

EMPIRE OF THE ROMANS

FROM JULIUS CAESAR TO JUSTINIAN:
SIX HUNDRED YEARS OF PEACE AND WAR

VOLUME II: SELECT ANTHOLOGY

EDITED BY
JOHN MATTHEWS



WILEY Blackwell

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Preface

This book is an anthology of authors and texts that have attracted my interest over many years of studying and teaching the history of the Roman empire. I am sure that I speak for my colleagues in saying that I have always enjoyed working with the ancient texts, and have most enjoyed the modern literature when it keeps them in view. The Greeks and Romans have much in common with us, including large parts of our linguistic and moral landscape, but they are also different, and an understanding of what peoples and individuals whose languages we can read have in common and what they do not, is an essential part of how we deal with the world, and a good reason to study history. How can people whose words we understand behave so differently? And I have realized all the more strongly as the years have gone by, that however well I seemed to know them, even the most familiar texts have the habit of turning up something I had not noticed before. As for the less familiar, and some that I first engaged with in preparing this anthology, I have been overawed by what was new to me. There is so much that one does not know, and life is the better for that.

I have called the book an anthology, a selection of texts made according to personal taste and judgment, rather than a source-book on the Roman empire, and this is an important distinction. I think of a source-book as a collection of at least the most representative texts necessary to the study of a chosen subject – the family, the activities and status of women, religions and religious practice, the conduct of government, the Roman army and military policy, early Byzantium; even, in a deservedly widely known case, the history of Rome and its civilization in general: I give a selection in the Bibliography at the end of this book. I have appreciated such books, have used them widely and have been grateful to them. They can be extremely informative, both of their subjects and the techniques by which they are studied, but their purpose is different from mine.

The primary material available to historians of the ancient world pales in comparison with what confronts their modern historian colleagues, but there is still a lot of it. A (fairly) recent article tallies 24,782 published papyri from the first to sixth centuries CE with a further 9,448 falling outside that range. The number of extant Greek and Latin inscriptions from the time of the Roman empire falls into the many hundreds of thousands, while the shelves of a well-resourced Classical library will reveal the scale

and variety of the literary and documentary texts, and the sheer volume of archaeological research, that are available to us. Yet the incompleteness of the evidence is obvious. I have often reflected on the extent to which the techniques of the ancient historian seem to have evolved specifically to fill the gaps in the evidence by indirect argument, and by what is called, perhaps with a certain optimism, rational conjecture. There are few ancient texts that do not require this. Much material has been lost, but there remains a lot to read, and selection based on judgment is part of the essence of our subject. As we exercise our judgment, we should bear in mind that, more often than not, the selection has been made for us by earlier readers of the texts, who preserved them or allowed them to disappear without any regard for the reasons why we might want to possess them.

My late, admired senior colleague, Peter Brunt, used to lament in his gloomier moments, that the most the ancient historian could hope to achieve was the flickering illumination of a small, local subject, as if revealed by candles burning here and there in a dark hall, of which the greater part could not be seen. His friends would respond to him, that the topics to which he had devoted his working life were not exactly small or local (and that he had contributed as much as anyone to their understanding), and that things were not as bad as he said. The candles were brighter and shone a steadier light, the cavernous hall of which he spoke was not as dark as all that. Once one's eyes were used to it, one could see its shape and configuration, and the light of a candle might reveal sufficient detail in a part of it to encourage further investigation. In the end, the patches of light might join together and reveal something significant. And after all, one is not in it all by oneself; others are stumbling and have stumbled around as well, and one's predecessors have left records of what they found. No more than Rome itself, was the study of Rome built in a single day. It is not a hopeless task, and people do want to know about it.

In choosing my texts and setting them in order, I have tried to keep faith with the passing of time, the inescapable dimension of history. "A fact is historical," as E.J. Bickerman wrote in the introduction to his book on ancient chronologies, "when it has to be defined not only in space but also in time." In practical terms, readers do like to know where they are, and I have made some attempt to track the main historical changes over this long period – remembering that it covers very close to six hundred years, a period of time that would take the modern reader back to the late Middle Ages. I have tried to balance the languages of the original texts, and different categories of text, as between literary creations and documentary texts in the form of inscriptions and papyri. I have preferred texts that speak in a personal voice, to the second- and third-hand attitudes of the ancient historians and orators. With a very few exceptions, I have included formal historical writings only when the personal experience of the historian stands in the foreground; translations of the Greek and Latin historians of the Roman empire are easily available, and it is no part of my intention to discourage the reading of Tacitus and Ammianus Marcellinus. In making my selections, I have chosen extracts sufficient in length to convey their meaning without an extensive knowledge of context, and I have avoided a close array of very short texts, even though it is through the accumulation of such texts that many issues are studied; our understanding of Roman career patterns, for example, does not come to us ready-made, but through the

patient study of thousands of inscriptions. I have had some very hard choices to make, and have a hoard of texts regretfully omitted almost as long as those that have made their way through the selection process. The successful candidates are grouped in the five main parts into which the companion volume to this is divided and are otherwise numbered continuously to simplify cross-references.

In order to locate my selections in context and to connect them more closely with the historical presentation in Volume One, I have added to each an introduction, annotations on points of interest, and indications of further reading. I hope that these will be accepted as they are intended, for guidance and not in order to bully the reader into taking a particular point of view. This can be a problem with edited anthologies and I have tried to avoid it, but, as every teacher knows, the borderline between saying too little and saying too much can be difficult to negotiate.

The translations are mostly my own, with due recognition of the existing versions I have consulted. In some cases where it did not seem justified or necessary to produce an entirely new translation, I have with permission used existing modern versions, and have also, while respecting their virtues, revised and corrected older versions. The result has perhaps been a greater homogeneity of style than the original texts possessed, but this is an inherent problem with a translated anthology. In dealing with technical language I have accepted terms that are familiar in English, but have retained original forms when they are not, or where they might be misleading. I am happy with *prefect*, *legate*, and *proconsul* but not with translations of late Roman terms such as *duke* (*dux*) or *count* (*comes*), which have acquired all the wrong connotations. I follow a growing convention in using the dating conventions BCE and CE rather than the familiar BC and AD. The numbers are the same, but I prefer the wider reference to the Common Era to the particular value system of the older usage. Ideally I suppose that a book like this should use the Romans' own *ab urbe condita* ("from the foundation of Rome"), but that generates some very irritating arithmetic involving subtractions from a year conventionally (and for all I know correctly) understood as minus 753. It does, however, remind us that no dating system is free of a cultural connotation. The system of dating from the transmitted date of the birth of Christ was devised only in the early sixth century as part of a theological debate on the date of Easter; what is more, it is inaccurate – or if correct, only by chance. A modern textbook may announce that the Peloponnesian War broke out in 431 BC (or BCE), but what Thucydides wrote (*Hist.* 2.2) was that the peace was broken in its fifteenth year, "in the forty-eighth year of the priesthood of Chrysis at Argos, the year when Aenesias was ephor at Sparta, and two months before the end of the archonship of Pythodorus at Athens, six months after the battle at Potidaia, at the beginning of spring," a rather different perspective on the world he is going to describe, and a far better introduction to it.

Of the graduate and undergraduate students who have helped me in my work, sometimes by preparing draft translations, sometimes by criticizing versions of my own, by making observations about texts and discussing them, I thank in particular Alyssa Abraham, Martin Devecka, Jessica McCutcheon, Christopher Simon, and especially Caroline Mann, Amalia Skilton, and Wendy Valteau. The Preface to Volume One acknowledges a collective debt to the many students whom I have come to know at Yale since 1996, and earlier at Oxford University, as a Fellow at different times of Balliol,

Corpus Christi, and the Queen's Colleges. It is in discussing texts back and forth that one learns from them, and one's students are an integral part of this process.

To prepare an anthology like this is to become ever more aware of the contributions of others and of the collaborative nature of the discipline, and I am grateful to the authors and publishers whose works I have cited, for permission to reprint translations held under their copyright. I have tried in all applicable cases to establish the owners of copyright to seek permission to reprint texts under their control, and apologize if inaccurate or incomplete information has resulted in insufficient acknowledgment.

I reserve a special note of thanks to Jeffrey Henderson and Harvard University Press for their encouragement in allowing me to use without restriction translations published in the incomparable series of Loeb translations. I also, in many cases where translations are my own, readily admit the influence of the Loeb versions that I have consulted. As the academic and scholarly community, and readers of Classical texts as a whole will agree, the Loeb Classical Library of Greek and Latin authors is an astonishing achievement, a monument to the sheer range of what is available, ranging far beyond what I have often heard called the traditional canon of literary masterpieces. I once, many years ago as a young researcher, met an elderly, retired tea-planter from India who was engaged in reading for himself the entirety of Pliny's *Natural History* in the classic Loeb translation by H. Rackham and W.H. Stuart Jones. If he succeeded, which I have no reason to doubt, he would know more about the Roman empire than I did myself and, in all probability, still do (the remarkable career and literary production of the elder Pliny are appreciated by his nephew at Chapter 12).

To add to my personal acknowledgments in Volume I, I am grateful to Haze Humbert for her encouragement and support in pursuing this project, and to her colleagues and successors at John Wiley & Sons, Andrew Minton, Ajith Kumar, Kelley Baylis, Sakthivel Kandaswamy, Mary Malin, and Katherine Carr for their scrupulous work in preparing the texts of both Volumes and seeing them through to publication. The work is much better for their care and attention, and I thank them for it.

John Matthews,
New Haven, Connecticut,
June, 2020

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Part I

Building an Empire

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Contests of the Powerfulⁱ

Appian: *Civil War*

It is disconcerting that our most detailed account of the traumatic final years of the Roman Republic is that of a provincial Greek who lived contentedly under the benign Roman rule of the second century. All that is firmly known about Appian is that he came from Egyptian Alexandria, where he was, in his own words, one of the leading men of his homeland, and pleaded cases in Rome before the emperors, who judged him worthy to be their procurator, or estate manager. This position was almost certainly an honorary rank, confirming nevertheless the equestrian rank of its recipient. He was also a correspondent of the orator and friend of emperors, Cornelius Fronto; that is to say, he is typical of the leading citizens of Greek cities of the early empire who are found prospering at Rome with upper-class connections, and lived happily under Roman rule. Despite its four volumes in the Loeb edition, Appian's *Roman History* does not survive complete, but one section of particular interest is his narrative of the last generations of the Roman Republic, from the time of the Gracchi to the death of Sextus Pompeius in 35 BCE; its opening paragraphs are used here to introduce the political character of the last decades of the Republic, from which the Principate of Augustus in due course emerged. Appian's survey is competent and clear rather than incisive, but it is generally well informed and introduces the idea of the "dynasties" (*dunasteiai*) and their leaders, the men of power, from Marius to Mark Antony, who based their position on their armies rather than on constitutional endorsement. Octavian, the last and greatest of the dynasts, was able by skill and good fortune to transform his regime of power into one with at least the appearance, and some would say the reality, of constitutional propriety. Appian would probably have joined the ranks of those provincials who, according to Tacitus, welcomed the rule of one man, having lost faith in government by the senate and people because of the contentions of the powerful and the avarice of magistrates, while the laws were of no use to them because of corruption and bribery (*Annals* 1.3).

ⁱ Source: H. White, *The Histories of Appian*. Loeb Classical Library, 1913.

The translation is adapted with minor revisions from the Loeb edition of H. White (1912–3, repr.). See especially Ronald Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (1939), p. 324 and *passim*; A. M. Gowing, *The Triumviral Narratives of Appian and Cassius Dio* (1992); Edward Champlin, *Fronto and Antonine Rome* (1980), pp. 98–100; and Simon Swain, *Hellenism and Empire: Language, Classicism, and Power in the Greek World, AD 50–250* (1996), pp. 248–53.

The people and senate of Rome were in the early days often at strife with each other concerning the enactment of laws, the cancelling of debts, the division of lands, or the election of magistrates. Internal discord did not, however, bring them to blows; there were dissensions merely and contests within the limits of the law, which they composed by making mutual concessions, and with much respect for each other. Once when the people were entering on a campaign they fell into a controversy of this sort, but they did not use the weapons in their hands, instead withdrawing to the hill, which from that time on was called the Sacred Mount.¹ Even then no violence was done, but they created a magistrate for their protection and called him the Tribune of the People, to serve especially as a check upon the consuls, who were chosen by the senate, so that political power should not be exclusively in their hands. From this arose still greater bitterness, the magistrates were arrayed in stronger animosity to each other from this time on, and the senate and people took sides with them, each believing that it would prevail over the other by asserting the power of its own magistrates.

It was in the midst of contests of this kind that Marcius Coriolanus, banished contrary to justice, took refuge with the Volsci and levied war against his country. However, this is the only case of armed strife that can be found in the ancient seditions, and it was caused by a deserter from his country. The sword was never carried into the assembly, and there was no civil butchery until Tiberius Gracchus, while serving as tribune and bringing forward new laws, was the first to fall a victim to internal commotion; and with him many others, who were crowded together at the Capitol round the temple, were also slain. Sedition did not end with this act of sacrilege. Repeatedly the parties came into open conflict, often carrying daggers; and from time to time in the temples, or the assemblies, or the forum, some tribune, or praetor, or consul, or candidate for those offices, or some person otherwise distinguished, would be slain. Uncontrolled violence prevailed almost constantly, together with shameful contempt for law and justice. As the evil grew to serious proportions, open insurrections against the government and violent military campaigns against their country were undertaken by exiles, or criminals, or persons contending against each other for some office or military command. There frequently arose powerful dynasties (*dunasteiai*),² their leaders aspiring to monarchical power, some of them refusing to disband the troops entrusted to them by the people, others even hiring forces against each other on their own account, without public authority. Whenever either side first got possession of the city, the opposition party made war nominally against their own adversaries, but actually against their country. They assailed it as if in a foreign war, and ruthless and indiscriminate massacres of citizens were perpetrated. Some were marked down for death, others banished, property was confiscated, and prisoners were subjected to excruciating tortures.

No unseemly deed was left undone until, about fifty years after the death of Gracchus, Cornelius Sulla, one of these faction leaders, treating one evil with another, made himself the sole master of the state for an extended period of time. Such officials were formerly called dictators – an office created in the most perilous emergencies for six

months only, and long since fallen into disuse. But Sulla, although nominally elected, became dictator for life by force and compulsion. Nevertheless he became satiated with supreme power (*dunasteia*), and as far as I know was the first man to hold such a position and have the confidence to lay it down voluntarily and to declare that he would render an account of his stewardship to any who were dissatisfied with it. And so, for a considerable period, he walked to the forum as a private citizen in the sight of all and returned home unmolested, so great was the awe of his government still remaining in the minds of the onlookers, or their amazement at his laying it down. Perhaps they were ashamed to call him to account, or entertained other good feelings toward him, or a belief that his despotism had been beneficial to the state.

Thus there was a cessation of factions for a short time while Sulla lived, and a compensation for the evils he had wrought, but after his death similar troubles broke out and continued until Gaius Caesar, who had held the command in Gaul by election for some years, when ordered by the senate to lay down his command, excused himself on the ground that this was not the wish of the senate, but of Pompey, his enemy, who had command of an army in Italy, and was scheming to depose him. So he sent proposals that either both should retain their armies, so that neither need fear the other's enmity, or that Pompey also should dismiss his forces and, together with himself, live as a private citizen under the laws. Both suggestions being refused, he marched from Gaul against Pompey into Roman territory, entered Rome, and finding Pompey fled, pursued him into Thessaly, won a brilliant victory over him in a great battle, and followed him to Egypt. After Pompey had been slain by certain Egyptians, Caesar set to work on Egyptian affairs and remained there until he could settle the dynasty of that country. Then he returned to Rome. Having overpowered by war his principal rival, who had been surnamed the Great on account of his brilliant military exploits, he now ruled without disguise, nobody daring any longer to dispute with him about anything, and was chosen, next after Sulla, dictator for life. Again all civil dissensions ceased until Brutus and Cassius, envious of his great power and desiring to restore the government of their fathers, slew in the senate house one who had proved himself truly popular, and most experienced in the art of government. The people certainly mourned for him greatly. They scoured the city in pursuit of his murderers, buried him in the middle of the forum, built a temple on the site of his funeral pyre, and offered sacrifice to him as a god.

And now civil discord broke out again worse than ever and increased enormously. Massacres, banishments, and proscriptions ensued of both senators and those called knights,³ including great numbers of both classes, the faction leaders surrendering their enemies to each other, and for this purpose not sparing even their friends and brothers; so much did animosity toward rivals overpower the love of kindred. So in the course of events the Roman empire was partitioned, as though it had been their private property, by these three men: Antony, Lepidus, and the one whose original name was Octavius, but who changed it to Caesar from his relationship to the other Caesar and adoption in his will.⁴ Shortly after this division they fell to quarrelling among themselves, as was natural, and Caesar, who was the superior in understanding and skill, first deprived Lepidus of Africa, which had fallen to his lot, and afterward, as the result of the battle of Actium, took from Antony all the provinces lying between Syria and the Ionian gulf.⁵ Thereupon, with all the world filled with astonishment at these wonderful displays of power, he sailed to Egypt and took that country, the oldest and at that time the strongest possession of the successors of Alexander, and the only one wanting to complete the Roman empire

as it now stands.⁶ In immediate consequence of these exploits he was, while still living, the first to be regarded by the Romans as “august,” and to be called by them “Augustus.” He assumed to himself an authority like Caesar’s over his own country and the subject nations, and even greater than Caesar’s, no longer needing any form of election, or authorization, or even the pretence of it. His government proved both lasting and masterful, and being himself successful in all things and dreaded by all, he left a lineage and succession that held the supreme power in like manner after him.

Thus, out of multifarious civil commotions, the Roman state passed into harmony and monarchy.⁷ To show how these things came about I have written and compiled this narrative, which is well worth the study of those who wish to know the measureless ambition of men, their dreadful lust of power, their unwearying perseverance, and the countless forms of evil. And it is especially necessary for me to describe these things beforehand since they are the preliminaries of my Egyptian history, and will end where that begins, for Egypt was seized in consequence of this last civil commotion, Cleopatra having joined forces with Antony.⁸

On account of its magnitude I have divided the work, at this point taking up the events that occurred from the time of Sempronius Gracchus to that of Cornelius Sulla; and after this, those that followed to the death of Caesar. The remaining books of the civil wars treat of those waged by the triumvirs against each other and the Roman people, up to the final and greatest exploit of these conflicts, the battle of Actium fought by Octavius Caesar against Antony and Cleopatra together, which will be the beginning of the Egyptian history.

Notes

- 1 The so-called “Secession of the People,” traditionally dated 494 BCE and resulting in the formation of a people’s assembly, the *concilium plebis*, and the establishment of a “people’s magistrate,” the *tribunus plebis*; T. J. Cornell, *The Beginnings of Rome: Italy and Rome from the Bronze Age to the Punic Wars (c. 1000–264 BC)* (1995), pp. 256–62. The “Sacred Mount” is the Aventine.
- 2 This is where Appian brings in the term *dunasteia*, not recognized in the Loeb translation. Half a century later, Cassius Dio (52.1.1) summarizes the political experience of the Romans through the kingship, the Republic (*dēmokratia*) and the *dunasteiai*, where the Loeb “dominion of a few” again misses the nuance of the word.
- 3 In Greek *hippeis*, *equites* in Latin; the property class below senators but, unlike senators, not involved in politics and the competition for public office.
- 4 The legal situation is that Caesar named G. Octavius (his grand-nephew) his heir in his will, on condition that Octavius accept Caesar’s name; hence he becomes known as G. Julius Caesar, with the cognomen Octavianus to preserve his own family name. Octavian would also have the obligation to carry out Caesar’s wishes as expressed in the will. It goes without saying that he could not inherit any of Caesar’s public powers or titles.
- 5 The Adriatic Sea.
- 6 A remark so careless that one wonders if it was what Appian intended to say. It is oblivious of those large parts of imperial territories not yet incorporated or still ruled by nominally independent client kings, not to mention Britain, Dacia, Arabia and other provinces acquired by Augustus’ successors.
- 7 Without the irony that Tacitus gave to it in similar passages (for example *Annals* 1.9). In the words of Ronald Syme, “Liberty or stable government: that was the choice facing the Romans” (*The Roman Revolution*, p. viii).
- 8 The loss of this section is particularly unfortunate (it would have followed the existing Book IV of the *Civil Wars*); writing of his homeland’s involvement in the wars would have engaged his particular interest.

A Roman Senator Mourns His Wifeⁱ

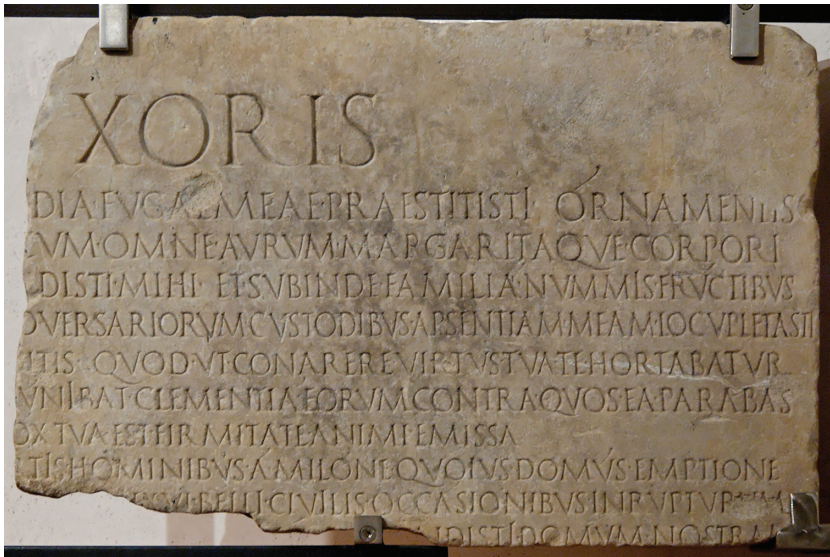
“Laudatio Turiae” (inscr., Rome)

The beautifully engraved inscription of Augustan date known to us as “Laudatio Turiae” preserves the major part of a funeral oration addressed by a senator to his wife at her burial ceremony in a now unknown location. It survives, with the loss of about a third of the text, in seven fragments of assorted sizes, discovered at various times and in various circumstances between the eighteenth and mid-twentieth centuries, and in transcriptions of now lost pieces. Its reconstruction is something of a triumph of scholarship. When intact, the inscription consisted of two panels, each with a column of writing, almost eight feet in height and measuring nearly three feet in width, with a monumental heading over both the columns. The fragment illustrated in Figure 2.1 (Fragment F) stood at the top right hand corner of the second, with a heading in larger letters spanning both panels and concluding with the incomplete word “[... V]XORIS,” “of my wife.” In letters of regular size it then continues the story translated here, beginning “[Amplissima subsi]dia fugae meae praestitisti,” “You gave me [plentiful suppo]rt for my escape,” etc.

The text acquired its name from Appian’s story of Turia who saved her husband in the proscriptions of the triumviral period, one of a lengthy dossier of anecdotes about individuals who escaped the proscriptions, often with the heroic assistance of their wives and slaves.¹ In Appian’s account the husband’s name was Lucretius, identified as Q. Lucretius Vespillo, consul in 19 BCE. There is, however, nothing in the *Laudatio* to suggest that the speaker was this person, and there are many arguments against it. The hardships suffered by Q. Lucretius Vespillo belong to the proscriptions of the triumviral period, while the present speaker’s absence in Macedonia and his wife’s support for him, referred to in the opening lines of the text and later, was as a supporter of Pompey, who withdrew to Thessaly upon Julius Caesar’s occupation of Italy in 49 BCE. Although he was indeed involved in the proscriptions, the part of the text in which he may have

ⁱ Source: Josiah Osgood, from *Turia: A Roman Woman’s Civil War*. Oxford University Press, 2014. Reprinted by permission of Oxford University Press.

Figure 2.1 “Turia” inscription, Fragment F. Museo Nazionale Romano (Museo delle Terme di Diocleziano), Rome.



dealt with this is not extant on the stone; all that we read about there is his wife's intervention with Octavian, which secured an edict authorizing his return, and her subsequent confrontation with Lepidus.

If Appian's is not the story told in the *Laudatio*, it follows that the husband and wife in this text are anonymous. The only name preserved in it is that of the wife's brother-in-law Cluvius, a name well attested in the senatorial class but too undistinctive to allow inferences about the identity of the characters in this drama – for this is undoubtedly what it is. Right from the stunningly violent opening lines of the text as it survives, the *Laudatio* is a vivid illustration of what it was like to live in such dangerous times, and a genuinely affecting monument to marital piety. Not only did the wife defend her husband against the threat of proscription, resist legal claims made against their joint inheritance, intervene with Octavian and accept insults from Lepidus, but she offered to divorce him when their childlessness fell foul of the family values promoted by the Augustan moral revival. Otherwise the text speaks persuasively of the benefits of the Augustan peace.

As to the chronological framework, if the speaker, enjoying Caesar's clemency, returned to Italy in 47 BCE (the year after the battle of Pharsalus) and his marriage took place at once, the wife's death after 40 years of marriage and the delivery of the oration were in 7 BCE. The age difference between the couple, not necessarily very large, was nevertheless wide enough for the husband to mention it. It would fit his remarks if he was born around 80 BCE and in his early thirties married a woman of twenty, the marriage being delayed because of the civil war. In that case, she would have been around sixty at the time of her death, and the speaker in his early seventies.

Strongly recommended as a counterpart of the *Laudatio* for its evocation of the political and moral atmosphere of the triumviral period is the *Life of Atticus* by the late

Republican biographer and essayist Cornelius Nepos (c. 110–24 BCE). Titus Pomponius Atticus, “knight, neutral, banker, fixer, survivor, and also a scholar of exceptional care and accuracy,” in Nicholas Horsfall’s words, not to mention friend, correspondent and literary agent of Cicero, is an emblematic figure of the later Roman Republic. His *Life*, written by a contemporary who knew him well, gives as vivid a picture as one could easily imagine of that troubled period. Though described by Nepos as of ancient Roman family and an “optimate” in his sympathies (that is, no friend of the Caesarians), Atticus kept to his equestrian status, avoided public office and the enmities of the powerful, put everyone in his debt, and died in his bed (on March 31, 32 BCE). As one reads of Atticus’ relations with the dynasts of the period, from Sulla to Mark Antony, one can see the usefulness of a wealthy non-aligned Roman, adept both at avoiding enmities and assisting others to repair them. For translation and commentary see Nicholas Horsfall, *Cornelius Nepos: a selection, including the Lives of Cato and Atticus* (1989), and the Loeb translation by J. C. Rolfe (1929; new ed., 1984 and reprinted); for background and context S. R. Stem, *The Political Biographies of Cornelius Nepos* (2012); D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *Cicero* (1972); Elizabeth Rawson, *Intellectual Life in the Late Roman Republic* (1985).

The text of the *Laudatio*, published as CIL 6.1527 + 31670 and from that source in Dessau’s ILS 8393, was the subject of studies by M. Durry, *Éloge funèbre d’une matrone romane (éloge dit de Turia)* (1950) and E. Wistrand, *The So-Called Laudatio Turiae* (1976). The most recent and comprehensive edition is by D. Flach, *Die sogenannte Laudatio Turiae: Einleitung, Übersetzung und Kommentar* (1991), whose text is reprinted in the updated CIL (6.41062). The translation, which I use with the kind permission of its author and of Stefan Vranka of Oxford University Press, New York, is from Josiah Osgood’s *Turia: A Roman Woman’s Civil War* (2014), a most evocative book, which gives full recognition to previous studies, including a fine article by Nicholas Horsfall, “Some Problems in the ‘Laudatio Turiae’”, *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 30 (1983), pp. 85–98; see too D. C. Braund, *From Augustus to Nero: a Sourcebook on Roman History, 31 BC–AD 68* (1985), pp. 267–71, Jane F. Gardner and Thomas Wiedemann, *The Roman Household: A Sourcebook* (1991), pp. 48–52, and M. G. K. Cooley, *The Age of Augustus* (2003), pp. 384–8.

COLUMN 1

[Several lines missing]

[...] You were orphaned suddenly before the day of our wedding when both of your parents were killed together in the solitude of the countryside. It was mainly through your efforts that the death of your parents did not go unavenged: I had gone to Macedonia, and the husband of your sister, Cluvius, to Africa. You insistently demanded punishment and you got it, so strenuously performing your familial duty that even if we had been present, we could not have done anything more.² But this accomplishment you have in common with that most irreproachable woman, your sister. While you were occupied with this, you did not leave your father’s house because you were guarding it. But after you did obtain punishment of the guilty, you immediately went to the house of my mother, where you awaited my homecoming.

Then there was an attempt to make both you and your sister recognize that the will, in which we were heirs, was broken, because of the *coemptio* your father made with his

wife.³ In consequence (it was said), you along with your father's entire estate automatically would revert to the guardianship of those who were pursuing this matter; your sister would be cut out of the inheritance altogether, because she had come under the *manus* of Cluvius. With what resolution you dealt with all this, with what presence of mind you resisted, I know full well, even though I was then away.

You defended our shared position by stating the facts: the will had not been broken, with the result that each of us should hold onto our inheritance rather than having you alone take possession of the whole estate. It was your firm intention to uphold the acts of your father, so much so that even if you did not win your case, you insisted that you would share the inheritance with your sister; nor would you enter into the situation of agnatic guardianship, of which there was no claim against you in law, since for your family no clan could be regarded as having the right to compel you to do this; even if the will of your father had been broken, those who were bringing action had no such right, since they were not members of the same clan. They gave way to your steadfastness and did not pursue the matter further. In having achieved this, you completed the defense that you had undertaken, all on your own, of respect for your father, devotion to your sister, and loyalty to us.

Rare are marriages as long as ours – marriages ended by death, not cut short by divorce. It was granted to us that ours lasted into its forty-first year without any wrongdoing. I wish that our long-enduring union had been altered by something happening to me, not you; it would have been more just for the elder partner to yield to fate.

Why should I mention the virtues of your private life: your sexual morality, your obedience, your considerateness, your reasonableness; your attentive weaving, your religious devotion free of superstition, your unassuming appearance and sober attire? Why should I talk about your love and devotion to family? You took care of my mother as well as you did your own parents and saw to her security as you did for your own people, and you have countless other things in common with all married women who keep up a good reputation. The qualities that I assert you have belong to you alone; very few other women have lived in times similar enough so as to endure such things and perform such deeds as Fortune has taken care to make rare for women.⁴

Through careful management together we kept intact all of your fortune, as it was handed down from your parents; there was no effort on your part to acquire what you handed over in its entirety to me. We shared the duties in such a way that I stood as protector of your fortune, while you kept a watch over mine. On this point there are many things I will leave out so as not to associate with myself what is uniquely your own. Let it suffice for me to have said this about your feelings.

You extended your generosity to very many friends, and especially to the family you are devoted to. Although someone might mention with praise other women on the same grounds, your only equal has been your sister. It was you and she who brought up with us in our houses your kinswomen who deserved such help. So that these same women could achieve a match worthy of your family, you provided them dowries. Gaius Cluvius and I mutually consented to take upon ourselves the amounts you settled on; we approved of your generosity, and so that you would not deprive yourselves of your own property, we substituted our own wealth for yours, and turned over to the dowries some lands of ours. I do not speak of this to brag about ourselves, but to make clear that we considered it an honor to fulfill with our resources those plans of yours, made with devotion and generosity.

I must skip over a number of your other kindnesses [...]

[*Some lines missing*]

COLUMN 2

You gave me plentiful support for my escape.⁵ You provided me with your jewelry, when you tore off your body all your gold and the pearls and handed them over to me. Then you enriched me, while I was away from Rome, with slaves, money, and supplies, cleverly deceiving the enemy guards. You begged for my life while I was away, something your courage kept urging you to try. The clemency of those against whom you produced your words was won over and shielded me. Yet what you said was spoken with strength.

Meanwhile, a gang of the men gathered by Milo, whose house I had acquired through purchase when he was in exile, was going to take advantage of the opportunities offered by civil war, force their way in, and loot everything.⁶ Bravely you drove them back and defended our house [...]

[About twelve lines missing]

... that I was restored to my country by him; for if you had not, in looking out for my survival, produced something for him to save, his pledge of support would have been to no avail. Thus no less to your devotion than to Caesar do I owe my existence.⁷

Why should I now divulge our private and hidden plans and our secret conversations? How I was saved by your plans when I was provoked by unexpected news to court immediate and present danger; how you did not allow me to tempt fate in a rash away; how you made me think more calmly and prepared a secure hiding place for me; how you made your sister and her husband, Gaius Cluvius, partners in your plans to save me, at a risk shared between all of you: it would be an endless task, if I tried to touch on all this. It is enough for you and me that I was safely in hiding.

Nevertheless I have to say that the most distressing thing to happen to me in life was what happened to you. Thanks to the favorable decision of Caesar Augustus, then away from Rome, I was restored as a citizen of our country. You then confronted his colleague Marcus Lepidus, who was in charge in Rome, about my reinstatement. Prostrate on the ground before his feet, not only were you lifted up, you were also dragged and carried off like a slave. Your body was covered with bruises, but most strenuously you kept reminding him about Caesar's edict with its rejoicing over my restoration, and although you had to endure Lepidus' insulting words and cruel wounds, you kept on putting forward your case in the open so that the person responsible for my trials would be publicly disgraced. It was not long before his behavior brought him to harm.⁸ What could have more been effective than this courage of yours, to offer Caesar an opportunity for clemency and, while preserving my life, to brand the ruthless cruelty of Lepidus through your own exceptional willingness to endure hardship.

But why say more? I will spare my remarks, which ought to be and can be short. I do not wish, in treating your very great exploits, to go through them unworthily. In recognition of the greatness of all the good deeds you did on my behalf, I shall display to the eyes of all an inscription that tells how you saved my life.

War came to an end throughout the world, the republic was restored, and we were granted a period of prosperity and peace.⁹ We did, it is true, desire children, whom for some time circumstances refused us. If Fortune had allowed herself to proceed with her customary regard for us, what would either of us have lacked? But proceeding otherwise, she began to put an end to our hopes. What you planned because of this and what you attempted! Perhaps in some other women this would be remarkable and worth commemorating, but in you it is nothing at all to marvel at, compared to the rest of your virtues, and I pass over it.

You were despairing of your fertility and pained over my childlessness.¹⁰ So that I would not, by keeping you in marriage, have to put aside any hope of having children and become unhappy on that account, you mentioned the word “divorce.” You would, you said, turn our house over to another woman’s fertility, but your plan was that in keeping with our well-known marital harmony, you would find and arrange a suitable match worthy of me; you insisted that you would regard the children born as shared, and as though your own; nor would you require a separation of our property, which up until then we had shared, but it would still remain in my control and, if I wished, under your management; you would hold nothing apart, nothing separate, and you would henceforward fulfill the duties and devotion of a sister or mother-in-law.

I must say that I became so enraged that I lost my mind; I was so horrified at your designs that it was very hard to regain my composure. To plan for a divorce between us before Fate gave its decree to us – for you to be able in any way to conceive the thought that you would cease to be my wife, while I was still alive, when you had remained utterly faithful to me, at the time I was exiled and practically dead! What desire or need to have children could have been so great for me, that I could have broken faith, and traded certainty for uncertainty? But why say more? You remained with me my wife; I could never have assented to your proposal without bringing great shame upon me and unhappiness on both of us. But what is more worthy of commemoration on your part than this? Looking after me, you devoted yourself, when I could not have children from you, to have them nevertheless through your efforts. Your goal, since you despaired of own ability to bear children, was by marriage with another woman to furnish me her fertility.

I wish that each of our lifespans had allowed our marriage to continue until I, the older spouse, had been carried off – which would have been more just – leaving you to perform last rites for me; I would have left you as my survivor, a substitute daughter for me in my childlessness. Fate decreed that you should precede me. You consigned me to grief through longing for you, and you left no children to comfort me in my misery. But I for my part will steer my feelings to your views and follow your directions. Let all of your opinions and precepts yield to your praises, which may be a comfort for me so that I do not long too much for what has been consecrated to immortality for eternal commemoration.

The fruits of your life will remain available to me. With the thought of your glory presenting itself, I shall strengthen my resolve; instructed by your deeds, I shall stand up to Fortune, who has not snatched everything away from me. She has allowed your memory to become established with my words of praise. But all of that tranquility that I had I have lost along with you. When I think of how you foresaw and warded off all of the dangers that befell me, I am shattered in misfortune and I cannot abide by my promise.¹¹ A natural sorrow snatches away my power of self-control. I am overwhelmed by sadness and cannot stand firm either against the grief or the fear that anguish me. Going back over my earlier troubles and fearing what the future may bring, I break down. Deprived of such great defenses as I have just described, contemplating your glory, I seem now not so much capable of enduring these things. Rather I seem kept alive for longing and grief.

The conclusion of this speech will be that you deserved everything but it was not granted to me to give everything to you. I have treated your final wishes as law; whatever further it is free for me to do, I shall.

I pray that your *di manes* grant you peace and protection.

Notes

- 1 *Civil War* 4.37–51. This story is at 4.44, and there is also a version at Valerius Maximus' *Memorable Deeds and Sayings* 6.7.2.
- 2 That "Turia" was able to vindicate her parents' murder indicates that its perpetrators were known; it was not an act of random violence. Who they were we do not know; suspicion hangs heavily over those who later challenged the father's will (Osgood, pp. 21–2). No doubt the vindication was secured over those who executed the murder rather than those who planned it.
- 3 "Turia" was orphaned by the simultaneous death of her parents. A legal attempt was then made to argue that the parents' marriage had been of such a type as to leave the entire property to her, her sister being excluded by her marriage to Cluvius. With her father's will invalidated, the property would lapse by intestacy to "Turia" herself, in effect to the guardianship of those who challenged the will, but "Turia" was able to carry the argument that the challengers had no right of legal guardianship. The claim was settled without coming to court.
- 4 It is surprising and a little disappointing to find this conventional appraisal of the virtues of a Roman wife amid the achievements of a courageous and very independent young woman. The speaker does seem to sense the incongruity.
- 5 With a connection of thought that is not preserved on the stone, the speaker reverts to his departure with the Pompeians to Thessaly. This is a different absence from that caused by the proscriptions.
- 6 T. Annius Milo, exiled after his murder of Clodius in 52 BCE, returned to Italy in 49 and formed his own band of *condottieri*, ravaging the Campanian countryside until he was killed. In an interesting act of opportunism, the speaker had bought Milo's house during his exile. At the time described the speaker is still in Thessaly with the supporters of Pompeius. His restoration as a result of Caesar's clemency was no doubt mentioned in the missing lines of the inscription, when he also explained his (second) absence from Rome during the triumviral proscriptions.
- 7 The speaker is explaining how he was given back his citizen rights and allowed to return by Octavian Caesar, by an edict that was challenged by the triumvir Lepidus in the circumstances to be described. In the meantime his wife and her sister and brother-in-law G. Cluvius encouraged him to be cautious and stay in hiding even after he had received the "unexpected news" of his restoration.
- 8 Lepidus was outmaneuvered by Octavian and removed from the triumvirate after the battle of Naulochus in 36.
- 9 Echoing the Augustan language of Vitruvius and the *Res Gestae* (see below, Chapter 5).
- 10 The speaker does not make clear the timing of this phase in his marriage. If their marriage was around 47 BCE and lasted 40 years, there is enough time for the context to be the moral atmosphere attending the Julian Laws and Horace's *Carmen Saeculare* of 18–17 BCE (see below, Chapter 6.3). The wife might well by then have given up on her own fertility while feeling that her husband might have children by a younger woman.
- 11 Sc. to strengthen his resolve.

An Architect's Professionⁱ

Vitruvius: *On Architecture*, Preface

Vitruvius' ten books *On Architecture* are one of the most important products of Classical literature to have come down to later ages. It was a work of immense importance in the theory and practice of Renaissance architecture. In his own age Vitruvius is referred to by Frontinus, in his work *On Aqueducts* and, without being named, was extensively used in Pliny's *Natural History*. From the preface to his work, it appears that he was a supporter of Julius Caesar, upon whose death he transferred his allegiance to Octavian and, with others whom he names, was put in charge of artillery and siege machinery. His expertise was no doubt useful in the sieges and other engagements of the civil wars (one might think of him at the siege of Mutina), and his work seems to have been written in the earliest phase of the Principate of Augustus, from whom, and with the support of whose sister, he gained financial security. He is known from a reference in *De Architectura* 5, on civil buildings, to have built a basilica at Fanum Fortunae in Umbria, which makes one wonder whether, like many Caesarian and Augustan supporters, he came from central Italy.

The work covers all aspects of the subject from town planning, water supplies and the ideal proportions of buildings to the use of bricks and other materials (where his distrust of concrete gives his work a rather old-fashioned look), and is remarkable for the breadth of its notion of architecture as incorporating the full range of arts and sciences both practical and theoretical, and for its conception of the unity of the worlds of nature and mechanical devices. It is because of the laws of nature that machinery works as it does, and through an understanding of climate that properly designed building contributes to the physical and psychological well-being of humans.

De Architectura is a mine of information on ancient science and technology, and an important source for the thought of Greek and Hellenistic scientists such as Democritus and Archimedes (it is from Vitruvius that we hear the story of Archimedes' discovery

ⁱ Translation by the author. © John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

of the physics of displacement while sitting in his bath-tub). Its sources are of mixed origin, Greek rather than Roman, and are sometimes put to unexpected uses, for example in applying the theoretical geometry of Plato to the art of the surveyor. Vitruvius has a clear and still valuable conception of the importance of a general education in providing unifying principles to technical learning of a more specialized nature. The deferential language with which he addresses Augustus should not be dismissed too hastily as time-serving flattery; Vitruvius is not writing as a politician (he was a man of equestrian, not senatorial rank) but as an artist to his patron, making a pitch for the principles of his art to someone who might be expected to share them.

Vitruvius has not attracted his share of scholarly attention; the most-used translations, by M. H. Morgan (Cambridge, MA, 1914, rev. ed., 1960), and F. Granger's Loeb edition (2 vols., 1931–4), are showing their age, while the four-volume Budé edition, by A. Choisy, is of 1909. Among general studies there is H. Plommer, *Vitruvius and Later Roman Building Manuals* (1973), and what can be found in general handbooks, for instance D. S. Robertson, *A Handbook of Greek and Roman Architecture* (2nd ed., 1945, repr. 1969); William L. MacDonald, *The Architecture of the Roman Empire*, Vol. 1: *An Introductory Survey* (1965, repr. 1982), and esp. Thomas Blagg, "Architecture", in Martin Henig (ed.), *A Handbook of Roman Art* (1983), Chapter 2.

When your divinely inspired mind and genius,¹ Emperor Caesar, were gaining mastery over the entire world, and the citizens of Rome, their enemies laid low by your unconquered valour, were glorying in your triumphant victory; while all the nations brought under the yoke were looking to your word of command, and the Roman people and senate, freed from fear, were guided by your magnificent ideas and counsel, I did not, in the midst of such preoccupations, venture to publish writings on architecture accumulated from my long reflections on the subject, fearing that I might intervene at an inopportune time and become an object of your displeasure.

But I observed that you were concerned not only with the public welfare of all and with the setting in order of the republic,² but also with the opportunities offered by public buildings, in order that under your direction not only might the state be increased by new provinces, but also that the majesty of empire might have a supreme and authoritative expression in its public buildings. When I noticed this concern of yours, I thought that I should not let pass the opportunity at the first possible occasion to produce for you my writings on these matters, especially since this was how I had first become known to your father, devoted as I was to his incomparable qualities. When, however, the council of the gods enrolled him in the mansions of immortality and transferred his power to your hands, that same devotion that lives on in my memory was offered in support to you. And so it was, that with Marcus Aurelius and Publius Minidius and Gnaeus Cornelius I was put in charge of providing and restoring the ballistae, scorpions and the other military machines, and together with these men I gained advancement and rewards, which, ever since that time when you first granted me recognition, you have maintained through the recommendation of your sister.³

After this, since I became indebted to you through this gift, to the point that I need have no fear of want as long as I live, I began to write these treatises for you, noticing that you have been much involved in building and are so now, and that in the future also you will be concerned with both private and public buildings, that they might be passed to posterity as memorials to the greatness of your deeds. I have written specific and definite rules, so that in referring to them you would be able to know for yourself, both what sort

of projects have been completed in the past and what may be done in the future. In brief, I have set out in these books⁴ a complete account of the principles of the discipline of architecture.

The architect's science is graced by many disciplines and various kinds of learning, which are brought to perfection in this and the other arts. Its practice is the offspring of craft (*fabrica*) and theory (*ratiocinatio*). Craft is the continuous, sustained practical experience that is accomplished by the hands from whatever sort of material is necessary to accomplish the proposed design. Theory is that which is able to show and to explain what has been made through the proper relationship of skill and judgment. Architects who rush on without study to be proficient with their hands cannot achieve an authority proportionate to their labors; while on the other hand, those who have confined themselves to theories and study alone, would seem to pursue a shadow rather than the real thing. But those who have thoroughly learned both, in order to be fully equipped for the task, quickly and with authority accomplish the task that is set before them.

Both in general terms, and especially in architecture, two things are involved: that which is signified, and that which signifies. That which is signified is the subject about which we propose to speak; that which signifies is the exposition of it, made clear by scientific reasoning. It seems clear that a man who would declare himself an architect ought to be proficient in both parts. He must be both naturally talented and amenable to instruction, for neither can talent without instruction, nor can instruction without talent produce a perfect craftsman. The architect should be educated in letters, experienced in drawing and well versed in geometry, he should know many sorts of history, he should apply himself to the study of philosophy. He should know music, be not ignorant of medicine, know the responses of jurisconsults, be familiar with astronomy and theories about the heavens.

I will explain the reasons why this should be so. It is necessary for the architect to know letters, so as to be able to make a durable record in commentaries. He must have knowledge of drawing, in order to have the skill to help him show the intended appearance of his work by colored illustrations. Geometry offers to architecture a variety of benefits, in the first instance teaching the use of rule and compass, from which especially the descriptions of buildings on their site are facilitated, with the help also of set-squares, surveyors' levels, and plumb-lines. Similarly, through optics the light from particular parts of the sky is correctly brought into buildings. Through arithmetic the costs of buildings are reckoned up, the methods of measurement explained, and difficult issues of symmetry resolved through the theories and methods of geometry.

[Vitruvius goes on to assert the architect's need to know history, philosophy, musical harmony, medicine, law and astronomy, before returning to the integration of these elements in the art as a whole. The architect should not expect to be a professional expert in all these fields, but should understand their underlying connections and be able to apply them in his work].

Pythius, the famous architect of the temple of Minerva at Priene,⁵ was clearly mistaken in saying in his commentaries, that the architect should be able to achieve more in all the arts and sciences than those who lead their individual fields to their greatest distinction. He failed to acknowledge that individual arts are composed of two things: the work itself, and the theory of it. Of these, the former properly belongs to those who are experienced in the individual subjects, that is, accomplished in the work. The latter, that is the theory, is common to all learned men – to doctors and musicians, for example, in the rhythm of the pulse and the movement of the feet. But if there is a wound to be healed or a sick man

to be saved from danger, the musician will not come; this work belongs to the doctor. So too, it is not a doctor but a musician who will play an instrument, so that the ears receive a sweet pleasure from the songs.

Just so, there is common ground between astronomers and musicians as to the harmony of the stars and musical concords, measured respectively in quadrants and triangles, or fourths and fifths, in the same way that geometricians discourse upon vision (*logos optikos* in Greek). And all the rest of the disciplines possess much, perhaps everything in common, as far as concerns the theoretical analysis of them. But the undertaking of works, which are brought by the hand or by the application of skill to a high level of refinement, belongs to those who have learned to master a single art of their own. A man has surely achieved more than enough, who knows reasonably well from among the various fields of learning those parts, with their theories, which are necessary to the architect, so that, if it were necessary to judge or to approve something about these fields and arts, he would be able to do so.

As for those upon whom nature has bestowed such ingenuity, sharpness and powers of memory that they are able to know thoroughly geometry, astronomy, music, and the other arts, these men surpass the scope of an architect's profession and become mathematicians. They are easily able to dispute with those other disciplines, armed as they are with the weapons of so many of them. These men, however, are rarely found – men like those in the past, such Aristarchus of Samos, Philolaus and Archytas of Tarentum, Apollonius of Perge, Eratosthenes of Cyrene, and Archimedes and Scopinas from the Syracusans, who left to posterity many things related to mechanics and the measurement of time, discovered and expounded by numerical and natural reasoning.

It is not granted generally to everyone, but only to a few men to have such talents through natural skill. Since this is so, and since the profession of the architect ought to be practiced from all forms of learning, and since reason, on account of the scope of the subject, does not permit the greatest possible but only an adequate knowledge of all the disciplines – since this is so, I beg you, Caesar, both yourself and all those who will be readers of these volumes, that if some explanation does not attain the standard of the art of language, it may be pardoned. It is not as the greatest philosopher or most eloquent orator, or as the student of language experienced in the highest theories of the art, but as an architect who has absorbed the writings of these men that I have striven to compose these volumes. In respect of the capacity of the art and the theories contained in it, however, I promise and I hope that these volumes will beyond dispute present me, not only to those engaged in building but to all men of wisdom, as possessing the highest authority.

Notes

- 1 "Mens et numen." "Numen," or "genius," is the protective spirit of a person.
- 2 Vitruvius' expression, "de... rei publicae constitutione," might imply a date after the initiation of Augustus' constitutional reforms of 28–27 BCE, but the phrase "rei publicae constituendae" was also in the Lex Titia of November 43 giving power to the Triumvirs.
- 3 Vitruvius might have been involved in the construction of the Porticus Octaviae near the Theatre of Marcellus. In any case, the reference to Augustus' sister as a patron of the architect is worth noting.
- 4 "his voluminibus," referring to the rolls in which books were published; a "volumen" contained what is conventionally referred to as a book division ("liber") of a larger text. It was only later that texts were written in the codex form that gives rise to the modern book.
- 5 The temple is that of Athena Polias (fourth century BCE). Pythius may be the same as one of the architects of the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus, though there is some uncertainty as to the correct form of the name in Greek (Pythios or Pytheos).

Past and Present in Augustan Poetryⁱ

The Battle of Actium in Vergil's *Aeneid*, 8.671–731

The *Aeneid*, an epic narrative of the origins of Rome framed in the literary traditions of Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and the *Argonautica* of the Hellenistic poet Apollonius of Rhodes, is also an evocation of the political and social order brought into being by Augustus. The evocation is indirect but pervasive. Only in certain passages does the work adopt the style of open propaganda, nor does it allow us simply to identify its hero with Augustus. At the same time, Aeneas' qualities of character are clearly meant to reflect favorably on the Princeps, just as his human weaknesses indicate flaws of character avoided by Augustus. It is hardly possible to read of Aeneas' affair with the foreign queen Dido, renounced by Aeneas in a higher act of duty, without thinking of Mark Antony's unrenounced passion for Cleopatra. Further than this, in two extended passages Vergil allows Aeneas glimpses of the future history of Rome. Both passages are set at one remove from the narrative. The first is set in the context of prophecies of the future of Rome made to Aeneas by his father Anchises, whom he visits in the Underworld (a counterpart of Odysseus' visit in Book 11 of the *Odyssey*). It begins with Aeneas' vision of Caesar and Pompey (referred to but not named in Vergil's original text), continues with Anchises' famous characterization of the distinctive cultural missions of Greece and Rome, and concludes with the anticipation of the death in 23 BCE of Augustus' presumptive heir Marcellus. Vergil incorporates a reference to the recently completed mausoleum of the Julian family, in which Marcellus was the first to be interred. Vergil himself died only four years later.

The second passage, presented here from Book 8 (671ff.), describes the magic shield made for Aeneas by Vulcan at the instance of the goddess Venus, Vulcan's wife, who is also Aeneas' mother by Anchises; this too is a development of a Homeric story, the

ⁱ Revised by the author from Rolfe Humphries, *The Aeneid of Virgil*. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951.

shield made for Achilles by Hephaistos (the Greek version of Vulcan) in Book 18 of the *Iliad*. In a series of miraculously engraved images, the shield portrayed the future history of Rome from the earliest times to Augustus' victory over Antony and Cleopatra at Actium; the image is at the centre of the shield and is the climax of Vergil's narrative, and is presented in brilliant heroic colours far surpassing those of the actual battle, in which Antonius' fleet scarcely engaged that of Octavian before following Cleopatra's in retreat to Alexandria. Just as he had no comprehension of Anchises' prophecies, Aeneas marvels at the wonderful images on his shield without understanding what they mean. Vergil's knowledge of a future culminating in the age in which he lived is shared with the reader, but not with Aeneas.

The translation is by Rolfe Humphries, of 1951, with minor changes. From a vast array of books and commentaries I limit myself to Gordon Williams, *Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry* (1968) and Anton Powell, *Virgil the Partisan: A Study in the Re-integration of Classics* (2008) – a refreshingly direct, and to me convincing emphasis on this aspect of Vergil's work.

Amid all this, a golden image of the surging sea,
 blue water and whitecap, where the dolphins playing
 leap with a curve of silver. In the center
 Actium, the ships of bronze, Leucate burning
 hot with the glow of war, and waves on fire
 with molten gold. Augustus Caesar stands
 high on the lofty stern; his temples flame
 with double fire, over his head there dawns
 his father's star. Agrippa leads a column
 with favoring wind and god, the naval garland
 wreathing his temples. Antonius assembles
 Egypt and all the East; Antonius, victor
 over the lands of dawn and the Red Sea,
 marshals the foes of Rome, himself a Roman,
 with – the outrage! – an Egyptian wife. The surge
 boils under keel, the oar-blades churn the waters,
 the triple-pointed beaks drive through the billows,
 you would think that mountains swam and battled mountains,
 that islands were uprooted in their anger.
 Fireballs and shafts of steel are slanting showers,
 the fields of Neptune redden with the slaughter.
 The queen drives on her warriors, unseeing
 the double snakes of death; rattle and cymbals
 compete with bugle and trumpet. Monstrous gods,
 of every form and fashion, one, Anubis,
 shaped like a dog, wield their outrageous weapons
 in wrath at Venus, Neptune, and Minerva.
 Mars, all in steel, storms through the fray; the Furies
 swoop from the sky; Discord exults; Bellona,
 with bloody scourge, comes lashing; and Apollo
 from Actium bends his bow. Egypt and India,

Sabaeans and Arabians, flee in terror.
And the contagion takes the queen, who loosens
the sheets to slackness, courts the wind, in terror,
pale at the menace of death. And the Nile comes
to meet her, a protecting god, his mantle
spread wide, to bring a beaten woman home.
And Caesar enters Rome triumphant, bringing
immortal offerings, three times a hundred
new altars through the city. Streets are loud
with gladness, games, rejoicing; all the temples
are filled with matrons praying at the altars,
are heaped with solemn sacrifice. And Caesar,
seated before Apollo's shining threshold,
reviews the gifts, and hangs them on the portals.
In long array the conquered file, their garments,
their speech, as various as their arms, the Nomads,
the naked Africans, Leleges, Carians,
Gelonians with quivers, the Morini,
of mortals most remote, Euphrates moving
with humbler waves, the two-mouthed Rhine, Araxes,
chafing beneath his bridge.

 All this Aeneas sees,
though understanding nothing, on his mother's gift,
the shield of Vulcan. Delighting in its beauty,
he lifts upon his shoulder the fame and fortune
of his children's children.

The Authorized Versionⁱ

Augustus: *Res Gestae*

This remarkable text was among the documents left by Augustus upon his death in 14 CE (Suetonius, *Life of Augustus* 101). The first document was his will, declaring as heirs in the first rank his adoptive son Tiberius and Tiberius' mother, his own wife Livia, both on condition that they would take the family name Julius. In the second rank were named Tiberius' son Drusus and nephew Germanicus, and in the third rank various relatives and friends. There were bequests to the Roman people and armies, and to named individuals. The second document was Augustus' instructions for his funeral, and the third was his own record of his accomplishments known as the *Res Gestae*, to be inscribed on bronze and set up by the entrance to Augustus' mausoleum (more correctly, that of the Julian family). The fourth document is described by Tacitus as an inventory of the resources of the empire; "the number of citizens and allies under arms, all the fleets, client kingdoms, and provinces, direct and indirect taxes, obligations and expenditures." According to Tacitus, Augustus had written out the entire document in his own hand, Suetonius adding that he gave the names of the freedmen and slaves from whom the details could be obtained.

Our version of the *Res Gestae* is a copy of the original, inscribed in marble where it can still be seen in the temple of Augustus in Ancyra (modern Ankara), the capital city of the province Galatia. It appears there in a bilingual version, with what appears to be an official Greek translation of the Latin text. Fragments of other copies have been found, in Latin at Pisidian Antioch (a military colony) and in Greek at nearby Apollonia, though it is in a way surprising that the text survives in so few of the places where one would expect to find it; the distribution was perhaps incomplete, provincial governors were not equally enthusiastic (or some were particularly so), people may have lost interest after Augustus' death, and it may have been displayed in a less permanent form.

ⁱ Translation by the author. © John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

The inscription sets out what Augustus wished to be remembered as the achievements of his reign, distorting and suppressing some facts, and minimizing the opportunism of his rise to power. It is remarkable how he was able to do this without, as far as one can tell, committing any actual falsehood, and the text is full of information that we otherwise do not possess. To take an example, the census figures reported by Augustus and the number of citizens of Rome in receipt of his largesse, as well as the stunning scale of this largesse, are extremely important evidence for the social and economic history of Rome in this pivotal period. Also remarkable is the sheer density of the political, social, religious, and moral institutions with which Augustus' power was clothed. It is an obvious feature of the *Res Gestae* that its author constantly looks back to the days of violence and disorder from which that achievement arose and which, in a generally accepted view, justified it.

There is a fine presentation of the text in all its dimensions by Alison Cooley, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti: Text, Translation and Commentary* (2000), and translations with briefer commentaries by P. A. Brunt and J. M. Moore (1967 and repr.) and Rex Wallace (Wauconda, Ill., 2007); see too Zvi Yavetz, "The *Res Gestae* and Augustus' Public Image", in Fergus Millar and Erich Segal (eds.), *Caesar Augustus, Seven Aspects* (1984), Chapter 1, and Paul Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (1988, repr.), pp. 72–7. Recommended also is Suetonius' *Life of Augustus*, with translation, introduction, and notes by Catharine Edwards (Oxford World's Classics, 2000). Suetonius' *Life* is an excellent commentary on the *Res Gestae*, and vice versa; there is much overlapping material, and Suetonius somewhat shared his subject's taste for detail. My translation is selective, omitting subsidiary details, interesting though these are, such as expenditures on games and entertainments and munificence to individuals and communities, and everything that Augustus has to say about foreign affairs. I have also taken the serious liberty of reordering some paragraphs so as to bring out more clearly the development of Augustus' constitutional position.

SET OUT BELOW IS A COPY OF THE RECORD OF THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE DIVINE AUGUSTUS, BY WHICH HE SUBJECTED THE WHOLE WORLD TO THE DOMINION OF THE ROMAN PEOPLE, AND OF THE SUMS OF MONEY HE SPENT UPON THE REPUBLIC AND THE ROMAN PEOPLE, AS IT IS INSCRIBED ON TWO BRONZE COLUMNS WHICH ARE SET UP AT ROME.

At the age of nineteen, upon my own initiative and at my own expense, I raised an army through which I vindicated the liberty of a republic oppressed by the dominance of a faction.¹ On this account, by decrees in my honour the senate admitted me to its order in the consulships of C. Pansa and A. Hirtius [43 BCE], assigning me the privilege of expressing my opinion among senators of consular rank, and granting me imperium. The senate also instructed me, as propraetor together with the consuls, to ensure that the state suffered no harm. In the same year, when both consuls had fallen in battle, the people made me consul and triumvir for the setting in order of the republic.² My father's murderers I drove into exile, avenging their crime by statutory process, and later, when they took up arms against the republic, twice overcame them in battle [42 BCE].

I rendered the sea at peace from pirates. In that war [36 BCE] I captured around 30,000 slaves who had fled their masters and taken up arms against the republic, and delivered them to their masters for punishment.³ The whole of Italy of its own accord swore an oath in my name and demanded me as its leader in the war in which I was victorious at Actium

[31 BCE]. The Gauls, the Spanish provinces, Africa, Sicily and Sardinia swore the same oath of loyalty. There were more than 700 senators who served under my standards at that time, among them 83 who, either previously or subsequently down to the time of writing, were made consuls, and about 170 who were made priests.

After my victory I replaced in the temples of all the cities in the province of Asia the precious objects, which the man against whom I had waged the war had taken into his private possession after despoiling the temples. Around 80 silver statues of myself, on foot, mounted and in chariots, which had been set up in the city of Rome, I removed, and with the money from them placed golden gifts in the temple of Apollo, in my name and the names of those who had who had given me the honour of the statues.

In my sixth and seventh consulships [28 and 27 BCE], when I had put an end to the civil wars and by universal consent was in command of all matters, I transferred the republic from my power to the arbitrament of the senate and Roman people.⁴ In return for this service, I received by decree of the senate the name Augustus, the door-posts of my house were publicly wreathed with laurels, a civic crown was fastened above my door, and a golden shield was placed in the Curia Julia, with an inscription bearing witness that it was bestowed on me by the senate and Roman people on account of my valor, clemency, justice, and piety. After that time I excelled all others in authority, but held no more power than those who were my colleagues in each magistracy.

When in the consulships of M. Marcellus and L. Arruntius [22 BCE] the dictatorship was offered to me by the people and senate, both in my absence and when I was present at Rome, I did not accept it. At a time of an extreme shortage of grain, I did not decline the supervision of the corn-supply, which I administered to such effect that within a few days, at my own expense and by my own efforts, I liberated the entire city from fear and imminent danger. I did not accept the consulship, to be held every year in perpetuity, which was also offered to me at that time.

In the consulships of M. Vinicius and Q. Lucretius [19 BCE], later those of P. Lentulus and C. Lentulus [18 BCE] and on a third occasion of Paullus Fabius Maximus and Q. Tubero [11 BCE], when the senate and Roman people were in agreement that, alone and with supreme power, I be made guardian of the laws and morals, I did not accept the offer of any magistracy that was contrary to the customs of our ancestors. Those matters which the senate wished to be performed by me at that time I accomplished through my tribunician power⁵ – in which power, upon my own instance, I five times requested of the senate and received a colleague.

I revised the membership of the senate on three occasions, and in my sixth consulship, with M. Agrippa as my colleague [28 BCE], conducted a census of the people. This review I performed after an interval of 42 years, and in it were registered 4,063,000 Roman citizens. Then a second time with consular power, acting alone in the consulships of C. Censorinus and C. Asinius [8 BCE], I conducted a review, in which were counted 4,233,000 Roman citizens. And for a third time, with consular power and with my son Tiberius Caesar as colleague, I conducted a review in the consulships of Sex. Pompeius and Sex. Appuleius [14 CE], in which were counted 4,937,000 Roman citizens. By new laws passed on my proposal, I restored many exemplary customs of our ancestors which were falling into disuse, and have myself in many matters provided for posterity models of conduct worthy of imitation.

My sons, Gaius and Lucius Caesar, of whom Fortune deprived me in their youth, for the sake of my honour the Roman senate and people designated consuls while in their fifteenth year, with the purpose that they should enter upon that magistracy after a

period of five years, and the senate decreed that from the day in which they were led into the forum they should take part in the discussion of affairs of state.⁶ Furthermore, each one of them was acclaimed *Princeps Iuventutis* by the entire equestrian order, and presented with silver shield and spears.

By decree of the senate my name has been included in the Salian Hymn, and it has been enacted by law that as long as I live I shall be invested with the tribunician power. I refused to be made *pontifex maximus* in place of a colleague still living, when the people offered me the priesthood which my father had held.⁷ This priesthood I accepted some years later, in the consulship of P. Sulpicius and P. Valgius [12 BCE], upon the death of the person who had used the opportunity of civil disturbance to seize it. On the occasion of my election such a vast multitude poured in from the whole of Italy as is never recorded at Rome before that time.

On four occasions I aided the public treasury with my own money, to the extent that I provided to those managing the treasury department 150,000,000 sesterces. In the consulships of M. Lepidus and L. Arruntius [6 CE], I transferred to the military treasury, which was founded upon my advice to pay cash rewards to those who had served for twenty or more years, 170,000,000 sesterces from my own patrimony. From the time of the consulships of Cn. and P. Lentulus [18 BCE], whenever the regular taxes were insufficient, I made distributions of grain and money from my own granary and my own patrimony, sometimes to 100,000 persons, sometimes many more.

I restored the Capitolium and the theater of Pompey, each work at great expense but without inscribing my own name on either. I restored the channels of the aqueducts which were falling apart through age, and I doubled the water in the aqueduct called Marcia by feeding a new stream into its course.⁸ I brought to completion the Forum Julium and the basilica which was between the temple of Castor and the temple of Saturn, works begun and almost finished by my father, and after the destruction of that same basilica by fire have begun to rebuild it on an enlarged site under the names of my sons. If I have not completed it during my lifetime, I have ordered it to be completed by my heirs.⁹ In my sixth consulship [28 BCE], on the authority of the senate I restored eighty-two temples of the gods in the city, omitting none that needed restoring at that time. As consul for the seventh time [27 BCE] I restored the Via Flaminia from the city as far as Ariminum (Rimini), and all its bridges except for the Mulvian and Minucian.¹⁰

I built the temple of Mars the Avenger and the Forum Augustum on private land from the spoils of war [Vol. I, Figure 4.1–4]. I built the theater next to the temple of Apollo on land bought in large part from private owners, to bear the name of M. Marcellus, my son-in-law. I consecrated gifts from the spoils of war in the Capitolium, in the temple of the divine Julius, in the temple of Apollo, in the temple of Vesta and in the temple of Mars Ultor, which together cost me around 100,000,000 sesterces. In my fifth consulship [28 BCE] I remitted 35,000 pounds of the crown gold [*aurum coronarium*] contributed to my triumphs by the municipia and colonies of Italy, and subsequently, whenever I was acclaimed imperator, I declined the crown gold which the municipia and colonies had decreed, with the same courtesy as they had before.

Three times in my own name and five times in those of my sons or grandsons I have given gladiatorial exhibitions, at which about 10,000 men have fought. Twice in my own name and on a third occasion in the name of my grandson, I presented to the people a spectacle of athletes summoned from all parts. I gave games in my own name four times, and twenty-three times in the names of other magistrates. On behalf of the college of

quindecimviri and as its president, with M. Agrippa as colleague, I gave Secular Games in the consulships of C. Furnius and C. Silanus [17 BCE].

When I was consul for the thirteenth time [2 BCE] the senate, the equestrian order and the entire people of Rome named me “*pater patriae*” (Father of my Fatherland), and resolved that this title should be inscribed in the vestibule of my house and in the Curia Julia and in the Forum Augustum, below the four-horsed chariot which had been placed there by decree of the senate.

When I wrote these words, I had been consul thirteen times, and was in the thirty-seventh year of tribunician power. For ten successive years I was triumvir for the setting in order of the republic.¹¹ Up to the day that I wrote these words I have been leader of the senate for forty years. I have been made *pontifex maximus*, *augur*, *quindecimvir sacris faciundis*, *septemvir epulonum*, *frater arvalis*, *sodalis Titius*, *fetalis*.

At the time of writing this I am in my seventy-sixth year.

Notes

- 1 With this striking sentence, Augustus moves at once to his role as Caesar’s heir in 44 BCE.
- 2 By the Lex Titia of 27th November, 43 BCE, giving the triumvirs consular powers with the right to appoint magistrates.
- 3 The reference is to the war against Sextus Pompeius, resolved in Octavian’s favor at the battle of Naulochus, off the coast of Sicily, in 36 BCE. Augustus likens this serious war against a well-connected enemy to a suppression of pirates and uses the association with Sicily to denigrate the episode as a slave revolt. The “oath of all Italy” was in 32, after the expiry of Octavian’s triumviral powers.
- 4 The Greek text makes no attempt to translate this phrase, a powerful, though ambiguous, assertion of Augustus’ constitutional maneuvers in these years. A newly discovered fragment from Pisidian Antioch supports the translation “was potent in” (Latin “*potens*”) rather than “acquired power over” (“*potitus*,” a conjecture for the then incomplete Latin). “*Potens*” was always a better original for the Greek “*enkrates*.”
- 5 These are the *Leges Juliae* on marriage and sexual conduct in the upper orders, promulgated in 18 BCE. As their name shows, they were proposed by Augustus himself. Their successor, the Lex Papia Poppaea of 9 CE, was proposed by the consuls of the year. Augustus’ comment on the sharing of tribunician power with a colleague is incidental to the present context.
- 6 The two princes, sons of Agrippa and Julia, had been adopted by Augustus as part of a design for the succession after Agrippa’s death. The dates of their promotions were 5 and 2 BCE respectively, the consulships being designated for 1 and 4 CE. However, Lucius Caesar died in 2 CE and Gaius Caesar in 4 CE, instigating the promotion of Tiberius as Augustus’ successor (below, Chapter 7). Augustus’ language here is echoed in his will; “Since bitter fortune has deprived me of my sons Gaius and Lucius, Tiberius Caesar shall be heir to two-thirds of my estate” (Suetonius, *Tiberius* 23).
- 7 The office of *pontifex maximus* had been assumed by the triumvir Lepidus after the assassination of Julius Caesar, its previous holder. Even though Lepidus was marginalized after the battle of Naulochus against Sextus Pompeius, Augustus left him in possession of the office until his death.
- 8 Other sources give a prime role in the repair and maintenance of aqueducts to Augustus’ friend and colleague Marcus Agrippa.
- 9 By virtue of a *fideicommissum*, a task entrusted to his heirs, in his will.
- 10 The Greek text is here content with “except those that did not need it.” There would be little interest at Ancyra in bridges on the Via Flaminia.
- 11 The continuous ten years are 42–33 BCE inclusive, beginning with the Lex Titia of November 43, and continuing with a renewal of the powers in 38. The vacancy in Octavian’s position in 32 was filled by the oath of Italy and the provinces referred to above (n. 3).

The Secular Games

The “Ludi Saeculares,” held by Augustus in 17 BCE, were celebrated according to a cycle of years exceeding the longest span of human life; they began with announcements that the games were such as “no living man had seen before nor would ever see again.” Their origin and history are however full of problems, deriving in the first instance from different modes of calculation, some systems being based on a “saeculum” of 110 rather than 100 years, and with different starting points; it caused some amusement when in 47 CE Claudius held Secular Games, with the traditional announcement, only 64 years after those of Augustus. Yet Claudius’ celebration had its obvious rationale, commemorating the eighth centenary of the foundation of Rome in 753 BCE, and was the origin of an alternative cycle of Games calculated on this basis, being held again in 148 and 248. Domitian’s Secular Games of 88 returned, not quite accurately, to the Augustan cycle. Tacitus, who was *quindecimvir sacris faciundis* at the time was involved in their planning, wrote in his *Annals* (11.11) that he had given both Augustus’ and Claudius’ calculations, but the relevant book of the *Histories* does not survive.

Augustus’ Games, anticipated in the *Aeneid* (6.792–3) as the dawning of a Golden Age, show some departures from the historical account of the Games inserted into the opening chapters of Book 2 of Zosimus’ *New History*; this is a late text, of around 500, but on the author’s avowal transmits earlier sources. Zosimus’ account of the early history of the Games contains a heavy dose of legend, and two important differences from the Augustan celebration. First, his explanations leave it unclear whether he thought that the Games belonged to an objectively recurring cycle of 100 (or 110) years, or were revived from time to time to alleviate particular hardships afflicting the Roman state; he is certainly mistaken in attributing the latter motive to Augustus’ revival of the games. Second, his description of propitiatory ceremonies addressed to the gods of the Underworld at the place called Tarentum in the Campus Martius by the

river Tiber,¹ at an altar that was buried after each use, does not match Augustus' celebration of a more expansive festival involving Jupiter, Hera, Apollo and the heavenly deities. Yet the gods of the Underworld and the location of important elements of the ceremonies (the inscriptions commemorating both this and later celebrations were found at Tarentum) are still at the heart of the Augustan festival. The explanation must be that Augustus' Games were largely a creation of that emperor, transforming an ancient propitiatory rite into a celebration of Rome and her empire. A sign of its antiquarian origins survives in the fact that the rite is ostensibly still concerned with the loyalty to Rome of her Latin allies, a perspective long out of date by the Augustan Principate.

The conduct of the Games was based on a Sibylline prophecy, no doubt of recent composition, presented and interpreted by the *quindecimviri*, the "Board of Fifteen" mentioned by Zosimus. Apart from his own membership of the XVviri, Augustus had sufficient influence over scholars and antiquarians, such as the jurist Ateius Capito who is named by Zosimus and is known for his compliancy, to justify any calculation of the date of the Games and any characterization of their nature that was advantageous to him. It is a pity that the great antiquarian Varro did not live to take part in the preparations (he had died in 27 BCE). If the *Aeneid* does contain an allusion to the Games as an element in a predicted Golden Age, it would show that they were being planned at least as early as 19 BCE, the year of Vergil's death (on September 20).²

The translation of Zosimus omits that author's historical account of the origins of the games and the intricate administrative background to Augustus' games in the epigraphic record, in each case moving straight to the description of their actual conduct

Mary Beard, John North, and Simon Price, *Religions of Rome* (1998), Vol. 2: *A Sourcebook*, pp. 139–44. On the account of Zosimus and the oracle, see esp. François Paschoud, *Zosime: Histoire Nouvelle*, t. 1 (ed. Budé, 1971), pp. 73–9.

6.1 Zosimus: *New History*, 2.5–6ⁱ

The manner in which the festival is prescribed is as follows: heralds go around bidding everyone to gather for the festival, to see a sight which they have neither seen before nor will ever see again after this celebration of it. At the time of the summer season, a few days before the performance of the spectacle, the Board of Fifteen takes its place on a tribunal on the Capitol and again in the temple on the Palatine, and distributes to the people the instruments of purification, torches with sulphur and tar. Slaves take no part in the distribution, but only free men. When all the people have assembled at the points indicated, and also at the temple of Artemis [Diana]³ that is established on the Aventine Hill, each person brings wheat, barley and beans. Then they celebrate solemn night-long ceremonies in honor of the Moirai [Fates] for [...] nights. When the time of the festival comes round, which they celebrate for three days and three nights in the Campus Martius, the offerings are consecrated by the bank of the Tiber at Tarentum; they perform sacrifices to Zeus and Hera [Jupiter and Juno], Apollo, Leto [Latona] and Artemis, and, in addition, to the Moirai, the Eileithyiae,⁴ Demeter [Terra Mater], Hades and Persephone.

ⁱ Translation by the author. © John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

On the first night of the ceremonies, at the second hour, the emperor comes to the bank of the Tiber, where three altars have been prepared, and with the Board of Fifteen sacrifices three lambs, and once the altars have been bloodied, makes a holocaust of the victims. Then, in a place where a stage like that of a theater has been erected,⁵ torches and fires are lit, and a hymn, newly composed for the occasion, is sung, and stage performances of a sacred character are presented. Those who perform these rites are given in reward the first-fruits of earth's produce, wheat and barley and beans; for these, as I explained, are distributed also to every person. On the following day they go up to the Capitolium, and there they perform the usual sacrifices, and from there they go back to the theater that has been constructed, and perform spectacles in honor of Apollo and Artemis. On the next day women of distinguished family assemble on the Capitolium at the time ordained by the oracle, address prayers to the god and sing hymns as is proper.

On the third day, in the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, twenty-seven boys of distinguished family and the same number of young girls, all of them "amphithaleis," that is to say with both parents living, sing hymns and songs of praise in both the Greek and Latin languages, by means of which the cities ruled by the Romans are kept safe.⁶ Other ceremonies were performed according to the manner laid down by the divinity.

As long as these rites were performed, the Roman empire continued unimpaired; and now, in order to convince us that all this is true in reality, I will cite the oracle of the Sibyl, transmitted by other writers before us.⁷

Now when there comes the longest span of human life,
 Advancing through a cycle of a hundred years and ten,
 Remember, Roman (and let it not escape you:
 Remember all these things!), to make sacrifice
 To the immortal gods, in the plain beside the ever-flowing Tiber,
 Where it is narrowest, when night comes upon the earth
 And the sun hides his light; there you must sacrifice
 Victims, black sheep and goats, to the all-begetting Fates.
 Conciliate too the Eileithyiae, who bring forth children,
 With sacrifices according to the rite; and there again to Earth
 Let there be sacrificed a black sow heavy with young.
 Let all-white bulls be led to the altar of Zeus.
 By day, and not by night; for to the gods of heaven
 Daytime is proper for sacrifice, and that is when you must
 Perform the rite. Let the glorious shrine of Hera receive from you
 A fine offering of a young heifer. And Phoebus Apollo,
 Who is also called Helios, the son of Leto, let him receive
 The same offerings.⁸ Let Latin hymns of praise
 Sung by boys and girls fill the temple of the immortals.
 Let the choir of girls be separate by themselves,
 Separate too the male rank of boys, but all of them
 With both parents living, their stock still flourishing on both sides.⁹
 On that day let women bound in matrimony,
 On their knees¹⁰ before the celebrated altar of Hera,
 Pray to the divinity. To all, let there be given water for cleansing,
 To men and to women, but especially the women.
 And let all bring from home such as it is right for mortals to bring
 Of the first-fruits of their livelihood,

As propitiation to the gods of the Underworld
 And to the blessed daughters of heaven. Let all the offerings
 Lie there in store, so that (remember this!) you may provide them
 To the women and to the men seated there.
 By day and by night let there be a crowded gathering
 By the seats of the gods; may earnest zeal be joined with laughter.
 Remember always to keep these things in your heart,
 And for you the whole land of Italy and all that of the Latins,
 For ever under your sceptre, will bear the yoke upon its neck.¹¹

6.2 Inscriptions on the Conduct of the Gamesⁱⁱ

The epigraphic record of the Games consists of “commentaries” which were ordered to be inscribed on a column of bronze and marble by the second of two *senatus consulta* of May 23.¹² The commentaries reach back to the origin of the Augustan Games with a *senatusconsultum* of February 16, responding to a communication received from the board of *quindecimviri*. This is followed by a letter of Augustus to the XVviri (of whom he was one) on the conduct of the Games, and by a series of resolutions of that body publicizing their date and addressing some of the arrangements. We may then imagine the practical details, such as the dispatch of heralds to announce the Games, in the manner described by Zosimus. The texts enable us to follow events from May 31 to the ending of the Games. In cases where epigraphic text is not complete, the language is formulaic, and lost or damaged passages can be restored from what is extant on the stone.

On the day before the kalends of June [May 31], as on the previous two days, two XVviri received first-fruits at each of several tribunals.¹³

On the following night, on the Campus Martius, by the Tiber, Imp. Caesar Augustus sacrificed nine female lambs to the divine Moerae as whole offerings in the Greek rite, and by the same rite nine female goats, and prayed in the following words:

Moerae! As is prescribed for you in those books,¹⁴ for which cause may it be to the benefit of the citizens of the Roman people, let there be a sacrifice of nine female lambs and nine female goats; I beseech you and pray that you may increase the empire and majesty of the citizens of the Roman people in war and peace, and that the Latin name may forever be obedient,¹⁵ grant everlasting safety, victory, and health to the citizens of the Roman people, favor the citizens of the Roman people and the legions of the citizens of the Roman people, and keep safe and augment the republic of the citizens of the Roman people, that you may gladly be propitious to the citizens of the Roman people, to the college of XVviri, to me, my house and family,¹⁶ and that you may accept this sacrifice of nine female lambs and nine female goats to be sacrificed whole to you. For these reasons, be honored by the sacrifice of this female lamb and be gladly propitious to the citizens of the Roman people, to the college of XVviri, to me, my house and family.

On the completion of the sacrifice, games were celebrated by night on a stage, for which no theater was constructed nor seats placed;¹⁷ and a hundred and ten matrons, to

ⁱⁱ Translation by the author. © John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

whom notice had been given by decree of the XVviri, held *sellisternia*, with two seats placed for Juno and Diana.¹⁸

On the Kalends [1st] of June, on the Capitol, Imp. Caesar Augustus sacrificed a bull to Jupiter Optimus Maximus as a whole burnt offering, and in the same place Marcus Agrippa also sacrificed a bull. They spoke a prayer as follows:

Jupiter Optimus Maximus! As is written for you in those books, for which cause may it be to the benefit of the citizens of the Roman people, let the offering of a fine bull be made to you. I beseech you and pray (the rest as above).

At the sacred vessel were Caesar, Agrippa, Scaevola, Sentius, Lollius, Asinius Gallus, Rebilus.

Then Latin games were celebrated in the wooden theater which had been constructed on the Campus Martius next to the Tiber. And in the same manner mistresses of households held *sellisternia*, and those games which had begun at night were not interrupted.

And an edict was posted:

The XVviri declare:

Since, according to proper custom, duly observed in many precedents, whenever there has been a just cause for public celebration, it has been decided that the mourning of women should be curtailed, and since it seems pertinent both to the honor of the gods and to the observance of their worship that this should be scrupulously observed at a time of solemn rites and games, we have decided that it befits our public duty to announce to women by an edict, that they should curtail mourning.¹⁹

Then, by night, next to the Tiber, Imperator Caesar Augustus made sacrifice to the divine Ilythiae with nine cakes, nine *popana*, nine *phthoes*,²⁰ and spoke the following prayer:

Ilythia! As is written for you in those books, for which cause may it be to the benefit of the citizens of the Roman people, let the offering of nine cakes, nine *popana*, nine *phthoes*, be made to you. I beseech you and pray (the rest as above).

On the fourth day before the Nones [2nd] of June, on the Capitol, Imp. Caesar Augustus sacrificed a cow as an offering to Juno Regina, and in the same place Marcus Agrippa also sacrificed a cow, and spoke a prayer as follows:

Juno Regina! As is written for you in those books, for which cause may it be to the benefit of the citizens of the Roman people, let the offering of a fine cow be made to you. I beseech you and pray (the rest as above).

Then, to the hundred and ten married mistresses of families to whom notice had been given by decree of the XVviri, M. Agrippa led a prayer in the following words:²¹

Iuno Regina! In respect of what will benefit the citizens of the Roman people,²² we one hundred and ten married mistresses of households of the Roman people pray and entreat you on our knees²³ that you will increase the power and majesty of the citizens of the Roman people in war and peace, and that the Latin name may ever be obedient, grant everlasting safety, victory, and health to the citizens of the Roman people, favor the citizens of the Roman people and the legions of the citizens of the Roman people, and keep safe the republic of the citizens of the Roman people, that you may gladly be propitious to the citizens of the Roman people, to the XVviri s.f., and to us, our households and families. This we, a hundred and ten mistresses of households of the citizens of the Roman people, entreat you and pray upon our knees.

At the sacred vessel were M. Agrippa [other names lost]²⁴.

Games were performed as on the previous day [...] ²⁵

Then, by night, next to the Tiber, Imp. Caesar Augustus sacrificed a pregnant sow as a holocaust to Terra Mater, and spoke the following prayer:

Terra Mater! As is written for you in those books, for which cause may it be to the benefit of the citizens of the Roman people, let the offering of a pregnant sow be made to you as a whole offering. I beseech you and pray (the rest as above).

The matrons held *sellisternia* on this day in the same manner as on previous days.

On the third day before the Nones [3rd] of June, on the Palatine,²⁶ Imp. Caesar Augustus and M. Agrippa made sacrifice to Apollo and Diana with nine cakes, nine *popana*, nine *phthoes*, and prayed as follows:

Apollo! As is written for you in those books, for which cause may it be to the benefit of the citizens of the Roman people, let an offering be made of nine *popana* and nine cakes and nine *phthoes*; I beseech you and pray (the rest as above).

Apollo! As I have prayed to you with a good prayer with offerings of *popana*, in the same manner also be honored by these cakes (*liba*) and be gladly propitious.

The same in respect of the *phthoes*.

The same words were spoken to Diana.

Upon the completion of sacrifice, the twenty-seven boys to whom notice had been given, with fathers and mothers still living, and the same number of girls, sang the hymn, and in the same fashion sang it on the Capitol. The hymn was composed by Q. Horatius Flaccus.

The XVviri present were: Imp. Caesar, M. Agrippa, Q. Lepidus, Potitus Messalla, C. Stolo, C. Scaevola, C. Sosius, C. Norbanus, M. Cocceius, M. Lollius, C. Sentius, M. Strigo, L. Arruntius, C. Asinius, M. Marcellus, D. Laelius, Q. Tubero, C. Rebilus, Messalla Messallinus.

On the completion of the *ludi scaenici* at the [...] hour, next to that place, where sacrifice had been made on previous nights and a theater was set up with a stage, turning posts were planted and chariot-races were presented, and Potitus Messalla provided acrobat riders.

And an edict was posted in the following words:

The XVviri declare:

We have added seven honorary days to those regularly appointed, and will commence Latin games on the Nones [5th] of June, in the wooden theater which is beside the Tiber, at the second hour; Greek shows in the theater of Pompey at the third hour, Greek stage performances in the theater which is in the circus Flaminius,²⁷ at the fourth hour.

There was an intermission on the day before the Nones of June.

On the Nones of June, the seven additional days of games commenced: Latin plays in the wooden theater, Greek shows in the theater of Pompey, Greek stage performances in the theater which is in the circus Flaminius.

On the third day before the Ides [11th] of June,²⁸ an edict was posted in the following words:

The XVviri declare:

On the day before the Ides [12th] of June we will give a hunting display [in ..., and will present circus games].

On the day before the Ides of June, preceded by a procession, squadrons of older and younger boys played the Trojan Game. M. Agrippa gave chariot-races and a hunting display was performed.