Directions
You may write in this book during perusal time.

After the examination
Take this book when you leave the examination room.
Planning space
Notified sources (Sources A–L)

Source A – Tacitus Annals I. ii, iii. 7–iv. 2

After the death of Brutus and Cassius, there was no longer any army loyal to the Republic; Pompey had been crushed at Sicily; and, with Lepidus deposed and Antony dead, not even the Julian faction had any leader left except Caesar. Then, laying aside the title of triumvir and parading as a consul, and professing himself satisfied with the tribunical power for the protection of the plebs, Augustus enticed the soldiers with gifts, the people with grain, and all men with the allurement of peace, and gradually grew in power, concentrating in his own hands the functions of the senate, the magistrates, and the laws. No one opposed him, for the most courageous had fallen in battle or in the proscription. As for the remaining nobles, the readier they were for slavery, the higher were they raised in wealth and offices, so that, aggrandized by the revolution, they preferred the safety of the present to the perils of the past.

N Lewis and M Reinhold, Roman Civilization, p. 556

Source B – Cassius Dio, Roman History LIII. Xvii. I–xviii. 3, xxi. 3–7

The offices established by the laws, it is true, are maintained even now, except that of censor; but the entire direction and administration is absolutely in accordance with the wishes of the one in power at the time. And yet, in order to preserve the appearance of having this authority not through their power but by virtue of the laws, the emperors have taken to themselves all the offices (including the titles) which under the Republic possessed great power with the consent of the people – with the exception of the dictatorship. Thus, they very often become consuls, and they are always styled proconsuls whenever they are outside the pomerium. The title imperator is held by them for life, not only by those who have won victories in battle but also by all the rest, to indicate their absolute power, instead of the title “king” or “dictator”.

N Lewis and M Reinhold, Roman Civilization, p. 557

Source C – Cassius Dio, Roman History LIII. Xvii. I–xviii. 3, xxi. 3–7

Augustus did not enact all laws on his sole responsibility, but some of them he brought before the popular assembly in advance, in order that, if any features caused displeasure, he might learn it in time and correct them; for he encouraged everybody whatsoever to give him advice, in case anyone could think of any improvement in them, and he accorded them great freedom of speech; and he actually changed some provisions. Most important of all, he took as advisers for periods of six months the consuls (or the other consul, when he himself also held the office), one of each of the other kinds of officials, and fifteen men chosen by lot from the remainder of the senatorial body, so that it was his custom to communicate proposed legislation after a fashion through these to all the other senators. For although he brought some matters before the whole senate, he generally followed this course, considering it better to take under preliminary advisement in a leisurely fashion most matters, and especially the most important ones, in consultation with a few; and sometimes he even sat with these men in trials. The senate as a body, it is true, continued to sit in judgement as before, and in certain cases transacted business with embassies and envoys from both peoples and kings’ and the people and the plebs, moreover, continued to come together for the elections’ but nothing was actually done that did not please Caesar. At any rate, in the case of those who were to hold office, he himself selected and nominated some; and though he left the election of others in the hands of the people and the plebs, in accordance with the ancient practice, yet he took care that no persons should hold office who were unfit or elected as the result of factious combinations or bribery.

N Lewis and M Reinhold, Roman Civilization, p. 559
Source D – *The Accomplishments of Augustus* (Res Gestae Divi Augusti). A list of first lines from each section. [Source D must be used in your response.]

1. At the age of nineteen, on my own initiative and at my own expense, I raised an army by means of which I liberated the Republic, which was oppressed by the tyranny of a faction.

2. Those who assassinated my father I drove into exile, avenging their crime by due process of law.

3. I waged many wars throughout the whole world by land and by sea, both civil and foreign, and when victorious I spared all citizens who sought pardon.

4. Twice I celebrated ovations, three times curule triumphs, and I was acclaimed *imperator* twenty-one times.

5. The dictatorship offered to me in the consulship of Marcus Marcellus and Lucius Arruntius [22 B.C.] by the people and by the senate, both in my absence and in my presence, I refused to accept.

6. In the consulship of Marcus Vinicius and Quintus Lucretius, though the Roman senate and people unitedly agreed that I should be elected sole guardian of the laws and morals with supreme authority, I refused to accept any office offered me which was contrary to the traditions of our ancestors.

7. I was a member of the triumvirate for the settlement of the commonwealth for ten consecutive years.

8. In my fifth consulship I increased the number of patricians, by people and senate.

9. The senate decreed that vows for my health should be offered up every fifth year by the consuls and priests.

10. My name was inserted, by decree of the senate, in the hymn of the Salian priests.

11. To commemorate my return from Syria, the senate consecrated an altar to Fortune the Home bringer before the temple of Honour and Virtue at the Porta Capena.

12. On this occasion, by decree of the senate, a portion of the praetors and tribunes of the plebs, were sent to Campania to meet me, an honour which up to this time has been decreed to no one but myself.

13. The temple of Janus Quirinus, which our ancestors desired to be closed whenever peace with victory was secured by sea and by land throughout the entire empire of the Roman people, was during my principate three times ordered by the senate to be closed.

14. My sons Gaius and Lucius Caesar, were made consuls designate by the Roman senate and people when they were fifteen years old.

15. To the Roman plebs I paid 300 sesterces apiece in accordance with the will of my father [i.e. Julius Caesar].

16. I reimbursed municipalities for the lands which I assigned to my soldiers in my fourth consulship.

17. Four times I came to the assistance of the treasury with my own money.

18. From the year in which Gnaeus Lentulus and Publius Lentulus were consuls, whenever the provincial taxes fell short I made up their tribute in grain and in money from my own grain stores and my own patrimony.

19. I built the following structures: the senate house and the Chalcidicum adjoining it; the temple of Apollo on the Palatine with its porticoes; the temple of the deified Julius; the Lupercal: the portico at the Circus Flaminius, which I allowed to be called Octavia after the name of the man who had built an earlier portico on the same site; the state box at the Circus Maximus; the temples of Jupiter the Smiter and Jupiter the Thunderer on the Capitoline; the temple of Quirinus; the temples of Minerva and Queen Juno and of Jupiter Freedom on the Aventine; the temple of
the Lares at the head of the Sacred Way; the temple of the Penates on the Velia; the temple of Youth and the temple of the Great Mother on the Palatine.

20. I repaired the Capitol and the theatre of Pompey with enormous expenditures on both works, without having my name inscribed on them.

21. On my own private land I built the temple of Mars Ultor and the Augustan Forum from spoils of war.

22. I gave a gladiatorial show three times in my own name.

23. I presented to the people an exhibition of a naval battle across the Tiber.

24. When I was victorious I replaced in the temples of all the communities of the province of Asia the ornaments which my opponent [Mark Antony] in the war had seized for his private use after despoiling the temples.

25. I brought peace to the sea by suppressing the pirates.

26. I extended the frontiers of all the provinces of the Roman people whose boundaries were people not subject to our empire.

27. I added Egypt to the empire of the Roman people.


29. A number of military standards lost by other generals I recovered, after conquering the enemy, from Spain, Gaul and the Dalmatians.

30. Through Tiberius Nero, who was then my stepson and legate, I conquered and subjected to the empire of the Roman people the Pannonian tribes.

31. Royal embassies from India, never previously seen before any Roman general, were often sent to me.

32. The following kings fled to me as suppliants: Tiradates and afterwards Phraates son of King Phraates, kings of the Parthians; Artavasdes, king of the Medes; Artaxares, king of the Adiabenians; Dumnobellaunus and Tincormiuus, kings of the Britons; Maelo, king of the Sugumbrians, and Segimerus, king of the Marcomannian Suebians. Phraates son of Orodes, king of the Parthians, sent to me in Italy all his sons and grandsons, not because he was conquered in war, but seeking our friendship through pledge of his children.

33. The peoples of the Parthians and of the Medes, received from me the kings for whom they asked.

34. In my sixth and seventh consulships, after I had put an end to the civil wars, having attained supreme power by universal consent, I transferred the state from my own power to the control of the Roman senate and the people.

35. When I held my thirteenth consulship, the senate, the equestrian order, and the entire Roman people gave me the title of “father of the country’ and decreed that this title should be inscribed in the vestibule of my house, in the Julian senate house, and in the Augustan Forum on the pedestal of the chariot which was set up in my honour by decree of the senate.

N Lewis and M Reinhold, Roman Civilization, pp. 562–72

Source E – Horace, Odes IV. XV

As long as Caesar is the guardian of the state, neither civil dissension nor violence shall banish peace, nor wrath that forges swords and brings discord and misery to cities. Not those who drink the deep Danube shall violate the orders of Caesar, nor the Getae, nor the Seres, nor the perfidious Parthians, nor those born by the Don River.

N Lewis and M Reinhold, Roman Civilization, p. 574
Source F – Cassius Dio, *Roman History* LII. Xlii. 1–7

After this he held the office of censor, with Agrippa as his colleague, and in addition to other reforms which he instituted he purged the senate. For as a result of the civil wars a large number of *equites* and even of men of lower rank were in the senate unjustifiably, so that the membership of that body had swollen to a thousand. Now, though it was his wish to remove these men, he did not erase any of their names himself but urged them rather to become their own judges on the basis of their knowledge of their families and their lives; he thus first persuaded some fifty to withdraw from the senate voluntarily, and then compelled 140 others to imitate their example. He disfranchised none of them, but posted the names of the second group, sparing the members of the first group the reproach of the publication of their names, because they had not delayed but had straightway obeyed him. So these men returned to private life and he made some other men senators.

N Lewis and M Reinhold, *Roman Civilization*, pp. 577–78

Source G – Suetonius, *Life of Augustus* XXXV. 1-3, xxxvii. 1–2

Since the number of senators was swelled by a low-born and ill-assorted rabble (in fact, the senate numbered more than a thousand, some of whom were wholly unworthy and had been admitted after Caesar’s death through favour or bribery), he restored it to its former limits and distinction by two purges, one according to the choice of the members themselves, each man naming one other, and a second made by Agrippa and himself.

N Lewis and M Reinhold, *Roman Civilization*, p. 578

Source H – Justinian, *Digest* I. xii. I (abridged), xv. 3

Augustus held that the protection of the public security belonged to no one more than to the emperor, and that no one else was equal to the task; accordingly, he stationed seven cohorts in suitable places, so that each cohort protected two districts of the city; in command of the cohorts were tribunes, and at the head of all was an official … called the prefect of the night patrol.

N Lewis and M Reinhold, *Roman Civilization*, pp. 580–81

Source I – Cassius Dio, *Roman History* LV. Xxiii. I–xxiv. 8

It was therefore voted that 20000 sesterces should be given to members of the Praetorian Guard [upon discharge] after they had served sixteen years, and 12000 to the other legionaries after they had served twenty years. Twenty-three or, as others say, twenty-five legions of citizen soldiers were being supported at this time.

N Lewis and M Reinhold, *Roman Civilization*, p. 583

Source J – Cassius Dio, *Roman History* LIII. Xii–xv

Augustus declared that he would not personally govern all the provinces, and that in the case of such provinces as he should govern he would not do so indefinitely. And he did, in fact, restore to the senate the weaker provinces, on the ground that they were peaceful and free from war, while he retained the more powerful ones, alleging that they were insecure and precarious and either had enemies on their borders or were able on their own account to begin a serious revolt. His professed motive in this was that the senate might enjoy without fears the finest portion of the empire, while he himself had the hardships and the dangers; but his real purpose was that by this arrangement the senators should be unarmed and peaceful, while he alone had arms and maintained soldiers.

N Lewis and M Reinhold, *Roman Civilization*, p. 586
Source K – Oath of Allegiance to Augustus

In the third year from the twelfth consulship of the Emperor Caesar Augustus, son of a god, March 6, in the … at Gangra, the following oath was taken by the inhabitants of Paphlagonia and the Roman businessmen dwelling among them:

I swear by Jupiter, Earth, Sun, by all the gods and goddesses, and by Augustus himself, that I will be loyal to Caesar Augustus and to his children and descendants all my life in word, in deed, and in thought, regarding as friends whomever they so regard, and considering as enemies whomever they so adjudge; that in defence of their interests I will spare neither body, soul, life, nor children, but will in every way undergo every danger in defence of their interests; that whenever I perceive or hear anything being said or planned of done against them I will lodge information about this and will be an enemy to whoever says or plans or does any such thing; and that whomever they adjudge to be enemies I will by land and sea, with weapons and sword, pursue and punish.

N Lewis and M Reinhold, *Roman Civilization*, p. 589

Source L – Vitruvius’ Dedication to Augustus – Vitruvius, Architecture I, Preface 2–3

I observed that you cared not only about the common life of men and the constitution of the state but also about the provision of suitable buildings; so that the state was not only made greater through you by its new provinces, but the majesty of the empire also was expressed through the eminent dignity of its public buildings. Hence I conceived that the opportunity should be taken at once of bringing before you my proposals about such things.

N Lewis and M Reinhold, *Roman Civilization*, p. 628

Unseen sources (Sources M–S)

Source M

In 27 BC Augustus was granted a ten-year commission to administer the provinces of Spain, Gaul and Syria with proconsular imperium. In 23 his imperium was officially recognised as superior to that of all other proconsuls – *maius imperium*. The provinces that he was ‘invited’ to control in 27 were those which required huge standing armies.

Augustus realised that the senate had failed in the past to curb ambitious commanders with large, loyal armies. In order to keep such men in their place and avoid a recurrence of civil wars – and also to maintain his own pre-eminence – he would need to make sure that most of Rome’s military power remained in his hands at all times. The empire was therefore divided into two provincial groups: those provinces which had been under Roman rule for a long time and were relatively peaceful and those which had recently been subdued or were more unruly and barbaric. The more peaceful and civilised were the public provinces, administered by the senate (senatorial provinces) while the ‘armed’ provinces were under the control of Augustus (imperial provinces).

Some of the senatorial provinces also needed the presence of military forces, and Augustus’ *maius imperium* entitled him to interfere in their affairs if necessary. However, as conditions changed within the empire, so the division of provincial responsibility changed: when an ‘armed’ province became more settled and troops were no longer needed, Augustus transferred it to the control of senate. All newly acquired territory came automatically under the control of Augustus.

Source O

On 13 Jan 27 B.C., Octavian transferred the State to the free disposal of the Senate and people, but he received Spain, Gaul, and Syria (in addition to Egypt) for ten years as his province with the greater part of the army, while preserving his consulate. On 16 Jan he received among many honours the title Augustus, which proclaimed his superior position in the State. The month Sextilis was called Augustus. A golden shield was set up in the Senate-house with an inscription commemorating his valour, clemency, justice, and piety; a replica found at Arles is dated 26 B.C. Possibly he was granted other powers. The Republic was restored, because his powers depended on the Senate and were formally to last only for ten years. Yet the forces in his hands were overwhelming and supported a moral authority even greater. Half the Empire had already sworn allegiance to him. The oath was extended to the other provinces, and probably the soldiers took a special oath of allegiance to him. In the East the cult of Augustus was associated with the existing cult of Roma. In the West many forms of worship, especially of his genius, were widespread. Horace described him as Mercury in Carm. I.2.

NGL Hammond and HH Scullard, The Oxford Classical Dictionary, pp. 149–50
Source P – Tacitus, I. 8–9

Then there was much discussion of Augustus himself. Most people were struck by meaningless points such as the coincidence between the dates of his first public office and his death, and the fact that he died in the same house and room at Nola as his father, Gaius Octavius. There was also talk about his numerous consulships – which equalled the combined totals of Marcus Valerius Corvus and Gaius Marius – of his tribune’s power continuous for thirty-seven years, of the twenty-one times he was hailed as victor, and of his other honours, traditional or novel, single or repeated. Intelligent people praised or criticized him in varying terms. One opinion was as follows. Filial duty and a national emergency, in which there was no place for law-abiding conduct, had driven him to civil war – and this can be neither initiated nor maintained by decent methods. He had made many concessions to Antony and to Lepidus for the sake of vengeance on his father’s murderers. When Lepidus grew old and lazy, and Antony’s self-indulgence got the better of him, the only possible cure for the distracted country had been government by one man. However, Augustus had put the State in order not by making himself king or dictator but by creating the Principate. The empire’s frontiers were on the ocean, or distant rivers. Armies, provinces, fleets, the whole system was interrelated. Roman citizens were protected by the law. Provincials were decently treated. Rome itself had been lavishly beautified. Force had been sparingly used – merely to preserve peace for the majority.

The opposite view went like this. Filial duty and national crisis had been merely pretexts. In actual fact, the motive of Octavian, the future Augustus, was lust for power. Inspired by that, he had mobilized ex-army settlers by gifts of money, raised an army – while he was only a half-grown boy without any official status – won over a consul’s brigades by bribery, pretended to support Sextus Pompeius (I), and by senatorial decree usurped the status and rank of a praetor. Soon both consuls, Gaius Vibius Pansa and Aulus Hirtius, had met their deaths – by enemy action; or perhaps in the one case by the deliberate poisoning of his wound, and in the other at the hand of his own troops, instigated by Octavian. In any case it was he who took over both their armies. Then he had forced the reluctant senate to make him consul. But the forces given him to deal with Antony he used against the State. His judicial murders and land distributions were distasteful even to those who carried them out. True, Cassius and Brutus died because he had inherited a feud against them; nevertheless, personal enmities ought to be sacrificed to the public interest. Next he had cheated Sextus Pompeius by a spurious peace treaty, Lepidus by spurious friendship. Then Antony, enticed by the treaties of Tarentum and Brundusium and his marriage with Octavian’s sister, had paid the penalty of that delusive relationship with his life. After that, there had certainly been peace, but it was a bloodstained peace. For there followed the disasters of Marcus Lollius (I) and Publius Quinctilius Varus; and there were the assassinations, for example, of Aulus Terentius Varro Murena, Marcus Egnatius Rufus and Iulius Antonius.

M Grant (trans), Tacitus: The Annals of Imperial Rome, pp. 37–38

Source Q – The Sources of Augustus’ Principate

Tacitus characterised the historiography of the Principate as being vitiated by two considerations. First, as government became progressively the business of one man, general knowledge of events and the thinking that lay behind them deteriorated. Second, the dominance of the princeps and in many cases his capricious character made it increasingly inevitable that writers would flatter the princeps whilst he was alive and vilify him once dead. In both these ways, the interests of posterity were compromised, and the truth was therefore hard to discover. It is likely, however, that the history of Augustus’ reign was to a degree less affected by these considerations than was the case with the reigns of his successors.

D Shotter, Augustus Caesar, p. 86
Source R

But Rome did not breathe this freer air for long. In October Gaius had a serious illness and when he recovered he emerged, according to tradition, a monster of lust and diabolical cruelty. The possibilities of power went to the head of this inexperienced young man and he acted with increasing irresponsibility. He ignored or humiliated the Senate and struck several blows at the ‘diarchic’ ideals of Augustus.

HH Scullard, *From the Gracchi to Nero*, pp. 283–84

Source S

The Principate was not formally a monarchy, but rather a diarchy: the *Princeps* and the senate together ruled the state. But the fellowship was an unequal one, for the Emperor, as supreme commander of the armies, had the actual power. The diarchy is a transparent fiction. The chief feature of the constitutional history of the first three centuries of the empire is the decline of the authority of the senate and the corresponding growth of the powers of the *Princeps*, until finally, he becomes an absolute monarch. When this comes to pass, the empire can no longer be described as the Principate.

D Kagen, *Problems in Ancient History: The Roman World*, p. 313
Acknowledgments


