

‘Augustan Rome’ 44 B.C. — A.D. 14 (44 BCE – 14 CE)

## The Nature of Power and Authority

Some Passages for Discussion (Tom Hillard, Macquarie University, 2020)

### Coming to Power:

*Res Gestae et Impensae Divi Augusti* (“Deeds Done and Expenses Incurred by the Divine Augustus”)

*Res Gestae* 1–2:

“At the age of nineteen, on my own initiative and at my own expense (*privato consilio et privata impensa*), I raised an army by means of which I championed the liberty of the state (*res publica*), which had been oppressed by the tyranny (*dominatio*) of a faction. Because of this, the senate, with honorific decrees, enrolled me in its order, in the consulship of Gaius Pansa and Aulus Hirtius, giving me at the same time a consular place in the order of speaking; it also gave me *imperium* (the right to command an army). It ordered me as propraetor, along with the consuls, “to see that the state/public affairs (*res publica*) suffered no harm.” In the same year, moreover, as both consuls had fallen in war, the people elected me consul and a triumvir for setting the state/public affairs (*res publica*) in order.”

*Res Gestae* 2:

Those who slew my father I drove into exile, punishing their deed by due process of law and afterwards when they waged war upon the republic I twice defeated them in battle.

*Res Gestae* 25:

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

The Oath (in later years)

(*Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* 8781 = OGIS 532 [Paphlagonia, 3 BC]) (trans. (modified): Parkin & Pomeroy, 2007)”

In the third year after the twelfth consulate of *Imperator* Caesar Augustus, the son of the god, 6 March, at Gangra, in the marketplace: this oath was sworn by the Paphlagonians of the area and the Romans engaged in business among them.

I swear to Zeus, Earth, Sun, all the gods and goddesses, and to Augustus himself, that I will be loyal to Caesar Augustus, his children, and descendants all through my life, both in word, deed, and thought, holding as friends those they hold as friends and considering those as enemies whom they judge to be such, that with regard to things that concern them I will not be sparing of my body or my soul or my life or children, but will face every peril with respect to things that affect them. If there is anything that I should recognize or hear as spoken, plotted, or done contrary to this, I will report this and be an enemy of the person speaking, plotting, or doing any of these things. Whomever they judge to be enemies, I will pursue and defend against them by land and sea with arms and steel.

If I should do anything contrary to this oath or fail to follow up what I have sworn, I impose a curse upon myself encompassing the destruction and total extinction of my body, soul, life, children, my entire family, and everything essential down to every successor and every descendant of mine, and may neither earth nor sea receive the bodies of my family and descendants nor bear fruit for them.

The same oath was sworn by all throughout the regions in the countryside at the temples to Augustus by the altars to Augustus. So did the Phazimonians inhabiting what is now called the New Town, all assembled at the temple of Augustus by the altar to Augustus.

*Res Gestae* 27:

“I added Egypt to the empire of the Roman people (*imperium populi R*)”

**Making Peace:**

*Res Gestae* 13:

“(The temple of) Janus Quirinus, which our ancestors ordered to be closed whenever there was peace, secured by victory, throughout the whole domain of the Roman people on land and sea, and which, before my birth is recorded to have been closed but twice in all since the foundation of the city, the senate ordered to be closed thrice while I was *princeps* (‘the Leading Man’)” (the date of 29 BCE is provided by Orosius, *Seven Books Against the Pagans* 6.20.1)

**Giving Power Away:**

*Res Gestae* 34: “In my **sixth and seventh consulships** (28 and 27 BCE), when I had extinguished civil war, by universal consent in control (*potens*) of all things, I transferred the *res publica* (the State?, public affairs?) from my own control (*potestas*) to the will/discretion (*arbitrium*) of the Senate and the Roman People.

Tacitus, *Annals* 3.38.2 :

“[After] twenty years of continuous disharmony and civil strife (*discordia*), during which law and custom ceased to exist (*non mos, non ius*); villainy was immune; and decency was often a sentence of death. ... **in his sixth consulate**, [young] Caesar, feeling his power secure (*potentiae securus*), cancelled the decrees of the triumvirate, and presented us with laws (*iura*) to serve us in times of peace and a First Man (*pace et principe* — “under Peace and a Princeps”) (cf. *Res Gestae* 7.1)

A gold coin (*aureus*) of 28 BCE proclaimed:

“Imperator Caesar Divi filius restored laws and rights to the Roman People (*leges et iura P.R. restituit*).”

**Retaining influence and authority:**

*Res Gestae* 34.3:

“After that time I excelled all in *auctoritas* (influence / moral authority), but I possessed no more *potestas* (formal power) than colleagues whom I, too, had in any magistracy.”

**— and some power(!):**

Suetonius, *Life of the Divine Augustus* 47 :

“Augustus kept for himself all the more vigorous provinces – those that could not be safely administered by an annual governor; the remainder went to proconsuls chosen by lot. Yet, as occasion arose, he would change the status of provinces from imperial to senatorial, or contrawise [vice-versa].”

**Appearing not to want Power for Power’s Sake — but being ready to shoulder the ‘burden’ (22 BCE):**

Suetonius *Divus Augustus* 52:

“... And when the people pushed him to accept the dictatorship, he fell down on one knee, with his toga thrown over his shoulders, begging with bared breast to be excused.”

*Res Gestae* 5.1:

“The dictatorship, both in my absence and in my presence, offered to me by both the senate and by the People, in the consulship of M. Marcellus and L. Arruntius, I would not accept (*non recepi*)”

*Res Gestae* 5.3:

“And at that time, the consulship, to be held annually and perpetually, when offered to me, I would not accept (*non recepi*)”

*Res gestae* 5.2:

“I did not decline in (this) great shortage of grain, the oversight of the corn supply (*curatio annonae*), which I so administered, that in a few days all citizens were liberated from fear and danger — at my own cost and my own concern (*impensa et cura mea*).”

### **Mending Society:**

*Res Gestae* 6.1:

“... the senate and the people of Rome agreed that I be appointed *curator legum et morum summa potestate solus* (‘supervisor of laws and morals with supreme power and alone’) but I would not accept any office inconsistent with the ways of the ancestors (*contra morem maiorum*). The things that the senate wished me to do, I did by virtue of my tribunician power, and five times—of my own accord—I asked for and received from the senate a colleague in that power” (cf. Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 27; Dio 54.10.5; 30.1)

*Res Gestae* 8.3: “By new laws passed on my initiative I revived many exemplary practices of the ancestors disappearing by our time, and in many ways passed on exemplary practices to posterity for emulation.”

### **The Adoration of Augustus:**

Horace *Odes* 1.2 (trans. James Michie):

“Enough the ordeal now, the snow- and hail-storms  
God has unleashed on earth, whose red right hand hurled  
Bolts at the Capitol’s sacred summits, spreading  
Fear in the City streets,

Fear among nations lest the age of horror  
Should come again when Pyrrha gasped at strange sights:  
Old Proteus herding his whole sea-zoo uphill,  
Visiting mountain-tops,

... ..

We watched the Tiber’s tawny water, wrenched back  
Hard from the Tuscan side, go raging forward  
To Vesta’s temple and King Numa’s palace  
Threatening their overthrow.

... ..

The old have sinned; survivors of their errors,  
Thinned ranks, the young shall hear how brothers sharpened  
Against each other swords that should have carried  
Death to the Parthian pest.

Which of the gods now shall the people summon  
To prop Rome’s reeling sovereignty? What prayer  
Shall the twelve Virgins use to reach the ear of  
Vesta, who grows each day

Deafer to litanies? Whom shall the Father  
Appoint as instrument of our atonement?  
Come, augur god, Apollo, come, we pray thee,  
Glittering shoulders hid

In cloud; or thou gay goddess of Mount Eryx  
Desire and Laughter fluttering in attendance;  
Or thou, great parent of our race, grown tired of  
Relishing war, that long

Sad game, the battle-cries, the flashing helmets  
The bloodsoaked legionary, the Moor’s ferocious  
Glare as they meet — O Mars, if still regarding  
Us, thy neglected sons,

Come; or else thou, winged boy of gentle Maia,  
Put on the mortal shape of a young Roman,  
Descend and, well contented to be known as  
Caesar’s avenger, stay

Gladly and long with Romulus’s people,  
Delaying late thy homeward, skybound journey,  
And may no whirlwind prematurely snatch thee,  
Wrath with our sins, away.

Rather on earth enjoy resplendant triumphs;  
Be Prince, be Father — titles to rejoice in;  
And let no Parthian raider ride unscathed while  
Caesar has charge of Rome (*te duce, Caesar*).”

The New Calendar of Asia (9 BC) (*OGIS (Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, ed. Dittenberger) 458 [= Robert Sherk (ed.), *Roman Documents from the Greek East* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1969), no. 65 328–37; Sherk (ed.) *Rome and the Greek East to the death of Augustus* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1984), no. 101, pp. 124–127], lines 30–36; 40–41; 49–52):

It has been decreed by the Greeks of Asia on the motion of the high-priest Apollonius ...; since *Theios* (Providence/the Deity), which has divinely guided our lives, having employed zeal and ardour, has arranged the most perfect (culmination) for life by producing Augustus, whom for the benefit of mankind she has filled with excellence, as if [she has sent him as a saviour] for us and our descendants, (a saviour) who brought war to an end and set [all things] in order; ... and (since) the beginning of glad tidings (*euangeli[on (h)e genethlios*) on his account for the world was [the birthday] of the god (*theos*) ... — for this reason, with Good Fortune and for our salvation (*soteria*), it has been decreed by the Greeks in Asia that the **New Year**'s first month shall begin for all cities on the ninth day before the Kalends of October (**September 23**), which is the **birthday of Augustus**. ...

Macrobius *Saturnalia* 1.12.35 (quoting the *senatus Consultum de mense Augusto* ('Senate Resolution concerning the month of *Augustus*')):

"Whereas in the month of *Sextilis*, Imperator Caesar Augustus both entered his first consulship and entered the city three times in Triumph, and legions brought down from the Janiculum followed his auspices and moral credibility; and whereas in this month Egypt was brought under the power of the Roman people; and whereas in this month the civil wars were ended; and whereas for these reasons this month is and has been the most fortunate for this realm; it is the senate's will that this month be called *August*."

The *feriale Cumanum* (the festival list of Cumae):

Aug. 19 <sup>th</sup>	Fourteen days before the Kalends of September. On this day Caesar first entered into the consulship. [A supplication.]
Sept. 3	Three days before the Nones of September. On this day the army of Lepidus crossed over to Caesar. A supplication.
Sept. 23	Nine days before the Kalends of October. The Birth of Caesar. An animal sacrifice. A Supplication.
Oct. 5	The Nones of October. The Birth of Drusus Caesar. A Supplication to Vesta.
Oct. 18	Fifteen days before the Kalends of November. On this day, Caesar took up the <i>toga virilis</i> . A Supplication to Spes and Iuventus.
Nov. 16	Sixteen days before the Kalends of December. The Birth of Tiberius Caesar. A Supplication to Vesta.
Dec. 15	Eighteen days before the Kalends of January. On this day, the altar of Fortuna Redux was dedicated, (she having) brought Caesar [Augustus home from overseas] provinces. A Supplication to <i>Fortuna Redux</i> .
Jan. 7	Seven Days before the Ides of January. On this day Caesar first took up the <i>fasces</i> . Supplication to <i>Jupiter Sempiternus</i>
Jan. 16	[Sev]enteen days before the Kalends of February. On this day Caesar was named [Augustus]
Jan. 30	Three days before the Kalends of February. On this day the Altar of Peace was dedicated. Supplication to the Imperium of Caesar Augustus, Guardian of Roman citizens and of all the world. <i>Custos imperii Romani</i> ... ]m or <i>Custos civium Romanorum totiusque orbis terrarum</i>

Mar. 6	The day before the Nones of March. On this day Caesar was elected Pontifex Maximus. Supplication to Vesta, to the Public Gods and the P(enates) of the R(oman) P(eople), the Q(uirites)
April 14	Eighteen days before the Kalends of May. On this day Caesar was first victorious. Supplication to Augustan Victory.
April 16	Sixteen days before the Kalends of May. On this day, Caesar was first acclaimed [ <i>Imperator</i> ] Supplication to the Felicity of the <i>imperium</i> .
May 12	Four days before the Ides of May. On this day, the Temple of Mars was dedicated. Supplication to the Might ( <i>moles</i> ) of Mars.
May 24	Nine days before the Kalends of June. The birth of Germanicus Caesar. Supplication to Vesta.
Jul. 12	Four days before the Ides of July. The birthday of <i>Divus Iulius</i> . Supplication to Jupiter, Mars the Avenger, Venus [Genetrix . . . . . . . . . . Supplication to Jupiter

### **A Father to All:**

*Res Gestae* 35.1:

“During my thirteenth consulship [2 BCE] the Senate and the equestrian order and the entire Roman people named me Father of the Fatherland (*pater patriae*) . . . .”

*Fasti Praenestini* (Calendar of Praeneste) [for February 5<sup>th</sup>]:

*Feriae ex s(enatus c(onsulto) quod eo die imp. Caesar Augustus pont(ifex) Max(imus) trib.pot. XXI cos. XIII a senatu populoque Romano pater patriae appellatus.*

“A festival day by senatorial decree because on that day Emperor Caesar Augustus, Chief Priest, holding tribunician power for the 21<sup>st</sup> time, consul a 13<sup>th</sup> time was hailed Father of the Fatherland by the Senate and the People.”

Suet. *Life of the Divine Augustus*. 58.1:

Everyone, abruptly and with complete unanimity, proffered him the name of Father of the Fatherland (*patris patriae cognomen universi repentino maximoque consensu detulerunt ei*): first the commons (*plebs*), via a legion sent to Antium; then, because he declined it, again at Rome as he entered the theatre, a capacity crowd, wreathed with laurel; soon afterwards the Senate in the House, not by a decree or by acclamation (*neque decreto neque adclamatione*), but through Valerius Messala.

### **Rome after the Death of Augustus:**

Tacitus *Annals* 1.3.7:

“At home, calm prevailed, the names of the magistrates were the same; the younger men had been born after the victory at Actium, and even most of the older men during the civil wars. How many were left who had seen the *res publica*?”

## An Augustan Timeline

(utilizing Dietmar Kienast, *Römische Kaisertabelle* (Darmstadt, 1990); and P.A. Brunt & J.M. Moore, *Res gestae Divi Augusti. The Achievements of the Divine Augustus* (Oxford, 1967), Alison Cooley, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti. Text, Translation, and Commentary* (Cambridge, 2009); Jochen Bleicken, *Augustus. The Biography* (Eng. trans. 2105), 717–23.

[Some of these dates are debated.]

The abbreviated references below are to the *fasti*. The *fasti* are calendars of festivals recorded in inscriptions. They record events to be celebrated annually. FAmit = the *fasti Amiternini* (the calendar from Amiternum); FAntMin = *fasti Antiates Ministrorum Domus Augustae* (the calendar from Antium); FARv = *fasti fratrum Arvalium* (the calendar of the Arval brethren); FCum = *feriale Cumanum* (the list of festivals [*feriae*] from Cumae); FMaff. = *fasti Maffeiani*; FOst = *fasti Ostienses* (the calendar from Ostia); FPraen = *fasti Praenestini* (the calendar from Praeneste); FVen = *fasti Venusini* (the calendar from Venusia); FVerul = *fasti Verulani* (the calendar from Veroli)

I have taken the liberty of arbitrarily **boldening** certain episodes that I deem to have been especially important in this period. Monetary and grain donations/distributions (*impensae* — “expenses”) are indented.

The HSC Examiners sometimes ask questions about the women of the period and sometimes ask questions about the role of Agrippa. For that reason I have **boldened** the names of **Agrippa**, **Octavia**, **Livia** and **Julia**.

**63 BCE / B.C.** (23 September)

**BIRTH** (as C. Octavius)

— the son of C. Octavius and Atia (the niece of Caesar)

**59**

Death of father (C. Octavius)

**51**

Funeral Oration for his grandmother Julia

**49–44**

ROMAN CIVIL WAR

**48** (18 Oct)

Took up the *toga virilis* (the toga of manhood)

Appointment as *pontifex* (Priest) (FCum; cf. FAntMin [19 Oct])

**47** (April/May)

Appointed Prefect of the City (for the holding of the Latin Games)

**46** (Sept)

Awarded military decorations on the occasion of Caesar’s African Triumph (purely honorary)

Travels to Spain (to join Caesar on campaign)

**45** (Sept./Oct.)

Travels to Apollonia (for study)

The family of the Octavii are elevated to patrician rank and status.

**44** (beginning)

Designated to be *magister equitum* (“Master of the Cavalry”)

— a sort of Deputy to the Dictator (Caesar)

**44** (15 March)

The **Assassination of Caesar**. The day is *nefas* (FMaff.)

Adopted in Caesar’s will (“testamentary adoption”)

**44** (8 May)

Official acceptance of Caesar’s will

**44** (late May/June)

300 sesterces given to each member of the Roman *Plebs*

— to at least 250,000 individuals (possibly as many as 300,000)

Advanced / co-opted by senatorial vote to the ranks of the Senate

**44** (20–30 July)

*ludi Victoriae Caesaris* (Games in celebration of Caesar’s Victories)

Appearance of the *sidus Iulium* (Julian star) (FAmit.)

**44** (October)

Raises an army against Marc Antony, the consul.

**44** (around Nov. 10)

**Marches his private army on Rome**

**43** (2 Jan.)

Awarded, by senatorial vote, *imperium propraetore*

(the right to command an army with the rank of *praetor*)

Advanced / co-opted by senatorial vote to the ranks of the Senate

**43** (April)

Battles around Mutina (where Marc Antony is besieging Dec. Brutus)

(14 April)

Battle at Forum Gallicum. The armies of the two consuls (Hirtius and Pansa) and “young Caesar” face the army of Antony. Pansa is killed.

(16 April)

First Acclamation as *imperator*

(21 April)

Battle at Mutina

The armies of “young Caesar” and Hirtius defeat Antony.

Antony flees. Hirtius is fatally wounded.

**43** (August)

**Marches his army on Rome.**

**43** (19 Aug.)

**First Consulship** (FCum)

A *lex curiata* (a law) confirms his adoption.

Octavius was now **Gaius Iulius Caesar, son of Gaius**

(“**Octavian[us]**”) to those who wanted to emphasise his origins.)

*Res Gestae* 1:

“At the age of nineteen, on my own initiative and at my own expense (*privato consilio et privata impensa*), I raised an army by means of which I championed the liberty of the state (*res publica*), which had been oppressed by the tyranny (*dominatio*) of a faction. Because of this, the senate, with honorific decrees, enrolled me in its order, in the consulship of Gaius Pansa and Aulus Hirtius, giving me at the same time a consular place in the order of speaking; it also gave me *imperium* (the right to command an army). It ordered me as propraetor, along with the consuls, “to see that the state/public affairs (*res publica*) suffered no harm.” In the same year, moreover, as both consuls had fallen in war, the people elected me consul and a triumvir for setting the state/public affairs (*res publica*) in order.”

- 43** (27 Nov.) The *lex Titia* (the law of Titius) confirms **the establishment of the Triumvirate** (of M. Antony, M. Aemilius Lepidus and “young Caesar”) — **III VIRATUS REI PUBLICAE CONSTITUENDAE** (a Board of Three for Settling Public Affairs)  
Proscriptions.
- 42** (early January) The *consecratio Caesaris* (“the consecration of Caesar”)  
The deceased Caesar (the Dictator) was consecrated as divine.<sup>1</sup>  
“Young Caesar” was now **Gaius Iulius Caesar Divi filius, son of the Divine Battle(s) of Philippi** (FPraen)
- 42** (Oct. 23) *Res Gestae* 2:  
“Those who slew my father I drove into exile, punishing their deed by due process of law and afterwards when they waged war upon the state (*res publica*) I twice defeated them in battle.”
- From around **41** Augur  
**41** Organizes distribution of land to army veterans.  
**41** (late in year) Lucius Antonius, consul, has the “young Caesar” declared an Enemy of the State.  
**40** (end of Feb.) Capture of Perugia. Imprisonment of L. Antonius.  
**40** (autumn) Treaty of Brundisium. Antony agrees to marry **Octavia**.  
**40** (Oct/early Nov.) First *ovatio* (lesser-triumph)  
Assumption of the *praenomen* (first name) *Imperator*  
He is now **Imperator Iulius Caesar Divi f.** (General Julius Caesar, son of the Divine)
- 39** (early) Treaty of Misenum. Peace between the Triumvirs and Sextus Pompey.  
“Young Caesar” agrees to marry **Scribonia** (sister of an ally of Pompey).
- 39** (late) His daughter **Julia** is born. He divorces Scribonia.  
**38** (17 Jan.) Marries **Livia Drusilla** (FVerul)
- 37** As consul, **Agrippa** applies himself to building up the navy.  
**37** (Sept./Oct.) Treaty of Tarentum  
(Imp. Caesar, Antony and Lepidus extend the Triumvirate for five more years.)
- 36** (August) Sea-Battle of Mylae. **Agrippa** defeats Sextus Pompey.  
**36** (Sept. 3) Sea-Battle of Naulochus. Won by **Agrippa**. Final defeat of Sextus Pompey. (FAMit)  
**Agrippa** is awarded a ‘naval crown’.
- 36** (Sep. 22) Lepidus ‘retires’.  
**36** (Nov. 13) *Ovatio* for the victory in Sicily  
Awarded *sacrosanctitas tribunicia* (“tribunician inviolability”)
- 35** War in Illyria  
**35** Unprecedented honours given to **Livia** and **Octavia**, inc. tribunician inviolability.  
*Quindecemvir sacris faciundis*
- From around **37/35**  
**33** (Jan. 1 – Dec. 31) **Consul** (a second time) **Cos. II**  
**33** As aedile, **Agrippa**, applies himself to a grand building program, maintenance of public works, drainage and sewerage and public games.
- 33** (Dec. 31) End of Triumvirate  
**32** “The whole of Italy” swore an oath of allegiance to Imp. Caesar.  
“The whole of Italy (*tota Italia*) voluntarily took an oath of allegiance to me and demanded me as its leader (*dux*) in the war in which I was victorious at Actium.” (*Res Gestae* 25)
- 31** (Jan 1 – Dec. 31) Consul (a third time) **Cos. III**  
**31**(Sept. 2) The **Battle of Actium**, the definitive defeat of Antony and Cleopatra.  
**Agrippa** was crucial to that military success.
- 30** (Jan 1 – Dec. 31) Consul (a fourth time) **Cos. IV**  
**30** (August 1) The capture of Alexandria.

<sup>1</sup> Here I follow Stefan Weinstock, *Divus Julius* (Oxford, 1971), 386, following Dio 47.18.3–4, rather than Kienast who dates the *consecratio* to 40 BCE.

Marc Antony commits suicide.  
Cleopatra commits suicide.

“I added Egypt to the empire of the Roman people (*imperium populi R*)” (*Res Gestae* 27)

29 (Jan 1 – Dec. 31)	Consul	<b>Cos. V</b>
29 (Jan. 11)	The Closing of the doors of the temple of Janus (Orosius 6.20.1) “Janus Quirinus, which our ancestors ordered to be closed whenever there was peace, secured by victory, throughout the whole domain of the Roman people on land and sea, and which, before my birth is recorded to have been closed but twice in all since the foundation of the city, the senate ordered to be closed thrice while I was princeps.” ( <i>Res Gestae</i> 13) [This is a passage that was quoted in 2012 HSC Examination paper.]	
29 (Aug. 13–15)	Triple Triumph Gave 400 sesterces to each member of the <i>Plebs</i> from war booty. Gave 1,000 sesterces to every one of his veteran colonists (about 120,000)	
29 (Aug. 18)	Opening of the Temple of <i>Divus Iulius</i> (the divine Julius Caesar) (F <sub>AntMin</sub> )	
29 (Aug. 28)	Dedication of the Altar of Victory in the Senate House (F <sub>Maff.</sub> )	
28 (Jan 1 – Dec. 31)	Consul (with <b>Agrippa</b> )	<b>Cos. VI</b>
28	“Young Caesar” was hailed <i>princeps senatus</i> (“First Man of the Senate”) As consul, with <b>Agrippa</b> , held a <i>census</i> of the Roman People. Dedication of the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine (F <sub>AntMin</sub> )	
28 (Oct. 9)		
28–27		
28	<b>In my sixth and seventh consulships, when I had extinguished civil war, by universal consent in control (<i>potens</i>) of all things, I transferred the <i>res publica</i> (the State?, public affairs?) from my own potestas (control / power) (<i>ex mea potestate</i>) to the discretion (<i>arbitrium</i>) of the Senate and the Roman People.</b> ( <i>Res Gestae</i> 34)	
28	“[After] twenty years of continuous disharmony and civil strife ( <i>discordia</i> ), during which law and custom ceased to exist ( <i>non mos, non ius</i> ); villainy was immune; and decency was often a sentence of death. . . . <b>in his sixth consulate</b> , [young] Caesar, feeling his power secure ( <i>potentiae securus</i> ), cancelled the decrees of the triumvirate, and presented us with laws ( <i>iura</i> ) to serve us in times of peace and a First Man ( <i>pace et principe</i> — “under Peace and a Princeps”) (Tacitus, <i>Annals</i> 3.38.2; cf. <i>Res Gestae</i> 7.1)	
28	A gold coin ( <i>aureus</i> ) proclaimed: Imperator Caesar Divi filius restored laws and rights to the Roman People ( <i>leges et iura P.R. restituit</i> ).	
27 (Jan 1 – Dec. 31)	Consul (with <b>Agrippa</b> )	<b>Cos. VII</b>
27 (Jan 13)	Awarded the <i>corona civica</i> (the civic [oak] crown) (F <sub>Praen.</sub> )	
27 (Jan. 16)	<b>Named AUGUSTUS</b> by decree of the Senate (F <sub>Cum.</sub> , F <sub>Praen.</sub> ) From this time on, he was <b>IMPERATOR CAESAR DIVI FILIUS AUGUSTUS</b> .  “ <b>After that time I excelled all in <i>auctoritas</i> (influence / moral authority), but I possessed no more <i>potestas</i> (formal power) than colleagues whom I, too, had in any magistracy.</b> ” ( <i>Res Gestae</i> 34.3)  This is a passage that was quoted in 2011 HSC Examination paper	
	<b>Assignment of the <i>imperium proconsulare</i> (proconsular command of his provinces) for 10 years.</b> Augustus would govern the strategically important provinces, like <i>Hispania</i> , Gaul, Syria and Egypt — customarily through <i>legati</i> (“legates”), subordinate officers under his overall command, or, in the case of Egypt, a Prefect. He thus took up a ‘burden’ — and retained command of most of the legions.  “Augustus kept for himself all the more vigorous provinces — those that could not be safely administered by an annual governor; the remainder went to proconsuls chosen by lot. Yet, as occasion arose, he would change the status of provinces from imperial to senatorial, or contrawise [vice-versa].” (Suetonius, <i>Life of Augustus</i> 47).  This is a passage that was quoted in 2013 HSC Examination paper.	
27 (May/June)	Departure for Gaul (staying until the end of 27)	
27–24	Absent in <i>Hispania</i> and Gaul.	
26 (Jan 1 – Dec. 31)	Consul	<b>Cos. VIII</b>
26–25	Command of the Cantabrian War in <i>Hispania</i>	
25 (Jan 1 – Dec. 31)	Consul	<b>Cos. IX</b>
25	Second Closing of the Temple Doors of Janus	



25 (Sept. 23)	Dedication of the Temple of Neptune by <b>Agrippa</b> (FARv)	
25	<b>Julia</b> marries Marcus Claudius Marcellus	
24 (Jan 1 – Dec. 31)	Consul	<b>Cos. X</b>
24 (June)	Return to Rome	
24	400 sesterces was given to each member of the <i>Plebs</i> .	
23 (Jan 1 – June)	Consul	<b>Cos. XI</b>
23	Made free grain distributions to top up the grain dole to the urban <i>Plebs</i> .	
23	Conspiracy of L. Varro Murena and Fannius Caepio (in 22, according to Dio 54.3)	
	The would-be assassins were apprehended by “public authority” ( <i>oppressi auctoritate publica</i> ) (Velleius Paterculus 2.91.2)	
23 (June)	Serious illness of Augustus	
(before July?)	Abdication of the Consulship	
	<b>Augustus receives <i>imperium proconsulare maius</i></b> (“greater proconsular power”) and <b><i>tribunicia potestas</i></b> (Tribunician Power) beginning June 26 ... <b><i>Trib. Pot I</i></b>	
23 (after Aug. 1)	Marcellus dies.	
22	Rejection of both the dictatorship and the consulship, yearly and/or for life.	
22	Acceptance of the <i>cura annonae</i> (“care of the corn supply”)	
	Suetonius <i>Divus Augustus</i> 52: “... And when the people pushed him to accept the dictatorship, he fell down on one knee, with his toga thrown over his shoulders, begging with bared breast to be excused.”	
	<i>Res gestae</i> 5.1: “The dictatorship, both in my absence and in my presence, offered to me by both the senate and by the People, in the consulship of M. Marcellus and L. Arruntius, I would not accept ( <i>non recepi</i> )”	
	<i>Res gestae</i> 5.3: “And at that time, the consulship, to be held annually and perpetually, when offered to me, I would not accept ( <i>non recepi</i> )”	
	<i>Res gestae</i> 5.2: I did not decline in (this) great shortage of grain, the oversight of the corn supply ( <i>curatio annonae</i> ), which I so administered, that in a few days all citizens were liberated from fear and danger — at my own cost and my own concern ( <i>impensa et cura mea</i> ).	
22 (June 26)–21 (June 25)	<i>Tribunicia potestas</i> (“tribunician power”) is renewed annually.	<b><i>trib.pot. II</i></b>
	Travels to Sicily and the East.	
22 (Sept. 1)	Dedication of the Temple of Jupiter the Thunderer in Rome (FAMit)	
22–19	Absent in the East.	
21	<b>Julia</b> marries <b>Agrippa</b>	
21 (June 26)–20 (June 25)	<i>Tribunicia potestas</i> (“tribunician power”) is renewed annually.	<b><i>trib.pot. III</i></b>
20	Settlement with Armenia and Parthia.	
20 (June 26)–19 (June 25)	<i>Tribunicia potestas</i> (“tribunician power”) is renewed annually.	<b><i>trib.pot. IV</i></b>
20 (Aug./Sept.)	Gaius Caesar is born (to <b>Julia</b> and <b>Agrippa</b> )	
19 (May 12)	Dedication of the Temple of Mars Ultor on the Capitol? (FCum)	
19	‘Conspiracy’ of Egnatius Rufus. Egnatius is imprisoned and executed.	
19 (Oct. 12)	Return from the East. Altar of <i>Fortuna Redux</i> (Returning Fortune) voted (FAMit)	
	Foundation of the <i>Augustalia</i> .	
19 (June 26)–18 (June 25)		<b><i>trib.pot. V</i></b>
19 (autumn)	Conferment of <i>imperium consulare</i>	
19 (Dec. 15)	Altar of <i>Fortuna Redux</i> consecrated.	
18	Helping out the public treasury “From the consulship of Gnaeus and Publius Lentulus, whenever the (public) taxes) were insufficient, I made distributions of grain and money-sometimes to 100,000 men, sometimes more— from my own granary and private wealth” ( <i>Res Gestae</i> 18)	
18	Moral legislation — <i>leges Iuliae de maritandis ordinibus</i> and <i>de adulteriis</i> (“The Julian Laws on Marriage of the Orders and on Adultery”) “... the senate and the people of Rome agreed that I be appointed <i>curator legum et morum summa potestate solus</i> (“supervisor of laws and morals with supreme power and alone”), but I would not accept any office inconsistent with the ways of the ancestors ( <i>contra morem maiorum</i> ). The things that the senate wished me to do, I did by virtue of my tribunician power, and five times—of my own accord—I asked for and received from the senate a colleague in that power” ( <i>Res gestae</i> 6.1–2)	

18	<b>Agrippa</b> becomes his colleague in tribunician power and in <i>imperium</i> . Reconstitution of the Senate. <b>Imperium proconsulare (proconsular command of his provinces) extended for 5 years.</b>	
18 (June 26)– 17 (June 25) 17 (early) 17	Lucius Caesar is born (to <b>Julia</b> and <b>Agrippa</b> ) Adoption of Gaius and Lucius Caesar Secular Games	<i>trib.pot. VI</i>
17 (June 26)– 16 (June 25) 17–early 13 16 (early Summer)	<b>Agrippa</b> with <b>Julia</b> tours the East. <i>Clades Lolliana</i> (“The Lollius Disaster”) A Roman army was defeated by the Sugambri on the Rhine. Departure of Augustus for Gaul.	<i>trib.pot. VII</i>
16 (June 26)– 15 (June 25) 16–13 16	Augustus in Gaul. Beginning of the great northern campaigns of stepsons Drusus and Tiberius.	<i>trib.pot. VIII</i>
15 (June 26)– 14 (June 25) 14 (June 26)– 13 (June 25) 13 (June 26)– 12 (June 25) 13 (July 4)	Return to Rome. Vowing of the <i>Ara Pacis</i> (the Altar of Peace)	<i>trib.pot. IX</i> <i>trib.pot. X</i> <i>trib.pot. XI</i>
13 13	<b>Agrippa</b> ’s tribunician power is renewed. <b>Imperium proconsulare (proconsular command of his provinces) extended for 5 years.</b>	
13 12 (March 6 <sup>th</sup> ) 12 (March) 12 (late March / early April)	Lepidus dies. Election as Pontifex Maximus (Chief Priest) (F. Praen.) Death of <b>Agrippa</b> Funeral Speech in honour of <b>Agrippa</b>	
12 12 (April 28) 12 (Aug. 1)	<b>Julia</b> is engaged to Tiberius (while pregnant to the deceased <b>Agrippa</b> ) Consecration of the statue and altar of Vesta on the Palatine (FPraen.) Inauguration of <i>ara Romae et Augusti</i> in Lugdunum (Lyon) (Suetonius <i>Life of Divus Claudius</i> 2.1; Dio 54.32.1)	
12 12 (June 26)– 11 (June 25) 12	Birth of Agrippa Postumus 400 sesterces was given to each member of the <i>Plebs</i> . (Possibly to celebrate his elevation to the Chief priesthood; possibly to acknowledge to the legacy left by <b>Agrippa</b> )	<i>trib.pot. XII</i>
11 (Feb. 12) 11 (May 4) 11 11 (June 26)– 10 (June 25) (end of year) 11/10 (winter) 10	<b>Julia</b> marries Tiberius. Inauguration of the Theatre of Marcellus (Pliny, <i>Natural History</i> 8.65) Death of <b>Octavia</b> Minor Travel to Gaul Sojourn in Lugdunum Third closure of the Doors of the Temple of Janus. <b>Julia</b> gives birth to a son of Tiberius (who dies shortly afterwards) Funeral oration for <b>Octavia</b> Minor.	<i>trib.pot. XIII</i>
10 (June 26)– 9 (June 25) 9 (Jan. 30)	Dedication of the <i>Ara Pacis</i> (Altar of Peace) (FPraen.) Decree of the Governor Paullus Fabius Maximus on the reform of the Calendar in the Province of Asia	<i>trib.pot. XIV</i>

### The New Calendar of Asia (9 BC)

OGIS (*Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, ed. Dittenberger) 458 [= Robert Sherck (ed.), *Roman Documents from the Greek East* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1969), no. 65 328–37; Sherck (ed.) *Rome and the Greek East to the death of Augustus* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1984), no. 101, pp. 124–127], lines 30–36; 40–41; 49–52.

It has been decreed by the Greeks of Asia on the motion of the high-priest Apollonius ...; since *Theios* (Providence/the Deity), which has divinely guided our lives, having employed zeal and ardour, has arranged the most perfect (culmination) for life by producing Augustus, whom for the benefit of mankind she has filled with excellence ... for this reason, with Good Fortune and for our salvation (*soteria*), it has been decreed by the Greeks in Asia that the **New Year**’s first month shall begin for all cities on the ninth day before the Kalends of October (**September 23**), which is the **birthday of Augustus**. ...

	Review of the senate in Rome.	
9 (June 26)— 8 (June 25)		<i>trib.pot. XV</i>
9 (later in year)	Funeral oration for Drusus.	
8	<b>Imperium proconsulare (proconsular command of his provinces) extended for 5 years.</b>	
8	Calendar Reform in Rome	
8	<b>The naming of the month of ‘August’</b>	
	<i>Senatus Consultum de mense Augusto</i> (Senate Resolution concerning the month of <i>Augustus</i> ) (Macrob. <i>Sat.</i> 1.12.35)	
	“Whereas in the month of <i>Sextilis</i> , Emperor Caesar Augustus both entered his first consulship and entered the city three times in Triumph, and legions brought down from the Janiculum followed his auspices and moral credibility; and whereas in this month Egypt was brought under the power of the Roman people; and whereas in this month the civil wars were ended; and whereas for these reasons this month is and has been the most fortunate for this realm; it is the senate’s will that this month be called <i>August</i> .”	
8	Division of Rome into 4 Regions Travels to Gaul	
8 (June 26)— 7 (June 25)		<i>trib.pot. XVI</i>
7 (June 26)— 6 (June 25)		<i>trib.pot. XVII</i>
6	Tiberius is made a colleague in tribunician power, but retires to Rhodes.	
6 (June 26)— 5 (June 25)		<i>trib.pot. XVIII</i>
5 (Jan 1 – Dec. 31)	Consul	<b>Cos. XII</b>
5	Gaius Caesar adopts the <i>toga virilis</i> (“toga of manhood”) and is introduced to public life as <i>princeps iuventutis</i> (“First Among Youth”) 240 sesterces was given apiece to 320,000 members of the urban <i>Plebs</i>	
5 (June 26)— 4 (June 25)		<i>trib.pot. XIX</i>
4 (June 26)— 3 (June 25)		<i>trib.pot. XX</i>
4 (July 27)	Restoration of the Temple of the <i>Lares</i> , on <i>via Sacra</i> (F <i>Ant</i> M <i>in</i> ; Ovid, <i>Fasti</i> 6.791)	
3	<b>Imperium proconsulare (proconsular command of his provinces) extended for 10 years.</b>	
3 (June 26)— 2 (June 25)		<i>trib.pot. XXI</i>
2 (Jan 1 – Dec. 31)	Consul	<b>Cos. XIII</b>
2 (Feb. 5)	Award of the title <b><i>Pater patriae</i></b> (“ <b>Father of the Fatherland</b> ”) “During my thirteenth consulship [2 BCE] the Senate and the equestrian order and the entire Roman people named me Father of the Fatherland ( <i>pater patriae</i> ) ... ( <i>Res Gestae</i> 35.1).”  <i>Feriae ex s(enatus c(onsulto) quod eo die imp. Caesar Augustus pont(ifex) Max(imus) trib.pot. XXI cos. XIII a senatu populoque Romano pater patriae appellatus.</i> “A festival day by senatorial decree because on that day Imperator Caesar Augustus, Chief Priest, holding tribunician power for the 21 <sup>st</sup> time, consul a 13 <sup>th</sup> time was hailed Father of the Fatherland by the Senate and the People.” (F <i>Praen.</i> )  Everyone, abruptly and with complete unanimity, proffered him the name of Father of the Fatherland ( <i>pater patriae cognomen univ[er]si repentino maximoque consensu detulerunt ei</i> ): first the commons ( <i>plebs</i> ), via a legation sent to Antium; then, because he declined it, again at Rome as he entered the theatre, a capacity crowd, wreathed with laurel; soon afterwards the Senate in the House, not by a decree or by acclamation ( <i>neque decreto neque adclaminatione</i> ), but through Valerius Messala. (Suetonius, <i>Divus Augustus</i> 58.1)	
2 (May 12)	Opening of the <b>Forum of Augustus</b>	
2 (June 26)— 1 (June 25)		<i>trib.pot. XXII</i>
2 (Aug. 1)	Dedication of the Temple of Mars Ultor (Mars the Avenger) Lucius Caesar adopts the <i>toga virilis</i> (“toga of manhood”) and is also introduced to public life as <i>princeps iuventutis</i> (“First Among Youth”) 60 <i>denarii</i> (240 sesterces) was given to each member of the <i>plebs frumentaria</i> (the plebeians who received the grain dole)	
2 (late)	Tiberius divorces <b>Julia</b> <b>Julia</b> is exiled to the Island of Pandateria	
1 B.C. / BCE		
1 (June 26)— AD 1 (June 25)		<i>trib.pot. XXIII</i>

**AD 1 / 1 CE**

<b>1</b> (June 26)– <b>2</b> (June 25)		<i>trib.pot. XXIV</i>
<b>2</b> (Aug. 2)	Lucius Caesar dies in Massilia (Marseilles) (FAntMin)	
<b>2</b>	Tiberius returns from Rhodes.	
<b>2</b> (June 26)– <b>3</b> (June 25)		<i>trib.pot. XXV</i>
<b>3</b>	<b>Julia</b> is relocated to Rhegium ( <i>Reggio Calabria</i> )	
<b>3</b> (June 26)– <b>4</b> (June 25)		<i>trib.pot. XXVI</i>
<b>4</b> (Feb. 21 or 22)	Caius Caesar dies in Lycia (FVerul)	
<b>4</b> (June 26)– <b>5</b> (June 25)		<i>trib.pot. XXVII</i>
<b>4</b> (June 26/7)	Adoption of Tiberius and Agrippa Postumus. Tiberius is made a partner in tribunician power.	
<b>5</b> (June 26)– <b>6</b> (June 25)		<i>trib.pot. XXVIII</i>
<b>6–9</b>	Revolts in Pannonia and Dalmatia	
<b>6</b> (Jan.27)	Dedication of the Temple of Castor and Pollux (FPraen)	
<b>6</b> (Jan.17)	Dedication of the Altar of the <i>Numen Augusti</i> ("Divine Power of Augustus") in Rome. (FPraen)	
<b>6</b> (first half of year)	170,000,000 sesterces was transferred from Augustus' private funds to the military treasury to assist the settlement of veterans.	
<b>6</b> (June 26)– <b>7</b> (June 25)		<i>trib.pot. XXIX</i>
<b>6</b>	During a shortage, Augustus supplemented the grain dole (Dio 55.26.3)	
<b>6</b>	Setting up of the <i>cohorts vigilum</i> — the cohort of <i>Vigiles</i> (the Night Watch, the fire-fighters)	
<b>7</b> (June 26)– <b>8</b> (June 25)		<i>trib.pot. XXX</i>
<b>7</b> (Aug. 10)	Dedication of the Altar of <i>Ceres Mater and Ops Augusta</i> (FAmit.)	
<b>8</b> (June 26)– <b>9</b> (June 25)		<i>trib.pot. XXXI</i>
<b>9</b> (June 26)– <b>10</b> (June 25)		<i>trib.pot. XXXII</i>
<b>9</b> (Sept.)	The 'Varian Disaster' in Germany The <i>lex Papia Poppaea</i> (the Papiian-Poppaeian Law concerning).	
<b>10</b> (June 26)– <b>11</b> (June 25)		<i>trib.pot. XXXIII</i>
<b>11</b> (June 26)– <b>12</b> (June 25)		<i>trib.pot. XXXIV</i>
<b>11</b> (Sept. 22)	The <i>Ara Numinis Augusti</i> (the Altar of August's divine power) was voted in Narbo (Gaul).	
<b>12</b> (June 26)– <b>13</b> (June 25)		<i>trib.pot. XXXV</i>
<b>13</b>	<b><i>Imperium proconsulare</i> (proconsular command of his provinces) extended for 10 years.</b>	
<b>13</b> (Jan. 8)	Setting up of the statue ( <i>signum</i> ) of <i>Iustitia Augustae</i> by Tiberius	
<b>13</b> (April 3)	The writing of Augustus' will (Suet. <i>Aug.</i> 101.1)	
<b>13</b> (June 26)– <b>14</b> (June 25)		<i>trib.pot. XXXVI</i>
<b>14</b> (May 11)	Census conducted (with Tiberius)	
<b>14</b> (June 26 – Aug. 19)		<i>trib.pot. XXXVII</i>
<b>14</b> (Aug. 19)	<b>Augustus dies</b> at Nola (in Campania) (FAntMin.FOst.)	
<b>14</b> (Sept.14)	Augustus is consecrated as <b>DIVUS AUGUSTUS</b> (FAmit)	

**Rome in AD 14 / 14 CE**

At home, calm prevailed, the names of the magistrates were the same; the younger men had been born after the victory at Actium, and even most of the older men during the civil wars. How many were left who had seen the *res publica*?  
(Tacitus Annals, 1.3.7)