PART I
THE IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT
IN WAR AND PEACE

AUGUSTUS
(27 BC—AD 14)
IMPERATOR CAESAR AUGUSTUS

Titles: AUGUSTUS (January 16, 27 BC)
PONTIFEX MAXIMUS (12 BC)
FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY (2 BC)
HOLDER OF THE TRIBUNICIAN POWER: received it for the first time in 23 BC and it was renewed annually on July 1 (thus I–XXXVII)
CONSUL: for the 7th time in 27 BC, then in 26 (VIII), 25 (IX), 24 (X), 23 (XI), 5 (XII), 2 (XIII)

Death: August 19, AD 14.

The consules ordinarii under Augustus

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<td>Imp. Caesar Divi f. VII</td>
<td>M. (Vipsanius) Agrippa III</td>
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<td>Imp. Caesar Divi f. Augustus VIII</td>
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<td>23 BC</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>M. Claudius Marcellus Aeserninus</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>M. Lollius</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>M. Appuleius</td>
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1 Calendar entries for Augustus

19 C. Sentius Saturninus
18 P. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus
17 C. Furnius
16 L. Domitius Ahenobarbus
15 M. Livius Drusus Libo
14 M. Licinius Crassus Frugi
13 Ti. Claudius Nero
12 M. Valerius Messala Barbatus

Appianus

11 Q. Aelius Tubero
10 Africanus Fabius Maximus
9 Nero Claudius Drusus
8 C. Marcus Censorinus
7 Ti. Claudius Nero II
6 D. Laelius Balbus
5 Imp. Caesar Divi f. Augustus XII
4 C. Calvisius Sabinus
3 L. Cornelius Lentulus
2 Imp. Caesar Divi f. Augustus XIII
1 Cossus Cornelius Lentulus

AD
1 C. Caesar
2 P. Vinicius
3 L. Aelius Lamia
4 Sex. Aelius Catus
5 L. Valerius Messalla Volesus
6 M. Aemilius Lepidus
7 Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus Silanus
8 M. Furio Camillus
9 C. Poppaeus Sabinus
10 P. Cornelius Dolabella
11 M'. Aemilius Lepidus
12 Germanicus Caesar
13 C. Silius A. Caecina Largus
14 Sex. Pompeius

The standard work on the consular lists for the empire is A. Degrassi, I fasti consolari dell'impero romano, Rome 1952 (new edition forthcoming by W. Eck), in which the consules sufecti will also be found. The suffect consulship, whereby the consules ordinarii held office for only the first few months of each year and were then replaced by another pair, became a regular institution.

1 Calendar entries for Augustus.
Extracts from local Italian calendars.1 [Latin]


That a crown of oak-leaves be placed [above the door of the house of

2
1 Calendar entries for Augustus

Imperator Caesar Augustus [was decreed by the senate, because] he restored [the Republic] to the Roman People.²


Imperator Caesar was called [Augustus] in his own [consulship] for the 7th time and Agrip[pa for the 3rd time (27 BC)].


Festival (was held) in accordance with a decree of the senate, because on this day Imperator Caesar Augustus, back from the overseas provinces, entered the city, and the Altar of Fortune Who Brings Back was set up.³


On this day the Altar of Fortune Who Brings Back was dedicated, who brought Caesar back [from the] overseas provinces. Public prayer (made) to Fortune Who Brings Back.


Festival (was held) in accordance with a decree of the senate, because on this day the Altar of Augustan Peace in the Campus Martius was set up in the consulship of (Tiberius Claudius) Nero and (P. Quinctilius) Varus (13 BC).⁴


Festival (was held) [in accordance with a decree of the senate, because on this day] Imperator Caesar Augustus [was made] pontifex maximus in the consulship of (P. Sulpicius) [Quir]inius and (Gaius) Valgius ( Rufus) (12 BC). The duoviri for [this reason make sacrifice] and the people wear garlands and abstain from work.


Festival (was held) in accordance with a decree of the senate, because on this day Imperator Caesar Augustus, pontifex maximus, holding the tribunici power for the 21st time (2 BC), consul for the 13th time, was called father of his country by the senate and the Roman People.⁶
2 Legal decision and a governor’s letter to Kyme


Sacrifice (made) in honor of the dead Lucius Caesar.⁷


[Sacrifices (made) in honor of the dead] Gaius Caesar.⁷


Festival (was held) in accordance with a [decree] of the senate, because on this day [Imperator Caesar] Augustus adopted as his [son] Tiberius Caesar, [in the consulship of] Sextus Aclius (Catus) [and (Gaius) Sentius (Saturninus)] (AD 4).⁸


The temple [of Castor and Pollux] was dedicated.⁹


Festival [was held] in accordance with a decree of the senate, because on this day [divine honors to the deified Augustus] were decreed by the senate [in the consulship of Sextus Appuleius and Sextus Pompeius (AD 14)].

1 The old Italian calendars not only listed the days on which the courts were open and on which business could be conducted, but they also gradually came to include other matters, such as lists of magistrates and records of triumphs and similar events of interest to the local towns and cities.


3 Cf. the Res Gestae 11.1 (below, No. 26).

4 Cf. the Res Gestae 12.2 (below, No. 26).

5 The duoviri were the executive magistrates of Praeneste.


7 See the honors decreed to Gaius Caesar (below, No. 19).

8 Velleius Paterculus 2.103.3–4.

9 Ovid, Fasti 1.705ff.

2 Legal decision by Augustus and Agrippa, and a governor’s letter to Kyme. 27 BC (for the legal decision).

Marble stele broken at the bottom, damaged on the right and left,
2 Legal decision and a governor’s letter to Kyme

decorated with a festoon of ivy at the top, Kyme in Asia on the Aeolian coast. The inscription is in three parts: A (in Greek) is a legal decision by Augustus and M. Agrippa (27 BC); B (in Latin) is a letter (of unknown date but later than A) from the governor of Asia to the city of Kyme; C (in Greek) is a translation of the Latin letter of the governor.


A. Greek

Imperator Caesar, son of the god, Augustus [--]1 | (and) [M]arcus Agrippa, son of Lucius, consuls v [---.2 | If] there are any public or sacred places in the cities [--]3 | of each city of the province (?),4 and if there are or will be any [dedication]s5 belonging to these places, [nobody] | is to remove or buy (them) or take them as [mortgaged property | or] gift. Whatever has been taken away from those places | [or] bought and given as a gift, [whoever may be in charge of the] | province is to see to it that these are restored to the public or sacred [account (?)]6 || of the city, and whatever may have been given [as legal security],7 he is not to use this in his administration of justice. vv |

B. Latin

[-]8 Vinicius, proconsul, sends greetings to the magistrates of Cyme. Apollonides, son of Lucius, from No[race, | your citizen,] came to me and showed that the temple of Liber Pater9 was by title of sale possessed by Lysias, son of Diogenes, of Tucalla, [your] citizen, || and that when the worshippers wished to restore to their god the sacred property, according to the order of Au[gu]stus Caesar, by paying the price which is inscribed on the temple, | it was withheld (?)10 by Lysias. I wish you to see to it that, if such is the case, Lysias| accepts the price which [has been] put on the temple and restores to the god the temple and that there be inscribed on it ‘Imperator Caesar, son of god, Augustus restored it’. But [if] Lysias denies what Apollonides demands, let him give sufficient bail (to appear) where I will be.11 That Lysias promises (bail) meets [more (?)] with my approval(?).11

5
Legal decision and a governor’s letter to Kyme

C. Greek

In the prytany of Phanites,¹² νν [-] Vinicius sends greetings to the magistrates of Kyme. A[poll]onides (son) of Lucius of Norake, your citizen, [came to me] and showed that the temple of Dionysos was by title [of sale] possessed by Lysias (son) of Diogenes of [Tukal la, your citizen,] and that when [the worshippers] wished | [---]

1 Perhaps uninscribed? Pleket: ‘for the 7th time (?)’, i.e. in his seventh consulship (27 BC). Augustus had been consul with Agrippa in both 28 and 27 BC. Atkinson: ‘for the 7th time’. Charbonnel: ‘imperator for the 7th time’, which is too long for the space.

2 Pleket: ‘[ordered (or) wrote]’. Atkinson: ‘[wrote]’, likewise Charbonnel. Oliver and RDGE leave blank, but note the possibilities of ‘[said]’ or ‘[determined]’ or ‘[ordained]’ among others. Oliver and Kunkel believe some word had been used which pointed to a lex data, i.e. some kind of a charter.

3 Pleket: ‘[or in the surrounding area]’ etc. Arangio-Ruiz: ‘[or throughout the] territory of each city’, translating the word eparchia as ‘territory’ instead of ‘province’. Oliver: ‘[when] these localities fall [within the jurisdiction of the] prefecture [protecting] each city’s [interests]’ (his own translation). Charbonnel: ‘in the cities [belonging to a religious guild or] to a city of each province’.

4 The Greek eparchia would normally mean ‘province’, but Oliver equates it with ‘prefecture’ or ‘domain’: GRBS and AJP 93 (1972) 195. Arangio-Ruiz takes it loosely as ‘territory’, which is hardly possible. The word ‘each’ here is grammatically ambiguous, for it could govern either ‘province’ or ‘city’.

5 Atkinson: ‘[properties]’. Kunkel: ‘[ornaments]’.

6 Pleket: ‘[places]’, from which they had been taken.

7 Atkinson: ‘[in this manner]’.

8 Pleket: ‘[Lucius]’, i.e. the consul of 33 BC who became the governor of Asia in 28–27 or 27–26 BC, approved by Syme in JRS 45 (1955) 159. Likewise Kunkel, Arangio-Ruiz, and Charbonnel. But Atkinson, with hesitation, believes he was Marcus Vinicius, the consul of 19 BC.

9 i.e. Dionysos.

10 First suggested by Oliver. Pleket punctuates and restores differently: ‘and since the worshippers wanted to restore the sacred objects to the god, as Augustus Caesar has ordered, after having paid the price written on the temple of Liber Pater by Lysias, I wish that you see to it that’, etc. (Pleket’s translation).

11 In saying where I shall be Vinicius refers to his annual circuit of Asia to hold court. At this point in the text there is disagreement about punctuation and restoration, although Pleket correctly saw the intent, explaining (p. 59) that ‘whatever the exact wording of this part of the text may have been, its meaning seems to be fairly clear. Lysias must give security to Apollonides, if he opposes Apollonides’ claim; afterwards the proconsul himself will devote his attention to settling the affair.’ Pleket then suggests: ‘But if Lysias opposes the claim which Apollonides makes, that Lysias promise bail to him, with guarantee that he will present himself where I shall be ---’. Atkinson, with different punctuation and restoration: ‘But [if] Lysias objects, let him hand over as security for his appearance in court the property which Apollonides demands. I approve [of your] sending Lysias to wherever I shall be [sc. holding the assize].’ Kunkel added the restoration ‘[more]’.

12 This phrase introduces the Greek translation of the letter of Vinicius and, thus, uses the local method of dating.
4 Senatorial and imperial provinces

3 Augustus refuses freedom to Samos. Soon after 27 BC (?).
Marble block from the great archive wall of the theater in Aphrodias in Karia. [Greek]

Reynolds, Aphrodias, Document 13 (photograph).

you Imperator Caesar, son of the god Iulius, Augustus¹ wrote to the Samians beneath their petition.² You yourselves can see that I have given the privilege of freedom to no people except to the (people) of the [[Aphrodians]]³ who in the war took my side and were made captives because of their goodwill towards us. For it is not right to bestow the greatest privilege of all without purpose and without cause. I am of goodwill toward you and would be willing to favor my wife who is jealous in your behalf,⁴ but not to the point of breaking my custom. For it is not the money I care about which you pay into our tax (system), but I am not willing to have the most valued privileges given to anyone without a reasonable cause.

1 The word ‘Augustus’ is transliterated here. Since it is usually translated as ‘Sebastos’, Reynolds believes it was added here by someone at Aphrodias sometime after the document had been received or had become known in Aphrodias. If true, it might mean that the document had been issued prior to 27 BC (when Octavian received the title ‘Augustus’), but G. W. Bowersock (Gnomon 56 (1984) 52) argues for a date 22–19 BC and Badian (GRBS 25 (1984) 157ff.) for 31 BC.
2 When the imperial secretariat in Rome received libelli (“petitions”) addressed to the emperor, the answer was usually ‘written below’ it. For the procedure see Millar, Emperor 480.
3 Erased. The full name was Aphrodiasis-Plarasa.
4 Livia in known to have had connections with Samos in the past; Habich in MDAI(A) 75 (1960) 104ff.; IGRR IV 982–4.

4 Senatorial and imperial provinces. Reign of Augustus.


The provinces have been divided sometimes in one way, at other times in another, but at present they are as Caesar Augustus has arranged them, for when his country granted him the foremost position of leadership and he was made responsible for war and peace for life, he divided
4 Senatorial and imperial provinces

the entire empire into two parts: he designated one part to be his own, the other to be the People’s; his own was to be whatever areas had need of a military garrison, i.e. the barbarian areas and those near to tribes not yet conquered, or those that were wretched and hard to cultivate, so that, because they lacked everything but fortifications, they would rebel and become disobedient; to the People was to belong the rest (of the empire), whatever of it was peaceful and easy to rule without weapons. He divided each of the two parts into many provinces, his part being called Caesar’s, the other part the People’s. To the provinces of Caesar he sends (his own) governors and administrators, dividing the countries sometimes in one way and at other times in another, and administering them according to the need of the times, and to the provinces of the People it is the People who send (their own) praetors or (pro)consuls. And these latter provinces are also separated into different parts when advantage dictates it. His arrangement in the People’s provinces was to make two of them consular: Libya (Africa), those parts of it subject to the Romans, except for a part formerly subject to (King) Juba and now subject to Ptolemaios, his son; and Asia, this side of the Halys River and the Taurus Mountains, except for the Galatians and those tribes subject to (King) Amyntas, and (except for) Bithynia and the Propontis. And he made ten (of the People’s) provinces praetorian, throughout Europe and the adjacent islands: Hispania Ulterior, as it’s called, the parts around the Baitis River and the Anas; Narbonese Gaul; third, Sardinia-Corsica; fourth, Sicily; fifth and sixth, the part of Illyricum next to Epirus, and Macedonia; seventh, Achaia <with> Thessaly and Aetolia and Akarnania and certain tribes of Epirus, which are <not> included within the boundaries of Macedonia; eighth, Crete-Cyrene; ninth, Cyprus; tenth, Pontus-Bithynia along the Propontis. Caesar controls the rest of the provinces, to some of which he sends men of consular rank to govern them, to others men of praetorian rank, and to still others men of equestrian rank. Kings and dynasts and dekarchs are and always were in his area of control.

1 Strabo refers to the arrangements made in 27 BC.
2 Caesar’s provinces are the so-called imperial provinces governed by legati Augusti pro praetore (‘legates’ or deputies ‘of Augustus with pro-praetorian power’). The People’s provinces are the so-called senatorial provinces administered by the senate.
3 Recent investigation has shown that the received text of Strabo, here and elsewhere, is very bad and often requires emendation. Accordingly, when Bowersock surveyed the history of Roman Thessaly, he found that Strabo’s account here of Achaia was in need of correction. His emendations, followed here in translation, seem to be necessary. Cf. Dio 53.12.4.
4 Equestrian governors were called praefecti or procuratores.
5 I.e. the so-called client-kings.
5 Illyricum and Thrace under Augustus

5 Illyricum and Thrace under Augustus.


C. Patsch in *SBAW* 214 (1933) 1, pp. 69–122; R. Syne in JRS 24 (1934) 113ff. (Danubian Papers, Ch. 3); idem in CAH 10.355–8 and 364–81; Stein, *Moessen* 10ff.; Wilkes, *Dalmatia* 46–77; Mocsy, *Pannonia* 21–40; Chr. Danov in ANRW 2.7.1.120–34.

A. Ehrenberg–Jones, *Documents*² p. 35 (27 BC)

Marcus Lucinius, son of Marcus (and) grandson of Marcus, Crassus, proconsul,⁴ (triumphed) over Thrace and the Getans on the fourth day before the Nones of July (July 4)

B. *IG II² 4118, Athens

uv The People uv (dedicate this statue to) Marcus Lucinius, Marcus’ son, Crassus, proconsul and imperator, for his excellence and goodwill.

C. Epitome de Caesaribus 1.7

The Getic peoples and the Bastarnians he (Augustus) attacked and compelled by warfare to (seek peace).

D. Ehrenberg–Jones, *Documents*² 43a, Frascati

[--- Marcus Vini]cius⁵ [---, | consul, quindecimvir | of sacred affairs, | --- | quaestor pro | praetorian power of Augustus Caesar in

5 [Illyricum, | the first (?) | across the Danube River | to --- | the --ian | and Bastarnian army | --- | and he put to flight the Cotini, [the --]--- | and the Anartii [--- | of A]ugustus [---].]
6 General repair of main highways in Italy

E. Keramopoulos in *Archaiologikè Ephemeris* 1932, p. 3, Amphipolis

Under Imperator Caesar, son of the deified, Augustus and for Lucius Tarius Rufus, holding pro praetorian power, the Legion Tenth Fretensis built this bridge.

F. Ehrenberg–Jones, *Documents* p. 45 (under 9 BC)

Tiberius Caesar entered [the city] from Panonia with an ovation.

G. *ILS* 921, Tibur

Marcus Plautius, son of Marcus (and) grandson of Aulus, Silvanus, consul (2 BV), septemvir for religious banquets. To him has the senate decreed triumphal ornaments because of his actions in Illyricum, done so well. His wife Lartia, daughter of Gnaeus. Aulus Plautius, son of Marcus, Urgulanus lived nine years.

H. Ehrenberg–Jones, *Documents* p. 54 (under AD 12)

Tiberius Caesar rode a triumphal chariot because of victory over Illyricum.

I. *IGRR* I 654, Callatis

[The People] (dedicate this) to Publius Vinicius [- - - -] commander and (and) patron [---]

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1 This Licinius Crassus is the consul of 30 BC (*PIR* L 186) and grandson of that Licinius Crassus who joined in the First Triumvirate. He was proconsul of Macedonia in 29 BC: for his campaigns there see F. Papazoglou, *The Central Balkan Tribes in Pre-Roman Times* (Amsterdam 1978).


3 Tarius Rufus (consul suff. 16 BC) was well-known among the officers trusted by Augustus during and after Actium. He may have been given an important mission in the north about 17 BC.

4 See R. Syme in *Phoenix* 33 (1979) 314ff. (*Roman Papers* III 1203ff.).

5 When the Dalmatians and Pannonians rose in their great revolt of AD 6 M. Plautius Silvanus brought reinforcements from the east to the Balkans: Velleius Paterculus 2.112.4; Dio 55.34.6 and 56.12.2

6 The Greek noun used here is unique. Some would understand it to mean ‘proconsul’, others take it as ‘praetorian legate’ of a legion. Publius Vinicius was consul in AD 2. Clues to date of operations are in Velleius Paterculus (2.101.3), and Velleius himself in 1 BC had been tribune of the soldiers ‘in Thrace and Macedonia’ under P. Silius and Publius Vinicius. Cf. Syme in *AJP* 99 (1978) 50 (*Roman Papers* III 1093).

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6 General repair of main highways in Italy. 27 BC.

Inscription on the arch over the Via Flaminia in Ariminum. [Latin].