of the Temple of Divus Julius into the new imperial funeral ceremony established under his reign. Previous literature either on the history of the temple (P. Gros, *LTUR* 3.116–119) or on the history and development of the imperial funeral ceremony (e.g., Flower 1996, 237–46; Price 1987) fails to address this issue.

I begin with the premise that monuments (such as the Temple of Divus Julius) are equivalent to inscribed texts containing information about the past and as such are repositories of social memory. The challenge of this premise then is to “read” these texts, to understand what they communicated in a specific historical context—in this case, Augustan Rome. The Temple of Divus Julius became a central feature of the imperial funeral. Vowed in 42 B.C.E. by the triumvirs and dedicated in 29 B.C.E. by Octavian, this temple was erected on the spot where Caesar's body had been cremated amid the mob violence that erupted during his funeral in March 44 B.C.E. and later where the Roman plebs erected a monument in his honor. This was consecrated space—consecrated first by the Roman people and later by the triumvirs and finally by Octavian—but it was also contested space, for in the aftermath of Caesar's funeral, the consul Dolabella cleared the Forum Romanum of Caesar's supporters, pulled down the monument in his honor, and had the space paved over (in late April 44). It was only through the efforts of Caesar's veteran soldiers, many of whom traveled to Rome from his colonies after his assassination, that the monument was restored to its rightful place (probably in the late spring 44). This temple, then, memorialized the space first consecrated by the Roman people and Caesar's veterans amid the conflict that brought the Republic to its end and cleared the way for the Augustan Principate.

In the imperial funerals of Augustus' reign (Agrippa's [12 B.C.E.], Octavia's [11 B.C.E.], and Augustus' [14 C.E.]), Augustus instituted the practice of a double eulogy (*laudatio*), whereby the deceased was honored with two speeches of praise, one delivered from the rostra of the Temple of Divus Julius, where the body was displayed, the other from the Rostra of the Orators. Hence, the funeral ceremony was modified specifically to include this temple. The display of the body of the deceased on the Julian rostra drew a link between the deceased and Caesar's divinity—a divinity that Augustus hoped to achieve. The incorporation of the temple into the imperial funeral, then, was resonant not only of the conflict that brought the Republic to an end but also of Caesar's divinity and the centrality of the emperor and his family in Roman life and politics. It thus spoke eloquently of the forces that brought the Augustan Principate into being as well as those that would sustain it for the future. In conclusion, I argue that in a Roman context ceremony was an integral part of the process of social memory, in that the repositories of this memory, monuments such as the Temple of Divus Julius, often could reveal themselves only through the ceremonies that animated public life in Augustan Rome.