

THE AUGUSTAN AGE

44BC – AD14

by Ken Webb

Here it is: the factual detail, the historiography, revision exercises and advice on how to write responses on The Augustan Age 44BC – AD14.



eBook

“Everything you wanted to know about The Augustan Age 44BC – AD14, but were afraid to ask.”

THE AUGUSTAN AGE 44BC – AD14

by Ken Webb M.A. (Oxon), C.Ed

*“Everything you wanted to know about
The Augustan Age: 44 BC – AD 14, but were afraid to ask.”*

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1st Edition

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About the author

Ken Webb was educated in the United Kingdom and graduated from the University of Oxford. He taught in several state schools before moving to Pymble Ladies' College where he taught Modern, Ancient and Extension History. In March 2008, he moved to Ravenswood School for Girls where he also taught the International Baccalaureate course in History. He is a member of the Independent Schools Examination Committee for Modern History. Ken Webb frequently lectures and runs workshops for Year 12 students in Sydney and Regional NSW. He also runs Professional Development courses for teachers. In addition to his own work, Ken Webb has contributed to colleagues' work and to newspapers and periodicals. He has also been a consultant on various history video documentaries. In November 2012, Ken Webb was a NSW State Winner of the National Excellence in Teaching Awards.

Over the years, Ken Webb has written a wide range of study guides and textbooks for NSW and Australia wide, including *"Power and Authority in the Modern World"* (Nelson Cengage Learning), *"Discovering Australian History"* (CUP), *"The Julio-Claudians AD 14-69"* (Get Smart Education), *"Agrippina the Younger"* (Get Smart Education), *"Extension History: The Historians"* (HTA of NSW), *"Spartan Society to the Battle of Leuctra 371 BC"* (Get Smart Education).

"The Augustan Age 44 BC – AD 14" is one of fourteen titles in the "Everything you wanted to know about... but were afraid to ask" series *written specifically* for the new NSW Modern and Ancient History syllabuses commencing 2018-19. Other titles in this series include:

- Hatshepsut
- The Greek World 500-440 BC
- Spartan society to the Battle of Leuctra 371 BC
- The Fall of the Roman Republic 78-31 BC
- The Julio-Claudians AD 14-AD 69
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Author's note

The purpose of this book – as with all titles in the “Everything you wanted to know about... but were afraid to ask” series – is to make life easy for students and teachers preparing for the HSC examination in Ancient History. It is not intended to be the final word on *The Augustan Age 44 BC – AD 14*; nothing beats wide-reading and going back to the ancient sources!

However, neither teachers nor students always have the time for such luxuries. Teachers have several other classes to worry about, not to mention a growing multitude of administrative and bureaucratic tasks to fulfill. Students have other subjects to study, and may also be burdened with a series of major works. Thus, “Everything you want to know...” steps in to make life easy.

The principal aims of this book are to:

- provide the essential factual detail needed to understand the period;
- provide references to the main ancient written and archaeological sources;
- provide references to major modern written and visual sources;
- provide ideas for approaching the types of questions that can be expected in the HSC examination on *The Augustan Age 44 BC – AD 14*.

Rationale for the structure of this book

In the Ancient History HSC examination paper, *The Augustan Age 44 BC – AD 14* topic appears in Section IV – Historical Periods, Question 31, Option I. Each year there are TWO choices of questions in this option from which students can choose. ¹ HSC questions can be set on any of the three sections of syllabus or across areas:

1. The “Establishment of the Principate”: eg 2017, 2015, 2011, 2010, 2006
2. The “Augustan Principate”: eg 2017, 2016, 2014, 2013, 2012, 2010, 2009, 2008
3. “Augustus and the Empire”: eg 2016, 2015, 2013, 2011, 2008, 2006
4. A general question that crosses sections: eg 2012. 2007

As with all titles in the “Everything you wanted to know... but were afraid to ask” series, chapters have been deliberately set out to reflect the bullet points from the NSW syllabus. Almost every chapter heading is a syllabus bullet point heading. This arrangement makes it much easier for students (and teachers) to ensure that they are covering the key elements of the topic.

¹ Students are advised to be careful checking past HSC papers. Before 2006, the topics *The Augustan Age* and *The Julian-Claudians* were combined. *The Augustan Age 44 BC – AD 14* became a discrete topic only in 2006.

Survey ■ The geographical context

The story of Rome is a remarkable one. In the 8th century BC, Rome was nothing more than a small village on the western coast of Italy. By the end of the 1st century AD, the city of Rome controlled an empire that stretched from Britain to the Sahara Desert, from the Atlantic Ocean to the Middle East and southern Russia.

Rome was situated midway along the western coast of the Italian peninsula. It grew along the banks of the river Tiber and around a series of easily-defended hills. The Tiber was partly navigable but Rome would later develop the port of Ostia, to the west, which was closer to the sea.

- To the north of Italy is the Alps mountain range.
- From north to south, stretch the Appenine Mountains, though they are much lower in altitude than the Alps.
 - To the east, the Appenines fall steeply to the coast whereas their descent in the west is much more gradual.
- Italy has volcanoes such as Vesuvius which was to destroy Pompeii in AD 79.
 - Earthquake activity is also common. Pompeii suffered a major earthquake in AD 62.
- Unlike Ancient Greece whose city states were able to develop in isolated and defensible locations, the Italian peninsula was open to invasion from outside powers.
 - In 390 BC, Gauls attacked the city of Rome. Barbarian tribes would sweep south almost a thousand years later.

In the west are fertile plains. These included the plain of Latium where Rome was located. Similar plains existed to the north of Latium in Etruria, and to the south in Campania. There were fewer plains areas in the east. One such was located at Apulia, north east of Campania. Between the Alps and the Appenines was another fertile area along Po River. The plains of western Italy were able to support a growing population, particularly when the marshy regions in Latium were drained.

Rome's climate is, not surprisingly, typically Mediterranean. Winters can be wet but not excessively cold, and they do not last long. In the summer it is dry with bright sunshine, and temperatures often make it above 30 degrees Celsius.

Rome's central location would be a factor in its eventual drive towards empire. The Italian peninsula dominates the Mediterranean Sea. To the east is the Adriatic Sea, to the west is the Tyrrhenian Sea, and to the south around the region which in classical times was called Magna Graecia (Great Greece) is the Ionian Sea.

By the end of the 4th century BC, Rome had gained control of most of the area along Italy's western coast. By the early 3rd century BC, Etruria had been absorbed under Roman control. Etruscan civilisation had flourished there since about 800 BC.

Greek influence had been significant in southern Italy (Magna Graecia) and on the island of Sicily. Sicily would play a significant part in the Peloponnesian War between Athens and Sparta of the late 5th century BC. However, as the power of Macedon grew in the 4th century BC under Alexander the Great, its interest was towards the east. Rome's main rival in the 3rd century BC was the city of **Carthage**, located in modern-day Tunisia. Carthage dominated much of the western Mediterranean

including parts of Spain, Sicily and Sardinia, as well as much of the North African coastal areas. Rome would fight three wars with Carthage. These were known as the Punic Wars.

- The First Punic War was 264-241 BC
- The Second Punic War was 218-202 BC
- The Third Punic war was 149-146 BC.

Rome's destruction of Carthage made it the master of the western Mediterranean.

Far to the north of the Alps lay Gaul and Germania. Gaul would be brought under Roman control in the 50s BC by Julius Caesar. Rome never managed to gain ascendancy in Germany. Augustus lost three legions in Germany in AD 9.

To the east of the Adriatic Sea lay the regions of Illyria, Pannonia and Dalmatia. By the 2nd century BC, Greece had been brought under Rome's control. Further east was Thrace and Asia Minor. By the end of the first century BC, Rome had been able to establish provinces here, some of which it allowed to be ruled by client kings.

There were various key powers in Rome's world which were confronted over time. Etruria and Carthage were mentioned above. Egypt was a declining power which had been subjugated and turned into the emperor's personal province by 30 BC. Further east the Parthian Empire remained a constant thorn in Rome's side. Both Crassus and Mark Antony failed to gain control over Parthia. Augustus finally reached a diplomatic settlement with Parthia in AD 19. However, in future decades, Parthia would continue to cause Rome headaches in the east.

Roman civilisation would have a lasting impact on Europe for centuries to come with its rich legacy of language, literature, architecture, engineering and the spread of Roman/ Latin culture. However, Rome was not only an exporter of cultural influences. It was capable of **absorbing influences** from other societies. The most notable influence on Roman society came from the Greek world. However, as with any empire in history, the imperial power cannot fail to adopt some elements of the societies it conquers. Etrurian, Egyptian, Greek, Jewish and Asian influences made their way into Rome.

Chronological context

753 BC – The legendary founding of Rome by Romulus and Remus

509 BC – End of the monarchy. The Roman Republic is established

Throughout the 5th century BC, conflict between the “Patricians” and the “Plebeians” known as ‘the struggle of the orders’ is gradually settled.

390 BC – A Gallic invasion sees the sacking of Rome

By 265 BC – Rome completes its occupation of the Italian Peninsula

264-241 BC – First Punic War against Carthage

238 BC – Rome conquers Sardinia

229-219 BC – First (229-8) and Second (219) Illyrian Wars

218-202 BC – Second Punic War with Carthage

215-148 BC – First (215-205), Second (200-197), Third (171-168) and the Fourth (149-8) Macedonian Wars

192-189 BC – The Syrian War

149-146 BC – Third and final Punic War with Carthage

133 BC – Tribune Tiberius Gracchus assassinated by landowners

91-88 BC – The Social War: revolt of Rome’s Italian allies

88-64 BC – The First (88-84), Second (83-81) and Third (74-64) Mithridatic War in the Asia Minor/ Pontus region

73 BC – The Spartacist slave revolt, eventually crushed by Crassus and Pompey

70 BC – Crassus and Pompey are joint consuls

59 BC – First Triumvirate of Caesar, Pompey and Crassus. Caesar is consul

50s BC – Caesar conquers Gaul

53 BC – Rome defeated at Carrhae by Parthia. Crassus is killed.

55/54 BC – Caesar invades Britain.

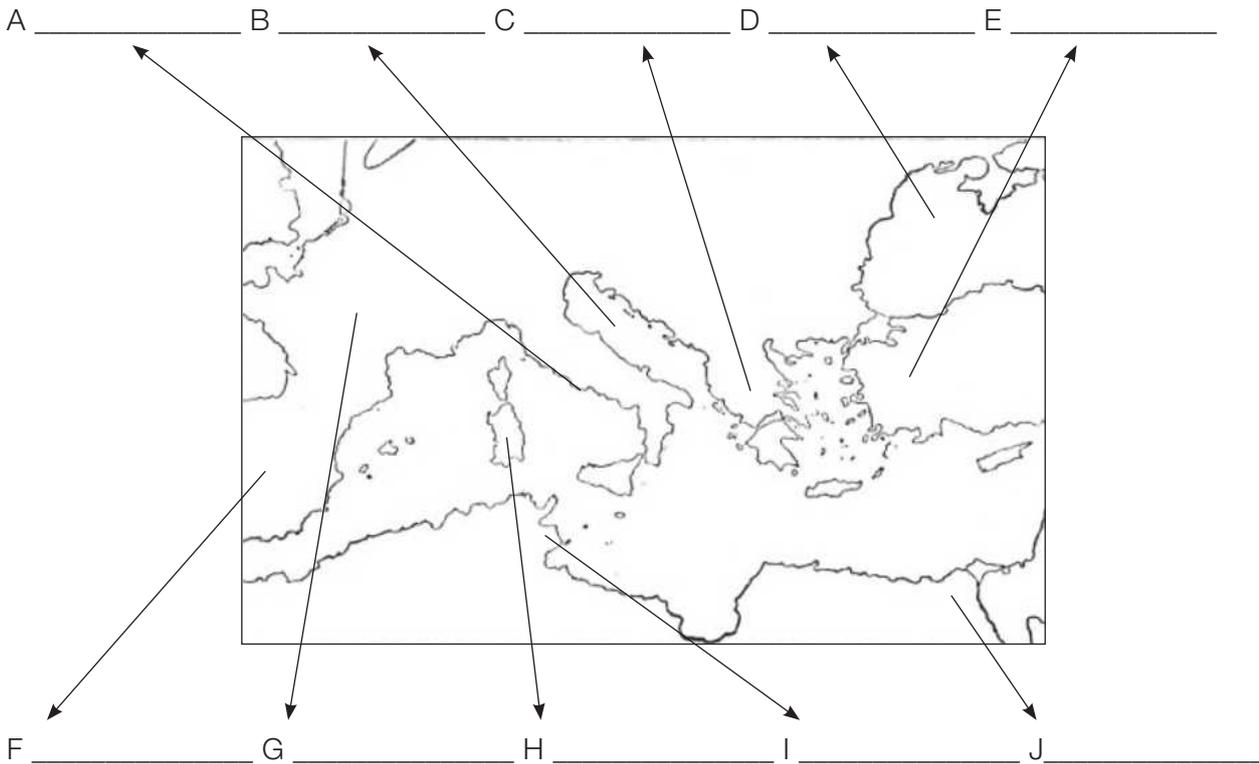
49-45 BC – Civil War in Rome. Caesar is triumphant.

44 BC – Assassination of Caesar

43 BC – The Second Triumvirate of Antony, Octavian and Lepidus.

30s BC – Rivalry between Octavian and Antony results in civil war. Antony’s relationship with Cleopatra tarnishes his reputation. In 31 BC, Antony is defeated in the Battle of Actium. He and Cleopatra commit suicide in 30 BC. Octavian (from 27 BC known as Augustus) is triumphant. Within a decade Augustus has cemented his control of Rome and the empire. The republic morphs into the empire.

Exercise i.i Name the following locations.



Exercise i.ii Place the following events in the correct chronological order

1st event		Battle of Actium
2nd event		The Gauls sack Rome
3rd event		2nd Punic war
4th event		Caesar conquers Gaul
5th event		Augustus triumphant in Rome
6th event		Assassination of Caesar
7th event		Revolt of Spartacus
8th event		The First Triumvirate
		Rome gains control of Italy
		Augustus' settlement with Parthia

Focus of Study

Section 1 ■ Establishment of the principate

Chapter 1:

Impact of the death of Caesar: early career of Octavian, Second Triumvirate and Civil War

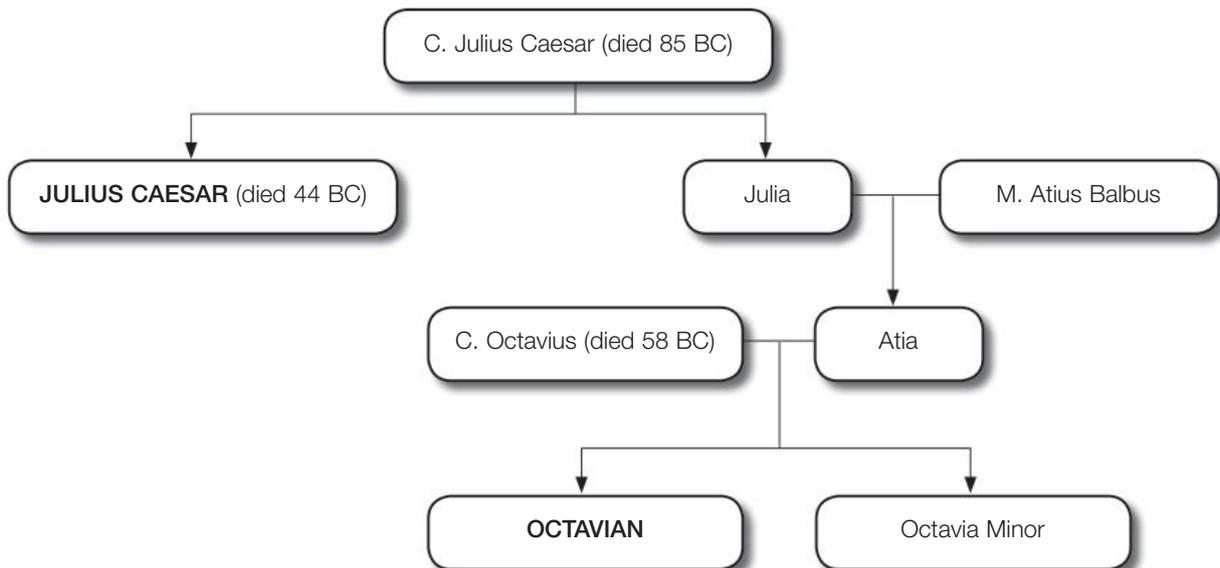
Background to Gaius Octavius (Octavian)¹

Octavian was born in September 63 BC. His grandfather had been a banker from the equestrian class.

- However, his **father**, Gaius Octavius, had been elected quaestor in about 70 BC, entered the *Senate* and in 61 BC had become a *praetor*.
- He then gained a provincial command in Macedonia but died in 58 BC.
- "...only Octavius' premature death in 58 BC...prevented him standing for (and probably winning) a consulship."²

Octavian's **mother**, Atia, was 'better connected'. Atia's mother was Julia, the sister of Julius Caesar, who was fast establishing himself in the Roman political scene.

- Atia was the second wife of Gaius Octavius. His first wife had born him a daughter, Octavia (major). Atia and Octavius had two children: Octavia (minor) and Octavian (Augustus).
- In 56 BC, Atia was married a second time, to L. Marcius Philippus. He proved to be a cautious man who avoided becoming embroiled in the dangerous politics of the late Republic. He appears to have been a good stepfather to the young Octavian and provided him with a sound education.



Octavian made his **first public appearance** at the age of eleven in 52 BC. His grandmother, Julia, had died, and as the only male descendent he was obliged to give a funeral oration for her. Such occasions allowed men to extol the reputation and virtues of their family with a keen eye on a

¹ For the sake of clarity, Gaius Octavius will be referred to as "Octavian" for the period 63 BC to 27 BC. From 27 BC to AD 14, he will be referred to as "Augustus".

² Shotter, D, *Augustus Caesar*, Routledge, London, 1991, p 18

political future. Two decades earlier, Julius Caesar had used the occasion of his aunt's death to this effect. The young Octavian had probably studied his great-uncle's speech, as like him he:

*"...recalled the divine descent of the Iulii from Iulus, the son of Aeneas, the son of Anchises and Venus."*³

Julius Caesar shows his interest in Octavian

By the early 40s BC, Julius Caesar had established himself as the unquestioned authority in Rome, following the defeat of his main rival, Pompey, at the Battle of Pharsalus in 48 BC. Julius Caesar did not yet have a son of his own but there were nephews and grandsons of his elder sisters.

However, it was upon Octavian that Caesar's favour fell.

- In 47 BC Caesar had Octavian elected to the college of pontifices, a ceremonial religious role of high status.
- Atia would not allow Octavian to accompany Caesar on his African campaign but on his return, Caesar allowed Octavian to march in his 'triumph'.
- In 46, Caesar had Octavian enrolled in the patrician class and the young man presided over some of Caesar's games.⁴
- In 46, Caesar departed for Spain to fight the sons of his former enemy, Pompey. Octavian was too sick to accompany him. However, he recovered quickly, and set off to follow his great-uncle. Octavian finally reached Caesar in Spain in late 46 BC after an adventurous journey that had included being shipwrecked.

In late 45, Caesar sent Octavian to Macedonia to **complete his education and his 'military apprenticeship'**. In Macedonia, Octavian was to study under the famous teacher Apollodorus of Pergamum and receive military training from legionary officers. Octavian took with him Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, a school friend of humble origins who would remain with Octavian until his death in 12 BC. Octavian was in Macedonia when he received the news that his great-uncle had been assassinated by Brutus, Cassius and other senators in Rome on the Ides (15th) of March, 44 BC.

The immediate impact of Caesar's death

Octavian's world was thrown upside down by Caesar's murder. He had expected to spend many years at Caesar's side being groomed for the highest offices and commands Rome had to offer. But what now? Was Octavian's own life in danger? Against the advice of some of his friends, Octavian crossed over to Italy. When he reached the small town of Lupiae, south of Brundisium in southern Italy, Octavian learned that **Caesar's will** had been opened and read:

- Octavian was named heir to three quarters of Caesar's estate
- He had been formally adopted as Caesar's son.

From now on, Octavian called himself Gaius Julius Caesar. (This name would do much to gain him the support of Rome's legions.)

Caesar's death left a power vacuum in Rome which was briefly filled by Caesar's 'deputy', Marc Antony, the *consul* for 44. The assassins had been given an amnesty but following the cremation of Caesar's body the murderers had been forced out of Rome. Roman politics had again become polarised. At one extreme were the Republicans, pre-eminent amongst whom was Cicero, while on the other extreme were Caesar's men, pre-eminent amongst whom was Marc Antony. In the middle were moderates desperate to avoid another civil war.

³ Jones, *AHM, Augustus, Chatto and Windus, London, 1980, p 9*

⁴ *By the 1st century BC, public games, eg gladiatorial contests, had become an important means for aspiring politicians to curry popular favour.*

Into this mix was thrust the eighteen year Octavian, now the son of Caesar. It is interesting to imagine what must have been **going through Octavian's mind** at this time:

- For the assassins he must have felt hatred for they had seemingly destroyed not only his idol but his future.
- As Caesar's son, it was now his sacred task to exact vengeance.
- His meetings with Antony must have created a combination of surprise, upset and anger. When he met Marc Antony, Caesar's closest ally, he was dealt with brusquely.
 - *"It seems likeliest that Antonius had been irritated at Caesar's favouritism towards an obscure young relative and acted out of bad temper."* ⁵
 - Antony refused to hand over Caesar's money – much of which he had already spent.

Octavian now sought to honour the terms of Caesar's will. He sold some of his own property and borrowed heavily to pay Rome's citizens what Caesar had promised and then staged great games.

- This gained him great popularity.
- Octavian was favoured by the heavens as a comet appeared in the northern part of the sky for seven days. The superstitious Romans were only too eager to see a connection to Caesar. He is quoted in Pliny's 'Natural History':

"...The people believed that by that star it was signified that the soul of Caesar was received among the immortal gods..." ⁶

"Octavian demonstratively added an image of the comet to his father's statues. In this way he gained considerable popularity which in turn became a factor in politics." ⁷

Octavian had been greeted enthusiastically by Caesar's veteran soldiers. However, he did not get carried away. Even with his 'name', and growing support, he did not underestimate the power of Marc Antony and Cicero. At this point Cicero hoped to 'use' Octavian in his campaign against Antony. Throughout 44, Cicero attacked Antony both politically and personally in his 'Philippic' orations.

- When Antony's consulship expired at the end of 44, he moved north to take control of his province Gallia Cisalpina.
- The outgoing governor, Decimus Brutus, refused to leave and so Antony attacked him at the town of Mutina. Cicero now wanted an army sent north to assist Decimus Brutus.
- This army would be led by the two consuls for 43, Hirtius and Pansa. However, Cicero suggested they share command with Octavian.
 - The Republicans, led by Cicero, needed Octavian at this stage because he had raised large forces and some of Antony's men had gone over to him.
 - Octavian was granted propraetorian imperium.
 - This went against all Republican tradition as under the 'cursus honorum', Octavian should not have been allowed such power for another twenty years!
- Octavian's army marched north and Antony's forces were defeated in two battles in which both the consuls died (some believed at the time that Octavian had the consuls murdered). Antony fled to Transalpine Gaul, leaving Octavian in sole command.

Cicero had Antony declared a public enemy and ordered Octavian to hand over his legions. Decimus Brutus was awarded a triumph and Brutus and Cassius were given command of the eastern provinces. However, Cicero had seriously underestimated Octavian. Octavian marched

⁵ Jones, p 14

⁶ Pliny, *Natural History II*, 93

⁷ Eck, W, *The Age of Augustus*, Blackwell, Oxford, 2003, p 11

on Rome with his legions, seized the treasury to pay his soldiers, cancelled the decree outlawing Antony and had himself elected Consul for 43 along with his cousin Quintus Pedius. Octavian's adoption was legalised and the amnesty that had been granted to Caesar's assassins was overturned; Brutus and Cassius were declared outlaws. Octavian now decided to meet Caesar's two former leading commanders: Marc Antony and Lepidus.

*"Cicero's policy had tragically failed, and the Republic was again at the mercy of the men who commanded the loyalty of the legions."*⁸

Exercise 1.1

Keep a track of who's who. Match the description on the right with the correct name in the box below.

1		Leading Republican, enemy of Antony
2		Caesar's close ally and Consul for 44 BC
3		Octavian's stepfather
4		Octavian's adoptive father
5		Mother of Octavian
6		One of the leading assassins of Julius Caesar
7		Republican governor of Gallia Cisalpina
8		Long-term friend of Octavian
9		Octavian's father
10		Caesar's enemy, defeated at Pharsalus in 48 BC
CASSIUS MARC ANTONY ATIA AGRIPPA CICERO GAIUS OCTAVIUS (snr) POMPEY JULIUS CAESAR L MARCIUS PHILIPPUS DECIMUS BRUTUS		

The Second Triumvirate: 43 BC

Octavian, Antony and Lepidus met and established what has become known as the Second Triumvirate. The First Triumvirate of 60 BC, between Caesar, Pompey and Crassus, had been a private arrangement in which each promised to help the other for mutual benefit. The **Second Triumvirate** was quite different.

- It was a formal magistracy passed into law by a tribal assembly in November 43.
- The three now dominated the Senate and the state as dictators though that word was carefully avoided.
- The western provinces were divided between them:
 - Antony took Transalpine and Cisalpine Gaul
 - Lepidus had the rest of Gaul and Spain
 - Octavian had Africa, Sicily and Sardinia.

The triumvirs then proceeded to carry out a ruthless *proscription* – a murder of political opponents that included 300 senators and 2000 equestrians. The wealth of the murdered equestrians was used to pay the legions. The most famous victim of the proscriptions was Cicero. The

⁸ Scullard, HH, *From the Gracchi to Nero*, Methuen, London, 1970, p 163

proscriptions decimated the senatorial class. The structure of society remained the same but republican traditions had been greatly weakened.

*“The proscriptions and murders brought about a radical reorientation of loyalties in political bodies, establishing a foundation on which the Augustan form of rule could later be erected.”*⁹

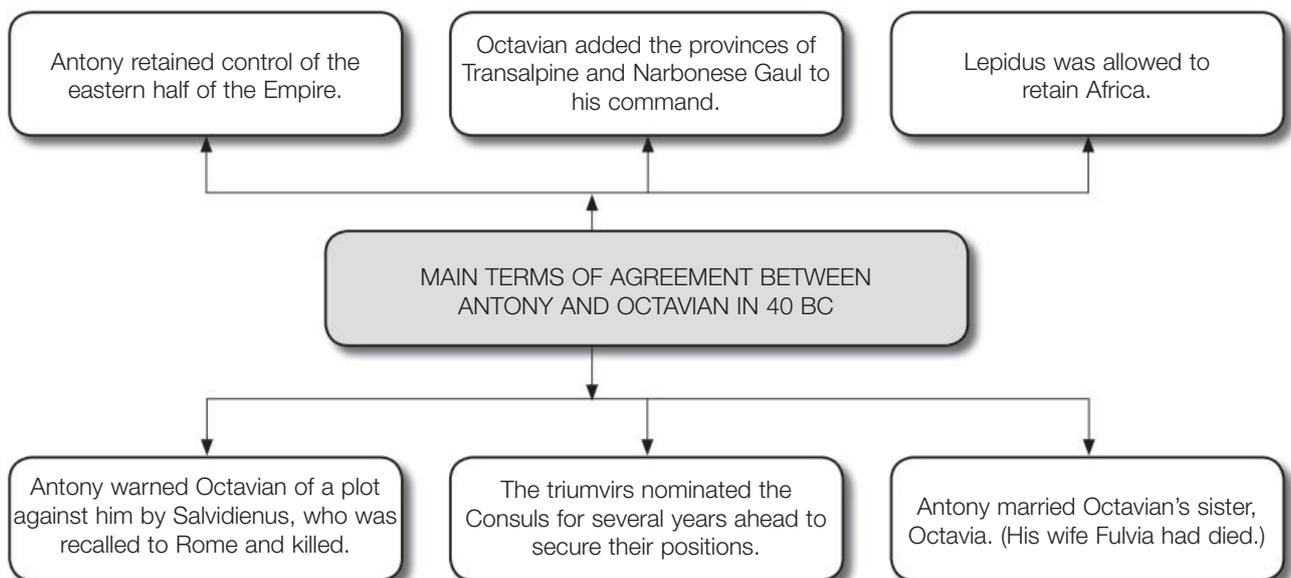
The triumvirs commanded 45 legions. In 42, Antony and Octavian took 28 legions into Greece to confront the forces of Brutus and Cassius, leaving Lepidus to keep order in Italy. Octavian’s prestige had risen as he was now officially *divi filius*, son of a god as Julius Caesar had been deified by the Senate in January 42. The Republican forces were finally defeated in two engagements near Philippi; Brutus and Cassius both committed suicide. The triumvirs now commanded 60 legions, more than 250 000 men.

In the years following Philippi, the empire came to be divided into west and east: Antony controlled the east while Octavian dominated Italy and the west.

- Lepidus, who had been suspected of colluding with Sextus Pompeius, Pompey’s son, who commanded large pirate forces in the western Mediterranean, was relegated to a minor triumvir and commanded only the province of Africa.
- Octavian found himself in conflict with Antony’s brother, Lucius, but finally defeated him in 41 BC.

Relations between Antony and Octavian were often strained. In 40 BC Antony returned to Italy. Misunderstandings between Antony and Octavian nearly resulted in a renewal of civil war but the two men managed to reach an agreement known as the **Treaty of Brundisium** (October 40). The main elements of what was agreed at this time are summarised in Figure 1.1 below.

Figure 1.1



In 37, another conflict was only narrowly avoided with the tactful intervention of Antony’s wife, Octavia. At a conference at **Tarentum**, the Triumvirate was renewed until the end of 33 BC.

⁹ Eck, p 17

Having settled affairs with Antony, Octavian now sought to deal with the problems posed by **Sextus Pompeius**.

- Sextus' pirate forces were hindering corn supplies to Italy and he gave refuge to Octavian's republican enemies.
- Sextus was based in Sicily. In 36 he faced a combined attack from Octavian, Lepidus' forces brought over from Africa and Agrippa's fleet which was being constructed near Naples.
- Due in large part to Agrippa's naval skills in the naval battle at Naulochus, near the straits between Sicily and Italy, Sextus was defeated. He fled to the east but was captured and executed on Antony's order.

Lepidus tried to augment his power by demanding control of Sicily but his troops began to desert to Octavian. Octavian spared Lepidus his life, allowed him to retain the position of *pontifex maximus* but his political career was over. Lepidus was no longer a triumvir and from now on he lived under effective 'house arrest'.

*"Perhaps a few cynics noted that with Lepidus' resignation the triumvirate had effectively ceased to exist, but no one seemed to mind very much."*¹⁰

Over the next few years before his final clash with Antony, Octavian did much to strengthen Rome and the western empire militarily, economically and socially.

- He undertook operations in Illyricum and along the Dalmatian coast, and managed to secure the north east frontier and clear the Adriatic Sea of pirates.
- By securing peace in Italy, he was able to settle his veterans and provide stability and prosperity which had been absent for so long. The people of Rome were gradually being granted the benefits of cheap corn, clean water and new building programs (much of which was carried out by Agrippa – see Chapter 14)
- Octavian was a great respecter of Roman tradition. He sought to expel alien, non-Roman practices and reinforce traditional Roman beliefs. In this, he was both preparing for his propaganda war with Antony and Rome's future development.

Exercise 1.2

Check your chronology – place the events on the right in the correct order.

1st event		Treaty of Brundisium	Battle of Philippi	Tarentum Agreement
2nd event				
3rd event		Defeat of Sextus Pompeius	End of Lepidus	Murder of Caesar
4th event				
5th event		Second Triumvirate	Murder of Cicero	Defeat of Lucius Antonius
6th event				
7th event		Octavian's return to Italy		
8th event				
9th event				
10th event				

¹⁰ Eck, p 26

What do the ancient and modern sources have to say?

Seutonius (*The Twelve Caesars*)

Writing in the late 1st century AD, Seutonius suggests that when Octavian fought Antony in 43 BC, he had the consuls Hirtius and Pansa killed, arguing that he engineered their deaths to gain control of their troops.

*Pansa certainly died in such suspicious circumstances that Glyco, his physician, was arrested on a charge of poisoning the wound; and Aquilius Niger goes so far as to assert that in the confusion of battle Augustus despatched Hirtius with his own hand.*¹¹

Seutonius comments on the difficulties that Octavian faced dealing with Sextus Pompeius. It took him seven years and involved enormous preparations such as those described below.

*At last, however, he built an entirely new fleet, with 20 000 freed slaves trained as oarsmen, and formed the Julian harbour at Baiae by letting the sea into the Lucrine and Avernan lakes. Here he exercised his crews all one winter.*¹²

The *Res Gestae*

In his “*Res Gestae*”, written shortly before his death, Augustus summarised his career as he wished the Roman people to remember it. It comprises 35 sections dealing with the honours and offices conferred upon him, expenditures from his own funds for public purposes and his deeds in peace and war. Section 1 deals with events in 43 BC.

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

What is interesting in his own account is what he leaves out. He is effectively justifying the use of private force for the public interest, he does not indicate that he switches sides during these events, nor that he demanded and received the consulship by a blatant use of threatened force and nor that he may well have had the consuls killed to gain control of their armies.

David Shotter: *Augustus Caesar*

Shotter comments on Octavian’s political skills. In 39 BC, an agreement was reached whereby Republicans who had taken refuge with Sextus Pompeius were allowed to return to Italy. Shotter suggests this gave Octavian two great advantages: firstly, it enabled him to take the credit for the rehabilitation of these prestigious families; secondly, these families could add distinction to Octavian’s faction and:

*“thus save him from the appearance of regality from which Julius Caesar had suffered because of the absence of such luminaries.”*¹³

¹¹ Seutonius, *The Twelve Caesars, Augustus*, 11

¹² Seutonius, *The Twelve Caesars, Augustus*, 16

¹³ Shotter, p 22

Chapter 2:

Consequences and significance of the Battle of Actium

The Battle of Actium: 31 BC

Background to the battle

For almost fourteen years, Antony and Octavian vied for power and influence in the Roman world. At times bitter enemies, at times allies, even linked in marriage ¹, one thing was certain: only one of them could ultimately triumph.

"...Actium could come as no surprise, as the final showdown between two dynasts who for so long had fenced for mastery of the Roman world." ²

After the battle of Philippi, Antony toured the eastern provinces to exact payments from the inhabitants who earlier had been forced to pay Brutus and Cassius. Antony intended to use this money to wage war on the Parthians. He also expected to gain funds from the treasury of Egypt. To this end he met Queen Cleopatra in Cilicia in 41 and then spent the winter with her in Alexandria. It would appear that at this time, the relationship between the two of them was purely political:

- she granted Antony subsidies;
- he hunted down and executed her sister and rival, Arsinoe.

The Parthian campaign was a long time coming. Antony had been distracted by events in the west which enabled the Parthians and their allies to overrun many of the empire's Asiatic possessions. By 36 BC the situation had been stabilised and Antony's forces had re-established themselves in the east.

- He now moved against the Parthians and by late 36 was besieging the town of Phraaspa (in modern day Azerbaijan).
- Unable to take the city, he successfully retreated westwards with minimum losses.
- Antony advanced against the Parthians again in 33 BC but was unable to complete his mission because of the 'disturbing events' in the west of the empire.

The great defeat of Roman forces by the Parthians in 53 BC at Carrhae had not been avenged and Antony had missed his chance to outdo Octavian.

Failure against the Parthians weakened Antony's position both militarily and financially.

"...the fiasco of the Parthian invasion, by depleting his war-funds and sapping his self-reliance, made him more dependent on (Cleopatra's) financial assistance and more susceptible to the flatteries with which she laid siege to his heart." ³

Antony began to spend more and more time with the Egyptian queen, a fact Octavian was keen to highlight to the people of Rome. The popular imagination from the time of Augustus to the era of Hollywood has seen Marc Antony totally besotted by his Egyptian queen. An accurate view of events or not, there was no denying the increasing influence that Cleopatra was wielding over Antony.

¹ Antony was married to Octavian's sister, Octavia.

² Wallace-Hadrill, A, *Augustan Rome*, Bristol Classical Press, London, 1993, p 1

³ Cary, M, *A History of Rome*, Macmillan, London, 1963, p 442

- Antony acknowledged Ptolemy Caesarion as the son of Caesar and Cleopatra. Such recognition of course implied that Octavian was a mere usurper.
- In 35 BC he stopped seeing his Roman wife, Octavia, and in 33 became Cleopatra's Prince Consort under Greek dynastic law.
 - He finally divorced Octavia in 32 BC.
 - Such action Octavian viewed as both an affront to his family personally, and to Rome.
- Worse still for Antony's reputation were the "Donations of Alexandra" dating from 34 BC. Vast swathes of Roman territory were to be governed by Antony's children or by Cleopatra.
- The publication of Antony's will in 32 BC, in which he stated his wish to be buried alongside Cleopatra, turned public opinion in Rome against him. Stories were now spread that Antony planned to move the capital to Alexandria.

The political temperature in Rome was increasing. Octavian launched attacks on Antony's unRoman behaviour; the pro-Antony consuls of 32 BC and 300 senators were driven from Rome. Octavian was elected consul for 31 and he gained a formal declaration of war against Cleopatra.

By the end of 32, Antony had moved to Greece and based himself in the bay of Actium at the western end of the Ambracian Gulf. By early 31, Octavian had advanced with his forces into Greece, basing himself on the northern promontory overlooking Actium.

The Battle of Actium: 31 BC

Considering its crucial importance in the development of the Roman Empire, the Battle of Actium is not seen by historians as one of history's great battles.

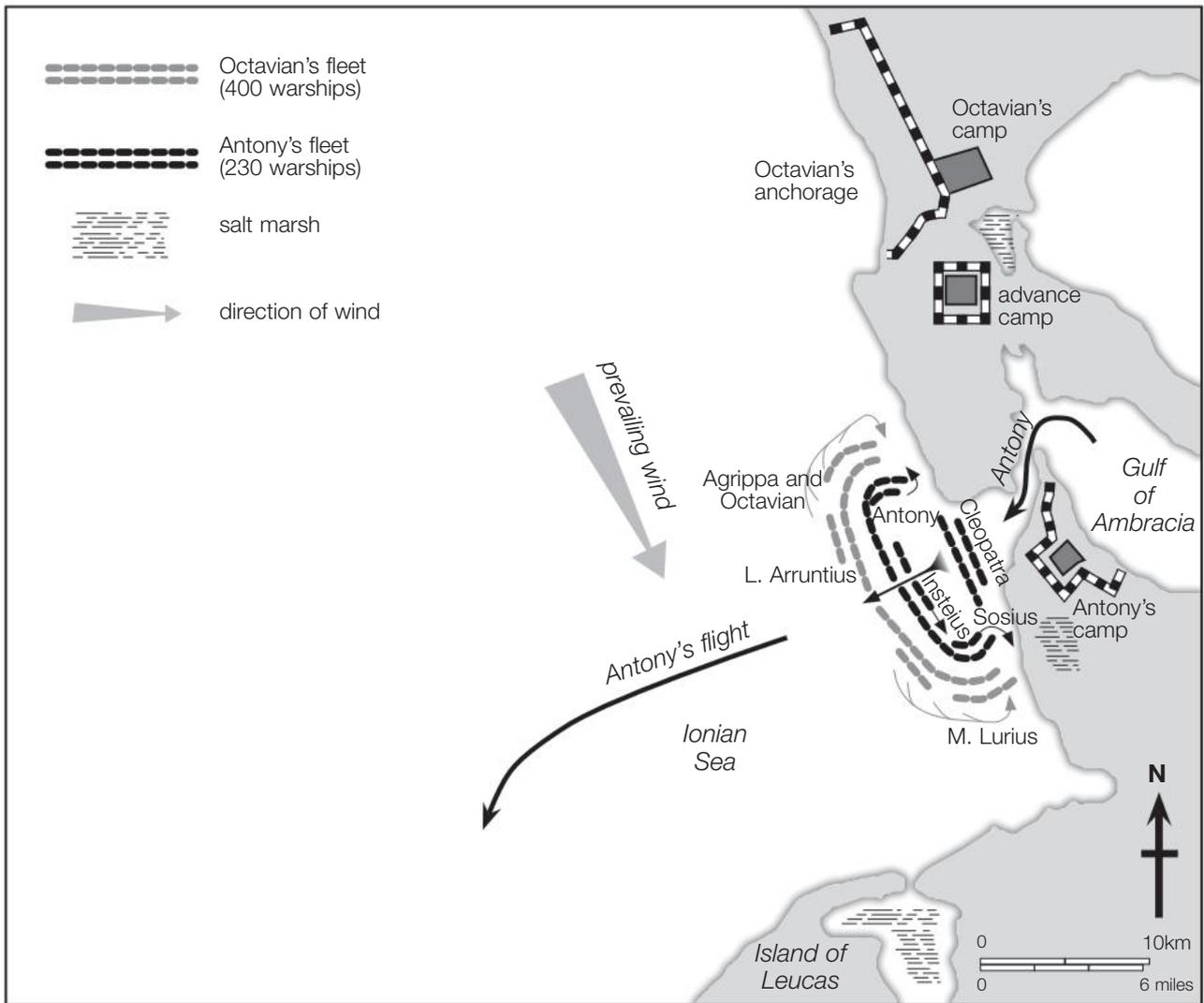
- Antony's land forces situated on the southern promontory failed to lure Octavian's forces into battle, despite moving his camp northward and closer to the enemy. Antony eventually gave up land operations and his position steadily worsened.
 - Supplies were short, troops deserted and disease spread.
 - Cleopatra's presence only served to further disillusion Antony's forces.
- Agrippa had managed to pen in Antony's naval forces and hoped to entice them out into open water.
 - Agrippa's forces outnumbered those of Antony, and his ships were smaller and more easily manoeuvrable.
 - Antony's mind was bent on escape. As Antony's ships came out into open sea, Agrippa tried to outflank them, causing a gap to form in his line, possibly deliberately.
 - Cleopatra and her forces headed for the gap and escaped to Egypt, followed by Antony and about twenty of his ships.
 - Antony's remaining ships were either forced back into the gulf, surrendered or were destroyed.

Figure 2.1 indicates the main positions of the rival forces.

Following Antony's flight, the last remnants of his fleet surrendered to Octavian and the army quickly followed suit. Octavian pursued his enemies to Egypt in the winter of 31-30. Antony's remaining troops had lost any will to fight and events in Egypt moved quickly.

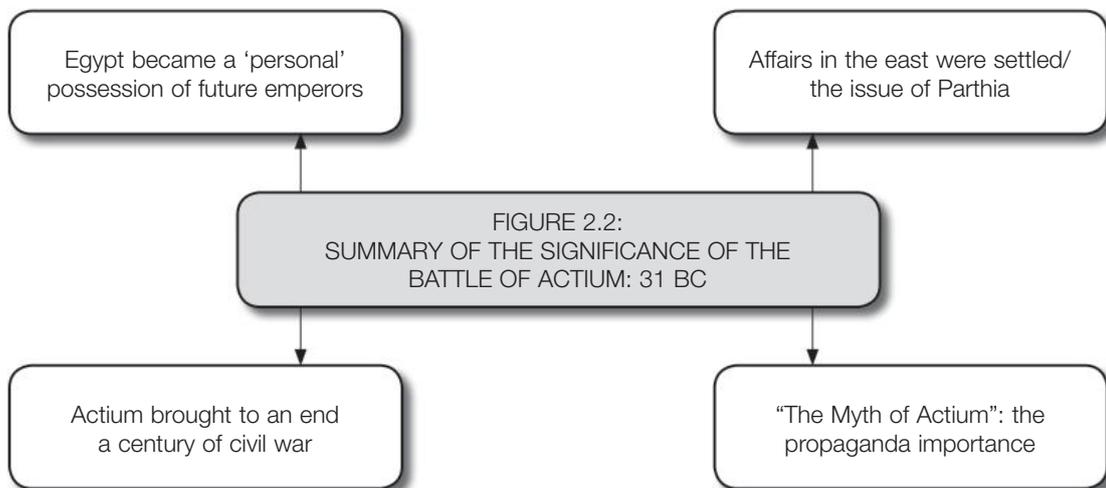
- Both Antony and Cleopatra committed suicide.
- Apart from a small number of officers, most of Antony's men were spared.
- Antony's children by Cleopatra were allowed to live but his elder son by Fulvia, Antyllus, and Caesarion – seen as possible rivals to Octavian – were not.

Figure 2.1 The Battle of Actium – 2 September 31BC



The significance of the Battle of Actium

Though Actium was not much of a battle in terms of spectacular action, it stands out as one of the major moments in history. Roman history can be arguably divided into pre-Actium and post-Actium. Figure 2.2 summarises the significance of Actium.



1. Following Actium, Egypt became part of the Roman Empire but was given a special status. It became a private possession of future Roman emperors and would be administered by special appointees, the first of whom was the equestrian C. Cornelius Gallus. This was to have major long-term ramifications for the running of the empire.
 - a. Egypt was a major long-term source of grain which the emperors would now control. Keeping full the stomachs of the people of Rome and Italy had always been a political imperative and a means of achieving political stability.
 - b. The administration of Egypt would become for the equestrian order the ultimate office in the empire (see chapter 7). In other words, an emperor's control of Egypt made a wide range of offices available for an emperor's patronage.
 - c. Possession of Egypt gave Octavian access to enormous wealth. Such wealth would in future allow Octavian to satisfy his veterans and to steadily build up a loyal clientele.

“Octavian...carried off the royal treasure, which Cleopatra had recently replenished by confiscations and the seizure of hitherto untouched temple funds.”⁴
2. In the short term, victory at Actium allowed Octavian to settle affairs in the east of the empire though he seems to have made few major changes to Antony's arrangements.
 - a. The ‘Donations of Alexandria’ were not surprisingly immediately cancelled.
 - b. He re-established old provinces and client-kingdoms.
 - c. He made a decision not to undertake major military campaigns beyond the Euphrates River against Parthia (see chapter 18).
3. Octavian's victory over Antony represented far more than a victory of one general over another. In the previous century, other Roman generals like Marius, Sulla, Pompey and Caesar had all won victories but none had achieved peace. Actium was different.

*“The century of civil wars that had started with the murder of Tiberius Gracchus (133 BC) was ended. The Republic and liberty had gone; men turned gratefully to their new saviour.”*⁵

There were no rivals to Octavian. There would be episodes of opposition to his rule in the future (see chapter 9) but his position would never be really threatened. The people of Rome were grateful for the peace and stability that had been achieved. By the time Octavian was back in Rome in 29 BC, the Senate and people had voted him a host of honours and tributes in gratitude for the peace he had delivered.

- a. Triumphal arches were built, crowns forged, supplications offered and games staged in his honour.
- b. Various powers were handed to him such as ‘a vote of Minerva’, the power of pardon in criminal cases, and the Lex Saenia which gave him the power to create patricians.
- c. In August 29 BC, Octavian celebrated a triple triumph for his victories in Illyricum, Actium and Egypt.
- d. However, perhaps the honour which must have pleased him most was the “closing of the Temple of Janus by decree of the Senate”. At this time (29) Rome was still involved in wars with tribal groups in Gaul and Spain, but Actium pushed any such continuing conflicts into the background.

*“The temple was closed only when Rome was at peace with all the world, and it had only been closed twice before in history. There were, it is true, two wars in progress...but the end of the civil war overshadowed these minor conflicts.”*⁶

⁴ Cary, p 446

⁵ Scullard, HH, *From the Gracchi to Nero*, Methuen, London, 1970, p 177

⁶ Jones, AHM, *Augustus*, Chatto and Windus, London, 1980, p 44

4. Victory in battle has its military, political and economic aspects and Octavian's success at Actium clearly bears this out. However, Actium also had a much deeper significance for Octavian and the future of Rome. Actium was a great propaganda victory. The lead up to the battle, and the fallout from it, represent arguably one of the greatest propaganda triumphs in history.

- a. In his propaganda battle against Antony, Octavian did not hesitate to denigrate his opponent in a manner similar to that of Cicero in his Philippics following Caesar's death. "Antony drunk and throwing up in the forum", "Antony cavorting with actresses and prostitutes" and now "Antony besotted by his Egyptian whore". These were images Octavian was willing to use. Octavian's propaganda tried to play up Antony's identification with Dionysius, and all the decadence and excess that was associated with the god.⁷

*"What Antony and Cleopatra and their followers were doing out in the East was simply an extension of the same weakness and debauchery that had in a few generations brought Rome to the brink of the abyss."*⁸

- b. However, Octavian's propaganda triumph was to present his clash with Antony not in personal terms but as something far greater. A drunken Antony was no threat to the people and government of Rome. Indeed, in the Res Gestae and accounts of events by poets such as Horace and Virgil, Antony's name barely rates a mention.
- c. Actium was not a battle for the supremacy of individuals. Actium was important because the entire fabric of Roman civilisation was at stake (or Octavian's propaganda would have us believe).

*"It was a battle for Roman values, to save the Roman world from a frontal assault on its gods, its ideals, its moral fabric."*⁹

A drunk Antony was not the issue; the threat was from the evilness of Cleopatra who represented all that was disgusting and unRoman.

*"...the victory was one of Roman decency over barbarism and corruption. Antony was an (almost) innocent victim: a man unmanned, and a Roman un-Romanned."*¹⁰

The clash at Actium is presented as Octavian going to war alongside the fathers (Senate), the Roman people, domestic gods, state gods and being met by Antony and his queen with her oriental barbarism and Egyptian monster-gods. It was Venus versus the dog-headed Anubis, good against evil, Roman versus alien. And what is Octavian's role in all of this? Octavian is the saviour of Rome! It is he who has saved Rome from a hellish future of eastern barbarism.

However, though this threat and Octavian's role in thwarting it, were developed before Actium, the threat did not die after Actium. It was still there. The destruction of Antony and Cleopatra was but one episode in a constant battle to uphold Roman civilisation from the dangers that threatened. And who was needed to safeguard Rome against the danger? Octavian. This is all myth-making but myths are powerful. Why did Octavian's military supremacy have to continue into the future?

*"Because, the myth tells us, the threat was no ephemeral one, laid to rest with victory. It was permanent: Rome and the civilisation she stood for were for ever in danger, for ever in need of a saviour."*¹¹

⁷ Dionysius was originally the god of wine. As time went on, he became associated with everything from drunkenness, to crossdressing, to sensuality and sexual potency.

⁸ Zanker, P, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, University of Michigan Press, 1990, p 57

⁹ Wallace-Hadrill, p 7

¹⁰ Wallace-Hadrill, p 7

¹¹ Wallace-Hadrill, p 8

Exercise 2.1

Indicate whether you think each of the following statements is either a fact or an opinion.

1	Marc Antony was a corrupt betrayer of true Roman values.	FACT/ OPINION
2	Octavian proved himself to be skilled propagandist.	FACT/ OPINION
3	Actium secured Octavian his financial future.	FACT/ OPINION
4	The Roman people were grateful the achievement of peace.	FACT/ OPINION
5	Octavian was a cynical manipulator of popular feeling.	FACT/ OPINION
6	Antony came to rely upon Cleopatra for finance.	FACT/ OPINION
7	The 'Donations of Alexandria' hurt Antony's reputation.	FACT/ OPINION
8	Antony's forces gradually became demoralised.	FACT/ OPINION
9	The Battle of Actium was a turning point in history.	FACT/ OPINION
10	Actium was not really about Octavian's rivalry with Antony.	FACT/ OPINION

Exercise 2.2

Place yourself in the position of each of the following and explain how you feel.

1. Octavian in 32 BC: Explain what the Battle of Actium is really about.

2. A Roman citizen: Explain how you feel on hearing news of Antony's defeat.

3. A Roman poet employed by Octavian: Describe the extent of Octavian's triumph at Actium

What do the ancient and modern sources have to say?

Andrew Wallace-Hadrill: *Augustan Rome*

Wallace-Hadrill clearly spells out the nature of ‘The Myth of Actium’ as was explained above. However, he suggests that such thoughts were not a case of the Roman people getting too carried away. Maybe a saviour sent from the gods was exactly what the Roman people wanted and believed they had received. He makes the point that for any society civil war is the ultimate terror.

*“...The effect of the civil wars was literally traumatic: in something of the way that the trauma of Hiroshima has hung over world politics to the present, so the trauma of civil war was at the heart of the Roman consciousness.”*¹²

David Shotter: *Augustus Caesar*

Shotter makes a similar point to Wallace-Hadrill in his assessment of the manner in which Octavian presented the struggle with Antony to the Roman people.

*“...The west was being prepared for a war that was portrayed not for what it really was – a civil war fought between two rivals for political supremacy – but as a great national crusade to defend Rome’s integrity against Oriental barbarism and corruption.”*¹³

The Res Gestae

In the *Res Gestae*, Octavian chooses to not even mention Antony and Cleopatra when referring to his success at Actium. In Section 3 when he refers to his naval success at Actium (and Naulochus), he simply states:

“I captured 600 ships, exclusive of those which were of smaller class than triremes.”

In Section 25, he again chooses not to name his enemies.

“The whole of Italy voluntarily took an oath of allegiance to me and demanded me as its leader in the war in which I was victorious at Actium.”

Seutonius

Seutonius comments on Octavian’s actions after the victory at Actium. He founded a city close to the battle site called Nicopolis, or City of Victory, had games celebrated there every five years and enlarged the local temple of Apollo. With an eye to future political considerations:

*“..and then to increase its (Egypt’s) fertility and its yield of grain for the Roman market, (he) set troops to clean out the irrigation canals of the Nile Delta which had silted up after many years’ neglect.”*¹⁴

Plutarch: *The Parallel Lives – The Life of Antony*

Negative images of Antony were echoed later when Plutarch wrote his lives of great Romans. These two short extracts give a flavour of Plutarch’s thoughts on Antony.

*“But the dire evil which had been slumbering for a long time, namely, his passion for Cleopatra, which men thought had been charmed away and lulled to rest by better considerations, blazed up again with renewed power as he drew near to Syria...And when she was come, he made her a present of no slight or insignificant addition to her dominions, namely, Phoenicia ...Cyprus, and a large part of Cilicia..”*¹⁵

And during the Battle of Actium:

*“But to such an extent, now, was Antony an appendage of the woman that although he was far superior on land, he wished the decision to rest with his navy, to please Cleopatra...”*¹⁶

¹² Wallace-Hadrill, p 9

¹³ Shotter, D, *Augustus Caesar*, Routledge, London, 1991, p 23

¹⁴ Seutonius, *The Twelve Caesars, Augustus*, 18

¹⁵ Plutarch, *Parallel Lives – The Life of Antony*, 36

¹⁶ Plutarch, 62

Notes

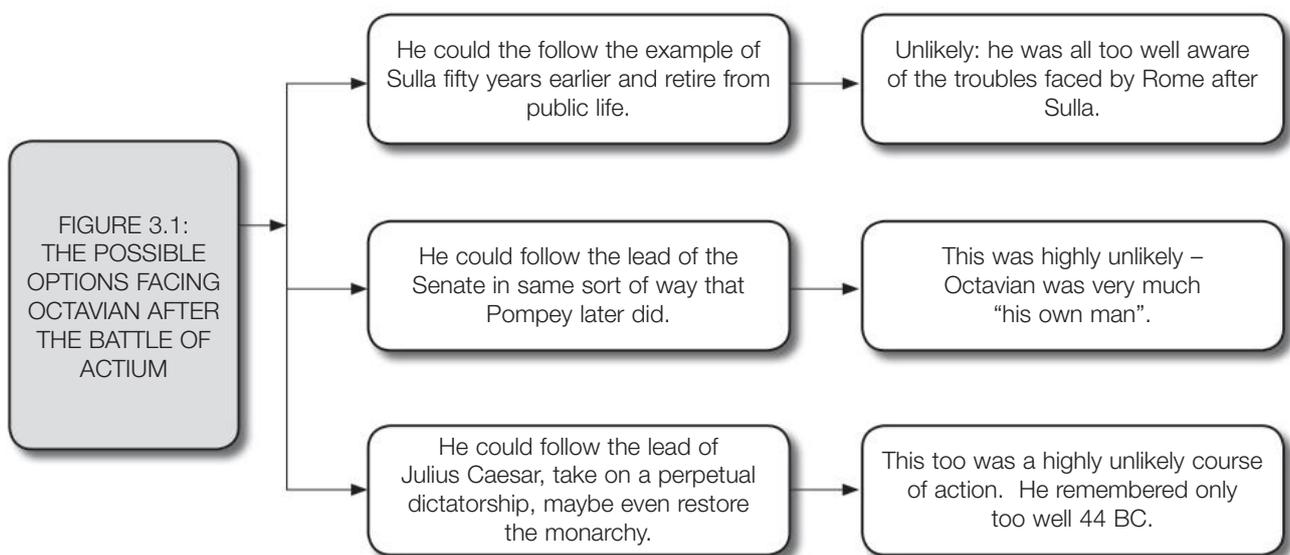
Chapter 3:

Development of the principate: the settlements of 27 and 23 BC

Some introductory thoughts

Following the Battle of Actium, Octavian's power was unquestioned. Antony and Cleopatra were dead and Egypt was his; Lepidus was helpless; Octavian had the army under his control and he had the gratitude of the Senate and people of Rome. The gates of the Temple of Janus had been closed: the empire was at last at peace.

However, the issue now arose: what position would the young Octavian (he was only 32 years old at the time of Actium) take in the new Rome? Figure 3.1 lists his options.



To understand the position that Octavian eventually took, several factors need to be taken into consideration.

- Octavian was enormously ambitious. He had not risked his life entering Italy after Caesar's death and had not fought hard for thirteen years to simply walk away from power.
- He had every intention of maintaining his own personal power.
- He fully understood the power of Rome's legions and wanted to ensure that they could not be used for the benefit of future political leaders (in the same manner in which he had used them).
- Oddly for someone who had outraged republican traditions by his assumption of various political and military powers at a very young age, he was by temperament very conservative.
 - He was a man bound by duty and patriotism who respected Roman tradition and sought to maintain all that he believed was good in Rome.
 - He at least wanted to maintain the façade of the republican form of government and not outrage five hundred years of tradition.

To solve this dilemma, a system was gradually created after 27 BC which attempted to maintain the republican system of government but which also guaranteed his supreme personal power.

Octavian did not approach the problem of governing the Roman state with a clearly worked out blueprint. Indeed the ‘imperial’ system which was to run the Roman Empire for the next three hundred years took most of Octavian’s forty five years in power to work out. Indeed, Wallace-Hadrill refers to the evolution of the Roman state under Octavian as a “metamorphosis”.¹

The Settlement of 27 BC

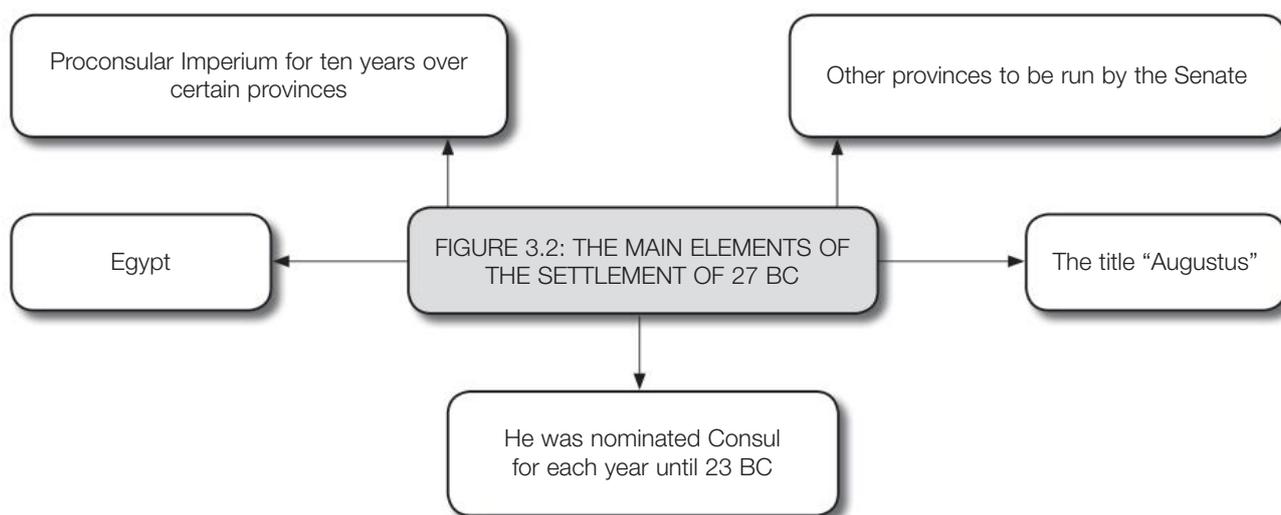
In the *Res Gestae*, Octavian acknowledged that he did have supreme power.

*“In my sixth and seventh consulships, after I had put an end to the civil wars, having attained supreme power by universal consent...”*²

However, he then immediately goes on to state:

*“...I transferred the state from my own power to the control of the Roman senate and people.”*³

To say the least, this was a disingenuous gesture. The idea that Octavian was about to walk away from power was absurd: he knew it, his legions knew it, the Senate knew it. What he wanted was to have the Senate insist that he continue to guide the affairs of Rome. He wanted the Senate to “thrust power upon him”. Predictably, the Senate threw up its arms and protested. Out of this piece of theatrics came the Settlement of 27 BC. Figure 3.2 summarises the main elements of this arrangement.



On 13 January 27 BC, Octavian was given **proconsular imperium** for ten years over several provinces that his officers were governing. These provinces included Gaul, Spain and Syria. This decision was extremely important for two key reasons.

- This was not an unprecedented action. Octavian was not innovating; he was not flouting the republican tradition by taking on this power. In the past, several Roman commanders had received similar commissions, including Crassus, Pompey and Julius Caesar.
- Of much greater importance is the fact that this action effectively made Octavian the *Commander in Chief* of Rome’s legions.
 - The reason was simple: most of Rome’s legions were in these provinces.
 - Octavian would thus guide the military destiny of the empire.
- With the military under his control, the Senate would never be able to act in a truly independent manner and rivals to Octavian would have no power base.

¹ See Wallace-Hadrill, *Augustan Rome*, Bristol Classical Press, London, 1993, Chapter 3

² *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, 34

³ *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, 34

- Octavian had learned the lesson that later writers would comment on:
 - Machiavelli in the 16th century had stated: “...a prince is liable to deceive himself in the estimate of his strength unless he has an armed force of his own...”
 - The Chinese leader Mao Zedong put it more succinctly four hundred years later: “...Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.”

Egypt was confirmed as part of Octavian’s own personal imperium, as it would be for later emperors. As explained in Chapter 2, this was significant for three key reasons:

- It gave Octavian access to the enormous wealth of the country which he could use to satisfy his legionary veterans and build up his clientele.
- It ensured corn supplies to Rome and Italy.
- It would provide an avenue for equestrian advancement.

Octavian was nominated **Consul** for each year until 23 BC. This was important.

- He would be able to exercise imperium not only in his designated provinces but also in the city of Rome itself.

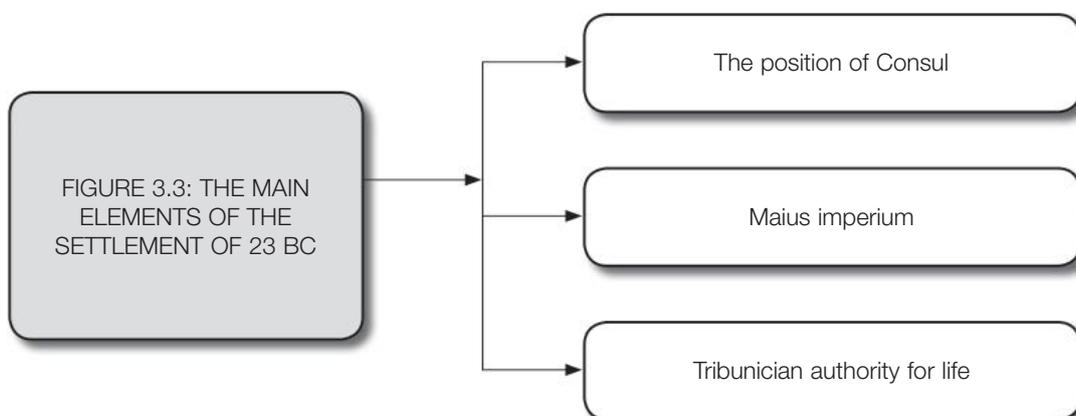
The **other provinces** of the empire were to be run by the Senate but it was clear that he could *guide* their administration also, perhaps if the Senate ‘sought’ his advice.

On the 16 January, Octavian was given the title **Augustus**, or revered one. The title Augustus did not provide him with any additional powers. However, the granting of this title served to emphasise his exalted position in the state.⁴

A consideration of historians’ views on Augustus’ actions will be looked at later. However, it seems clear what Augustus was trying to do: he wanted to convince the people that he was merely the *first citizen of a free community*. In other words he had become a *princeps* or leading man. Again, this was not a term unknown in the Roman tradition. Hence, Augustus’ form of government becomes known as the *principate*.

The Settlement of 23 BC

In late 27 BC, Augustus left Rome for the western provinces. He visited Gaul and then in 26 and 25 he spent time in Spain. He returned to Rome in 24. However, on his return, he realised that his ‘settlement of 27’ had not been entirely successful. The army was no problem, neither were the equestrians or the ordinary people of Rome. However, there was Senate disquiet, to the point that an anti-Augustus conspiracy was discovered in 23 (see chapter 9). In addition there was the issue of Augustus’ health; he was seriously ill in 25 and again in 23. Out of concerns for Senate unrest and the ‘succession’ came the settlement of 23 BC.



⁴ From now on, Octavian will be referred to as Augustus.

The Settlement of 23 BC had three main elements:

- Augustus gave up the position of **Consul**.
 - This position had always been seen as the ultimate honour in the Roman state and Augustus' monopolising of one of the two positions each year had caused resentment amongst Rome's political elite.
- Augustus' proconsular imperium was now deemed to be superior to that of a governor of any other province, ie he now had **maius imperium**.
 - This power was only granted to him for a period of time but renewal was hardly an issue and it was renewed regularly in 18, 13, AD 3 and AD 13.
- In 23 Augustus was also granted **Tribunician Authority for Life**. This gave Augustus wide-ranging powers.
 - He now had the power to legislate in the assemblies and he could summon the Senate. He could veto laws, propose new laws.
 - He could protect individuals against the actions of magistrates.

Tribunes had always been popular figures in Rome and Augustus was always keen to emphasise his tribunician power rather than his *maius imperium*. Indeed he preferred to date his "reign" from 23 when he received tribunician authority. It would later make possible indicating a successor by conferring tribunician power on that person.

In subsequent years there were refinements to the system. Augustus was given the right to sit between the Consuls and was granted consular imperium in Rome so he did not need to become Consul for life. He never took on the powers of a dictator. Censorial powers were granted to him in (29), 19 and 12 BC.

What did Augustus have to say about the arrangements of the Principate? ⁵

In the *Res Gestae*, Augustus was at pains to explain his constitutional arrangements, to emphasise certain parts and to ignore other parts. Augustus saw his surrender of power in 27 as the key to his career and its interpretation. He states what he deems to be a great leader – not a military commander backed by his legions, not a political figure burdened down with responsibilities, but something unique. Augustus abandons powers and lists (in the *Res Gestae*) what he gets for it. If he lists it, it means it is important: the *Res Gestae* was a very brief document!

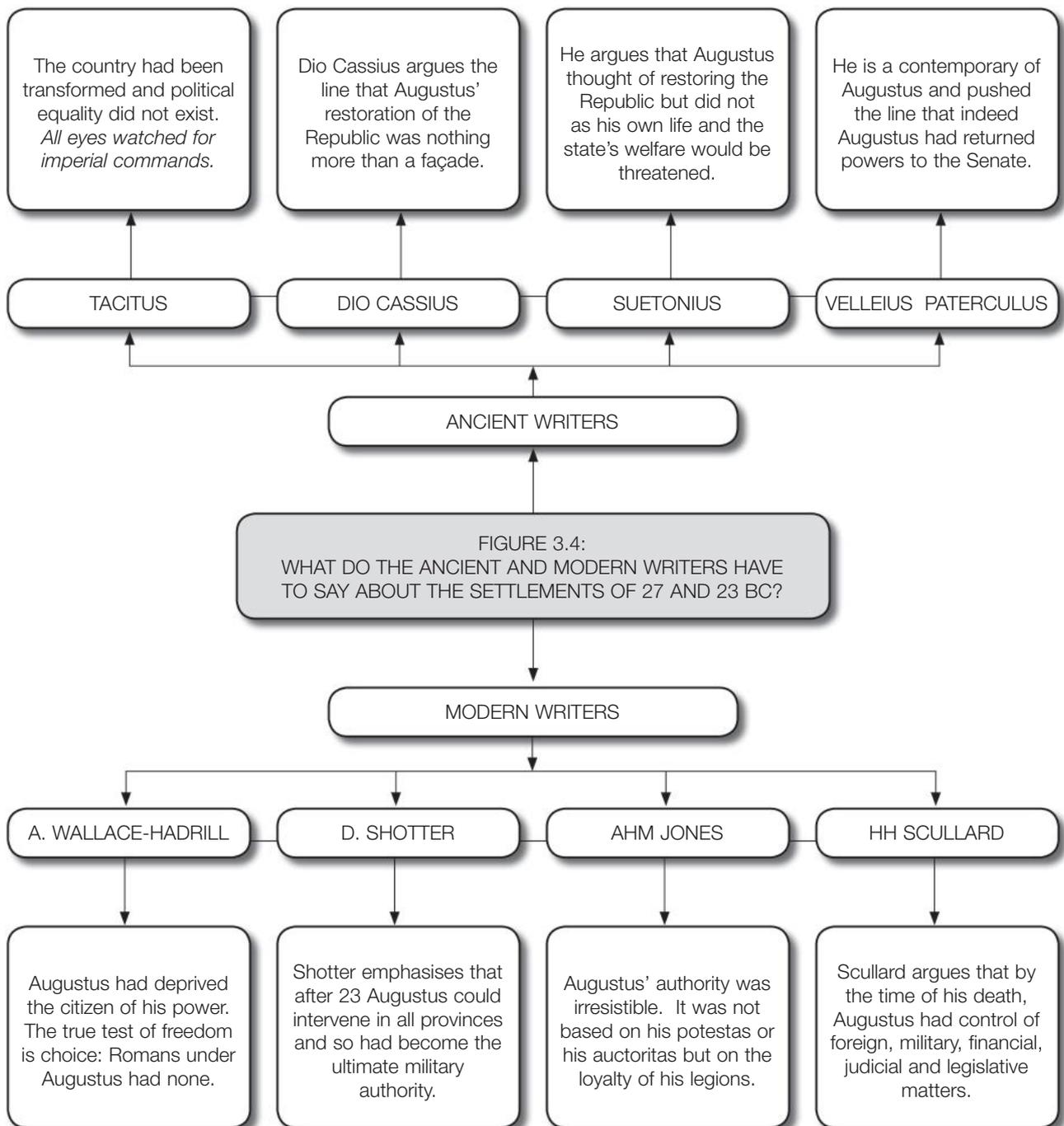
Section 34 of the *Res Gestae* is crucial in understanding Augustus' own views.

In my sixth and seventh consulships (28/27 BC), after I had put an end to the civil wars, having attained supreme power by universal consent, I transferred the state from my own power to the control of the Roman senate and people. For this service of mine I received the title of Augustus by decree of the senate, and the doorposts of my house were publicly decked with laurels, the civic crown was affixed over my doorway, and a golden shield was set up in the Julian senate house, which, as the inscription on this shield testifies, the Roman senate and people gave me in recognition of my valour, clemency, justice and piety. After that time I excelled all in authority, but I possessed no more power than the others who were my colleagues in each magistracy.

1. The title Augustus means 'revered'. The granting of this title was a public show of obeisance, ie the people of Rome were offering respect and humble obedience to him. They were giving him their allegiance.
2. Augustus' house was decked with laurels. Judge argues that this was due to a crisis in 28 BC over Marcus Crassus of Mauretania with which Augustus dealt successfully and so avoided a civil war.

⁵ Much of this section is unashamedly lifted from talks given by Professor E A Judge at a History Teachers Association of NSW Study Day at the University of Sydney in August 1987.

3. The civic crown was affixed over his doorway. The civic crown was a military award, a kind of Roman Victoria Cross, given for an act of personal bravery and saving the life of a Roman citizen. Through his actions Augustus had saved all their lives.
4. A golden shield was set up in the Julian senate house in recognition of Augustus' bravery, his clemency (pardoning his enemies when he did not need to), his justice and his piety (sense of duty to the gods, his family). These virtues were not private but public.
5. When Augustus talks about being in charge, he argues that his lawful control, his *potestas*, was no greater than 'any of my colleagues'. Indeed he makes a virtue of refusing extra powers.⁶
6. What makes Augustus different is that it was in his prestige, his authority, his *auctoritas*, where he exceeded all others. This was the result of his personal qualities and the trust the people had in him.



⁶ See section 5 of the *Res Gestae* where he refuses a dictatorship.

Exercise 3.1

Match the term in the box below with the explanation given on the left.

1	Term denoting prestige or authority	
2	Powers granted to Augustus inside Rome	
3	Augustus' powers in the provinces given in 23 BC	
4	Augustus' own record of his achievements	
5	Term denoting leading citizen of the Roman state	
6	Lifetime authority granted to Augustus in 23 BC	
7	Term suggesting the people's obeisance	
8	Awarded to Augustus for 'saving Rome'	
9	Augustus' powers over his provinces given in 27 BC	
10	Power to determine the composition of the Senate	
RES GESTAE TRIBUNICIAN PROCONSULAR IMPERIUM AUCTORITAS CONSULAR IMPERIUM CIVIC CROWN AUGUSTUS MAIUS IMPERIUM PRINCEPS CENSORIAL		

Exercise 3.2

Test your knowledge. Answer the following questions.

1	Did Augustus have a clearly worked out plan for the future governmental arrangements in Rome?	
2	What term does Wallace-Hadrill use to describe the development of the principate?	
3	Which of his powers did Augustus like to emphasise above all else?	
4	In reality what was the key to Augustus' power in Rome?	
5	Why were some senators upset with the arrangements worked out in 27 BC?	
6	Where were most of Rome's legions in 27 BC?	
7	What was Augustus' most valuable imperial possession?	
8	When did Augustus become a dictator?	
9	What term is used to describe the Augustan form of government?	
10	What key claim does Augustus make in Section 34 of the Res Gestae?	

Chapter 4:

Titles, honours and images of the *princeps*

Positions held by Augustus

Augustus never flaunted his power and often turned down offices offered to him by the Senate. However, during his lifetime he held a wide range of political, military and religious positions. Figure 4.1 summarises the main ones.

Date	Religious Positions	Senate Membership	Tribunician Power	The Consulship	Military Power
47 BC	Appointed a priest			(City Prefect)	
43 BC		Senator (till his death)		Consulship 1	Propraetorian power
42 BC	Appointed an augur			(Triumviral power) (43-32 BC)	
36 BC			Tribunician sacrosanctity		
33 BC 32 BC				Consulship 2	Controls Italy
31 BC 30 BC 29 BC		(Censorial power)		Consulship 3 Consulship 4 Consulship 5	
28 BC				Consulship 6	Controls the Empire
27 BC				Consulship 7	Proconsular imperium
26 BC 25 BC 24 BC 23 BC			Tribunician authority for life	Consulship 8 Consulship 9 Consulship 10 Consulship 11	Maius imperium (regularly renewed)
19 BC		(Censorial power)		Powers of a Consul (till his death)	
12 BC	Pontifex Maximus (till his death)	(Censorial Power)			
5 BC				Consulship 12	
2 BC				Consulship 13	

Titles and honours

Though his power was never in question, Augustus preferred to emphasise the titles and honours that were bestowed upon him. It was mentioned in the previous chapter that in his *Res Gestae* he made a point of drawing attention to his “tribunician authority” rather than his “*maius imperium*”.

In the *Res Gestae* Augustus also makes a point of listing his titles and honours.

- (as discussed in chapter 3) In Section 34 he mentions:
 - The title “Augustus” conferred upon him
 - The laurel leaves that decked his house
 - The civic crown affixed over his doorway
 - The golden shield set up in the Julian senate house.
- In Section 4 of the *Res Gestae* Augustus makes the point that:
 - he celebrated ovations twice ¹ and curule triumphs three times ² (and turned down triumphs on four occasions)
 - he was acclaimed *imperator* twenty one times
 - due to his (or his legates’ successes), the Senate decreed thanksgiving to the gods on fifty five occasions and the number of days on which such thanksgiving was offered was 890.
 - he comments also that in his triumphs he was led by nine kings or children of kings.
- In Section 7, Augustus lists his priestly positions including *augur* and *pontifex maximus*. He took very seriously his religious and moral duties (see chapter 8).
- Augustus does not hold back on mentioning Rome’s concerns for his health. In Section 9 of the *Res Gestae* he mentions:
 - the Senate decreed vows for his health should be offered every five years
 - games were often celebrated in fulfilment of these vows
 - all citizens prayed continuously for his health.
- Augustus mentions a series of additional honours that included:
 - in commemoration of his return from Syria the consecration of an altar to “*Fortune the Home-bringer before the temple of Honour and Virtue at the Porta Capena*” where the *Vestal Virgins* were to make annual sacrifices ³
 - the construction of an altar of peace (*Ara Pacis*) commemorating his return from Spain and Gaul in AD 9.
- In Section 35, Augustus states that (in 2 BC) “*the senate, the equestrian order, and the entire Roman people gave me the title of ‘father of the country’*”. This title did not confer upon Augustus any power but it does bear testament to the esteem felt for him and suggests the state was in his power like a *familia* was in a father’s power.

Salmon suggests that epigraphic evidence shows that Augustus used only five titles. Often the term *Imperator Caesar Augustus* appears but this was a name not a title.

“...*Imperator* being a *praenomen*,⁴ *Caesar* in effect the *nomen*, and *Augustus* a *cognomen*.”⁵

The five titles that Augustus used were: *pontifex maximus*, *consul*, *imperator*, *tribunicia potestas* and *pater patriae* (father of the country).

¹ The ovations came in 40 BC after the Treaty of Brundisium and in 36 BC after the defeat of Sextus Pompeius.

² The triumphs came in 29 following his victories in Illyricum, at Actium and in Egypt.

³ *Res Gestae*, 11

⁴ A *praenomen* is a person’s given name, the *nomen* refers to the gens or loose collection of families, and *cognomen* is a family name shared by a group of blood relatives.

⁵ Salmon, E T, *A History of the Roman World 30 BC-AD138*, Methuen, London, 1968, p 32

Images of the *princeps*

As explained in chapter 2, Augustus was keenly aware of the value of propaganda. Later propaganda might be in the form of buildings (see chapter 10) or in the form of literature (see chapter 11). Augustus was deeply conscious of the importance of image. The overwhelming majority of the population of the empire was illiterate. Only a small minority of people would ever get to actually see Augustus. This meant that the presentation of the *princeps* on coins, statues and monuments was very important. The image provided a focus for loyalty. In the more distant parts of the empire, Augustus was revered as a god. The man himself was not interested in such things but Wallace-Hadrill makes the point:

*“To break an oath by Augustus, to deface his image, to violate the sanctuary of his statue was to show disrespect to his greatness, his maiestas...Disrespect to the divine maiestas was the ultimate treachery.”*⁶

Thus, the image of Augustus became a kind of cement keeping the vast empire together.⁷ The image of the *princeps* appeared in a variety of situations: on formal statues, on buildings and on coins. Whenever the image of the *princeps* appeared, it was done for a purpose and always sought to send out a message to those looking at it.

Zanker argues that art and architecture act as mirrors of a society. The society’s values are reflected by art, especially when that society is in a state of transition or crisis.

*“Rarely has art been pressed into the service of political power so directly as in the Age of Augustus. Poetry and art are filled with the imagery of a blessed world, an empire at peace under the sway of a great ruler.”*⁸

In this section, three specific examples of images of the *princeps* will be examined: coins, the statue of Augustus of Prima Porta and the Ara Pacis.

Coins

Numismatics (the study of coins and money) provides insights into how Augustus wished to appear to the peoples of the empire. Augustus obtained the right of making coins out of precious metals (the Senate was allowed to continue coining bronze token money). There was an obvious economic reason for keeping control of the minting of coins – a stable currency in which the people had confidence would ensure economic stability and ensure economic growth.

However, coinage also had a propaganda value. Coinage sent the image of Augustus and messages connected with that image across the entire empire.

- A silver denarius of 31 BC has the head of Octavian on the obverse side and on the reverse shows the words “CAESAR DIVI F” (Caesar son of a god). It also depicts Venus holding a helmet and a sceptre. There is a shield leant against a column decorated with a star. The symbolism of the star suggests Caesar’s comet taking him to heaven while the Julian link to the goddess Venus is shown.
- The reverse side of a gold coin of 27 BC has the words “AEGYPT. CAPTA” and a crocodile on the right. Augustus is presented as the conqueror of Egypt, and by implication conqueror of its evil queen.
- A silver denarius from Spain dated 18 BC has the head of Augustus on the obverse side and on the reverse the words “CAESAR AUGUSTUS”, his family name and the title granted by the Senate. Laurel leaves appear on this coin and relate to the honours referred to in Section 34 of *Res Gestae*.

⁶ Wallace-Hadrill, *Augustan Rome*, Bristol Classical Press, London, 1993, pp 96-7

⁷ However, accusations of disrespecting the image could be thrown at rivals for political gain. Augustus ignored such things but unfortunately some of his successors often took such accusations seriously.

⁸ Zanker, P, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, University of Michigan, 1990, p v

Figure 4.1: Coin showing Augustus' image.



The statue of Augustus of Prima Porta

One of the most well known images of Augustus is the statue of Augustus of Prima Porta. This statue was found in the villa on the Via Flaminia, of his wife, Livia. This statue shows Augustus ever young, strong and commanding, and is decorated with various propaganda messages. Some of these are explained in Figure 4.2.⁹

Figure 4.2: The statue of Augustus of Prima Porta



He is shown as a young, strong, victorious general addressing his troops. He has flawless features and his face is depicted in the manner of Apollo. He is seen as the personification of power and authority.

The gods witness Augustus' (diplomatic not military) victory over the Parthians. They include Apollo, Sol and Diana. Other figures on the cuirass represent peoples who have been subjugated and forced to pay tribute.

The central scene on the cuirass depicts the return of the standards that had been lost to the Parthians following Crassus' defeat in 53 BC. Antony had failed to achieve this. In the picture Tiberius is taking the standard from a Parthian leader, possibly Phraates IV. This restoration of Roman honour had great propaganda value.

There are veiled references to Augustus' possible divinity (though he never sought such status himself). He is barefoot, suggesting hero or divine nature. The small cupid (son of Venus) at his right foot rides a dolphin (Venus' patron animal). The Julian family claimed it was descended from the goddess Venus.

⁹ Propaganda will be dealt with more fully in Chapter 11.

The Ara Pacis

The image which is presented of Augustus in the Ara Pacis (the altar of peace) is quite different to the more usual triumphal images. The Ara Pacis was commissioned by the Senate in 13 BC and was designed to welcome Augustus from Spain and Gaul. It was consecrated in 9 BC and was meant to symbolise the peace and prosperity that had been achieved thanks to the “Pax Augusta”, the Augustan peace. The dark days of civil war seemed long gone. The building itself will be discussed in Chapter 10.

- The altar is surrounded by a square precinct wall broken by doorways leading to the altar.
- Around the wall is a frieze.
 - On one level the frieze celebrates a moment in time, Augustus’ return from Spain in 13 BC.
 - However, on another level it has a timeless quality.
- The two doorway ends can be viewed as male and female. At one end stand Romulus and Aeneas who are meant to personify the male values which have made Rome great: piety and virtue.
- At the other end is a female pair:

(See Chapter 10 for more on the Ara Pacis)

*“The female pair represents the consequences of those qualities: the victory of Rome, and the fruitful prosperity of the earth under Rome’s rule. Augustus’ family, male and female, make the link between the two.”*¹⁰

- Augustus is seen at the head of his family procession but not as a triumphal warrior, as the Prima Porta statue portrays him.
 - He is dressed as a priest, his head covered and surrounded by the priests of Rome.
 - The women and children of the Augustan household follow. The family is a model of virtue, morality and fertility.
 - The image being presented here complements the strong moral line that Augustus took in his religious and moral reforms (see Chapter 8).

Figure 4.3: Part of the frieze of the Ara Pacis



Figure 4.3 shows the family in procession. (Visitors to the reconstructed Ara Pacis in Rome will be told exactly who is who in the procession; Wallace-Hadrill suggests that such precise identification is impossible).

¹⁰ Wallace-Hadrill, p 74

Exercise 4.1

Read each of the following statements. Indicate true or false for each statement.

1	Augustus was very keen to flaunt the power he had by virtue of his "maius imperium".	TRUE/ FALSE
2	Images of Augustus on the Ara Pacis are not intended to present him as an all conquering hero.	TRUE/ FALSE
3	Images of Augustus which are produced during his rule show him steadily ageing.	TRUE/ FALSE
4	The statue of Augustus of the Prima Porta provides veiled references to Augustus' family's divine links to Venus.	TRUE/ FALSE
5	Coins minted by Augustus had propaganda value as well as a purely economic purpose.	TRUE/ FALSE
6	The images on the frieze of the Ara Pacis highlight the peace and prosperity that now existed under Roman and Augustan rule.	TRUE/ FALSE
7	Augustus held the post of Consul throughout most of the principate.	TRUE/ FALSE
8	Augustus would not have judged the scene involving the Parthians on the cuirass of the Prima Porta statue as particularly important.	TRUE/ FALSE
9	It is possible to accurately identify each of the characters depicted on the frieze of the Ara Pacis.	TRUE/ FALSE
10	The fact that Augustus is bare-foot on the Prima Porta statue might imply hero or divine status.	TRUE/ FALSE

Exercise 4.2

Use the terms in the below to complete the following passage.

Augustus took his religious duties seriously. He became a _____ at age sixteen and was made an _____ in 42 BC. However, he waited until Lepidus died before he took on the post of _____ in 12 BC. He was _____ on thirteen occasions but had consular imperium from 18 BC. He always preferred to emphasise his _____ rather than his _____ authority. Coins had _____ value and often suggested his family's _____ links though Augustus never claimed that he was a _____. The statue of Augustus of the Prima Porta shows Augustus as ever _____ and emphasises his success in retrieving the _____ lost to the _____ by Crassus at _____ in 53 BC. The Ara Pacis attempted to reinforce the Roman virtues of _____ and _____, and showed the _____ Rome now enjoyed under Augustus' rule.

virtue	tribunician	priest	Carrhae	propaganda	consul
young	augur	god	divine	prosperity	proconsular
piety	standards	pontifex maximus	Parthians		

Chapter 5: Augustus and the Senate: roles and responsibilities

Introductory comments

What had actually happened with the development of the principate?

(i) Was the Senate really back in control? Can we take Augustus at his word when he stated in the *Res Gestae* that:

*"I transferred the state from my own power to the control of the Roman senate and people."*¹

(ii) Or was the principate actually a dyarchy as the German historian, Mommsen, would have us believe with power shared between princeps and Senate - the princeps in control of part of the empire, the senate in control of another part?

(iii) Or had Tacitus accurately concluded about the reality of the principate:

*"Then he gradually pushed ahead and absorbed the functions of the Senate...Upper-class survivors found that slavish obedience was the way to succeed²...Political equality was a thing of the past; all eyes watched for imperial commands."*³

The republic had clearly not been restored. The idea that the senate had resumed its traditional powers and responsibilities is clearly not the case, despite the continuation of republican forms. The principate was no dyarchy. Augustus had not divided the power within the state; rather he had divided the administration of the empire and the work of government. This is obviously quite different to dividing the power.

The Settlements of 27 BC and 23 BC (see chapter 3) leave little doubt about where real power lay. The ultimate sanction and power in the Roman state was the army. Control of the military determined where real political power resided (as it does, of course, in any political system). Augustus ensured he had this power:

- His proconsular imperium in 27 whereby he maintained control of the legions in Gaul, Spain and Syria gave him unchallengeable military power.
- The granting of maius imperium in 23 (regularly renewed) ensured his word could never be realistically challenged.

Several factors determined the way that Augustus would deal with the senate.

- Augustus was astute when it came to dealing with the senate.
 - He was fully aware of the animosity that had developed between the senate and Julius Caesar.
 - Caesar's cavalier, indeed almost contemptuous attitude towards the senate had caused enormous resentment amongst Rome's elite and he paid for it with his life in 44 BC.

¹ *Res Gestae*, 34

² Tacitus, *The Annals of Imperial Rome*, Chapter 1, 1.2

³ Tacitus, Chapter 1, 1.3

- Augustus was a man who had a deep respect and affection for the traditions of Rome, be these political, cultural or religious.
 - Though his development of the principate can be seen as revolutionary, he was in fact deeply conservative.
 - He had no intention of dealing with the senate in a condescending or demeaning manner.
 - One of his aims as princeps would be in fact to restore the prestige and the leading role of the senate in the governing of Rome.
- Though Augustus had every intention of monopolising “real” power, he was eager to share the burden of governing such a vast empire. The experience and intellect of the senate was a crucial element in this.

Political astuteness, a conservative temperament and the requirements of empire would combine to determine the manner in which Augustus dealt with the senate.

The restoration of Senate dignity

A fundamental aim of Augustus’ senate policy was the restoration of its dignity and to make it a more worthy body. Augustus was granted censorial powers in 29 BC.⁴ A census of the whole people was taken and there was a revision of Senate membership in order to remove some of the unworthy members who had crept in during the civil wars.

*“The Senatorial Order now numbered more than 1000 persons, some of whom...(had) secured admission after Caesar’s death through influence or bribery. The sight of this sad and ill-assorted rabble decided Augustus to restore the Order to its former size and repute...”*⁵

To this end, Augustus took the following steps:

- Senate membership was reduced from 1000 to 800.
- Augustus’ name was placed at the head of the list as Princeps Senatus.
- A second revision of Senate membership was undertaken in 18 BC. The size of the senate was reduced from 800 to 600.

*“The three revisions of the senatorial roll... in 28 BC, 18 BC and 11 BC, and the fourth which he entrusted to a commission in AD 4, show what importance he attached to the respectability of the Senate.”*⁶

As well as reducing the size of the senate, Augustus also sought to make membership of the senate more difficult to achieve and therefore more prestigious. Members were usually recruited from the Senatorial Order, ie men of senatorial birth. However, Augustus added new conditions to membership. To be a senator, one now had to:

- be worth at least one million sesterces;⁷
- have normally completed a period of military service, perhaps as a tribunes militum;
- be a man of high personal integrity.

Not only did Augustus improve the quality of senate membership, he took steps to improve the quality of senate behaviour. To Augustus, membership of the senate brought with it enormous prestige and status and he was determined this would be earned. Steps he took in this direction included:

- Members were fined for non-attendance. He expected them to attend and take seriously the issues which were being discussed. Such fines were increased in 17 BC and again in 9 BC.

⁴ He avoided taking the office of censor to avoid giving offence. By doing this he was following republican precedent as before the position of censor had been created, such powers had, on occasions, been handed to leading figures on a short term basis.

⁵ Seutonius, *The Twelve Caesars, Augustus*, 35

⁶ Jones, *AHM, Augustus, Chatto and Windus, London, 1980, p 91*

⁷ He gave financial help to some ‘worthy’ families to allow them to remain.

- Senators were not allowed to leave Italy without permission.
- Sittings were made more dignified. He ruled that:

“...each member should offer incense and wine at the altar of whatever temple had been selected for a meeting...”⁸

- To make sure that all senators were paying attention to the business at hand, Augustus introduced the practice of senators being called upon randomly to speak rather than the custom of calling on senators in order of seniority:

“...this was intended to make all present take an alert interest in proceedings and feel responsible for constructive thought, instead of merely rising to remark: ‘I agree with the last speakers’...”⁹

However, attendance remained a problem due largely to the fact that the reality of real decision making was made beyond the confines of the senate chamber. Most sessions of the senate it would appear were quiet, indeed even dull. On several occasions, Augustus reduced the number of senators needed for a quorum and later laid down different numbers depending on the type of business being considered.

Augustus working with the Senate

There were several ways in which Augustus could pass laws himself. From 23 BC, he could use his *tribunicia potestas* to present bills to the people. In addition he could take direct action by issuing judicial decisions, giving instructions to officials and replying to petitions. The Senate eventually gained the right to pass laws when its *senatus consulta* (advice) became law. Though this did not occur officially till after Augustus’ time, some *consulta* did become law on occasions during Augustus’ rule.

Augustus established “a drafting committee comprising himself, the consuls, one from each college of magistrates, and fifteen other senators chosen by lot, changing every six months.”¹⁰ This *concilium principis*, formed sometime after 27 BC, was certainly efficient and ensured that things were done quickly. It was representative of the senate. However, it is obvious that due to Augustus’ *auctoritas* alone, his views would prevail. The *concilium* had the effect of gradually reducing the senate to a rubber stamp. Most senate sessions became occupied with passing measures that had been worked out in advance.

“...But though in practice the senate increasingly developed into an active legislative assembly, the initiative and advice behind its activity may often have come from the emperor.”¹¹

Augustus’ astute handling of the senate meant that he rarely faced the animosity which Julius Caesar had. Indeed, Augustus brought the senate:

“...under the wing of his patronage and used them and the system of which they were a part whilst appearing to do no more than to uphold the integrity of the Republican system.”¹²

By showing the senate respect and giving its members real responsibility, he was achieving two key aims:

1. he was limiting the chance of ambitious members seeking to oppose his rule
2. he was able to use members as part of a senatorial civil service which was needed for running the expanse of the empire.

Augustus had thus increased the dignity of the senate, had improved its membership, consciously showed it respect and allowed its representatives to influence the formulation of policy in the *concilium principis*.¹³

⁸ Suetonius, 35

⁹ Suetonius, 35

¹⁰ Jones, p 93

¹¹ Scullard, *From the Gracchi to Nero*, Methuen, London, 1970, p 227

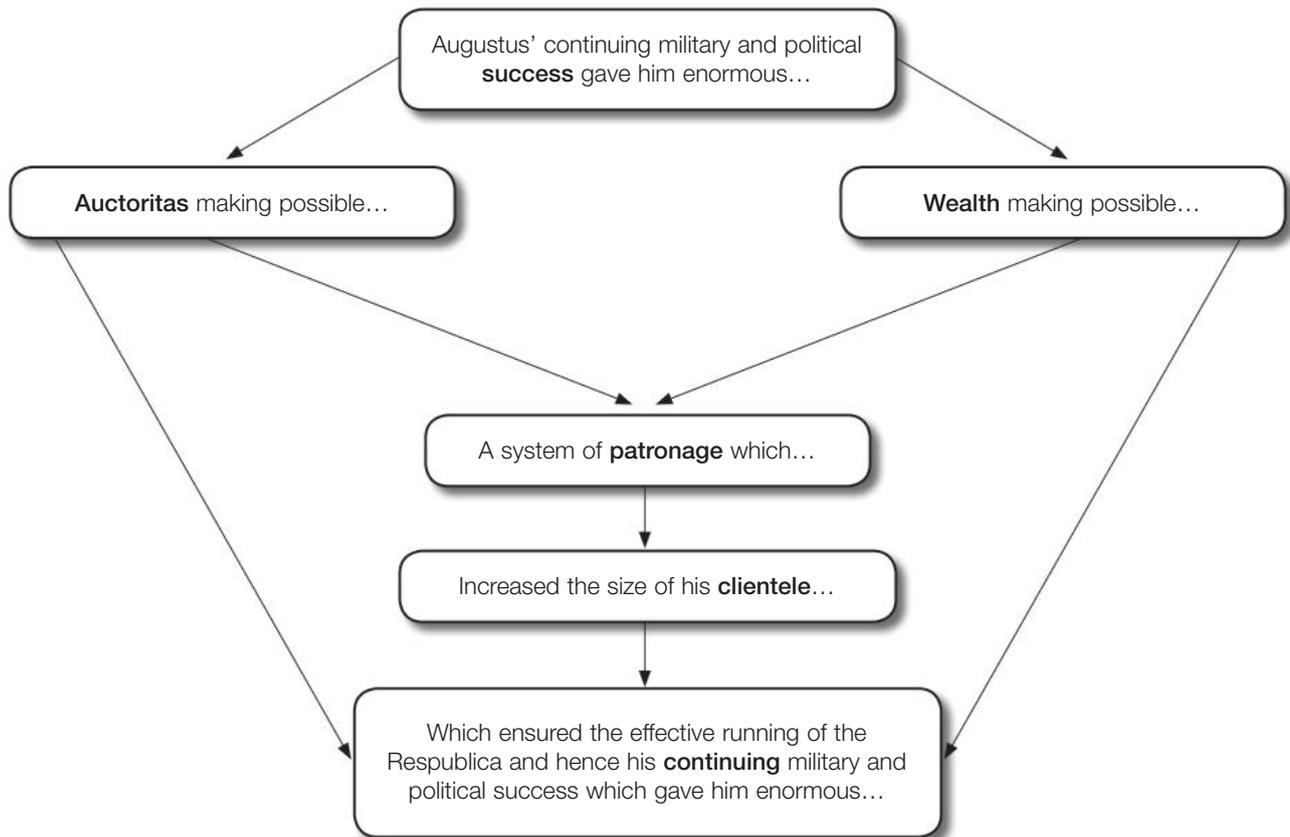
¹² Shotter, *Augustus Caesar*, Routledge, London, 1991, p 37

¹³ In the following chapter, the specific ways in which Augustus used the magistrates and the officials in running the *Respublica* will be discussed.

Shotter shows that Augustus' successes had given him enormous *auctoritas* and wealth which made possible the wielding of enormous patronage to senate members (and other groups in Rome). This increased the size of his clientele.

"...it was this *auctoritas* that led to the enormous powers of patronage available to him and it was this patronage that provided the means for the *Respublica* to function...*Auctoritas*, then, and patronage, were the means by which compliance was achieved." ¹⁴

Figure 5.1 summarises this idea.



Exercise 5.1

Test your factual knowledge

1	Where does Augustus say he handed back all his powers to the senate?	
2	What system had developed in Rome after 27 BC according to the German historian Mommsen?	
3	Which power ultimately ensured that Augustus would wield the real power in Rome?	
4	Which term better describes Augustus' attitude to government: radical innovator or traditional conservative?	
5	How big was the Senate that Augustus inherited? How big was it after 18 BC?	

¹⁴ Shotter, p 32, p 34

6	What was the financial qualification for Senate membership?	
7	What committee was formed to assist in the formulation of legislation?	
8	According to Shotter, which two factors enabled Augustus to wield enormous patronage?	
9	How did Augustus ensure senators had to pay attention during senate debates?	
10	Did senators need permission to leave Italy?	

Exercise 5.2

Indicate whether you think each of the following statements is a fact or an opinion.

1	Augustus had deliberately and carefully restored the Republic to its former glory.	FACT/ OPINION
2	Tacitus believed that Augustus had destroyed the remnants of liberty which existed under the Republic.	FACT/ OPINION
3	The granting of <i>maius imperium</i> to Augustus in 23 BC ensured his future domination of the military.	FACT/ OPINION
4	The senate had acquired greater dignity and influence during the principate of Augustus than during the Republic.	FACT/ OPINION
5	Augustus' reforms of senate membership and performance were crucial for the well-being of Rome.	FACT/ OPINION
6	Augustus was given the title <i>pater patriae</i> in 2 BC?	FACT/ OPINION
7	Augustus clearly deserved to be given the title <i>pater patriae</i> in 2 BC?	FACT/ OPINION
8	The <i>Res Gestae</i> is an accurate and comprehensive account of Augustus' time in power.	FACT/ OPINION
9	Augustus' wealth and his <i>auctoritas</i> made possible a system of imperial patronage.	FACT/ OPINION
10	Augustus' system of imperial patronage was the key reason for his continuing hold on power.	FACT/ OPINION

Chapter 6:

Roles of magistrates and officials

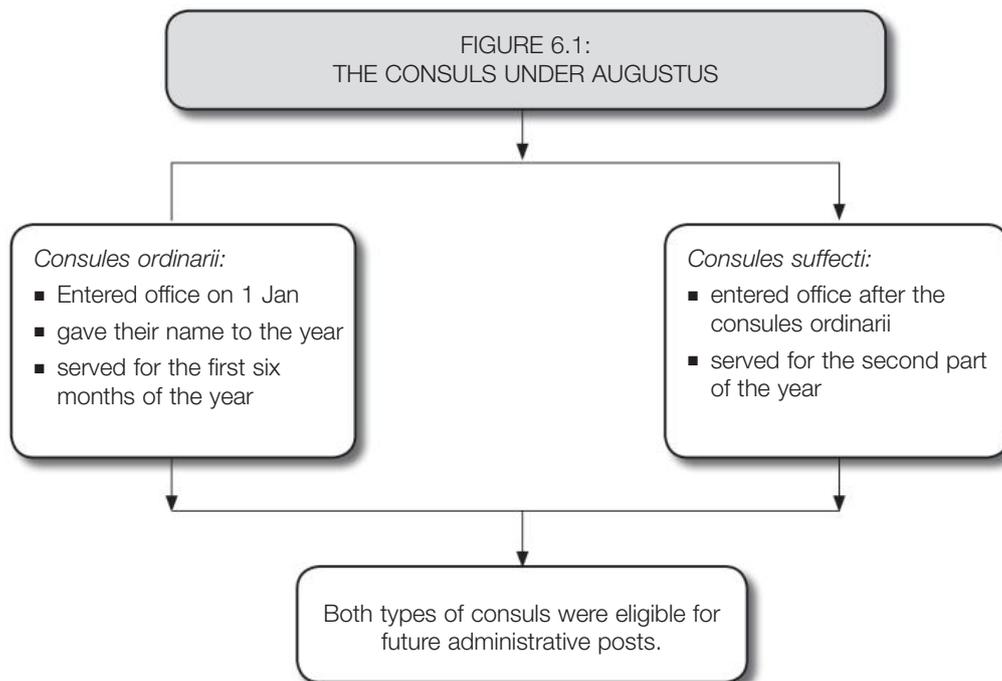
The consuls

The most desired position of power and authority in the Republic had been the consulship. Each year Rome would have two consuls. The great men of Rome aspired to this position for a variety of reasons:

- it represented the peak of one's public career;
- it gave one enormous auctoritas;
- it opened up the possibility after the consulship of governorship of one of Rome's provinces.

Augustus had been a consul in 43 BC and again in 33 BC; he then held the position of consul between 31 BC and 23 BC. This caused upset amongst Rome's nobility because his monopoly of one of the consular posts halved the opportunity men had of rising to this prestigious position. It was to allay senate disquiet that Augustus stepped down from the consulship after 23 BC (see chapter 3).¹ From 5 BC, Augustus introduced the system of *consules ordinarii* and *consules suffecti*.

Figure 6.1 summarises the key points regarding this change.



Having served their year (or six months from 5 BC), consuls could:

- become a proconsul of the provinces of Asia or Africa;
- become a *legatus propraetore*, governor of an imperial province and thus have command of an army.
- take on a specific task such as looking after water, grain, road, public construction, regulation of the River Tiber;

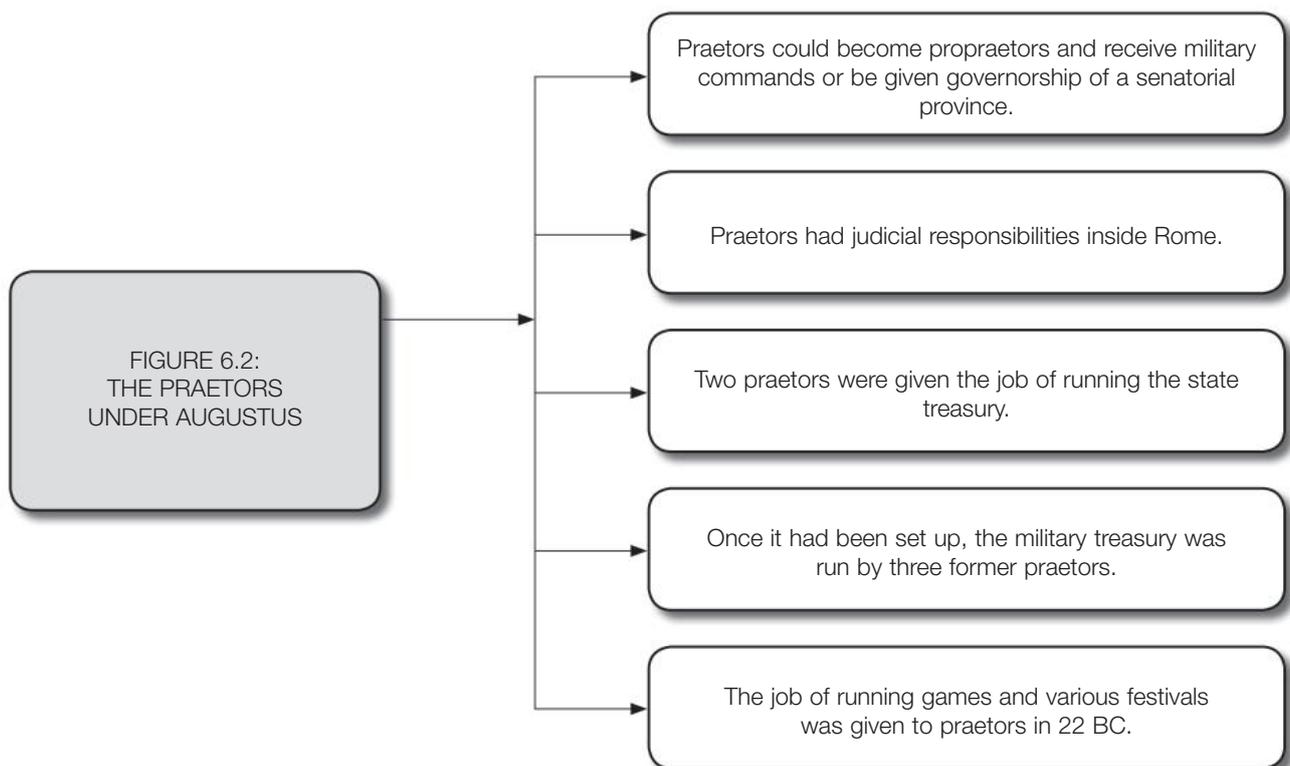
¹ Augustus did take the consulship on two more occasions in 5 BC and 2 BC.

- take on responsibility for hearing provincial appeals;
- receive minor foreign envoys.

Towards the end of Augustus' rule, there was an increasing number of members of newly ennobled families and *novi homines*² reaching the office of consul.

The praetors

During Augustus' time, the praetors continued to have significant responsibilities. Figure 6.2 summaries their key roles.



The aediles

During the Republic, the aedileship had been a highly sought position because it gave prominence to its holder. However, under Augustus, many of the traditional functions of the aedile were gradually taken away.

- *Aediles* lost control of the corn supply in 22 BC;
- they lost control of the games in 22 BC;³
- in 11 BC they lost control of aqueducts;
- in AD 6 they lost control of the fire service.

Praetors gained control of games and festivals, while equestrians gained key posts in charge of areas such as grain supply and fire control. Not surprisingly, the post of aedile became a much less sought after post during Augustus' time.

*"...All they had left was the repair of the streets and a petty jurisdiction in commercial cases. It is not surprising that...according to Dio, the aedileship was filled compulsorily by lot from ex-quaestors and ex-tribunes."*⁴

² Literally means 'new men', ie the first of a family to enter the Senate (or less generally to become a consul).

³ This was significant because staging "good games" was a means of gaining popularity.

⁴ Jones, AHM, *Augustus*, Chatto and Windus, London, 1980, p 87

The quaestors

The post of *quaestor* continued to be sought after because it was a prerequisite for entry into the senate. Under Augustus, the *quaestors* had certain responsibilities:

- some quaestors, normally ten, were expected to serve in the provinces;
 - they might serve as financial officials in senatorial provinces, *quaestor pro praetore*;
- other quaestors had responsibilities working for the consuls or for the princeps;
- under later emperors, quaestors took on additional roles, eg during Claudius' reign (AD 41-54) they might become officials at the public treasury.

Exercise 6.1

Read each of the following statements. Indicate true or false for each statement.

1	More and more people aspired to the position of aedile during the principate of Augustus.	TRUE/ FALSE
2	The post of <i>quaestor</i> was a pre-requisite to entry into the senate.	TRUE/ FALSE
3	By the end of Augustus' rule, Rome had four consuls a year.	TRUE/ FALSE
4	<i>Praetors</i> often had the opportunity to take on provincial commands after their term of office.	TRUE/ FALSE
5	<i>Aediles</i> gradually increased their range of responsibilities during the principate.	TRUE/ FALSE
6	<i>Praetors</i> lost their role in supervising the state treasury.	TRUE/ FALSE
7	During the rule of Augustus, most nobles had lost interest in aspiring to the position of <i>consul</i> .	TRUE/ FALSE
8	Augustus refused to accept the position of <i>consul</i> after the Settlement of 23 BC.	TRUE/ FALSE
9	<i>Praetors</i> took the control of staging games in 22 BC.	TRUE/ FALSE
10	The <i>consules ordinarii</i> were superior to the <i>consules suffecti</i> .	TRUE/ FALSE

Exercise 6.2

Complete the following passage using the terms in the box below.

Augustus took on his third consulship in _____, and maintained that position up until 23 BC. Augustus' assumption of _____ imperium in 19 BC meant he did not need to be a consul to wield power in Rome. However, his main source of power remained his _____ imperium, made _____ in 23 BC. The consulship remained _____ during the principate and to assist the _____ of those seeking the office, Augustus increased the number of consuls from two to four a year in _____. The office of _____ was still sought as it made possible entry into the senate. The office of _____ could lead to military commands in the _____ after the holding of that office. During Augustus' time, the office of _____ ceased to have as much attraction as before as it lost responsibility of staging the _____ and controlling the _____ supply. For all the constitutional tinkering that occurred at this time, power remained in the hands of the _____.

princeps	consular	praetor	games	31 BC	maius
proconsular	popular	quaestor	empire	corn	aedile
ambitions	5 BC				

Chapter 7:

Significance of equestrians and freedmen

The Equestrians

Background

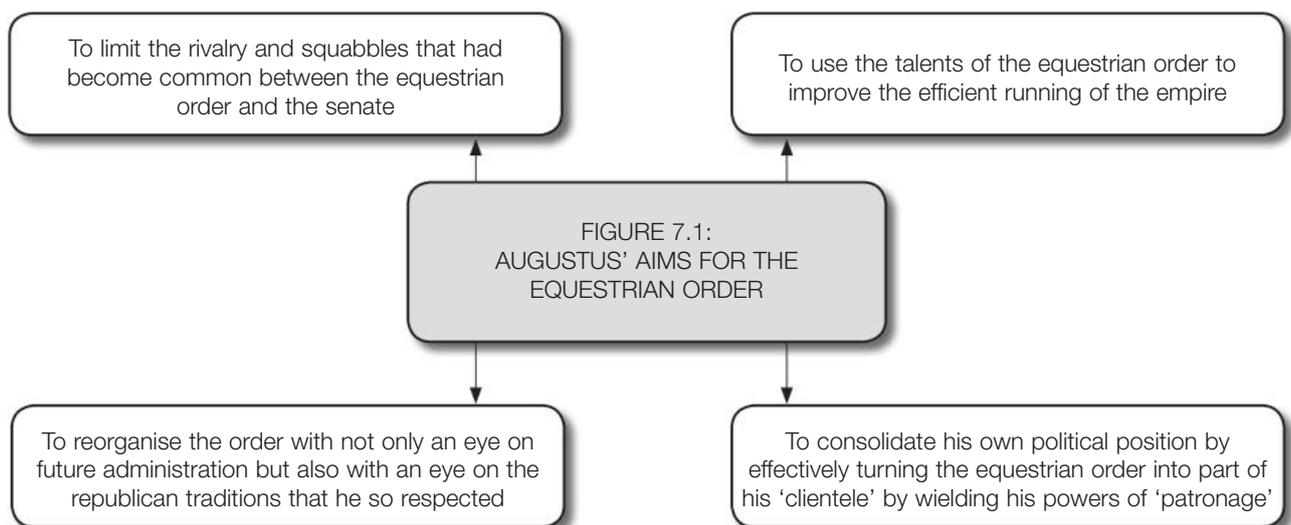
The *equestrians*, or *equites* to use the Latin term, were originally elite knights who fought for the Republic and were provided with their horses by the state. As Rome grew and the need for cavalry forces increased, wealthy men could join the equites by providing their own horses.

However, by the second century BC, the role of the equestrians had changed a great deal.

- They had become Rome's commercial/ business class, some of whom became extremely wealthy. As the empire grew, there were great opportunities for making money in trade.
- As the Republic did not have a formal civil service, the equestrians took on such roles as public works construction, supplying the army and the all important task of tax collection.
 - Senators were forbidden from engaging in such commercial activities which of course gave the equestrians even greater opportunities for making money.
 - Equestrians did not stand for office and did not enter the senate.

This lack of political influence eventually began to rankle with the equestrians. They were obviously playing a key role in the running of the empire but had no political influence. In a sense they were at the mercy of the senatorial class. By the time of the late Republic, a deep sense of rivalry had developed between the senatorial order and the equestrian order.

As Augustus approached the problem of what to do with the equestrian order, he had several objectives as Figure 7.1 illustrates.



“Augustus saw that his political security and administrative efficiency in the Empire offered an opportunity for reform of that order.”¹

To achieve this aim, Augustus therefore hoped to steer the clear business skills and know-how of the equestrians away from the simple pursuit of profit towards the patriotic service of the *Respublica*.

¹ Shotter, D, *Augustus Caesar*, Routledge, London, 1991, p 37

Augustus and the Equestrian Order

With the new organisation of the state into apparently imperial and senatorial “spheres of influence”, Augustus had to be careful not to anger the senatorial order by asking it to carry out tasks in his “sphere”. The new posts that had to be filled were not part of the republican tradition and so could not be seen as magistracies. He did not wish to offend:

*“...the pride of the great republican houses by virtually asking them to become his personal servants. They regarded themselves as his social equals and he was wise enough not to discourage their delusion.”*²

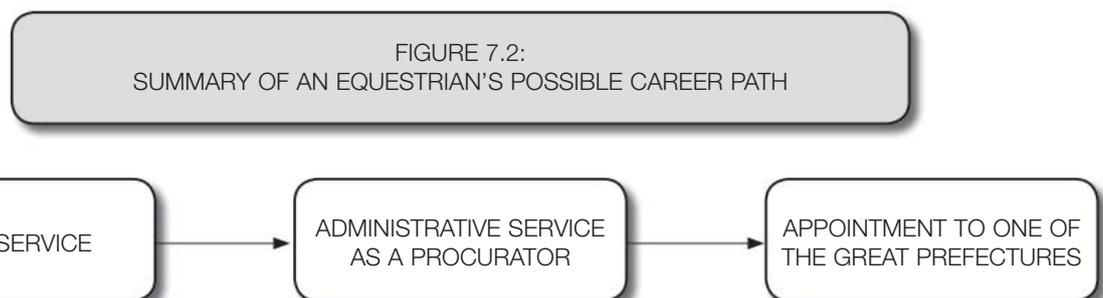
Thus, it was to the Equestrian Order that Augustus turned. His efforts would result in not only the consolidation of his power and the development of an efficient system of imperial rule, it would lead to the creation of a *Concordia ordinum* (the harmony of the equestrian and the senatorial orders who would, from now on, work together for the good of the state).

Augustus proceeded to **reorganise** the equestrian order in a manner similar to his reorganisation of the senatorial order. He set out to control membership of the order and to provide it with a career structure similar to that open to senators. To be eligible for membership of the order, conditions had to be met:

- a man had to be worth at least 400 000 sesterces;
- before an equestrian was allowed to progress through the new career path gradually put in place by Augustus, members had to complete “a military ‘apprenticeship’ as a praefectus or military tribune”;³
 - this reestablishment of a connection between military service and membership of the equestrian order appealed to Augustus’ traditional, conservative sentiments.
- membership was possible either by birth or by appointment, but members were recruited mainly as appointees of the princeps.

Membership of the equestrian order brought with it certain privileges ranging from the right to sit in the front fourteen rows at the theatre to being able to wear a tunic with a narrow purple stripe, to the wearing of a gold ring and the right to be members of certain jury courts.

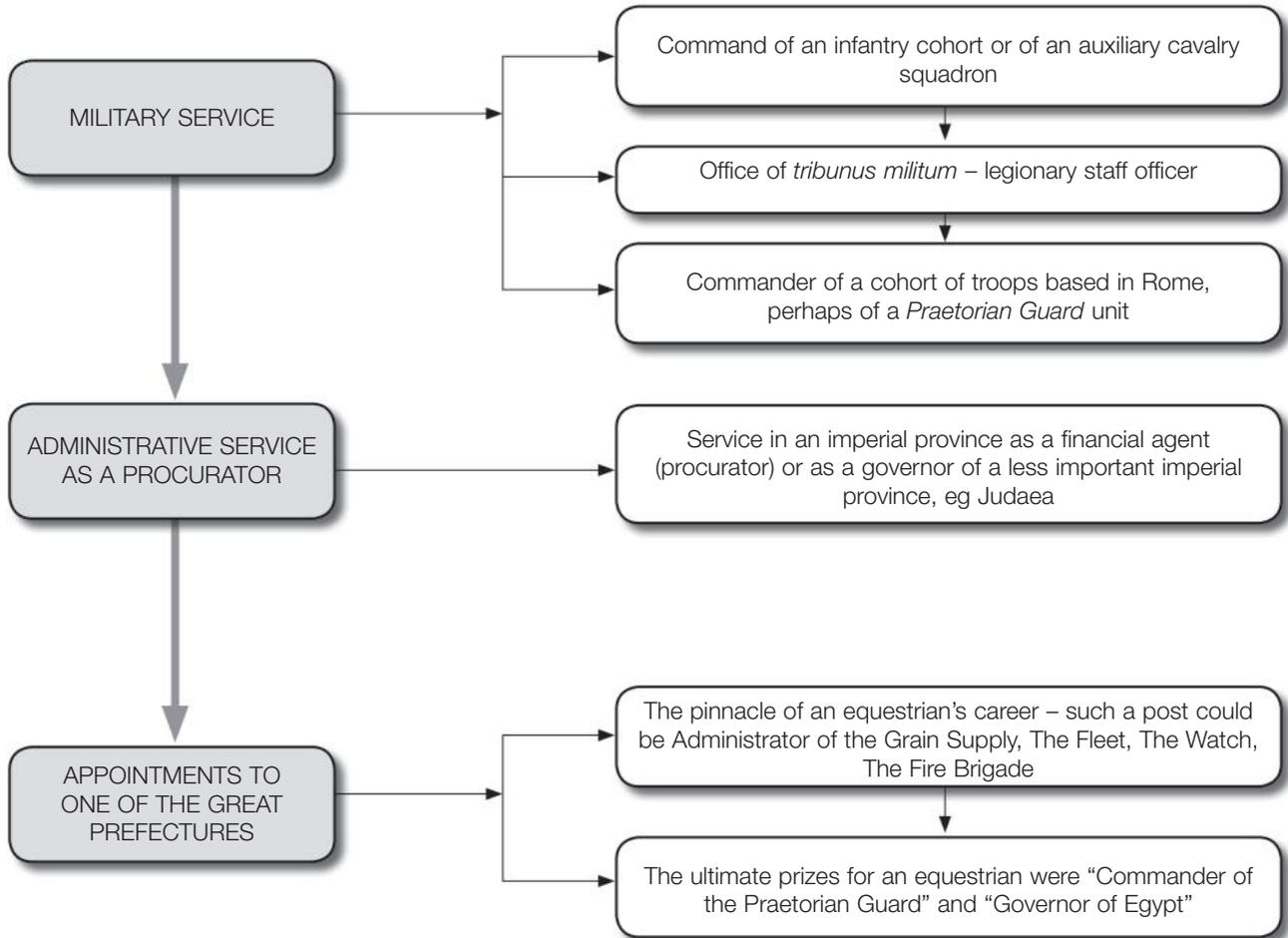
The career path of an equestrian can be broadly seen as having three key stages as shown in Figure 7.2 below.



² Salmon, ET, *A History of the Roman World 30 BC to AD 138*, Methuen, London, 1970, p 53

³ Shotter, p 38

Figure 7.3 below explains these three stages in an equestrian's potential career path in more detail.



Augustus' success with the Equestrian Order

The reorganisation of the equestrians was a major triumph for Augustus.

- He had created an imperial civil service which led to the efficient running of the empire. The people who now worked in administrative posts in the empire were professionals who served for a long time and received a decent salary. The result was the gradual end of misgovernment and corruption.

*"This aspect of the work of Augustus was not the most spectacular, but it was one of the most important... (he had) created a means not only to hold the Empire together but also to promote its well-being."*⁴

- The efficient and fair running of the empire meant that provincial unrest declined.

*"Without it, discontent would certainly have grown in the provinces, requiring a greater expenditure on troops than Augustus wished to contemplate."*⁵

- The first governor of Egypt was an equestrian, Augustus' friend Cornelius Gallus. Egypt was granted a significant force and the governor's subordinate officers were also equestrians. Egypt remained effectively Augustus' personal possession and he was keen to avoid any potential senatorial opponent running the province.
- He had created a system that was not only attractive to ambitious men but which also ended the feuding between senatorial and equestrian orders.

⁴ Scullard, *From the Gracchi to Nero*, Methuen, London, 1970, p 234

⁵ Shotter, p 38

*“The equestrian posts were so attractive that many individuals who were eligible for the senatorial career deliberately selected the equestrian instead.”*⁶

- Augustus made possible the mobility from one order to another.

*“If insufficient candidates of the required senatorial rank presented themselves for election as tribunes of the people, Augustus nominated knights to fill the vacancies; but allowed them, when their term of office had expired, either to remain members of the Equestrian Order or to become senators.”*⁷

Exercise 7.1

Rewrite the following passage so that it reads logically.

To achieve this he reorganized the order in a similar manner to the way he reorganised the senatorial order. Augustus sought to overcome this. During the late Republic, there had developed significant conflict between the senatorial and equestrian orders. Members could now progress from military service to work as a procurator to appointment to a prefecture. However, not only did he want to create harmony between the orders, he wanted to properly utilize the obvious talents of the equestrian order. Having reorganized the order, he set about creating a formal career path for equestrians.

The Freedmen

Slavery was an integral part of Roman life but there was wide variation in the lives of slaves lived. Not all were beaten galley slaves; many were highly educated and relied upon by their masters. The process of freeing a slave was known as manumission and freed slaves in Rome were known as *‘libertini’*.

Freedom did not bring automatic citizen rights.

- Freed slaves took the citizenship of their former master but restrictions meant that they were not seen as full Roman citizens.
- They could not hold a magistracy, serve in the Praetorian Guard or legions,⁸ and could not intermarry with the senatorial class.
- They also had to wear a special cap which marked them as freed slaves which in turn stigmatised them socially.

Taxes were levied on manumission and Augustus was not overly keen on the process. He wanted to limit the foreign element in the citizen body and several laws were passed which limited the chances of freed slaves.

⁶ Salmon, p 57

⁷ Suetonius, *The Twelve Caesars, Augustus*, 40

⁸ Freedmen were enrolled into the army at times of crises such as the Pannonian Revolt (AD 6) and the Varian disaster (AD 9) but not as legionaries but as members of special cohorts.

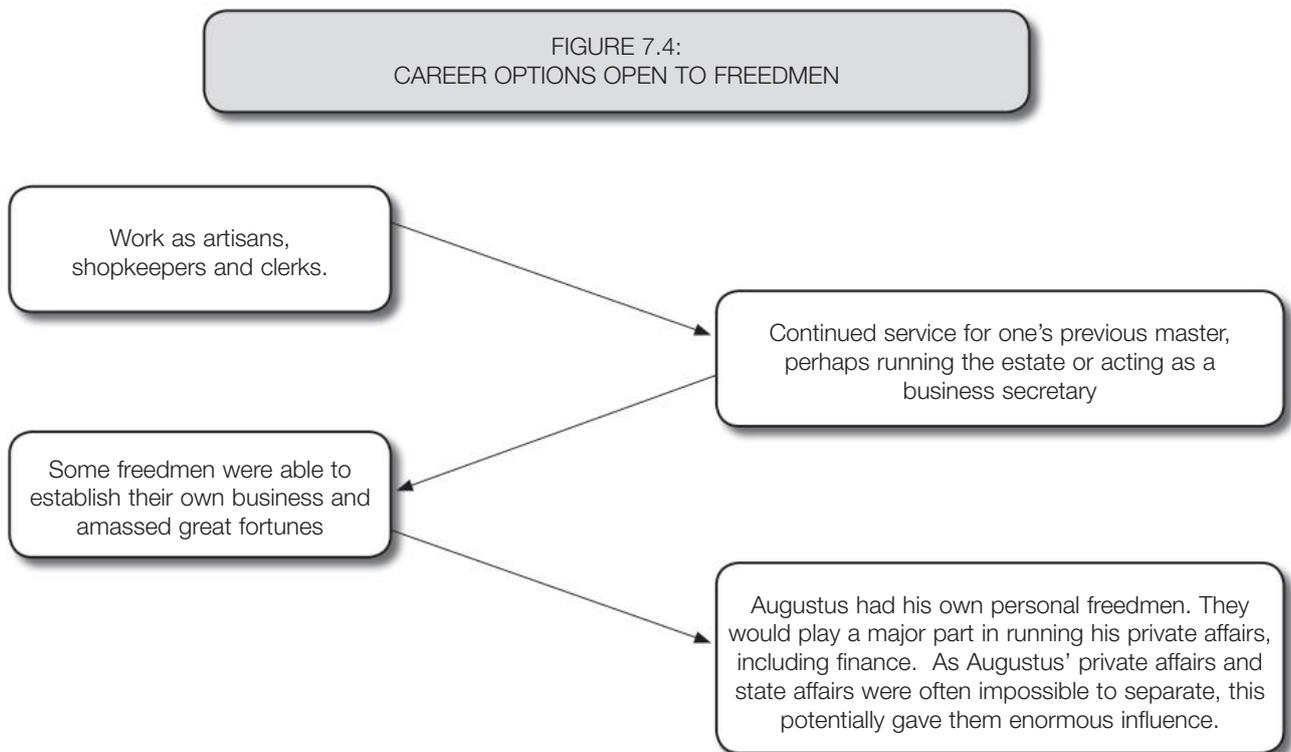
- In 2 BC, the *Lex (law) Fufia Caninia* was passed. This law provided for a limit on the number of slaves that could be freed by a master in his will.
- In AD 4, the *Lex Aelia Sentia* limited the freeing of slaves by imposing age limits, ie the master had to be at least twenty, the slave thirty.

However, there was a positive side to being a freedman, apart from the obvious notion of freedom. Former masters would continue to protect their former slaves' legal interests. Freedmen could marry free born women and their children were considered as free born or *ingenui*. They could become priests of the non-Roman gods and later played a role in the cult of Rome. An institution called the *Seviri Augustales* was formed in some Italian towns to promote the cult of Augustus (see chapter 8) and this was manned by freedmen.

*"He was not, however, hostile to wealthy and public-spirited freedmen gaining some social recognition."*⁹

During Augustus' time, a career path was made available for able freedmen.

Figure 7.4 below summarises the areas in which a freedman might become involved.



Under later emperors, freedmen came to wield enormous influence in the imperial household. The emperor Claudius (AD 41-54) was attacked by his opponents as being under the virtual control of his freedmen such as Narcissus, Pallas and Callistus.

⁹ Jones, *Augustus, Chatto and Windus, London, 1980, p 139*

Exercise 7.2

Read each of the following statements. Indicate true or false for each statement.

1	Equestrians had greater social status than senators.	TRUE/ FALSE
2	Senators were happy to work in imperial provinces for the princeps.	TRUE/ FALSE
3	Equestrians were able to rise to positions of significant power and influence.	TRUE/ FALSE
4	Freedmen still suffered restrictions even after their manumission.	TRUE/ FALSE
5	Freedmen who worked in the imperial household came to wield enormous influence.	TRUE/ FALSE
6	Children of freedmen were forever limited by their fathers' former slave status.	TRUE/ FALSE
7	Only equestrians could become the Governor of Egypt.	TRUE/ FALSE
8	Augustus attempted to limit the amount of manumission.	TRUE/ FALSE
9	Freedmen were called upon to serve in the Cult of Augustus.	TRUE/ FALSE
10	Augustus largely failed in ending the conflict between the equestrian and the senatorial orders.	TRUE/ FALSE

Chapter 8:

Augustan reforms: political, social, legal, religious and administrative

The tasks that faced Augustus when he had gained control of Rome were enormous. He had to reform a political system which had proved incapable of running a giant empire and of controlling ambitious generals backed by their legions. He had to reorganise and make workable the finances of the empire. He had to restore administrative order in areas ranging from public works to road construction to maintaining reliable food supplies to controlling fires to the fair and efficient governing of the provinces. In Augustus' eyes, moral and religious decline had set in during the latter part of the republic and he sought to regenerate and uplift Rome in a spiritual way. He also needed to restore confidence and fairness to a legal system which had fallen into disrepute during the republican era. These were problems on which Augustus would have to work throughout his entire principate.

Political reforms

Chapters 3-7 dealt with the ways in which Augustus remodelled the political system to his, and to Rome's, advantage. In summary, Augustus' achievements included:

- The creation of the system of the principate which maintained power in the hands of Augustus by virtue of his *maius imperium* and *tribunician potestas*.
 - However, this was done by maintaining and strengthening the institutions of the republic.
 - The new political system was in place after the Settlements of 27 BC and 23 BC, with some minor adjustments in later years. ¹
- Augustus was keen not to give the appearance of dictatorial or even worse monarchical powers.
 - He was careful not to monopolise political office (eg he gave up what seemed to be a perpetual consulship in 23 BC). Having *maius imperium* and *Tribunician potestas* meant that he did not need to take on exceptional powers of an unconstitutional nature.
 - He was instead keen for the people to 'honour' him and thus add to his *auctoritas*.
 - He made full use of the imperial propaganda to promote his image. ²
- A key element in Augustus' political reforms was his management of the senate.
 - There was never any doubt where real power lay during the principate, but Augustus was careful not to offend senators.
 - He reorganised the senatorial order and in so doing attempted to increase the dignity and prestige of that body.
 - He not only needed to allay any potential senate opposition but he also needed to make use of the administrative skills of the senate in running Rome and 'their' parts of the empire. ³
- Another problem that Augustus inherited from the republic was the issue of the growing conflict between the senatorial and equestrian orders.
 - Not only did Augustus manage to defuse this conflict, he also managed to reorganise the equestrian order in such a way that it became able to contribute to the efficient running of the empire.

¹ See Chapter 3

² See Chapter 4

³ See Chapters 5 and 6

- Augustus restored the equestrian order's links with its military origins.
- He gave it its own form of 'dignitas' and provided the order with its own career path. ⁴
- In addition Augustus faced major problems in imperial administration, frontier policy and what to do with the army. ⁵

Social reforms

For the vast majority of people in Rome and the empire, life in the Augustan age would have been hard. One's daily existence involved often back-breaking work to eke out a meagre existence. Luxury, ostentation and excess were the reserve of the privileged few.

- However, by the late republic, an upper class minority had become accustomed to 'living the good life' with no regard to how distasteful or unfair such behaviour would have appeared to the bulk of the population.
- Enormous amounts of money were spent on lavish homes, clothes, jewellery and feasting.

"the prevalence (of such vices) in high Roman society no doubt created the impression that the Roman people as a whole was in dire need of reform." ⁶

Augustus sought to curb such decadent behaviour by introducing various Sumptuary Laws which limited such excess. In doing this, Augustus was no narrow-minded bigot who wished to abolish wealth. Rather he simply did not want Rome's growing prosperity to undermine traditional values. His conservative temperament was behind such thinking. However, his attempts generally ended in failure.

In addition to excessive luxury, Augustus was keenly aware of the perceived general decline of moral standards in Roman society. Augustus could see the signs of moral laxity and immoral behaviour everywhere:

- fewer and fewer people were getting married;
- those who were married took their vows lightly and adultery had become not only commonplace but fashionable;
- divorce was becoming increasingly common;
- fewer Romans were bothering to have children, seeing them as too much trouble and a hindrance to enjoying life;
- prostitution was rife (though this was hardly unique to Rome).

In order to deal with this moral decline, from 18 BC Augustus used his Tribunician powers to introduce a series of laws aimed at limiting such wrongful behaviour. These measures are summarised in Figure 8.1.

Augustus' laws in this area had little impact.

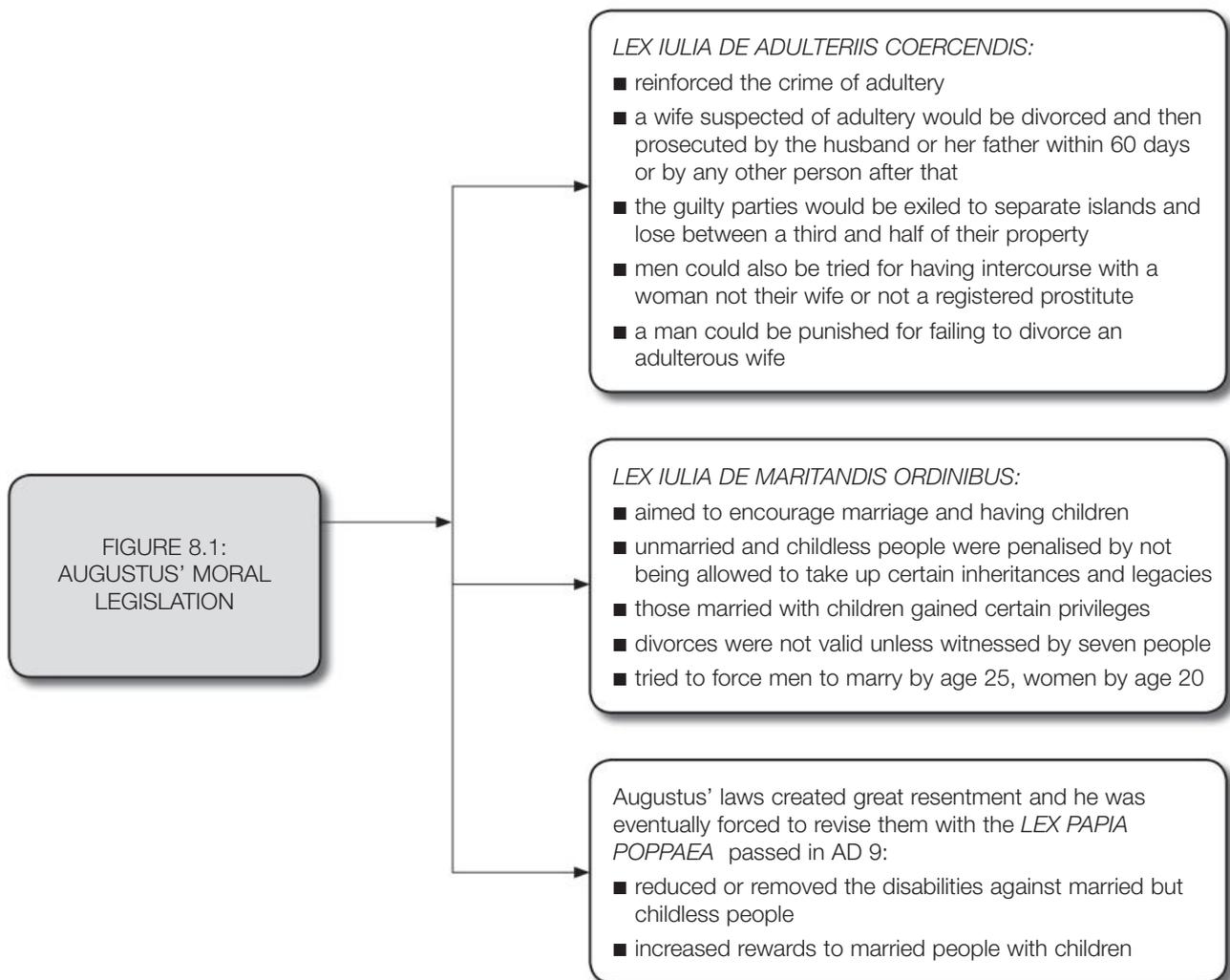
- men were still allowed to have sex with slaves, male or female, whether his property or someone else's;
- they could have sex with citizen women deemed 'not respectable', such as registered prostitutes, or tavern girls or actresses. ⁷

⁴ See Chapter 7

⁵ These issues will be dealt with in Chapters 16, 17 and 18.

⁶ Jones, AHM, *Augustus, Chatto and Windus, London, 1980, p 131*

⁷ *Some senators' wives later registered as prostitutes so that they could have affairs yet not be breaking the law.*



In fact, the whole exercise could be viewed as a giant act of hypocrisy. Augustus was married three times: to Clodia Pulchra (Antony's daughter), Scribonia and then Livia. He fathered only one child himself and in fact stole his third wife from her husband when she was heavily pregnant with her second child. His daughter, Julia, and granddaughter, Julia, were guilty of such gross promiscuity themselves he had them banished from Rome. His daughter's principal adulterer, Iullus Antonius, was executed. The authors of the *Lex Papia Poppaea* were themselves bachelors and two of Augustus' key literary supporters, Horace and Virgil, were also unmarried.

Wallace-Hadrill makes the point that the thrust of the morality laws was the maintenance of the dignity of citizenship and avoidance of polluting the citizen body. He argues that in terms of the sexual act itself, what mattered "*was not who penetrated but who was penetrated.*"⁸ Under Augustus' laws, a citizen could really do what they liked with a non-citizen, man or woman.

*"What the laws guarded against was the penetration, outside marriage, of a freeborn citizen woman or man...Guarded against sexual pollution, the citizen was urged towards marriage and the production of legitimate offspring by incentives."*⁹

Whether or not there actually was a decline in moral standards towards the end of the republic is, of course, impossible to quantify, either then or now. However, the perception was that there had been. Wallace-Hadrill argues that the family was seen as an analogy for society as a whole. What worse image exists at a time of civil war than brother against brother? Rome had imploded and civil war had torn apart both society and family. The emphasis on issues like marital fidelity and

⁸ Wallace-Hadrill, *Augustan Rome*, Bristol Classical Press, London, 1993, p 67

⁹ Wallace-Hadrill, p 67

procreation came from a traditional source. However, the need to bring together and restore society became linked with the idea of restoring the family unit.

*“The significance was more symbolic than practical: by purging the impurity of sexual transgression in the citizen family, so the sin of civil war in the citizen body was washed away.”*¹⁰

Legal reforms

Augustus took a keen interest in Rome’s judicial system. His fundamental aims were to remove judicial corruption and to speed up the process of justice. Suetonius relates that Augustus would sit through the night listening to cases and would sometimes have himself carried to a case in his litter if he was sick, rather than fail to attend. It was not unknown for Augustus to hear cases from his sick-bed. Suetonius states that Augustus was both a conscientious and a lenient judge.

*“...once, to save a man who had obviously committed parricide from being sewn up in a sack, he is said to have asked the accused: ‘I may assume, of course, that you did not kill your father?’”*¹¹ (the punishment for patricide – murder of one’s father – was to be thrown into a river or the sea sewn up in a sack with a snake, a dog, a cock and a monkey).

Augustus introduced a series of measures which he hoped would make the system of justice both in Rome and in the provinces more systematic. Some of these measures are summarised in Figure 8.2.



In the area of justice, Augustus both introduced new mechanisms and allowed traditional practices to continue.

- The traditional courts, *quaestiones*, continued to function and were run as before by praetors who heard serious cases which involved Roman citizens.
 - However, if a citizen lost a case he now had ‘right of appeal to Caesar’ (*appellatio ad Caesarem*).
 - One of the best known examples of this was St Paul’s appeal to Nero.
- Augustus introduced a new court for dealing with adultery cases.

¹⁰ Wallace-Hadrill, p 69

¹¹ Suetonius, *The Twelve Caesars, Augustus*, 33

- Two new courts were created.
 - One had the princeps acting in a judicial capacity, though Augustus did not make much use of this court.
 - A second court gave the senate prime jurisdiction. Under Augustus (and his successor Tiberius), the senate gained significant authority in trying its own members.¹²

Exercise 8.1

Match the description given on the left below, with the correct term or phrase provided in the box below.

1	An appeal a Roman citizen was able to make to the emperor in a legal matter	
2	Augustus' laws seeking to promote marriage and procreation	
3	The murder of one's father	
4	Augustus' laws discouraging and providing for the punishment of adultery	
5	Traditional law courts	
6	Law aimed at limiting excessive expenditure on and indulgence in luxuries	
7	The real source of Augustus' power	
8	Power used by Augustus to introduce his moral legislation	
9	'not respectable' citizen women	
10	Law which modified Augustus' earlier moral legislation	
sumptuary law Lex Iulia De Adulteriis Coercendis quaestiones appellatio ad Caesarem Lex Iulia De Maritandis Ordinibus tribunician potestas Lex Papia Poppaea maius imperium actresses/ tavern girls parricide		

Religious reforms

Religion in Rome had traditionally been about safeguarding the interests of the state rather than developing close personal connections between a man and his god(s). Since the 2nd century BC, there had been a growing tendency amongst ordinary Romans to turn towards foreign religions which intimated a personal relationship with a god and the chance of being looked after and later being granted some sort of salvation. The governing class in Rome saw these new religions as a threat because traditional religion with its rituals and priesthods allowed the noble class some hold

¹² Under later emperors, both courts came to be misused. Some emperors used their own court to deal with opponents while senate courts came to deliver verdicts which they believed the emperor of the day wanted.

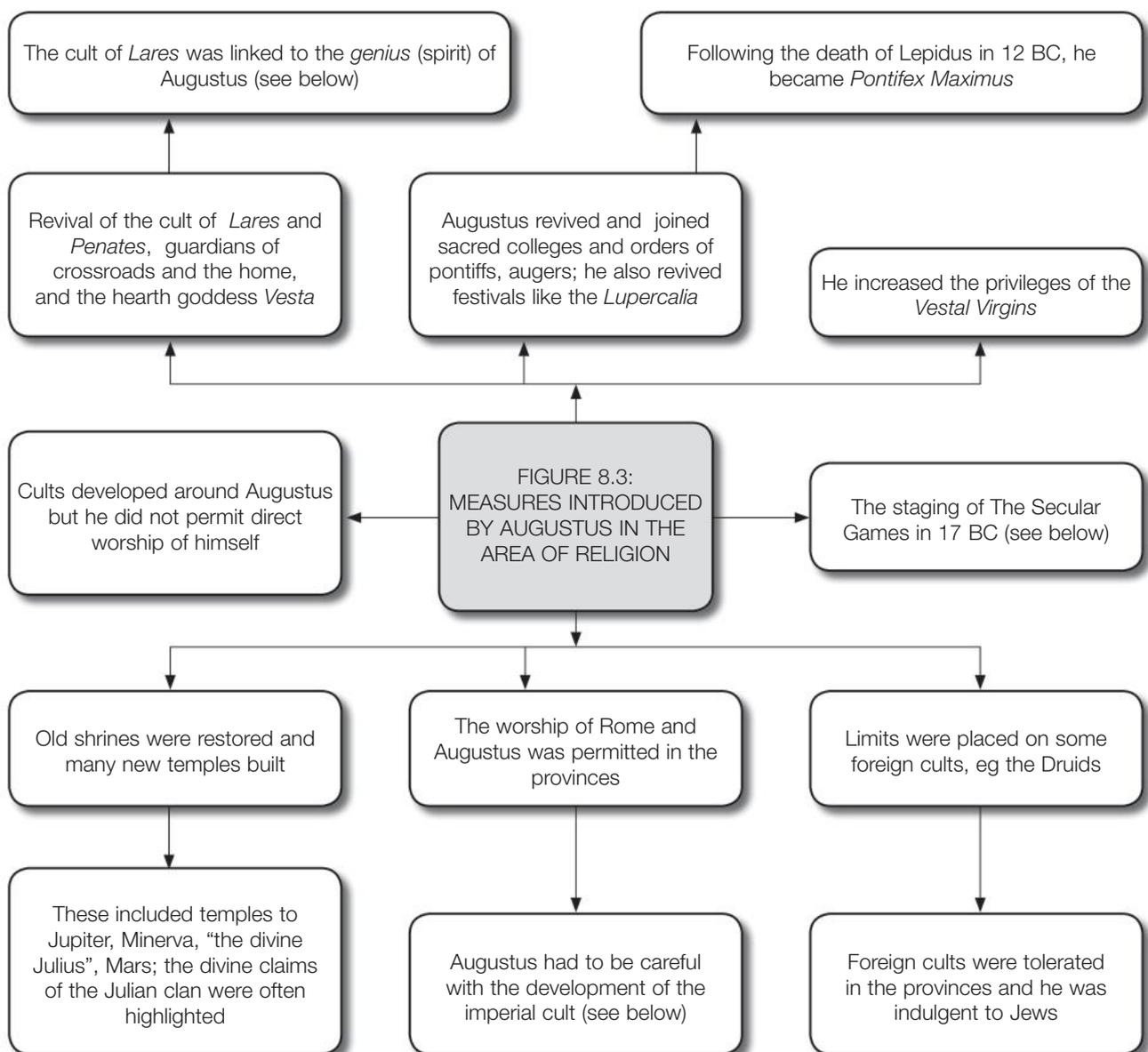
over ordinary people. The ‘orgiastic rites’ often associated with foreign gods were also seen as a threat to public morality.

Augustus would have shared such views. His objectives in the area of religion therefore combined political imperative and his naturally conservative tendencies. By reviving traditional religious practice and returning to old Roman virtues Augustus believed that:

- he could further unite the various disparate groups of Rome;
- he could win the support of those who saw the problems of the recent past as due to Rome’s denial of its gods;
- he could link himself and his Julian family with Rome’s gods and further strengthen the regime and the people’s loyalty towards it;
- by pursuing *pietas* divine protection would ensure the well-being of the Roman people and state.

“Religious revival was a necessary part of the Augustan Republica if this was successfully to claim a close relationship with the old Republica.”¹³

Figure 8.3 summarises some of the ways Augustus sought to implement his policies.



¹³ Shotter, *Augustus Caesar*, Routledge, London, 1991, p 47

The largest religious celebration of the Augustan age was the Secular Games held in 17 BC. The Games were meant to indicate the beginning of a new Golden Age for Rome, Augustus sought to emphasise the importance to him of Apollo's protection and to highlight the close connection between him and the traditional gods. The Games celebrated the return of peace, prosperity and traditional values, as well as those gods that had links with the Julian family, such as Venus.

The Secular Games thus:

- reinforced the new regime's links to the Republican past
- were another means of consolidating Augustus' hold on power.

Augustus faced the problem of what to do about the development of the cult of "Caesar-worship". In the east of the empire, it was common practice for rulers to be worshipped as a god but Augustus realised that such a thing would not go down well in the west. Augustus was always concerned about not flaunting his political power; he therefore most certainly did not want to project divine pretensions.

- A compromise was developed whereby a link was established between the imperial house and Rome. Provincials could therefore worship "Rome and Augustus".
- Roman citizens did not worship the living but they respected their forebears and so they could worship "Rome and the Deified Julius".
- In Italy local cults of the "Genius of Augustus" developed, often linked to the cult of Lares.

What the sources say about religion

In the *Res Gestae*, Augustus was at pains to highlight his concern for traditional Roman religious practices and that he financed much of this from his own fortune.

"I built...the temple of Apollo on the Palatinate with its porticoes; the temple of the deified Julius...I repaired eighty two temples of the gods in the city, in accordance with a resolution of the senate ... On my own private land I built the temple of Mars Ultor... In the Capitol, in the temple of the deified Julius in the temple of Apollo, in the temple of Vesta, and in the temple of Mars Ultor I consecrated gifts from spoils of war which cost me about 100, 000, 000 sesterces." ¹⁴

Suetonius refers to Augustus' sensitivity about Caesar worship.

"He even more vigorously opposed the dedication of a temple to himself at home, and went so far as to melt down the silver statues previously erected, and to spend the silver coined from them on golden tripods for Palatine Apollo." ¹⁵

Wallace-Hadrill suggests that the role of Augustus in religion was more complicated than his desire to revive tradition. He suggests that Augustus was represented as 'priest', as 'godlike man' but also as 'saviour'.

"the Romans were not simply adding Augustus alongside their own gods, but placing him as a new intervening layer between gods and men." ¹⁶

Romans could no longer expect peace and prosperity by directly appealing to the gods. Such peace and prosperity depended on the "god-made-man" and so in order to gain the support of the gods, Romans had to show piety to Augustus. Augustus was then in a real sense the 'saviour' of Rome, and Rome's future depended on him. There were already signs of this sort of thinking during the propaganda campaign aimed against Antony before Actium. Augustus (Octavian) was saving Rome from the evils of eastern barbarism.

¹⁴ *Res Gestae*, 19, 20,21

¹⁵ Suetonius, 52

¹⁶ Wallace-Hadrill, p 90

Administrative reforms

As explained earlier, Augustus sought to use the talents of both the senatorial and the equestrian order for the efficient administration of the empire. How this was achieved in the empire will be examined in Chapter 17. In the section, two other areas will be considered: finance and the city of Rome.

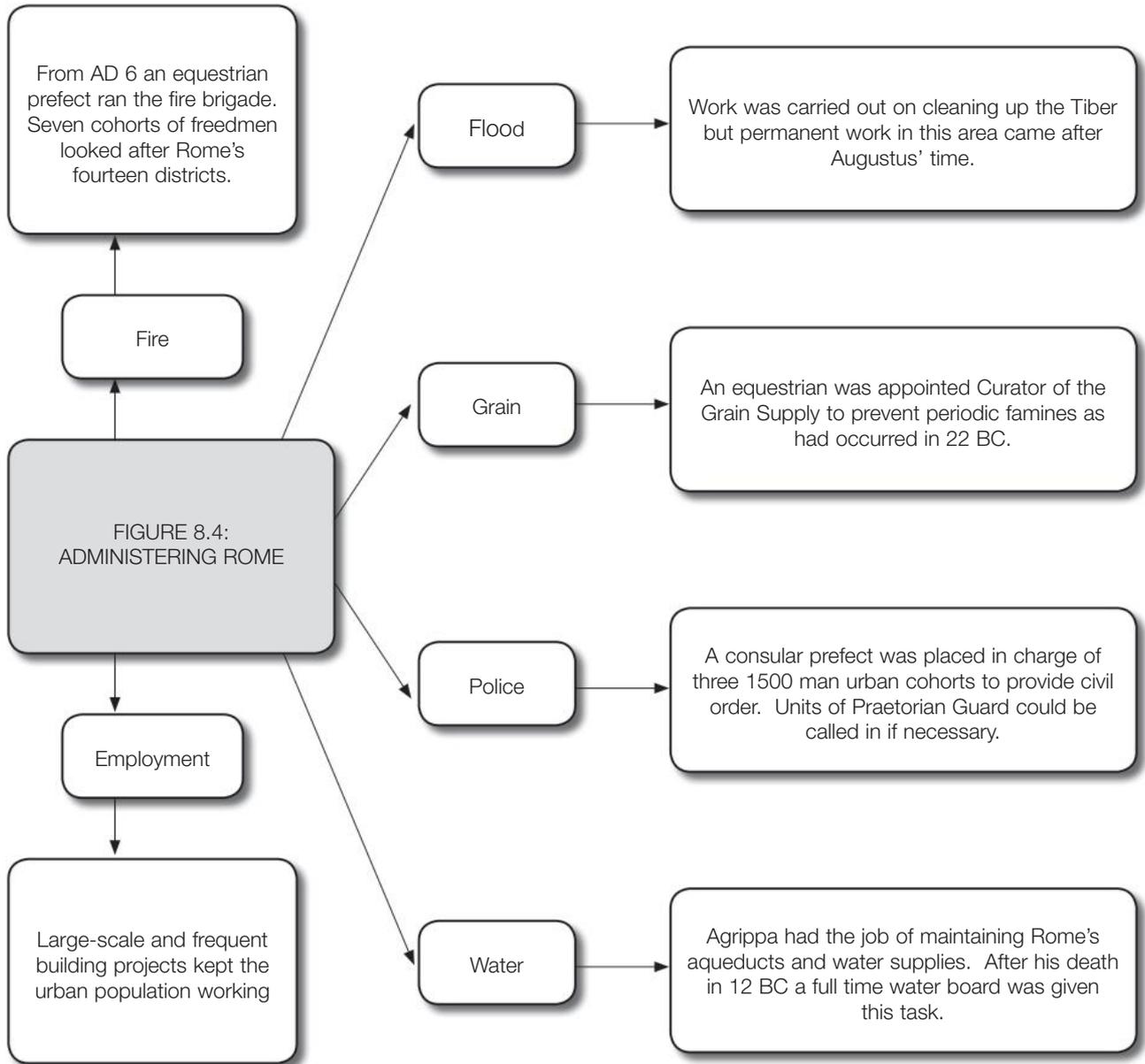
After a century of civil conflict, the **financial situation** in Rome was dire. Taxation was haphazard and often unfair, sources of revenue were becoming irregular and the treasury was in effect bankrupt. Augustus realised that financial reform was of fundamental importance. Soldiers had to be paid both during and after their service, the services of the city of Rome from fire control to grain provisions had to be financed. The welfare of provincials had to be looked after.

Augustus and the senate managed to cooperate in the area of finance. Traditionally, the key aspect of Roman finance was the state treasury (*aerarium*) which was run by the senate which decided state expenditure. The *aerarium* was run by quaestors.

- During the principate the *aerarium* remained the centre of finances, including those of the princeps, but was now run by praetors.
 - Provincial treasuries (*fisci*) would receive moneys from the *aerarium* if necessary.
 - However, Augustus often found it necessary to ‘assist’ the *aerarium* from his own funds.
- In AD 6 an *aerarium militare* was set up for the purpose of dealing with discharged soldiers.
 - Previously, Augustus had handled this on an almost private basis.
 - The *aerarium militare* was funded by a 1% sales tax and a 5% death duty.
- As mentioned earlier, ¹⁷ responsibility for coinage was also shared.
 - The princeps was responsible for gold and silver coinage, while the senate controlled copper and bronze coins.

Augustus was keenly aware that the **City of Rome** itself faced major problems. The Tiber flooded frequently and fires were common. The enormous population of Rome created a whole range of problems: how could the people be employed, fed, be secured adequate water supplies? Augustus also believed that Rome was not worthy of its position as the head of a great empire. He would boast: “I found Rome built of brick; I leave her clothed in marble.” Augustus’ building projects will be examined in Chapter 10.

¹⁷ See chapter 4



Exercise 8.2

Check your factual knowledge.

1	Name two domestic cults Augustus revived.	
2	Why was Augustus careful about the development of the Imperial Cult?	
3	What were the Secular Games meant to herald?	
4	What post did Augustus take on in 12 BC?	
5	What religious claims did the Julian clan make?	
6	What was the aerarium?	
7	What was the purpose of the aerarium militare?	
8	How did Augustus try to deal with unemployment?	
9	Name two major city posts held by equestrians.	
10	What was Augustus' boast about the city of Rome?	

Chapter 9:

Opposition to Augustus

Introduction

Augustan propaganda and the success of later emperors in maintaining the system of the principate leads to an impression that there was little, if any, opposition to the rule of Augustus. Indeed, Augustus clearly liked to give the impression that he had not stifled free expression and that he was happy to allow a degree of dissent.

Suetonius lists a series of occasions when Augustus displayed clemency to his critics and took criticism lightly.

- Suetonius refers to such an instance during the prosecution of one Aemilius Aelianus who was accused of vilifying the princeps. Augustus allegedly feigned anger and threatened to vilify him even more!
- When Tiberius complained about such behaviour, Augustus responded in the following manner.

*“My dear Tiberius, you must not give way to youthful emotion, or take it to heart if anyone speaks ill of me; let us be satisfied if we can make people stop short at unkind words.”*¹

However, even verbal dissent had its limits as seen in the case of Cassius Severus later in the reign. Cassius Severus had his books burned and he was exiled to Crete.

However, such statements hide the existence of opposition and threats to Augustus below the surface. Politics is a game that is played out in public and in private. There is the public game seen in newspapers and on television; then there is the private game played out in secret, in back rooms beyond the public gaze. The situation was no different during Augustus’ time. Augustus might calmly tell Tiberius not to worry. However, behind the scenes he had his ‘secret police’ keeping an eye on things. Early on, Augustus’ “eyes and ears” was Maecenas. After Maecenas fell from favour in the late 20s BC, Augustus made use of Sallustius Crispus.

Power in Rome had long been a matter of destroying one’s opponents one way or another. Between the death of Julius Caesar and the Battle of Actium, Augustus had been no stranger to this fact. Augustus (Octavian) had fought against Antony, then joined Antony and Lepidus against the Senatorial party. He had dealt with Brutus and Cassius, neutralised Lepidus and removed the threat of Sextus Pompeius. Finally, through brilliant propaganda and the events at Actium, he finally removed the opposition to his power that came from Antony and Cleopatra.²

The opposition Augustus faced after Actium was usually less clearly defined and did not involve an opponent lining up against him with his legions. However, the opposition he faced remained real enough.

The opposition that Augustus encountered can be broadly placed in two main categories:

- ideological
- dynastic.

Ideological opponents either opposed the whole nature of the system of the principate and harboured vague ideas of a ‘return to the republic’ or used such notions to promote their own personal claims to power. These threats tended to appear earlier during his rule. Dynastic threats came from within ‘the family’ and tended to emerge later.

¹ Suetonius, *The Twelve Caesars, Augustus*, 51

² See Chapters 1 and 2

Threats or rivalry from outside the family

Marcus Lepidus was the son of the former triumvir, Lepidus, and Junia, who was the sister of Brutus, Caesar's assassin.

- While Augustus (Octavian) was busy in Egypt after the Battle of Actium, Lepidus was hatching a plot to assassinate him on his return to Rome.
- At the time, there was a real chance that such an event could have resparked civil war in Rome. The threat was dealt with efficiently by Maecenas who was effectively in charge in Rome during Augustus' absence.

Velleius Paterculus sums up Maecenas' actions in the following way:

*"Quietly and carefully concealing his activity he unearthed the plans of the hot-headed youth, and by crushing Lepidus with wonderful swiftness and without causing disturbance to either men or things he extinguished the portentous beginnings of a new and reviving civil war."*³

Cornelius Gallus was Augustus' first equestrian prefect of Egypt. Poet and soldier, he was a personal friend of the princeps. However, in the dangerous world of politics, friendship often counts for little.

- Gallus had been battling various native tribes and sought to advertise his glories by carving grand inscriptions on temples of his great achievements.
- Augustus had him recalled from Egypt and banned from his provinces. The Senate voted that he should be tried in the court of *maiestas*, be exiled and his property confiscated. Gallus chose to commit suicide.
 - Augustus was in Spain when all this was happening.
- Suetonius tells of Augustus' gratitude to the Senate for this action and of his sadness that his position meant that such matters had to be dealt with in this manner. He said he was:

*"...the only man in Rome who could not punish his friends merely by an expression of disgust for them – the matter must always be taken further."*⁴

Clearly only the princeps could be allowed glory. This issue arose again with the case of **Marcus Licinius Crassus**, proconsul of Macedonia. He had defeated, and personally slew, the King of the Bastarnae. Such an act of bravery, Marcus Crassus argued, allowed him to claim the *spolia opima*, an honour awarded only twice in Roman history. Augustus 'discovered' an objection to the claim and the award was not granted. Jones sums up Augustus' attitude this way:

*"Augustus was apparently jealous of the distinction; a monopoly of military glory was essential to his position."*⁵

In 24 BC, another proconsul from Macedonia, **M. Primus**, was accused of making war in Thrace without the approval of the Senate. Primus argued that he was acting under the direct instructions of Augustus and Augustus' nephew, Marcellus. Would Primus have made such a claim if it had not been true? He was dragged to the court of *maiestas*. Augustus went to the trouble of attending the court to deny Primus' claim.

Of much greater seriousness, came the plot against Augustus' life in 23 BC of **Fannius Caepio** and **Varro Murena**. Murena was (probably) Augustus' consular colleague, and had been Primus' lawyer. His sister was married to Maecenas (and had allegedly been a mistress of Augustus). The plot was discovered and both were tried in the court of *maiestas* and condemned *in absentia*. The fallout from this plot was significant:

- Augustus believed that a major cause of the plot was his 'monopoly' of one of the annual consulships. Augustus soon fell seriously ill after this incident. Either because of the plot or his illness, he now chose to give up this post.

³ Velleius Paterculus, *Roman History*, 2.88

⁴ Suetonius, 66

⁵ Jones, *AHM, Augustus, Chatto and Windus, London, 1980, p 48*

- Maecenas had been indiscreet enough to boast of his uncovering of the plot. Augustus removed him from office and replaced him with Sallustius Crispus.

In 19 BC there had been riotous scenes when several candidates obstinately stood for election despite the consul's claim that their candidacies were illegal. **Egnatius Rufus** had made himself popular when, as *aedile*, he had organised local fire brigades. He stood for the praetorship, and won it, though this too was contrary to the law and he then stood for the consulship immediately afterwards.

*"The Senate in view of the grave situation passed the senatus consultum ultimum, and Egnatius Rufus was executed, but the situation remained menacing..."*⁶

Augustus eventually returned to Rome with great fanfare, a public holiday was proclaimed and an altar was dedicated to Fortuna Redux. Augustus soon after received consular imperium for life. There was a minor purge of the senate:

*"After these events, many immediately and many later were accused, whether truly or falsely, of plotting against both the emperor and Agrippa."*⁷

Threats or rivalry from within the family

Older Romans saw Augustus as merely a Roman politician but more successful than any other. Younger aristocratic Romans saw things differently. The principate was deeply entrenched and generally popular.

*"It was to the internecine politics of the dynasty that the focus for dissent now moved. The focus for the aspirations of this younger generation was necessarily the younger members of Augustus' own family..."*⁸

One such family member was Augustus' daughter, Julia. Julia was used as a kind of dynastic pawn by her father: married to Marcellus, then to Agrippa and then Tiberius.⁹ However, Julia was an intelligent woman who knew her own mind, and who saw herself as a woman important to both Rome and her family.

*"She also saw her power, like that of Livia's, in the men who surrounded her into the next generation."*¹⁰

Julia tried to promote her son, Gaius, to consul though he was extremely young. By now, she was married to Tiberius. Tiberius saw himself being supplanted by Augustus' grandson and he resentfully took himself off to Rhodes at the start of his lengthy self-imposed exile.

- Julia now sought to replace Tiberius as her husband and her attentions fell upon Antonius (son of Marc Antony).
 - Her interest in Antonius was as much political as it was sexual.
- There now grew around Julia a group of men with aristocratic connections.
 - The aim of this 'party' was not to remove Augustus but to determine the succession.

For Augustus things had gone too far. His position and his own plans for the succession were under threat and so he acted. Using the pretext of Julia's flouting of his moral legislation with her promiscuous behaviour, he had his daughter exiled. Her mother, Scribonia, joined her, Antonius was executed and several other leading men went into exile.

A later dynastic plot involved Julia's daughter, Julia. It seemed that she was upset by the eclipse of her family and the re-emergence of Tiberius. This 'conspiracy' was dealt with firmly, again using

⁶ Jones, p 59

⁷ Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, 54.15

⁸ Leadbetter, B, *Augustus and the Pursuit of Power*, Teaching History, HTA of NSW, October 1994, p 7

⁹ See Chapter 12 and 13

¹⁰ Leadbetter, p 7

promiscuity as the excuse. Julia was exiled, her husband Aemilius Paullus was executed, and others, including her brother Agrippa Postumus were exiled. ¹¹ Shotter makes the point that the list of her alleged lovers seemed aristocratic enough to suggest that more was at stake than another attempt to shore up the moral legislation.

“Augustus therefore dealt with covert dissent by covert means. His agents were assiduous in ensuring his survival by the uncovering of plots by fair means or foul...(even at the expense of)... members of his own family.” ¹²

Exercise 9.1

Check your chronology – place the events on the right in the correct order.

1st event		The death of Augustus
2nd event		Suicide of Gallus
3rd event		Exile of Julia, Scribonia
4th event		Conspiracy of Lepidus
5th event		Murder of Agrippa Postumus
6th event		execution of E. Rufus
7th event		Execution of Aemilius Paullus
8th event		Fannius Caepio/ Varro Murena plot

Exercise 9.2

Keep a track of who's who. Match the description on the right with the correct name in the box below.

1		Husband of Augustus' granddaughter, Julia
2		Plotted against Augustus shortly after Actium
3		Senatorial plotter against Augustus
4		Former equestrian prefect of Egypt
5		Third husband of Julia, Augustus' daughter
6		Executed in 18 BC
7		Co-conspirator with Varro Murena
8		Mother of Augustus' daughter, Julia
9		Brother of Julia, grandson of Augustus
10		Sought the <i>spolia opima</i>
CORNELIUS GALLUS - SCRIBONIA - AEMILIUS PAULLUS EGANTIUS RUFUS - MARCUS LEPIDUS - TIBERIUS - AGRIPPA POSTUMUS - VARRO MURENA FANNIUS CAEPIO - MARCUS LICINIUS CRASSUS		

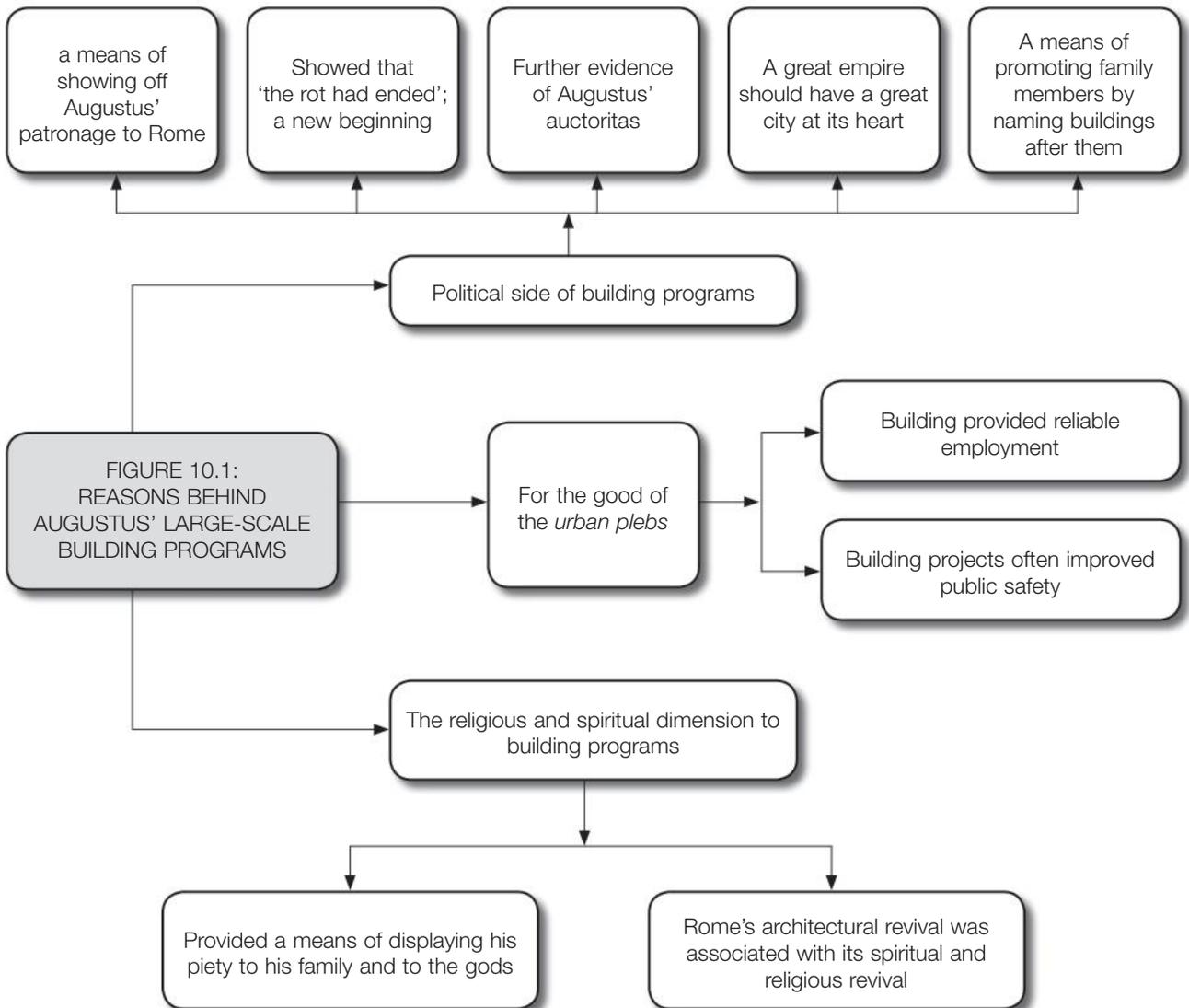
¹¹ When Tiberius became emperor following the death of Augustus in AD 14, one of the first acts of the new reign was the murder of Agrippa Postumus.

¹² Leadbetter, p 8

Chapter 10:

Augustus' building programs: the *Forum Augustum*, the *Ara Pacis*, *Pantheon*, *Campus Martius*

Building programs played a significant role during the Augustan Age. There were many reasons behind Augustus' emphasis on building as Figure 10.1 illustrates.



Augustus was keen to make much of his building programs. As mentioned earlier, he made the proud boast: “*I found Rome built of bricks; I leave her clothed in marble.*”¹ In addition, sections 19-21 of the *Res Gestae* did not hold back in enumerating Augustus' building achievements. His piety and reverence were highlighted:

*“I built the following structures: the senate house...the temple of Apollo...the temples of Minerva and Queen Juno and of Jupiter Freedom...the temple of Lares at the head of the Sacred Way...”*²

¹ Suetonius, *The Twelve Caesars, Augustus*, 28

² *Res Gestae*, 19

Horace suggested a link between building and piety when he wrote:

*“For sins ancestral, O thou guiltless Roman, thou shalt suffer
Till thou restore the temples that are crumbling, and the shrines;”*³

Augustus emphasised the good he was doing for the people of Rome.

*“I repaired the conduits of the aqueducts...I completed the Julian Forum and the basilica ...I
reconstructed the Flaminian Way...and also all the bridges except the Mulvian and the Minucian...”*⁴

The Forum Augustum

Work on the *Forum Augustum* began in 2 BC, the year in which Augustus was granted the title “Father of the country”. He had promised to build a temple to ‘Mars the Avenger’ after his defeat of his father’s assassins at Philippi in 42 BC. The delay was caused because he was unable to buy the land earlier. The Augustan Forum had several main features:

- in the centre was a statue of Augustus stood in a chariot;
- two lines of statues of past famous Romans formed along the porticoes on each side;
- there were also two semi-circular sections where statues of legendary Roman figures were gathered;
- the central element was the Temple to Mars; on either side of the statue of Mars stood Venus and the divine Julius;
- at the back was a large curtain wall whose main function was to act as a kind of ‘fire screen’, as behind were the slums of the Subura where fires were common.

Figure 10.2: Remains of the Augustan Forum



Though functional, the *Forum Augustum* was built to send out messages to the people of Rome and the wider empire. Figure 10.3 considers some of these.

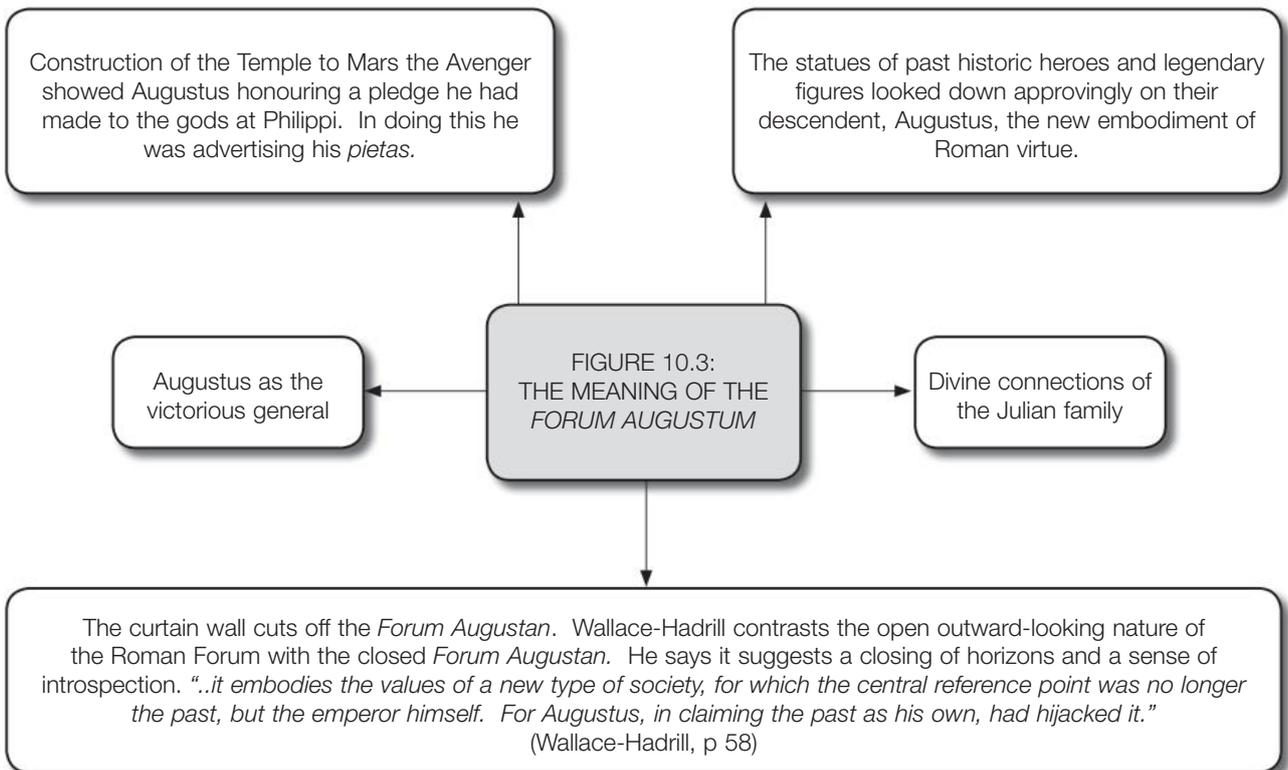
Zanker argues that the design of the Augustan Forum was deliberate as any visitor was faced with an extensive and specially integrated set of images ranging from Augustus to the gods to divine Julius to Rome’s heroes.

*“Through didactic arrangements and constant repetition and combination of the limited number of new symbols, along with the dramatic highlighting of facades, statues and paintings, even the uneducated viewer was indoctrinated in the new visual program.”*⁵

³ Horace, *Ode 3.6*

⁴ *Res Gestae*, 20

⁵ Zanker, P, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, University of Michigan, 1990, p 112



The Ara Pacis

The *Ara Pacis* (Altar of Peace) was put up between 13 BC and 9 BC on the orders of the senate. Its purpose was to welcome Augustus back from his campaign in Gaul. However, though Augustus was returning from military duty, there is no triumphal imagery on the *Ara Pacis*, as had been the case with previous monuments.

“...the new emphasis of the *Pax Augusta* is not victory, but the quality of the paradise-like peace that his victories secure for Rome. He and his family lead the way to paradise.”⁶

The *Ara Pacis* comprises an altar surrounded by a square precinct wall, broken by doorways leading to the altar. Most of the decoration runs round the outside of the precinct walls.

- Flanking the western door are Romulus and Remus to the left, Aeneas and Iulus to the right.
- Flanking the eastern door is the goddess Roma to the right, and to the left a female figure representing the fruitful earth.
- On the north and south walls is a procession of figures heading towards the western entrance to make a sacrifice. Augustus is presented dressed as a priest.
- Beneath the panels of the people are decorative friezes showing things such as lush vegetation.

There is a clear moral message being presented in the *Ara Pacis*. The presence of Romulus and Aeneas represent the qualities which have made Rome great: virtue and piety. The female figures represent the effects of those qualities: the victory of Rome and the fruitful abundance which that victory makes possible. It is the members of Augustus' family that provides the link between the two.

Wallace-Hadrill sums up the significance of the *Ara Pacis* in the following way:

“Piety and productivity, the golden age virtues of the moral legislation, are now the most important values for which the imperial house stands: victory, the means to this end, has stepped out of the limelight.”⁷

⁶ Wallace-Hadrill, *Augustan Rome*, Bristol Classical Press, London, 1993, p 70

⁷ Wallace-Hadrill, pp 74-5

Shotter highlights the point that in the procession on the frieze with members of Augustus' family are members of the senate.

*"The two together portray the harmony of Augustus and the nobility which was the essential foundation of the restored Republic."*⁸

Zanker makes the point that the *Ara Pacis* was designed not by order of Augustus but by the Senate. The procession along the frieze is a carefully planned and idealised view of the renewed republic. The Senate is honouring itself as well as the state.

*"In essence we are seeing here the newly constituted leading aristocracy of Rome as it wished to be represented and as it wished, at least outwardly, to be closely identified with the new order."*⁹

Figure 10.4: Scenes from the Ara Pacis



The Pantheon



The Pantheon was the temple built by Agrippa in 27 BC to all the gods. There was a statue of Augustus in the porch, presumably waiting to join the others inside. It was later destroyed and the Pantheon we see today is quite different to the one constructed during Agrippa's time. The existing one was erected by the Emperor Hadrian in the 2nd century AD. Though the new Pantheon was built almost 150 years after Agrippa's original, as a gesture for the high regard in which Agrippa was held, Hadrian placed an inscription on the temple which said:

"Marcus Agrippa son of Lucius, consul for the third time, made this."

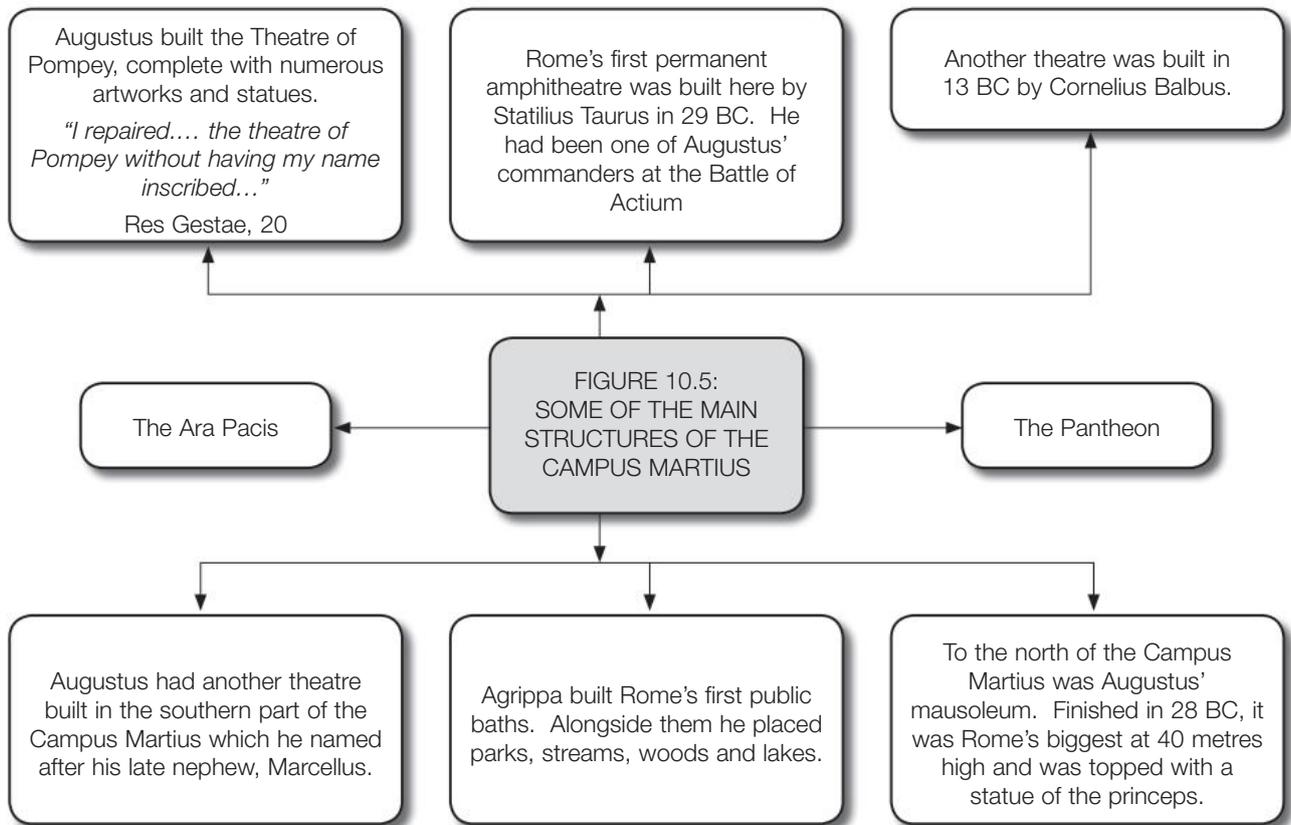
Campus Martius (Field of Mars)

The Campus Martius was situated outside the city boundary on the eastern floodplain of the Tiber River where it meanders to the east and then north. Unlike the area where the Augustan Forum was built, space was plentiful which allowed architects to build more freely. The buildings of the

⁸ Shotter, *Augustus Caesar*, Routledge, London, 1991, p 69

⁹ Zanker, p 123

Campus Martius illustrate Augustus' willingness to allow the names of other family members, friends and notables to be advertised. Figure 10.5 summarises the main structures that appeared in the Campus Martius.



Conclusions

Shotter sees the significance of Augustus' building as follows:

- it emphasised Rome's greatness, its new beginning and world mission;
- it showed that the new beginning was not trampling over the past but was rather incorporating the past, and so showing:

*"that the Pax Augusta and the restored Republic essentially represented the continuity of Rome's past greatness, now enhanced by the auctoritas of the princeps."*¹⁰

Exercise 10.1

Check your factual knowledge.

1	What did the urban plebs get out of Augustus' building programs?	
2	Which Roman qualities was Augustus emphasising in his building programs?	
3	With which of Augustus' reforms was much of his building associated?	

¹⁰ Shotter, p 70

4	Whose temple was the centrepiece of the Augustan Forum?	
5	Of what did the Ara Pacis comprise?	
6	What was the key message of the Ara Pacis?	
7	Name the temple to all the gods constructed by Agrippa. Which emperor later rebuilt it?	
8	What major public facility did Agrippa's efforts provide for the Roman people?	
9	What does Campus Martius mean?	
10	Which structure dominated the north of the Campus Martius?	

Exercise 10.2

Place the buildings listed below in the correct order of construction.

Built in 29 BC		ARA PACIS
Completed 28 BC		AUGUSTUS' MAUSOLEUM
Built 27 BC		HADRIAN'S PANTHEON
Built 13 – 9 BC		STATILIUS TAURUS' THEATRE
Started in 2 BC		AGRIPPA'S PANTHEON
Built AD 125		AUGUSTAN FORUM

Chapter 11:

Literature and propaganda: Virgil, Horace and Livy, and the role of Maecenas

Artists, musicians and writers have benefited from the support of rich patrons throughout history. The situation in Rome was no different. It had long been a tradition during the Republic for rich men to promote their artistic clients. This tradition was continued by Augustus and other wealthy Romans.

Suetonius tells us that Augustus was assiduous in his encouragement of Roman writers.

*“...he would politely and patiently attend readings not only of their poems and historical works, but of their speeches and dialogues...”*¹

Of course, Augustus could see the propaganda value in having a wide range of supportive poets and historians. He wanted to spread his ideas and his hopes for the new age across the empire and was willing to employ publicists to achieve this. However, there is little evidence that he coerced the great writers of his day to do his bidding. In fact, it seems that the writers of the Augustan era needed little encouragement to sing the praises of the new regime. Rome had suffered enormously from decades of destructive civil war. What it needed now was peace and a return to traditional values. Such views coincided neatly with Augustus' own thinking.

Shotter puts it this way:

*“...Augustus' patronage in the literary field...did not force the recipients into a straitjacket... rather their instincts and experience led them to views similar to those of Augustus... that peace and a return to traditional values were essential remedies.”*²

Indeed, Augustus was keen to avoid hagiographic (excessively flattering) presentations of himself or his work.

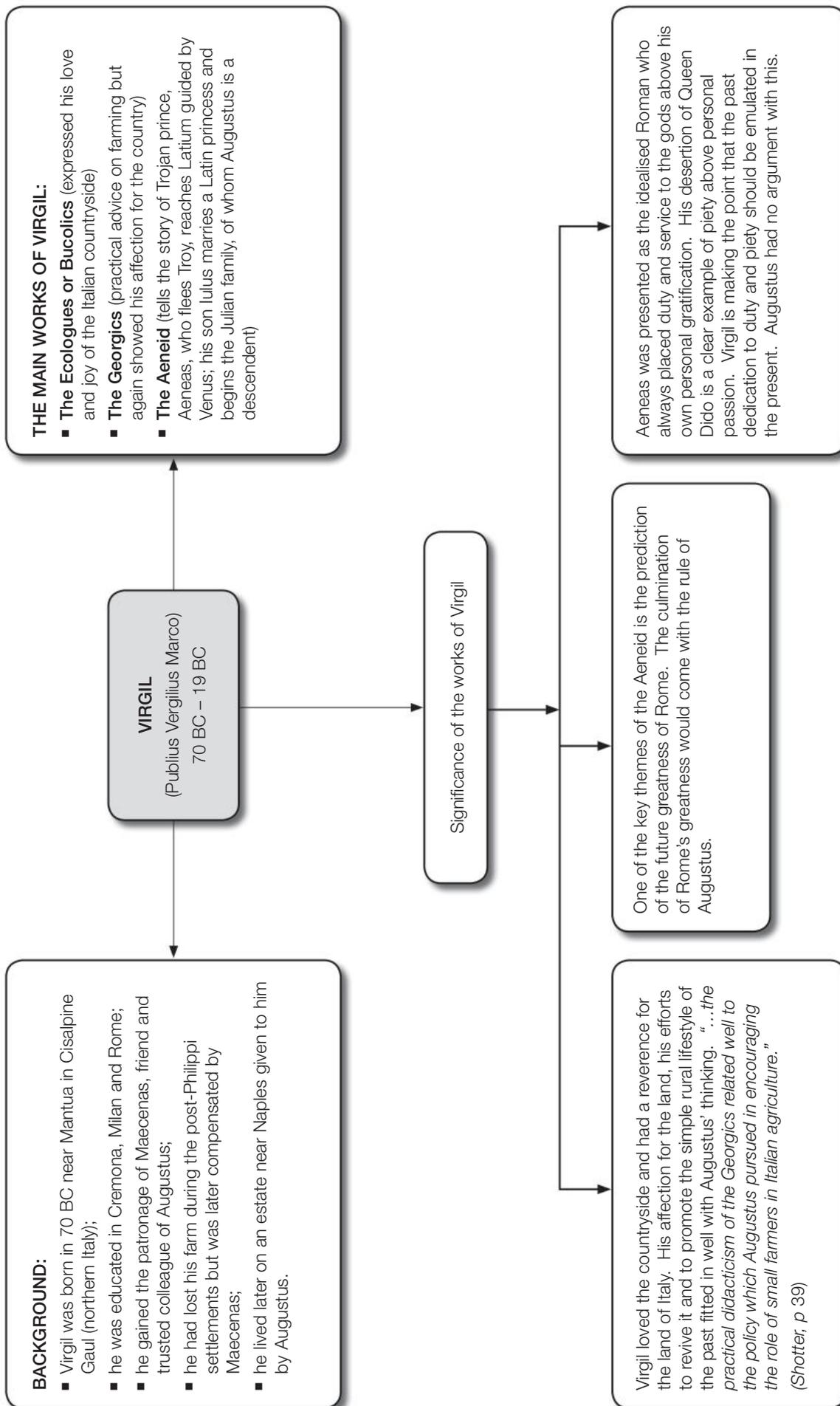
*“...(he) objected to being made the theme of any work unless the author were known as a serious and reputable writer, and often warned the praetors not to let his name be vulgarised by its constant occurrence in prize oration.”*³

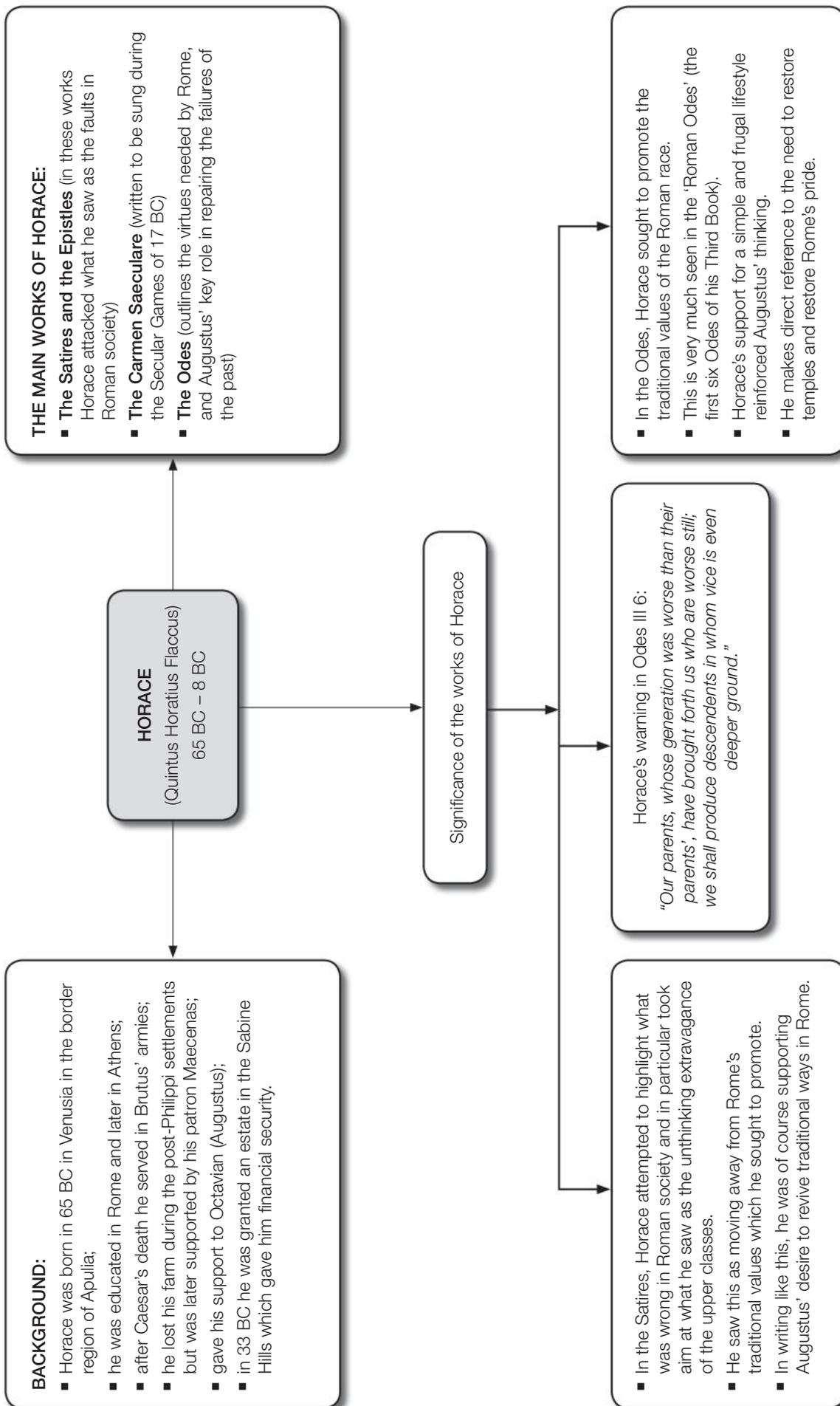
The two greatest poets of the Augustan Age were Virgil and Horace; its greatest historian was Livy. Their promotion owed much to the favour of Maecenas.

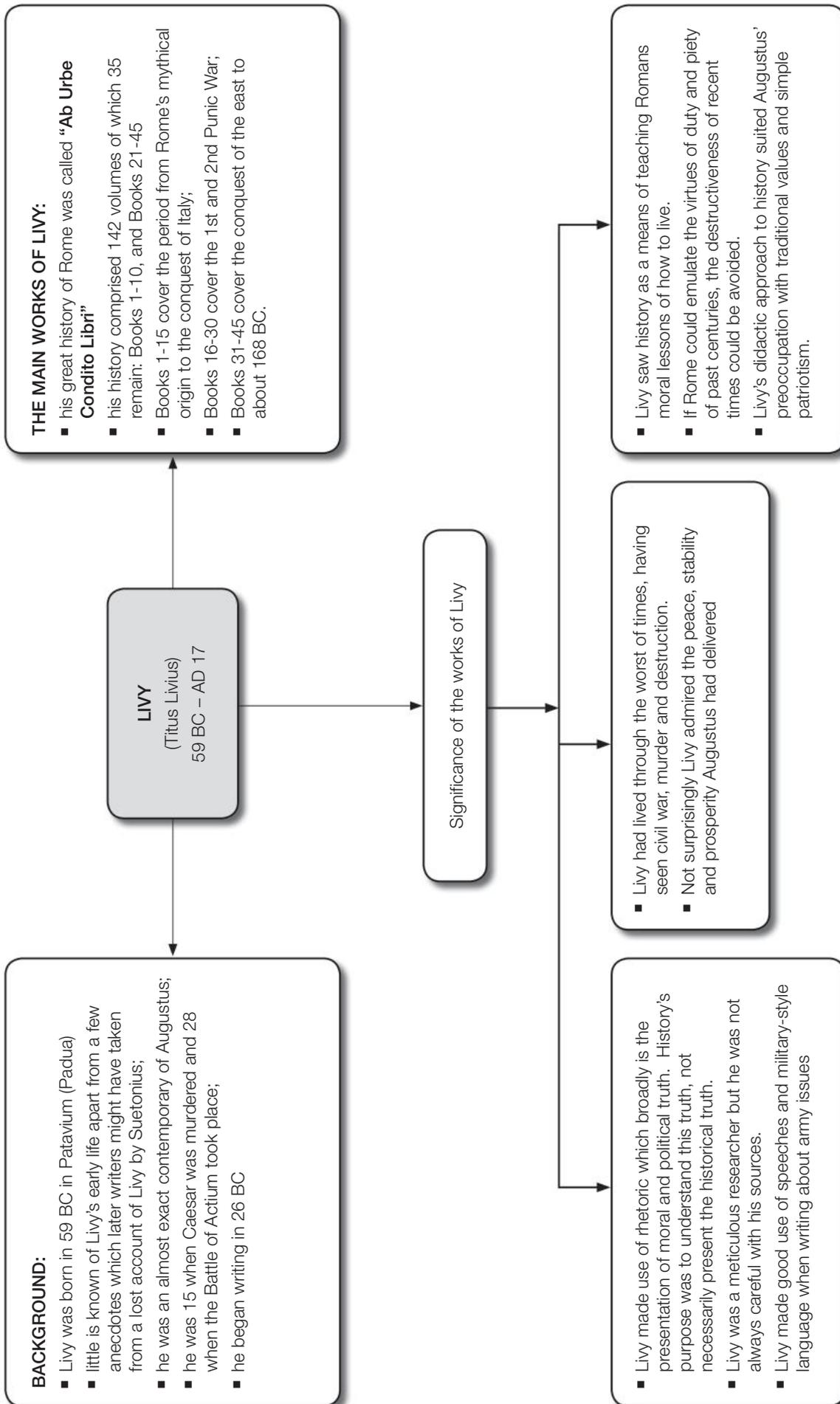
¹ Suetonius, *The Twelve Caesars, Augustus*, 89

² Shotter, D, *Augustus Caesar*, Routledge, London, 1991, p 39

³ Suetonius, *Augustus*, 89







Maecenas

Gaius Cilnius Maecenas was born in 70 BC at Arretium. His early life was shrouded in mystery and he first appears in history in about 40 BC when he helped arrange the marriage of Octavian and Scribonia.

- By now Maecenas was in Octavian's service and soon after he took part in organising the Treaty of Brundisium and the temporary settling of Octavian's differences with Antony.
- By the early 30s BC, Maecenas was already giving his support to Virgil and Horace.
- Octavian had placed great confidence and trust in Maecenas:
 - When Octavian was away fighting Sextus Pompeius, Maecenas was back in Rome with total administrative control of the city and Italy.
 - When Octavian was fighting Antony at Actium, Maecenas was again in administrative charge of Rome.
 - It was Maecenas who crushed the abortive revolt of Marcus Lepidus.
- Maecenas later fell out of favour with Augustus.
 - Suetonius suggests that it was the result of his indiscretion in boasting to his wife about his crushing of the conspiracy of Caepio and Murena.
 - Dio Cassius suggests that his fall from favour was more likely the result of Augustus' interest in Maecenas' wife, Terentia.
- Maecenas died in 8 BC.

Maecenas was a very keen patron of writers of the time. Some men patronised writers out of vanity, hoping to be associated with great art. Some did it out of a genuine love of literature. The Encyclopaedia Britannica writer suggests Maecenas saw in the genius of the poets of the Augustan Age:

*"...not only the truest ornament of the court, but a power of reconciling men's minds to the new order of things, and of investing the actual state of affairs with an ideal glory and majesty."*⁴

It appears that Maecenas' clients were very fond of their patron and he was able to influence their work. He is credited with leading Virgil to a more didactic approach when he came to write *The Georgics* and with persuading Horace to write about more serious state issues.

Exercise 11.1

Empathy exercise

Place yourself in the position of one of the Augustan writers. Explain the motivation behind your writing.

⁴ Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1911 Edition

Exercise 11.2

Complete the table below. Choose the subject area from the list given in the box below.

	WORK	SUBJECT AREA	AUTHOR
1	The Odes		
2	The Aeneid		
3	Ab Urbe Condito Libri		
4	The Satires		
5	The Georgics		
6	Carmen Saeculare		
7	The Eclogues		
ATTACKS ON UPPER CLASS EXCESS – HISTORY OF ROME ADVICE TO ROMAN FARMER – SHOWS A LOVE OF THE COUNTRYSIDE AN ACCOUNT OF ROME'S ORIGINS – SUNG AT THE SECULAR GAMES ROME'S NEEDS TO REPAIR PAST FAILURES			

Chapter 12:

Imperial family and problems of succession

The majority of people in Rome and the empire at large had come to accept the rule of Augustus with the peace, stability and prosperity it brought. Though there were isolated instances of opposition to Augustus,¹ there was never any real threat to Augustus' position. However, there was always the 'possibility' of assassination and Augustus was known to suffer ill health which on occasions brought him close to death. This raised the issue of the succession: who would follow Augustus?

Whatever appearance the Settlements of 27 BC and 23 BC sought to convey, it was clear that the real power within Rome now resided in the household of Augustus. As a result, it was unlikely that any future princeps would come from outside the imperial family. Such a development was a sure recipe for renewed civil war as claimants for power promoted their cause.

*"Augustus' policy was to achieve national unity and avoid any recurrence of civil war. The succession of a non-Julian would almost certainly provoke pretenders to put forward their claims; armed conflict would result."*²

The palace was now where the power resided, where the major issues were decided and where the choice of successor to Augustus would be made. In later years, major factional conflict would develop within the imperial household between different parties.³ During Augustus' time, such developments were only in their infancy.

Augustus' immediate family

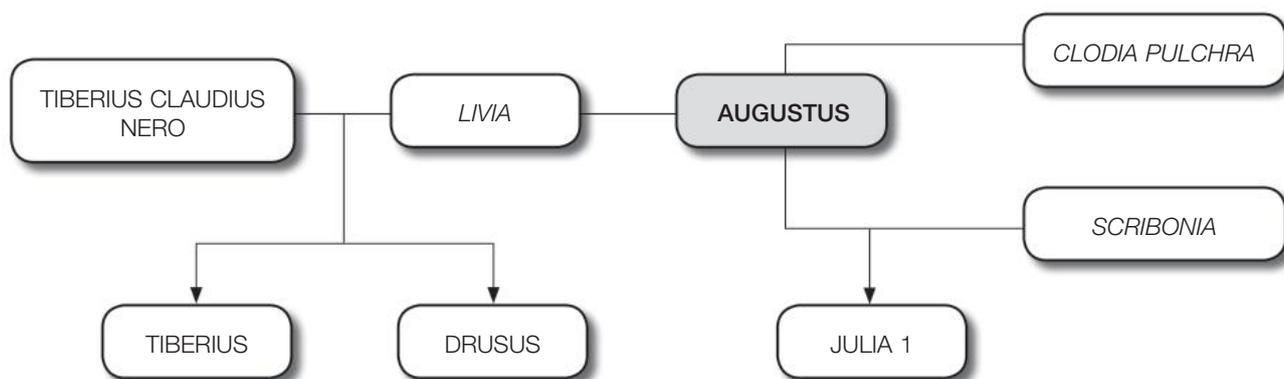
Augustus had married three times by the age of 25.

- His first wife was Clodia Pulchra the daughter of Publius Clodius Pulcher and Fulvia. (Fulvia would later marry Marc Antony).
 - This was a short-lived marriage and apparently non-consummated.
 - Octavian sent her back to her mother allegedly claiming that she was still in 'mint condition'.
- His second marriage was to Scribonia was short lived.
 - The marriage was not a happy one and the propaganda of the time presents the older Scribonia in a negative light.
 - This might have been done to deflect any possible 'bad press' from the fact Octavian divorced his second wife on the very day that she gave birth to his only natural child, Julia.
- Octavian married for the third time in 38 BC. His third wife was Livia Drusilla. She was married to Tiberius Claudius Nero and was heavily pregnant with their second child. Tiberius Claudius Nero willingly divorced her without acrimony. Livia brought to her marriage with Augustus a son, Tiberius (b 42 BC), and soon gave birth to a second son from her earlier marriage, Drusus (b 38 BC).

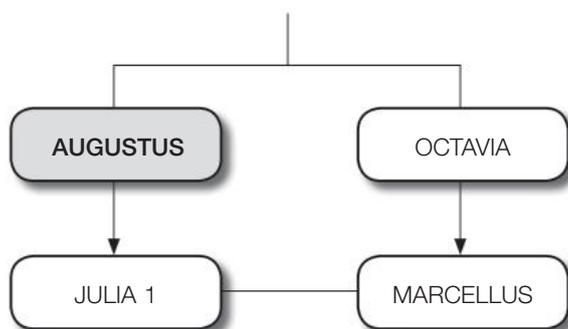
¹ See Chapter 9

² Salmon, ET, *A History of the Roman World 30 BC to AD 138*, Methuen, London, 1968, p 33

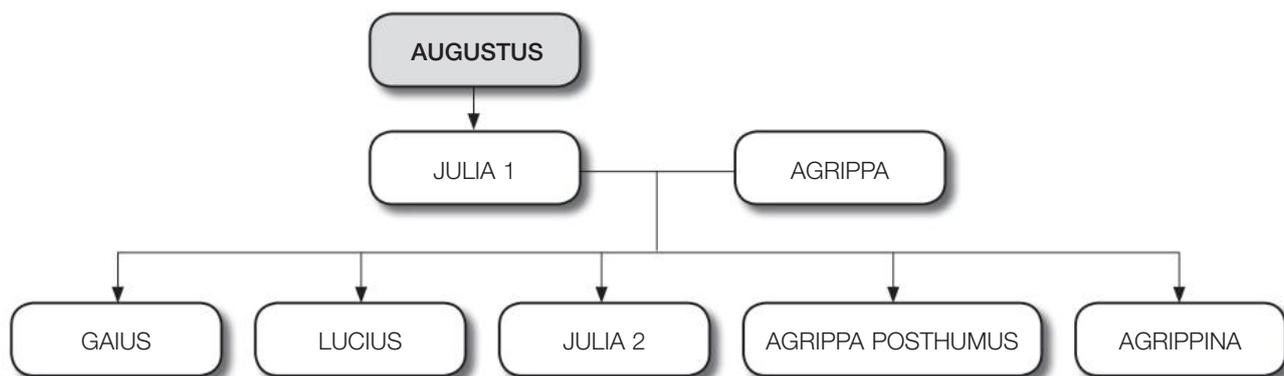
³ *During the reign of Tiberius (AD 14-37) this occurred between supporters of Sejanus and Agrippina.*



Augustus' right hand man during the early years of the principate was **Agrippa**. However loyal and effective Agrippa was, he was clearly of too low birth to be realistically considered as a successor to Augustus. The first sign that Augustus was preparing a successor was when he arranged the marriage of his daughter Julia to **Marcellus** in 25 BC. Marcellus was Augustus' nephew, son of his sister Octavia. ⁴ Marcellus was clearly being groomed for greater things. In 23 BC he became aedile, though only 19, and Augustus financed large scale games in Marcellus' name. ⁵



Marcellus died in late 23 BC. Gossip of the time suggested that Livia had persuaded Musa, the family doctor, to poison him. ⁶ Augustus and Octavia were genuinely stricken with grief. More importantly, there were political considerations. Augustus and Agrippa had fallen out over Marcellus' promotion but they made up and Agrippa quickly became Julia's second husband in 21 BC. Agrippa was twenty five years older than Julia but the marriage proved to be very 'productive'.



Gaius was born in 20 BC, **Lucius** in 18 BC and Augustus adopted both boys in 17 BC. This was a common practice in Rome as a means of creating heirs to one's fortune, and equally important, one's name; the boys now acquired the name of Julius Caesar. Augustus was keen to promote them. Gaius and Lucius became the first children to appear on Roman coinage.

⁴ Octavia was first married to C. Claudius Marcellus and then Marc Antony from 39 BC – 32 BC.

⁵ Agrippa was unhappy with Marcellus' promotion and took himself off to the east.

⁶ This is certainly the line presented in Robert Graves' novel and TV series, "I, Claudius".

However, Augustus' plans stalled again when Agrippa died in 12 BC. Agrippa was not only a close friend and supporter but he could be relied upon to act as emperor-regent for the young boys should anything happen to Augustus.

Augustus now decided to 'make use' of Tiberius, Livia's son from her first marriage. Tiberius had proven himself to be a gifted soldier. He and his brother Drusus had won many significant victories in the Danube region and in Germany as far east as the River Elbe. However, Augustus was not overly fond of Tiberius and did not seem to value his great achievements.

- ★ He now ordered Tiberius to divorce his wife, Vipsania, and marry Julia.
- ★ Tiberius was genuinely in love with Vipsania (the daughter of Agrippa from his first marriage) and obeyed Augustus only with great reluctance.

Tiberius' brother Drusus died in Germany in 9 BC. Augustus now relied heavily on Tiberius; in 6 BC Tiberius obtained tribunician power for five years. However, though Augustus came to rely more and more on Tiberius, it was clear he was destined only to act as the guardians of Augustus' grandsons, and the steady promotion of Gaius and Lucius continued.

- ★ In 6 BC propaganda was put in place to ready Rome for Gaius' premature rise to the consulship.
- ★ In 5 BC he assumed the *toga virilis* (adulthood) and was presented to public life by Augustus himself.
- ★ In 5 BC, Gaius was designated a consul (though he would not take the office for five years) and he was now allowed to attend senate sessions.
- ★ Gaius then gained the title *Principis Iuventutis*, leader of the young and appeared on Roman coinage as such.

The same ceremonies were then carried out for his younger brother, Lucius, three years later. It was at this time (6 BC) that Tiberius, angered by the slights to his dignitas that the elevation of Gaius and Lucius implied, and unable to cope with the promiscuous behaviour of Julia, left Rome for self-imposed exile in Rhodes. Augustus was greatly angered by this and made it clear that Tiberius would not be welcome back.

In 2 BC, the same year in which Augustus became "Father of the Country" and dedicated the temple of Mars the Avenger in his new forum, he banished his daughter, Julia, to the island of Pandateria because of her scandalous life of debauchery which he had discovered. What was this action really about?

- ★ Was it simply Augustus' outrage at her ridicule of the moral laws? This is possible, but it begs the question why did Augustus take so long to find out?
- ★ Was Julia involved in a conspiracy? With her own sons being groomed for power, it seems hard to imagine what she could gain.
- ★ Wallace-Hadrill sees the hand of Livia in Julia's demise.⁷ He suggests that by disgracing Julia, her sons might suffer and Livia's own son, Tiberius, might regain Augustus' favour.

If Livia had been behind Julia's disgrace, she gained nothing from it. Tiberius remained in Rhodes and in 1 BC, Gaius took up the consulship at age 19. He was granted a special proconsular imperium and given a military commission in the east. In AD 2, Lucius received a similar commission in the west. In the same year, Tiberius was allowed to return to Rome as a private citizen.

Augustus' plans for the succession were now thrown into chaos. In AD 2, Lucius died in Marseilles; in AD 4 his brother, Gaius, died in Armenia.

"My sons, Gaius and Lucius Caesar, whom fortune took from me in their youth..."⁸

⁷ Wallace-Hadrill, *Augustan Rome*, Bristol Classical Press, London, 1993, pp 40-1

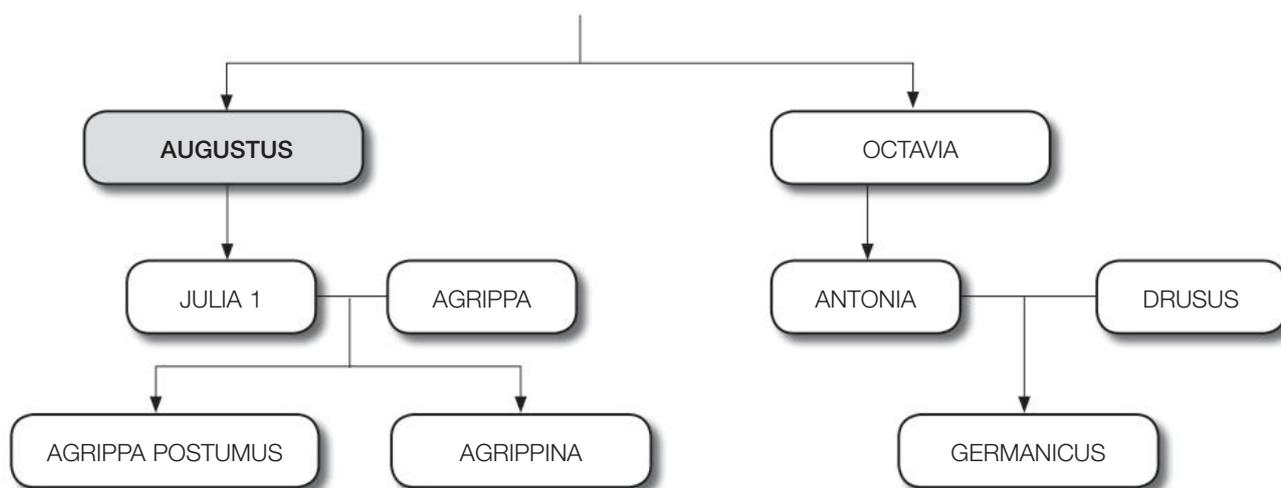
⁸ *Res Gestae*, 14 (the whole of this section deals with Gaius and Lucius)

Augustus now had no choice but to turn to the ‘Claudian’ (Livia’s side of the family): Tiberius. In AD 4, Augustus adopted Tiberius and gave him tribunician authority for ten years.

“Furthermore, since Tiberius henceforth appears with the title of imperator on inscriptions, he presumably again became colleague in the Imperium Proconsulare (with Augustus).”⁹

However, even at this stage, Augustus’ support for Tiberius was qualified and he still hoped for an eventual Julian successor.

- ★ Augustus also adopted Agrippa’s third son by Julia, Agrippa Postumus.
- ★ He forced Tiberius to adopt the popular Germanicus. Germanicus was the son of Tiberius’ brother, Drusus, and Germanicus had married Augustus’ granddaughter, Agrippina. Germanicus was a Claudian but he had some Julian blood¹⁰ and his children would be direct descendents of Augustus.¹¹



Agrippa Postumus was banished by Augustus in AD 7; the sources suggest he was something of a ‘thug’. In AD 8, the younger Julia was also banished, and like her mother accused of adultery. Conspiracy theorists might see the hand of Livia in this: destroy the younger Julia and her supporters before they could arrange the return of the elder Julia and Postumus and thus threaten Tiberius’ succession.

(Such ideas are, of course, mere conjecture but they make the television series *I, Claudius*, compelling viewing.)

In Augustus’ final years, he came to rely more and more upon Tiberius’ abilities. In AD 13, Tiberius was openly declared a sharer in both the proconsulare imperium and tribunician power. Augustus died in AD 14.

(Chapter 13 will focus more specifically on the role of imperial women, especially Livia and the elder Julia; Chapter 15 will focus on the circumstances and immediate fallout from the death of Augustus.)

⁹ Salmon, p 37

¹⁰ Germanicus’ maternal grandmother was Octavia, sister of Augustus.

¹¹ Suetonius even reports the rumour that Augustus was the father of Drusus and thus Germanicus’ grandfather. (Suetonius, *The Twelve Caesars*, *Claudius*, 1)

Exercise 12.1

Check your chronology – place the events on the right in the correct order.

1st event		The death of Augustus
2nd event		Marriage of Agrippa and Julia
3rd event		Death of Gaius
4th event		Banishment of the elder Julia
5th event		Marriage of Tiberius and Julia
6th event		Death of Marcellus
7th event		Augustus adopts Gaius and Lucius
8th event		Tiberius adopts Germanicus
9th event		Banishment of Agrippa Postumus
10th event		Tiberius goes into exile
		Death of Agrippa

Exercise 12.2

Using the names and dates in the box below, complete the following passage.

Augustus had one child of his own, a daughter named _____ from his second marriage to _____. His third wife's name was _____, and she had two sons of her own, _____ and _____. Augustus' first choice of a possible successor seems to have been his nephew _____ but he died in 23 BC. Augustus' close friend and confidant, _____, married Julia in 21 BC. They had five children. Augustus adopted the two elder boys, _____ and _____, in 17 BC and was grooming them for high office. Agrippa died in _____ and a year later Tiberius was forced to divorce his wife, _____, and marry Julia. Tiberius was very unhappy with the ways things were going and in _____ went on self-imposed exile to Rhodes. In _____ Julia was banished for alleged promiscuity. Lucius died in _____ and Gaius in _____. After this, he came to rely more and more on Tiberius. Tiberius was granted proconsular and tribunician powers but he was still forced to adopt _____ as his son.

GERMANICUS	GAIUS	JULIA	MARCELLUS	SCRIBONIA	
2 BC	AD 4	AD 2	12 BC	6 BC	LIVIA
VIPSANIA	DRUSUS	AGRIPPA	LUCIUS	TIBERIUS	

Statue of Augustus located in the Acropolis Museum in Athens

This bronze statue of Augustus was found in the Aegean Sea between the islands of Euboea and Agios Efstratios. The emperor is depicted in mature age. Iconographic features of the Prima Porta and Actium types are combined in this statue. The right hand is raised in a gesture of official greeting. On the bezel of his finger ring a staff of divination (lituus) is engraved, symbolising the supreme religious office of Pontifex Maximus assumed by Augustus in 12 BC.



Chapter 13:

Role of imperial women: Livia and Julia

Political power in Rome was very much a male preserve. There were no female consuls, senators or equestrian prefects. However, this does not mean that women did not have a political role to play or that they were not part of the 'political game'. Women were of use to Roman men because they provided a means of establishing political alliances. The use of female relatives by men to attract political allies was nothing new in the ancient world. Such marriages of convenience sometimes developed into genuine affection, eg the marriage of Pompey and Caesar's daughter, Julia. However, it was politics that mattered in the creation or destruction of a marriage.

*"Betrothals were broken or divorces were dictated when alliances between men became animosities. Pompey divorced his first wife to marry Sulla's stepdaughter Aemilia."*¹

During his early political career, Augustus (Octavian) was quite willing to use marriage in an equally sanguine manner.

*"Octavian broke his engagement to Servilia when he became engaged to Marc Antony's stepdaughter Clodia. But he broke this engagement as well in order to marry Scribonia, who was related to his onetime opponent Sextus Pompey..."*²

During the Augustan era, political marriage continued to be used. However, it now had a deeper significance because marriage was not simply a matter of political alliances but a key factor in determining the succession to Augustus' power. In this chapter, three women in particular will be examined: Octavia, Julia 1 and Livia.

Octavia: 69 – 11 BC

Octavia was born in 69 BC. Her grandmother was Julia, the sister of Julius Caesar and of course her younger brother was Octavian.

- Octavian was quite willing to use his sister for political ends. Octavia's first husband died in 40 BC. Octavian then pressured her to marry Marc Antony in 39 BC to cement his political arrangement with his fellow triumvir.
- However, Octavia proved to be quite independently minded.
 - She refused to divorce Antony despite her brother's urgings until she was left with no choice (32 BC).
 - After Antony's death, she took care of his children by his first wife and by Cleopatra, as well as her own children.

Octavia was a propaganda plus for Augustus. While Marc Antony submerged himself in eastern excess with his Egyptian "whore", Octavia remained the dutiful, faithful wife back in Rome looking after her children. Octavia's dutifulness only served to weaken the image of Antony with the Roman people. Octavia was featured on Roman coinage in the 30s, the first woman to appear on coins. In the 20s BC, she remained prominent as her son, Marcellus, was steadily promoted.³ Marcellus married Augustus' daughter, Julia, in 25 BC.

Octavia was grief stricken following the death of her son in 23 BC.

*"Indeed, we are told that Octavia was so shattered by her loss that she withdrew from court life, living in isolation till her death a decade later."*⁴

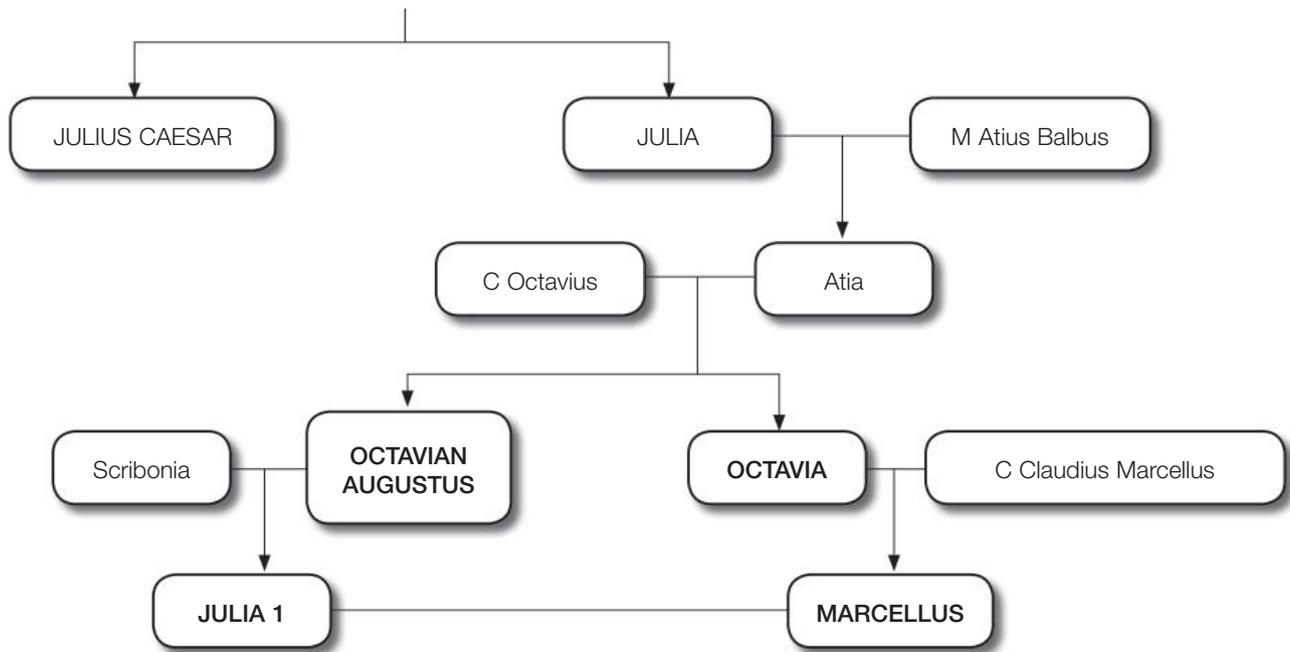
¹ Pomeroy, SB, *Goddesses, Whores, Wives and Slaves*, Pimlico, London, 1975, p 156

² Pomeroy, p 156

³ See Chapter 12

⁴ Wallace-Hadrill, *Augustan Rome*, Bristol Classical Press, London, 1993, p 35

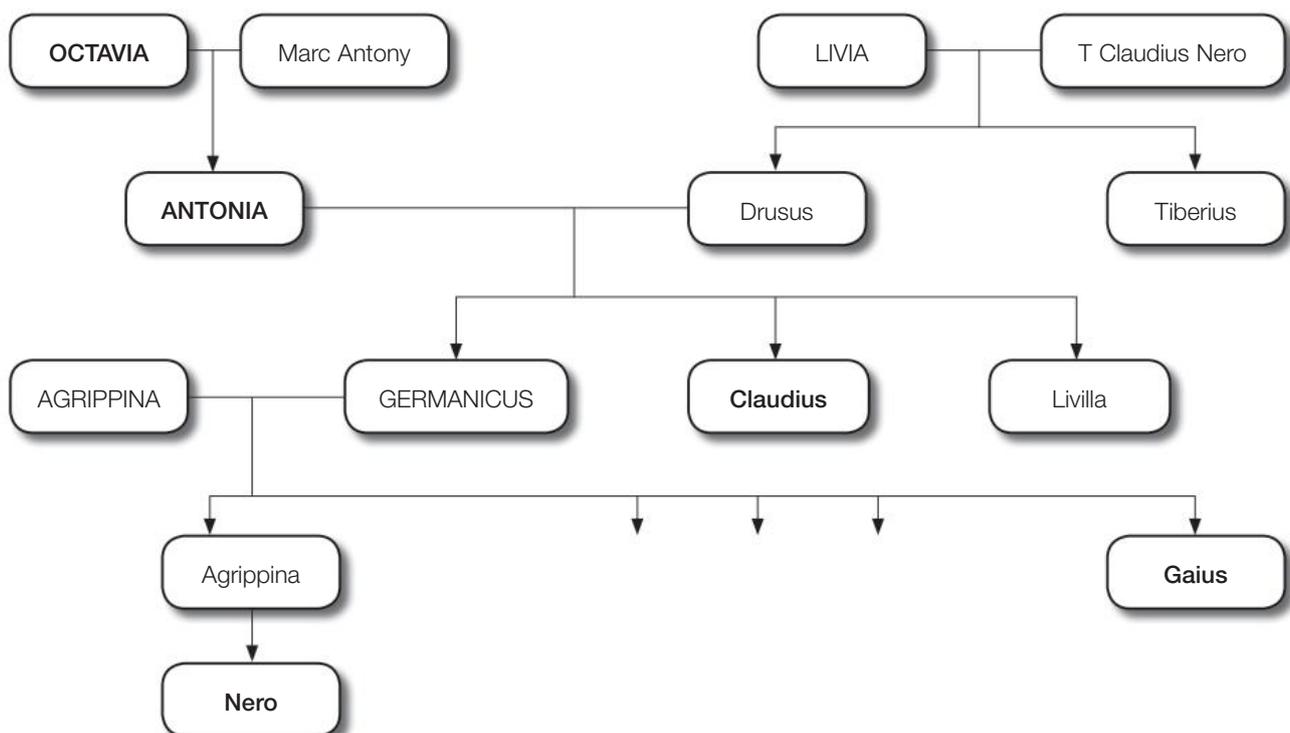
Figure 13.1: Octavia's lineage



The offspring of Octavia were to have a major impact on the imperial family in the years to come.

- Her daughter by Marc Antony, Antonia, married Livia's younger son, Drusus:
 - their son, Claudius, became emperor (AD 41-54);
 - their other son, Germanicus, married Augustus' granddaughter, Agrippina:
 - their son, Gaius became emperor (AD 37-41);
 - and their grandson, Nero, became emperor (AD 54-68).

Figure 13.2: The main descendents of Octavia.



Julia (1): 39 BC – AD 14

Augustus was tough on his daughter, Julia, and he used her in the way many noble women were used.

*“He appears to have been too strict with his daughter, Julia, making her occupy her leisure hours in spinning and weaving in the antique Roman fashion. He also married her without any regard to her feelings... to politically useful persons.”*⁵

Jones suggests that it is therefore no surprise that Julia ‘went off the rails’.

39 BC	Julia was born, the daughter of Augustus and his second wife, Scribonia.
37 BC	According to Dio, she was betrothed to Antyllus who was the son of Marc Antony.
25 BC	Events intervened to end this arrangement and she married her first cousin, Marcellus, the son of Augustus’ sister, Octavia.
23 BC	Marcellus died in 23 BC leaving Julia a widow at age sixteen.
21 BC	She married Augustus’ closest friend and advisor, Marcus Agrippa; Agrippa was 42. Together they had five children: Gaius, Julia, Lucius, Agrippina and Agrippa Postumus.
12 BC	Agrippa died.
11 BC	Augustus then forced Tiberius to marry Julia.
10 BC	This was not a happy relationship. <i>“At first he lived on good terms with Julia... but gradually conceived such a loathing for her that, after their child had died in infancy at Aquileia, he broke off marital relations.”</i> (Suetonius, <i>The Twelve Caesars</i> , <u>Tiberius</u> , 7)

Tiberius was not a happy man at this time:

- he had been forced to divorce the woman he loved, Vipsania, and was forced to marry a woman he grew to loath;
- his beloved brother died in Germany in 9 BC;
- Augustus was clearly grooming his grandsons for the succession in preference to Tiberius despite his great service for Rome.
- In 6 BC he took himself off to Rhodes in self-imposed exile. He would remain there for eight years.

It was during this time that Julia was reported to have thrown herself into a life of promiscuous abandon, taking on many lovers. When Augustus finally ‘discovered’ his daughter’s indiscretions in 2 BC, he acted. Her behaviour made a mockery of the moral legislation that he promoted.

*“The scandal gave deep embarrassment and real damage to the regime.”*⁶

Augustus sent her divorce papers in Tiberius’ name and she was exiled to the island of Pandateria.⁷ Julia’s mother, Scribonia, joined her. In AD 3, she was allowed to go to Rhegium but not allowed to return to Rome. Her daughter, Julia 2, suffered the same fate for the same reasons. Julia (1) died in AD 14, of starvation following Tiberius’ accession to power.

*“...he let her waste away to death, exiled and disgraced, by slow starvation. He calculated that she had been banished for so long that her death would pass unnoticed.”*⁸

⁵ Jones, *AHM, Augustus, Chatto and Windus, London, 1980, p 164*

⁶ Wallace-Hadrill, *p 40*

⁷ Wallace-Hadrill suggests that Livia might have had a hand in Julia’s demise as mentioned in Chapter 12.

⁸ Tacitus, *The Annals of Imperial Rome, 1.53*

Livia

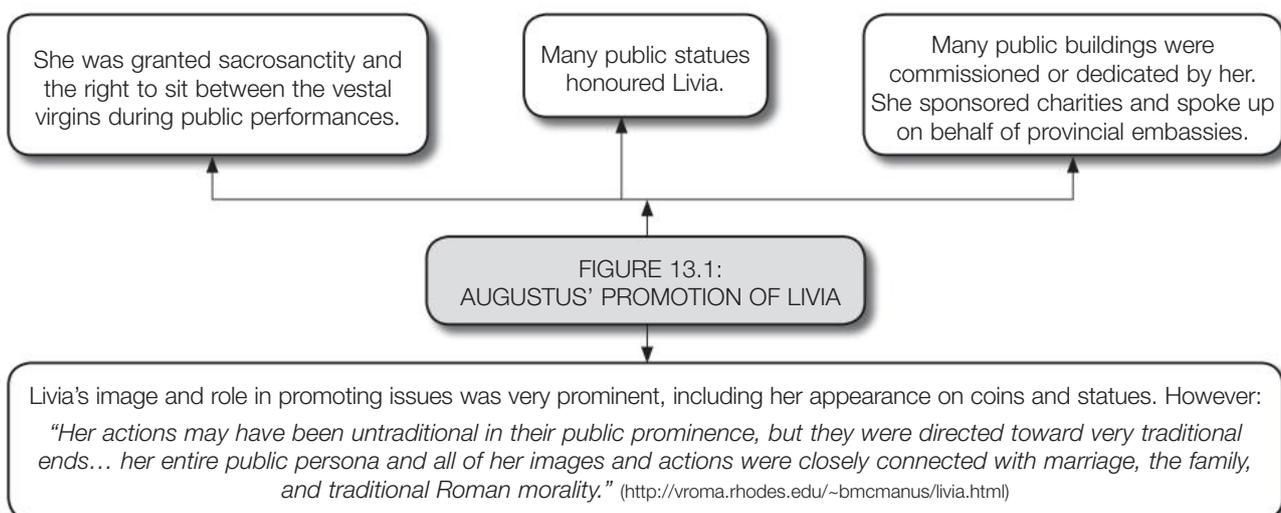
Livia was one of the most significant women in Roman history. She seems to have conformed to the traditional role of dutiful wife and mother. However, as Augustus' wife for fifty two years (38 BC – AD 14), she lived at the centre of the imperial household. She could not have failed to have had enormous influence on Augustus who came to rely upon her keen intelligence.

*“(Livia’s) greatest service to the Romans lay in her devotion to Octavian and in the civilising influence she brought to bear on him.”*⁹

58 BC	Livia was born to Marcus Livius Drusus Claudius.
43 BC	She married Tiberius Claudius Nero at the age of fifteen.
42 BC	She gave birth to her first son, the future emperor Tiberius.
38 BC	Tiberius Claudius Nero was persuaded to divorce Livia. She then married Octavian in what might be described as ‘indecent haste’ – she was already pregnant with her second child. Marrying into the aristocratic Claudian family was obviously a shrewd political move by Augustus as it could bring to him the support of other aristocrats ambitious for power. However, it appears that he was genuinely attracted to her and that this was as much a love match as a political arrangement. <i>“His love match with Livia was a conspicuous success...and they lived happily together for over fifty years.”</i> (Jones, p 164)
38 BC	Her second son, Drusus, was born.
AD 14	Death of Augustus; accession of Tiberius. Livia was adopted into Augustus' lineage as Julia Augusta.
AD 29	Death of Livia
AD 42	Livia was deified as Diva Augusta

Popular fiction depicts Livia as a wicked scheming woman who would stop at nothing, including murder, to make sure that her son succeeds her husband as emperor. This is certainly the image depicted by Robert Graves in *“I, Claudius”* and superbly portrayed by Sian Phillips in the 1976 BBC TV series. A more recent fictional work, *“Antony and Cleopatra”* by Colleen McCullough, presents Livia as a crafty but valuable advisor to Augustus, a man she loves deeply.

Augustus was quite restrained in his own self-promotion as he states in the *Res Gestae*. However, he was willing to promote the image of Livia as explained in Figure 13.3



⁹ Payne, R, *Ancient Rome*, American Heritage Press, New York, 1970, p 160

Exercise 13.1

Read each of the following statements. Indicate true or false for each statement.

1	Octavian avoided using his sister Octavia for purely political purposes.	TRUE/ FALSE
2	Octavia showed great resentment towards the children of her former husband, Marc Antony.	TRUE/ FALSE
3	Following the death of Marcellus, Octavia lead a life of virtual seclusion.	TRUE/ FALSE
4	Julia was used by Augustus in marriage alliances to secure the future succession.	TRUE/ FALSE
5	Augustus was unperturbed by the allegedly promiscuous behaviour of his daughter, Julia.	TRUE/ FALSE
6	Julia outlived all of her sons.	TRUE/ FALSE
7	Livia came from an aristocratic background.	TRUE/ FALSE
8	The marriage of Augustus and Livia seems to have been a loveless marriage of convenience.	TRUE/ FALSE
9	It is impossible to decide for certain whether or not Livia schemed to the point of murder to assure the succession for her son.	TRUE/ FALSE
10	The promotion of Livia during the Augustan Age was aimed at promoting traditional Roman values.	TRUE/ FALSE

Exercise 13.2

Match the description on the left with the name of the lady on the right.

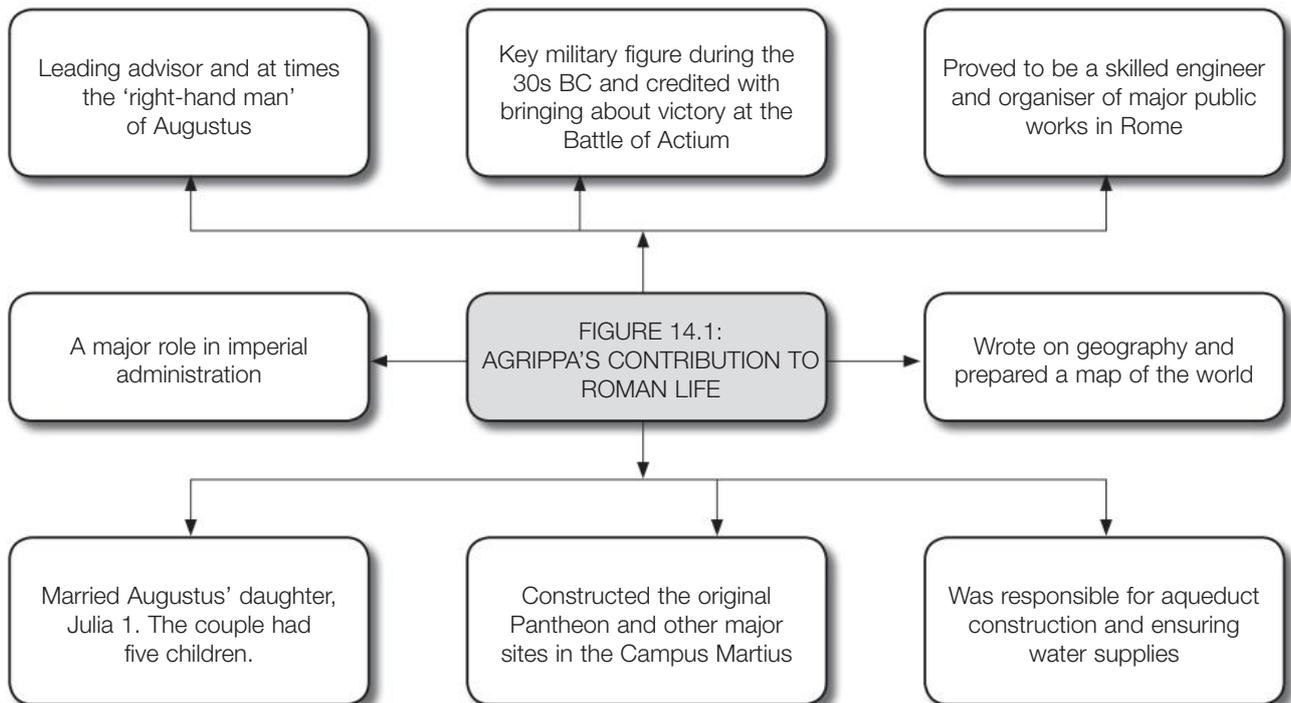
1	Augustus' granddaughter banished for promiscuous behaviour.	ANTONIA
2	Sister to Augustus	JULIA 1
3	Mother, grandmother and great grandmother to emperors	JULIA 2
4	Wife to Marcellus, Agrippa and Tiberius	VIPSANIA
5	Married for 52 years and outlived her husband by fifteen years	SCRIBONIA
6	Augustus forced Tiberius to divorce her.	OCTAVIA
7	Augustus' second wife and mother of his daughter Julia.	AGRIPPINA
8	Daughter of Julia who married Germanicus.	LIVIA

Chapter 14:

Role and contribution of Agrippa

Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa played a major role during the Augustan age. His friendship with Octavian/ Augustus went back to their teenage years. During Octavian's struggle for absolute power and throughout the formative years of the principate, Agrippa proved to be a loyal, efficient and at times indispensable supporter of Augustus.

Figure 14.1 summarises Agrippa's contributions to Roman life.



The early work of Agrippa to the mid-20s BC:

- 63 BC: Agrippa was born (same age as Augustus ¹) of humble family. Little is known of his early years.
- 44 BC: He was in Apollonia (Greece) with Octavian when Julius Caesar was assassinated. On Agrippa's advice, Octavian set off for Rome.
- Agrippa played a key role in the military campaigns against Lucius and Fulvia, brother and wife of Marc Antony. His actions led to the capture of the city of Perugia in 40 BC.
- 38 BC: He suppressed a revolt in Gaul and took forces across the Rhine to deal with aggression there.
- 37 BC: He was made consul but he turned down the chance of a 'triumph'.
- Mid 30s BC: He was largely responsible for defeating the pirate forces of Sextus Pompeius.
 - He had harbours constructed, built a fleet and trained his crews thoroughly.
 - In 36 BC, Pompeius' forces were defeated at Mylae and Naulochus.
 - For his efforts Agrippa received the naval crown.

¹ Interestingly, in literature and film Agrippa is often portrayed as being much older than Augustus, eg in the BBC adaptation of Robert Graves' *I, Claudius*.

- 33 BC: Agrippa was appointed aedile. In this role he carried out major public works in the city of Rome. These included:
 - restoring old, and building new aqueducts to ensure water supplies;
 - repairing the city's sewers;
 - building baths, gardens, porticos;
 - patronising art exhibitions.
- 31 BC: Agrippa's military skills were again needed when he organised Octavian's naval forces in the victory over Antony at the Battle of Actium.
 - commemorating Actium, Agrippa built the original Pantheon.
- 28 BC: Agrippa became consul for the second time.
- 27 BC: Agrippa became consul for the third time.

The crisis years: 24-21 BC

24-23 BC was a time of crisis for the principate. There had been a senate conspiracy against Augustus led by Caepio and Murena ². Having dealt with this threat to his power, Augustus fell seriously ill. At this point he gave his signet ring to Agrippa and various state documents to his fellow consul, Piso. Augustus recovered from his illness thanks to drastic 'cold water treatment' from his doctor. Out of these circumstances came the Settlement of 23 BC. ³

The sources suggest that at this time, Agrippa's long, close friendship with Augustus came under strain because Augustus was showing great favour to his nephew, Marcellus (son of his sister, Octavia). In 25 BC, Marcellus married Augustus' daughter, Julia.

Agrippa was apparently jealous of the young Marcellus and so he left Rome to take up the role of Governor of Syria. However, Agrippa only made it as far as Lesbos, sending his legate on to Syria.

The reasons for Agrippa's move to the east cannot be fully confirmed.

- Was it simply pique at Augustus' favouritism towards Marcellus?
- Had Livia managed to get Agrippa out of Rome to lessen his influence on Augustus?
- Was Agrippa on secret diplomatic business for Augustus, perhaps negotiating with the Parthians?

Jones dismisses the idea that Agrippa was angry with Augustus, arguing that there is no evidence to suggest that Agrippa was discontented with his position. After all, from humble birth Agrippa had made it to consul three times. Jones believes that Augustus wanted the reliable and trustworthy Agrippa in command of imperial armies should he fall ill again. To this end:

"Augustus asked the Senate to confer a consular imperium for ten years on Agrippa, and to assign him the same provinces as to himself... (Agrippa) enjoyed a maius imperium over other proconsuls." ⁴

If Marcellus had been the cause of any rift between Agrippa and Augustus, that cause was soon removed because in 23 BC Marcellus died. Agrippa later divorced his second wife, Marcella, and in 21 BC married Marcellus' young widow, Julia. Together they had five children: Gaius, Lucius, Julia 2, Agrippina and Postumus.

² See Chapter 9

³ See Chapter 3

⁴ Jones, *Augustus, Chatto and Windus, London, 1980, pp 55-6*

Agrippa's final years: 21 BC – 12 BC

19 BC: Agrippa put down a revolt by the Cantabrians in Spain.

17 BC: He was appointed a second time as Governor of Syria. His governorship won him plaudits from the local population. Both Augustus and Agrippa actively protected the rights of the Jewish people. During this time, Agrippa spent time settling the affairs of the Bosphorus kingdom.

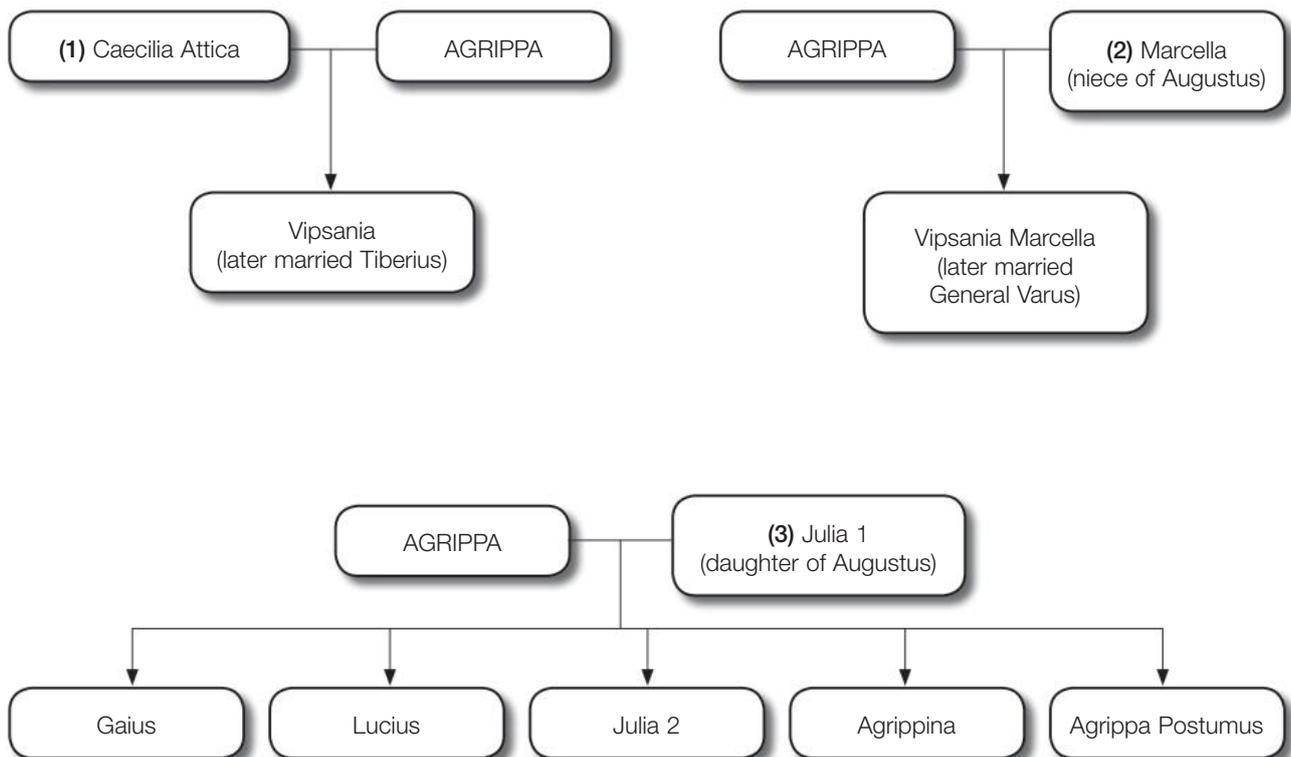
17 BC: Augustus adopted the two sons of Agrippa and Julia – Gaius and Lucius. In subsequent years they were to be groomed for possible succession.

*"If Augustus should die Agrippa, possessing the imperium consulare and the tribunician potestas, would automatically step into his place, but only as caretaker for his two sons, who were the blood of Caesar and now sons of Augustus."*⁵

13 BC: He successfully and bloodlessly put down a revolt in Pannonia.

12 BC: Agrippa died in Campania at the age of 51. The loss of Agrippa was a tremendous blow for Augustus. They had been lifelong friends, Agrippa had provided Augustus with some of his finest military victories, and Agrippa *"was probably the only man in whom he could absolutely trust."*⁶ Augustus gave his old friend a superb state funeral and had him buried inside his mausoleum.

Agrippa married three times and had seven children.



⁵ Jones, P 63

⁶ Jones, p 66

Exercise 14.1:

What do you remember of Agrippa's life? Place the following events in the correct chronological order.

1st event		AGRIPPA MARRIES MARCELLA
2nd event		2nd GOVERNORSHIP OF SYRIA
3rd event		ASSASSINATION OF CAESAR
4th event		BATTLE OF ACTIUM
5th event		AGRIPPA MARRIES JULIA
6th event		DEFEAT OF SEXTUS POMPEIUS
7th event		WAR AGAINST LUCIUS AND FULVIA
8th event		DEATH OF MARCELLUS
9th event		AGRIPPA LEAVES ROME FOR SYRIA
10th event		AGRIPPA'S FIRST CONSULSHIP

Chapter 15:

Death of Augustus

During the last decade of his rule, Augustus came to rely more and more upon Tiberius, especially his military skills. In AD 13 when proconsular imperium and tribunician authority were up for renewal, Tiberius was explicitly recognised as a sharer in both. Tiberius had become in effect co-regent, similar to the position that Agrippa had held in 18 BC.

Death and funeral

Augustus died in August AD 14 at Nola, south of Rome, in the same room as his father according to Suetonius. He was not quite 78 years old. Tacitus suggests that Livia may have played a part in the death of Augustus.

*“Some suspected his wife of foul play.”*¹

Tacitus’ argument is that Livia had heard from Marcia, wife of Paullus Fabius Maximus, that Augustus had had a tearful reunion with his grandson, Agrippa Postumus. Apparently, Augustus and Maximus had visited Postumus at Planasia. Marcia had reported that Postumus’ return to Rome was imminent and this of course would have placed Tiberius’ accession to power after Augustus in doubt. Maximus was soon dead, possibly suicide. Tiberius was recalled from Illyricum to Nola. Tacitus says it is unknown whether or not Augustus was still alive when Tiberius returned.

Livia was careful to keep control of events, sealing the house and close by streets with her guards.

*“At intervals, hopeful reports were published – until the steps demanded by the situation had been taken. Then two pieces of news became known simultaneously: Augustus was dead and Tiberius was in control.”*²

Augustus was cremated a few days later on a funeral pyre in the Campus Martius. Two eulogies were given, one by Tiberius, and one by Tiberius’ son, Drusus. At the funeral as Augustus’ body was burning:

*“...an ex-praetor actually swore that he had seen Augustus’ spirit soaring up to Heaven through the flames.”*³

His ashes were then placed in his mausoleum. In September, Augustus was voted divine honours and was now referred to as *Divus Augustus*, deified Augustus. A series of documents relating to Augustus’ death were read out. In his will, he left most of his estate to Tiberius and Livia, instructions for his funeral were listed and a statement on the condition of the empire was given. He requested that his *Res Gestae* be carved in bronze above the entrance to the mausoleum.

Even in death, Augustus remained unreconciled to his daughter (Julia 1) and his granddaughter (Julia 2):

*“He had given orders that ‘should anything happen’ to his daughter Julia, or his granddaughter of the same name, their bodies must be excluded from the mausoleum.”*⁴

After the death of Augustus

The consuls swore an oath of loyalty to Tiberius and then administered the oath to the senate, the equestrians and the people. Tiberius seemed reluctant to assume power.

¹ Tacitus, *The Annals of Imperial Rome*, 1.4

² Tacitus, 1.4

³ Suetonius, *The Twelve Caesars, Augustus*, 100

⁴ Suetonius, *Augustus*, 101

- The ancient sources suggest he was a ‘dissembling hypocrite’ who was feigning reluctance to gauge the level of his support and identify his opponents.
- Perhaps he wanted a repeat of 27 BC and wished to be urged to take power as Augustus had experienced.
- Or perhaps he was genuinely reluctant, after all he had given up his responsibilities once before and left Rome.

Before his death, Augustus had mentioned the names of men outside the family as possible successors. In other words, ‘auctoritas’ did not necessarily depend on being a Julian or a Claudian.

*“Augustus, in one of his last conversations, had gone over the names of men who would be fit and willing to become emperor, or unfit and unwilling, or fit but unwilling.”*⁵

However, by now there was general acceptance that the *Respublica* needed permanent supervision.

*“It is clear, therefore, that in all but name the Respublica was now a hereditary monarchy.”*⁶

Tacitus reports that the first event of the new reign was murder, that of Agrippa Postumus. This might have been done on Augustus’ orders to prevent a possible future clash between Postumus and Germanicus; it may even have occurred without the knowledge of Tiberius. Tacitus certainly places the blame on the new emperor.

The beginning of the new reign also faced mutinies in Pannonia and Germany. These were quickly put down, effectively by Drusus in Pannonia, and less effectively by Germanicus in Germany.

Views on the legacy of Augustus

During election campaigns, opposition leaders often pose the question to the electorate: ‘Are you better off now than you were three (or four or five) years ago?’ Expecting a negative response, the hope is that the sitting government will be voted out. Had Augustus asked the people of Rome and the emperor: ‘Are you better off now that you were forty five years ago?’, he would have received a resoundingly positive response. The Augustan Age had been marked by peace, security, stability and prosperity. Here are four comments on the rule of Augustus.

*“The ultimate legacy of Augustus was the broad sweep of stability that the Roman world gained from 31 BC for four centuries and more.”*⁷

*“To his successor he bequeathed a Roman world that enjoyed external security and internal peace.”*⁸

*“...That peace he secured, and with it he laid the foundations for the Romanisation of western Europe, which is his most enduring monument.”*⁹

Tacitus had no great love for the system that Augustus inaugurated, and the most he was willing to concede was:

*“He seduced the army with bonuses, and his cheap food policy was successful bait for the civilians. Indeed, he attracted everybody’s goodwill by the enjoyable gift of peace.”*¹⁰

⁵ Tacitus, 1.13

⁶ Shotter, D, *Augustus Caesar*, Routledge, London, 1991, p 77

⁷ Shotter, p 81

⁸ Salmon, ET, *A History of the Roman World 30 BC – AD 138*, Methuen, London, 1970, p 38

⁹ Scullard, HH, *From the Gracchi to Nero*, Methuen, London, 1970, p 276

¹⁰ Tacitus, 1.1

Exercise 15.1

Indicate whether you believe each of the following statements is a “fact” or “opinion”.

1	Livia was clearly implicated in the death of Augustus.	FACT/ OPINION
2	Augustus died at Nola in August AD 14.	FACT/ OPINION
3	Tiberius feigned reluctance on assuming the burdens of office.	FACT/ OPINION
4	Augustus was planning to bring Postumus back to Rome.	FACT/ OPINION
5	Augustus had brought peace and an end to armed conflict.	FACT/ OPINION
6	Augustus was the greatest of all the Roman emperors.	FACT/ OPINION
7	Augustus seems to have never forgiven his daughter.	FACT/ OPINION
8	Livia had achieved her lifelong ambition to make her son emperor	FACT/ OPINION
9	Augustus accepted Tiberius as his successor reluctantly.	FACT/ OPINION
10	Augustus deserved the praise he has been given.	FACT/ OPINION

Section 3 ■ Augustus and the Empire

Chapter 16: Augustus and the army

Arguably Augustus' greatest challenge was what to do about the army. His defeat of Antony was essentially a military victory despite the importance of the accompanying propaganda onslaught that did so much to discredit his rival. ¹ Augustus' rise from obscurity as the seventeen year old Octavian to undisputed master of Rome was due to the loyalty of his legions, many of whom were attracted by his name. ²

"...first Caesar and then Augustus came to power as a result of military victories won for them by troops who were loyal to them and recognised their auctoritas as 'general' (imperator) – the military leader with powers of patronage." ³

The fundamental problem that plagued the Republic in its final decades had been the senate's inability to control the military. Legionaries were increasingly loyal to their commander rather than the state, be that commander Marius, Sulla, Pompey or Caesar.

Thus, the army presented Augustus with many challenges:

1. He had to keep control of the army as it was the ultimate source of his power.
2. He had to mollify the senate and allow it some military say, if only for the sake of appearances.
3. He had to prevent the possibility of any ambitious general, backed by his legions threatening his position. This was a possibility:
 - a. because there had been no provisions for regular pay;
 - b. because soldiers always relied upon their commanders for making arrangements for them at the end of their service;
 - c. the issue of loyalty towards one's commander rather than 'the state'.
4. He had to secure the continuing defence and security of the empire:
 - a. During the Republic, when serious trouble arose, its forces often had to be improvised;
 - b. *"This was a make-shift method, adequate perhaps for the needs of a city-state but hardly for those of a world empire... There was not even a commander-in-chief.."* ⁴
5. He had to satisfy veterans' needs when their military service was over.
6. He had to deal with the enormous size of the army.

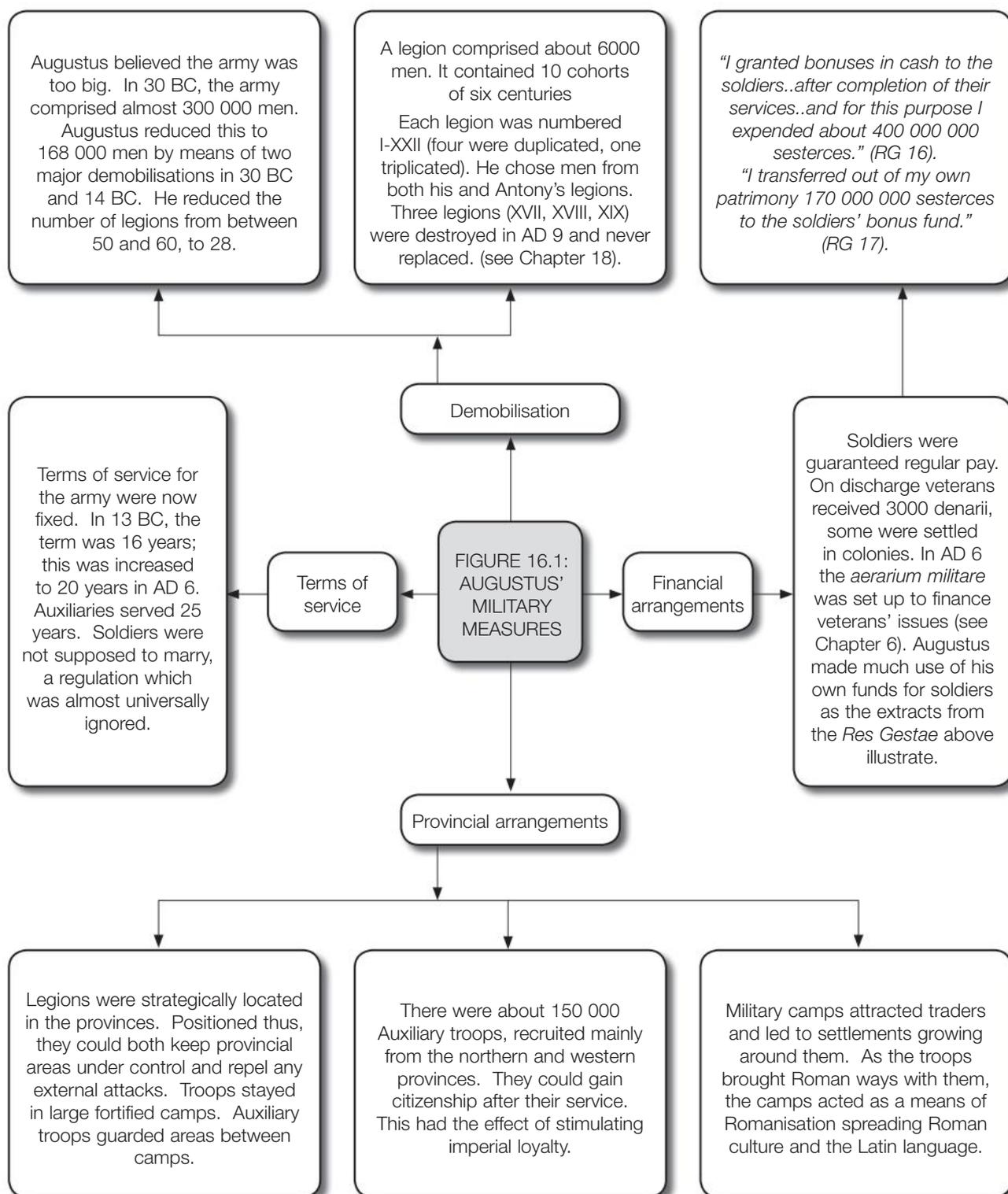
To deal with these issues, Augustus took a series of steps involving: demobilisation, changes to terms of service, new financial arrangements for serving soldiers and veterans, and new arrangements for control of the provinces. The measures Augustus took are summarised in Figure 16.1.

¹ See Chapter 2

² Octavian was adopted by Caesar in his will. He was now known to his troops as Gaius Julius Caesar.

³ Shotter, *Augustus Caesar*, Routledge, London, 1991, p 51

⁴ Salmon, *ET, A History of the Roman World 30 BC-AD 138*, Methuen, London, 1970, p 95



Salmon makes the point that:

*"...the same hierarchical principle was observed in the Roman army as in Roman society: members of the senatorial or equestrian orders could not serve in the ranks as common soldiers."*⁵

Broadly speaking, legionary hierarchy followed this pattern:

- Legionary commanders (*legatus legionis*) served for three years and came from the senatorial order, often an *ex-praetor*;

⁵ Salmon, w 99

- staff officers (tribune militum) who usually came from the equestrian order;
- cohort commanders;
- centurions;
- the rank and file soldiers.

Thus, the highest military positions tended to go to members of the senatorial order (not Egypt) though senators generally were not used in the highest ranks unless they had displayed proven military skills. Jones makes the point that though some experienced centurions did rise to the post of *tribune militum*, this post was usually staffed by members of “the upper classes of the Italian cities.” Such an arrangement leads him to conclude:

*“The officer corps was the least satisfactory part of the army, retaining its old amateur character.”*⁶

Despite Augustus’ reforms, life in the Roman army remained tough. However, most soldiers seemed content enough with conditions though mutiny was not unheard of, as occurred shortly after Augustus’ death. Men complained that some centurions were guilty of brutality, that pay was low and service too long. In fact army pay remained the same for almost a century but Jones reports that, even after deductions for rations, arms etc, a soldier could lay aside one third of his pay.⁷ However, length of service was a major issue. Germanicus reduced service after the German mutiny (though Tiberius then cancelled Germanicus’ action).

Under Augustus, Rome developed two standing fleets, based at Ravenna and Misenum. Smaller fleets were based around other parts of the Mediterranean. These were headed by equestrian prefects though the captains of individual ships were often freedmen and sometimes even slaves. The ratings tended to be free provincials. Service conditions were the same as for auxiliary soldiers.

The Praetorian Guard

The elite military force of the principate was the Praetorian Guard.

*“Theoretically it was the Princeps’ bodyguard; actually his picked, personal guard was a select body of German troops, the Praetorian Guard proper being stationed under Augustus at least, in various Italian towns.”*⁸

- There were nine infantry cohorts of the guard, each comprising 1000 men.
 - Augustus usually kept three cohorts based in Rome, with six placed across the Italian peninsula.
- Members of the guard were better rewarded than ordinary legionaries:
 - A member of the guard could earn about 32 asses a day, which was three times what a legionary soldier could expect.
 - On discharge, guardsmen received 5000 denarii.
 - Legionaries were not eligible for service in the Praetorian Guard.
- Service was for only 12 years, though this was increased to 16 years in AD 5.
 - The Guard was not expected to go into battle unless the princeps or an imperial family member was actually fighting.
- The Guard was usually led by two equestrian prefects of equal rank, though sometimes there was only one (as with Sejanus during the reign of Tiberius).

In the later years of the Augustan era, there was also a city police of Rome comprising three (and later four) urban cohorts. Service was for 20 years and pay was about half that of a praetorian guard. The urban cohorts were commanded by a city prefect.

⁶ Jones, *AHM, Augustus, Chatto and Windus, London, 1980, p 115*

⁷ Jones, p 116

⁸ Salmon, p 73

Exercise 16.1

Read each of the following statements. Indicate true or false for each statement.

1	Augustus never really had control of the army.	TRUE/ FALSE
2	Army arrangements were arguably Augustus' greatest challenge.	TRUE/ FALSE
3	Legionary loyalty to an individual commander had been a major problem during the later years of the Republic.	TRUE/ FALSE
4	Most legionary troops would find themselves based in the provinces.	TRUE/ FALSE
5	Augustus succeeded in solving the financial status of legionaries.	TRUE/ FALSE
6	Augustus was reluctant to use his own funds to deal with the fate of veterans.	TRUE/ FALSE
7	The army offered a real chance of social mobility.	TRUE/ FALSE
8	Life in the Praetorian Guard was better than life in the legions.	TRUE/ FALSE
9	The Praetorian Guard was spread across the empire in the same manner as the army.	TRUE/ FALSE
10	The Praetorian Guard was headed by a senator.	TRUE/ FALSE

Exercise 16.2

Match the description on the left with one of the terms given in the box below.

1	Military treasury established in AD 6	
2	Elite military force during the principate	
3	Provincial troops who served Rome	
4	Units designed for police work in Rome	
5	Legionary commander	
6	Praetorian Guard commander	
7	Legionary staff officer	
8	Process of dismissing men from the army	
9	Men who have served their time in the army	
10	Rebellion against army conditions and regulations	
TRIBUNE MILITUM AERARIUM MILITARE MUTINY VETERANS EQUESTRIAN PREFECT PRAETORIAN GUARD LEGATUS LEGIONIS AUXILIARIES DEMOBILISATION URBAN COHORTS		

Chapter 17:

Provincial government: imperial and senatorial

The existence of frequent provincial inscriptions evoking gratitude to Augustus for the peace which he brought to the empire, suggests that in provincial matters at least, the principate had been enormously successful. A decree from Asia passed in 9 BC stated:

*“Whereas the divine providence that guides our life has displayed its zeal and benevolence by ordaining for our life the most perfect good, bringing to us Augustus, whom it has filled with virtue for the benefit of mankind...”*¹

Had provincial government suddenly improved under Augustus? Had the character and often brutal exploitative habits of Rome’s governing classes, built up over generations, suddenly come to an end? During Tiberius’ reign, eight governors were brought to trial. The proconsul of Asia, Valerius Mesalla Volesus, executed 300 people in one day in AD 12. (Volesus was later condemned by the senate.) Jones suggests it is impossible to decide if standards had really improved and makes the point:

*“They were still grossly extravagant and looked to their provinces to pay their debts and re-establish their fortune.”*²

However, it is certainly true that Augustus paid great attention to the problems of the provinces, made major attempts to improve their running and the infrequency of major revolts in the provinces would tend to suggest that he had been largely successful.

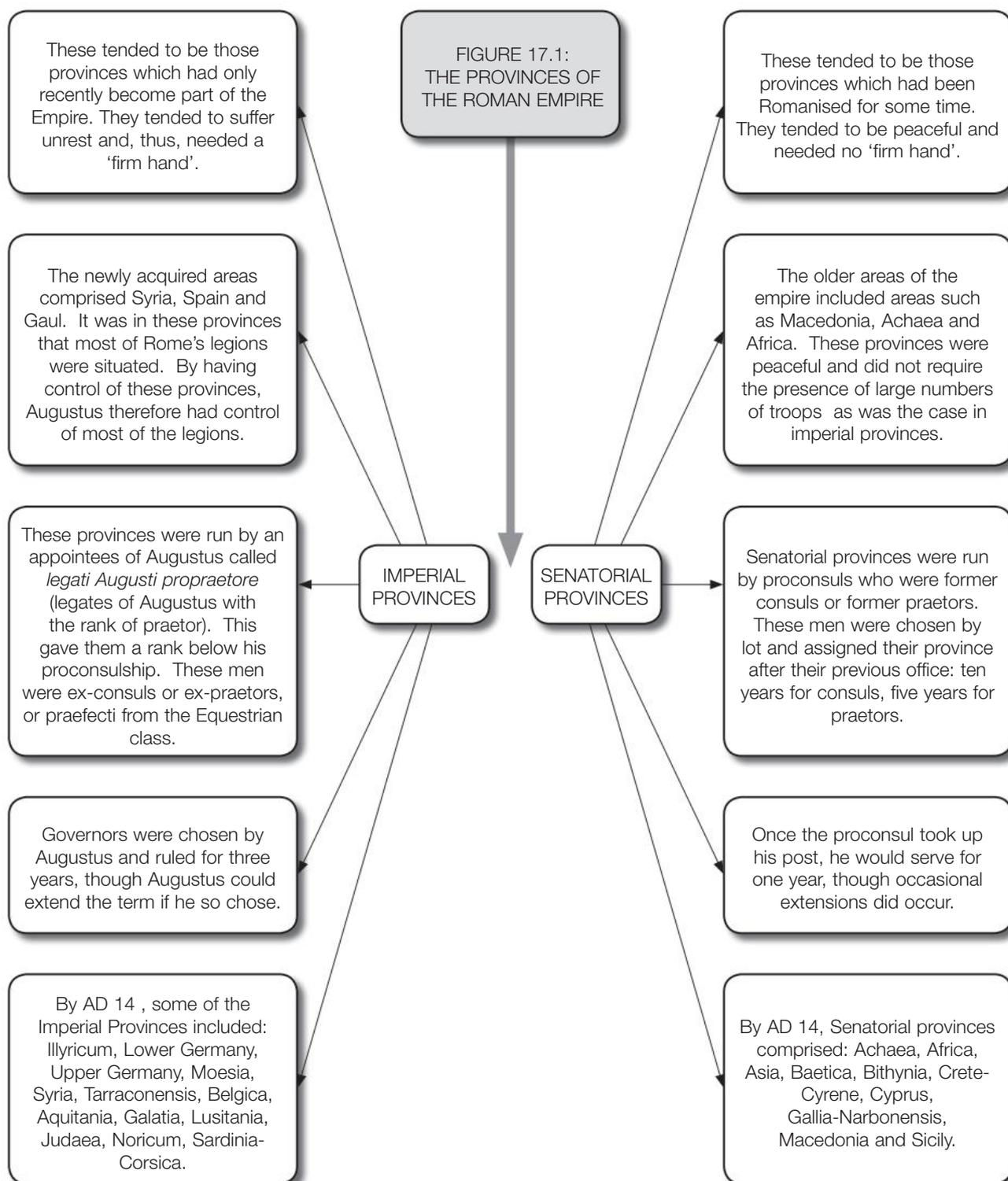
Provincials had good reason to be unhappy with the way the empire had been administered during the later stages of the republic, not to mention the exactions they experienced during the civil war years:

- Roman taxation was often exorbitantly high;
- there was little certainty about the amount or frequency of taxation demands;
- tax collectors (publicani) were notoriously corrupt and unscrupulous;
- the standard of provincial government was extremely poor;
- provincials were often subject to the whims of provincial officials.

Like much of the work of the principate, changes to the running of the empire came gradually, and were often introduced only when needed by circumstance. The problems of the empire were bound up with the issue of the army. Augustus had achieved power by military means and control of the army would always be the underlying factor which accounted for his continued hold on power. The Settlements of 27 BC and 23 BC had ensured that Augustus would keep control of Rome’s legions. Following the settlements, the empire was divided into “Imperial provinces” and “Senatorial provinces”. Figure 17.1 summarises the main points relating to this division.

¹ Taken from Jones, *AHM, Augustus, Chatto and Windus, London, 1980, p94*

² Jones, p 99



Changes in provincial administration under Augustus

Administration throughout the empire, both in Imperial and in Senatorial provinces, gradually improved as the Augustan system was refined. Augustus introduced a series of measures to streamline administration, and to bring about fairer and more efficient systems of taxation and justice.

- Governors used to be given a sum of money out of which they had to run their province, pay their officials and grant themselves a salary.
 - Under Augustus, governors now received a fixed, 'high' salary.
 - The need for extortion of locals was removed.

- Augustus gradually developed a professional imperial civil service.
 - These men in turn gained experience and developed professional pride.
 - The existence of an imperial civil service removed the need for contractors who were at best unreliable, and at worst downright corrupt.
 - Augustus was also able to control selection of the civil service.

*“Thus, Augustus succeeded in building up an efficient body of salaried professional administrators: all of them indirectly depended on his favour...”*³

- Governors were now watched (spied upon) by procurators.
 - Their job was to report back to Augustus on any misbehaviour.
 - They were also allowed to move into Senatorial provinces.
- A courier system of post, called the *cursus publicus* enabled quick communication between outlying provinces and Rome.
 - Despatch riders could cover 80 kms a day.
- Augustus also improved the system of provincial justice.
 - Corrupt or inefficient governors could be dragged back to Rome quickly to face either Augustus or the Senate.

*“Human nature being what it is, maladministration and rapacity did not automatically disappear, but retribution did follow more swiftly and more surely and thereby act as a powerful deterrent.”*⁴

- Augustus sought to involve local communities in administration and encourage them to see that they had a stake in the smooth running of the empire.
 - Provincial Councils were set up, originally with a religious function.
 - However, the councils came to deal with complaints about a governor and eventually they would be able to appeal to the emperor.
 - Augustus believed that by allowing some self-government in the provinces, loyalty to the empire would be encouraged, there would be less need of the presence of troops and the process of Romanisation could continue apace.

*“Thus Roman control in the provinces was to a large extent indirect and rested upon the support and loyalty of self-governing communities.”*⁵

- Under Augustus, there had been a major improvement in the taxation system.
 - Direct taxes included the tributum soli (land tax) and the tributum capitis (a tax on other property).
 - Indirect taxes included the portoria (a 5% tax on goods crossing certain frontiers) and taxes on the selling/ freeing of slaves.
 - By paying governors and civil service officials, there was less need for corruption, and the presence of procurators “keeping an eye on things” further ensured fairer treatment of locals.
 - Regular censuses were carried out in the provinces.
 - The information gained by these exercises made possible the development of a fairer taxation system.
 - Augustus had not achieved a perfect taxation system but provincials were well aware that exactions under the principate were fairer and considerably less onerous than they had been before.

³ Scullard, HH, *From the Gracchi to Nero*, Methuen, London, 1970, p 269

⁴ Salmon, ET, *A History of the Roman World 30 BC to AD 138*, Methuen, London, 1970, p 81

⁵ Scullard, p 273

“...now that provincials were having to finance a far smaller volume of Roman corruption, their prosperity increased and with it the legitimate revenue and the willingness of such people to cooperate with Rome.”⁶

Conclusions:



Exercise 17.1

Check your factual knowledge.

1	How were Rome's provinces divided up during the Augustan Age?	
2	By AD 14, were Upper Germany, Syria and Aquitania Imperial or Senatorial provinces?	
3	By AD 14, were Achaëa, Macedonia and Sicily Imperial or Senatorial provinces?	
4	Which official was in charge of a Senatorial province?	
5	Which official was in charge of an Imperial province?	
6	In which provinces were most of Rome's legions situated?	
7	Whose job was it to keep an eye on the activities of governors?	
8	What was Rome's fast courier postal system called?	
9	Why were provincial censuses important?	
10	What would provincials have been most grateful for during the Augustan Age?	

⁶ Shotter, *Augustus Caesar*, Routledge, London, 1991, p 61

Chapter 18:

Frontier policy

Army reform,¹ provincial policy² and frontier policy were all interconnected. Contented provinces meant less need for armies of occupation while efficient armies ensured the maintenance of Rome's power and protection from outside barbarian attacks. Under Augustus, the army was becoming a frontier army, a process that would be more fully developed by his successors. In doing this, Shotter suggests that Augustus was continuing the work of Julius Caesar which:

*"...sought the protection of Rome and Italy by the establishment of a "buffer" of provinces and pro-Roman territory, secure within visible frontiers..."*³

However, where was the frontier to be? In the course of several centuries, Rome had steadily spread outwards from the Italian peninsula, and it now controlled lands from the Atlantic to the eastern Mediterranean, from the Sahara Desert to the English Channel. Augustus was no Julius Caesar, but even during his time the empire had grown significantly with expansion to the River Danube and in Germany. Yet, by the end of his rule, Augustus had swung round to a keenly conservative frontier policy and the advice he passed on to his successor, Tiberius, was to avoid expanding the empire.

Augustus' key aims regarding frontier policy can be summarised as follows:

1. The consolidation of what Rome already had.
2. An end to the 'ad hoc', unsystematic expansion which had characterised frontier policy during the Republic.
3. The pursuit of defensible frontiers, preferably natural barriers.
4. The avoidance of becoming 'bogged down' in the east, memories of Carrhae (53 BC) remained strong in Rome.

Augustus' frontier policies were largely successful as can be seen in relation to Spain, Gaul, Britain, the Danube area, Africa and the east. However, it was to be quite a different story in Germany. Figure 18.1 summarises the main elements of Augustan policy. Germany is dealt with separately.

Germany

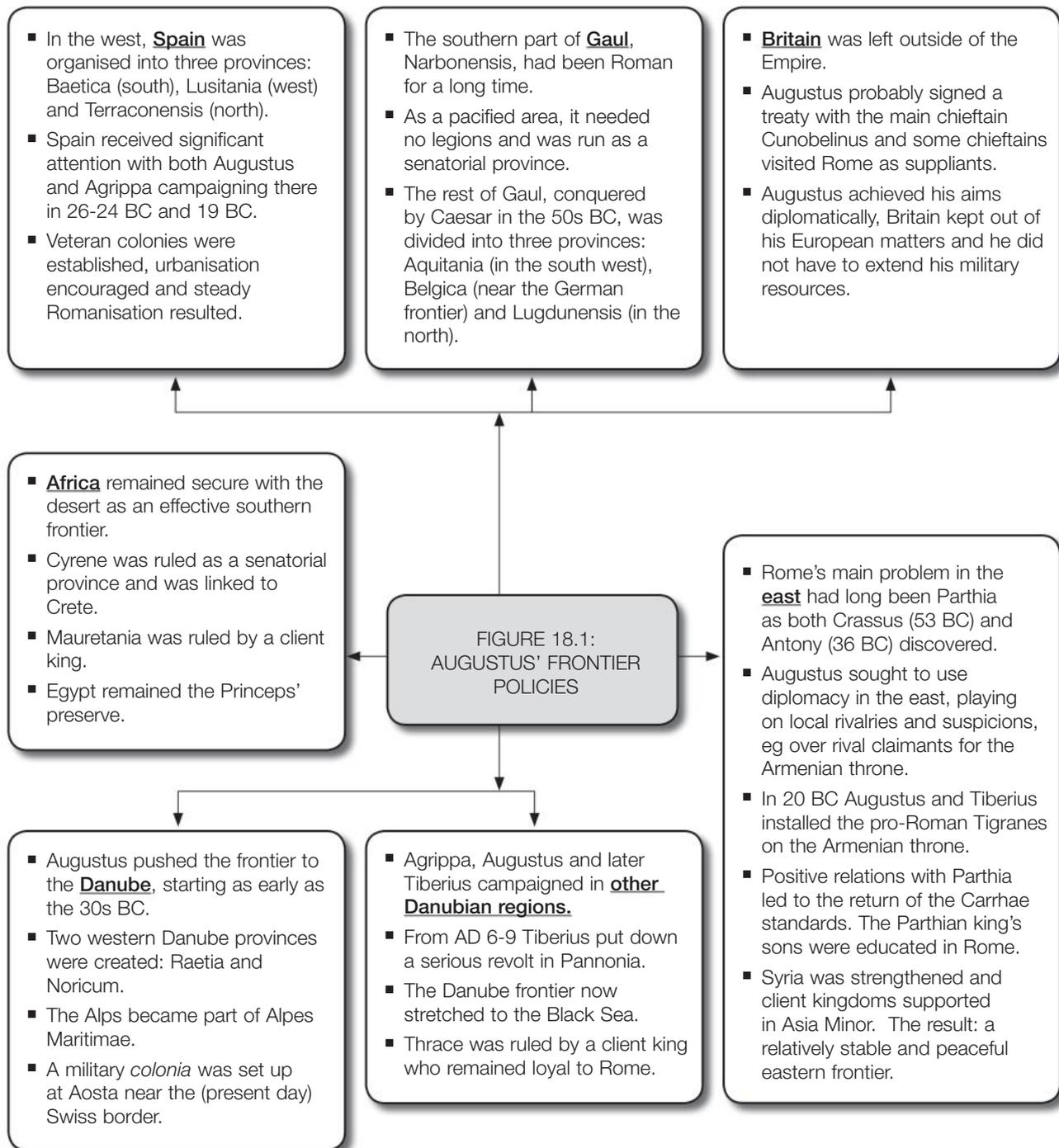
During the early part of Augustus' rule, the frontier in the north was the River Rhine, which had been established by Caesar during his campaigns in Gaul in the 50s BC. However, this was an unstable region and on several occasions Germanic tribes from the east had carried out cross-border raids into Gaul. Faced with this threat, Augustus hoped to move the frontier from the River Rhine eastwards to the River Elbe. This would also make sense as a combined Danube-Elbe frontier would be shorter and presumably would require fewer troops to man it.

- In 12 BC, Drusus (Tiberius' brother) was sent into Germany to extend Roman control to the River Elbe.
- In 9 BC Drusus died in Germany from wounds received following a fall from his horse.
- Tiberius was then sent to Germany to deal with the situation there but the army was soon deprived of his skills as in 6 BC he took himself off to self-imposed exile in Rhodes; he would not return to Rome until AD 2.
- On his return, Augustus again used Tiberius in Germany but his stay was short-lived as he was sent to Pannonia to deal with the serious revolt which broke out there in AD 6.

¹ See Chapter 16

² See Chapter 17

³ Shotter, D, *Augustus Caesar*, Routledge, London, 1991, p 49



The area between the rivers Rhine and Elbe had not been pacified, in fact it had barely been occupied. Roman troops still faced frequent attacks from various German tribes. However, the area was declared 'pacified' and in AD 9 Augustus sent Quinctilius Varus to govern Germany, an appointment that probably owed something to family ties.

- **Quinctilius Varus** was born in 46 BC.
- His father had fought against Caesar; he eventually committed suicide in 42 BC after the Battle of Philippi.
- Despite his father's loyalties, the young Varus became a supporter of Octavian/ Augustus. He went on to marry Vipsania Marcella (Agrippa's daughter) who was a grandniece of Augustus.
- In 13 BC, at the age of 33, Varus had reached the position of consul (his consular partner being Tiberius).

- At the funeral of Agrippa in 12 BC, it was Varus who delivered the eulogy.
- Governorships followed in Africa and Syria.
- Varus' first wife had died and he then married Claudia Pulchra, a great niece of Augustus, thus maintaining ties to the imperial family.
- In AD 9, Varus was sent to Germany.

Varus did not understand the complexity of the situation facing him in Germany. The country had not been Romanised and some of the Germanic tribes, such as the Cherusci under their chieftain Arminius, were not exactly pacified. Indeed, the control Rome had in Germany at this time was at best superficial. Varus' contemptuous treatment of the Germans and his introduction of new taxation methods only served to exacerbate the situation.

Varus totally underestimated Arminius, believing that the German chieftain could be trusted, even entertaining him in his camp. As Varus moved his legions – the 17th, 18th and 19th - westwards on their way to winter quarters, the Romans were attacked in the heavily forested, swampy Teutoburg Forest (near modern day Osnabruck). The terrain was totally unsuited to legionary tactics. The Germans managed to separate the Roman forces into smaller groups and proceeded to inflict on the Roman army one of the greatest defeats in its history.

News of the German defeat was received with panic in Rome.

- There were fears that the Germans would now launch major attacks in Gaul.
- Gaul was saved partly because the Germans fell out amongst themselves, eg King Marbod refused to join Arminius, even after he had been sent the head of Varus. Varus had committed suicide rather than face disgrace back in Rome.
- The situation was saved by the arrival of Tiberius who had recently crushed the rebellion in Pannonia.
- The 17th, 18th and 19th legions were never replaced such was the ill fortune attached to their legionary numbers.

Significance of the Varian disaster

Suetonius reports that Augustus took the defeat of Varus extremely badly:

*"Indeed it is said that he took the disaster so deeply to heart that he left his hair and beard untrimmed for months; he would often beat his head on a door shouting: 'Quinctilius Varus, give me back my legions!' and always kept the anniversary as a day of deep mourning."*⁴

In the *Res Gestae*, Augustus fails to make direct reference to the Varian disaster, not surprising considering the purpose of it was to list successes not failures. Mention of events in Germany include:

*"I restored peace to the Gallic and Spanish provinces and likewise to Germany, that is to the entire region bounded by the Ocean from Gades to the mouth of the Elbe River... German peoples... sought my friendship and that of the Roman people..."*⁵

Modern historians disagree on the impact of the Varian defeat. Shotter states that the Rhine corridor was now organised into two military districts 'Lower Germany' (north) and 'Upper Germany' (south), but as for further expansion:

*"...it finally closed the door on the dream of a Roman province extending to the Elbe."*⁶

⁴ Suetonius, *The Twelve Caesars, Augustus*, 23

⁵ *Res Gestae*, 26

⁶ Shotter, p 56-7

However, Eck sees the situation after the German defeat differently. He argues that Augustus increased numbers in Germany and ordered retaliatory raids. He sent Germanicus to command troops on the Rhine in AD 13 where he won a victory that year:

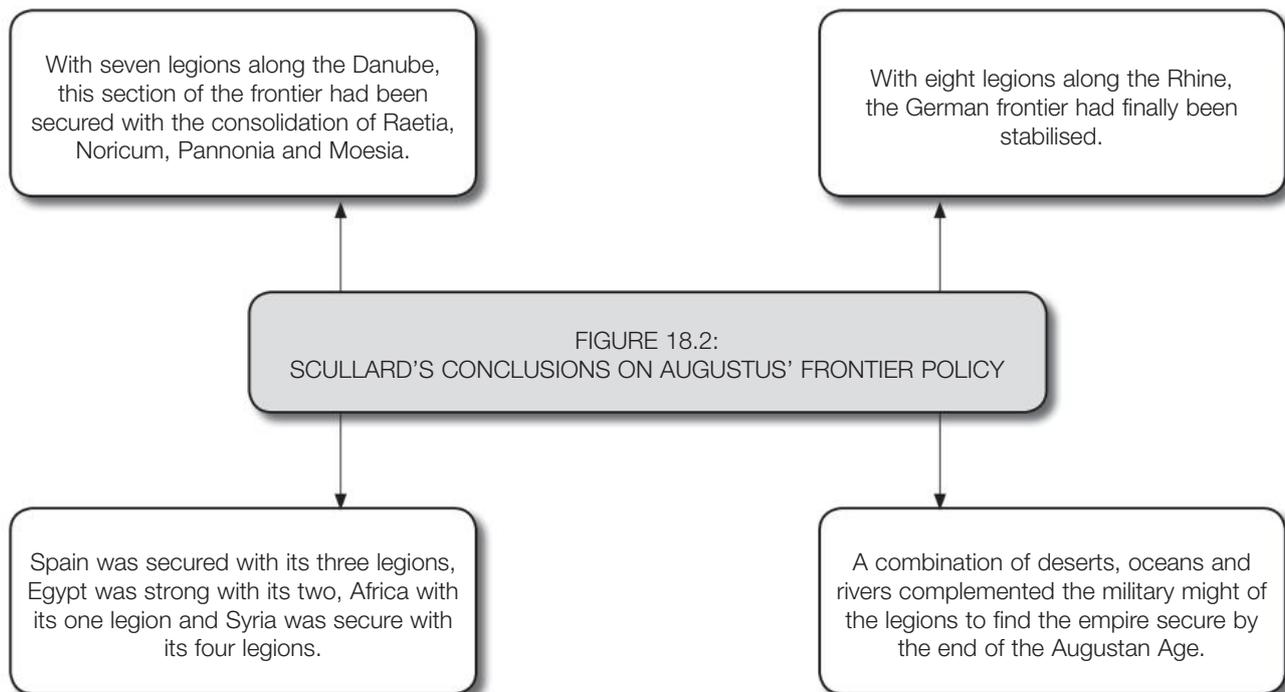
*“...for which Augustus accepted his last acclamation as victor in Germanicus’ stead. Augustus’ acceptance makes it likely that he had given Germanicus orders to win back the lost territories.”*⁷

Eck further makes the point that not all German tribes had rebelled and so when Augustus makes his boast in the *Res Gestae* about pacifying Germany from the ocean at Gades to the mouth of the Elbe, he is technically correct.

Conclusion

*“The Varian disaster no less than the Pannonian revolt was a dark shadow, but none the less Augustus had in general achieved a lasting success.”*⁸

Scullard believes that Augustus’ frontier policy was largely successful despite some setbacks. Figure 18.2 summarises his views.



⁷ Eck, W, *The Age of Augustus*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1998, p 103

⁸ Scullard, HH, *From the Gracchi to Nero*, Methuen, London, 1970, p 268

Exercise 18.1

Read each of the following statements. Indicate true or false for each statement.

1	Frontier policy during the final years of the Republic had been systematic and well-planned.	TRUE/ FALSE
2	Augustus was eager to launch a military campaign against Parthia in order to seek revenge for Carrhae.	TRUE/ FALSE
3	Augustus wanted to use natural geographical features to create sustainable frontiers for the empire.	TRUE/ FALSE
4	During the Augustan Age, a steady process of Romanisation was achieved in Spain.	TRUE/ FALSE
5	Augustus succeeded in establishing the River Elbe as the empire's frontier in Germany.	TRUE/ FALSE
6	Three entire Roman legions were destroyed in the Varian campaign of AD 9.	TRUE/ FALSE
7	Historians are not in agreement in their assessment of Augustus' policies in Germany.	TRUE/ FALSE
8	Augustus preferred to use the weapon of diplomacy rather than military forces when dealing with issues in the east.	TRUE/ FALSE
9	Augustus seemed eager to undertake an invasion of Britain.	TRUE/ FALSE
10	The frontiers of the Roman Empire had become stabilised by the time of Augustus' death.	TRUE/ FALSE

Exercise 18.2

Use the terms in the box below to complete the following passage.

Agrippa and Augustus both campaigned in Spain. The region was eventually divided into three provinces called _____, _____ and _____. The southern part of Gaul, _____, became a senatorial province because it was quiet while the rest of Gaul was organised into three imperial provinces: _____, _____ and _____. Northern Africa had two senatorial provinces, _____ and _____, while _____ remained the preserve of the Princeps. Two provinces were developed along the western Danube called _____ and _____. Rome's major province in the east was _____.

BELGICA

LUSITANIA

EGYPT

NARBONENSIS

BAETICA

AFRICA

RAETIA

TARRACONENSIS

AQUITANIA

CYRENE

NORICUM

SYRIA

LUGDUNENSIS

Under Augustus **THE ROMAN EMPIRE** had expanded to the extent shown below. By AD 14, it stretched from Spain in the west to Judea in the east, and from Egypt and Africa to northern Gaul. The rivers Rhine and Danube provided the northern frontier.



Extent of Empire AD 14

ADVICE ON WRITING ESSAYS

Introduction to essay writing

People who have been marking the HSC for a few years can read an essay and with little hesitation can say “that’s a ‘B’ level answer, 16/ 25, or that’s a ‘mid-A’ range answer, 23/ 25, or this is a ‘D’ answer, 8/ 25. HSC markers do occasionally disagree about answers but once they share their disagreements, the value of the essay becomes clear. It is one of the comforting things about how Ancient and Modern History is marked at the HSC, that the legendary level of accuracy is almost scientific.

The reason for this is that essay writing is both a literary and a scientific skill. There is no mystery in writing a good essay. Certainly some people are better writers than others: they might have a wider vocabulary, they might know more, they might have a better turn of phrase, they might understand the issues more clearly. However, everyone can come to terms with the basics and write a reasonable essay.

So what makes for a successful essay?

1 **Answer the question.** This sounds almost trite and an insult to the intelligence, but the majority of responses presented in the HSC which score poorly, do so because they do not answer the question. Failing to answer the question can be done in a variety of ways. In summary it can happen because:

a. **A student fails to address the issues presented in the question**, ie he or she decides to write about something else, eg in the essay:

Assess the importance of Augustus’ building programs in the development of the principate.

A student decides to argue that:

- The building programs were of little importance in developing the principate.
- It was the constitutional arrangements of 27 BC and 23 BC, plus later minor additions which mattered in the development of the principate.

(this might well be a student who has not prepared the topic thoroughly or who has gambled on being asked about the Settlements of 27 and 23)

A student cannot simply twist the question around and decide to write ‘his own question’. Even if he really believes that the building programs were of little importance, the issue of those programs has to be addressed, even if it is to argue against their importance. Having ‘proven’ the building programs were of no importance, a student might argue that ‘it is this other issue which was important in developing the principate’.

A student might argue that:

- Yes, the Augustan building programs were of significant importance in the development of the principate and then go on to discuss this; however, they cannot be considered in isolation and need to be seen in connection with other issues such as.....
 - As a rule of thumb, if you are going to pursue this style of argument, make sure that at least half of your essay deals with the subject of the question, in this case ‘Augustus’ building programs’.
 - Of course there is no substitute for focusing entirely on the issue.

- b. A student writes about the issues presented in the question, but **instead of providing an argument to answer the question, she simply ‘describes’ or ‘tells a story’**. For example in the essay:

Account for the change that occurred in Rome from Republic to Principate during the period 44 BC to AD 14.

A student fails to present an argument, instead she simply narrates:

- a. She might describe the fallout from Caesar’s death, the creation of the Second Triumvirate, the division of the empire, removal of Sextus Pompeius, the sidelining of Lepidus, Actium, the settlements of 27 and 23, and later constitutional arrangements.
- b. This is all relevant, factual detail but she is merely telling a story and not presenting an argument which is ‘accounting’ for the transition from Republic to Principate.
- c. **A student does not really understand the question** and has so little factual detail he is unable to sustain even a narrative response.
- d. A student does understand the question and attempts an argument but she has **so little factual detail** that the argument cannot be sustained.

‘c’ and ‘d’ can only be fixed up with solid work and revision on the part of the student; ‘a’ and ‘b’ can be learned.

2. **Provide an argument in your introduction** which will form the basis of the essay. The introduction is the most important paragraph of the essay; if it is written properly it should leave the marker in no doubt what is going to come up in the essay. So what does a good introduction involve?

- a. Avoid the dramatic ‘setting the scene’ method. For example in the essay:

Assess the impact of Augustus’ rule on the Roman state.

A student should avoid opening like this:

- For a century Rome had been torn by bloody civil war as rival generals attempted to impose their will on the state. People lived in fear, tradition and morality crumbled, the empire was endangered. Thanks to the efforts of one man, Augustus, all this was changed. Due to his farsightedness and his uncanny ability to understand what was needed in the Roman state, the people were once again able to live in freedom, safety and prosperity.
- b. **Avoid providing lots of factual detail in the introduction.** Introduce the broad areas you will discuss, but leave the detail to the body of the essay. For example in the essay:

Assess the impact of Augustus’ rule on the Roman state.

This is not a good introduction:

- Augustus brought political stability to Rome after his defeat of Antony at Actium which came when Antony fled the battle in pursuit of Cleopatra. The Settlement of 27 gave Augustus proconsular imperium for ten years and control of the legions based in Gaul, Spain and Syria. The Settlement also ensured that Augustus would be consul till 23.....
- a. Be careful with length. Three lines is not an introduction, no argument can be properly introduced in such a small space. However, a page and half is too long. With average sized writing, 6-8 lines should be enough to present the argument of the essay.
 - b. Try to present an argument in your introduction. There is no ‘right’ answer to an Ancient History essay question; the right answer is the argument which you have presented, logically developed and backed up with detailed reference to the sources, both ancient and modern. For example, for the essay:

Assess the impact of Augustus' rule on the Roman state.

A student "might" try to argue:

- The fundamental impact of Augustus' rule was the transformation of the Roman state from a Republic in which the Senate had traditionally been pre-eminent, to the Principate in which ultimate power rested with one man. This transformation brought about a sustained period of internal political stability after a century of civil war, economic prosperity and the gradual reestablishment of religious and moral standards.

3. **Provide your essay with a structure.** Your introduction should show where the essay will lead, eg the above introduction "might" lead to the following;

- some points on the problems the Republic faced as the Senate proved incapable of running the empire as it continued to grow and as rival generals attempted to establish their power, backed by their legions;
- Augustus' achievement of complete power by 28 BC;
- the transformation brought about in the state by the Settlements of 27 and 23;
- the internal stability that was achieved as the army was brought under control, potential opposition neutralised, and as the various interest groups in Rome were taken care of as Augustus exercised his powers of patronage;
- the economic growth which was made possible by peace seen in building programs, currency stability and trade across the empire;
- Augustus' efforts in reasserting tradition and religion seen in his moral and religious reforms.
- conclusion: The rule of Augustus brought about the demise of the Republic as it had existed for centuries and the transition to the system of the Principate in which one man was dominant. This transition may have upset traditionalists but it brought about political and military peace which in turn enabled Rome and the Empire to prosper, and gave Augustus the chance to reassert what he perceived to be moral and religious standards.

(NB: this is only one of a hundred ways of dealing with this question)

4. **Structure paragraphs carefully.** There are some simple rules to obey:

- open with a topic sentence which outlines what the paragraph is going to be about;
- develop the argument presented in the topic sentence;
- support the argument with specific factual detail;
- at all times endeavour to support your argument with **reference to the ancient sources**, be they literary, archaeological, numismatic;
 - depending on which sources are used, it may be appropriate to analyse and evaluate those sources;
- eg Velleius Paterculus tends to give glowing descriptions of the principate but historians need to be careful about using him because of his closeness to the imperial family and his clear pro-Augustan bias;
- eg Tacitus is keen to denigrate the system developed by Augustus (and later emperors) but historians need to be careful about using him because of his republican sympathies and anti-imperial bias;

NB: Evaluate sources you use rather than merely referring to them, if this is possible or appropriate!

- if appropriate, support the detail with historiographical reference to modern historians;

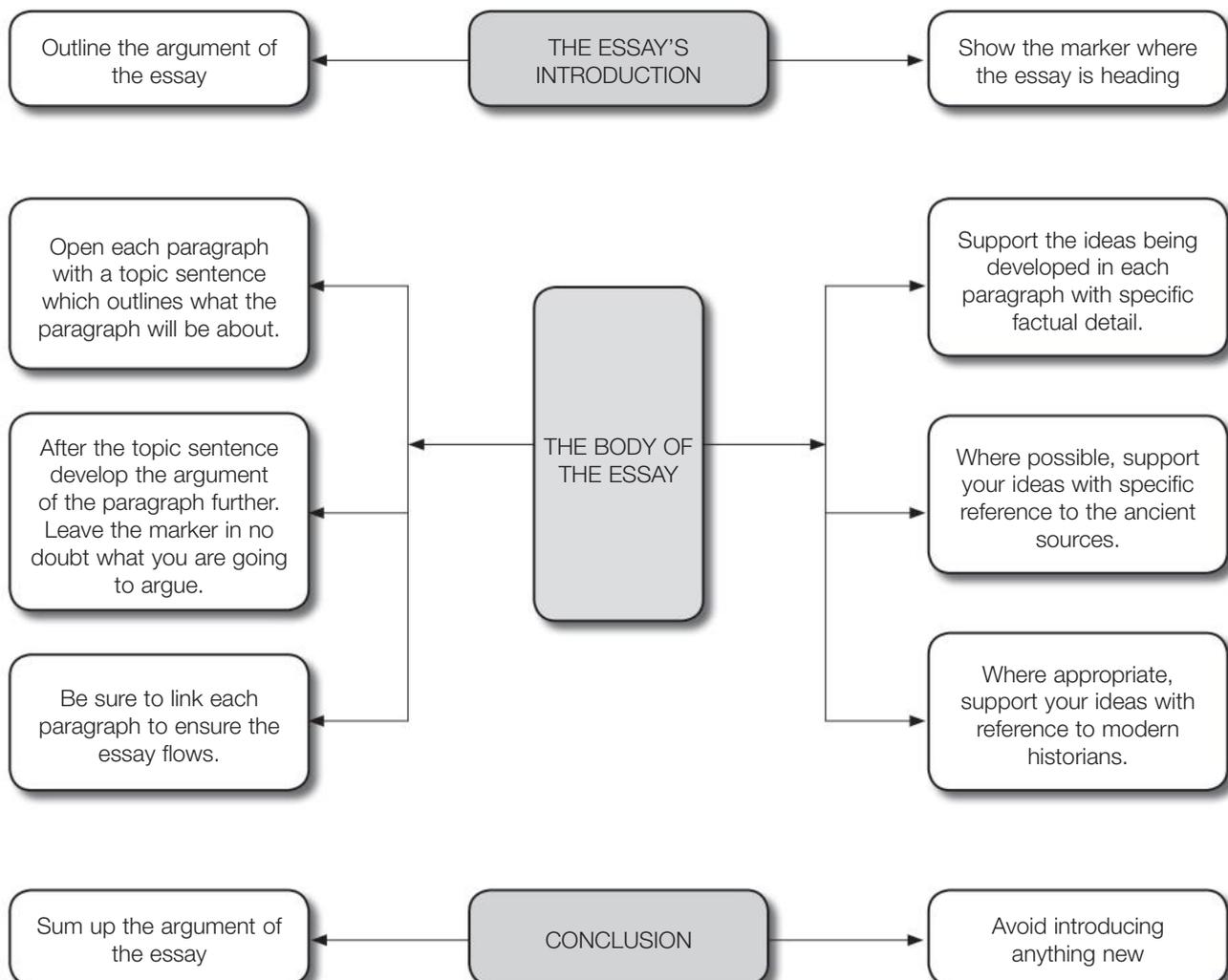
- link your paragraphs – this can be achieved easily with certain stock phrases, eg:
 - “not only was ‘x’ of significance but ‘y’ also had an impact....”
 - “in addition to “a and b”, “c and d” were also to benefit from.....”
 - “in contrast to “e”, “f” reacted quite differently....”

NB: Do not open paragraphs with historiography. The aim should be for the student to show the marker what he or she knows. Therefore, open with your ideas, back it up with factual detail and the ancient sources, and then, if appropriate, back up your idea with what a historian has said:

- argument > detail > reference to ancient sources>analysis/ evaluation of the sources>(maybe) historians’ ideas;
- do not name drop for the sake of it – markers are not fooled or impressed by having lots of ancient sources and historians dropped into an essay when they have almost certainly never been looked at;
- it is better to be able to discuss a few sources/ historians in some detail rather than simply dropping lots of names.

NB: To quote or paraphrase? Teachers have different views on this. The author prefers paraphrasing as it shows that you understand what the ancient source/ modern historian is saying; giving a three line quotation merely shows you have remembered a three line quotation, whereas paraphrasing the historian’s view in your own words shows that you have understood what you are writing. However, short pithy quotations can be quite effective.

The diagram below sums up some of the main ideas that have been discussed in this section.



Responding to HSC questions on The Augustan Age: 44 BC – AD 14

The purpose of this section is to provide some ideas on answering the types of questions which might be asked in the HSC. These outlines are not presented as the ‘be all and end all’ responses to these questions. To provide a sense of reality to this section, what follows is a ‘first draft response’ to each question, ie what were the first ideas that came into the author’s head as he thought about each question?

Questions might be asked on any of the following areas:

- Augustus’ establishment and maintenance of power
- Augustus’ successes and failures as a politician and as a general
- the impact of Augustus’ reform programs
- the role of the army during the principate
- an analysis of Augustus’ overall performance as leader of Rome
- the impact of Augustus’ policies towards the empire
- a more specific analysis of the Settlements of 27 BC and 23 BC

Indeed, students should be aware that questions can be posed on any aspect of the topics indicated in the HSC syllabus for Ancient History. ¹

Question No 1

“Explain how Augustus was able to achieve control of the Roman state by 23 BC.”

Students need to break down this question in order to work out exactly what it is they should be writing about. The question contains a couple of traps.

- The unwary student might be tempted to launch into a detailed narrative of events from 44 BC to 23 BC. This could involve a detailed description of events following Augustus’ arrival in Italy after Caesar’s death, the creation of the 2nd Triumvirate, the campaign against Antony, Actium, the removal of Augustus’ rivals before his return to Rome and arrangements of the settlements of 27 and 23 BC.
 - Such an approach is to be avoided.
 - It would provide merely an account of events not an analysis which seeks to explain “why” it happened.
- What does the term “control” mean?
 - Does it refer to just military and political issues?
 - Should it include his control of economic, imperial, social and religious affairs?
 - Should it include Augustus’ exercise of patronage? (The specific nature of this question might mean you do not have enough time to go into this.)
 - For the purposes of this question, control will be taken to refer to ‘military and political issues’
- If students are to include reference to sources, they should attempt to evaluate them as well as merely use them to support their ideas.
 - eg If *Tacitus*’ first chapter is used, students might comment on Tacitus’ fondness for the Republic and his antipathy to the principate.
 - eg If the *Res Gestae* is used, comment on Augustus’ motives in writing this document.

¹ See Stage 6 Syllabus Ancient History, Board of Studies NSW, 2017, p 90

Students need to present an introduction which outlines what the essay will attempt to argue. Augustus' success in achieving control of the Roman state was due to his (and his generals') military skills and his handling of veterans, His sharp understanding and brilliant use of propaganda enabled him to isolate Antony. His perceptive understanding of the link between military power, politics and tradition which formed the basis of the settlements of 27 and 23 paved the way for his long-term control.

In 44 BC, Augustus was a virtually unknown 18 year old up against some of the Republic's major figures: Cicero, Antony, Brutus. Within a decade he had overcome all his opponents but Antony. How was this possible?

- Refer to Caesar's will and its significance and the effect this had on the veterans;
- Military support was the key:
 - refer to the fact Augustus was careful to satisfy the claims of his veterans and hence maintain their loyalty;
- Augustus proved himself to be ruthless, astute and opportunistic, all useful attributes to a man on the rise
 - refer to events between his return to Italy and Antony's departure to the east
 - eg switching sides, willingness to go along with the proscriptions.
- Refer to his sidelining of Lepidus and his elimination of Sextus Pompeius (thanks in no short measure to Agrippa's skills).

His success in removing Antony had more to do with propaganda than military prowess.

- discuss the propaganda campaign against Antony promoted in the late 30s show how he managed to isolate Antony and sow disillusion in his forces
- refer to Actium's symbolic rather than military significance
- Victory over Antony gave Augustus Egypt – significant because:
 - it gave Augustus control of great wealth
 - it ensured corn supplies
 - it provided a later avenue of Augustan patronage

A detailed discussion of the settlements of 27 and 23 is required. Explain Augustus' dilemma: he wanted to maintain power but avoid offence, keep control of the legions but avoid the appearance of acting against 500 years of Republican tradition. Show how he tried to act within the bounds of precedent to achieve his maintenance of power.

- Discuss the Settlement of 27:
 - provide details of the arrangements of 27
 - discuss the various points of view relating to the settlement ranging from *Dio* to the *Res Gestae* to modern writers
- Show how changes needed to be made, move to the Settlement of 23
 - provide details of the arrangements of 23
 - refer to Augustus' emphasis on his Tribunician rather than his proconsular imperium

Conclusion: Augustus gained control of the Roman state through his careful cultivation of the legions, his willingness to be ruthless and his keen sense of political opportunism. Ultimately it was his skill in creating a system that guaranteed his military control while respecting tradition and maintaining the essential forms of the Republic.

Question No 2

“Explain how Augustus dealt with the problems of empire during this period.”

Again students need to avoid the trap of diving in with a mass of detailed narrative, descriptive information.

- The term ‘explain’ expects students to deal with both ‘cause and effect’, ie some background of what was wrong with empire administration is needed as well as information on how Augustus dealt with imperial problems.
- To lift the level of any response to this question, students also need to make comments on the success/ failure Augustus had in dealing with this issue.
- Students need to understand the complex nature of this question. Issues of empire include provincial administration, army reform and frontier policy.
- The sources are fairly generous to Augustus when it comes to the empire, even Tacitus gives grudging acknowledgment of the ‘peace’ which Augustus brought.

The problems of empire provided Augustus with an enormous challenge. He was well aware of maladministration and provincial discontent during the latter stages of the Republic, he was fully aware of his need to maintain his control of the army and make optimum use of it to provide the empire with security. He was also keenly aware that frontier policy during the Republic had been unsystematic and ad hoc in nature. By the end of his rule the army had been reformed, his reforms had brought general contentment to the provinces and the frontier had been stabilised and made secure.

Problems of empire cannot be separated from issues of army reform.

- Augustus had gained power due to the loyalty of his legions.
 - he had to ensure this would continue and that no rival generals could arise as happened during the last years of the republic
 - however, he did not want to reject republican traditions. Out of these conflicting aims came the Settlements of 27 BC and 23 BC
 - give some details of these and how they enabled Augustus to maintain control of the military (but do not get carried away, the focus of this question is on empire)
- Show how the provinces now became imperial or senatorial and the logic behind deciding which was which..
 - give examples of which provinces were imperial or senatorial.
- Mention can be made here of some of the army reforms
 - demobilisation, pay, service etc.
 - many veterans were settled in Italy, but many were set up in the wider reaches of the empire
 - discuss the impact of this on security and the process of Romanisation.

Explain Augustus’ provincial reforms.

- Highlight the problems that had caused discontent before Augustus’ time.
 - corrupt and inefficient governors
 - rapacious publicani
 - an often brutal and random system of justice.
 - the ravages brought to provincial life by the exactions of warring generals

- Indicate how Augustus attempted to deal with these problems.
 - changes to how governors were selected and paid
 - the encouragement of local responsibility
 - the introduction of a fairer and more rational taxation system
 - the system of procurators
 - speedier and fairer systems of justice
- Comment on the content brought about by Augustus' rule, above the 'gift of peace' which he bestowed.
 - refer to provincial inscriptions that praised his rule.
 - qualify this by questioning whether the governing classes' excesses had really disappeared.

Though the empire did grow during The Augustan Age, by the end of his rule, Augustus had accepted the need for a conservative approach to the frontier. By AD 14 the frontier had become stabilised and Augustus could look back with pride on this achievement, notwithstanding setbacks in Germany and Pannonia.

- deal with the ways Augustus stabilised the frontier regions:
 - campaigning in Spain and the creation of three provinces there
 - a diplomatic approach in the east which avoided conflict with Parthia.
 - a hands-off approach with Britain
 - consolidation in Gaul with the creation of senatorial and imperial provinces there
 - the use of natural boundaries to establish the extent of the empire – give examples
 - the location of the legions in the more difficult to control areas.

However, qualify this with comment on setbacks:

- the Varian disaster needs to be considered here.
- the occurrence of revolts, eg in Pannonia.

Despite some setbacks in Germany and Pannonia, Augustus handled the problems of empire most effectively. The army was now under control, provincial administration had been greatly improved and the frontier had been secured and stabilised.

Question No 3

Assess Augustus' effectiveness in maintaining his hold on power.

This question is asking for a judgment. At a facile level, students might argue that Augustus was obviously most effective because after all he held on to power for 45 years after Actium. However, the question requires more analysis than this. This is a wide-ranging question which requires a discussion of the constitutional arrangements, Augustus' use of patronage, his army reform and his policies within the empire.

Augustus was able to effectively hold on to power because he understood the realities of Roman political life yet he also respected the Republican tradition. His *autoritas* and his enormous wealth allowed him to wield enormous patronage with virtually all of Rome becoming his clientele. His policies beyond Rome ensured that he maintained the loyalty and support of the provinces. However, as a realist, Augustus was always willing to use force to hold on to power if force were required.

Augustus had gained power through military means. He knew he would only be able to hold on to it by maintaining the control and loyalty of Rome's legions. He intended to do this. However, he also had to take account of the senatorial class. He did not want to antagonise them like Julius Caesar had.

- this leads to a discussion of the Settlements of 27 BC and 23 BC.
- provide details of the settlements
- show how Augustus was able to keep control of the military and prevent the rise of any military rivals
- show also how he endeavoured to cultivate the loyalty of the senatorial class

Augustus liked to boast that he exceeded nobody in terms of power but everybody in terms of his *auctoritas*. This plus his considerable wealth enabled Augustus to wield enormous patronage which in turn did much to ensure his hold on power.

- explain the nature of the patron-client relationship and how this had always been a feature of Rome
 - Augustus merely extended this to the entire population of Rome
- discuss Augustus' patronage of the senatorial order
 - deal here with senate reform and his aim to raise the standards of the senate
 - show his understanding of senate susceptibilities by giving up the consulship in 23 BC
 - bring in his desire to use the skills of the senatorial class in running the empire
- show how Augustus' patronage of the equestrians both ensured their loyalty to the regime while at the same time reducing the conflict that had existed between them and the senatorial order during the latter stages of the Republic.
 - discuss Augustus' reform of the equestrian order
 - show how he created a separate career path for equestrians
- consider also how patronage affected the wider population and gained Augustus wide-ranging support
 - Augustus was well aware of the adage 'bread and circuses'
 - he ensured that the stomachs of the urban plebs were kept full (due in large part to his control of Egyptian corn supplies)
 - he ensured they were entertained by his provision of public games
 - he also ensured steady employment with his wide-ranging building programs (give examples)
 - Augustus also ensured city life was more bearable with the development of proper fire and police services, the maintenance of water supplies (Agrippa's work)

Augustus' policies in the wider empire brought him the support and loyalty of the provinces.

- provincial administration was tightened up and made fairer, with governors under control and tax collection more just
- frontier policy ensured the security of the empire
- above all he gained provincial support with his 'gift of peace'

However, Augustus was willing to be brutal if the need required.

- provide examples from the pre-Actium period to show this, eg the proscriptions
- there was little serious opposition to his rule but whenever it did appear, his agents were quick to 'nip it in the bud' – provide examples

- Augustus was also willing to deal firmly with any discontent within the empire

Augustus proved extremely effective in holding on to his power. He kept control of the army while respecting Republican traditions and not overly antagonising the senate. His use of patronage ensured the loyalty of all classes and his provincial policies ensured support throughout the wider empire. However, he was willing to use force if that was required to hold on to power.

Question 4

Assess the importance of the images of the princeps that developed during The Augustan Age.

This is a much more difficult question. The main danger is that students might be tempted to merely describe the images which developed. It would be easy to jump in and describe monuments, statues and coins, and describe what writers of the time had to say. However, what is needed here is an analysis of what the images meant and why they were important.

Augustus was very conscious of any images presented of him whether these images be in the public mind, presented in a monumental way, numismatically or in the written word. There was always a purpose to the image and this purpose went beyond simple self-aggrandisement. The images were important because of the political message they sent, the moral and religious messages presented, and because of the signs they offered for the post-Augustan era.

As the image of the princeps developed over time, a chronological approach might work here, though simple narrative is to be avoided. In his youth, the image of Augustus had the purpose of establishing his 'credentials'.

- Augustus (Octavian) was keen to firmly establish in the minds of the people, and more importantly his legions, his links to Julius Caesar and the Julian family
 - students might refer to Octavian's speed in taking Caesar's name
 - his willingness to honour the terms of Caesar's will
 - his liking for the term *divi filius*
 - refer to the evidence of Caesar's divine nature, eg the comet at his funeral and Octavian's use of that image on coins
 - Octavian's desire to avenge his father's death revealed his piety
- During the struggle with Antony, Octavian pursued a full-scale propaganda campaign aimed at denigrating his opponent
 - Octavian was presented as Roman, seeking to restore and maintain Rome's traditional values
 - this was in contrast to Antony who was presented as having been corrupted by the decadent east and the whore of an Egyptian queen
 - Students might bring in here Wallace-Hadrill's ideas on 'The Myth of Actium' and the image presented of Octavian/ Augustus as 'the saviour of Rome'

Having established his hold on power, the image of the princeps was often employed to present other messages

- Augustus sought to restore a sense of morality and respect for traditional religion to Rome with his moral legislation.
 - this was echoed in imagery such as that on the *Ara Pacis*.
 - Augustus was keen to present himself and his regime as a continuation of the greatness of Rome – refer here to the Forum Augustum
 - writings of the time reinforced traditional Augustan ideas, eg Virgil's homage to rural life

- Hints at his family's divine links were often made
 - refer here to the *Prima Porta* statue and coins
 - Virgil's references to the origins of the Julian family
- Messages were also sent out about the future when the image of the princeps was associated with possible successors
 - refer to coins showing Gaius and Lucius on the reverse side with Augustus on the obverse side.
- In the further reaches of the empire, Augustus was sometimes even presented as a god though Augustus had no such divine pretensions.
 - in the east, one's rulers were often treated in this way.
 - this was handled by having provincials worship 'Augustus and Rome'

Clearly the presentation of the image of the princeps was never produced in a haphazard manner. There was always a deliberate purpose. This purpose might be to identify with Caesar, reinforce the Julian family's divine links, denigrate opponents or to reinforce the traditional moral and religious values of the new regime.

Notes

Ancient and Modern sources

Given the time, we would all like to immerse ourselves in the ancient texts and the modern interpretations that relate to The Augustan Age. However, students studying this topic for the HSC have only limited time – there are in fact subjects other than Ancient History. Teachers teaching this topic are burdened down with a plethora of administrative tasks and duties which prevent us from reading more widely than we would like. With this in mind, what follows is a list of sources, many of which have been referred to throughout this book.

NB: This list of sources is not meant to be exhaustive, or the most important. It comprises sources which are accessible, in the author's view reliable, and provide enough for a HSC student to extend their studies. The emphasis here is on what can be easily located and mastered by most students.

Ancient Sources:

■ Suetonius: *The Twelve Caesars*

The chapter on Augustus is easy to read and has been referred to by all secondary writers on this period. Suetonius might not pass the test of rigorous scholarship which is demanded of historians today, and some of his later sections read more like the tabloid press than a hefty historical record. However, it is still a valuable read for all students of the period.

■ *The Res Gestae*

When Augustus decided to write his own record of his rule, he kept it short. The *Res Gestae* is easy to read and indispensable for an understanding of Augustus. When reading this work, students should consider not only what Augustus has included and why, but what he has chosen to omit and why.

■ Tacitus: *The Annals of Imperial Rome*

Students need only refer to the first twelve pages or so of *The Annals* to get a flavour of what Tacitus felt about the principate. Tacitus had few illusions of the reality of the nature of power under Augustus, though be aware of his pro-republican sentiments.

If time allowed, it would be nice to be able to dip into Horace's *Odes*, Virgil's *Aeneid*, Velleius Paterculus and Dio Cassius. Perhaps teachers could suggest specific references for their students.

Archaeological sources:

As modern historians have shown, Augustus was a keen builder and propagandist. Archaeological evidence from the time, be it major structures, art works, statues or coins, offer insight into the period. Wallace-Hadrill and Zanker (see below) are particularly valuable in this regard.

Modern Sources:

■ Werner Eck: *The Age of Augustus* (Blackwell, Oxford, 1998)

The great value of Eck's book is its brevity (133 pages), its inclusion of *The Res Gestae* and its readability. Eck provides one of the best straightforward narratives of The Augustan Age currently available.

■ David Shotter: *Augustus Caesar* (Routledge, London, 1991)

Shotter is even more concise than Eck (81 pages) and contains some useful appendices at the back such as a chronology and province lists. This book assumes some knowledge of the topic's factual detail.

■ **Andrew Wallace-Hadrill: *Augustan Rome*** (Bristol Classical Press, London, 1993)

Wallace-Hadrill's book is more difficult. Students need background information in order to take advantage of his excellent analysis. This book is not a simple outline of The Augustan Age but rather an examination of certain themes. Wallace-Hadrill is particularly good on his analysis of Augustan iconography.

■ **AHM Jones: *Augustus*** (Chatto and Windus, London, 1970)

Jones is extremely authoritative and would suit students eager to obtain very detailed information. It is wordy and requires concentration, and is not an easy read. However, in terms of factual detail, Jones misses little.

■ **Paul Zanker: *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*** (University of Michigan Press, Michigan, 1990)

Zanker is for the Augustus devotee. This is a major work and one to approach with caution. Zanker's main thrust is a forensically detailed study of Augustan art, construction and iconography. Unfortunately it lacks a simple index but a considered use of the contents will enable students to read about The Ara Pacis, The Forum Augustum and other archaeological sources. Teachers might spend time with this work and 'ration out' relative sections.

■ **HH Scullard: *From the Gracchi to Nero*** (Methuen, London, 1970)

This is an old standard, well known by older Ancient History teachers. It is still an excellent source which covers its period well. Students might find some of the language difficult to handle, but it is almost a case of 'if the factual detail is not in Scullard, don't worry about it'.

■ **ET Salmon: *A History of the Roman World 30 BC-AD 138*** (Methuen, London, 1970, Sixth Edition)

Another classic text which is probably more readable than Scullard. This is a good text to use to get a mastery of the factual detail of the period. It breaks up the various aspects of the content into straightforward, accessible sections.

■ **M Cary: *A History of Rome*** (Macmillan, London, 1954)

Cary's book is very 'old school' and unfashionable. It can be a difficult, dense read. However, it is extremely detailed and if read along with more modern works such as Wallace-Hadrill and Zanker, extremely useful. Many schools would have copies of this (and the later edition with Scullard) buried deep in their book rooms. Forty years ago this was a standard text on Roman history.

Finally, students should try to watch the BBC TV series "*I, Claudius*" (or ensure their teacher shows a few episodes in class). It is classic television, based on Robert Graves' books *I, Claudius* and *Claudius the King*. (Graves, R, I, Claudius, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1934 – often reprinted)

It leans heavily on Suetonius, and should not be relied upon as 'the' version of The Augustan age. However, it is great viewing! It is easily available on DVD and some streaming services.

Glossary

aedile	magistrate in charge of games and urban services
aerarium	state treasury
aerarium militare	military treasury
appellatio ad Caesarem	appeal to Caesar (the emperor)
Ara Pacis	altar of peace
augur	priest whose job is to interpret various signs
ensorial powers	power to alter the composition of the senate
client kingdom	kingdom allowed its own ruler who has sworn allegiance to Rome
clientele	people who entrust themselves to a patron for protection or gain
consilium principis	a drafting committee comprising Augustus, senators and magistrates
consul	executive magistrate of Rome
consules ordinarii	consuls for the first half of the year (from 5 BC)
consules suffecti	consuls for the second half of the year (from 5 BC)
cursus honorum	ladder of office politicians climb as they get older
dictator	special office giving a man extensive powers during an emergency
divi filius	son of a god
equestrian prefect	senior equestrian official in charge of a key area, eg Egypt, grain supply
equestrians	social order below the senatorial order
equites	see equestrians
First Triumvirate	political arrangement between Julius Caesar, Pompey and Crassus 60 BC
fisci	provincial treasuries
fortuna redux	aspect of the goddess 'Fortuna' (luck); redux (returning)
genius	spirit
imperium	authority
in absentia	in one's absence
lares	guardian spirit of houses and fields
legatus legionis	chief officer of a legion
legion	branch of the Roman army, approximately 6000 men
libertini	freedmen
Lupercalia	ancient, possibly pre-Roman pastoral festival celebrated in mid-February
maius imperium	Augustus' greater authority
manumission	freeing of slaves
numismatics	study of coins and medals
patrician	members of the early nobility of Rome who once monopolised all political power
patronage	support given to a person of lower status by someone of higher status
penates	gods of the households, associated with lares
pietas	piety
pontifex	priest
pontifex maximus	chief priest of Rome
praefectus	prefect, equestrian official used by Augustus
praetor	Roman magistrate, below the consul in the cursus honorum
praetorian guard	elite guard of the princeps
Prima Porta	suburb of Rome, site of famous statue of Augustus
princeps	leading citizen
principate	term indicating rule of Augustus, rule of the leading man
proconsular imperium	Augustus' authority over provinces outside of Rome granted in 27 BC
propraetorian imperium	authority of a governor of an imperial province
proscription	murder of political opponents
quaestor	Roman magistrate, first step in the cursus honorum
quaestor pro praetore	financial officials in senatorial provinces
Res Gestae	(literally 'things done') Augustus' brief autobiography
Second Triumvirate	agreement between Octavian, Antony and Lepidus of 43 BC
Senate	highest law-making body
senatus consultum ultimum	emergency senate decree
tribunes	officials originally elected by Plebeians to protect their rights against Patricians
tribunician authority	power vested by a tribune
tribunician sacrosanctity	protection and untouchability of a tribune's person
tribunus militum	legionary officer
triumph	victory parade awarded to a commander who had gained a major victory
urban plebs	city population
vestal virgins	female priests of Vesta, the goddess of the hearth, an honoured post

Dramatis Personae

Agrippa	lifelong friend and confidant of Augustus
Agrippa Postumus	grandson of Augustus, son of Agrippa and Julia
Agrippina	granddaughter of Augustus, daughter of Agrippa and Julia
Antonia	daughter of Octavia and Antony, wife of Drusus
Atia	mother of Octavian
Brutus	assassin of Caesar
Caesarion	son of Julius Caesar and Cleopatra
Cassius	assassin of Caesar
Cicero	leading political figure of the late republic, murdered in 43 BC
Cleopatra	queen of Egypt, lover/ ally of Antony
Cornelius Gallus	first governor of Egypt
Crassus	Roman commander who was defeated at Carrhae, 53 BC
Dio Cassius	historian of the 2nd/ 3rd century AD
Drusus	son of Livia, brother of Tiberius
Gaius	son of Agrippa and Julia, adopted by Augustus
Gaius Octavius	see Octavian
Gaius Octavius senior (died 58 BC)	father of Octavian
Germanicus	son of Drusus, husband of Agrippina
Horace	poet of the Augustan Age
Julia 1	daughter of Augustus and Scribonia
Julia 2	daughter of Julia and Agrippa
L. Marcus Philippus	stepfather to Octavian
Lepidus	member of the 2nd Triumvirate
Livia	third wife of Augustus, mother of Tiberius
Livy	historian of the Augustan Age
Lucius	son of Agrippa and Julia, adopted by Augustus
Marc Antony	Octavian's (Augustus') main rival for power, defeated at Actium
Marcellus	nephew of Augustus, first husband of Julia
Octavia	sister of Augustus, wife of Marc Antony 39-32 BC
Octavian	became Augustus in 27 BC, referred to as Octavian by historians before then
Pompey	main rival of Julius Caesar
Scribonia	mother of Julia, second wife of Augustus
Suetonius	historian of the late 1st/ early 2nd century AD
Tacitus	historian of the late 1st/ early 2nd century AD
Tiberius	son of Livia, adopted eventually by Augustus, succeeded Augustus as emperor
Velleius Paterculus	historian of the early 1st century AD
Vipsania	wife of Tiberius whom he was forced to divorce to marry Julia
Virgil	poet of the Augustan Age, author of the Aeneid

Answers to revision exercises

Exercise i.ii

A – Rome; B – Adriatic Sea; C – Greece; D – Pontus; E – Asia Minor; F – Spain; G – Gaul; H – Sardinia; I – Carthage; J – Egypt

Exercise i.ii

1st – The Gauls sack Rome; 2nd – Rome gains control of Italy; 3rd – 2nd Punic war; 4th – Revolt of Spartacus; 5th – The First Triumvirate; 6th – Caesar conquers Gaul; 7th – Assassination of Caesar; 8th – Battle of Actium; 9th – Augustus triumphant in Rome; 10th – Augustus' settlement with Parthia

Exercise 1.1

1 – Cicero; 2 – Marc Antony; 3 – L Marcius Philippus; 4 – Julius Caesar; 5 – Atia; 6 – Cassius; 7 – Decimus Brutus; 8 – Agrippa; 9 – Gaius Octavius (snr); 10 – Pompey

Exercise 1.2

1st – murder of Caesar; 2nd – Octavian's return to Italy; 3rd – Second Triumvirate; 4th – murder of Cicero; 5th – Battle of Philippi; 6th – defeat of Lucius Antonius; 7th – Treaty of Brundisium; 8th – Tarentum Agreement; 9th – defeat of Sextus Pompeius; 10th – end of Lepidus.

Exercise 2.1

1 – opinion; 2 – fact; 3 – fact; 4 – fact; 5 – opinion; 6 – fact; 7 – fact; 8 – fact; 9 – opinion; 10 – opinion.

Exercise 2.2

1. Our quarrel with Marc Antony is not personal. He has been taken over by eastern witchery and has been transformed by his evil Egyptian whore, Cleopatra. His Roman manliness has gone. If we do not triumph at Actium, our whole Roman way of life, our traditions, our gods could be destroyed by foreign, oriental barbarism.
2. At last Rome is at peace. I hear the doors of the Temple of Janus have been closed and the war is over. All I can remember for my entire life is war and death but now, thanks to Octavian's victory over Antony we can look forward to a time of peace and prosperity and not fear marauding armies marching through Italy.
3. Rome has been blessed with a man who has truly saved us from a fate worse than death. Jupiter and Venus celebrate as one of their own has delivered peace to the people of Rome. Now our fields of corn will grow luxuriantly safe from foreign evil, a vision of a greater Rome opens up before us thanks to the salvation brought by Octavian.

Exercise 3.1

1 – auctoritas; 2 – consular imperium; 3 – maius imperium; 4 – Res Gestae; 5 – princes; 6 – tribunician; 7 – Augustus; 8 – civic crown; 9 – proconsular imperium; 10 – censorial.

Exercise 3.2

1 – no; 2 – metamorphosis; 3 – tribunician authority; 4 – maius imperium; 5 – Augustus' monopoly of one of the two Consul places; 6 – Gaul, Spain, Syria; 7 – Egypt; 8 – never; 9 – principate; 10 – he transferred all his powers to the Senate.

Exercise 4.1

1 – false; 2 – true; 3 – false; 4 – true; 5 – true; 6 – true; 7 – false; 8 – false; 9 – false; 10 – true.

Exercise 4.2

Priest – augur – pontifex maximus – consul – tribunician – proconsular – propaganda – divine – god – young – standards – Parthians – Carrhae – piety – virtue – prosperity.

Exercise 5.1

1 – in the Res Gestae; 2 – diarchy; 3 – proconsular imperium; 4 – traditional conservative; 5 – 1000; 600; 6 – one million sesterces; 7 – consilium principis; 8 – auctoritas, wealth; 9 – they could be called upon to speak at random; 10 – yes.

Exercise 5.2

1 – opinion; 2 – fact; 3 – fact; 4 – opinion; 5 – opinion; 6 – fact; 7 – opinion; 8 – opinion; 9 – fact; 10 – opinion.

Exercise 6.1

1 – false; 2 – true; 3 – true; 4 – true; 5 – false; 6 – false; 7 – false; 8 – false; 9 – true; 10 – false.

Exercise 6.2

31 BC – consular – proconsular – maius – popular – ambitions – 5 BC – quaestor – praetor – empire – aedile – games – corn – princeps

Exercise 7.1

During the late Republic, there had developed significant conflict between the senatorial and equestrian orders. Augustus sought to overcome this. However, not only did he want to create harmony between the orders, he wanted to properly utilize the obvious talents of the equestrian order. To achieve this he reorganized the order in a similar manner to the way he reorganized the senatorial order. Having reorganized the order, he set about creating a formal career path for equestrians. Members could now progress from military service to work as a procurator to appointment to a prefecture.

Exercise 7.2

1 – false; 2 – false; 3 – true; 4 – true; 5 – true; 6 – false; 7 – true; 8 – true; 9 – true; 10 – false.

Exercise 8.1

1 – appellatio ad Caesarem; 2 – Lex Iulia De Maritanti Ordinibus; 3 – parricide; 4 – Lex Iulia De Adulteriis Coercendis; 5 – quaestiones; 6 – sumptuary law; 7 – maius imperium; 8 – Tribunician potestas; 9 – actresses/ tavern girls; 10 – Lex Papia Poppaea.

Exercise 8.2

1 – Lares, Penates; 2 – sought to avoid offending Roman sensibilities; 3 – a new golden age; 4 – Pontifex Maximus; 5 – divine connection; 6 – state treasury; 7 – military treasury to look after veterans; 8 – building projects; 9 – Curator of Grain Supply and Fire Brigade; 10 – I found Rome built of brick; I leave her clothed in marble.

Exercise 9.1

1st – conspiracy of Lepidus; 2nd – suicide of Gallus; 3rd – Fannius Caepio/ Varro Murena plot; 4th – execution of E. Rufus; 5th – exile of Julia, Scribonia; 6th – execution of Aemilius Paullus; 7th – death of Augustus; 8th – murder of Agrippa Postumus.

Exercise 9.2

1 – Aemilius Paullus; 2 – Marcus Lepidus; 3 – Varro Murena; 4 – Cornelius Gallus; 5 – Tiberius; 6 – Egnatius Rufus; 7 – Fannius Caepio; 8 – Scribonia; 9 – Agrippa Postumus; 10 – Marcus Licinius Crassus.

Exercise 10.1

1 – employment, a safer city; 2 – piety and virtue; 3 – moral laws; 4 – Mars the Avenger; 5 – an inner altar and a square precinct wall; 6 – Augustus' victory and emphasis on piety and virtue ensured peace and abundance; 7 – Pantheon, Hadrian; 8 – baths and surrounding landscaping; 9 – Field of Mars; 10 – Augustus' mausoleum.

Exercise 10.2

29 BC – Statilius Taurus' Theatre; 28 BC – Augustus' Mausoleum; 27 BC – Agrippa's Pantheon; 13-9 BC – Ara Pacis; 2 BC – Augustan Forum; AD 125 – Hadrian's Pantheon.

Exercise 11.1

(your answer 'might' read like this)

I have lived through the very worst times of Roman history. I have seen civil war which has brought death and destruction to the empire. People have lived with fear and insecurity, prosperity has disappeared. I have seen the upper classes indulge in excess. I believe that Rome needs to return to its traditional values of piety, duty and simple patriotism in order to return to worthier times. I sincerely believe that the princeps is the embodiment of these values and thanks to him Rome is returning to good times.

Exercise 11.2

1 - ROME'S NEEDS TO REPAIR PAST FAILURES/ Horace; 2 - AN ACCOUNT OF ROME'S ORIGINS/ Virgil; 3 - HISTORY OF ROME/ Livy; 4 - ATTACKS ON UPPER CLASS EXCESS/ Horace; 5 - ADVICE TO ROMAN FARMERS/ Virgil; 6 - SUNG AT THE SECULAR GAMES/ Horace; 7 - SHOWS A LOVE OF THE COUNTRYSIDE/ Virgil.

Exercise 12.1

1st – death of Marcellus; 2nd – marriage of Agrippa and Julia; 3rd – Augustus adopts Gaius and Lucius; 4th – death of Agrippa; 5th – marriage of Tiberius and Julia; 6th – Tiberius goes into exile; 7th – banishment of the elder Julia; 8th – death of Gaius; 9th – Tiberius adopts Germanicus; 10th- the death of Augustus.

Exercise 12.2

Julia – Scribonia – Livia – Tiberius – Drusus – Marcellus – Agrippa – Gaius – Lucius – 12 BC – Vipsania – 6 BC – 2 BC – AD 2 – AD 4 – Germanicus.

Exercise 13.1

1 – false; 2 – false; 3 – true; 4 – true; 5 – false; 6 – true; 7 – true; 8 – false; 9 – true; 10 – true.

Exercise 13.2

1 – Julia 2; 2 – Octavia; 3 – Antonia; 4 – Julia 1; 5 – Livia; 6 – Vipsania; 7 – Scribonia; 8 – Agrippina.

Exercise 14.1

1st - Assassination of Caesar; 2nd - War against Lucius and Fulvia; 3rd - Agrippa's first consulship; 4th - Defeat of Sextus Pompeius; 5th - Battle of Actium; 6th - Agrippa marries Marcella; 7th - Agrippa leaves Rome for Syria; 8th - Death of Marcellus; 9th - Agrippa marries Julia; 10th - 2nd governorship of Syria.

Exercise 15.1

1 – opinion; 2 – fact; 3 – opinion; 4 – opinion; 5 – fact; 6 – opinion; 7 – fact; 8 – opinion; 9 – fact; 10 – opinion.

Exercise 16.1

1 – false; 2 – true; 3 – true; 4 – true; 5 – true; 6 – false; 7 – false; 8 – true; 9 – false; 10 – false.

Exercise 16.2

1 – aerarium militare; 2 – Praetorian Guard; 3 – auxiliaries; 4 – urban cohorts; 5 – legatus legionis; 6 – equestrian prefect; 7 – tribune militum; 8 – demobilization; 9 – veterans; 10 – mutiny.

Exercise 17.1

1 – imperial and senatorial; 2 – imperial; 3 – senatorial; 4 – proconsul; 5 – legatus Augusti propraetore; 6 – imperial; 7 – procurator; 8 – cursus publicus; 9 – ensured a fair basis for taxation; 10 – peace.

Exercise 17.2

Provincials had suffered greatly during the later years of the Republic. Augustus wanted to improve the lives of people in the far reaches of the empire and at the same time maintain control of the army. To achieve this, the provinces were divided into imperial and senatorial provinces. The imperial provinces were the more restless and needed the presence of troops. This ensured Augustus control of the army. Augustus' provincial policies provided efficiency, fairness and justice. However, the greatest benefit he brought to the provinces was the Pax Augusta.

Exercise 18.1

1 – false; 2 – false; 3 – true; 4 – true; 5 – false; 6 – true; 7 – true; 8 – true; 9 – false; 10 – true.

Exercise 18.2

BAETICA - LUSITANIA - TARRACONENSIS - NARBONENSIS - AQUITANIA - BELGICA - LUGDUNENSIS - AFRICA - CYRENE - EGYPT - RAETIA - NORICUM - SYRIA.