

AS and A LEVEL
Prescribed Literary Sources

CLASSICAL CIVILISATION

H408/H008
For first teaching in 2017

**Imperial Image
(H008/22 & H408/22)**

Version 2



Res Gestae Divi Augusti

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1

At the age of nineteen, on my own initiative, and at my own expense, I raised an army, by way of which I liberated the republic, which was being tyrannised by a faction. For this, the senate, through honorific decrees, admitted me into its order, during the consulship of Gaius Pansa and Aulus Hirtius, giving me a consular position in declaring opinions, and gave me imperium. It ordered me, as propraetor, together with the consuls, to provide that no harm should come to the state. The people appointed me as consul in the same year when both consuls had fallen in war, and triumvir for the administration of the republic.

2

I drove into exile those men who had murdered my father, avenging their deed by legal means and afterwards when they waged war against the state, I conquered them twice in battle.

3

I often waged wars on both land and sea, civil and foreign, throughout the whole world, and, as victor, I pardoned all the citizens who asked for mercy. Foreign peoples, when they could be safely pardoned, I preferred to preserve rather than to eliminate. About five hundred thousand Roman citizens swore allegiance to me. Of these, I settled more than three hundred thousand in colonies or sent them back to their towns, when they had completed their service, and to all I assigned lands or gave money as rewards for military service. I captured six hundred ships, as well as those that were smaller than triremes.

Notes

4

Twice I earned ovations and three times I celebrated curule triumphs and I was named *imperator* twenty one times. When the Senate voted to me further triumphs, I declined them. I set down in the Capitol the laurel from the fasces, after I had fulfilled vows that I had made in war. The Senate decreed fifty five times that prayers be offered to the immortal gods on account of the successes achieved by me or by my legates, under my auspices, on land and sea. In addition, there were eight hundred and ninety days on which, by Senatorial decree, prayers were offered. In my triumphs, nine kings or children of kings were led before my chariot. I had been consul thirteen times when I wrote this and I was in in the thirty seventh year of tribunician power.

5

When the dictatorship was offered to me by the Senate and people, in both my absence and my presence, during the consulship of Marcus Marcellus and Lucius Arruntius, I refused it. I did not refuse, at the height of the grain scarcity, to take charge of the grain supply, administering it in such a way that within a few days, I freed the whole population from fear and immediate danger, at my own cost and effort. At that time the consulship was also offered to me, to be held each year for the rest of my life, and I refused it.

6

In the consulship of Marcus Vinicius and Quintus Lucretius, and afterwards, when Publius Lentulus and Gnaeus Lentulus were consuls, and thirdly when Paullus Fabius Maximus and Quintus Tubero were consuls, by the consent of the Senate and people of Rome, I alone was to be responsible for the laws and morals, with supreme power. I received no magistracies that were not in keeping with the customs of our ancestors. What the Senate wished me to do, I carried out through tribunician power. Five times I myself asked for, and accepted, from the Senate a colleague in that power.

Notes

7

I was *triumvir* for the organisation of the Republic for ten continuous years. I was first in the Senate, up to the time of writing, for forty years. I was *pontifex maximus*, *augur*, one of the fifteen commissioners for performing priestly duties, one of the seven priests responsible for sacred feasts, Arval brother, companion of Titius and fetial priest.

8

In my fifth consulship, I increased the number of patricians by order of the people and the Senate. I reviewed the roll of the Senate three times, and in my sixth consulship, with Marcus Agrippa as consular colleague, I made a census of the people. I carried out a *lustrum*, after a gap of forty one years, in which were counted 4,063,000 Roman citizens. Then, again, with consular *imperium*, I carried out a *lustrum* alone, in the consulship of Gaius Censorinus and Gaius Asinius, at which were counted 4,233,000 Roman citizens. And, thirdly, with consular *imperium*, I carried out a *lustrum*, with Tiberius Caesar, my son and colleague, in the consulship of Sextus Pompeius and Sextus Apuleius, at which 4,937,000 Roman citizens were counted. By new laws passed on my authority, I brought back many examples of ancestral practices that were becoming obsolete in our time and I myself handed on many exemplary practices to posterity that could be imitated.

9

The Senate decreed that in every fifth year vows for my health should be undertaken by the consuls and priests. In fulfilment of these vows, games were celebrated frequently during my lifetime, several times by the four greatest colleges of priests and several times by the consuls. Both privately and as a city as a whole, the citizens unanimously and continuously prayed for my health at all the pulvinaria.

Notes

10

By a decree of the Senate, my name was included in the Salian hymn, and it was sanctified by a law that I should be inviolate for ever, and that I should hold tribunician power as long as I should live. I refused to be made pontifex maximus, in the place of my colleague who was still alive, when that priesthood that my father had held was offered to me by the people. Some years later, I received the priesthood, in the consulship of Publius Sulpicius and Gaius Valgus, on the death of the man who had held it since the occasion of civil disturbance, with a multitude gathering together for my election from the whole of Italy, so many as had never been seen before that time in Rome.

11

The Senate consecrated the altar of Fortuna Redux before the temples of Honour and Virtue at the Porta Capena for my return, and it ordered that the priests and the Vestal Virgins make sacrifice on it on the anniversary of my return to the city from Syria, during the consulship of Quintus Lucretius and Marcus Vinicius, and it named the day *Augustalia*, from my *cognomen*.

12

By the authority of the Senate, some of the praetors and tribunes of the plebs, with the consul Quintus Lucretius and the leading men, were sent to meet me in Campania, an honour that had been accorded to no one except me up to this time. When I returned to Rome from Spain in the consulship of Tiberius Nero and Publius Quintilius, having successfully arranged matters in those provinces, the senate voted to consecrate an Altar of Augustan Peace for my return, in the field of Mars, and ordered that the magistrates and priests and Vestal Virgins should make an annual sacrifice there.

13

It was the wish of our ancestors that Janus Quirinus should be closed when there was peace, on both land and sea, throughout the whole of the empire

Notes

of the Roman people. Before my birth, it had been closed twice in all recorded memory, from the foundation of the city; while I was first citizen, the Senate voted three times that it should be closed.

14

My sons, Gaius and Lucius Caesar, whom Fortune tore from me when they were youths, were, for my honour, designated as consuls by the Senate and People of Rome when they were fourteen, so that they would enter that magistracy after a period of five years, and the Senate decreed that, from that day, when they were led into the forum, they would take part in public councils. Furthermore, the Roman knights as a whole presented both of them with shields and silver spears and named them first of the youths.

15

In my fifth consulship, to each of the Roman plebeians, I paid out from my father's will three hundred sesterces and, in my own name, four hundred sesterces from war booty. Furthermore, again, in my tenth consulship, I paid out to each man, as largess and from my own patrimony, four hundred sesterces, and in my eleventh consulship I personally bought grain and distributed twelve rations of it to each man, and in the twelfth year of tribunician power, I gave out to each man four hundred sesterces for the third time. My largesses never reached fewer than two hundred and fifty thousand people. In the eighteenth year of tribunician power, when consul for the twelfth time, I gave to each of the three hundred and twenty thousand urban plebeians sixty denarii. And in my fifth consulship, I gave one thousand sesterces from booty to each of the colonists from my soldiers. About one hundred and twenty thousand men in the colonies accepted this triumphal largesse. In my thirteenth consulship, I gave sixty denarii to each man of plebeian rank who were then receiving public grain; they numbered a little over two hundred thousand men.

Notes

16

I paid out money to the towns for the lands that were given to soldiers during my fourth consulship, and later in the consulship of Marcus Crassus and Gnaeus Lentulus the augur. The sum was about six hundred million sesterces, which I paid for lands in Italy, and two hundred and sixty million for provincial lands. I was the first and only person to have done this of all those who had founded colonies of soldiers in Italy or the provinces in the memory of my generation. And afterwards, when Tiberius Nero and Gnaeus Piso were consuls, and in the consulships of Gaius Antistius and Decimus Laelius, Gaius Calvisius and Lucius Pasienus, Lucius Lentulus and Marcus Messalla, and Lucius Caninus and Quintus Fabricius, I paid out monetary rewards to soldiers whom I had settled in their towns when their service was done; for this, I paid out four hundred million sesterces.

17

Four times I helped the treasury with my own money, so that I transferred to those who ran the treasury one hundred and fifty million sesterces. In the consulship of Marcus Lepidus and Lucius Arruntius, when, by my advice, the military treasury was set up for paying out rewards to soldiers who had served for twenty or more years, I transferred to it, from my own inheritance, one hundred and seventy million sesterces.

18

From the year in which Gnaeus and Publius Lentulus were consuls, when the taxes were insufficient, I gave out, from my own granary and inheritance, grain and money, sometimes to one hundred thousand men, sometimes in excess of that number.

19

I built the Curia and the Chalcidicum adjacent to it, and the temple of Apollo on the Palatine with porticoes, the temple of the Divine Julius, the Lupercal,

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the portico at the Flaminian Circus, which I permitted to be called by the name of Octavian, after the man who had built previously on this same place, a couch for the gods at the Circus Maximus, the temples on the Capitol of Jupiter Feretrius, and Jupiter the Thunderer, the temple of Quirinus, the temples of Minerva and Queen Juno and Jupiter the Liberator on the Aventine, the temple of the Lares at the top of the Sacred Way, the temple of the Penates on the Velian Hill, the temple of Youth and the temple of the Great Mother on the Palatine.

20

I rebuilt the Capitol and the Theatre of Pompey, both works at great expense without inscribing my name on either of them. In numerous places, I rebuilt aqueducts that had fallen into disrepair, and I doubled the capacity of the aqueduct called Marcia, by bringing in water from a new spring. I completed the Forum of Julius and the basilica between the Temple of Castor and the Temple of Saturn, works started and almost completed by my father, and when the basilica was consumed by fire, I expanded it. I began it under the names of my sons, and, should I not finish it in my lifetime, I order that it should be completed by my heirs. In my sixth consulship I restored eighty two temples of the gods in the city by the authority of the senate, missing out none that needed to be rebuilt at that time. In my seventh consulship, I rebuilt the Flaminian Way from the city to Ariminum, and all the bridges except the Mulvian and the Minucian.

21

I built the Temple of Mars the Avenger and the Forum of Augustus on private ground from war booty. I built the Theatre at the temple of Apollo, on ground in large part bought from private owners, which was under the name of my son-in-law, Marcus Marcellus. I dedicated gifts from booty in the Capitol and in the temples of the Divine Julius and in the temple of Mars the Avenger, which cost me about one hundred million sesterces. In my fifth consulship, I sent

Notes

back thirty five thousand in weight of gold crowns, contributed to my triumphs by the towns and colonies of Italy, and afterwards, whenever I was named imperator, I did not accept the golden crown, which they voted to me with the same benevolence as before.

22

Three times, in my own name, I gave gladiatorial shows and five times in the name of my sons and grandsons; about ten thousand men fought in these shows. Twice in my name I put on athletic games, with participants gathered from all parts, and once in the name of my grandson. I put on games under my own name four times, and in the name of other magistrates twenty three times. On behalf of the college of the quindecimviri, as master of the college, I celebrated the Secular Games, with my colleague Marcus Agrippa, during the consulship of Gaius Furius and Gaius Silanus. In my thirteenth consulship, I first put on the Games of Mars, which from that time, the consuls were to celebrate by senatorial decree and by law. Twenty six times in my name, or in the names of my sons or grandsons, I gave to the people hunts of African beasts in the circus or the amphitheatre, in which about three thousand five hundred beasts were killed.

23

I gave a naval battle show for the people across the Tiber, a place now a grove of the Caesars, excavated in length one thousand eight hundred feet and in width one thousand two hundred feet, where thirty triremes or biremes with curved fronts, and more, smaller ships fought amongst themselves. In these ships, besides rowers, three thousand men fought.

24

In the temples of all the cities of the province of Asia, as victor I replaced the ornaments that he with whom I had fought the war had possessed privately, having despoiled the temples. Silver statues of me, on foot or on horseback and

Notes

in chariots were erected in about eighty cities, which I myself removed, and from the money I placed golden gifts in the temple of Apollo in my name and of those who had honoured me with statues.

25

I freed the sea from pirates. In that war, about thirty thousand captured slaves, who had escaped and had taken up arms against the republic, I returned to their masters for punishment. The whole of Italy of its own volition swore allegiance to me, and demanded that I lead them in the war that I won at Actium. The provinces of Gaul, Spain, Africa, Sicily and Sardinia swore the same allegiance. At that time, more than seven hundred senators fought under my standards, amongst whom eighty three before or since had been made consuls; up to the day that this was written, about one hundred and seventy were made priests.

26

I extended the limits of all the provinces of the Roman people, on whose borders were people who were not subject to our rule. I pacified the provinces of Gaul and Spain, as well as Germany, including the ocean from Cadiz to the mouth of the River Elbe. I pacified the Alps from the region which is near the Adriatic Sea to the Tuscan Sea, with no unjust war against any people. My fleet sailed through the ocean eastwards from the mouth of the Rhine to the borders of the Cimbri, which no Roman had visited before that time, either by land or by sea, and the Cimbri, Charydes, Semnonnes and other Germans of the same region sought my friendship and that of the Roman people through envoys. At my command and under my auspices two armies were led at the same time into Ethiopia and Arabia, which is called Fortunate, and very large enemy forces of both races were cut to pieces and many towns captured. Ethiopia was penetrated as far as the town of Nabata, which is next to Meroe. In Arabia, the army advanced to the borders of the Sabaei to the town of Mariba.

Notes

27

I added Egypt to the empire of the Roman people. For Greater Armenia, although I could have made it a province when its King Artaxes had been killed, I preferred to follow the example of our ancestors and hand the kingdom over to Tigranes, son of King Artavasdes and grandson of King Tigranes, carried out by my step-son, Tiberius Nero. And when the same people later revolted and rebelled, I subdued them through my son Gaius and handed them over to King Ariobarzanes, son of Artabazus, king of the Medes, and after his death, to his son Artavasdes. When he was killed, I sent Tigranes, who was a descendant of the Armenian royal house, to that kingdom. I recovered all the provinces that lay across the Adriatic Sea towards the east, and also Cyrene, then for the most part possessed by kings. Previously, I recovered Sicily and Sardina, which had been seized in the Slave War.

28

I founded colonies in Africa, Sicily, Macedonia, both Spanish provinces, Achaea, Asia, Syria, Gallia Narbonensis and Pisidia. Italy also has twenty eight colonies founded by my authority, which were both highly populated and famous in my lifetime.

29

I recovered from Spain and Gaul and the Dalmatians, after conquering the enemy, the military standards that had been lost by other generals. I compelled the Parthians to return to me the spoils of three Roman armies and to ask as supplicants for the friendship of the Roman people. I deposited these standards in the inner shrine of the temple of Mars the Avenger.

30

The Pannonian people, to whom the army of the Roman people had never penetrated before I was first citizen, were conquered by Tiberius Nero, who was my stepson and legate. I brought them under the rule of the empire of

Notes

the Roman people, and extended the border of Illyricum to the banks of the River Danube. When an army of Dacians crossed to this side, under my auspices it was defeated and crushed and later my army crossed the Danube and the Dacian people were forced to submit to the orders of the Roman people.

31

Embassies from kings in India were often sent to me; never before that time had they been seen with Roman generals. Through embassies the kings of the Bastarnae, the Scythians and the Samartians who are on this side of the River Don and the other, and the kings of the Albanians and the Iberians and the Medes sought our friendship.

32

To me were sent as suppliants these kings: Tiridates of Parthia and later Phrates, son of King Phrates, Artavasdes of the Medes, Artaxerxes of the Adiabeni, Dumnobellaunus and Tincommius of the Britons, Maelo of the Sugambri, [...] rus, of the Marcomani and Suebi. Phrates, son of Orodes, king of Parthia, sent all his sons and grandsons to me in Italy, not because he had been defeated in war but because he sought our friendship through the pledges of his children. During my principate many other people experienced the faith of the Roman people that had never before had dealings of trade or friendship with the Roman people.

33

The Parthian and Median peoples received from me, the kings for whom they asked, the principle men from among them: the Parthians Vonones, son of King Phrates, grandson of King Orodes, for the Medes Ariobarzanes, the son of Artavasdes, grandson of King Ariobarzanes.

34

In my sixth and seventh consulships, after I had extinguished civil wars, after by universal consent, I was in control of all affairs, I transferred the republic from

Notes

my power to the control of the senate and the Roman people. For my service, by senatorial decree, I was named Augustus, and the doors of my house were publicly clothed in laurel, and a civic crown were fixed over my door and a golden shield was put in the Curia Julia, which was given to me by the senate and the people of Rome for my courage, clemency, justice and piety, as attested by this inscription. After that time, I surpassed all in influence, although I had no more power than those who were my colleagues in the magistracies.

35

In my thirteenth consulship, the Senate and the equestrian order and the whole people of Rome gave me the title of *pater patriae* (Father of the Country) and this was to be inscribed in the entrance hall of my house and in the Curia Julia and in the Forum of Augustus below the chariot which had been put there in my honour by senatorial decree. When this was written, I was seventy six years of age.

Appendix

1. The amount of money that he gave to the treasury or to the Roman plebeians or to discharged soldiers: two thousand, four hundred million sesterces.
2. The new buildings he constructed: the temples of Mars, of Jupiter the Thunderer, and Feretrius, of Apollo, of the Divine Julius, Quirinus, Minerva, Queen Juno, Jupiter Libertas, the Lares, the Penates, Youth, the Great Mother, the Lupercal, the shrine at the circus, the senate house with the Chalcidicum, the forum of Augustus, the Basilica Julia, the theatre of Marcellus, the Octavian portico, the grove of the Caesars across the Tiber.
3. He restored the Capitol and sacred temples, numbering eighty two, the theatre of Pompey, the aqueducts and the Flaminian Way.
4. The sum spent on dramatic shows, on gladiatorial displays and on athletes and beast hunts and naval battles, and monetary gifts to colonies, cities, towns destroyed by earthquakes and fire or to individual friends and senators, who he shored up in the census, was beyond measure.

Notes

Horace, Epode

The following has been translated by A. S. Kline, and taken from Poetry in Translation website:

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IX – A Toast to Actium

Dear Maecenas, when in your noble house, as is
 Jove's pleasure, shall I delight
 With you in Caesar's triumph, drinking Caecuban
 Cellared for festive banquets,
 While lyre and flutes sound, mingling their melodies, 5
 That Dorian, and these Italian?
 As lately, when Pompey, driven from the sea,
 Had fled, with his ships destroyed,
 Having threatened the city with shackles he'd taken
 From those faithless slaves, his friends. 10
 A Roman, – you'll not credit it, posterity –
 Sadly, ups sticks and arms himself,
 For a woman's sake, and though a soldier, deigns
 To serve the withered eunuchs,
 While the sun looks down on her shameful pavilion, 15
 Among the warlike standards.
 At this sight two thousand Gauls, chanting Caesar,
 Turned their snorting steeds aside,
 And the opposing fleet, when ordered to larboard,

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Remained there in the harbour. 20
 Hail, Triumph! Why delay the golden chariots
 And the unblemished steers?
 Hail, Triumph! In the war with Jugurtha, you never
 Returned such a general to us,
 Nor was Africanus, whose courage made a tomb 25
 For himself of Carthage, such.
 The enemy, beaten at sea and on land,
 Changes his scarlet cloak for black.
 Against opposing winds, he either heads for Crete,
 Famed for her hundred cities, 30
 Or tries for Syrtes, blown by the northerlies,
 Or is borne over unknown seas.
 Bring more spacious bowls, lad, and pour the Chian,
 Lesbian, or Caecuban wine
 That's designed to prevent all seasick qualms. 35
 Let's delight in banishing fear and anxiety
 For Caesar's affairs, with sweet wine.

Notes

or the swift hunter chases the hare,
over the snowy plains of Thessaly. 20

But she, intending to perish more nobly,
showed no sign of womanish fear at the sword,
nor did she even attempt to win
with her speedy ships to some hidden shore.

And she dared to gaze at her fallen kingdom 25
with a calm face, and touch the poisonous asps
with courage, so that she might drink down
their dark venom, to the depths of her heart,

growing fiercer still, and resolving to die:
scorning to be taken by hostile galleys, 30
and, no ordinary woman, yet queen
no longer, be led along in proud triumph.

Notes

3.6 Moral Decadence

Romans, though you're guiltless, you'll still expiate
your fathers' sins, till you've restored the temples,
and the tumbling shrines of all the gods,
and their images, soiled with black smoke.

You rule because you are lower than the gods
you worship: all things begin with them: credit
them with the outcome. Neglected gods
have made many woes for sad Italy. 5

Already Parthians, and Monaeses
and Pacorus, have crushed our inauspicious
assaults, and laugh now to have added
our spoils to their meagre treasures. 10

Dacians and Ethiopians almost toppled
the City, mired in civil war, the last feared
for their fleet of ships, and the others
who are best known for their flying arrows. 15

Our age, fertile in its wickedness, has first
defiled the marriage bed, our offspring, and homes:
disaster's stream has flowed from this source
through the people and the fatherland. 20

The young girl early takes delight in learning
Greek dances, in being dressed with all the arts,
and soon meditates sinful affairs,
with every fibre of her new being:

Notes

later at her husband's dinners she searches 25
 for younger lovers, doesn't mind to whom she
 grants all her swift illicit pleasures
 when the lights are far removed, but she rises,
 openly, when ordered to do so, and not
 without her husband's knowledge, whether it's for 30
 some peddler, or Spanish ship's captain,
 an extravagant buyer of her shame.

The young men who stained the Punic Sea with blood
 they were not born of such parentage, those who
 struck at Pyrrhus, and struck at great 35
 Antiochus, and fearful Hannibal:

they were a virile crowd of rustic soldiers,
 taught to turn the furrow with a Sabine hoe,
 to bring in the firewood they had cut
 at the instruction of their strict mothers. 40

when the sun had lengthened the mountain shadows,
 and lifted the yokes from the weary bullocks,
 bringing a welcome time of rest,
 with the departure of his chariot.

What do the harmful days not render less? 45
 Worse than our grandparents' generation, our
 parents' then produced us, even worse,
 and soon to bear still more sinful children.

Notes

3.14 Augustus Returns

O citizens, conquering Caesar is home
from the Spanish shores, who, like Hercules, now
was said to be seeking that laurel, that's bought
at the price of death.

May his wife rejoice in a matchless husband, 5
having sacrificed to true gods, appear now
with our famous leader's sister, and, all dressed
in holy ribbons,

the mothers of virgins and youths, now safe and 10
sound. And you, O you boys and you young girls who
are still without husbands, spare us any of
your ill-omened words

This day will be a true holiday for me,
and banish dark care: I'll not fear civil war,
nor sudden death by violence, while Caesar has 15
command of the earth.

Go, now, you boys, seek out perfumes and garlands
and a jar that's old as the Marsian War,
if any of them have managed to escape
Spartacus's eyes. 20

And tell that graceful Neaera to hurry
and fasten all her perfumed hair in a knot:
if her hateful doorkeeper causes
delay, come away.

Notes

My greying hair softens a spirit eager
for arguments and passionate fights:
I'd not have endured it in my hot youth, while
Plancus was Consul.

25

Notes

4.4 Drusus and the Claudians

Like the winged agent of the bright lightning-bolt,
to whom Jove granted power over wandering
birds, once the divine king had found him
faithful in snatching blond Ganymede:

youth and his native vigour first launching him 5
fresh to his labours, out from the nest: spring winds,
despite his fears, when the storms were past,
teaching him, then, unaccustomed effort:

now with a fierce, hostile assault sweeping down
on the sheepfold, and love of spoils, and the fight, 10
hurling him at writhing snakes: or like
a lion-cub newly weaned from rich milk

and its tawny mother, seeing a roe deer
intent on its browsing, that's fated to die
in his inexperienced jaws, such 15
was Drusus, as the Vindelici found

waging war beneath the Rhaetian Alps:
(where the custom's derived from that, as long as
is known, has forced them to arm themselves,
clutch, in their right hands, Amazonian 20

battle-axes, I've not tried to ascertain,
it's not right to know everything) but those hordes,
triumphant everywhere, for so long,
were conquered by the young man's strategies:

Notes

they came to realise what mind, and character
 nurtured, with care, in a fortunate household,
 by Augustus' fatherly feelings
 towards his stepsons, the Neros, could do. 25

By the brave and good, are the brave created:
 their sire's virtues exist in horses and men, 30
 while the ferocious golden eagles
 don't produce shy doves, but education
 improves inborn qualities, and its proper
 cultivation strengthens the mind: whenever
 moral behaviour falls short, its faults 35
 dishonour whatever was good at birth.

The Metaurus river's a witness, O Rome
 to what you owe to the Neros, so too is
 defeated Hasdrubal, and that day
 as sweet, when the shadows fled Latium, 40
 the first day to smile in its kindly glory,
 since dread Hannibal rode through Italy's
 cities, a fire among the pine-trees,
 or an East wind on Sicilian seas.

And after that, through favourable efforts, 45
 the Roman youth grew in stature, and the shrines
 destroyed by Carthaginians'
 impious uproar, had their gods restored.

At last that treacherous Hannibal proclaimed:
 'Of our own will, like deer who become the prey 50
 of ravening wolves, we're chasing those
 whom it's a triumph to flee and evade.

Notes

Their race, still strong despite the burning of Troy,
 brought their children, sacred icons, and aged
 fathers, tossed about on Tuscan seas, 55
 to the towns of Italy, as some oak,
 rich in its dark leaves, high on Mount Algidus,
 trimmed back by the double-bladed axe, draws strength
 and life, despite loss and destruction,
 from the very steel itself. The Hydra, 60
 as its body was lopped, grew no mightier,
 in grief at being conquered by Hercules,
 nor was any greater monster reared
 by Colchis or Echionian Thebes.
 Drowned in the deep, it emerges lovelier: 65
 contend, it defeats the freshest opponent,
 with great glory, and wages wars
 that the housewives will tell of in story.
 I'll send no more proud messages to Carthage:
 every hope of mine is ended, and ended 70
 the fortunes of all my family,
 since my brother Hasdrubal's destruction.
 There's nothing that Claudian power can't achieve,
 protected by Jove, protected by the god's
 authority, power for which shrewd minds 75
 clear the way through the harsh dangers of war.'

Notes

4.15 To Augustus

Phoebus condemned my verse, when I tried to sing
of war and conquered cities, lest I unfurled
my tiny sail on Tyrrhenian
seas. Caesar, this age has restored rich crops

to the fields, and brought back the standards, at last, 5
to Jupiter, those that we've now recovered
from insolent Parthian pillars,
and closed the gates of Janus' temple,

freed at last from all war, and tightened the rein 10
on lawlessness, straying beyond just limits,
and has driven out crime, and summoned
the ancient arts again, by which the name

of Rome and Italian power grew great,
and the fame and majesty of our empire, 15
were spread from the sun's lair in the west,
to the regions where it rises at dawn.

With Caesar protecting the state, no civil
disturbance will banish the peace, no violence,
no anger that forges swords, and makes
mutual enemies of wretched towns. 20

The tribes who drink from the depths of the Danube,
will not break the Julian law, the Getae,
nor Seres, nor faithless Persians,
nor those who are born by the Don's wide stream.

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On working days, and the same on holy days,
among laughter-loving Bacchus' gifts to us,
with our wives and our children we'll pray,
at first, to the gods, in the rites laid down,
then, in the manner of our fathers, bravely,
in verse, that's accompanied by Lydian flutes,
we'll sing past leaders, we'll sing of Troy,
Anchises, and the people of Venus.

25

30

Notes

So the fixed cycle of years, ten times eleven,
Will bring back the singing again, bring back the games
We crowd to three times by daylight, as often,
By beautiful night.

And you, the Fates, who are truthful in prophecy, 25
Link happy destinies, as has once been ordained
And let the certain course of events confirm it,
To those that are past.

Let Earth that is fruitful in crops, and in cattle,
Adorn our Ceres with garlands of wheat-ears: 30
And may Jupiter's life-giving rain and breezes
Ripen the harvest.

Gentle and peaceful Apollo, lay down your arms,
And listen now to the young lads' supplications:
Luna, crescent-horned queen of the constellations, 35
Give ear to the girls.

If Rome is your doing, and if from far Ilium
Came that band of people who reached the Tuscan shore,
Those commanded to change their home and their city,
On a lucky course, 40

Those for whom pious Aeneas, the survivor,
Who passed without injury through the flames of Troy,
Prepared a path to freedom, destined to grant him
Much more than he'd lost:

Then, you divinities, show our receptive youth 45
Virtue, grant peace and quiet to the old, and give
Children and wealth to the people of Romulus,
And every glory.

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Whatever a noble descendant of Venus And Anchises, asks, with a white steer's sacrifice, Let him obtain: a winner in war, merciful To our fallen foe.	50
Now the Parthians fear our forces, powerful On land, and on sea: they fear the Alban axes, Now the once proud Indians, now the Scythians Beg for an answer.	55
Now Faith and Peace, Honour, and ancient Modesty, Dare to return once more, with neglected Virtue, And blessed Plenty dares to appear again, now, With her flowing horn.	60
May Phoebus, the augur, decked with the shining bow, Phoebus who's dear to the Nine Muses, that Phoebus Who can offer relief to a weary body With his healing art,	
May he, if he favours the Palatine altars, Extend Rome's power, and Latium's good-fortune, Through the fresh ages, show, always, improvement, Lustra ever new.	65
And may Diana, to whom is the Aventine, And Mount Algidus, accept the entreaties Of the Fifteen, and attend, and lend a fond ear, To these children's prayers.	70
We bear to our home the fine hope, and certain, That such is Jupiter's, and all the gods' purpose: We're taught, we, the chorus, to sing praise of Phoebus, Praise of Diana.	75

Notes

Propertius, *Elegies*

The following Propertius, *Elegies* have been translated by A. S. Kline, and taken from Poetry in Translation website:

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3.4 War and Peace

Caesar, our god, plots war against rich India, cutting the straits, in his fleet, across the pearl-bearing ocean. Men, the rewards are great: far lands prepare triumphs: Tiber and Euphrates will flow to your tune. Too late, but that province will come under Ausonian wands, Parthia's trophies will get to know Latin Jupiter. Go, get going, prows expert in battle: set sail: and armoured horses do your accustomed duty! I sing you auspicious omens. And avenge that disaster of Crassus! Go and take care of Roman history!

Father Mars, and fatal lights of sacred Vesta, I pray that the day will come before I die, when I see Caesar's axles burdened with booty, and his horses stopping often for vulgar cheers, and then I'll begin to look, pressing my dear girl's breast, and scan the names of captured cities, the shafts from fleeing horsemen, the bows of trousered soldiers, and the captive leaders sitting beneath their weapons!

May Venus herself protect your children: let it be eternal, this head that survives from Aeneas' line. Let the prize go to those who earn it by their efforts: it's enough for me I can cheer them on their Sacred Way.

Notes

3.11 Woman's power

Why do you wonder if a woman entwines my life and brings a man enslaved under her rule? Why fabricate charges of cowardice against my person, because I can't break the yoke and snap my chains? The sailor can best foretell his future fate, the soldier is taught by his wounds to nurture fear. I once boasted like you when I was young: now let my example teach you to be afraid.

The witch of Colchis drove the fiery bulls in a yoke of steel, and sowed civil war in the warrior-bearing soil, and closed the serpent guard's fierce jaws, so the Golden Fleece would come to Aeson's halls. Amazon Penthesilea once dared to attack the Danaan fleet with arrows fired from horseback: she whose bright beauty conquered the conquering hero, when the golden helmet laid bare her forehead.

Omphale the Lydian girl bathing in Gyges' lake gained such a name for beauty that Hercules who had established his pillars in a world at peace, drew out soft spinner's tasks with hardened hands. Semiramis built Babylon, the Persian city, so that it rose a solid mass with ramparts fashioned of baked brick, and twin chariots might round the walls, in contrary directions, without their axles touching or sides scraping: she diverted the River Euphrates through the centre of the city she founded, and commanded Bactra to bow its head to her rule.

Why should I seize on heroes, why gods, who stand accused? Jupiter shames himself and his house. Why Cleopatra, who heaped insults on our army, a woman worn out by her own attendants, who demanded the walls of Rome and the Senate bound to her rule, as a reward from her obscene husband? Noxious Alexandria place so skilled in deceit and Memphis so often bloody with our grief where the sand robbed Pompey of his three triumphs? Rome, no day will ever wipe away the stain. Better for you Pompey, ill at Naples, if your funeral procession had crossed the Phlegraean Plain or that you'd bowed your neck to Caesar, your father-in-law.

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Truly that whore, queen of incestuous Canopus, a fiery brand burned by the blood of Philip, dared to oppose our Jupiter with yapping Anubis, and forced Tiber to suffer the threats of Nile, banished the Roman trumpet with the rattle of the sistrum, chased the Liburnian prow with a poled barge, spread her foul mosquito nets over the Tarpeian Rock, and gave judgements among Marius' weapons and statues.

The city, high on its seven hills, that directs the whole Earth, was terrified of a woman's power and fearful of her threats. What was it worth to have shattered Tarquin's axes, whose life branded him with the name of 'Proud', if now we had to endure this woman? Celebrate a triumph Rome, and saved by Augustus beg long life for him! You fled then to the wandering mouths of frightened Nile: your hands received Romulus' chains. I saw your arms bitten by the sacred asps, and your limbs draw sleep in by a secret path. And your tongue spoke overpowered by endless wine: 'This is not as much to be feared, Rome, as is your fellow-citizen!'

Curtius closing the Forum's chasm, created his own monument, and Decius' cavalry charge shattered the line, Horatius' Way attests to the holding of the bridge, and there's one to whom the raven, Corvus, has given a name. The gods founded them, may the gods protect these walls: with Caesar alive, Rome scarcely need fear Jove.

Where are Scipio's ships now, where are Camillus' standards, or Bosphorus lately captured by Pompey's might, or Hannibal's spoils, or conquered Syphax' Libyan trophies, or Pyrrhus' glory trampled under our feet?

Apollo of Actium will speak of how the line was turned: one day of battle carried off so great a host. But you, sailor, whether leaving or making for harbour, be mindful of Caesar through all the Ionian Sea.

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3.12 Chaste and faithful Galla

Postumus, how could you leave Galla crying, to follow Augustus' brave standard, as a soldier? Was the glory of Parthia's spoils worth so much to you, with Galla repeatedly begging you not to do it? If it's permitted may all you greedy ones perish equally, and whoever else prefers his weapon to a faithful bride!

You, you madman, wrapped in your cloak for a covering, weary, will drink Araxes' water from your helm. She in the meantime will pine away at each idle rumour, for fear your courage will cost you dear, or the arrows of Medes enjoy your death, or the armoured knight on a golden horse, or some bit of you be brought back in an urn to be wept over. That's how they come back, those who fall in such places. O Postumus you are three or four times blessed by Galla's chastity! Your morals deserve a different wife! What shall a girl do with no fear to guard her, with Rome to instruct her in its voluptuousness? But rest secure: gifts will not win Galla, and she will not recall how harsh you were.

On whatever day fate sends you safely home, modest Galla will hang about your neck. Postumus will be another Ulysses with a wifely wonder: such long delay did him no harm: ten years of war; the Cicones' Mount Ismara; Calpe; then the burning of your eye-socket Polyphemus; Circe's beguilement; the lotus, its binding spell; Scylla and Charybdis, separated by alternate tides; Lampetie's oxen bellowing on Ithacan spits (Lampetie his daughter grazed them for Phoebus); then fleeing the bed of Calypso, Aeaëa's weeping girl, swimming for so many nights and wintry days; entering the black halls of the silent spirits; approaching the Sirens' waters with deafened sailors; renewing his ancient bow at the death of the suitors; and so making an end of his wanderings.

Not in vain, since his wife stayed chaste at home. Aelia Galla will outdo Penelope's loyalty.

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4.6 The Temple of Palatine Apollo

The priest makes the sacrifice: let silence aid it, and let the heifer fall, struck down before my altars. Let Rome's wreath compete with Philetas's ivy-clusters, and let the urn provide the waters of Cyrene. Give me soft costmary, and offerings of lovely incense, and let the loop of wool go three times round the fire. Sprinkle me with water, and by the new altars let the ivory flute sing of Phrygian jars. May Fraud be far from here, may Injury depart for other skies: let purifying laurel smooth the priest's fresh path.

Muse, we will speak of the Temple of Palatine Apollo: Calliope, the subject is worthy of your favour. The song is created in Caesar's name: while Caesar's sung, Jupiter, I beg you, yourself, to listen. There is a secluded harbour of Phoebus' Athamanian coast, whose bay quiets the murmur of the Ionian Sea, Actium's open water, remembering the Julian fleet, not a route demanding of sailors' prayers. Here the world's forces gathered: a weight of pine stood on the water, but fortune did not favour their oars alike.

The enemy fleet was doomed by Trojan Quirinus, and the shameful javelins fit for a woman's hand: there was Augustus's ship, sails filled by Jupiter's favour, standards now skilful in victory for their country. Now Nereus bent the formations in a twin arc, and the water trembled painted by the glitter of weapons, when Phoebus, quitting Delos, anchored under his protection (the isle, uniquely floating, it suffered the South Wind's anger), stood over Augustus's stern, and a strange flame shone, three times, snaking down in oblique fire.

Phoebus did not come with his hair streaming round his neck, or with the mild song of the tortoise-shell lyre, but with that aspect that gazed on Agamemnon, Pelop's son, and came out from the Dorian camp to the greedy fires, or as he destroyed the Python, writhing in its coils, the serpent that the peaceful Muses feared.

Then he spoke: 'O Augustus, world-deliverer, sprung from Alba Longa,

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acknowledged as greater than your Trojan ancestors conquer now by sea: the land is already yours: my bow is on your side, and every arrow burdening my quiver favours you. Free your country from fear, that relying on you as its protector, weights your prow with the State's prayers. Unless you defend her, Romulus misread the birds flying from the Palatine, he the augur of the foundation of Rome's walls. And they dare to come too near with their oars: shameful that Latium's waters should suffer a queen's sails while you are commander. Do not fear that their ships are winged with a hundred oars: their fleet rides an unwilling sea. Though their prows carry Centaurs with threatening stones, you'll find they are hollow timber and painted terrors. The cause exalts or breaks a soldier's strength: unless it is just, shame downs his weapons. The moment has come, commit your fleet: I declare the moment: I lead the Julian prows with laurelled hand.'

He spoke, and lent the contents of his quiver to the bow: after his bowshot, Caesar's javelin was next. Rome won, through Apollo's loyalty: the woman was punished: broken sceptres floated on the Ionian Sea. But Caesar his 'father' marvelled, and spoke from his comet released by Venus: 'I am a god: and this shows evidence of my race.'

Triton honoured all with music, and the goddesses of the sea applauded, as they circled the standards of freedom. The woman trusting vainly in her swift vessel headed for the Nile, seeking one thing only, not to die at another's order. The best thing, by all the gods! What sort of a triumph would one woman make in the streets where Jugurtha was once led!

So Apollo of Actium gained his temple, each of whose arrows destroyed ten ships.

I have sung of war enough: Apollo the victor now demands my lyre, and sheds his weapons for the dance of peace. Now let guests in white robes enter the gentle grove: and let lovely roses flow round my neck. May wine from Falernian wine presses be poured, and Cilician saffron three times bathe my hair. Let

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the Muse fire the mind of drunken poets: Bacchus you are used to being an inspiration to your Apollo.

Let one tell of the slavery of the Sycambri of the marshes, another sing the dark-skinned kingdoms of Cephean Meroe, another record how the Parthians lately acknowledged defeat with a truce. 'Let them return the Roman standards, for they will soon give up their own: or if Augustus spares the Eastern quivers for a while, let him leave those trophies for his grandsons to win. Crassus, be glad, if you know of it, among the dark dunes: we shall cross the Euphrates to your grave.'

So I will pass the night with drinking, so with song, until daylight shines its rays into my wine.

Notes

Ovid, *Metamorphoses*

The following extracts from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* have been translated by A. S. Kline, and taken from Poetry in Translation website:

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Book 15:745–842 The deification of Julius Caesar

Though Aesculapius came as a stranger to our temples, Caesar is a god in his own city. Outstanding in war or peace, it was not so much his wars that ended in great victories, or his actions at home, or his swiftly won fame, that set him among the stars, a fiery comet, as his descendant. There is no greater achievement among Caesar's actions than that he stood father to our emperor. Is it a greater thing to have conquered the sea-going Britons; to have led his victorious ships up the seven-mouthed flood of the papyrus-bearing Nile; to have brought the rebellious Numidians, under Juba of Cinyps, and Pontus, swollen with the name of Mithridates, under the people of Quirinus; to have earned many triumphs and celebrated few; than to have sponsored such a man, with whom, as ruler of all, you gods have richly favoured the human race? Therefore, in order for the emperor not to have been born of mortal seed, Caesar needed to be made a god.

When Venus, the golden mother of Aeneas, saw this, and also saw that a grim death was being readied for Caesar, her high-priest, and an armed conspiracy was under way, she grew pale and said to every god in turn: 'See the nest of tricks being prepared against me, and with what treachery that life is being attacked, all that is left to me of Trojan Iulus. Will I be the only one always to be troubled by well-founded anxiety: now Diomedes's Calydonian spear wounds me: now the ill-defended walls of Troy confound me, seeing my son Aeneas

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driven to endless wandering, storm-tossed, entering the silent house of shadows, waging war against Turnus, or, if we speak the truth, with Juno, rather? Why do I recall, now, the ancient sufferings of my race? This present fear inhibits memory of the past: look at those evil knives being sharpened. Prevent them, I beg you, thwart this attempt, and do not allow Vesta's flames to be quenched by the blood of her priest!

Venus in her anxiety voiced her fears throughout the heavens, but in vain, troubling the gods, who though they could not break the iron rules of the ancient sisters, nevertheless gave no uncertain omens of imminent disaster. They say weapons, clashing among black clouds, and terrifying trumpets and horns, foretelling crime, were heard from the sky: and that the face of the sun, darkened, gave out a lurid light, over the troubled earth. Often, firebrands were seen, burning in the midst of the stars: often drops of blood rained from the clouds: Lucifer, the morning star, was dulled, with rust-black spots on his disc, and the moon's chariot was spattered with blood.

The Stygian owl sounded its sad omens in a thousand places: in a thousand places ivory statues wept: and incantations, and warning words, were said to have been heard in the sacred groves. No sacrifice was favourable, and the livers were found with cleft lobes, among the entrails, warning of great and impending civil conflict. In the forum, and around men's houses, and the temples of the gods, dogs howled at night, and they say the silent dead walked, and earthquakes shook the city. Still the gods' warnings could not prevent the conspiracy, or fate's fulfilment.

Drawn swords were carried into the curia, the sacred Senate house: no place in the city would satisfy them as scene for the act of evil murder but this. Then in truth Cytherean Venus struck her breast with both hands, and tried to hide Caesar in a cloud, as Paris was once snatched from the attack of Atrides, and Aeneas escaped Diomedes's sword.

Then Jupiter, the father, spoke: 'Alone, do you think you will move the

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immoveable fates, daughter? You are allowed yourself to enter the house of the three: there you will see all things written, a vast labour, in bronze and solid iron, that, eternal and secure, does not fear the clashing of the skies, the lightning's anger, or any forces of destruction. There you will find the fate of your descendants cut in everlasting adamant. I have read them myself, and taken note of them in my mind, and I will tell you, so that you are no longer blind to the future.

This descendant of yours you suffer over, Cytherean, has fulfilled his time, and the years he owes to earth are done. You, and Augustus, his 'son', will ensure that he ascends to heaven as a god, and is worshipped in the temples. Augustus, as heir to his name, will carry the burden placed upon him alone, and will have us with him, in battle, as the most courageous avenger of his father's murder. Under his command, the conquered walls of besieged Mutina will sue for peace; Pharsalia will know him; Macedonian Philippi twice flow with blood; and the one who holds Pompey's great name, will be defeated in Sicilian waters; and a Roman general's Egyptian consort, trusting, to her cost, in their marriage, will fall, her threat that our Capitol would bow to her city of Canopus, proved vain.

Why enumerate foreign countries, for you or the nations living on either ocean shore? Wherever earth contains habitable land, it will be his: and even the sea will serve him!

When the world is at peace, he will turn his mind to the civil code, and, as the most just of legislators, make law. He will direct morality by his own example, and, looking to the future ages and coming generations, he will order a son, Tiberius, born of his virtuous wife, to take his name, and his responsibilities. He will not attain his heavenly home, and the stars, his kindred, until he is old, and his years equal his merits. Meanwhile take up Caesar's spirit from his murdered corpse, and change it into a star, so that the deified Julius may always look down from his high temple on our Capitol and forum.'

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Book 15:843–870 Ovid's celebration of Augustus

He had barely finished, when gentle Venus stood in the midst of the Senate, seen by no one, and took up the newly freed spirit of her Caesar from his body, and preventing it from vanishing into the air, carried it towards the glorious stars. As she carried it, she felt it glow and take fire, and loosed it from her breast: it climbed higher than the moon, and drawing behind it a fiery tail, shone as a star.

Seeing his son's good works, Caesar acknowledges they are greater than his own, and delights in being surpassed by him. Though the son forbids his own actions being honoured above his father's, nevertheless fame, free and obedient to no one's orders, exalts him, despite himself, and denies him in this one thing. So great Atreus cedes the title to Agamemnon: so Theseus outdoes Aegeus, and Achilles his father Peleus: and lastly, to quote an example worthy of these two, so Saturn is less than Jove.

Jupiter commands the heavenly citadels, and the kingdoms of the threefold universe. Earth is ruled by Augustus. Each is a father and a master. You gods, the friends of Aeneas, to whom fire and sword gave way; you deities of Italy; and Romulus, founder of our city; and Mars, father of Romulus; Vesta, Diana, sacred among Caesar's ancestral gods, and you, Phoebus, sharing the temple with Caesar's Vesta; you, Jupiter who hold the high Tarpeian citadel; and all you other gods, whom it is fitting and holy for a poet to invoke, I beg that the day be slow to arrive, and beyond our own lifetimes, when Augustus shall rise to heaven, leaving the world he rules, and there, far off, shall listen, with favour, to our prayers!

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Suetonius, *The Lives of the Twelve Caesars: Augustus*

The following extracts from Suetonius have been translated by A. S. Kline, and taken from Poetry in Translation website:

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7 His Various Names

As a child he was surnamed Thurinus, either after his ancestral home, Thurii, or because his father Octavius defeated the outlawed slaves nearby, shortly after Augustus' birth. I can submit certain evidence of the fact, since I once owned a bronze statuette of him as a boy, with that name added in barely legible rusted iron letters. I gave this to my Emperor, Hadrian, who placed it in his bedroom among the Household-gods.

Moreover Mark Antony in his letters often calls him by the name Thurinus, by way of insult, though Augustus merely commented that he was surprised to find his actual former name used in that manner.

Later he adopted the name Gaius Caesar to comply with his great-uncle Julius Caesar's will; while the title Augustus was granted him after Munatius Plancus introduced a Senate motion to that effect. Though the opinion was expressed that he should take the name Romulus, as a second founder of the city, Plancus carried the day, arguing that Augustus was a more original and honourable title, because sacred sites and anything consecrated by the augurs are called augusta. The custom is derived either from the 'increase', auctus, in their holiness, or from the familiar phrase avium gestus gustusve, 'the posture and pecking of birds' which this line from Ennius supports:

'When with august augury illustrious Rome was born.'

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8 A Brief Summary of His Life

He lost his father at the age of five (58 BC). At twelve he delivered a funeral oration in honour of his grandmother Julia, Julius Caesar's sister (51 BC). At sixteen, having assumed the toga, he was decorated by Caesar during the African triumph (46 BC) even though he had been too young to fight. When Caesar went to conquer Pompey's sons in Spain (in 46 BC), Augustus followed, despite still being weak from severe illness, and despite being shipwrecked on the way, with a minimal escort, over roads menaced by the enemy, so endearing himself greatly to Caesar, who quickly formed a high opinion of Augustus' character, beyond merely his energetic pursuit of the journey.

After recovering the Spanish provinces, Caesar planned an expedition against the Dacians, to be followed by an attack on Parthia, and sent Augustus ahead (in 45 BC) to Apollonia in Illyria, where he spent his time studying. When news came of Caesar's assassination (in 44 BC), and that the will named him as the main heir, Augustus considered seeking protection from the legions quartered there. However he decided it would be rash and premature, and chose to return to Rome, and enter on his inheritance, despite the doubts expressed by his mother, and strong opposition from his stepfather, the ex-consul Marcius Philippus.

Augustus went on to levy armies and rule the State; firstly for a twelve-year period (from 43 BC to 30 BC), initially with Mark Antony and Lepidus and then (from 33 BC) with Antony alone; and later by himself for a further forty-four years (to his death in AD 14).

9 His Involvement in Civil War

Having given above a brief summary of his life, I will now consider its various phases, though to make the account clearer and more intelligible, I will treat it, as here, by subject matter rather than chronologically.

He fought in five civil conflicts, associated geographically with Mutina (43 BC),

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Philippi (42 BC), Perugia (41–40 BC), Sicily (36 BC) and Actium (31 BC). The first and last of these were against Mark Antony, the second against Brutus and Cassius, the third against Lucius Antonius, Mark Antony's brother, and the fourth against Sextus Pompeius, Pompey's son.

10 Mutina

The motivation for all this warfare was that Augustus considered it his duty to avenge Caesar's death, and enforce his decrees. On returning from Apollonia, he determined to take Brutus and Cassius by surprise, and act against them. When they foresaw the danger and fled, he resorted to law and prosecuted them for murder, in their absence.

Since the officials appointed to oversee Caesar's victory games were afraid of doing so, he gave the games himself, and in order to wield greater authority for his plans, he announced himself as a candidate for a tribuneship of the people, since an incumbent had died, though in theory unqualified, as he was a patrician and not yet a Senator. When Mark Antony, whom as consul that year he had counted on for support, would not even allow him the common right of transfer except on payment of a heavy bribe, he joined the optimates, the senatorial party, aware that they detested Antony, even more so because he was besieging Decimus Brutus in Mutina, and attempting to drive him from the province to which Caesar had appointed him, an appointment ratified by the Senate.

Acting on sundry advice, he hired assassins to murder Antony. Fearing retaliation when the plot was discovered, he spent all he could muster on raising a force of veterans to protect himself and the State. Raised to the rank of propraetor by the Senate, and placed in command of this army, he was instructed to join Hirtius and Pansa, the two new consuls, in aiding Decimus Brutus. Augustus completed the military task entrusted to him in three months, fighting two major battles. Antony claimed that Augustus took to flight in the first of these, and did not reappear till the following day, lacking his horse and

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cloak. But all agree that in the following encounter, Augustus not only led his troops, but played the soldier's part too when, in the midst of the fighting, he shouldered the eagle of the legion, its bearer being wounded, and carried it for some time.

11 Claims Against Him of Treachery

Rumours spread that Augustus had engineered the fate of both Hirtius, who died fighting, and Pansa who died after battle from a wound, in order that, with Antony in flight, and the State bereft of its two consuls, he could take control of the victorious armies. The circumstances of Pansa's death, in particular, were so suspicious, that the physician involved, Glyco, was arrested on a charge of poisoning the wound. Aquilius Niger says further that Augustus himself killed Hirtius, the second consul, in the chaos of battle.

17 His Victory over Antony and Cleopatra

Eventually Augustus terminated his tenuous and uncertain alliance with Mark Antony, which had been punctuated by division and reconciliation. In order to show how far short his rival had fallen of the standard of conduct appropriate to a citizen, he had Antony's will, which had been deposited in Rome, and named his children by Cleopatra among the heirs, opened, and read aloud in public. Yet, when the Senate outlawed Antony, he allowed his friends and relatives to join him, including Gaius Sosius and Gnaeus Domitius, the consuls. And he excused the city of Bononia, which had been dependent on the Antonii since ancient times, from rallying with the rest of Italy to his own standard. Not long afterwards he achieved his great naval victory at Actium (in 31 BC), where the battle raged to so late an hour that he spent the night on board.

After Actium, he went into winter quarters at Samos, where he heard the troubling news of a mutiny among the troops, hand-picked from every army division, whom he had sent forward to Brundisium (Brindisi), and who now demanded a bounty and their discharge. Sailing for Italy, he encountered two

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fierce gales, one between the headlands of the Peloponnese and Aetolia, the other off the coast below the Ceraunian mountain range. In both storms part of his fleet of galleys was sunk, while the flagship's rigging carried away and her rudder was shattered.

He spent only enough time at Brundisium, twenty seven days, to pacify the soldiers, and then sailed for Egypt, along the coasts of Asia Minor and Syria. Once there, he laid siege to Alexandria, where Antony had taken refuge with Cleopatra, swiftly capturing the city (in 30 BC). In the end, Mark Antony sued for peace, but Augustus drove him to commit suicide, and personally viewed the body. Wishing to preserve Cleopatra's life, so she might adorn his triumph, he had Psylli snake-charmers brought, believing her to be dying from the bite of an asp, to suck the poison from her self-inflicted wound.

He allowed both Antony and Cleopatra an honourable burial in the one tomb, and ordered the mausoleum they had begun to be completed. But Marcus Antonius the Younger, who was the elder of Antony's two sons by Fulvia, was torn from the statue of the God Julius, to which he had fled after futile pleas for mercy, and murdered. Augustus had Caesarion killed too, Caesar's son by Cleopatra, who had been captured while fleeing. Nevertheless, he did spare the rest of Cleopatra's children by Antony, and brought them up and maintained them according to their rank, as diligently as if they had been members of his own family.

20 His Imperial Campaigning

Augustus commanded in person in only two foreign campaigns: in Dalmatia (35–33 BC), when he was still a young man and against the Cantabrians (26–25 BC) after defeating Antony. In the former campaign while fighting he was wounded in the right knee by a sling-stone, in the latter both arms and a leg were badly injured by a bridge collapse. His other wars were conducted by his generals, though during the campaigns in Pannonia and Germany he visited the front, or was not far behind, travelling from Rome to Ravenna, Mediolanum (Milan), or Aquileia.

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21 His Consolidation of Empire

Either as commander in the field, or as commander-in-chief of the armies under his auspices, he conquered Cantabria, Aquitania, Pannonia, Dalmatia, and all Illyricum, as well as Raetia with the Alpine tribes of the Vindelici and Salassi. He also checked the Dacian incursions, inflicting heavy casualties and killing three of their leaders; drove the Germans back across the Albis (Elbe) except for the Suebi and Sigambri who after surrender were resettled in Gaul near the Rhine; and pacified other tribes who were a source of trouble.

However, he never warred against any nation without just and necessary cause, and far from wishing to increase his power or win glory at any cost, he insisted rather that various barbarian leaders swore an oath, in the temple of Mars the Avenger, to keep the peace faithfully that they had sought. Since they disregarded treaties secured by male hostages, he tried to enforce their pledges in a new way by taking female hostages instead, though they were allowed to replace their hostages as they wished.

Even when faced with frequent rebellion or particularly treacherous behaviour, Augustus refrained from a more severe punishment than selling the captives into slavery, on condition they were separated from their own territories, and not freed within thirty years. Such therefore was the reputation he won for exercising power with moderation that even the Indians and Scythians, known to us only by hearsay, freely sent envoys, requesting his friendship and that of the Roman people.

The Parthians too readily accepted his claim to Armenia, and not only returned (in 20 BC) the standards they had seized from Crassus (in 53 BC, at Carrhae) and Mark Antony (in 40 and 36 BC), but also offered hostages. And once, when there were several rival claimants to the throne, they insisted on accepting only the candidate he chose.

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22 Peace and Triumphs

As a sign that he had won peace on land and at sea, and in record time, the gates of the temple of Janus Quirinus were closed (in 29 BC), having previously only been closed twice before his day. He received the lesser triumph of an ovation (40 BC) after Philippi, and again after Sicily (36 BC), and celebrated three full triumphs (in 29 BC), on three successive days for his victories in Dalmatia, off Actium, and at Alexandria.

26 His Consulships

He received offices and honours himself, some before the usual age, and some newly created and for life. He seized the consulship at nineteen (in 43 BC), marching against Rome as the city were his enemy, and sending messengers ahead to demand the appointment be confirmed in the army's name. When the Senators hesitated to obey, Cornelius, the leader of the deputation and a centurion, parted his military cloak to show the hilt of his sword, and said loudly: 'This will make him consul, if you don't.'

He was consul once more ten years later (33 BC) and again after a year's lapse (31 BC). He then held the consulship for a further eight-year period (30–23 BC), but for a long time declined the opportunities offered, before asking for a twelfth term eighteen years later (5 BC) and a thirteenth three years afterwards (2 BC) because he wanted to hold the highest office when his adopted sons Gaius and Lucius, respectively, came of age and were introduced to public life.

The sixth to the tenth consulships (28–24 BC) he held for the full year's term, while the rest were held for three, four, six or nine months only, while the second (33 BC) lasted only a few hours, since after seating himself, early on New Year's Day, on the ivory curule chair in front of the temple of Capitoline Jupiter, he resigned the office to another.

He was absent from Rome for the start of four of his consulships, beginning the fourth in Asia Minor (30 BC), the fifth on Samos (29 BC), and the eighth and ninth (26–25 BC) at Tarraco (Tarragona).

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28 Sole Ruler

Augustus twice considered restoring the Republic: firstly after the death of Mark Antony, when he recalled his rival's often-repeated charge that the failure to do so was his fault; and again when, exhausted from persistent illness, he summoned the Senators and magistrates to his house, to report to them on the overall state of the empire. On reflecting, however, that both his own life and the security of the State might be jeopardised, if authority were divided, he decided to retain power in his own hands. The results equalled his intention, often stated, and even published in an edict, in which he declares: 'May it be my privilege to establish the State on a firm and secure basis, and harvest, from that, the fruits of my desire; that I may be called the creator of the best of governments, and maintain the hope, in dying, that the traces of the foundations I have laid will yet remain.' He did so establish the State, making every effort to obviate any dissatisfaction with the new regime.

Since Rome's architecture was inadequate to the demands of empire, and the city was vulnerable to fire and flood, he so adorned it that he could rightly boast that what he had found as brick he left as marble. And indeed he secured it for posterity, inasmuch as human foresight can achieve such a thing.

29 Public Works

He carried out an extensive program of public works, among which the following are of particular note: his Forum with its Temple of Mars the Avenger (started c.20 BC, dedicated 2 BC); the Palatine Temple of Apollo (dedicated 28 BC), and the Temple of Jupiter the Thunderer on the Capitol (dedicated 22 BC).

His justification for building a new Forum (work began in 42 BC) was the inadequacy of the existing two, given the increase in population, and the number of legal actions now brought. That was why he opened it quickly for public use before the Temple of Mars was completed. It was the forum used

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thereafter for public prosecutions and the casting of lots for jury service. It was during the Philippi campaign, to avenge Caesar, that he made the vow to build the Temple of Mars, and he therefore decreed that it should be used by the Senate to debate potential declarations of war or claims for triumphs to be celebrated; that military commanders leaving for the provinces should be escorted from there on their journey; and that victorious leaders should bear the triumphal tokens of their triumphs to it on their return.

He had the Temple of Apollo erected in a section of his house on the Palatine favoured by the god, so the soothsayers claimed, since it had been struck by lightning. Its colonnades housed Latin and Greek libraries, and in old age he often held Senate meetings there or revised the jury lists.

His dedication of the shrine to Jupiter the Thunderer was prompted by a narrow escape on a night march in Cantabria (in 26 BC), when a lightning bolt scorched his litter and killed a slave with a torch walking in front.

Some public works he named on behalf of relatives: such as the colonnade and basilica of his grandsons Gaius and Lucius (dedicated 2 BC); the colonnades of his wife Livia (dedicated 7 BC) and sister Octavia the Younger (dedicated after 27 BC); and the theatre of his nephew Marcellus (inaugurated 12 BC). Moreover he urged other leading citizens to embellish the city with new monuments or restore and enrich old ones, according to their means. A great deal of such work was undertaken; for example the Temple of Hercules and the Muses was restored by Marcius Philippus (in 29 BC); the Temple of Dianore built by Lucius Cornificius; the Hall of Liberty re-built by Asinius Pollio (completed 28 BC); the Temple of Saturn restored by Munatius Plancus (completed c.30 BC); a theatre built by Cornelius Balbus (completed 13 BC); an amphitheatre by Statilius Taurus (29 BC); and a variety of magnificent edifices by Marcus Agrippa (including the original Pantheon in 27 BC).

Notes

31 Religious Reforms and Memorials

Not wishing to deprive Lepidus of the Chief Priesthood during his lifetime, despite his exile, Augustus waited until the triumvir's death (in 13 BC), to assume the office.

After doing so, he gathered together all the Greek and Latin prophecies still in circulation, which were either anonymous or the work of authors devoid of authority, and burned more than two thousand, keeping only the Sibylline Books, which he edited and placed in two gilded cases under the pedestal of the statue of Palatine Apollo (in 12 BC)

He also restored the calendar, reformed by Julius Caesar and allowed through negligence to fall into confusion and disorder, and rather than renaming his own birth-month of September, he renamed the month Sextilis, August, because in that month he won his first consulship and his most notable victories were celebrated.

He swelled the ranks and dignity of the priesthood, and also their privileges, especially those of the Vestal Virgins. Moreover, though many families exerted all their influence to avoid their daughters' names being added to the list, when a Vestal was chosen by lot to replace one who had died, Augustus would declare on oath that if any of his grand-daughters had been of eligible age he would have proposed them.

He also revived various ancient rites which had lapsed with time, such as the augury of the Goddess Safety, the office of Flamen Dialis, the festival of the Lupercalia, the Secular Games, and the festival of the Compitalia. At the Lupercalia youth who had not yet shaved off their first beard were forbidden from running, while at the Secular Games young people might only attend night-time performances when chaperoned. He ordained that the Lares of the Crossroads should be crowned twice a year with wreaths of spring and summer flowers.

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He honoured the memory of those notable men who had raised the Roman people from obscurity to greatness only less than the immortal gods. He therefore restored the buildings they had created and their original inscriptions, and dedicated statues of them in triumphal robes, in the twin colonnades of his Forum, proclaiming by edict: 'I have done this, that the citizens might demand of me, while I live, and of my successors to come, that we attain the standard set by these great men of old.'

He also relocated the statue of Pompey from the Portico where Caesar had been murdered to the summit of a marble arch facing the main entrance to Pompey's Theatre.

34 Revision of the Laws

He both revised existing laws and enacted new ones, for example on profligacy, adultery, chastity, bribery and to encourage marriage and procreation among the Senatorial and Equestrian orders. He was unable to bring the last of these, which aroused open rebellion against its overly stringent provisions, into effect until he had removed or softened many of its clauses, and extended the immunities, including the granting of a three year exemption to a widow or widower on the death of their spouse. When the knights still persisted in urging its repeal, during a public show, he sent for his grandchildren, born to Germanicus and Agrippina, and he and Germanicus dandled them on their knees, making it clear by his affectionate looks and gestures that they should all follow the young man's example.

Finding that the spirit of the law was being flouted by those who betrothed themselves to immature girls to delay the responsibilities of fatherhood, or frequently divorced and re-married to avoid the same, he shortened the legal period between betrothal and marriage, and limited the number of divorces per individual.

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53 His Public Manner

He was always horrified at being called 'my lord', as though it was a term of abuse or censure. Once, while he was watching a comedy and the audience rose and applauded when the words:

'O just and benign lord!'

were spoken, as if in reference to him, Augustus quelled the indecorous adulation, with a look and a gesture, and the next day issued an edict reprimanding such behaviour. After that he prohibited his children and grandchildren too from calling him by that title even in jest: nor were they allowed to employ such obsequious terms among themselves.

If he could do so he would enter or leave towns and cities in the evening or at night to avoid troubling everyone with a formal ceremony. During his consulship he habitually walked through the streets of Rome quite openly, and only when he was not consul did he go about in a closed litter. Similarly, his morning receptions were open to all, including commoners, and he was affable in dealing with requests, reproving one man jokingly when he presented a petition as nervously 'as if he was offering a penny to an elephant!'

On Senate days, he waited to greet the members in the House, rather than allowing them to pay the customary calls at his home, not allowing them to rise and calling each by name unprompted, and he left the House in the same manner. He exchanged many social calls, and always attended birthday celebrations until he was jostled by the crowd at a betrothal party when he was well on in years.

When Gallus Cerrinius, a Senator with whom he was only slightly acquainted, suddenly became blind, and resolved to starve to death, Augustus visited to console him and by doing so persuaded him to change his mind.

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56 His Respect for Established Law and Custom

When he was subject to various spiteful or insolent jokes, he replied to them by means of a public proclamation, but vetoed a law that would have suppressed freedom of speech in the text of a will.

When he took part in City elections, he would tour the wards with his candidates and canvass for them in the traditional way. He would also cast a vote himself, among his own tribe, as a man of the people. And when he testified in court, he submitted patiently to questioning, and even to being contradicted.

His new Forum, too, was narrower than he originally intended, because he did not feel it right to evict the owners of neighbouring houses which were in the way.

He never nominated his adopted sons for office without saying: 'If they are worthy.' When they were still lads, and the entire theatre audience rose to honour and applaud them, he showed his clear disapproval.

He wished his friends too to be prominent and influential in public affairs, but insisted they be subject to the common law, and as equally liable to prosecution as others. When his close friend Nonius Asprenas Torquatus faced a charge of poisoning, brought by Cassius Severus, he asked the Senate for their advice, hesitating he said to show his support lest he seemed to be shielding the accused, or of failing to do so and acting falsely while prejudicing the case. With the Senators' approval he was present in court, but merely sat there for several hours in silence on the benches reserved for witnesses and advocates, and refrained from speaking in praise of the defendant.

He did defend some of his dependants, however, for example a former officer of his, Scutarius, on a charge of slander. But he only succeeded in gaining an acquittal on a single occasion, by making a successful appeal to the plaintiff in the presence of the judges; the accused was Castricius, through whom he had learned of Murena's conspiracy against him.

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57 Public Marks of Affection

The affection which such conduct won can readily be gauged. We might well treat various Senate decrees as having been dictated by subservience or expediency. Yet the Equestrian Order freely and unanimously voted to celebrate his birthday over two consecutive days (September 22nd and 23rd) each year, and a host of men, of all ranks and classes, would throw a small coin annually into the Curtian Pool in the Forum, in fulfilment of a vow for his well-being, and take a New Year's gift to the Capitol even if he was absent from Rome. He employed the money accruing in dedicating expensive statues of the gods in the city wards, such as an Apollo of Sandal Street, and a Jupiter of the Tragedians.

When the rebuilding of his house on the Palatine, destroyed by fire (in AD 3), was in hand, the veterans, guilds and tribes, wished to contribute, and even private individuals willingly, according to their means, but he simply took a token silver denarius himself from each pile, as a matter of form.

On returning from tours of the provinces, he was always greeted with prayers, good wishes, and songs as well, and it was a custom to defer all punishments on the day he entered the City.

58 Father of the Country

There was a spontaneous initiative by the whole City to confer the title 'Father of the Country' on Augustus, the Commons first sending a deputation to him at Antium (Anzio), where he declined the honour, and attempting it again in Rome where a huge crowd, wearing laurel wreaths, met him outside the theatre; then by the Senate, who refrained from a decree or acclamation, but asked Valerius Messala to address him. On behalf of the whole House, Messala spoke as follows: 'May good fortune, and the blessing of the gods, shine on you and your family, Caesar Augustus! That is the same, we feel, as praying for our country's enduring happiness, and the State's prosperity. The Senate are in accord with

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the people of Rome in saluting you as Father of the Country.'

Augustus, with tears in his eyes, replied as follows, and again I quote exactly: 'Fathers of the Senate, having achieved my greatest wish, what more can I ask of the immortal gods, but to retain your unanimous approval to the very end of my days?'

64 His Grandchildren

From the marriage of Julia to Agrippa, Augustus had three grandsons, Gaius Caesar, Lucius Caesar, and Agrippa Postumus, and two grand-daughters Julia the Younger, and Agrippina the Elder.

He married (c.5 BC) Julia the Younger to Lucius Aemilius Paulus, the censor's son, and (between 5 and 1 BC) Agrippina to Germanicus his sister Octavia the Younger's grandson. Gaius and Lucius he adopted into his House (in 17 BC), 'buying' them from Agrippa by means of a token sale, initiating them in public affairs while they were young, and granting them command in the provinces while still only consuls-elect.

He brought up his daughter and grand-daughters strictly, even having them taught spinning and weaving, and forbidding them from doing or saying anything that could not be recorded openly in the imperial day-book. He prevented them from meeting strangers, once writing to Lucius Vinicius, a young man of good family and character: 'You were intemperate in coming to Baiae to see my daughter.'

He taught his grandsons to read and swim, and other skills, for the most part acting as their tutor, and took great pains to have them model their handwriting on his own. Nor would he dine in company without them sitting by him on the lowest couch, or travel unless they rode either side of his carriage or in advance.

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65 Deaths and Scandal

But Fortune deserted him at the very moments when he felt happiest and most confident in his offspring and their upbringing. The two Julias, his daughter and granddaughter, being corrupted by every kind of vice, he banished (in 2 BC and c.AD 8 respectively).

Lucius and Gaius he lost within the space of eighteen months, Lucius dying at Massilia (Marseilles, in AD 2), and Gaius dying in Lycia (in AD 4) leading him to adopt publicly his third grandson Agrippa Postumus, and Tiberius, his stepson, by means of a bill, a *lex curiata*, passed in the Forum by the *comitia curiata*. However Augustus disowned Agrippa Postumus not long after, because of his brutish and insolent manner, and despatched him to Surrentum (Sorrento, c.AD 6).

He was able to come to terms with the death of kin more easily than with their misbehaviour. Though his spirit was not broken by the deaths of Lucius and Gaius, he was so ashamed of his daughter's misconduct that he had the Senate informed of it by a letter, read aloud by a quaestor; refused to see anyone for a long while; and even considered having her put to death. Indeed, when a freedwoman, named Phoebe, who had been in Julia's confidence, hanged herself, at that time, he cried out: 'If only I were Phoebe's father!'

He denied Julia the Elder wine, and luxuries of any kind, in her exile, and no man, whether enslaved or free, was allowed near her without permission, nor without a note being made of his build, complexion, and even any birthmarks or scars on his body. Only five years later was she moved from her prison island (Pandateria) to the mainland (Rhegium) and treated somewhat less harshly. But he could not be persuaded to recall her to Rome, and when the people tried to intercede on her behalf, on several occasions, earnestly promoting her cause in the popular assembly, he called on the gods to curse them with wives and daughters such as her.

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He refused to acknowledge or rear his granddaughter Julia the Younger's child, born after her banishment was imposed. And as Agrippa Postumus not only became daily less tractable, but increasingly unhinged, he was transferred to an island (Planasia) also, and held under armed guard. A Senate decree specified he was to be confined there indefinitely, and every mention of him or the two Julias, made him give a deep sigh and cry out:

'Would I had never married, and childless had died.'

And he never spoke of them except as his 'three tumours' or his 'three running sores'.

68 Accusations of Homosexuality and Effeminacy

As a youth he was reproached with various sexual improprieties. Sextus Pompey taunted him with the charge of effeminacy, while Mark Antony accused him of unnatural relations with Julius Caesar as the price of his adoption; and Lucius Antonius claimed that not only was that accusation true, but also that he had submitted to Aulus Hirtius in Spain, for three thousand gold pieces, and that he used to soften the hairs on his legs by singing them with red-hot walnut shells.

Furthermore, on one occasion in the theatre, the following line, said of a eunuch priest of Cybele striking a tambourine, was loudly applauded, as referring insultingly to Augustus:

'See, how this sodomite's finger rules the orb!'

69 His Adulteries

Not even his friends denied he was given to adulterous behaviour, though they justified it as a matter of policy not passion, claiming he discovered his enemy's intentions through their wives and daughters. Mark Antony accused him not only of marrying Livia with indecent haste (in 38 BC), but of manoeuvring an ex-consul's wife from the dining room to the bedroom before the man's eyes, and returning her blushing and with her hair in disorder. He also claimed

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Augustus divorced Scribonia (in 39 BC) because she showed resentment of a rival's influence over him too openly; and that friends of his pandered to him, stripping wives and young women of their clothes, in the manner of Toranius, the slave-dealer, and inspecting them as though they were up for sale.

Mark Antony also wrote familiarly to Augustus, before his quarrels with him: 'Why the change in you? Because I'm rutting with Cleopatra? She's my 'wife'. After nine years is it news? Do you rut only with Livia? Be hanged if, by the time you read this, you've not had Tertulla or Terentilla, or Rufilla, or Salvia Titisenia, or the whole lot of them together! What matter where or whom you pleasure?'

70 His Other Vices

Then there was a banquet of his, known as the feast of The Twelve Gods, the subject of scandalous gossip. The guests appeared dressed as deities, with Augustus as Apollo, or so Mark Antony says in a spiteful letter, naming the guests, and not forgetting those notorious, anonymous lines:

'As soon as that banquet found its own financier,
Mallia saw six gods, and six goddesses, appear,
Impious Caesar played Apollo's part mendaciously,
Feasting, surrounded by the gods in fresh adultery:
Then the sacred gods turned their eyes away, as one,
And even Jupiter himself forsook his golden throne.'

What made the scandal worse was the famine and hardship gripping the country at that time, and the next day there were people shouting out that the gods had eaten the grain, and that Caesar was Apollo, true, but Apollo the Tormentor, that being one name under which he was worshipped in Rome.

Augustus was reproached too for his love of expensive furniture and Corinthian bronzes, as well as his fondness for gambling. At the time of the proscriptions there was already a line scrawled on his statue:

'Father for silver coins; I for Corinthians.'

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Since it was believed he had men entered on the list of those proscribed for the sake of their Corinthian vases; and later, during the Sicilian campaign, this epigram was current:

‘Beaten once he lost his fleet, then lost his ships again,
Now he plays dice all the while, to see if he can win.’

71 His Reputation

He easily refuted the accusations, or slanderous claims, however we choose to describe them, of homosexuality, by the chaste nature of his life then and later; and of an invidious love of luxury by the fact that at the taking of Alexandria (in 30 BC) he appropriated none of the palace contents himself, apart from a single agate cup, but melted down all the gold articles in everyday use.

The charge of lasciviousness, however, he could not shake off, and even as an elderly man they say he still had a passion for deflowering virgin girls, who were brought to him from every quarter, even by his wife.

He never denied his reputation as a gambler, and diced freely and openly out of enjoyment for the pastime, not only in December, when the festival of Saturnalia condoned it, but on other holidays and working days too. Any doubt is removed by a letter in his handwriting, which reads: ‘I had the same company at dinner, my dear Tiberius, except that Vinicius and the elder Silius joined us. As old men do, we gambled throughout the meal, both yesterday and today. Anyone who threw the Dog (all aces) or six, put a silver piece in the pool, one for each dice, and anyone who threw Venus (all different) scooped the lot.’ And in another letter he writes: ‘We passed the Quinquatria very pleasantly, my dear Tiberius, keeping the gaming-table warm all day long. Your brother Drusus complained endlessly about his bad luck, but was hardly out of pocket at the end, losing heavily but recouping most of it bit by bit. I lost two hundred gold pieces, but only because I was as generous as ever. If I had insisted on what was owed, and kept what was really mine, I’d have won fifty thousand. Still, it’s

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for the best, my generosity will yield eternal glory!' And to his daughter Julia he writes: 'I'm sending you two and a half gold pieces in silver, which is the amount I give my guests in case they want to play dice or 'odd and even' at dinner.'

95 Omens of Imminent Power

On his return from Apollonia (44 BC), after Caesar's assassination, a halo formed around the sun's disc as he entered the City, even though the sky seemed bright and cloudless, and suddenly a lightning-bolt struck the tomb of Caesar's daughter Julia.

And again, as he was taking the auspices in his first consulship, twelve vultures were seen, the same sign that appeared to Romulus, and the livers of the sacrificial victims were doubled inwards at the lower end, an omen that the soothsayers skilled in such things unanimously proclaimed as the sign of a great and fortunate future.

Notes



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