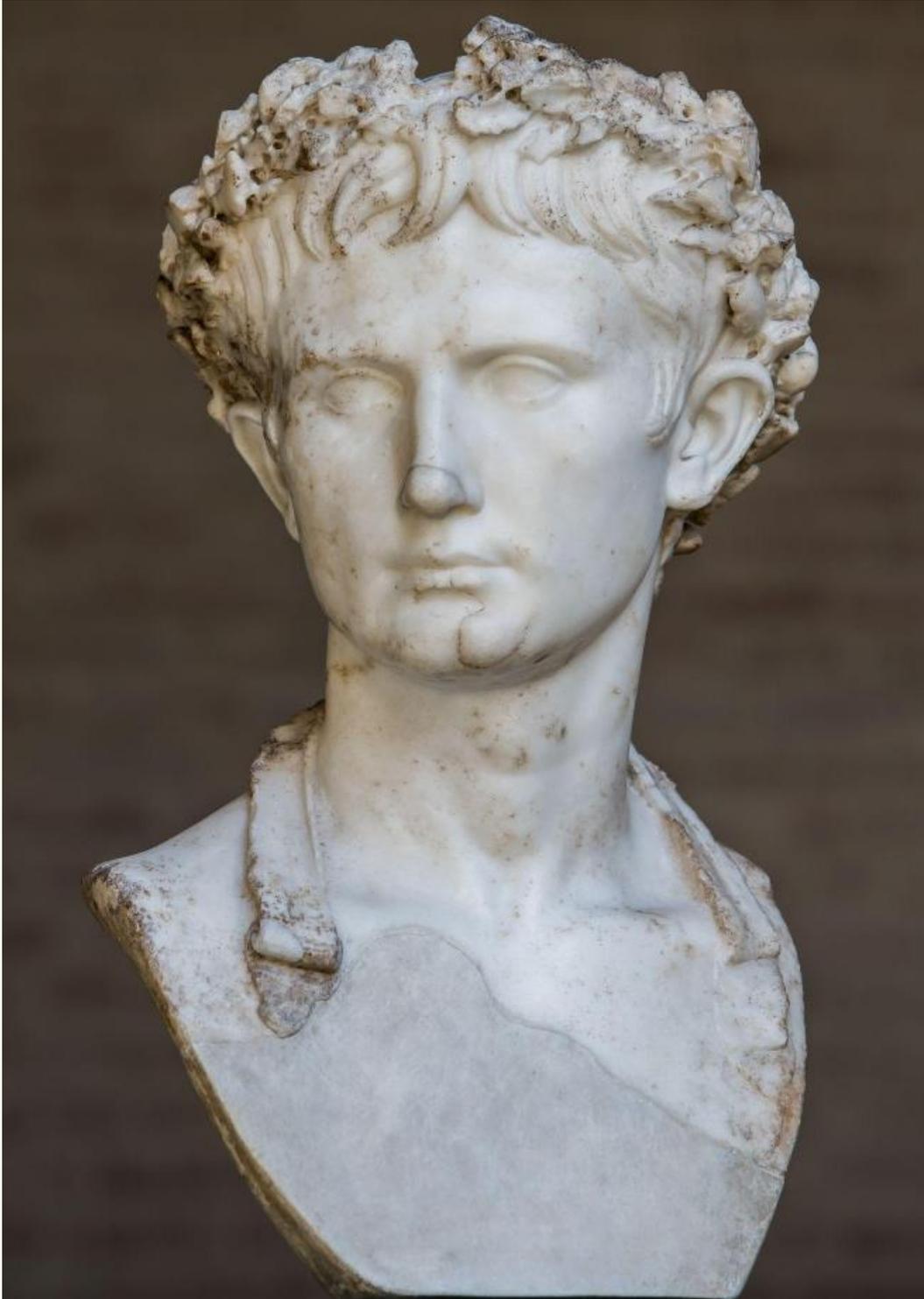


**CA Ancient History A Level Prescribed Source Translations**

**Roman Period Study: Timespan 1**



# CA Ancient History A Level Prescribed Source Translations

## Roman Period Study: Timespan 1

This resource was created in collaboration with James Renshaw, Team Leader for the Classical Association's Subject Advisory Team for Ancient History. We would also like to thank the following contributors for their work in developing and advising on this resource:

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This resource is designed to support teachers and students of the OCR A Level Ancient History. Initially, we have focused on the period studies, but we hope to cover the whole specification in time. The aims of the project are:

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- To provide translations which are accurate, accessible and easy to read.
- Where appropriate, to give some context to a prescribed source.
- To invite teachers and students to give feedback so that we can improve and amend the resource as appropriate.

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The following sources can be found by using the listed external links:

#### **Coins**

See the companion British Museum document for the period study prescribed coins.

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## Dio Cassius

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### 51.21

Octavian returns to Rome in 29 BC and celebrates his triumph.

1 In the course of the summer Caesar crossed over to Greece and to Italy; and when he entered the city, not only did all the citizens offer sacrifice, as has been mentioned, but even the consul Valerius Potitus. Caesar, to be sure, was consul all that year as for the two preceding years, but Potitus was the successor of Sextus.

2 It was he who publicly and in person offered sacrifices on behalf of the people and Senate upon Caesar's arrival, a thing that had never been done in the case of any other person. After this Caesar conferred eulogies and honours on his lieutenants, as was customary,

3 and to Agrippa he further granted, among other distinctions, a dark blue flag in honour of his naval victory, and he gave gifts to the soldiers; to the people he distributed 400 sesterces apiece, first to the men who were adults, and afterwards to the children because of his nephew Marcellus.

4 In view of all this, and because he would not accept from the cities of Italy the gold required for the crowns they had voted him, and because, furthermore, he not only paid all the debts he himself owed to others, as has been stated, but also did not insist on the payment of others' debts to him, the Romans forgot all their unpleasant experiences and viewed his triumph with pleasure, quite as if those who had been defeated had all been foreigners.

5 So vast an amount of money, in fact, circulated through all parts of the city alike, that the price of goods rose and loans for which the borrower had been glad to pay 12% could now be had for one third that rate. As for the triumph, on the first day Caesar celebrated his victories over the Pannonians and Dalmatians, the Iapydes and their neighbours, and some Germans and Gauls.

6 For Gaius Carrinas had subdued the Morini and others who had revolted with them, and had repulsed the Suebi, who had crossed the Rhine to wage war. Not only did Carrinas, therefore, celebrate the triumph - and that despite the fact that his father had been put to death by Sulla and that he himself along with the others in similar circumstances had once been debarred from holding office - but Caesar also

celebrated it, since the credit of the victory properly belonged to his position as supreme commander.<sup>1</sup>

7 This was the first day's celebration. On the second day the naval victory at Actium was commemorated, and on the third the subjugation of Egypt. Now all the processions proved notable, thanks to the spoils from Egypt - in such quantities, indeed, had spoils been gathered there that there were enough for all the processions - but the Egyptian celebration surpassed them all in costliness and magnificence.

8 Among other features, an effigy of the dead Cleopatra on a couch was carried by, so that in a way she, too, together with the other captives and with her children, Alexander, also called Helios, and Cleopatra, called also Selene, was a part of the spectacle and a trophy in the procession.

9 After this came Caesar, riding into the city behind them all. He did everything in the customary manner, except that he permitted his fellow-consul and the other magistrates, contrary to precedent, to follow him along with the senators who had participated in the victory; for it was usual for such officials to march in advance and for only the senators to follow.

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## 52.4

Part of Marcus Agrippa's speech to Octavian and Maecenas in 29 BC, in which he argues against monarchy.

1 "Equality before the law has an honoured name and is most just in its workings. For in the case of men who are allotted the same nature, who are of the same race with one another, and who have been brought up under the same institutions, and who have also been trained in laws that are alike,

2 and who offer in an equal degree the service of their bodies and of their minds to their country, is it not just that they should have an equal share in all other things also, and is it not best that they should secure no distinctions except as the result of excellence?

3 For equality of birth demands equality of privilege, and if it obtains it, it is glad, but if it fails, it is displeased. And the human race everywhere, sprung as it is from the gods and destined to return to the gods, gazes upward and is not content to be ruled forever by the same person,

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<sup>1</sup> This is an error by Dio. Gaius Carrinas celebrated his triumph a year later in 28 BC, and there is no evidence that Octavian tried to share the credit.

4 nor will it endure to share in the toils, the dangers, and the expenditures and yet be deprived of partner-ship in the better things. Or, if it is forced to submit to anything of the sort, it hates the power which has applied coercion, and if it obtains an opportunity, takes vengeance on what it hates.

5 All men, of course, claim the right to rule, and for this reason submit to being ruled in turn; they are unwilling to have others gain an advantage over them, and therefore are not obliged, on their part, to gain an advantage over others. They are pleased with the honours which come from their equals, and approve of the penalties inflicted on them by the laws.

6 Now if they conduct their political affairs this way and regard the blessings and also the opposite as belonging to all alike, they not only wish no harm to happen to any of the citizens, but devoutly hope that nothing but prosperity will fall to the lot of each and all.

7 And if one of them possesses any excellence himself, he readily makes it known, practises it enthusiastically, and exhibits it most joyfully; or if he sees it in another, he readily brings it to the light, eagerly takes part in increasing it, and confers the most splendid honours on it.

8 On the other hand, if any one behaves badly, everybody hates him, and if any one meets with misfortune, everybody pities him; for each person regards the loss and the disgrace that arise from it as shared by the whole state.”

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### **53.11-13**

The reaction in the senate to Octavian’s speech in 27 BC in which he claims to be retiring from office. Caesar’s organisation of the empire.

#### **11**

1 While Caesar was reading this address, varied feelings took possession of the senators. A few of them knew his real intention and therefore kept applauding him enthusiastically; of the rest, some were suspicious of his words, while others believed them, and so both classes marvelled equally, the one at his cunning and the other at his decision, and both were displeased, the former at his scheming and the latter at his change of mind.

2 For already there were some who hated the democratic constitution as a source of political strife, were pleased at the change in government, and took delight in Caesar. Consequently, though they were variously affected by his announcement, their views were the same.

3 For, on the one hand, those who believed he had spoken the truth could not show their pleasure - those who wished to do so being restrained by their fear and the others by their hopes - and those, on the other hand, who did not believe it did not dare accuse him and expose his insincerity, some because they were afraid and others because they did not care to do so.

4 So it was that all the doubters either were compelled to believe him or else pretended that they did. As for praising him, some had not the courage and others were unwilling; on the contrary, but while he was reading and afterwards, they kept shouting out, begging for a monarchical government and urging every argument in its favour, until they forced him, as it was made to appear, to assume autocratic power.

5 His very first act was to secure a decree granting to the men who should compose his bodyguard double the pay that was given to the rest of the soldiers, so that he might be strictly guarded. When this was done, he was eager to establish the monarchy in actual fact.

## 12

1 In this way he had his supremacy ratified by the Senate and by the people as well. But since he wished even so to be thought democratic, while he accepted all the care and oversight of the public business, on the ground that it required some attention on his part,

2 yet he declared he would not personally govern all the provinces, and that in the case of whatever provinces he ended up governing he would not do so indefinitely; and he did, in fact, restore to the Senate the weaker provinces, on the grounds that they were peaceful and free from war, while he retained the more powerful, alleging that they were insecure and under threat, and either had enemies on their borders or were able on their own account to begin a serious revolt.

3 His professed motive in this was that the Senate might fearlessly enjoy the finest portion of the empire, while he himself had the hardships and the dangers; but his real purpose was that by this arrangement the senators would be unarmed and unprepared for battle, while he alone had arms and maintained soldiers.

4 Africa, Numidia, Asia, Greece with Epirus, the Dalmatian and Macedonian districts, Sicily, Crete and the Cyrenaic portion of Libya, Bithynia with Pontus which adjoined it, Sardinia and Baetica were held to belong to the people and the Senate;

5 while to Caesar belonged the remainder of Spain - that is, the district of Tarraco and Lusitania - and all the Gauls - that is, Gallia Narbonensis, Gallia Lugdunensis,

Aquitania, and Belgica, both the natives themselves and the new settlers among them.

6 For some of the Celts, whom we call Germans, had occupied all the Belgic territory along the Rhine and caused it to be called Germany, the upper portion extending to the sources of that river, and the lower portion reaching to the British Ocean.

7 These provinces, then, together with Coele-Syria, as it is called, Phoenicia, Cilicia, Cyprus and Egypt, fell at that time to Caesar's share; for afterwards he gave Cyprus and Gallia Narbonensis back to the people, and for himself took Dalmatia instead.

8 This same course was followed subsequently in the case of other provinces also, as the progress of my narrative will show; but I have listed these provinces in this way because at the present time each one of them is governed separately, whereas in the beginning and for a long period thereafter they were administered two and three together.

9 The others I have not mentioned because some of them were acquired later, and the rest, even if they were already subjugated, were not being governed by the Romans, but either had been left autonomous or had been attached to some kingdom or other. All of them which came into the Roman empire after this period were added to the provinces of the man who was emperor at the time.

### **13**

1 Such, then, was the apportionment of the provinces. And even then, Caesar wanted to steer the Romans well away from thinking that he seemed monarchical, so he held the government of the provinces assigned to him for only ten years; for he promised to reduce them to order within this period, and boastfully added that, if they should be pacified sooner, he would the sooner restore them to the Senate.

2 Therefore he first appointed the senators themselves to govern both classes of provinces, except Egypt. This province alone he assigned to a knight, the one we have already named, for the reasons mentioned there. Next he ordained that the governors of senatorial provinces should be annual magistrates, chosen by lot, except when a senator enjoyed a special privilege because of the large number of his children or because of his marriage.

3 These governors were to be sent out by vote of the Senate in public meeting; they were to carry no sword at their belt nor to wear military uniform;

4 the name of proconsul was to belong not only to the two ex-consuls but also to the others who had merely served as praetors or who held at least the rank of ex-praetors; both classes were to employ as many lictors as were usual in the capital;

and they were to assume the insignia of their office immediately upon leaving the pomerium and were to wear them constantly until they returned.

5 The other governors, on the other hand, were to be chosen by the emperor himself and were to be called his envoys and propraetors, even if the men selected were ex-consuls. Thus, of these two titles which had been in fashion so long under the Republic, he gave that of praetor to the men chosen by him, on the ground that from very early times it had been associated with warfare, calling them propraetors; and he gave the name of consul to the others, on the ground that their duties were more peaceful, styling them proconsuls.

6 For he reserved the full titles of consul and praetor for Italy, and designated all the governors outside of Italy as acting in their stead. So, then, he caused the appointed governors to be known as propraetors and to hold office for as much longer than a year as should please him; he made them wear the military uniform, and a sword, with which they are permitted to execute even soldiers.

7 For no one else, whether proconsul, propraetor, or procurator, has been given the privilege of wearing a sword without also having been given the right to put a soldier to death; indeed, this right has been granted, not only to the senators, but also to the knights who are entitled to wear a sword.

8 So much for this. All the propraetors alike employ five lictors, and, indeed, all of them except those who were ex-consuls at the time of appointment to governor-ships receive their title from this very number. Both classes alike assume the decorations of their position of authority when they enter their appointed province and lay them aside immediately upon completing their term of office.

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### **53.16-17**

Octavian is given the name 'Augustus'. The powers of the emperor.

### **16**

1 These regulations were established at that time, to speak generally; for in reality Caesar himself was destined to have absolute control of all matters for all time, because he was not only master of the funds (nominally, to be sure, he had separated the public funds from his own, but as a matter of fact, he always spent the former also as he saw fit), but also commanded the soldiers.

2 At all events, when his ten-year period came to an end, there was voted to 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.

3 And it is for this reason that the subsequent emperors, though no longer appointed for a specified period, but for their whole life permanently, 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.

4 Now Caesar had received many privileges and honours even previously, when the question of declining the sovereignty and that of apportioning the provinces were under discussion. For the right to place the laurel trees in front of the royal residence and to hang the crown of oak above them was then voted to him to symbolise that he was always victor over his enemies and the saviour of the citizens.

5 The royal residence 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, though his residence gained a certain degree of fame from the hill as a whole also, because Romulus had once lived there.

6 So it is that, even if the emperor resides somewhere else, his dwelling retains the name of Palatium. And when Caesar had actually carried out his promises, the name Augustus was at last conferred on him by the Senate and by the people.

7 For when they wished to call him by some distinctive title, and men were proposing one title and another and urging its selection, Caesar strongly wished to be called Romulus, but when he perceived that this caused him to be suspected of desiring the kingship,

8 he stopped trying to obtain it, and took the title of 'Augustus', signifying that he was more than human; for all the most precious and sacred objects are termed *augusta*. Therefore they addressed him also in Greek as 'Sebastos', meaning a revered individual, from the passive of the verb *sebazo*, "to revere".

## 17

1 In this way the power of both people and Senate passed entirely into the hands of Augustus, and from his time there was, strictly speaking, a monarch; for monarchy would be the truest name for it, no matter if two or three men did later hold the power at the same time.

2 The name of monarchy, to be sure, the Romans so detested that they called their emperors neither dictators nor kings nor anything of the sort; yet since the final authority for the government is entrusted to them, they cannot avoid being kings.

3 The offices established by the laws, it is true, are maintained even now, except that of censor; but the entire direction and administration is absolutely in accordance with the wishes of the one in power at the time. And yet, in order to preserve the

appearance of having this power by virtue of the laws and not because of their own domination, the emperors have taken to themselves all the functions, including the titles, of the offices which under the Republic and by the free gift of the people were powerful, with the single exception of the dictatorship.

4 Therefore, they very often became consuls, and they are always styled proconsuls whenever they are outside the pomerium. The name of 'imperator' is held by them all for life, not only by those who have won victories in battle, but also by those who have not, in token of their independent authority, and this has displaced the titles of 'king' and 'dictator'.

5 These last titles they have never assumed since the time they first fell out of use in the conduct of the government, but the functions of these offices are secured to them under the title of 'imperator'. By virtue of the titles named they secure the right to make levies, to collect funds, declare war, make peace,

6 rule foreigners and citizens alike everywhere and always, - even to the extent of being able to put to death both knights and senators inside the pomerium, - and all the other privileges once granted to the consuls and other officials possessing independent authority;

7 and by virtue of holding the censor-ship they investigate our lives and morals as well as take the census, enrolling some in the equestrian and senatorial classes and erasing the names of others from these classes, according to their will.

8 By virtue of being consecrated in all the priesthoods and of their right to confer most of these positions on others, as well as from the fact that, even if two or three persons hold the imperial office at the same time, one of them is high priest, they hold in their own hands supreme authority over all matters both profane and sacred.

9 The tribunician power, as it is called, which used to be conferred only on men of the greatest influence, gives them the right to nullify the effects of measures taken by any other official, in case they do not approve it, and makes them immune to being insulted; and, if they appear to be wronged in even the slightest degree, not merely by deed, but even by word, they may execute the guilty party, as one accursed, without a trial.

10 The emperors, it should be explained, do not think it right to be tribunes, since they belong altogether to the patrician class, but they assume the power of the tribunes to its full extent, as it was when it was greatest; and in numbering the years they have held the imperial office they use the tribunician power to mark the stages, the theory being that they receive it year by year along with those who are regularly made tribunes.

11 These are the institutions which they have taken over from the Republic, essentially in the form in which they individually existed then, and also making use of these same names, their purpose being to create the impression that they possess no power that has not been granted them.

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## Horace

Odes: [1.2](#); [1.37](#); [3.6](#); [4.15](#)

### Ode 1.2

A poem of extravagant praise for Augustus. Horace starts by referring to recent portents in Rome, including a flood of the Tiber (lines 1-20); he then refers to the civil wars, and asks which god will save Rome (lines 21-30); he suggests Apollo, Venus, and then Mars, before settling on Mercury - with the suggestion that Augustus is in fact Mercury disguised as a man.

Enough snow and dreadful hail the Father now  
has sent to the earth and by casting his spear  
with his reddened hand at our sacred strongholds  
has terrified the City,

terrified the nations, that the dark age of Pyrrha<sup>2</sup> 5  
may return, complaining of strange portents,  
when Proteus<sup>3</sup> drove all his fishy flock to visit  
the high hills,

and the race of fish got stuck in the top of elms  
which had been known before as the perch of doves, 10  
and timid deer swam as the floods  
rushed over them.

We have seen yellow Tiber<sup>4</sup> with his waves  
thrown back with force onto the Etruscan bank  
and go to demolish a king's monuments<sup>5</sup> 15  
and Vesta's temples,

whilst he boasts to Ilia,<sup>6</sup> who complains excessively,  
that he is her avenger, and without Jupiter's approval  
the wife-loving river as he wanders glides along

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<sup>2</sup> Pyrrha and her husband Deucalion were, in myth, the only humans left over after Zeus flooded the earth as punishment for human wickedness.

<sup>3</sup> Proteus was a minor sea god.

<sup>4</sup> The Tiber is known to have flooded in January 27 BC, the night after Octavian was awarded the title Augustus.

<sup>5</sup> The king's monuments refer to the buildings in the forum believed to be built by the early king, Numa. These included the Regia, the headquarters of the Pontifex Maximus, and the Temple of Vesta.

<sup>6</sup> Ilia (also known as Rhea Silva) was, in myth, a Vestal Virgin who was raped by Mars and gave birth to Romulus and Remus. Vestal Virgins were supposed to be chaste, and for her supposed 'crime' she was thrown into the Tiber; but the river god rescued and married her.

on the left bank. 20

The rare Romans of military age will hear that the citizens  
have sharpened their weapons by which it were better  
that the fierce Parthians should die; will hear of battles  
caused by their fathers' vices.

Which of the gods is the people to call upon for the state's 25  
impending collapse? With what prayer shall the holy virgins  
weary Vesta who listens less than ever  
to their dirges?

To whom will Jupiter give the task of expiating 30  
wickedness? We beseech you to come at last,  
your shining shoulders clad in cloud,  
Apollo the augur;

or if you prefer, smiling Venus of Eryx,<sup>7</sup> whom laughter  
and Cupid flutter around; or whether you, Mars our founder,  
have regard for your neglected nation 35  
and descendants,

alas, sated by too long a game,  
you who delight in the war-cry and the smooth helmet  
and the keen stare of the Marsian<sup>8</sup> foot soldier  
at his bloodied foe; 40

or whether, Mercury, transforming yourself into a youth,  
you imitate on earth a bird, as the son of kindly Maia,  
allowing yourself to be called  
Caesar's avenger,

return late to heaven and for many a year 45  
be pleased to remain among the citizens of Rome,  
and let not a swift wind carry you away in disgust  
at our vices:

here rather love mighty triumphs,  
and be happy to be called father and princeps, 50  
and do not allow the Medes<sup>9</sup> to ride with impunity

---

<sup>7</sup> Eryx was a small city in western Sicily, with a famous temple of Venus. According to legend, the temple was founded by Aeneas on his journey to Italy.

<sup>8</sup> The Marsi were people of the central Apennines who contributed many soldiers to the Roman army.

<sup>9</sup> The Medes was another name for the Parthians.

while you are our leader, Caesar.

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### Ode 1.37

This is Horace's famous Cleopatra ode (although he does name her), which encourages celebrations at Rome upon news of the Egyptian queen's suicide on 10th August 30 BC. That the focus is on Cleopatra rather than Antony shows that Horace is, in line with Augustan ideology, presenting the conflict as a war with foreigners, rather than a civil war. The first five stanzas give a vindictive picture of Cleopatra, while the final three present her as admirable in the face of death.

Now we must drink! Now with a free foot  
we must beat the ground! Now is the time for the Salii<sup>10</sup>  
to deck out the couch of the gods  
for feasts, o my companions.

Before this time it was a crime to fetch a bottle 5  
of Caecuban<sup>11</sup> wine from your ancestral cellar, as long as  
the Queen was planning mad ruin for the Capitol  
and death for the empire

in company with her flock of morbid perverts,  
being unable to control her ambitions and drunk 10  
with sweet fortune. But her madness was shortened  
and lessened

by the fact that scarcely one of her ships  
was rescued from fire; and Caesar drove her  
as she flew from Italy drunk on Mareotic<sup>12</sup> wine 15  
into real terror:

straining with his oars, like a hawk  
swiftly hunting soft doves or a hare  
on the snowy plains of Haemonia,  
to enchain 20

the deadly creature. She, seeking to die  
more nobly, neither feared the sword

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<sup>10</sup> The Salii were priests of Mars known for giving extravagant feasts and dancing wildly.

<sup>11</sup> Caecuban was one of the highest quality Roman wines.

<sup>12</sup> Mareotic was the most famous Egyptian wine.

in womanly fashion, nor repaired in a fast ship  
to hidden shores,

but daring, brave woman, to view her palace in ruins 25  
with a serene face, and to handle angry snakes  
so that with her body she might consume  
the black poison,

all the more fiercely proud by having determined on her own death,  
naturally grudging the cruel Liburnian<sup>13</sup> boats 30  
that she should be led, a private person, in an arrogant triumph,  
no lowly woman.

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### Ode 3.6

This ode presents the view that the civil wars were punishment from the gods for the Romans' neglect of them. In lines 17-32, it also suggests that sexual reform is needed in Rome, anticipating the *Lex Julia* of 18 BC.

You will expiate the offences of your ancestors  
undeservedly, Roman, until you rebuild the temples<sup>14</sup>  
and toppling homes of the gods and  
their images filthy with black smoke;

it is because you behave as lower than the gods that you rule; 5  
hence comes every beginning, to this bring every ending;  
the gods neglected have given to grieving Italy  
many troubles.

Already now Monaeses and Pacorus' army<sup>15</sup>  
have twice broken our inauspicious<sup>16</sup> attacks 10  
and the fact that they also took booty  
flashes back from their little rings;

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<sup>13</sup> Liburnian boats were small warships used to great effect by Octavian's forces at the battle of Actium.

<sup>14</sup> Augustus had initiated a policy of rebuilding temples in 28 BC, which Horace seems to endorse here.

<sup>15</sup> Monaeses was a Parthian general, while Pacorus was the son of the Parthian king, Orodes. The two Parthian victories may refer to successful battles they fought against Antony's troops in 40 and 36 BC.

<sup>16</sup> The word 'inauspicious' implies that Antony failed to consult the gods before battle, as Roman generals were expected to do. Antony is therefore presented as being impious.

while the City was possessed by insurrections  
it was almost destroyed by the Dacian<sup>17</sup> and the Egyptian<sup>18</sup>,  
the latter dreaded for their fleet, the former  
more formidable for their showers of arrows. 15

An age fertile in unchastity first polluted  
marriage and the family and the home;  
from this source disaster flowed out and spread  
into the nation and the people; 20

the nubile girl delights to learn Ionic dance steps  
and trains herself in sexy accomplishments  
and is already planning to embark on illicit affairs  
while she is still merely a child;

soon she will be seeking lovers younger than herself 25  
at her husband's drinking parties, and no longer choose  
whom to offer unpermitted pleasures  
hurriedly in the dark with the lamps removed,

but she rises from the couch openly, not without  
her husband's knowledge, whether she is invited by a petty trader 30  
or the master of a Spanish cargo ship,  
the extravagant buyer of her disgraceful behaviour.

It was not soldiers who were raised by such parents  
that stained the sea with Carthaginian blood<sup>19</sup>  
and cut down mighty Pyrrhus,<sup>20</sup> 35  
Antiochus<sup>21</sup> and terrible Hannibal<sup>22</sup>,

but the male children of country soldiers  
taught by Sabellian<sup>23</sup> mattocks how to turn over furrows  
and on the orders of their stern mothers  
to fetch chopped logs for the fire, 40

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<sup>17</sup> In fact, the Dacians were not a serious threat to Rome at this time, so this must be an exaggeration.

<sup>18</sup> The reference to an Egyptian fleet clearly refers to Cleopatra and, by inference, Antony.

<sup>19</sup> 'stained the sea with Carthaginian blood'. This is a reference to the sea battles of the First Punic War against the Carthaginians of 264-241 BC.

<sup>20</sup> Pyrrhus was the king of Epirus in north-west Greece who allied with the Greek cities of southern Italy and Sicily to fight the Romans between 280 and 275 BC.

<sup>21</sup> Antiochus III was the king of Syria defeated by the Romans between 191 and 189 BC.

<sup>22</sup> Hannibal was the great Carthaginian general who invaded Italy and was finally defeated at Zama in north Africa in 202 BC.

<sup>23</sup> Sabellian was a Roman name for the people of Italy who lived in the central Apennine mountains and spoke Oscan.

whenever the Sun was changing the shadows of the hills  
and removing the yokes  
from the wearied oxen, bringing a friendly time  
as his chariot departs:

what has destructive time not diminished? 45  
The age of our parents, worse than that of their fathers,  
brought us forth even more wicked, soon to produce  
a generation even more vicious.

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### Ode 4.15

This is the final ode of Horace's fourth and final book of Odes. The poet summarises the achievements of Augustus, both at home and abroad.

Apollo struck his lyre to tell me  
when I wished to sing of battles and conquered cities  
not to spread my little sails on the Tyrrhenian Sea.  
Your age, Caesar,

has restored rich crops to the fields 5  
and given back to our Jupiter his standards  
captured for the proud doorposts of the Parthians  
and closed the gate of Janus' temple

clear of wars, and threw the reins 10  
over roaming licentiousness  
and removed wrongdoing and recovered  
the ancient arts

by which the Latin name and the strength  
and fame of Italy grew and the majesty of empire  
were extended to the sun's rising 15  
from its setting in the west.

While Caesar is the guardian of the state, neither the madness  
of the citizens nor revolution will put an end to peace,  
nor anger which hammers out swords and makes enemies  
of wretched cities; 20

not those who drink the deep Danube

will break the laws of Augustus  
nor the Getae,<sup>24</sup> nor the Chinese<sup>25</sup> or the faithless Parthians,  
nor those who come from the region of the Don.<sup>26</sup>

And we Italians both on working days and holidays 25  
among the gifts of laughing Bacchus  
with our children and our wives, after first praying  
duly and correctly to the gods

in the manner of our ancestors shall sing of our leaders 30  
who have acted with courage, in a song accompanied by  
Lydian flutes, of Troy and Anchises and the descendants  
of kindly Venus.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> The Getae were a tribe which inhabited the land either side of the lower Danube close to the Black Sea.

<sup>25</sup> There is no evidence that the Romans had contact with the Chinese at this time, so this is an exaggeration.

<sup>26</sup> The river Don flows from central Russia to the Sea of Azov.

<sup>27</sup> As the legend of Aeneas held that his mother was the goddess Venus, then her descendants are Aeneas, his son Iulus (Ascanius), and, according to the Augustan ideology, Julius Caesar and his adoptive son Augustus. The final stanza is probably also a reference to the recently published *Aeneid* of Virgil.

## Macrobius

Sections: *Saturnalia* 1.11.21; 2.4.23

### 1.11.21

A slave helps Caepio, who had plotted to kill Augustus

Caepio had also been involved in the plot to kill Augustus. When the crime was detected he was condemned. A slave took him down to the Tiber in a basket, and he was carried to Ostia, and from there, journeying by night, he was taken into the Laurentine countryside to his father's villa. Then shipwrecked off Cumae, the slave secretly hid his master in Naples: when the slave was captured by a centurion, he could not be persuaded to betray his master either by money or by threats.

### 2.4.23

Augustus' extensive gifts to senators

Augustus had paid off the debt - about 4 million sesterces - of a certain senator he favoured, without being asked to do so. However, the senator wrote only this to him as a show of thanks: "Nothing for me?"

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## Ovid

Sections: *Fasti* [1.1–14](#); [2.55–66](#); [2.119–144](#); [5.140–158](#)

### 1.1-14

Introduction to the *Fasti* and dedication to Germanicus

I shall tell of the time divisions with their causes spread throughout the Roman year  
And the stars and their setting beneath the earth and their rising.  
Germanicus<sup>28</sup> Caesar, receive this work with a tranquil face  
And steer the course of the timid vessel,  
And, not opposing the insubstantial honour, be present,  
Direct this task and the course of its nervous navigation,  
And in your office, not opposed to a trivial honour,  
Be present and favourable with your devoted spirit.  
You will recognise rituals rescued from ancient annals,  
And each day marked out for whatever its merit.  
There you will find also the domestic festivals of your house.  
Often your father<sup>29</sup> is present, often your grandfather's<sup>30</sup> name is visible;  
And whatever things they say, marking coloured calendars;  
You too with your brother Drusus will carry off the prizes.  
Let others sing of Caesar's<sup>31</sup> military victories, we sing of his altars  
And all the days for his rituals, whatever he added.

### 2.55-66

The restoration of temples by Augustus

At the start of the month<sup>32</sup>, Juno the Saviour, neighbour of the Phrygian Mother,  
Is said to have been enriched with new sanctuaries.  
Where are they now, the goddess's temples which were consecrated  
On those Kalends? They collapsed through the passage of time.  
So that others may not be weakened and fall in similar ruins  
The foreseeing care of our sacred leader has taken precautions,  
Under him the sanctuaries have no experience of ageing;  
It is not enough to bind men, he even binds the gods.  
Great founder of temples, and holy rebuilder of temples,

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<sup>28</sup> The dedication to Germanicus suggests that the *Fasti* was completed after the death of Augustus in AD 14, although it was clearly largely written during his reign. Book 2 of the *Fasti* is dedicated to Augustus.

<sup>29</sup> i.e. Tiberius

<sup>30</sup> i.e. Augustus

<sup>31</sup> This refers to Augustus, who instituted a number of the festivals mentioned in the *Fasti*.

<sup>32</sup> February

I pray that the gods may in exchange have care for you.  
May the gods grant you the years that you devoted to the gods,  
And may they remain on watch over your home.

## 2.119-144

Augustus is celebrated as *pater patriae* (father of the nation)

Now, Homer, I would wish that I had your thousand voices,  
And the one by which Achilles is commemorated.  
While we sing of the sacred Nones in alternating verses.  
This is the greatest honour that the calendar confers.  
My talent fails and greater things press me hard:  
This day in particular I must celebrate with my voice.  
Why have I madly wished to put so much weight on my elegiacs?  
This story was surely a matter for a heroic meter<sup>33</sup>?  
Holy father of the nation<sup>34</sup>, the common people and the Senate gave you this name  
We also, the equestrian order, gave this name to you.  
Reality however gave it previously: you were also late to take your real names,  
You had already been for years the father of the world.  
This name you have on the earth which in the high heaven Jupiter has:  
You are the father of men, he of the gods.  
You will give way, Romulus: he makes your walls strong by watching them;  
You once gave them to Remus to leap over.  
You were noticed by Tatius and little Cures and Caenina,  
Under this leadership what the sun sees on each side is Roman;  
You had a small patch of land you had conquered,  
Whatever land lies under high Jupiter, Caesar has it.  
You kidnap married women: he bids them to be chaste under his rule;  
You take them into a forest: he rejects the wrongdoing;  
Force was to your liking: but laws flourish under Caesar;  
Your title was king: his is first citizen<sup>35</sup>;  
Remus accuses you of murder: he pardons his enemies  
Your father<sup>36</sup> made you a deity: he made his father one.

## 5.140–158

The worship of Augustus' Genius (divine spirit); Livia's restoration of the shrine of the Bona Dea

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<sup>33</sup> Hexameter was the meter used for epic poetry. *Fasti* is written in elegiacs (hexameter-pentameter).

<sup>34</sup> In Latin, father of the nation is *pater patriae*

<sup>35</sup> In Latin, the first citizen is *princeps*

<sup>36</sup> Mars was believed to be the father of Romulus.

Each one guards the house, and each is faithful to the master  
The god loves a crossroad, the dog loves one also  
Both the Lar and Diana's host of hounds drive out thieves:  
Both the Lares watch through the night, and so do the dogs.  
I sought for the statues of the Twins, Castor and Pollux,  
But they had been made to perish by the power of time.  
The city has a thousand statues of Lares and of our leader's Genius  
Who handed them over; and the streets worship the triple gods.  
Where am I rushing to? The month of August will give me the right  
To this song: meanwhile I must praise the Good Goddess<sup>37</sup>.  
There is the Aventine mountain; its nature gave it its name:  
They call it the Rock, and it is a good part of the mountain.  
Remus had vainly stood on it at the time when his brother  
Got the first signs on the Palatine from the birds.  
The Senate there founded a temple hateful to the eyes of men  
On a gently sloping ridge.  
This was dedicated by the heiress to the ancient name of Clausus,  
A girl who had never allowed a man to her virgin body.  
Livia has restored the temple to imitate her husband  
And in every possible way to follow him.

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<sup>37</sup> The Good Goddess refers to the Bona Dea - a goddess worshipped by women only.

## Pliny the Elder

Sections: *Natural History* [7.147-150](#); [36.121](#)

### 7.147–150

#### Augustus' misfortunes

**147** Also in the case of the deified Augustus, whom the whole world places in the list of fortunate men, if all the facts were carefully weighed, great misfortunes of human destiny might be discovered:

**149** ... all the mutinies in his troops, all his critical illnesses, his suspicion of Marcellus's ambitions, the disgrace of Agrippa's banishment, the many plots against his life, the charge of causing the death of his children; and his sorrows that were not due solely to bereavement, the adultery of his daughter and the disclosure of her plots against her father's life, the insulting withdrawal of his stepson Tiberius, another adultery, that of his grand-daughter; then the long series of misfortunes - lack of army funds, rebellion of Illyria, recruitment of slaves, shortage of manpower, plague at Rome, famine in Italy, the resolve which he had formed of putting an end to his life, and the fast of four days, which brought him within a hair's breadth of death.

**150** Next the disaster of Varus and the foul slanders against his status and reputation; the disowning of Postumus Agrippa after his adoption as heir, and the sense of loss that followed his banishment; then his suspicion of Fabius and the betrayal of secrets; afterwards the scheming of his wife and Tiberius that pained him at the end of his life. In summary, this god - whether deified more by his own action or by his merits I do not know - departed from life leaving his enemy's son his heir<sup>38</sup>.

### 36.121

#### Agrippa's water works of 33 BC

**121** Agrippa, moreover, as aedile added the Aqua Virgo to these existing aqueducts, repaired the channels of the others and put them in order, and constructed 700 reservoirs, not to speak of 500 fountains and 130 cisterns, many of the latter being richly decorated. He erected on these works 300 bronze or marble statues and 400 marble pillars; and all of this he carried out in a year. He himself in his account of his aedileship adds that games lasting for 59 days were held in celebration, and the bathing establishments were thrown open to the public free of charge, all 170 of them.

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<sup>38</sup> Tiberius Nero, the father of Tiberius Caesar, took the side of Marcus Antonius in the Civil War.

## Seneca

Sections: *On Clemency* 1.9.2–1.9.12

Cinna's plot to assassinate Augustus (16 BC)

9.2 But when Augustus was past 40, and was staying in Gaul, intelligence was brought to him that Lucius<sup>39</sup> Cinna, a dull man, was plotting against him: the plot was betrayed by one of the conspirators, who told him where, when and how Cinna wanted to attack him.

9.3 Augustus decided to defend himself against this man, and ordered a council of his own friends to be summoned. He passed a disturbed night, reflecting that he would have to condemn to death a young man of noble birth, who was guilty of no crime except this one, and who was the grandson of Gnaeus Pompeius. Augustus, who had sat at dinner and heard Marcus Antonius read aloud his edict for the proscription, could not now bear to put one single man to death.

9.4 With groans he kept at intervals making various contradictory exclamations. ...

9.6 At last his wife Livia interrupted him, saying: "Will you take a woman's advice? Do as doctors do: when the usual remedies fail, they try their opposites. So far you have gained nothing by harsh measures: Salvidienus has been followed by Lepidus, Lepidus by Muraena, Muraena by Caepio, and Caepio by Egnatius, not to mention others about whom one feels ashamed that they dared so great a deed. Now test out how clemency can benefit you: pardon Lucius Cinna. He has been detected, he cannot do you any harm now, and he can do your reputation much good."

9.7 Delighted at finding someone to support his own view of the case, he thanked his wife, and now ordered his friends, whose advice he had asked for, to be told immediately that they were not needed, and summoned Cinna alone. After ordering a second seat to be placed for Cinna, he sent everyone else out of the room, and said: "The first request which I have to make of you is that you will not interrupt me while I am speaking to you; that you will not shout out in the middle of what I say to you; you will be allowed time to speak freely in answer to me.

9.8 Cinna, when I found you in my enemy's camp - you had not so much become my enemy as been born so - I saved your life, and restored to you the whole of your father's estate. You are now so prosperous and so rich, that your conquerors envy you, the man they conquered: when you were a candidate for the priesthood I passed over many others whose parents had served with me in the wars, and gave it to you: and now, after I have deserved so well of you, you have made up your mind to kill me."

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<sup>39</sup> In fact Seneca is mistaken here: his name was Gnaeus Cornelius Cinna.

9.9 When the man exclaimed at these words that he was far from being so crazy, Augustus replied, "You are not keeping your promise, Cinna; it was agreed that you should not interrupt me. I repeat, you are preparing to kill me." He then proceeded to tell him of the place, the names of his accomplices, the day, the way in which they had arranged to do the deed, and which of them was to give the fatal stab ...

9.11 So that I do not fill up the greater part of this book by repeating the whole of his speech - for he is known to have spoken for more than two hours, stretching out this punishment, which was the only one which he intended to inflict - he said at last: "Cinna, I grant you your life for the second time: when I gave it to you before you were an open enemy, you are now a secret plotter and a parricide. From this day on let us be friends: let us compete over which of us has more good faith - I in giving you your life, or you in owing your life to me." After this he voluntarily conferred the consulship on him, complaining only that Cinna would not dare to offer himself as a candidate. He found him a very loyal and close friend. Cinna made the emperor his sole heir, and no one formed any plot against him ever again.

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## Strabo

Sections: *Geography* [3.2.15](#); [4.3.2](#); [5.3.7](#); [5.3.8](#); [7.7.6](#); [17.3.25](#)

### 3.2.15

#### Romanisation of Baetica (a province in southern Spain)

The Turdetanians, however, and particularly those that live about the Baetis, have completely changed over to the Roman mode of life, not even remembering their own language any more. And most of them have become Latins, and they have received Romans as colonists, so that they are not far from being all Romans. And the present jointly-settled cities, Pax Augusta in the Celtic country, Augusta Emerita in the country of the Turdulians, Caesar-Augusta near Celtiberia, and some other settlements, display the change to the civic ways of life I have spoken of.

### 4.3.2

#### Temple and altar to Augustus at Lugdunum<sup>40</sup>

Again, the temple that was dedicated to Caesar Augustus by all the Celtic peoples in common is situated in front of this city at the junction of the rivers. And in it is a noteworthy altar, bearing an inscription of the names of the tribes, 60 in number; and also images from these tribes, one from each tribe, and also another large altar.

### 5.3.7

#### Augustus' building regulations for Rome

And so Augustus Caesar took charge of such defects of the city: for protection against fires he organised a fire brigade made up of freedmen to bring help; to protect against building collapses, he reduced the heights of new buildings and prevented any structure on the public streets from rising above seventy feet<sup>41</sup>.

### 5.3.8

#### Agrippa provides for Rome's water supply

And water is brought into the city through the aqueducts in such quantities that rivers seem to flow through the city and the sewers; and almost every house has cisterns, and service-pipes, and abundant fountains - which Marcus Agrippa concerned himself with most, though he also adorned the city with many other structures.

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<sup>40</sup> Lugdunum is today Lyon in France.

<sup>41</sup> Seventy Roman feet is about 20 metres.

### 7.7.6

#### Battle of Actium: dedication to Apollo at Actium

Here too, near the mouth of the Ambracian Gulf, is the sanctuary of the Actian Apollo - a hill on which the temple stands; and at the foot of the hill is a plain which contains a sacred grove and a dockyard, the dockyard where Caesar dedicated as first fruits of his victory the squadron of ten ships - from a ship with single bank of oars up to a ship with ten banks.

### 17.3.25

#### Imperial / Public Provinces

The provinces have been divided in different ways at different times, though at present they are as Augustus Caesar arranged them; for after the nation conferred sovereign power on him for life, and he had control over peace and war, he divided the whole empire into two parts, one of which he assigned to himself, the other he assigned to the Roman people. His own part consisted of those regions which required military defence and were barbarian, or bordered by nations not yet conquered, or were barren and uncultivated, so that, being under-supplied with everything else, but well supplied with strongholds, they would try to disobey and rebel. All the other regions, which were peaceful and could easily be governed without armed force, were put in the hands of the Roman People. Each of these two parts was subdivided into several provinces, which received respectively the titles of 'provinces of Caesar' and 'provinces of the People'.

To his own provinces Caesar appoints governors and administrators, and divides the various lands sometimes in one way, sometimes in another, modifying his policy according to circumstances. But the People appoint praetors and proconsuls to its own provinces, which are also subject to various divisions as circumstances require.

However at the outset Caesar organised the provinces of the People by creating, first, two consular provinces, namely:

- (1) The whole of Africa possessed by the Romans, except that part which was previously under the authority of Juba, which is now under the authority of his son Ptolemy
- (2) The part of Asia that lies this side of the Halys river and Taurus mountains, except the Galatians and the nations under Amyntas, Bithynia, and the Propontis.

Secondly, he created ten praetorial provinces in Europe and the islands near it, namely:

- (1) Further Spain, as it is called, in the neighbourhood of the Baetis and Anas Rivers

- (2) Narbonitis in Celtica
- (3) Sardinia together with Corsica
- (4) Sicily
- (5) Illyria as far as Epirus
- (6) Macedonia
- (7) Achaea as far as Thessaly and Aetolia and Acarnania and certain Epeirotic tribes which border on Macedonia
- (8) Crete along with Cyrenea
- (9) Cyprus
- (10) Bithynia along with the Propontis and certain parts of Pontus.

But the rest of the provinces are held by Caesar; and to some of these he sends out as governors men of consular rank, to others men of praetorian rank, and to others knights; and in his portion of the empire there are, and always have been, kings, rulers, and governments by a council of ten.

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## Tacitus

Sections: *Annals* [1:2.1–4.5](#), [1:9.1–10.7](#); [2:37](#); [2:59](#); [3:24](#); [3:29](#); [3:56](#); [4:37](#); [4:57](#); [6:10–11](#); [12:23](#)

### 1:2.1–4.5

1.2 After Brutus and Cassius had been killed, the Republic had no remaining forces. With Pompeius having been subdued near Sicily and Lepidus cast aside, and following the killing of Antonius, there was no commander left - even on the Julian side - apart from Caesar. Laying aside his title of 'triumvir', he put it about that he was 'consul', saying that when it came to protecting the people he was happy with the authority of the tribuneship. He won over the soldiers with gifts, the whole people with a ready corn supply, and the world in general with the charms of peace. Then, little by little, he became pre-eminent, and drew into his own sphere the functions of the Senate, the various magistracies, and indeed the law. There was no-one to oppose him, since the hardiest spirits had fallen, either in battle or because they had been outlawed, and the rest of the nobility, according to how eagerly they accepted slavery, were given advancement, both in financial and political terms. Because they had done very well from the revolution they preferred the current situation (which was safe) to the dangers of what had preceded it.

The new state of affairs was in fact acceptable to the provinces, since rule by the Senate and people had become a source of mistrust, thanks to the rivalries of powerful men and the greed of magistrates. Redress from the legal system was weak, thrown into confusion as it had been by violence, corruption and bribery.

1.3 Furthermore, in order to provide support for his position of dominance, Augustus promoted Claudius Marcellus, his sister's son (who was no more than a youth) to a priesthood and a curule aedileship; he also promoted Marcus Agrippa, a man of humble origin, but who was a good soldier and his partner in victory, to two consecutive consulships; when Marcellus died just a short while later, he made Agrippa his son-in-law. He advanced his stepsons Tiberius Nero and Claudius Drusus with the title of 'Imperator', though his own family was at that time undiminished.

For Agrippa had brought sons, Gaius and Lucius, into the family of the Caesars; when they had not yet laid aside their toga of boyhood he had been most eager in his desire for them to be titled 'Leaders of Youth', and (though he pretended to be reluctant for it) to be marked out as future consuls.

Following Agrippa's death, early natural deaths (or treachery on the part of Livia, their stepmother) took away both Lucius Caesar as he was on his way to the armies in Spain, and Gaius as he was returning from Armenia, and weak from a wound. With Drusus long dead, Tiberius Nero was the only one of the step-sons left.

Everything pointed towards him. He was adopted as son, as colleague in the imperial rule, and as a partner in the tribunician power, and he was put on show in front of all the armies, not, as previously, thanks to the dark trickery of his mother, but at her open encouragement.

For she had the old man Augustus so firmly under constraint that he banished to the island of Planasia his sole surviving grandson, Agrippa Postumus; doubtless Postumus was uncultivated in the finer arts, and when it came to physical strength he was brutishly assertive, but he was innocent of anything outrageous.

But indeed it was Germanicus the son of Drusus whom he put in charge of the eight legions on the Rhine, and he ordered Tiberius to adopt him, although Tiberius had a son, a young man, already in his family. This was so that he might have still further safeguards to rely on.

There were no more wars left at this time except the one against the Germans, and that was more to cancel out the disgrace of the army lost along with Quintilius Varus than through any desire to extend the empire or for any worthy prize.

At home things were quiet; the magistrates kept the same titles; the younger generation had been born after the victory at Actium; even most of the old men had been born in the middle of the civil wars. There were very few left who had seen the Republic.

1.4 So it was that the condition of the state was turned upside down, and there was nothing left anywhere of the old-fashioned unblemished character. Equal status was cast aside, and everybody looked to the orders of the princeps. For the present there was no concern, while Augustus, strong for his time of life, kept himself and his house going - with an eye to peace.

But when he grew to advanced old age and was weary with bodily frailty, and when the end was near (as well as people's fresh hopes), a few began to talk idly of the blessings of peace; more were fearful of war, and some actually wanted it. By far the largest group, exchanging gossip, spread bad reports about the incoming regime:

they said that Agrippa was a rough character who was hot from his disgrace and that, either in terms of his years or in his experience of events, he was not equal to such a mighty task. Tiberius Nero, they said, was a man of mature years; he was tried out in war, but he had the ancient and inborn arrogance of the Claudian family: many signs of his savage nature kept breaking out, check them as he might.

He had also been brought up from early infancy in a reigning house; consulships and triumphs had been heaped up on him as a young man; not even in those years when

he had lived as an exile on Rhodes (though it looked like 'retirement') had he thought about anything except anger, insincerity and secret sexual excesses.

There was also the factor of his mother with her woman's lack of self-restraint. They were going to have to be slaves to a female and to two youngsters in addition, who in the meantime would afflict the state and at some stage would tear it apart.

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### **1:9.1–10.7**

1.9 There was much talk then about Augustus himself, most people being struck by points without substance: that the date of his acquiring military authority was the same as that of the last day of his life, and the talk that he died at Nola in the same house and room as his father Octavius.

There was much talk about the number of his consulships, in which he had matched the combined totals of Valerius Corvus and Gaius Marius, and of his tribunician power which he had held continuously for 37 years; also there was his title as emperor which he had obtained 21 times and other honours held repeatedly, or new honours.

Amongst intelligent men, praise or criticism of his life took various forms. The one group said that what had motivated him to civil war (which couldn't be prepared for or conducted by decent methods) was a sense of duty towards his father and the difficulties faced by the state, in which at that point there was no place for law.

They said that he had given way on many points to Antonius and to Lepidus, until he had exacted vengeance on the killers of his father; when the latter of these had grown old and lazy, and the former been ruined by his sexual excesses, there was only one cure for the quarrelling country and that was rule by a single man.

They said that he had settled the state, not by means of a monarchy or dictatorship but by emphasising the title 'princeps'; the empire's boundaries were provided by the ocean or by far-off rivers; the legions, the provinces, the fleets and everything formed an interconnected network; there was a legal system for Roman citizens, and respectful treatment of allies. Rome herself had been magnificently adorned. Very few situations had been handled with force, and that was just to achieve a tranquil state for everyone else.

1.10 There was an opposing view which said that his dutifulness towards his father and the crises faced by the state were just used as pretexts. In actual fact, it was from a burning desire to exercise power that he had roused up the veterans with his bribes and, while hardly more than a boy and a private citizen, had got together an

army, led astray the legions of a consul, and pretended to be on the side of the Pompeian party.

Not long after he had, by senatorial decree, laid hold of the symbols and authority of the praetorship, came the deaths of Hirtius and Pansa, either on the part of an enemy, or in Pansa's case owing to poison being applied to the wound; in Hirtius' case, it was his own soldiers together with Caesar (who devised a trick) that removed him from the scene. They said that the Caesar had taken possession of both men's armies and had wrested a consulship from an unwilling Senate; the forces he had received to deal with Antonius, they said, he had turned against the state; the outlawing of citizens and the parcelling out of lands were not even acceptable to those who carried them out.

It was doubtless the case that the deaths of Cassius and the Bruti came about thanks to inherited ill-will, even though it was the right course to subordinate private hatreds to what was in the public good. Pompey had been deceived by what looked like peace, Lepidus by what seemed to be friendship. Then Antonius, lured by the treaties of Tarentum and Brundisium, and by marriage to the sister, had paid the penalty of that treacherous link with his life.

After this, peace certainly existed but it was stained with blood, witness the disasters of a Lollius or Varro, the executions at Rome of a Varro, an Egnatius, a Iulus.

His private activities did not escape comment: there was the appropriation of Nero's wife, and the absurd question put to the high-priests whether Livia could properly marry while the child she was carrying was not yet born; there was the wild behaviour of Q. Tadius and Vedius Pollio. Finally there was Livia: oppressive mother to the State, oppressive stepmother to the house of the Caesars.

There was nothing left for worship of the gods, given that he wanted a cult of himself, conducted by flamens and priests, with temples and divine images.

Nor had Tiberius even been adopted as his successor thanks to any affection or care for the State, but because he had looked through to Tiberius' arrogance and cruel nature, and sought his own glory in the comparison with a man who was greatly worse than himself. For a few years earlier when Augustus was repeating his demand for the Senate to grant tribunician power to Tiberius, though his speech was complimentary, he had let fall certain remarks about his manners, his style of dress and his habits, which though superficially excuses were actually criticisms.

Nevertheless, his burial was accomplished according to tradition and a temple and divine rites were decreed.

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## 2:37

### An example of Augustus' generous gifts to senators

Marcus Hortalus was a grandson of Hortensius the orator and had been induced by the divine Augustus (with a grant of one million sesterces) to take a wife and to raise children, so that his illustrious family should not die out.

## 2:59

### Augustus bans senators from Egypt

For amongst the other secret supports for his dominant position, Augustus had forbidden senators or Roman knights of distinguished rank to enter Egypt without permission, reserving Egypt to himself. This was to prevent any who had control of that province (with its gateway to land and sea), even with a modest force against the biggest armies, putting pressure on Italy by food shortages.

## 3:24

### Adultery by members of Augustus' family

Although fortune was kind to the divine Augustus in political terms, on the domestic front it was unfavourable thanks to the shameless behaviour of his daughter and granddaughter<sup>42</sup>, whom he banished from Rome, punishing their lovers with death or exile. For by giving the stern label of 'sacrilege' and 'treason' to common misbehaviour between men and women, he went beyond the leniency shown in earlier times and indeed his own laws. But I shall record the fates of other individuals together with everything else to do with that period, if I complete everything I have set myself to do, and survive long enough to handle yet further themes. Decimus Silanus, who had committed adultery with Augustus' granddaughter, although he suffered no harsher penalty than to be kept out of friendship with the emperor, realised that this constituted exile for him.

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## 3:29

### Nepotism by Augustus and Tiberius

During this same period<sup>43</sup> Tiberius commended to the Senate Germanicus' son Nero who had now become a young man, asking (amid a certain amount of mockery in the audience) that he be exempted from the duty of serving on the Board of Twenty, and allowed to seek the quaestorship five years earlier than was prescribed by law.

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<sup>42</sup> Both women were called Julia. His daughter was banished in 2 BC, his granddaughter in AD 8.

<sup>43</sup> AD 20

His reasoning was that the same things had been decreed for himself and his brother on the request of Augustus. But I am quite sure that even then there existed some people who secretly laughed at requests of this kind; and yet that was when the Caesars had only just started to be eminent, and when ancient custom was more in view - and the bond between step-children and step-father<sup>44</sup> is a lesser thing than that between a grandfather and grandson<sup>45</sup>.

### **3:56**

#### Tribunician power (assumed in 23 BC)

Tiberius ... now sent a letter to the Senate in which he sought the tribunician power for Drusus. Augustus hit upon this name for his supreme position to avoid taking on the name of 'king' or 'dictator', but wanting some title to indicate his preeminence over other holders of high office. Subsequently he picked Marcus Agrippa as his partner in power, and after he died, Tiberius Nero, so that there should be no doubt who his successor was. In this way he thought that the misguided hopes of others could be held in check. At the same time he had faith in the modest demeanour of Tiberius - and in his own great stature.

### **4:37**

#### The temple of Augustus at Pergamum

The divine Augustus did not stop the erection of a temple at Pergamum to himself and the city of Rome.

### **4:57**

#### Augustus considers making Germanicus his heir

Augustus had considered whether he should put Germanicus, his sister's grandson (and praised by everybody) at the head of the Roman state, but, won over by the pleas of his wife, he had Germanicus adopted into Tiberius' family, and Tiberius into his own.

### **6:10–11**

#### The role of Prefect of the city

6.10 But Piso's special glory sprang from the fact that as Prefect of the city he exercised with amazing restraint an office that had only recently become permanent and which was all the more unwelcome because obedience had not yet become ingrained ...

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<sup>44</sup> i.e. Tiberius and Augustus

<sup>45</sup> i.e. Tiberius and Nero Drusus

6.11 ... during the civil wars, Augustus put Cilnius Maecenas, a member of the equestrian order, in charge of all affairs in Rome and Italy. Then when he had gained control of the government, because of the size of the population and the sluggish pace of legal remedies, he chose a man of consular rank to keep the slaves under control in addition to that element of the citizen-body whose boldness makes them unstable - unless they fear force. Messala Corvinus was the first one to receive, and, within a few days, to resign this power, allegedly because he did not know how to exercise it. Then Taurus Statilius, despite his advanced years, made an excellent job of it. Finally, over a period of twenty years Piso won equal credit, and received the honour of a public funeral by decree of the Senate.

### **12:23**

#### Augustus' extension of the pomerium

Claudius also extended the city boundary, according to the ancient custom which conferred the right on those who extended the empire also to enlarge the boundaries of the city. However, no Roman commanders had ever made use of this right, even after the subjugation of great nations, except for Lucius Sulla and the divine Augustus.

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## Velleius Paterculus

Sections: [2:88.1–91.4](#), [93.1–100.1](#), [103.1–104.1](#), [121.1–123.2](#)

### 2:88.1–91.4

#### 2.88

1 While Octavian was busy finishing off the wars of Actium and Alexandria, Marcus Lepidus, a young man with better looks than brains - the son of the Lepidus who had been one of the triumvirs appointed for the re-establishment of order in the state and husband of Junia the sister of Brutus - had formed plans to assassinate Octavian as soon as he returned to the city.

2 The guards of the city were then under the control of Gaius Maecenas, a man of equestrian rank, but none the less of a distinguished family, who went without sleep when the situation needed, and was quick to foresee what needed to be done and skilful in doing it; but when he was allowed to relax a little from business cares, he was almost better than a woman in surrendering to idleness and luxury. He was loved by Octavian no less than was Agrippa, though he had fewer honours heaped upon him, since he lived completely content with the narrow stripe of the equestrian order on his toga. He might have achieved a position as high as Agrippa's, but did not have the same ambition for it.

3 Quietly and carefully concealing what he was doing, he discovered the plans of the young hot-head, and, by crushing Lepidus with amazing speed and without causing disturbance to anybody, he extinguished the threat of a newly revived civil war. Lepidus himself was punished for his foolish plot. Servilia his wife is to be matched with the wife of Antistius (already mentioned) for, by swallowing live coals, she was rewarded for her premature death by the everlasting memory of her name.

#### 2.89

1 As for Octavian's return to Italy and Rome - the procession which met him, the enthusiasm of his reception by men of all classes, ages and ranks, and the magnificence of his triumphs and of the shows which he gave - it would be impossible to describe all this well enough even within the range of a formal history, not to mention a work as limited as this. There is nothing that a man can desire from the gods, nothing that the gods can grant to a man,

2 nothing that wishing can imagine or good fortune bring about, which Octavian on his return to the city did not give to the Republic, the Roman people, and the world.

3 The civil wars had been ended after twenty years, foreign wars had been suppressed, peace restored, the frenzy of battle everywhere calmed; the laws regained their force, the courts their authority, and the Senate its dignity; the power of the magistrates was reduced to its former limits, with the sole exception that two

more praetors were added to the existing eight. The traditional form of the Republic was restored.

4 Agriculture returned to the fields, respect to religion, freedom from anxiety to mankind, and to each citizen his property rights were now assured; old laws were usefully amended, and new laws passed for the general good; the revision of the Senate, while not too drastic, was sufficiently strict. The chief men of the state who had won triumphs and had held high office were, at the invitation of Octavian, persuaded to beautify the city. Only in the case of the consulship was Octavian unable to have his way,

5 but he had to hold that office eleven times consecutively in spite of his frequent efforts to prevent it; but he refused with equal stubbornness the dictatorship which the people persistently offered him. To tell of the wars waged under his command, of the pacification of the world by his victories,

6 and of his many works at home and outside Italy, it would exhaust a writer intending to devote his whole life to this one task. As for myself, remembering the proposed scope of my work, I have confined myself to presenting to my readers a general picture of his principate.

## **2.90**

1 When the civil wars had been buried, as I have already recounted, and the injured body of the state began to heal, the provinces, also torn apart by the long series of wars, began to knit together. Dalmatia, in rebellion for 120 years, was pacified to the extent of definitely recognising the sovereignty of Rome. The Alps, filled with wild and barbarous tribes, were subdued. The provinces of Spain were pacified after heavy campaigns conducted with varied success first by Octavian in person, then by Agrippa, whom the friendship of the emperor had raised to a third consulship and soon afterwards to have a share in the emperor's tribunician power.

2 Roman armies had been sent into these provinces for the first time 250 years before, in the first year of the Second Punic War<sup>46</sup>, in the consulship of Scipio and Sempronius Longus, under the command of Gnaeus Scipio, the uncle of Africanus. For 200 years the struggle continued with so much bloodshed on both sides that the Roman people, by the loss of its commanders and armies, often suffered disgrace, and sometimes its empire was really endangered.

3 These were the provinces that brought death to the Scipios; that taxed the endurance of our ancestors in the disgraceful ten years' war against Viriathus<sup>47</sup>; that

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<sup>46</sup> 218 BC

<sup>47</sup> Viriathus was the most important leader of the Lusitanian people who resisted Roman expansion into western Hispania in a war lasting from 149-139 BC.

shook the Roman people with the panic of the Numantine war<sup>48</sup>; this is where the disgraceful surrender of Quintus Pompeius occurred whose terms the Senate rejected and the more shameful capitulation of Mancinus, which was also rejected, and its maker shamefully handed over to the enemy. It was Spain that destroyed so many commanders who were ex-consuls or ex-praetors, and which in the days of our fathers raised Sertorius to such a height of power that for five years it could not be decided whether there was greater strength in the arms of the Spaniard or the Roman, and which of the two peoples was destined to obey the other.

4 These, then, were the provinces, so extensive, populous, and warlike, which Caesar Augustus, about 50 years ago, brought to such a condition of peace, that whereas they had never before been free from serious wars; now, under the governorship of Gaius Antistius and then of Publius Silius and their successors, they are even free from robbers.

## 2.91

1 While the west was being pacified, in the east the Parthian king restored<sup>49</sup> to Augustus the Roman standards which Orodes had captured at the time of Crassus' defeat<sup>50</sup>, and those which his son Phraates had captured on the defeat of Antony. The title of Augustus was deservedly given him on the motion of Plancus with the unanimous acclaim of the entire Senate and Roman people.

2 Yet there were some who did not like this prosperous state of affairs. For example, Lucius Murena and Fannius Caepio had formed a plot to assassinate Augustus, but were arrested by state authority and themselves suffered by law what they had wished to accomplish by violence. They were two men totally different in character, for Murena, apart from this crime, might have passed as a man of good character, while Caepio, even before this, had been one of the worst.

3 Shortly afterwards a similar attempt was made by Rufus Egnatius, a man who in all respects was more like a gladiator than a senator. Securing the favour of the people during his aedileship by putting out fires with his own gang of slaves, he increased it so much every day that the people gave him the praetorship immediately after the aedileship. It was not long before he dared to become a candidate for the consulship, but he was overwhelmed by the fact that everyone knew of his shameless deeds and crimes, and the state of his finances became as desperate as that of his mind. Therefore, collecting about him men of his own kind, he decided to assassinate Augustus so he might die after getting rid of someone whose existence was not compatible with his.

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<sup>48</sup> This was a 20 year war in two phases (153-151 BC; 143-133 BC) between the Celtiberian tribes of Hispania Citerior and the Romans.

<sup>49</sup> 20 BC

<sup>50</sup> 53 BC

4 And in fact these men have such characters that they would prefer to die in a mass catastrophe than perish alone and, though suffering the same fate in the end, to be less noticed when about to die. He, however, was no more successful than the rest in concealing his plans, and after being thrown into prison with his fellow conspirators, died the death he richly deserved for his life.

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### **2.93.1–100.1**

#### **2.93**

1 Marcus Marcellus died 50 years ago, about three years before the plot of Egnatius was exposed, about the time of the conspiracy of Murena and Caepio. He was the son of Augustus' sister Octavia. People thought that, if anything should happen to Augustus, Marcellus would be his successor in power, but at the same time believing that this would not happen to him without opposition from Marcus Agrippa. He had given a magnificent show to commemorate his aedileship while still young. He was, we are told, a young man of noble qualities, cheerful in mind and disposition, and equal to the position for which he was being trained.

2 After his death Agrippa, who had set out for Asia on the pretext of commissions from the emperor, but who, according to current gossip, had withdrawn for the time being on account of his secret animosity for Marcellus, now returned from Asia and married Augustus' daughter Julia, who had been Marcellus's wife, a woman whose children would be a misfortune both to herself and to the state.

#### **2.94**

1 At this period the 18-year-old Tiberius Claudius Nero began his public life as a quaestor. I have already told how, when he was three years old, his mother Livia, the daughter of Drusus Claudianus, had become the wife of Octavian; her former husband, Tiberius Nero, himself gave her in marriage to him.

2 Nurtured by the teaching of eminent instructors, being equipped to the highest degree with the advantages of birth, personal beauty, commanding presence, an excellent education combined with innate talents,

3 Tiberius gave early promise of becoming the great man he is now, and already looked like an emperor. Now, acting on the orders of his stepfather, he so skillfully regulated the difficulties of the grain supply and relieved the scarcity of grain at Ostia and in the city that it was clear from his success in this task how great he was destined to become.

4 Shortly afterwards he was sent by his stepfather with an army to visit the eastern provinces and restore them to order, and in that part of the world gave clear proof of all his strong qualities. Entering Armenia with his legions, he brought it once more

under the sovereignty of the Roman people, and gave the kingship to Artavasdes. Even the king of the Parthians, awed by the reputation of so great a name, sent his own children as hostages to Caesar.

## 2.95

1 On Tiberius's return Augustus decided to test his powers in a highly important war. In this work he gave him his brother Drusus Claudius as a collaborator, whom Livia had borne when already living with Octavian. The two brothers attacked the Raeti and Vindelici from different directions,

2 and after storming many towns and strongholds, as well as successfully fighting pitched battles, involving more danger than loss to the Roman army, though with much bloodshed on the part of the enemy, they thoroughly subdued these nations. The latter were well protected by the nature of the country which was difficult to access; they were strong in numbers, and fiercely warlike.

3 This was after the censorship of Plancus and Paulus<sup>51</sup>, which, since they disagreed in their task, was little credit to themselves and little benefit to the state, for the one lacked the force, the other the character, suitable for the office; Paulus was scarcely capable of filling the censor's office, while Plancus had only too much reason to fear it, nor was there any charge which he could make against young men, or hear others make, of which he, old though he was, could not recognise himself as guilty.

## 2.96

1 Then Agrippa died.<sup>52</sup> Though a 'new man' he had by his many achievements earned distinction despite his low birth, even to the extent of becoming the father-in-law of Tiberius; and his sons, the grandsons of the emperor, had been adopted by Augustus under the names of Gaius and Lucius. His death brought Tiberius closer to Augustus, since his daughter Julia, who had been the wife of Agrippa, now married Tiberius.

2 Shortly after, the Pannonian war<sup>53</sup>, which Agrippa had begun in the consulship of your grandfather, Marcus Vinicius, was won by Tiberius, a war which was important and quite terrifying, and a threat to Italy because of its nearness. I shall describe the tribes of the Pannonians and the races of Dalmatians in another place; the situation of their country and its rivers,

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<sup>51</sup> 22 BC

<sup>52</sup> 12 BC

<sup>53</sup> 13 - 9 BC

3 the number and extent of their forces, and the many glorious victories won in the course of this war by this great commander; my present work must keep to its plan. After winning this victory Tiberius celebrated an ovation.

## **2.97**

1 But while everything was being successfully managed in this part of the empire, a disaster sustained in Germany under the legate Marcus Lollius - he was a man who was always keener on money than honest action, and of vicious habits despite his great efforts to hide them - and the loss of the eagle of the fifth legion summoned Augustus from the city to the provinces of Gaul.

2 Drusus Claudius, the brother of Tiberius, was then appointed commander in this war, a young man endowed with all the great qualities men's nature is capable of receiving or capable of developing by application. It would be hard to say whether his talents were better adapted to a military career or the duties of civil life; at any rate, the charm and the sweetness of his character are said to have been unique,

3 and also his modest attitude of equality towards his friends. As for his attractive appearance, it was second only to his brother's. But, after accomplishing the subjection of Germany to a great extent, in which much of that people's blood was shed on various battle-fields, a cruel fate carried him off during his consulship, in his thirtieth year.

4 The burden of responsibility for this war was then transferred to Tiberius. He carried it on with his customary courage and good fortune, and after crossing every part of Germany in a victorious campaign, without any loss of the army entrusted to him - for he made this one of his chief concerns - he so subdued the country as to reduce it almost to the status of a tributary province. He then received a second triumph and a second consulship<sup>54</sup>.

## **2.98**

1 While these things were happening in Pannonia and Germany, a fierce rebellion arose in Thrace, and all its nations took up arms. It was ended by the courage of Lucius Piso, whom we still have with us today as the most vigilant and at the same time the gentlest guardian of the security of the city.

2 As legate of Augustus he fought the Thracians for three years, and by a succession of battles and sieges, with great loss of life to the Thracians, he brought these fiercest of races to their former state of peaceful subjection. By putting an end to this war he restored security to Asia and peace to Macedonia. Of Piso it must be said that his character is an excellent blend of firmness and gentleness,

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<sup>54</sup> 7 BC

3 and that it would be hard to find anyone with a stronger love of leisure, or, on the other hand, more capable of action, and of doing what needs to be done without showing off about it in any way.

## **2.99**

1 Soon afterwards Tiberius - who had now held two consulships and celebrated two triumphs; who had been made the equal of Augustus by sharing with him the tribunician power; the most eminent of all Roman citizens save one (and that because he wished it to be so); the greatest of generals, attended alike by fame and fortune - while the events of which we have spoken were taking place, this man, the real second man in fame and authority in the state,

2 moved by an amazing feeling of affection for Augustus, asked permission from Augustus, who was both his father-in-law and stepfather, to have a rest from his continuous tasks. The real reasons for this were soon made clear. Since Gaius Caesar had already assumed the toga of manhood, and Lucius was reaching maturity, he concealed his real reason so that his own glory might not stand in the way of the young men at the beginning of their careers.

3 I must save for a proper account a description of the attitude of the state at this time, of the feelings of the individual citizens, of everyone's tears at parting from such a man, and how his country had only just taken him into its service.

4 Even in this brief summary I ought to say that all who departed for the overseas provinces, whether proconsuls or governors appointed by the emperor, went out of their way to see him at Rhodes, where he stayed for seven years, and on meeting him they lowered their fasces to him even though he was just a private citizen - if such majesty could ever belong to a private citizen - thereby admitting that in retirement he was more worthy of honour than they themselves, despite their official position.

## **2.100**

1 The whole world felt the departure of Tiberius from his position as protector of the city. The Parthians, breaking away from their alliance with us, laid hold of Armenia, and Germany rebelled, since the eyes of its conqueror were no longer upon it.

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## **2.103.1–104.1**

### **2.103**

1 But fortune, which had reduced the hope of Caesar's great name, had now restored to the state her real protector; for the return of Tiberius from Rhodes in the

consulship<sup>55</sup> of your father, Publius Vinicius, and before the death of either of these young men, had filled his country with joy. Augustus did not hesitate long,

2 for he had no need to search for someone to choose as his successor but merely to choose the one who towered above the others.

3 Therefore, what he had wished to do after the death of Lucius but while Gaius was still living, and had been prevented from doing by the strong opposition of Tiberius himself, he now insisted upon carrying out after the death of both young men, namely, to make Tiberius his partner in the tribunician power, in spite of his continued objection both in private and in the Senate; and 27 years ago in the consulship of Aelius Catus and Gaius Sentius<sup>56</sup>, he adopted him on June 27th. That day's rejoicing, the gathering of the citizens,

4 their vows as they stretched their hands almost to the very heavens, and their hopes for the eternal safety and existence of the Roman empire, I shall hardly be able to describe completely even in my fuller work, much less try to do it justice here.

5 I shall simply be content by stating what a day of good omen it was for everyone. On that day once more parents gained the assurance of their children's security, husbands of the sanctity of marriage, owners of the safety of their property, and everyone the assurance of safety, order, peace, and tranquillity; indeed, it would have been hard to hope for more, or to have them more happily fulfilled.

## **2.104**

1 On the same day Marcus Agrippa, to whom Julia had given birth after the death of Agrippa, was also adopted by Augustus; but, in the case of Tiberius, an addition was made to the formula of adoption in Caesar's own words: "I do this for the sake of the Republic."

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## **2.121.1–123.2**

### **2.121**

1 Tiberius showed the same courage and had the same luck in his later campaigns as he had had in his first campaign when he entered Germany. After he had broken the enemy's force by his expeditions on sea and land, had completed his difficult task in Gaul, and had settled by compulsion rather than by punishment the disputes that had inflamed the people of Vienne, at his father's request that he should have power equal to his own in all the provinces and armies, the Roman Senate and

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<sup>55</sup> AD 2

<sup>56</sup> AD 4

people decreed it. For indeed it was absurd that the provinces which he was defending should not be under his jurisdiction,

2 and that the man who was first to bring aid should not be considered an equal in the honour that was to be won. On his return to the city he celebrated his triumph<sup>57</sup> long since due him over the Pannonians and Dalmatians, but postponed because of a succession of wars. Who can be surprised at its magnificence, since it was Caesar's triumph? Yet who can fail to marvel at the fortune's kindness to him?

3 For the most eminent leaders of the enemy were not killed in battle, so that their deaths were merely reported, but were taken prisoner, so that in his triumph he showed them off in chains. It was my luck and my brother's to participate in this triumph among the most distinguished men and those who were decorated with distinguished honours.

## **2.122**

1 Among the other acts of Tiberius Caesar which show his remarkable moderation, is it not also amazing that, although he certainly deserved seven triumphs, he was satisfied with just three? For who can doubt that, when he had recovered Armenia and put in charge of it a king on whose head he had placed the symbol of royalty with his own hand, and he had put in order the affairs of the east, he ought to have received an ovation; and that after his conquest of the Vindelici and the Raeti he should have entered the city as victor in a triumphal chariot?

2 Or that, after his adoption, when he had broken the power of the Germans in three successive campaigns, the same honour should have been offered to him and been accepted by him? And that, after the disaster suffered under Varus, when this same Germany was crushed by a course of events which was successful sooner than expected, who can doubt the honour of a triumph should have been awarded to this brilliant general? But, in his case, one does not know which to admire more, that he went beyond the limits of hardships and dangers or that in accepting honours he kept well within them.

## **2.123**

1 We now come to the crisis which was expected with the most dread. Augustus Caesar had dispatched his grandson Germanicus to Germany to put an end to any traces of the war that still remained, and was about to send his son Tiberius to Illyricum to strengthen by peace the regions he had subdued in war. Both escorting him on his way, and intending to attend an athletic contest which the Neapolitans had established in his honour, he set out for Campania. Although he had already experienced symptoms of growing weakness and of a change in his health for the worse, his strong will resisted and he accompanied his son; parting from him at

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<sup>57</sup> AD 12

Beneventum, he went to Nola. As his health daily grew worse, he knew very well who to send for if he wished to leave everything secure behind him, and hurriedly sent for his son to return. Tiberius hurried back and reached the side of the father of his country before he was even expected.

2 Then Augustus, stating that his mind was now at ease, and, with the arms of his beloved Tiberius about him, commending to him to continue the work they had shared, expressed all his readiness to meet the end if the fates should call him. He revived a little at seeing Tiberius and at hearing the voice of one so dear to him, but, before long, since no care could resist the fates, in his 76th year and in the consulship of Pompeius and Apuleius, he was absorbed back into the elements and gave his divine spirit back to heaven.

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## Virgil

Sections: *Aeneid* [1.257–1.296](#); [6.752–6.806](#); [8.671–8.731](#)

### 1.257–1.296

Jupiter's prophecy to Venus about the future of the Roman race

Smiling at her, the father of men and gods  
With the look by which he calms the sky and the storms,  
Lightly kissed his daughter's lips, and then spoke as follows:  
"Cease your fear, Cytherian<sup>58</sup>, the destiny of your people  
Stays unchanged for you. You see the city of Lavinium  
And its long walls, and you will raise the great-hearted Aeneas  
High up to the stars of heaven, and my decision is fixed.  
Then (I shall speak, since this worry teases you,  
And turning things over further I shall reveal the mysteries of fate)  
Italy will wage a mighty war against you and will make fierce nations  
Clash, and will impose on men laws and city walls,  
Until the third summer sees him ruling Latium,  
And the third winter passes with the Rutulians defeated.  
But the boy Ascanius, to whom now is added the surname Iulus,  
He was Ilus while the kingdom of Ilium still stood -  
Will complete thirty great circles of rule as the months roll by,  
And will transfer his capital from the Lavinian city  
And with great strength will fortify Alba Longa.  
This will be ruled for three hundred whole years  
Under the nation of Hector, until Ilia, a priestly queen,  
Made pregnant by Mars, gives birth to double offspring.  
After that Romulus, happily protected by the tawny coat  
Of a mother wolf, will receive a nation, and build the walls of Mars,  
And will call the Romans by his own name.  
On these I neither impose limits on their possessions nor times;  
I have given them endless authority. But harsh Juno,  
Who is now wearying the sea, the lands and the sky,  
Will make her plans better and with me will cherish  
The Romans, lords of the earth, a nation in togas:  
So it has been decided. An age will come as the years slip by  
When the house of Assaracus<sup>59</sup> will crush Phthia<sup>60</sup> and golden Mycenae<sup>61</sup>  
Into subjection and will lord it over the defeated Greeks.

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<sup>58</sup> The Greek island of Cythera was sacred to the goddess Venus

<sup>59</sup> An early Trojan, the great-grandfather of Aeneas

<sup>60</sup> The region of Greece which was home to Achilles

<sup>61</sup> The Greek city ruled by Agamemnon at the time of the Trojan war

A Trojan Caesar<sup>62</sup> will be born of noble birth,  
Whose empire shall be bounded by the Ocean, and fame by the stars,  
Julius, a name come down from great Iulus. One day you, carefree,  
Will receive this man in heaven, laden with the spoils of the East;  
He too will be prayed to. At that time wars will be abandoned  
And the harsh times will soften; ancient Faith and Vesta,  
Romulus with his brother Remus will deliver justice;  
The Gates of War, dreadful for their iron and tight hinges, will be shut;  
Inside, a godless Fury, sitting on a pile of cruel weapons,  
Bound by a hundred knots behind his back,  
Will growl dreadfully from his blood-stained mouth.

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### 6.752–6.806

Anchises shows Aeneas a pageant of future Roman heroes in the Underworld

Anchises had finished and drew his son and the Sibyl with him  
Into the middle of the gathering and the noisy crowd;  
He stood on a mound from which to observe them all approaching him  
In a long line and recognise their faces as they came.  
“Come now, I shall explain in words the Trojan descendants,  
Whom glory will follow later, and those men sprung of Italian race who remain,  
Bright souls who will inherit our name, and I shall tell you your destiny.  
That youth, you see, who leans on a bright spear will be the next  
To hold the land of light, and, being of Italian blood, will rise first to the skies,  
Silvius, an Alban name, your posthumous child, whom Lavinia your wife  
Will lead out of the forests too late for you in old age,  
To be king and father of kings, from whence our race shall rule at Alba Longa.  
Next comes that famous Procas, glory of the Trojan race, and Capys and Numitor  
And your namesake Silvius Aeneas, equally outstanding for loyalty and prowess,  
If ever he gains the throne of Alba. What fine young men! See what strength they  
display  
And how they pass their time in the shade of a civic oak! These will place  
strongholds  
At Nomentum, Gabii and the city of Fidenae and on the Collatine hills,  
Pometii, Castrum Inui, Bola and Cora: these then will become names,  
Though now they are but nameless lands. And furthermore Romulus son of Mars  
Will join his grandfather as a companion, whom, of Trojan blood,  
His mother Ilia will bring forth. Do you see how twin crests stand up on their heads  
And the very father of the gods now marks them with his own honour?  
See, my son, it is under his auspices that glorious Rome will match its rule

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<sup>62</sup> i.e. Augustus

To the world, and its courage to heaven and surround seven hills with a single wall,  
Fortunate in its offspring of men: just as the Phrygian mother rides in her chariot  
Wearing a turreted crown through the Phrygian cities, happy in the birth of the gods,  
Embracing a hundred grandchildren, all heaven-dwellers, all holding the heavenly  
heights.

Here now turn your eyes, and behold this nation and your own Romans.

Here is Caesar and all the offspring of Iulus who will come under the sky's great  
vault.

This man, this is he whom you frequently hear promised to you,  
Augustus Caesar, son of a god, who will once more start the golden ages  
When Saturn rules Latium and will extend his empire over the Moors and the  
Indians;

There lies a land outside the constellations, outside the paths of the sun and the  
year,

Where Atlas who carries the sky turns its vault fitted with blazing stars on his  
shoulder.

Against his arrival even now the Caspian kingdoms are horrified by the responses of  
oracles

As is the land of Maeotis and they scare the fearful seven mouths of the Nile.

Not even Hercules crossed so much of the earth, although he shot the fleet hind,  
And pacified the woods of Erymanthus and terrified Lerna with his bow.

Nor did victorious Dionysus turn the yokes with his reins of vine strands

Driving his tiger-drawn chariot down from the lofty peak of Mount Nysa.

And do we still hesitate to extend courage to our deeds, or does fear prevent us  
To stand on the land of Italy?

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### **8.671–8.731**

*A description of the decoration on the shield made for Aeneas by the god Vulcan*

Amongst these there was the golden image of a sea swelling widely,  
but the blue water was foaming with white billows, and in the silvery sea,  
all around, bright dolphins were sweeping the waters around  
and cutting through the water with their tails. In the midst  
you could make out bronze clad fleets, the war of Actium,  
and could see the whole of Leucas seething and the waves shining golden.

Here Augustus Caesar leads the Italian forces into battle  
along with the Fathers and the People, the gods of the household  
and the great gods of Olympus, standing on the high stern of a ship,  
while his temples joyfully emit twin flames, and his ancestral star  
is revealed above him. In another place is Agrippa,  
with the gods and the winds behind him, high at the head of the fleet;  
his head shines with a naval crown with ships' prows, proud military emblems.

Here Antony with foreign wealth and outlandish weapons,  
victorious over Eastern nations and the Red Sea coast, brings with him  
Egypt and the might of the Orient and far off Bactria,  
and is followed (unforgivable!) by his Egyptian wife.  
All rush together and the whole sea foams, convulsed by the pull of oars,  
and three-pronged rams. They make for the deep;  
you might believe that the Cyclades had been torn up and were floating  
or that high mountains were clashing together, So great is the size  
of the turreted ships that the men stand on. Burning tow and iron spears  
are thrown at random, and Neptune's fields redden with fresh slaughter.  
In the midst the Queen calls up her columns with her ancestral rattle,  
but does not yet notice the twin serpents behind her back.  
Prodigies of all kinds of gods and barking Anubis wield spears  
against Neptune, Venus and Minerva; in the midst of the struggle  
Mars rages, engraved on iron, and the gloomy Furies come from the upper air,  
and Discord, rejoicing in her torn robe, whom Bellona follows with her bloody whip.  
Apollo of Actium, seeing this, draws back his bow from above;  
terrified, the whole of Egypt and India, and all the Arabs and Shebans flee.  
The Queen herself is seen to call the winds and spread her sails  
and now, and now again, to slacken and release her cables.  
The god of fire had made her pale among the slaughter, as death approached her,  
showing her borne away by the waves and the wind, but on the other side  
is the river Nile with his huge body grieving, opening his bosom and inviting  
the defeated with his whole garment into his blue lap and hidden streams.  
But Caesar, riding into the city of Rome in a triple triumph, is making  
his eternal vow to the gods of Italy at the three hundred greatest shrines in the city.  
The streets roar with joyful shouting, games and clapping.  
In all the temples and at all the altars there is a chorus of married women,  
before every altar slain bullocks have covered the ground. Caesar himself sitting  
on the snow-white threshold of the temple of shining Apollo  
Acknowledges the gifts of the nations and fits them to the proud door jambs;  
the conquered peoples march in a long line, and differ in language,  
in the manner of their dress and in their armour. Here Vulcan had portrayed the  
Numidians  
and the conquered Afri, here the Lelegi, the Carians and the archer Geloni.  
The Euphrates was now going more gently in its waters. The Morini, at the earth's  
extremity,  
the Rhine with two horns, the unconquered Dahae and the Araxes angry to be  
bridged.  
Aeneas marvels at all these things on Vulcan's shield, his mother's gift,  
and though not knowing the stories he rejoices in the image, raising on his shoulder  
the famous deeds and the destinies of his descendants.

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