
ROMAN CIVILIZATION

SELECTED READINGS

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VOLUME I
THE REPUBLIC AND THE AUGUSTAN AGE

CHAPTER 3 • THE AUGUSTAN AGE

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Cassius Dio, *Roman History* lmi. xvi; Adapted from LCL

Such were the arrangements made, generally speaking, at that time; for in reality Caesar himself was destined to have absolute power in all matters for life, because he was not only in control of money matters (nominally, to be sure, he had separated the public funds from his own, but as a matter of fact he spent the former also as he saw fit) but also in control of the army. At all events, when his ten-year period¹⁴ came to an end, there was voted him another five years, then five more, after that ten, and again another ten, and then ten for the fifth time, so that by the succession of ten-year periods he continued to be sole ruler for life. And it is for this reason that the subsequent monarchs, though no longer appointed for a specified period but for their whole life once for all,¹⁵ nevertheless always held a celebration every ten years, as if then renewing their sovereignty once more; and this is done even at the present day.

Now, Caesar had received many privileges previously, when the question of declining the sovereignty and that of apportioning the provinces were under discussion. For the right to fasten laurels to the front of the imperial residence and to hang the civic crown above the doors was then voted him to symbolize the fact that he was always victorious over enemies and savior of the citizens. The imperial palace is called Palatium, not because it was ever decreed that this should be its name but because Caesar dwelt on the Palatine and had his military headquarters there. . . . Hence, even if the emperor resides somewhere else, his dwelling retains the name of Palatium.

And when he had actually completed the reorganization, the name Augustus was at length bestowed upon him by the senate and by the people. . . . He took the title of Augustus, signifying that he was more than human; for all most precious and sacred objects are termed *augusta*. For which reason they called him also in Greek *sebastos* . . . meaning an august person.

14. That is, of his proconsular power. From 23 B.C. on Augustus possessed *imperium maius* ("superior power"), that is, proconsular power over all the provinces of the Empire, including the authority to supersede the acts of governors of senatorial provinces.

15. The permanent grant of proconsular power began with the Emperor Tiberius.

Suetonius, *Life of Augustus* lviii; From LCL

The whole body of citizens with a sudden unanimous impulse proffered him the title of "father of his country"—first the plebs, by a deputation sent to Antium, and then, because he declined it, again at Rome as he entered the theater, which they attended in throngs, all wearing laurel wreaths; the senate afterwards in the senate house, not by a decree or by acclamation, but through Valerius Messala. He, speaking for the whole body, said: "Good fortune and divine favor attend thee and thy house, Caesar Augustus; for thus we feel that we are praying for lasting prosperity for our country and happiness for our city. The senate in accord with the Roman people hails thee 'Father of thy Country.'" Then Augustus with tears in his eyes replied as follows (and I have given his exact words, as I did those of Messala): "Having attained my highest hopes, members of the senate, what more have I to ask of the immortal gods than that I may retain this same unanimous approval of yours to the very end of my life?"¹⁶

195. THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF AUGUSTUS (RES GESTAE DIVI AUGUSTI)

The following document, from the hand of Augustus himself, is perhaps the most famous ancient inscription—"the queen of Latin inscriptions" Mommsen called it. A vast literature has grown up around it—numerous editions, commentaries, and discussions of its nature and purpose.¹⁷ Shortly before he died, he left instructions for releasing to the public this "account of his accomplishments, which he desired to be inscribed on two bronze pillars to be set up before his mausoleum" (Suetonius, *Life of Augustus* iv). The *Res Gestae* is preserved in an almost complete copy, together with a Greek translation, inscribed on the walls of the temple of Rome and Augustus at Ancyra (modern Ankara in Turkey), in the province of Galatia (hence it is commonly called the *Monumentum Ancyranum*). Portions of the Greek and Latin texts have also been found in Apollonia and Antioch in Pisidia. Intended primarily for the people of the city of Rome, Augustus' account of his stewardship summarizes his career under three

16. The title of "father of his country" was bestowed on Augustus in 2 B.C. Cf. also note 11.

17. Discussions of the nature and purposes of this political autobiography, together with detailed commentaries on the text, may be found in P. A. Brunt and J. M. Moore, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti. The Achievements of the Divine Augustus* (Oxford, 1967); E. S. Ramage, *The Nature and Purpose of Augustus' "Res Gestae"* (Wiesbaden, 1987).

headings: the offices and honors conferred upon him (paragraphs 1-14); his expenditures out of his own funds for public purposes (paragraphs 15-24); his deeds in war and peace (paragraphs 25-35). Though largely factual, it is not a historical chronicle but a subjective political document. It is in the tradition of the inscriptions commemorating the achievements of distinguished Romans of the Republic and is similar in content to the well-known inscriptions set up by Oriental kings. Despite Augustus' profession of "restoring the Republic," a monarchical tone pervades the *Res Gestae*.

CIL, vol. III, pp. 769-799 (=EJ, pp. 1-31=ADA, pp. 20-63)

Below is a copy of the accomplishments of the deified Augustus by which he brought the whole world under the empire of the Roman people, and of the moneys expended by him on the state and the Roman people, as inscribed on two bronze pillars set up in Rome.¹⁸

1.¹⁹ At the age of nineteen, on my own initiative and at my own expense, I raised an army by means of which I liberated the Republic, which was oppressed by the tyranny of a faction.²⁰ For which reason the senate, with honorific decrees, made me a member of its order in the consulship of Gaius Pansa and Aulus Hirtius [43 B.C.], giving me at the same time consular rank in voting, and granted me the *imperium*. It ordered me as propraetor, together with the consuls, to see to it that the state suffered no harm.²¹ Moreover, in the same year, when both consuls had fallen in the war, the people elected me consul and a triumvir for the settlement of the commonwealth [cf. § 115].

2. Those who assassinated my father²² I drove into exile, avenging their crime by due process of law; and afterwards when they waged war against the state, I conquered them twice on the battlefield [the two battles of Phillippi (42 B.C.)].

3. I waged many wars throughout the whole world by land and by

18. No trace of the original bronze inscription, set up before the mausoleum of Augustus in Rome, has been found.

19. The inscription is divided into paragraphs which, for convenience in citing, are numbered in the translation.

20. Antony and his adherents are meant. The period referred to is late 44 to early 43 B.C., when Octavian (as Augustus was then known) was in coalition with the Senate against Antony (cf. § 114). Noteworthy is the studied avoidance by Augustus in this document of the names of his opponents—such as Antony, Lepidus, Sextus Pompey, Brutus, Cassius—and the fact that the only Romans whom he names, other than consuls cited to date events, are members of the imperial family.

21. The formula for the "ultimate decree of the Senate"; see § 157. Augustus refers here to the war against Antony, which culminated in the two battles at Mutina in April of 43 B.C.

22. Julius Caesar, his adoptive father. Yet in general Augustus sought to distance himself from the image and policies of Julius Caesar.

sea, both civil and foreign, and when victorious I spared all citizens who sought pardon. Foreign peoples who could safely be pardoned I preferred to spare rather than to extirpate. About 500,000 Roman citizens were under military oath to me. Of these, when their terms of service were ended, I settled in colonies or sent back to their own municipalities a little more than 300,000,²³ and to all of these I allotted lands or granted money as rewards for military service. I captured 600 ships, exclusive of those which were of smaller class than triremes.²⁴

4. Twice I celebrated ovations, three times curule triumphs,²⁵ and I was acclaimed *imperator* twenty-one times.²⁶ When the senate decreed additional triumphs to me, I declined them on four occasions. I deposited in the Capitol laurel wreaths adorning my *fasces*, after fulfilling the vows which I had made in each war.²⁷ For successes achieved on land and on sea by me or through my legates under my auspices the senate decreed fifty-five times that thanksgiving be offered to the immortal gods. Moreover, the number of days on which, by decree of the senate, such thanksgiving was offered, was 890. In my triumphs there were led before my chariot nine kings or children of kings. At the time I wrote this, I had been consul thirteen times, and I was in the thirty-seventh year of my tribunician power [A.D. 14].

5. The dictatorship offered to me in the consulship of Marcus Marcellus and Lucius Arruntius [22 B.C.] by the people and by the senate, both in my absence and in my presence, I refused to accept. In the midst of a critical scarcity of grain I did not decline the supervision of the grain supply, which I so administered that within a few days I freed the whole people from imminent panic and danger by my expenditures and efforts.²⁸ The consulship, too, which was offered to me at that time as an annual office for life, I refused to accept.

23. Tiberius inherited from Augustus an army of twenty-five legions (Tacitus, *Annals* IV. v), or about 125,000 men; cf. § 199.

24. The naval victories over Sextus Pompey (at Mylae and Naulochus), and over Antony and Cleopatra (at Actium) are meant.

25. The two ovations occurred in 40 and 36 B.C., the first after the Peace of Brundisium concluded with Antony, the second after the defeat of Sextus Pompey. Augustus celebrated a triple triumph in 29 B.C. for victories in Dalmatia, at Actium, and in Egypt.

26. In many cases the acclamation *imperator* was accorded to Augustus for victories gained by his legates; cf. note 7.

27. This is the well-known Republican custom, followed by victorious generals who were acclaimed *imperator*, of depositing laureled *fasces* (symbolizing victory) in the Capitol in accordance with vows taken there before they set out for their provinces.

28. This marks the beginning of the assumption by the Roman emperors of the *cura annonae* ("administration of the grain supply") of Rome as a permanent function of the imperial administration.

6. In the consulship of Marcus Vinicius and Quintus Lucretius, and again in that of Publius Lentulus and Gnaeus Lentulus, and a third time in that of Paullus Fabius Maximus and Quintus Tubero [in 19, 18, and 11 B.C.], though the Roman senate and people unitedly agreed that I should be elected sole guardian of the laws and morals with supreme authority, I refused to accept any office offered me which was contrary to the traditions of our ancestors.²⁹ The measures which the senate desired at that time to be taken by me I carried out by virtue of the tribunician power.³⁰ In this power I five times voluntarily requested and was given a colleague by the senate.³¹

7. I was a member of the triumvirate for the settlement of the commonwealth for ten consecutive years.³² I have been ranking senator for forty years, up to the day on which I wrote this document. I have been *pontifex maximus*, augur, member of the college of fifteen for performing sacrifices, member of the college of seven for conducting religious banquets, member of the Arval Brotherhood, one of the *Titii sodales*, and a *fetial*.³³

8. In my fifth consulship I increased the number of patricians, by people and senate. Three times I revised the roll of senators. And in my sixth consulship,³⁴ with Marcus Agrippa as my colleague, I conducted a census of the people. I performed the *lustrum*³⁵ after an interval of forty-two years. At this *lustrum* 4,063,000 Roman citizens were recorded. Then a second time, acting alone, by virtue of the consular power, I completed the taking of the census in the consulship of Gaius Censorinus and Gaius Asinius [8 B.C.]. At this *lustrum* 4,233,000 Roman citizens were recorded. And a third time I completed the taking of the census in the consulship of Sextus Pompeius and Sextus Appuleius [A.D. 14], by virtue of the consular power and with my son Tiberius Caesar as my colleague. At this *lustrum* 4,937,000 Roman citizens were recorded. By new legislation which I sponsored I restored many traditions of our

29. In effect Augustus was thus offered permanent dictatorship in a new guise.

30. Augustus here refers to his moral and social legislation, the first installments of which were issued in 18 B.C.; see §§ 204-205.

31. Marcus Agrippa, twice; Tiberius, three times.

32. The triumvirate lasted officially from November 27, 43 B.C. to December 31, 33 B.C. The controversial question of the powers of Antony and Octavian in 32 B.C. has evoked heated scholarly discussion.

33. On these traditional priestly offices under the Republic, see §§ 11, 47, 48, 51, 52. All Roman emperors after Augustus held the first four of these priesthoods, the most important sacerdotal offices in the national religion.

34. 28 B.C. The last census had been taken in 70/69 B.C.

35. For this religious closing of the census, see § 56.

ancestors which were falling into desuetude in our generation; and I myself handed down precedents in many spheres for posterity to imitate.

9. The senate decreed that vows for my health should be offered up every fifth year by the consuls and priests. In fulfillment of these vows, games were often celebrated during my lifetime, sometimes by the four most distinguished colleges of priests, sometimes by the consuls. Moreover, the whole citizen body, with one accord, both individually and as members of municipalities, prayed continuously for my health at all the shrines.

10. My name was inserted, by decree of the senate, in the hymn of the Salian priests. And it was enacted by law that I should be sacrosanct in perpetuity and that I should possess the tribunician power as long as I live.³⁶ I declined to become *pontifex maximus* in place of a colleague³⁷ while he was still alive, when the people offered me that priesthood, which my father had held. A few years later, in the consulship of Publius Sulpicius and Gaius Valgius, I accepted this priesthood, when death removed the man who taken possession of it at a time of civil disturbance; and from all Italy a multitude flocked to my election such as had never previously been recorded at Rome.

11. To commemorate my return from Syria, the senate consecrated an altar to Fortune the Home-bringer before the temple of Honor and Virtue at the Porta Capena, on which altar it decreed that the pontiffs and Vestal Virgins should make a yearly sacrifice on the anniversary of the day in the consulship of Quintus Lucretius and Marcus Vinicius [19 B.C.] on which I returned to the city from Syria, and it designated that day *Augustalia* from my name.

12. On this occasion, by decree of the senate, a portion of the praetors and tribunes of the plebs, together with the consul Quintus Lucretius and the leading men, was sent to Campania to meet me, an honor which up to this time has been decreed to no one but myself. When I returned to Rome from Spain and Gaul in the consulship of Tiberius Nero and Publius Quintilius [13 B.C.], after successfully settling the affairs of those provinces, the senate, to commemorate my return, or-

36. Augustus was accorded the *sacrosanctitas*, inviolability, of a tribune in 36 B.C. Modified tribunician power was conferred upon him in 30 B.C., but it was only after the constitutional settlement of 23 B.C. that he began to date his regnal years by the number of years he had held this power in its complete form. Cf. paragraph 4 and § 194, second selection.

37. Lepidus was deposed from the Second Triumvirate in 36 B.C. but was permitted to retain the office of *pontifex maximus*. Upon his death in 13 B.C. Augustus was elected chief pontiff the following year. All subsequent emperors held this office.

dered an altar of the Augustan Peace³⁸ to be consecrated in the Campus Martius, on which it decreed that the magistrates, priests, and Vestal Virgins should make an annual sacrifice.

13. The temple of Janus Quirinus,³⁹ which our ancestors desired to be closed whenever peace with victory was secured by sea and by land throughout the entire empire of the Roman people, and which before I was born is recorded to have been closed only twice since the founding of the city, was during my principate three times ordered by the senate to be closed.

14. My sons Gaius and Lucius Caesar,⁴⁰ whom fortune took from me in their youth, were, in my honor, made consuls designate by the Roman senate and people when they were fifteen years old, with permission to enter that magistracy after a period of five years. The senate further decreed that from the day on which they were introduced into the Forum⁴¹ they should attend its debates. Moreover, the whole body of Roman *equites* presented each of them with silver shields and spears and saluted each as *princeps iuventutis*.⁴²

15. To the Roman plebs I paid 300 sesterces apiece in accordance with the will of my father [i.e., Julius Caesar]; and in my fifth consulship [29 B.C.] I gave each 400 sesterces in my own name out of the spoils of war; and a second time in my tenth consulship [24 B.C.] I paid out of my own patrimony a largess of 400 sesterces to every individual; in my eleventh consulship [23 B.C.] I made twelve distributions of food out of grain purchased at my own expense; and in the twelfth year of my tribunician power [12 B.C.] for the third time I gave 400 sesterces to every individual. These largesses of mine reached never less than 250,000 persons. In the eighteenth year of my tribunician power and my twelfth consulship [5 B.C.] I gave sixty *denarii* to each of 320,000 persons of the urban plebs. And in my fifth consulship [29 B.C.] I gave out of the spoils of war 1,000 sesterces apiece to my soldiers settled in colonies. This

38. Extensive parts of the famous Altar of Peace, dedicated in 9 B.C., are extant. The whole monument has been reconstructed *in situ*.

39. A small bronze shrine, with double doors on both ends, on the north side of the Forum. Cf. § 196, second selection.

40. Grandsons of Augustus, the sons of Agrippa and Julia, adopted by him in 17 B.C. and marked out as his successors. But Gaius died in A.D. 4, Lucius in A.D. 2. For honorary decrees to Gaius and Lucius, see § 209.

41. That is, introduced to public life. This traditional Roman ceremony, which occurred at puberty, involved among other things the assumption of the *toga virilis* ("toga of manhood"); cf. § 209, second selection.

42. That is, "leader of the youth." This title designated them as honorary heads of the young men of equestrian families who were organized in a kind of aristocratic Boy Scout movement.

largess on the occasion of my triumph was received by about 120,000 persons in the colonies. In my thirteenth consulship [2 B.C.] I gave sixty *denarii* apiece to those of the plebs who at that time were receiving public grain; the number involved was a little more than 200,000 persons.

16. I reimbursed municipalities for the lands which I assigned to my soldiers in my fourth consulship, and afterwards in the consulship of Marcus Crassus and Gnaeus Lentulus the augur [30 and 14 B.C.]. The sums involved were about 600,000,000 sesterces which I paid for Italian estates, and about 260,000,000 sesterces which I paid for provincial lands. I was the first and only one to take such action of all those who up to my time established colonies of soldiers in Italy or in the provinces. And afterwards, in the consulship of Tiberius Nero and Gnaeus Piso, and likewise of Gaius Antistius and Decimus Laelius, and of Gaius Calvisius and Lucius Passienus, and of Lucius Lentulus and Marcus Messalla, and of Lucius Caninius and Quintus Fabricius [in 7, 6, 4, 3, and 2 B.C.], I granted bonuses in cash to the soldiers whom after the completion of their terms of service I sent back to their municipalities; and for this purpose I expended about 400,000,000 sesterces.

17. Four times I came to the assistance of the treasury with my own money, transferring to those in charge of the treasury 150,000,000 sesterces. And in the consulship of Marcus Lepidus and Lucius Arruntius [A.D. 6; cf. § 199] I transferred out of my own patrimony 170,000,000 sesterces to the soldiers' bonus fund, which was established on my advice for the purpose of providing bonuses for soldiers who had completed twenty or more years of service.

18. From the year in which Gnaeus Lentulus and Publius Lentulus [18 B.C.] were consuls, whenever the provincial taxes fell short, in the case sometimes of 100,000 persons and sometimes of many more, I made up their tribute in grain and in money from my own grain stores and my own patrimony.

19. I built the following structures:⁴³ the senate house and the Chalcidicum adjoining it; the temple of Apollo on the Palatine with its porticoes; the temple of the deified Julius; the Lupercal; the portico at the Circus Flaminius, which I allowed to be called Octavia after the name of the man who had built an earlier portico on the same site; the state box at the Circus Maximus; the temples of Jupiter the Smiter and

43. To identify for the reader each of the public works listed in this and the two following paragraphs would require a series of footnotes longer than the text. A convenient source of information on the various structures is E. Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, 2 vols. (New York, 1961-1962).

Jupiter the Thunderer on the Capitoline; the temple of Quirinus; the temples of Minerva and Queen Juno and of Jupiter Freedom on the Aventine; the temple of the Lares at the head of the Sacred Way; the temple of the Penates on the Velia; the temple of Youth and the temple of the Great Mother on the Palatine.

20. I repaired the Capitol and the theater of Pompey with enormous expenditures on both works, without having my name inscribed on them. I repaired the conduits of the aqueducts which were falling into ruin in many places because of age, and I doubled the capacity of the aqueduct called Marcia by admitting a new spring into its conduit. I completed the Julian Forum and the basilica which was between the temple of Castor and the temple of Saturn, works begun and far advanced by my father, and when the same basilica was destroyed by fire, I enlarged its site and began rebuilding the structure, which is to be inscribed with the names of my sons; and in case it should not be completed while I am still alive, I left instructions that the work be completed by my heirs. In my sixth consulship [28 B.C.] I repaired eighty-two temples of the gods in the city, in accordance with a resolution of the senate, neglecting none which at that time required repair. In my seventh consulship [27 B.C.] I reconstructed the Flaminian Way from the city as far as Ariminum, and also all the bridges except the Mulvian and the Minucian.

21. On my own private land I built the temple of Mars Ultor and the Augustan Forum from spoils of war. On ground bought for the most part from private owners I built the theater adjoining the temple of Apollo which was to be inscribed with the name of my son-in-law Marcus Marcellus. In the Capitol, in the temple of the deified Julius, in the temple of Apollo, in the temple of Vesta, and in the temple of Mars Ultor I consecrated gifts from spoils of war which cost me about 100,000,000 sesterces. In my fifth consulship [29 B.C.] I remitted to the municipalities and colonies of Italy 35,000 pounds of crown gold⁴⁴ which they were collecting in honor of my triumphs; and afterwards, whenever I was acclaimed *imperator*, I did not accept the crown gold, though the municipalities and colonies decreed it with the same enthusiasm as before.

22. I gave a gladiatorial show three times in my own name, and five times in the names of my sons or grandsons; at these shows about 10,000

44. For the significance of "crown gold," see vol. 2, § 113, second selection.

fought. Twice I presented to the people in my own name an exhibition of athletes invited from all parts of the world, and a third time in the name of my grandson. I presented games in my own name four times, and in addition twenty-three times in the place of other magistrates.⁴⁵ On behalf of the college of fifteen, as master of that college, with Marcus Agrippa as my colleague, I celebrated the Secular Games⁴⁶ in the consulship of Gaius Furnius and Gaius Silanus. In my thirteenth consulship [2 B.C.] I was the first to celebrate the Games of Mars, which subsequently the consuls, in accordance with a decree of the senate and a law, have regularly celebrated in the succeeding years. Twenty-six times I provided for the people, in my own name or in the names of my sons or grandsons, hunting spectacles of African wild beasts in the circus or in the Forum or in the amphitheaters; in these exhibitions about 3,500 animals were killed.

23. I presented to the people an exhibition of a naval battle across the Tiber where the grove of the Caesars now is, having had the site excavated 1,800 feet in length and 1,200 feet in width. In this exhibition thirty beaked ships, triremes or biremes, and in addition a great number of smaller vessels engaged in combat. On board these fleets, exclusive of rowers, there were about 3,000 combatants.

24. When I was victorious I replaced in the temples of all the communities of the province of Asia the ornaments which my opponent [Mark Antony] in the war had seized for his private use after despoiling the temples. About eighty silver statues of myself, represented on foot, on horseback, or in a chariot, stood in the city; these I myself removed, and out of the money therefrom I set up golden offerings in the temple of Apollo in my own name and in the names of those who had honored me with the statues.

25. I brought peace to the sea by suppressing the pirates.⁴⁷ In that war I turned over to their masters for punishment nearly 30,000 slaves who had run away from their owners and taken up arms against the state. The whole of Italy voluntarily took an oath of allegiance to me and demanded me as its leader in the war in which I was victorious at Actium.⁴⁸ The same oath was taken by the provinces of the Gauls, the

45. These were games in the theatrical and circus shows.

46. For the Secular Games celebrated in 17 B.C., see § 206.

47. The naval war with Sextus Pompey (cf. note 1), which ended in 36 B.C.

48. The war against Antony and Cleopatra, who were defeated at Actium in 31 B.C.

Spain, Africa, Sicily, and Sardinia.⁴⁹ More than 700 senators served at that time under my standards; of that number eighty-three attained the consulship and about 170 obtained priesthoods, either before that date or subsequently, up to the day on which this document was written.

26. I extended the frontiers of all the provinces of the Roman people on whose boundaries were peoples not subject to our empire.⁵⁰ I restored peace to the Gallic and Spanish provinces and likewise to Germany, that is to the entire region bounded by the Ocean from Gades to the mouth of the Elbe river. I caused peace to be restored in the Alps, from the region nearest to the Adriatic Sea as far as the Tuscan Sea, without undeservedly making war against any people.⁵¹ My fleet sailed the Ocean from the mouth of the Rhine eastward as far as the territory of the Cimbrians, to which no Roman previously had penetrated either by land or by sea. The Cimbrians, the Charydes, the Semnones, and other German peoples of the same region through their envoys sought my friendship and that of the Roman people.⁵² At my command and under my auspices two armies were led almost at the same time into Ethiopia and into Arabia which is called Felix; and very large forces of the enemy belonging to both peoples were killed in battle, and many towns were captured. In Ethiopia a penetration was made as far as the town of Napata, which is next to Meroe; in Arabia the army advanced into the territory of the Sabaeans to the town of Mariba.⁵³

27. I added Egypt to the empire of the Roman people.⁵⁴ Although I might have made Greater Armenia into a province when its king Artaxates was assassinated, I preferred, following the precedent of our ancestors, to hand over this kingdom, acting through Tiberius Nero, who was then my stepson, to Tigranes, son of King Artavasdes and grandson of King Tigranes. And afterwards, when this same people revolted and rebelled, after I subdued it through my son Gaius, I handed it over to the rule of King Ariobarzanes, son of Artabazus, king of the Medes, and

49. On the form of the oath of allegiance to Augustus, see § 201, second selection.

50. The emphasis is on the frontier policy in the West. The eastern provinces were hardly as well stabilized under Augustus. On the general frontier policy of Augustus, see § 203.

51. On these campaigns see further § 203.

52. The reference is to the campaign of A.D. 5, when Tiberius penetrated Germany as far as the Elbe River.

53. This is the disastrous expedition of Aelius Gallus in 25/24 B.C. against Arabia Felix (Yemen); the punitive Ethiopian expedition under Gaius Petronius in 24–22 B.C. achieved greater success; see further § 203.

54. On the death of Cleopatra in 30 B.C. On the special status of Egypt, see note 75.

after his death to his son Artavasdes. When the latter was killed, I dispatched to that kingdom Tigranes, a scion of the royal family of Armenia.⁵⁵ I recovered all the provinces extending beyond the Adriatic Sea eastward, and also Cyrenae, which were for the most part already in the possession of kings, as I had previously recovered Sicily and Sardinia, which had been seized in the slave war.⁵⁶

28. I established colonies of soldiers in Africa, Sicily, Macedonia, in both Spanish provinces, in Achaea, Asia, Syria, Narbonese Gaul, and Pisidia. Italy, moreover, has twenty-eight colonies established by me, which in my lifetime have grown to be famous and populous.

29. A number of military standards lost by other generals I recovered, after conquering the enemy, from Spain, Gaul, and the Dalmatians. The Parthians I compelled to restore to me the spoils and standards of three Roman armies and to seek the friendship of the Roman people as suppliants.⁵⁷ The standards, moreover, I deposited in the inner shrine of the temple of Mars Ultor.

30. Through Tiberius Nero, who was then my stepson and legate, I conquered and subjected to the empire of the Roman people the Pannonian tribes, to which before my principate no army of the Roman people had ever penetrated; and I extended the frontier of Illyricum to the bank of the Danube River. An army of the Dacians which had crossed to our side of the river was conquered and destroyed under my auspices, and later on, my army crossed the Danube and compelled the Dacian tribes to submit to the orders of the Roman people.

31. Royal embassies from India, never previously seen before any Roman general, were often sent to me. Our friendship was sought through ambassadors by the Bastarnians and Scythians and by the kings of the Sarmatians, who live on both sides of the Don River, and by the kings of the Albanians and of the Iberians and of the Medes.⁵⁸

32. The following kings fled to me as suppliants: Tiridates and afterwards Phraates son of King Phraates, kings of the Parthians; Artavasdes, king of the Medes; Artaxares, king of the Adiabeniens; Dumnobellaunus and Tincommius, kings of the Britons; Maelo, king of the Sugumbrians,

55. On the Roman client states under Augustus, see further § 203.

56. Provinces held by Antony and Sextus Pompey. Cf. paragraph 25, above.

57. These were the standards lost by Crassus at the battle of Carrhae in 53 B.C. and in Mark Antony's disastrous operations against the Parthians in 36 B.C. They were restored as the result of diplomatic negotiations; Augustus' version is calculated to salve Roman pride.

58. The peoples named in this sentence inhabited the fringes of the Roman Empire from the Carpathians to the Caucasus.

and Segimerus[?], king of the Marcomannian Suebians.⁵⁹ Phraates son of Orodes, king of the Parthians, sent to me in Italy all his sons and grandsons, not because he was conquered in war, but seeking our friendship through pledge of his children. Under my principate numerous other peoples, with whom previously there had existed no exchange of embassies and friendship, experienced the good faith of the Roman people.

33. The peoples of the Parthians and of the Medes, through ambassadors who were the leading men of these peoples, received from me the kings for whom they asked: the Parthians, Vonones son of King Phraates, grandson of King Orodes; the Medes, Ariobarzanes son of King Artavasdes, grandson of King Ariobarzanes.

34. In my sixth and seventh consulships,⁶⁰ after I had put an end to the civil wars, having attained supreme power by universal consent, I transferred the state from my own power to the control of the Roman senate and the people. For this service of mine I received the title of Augustus by decree of the senate, and the doorposts of my house were publicly decked with laurels, the civic crown was affixed over my doorway, and a golden shield was set up in the Julian senate house, which, as the inscription on this shield testifies, the Roman senate and people gave me in recognition of my valor, clemency, justice, and devotion. After that time I excelled all in authority, but I possessed no more power than the others who were my colleagues in each magistracy.

35. When I held my thirteenth consulship,⁶¹ the senate, the equestrian order, and the entire Roman people gave me the title of "father of the country" and decreed that this title should be inscribed in the vestibule of my house, in the Julian senate house, and in the Augustan Forum on the pedestal of the chariot which was set up in my honor by decree of the senate. At the time I wrote this document I was in my seventy-sixth year.⁶²

59. Adiabenia was a district of Assyria; the Sugumbrians and Marcomannian Suebians were Germanic tribes.

60. 28 and 27 B.C. The reorganization of 28-27 B.C. (see § 194) put an end to the unlimited powers exercised by Augustus without legal title from the expiration of the triumvirate in 33 B.C. to that date. Augustus justifies his extralegal position by affirming that he held it "by universal consent."

61. 2 B.C. Cf. § 194, fourth selection.

62. Four appendices (not part of the original document of Augustus), which summarize the expenditures and public works of Augustus, are here omitted.

196. THE PRINCE OF PEACE AND THE NEW ORDER

The task of disseminating the official program of the new age among the educated portion of the population was undertaken by Maecenas, who, next to Agrippa (cf. §§ 208, 209), was the principal helper of Augustus in the first half of his reign. The literary coterie which Maecenas gathered about him rang the changes on the professed ideals of the new regime—peace and empire, rededication to the ancestral virtues, the traditions and religion of the idealized past, and the benevolent administration of the *principes*.

Anonymous, *Panegyric on Piso*⁶³ 230-243; From LCL

The very bard [Vergil] who makes his poem on Aeneas resound among the Italian people, the bard who in his mighty renown treads Olympus and in Roman accents challenges venerable Homer, perchance his poem might have lurked obscure in the shadow of the grove, and he might have but sung on a fruitless reed unknown to the peoples if he had lacked a Maecenas. Yet it was not to one bard only that he opened his doors, nor did he entrust his destinies to Vergil alone. Maecenas raised to fame Varius,⁶⁴ who shook the stage with tragic mien; Maecenas drew out the grand style of the thundering poet and revealed famous names to the people of Greece. Likewise he made known to fame songs resonant on Roman strings and the Italian lyre of graceful Horace. Hail! ornament of the age, worshipful deservedly for all time, protection of the Pierian choir, beneath whose guardianship never did poet fear for an old age of beggary.

Horace, *Odes* IV. xv

When I wished to tell in lyric song of battles and the conquest of cities, Apollo rebuked me and forbade my spreading tiny sails upon the Tyrhenian Sea. Thine age, O Caesar, has brought back fertile crops to the fields and has restored to our own Jupiter the military standards stripped from the proud columns of the Parthians;⁶⁵ has closed Janus' temple [cf.

63. Composed in the early part of the first century A.D.

64. Lucius Varius Rufus, eminent epic poet and dramatist of the Augustan Age, friend and literary executor of Vergil.

65. Cf. § 195, paragraph 29. This ode of Horace was written c. 13 B.C.