

LECTURES
ON THE
HISTORY OF ROME,

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE
DEATH OF CONSTANTINE

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THE HISTORY OF ROME.

FROM

THE FIRST PUNIC WAR.

LECTURE XXXIX.

SURVEY OF THE STATES AND NATIONS SUBJECT TO THE ROMANS, AND OF THE COUNTRIES BORDERING UPON THE ROMAN EMPIRE.—THE CONSULSHIP OF CN. POMPEY AND C LICINIUS CRASSUS.—THIRD MITHRIDATIC WAR.—LUCULLUS.

BEFORE proceeding to describe the third Mithridatic war, I will give you a brief survey of the states and nations over which the Roman dominion extended at this time, as well as of those with which Rome was likely to come in contact. The Roman empire in Europe comprised, besides Italy, Provence with a part of Dauphiné, and the whole of Languedoc and Toulouse. Although the more distant tribes of Spain were only in a state of half dependence, yet, after the war of Sertorius, the whole of Spain may be regarded as under the Roman dominion, with the exception of Biscay and Asturia. The Cantabri, a great nation in the north of Spain, the separate tribes of which seem to have been perfectly distinct and independent of one another, were quite free. Gaul was in a condition which I shall describe more accurately when I reach the time of Caesar's conquests in that country. The Aedui had the supremacy, the whole country was in a state of very great weakness,

and was already overwhelmed with German tribes. The whole coast of the Adriatic, Dalmatia, and Illyricum, were under Rome, but not to a great distance from the sea; the inhabitants of the high mountains of Bosnia and Croatia were independent. The whole extent of Macedonia, such as it had been under the last kings, was a Roman province. Greece was in a state of complete dependence upon Rome. Thrace, and the whole country north of Scardus and Scomius, were still independent. Bithynia in Asia had been bequeathed to the Romans as their inheritance by the will of its last king, Nicomedes. Mithridates was confined to Pontus proper, and a part of Cappadocia, but the country north of Trebizond was under his supremacy, and many great kingdoms on the coasts of the Black Sea, such as Georgia, the so-called Iberia and Colchis, were tributary to him. The Bosphorus, with its Greek towns, and the Crimea were provinces of his empire; but his influence extended as far as the river Dniester, and this influence was, in reality, a sort of feudal sovereignty. His connexions extended even beyond the Danube, and as far as the frontiers of the Roman empire in Thrace. The Seleucidan kingdom had become quite extinct. After the death of Demetrius II, the succession was disputed, and the consequence was, that the kingdom was divided into small principalities, which, although they were very weak, made war upon one another with great courage. It was only in one place on the coast that a successor of Antiochus maintained himself as king, but he in vain implored the support of the Romans, and the people readily recognised Tigranes as their king. His dominion extended over Great Armenia, a part of Kurdistan, and Mesopotamia, as far as Cilicia and Coele-Syria,—a very rich and mighty empire. The Parthian empire, on the east of that of Tigranes, comprised nearly the whole of modern Persia and Babylonia. In the eastern parts of Persia, Bactrian kings seem still to have maintained themselves, and to

have possessed a part of Korasan, unless it was already occupied by the Scythians. At the time of Pompey, Media perhaps still belonged to the Parthian empire, which was, however, already in a state of decay. It was probably governed in the same manner as Assyria had been in former times, and its provinces were under the administration of princes of the royal family, whose relation to the sovereign was that of feudal lords. The towns on the coast of Phœnicia and all Coele-Syria were free, Judæa and Jerusalem formed a free state, and some of its princes, of the house of the Maccabees, even bore the title of king. Coele-Syria was divided among several princes, who were called tetrarchs. Egypt was confined within its narrowest limits, but was, nevertheless, a very rich country. It is a mere chance that we know that one of the last kings of Egypt still had a revenue of three millions sterling¹, for he was the only proprietor of the soil, but, as a state, Egypt was very weak and contemptible, and going rapidly towards its dissolution. In Asia Minor, the Romans had conquered under Servilius Isauricus the Pisidians, Pamphylians, and Lycians. Both the Cilicias were yet independent, but in a state of complete decay, and divided into petty states, which were real nests of the pirates of those times. Cyprus was governed by its own kings. After the death of Jugurtha, Numidia, though it was undoubtedly confined to much narrower limits than in the time of Jugurtha, was governed by another descendant of Masinissa, whose name is not known with certainty, for the genuineness of the inscription in Rennesius, which is the only authority for it, has justly been doubted². Africa, the province, was of course under Rome. Gallic tribes still dwelt on the Danube, such as the Scordiscans and Tauriscans and, somewhat higher up, the Boians. The tribes of Noricum practically ac-

¹ Strabo, xvii p 798

² No one knows where the original inscription is, and we are only told that it was discovered in the sixteenth century —N

knowledge of the supremacy of Rome. The German tribes, at this time, scarcely extended further south than the river Main. A line, running from the Rhine between the Main and Neckar across the Odenwald, Spessart, and the Thuringerwald into the heart of modern Poland, was then, in all probability, the southern frontier of the German tribes.

The consulship of Pompey and Crassus became remarkable for a constitutional change introduced by the praetor L. Aurelius Cotta. Many of the institutions of Sulla, especially the one by which he had transferred the *judicia* from the *equites* to the senate, had become so odious and so detestable in their consequences, that the ruling party itself did not feel disposed to support them. The good men among them saw the disgraceful abuses, and were ashamed of them. To take away the judicial power from the senate, and to vest it in an independent body of men, had therefore become the great problem. But no one was desirous of restoring that great privilege to the *equites*, and Rome found herself involved in difficulties, from which she was unable to extricate herself. There existed already a census for the members of the senate, though it is uncertain whether it was necessary for every senator to possess 800,000 sesterces, or one million. Regulations respecting the census senatorius had probably existed as early as the Hannibalian war. But the law of L. Aurelius Cotta ordained that a number of senators, *equites*, and the *tribuni aerarii*, should be invested with the judicial power. The *tribuni aerarii* were probably chosen by the tribes, and with the lowest census equesteris, in order to represent that class of citizens who possessed smaller fortunes. The particulars of this law are, fortunately, preserved in the *Commentaries* of Asconius Pedianus upon Cicero³. This reform was wise and salutary. A great change which Pompey made in his

³ In *Pison* p. 16, in *Cornelian*, p. 67, 78 foll., compare *Schol. Bobiens* p. 339, *Livy*, *Epit. lib. 97*, *Vell. Pat. lib. 11* 32.

consulship, and without any opposition on the part of Crassus, was that he restored the power of the tribunes exactly to what it had been previous to the reforms of Sulla⁴, and, just as Sulla had narrowed the tribunician power too much, Pompey now went too far in the opposite direction. It is the besetting sin of all men of mediocrity, and of every-day politicians, to abolish restrictions entirely, which appear to them, or really are, injurious. In all such cases, moderation is the most important requisite; but shallow politicians never see any difficulty in settling a question under such circumstances, and their argument is simply this —“Here we see a wrong, and we will tear it up by the root” The restoration of the tribuneship in the seventh century was a monstrous absurdity. Rome’s condition was such that an angel from heaven would not have been able to bring about any essential improvement.

The third war against Mithridates broke out almost immediately after the death of Nicomedes⁵. Various provocations on the part of the Romans had preceded it, but the immediate cause was the treaty of the king of Pontus with Sertorius. Mithridates was perfectly prepared, at least as far as his riches and great exertions enabled him to be so, but the mere fact of his being an Asiatic rendered his fall unavoidable. He is much overrated in history, and too much honour has been paid to him, for all he did was of such a nature that it might have been done by any one who possessed large sums of money and numerous armies. As a general, he was wretched, and not able to conduct either a campaign or a battle. He conquered Paphlagonia, and advanced into Bithynia as far as Chalcedon on the Bosphorus, and compelled the consul M. Aurelius Cotta to throw himself into Chalcedon. His fleet also was successful, and chased that of the Romans

⁴ Livy, *Epit.* lib 97, Vell. Pat. *lib* 30, Appian, *De Bell. Civil.* i 121, Cicero, *De Legib.* iii 9 and 11, in Verrem, i 15 foll.

⁵ Appian, *De Bell. Mithrid.* 71

into the harbour, where he captured all their ships of war. It was now for nearly thirteen years that the Romans had been keeping the soldiers of Valerius Flaccus (the Valeriani⁶) in those regions they had become quite savage, and were in the highest degree indignant at their long banishment from home. After taking Heraclea, Mithridates conquered Chalcedon, and appeared before Cyzicus, a populous and wealthy town, which remained faithful to the Romans with great determination. We have a detailed description of the exertions with which it was besieged by sea and by land⁷ without being supported by the Romans, the citizens of Cyzicus repelled every attack.

In the meanwhile, Lucullus had arrived in Asia. He was the determined champion of the party of Sulla, and immensely rich; he has acquired an unfortunate importance, by making his countrymen acquainted with Asiatic luxuries. He was a distinguished general, and must have had some estimable qualities, as Cicero esteemed him; but his exorbitant riches cannot have been acquired in an innocent way, they must have been accumulated in time of war. He brought a fresh army with him to Asia, at the time when Mithridates was engaged with the siege of Cyzicus. Lucullus took up a favourable position in Phrygia on the Hellespont, and rendered it so difficult for Mithridates to obtain the necessary supply of provisions, that the king at last felt obliged to raise the blockade and to retreat. The circumstance of his having continued the siege of Cyzicus too long was but a slight fault. The greatest generals of the eighteenth century committed enormous blunders. Frederic the Great and Napoleon made great mistakes; and the duke of Wellington is, I believe, the only general in whose conduct of war we cannot discover any important mistake. Pyr-

⁶ Dion Cassius, xxxv. 14, Sallust, *Hist. fragm.* lib. v. Compare Lecture xxxv. p. 405, note 14.

⁷ Appian, l. c. 73 foll., Plutarch, Lucull. 9.

thus committed very great faults, and Hannibal was probably not altogether free from them. After leaving Cyzicus, Mithridates retreated, and could not maintain himself anywhere, and, when he had escaped to the interior of Pontus, we entirely lose sight of him. Lucullus set out in pursuit of him, and transferred the war into Pontus. Here too Mithridates did not know how to defend himself, nor even how to render the sieges of his towns difficult for the Romans, although the towns themselves held out very bravely. He actually allowed himself to be driven out of his own country, and threw himself into the arms of his son-in-law, Tigranes of Armenia⁸

⁸ Appian, l c 76—78, Plutarch, Lucull 9—14

LECTURE XL

WAR AGAINST MITHRIDATES CONTINUED.—THE PIRATES AND THEIR CONQUEST BY POMPEY. — END OF THE MITHRIDATIC WAR, AND FURTHER CONQUESTS.—POMPEY'S TRIUMPH.—CATILINE.—CONDITION OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC

It was, as we have seen, in his second campaign, that fortune turned against Mithridates. His armies, amounting to hundreds of thousands, were dispersed, his principal towns were taken, and he himself sought refuge with Tigranes, his son-in-law. After having completed the conquest of western Pontus, Lucullus followed him, and laid siege to Tigranocerta, the capital of Tigranes, whose Armenian army was routed and dispersed like chaff. The capital itself, although defended with greater energy than the Armenians had shewn in the open field, was taken, and Tigranes retreated before Lucullus. Gibbon justly remarks that the character of a nation varies according to the circumstances in which the nation is placed; sometimes, however, it remains the same under the influence of the greatest changes, as an instance of which we may mention the Spaniards. Some nations grew worse, but the Armenians improved. Towards Lucullus, and even long before, during the retreat of the Ten Thousand Greeks, they behaved in as cowardly a way as the Persians did towards the Greeks; but, during the period of the eastern empire, and throughout the middle ages, they were the bravest among the Asiatics. It has been remarked, with equal justice, that their cowardice can be the less accounted for, as Armenia is rather a cold country, and in

its mountains the winter is much more severe than in Germany. In the neighbourhood of Erzeroum, snow generally falls even before the end of September¹. Lucullus penetrated into Mesopotamia, and took his head-quarters at Nisibis, a town which came to be of great importance during the decline of the Roman empire; and under Diocletian it was the chief fortress of the eastern frontier. It is the ancient Joba, which is mentioned in the second book of Samuel, as the seat of the Syrian kings of Mesopotamia. Here Lucullus amassed immense treasures during his proconsular government, and here also he was surprised by an insurrection in his army. The soldiers were incited by P. Clodius, the same who afterwards acquired his sad celebrity in Roman history, and whose sister was married to Lucullus². The first elements of the insurrection were among the Valeriani. The time of their service had been greatly prolonged, for it was now for twenty years that they had been in arms. Men who had served so long had a right to demand to be sent home. Clodius played the mutineer, as he did in fact throughout his life. This insurrection prevented Lucullus from acting energetically against Mithridates, who now gained fresh courage. Lucullus withdrew into Cappadocia, and Mithridates, who had followed him and defeated his legate, C. Valerius Triarius, again got possession of the greater part of his dominions. Lucullus had drawn upon himself the suspicion of protracting the war, in order to enrich himself; and now, just at the time when he was not favoured by fortune, his adversaries increased their exertions that the command against Mithridates might be given to Pompey.

¹ Gibbon did not sufficiently consider the fact that the Armenians embraced Christianity with great enthusiasm, and that, as Christians, they were for the most part hostile towards the Persians and the Magian religion, and attached to the Christian emperors of Byzantium. At a later period, they were enthusiastic adherents of the Paulician doctrines.—N

² Plutarch, Lucull. 21

After the war against Sertorius, Pompey had conducted that against the pirates. Piracy was an old evil in the eastern parts of the Mediterranean. The inhabitants of the mountainous parts of Cilicia had probably been practising this profitable kind of warfare for a long time, for pirates and archpirates are mentioned in those parts as early as the Macedonian time, but they were then insignificant in comparison with what they were at this time. After the dissolution of the Seleucidan empire, the numerous little fortified places and commercial towns on the coasts were the landing places of the pirates, here they plundered and took in their provisions. During the war with Mithridates, who encouraged them, their boldness surpassed all belief. We need only read Cicero's speech for the Manilian bill³, to form an idea of their number and their robberies⁴. The whole of the Mediterranean, from the coast of Syria to the pillars of Hercules, was covered with privateers. Their prisoners were dragged to fortified places on the coasts, and were compelled to pay enormous sums as ransom, and, in case of their being unable to raise the money required, they were thrown into the sea. These pirates made descents even upon the coast of Italy, and, in the very neighbourhood of Ostia, towns were destroyed, and distinguished Romans, nay, even praetors with all the ensigns of their office, were dragged from the high roads as prisoners. It was almost impossible to supply Rome with provisions, and the city was perpetually suffering from scarcity. The Cretans, who had, at all times, been notorious as pirates and highway-robbers, were their allies. The numbers of their boats, which were small like those of the Maïnotes, were incalculable. The time when Pompey had the command against them was the most brilliant period of his life, and his excellent conduct deserves great praise.

³ In MSS it is more correctly called "De imperio Cn Pompei."

—N ⁴ Compare Appian, De Bell. Mithrid. 92 and 93, Plutarch, Pomp. 24.

He took his measures in such a way, that he drew the pirates together, as it were, by a bait, from all parts of the Mediterranean towards Cilicia, where he conquered them in a glorious sea-fight. He captured all their ships, took the towns which had served as their strongholds, transplanted them from places difficult of access, partly to larger towns of Cilicia, and partly to the deserted places of Peloponnesus, such as Dyme, where they could be more easily watched and kept in check. This was a great economical merit, for which Pompey deserves everlasting gratitude⁵

After this war Pompey stood higher in public opinion than ever, and this popularity induced the Romans to invest him with the supreme command in the war against Mithridates. The Romans had never any reason to regret this step, but they made his position easier than that of Lucullus had been, for they increased his army with considerable reinforcements. Mithridates lost in a single battle all that he had gained. He fled into Colchis, and from thence across the Caucasus to the Bosphorus Cimmerius. Pompey followed him and advanced as far as Georgia, through countries for an accurate knowledge of which we are indebted to the late Russian war. The princes of those countries paid homage to Rome. Machares, one of the sons of Mithridates, who had even concluded a separate peace with the Romans, now put an end to his life from fear of his father. For in times of misfortune, when Mithridates gave vent to his grief with oriental fury, his own domestics, and even his children, who were extremely numerous, used to tremble, to hate him, and to wish for his destruction. The retreat of Mithridates was partly a persecution of his personal enemies, and partly a gigantic enterprise. He had still immense treasures concealed, and his intention was to rouse the Bastarnae, and to lead them into Italy⁶. When his soldiers heard of this plan, a re-

⁵ Appian, *De Bell Mithrid* 94—97, Plutarch, *Pomp* 26

⁶ Appian, *l c* 101, foll

bellion broke out in his army at Panticapaeum,⁷ as they could not anticipate any advantageous results from such a bold expedition, in which he, as well as his army, would undoubtedly have perished. Pharnaces, his own son, was at the head of the rebellion. Mithridates had so often shewn his fearful oriental character that his son could not feel safe until his father was dead. The insurrection assumed the awful character of all Asiatic rebellions, so that Mithridates, who had every moment to fear being murdered by his son, put an end to his life by poison. Pharnaces now made peace with Pompey, and did not scruple to deliver up to the conqueror the body of his own father, but Pompey behaved humanely, and had it buried with regal magnificence⁸. Pharnaces remained in possession of the Bosphorus until the time of Caesar, when he ventured to meddle with the civil war of the Romans, and ruined himself by the attempt.

Pompey followed up his victory, and now directed his arms against Tigranes, who was glad enough to obtain a disgraceful peace. he had to pay a heavy sum of money, and to give up all his possessions with the exception of Armenia proper. Syria was made a Roman province. Pompey advanced as far as the frontiers of Egypt, without meeting with any opposition from the Syrian or Phoenician towns. One of his generals, even penetrated into Arabia, where homage was paid to him. In the contest between the two brothers, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, princes of the Jews, Pompey declared himself in favour of the former. Aristobulus was made prisoner, and afterwards adorned the triumphal procession of Pompey. Jerusalem fell into the hands of the Romans by capitulation, but the temple held out for three months, and when it was taken he allowed his soldiers to plunder, but not to destroy anything⁹. The

⁷ Dion Cass. lxxxvii 12

⁸ Appian, l c 113, Dion Cass. lxxxvii 14

⁹ Dion Cass. lxxxvii 15 and 16, Plutarch, Pomp. 39 and 45

death of Mithridates falls in the year of Cicero's consulship; the conquest of Syria belongs to the year following, and the triumph of Pompey took place in the year after that event.

The conduct of Pompey after the termination of the war was praiseworthy. he disbanded his whole army, although he might have acted in a similar manner to Sulla, and might have assumed the *tyrannis*; but he would not, and he shewed a true *animus civilis*. He took no improper advantage of the senseless honours which were paid to him, and he appeared only once in his triumphal robe in the Circensian games, although, on the whole, he shewed himself mean and miserable during the time of peace, and did not certainly deserve the name of the Great. His triumph was most magnificent¹⁰. It is related that he displayed in his triumph, among other trophies, a list of the tributes which the republic had acquired from the countries conquered by him. The numbers, as they are stated by our historians, do not appear to me too great, but rather too small. If we consider the revenues, and the exorbitant land-taxes which were raised in Judaea, it appears to me inconceivable that the numbers in Plutarch should be correct. The amount of tributes gained by Pompey was greater than all the previous tributes put together. Syria was at that time one of the most prosperous countries in the world, but at present it is a desert. To give an account of the princes whom Pompey restored would lead us beyond our limits, and it belongs more properly to a universal history.

Let us now turn our attention to Catiline, a dreadful name, of which we may say what an English author says of Cromwell, that it is doomed to everlasting fame; although Cromwell was an angel in comparison with Catiline¹¹.

¹⁰ Appian, De Bell. Mithrid 116 foll; Plutarch, Pomp 45, Dion Cass xxxvii 20 foll

¹¹ In the middle ages Catiline, with the slight alteration of his name into *Catekna*, was quite a standing character in the tales and

I shall give you only a brief sketch of his history, as I can refer you to Sallust for a perfectly satisfactory account. Sallust has a great love of truth, and is just towards everyone. At the time of Catiline's conspiracy he was a young man, and perfectly able to make correct observations of what was going on. He was personally acquainted with Cicero, Caesar, and other leading men, when Crassus died, Sallust was not yet thirty years old. After such historical events as this conspiracy, it is always of great importance for an historian to become acquainted with the great men who acted a part in them, and not to write about them till some time after, when prejudices and delusions cease to exercise their influence. According to the accounts both of Sallust and of Cicero, Catiline was certainly an extraordinary man, endowed with all the qualities which are necessary to constitute a great man in such times. He had an incomparable and indescribable courage and boldness, and a gigantic strength, both of mind and body. But he was so completely diabolical that I know of no one in history that can be compared with him, and you may rely upon it that the colours in which his character is described are not too dark, though we may reject the story of his slaughtering a child at the time when he administered the oath to his associates¹². He had served in the armies of Sulla, and had distinguished himself. His position resembled that in which the most formidable terrorists found themselves, on the 18th of Brumaire, under the consular government in France. Many of those who have indulged in all excesses in a fearful civil war find it afterwards impossible to abstain from bloodshed. If we suppose that Catiline had any definite object in view, which he meant to attain by his crimes, it is very difficult to say in what it consisted; but if the crimes themselves were his object, we can understand his

legends of Florence, and, owing to this extraordinary popularity, the vulgar form of the name, *Catehna*, is found in a great many MSS of Roman authors.—N

¹² Dion Cass xxxvii 30. Compare Sallust, Catil 22

character. To comprehend the occurrences of this time, it is essential to form a clear notion of the immensely disordered condition of Rome. There never was a country in such a state of complete anarchy the condition of Athens during its anarchy bears no comparison with that of Rome. The anarchy of Athens assumed a definite form, it occurred in a small republic, and was quite a different thing altogether. Rome, on the other hand, or rather some hundreds, say even a few thousands of her citizens, who recognised no law and no order, had the sway over nearly the whole of the known world, and pursued only their personal objects in all directions. The republic was a mere name, and the laws had lost their power. There was a law, to mention one instance, which forbade bribing the electors by a heavy penalty, and its severity had repeatedly been increased, but it was nevertheless a well-known fact, that every candidate, with the exception of Cicero, spent enormous sums upon his election, for which they always contrived afterwards to indemnify themselves during the time of their office. The *Romani rustici* had lost their importance, and the city populace was a tool in the hands of the nobles in their feuds against one another. In such a corrupt state of things, Catiline was a welcome instrument for many, and it is for this reason that I do not consider the charge which was brought against Crassus to be unjust. He was a very insignificant person, and Catiline would have crushed him under his feet, if his schemes had been realised, although it would perhaps have caused his own ruin. If Catiline really had any object at all, it must have been that of making himself tyrant, and of becoming a second Sulla, without the intention, however, of ever resigning his tyranny. Two years before Cicero's consulship he had formed a conspiracy, with the view of murdering the consuls and proclaiming himself master of Rome. He had an immense hatred of Cicero, and the latter says of him that he possessed a magic and fascinating power, by which he subdued and swayed all, and that

therefore it was no wonder that young people were attracted by the extraordinary giant. He never let loose those whom he had once ensnared. I believe that Cicero had once defended him; after his praetorship he had had the administration of the province of Africa, and when the year of his office had elapsed he was charged with malversation. It was only with the greatest difficulty that he was acquitted, and it may have been on that occasion that Cicero spoke for him¹³. Everybody's attention was drawn towards Catiline every one dreaded him, but no one had the courage to come forward against him. His character was so well known that all agreed in their fear, and in the conviction that fire and plunder would be the order of the day if he should gain power; and persons of the most different characters and parties were convinced that they should be his victims. Under these circumstances, Cicero offered himself as a candidate for the consulship. He bore down all opposition by his great integrity and his extraordinary talents; he was in great favour with the people. The nobles opposed him, and would hear nothing of him; but the well known fact that Catiline intended to murder the candidates for the consulship, and the prospect that it would be impossible to keep C. Antonius, uncle of the triumvir, who was probably an accomplice of Catiline, from the consulship, induced the optimates to declare for Cicero, who was thus unanimously elected consul for the year 689, according to Cato

¹³ Asconius, ad Cicer in toga cand. p 85 ed Orelli

LECTURE XLI.

M. TULLIUS CICERO —SKETCH OF HIS LIFE AND CHARACTER
—HIS CONSULSHIP.—THE CONSPIRACY OF CATILINE

M. TULLIUS CICERO was born on the third of January, 647, or, according to Varro, 649¹, at Arpinum, the native place of Marius. Arpinum was a municipium of considerable extent, and was one of the so-called Cyclopiæ towns. At present it is a very small place. We can easily conceive that all the citizens of Arpinum were proud of Marius, and Cicero, who shared this general feeling, had an additional motive, as there existed a sort of relationship between the two families². The Ciceros were among the most distinguished families of the place, and during the petty disputes at Arpinum, his grandfather, a man of considerable merit, always sided with the optimates³. Cicero's father, as well as his grandfather, were intimate with the first families of Rome, and especially with those who were opposed to Marius in their political sentiments. Cicero was thus brought in contact with the Scaevolæ and others who belonged to the party of Sulla—a circumstance which retained its influence upon him throughout his life, and produced a kind of discord in his character. M. Marius Gratidianus therefore was one of his adversaries. As regards his early youth, we only know that he shewed great mental activity, and a lively character. His first

¹ It is so much the easier to remember this year, as it reminds us of the year in which Goethe was born (1749)—N

² Asconius, ad Ciceron in toga cand. p. 84, ed. Orelli, Cicero, Brutus, 45

³ Cicero, De Legib. III. 16

inclinations were of a poetical nature, and his first poetical productions were composed in the old Roman form. The poem "Pontius Glaucus," in *versibus longis*, was written when Cicero was in reality only a boy. We can hardly form a notion of the nature of the education which such a distinguished Roman received in a municipium; and we can only say that the Greek language and literature were among the earliest subjects in which he was instructed, as in my youth a knowledge of French was the first thing that was imparted to the boys in Germany. A short time before the outbreak of the Italian war, Cicero, then about fourteen or fifteen years old, was taken to Rome by his father, perhaps because Arpinum, which lay on the frontier, was not thought safe enough. Here he associated with Greek philosophers and rhetoricians, and throughout his life he considered it as his greatest happiness to have been introduced, at so early a period, to the two Scaevolae, and to have been connected with Crassus and others. That time was one of great excitement. It is doubtful (for Cicero nowhere mentions it) whether he was with Sulla during the Italian war⁴, it can, at any rate, have been only for a short time, and had no lasting influence upon him, and he was naturally not a military character. In his intercourse with the great Scaevola, he occupied himself with the study of the civil law. This method of studying the law, as an apprentice, under a man distinguished in his profession, resembles the method which was formerly followed in France, and which is still customary in England. It afforded immense advantages to young men of talent, as they became acquainted with the law *in concreto*. They assembled early in the morning in the atrium, and listened to the advice which was given to those who came to consult the lawyer. This mode of education is the best in all cases where it is practicable. Although it is a very just remark that Cicero had no scientific knowledge of the law,

⁴ Plutarch, Cicero, 3

still it was not without an important meaning, that he said, "If I wished to acquire a scientific knowledge of the law, it would not take me more than two months" He may not have had a systematic and general view of it, but he had a good practical knowledge of it.

As I am relating to you the history of the greatest man of his kind, I am anxious to make the causes of the embarrassments which he met with during his life as clear as possible. If we consider his attachment to the optimates, and, on the other hand, the favour he bestowed upon their opponent, P Sulpicius, we cannot deny that he was in contradiction with himself. But Sulpicius was the man of his choice, and of a more congenial mind and talents than those old gentlemen, who were men of very great respectability indeed, but were narrow-minded. Sulpicius moreover belonged to the party of Marius, and that Cicero too was favourably disposed towards Marius is clear from the fact that Cicero, when a young man, wrote a poem upon Marius.

When the revolution broke out, Cicero remained at Rome, and during the strife of the parties he was protected by that of Marius, while the partizans of Sulla were not against him. In the meantime he continued to work, though his heart was torn, and seeing the wrongs on both sides, he maintained himself by a kind of neutrality. In the second consulship of Sulla, Cicero attained his twenty-seventh year. He had already spoken in public several times, *in causis privatis*, his first speeches belong to an unusually early period of his life⁵.

His defence of Roscius of Ameria, whom Chrysogonus wanted to get rid of, excited the greatest admiration of his talents, together with the highest esteem for his own personal character. It was an act of true heroism for a young

⁵ The speech for Roscius, the comedian, belongs to an earlier date than is commonly believed. Garatoni and Gronovius have proved that it must have been spoken previous to the oration for Quinctius, in the year 677. It caused a great sensation.—N

man like Cicero, and still more so if we consider his family-connexion with Marius. Cicero saved his client, but his friends advised him to quit Rome, that Chrysogonus might forget him. He accordingly went to Rhodes and Asia, where he completed his Greek education in the midst of Greeks. Cicero never received any instruction in mathematics, which the Greeks themselves rarely neglected. Another point in which he was deficient was the history of his own country, a subject of which he never made a regular study. The historians of his own country had no attractions for him, but he had an extraordinary partiality for the historians of Greece, especially Herodotus and Thucydides, and he was well read in Timæus and Theopompus. He was fond of poetry, though only in a limited sense. The Attic orators were the objects of his enthusiastic admiration, for he felt that it was his vocation to become their rival. He possessed the greatest vivacity, an excellent memory, a quick perception, and a great facility of expressing himself, all gifts which may make a great orator, but the predominant and most brilliant faculty of his mind was his wit. In what the French call *esprit*, light, unexpected, and inexhaustible wit, he is not excelled by any among the ancients.

If we look at his personal relations, he seems to have passed his youth without any intimate friend, and it was only in his maturer age that a true friendship was formed between him and Atticus. His brother Quintus, for whom he had a great brotherly affection, was an unworthy man, and in no way to be compared with him. In his marriage Cicero was not happy, his wife was a domineering and disagreeable woman, and as, owing to his great sensibility, he allowed himself to be influenced very much by those who surrounded him, his wife also exercised great power over him, which is the more remarkable, because he had no real love for her. It was she who, unfortunately for him, led him to do things which drew upon him the enmity of others; and I believe that the implacable hatred which

Clodius had of Cicero was brought upon him by Terentia. The men of a more advanced age looked upon him as a very distinguished person, but none of them ever felt a true affection for him.

On his return from Asia, the Sullanian oppression had ceased. Sulla himself was dead, the commotion of Lepidus was over, and a reaction against the tyranny of the oligarchs was beginning. Such a reaction is always like something youthful. I have seen it in France, where it lasted from 1794 to 1797: the persons by whom it was headed were of the most different characters and inclinations, but they were united among themselves, animated by a good spirit, and with good intentions. During the reaction against the tyranny of the French in Germany, down to the year 1813, I often felt convinced that many persons, who were then closely united, would give up all connexions with one another, if the reaction should cease. The event proved that I was right. The same was the case after the reactions against Robespierre and against Sulla had ceased. Among the higher classes at Rome the general opinion was against Sulla, although his party still had the power in their hands, but they lost it in an almost unaccountable manner. Some of the partizans of Sulla, as they grew tired, gave up their advantages one after another, just as the National Convention did, after the death of Robespierre, and the consequence was, that the people at Rome began to feel more safe and comfortable than they had any reason for, considering the circumstances of the time. The danger from without was still so great that they ought to have kept together. Although it happened very rarely that a *homo novus* succeeded in raising himself to the highest offices of the state, Cicero resolved upon obtaining them. All the offices for which he offered himself as a candidate were given him with the greatest willingness on the part of the people, and he discharged his duties in a manner which distinguished him from all his contemporaries. He acted upon the principles of a man of honour—and such he was

in the highest degree—and not like others, for the sake of obtaining fame, or with the intention that it should become known that he had made sacrifices. His pure mind was above all baseness, and it was only the consequence of his noble ambition that he wished to shew himself in the most brilliant light. The feeling that he *must* distinguish himself, and his success, were among the sources from whence arose his boasting, with which he has been reproached so often, and of which he would assuredly have been quite free if he had lived in other circumstances. He distinguished himself by his accusation of Verres, but still more by his defences; for while the other eloquent men of his time mostly indulged in their inclination to accuse, Cicero defended. If we consider the persons whose causes he pleaded, it certainly appears strange to us that he spoke for men in whose favour I, for one, should not be able to say a single word, and for actions which he himself detested; but, in many cases, this was the effect of his amiable disposition⁶. As an instance, I will mention his defence of M. Aemilius Scaurus, the son, in which he made an apostrophe to the father, whom Cicero had known and admired in his early youth. I cannot understand this admiration, and no one can share it who knows Scaurus only from the facts which history has transmitted to us. but Scaurus was a *grand seigneur* and *princeps senatus*, and to have been acquainted with such a great man had made an indelible impression upon Cicero the pleasing remembrance of him diffused a lustre around the whole history of the man. I have myself experienced a similar impression made upon me in my youth, and with similar consequences, I believe, therefore, that when the son of Scaurus was charged with criminal acts, it was merely by his feelings towards the father that Cicero was induced to defend him. Cicero also defended P. Vatinius, although he had, on a former occasion, spoken against him with the utmost bitterness. But Cicero had

⁶ The German expression is *Seine schöne Seele*, for which it is difficult to find an equivalent in English

forgiven him, and we must suppose that his first speech had been too vehement and passionate. He knew that Vatinius was generally hated, though he was not bad in the same degree in which he was hated, as we see from his letters, which, curious as they are, shew his gratitude towards his patron. His accusers, moreover, were contemptible persons. But independent of all this, the consciousness of his power to protect and assist was so agreeable and pleasant a feeling to him, that he sometimes exercised that power in cases where ordinary men would have shrunk from it. He himself said, *deorum est mortalem juvare*. His only act for which I can find no excuse is that he spoke for A. Gabinius; but this was a sacrifice which he made to the republic, and by which he hoped to win Pompey for the republic. It is to be lamented that he lived at a time when it was necessary to be friendly towards villains, in order to do good. It is a pity that this defence is lost, it was of the same kind as his speech for C. Rabirius Postumus, who was certainly not innocent. But after all, we must remember that those courts were not juries, whose object is simply to discover whether a person is guilty or not, and where a higher power presides, which may step in, either pardoning or mitigating. In those *quaestiones perpetuae* the judges had stepped into the place of the people, who formerly judged in the popular courts, and they pronounced their sentence in the capacity of sovereign. The people more frequently pardoned than they acquitted, so that pardoning and acquitting coalesced as identical, and as there was no other place in which the pardoning power could manifest itself, it entered into the courts of justice. This is the point of view from which we have to consider the courts of justice and the pleaders for the accused at that time. When the great Kant, in his criticism of the aesthetical power of judgment, depreciates eloquence, he does it in a work which is itself written so eloquently, that he is, in some measure, in contradiction with himself. Eloquence in our courts of justice is an

evil, for in our whole administration of justice the object is simply to discover whether the defendant is guilty or not, and every thing which might mislead the jury ought to be removed. If, on the other hand, there existed a body of men to place the sentence before the sovereign for ratification, or for the purpose of investigating whether pardon could take place, then an eloquent orator would be in his proper sphere. I have been more minute on this subject than I should have been, but it is my ardent wish to prevent your forming any erroneous opinions upon the character of Cicero.

After having gone through the offices of quaestor, aedile, and praetor, Cicero was unanimously elected consul in his forty-third year. I will not deny that, at the end of his consulship, he felt rather giddy; but he entered upon it with great joy and confidence, though under very perilous circumstances. All kinds of movements were going on, such as the *lex agraria* of P. Servilius Rullus, on which occasion Cicero induced the people to decline great largesses⁷ one of the most brilliant achievements of eloquence. Another noble act was that he persuaded the sons of the proscribed, most of whom had been reduced to poverty, and who had received promises that they should be restored to their rights by a motion of the tribunes, to renounce their claims, for the sake of maintaining peace and concord. At the beginning of his consulship, his attention was directed towards Catiline. An attempt of the latter to murder Cicero was discovered, and frustrated by the consul himself. Respecting the watchful care with which Cicero observed the proceedings of the conspirators, I refer you to Sallust and to Cicero's speeches against Catiline. In the end, however, things went so far, that Cicero thought it necessary to attack Catiline in the senate. Hereupon the latter left Rome, which many thought to be a great advantage gained, and went to Etruria, where some thou-

⁷ Cicero, in *Pison* 2

sands of his followers, consisting of exiles, Etruscans, impoverished colonists, and the like, were under arms. The greatest danger, however arose, from the fact, that Catiline's accomplices were the most influential men of the republic, among others the praetor Lentulus, who had already been consul, but his name had been struck out from the list of the senators, as he was convicted of *ambitus* afterwards he sued for the lower offices, in order to find his way back into the senate. Cicero knew him to be an accomplice, with regard to others, such as Crassus, it was probable, though there was no positive evidence Caesar was innocent, and I am perfectly convinced that it was impossible for a mind like his to enter upon such things. In order to get at the bottom of the affair, and to obtain such evidence as might make the crime a *delictum manifestum*, Cicero made use of a stratagem. He availed himself of the presence of some ambassadors from the Allobrogi, who had come to Rome in order to obtain redress from the senate against their governors. These ambassadors had been drawn into the conspiracy by Catiline, and were initiated into the whole plan, and they now revealed it to Cicero who, for the sake of appearance, ordered the praetors, L. Valerius Flaccus and C. Pomptinus, to arrest them. Letters of Catiline addressed to his accomplices were found among their papers, and the evidence was complete. There is no question that the conspirators were lost according to the Roman law, and the only thing required to make their execution legal was to prove the identity of their signatures. The advice of D. Junius Silanus therefore was very appropriate; Caesar, on the other hand, who considered this step highly dangerous, was of opinion that the conspirators should be distributed in several towns, and kept in strict custody. This would, perhaps, have been the wisest plan, and does not prove by any means that Caesar was a member of the conspiracy. If in after times Cicero did ever ask himself the question as to whether his mode

of proceeding against the conspirators was really the wisest, he cannot have denied to himself that, independent of the unfortunate consequences to his own person, it would have been better if Cato had not spoken, and that the execution of the conspirators was a misfortune for the republic.



LECTURE XLII.

M. TULLIUS CICERO, CONTINUED.—P. CLODIUS.—C. JULIUS
CAESAR.

THE reader of Cicero's works will remember that he frequently mentions the day of the complete dissolution of the conspiracy, and will be surprised at the manner in which he speaks of it in the oration for P. Sextius¹. But the events followed one another very rapidly, and according to all appearance the conspirators were conquered before the end of the year. They were defeated in Etruria during the winter². Catiline had joined C. Manlius in Etruria. Cicero had taken the most excellent precautions. Q. Metellus Celer, who was with an army in Picenum, in the neighbourhood of Rimini, marched towards the northern foot of the Apennines, to seize the passes of Faesulae, by which Catiline intended to hasten to Gaul. Cicero kept Antonius away from the conspirators, and resigned to him various advantages which he might have claimed for himself, such as the presidency at the elections, and the like, and the command against Catiline was given to M. Petreius. As Metellus had occupied the road from Etruria to Gaul, Catiline was compelled to accept a battle. He fell as he had lived, an able soldier: his men fought like lions, and died like the soldiers of Spartacus.

Thus ended the consulship of Cicero. The gratitude of his country, which he had so truly deserved, instead of

¹ c 5

² The chronological difficulty arises from the changes in the calendar.—N

being lasting, was only momentary, and was followed by hostility and malice. The contemplation of such a state of things is one of the saddest in human life. It is natural that an eminent man should meet with acknowledgment for as truly as it is the will of nature that we should not lie, so also is it her will that we should honour noble acts and acknowledge them. Plato says, "the last garment which a pure man puts off is the love of fame," and if he does put it off, he is in a dangerous way. I have once said in my public life that I consider too slight a love of fame, that is, of true or immortal fame, as one of the greatest dangers in our lives. but where the love does exist, I apprehend nothing. The poems of count Platen, the first among our present poetical geniuses, offend many readers by the frequent appearance of the poet's painful desire of being honoured and acknowledged. An actual saint, such as Vincent de Paula, would not experience any painful feeling at not being duly appreciated, but his is a different sphere. If an extraordinary mind can always be active, he will not be much concerned about his being honoured or not honoured, if, however, it is his destiny not to command over bodies, but over minds, he will be much more easily wounded by the want of appreciation. Cicero was a man of a curious, we may almost say, of a morbid sensibility to any affront. envy and hostility were ruinous to him. It is a misfortune for him that he endeavoured to counteract the want of appreciation on the part of his fellow-citizens, by coming forward himself and shewing what he was. Persons who have themselves displayed their vanity in the pettiest affairs of their little native places have censured Cicero for his vanity, and have written upon it in a very edifying manner. It always grieves me to hear such expressions, which we meet with even among the ancients themselves, for I love Cicero as if I had known him, and I judge of him as I would judge of a near relation who had committed a folly. On one occasion he felt much hurt by the indiffer-

ence which Pompey shewed towards him. Cicero had seen little of Pompey before he went to Asia, for Pompey was constantly absent from Rome, and Cicero was always at home. It can have been only during Pompey's consulship that the two men came in close contact with each other, and here the question is, as to how far their acquaintance had the character of a real friendship. Cicero was aedile elect in the year in which Pompey was consul when Pompey had gained his great victory over Mithridates, and was thinking of nothing but himself; Cicero wrote to him an unfortunate letter³ to inform him of his having saved his country from destruction, and to express his disappointment at Pompey's not having taken any notice of it in his letter. This letter to Pompey afterwards became the cause of infinite sorrow to Cicero. Pompey answered in a very cold manner, and was mean enough to think himself insulted by Cicero, who had dared to mention his own merits by the side of those of the conqueror of Mithridates. The family of Pompey was at that time at the head of the aristocracy, although his great grand-father had been a musician; they had amassed immense riches by robbery and plunder. All party opinions had lost their significance, and the sons of the men who had belonged to one party were found on the opposite side. Cicero was most impudently assailed by Metellus and Bestia, two men of very high plebeian nobility. It is very pleasing to read Cicero's oration for Murena, and to see the quiet inward satisfaction after his consulship, in which he was happy for a time. This speech has never yet been fully understood, and no one has recognised in it the happy state of mind which Cicero enjoyed at the time. If a man has taken a part in the great events of the world, he looks upon things which are little as very little, and he cannot conceive that people, to whom their little is their All and their Everything, should feel offended at a natural expression of his sentiments. I have

³ Ad Famil. v. 7

myself experienced this during the great commotions which I have witnessed. Thus it has happened that the sentiments expressed in the speech for Murena have for centuries been looked upon as trifling, and even at the present day they are not understood. The stoic philosophy, and the jurisprudence, of which Cicero speaks so highly on other occasions, are here treated of as ridiculous; but all this is only the innocent expression of his cheerful state of mind.

In his youth Cicero had been without friends, and afterwards he attached himself chiefly to young men of talent, whom he drew towards himself wherever he had an opportunity. Hortensius, who was exceedingly afraid of being eclipsed, acted in a very different way towards rising young men. In this manner, Brutus and Caelius Rufus became attached to Cicero, and Catullus too must have known him. Cicero was not repulsive even to those young men who had gone astray from the path of virtue; and thus we find him exerting himself to the utmost to lead Curio to a better mode of life, though unfortunately without success⁴. Among the few interesting things which occur in the letters of M. Aurelius to Fronto, there is one passage in which the emperor intimates that the Roman language had no word for *φιλοστοργία*, that is, the tender love for one's friends and parents⁵. This feeling was not a Roman one, but Cicero possessed it in a degree which few Romans could comprehend; and hence he was laughed at for the grief which he felt at the death of his daughter Tullia⁶. But he was nevertheless not a man of a weak character, and, whenever there was need of it, he shewed great firmness and resolution. What makes him appear weak is his sensitive nature, and a thing which he thought an indignity (*indignum*) completely annihilated him. When Milton makes God say to Adam

⁴ Cicero, Brutus, 81

⁵ Frontonis Reliquiae, p 144, ed Niebuhr

⁶ Ad Famil iv 5, ix 11, ad Atticum, xii 12, 18, 19, 26

A nice and subtle happiness, I see,
Thou to thyself proposest,

he makes me think of that class of men to which Cicero belonged. I have known a man of a very similar character, Frederic Jacobi, who has likewise been charged with vanity, irascibility, and the like. He often reminded me of Cicero, whose character has, in fact, become clear to me in my intercourse with Jacobi.

The root of the Catilinarian conspiracy was indeed destroyed, but many of its fibres yet remained behind. It was not long after Cicero's consulship that an event took place which became the cause of the misfortunes of his whole life. This was the trial of P. Clodius, a younger son of Appius Claudius, and a direct descendant of Appius Claudius the decemvir. He was one of three brothers; the eldest, who bore the family name Appius, was a good-natured, but a superstitious and little-minded person, as, however, he was wealthy and belonged to a noble family, he obtained the highest honours in the republic. Clodius had also two sisters, one of whom was married to Lucullus. He belonged, indeed, to one of the very first patrician families of Rome; but this was no longer of any consequence, and the question at that time was not as to who was the noblest, but who possessed the greatest power. P. Clodius is an exemplification of that most fearful state of demoralization, which was just then at its height. His trial was the consequence of the well-known fact that, at the festival of the Bona Dea, which was celebrated by the vestals and matrons, he sneaked, in the disguise of a woman, into the house of the pontifex maximus, to have a rendezvous there with Pompeia, the wife of J. Caesar. The crime was discovered, and Clodius was brought to trial. The whole proceeding shews that a change must have taken place, for according to the ancient law he ought to have been tried by the ecclesiastical court of the pontiffs, and would to God that this regulation had now been followed, for Clodius would unquestionably have been con-

demned, and Cicero would have been spared all his misfortunes. But the old law, and the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the pontiffs in such cases, must have been abolished, though nobody knows when this was done. Clodius tried to prove an *alibi*, and had the impudence to call in Cicero as his witness⁷. Up to this time no hostility had existed between the two men, but Clodius was so dangerous a person that Cicero ought to have been satisfied with simply stating that he knew nothing about the matter, but he was led away by the desire to justify himself before his domineering wife, and to prove to her that he was not a friend of the Claudian family, and he not only bore witness against Clodius, but abandoned himself to his indignation, and said things which would necessarily have brought about the condemnation of Clodius, had he not purchased his acquittal⁸. Things were then in such a frightful condition that the defendant had to deposit his bribe before the trial began.

Clodius could never forget the conduct of Cicero, and meditated upon revenge. Pompey, too, assumed a hostile conduct towards Cicero, he treated him with contempt, and encouraged Clodius. Some time after Clodius caused himself to be adopted into a plebeian family for the sake of appearance, in order to be able to obtain the tribuneship⁹. Disgraceful things were then going on at Rome, and Clodius had a hand in all of them. I shall mention only one. Ptolemy Auletes, who had been expelled from Alexandria on account of his vices, came to Rome, and

⁷ Cicero, ad Atticum, i 14

⁸ Cicero, ad Atticum, i 16, 18, Plutarch, Cicero, 29, Caesar, 10, and especially Cicero, In Clodium et Curionem

⁹ Such *transiiones ad plebem* were not unfrequent in early times, when it was not even necessary to be adopted into a plebeian family, for a man might completely go over to the plebeians by the mere act of his own will. He became an *aerarian*, and was registered by the praetor in a tribe. But this custom had long fallen into disuse. Cicero disputed the legality of Clodius' tribuneship, but there was no real ground for disputing it.—N

bargained with the Romans about the price of his restoration. The people of Alexandria sent an embassy to Rome to justify themselves, but the king, with the connivance of the Romans, caused the most distinguished among the ambassadors to be assassinated¹⁰

The tribuneship of Clodius falls in the year after Caesar's consulship, and four years after that of Cicero, and may be considered as the beginning of the civil wars. Pompey and M. Crassus had hitherto been the most powerful men in the republic, and Caesar had not yet exercised any great influence, though his favour with the people was immense¹¹. It is greatly to be regretted that we know so little about his family. The Julia gens which had come from Alba to Rome, and belonged to the gentes minores, was one of the most ancient gentes. During the first period of the republic, members of it were often invested with curule offices, but from the fourth to the seventh century they almost disappear, and it is only about the end of that period that they come forth from their obscurity. The patrician rank had then so little meaning that, with the exception of Sulla and a few others, the patricians sided with the popular party. Julia, the sister of Caesar's father, was married to the elder Marius, and Caesar was attached to his uncle Marius from his early youth. He

¹⁰ Cicero, pro Caelio, 10. Compare the fragments of Cicero's oration "De rege Alexandrino."

¹¹ It is a singular circumstance that his two biographies by Suetonius and Plutarch are both ἀκέφαλοι. With regard to Suetonius the fact is well known, but it is only since the year 1812 that we know that the part which is wanting contained a dedication to the praefectus praetorio of the time, a fact which has not yet found its way into any history of Roman literature. That Plutarch's life of Caesar is likewise ἀκέφαλος is not so generally known. The fact is not mentioned anywhere, but there can be no doubt that the beginning is wanting. Plutarch could not have passed over the ancestors, the father, and the whole family, together with the history of Caesar's youth. The life, as it now stands, opens with the demand of Sulla relative to Caesar's second wife Cornelia, and this is no beginning at all.—N

himself was married to Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna, and Sulla wished to dissolve this marriage, but Caesar, young as he was, shewed his noble soul, for where all trembled, he refused to bend, and resisted. They might take her from him by force, and they might threaten his life, but he would not consent to divorce the wife he loved. Her dowry was taken away, as the property of her father was confiscated. Caesar was not on the proscription list of Sulla, but he was persecuted, with the knowledge of the dictator, by his catchpolls, the Corneliu, and was reduced to the necessity of purchasing his own life. Caesar had married very early, and was still very young at the time of Sulla's tyranny, but there was something so extraordinary in his character that even some of the savage agents of Sulla could not bear the thought that so distinguished a young man should be sacrificed, and Sulla was at last induced, though not without great difficulty, to stop the persecution. Caesar returned to Rome. Had Cicero been as thoughtful as Caesar, he would have been a happier man. Caesar possessed the greatest boldness and resolution, combined with an incredible degree of prudence and cunning; so long therefore as Sulla lived, Caesar spent his time in the active pursuit of study, like an ordinary man of good education, and he, who was afterwards the greatest general of his age, shewed no trace of military ambition. When he went to Spain as quaestor he, for the first time, commanded a detachment of troops; and he was the great general at once, just like Moreau who served in his first campaign as commander of a division. Frederic the Great too never went through any military school. After his quaestorship Caesar obtained the aedileship, in which he distinguished himself by his extraordinary munificence and splendour. He was not very rich, but he was unconcerned about money matters: he reckoned upon great things that were to come, and whoever lent him money had in Caesar's heart a security that he would be re-

paid tenfold, if Caesar should come into power. It was during his aedileship that he attracted the general attention, by placing himself at the head of the remnants of the Marian party. In this spirit he had honoured his aunt Julia, the wife of Marius, with a splendid funeral oration. It was an unworthy act that the victorious party had destroyed all the monumental honours of Marius, and had removed his statues and inscriptions, but Caesar had them restored one night on the capitol, together with a statue of Minerva putting a crown on the head of Marius. This created such a terror at Rome that the aged Catulus, in his folly, wished to interfere and accuse Caesar; but public opinion was in favour of the latter. After his aedileship Caesar became praetor, and four years after Cicero's consulship, he was elected consul.

There are many isolated features in ancient history, to which attention is not paid, and which are usually passed over, although to an attentive observer they are of the highest interest. One such is the account—whether it is true or not, I cannot decide—that when Cicero as a young man went to Rhodes to complete his education, and consulted the oracle of Delphi about his life, the Pythia advised him to live for himself, and not to take the opinions of others as his guide¹². If this be an invention, it was certainly made by one who saw very deep, and perceived the real cause of all Cicero's sufferings. If the Pythia did give such an answer, then this is one of the oracles which might tempt one to believe in an actual inspiration of the priestess.

¹² Plutarch, Cicero, 5

LECTURE XLIII.

C. JULIUS CAESAR, CONTINUED. — CONSULSHIP OF L. CALPURNIUS PISO AND A. GABINIUS — EXILE OF CICERO AND HIS RETURN.—MILO AND CLODIUS

AMONG the features which are particularly characteristic in Caesar, I must mention his great openness, lively disposition, and love of friendship, he was cordial and tender, like Cicero, but he differed from him by his natural desire to have many friends. Great qualities and talents alone were sufficient to attract him, and this circumstance led him to form friendships with persons who injured his reputation. He was perfectly free from the jealousy and envy of Pompey, but he could not tolerate an assumed superiority which was not based upon real merit. Bad as Lucan's poems are, the words in which he describes this feature in Caesar's character are truly great. Caesar could not bear the pretension of Pompey to stand above him, for he knew how infinitely he was below him.

His talents were of the most varied kind he possessed an unparalleled facility and energy in the exercise of all his faculties; his extraordinary memory is well known. He had great presence of mind and faith in himself and his fortune, and this gave him the certain confidence that he would succeed in every thing. Hence most of the things he did do not bear the impress of labour or study. His eloquence, for instance, and his whole style are not of any school; every thing was with him the mere exercise and development of powers that lay in him. He was more-over a man of uncommon acuteness and observation, and

of great scientific acquirements, all his knowledge was obtained at a time when it had a real interest for him, and engaged all the great powers of his mind. As a prose writer, Caesar stands forth as the greatest master in Roman literature, and what Cicero says of him in his *Brutus*¹ is true and altogether excellent. His style is that of the conversation of a highly educated and accomplished man, who speaks with incomparable gracefulness and simplicity. His speeches must have been of the most perfect kind. Posterity has been more just towards his talents than his contemporaries. Tacitus had a thorough appreciation of him². It is no slight honour to grammar that Caesar took a great interest in it, if we had his work on "Analogy," we should probably find that it far surpassed the similar productions of the grammarians. I have already remarked that his military genius burst forth at once, and without previous training. Caesar was one of those healthy and strong minds who have a clear perception of their objects in life, and devise for themselves the means to obtain them. Far from being an intriguer, like most men of his time, he was the most open-hearted being in existence. In his connexions with others he knew nothing of intrigues, and this led him to overlook many things which he would not otherwise have failed to observe. Many of his acts of violence were only the consequence of previous carelessness, openness, and confidence in others. His humanity, mildness, and kind heart were manifested after his victory in a manner which no one had anticipated, and these qualities were realities with him, they were not artificially assumed, as they were by Augustus, who was a mere actor throughout his life. Had Caesar been born on the throne, or had he lived at a time when the republic was not yet in so complete a state of dissolution, and could have been managed,—for instance, in the time of Scipio,—he would have attained the object of his life with the greatest éclat, had he lived in a republican age, he would never have thought of setting

¹ c. 71 foll.² See his *Annales*, xiii. 3, *Germania*, 28.

himself above the law; but he belonged to a period when he had no choice between being either the anvil or the hammer. It was not Caesar's nature, as it was Cicero's, to go with the wind, he felt that he must seize the occurrences, and he could not avoid placing himself where he stood. the tide of events carried him thither irresistibly. Cato might still dream of the possibility of reviving the republic, and carrying it on as formerly; but the time was gone by.

With regard to his character as a military commander, it cannot be denied that he acted unconscientiously his Gallic wars are, for the most part, truly criminal; his conduct towards the Usipetes and Tenchteri was horrible, and that towards Veicingetorix deplorable. These and similar acts are to be lamented, and are altogether unjustifiable, but towards his fellow-citizens he never made himself guilty of such conduct. The ruling party acted towards him not only foolishly, but very unjustly. They ought not to have opposed his suing for the consulship from Gaul, and if he had obtained it peaceably, it would not only have been better than Pompey's second and third consulships, but extremely beneficial to the state. If there was any man capable of discovering a means to remedy the condition of the republic—which, in my opinion, was almost impossible—Caesar was the only one to devise and apply it. His mildness towards many, and especially his generous conduct towards Cicero, who had greatly provoked him, shew a very different spirit from that of Pompey, whose vanity was hurt by the most trifling thing. Caesar would have been glad to have taken Cicero with him to Gaul, in order to protect him.

But notwithstanding the benevolence he shewed on all occasions, Caesar was a demoniac man, who went on in life with a passionate rapidity. His extravagance, for example, in his aedileship, was immense, and this made him dependent upon others, especially upon Crassus, who advanced him enormous sums. If, during his consulship, there had

been a party desirous of making themselves independent of Pompey's influence, and of attaching themselves to Caesar, his consulship would not have been marked with any great stain. It was then customary to give the consulship *in rebus urbanis*, and the office was thus to Caesar a loss of time. In that year, Q Vatinius, who was tribune of the people, caused, with a violation of the law then not uncommon, the whole of Illyricum and Cisalpine Gaul to be given to Caesar as his province for five years, and afterwards Transalpine Gaul, which was not yet a Roman province, was added to it³. This was the first instance of a province being assigned to a proconsul for a definite period longer than one year. In his consulship Caesar carried several popular laws, and founded a colony at Capua⁴. It is difficult to conceive how Capua, ever since its conquest in the second Punic war, could have remained in that condition, in which the land and the buildings upon it were the property of the Roman republic. The houses may have been let, but the land was cultivated by hereditary occupants, on condition of their paying the tithes of its produce. The republic however retained the right to interfere, and to make such new arrangements as were thought useful or necessary. Servilius Rullus had, some years before, proposed that the *ager Campanus* should be divided among the Roman citizens, but Cicero had opposed this in his oration against Rullus. When Caesar brought forward his bill concerning the colony at Capua, Cicero spoke against it, and declined being appointed one of the commissioners who were sent to Capua⁵. Caesar took this as a great personal insult, and the two men thus became, for a time, hostile towards each other. But the enmity would soon have passed over, had Cicero been willing to accompany Caesar

³ Scholia Bobiens in Vatini p 317, ed Orelli, Sueton Caesar, 22, Dion Cassius, xxxviii 8 Appian, de Bell Civil ii 13

⁴ Vell Patercul ii 44, Sueton Caesar, 20, Appian, l c ii 10, Cicero, ad Atticum, ii 16

⁵ Cicero, ad Atticum, ii 19

to Gaul. Cicero's brother, Quintus, who did go with Caesar, was always treated by him with especial favour. Caesar in fact endeavoured, on all occasions, to give Cicero proofs of his attachment and devotion to him. But Cicero was kept at Rome by his evil star. Caesar's colleague in the consulship, M Calpurnius Bibulus, was an honest man, but narrow-minded and obstinate, and Caesar's relation to him was exceedingly unpleasant.

The year following was that of the unfortunate consulship of L Calpurnius Piso and A. Gabinius, two men whom we may truly call ἀλιήριοι, or sinful, and what Cicero says of them is no declamatory exaggeration. They literally sold Cicero to Clodius, who promised to secure to Piso the province of Macedonia, and to Gabinius the rich province of Syria. The consuls accordingly assisted Clodius in his detestable rogation which was directed against Cicero. Clodius then accused Cicero of having put to death Roman citizens without a trial⁶. I have already stated that the case of Catiline and his associates was a *manifestum delictum*, and according to the old criminal law Cicero was undoubtedly justified in putting them to death. But the *leges Porciae*, of which there are three⁷, had probably introduced a modification, according to which a Roman citizen could not be put to death in all places. In former times, a person might evade the sentence of a popular court by withdrawing to a municipium, but things had now become altered, and in Cicero's time we actually find that it was the current opinion, that a true citizen could not legally suffer any bodily injury. If this was the law, it might have been urged against Cicero, *quod civem Romanum necasset*, but there would have been no reason for adding *indemnatum*, for the crime was a *manifestum delictum*. However, whether justly or unjustly, Clodius brought forward the accusation. Pompey went into the country and

⁶ Vell Patercul II 45, Livy, Epit 103, Dion Cassius, xxxviii 14, Plutarch, Cicero, 3 foll

⁷ Cicero, De Re Publica, II 31 *tres sunt truum Porcorum*. Compare Orelli, Onomast Tullianum, III p 251 foll

kept aloof from all Cicero's friends, Caesar was absent in Gaul, and M. Crassus bore a grudge against Cicero he was implacable because he had been mentioned in connexion with the Catilinarian conspiracy⁸, and it was a general opinion, not without foundation, that Crassus had been an accomplice. Cicero had not been guilty of any malice, for he had only followed the witnesses, who stated what was true. It is one of the beautiful features of Cicero's great soul that he loved P. Crassus, the son of his enemy, without any regard to circumstances, he heartily wished young Crassus to rise in the republic and become great. Cicero could not await the day of trial, for he would have been irrecoverably lost. The concilia no longer consisted of honest country people, but of the lowest rabble of the nation. He was obliged to quit Rome in order to save his life. The senators, bad as they were in other respects, shewed great sympathy for Cicero, and encouraged each other. Cicero however was condemned, and Clodius followed up his victory he destroyed Cicero's houses and villas, and sold his property, but no one would purchase. He then dedicated a chapel of Liberty on the Palatine, on the site of Cicero's house⁹, which I have discovered, that is to say, I know the place within about fifty feet, where the house must have stood, and I have often visited the spot. Clodius outlawed not only Cicero, but all those who should afford him any protection. Cicero at first wished to go to Sicily, but the praetor of that province, who had formerly been his friend, was too cowardly, and so he went to Macedonia and lived with the quaestor Plancius, who received and treated him like a brother. Clodius afterwards kept the promise he had made to the consuls: Gabinius obtained Syria, and Piso Macedonia¹⁰.

⁸ Asconius in Cic. in tog. cand. p. 83 ed. Orelli. Compare Sallust, Catil. 17.

⁹ (Cicero, ad Atticum, iv. 2, pro Domo, 41 foll.) In the reign of Claudius a magnificent palace was built there, which however was destroyed in the fire of Nero.—N.

¹⁰ Cicero, in Pison. 16, Plutarch, Cicero, 30.

The year after, public opinion had turned so much in favour of Cicero, indignation was expressed so loudly, and so many petitions were sent in from all quarters that he was formally recalled. His return was a triumph which comforted him for the moment. But his happiness did not last long. The oration for L. Flaccus, who was a man of too different a turn of mind from his own to be his friend, but who had assisted him in suppressing the Catilinarian conspiracy, is as interesting as that for Murena. In the latter we see Cicero's quiet satisfaction and happiness, the result of what he had accomplished, whereas the former, which was spoken the year before his exile, is pervaded by a suppressed and deep grief, the consequence of his feeling that, after all, it had been of so little advantage to him to have saved his country. His happiness was disturbed the very year after his return. The internal condition of Rome grew worse and worse. Pompey was now friendly towards Cicero, but only because he had fallen out with Clodius, and Pompey and M. Crassus were anxious to obtain the consulship a second time. All the *virī boni* opposed this scheme by all means, but it was realised by violence. L. Domitius, who was likewise a candidate, was intimidated by armed soldiers when he was going to attend the elections, his servant was cut down before his eyes, to intimate to him that he had to expect the same fate, if he persisted in his suit for the consulship¹¹. In this manner the two pillars of the optimates entered upon their second consulship, which is marked in history by many acts which no one can justify. The consuls caused provinces to be given to themselves for five years by a *lex Trebonia*. Pompey obtained Spain, and Crassus Syria, with the command in the war against the Parthians. The unconstitutional nature of this act, received its punishment afterwards, for Crassus fell in the war against the Parthians,

¹¹ Dion Cassius, xxxix 27 foll, Plutarch, Cato Min 41 foll, Pomp 52, Crassus, 15, Appian, De Bell Civil ii 17, Veil Patercul ii 46

and Pompey too laid the foundation of his own ruin. In order to conciliate Caesar, the administration of his provinces was likewise prolonged for five years more. It was a painful thing for Cicero to be obliged to speak in favour of this arrangement about the provinces, merely for the sake of maintaining peace¹².

The state of anarchy and internal convulsions went on increasing at Rome; and things came at last to such a point that, in the year 701, it was not only made absolutely impossible to hold the elections (which had happened often before), but that Pompey was appointed sole consul, a thing which had never yet occurred. In this consulship, which was his third, Pompey carried several laws, especially concerning *res judicariæ*. Some of these laws are but very imperfectly known, and I have never been able to form a clear notion of them, but thus much is certain, that one of them greatly increased the number of equites, from among whom the jury were taken¹³. The mode of proceeding in the courts of justice was also modified by these laws, and the powers of the pleaders seem to have been increased¹⁴. His laws *de ambitu* were ridiculous, for it was a notorious fact that no man could obtain the consulship unless he purchased it, and it almost appears as if it had only been Pompey's intention to prevent a certain grossness or licentiousness in the commission of the crime.

It was shortly before the third consulship of Pompey, that Milo, the descendant of an ancient family, met Clodius, his mortal enemy, on a road leading to Rome. Each was accompanied by a band of men to protect him, in

¹² The gentes of the Italian towns, which had lately obtained the Roman franchise, began about this time to rise in importance, and men belonging to them, such as Asinius Pollio and Munatius Plancus of Tibur, begin to act a prominent part in the history of Rome.—N

¹³ Asconius in Pison. p. 16

¹⁴ Sallust, De Re Publ Ord. II. 3. 7. 12 (?)

case of any attack, just as our nobles used to travel in the 16th and 17th centuries. In a severe struggle which took place, Clodius was fatally wounded and died, and Milo was charged with having murdered him. Pompey declared against Milo, who was then a candidate for the consulship. Cicero undertook his defence, but the measures which had been taken intimidated him to such a degree that, for the first time in his life, he lost his self-possession while pleading the cause of his client. Milo went to Marseille into exile, and afterwards perished in the civil war¹⁵.

Cicero was compelled in the year following, though with great reluctance, to accept the proconsulship of Cilicia. This province was then in a highly dangerous position on account of the Parthians, who were victorious, and threatened to overwhelm Cilicia, and Cicero was disgusted at the idea of living in a half-Greek province, in a corner of Asia Minor, the nobles of which had but a short time before been the captains of pirates. The death of M. Crassus falls ten years after Cicero's consulship.

¹⁵ Caesar, *De Bello Civil* III 22, Vell. *Patercul.* II 68, Dion *Cassius*, XLII 25

LECTURE XLIV.

CAESAR'S CAMPAIGNS IN GAUL. — HIS WORKS DE BELLO GALLICO AND DE BELLO CIVILI. — A. HIRTIUS — C. OPIUS. — THE BELLUM HISPANIENSE. — CONDITION OF GAUL AT THE TIME OF CAESAR'S ARRIVAL THERE — SKETCH OF HIS WARS IN GAUL.

I HAVE to mention one more curious fact about Caesar, namely, that not one witty saying of his is recorded, whereas, a great many which may be genuine, and are at any rate very peculiar and excellent, are ascribed to Cicero

Some time before the second consulship of Pompey, Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus had held a congress at Lucca, at which each of them appeared accompanied by a mighty train of followers. Here they had concluded a peace, and determined on the fate of the republic. This fact at once discloses to us the condition of the state. In order to secure the maintenance of peace, Caesar had given his daughter Julia in marriage to Pompey, but, some years after the treaty of Lucca, she died in child-bed, and her child followed her soon after into the grave, and this event rent the tie between the two completely asunder. Caesar's affection as a father was so great that he would have brooked anything if his daughter had remained alive.

With regard to his campaigns in Gaul, I have only to refer you to his own commentaries on the Gallic war, with the supplement of A. Hirtius, a work which every scholar must have read. It is written with such conciseness and

brevity that if I attempted to abridge it, as I should be obliged to do, if I were to give an account of those campaigns, nothing would be left but a miniature outline. I strongly advise you to read Caesar's account of his Gallic wars as often as you can.

A great deal yet remains to be done for the works of Caesar. Our materials are of very different value. Many of the manuscripts which contain the *Bellum Gallicum* have already been collated, but a still greater number of them have not been consulted, and their collation is an undertaking which I can strongly recommend to young scholars, and which they will find of very great advantage. In the Vatican library and at Florence the manuscripts of Caesar are very numerous, and many of them have never yet been collated. The English manuscripts have been consulted by Davis and others, but they are, on the whole, of very inferior value, and belong to a very recent time. The manuscripts of the *Bellum Civile* may be traced back to a single family of manuscripts; with a very few exceptions they have all the same gaps, and a collation would yield but few results. The work "*De Bello Civili*" is ἀκέφαλος, and the first sentences, as they now stand, were patched up in the middle ages to fill up the gap, a fact which has been recognised by Davis and Oudendorp but there is also another great gap in the work. I once proposed a prize essay upon the other historical works usually connected with those of Caesar, and I will briefly tell you my opinion upon them. The last book of the commentaries on the Gallic war, and the book on the Alexandrine war, are, both in regard to style and diction, the production of one and the same author, that is, of A. Hirtius. There is no ground whatever for ascribing them to Pansa. A. Hirtius was a highly educated man, and well able to execute such works. They belong to the most excellent compositions in the Latin language they are in the highest degree classical, and the language, like that of Caesar,

is such as was spoken by the best educated and most eminent men of the time. The book on the African war I assign, without hesitation, to C Oppius, it is very instructive, and the author is an intelligent man, a good officer, and highly trustworthy, but the language is quite different from that of the work on the Alexandrine war, there is a certain mannerism about it, and it is on the whole less beautiful. C. Oppius was the companion of Caesar in all his wars, and one of his dearest friends. At the time when Caesar's power had reached its height, he himself and Oppius were travelling together, and arrived at a very small place. Oppius was ill, and Caesar made him spend the night in the only room that was to be had in the inn, while he himself slept outside the house in the open air¹. This is a natural feature in his character, and quite free from affectation. The author of the book on the Spanish war is unknown it is the production of a person who did not belong at all to the educated classes, but it is, nevertheless, highly interesting on account of its language, which is nothing else than the common language of the Roman soldiers. It is an abridgment of a diary kept by some one during the war, and altogether a remarkable and singular piece of composition.

When Caesar went to Gaul, its inhabitants were in a great commotion. Languedoc and Provence, Dauphiné and Savoy, the country of the Allobrogi, were under the dominion of Rome. The Allobrogi called on Caesar to assist them against the Helvetians, whose emigration is one of the most remarkable phenomena in ancient history. A person of wealth and distinction persuaded the whole nation to break up and conquer a new country for themselves; not with the view of tilling the new land in the sweat of their brows, but of making themselves the lords of their new country, and of compelling the conquered inhabitants to cultivate the soil for them. This

¹ Sueton Caesar, 72

must have been their intention, if we consider the state of dissolution in which Gaul was at the time. An additional motive may have been the fact that they apprehended an invasion of the Suevi, who had already begun to stir. But it is nevertheless strange that a whole nation could be induced to destroy their towns and villages, and to abandon their homes, and that afterwards, when their leader had perished, they still persisted in carrying out their plan. United with the Tigurini, they marched towards southern Gaul. But I must be brief: how Caesar treated with the Helvetians, how he obstructed their road, how he followed and defeated them in two battles, and compelled them to capitulate, after nearly the whole nation was annihilated,—all this may be read in detail in the first book of his Commentaries on the Gallic war. The survivors were obliged to return,—a frightful end of a fantastic undertaking! All that can be said to account for their forming such a wild scheme must be gathered by a careful examination of the condition of Gaul. The Gauls consisted of a great number of isolated nations, and, as France is now the most united and most compact state in Europe, so ancient Gaul was the most distracted and broken up of all countries. We have to distinguish in Gaul the Aquitanians in Vienne, the Iberians mixed with Celts in Languedoc, Celts and Ligurians on the Rhone, Ligurians on the coast of Provence, and Celts occupying the whole extent from Languedoc to the north of France. I do not think Caesar's statement correct, that all the inhabitants from the Garonne in the south, to the Seine and Marne in the north, were Gauls, and I believe that the Cymri inhabited Britany as early as that time: their emigration in the fifth century of our æra is certainly fabulous. There is no question but that the Gael were pressed forward from the south towards the north. The Cymri were in reality Celts, and quite foreign and hostile to the Gael. In former times, the Arverni had been the ruling people, and in possession of the supremacy in

Gaul; the other nations were in a state of dependence on them, resembling the relation which at one time had existed between Sparta and the rest of Greece. Afterwards the Aedui rose by the side of the Arverni, just as in Greece other states rose to dispute the supremacy with Sparta. As soon as the Romans began extending their policy beyond the Alps, the Aedui were encouraged by them to share the supremacy with the Arverni. The Aedui had been on terms of friendship with the Romans in the year 631, when the Arverni and the Allobrogi carried on their unfortunate war against the Romans, and it must have been on that occasion that the Aedui were honoured with the title of friends and brothers of the Roman people. The Aedui were great, for a time, at the cost of the Arverni, and, when their power declined, that of the Sequani, the inhabitants of Franche Comté, rose, and this occasioned the invitation of the German tribe of the Suevi into Gaul. The Arverni never recovered their former position. Gaul, as I have already remarked, was in a state of dissolution, and may have been exhausted by emigrations, although emigrations do not, in times of prosperity, exhaust a country, unless they be like that of the Helvetians. If we suppose that two thirds of the inhabitants of a country emigrate, the population will be restored, if circumstances are not unfavourable, in a period of from seventy to eighty years.

The causes which induced the German tribes to cross the Rhine are hidden in utter obscurity. The Germans formerly inhabited a vast extent of country, which probably reached as far as the valleys of the Alps, before the Gauls occupied those districts. The passage of Livy², in which he states that the valleys of the Pennine Alps were inhabited by Germans, is a proof of this. Before the time of Livy the Germans were not a conquering nation. Ariovistus had settled in Gaul, and his mode of acting is the same as that which we afterwards find always adopted by the

Germans. He divided the land for cultivation between his own people and the old inhabitants. The Gauls now implored the protection of Caesar against him. Caesar was courageous enough to enter upon the undertaking, although it was a very bold one, for the Suevi were held to be irresistible. Caesar took upon himself what he had legally no right to do as proconsul, for Ariovistus had been recognised as king in the year of Caesar's consulship. The soldiers of Caesar looked forward with great apprehension to the decisive moment, but they gained a great victory in the neighbourhood of Besançon, in which most of the Suevi were killed; the survivors fled across the Rhine, whither Caesar was wise enough not to follow them.

Caesar now commanded seven legions, independent of his auxiliary troops³, and he had the administration, not only of all the countries north of the Alps, but of Cisalpine Gaul as far as the Romagna and the foot of the Apennines—the country of the Ligurians did not belong to his province,—and Illyricum, as far as the frontiers of Macedonia, an empire not inferior to the greatest in modern Europe. After his victory over the Germans, something must have happened which excited the fear of the Belgians, that he would undertake something against them. In his own account no mention is made of anything of the kind, and it appears, on the contrary, that they might have remained quiet without any danger, and that they themselves were ill-disposed towards the Romans. All the Belgians between the Seine, Moselle, and Rhine, with the exception of the Remi, the most distinguished tribe among them, rose in arms against the Romans. My belief is that the Remi intrigued with Caesar, in order to obtain, through his in-

³ *Socii* are now no longer mentioned in the Roman armies, but only *Auxilia*, and there is a great difference between the two. The *Socii* were now true Roman legionaries, and were armed in the Roman fashion, whereas the *Auxilia* formed mere cohorts, and the majority of them did not bear Roman arms, but had their own national armour—N

fluence, the supremacy among the Belgians, whereby the other tribes would have been reduced to a sort of clientship. The condition of Gaul is excellently described by Caesar. The Belgians and Gauls were weak nations, because the mass of the population was not free. The nation consisted of druids, knights, and serfs; the last of these classes often fought very bravely, but on many occasions they shewed that they had no desire to make any sacrifice for their country, for they could not forget that they were serfs. When provoked they would often fight like lions, but they had no perseverance. As regards the Nervii, however, we must believe that their condition was different. Caesar decided the fate of the Belgians in two battles, and penetrated into the modern Brabant, the country of the Nervii, who fought very gallantly, but nearly their whole nation was extirpated.

Most of the nations as far as the coast of the ocean now tacitly recognised Caesar's supremacy. He took up extensive winter quarters in Belgium, and here he again came in contact with the Germans. The Usipetes and Tenchtri had come across the Rhine, and made war upon the Belgians on the Meuse. Caesar advanced against them, and it is against these tribes that Caesar committed one of the foulest acts of his life. His own account shews his guilt. He negotiated with them, and demanded their leaders to appear before him. When they came honestly and without suspicion, he attacked the people while they were without their leaders. His excuse is detestable. This base act was afterwards discussed in the senate at Rome, and Cato is said to have proposed that Caesar should be delivered up to the barbarians, to atone for his violation of the laws of nations⁴.

Another expedition had been undertaken against the Veneti, for which he had a fleet built on the Loire. This war, like all his Gallic wars, was carried on with

⁴ Plutarch, Caesar, 22, Appian, De Rebus Gall 18

great cruelty, and the Veneti were conquered. Soon after his fraudulent treatment of the Usipetes and Tenchteri, he undertook his first invasion of Britain, which had long been known under this name. The Phoenicians of Gades traded with Britain on account of its tin mines in Cornwall, which are the only ones in Europe, with the exception of some insignificant ones in the Saxon part of the Erzgebirge⁵ Britain was believed to be a perfectly inaccessible country, though, besides the Phoenicians of Gades, the Veneti also, who lived about the mouth of the Loire, carried on a considerable commerce with the Britons⁶ It flattered the fancy of Caesar to subdue this country which no enemy had yet set his foot within, for booty he could not expect, and the tin district was in a very distant part of the country Kent and Sussex were then exceedingly poor, and the part of Britain which he entered had neither gold nor silver, whereas the Gauls possessed great quantities of gold. The success of his undertaking was very insignificant, and he nearly lost his fleet. The ships were badly built, and the Romans were unacquainted with the nature of that part of the ocean where, especially in the British channel, the tides are so strong But Caesar landed in Britain, defeated the badly armed barbarians, and accepted their apparent submission, in order to be able to return to Gaul He afterwards made a second attempt, but with little better success than the first time, though in the second invasion he penetrated beyond the river Thames, probably some-

⁵ Tin only occurs elsewhere in the East Indies, in the peninsula of Malacca and the island of Banca All the tin which the ancients used seems to have come from Britain, and there is nothing to suggest that they received it from India It was used for the purpose of alloying copper, for the use of calamine for the same purpose is a later discovery How ancient the art of founding bronze must have been, may be inferred from its being mentioned in the description of the temple of Solomon and the tabernacle, and this art presupposes the use of tin —N

⁶ Caesar, *De Bell Gall* III 8

where above London, in the neighbourhood of Windsor; but, having received some hostages, he returned to Gaul, and no sooner had he quitted the island than the submission of the Britons ceased

Caesar crossed the Rhine twice in our neighbourhood, once against the Sigambri, and a second time against the Suevi, but neither of these expeditions yielded any advantageous results, a thing which is not to be wondered at; but it is very surprising that it was possible for a Roman army to penetrate into those wild countries, where a forest extended, without interruption, from the banks of the Rhine to the interior of Poland. This forest was at different times the southern frontier between the Germans and Celts. It cannot have been booty, but only ambition, that tempted Caesar to cross the Rhine.

As the Roman dominion became established in Gaul, the oppression and licentiousness of the soldiers caused a great insurrection of the Ebuiones under Ambiorix. It was a very successful undertaking on the part of this people they destroyed one whole Roman legion, and another under the command of Q. Cicero was brought into great danger, and had not Caesar returned from his Quixotic expedition to Britain, that of Q. Cicero would have been annihilated in the same manner as that of Titurius. The Aquitanians, on the other hand, were subdued by M. Cissus. Caesar was thus master of all Gaul when he entered on the seventh year of his proconsulship, but a great insurrection now broke out among tribes which had before been the friends of the Romans. It was headed by Vercingetorix. The description of this war is in the highest degree worth reading, on account of the horrors, and the fury, and the immense exertions with which the struggle was carried on on both sides. Caesar destroyed numberless hosts of the enemy by his military superiority. He does not give a detailed account of the operations, and it occupies nevertheless the whole of the seventh book, which consists of ninety chapters. The whole

country from the Saone to the ocean and from the Loire to the Cevennes was in arms. The war was conducted by the Aedui and Arverni, who had formerly been rivals, but the Aedui joined the insurrection later than the Arverni. Vercingetorix, an Arvernian, had the supreme command, and was worthy of his post. The breaking out of the insurrection was accompanied with acts of great cruelty and savageness. At Genabum, the modern Orleans, all the Romans were put to the sword. Caesar was at the time in the north, but he quickly assembled his troops and marched to the south, and the Belgians, notwithstanding the opportunity they now had for shaking off the Roman yoke, remained perfectly quiet. Caesar conquered Orleans, and took revenge for the murder of the Romans. He then took Bourges after a long siege and a brave defence on the part of its inhabitants, and advanced into the interior of Auvergne. The war was carried on for a long time in the neighbourhood of Gergovia. Here Caesar suffered a defeat: one legion was cut off and he was obliged to raise the siege. As the Aedui now revolted likewise, the war was transferred to Alesia, in the neighbourhood of Autun, a city which contained many thousand Gauls. Caesar besieged it with all the military arts that he could devise. Vercingetorix pressed him on the other side with a very powerful army. The issue of the contest was very uncertain, and Caesar himself, on one occasion, fell into the hands of a Gaul, and it was only a piece of good luck, or the work of Providence, that he escaped through the folly of the Gaul. This is the account which Caesar himself afterwards gave of the occurrence; but it is more probable that it was an occurrence similar to that which happened to Napoleon, in the month of May, 1800, when he was passing over the great St. Bernard, and on a reconnoitering excursion with his staff, fell in with an Austrian patrol, the officer of which was induced by bribes to let his prisoners escape. When famine had reached its highest point at Alesia, and the

troops who were sent to its relief became desponding and dispersed, Vercingetorix, whom I hold to be one of the greatest men of antiquity, had the magnanimity to come forward among the citizens of Alesia, and to request them to deliver him up to the enemy as the author of the war, and advised them to endeavour to save their own lives. This was done accordingly. When Vercingetorix appeared before Caesar, he reminded him of their former acquaintance and their mutual esteem, but Caesar here again acted badly. He ought to have treated his enemy in a different manner from that which the Romans had adopted against C. Pontius: he ought to have kept him somewhere in *libera custodia*, but he ordered him to be chained, and dragged him about with him until his triumph, and afterwards had him put to death. After Caesar had gained this victory, there occurred some more trifling insurrections, and the Belgians too now began to stir when it was too late, and when it was an easy matter for Caesar to conquer them. In these occurrences we cannot help seeing the finger of Providence. the nations always acted either too early or too late, had Vercingetorix kept back the insurrection of the Gauls but a few years, and waited till the outbreak of the war between Caesar and Pompey, the Gauls might have recovered their freedom, whereas now their strength had become exhausted, and during the time of the civil war no one was able to move

LECTURE XLV.

CAESAR'S RELATION TO THE REPUBLIC AT THE TERMINATION OF HIS PROCONSULSHIP.—C. SCRIBONIUS CURIO, AND THE OUTBREAK OF THE CIVIL WAR —TAKING OF CORFINIUM AND BRUNDISIUM.—WAR IN SPAIN AGAINST AFRANIUS AND PETREIUS.—FALL OF MASSILIA.—CAESAR DICTATOR.—HIS LAWS

WHEN his term of office was coming to a close, Caesar's relations to the republic were very unfortunate. It had been difficult even for Scipio, after his victory, to live as a true citizen in the republic, and to know what line of conduct to adopt; but the difficulty was infinitely greater for Caesar, who had for a series of years been in the exercise of an unlimited command in his province, and had acted like a sovereign prince. It is by no means an easy thing to lay aside such habits when they are once acquired, as we may see even in the far less important circumstances of ordinary life, where the termination of a certain position, and the transition to another, are connected with incredible difficulties. All that Caesar could lawfully obtain was a second consulship, but he felt that thereby he should acquire nothing but a mere honour. The only thing which he might have done would have been to withdraw from public life, and to employ his time in the cultivation and exercise of his great mental powers. He had not been at Rome for the last ten years, for had he gone thither, his imperium would have ceased; and all that he had heard of Rome, and of those who had the power in their hands, was to him only matter of hatred and contempt. Even if he had only lived among those men, he could not have

borne all their pretensions and insolence, the state of things was so complicated, that no one could anticipate a happy solution of the difficulties. We cannot blame those men who thought with horror of the consequences, if Caesar should acquire the supreme power in the republic, but his opponents, instead of endeavouring to bring about a reconciliation, shewed towards him all symptoms of hostility. Even as early as the year 701 the consul, M. Claudius Marcellus, lost no opportunity of insulting Caesar. On one occasion a magistrate of Como in Cisalpine Gaul, to which place Caesar had shortly before given the Roman franchise, by a right which had been transferred to him, came to Rome, and although the man was perfectly innocent, Marcellus had him flogged, as though he had been the lowest provincial, merely to insult Caesar¹. This was a significant hint to Caesar himself.

In the year following, 700, C. Claudius Marcellus, a nephew of M. Claudius Marcellus, was consul with L. Aemilius Paullus. In the same year C. Scribonius Curio, the son of the consul of the same name, was tribune of the people. Among Cicero's letters there are some addressed to him by Curio, a man of great talent, but of the most decided profligacy and immorality. This judgment is surely not too severe. He had at first belonged to the Pompeian party, with which he was connected by ties of relationship and by other circumstances, and he was considered the most hostile among the adversaries of Caesar. But the latter knew that Curio was overwhelmed with debts, which amounted to nearly half a million sterling. This gives us a notion of the property of individuals at that time, for a noble Roman might, without difficulty, obtain the means to pay a debt like that, if he received an imperium. Caesar is said to have paid Curio's debts, and to have thus gained him over to his side. In the same manner Caesar bought over the consul L. Aemilius Paullus

¹ Plutarch, *Cass* 29, Appian, *De Bell. Civil.* II 26

with an enormous sum². Such proceedings give us some insight into the state of anarchy in the administration of the republic. When a general had once celebrated his triumph, no one ever thought of making him give an account of his proceedings, the time for rendering an account was when the proconsul returned from his province, whatever might have been the number of years during which he had been invested with the imperium; but the account was only concerning the sums which the senate had granted him out of the aerarium, and the proconsul had to prove that the soldiers had received their pay, and had no further claims upon the republic. People had expected at first that Curius would direct his power as tribune against Caesar. But he was exceedingly clever and adroit, and assumed an appearance of neutrality he at first did use his power against Caesar, but he then directed it against both Pompey and Caesar, and at length he threw off the mask and openly declared for Caesar. In the year following Caesar's imperium was to terminate, and he now offered himself as a candidate for a second consulship; but he wished previously to celebrate his triumph, and would not, on this account, disband his army, for according to the Roman custom he could not triumph without his army. According to another custom however, which had probably been established in the course of the seventh century, he was obliged to disband his army before he could offer himself as a candidate for the consulship, but setting this custom aside, he demanded to become a candidate while he was in his province with the imperium. He then intended after his election to return with his army to Rome, celebrate his triumph, and then

² (Appian, *De Bell Civil* ii 26, Plutarch, *Caes* 29, Suetonius, *Caes* 29, Dion Cassius, *XL* 60, Vell Paternus ii 48, Val Maximus, *ix* 1 6) With this sum Paullus built the basilica Paulli in the forum. The splendid columns of the church of St Paul, which perished in the fire of A D 832, undoubtedly once belonged to this basilica —N

disband his army The other party demanded of him to lay down his imperium, as he might afterwards petition for a prolongation, and to disband his troops, a demand which was equivalent to asking him to renounce his triumph. He was to come to Rome as a private person, and thus sue for the consulship; but he was convinced that his life would be lost if he complied with this demand. Now, the proposal of Curio was, that both Pompey and Caesar should lay down their imperium, disband their armies, and come to Rome in the character of private citizens. This was the fairest proposal that could have been made, but Pompey's party replied that his imperium had yet to last for a longer period than that of Caesar. It was a misfortune for Rome that Pompey, who was then severely ill, did not die, as his friends apprehended. He was so popular, or perhaps so much feared, that all Italy offered up prayers for his recovery. Pompey assumed the appearance of being ready to yield, but lamented the manner in which he was treated by Curio When Curio put the question to the vote, as to whether both were to lay down their imperium, an immense majority of 370 senators answered in the affirmative, while only twenty-two voted against it. But the consul Marcellus rejected the decree; the state was in perfect anarchy and dissolution. Marcellus was a champion for the authority of the senate, and in this instance he nevertheless refused to acknowledge that authority. It is generally observed that, when the government displeases the faction which claims for itself the title of supporter of the government, that faction immediately calls upon the people to revolt, and even goes so far as to preach regicide, as De Lamenaïs has done in his last work. I have heard persons of the *droite* in France speak like Jacobins, at a time when they reckoned upon leading the populace they asserted that the commonest people possessed an incredible degree of intelligence, that they evinced the highest interest in the public good, just like the best educated persons, and that it was necessary

humbly to defend the holy cause with the assistance of the lowest classes. The optimates of Rome, or the faction of Pompey, were persons of precisely the same kind, they were thorough *populaciers*. Curio had not indeed made his reasonable proposal from any honourable motive, for he saw no help for himself except in the ruin of the state; but the Pompeian party too wished for confusion.

Among the tribunes of the year following, there were some detestable persons who had sold themselves to Caesar, and among them was the frightful M. Antony, afterwards the triumvir. The senate had already given Pompey the command to raise an army in Italy for the protection of the republic, but through his want of resolution he effected nothing. On the 1st of January of the year 703 the question was again discussed in the senate, as to what was to be done about the provinces. The party of Pompey was predominant he had troops in the city, and it was resolved that Caesar should be commanded to lay down his imperium. The tribunes opposed the decree, which they had a perfect right to do, but they were not listened to, and the consuls had recourse to personal threats against them. The fear of the tribunes only made them worse, and they fled from Rome to Caesar, who was then at Ravenna, on the frontier of his province of Cisalpine Gaul¹.

The people at Rome, and especially Pompey and his party, believed the most absurd reports, which told them exactly the contrary of what was really the case. It was thus reported and believed that Caesar's soldiers were highly discontented and wished to be disbanded; that they were enraged against Caesar for keeping them in arms so long without necessity, and that they were not numerous, and completely exhausted by their long and difficult service. All these things and many more were

¹ This appears very strange, as all the country south of the river Po had the Roman franchise, so that Caesar's province comprised a large district which was completely Roman —N

firmly believed. Caesar, it is true, had no more than 5000 foot and 300 horse with him⁴, partly because he wished not to frighten the people of Rome; but his army was yet in Gaul, and now, when he heard of the last decree of the senate, and when the arrival of the tribunes enabled him to make up his mind, he gave orders that all his troops should break up and join him. It is almost inconceivable that the Gauls, who had revolted at a time when there were eight or ten legions in their country, now remained so perfectly quiet; but their intention probably was to allow the Romans to destroy their own strength, and then to rise against them. Caesar had before this time given up two legions to the senate, which were to be sent to Syria, he had offered to disband his army, with the exception of two legions, or even one, and to resign his province of Transalpine and Cisalpine Gaul, if Pompey would lay down his imperium likewise, but the proposal was rejected, and hypocrisy insisted on the letter of the decree being obeyed.

When the tribunes arrived at Ravenna, and Caesar received the command of the senate to give up his army to his successor, L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, his passion gained the upper hand and he resolved to break up. He marched towards Rimini. On his arrival on the banks of the river Rubicon, probably in the neighbourhood of Cesena⁵, he hesitated for a while, doubtful whether he should sacrifice himself or venture upon the unconstitutional act; but he crossed the river, and Rimini opened its gates to him. This was an unexpected event, for his enemies had confidently believed that the soldiers would desert Caesar and join Pompey, whose popularity was thought to be still as great as it had been before. But things had assumed a completely dif-

⁴ Caesar, *De Bell Civil* i 7 12, Plutarch, *Caes* 32, *Pomp* 60, Appian, *De Bell Civil* ii 32

⁵ There are several small rivers in that district, and the inhabitants dispute as to which is the Rubicon.—N

ferent aspect, and Pompey had lost his position in public estimation. The soldiers of Caesar shared the ambition of their commander, for they knew well that they had fought in greater wars and battles than those of Pompey. We can scarcely imagine a more remarkable contrast than that between the state of Italy thirty years before, and the condition which it presented at the outbreak of the civil war. The Italian allies had disappeared in the wars of the time of Sulla, which had been carried on for nearly three years between the two great parties which divided Italy; on the advance of Caesar, on the other hand, no one moved a finger. His cohorts, which were few in number, quickly overran all Italy, for the inhabitants of the municipia and other places were as unwarlike then as they are at the present day. One of the causes of Caesar's success may also have been the circumstance, that Sulla's legions in the military colonies were more inclined to side with the great general than with Pompey, but the main cause was the total absence of all feeling, for the people had become gradually convinced that it was useless to fight for justice, and the condition of Rome was so sad that no one had anything to protect or to lose. Persons of a military disposition had some reason for supporting Caesar, but for Pompey no one could feel any enthusiasm. Nobody had suspected that things would come to this. Pompey had hoped to make an impression by vaunting phrases, he had declared that he need only stamp the ground with his foot to raise up an army; but when the tidings arrived that Caesar was advancing on the Flaminian road, Pompey and all the senators could think of nothing but flight. They had no other army than the small one of L. Domitius, who was to have gone to Gaul and to have received the army of Caesar, but the latter was advancing irresistibly towards the city.

Cicero, who had some time before returned from Cilicia, now endeavoured to act as mediator, but no one listened to

his counsels, though they were the best and most wholesome that could be given, and in fact, if peace had been possible, it could have been established only on Cicero's plan. The party of Pompey fancied that they could not and ought not to defend themselves at Rome, and that they ought to allow Caesar to act in Italy as he pleased, because he would be sure to draw upon himself the hatred of the people, and thus call forth a reaction against himself. Pompey had seven legions in Spain, under the command of Afranius and Petreius, but he was of opinion that they ought not to be withdrawn from thence, that fresh forces ought to be concentrated in Greece, and that money ought to be raised in the East. Africa was, like Spain, occupied by his party, and it was confidently hoped that Gaul would rise against Caesar; and the Pompeian party thus calculated, to their own great satisfaction, that Caesar would work out his own ruin in Italy.

Pompey went to Brundisium. The army of L. Domitius was besieged by Caesar in Corfinium. Even here the state of public opinion became manifest, for Domitius was forsaken by his own troops, who capitulated for themselves, and obtained a free permission to depart, most of them went over to serve in the ranks of Caesar, and the rest were allowed to go whither they pleased. Caesar was expected at Rome with the utmost fear. Cicero's letters of this period are particularly interesting and instructive, they shew the tyranny of the Pompeian faction, for whoever wished to remain at Rome was denounced as an enemy of his country, and it was proclaimed that there was no neutrality except against Caesar, and that after the victory every one who did not join the camp of Pompey should be proscribed. Caesar, however, did not go to Rome, but marched from Corfinium to Brundisium. Pompey had wished to keep Brundisium, in order to have a landing-place for his fleet, in case Caesar should go to Spain. The Pompeian party undoubtedly imagined that Caesar would not venture upon a siege, as he had scarcely any ships, whereas

the whole of the eastern world with its fleets was at the command of Pompey, who collected his fleet in the port of Brundisium. Caesar was obliged to attack him, and he did it with such resolution and energy that Pompey thought it necessary to quit the town and cross over to Illyricum. This step afforded Caesar immense advantages, for Brundisium had hitherto been faithful to the interests of the Sullanian party, of which Pompey was the representative.

Caesar now went to Rome, where he acted as absolute master. He had the treasury broken open, as the keys were concealed, and he disposed of everything like a sovereign monarch. The opposition of the tribune, L. Metellus, was put down without much ceremony. Before Caesar's arrival everybody at Rome had apprehended that the nephew of Marius would follow in the footsteps of his uncle, but he did not act with harshness towards any one. All who were at Rome were perfectly safe so far as he could secure them, but this was not the case in other parts of Italy, where everything was not under his control. Many of the soldiers and their officers were guilty of great atrocities, and public opinion in those places began to turn against Caesar.

After having hastily made the most necessary arrangements at Rome, he marched through southern Gaul into Spain. The generals of Pompey did not even come as far as the Pyrenees to meet their enemy, they had seven legions, and were far superior to him in the number of their forces. Caesar had left behind troops to besiege Marseille, which was not absolutely necessary, for the town might have been neutral, but its inhabitants may have owed Caesar a grudge for something he had done before, and he demanded of them the recognition of his party, when they refused compliance, he left his legate, C. Trebonius, to lay siege to the place. This siege, which is accurately described by Caesar in the second book of his History of the Civil War, is a remarkable example of the mode of besieging a town at that time, and is very different from the old Greek method of besieging a place. After Caesar's re-

turn from Spain, the town was compelled to surrender he did not treat the inhabitants with cruelty, but only made them give up their arms, and deprived them of their free constitution.

Afranius and Petreius were stationed at Ilerda in Catalonia. Caesar brought all his military talent into play against them, but conquered them in reality by his own kindness of heart. The desertion among the enemy's troops became so general that, in the end, their commanders were obliged to capitulate. Afranius, an insignificant person, was the first to urge the necessity of entering into negotiations; Petreius on the other hand would hear nothing of it, and even inflicted severe punishments upon those of his men who shewed any desire to treat with Caesar. But his opposition was of no avail, and the legates would, in the end, have been completely deserted by their troops. Thus all the Romans in Spain capitulated the soldiers who were unwilling to serve in the army of the conqueror obtained a free departure, and Caesar was at once master of all Spain.


Cato, who had been praetor of the province of Sicily, had left the island. C. Curio had had the command against him, and after the withdrawal of Cato, Curio went over to Africa, where he was opposed by Attius Varus and the Numidian king Juba. This expedition came to a deplorable end. Curio had taken two legions to Africa, but the desertion among his troops, his own unskilful management, and various misfortunes, brought about his defeat and death in a battle against king Juba. The remainder of his troops dispersed, but most of them were taken prisoners, and only a few returned to Sicily.

On his return to Rome, Caesar was made dictator, but the form in which the appointment was made is not the same in all accounts⁶. Within a very short time he

⁶ Caesar, *De Bell Civil* II. 21, III. 1, Dion Cassius, XLI 36, Appian, *De Bell Civil* II 48, Plutarch, *Caes* 37, Cicero, *ad Attic* IX 15

made the most necessary regulations at Rome, gave several welcome laws, some of which were very reasonable; as, for instance, the one by which every debt was made to represent property, and which prevented money retaining its original value, when the value of other property had fallen. With this view he appointed a commission to determine the value which landed property had had previous to the Civil War, and ordained that creditors should accept such lands as payment for their outstanding sums at the value determined by the commissioners. I also believe the statement⁷ of his having deducted the interest already paid to be correct, for it was a thing which had been done often before. A number of other measures were likewise calculated to supply real wants, and he introduced them because he felt that it was his duty to do so. After his army had returned from Spain to Italy, and new legions had been formed, Caesar set out towards Brundisium. It was now nearly a twelvemonth since Pompey had quitted Rome. He had not only collected the Romans from all parts of the empire and formed them into camps, but he had also an extraordinary number of auxilia, and in addition to this he had a large fleet which commanded the sea. His generals too were able men, but they shewed great awkwardness in conducting the war.

⁷ Sueton Caesar, 42



LECTURE XLVI.

CAESAR CROSSES OVER TO EPIRUS. — PROCEEDINGS AT
DYRRHACHIUM — BATTLE OF PHARSALUS — FLIGHT OF
POMPEY TO EGYPT AND HIS DEATH. — CAESAR AT
ALEXANDRIA; HIS WAR AGAINST PHARNACES AND RE-
TURN TO ROME

POMPEY had taken up his winter quarters at Thessalonica, where he assembled his troops, but his main strength consisted in his fleet. The Rhodians, as well as many other states and subject towns, still possessed their fleets, and all these, together with that of Egypt, were at the disposal of Pompey. M Calpurnius Bibulus, who had been Caesar's colleague in the consulship, had the supreme command of the fleet. As Caesar had scarcely any ships, it was hoped that it would be impossible for him to cross the Adriatic with an army, and that he would be obliged to march through Dalmatia, as some generals had been forced to do in former times. But here again Caesar endeavoured to act in an imposing manner, and thereby to turn the balance. Just as the Romans, in the first Punic war, had not been afraid to sail to Sicily, although the Carthaginians were masters of the sea, so now Caesar did not hesitate to cross over to Illyricum. Bibulus was an able man, and deserves praise for his personal character, for he neglected nothing; but he did not possess enough agility and watchfulness. Caesar's whole conduct was eminently characteristic of the man. Every great general, like every great painter, has certain peculiarities which characterize him, just as much

as every man is characterized by his own hand-writing. Caesar's peculiarity was that, in cases when a quick resolution was necessary and his troops were not yet assembled, he always ventured upon a battle with the part of his forces which was ready to act. This principle he followed in his passage to Illyricum, and afterwards also in going to Egypt and Africa. It is one of the features of a truly great general who is able to calculate the extent of what he undertakes, and how much he can effect with the means he has. Thus he appeared unexpectedly with a small convoy at Oricum, an Epirot or Greek town, on the southern frontier of Illyricum, in the corner of the Acroceraunian Gulf. Here he landed, and after taking possession of the place, he immediately set out towards Apollonia, which opened its gates to him, for his mere name was the great herald that went before him. No one suspected that he, who had come over with a few thousand men, would ever obtain more than that number. His attempts upon Epidamnus or Dyrrhachium did not however succeed so easily. Pompey hastened from his winter quarters, and endeavoured to surround Caesar with his numerous forces. As Caesar's troops had not immediately followed him from Italy, where they were assembled, he was in great difficulty, and he himself attempted one night to cross over that stormy part of the sea in a small boat of twelve oars, but it was impracticable. The orders he sent to the troops, to follow him, were highly necessary, but Gabinius did not obey; he hesitated at first, and then commenced his march round the Adriatic; but at Salonae in Dalmatia he fell in with M. Octavius, and was defeated. M. Antony however succeeded in passing by the fleet of Bibulus, and with the loss of only a few ships he reached the eastern coast of the Adriatic. Bibulus died soon after of an illness.

Although his forces were still very inferior to those of Pompey, Caesar advanced towards Dyrrhachium and ventured to besiege Pompey. This was an attack which

Pompey could not much care about, as he received his supplies from the sea. Caesar, who had no such means of providing for his army, was obliged to forage in the country. He tried to bring the war to a close at Dyrrhachium. On one occasion when he made an attack upon the place, he was repulsed with considerable loss. Pompey at that moment shewed resolution: he gained a part of the line of fortifications which had been constructed by the besiegers, and thus destroyed the blockade. Caesar's loss on that day was very great, his soldiers began to despond, and he himself nearly despaired of success. The soldiers were suffering from extreme want of food, and lived upon grass¹ and roots. Caesar himself afterwards said that he had not only been beaten on that day, but that Pompey might have decided the victory, if he had known how to follow it up. This opinion is quite correct, but Pompey had become old and dull, and he made enormous pretensions which he had lost the power to justify.

After this catastrophe Caesar would not continue the war at Dyrrhachium, and he now ventured upon an expedition which, if it had failed, would have been mentioned among the rash and inconsiderate acts such as, for example, the expedition of Charles XII. of Sweden to Pultowa. He broke up from Dyrrhachium and went to places where he could reckon upon no one, and where he had to conquer every inch of ground. Pompey undoubtedly expected that Caesar would return to Illyricum, and there join his other troops; but, far from doing this, he marched towards the lofty mountains of Epirus and Thessaly, and advanced irresistibly as far as the town of Gomphi in Thessaly, which closes the pass from Janina to Thessaly. Gomphi was taken by storm, and the soldiers now refreshed themselves

¹ Grass must be taken here in its widest sense. In the south people frequently live upon bread and salad, with some vinegar and oil, and the poor of those countries are perfectly satisfied and happy with this food.—N

with the rich booty. The destruction of this town induced all the Thessalians to surrender. Caesar thus obtained provisions in abundance. Pompey ought now to have returned to Italy: the number of his troops far surpassed that of his enemy; and if he had had any thought about him, he would have made himself master of Italy, particularly as he knew that a portion of the legions of Afranius and Petreius in Spam had revolted against Caesar. If Pompey had at that time established himself in Italy, Caesar would never have been able to return to it. But Pompey had no resolution, and the men by whom he was surrounded were beside themselves with joy, when they heard that Caesar was marching towards the mountains, where, they thought, he would be caught as in a trap.

Pompey followed Caesar into Thessaly, where the latter had already taken his position in the neighbourhood of Pharsalus, and here the hostile armies met each other. For a few days they only manoeuvred, and as Pompey's cavalry was far superior to that of Caesar, the position of the latter was again very difficult. The advice of the most prudent among the friends of Pompey was to wait patiently, and gradually to destroy the army of Caesar by famine, desertion, and the like. This was Pompey's own opinion also; but most of his officers and friends were so childish, and intoxicated with their thoughts of victory, that they considered moderation or caution to be a disgrace to themselves. The senators in the camp of Pompey firmly believed that the issue of the war was already decided, and they discussed the advantages which each of them was to derive from the victory. Like the French emigrants in 1792, at Coblenz, and in Champagne, those senators disputed, for example, which of them was to have Caesar's office of pontiff, and which was to obtain this or that estate after the proscriptions which they intended to institute on their return to Italy, and these and similar disputes were carried on with so much earnestness that they gave rise even to quarrels among the senators. Caesar was very

anxious to bring matters to a decision : he had the highest confidence in his own talent as a general, and felt a contempt for those who surrounded Pompey. The Pompeian party themselves brought about the necessity of a battle, and Caesar had scarcely time to call back three legions which he had sent to Scotusa for the purpose of foraging.

The accounts of the battle which now took place differ much from one another, the best is, of course, Caesar's own description, though we may believe that the charge of Asinius Pollio² is not wholly unjust, according to whom Caesar is not always accurate. he may have exaggerated the numbers, but thus much is certain, that Pompey was very much superior in numbers. It is not at all improbable that Caesar had no more than 22,000 infantry, and that Pompey had 45,000, independent of his auxilia, which he seems to have been ashamed to allow to take part in the battle. Pompey's cavalry also was much more numerous than that of Caesar, who however had some good Gallic and German horsemen, and it is a well known fact that, in reality, the German horsemen decided the issue of the battle. The cavalry of Pompey consisted, for the most part, of young Romans and volunteers, who had perhaps never seen an enemy before, and were therefore like children in comparison with Caesar's veterans. The statement, that Caesar ordered his men to aim at the faces of these young men to make them afraid of losing their beauty³, must not be taken literally. Caesar opposed the enemy's cavalry not only with his own horse, but he had also trained his infantry to hold out against the cavalry. His cohorts warded off the first attack, and then the Gallic and German cavalry were let loose against the enemy; we may imagine their delight in being thus allowed to take vengeance upon the Romans. The left

² Apud Sueton. *Caes.* 56

³ Plutarch, *Pomp.* 69, 71, *Caes.* 745, Appian, *De Bell. Civil.* II 76

wing of Pompey's army was first defeated, and that so completely that the right too could not maintain its ground. The Pompeian army retreated to their camp, foolishly believing that all was now over, and that Caesar would not venture to prosecute his victory any further. When Pompey observed that the conquerors not only indulged in plunder, but were advancing towards his camp, he jumped up in a great rage and exclaimed, "Not even here then will they leave us" The whole army was routed, and no one had the presence of mind to keep together even the cohorts. During the battle itself Caesar had given orders not to do any harm to those who did not flee; whole cohorts laid down their arms, and the enemy's camp was found full of Asiatic luxuries and all kinds of comforts, many of the tents were arbours provided with costly carpets and furniture, and the booty was immense. You will not easily find the date of the battle of Pharsalus mentioned any where, it was a day remarkable for great events, the 10th of August, according to the old calendar, which was reformed by Caesar two years later.

Pompey fled from the battle-field of Pharsalus to Lariissa, and embarked with his generals either there or at Thessalonica. He sailed to Mitylene, it being his intention to go to the Parthians. This plan however was opposed by his friends, and he saw no other place of refuge except Egypt. The proper thing would have been to have gone to his fleet, to have sailed to Africa, and to have continued the war there. Ptolemy Auletes, king of Egypt, had died; he had once been expelled in an insurrection of his people, but had been restored through the influence of Pompey, to whom he owed great obligations. He had left behind two daughters, Cleopatra and Arsinoe, and two sons, one of whom bore the name of Ptolemy Dionysus, and was not yet advanced beyond the age of boyhood. Cleopatra, his ambitious sister, was ordered by the will of her father to marry him, according to the common Egyptian custom of incest, and to rule over Egypt conjointly with him. But

as she endeavoured to deprive him of his share in the government, her brother, or rather his guardians, Achilles and Pothinus, had expelled her. She fled to Syria, where she collected an army to effect her return by force of arms. Young Ptolemy and his guardians were at this time encamped near mount Casius, on the frontier of Syria, to oppose Cleopatra. Pompey's evil genius led him to the camp of Ptolemy. There was at that time in Egypt a Roman of the name of Septimius, whom Gabinius had left behind, at the time when he led Ptolemy Auletes back to Egypt. This Septimius advised the young king to have Pompey put to death, in order to secure the favour of Caesar. Such advice was just suited to the young prince's mind. Septimius was sent out with a boat to receive Pompey. His companions were suspicious, and he himself had some presentiment of the fate which awaited him, but he was so confused and bewildered that he resolved to enter the boat and follow Septimius. He was murdered before he reached the coast, and his body remained unburied. Caesar had continued his pursuit without ceasing, and with a few companions he arrived in Egypt, which was again one of the boldest undertakings. The account of the Egyptians surrendering to him Pompey's head and ring is well known, and history has not forgotten Caesar's tears. I will not deny that the issue of the war had delivered him from great anxiety, for however much he might have been inclined to make peace, it would probably never have been established, but if I consider Caesar's kind heart, I feel convinced that his tears were sincere. He had the body of Pompey buried, but in the tumult and confusion of the moment the erection of a monument was not thought of, and if he had erected one, it would almost have looked like a farce. Pompey's family however, which continues to be mentioned in history even after the time of Tiberius, caused a humble monument to be erected to him. In the reign of Hadrian it was buried in sand, and the statue had been removed to a temple,

but Hadrian had it restored⁴. There is an epigram consisting of two distichs relating to Pompey's tomb; it cannot be otherwise than a genuine ancient poem, and is in my opinion one of the most beautiful epigrams that have come down to us.—

Marmoreo Licinus tumulo jacet, at Cato nullo,
 Pompeius parvo Quis putet esse deos?
 Saxa premunt Licinum, levat altum fama Catonem,
 Pompeium tituli Credimus esse deos⁵

The periodical winds, which last till the dog-days, and blow full sixty days in the Mediterranean, are north-west winds, and prevent ships sailing from Alexandria. Caesar's despatches, in which he demanded fresh troops, could not therefore reach Rome. The people of Alexandria consisted at that time of the most licentious and audacious populace that one can imagine; they combined all the vices of the east with those of the west. The eunuch Pothinus conceived the plan of overwhelming Caesar, whose situation at Alexandria was similar to that of Cortez in Mexico. He was in possession of the king's palace, and here he fortified himself until assistance came. The insurrection became at last general; the palace was set on fire, and the library, which had been founded under Ptolemy Philadelphus, was burnt to ashes. The danger in which Caesar was thus placed, the boldness with which he destroyed the port of Alexandria, his narrow escape, his taking of the island of Pharos, and his maintaining himself there until reinforcements arrived,—all this is pleasantly and vividly related by A. Hirtius, in his book on the Alexandrine war. Caesar at last succeeded in making himself master of Alexandria, which he compelled to surrender, and he placed Cleopatra, who had ensnared him by her coquetry, and

⁴ Appian, De Bell. Civil. II 86, Spartianus, Hadrian, c 14.

⁵ H Meyer, Anthologia Veterum Latinorum Epigram. et Poemat No. 77, where the epigram is ascribed to P Terentius Varro Atacinus (The Licinus here mentioned was an upstart, who had become very rich, and had a magnificent monument erected to himself—N)

her younger brother on the throne. Her elder brother, Ptolemy, whom he had been obliged to dismiss from the palace, and whom the Egyptians had proclaimed their king, perished in the Nile, fortunately for Caesar. Cleopatra afterwards received still greater favours from Antony.

While he was yet in Alexandria, Caesar heard that Pharnaces had invaded Pontus from the Bosphorus, and defeated Domitius Calvinus, the general of Caesar. Caesar marched through Syria into Pontus, where he met the enemy. On the very day of his arrival, and without allowing himself any rest, he attacked the enemy, and the Asiatics were routed in a moment. It is of this victory that he sent to Rome the famous account, *veni, vidi, vici*⁶. He now returned to Rome, made various arrangements, did many things to please his friends, and appointed a provisional government, which was, indeed, highly necessary. The leaders of his own party differed very widely in their views and plans, and formed rather a motley assemblage. During his absence, they had undertaken the most contradictory things; but I shall not dwell upon the disturbances and insurrections which had occurred at Rome and in other parts of Italy during his absence.

⁶ Appian, De Bell. Civil. ii. 91, Sueton. Caes. 37

LECTURE XLVII

CAESAR AT ROME — HIS WARS IN AFRICA AND SPAIN —
CATO — CAESAR'S TRIUMPHS, AND REFORM OF THE
CALENDAR

CAESAR did not remain at Rome very long. The servility of the senate and the people conferred upon him the most senseless and extravagant distinctions; the whole republic was placed in his hands. In their excuse, however, we must say that the people could not help becoming attached to him, on account of his great and unexpected mildness: they also knew, on the other hand, that if Pompey had been the conqueror, he would have caused a general massacre, like that of Sulla. Caesar, on the contrary, so far as he was able, protected those who had fought against him: but many were yet living in exile, and he empowered each of his friends to restore one of the hostile party to his former position and honours in the republic. Those who were thus restored had, indeed, lost a great deal of their property, but it was not in Caesar's power to prevent this. The senate conferred honours upon Caesar at three different times, but of this I shall speak when we come to his last stay at Rome, after his return from Spain. During his present stay at Rome, he had to quell a dangerous insurrection among his troops, who were too impatient to wait for the triumph and the advantages they hoped to derive from it. The tenth legion, his favourite one, which he had brought over to Italy in order to take it with him to Africa, revolted. The veterans, whose period of military service was over, demanded not only the arrears of their pay, but also the rewards in money and the assignment of

lands which Caesar had promised them. The mutiny became dangerous. Sallust, the historian, was sent by Caesar to the revolted soldiers with fresh promises; but he was insulted by them, and several senators were killed. Caesar now had the courage to allow the mutineers, who had been stationed in Campania, to come to Rome, on condition that they should leave behind their pila, and bring with them only their Spanish swords. He addressed the soldiers in the forum, and his self-possession, as well as the confidence which he still shewed that he had in them, made such an overawing impression upon them that they became perfectly tame. He treated them, however, with symptoms of contempt, called them *Quirites*, and announced to them that they were dismissed from service, leaving it however to their choice whether they would once more share with him the honour of a campaign. Hereupon, the soldiers implored him to allow them to continue in his service.

Caesar now went with a small part of his forces to Africa, where M. Cato, Q. Metellus Scipio, the father-in-law of Pompey through his fifth and last wife Cornelia, Afranius, and Petreius, were prepared to meet him. After the battle of Pharsalus, Cato—he had not been present at the battle—had gone to Corcyra, and from thence to Cyrene, where he collected a number of scattered Romans. The men whom he thus assembled were more distinguished for their high rank than their military spirit. Cyrene, in its secluded part of the world, had scarcely the honour of being regarded as a Roman province. Cato led his band round the Syrtes over Tripolis, and through the sandy deserts—a fearful march—into the Roman province of Africa. Here the supreme command of the Pompeian forces was offered to him, but he declined it, and undertook only the command of Utica. When Caesar landed, the party of Pompey had a considerable army, and were allied with king Juba of Numidia. This king ruled over the greatest and most beautiful part of the kingdom of

Jugurtha. Mauretania was governed by Bocchus; and in his dominion there was a Roman adventurer, of the name of P. Sittius of Nuceria, with other Roman deserters and adventurers, of whom Sittius had formed a regiment, which, in conjunction with king Bocchus, declared for Caesar, and greatly facilitated his proceedings. P. Sittius was a very enterprising man, and Caesar rewarded him with the rights of a Roman citizen¹. Sittius infested the dominion of Juba, who was thus kept engaged, while Caesar established himself on the coast of Tunis. The reinforcements which were expected gradually joined Caesar, and he then advanced against the Pompeian generals. The campaign lasted for several months, until Caesar took his position in the neighbourhood of Thapsus, which is situated on a peninsula, connected with the mainland by a small isthmus. Here he was blockaded by Petreius and Juba; but he broke through the hostile army, first defeated the Romans, who were infinitely superior to him in numbers, and then routed the army of Juba. No sooner was the battle won than hosts of Romans deserted to him—a thing which commonly happens in civil wars. Juba was obliged to flee from his kingdom, and he and Petreius killed each other.

Cato alone was now holding out at Utica with the garrison which he did not wish to abandon. I have purposely deferred speaking of Cato till now. If there is any man in Roman history who deserves the reputation which he enjoys with posterity, it is Cato. Caesar's depreciation of him was only the consequence of his personal irritation. If we possessed Cicero's work on Cato, we should undoubtedly see Cicero's heart in all its goodness and amiability. It does honour to his courage to have written such a work under the circumstances, and it does honour to Caesar also that he was unprejudiced enough to allow Cicero his admira-

¹ See some remarks which I have made upon him in my edition of Fronto—N (p. xix. foll.)

tion of Cato, without imputing it to him as a crime. Caesar declared that Cato had hurt him by his death, as he had thereby deprived him of the pleasure of pardoning him: Caesar could not have said anything more concise. It is no more than natural that Caesar should have been deeply wounded by Cicero's praise of Cato, and this feeling induced him to write his work against Cato (*Anti-Cato*), in which he may have given the reins to his passion, which would never have arisen in his soul if Cato had remained alive. There was, in fact, nothing that Caesar was more desirous of than Cato's friendship, a desire which Cato could not gratify. The Stoic philosophy never produced any heroes among the Greeks, if we except Zeno, the founder of the school, and Cleanthes, and not one Greek statesman was a Stoic philosopher. Among the Romans, on the other hand, many a great and virtuous statesman was a votary of the Stoa; and although some of them, such as Cicero, were not real Stoics, yet they admired the system and loved it. It would be a most unpardonable misapprehension of human virtue, if any one were to cast a doubt upon the sincerity of Cato's intentions; and this sincerity is not impeached by the assertion which has often been made, and I think with great justice, that Cato with his philosophy did incalculable injury to the commonwealth. He would have retained the old forms absolutely, and have allowed nothing which bordered upon arbitrary power. There is no doubt that in this manner he estranged the equites from the senate, after Cicero had succeeded with great difficulty in reconciling the two parties. Cato tore open the wound by opposing a demand of the publicani in Asia, which was not unjust, but only advantageous to them. Cato's advice to put the accomplices of the Catilinarian conspiracy to death was not mere severity, but a pure expression of his sense of justice, and perfectly in accordance with the laws of Rome; but it was nevertheless very unfortunate advice. Such was

his conduct always, and it was a principle with him not to pay any regard to circumstances; the consequence of which was that, when his opinion was followed, many things turned out far worse than they had been before. His personal character was above all censure and suspicion, dissolute persons, such as A. Gabinius, might laugh at him, but no one ever ventured to calumniate him. It was highly unfortunate for him that he was mixed up with the Pompeian party, and, now that Pompey was dead, his situation was downright miserable. The men of that party acted in Africa like savages, and he saved Utica from their hands with great difficulty; for the leaders wished to plunder the town, because its inhabitants were said to be favourably disposed towards Caesar, but in reality because they hoped thereby to secure the attachment of the soldiers. The inhabitants of Utica thus looked up to him as their deliverer. He had undertaken the command of the place only for the purpose of protecting it, and he pacified the mutineers by promising that the place should remain quiet, and that, if it were spared, it would not be ungrateful. When Caesar, after the conquest of his other enemies, appeared before Utica, Cato advised his people not to continue their resistance. The generals took to flight, and Cato's opinion was that the garrison, which consisted for the most part of old men and unprincipled young nobles who were incapable of handling a weapon, should sue for pardon. His own son received the same advice from his father, who thus shewed a very amiable inconsistency in his conduct, for here the father got the better of the Stoic. Cato excused himself by saying that he himself had seen the days of the republic, and could live no longer; but my son, he added, who is a stranger to the republic, can live in different circumstances. He then withdrew to his room, and, in the night preceding the morning when the gates were to be thrown open, he read Plato's *Phaedo*, assuredly not

for the purpose of strengthening himself in his belief in the immortality of the soul; for a person who does not possess that belief will never acquire it from reading the *Phaedo*, and Cato had undoubtedly read it so often that he knew it by heart, but in that awful and sublime moment, in which he was to breathe out his soul, it was less the thought of immortality that engaged his attention, than the contemplation of the death of Socrates, though he believed in immortality such as it was believed by the Stoics. He took leave of the world by directing his mind to the last moments of one of the most virtuous men of all ages. He then inflicted a mortal wound upon himself, in consequence of which he fell from his bed. When his son and friends found him, they raised him up and dressed his wound, he pretended to sleep, but took the first opportunity to tear open the wound, and died. After the surrender of Utica the other towns soon followed its example.

Juba, the son of king Juba, surrendered to Caesar, and afterwards received such an excellent education at Rome that he became one of the most learned men of his age. The loss of his works is one of the greatest that we have to lament in ancient literature. He was a perfect master of the Punic language, and undoubtedly gave in his Greek works the substance of the Carthaginian books. He also wrote on geographical subjects.

At Rome fresh disturbances had broken out in the meantime, the origin of which were the quarrels between Antony and Dolabella, of whom the one was as bad as the other. It was Cicero's great grief that Dolabella was his son-in-law; the latter now went to Spain to join Cneius and Sextus, the sons of Pompey, both of whom had been in Africa, and had gone from thence to Baetica, where a legion, formed of the remnants of the African armies, had revolted against Caesar's generals. Their example was followed by others, and the greater part of southern Spain was soon in arms. Many towns readily

joined the Pompeian party, but the towns of one and the same province could not agree upon their course, as they had done in the time of Sertorius; and it was this absence of union among the towns that paralyzed all the wars between the parties of Caesar and Pompey. The war in Spain however was by far the most important among them. It is quite astonishing to see the men of the Pompeian party fight in Spain with a bitterness and vehemence of which there had been no trace before, although now all their hopes of success must have vanished. The beginning of the war is described in the barbarously written book *De Bello Hispaniensi*. Caesar was obliged for several months to exert all the powers of his mind. The scene of action was Granada and Andalusia, or more properly speaking, it was almost confined to Granada. The northern mountains of Granada are almost impregnable, and it was there that the sons of Pompey had established themselves. Cneius displayed greater qualities as a general than his father. The battle of Munda, on the 17th of March, was the termination of the civil war, but Caesar was on the point of losing it. His soldiers gave way so decidedly, that he himself gave up all hopes, in his despair he jumped from his horse, and placing himself in the way of the fugitives, he called upon them to run him down with their swords, and at least not to compel him to survive such a day². He succeeded in stopping the flight, but he thereby gained nothing, except that the day was restored. He owed his final victory to his Mauretanian auxiliaries, who attacked the enemy's camp for the purpose of plunder. Labienus, with one legion, marched

² The Russian General Suwaroff acted in a similar manner in the battle of Kinburn, 1787, when his soldiers refused obedience in an enterprise which he had commanded, because they thought that they would be lost. When his soldiers fled, he called out to them "Run on, run on, and leave your general to the Turks as a monument of your cowardice"—N

towards the camp to repel the Mauretanians, but his approach to the camp was believed by the men of his own party to be a retreat, and the troops took to flight. The battle of Pharsalus had been decided in a similar manner. The dispersal of the enemy obliged Caesar to destroy the several detachments one by one. Cneius, who fled with the rest, was cut down, but Sextus escaped to the Celtiberians, where he remained concealed till after Caesar's death. Several months still passed away after this victory before the whole campaign in Spain was completed. The men with whom Caesar had to deal there would not condescend to sue to him for pardon.

After his return from Africa, Caesar had celebrated a triumph which lasted for four days, it was a triumph over Gaul, Pharnaces, Egypt, and king Juba, no Roman general being mentioned as the subject of his triumph. After his return from Spain, he celebrated a triumph over Spain, and several of the conquered towns were specified. The first triumph had filled the Romans with delight, but the Spanish triumph hurt their feelings, for, independent of his not making any extraordinary presents to the people, they could not help looking upon it as a triumph over Roman citizens.


Velleius Paterculus³ states that the sum of the treasures which Caesar brought to Rome in his triumph (probably the first) was *series milles HS.*, that is 600,000,000 sesterces, a sum which is not at all incredible. Caesar had obtained from several towns immense sums, under the name of loans and contributions, to defray the expenses of the war. Appian⁴ mentions the enormous sum of six and a half myriads, that is, 65,000 talents, by which we have here not to understand Attic, but Egyptian, that is, copper talents, according to the standard of Ptolemy Philadelphus. On this supposition the sum of Appian, though not agreeing with the other accounts,

³ II 56

⁴ De Bell Civil II 102

ceases to be a ridiculous exaggeration. Caesar gave every soldier 20,000 sesterces.

Caesar, who returned to Rome in October 707, employed the last months of the year, partly in making preparations for the Parthian war, and partly in introducing various regulations, as he had done after his return from Africa. During the latter period of the republic it was very common to insert an intercalary month, quite arbitrarily, for the purpose of gaining certain advantages. The refusal on the part of the pontifex maximus to make such an insertion had been the cause of Curio's hostility towards the senate. Caesar remedied the evil consequences and confusions arising from such proceedings by his reform of the calendar.



LECTURE XLVIII

CAESAR AFTER THE CLOSE OF THE CIVIL WAR — HIS LAWS
AND REGULATIONS — BRUTUS AND CASSIUS. — CONSPI-
RACY AGAINST CAESAR'S LIFE — MURDER OF CAESAR

It is one of the inestimable advantages of the government commonly called the legitimate, whatever its form may be, that it may be formally inactive in regard to the state and the population, and that it may reserve its interference until it is absolutely necessary. If we look around us, and observe the various constitutions, the interference of the government is something scarcely perceptible, the greater part of the time passes away without those, who have the reins in their hands, being obliged to pay any particular attention to what they are doing. But if the government is what we call a usurpation, the ruler has not only to take care to maintain his power, but in all that he undertakes he has to consider, by what means and in what ways he can establish his right to govern, and his own personal qualifications for it. Men who are in such a position are urged on to act by a very sad necessity, from which they cannot escape, and such was the position of Caesar at Rome. In our European states, men have wide and extensive spheres in which they can act and move; the much decried system of centralization has indeed many disadvantages, but it has this advantage for the ruler, that he can exert an activity which shews its influence far and wide. But what could Caesar do, at the head of nearly the whole of the known world? He could not hope to effect any material improvements either in Italy or in the provinces. He had been ac-

customed from his youth, and more especially during the last fifteen years, to an enormous activity, and idleness was intolerable to him. At the close of the civil war, his thoughts were therefore again directed to war, and to war in a quarter where the most brilliant triumphs awaited him, and where the legions of Crassus lay buried, —to a war against the Parthians. About this time the Getae had spread in Thrace, and he intended to check their progress likewise. But his main problem was to extend the Roman dominion as far as India, a plan in which he would certainly have been successful, and he himself felt so sure of this that he was already thinking of what he should undertake afterwards. It is by no means incredible, when we read that he intended, on his return, to march through the passes of the Caucasus and through ancient Scythia into the country of the Getae, and from thence through Germany and Gaul into Italy¹. Besides this expedition, he entertained other plans of no less gigantic dimensions: the port of Ostia was bad, and in reality little better than a mere roadstead, so that great ships could not come up the river; now it is said that he intended to dig a canal for sea-ships, from Rome through the Pomptine marshes as far as Terracina. He further contemplated to cut through the isthmus of Corinth. It is not easy to see in what manner he would have accomplished this, considering the state of hydraulic architecture in those times. The Roman canals were mere *fossae*, and canals with sluices, though not unknown to the Romans, were not constructed by them². The fact of Caesar forming such enormous plans is not very surprising, but we can scarcely comprehend how it was possible for him to accomplish so much of what he undertook in so short a time. Following the unfortunate system of Sulla, Caesar founded a number of colonies of

¹ Plutarch, *Caes.* 58

² The first canals with sluices were executed by the Dutch in the fifteenth century —N

veterans; the old Sullanian colonists were visited with great severity, and many of the children of those colonists were expelled. In this manner colonies were established in southern Gaul, Italy, Africa and other parts; and I may mention in particular the colonies founded at Carthage and Corinth. The latter was a *colonia libertinorum*, and never rose to any importance. We do not know the details of the foundation of the colony at Corinth, but one should imagine that he would have preferred restoring the place as a purely Greek town. This however he did not do; its population was and remained a mixed one, and Corinth never rose to a state of real prosperity.

Caesar had, before this time, restored the full franchise to the sons of those who had been proscribed in the time of Sulla, he had obtained for himself the title of imperator and the dictatorship for life, and the consulship for ten years. Half of the offices of the republic, to which persons had before been elected by the centuries, were in his gift, and for the other half he usually recommended candidates. The plebs seem to have retained their rights of election uncurtailed, and the last tribunes must have been elected by the people. But although Caesar did not himself confer the consulship, yet the whole republic was reduced to a mere form and appearance. Caesar made various new laws and regulations, for example, to lighten the burdens of debtors, and the like, but the changes he introduced in the form of the constitution were of little importance. He increased the number of praetors, which Sulla had raised to eight, successively to ten, twelve, fourteen and sixteen, and the number of quaestors was increased to forty³. Hence the number of persons from whom the senate was to be filled up became greater than that of the vacancies which occurred in the senate, and he accordingly increased the number of senators to nine hundred, and raised a

³ Dion Cassius, XLIII 47 foll

great many of his friends to the dignity of senators. In this, as in many other cases, he acted very arbitrarily, for he elected into the senate whomsoever he pleased, and gave the franchise to whomsoever he pleased. These things did not fail to create great discontent. It is a remarkable fact that, notwithstanding his mode of filling up the senate, after his death not even the majority of senators were attached to his cause.

If we consider the changes and regulations which Caesar introduced, it must strike us as a singular circumstance that, among all his measures, there is no trace of any which could shew that he thought of modifying the constitution, for the purpose of putting an end to the anarchy. Sulla felt the necessity of remodelling the constitution, but he did not attain his end, and the manner, too, in which he set about it, was that of a short-sighted man, but he was, at least, intelligent enough to see that the constitution, as it then was, could not continue to exist. In the regulations of Caesar we see no trace of such a conviction, and I think that he despaired of the possibility of effecting any real good by constitutional reforms. Hence, among all his laws, there is not one that had any relation to the constitution. The fact of his increasing the number of patrician families⁴ had no reference to the constitution, the patricians had in reality so few advantages over the plebeians that the office of the two *aediles Cereales*, which he instituted, was confined to the plebeians⁵, —a regulation which was opposed to the very nature of the patriciate. His raising persons to the rank of patricians was neither more nor less than the modern practice of raising a family to the rank of nobility, he picked out an individual, and gave him the rank of patrician for himself and his descendants. The distinction itself was merely a nominal one, and conferred no other privilege upon a person except that of holding certain priestly offices, which

⁴ Tacitus, *Annal* xi 25, Sueton *Caes* 41, Dion Cassius, *XLIII* 47, *XLV* 2

⁵ Dion Cassius *XLIII*. 51

could be filled by none but patricians, and for which their number was scarcely sufficient. I consider it a proof of the wisdom and good sense of Caesar that he did not, like Sulla, think an improvement in the state of public affairs so near at hand or a matter of so little difficulty the cure of the disease lay yet at a very great distance, and the first condition on which it could be undertaken was the sovereignty of Caesar. Rome could no longer exist as a republic.

It is curious to see in Cicero's work, *De re publica*, the consciousness running through it, that Rome, as it then stood, required the strong hand of a king. Cicero had surely often owned this to himself, but he saw no one who would have entered into such an idea. The title of king had a great fascination for Caesar, as it had for Cromwell, —a surprising phaenomenon in a practical mind like that of Caesar. Every one knows the fact that while Caesar was sitting on the suggestum, during the celebration of the Lupercalia, Antony presented to him the diadem, to try how the people would take it. Caesar saw the great alarm which the act created, and declined the diadem for the sake of appearance, but had the people been silent, Caesar would unquestionably have accepted it. His refusal was accompanied by loud shouts of acclamation, which, for the present, rendered all further attempts impossible. Antony afterwards had a statue of Caesar adorned with the diadem, but two tribunes of the people, L. Caesetius Flavus, and C. Maiullus, took it away, and here Caesar shewed the real state of his feelings, for he treated the conduct of the tribunes as a personal insult towards himself. He had lost his self possession, and his fate, which carried him onward, had become irresistible. He wished to have the tribunes imprisoned, and all that could be obtained of him was, that he was satisfied with their being stripped of their office and sent into exile. This created a great sensation at Rome. Caesar had also been guilty of thoughtlessness, or perhaps merely of distraction, as might happen

very easily to a man in his circumstances. When the senate had made its last decrees, conferring upon Caesar unlimited power, the senators, consuls, and praetors, in festal attire, presented the decrees to him, and Caesar at the moment forgot to shew his respect for the senators, he did not rise from his *sella curulis*, and received the decrees in an uncereemonious manner. This want of politeness was never forgiven him by the persons who had not scrupled to make him their master, for it had been expected that withal he should behave politely, and be grateful for such decrees⁶. Caesar himself had no design in the act, which was merely the consequence of distraction or thoughtlessness, but it made the senate his irreconcilable enemies. The affair with the tribunes, however, had made a deep impression upon the people. Cicero, who was surely not a democrat, wrote at the time, "*turpissimi consules, turpis senatus, populus fortis, proximus honorum infimus,*" &c. The praise here bestowed upon the people may be somewhat exaggerated, but the rest is true. We must however remember that the people, under such circumstances, are most sensible to anything affecting their honour, as we have seen at the beginning of the French revolution.

In the year of Caesar's death, Brutus and Cassius were praetors. Both had been generals under Pompey. Brutus' mother, Servilia, was a half-sister of Cato; she was a remarkable woman, but very immoral, and unworthy of her son, not even the honour of her own daughters was sacred to her. The family of Brutus derived its origin from L. Junius Brutus, and from the time of its first appearance among the plebeians, it had few men of importance to boast of. During the period subsequent to the passing of the Licinian laws, we meet with several persons of the name of Brutus, but not one of them acquired any great reputation.

⁶ I have known an instance of a man of rank and influence, who could never forgive another man, who was by far his superior in every respect, ~~has~~ having forgotten to take off his hat during a visit.—N

The family had become reduced and almost contemptible; one M. Brutus disgraced his character by sycophancy (*accusationes factitabat*⁷) in the time of Sulla, and was afterwards killed in Gaul by Pompey. Although no Roman family belonged to such an illustrious gens, yet Brutus was not by any means one of those men who were raised by fortunate circumstances. The education which he received had a great influence upon him. His uncle Cato, whose daughter Porcia he afterwards married—whether in Cato's lifetime, or afterwards, is doubtful—had initiated him from his early youth in the Stoic philosophy, and had instilled into his mind a veneration for it, as though it had been a religion. Brutus had qualities which Cato did not possess. The latter had something of an ascetic nature, and was, if I may say so, a scrupulously pious character. But Brutus had no such scrupulous timidity, his mind was more flexible and loveable. Cato spoke well, but did not belong to the eloquent men of his time. Brutus' great talents had been developed with the utmost care, and if he had lived longer, and in peace, he would have become a classical writer of the highest order. He had been known to Cicero from his early age, and Cicero felt a fatherly attachment to him, he saw in him a young man who, he hoped, would exert a beneficial influence upon the next generation. I have already had occasion to mention this amiable feature in the character of Cicero, of which Virgil also furnishes an example, for after reading some of Virgil's youthful productions, Cicero called him "*magnae spes altera Romae*"⁸. It was with a similar feeling that he looked upon Brutus. Caesar too had known and loved him from his childhood, but the stories, which are related to account for this attachment, must be rejected as foolish inventions of idle persons, for nothing is more natural than that Caesar should look with

⁷ Cicero, de Offic. II. 14. Compare Brutus, 74, and Plutarch, Brut. 4, where however he is erroneously described as the father of Brutus the tyrannicide.

⁸ Donatus, Vita Virgilii, p. v. ed. Burmann.

great fondness upon a young man of such extraordinary and amiable qualities. the absence of envy was one of the distinguishing features in the character of Caesar, as it was in that of Cicero. In the battle of Pharsalus, Brutus served in the army of Pompey, and after the battle he wrote a letter to Caesar, who had inquired after him, and when Caesar heard of his safety he was delighted, and invited him to his camp⁹. Caesar afterwards gave him the administration of Cisalpine Gaul, where Brutus distinguished himself in a very extraordinary manner, by his love of justice.

Cassius was related to Brutus, and likewise belonged to the Pompeian party; but he was very unlike Brutus he was much older than Brutus, and a distinguished officer. In the campaign of Crassus he had maintained himself in Syria against the Parthians, and he enjoyed a very great reputation in the army, but he was after all no better than an ordinary officer of Caesar. After the battle of Pharsalus, when Caesar pursued Pompey, he did not know at first whither Pompey was gone. Cassius was at the time stationed with some galleys in the Hellespont, and Caesar, with his usual boldness, took a boat to sail across the Hellespont. On meeting Cassius, he demanded of him to embrace his party. Cassius readily complied, and Caesar forgave him¹⁰, as he forgave all his adversaries, and endeavoured to efface all recollections of the Civil War.

Caesar had appointed both Brutus and Cassius praetors. With the exception of the office of praetor urbanus, the praetorship was a burdensome office, and conferred little distinction, since the other praetors were only the assessors of the praetor urbanus. Formerly they had been elected by lot, but the office was now altogether in the gift of Caesar. Both Brutus and Cassius had wished for the praetura urbana, and when Caesar gave that office to Bru-

⁹ Plutarch, Brut 6

¹⁰ Appian, de Bell Civil II 88, Sueton Caes 63, Dion Cassius,

tus, Cassius was not only indignant at Caesar but began quarrelling with Brutus also. While Cassius was in this state of exasperation, a meeting of the senate was announced for the 15th of March, on which day, as the report went, a proposal was to be made to offer Caesar the crown. This was a welcome opportunity for Cassius. He resolved to take vengeance. The motive by which he was actuated was nothing but personal hatred of Caesar, and disappointment at not having obtained the city praetorship. He first sounded Brutus, and when he found that he was safe he made overtures to him. During the night some one wrote on the tribunal and the house of Brutus the words, "Remember that thou art Brutus." Brutus became reconciled to Cassius, offered his assistance, and gained over several other persons to join the conspiracy. All party differences seem to have vanished all at once two of the conspirators were old generals of Caesar, C Trebonius and Decimus Brutus, both of whom had fought against Massilia. There were among the conspirators persons of all parties, and men who had fought against one another at Pharsalus went now hand in hand, and entrusted their lives to one another¹¹. No proposals were made to Cicero, and the reasons which people usually assign for this are of the shallowest kind. It is generally said that the conspirators had no confidence in Cicero¹², an opinion which is perfectly contemptible. Cicero would not have betrayed them for any price, but what they feared was his objections. Brutus had as amiable a soul as any one, but he was passionate, and Cicero, who was at an advanced age, could not have consented to take away the life of him to whom he himself

¹¹ The real number of conspirators is not known, and our accounts are not quite trustworthy —N


¹² Demosthenes has been calumniated in a similar manner. The verses in Plutarch (Demosth c 30) have often been misunderstood. I do not mean to say that his courage was equal to his talents, but the meaning of the passage is "If thou hadst had as much power as thou hadst intelligence, the Macedonians would never have ruled over the Greeks" —N

owed his own. Caesar's conduct towards those who had fought in the ranks of Pompey, and afterwards returned to him, was extremely noble, and he regarded the reconciliation of those men as a personal favour towards himself. All who knew Cicero must have been convinced that he would not have given his consent to the plan of the conspirators; and if they ever did give the matter a serious thought, they must have owned to themselves that every wise man would have dissuaded them from it, for it was in fact the most complete absurdity to fancy that the republic could be restored by Caesar's death. Goethe says somewhere that the murder of Caesar was the most senseless act that the Romans ever committed, and a truer word was never spoken. The result of it could not possibly be any other than that which did follow the deed

Caesar was cautioned by Hirtius and Pansa, both men of noble characters, especially the former. He was advised to take a body guard, but he replied that he would rather not live at all, than to be in constant fear of losing his life. Caesar once expressed to some of his friends his conviction that Brutus was capable of harbouring a murderous design, but he added at the same time, that as he (Caesar) could not live much longer, Brutus would wait and not be guilty of a crime. Caesar's health was at that time weak, and he had the intention of surrendering his power to Brutus as the most worthy. Whilst the conspirators were making their preparations, Porcia, the wife of Brutus, inferred from the excitement and restlessness of her husband that some fearful secret was pressing on his mind, and as he did not communicate it to her, she wounded herself with a knife, and was seized with a violent wound fever. No one knew the cause of her illness, until at length she revealed it to Brutus, saying that as she had been able to conceal the cause of her illness, so she could also keep a secret that might be entrusted to her. Her entreaties induced Brutus to communicate to her the plan of the conspirators. Caesar was also cautioned

by the haruspices, by a dream of his wife, and by his own forebodings, which we have no reason for doubting. But on the morning of the 15th of March, the day fixed upon for assassinating Caesar, Decimus Brutus treacherously enticed him to go with him to the curia, as it was impossible to delay the deed any longer. The detail of what happened on that day may be read in Plutarch. C. Tilius (not Tullius) Cimber made his way up to Caesar, and insulted him with his importunities, and Casca gave the first stroke. Caesar fell covered with twenty-three wounds. He was either in his fifty-sixth year, or had completed it, I am not quite certain on this point, though, if we judge by the time of his first consulship, he must have been fifty-six years old. His birthday, which is not generally known, was the eleventh of Quinctilis, which month was afterwards called Julius¹³

¹³ Macrobius, Saturn 1 12, Lydus, de Mensibus, p 110, according to which authorities however it was the 12th of Quinctilis



LECTURE XLIX.

STATE OF ROME AFTER THE MURDER OF CAESAR.—ANTONY.—C. OCTAVIUS.—CICERO DURING THE SUMMER AFTER CAESAR'S DEATH —ANTONY IN CISALPINE GAUL.—HIRTIVS AND PANSIA ENTER UPON THEIR CONSULSHIP.

No provision had been made as to what was to be done after Caesar's death, especially with regard to Antony. In the heat of the moment, when everything was possible, Cassius had demanded that Antony too should be killed, but Brutus declared that the sacrifice of one life was enough, an opinion which was decidedly wrong. It had not been determined how many were to fall victims, but Antony ought to have been killed at any risk, for it was in reality he, and men like him, that had rendered Caesar's government odious and it is acknowledged on all hands that Caesar himself would have exercised a beneficial influence. But as it was, the tumult and commotion were great, and in their alarm most of the senators took to flight, and a few only remained at Rome. It was a courageous act on the part of Cicero that he immediately declared himself in favour of the conspirators as tyrannicides. Both parties were blind at the moment, and knew not what was to be done for the future. One might have expected that the people would have rejoiced at the death of Caesar, as public opinion had expressed itself so loudly against him, ever since the affair with the tribunes Caesetius and Marullus; but the people is a hundred-headed monster, and there is nothing more fickle and inconstant than man. The same persons who had

cursed Caesar only a few days before, had now quite changed their minds. they cursed the murderers and lamented Caesar.

It is a common thing with men who have no character to wish for extraordinary events; but, as soon as the danger which is inseparable from them appears, they denounce those whom they urged on before. The tumult at Rome lasted for some days. Caesar had fallen on the fifteenth of March, between eleven and twelve o'clock in the morning. On the seventeenth, there was a meeting of the senate, to deliberate what was to be done. At this meeting, Antony shewed a conduct very different from what had been anticipated. he offered his hand for a reconciliation, and expressed himself in a manner which scarcely any one could take to be sincere, but the senate, nevertheless, became pacified, as it was thought that Antony was obliged to act in the way he did. Cicero also came forward and spoke, and a general amnesty was decreed concerning all that had passed, just as had been the case at Athens, after the expulsion of the Thirty Tyrants. But the great question was, what to do? Brutus and Cassius had fled to the capitol, and public opinion in the city was decidedly against them. A great number of Caesar's soldiers were in the city, and many others flocked thither from other parts; and the excitement was so great that there was ground for apprehending acts of extreme violence. Brutus and Cassius began negotiating from the capitol. The decrees of the senate, intended to bring about a reconciliation, were full of contradictions. The proposal which was made to declare Caesar a tyrant, and his acts to be invalid, was not only rejected, but the senate went so far, in its fear of Caesar's veterans, as to decree divine honours to him, and the express validity of all his regulations. It had further been proposed that his will should be declared void, but L. Piso, his father-in-law, opposed the measure with great determination, and induced the senate to recognise the will as valid. Piso's

intention was to inspire the soldiers and the populace with enthusiasm for the deceased, who had possessed enormous riches, which had been amassed partly in his wars and partly in his administration of the republic. He had left munificent legacies to the soldiers and every Roman citizen, and these bequests were sure to produce the effect which the friends of Caesar desired

Some few persons wisely proposed that his burial should take place quite quietly and in private, but this plan too was frustrated by the impetuosity of the faction and the cowardice of the senate, and it was resolved that the body should be buried with the greatest solemnity in the Campus Martius. It was a general custom for the bodies of distinguished persons to be carried on a bier uncovered, as is still the fashion in Italy. The bier was put down before the rostra, and one of the relatives of the deceased delivered a funeral oration. The nearest relative of Caesar was Antony, whose mother, Julia, was a sister of the deceased, and he accordingly delivered the funeral oration. He produced a fearful effect upon the minds of the people, for he not only dwelt upon the great exploits of Caesar, amid roars of applause, but, after he had excited their minds in the highest degree by his recital, he lifted up the bloody toga, and shewed the people the wounds of the great deceased. The multitude were seized with such indignation and rage, that, instead of allowing the body to be carried to the Campus Martius, they immediately raised a pile in the forum, and burnt it there. One person, whom they thought to be one of the murderers, though he was quite innocent, was literally torn to pieces. The people then dispersed in troops; they broke into the houses of the conspirators, and destroyed them. It was not till after receiving a formal promise upon oath from Antony and Lepidus, that Brutus and Cassius ventured to come down from the capitol; but as, after the events of that day, they saw no safety at Rome, they went to Antium. The other conspirators dispersed themselves over the pro-

vinces. Decimus Brutus went to Cisalpine Gaul, which had been promised him as his province by Caesar, and put the legions to their oath of allegiance to himself. Brutus had been promised the province of Macedonia, and Cassius that of Syria. The events of the year of Caesar's death are so manifold and complicate, that it is impossible for me to mention them all in their succession. If you will read Fabricius' Life of Cicero, you will find the substance of the history of the last two years of his life. I cannot give you a strictly chronological account, but am obliged to place the events before you in a somewhat different form. In order, however, to understand Cicero's Philippics, one must have an accurate knowledge of the chronological succession of the occurrences during those two years.

Caesar in his will had appointed C. Octavius, the grandson of his sister Julia, heir *ex quadrante*, that is, of three-fourths of his property, and his other relatives were to have the remaining fourth. Antony, however, and Piso were not among his heirs. Caesar's aunt Julia, the sister of his father, had been married to Marius, and his sister Julia to M. Atius Balbus. Atia, the daughter of this latter Julia, was married to C. Octavius, a worthy man, whose father, a person of distinction, had died too early to obtain the consulship. Whether the family of the Octavii had acted any prominent part in the earlier parts of Roman history is not clear, though I am inclined to deny it, since the family is spoken of as only of equestrian rank¹. Young C. Octavius was in his nineteenth year when Caesar was murdered, for he was born on the 23rd of September, 689. Caesar had taken an interest in him ever since his return from Spain; whereas, before that time, he does not appear to have taken any particular notice of him. Caesar had intended to take him with him in his expedition against the Parthians, to complete his military education, but, some time previous to his death,

¹ Vell. Paterc. II. 59, Sueton. Aug. 2

he had sent him to Apollonia in Illyricum to acquire a Greek culture; which was then so prevalent among the Romans, that Cicero and his friends wrote Greek letters to one another, and often conversed in Greek, as we see from the history of Brutus, Cassius, and Messala². C Octavius was to stay at Apollonia, until his uncle should set out for Asia. When he received the sad intelligence of Caesar's death, he went to Rome, and claimed from Antony the inheritance of his uncle. This was a highly disagreeable thing for Antony, for he looked upon that property as the French looked upon the five millions which Napoleon had deposited at Paris, and was unwilling to give it out of his hands. C Octavius had also been adopted by Caesar, which is the first instance of an adoption by will that I know in Roman history, afterwards, such adoptions are very frequent. Antony seriously endeavoured to deter the young man from accepting the inheritance; and Atia, his mother, and L. Marcius Philippus, his step-father, likewise intimidated him, and advised him to withdraw³. Agrippa, whose subsequent conduct is very praiseworthy, had already become the adviser of C. Octavius, or, as he was called henceforth, C. Julius Caesar Octavianus. His connexion with Octavian, however, was a misfortune for the republic; for, had it not been for Agrippa, Octavian would have allowed himself to be intimidated, affairs would have taken a different turn, and Brutus would perhaps have been obliged to undertake the dictatorship, or some other office which

² It was then at Rome with Greek as it was with French in Germany at the time when I was a young man. I used then to speak with elder friends more French than German, and it was not looked upon as affectation when French words or phrases were occasionally introduced in German conversation. So, at Rome, every man of education was obliged to speak and write Greek, though their Greek, as, for example, the specimens in Cicero's letters, had always something peculiar, as was the case with the French spoken in Germany during the last century.—N

³ Vell Patere II 60, Sueton Aug 8 foll

would have placed him at the head of the republic, for the dictatorship was abolished for ever soon after Caesar's death⁴

As Octavian discovered in Antony his principal enemy, he attached himself to the party of his opponents, especially to Cicero, who was perfectly pure; he would not however form any connexions with Brutus and the other murderers of his uncle. Cicero had confidence in him, which the murderers could not have had; and he, in fact, allowed himself to be imposed upon, as he was always longing to see what he wished, and what he thought should be. He was thus willing to see in Octavian such sentiments as he thought salutary to the republic, and formed a friendship with him. Octavian compelled Antony to surrender Caesar's will, and he put himself in possession of his inheritance so far as it had not been already disposed of by Antony, who had secreted the greater part of the money. The exasperation between Octavian and Antony rose very high about this time, and each suspected the other, perhaps not unjustly, of attempts at assassination.

The ferment at Rome had, in the meantime, increased to such a point that Cicero resolved to go to Greece, and spend his time at Athens till the beginning of the year following, when Hirtius and Pansa were to enter on their consulship. Hirtius was a well-meaning man and Cicero's friend, Pansa was of much less consequence, and not better than an ordinary soldier. There is no period in Cicero's life in which he shewed such intellectual activity as during that summer. He began his work "*De Officiis*" during the greatest convulsions of the republic, which is a proof of prodigious strength and self-possession. How active his inward life was is attested by his works "*De Divinatione*," "*De Fato*," the "*Topica*," and the lost work, "*De Gloria*," all of which and several

⁴ Cicero, Philip i 1 13, ii 36, Livy, Epit 116, Appian, De Bell Civil iii 25, Dion Cassius, XLIV 51

more were produced in that summer. In addition to this, he wrote at the same period an enormous number of letters, many of which are still extant. I know no man who, at any time of his life, was so intensely active as Cicero then was. His activity was a consolation to him in his grief; and the fact of his being able to throw himself so completely into intellectual pursuits is a convincing proof of the extraordinary power of his mind. Any other man would have been crushed under the weight of his sorrows. Cicero, on the other hand, although he knew all that was going on, did not allow himself to be overpowered by it. His intention to go to Greece had not been carried into effect, for contrary winds kept him at Rhegium.

Antony, by forced decrees of the senate, had caused the province of Macedonia to be given to his brother Caius Antonius, and that of Syria to Dolabella, who had been appointed to the consulship after Caesar's death. For himself, Antony had reserved Cisalpine Gaul, but he, nevertheless, now turned round, and declared himself in favour of the optimates. He seemed all at once to have become a different man. He was quite willing to bring about a reconciliation, and carried several laws which breathed that spirit. Every one who knew him was struck with amazement. Cicero, who was informed of the change, was urgently requested by his friends to reconcile himself to Antony. But here he was influenced by an unfortunate timidity. Had he appeared in the senate at the risk of being murdered there, and had he ventured to address Antony, he might have prevented great misfortunes, and have effected a reconciliation. Antony felt a bitter enmity towards him, and hated him; but I believe that he would, notwithstanding, have become reconciled to him. Cicero here erred in allowing himself to be overcome by the horror and disgust he felt for Antony; but he is sufficiently excused by the really detestable and profligate character of Antony, although the latter was not altogether without any good quality, as Cicero

imagined. If we compare Antony with Octavian, we must say that Antony was open-hearted, whereas Octavian was made up of hypocrisy: his whole life was a farce. It is well known that on his death bed at Nola, he asked his friends, whether he had not played the comedy of his life well? He was an actor throughout his life, and everything he did was a farce, well devised and skilfully executed. The most profound hypocrisy was his greatest talent. In the vicious and profligate life of Antony, on the other hand, there occur some actions which shew good nature, generosity, and even greatness, and if Cicero had appeared in the senate, a reconciliation would certainly have been possible. This, however, Cicero did not do, and he may even have deeply offended him by his wit and satire, for it was his wit that in most cases gave rise to the enmity of others against him. As Cicero did not go to the senate, Antony attacked him in the most improper and outrageous manner. This gave rise to Cicero's second Philippic, which was not spoken, but only written. It was, however, published, and immediately produced the greatest effect, it was devoured by the friends of Cicero, who was himself staying in the country for the sake of his safety.

Towards the end of the year, Antony went to Lombardy, or Cisalpine Gaul, the inhabitants of which were indebted to Caesar for their franchise. Antony had maintained the validity of the acts of Caesar, he had acted during the summer after the dictator's death in the most outrageous manner, and, under the pretence of proceeding according to the regulations laid down in Caesar's papers, he did anything he pleased. He sold the provinces and the franchise, he founded colonies, and called a number of his creatures into the senate. After such proceedings, it was difficult indeed for a man like Cicero to become reconciled to him. The administration of Spain was at the time in the hands of Asinius Pollio, and that of Gaul in the hands of M Lepidus and

L. Munatius Plancus. After his arrival in his province, Antony endeavoured to induce the legions to revolt against Decimus Brutus, but with little success. The towns north of the Po and in Illyricum seemed at first inclined to embrace his cause, but his extortions soon deterred them from it.

On the first of January, Hirtius and Pansa, who had been appointed consuls by Caesar, entered upon their office. so great was his power even after his death ! Antony was declared a public enemy, and the senate gave the provinces of Gaul and Italy to the consuls, to carry on the war, in common with Decimus Brutus, against Antony. Octavian had prevailed upon Cicero to induce the senate to grant him the power and ensigns of a praetor. Antony had recalled the legions which Caesar had sent to Macedonia, with the view of employing them on his expedition against the Parthians and Getae, but, on their arrival in Italy, two of them had deserted to Octavian, and formed a nucleus with which he was enabled to oppose Antony. So long as the hostility between Octavian and Antony lasted, these legions were really prepared to protect Cicero, although the soldiers hated no one more than him and whatever there remained of the Pompeian party

LECTURE L

LAST YEAR OF CICERO'S LIFE. — LETTERS TO BRUTUS —
WAR AT MODENA — OCTAVIAN DEMANDS AND OBTAINS
THE CONSULSHIP — LEX PEDIA — PROSCRIPTIONS —
CICERO'S DEATH — BRUTUS AND CASSIUS IN THE EAST

THE last Philippics, as well as several of the letters "Ad Diversos," which are extremely important for the history of the time, belong to the year 709, the last of Cicero's life. The letters to Brutus refer to the same period. They consist of two parts — an earlier one, which is found in the same manuscripts with other letters of Cicero and those to his brother Quintus; and a later one which, I believe, was first discovered in Germany. Whether the letters contained in the second part were forged in the sixteenth century, or whether they are found in any earlier manuscript, is a question which I cannot now answer. If they are a forgery, they are a masterly one. The genuineness of the first part, on the other hand, which has come down to us in very ancient manuscripts, is likewise very doubtful. They are of great interest to those who have Cicero's history at heart. They were unquestionably written at a very early period, and belong probably to the first centuries of our æra; and I am almost inclined to consider them as a production of the first century, perhaps of the time of Augustus or Tiberius. Their author was evidently a man of talent, and perfectly familiar with the circumstances of the time. The question about their genuineness was raised about a hundred years ago by English critics, and I know that F. A. Wolf was decidedly of opinion that they are a fabrication, but I cannot ex-

press myself with the same certainty. I should like to see them proved to be spurious, as I am morally convinced that they are¹. These letters to Brutus shew a kind of want of harmony as having existed between Cicero and Brutus; and, if a person of talent contrasts the psychological natures of the two men, that want of harmony would naturally present itself to him as the result of his comparison. But, in whatever manner they may have been composed, their author lived so near the time to which the letters refer, and their substance is based upon such authentic documents, that we may take them as authentic sources of history

The first months of the year of Hirtius and Pansa's consulship were spent by Antony in besieging Decimus Brutus at Modena. All the towns in Cisalpine Gaul had by this time declared against Antony. Modena must have been a town of very great extent, since Decimus Brutus was in it with a whole army. Antony had eight or nine legions, and was far superior in numbers to the besieged, so that there was no other prospect for the latter but ultimate surrender. Hirtius, Pansa, and Octavian as praetor, came with three armies to relieve the place. Hirtius approached first, Octavian pitched his camp in the neighbourhood of Bologna, and Pansa followed with reinforcements. The army of Octavian consisted of veterans, and those of Hirtius and Pansa, for the most part, of newly-formed legions, so that the two latter were labouring under disadvantages. Antony's plan was to prevent the hostile armies uniting, and this occasioned an engagement, into which the troops of Pansa allowed themselves to be drawn inconsiderately. The fight was quite an irregular one. Antony was at first near being defeated, but afterwards he gained the ascendancy; but, as he was on the point of winning the

¹ I am convinced with Wolf that the oration for Marcellus is a forgery —N

battle, Hirtius arrived from his camp with reinforcements, and Antony was beaten².

Pansa however was severely wounded, and died soon after. Some ten days or a fortnight later, during which Antony kept within his fortifications, the troops of Pansa joined the other armies, and Hirtius now attacked Antony's camp, which he took, but he fell in the battle. During the engagement, Decimus Brutus made a sally, and succeeded in joining the armies of his defenders. Antony might still have maintained himself in the country, but he was bewildered, and resolved to quit Italy. He cannot have thought at that time of the possibility of becoming reconciled to Octavian.

About the end of April, the prospects of Rome were favourable, except that both consuls were dead. Octavian's reputation was, even as early as that time, such as to occasion a report, which was surely not quite false, that he had caused the surgeon to poison the wound of Pansa, and that he had hired an assassin to murder Hirtius. If we apply the *cur bono* of L. Cassius,³ a strong suspicion indeed hangs upon Octavian; and if, in addition to this, we consider that he was not a man whose moral character was too good to commit such acts, we cannot help thinking that the suspicion was not without foundation. The republic was thus in the condition of an orphan, and those who might have become the successors of the consuls were in circumstances which did not permit the republic to entrust itself to them. Octavian had placed himself at the head of the armies of the two consuls; that of Antony was dispersed, and he himself had fled with a small band across the Alps. Lepidus, who was then in Gaul, had it in his power to put an end to Antony's career. He was one of those who had, unfortunately, been among the friends of Caesar, he was

² We have in Appian a sort of bulletin of these events.—N

³ See Cicero, *pro Sext. Roscio*, c. 30

a contemptible person, but after the death of Caesar, he had been raised to the office of pontifex maximus, without having any claims to it. Lepidus and Munatius Plancus, who had strong armies in Gaul, might, as I said before, have put an end to the war by cutting off Antony; but Lepidus had no resolution, and would not lift up his hand against him. He had previously endeavoured to bring about a peace between the senate and Antony, and he now received Antony into his camp, who was recognised as imperator by the armies both of Lepidus and Plancus. This happened in the course of the summer, which begins in Italy on the seventh or eighth of May.

During the perplexities into which the republic was thrown by the death of the two consuls, Octavian began to disclose his real sentiments: he caused his veterans to demand the consulship for him. In his first attempt he proposed Cicero for his colleague, and declared that he would follow his advice in all things, which was a mere farce, devised to deceive the people. Cicero however did not fall into the trap, for he now saw that everything was hopeless. The last months of his life, from the beginning of June, formed the most unhappy period of his existence, and he felt completely tired of life. The veterans, after the first and unsuccessful attempt, demanded the consulship for Octavian with threats, and Cicero, like every other senator, at first resisted them, but in the end he was obliged to yield. Octavian and his nephew, Q. Pedius, were accordingly proclaimed consuls, and on the nineteenth of August they entered upon their office. The senate was reduced to complete servility, and Cicero withdrew from its meetings altogether. One of the first measures of the new consuls was the frightful *lex Pedia*¹. Its being passed by the people was a mere form. It ordained criminal proceedings against all who had been accomplices in the murder of Caesar. The partizans of

¹ Vell. Pat. ii. 69, Appian, De Bell. Civil. iii. 95, Livy, Epit. 120.

Octavian accused the senate of having treated him with neglect after the war of Modena, although the senate could not have done more than what was actually done, as Octavian was only praetor. In accordance with the *lex Pedia* a commission was now appointed, before whom Brutus, Cassius and the other conspirators were summoned to appear *pro forma*. All of them however seem to have taken to flight, and the accused were condemned and proscribed. According to the ancient privileges, the persons who were condemned might withdraw, but in this case they were hunted up wherever they were, and prizes were offered for their heads. Decimus Brutus fled from his own troops, whom Octavian had already induced to revolt, and he was murdered on the frontier of Gaul by a former friend.

While these things were going on, the month of November was approaching. Antony, accompanied by Lepidus and Plancus, had come from Gaul, and Octavian was stationed near Bologna to meet them. Through the mediation of Lepidus negotiations were commenced, and a meeting took place in a small river island near Bologna. Octavian, Antony, and Lepidus agreed upon undertaking the government of the republic for five years, under the title "*Triumviri rei publicae constituendae*." This was according to the old Licinian law an extraordinary magistracy, which may however have existed at other times also, and the idea itself was not new. Italy was to belong to the two consuls in common, but the provinces were distributed in such a manner that Lepidus obtained Spain and the part of Gaul near the Pyrenees; Antony Cisalpine Gaul, Lugdunensis, and Belgica; and Octavian Africa, Sicily, and Sardinia. The eastern provinces were not disposed of. The first thing that was now done was to proclaim a proscription of seventeen persons⁵. Antony sacrificed his own uncle, and Lepidus his own brother, whose proscription he

⁵ Appian, *De Bell. Civil.* iv 6 foll

is even said to have demanded. Velleius⁶ and others who follow the writers of the Augustan age, state that Octavian was induced with great difficulty to consent to the sacrifice of Cicero but I do not believe that he had any scruples about it. To a man of his nature, it was a relief to get rid of a benefactor before whom he had so often played the hypocrite, and to whom he had so often promised to remain faithful to the republic⁷. After this proscription there followed another of 130 senators, but the triumvirs did not stop short here. Many of our historians justly remark that these proscriptions were much worse than those instituted by Sulla, for the latter had been dictated by a furious party spirit. Sulla hated the men whom he sacrificed because they were his antagonists, and he had no scruples about killing them, but plunder was a secondary matter, which Sulla himself would have willingly dispensed with. The proscription of the triumvirs, on the other hand, was not so much the consequence of their desire to take vengeance as of their rapacity. Wealthy persons, who had not done anything to provoke their anger, were put on the lists for no other reason than because they were wealthy. We know the history of a great many who fell victims during that frightful period, but I will here confine myself to the fate of Cicero.

He was in his Tusculanum at the time when the lists of the proscribed were published. He was undecided whether to await death in his villa or not, but he was prevailed upon by his brother to take to flight. He went along the sea coast to Astura, where he took a boat. His brother, who returned, was murdered soon after. After taking the boat, Cicero could not make up his mind as to whither he should sail. he was in fact tired of life, and unwilling to flee, and a murderer was not unwelcome to him. He

⁶ II 66

⁷ It is on the whole astonishing how little we learn from the Epitome of Livy concerning this period, although it is known that Octavian called him a Pompeian —N

might himself have put an end to his existence, but such an act was, in his opinion, not right and repugnant to all his feelings. He gave himself up to Providence. Had the winds been favourable he would, perhaps, have gone to Sex. Pompeius, who was already master of Sicily. If he had done so, he would probably have died a natural death, and would have lived to see the time when Sex Pompeius made peace, and when the distinguished proscribed who lived in exile obtained permission to return to Rome. But he was very ill, and as the rowers wanted to return, he allowed them to land at Caieta, in the neighbourhood of which he had a villa. He was betrayed by one of his own domestics, a freedman of his brother. Popilius Laenas, a person belonging to one of the most distinguished plebeian families, and who is said to have once been defended by Cicero—which is, however, probably a rhetorical invention to aggravate his crime—overtook Cicero, who had been persuaded by his friends to allow himself to be carried out in a lectica to a plantation near the coast. His slaves were ready to fight for him, but he forbade it. He put his head forward from the lectica, and died with the greatest courage. The day of his death was the seventh of December, 709. His son Marcus, who was at the time with Brutus in Macedonia, had until then behaved in a manner which justified the hope that he would one day distinguish himself, but he afterwards sank into sensuality and voluptuousness. He was a man of talent and wit, which he had inherited from his father, but in all other respects he was unworthy of him. The opinions of Livy, Asinius Pollio, and Cassius Severus upon Cicero, which are preserved in Seneca's seventh *Suasoria*, differ very much in their spirit. Some of their sentiments are very beautiful, but some are only remarkable as characteristic of the authors themselves.

I have thought it my duty, in my account of Cicero, to direct your attention to the manner in which he has been judged of by vulgar men, who had scarcely received an

education to entitle them to express an opinion on Cicero. I will mention, as an instance, Hume the historian. What he says upon Cicero is in reality patchwork, and he is nowhere master of his subject. I have never been able to read through his book, for he is unjust towards Cicero in a manner which is quite revolting. Middleton's *Life of Cicero*, on the other hand, is written very beautifully, and in a noble spirit. The period in which Cicero began to be treated with contempt was the time when I was growing up to manhood, but until that time, and throughout the middle ages, Cicero was a great name, and a sort of *θεὸς ἀγνώστος*, before whom all bowed their knees, but whose works were read only by a few. Dante, Petrarch, St. Bernard, a man of great intellect, and other eminent men of the middle ages, comprehended Cicero well, and were able to enter into his spirit. At the time of the revival of letters the admiration of Cicero still increased. The sect of the Ciceronians is well known; they regarded it as a heresy to use a word or a phrase which was not found in Cicero. Most of them lost their own wits by their slavish imitation; but others, such as P. Manutius, were extremely benefited by taking Cicero for their guide. Towards the end of the eighteenth century Roman literature began to be neglected, in proportion as the study of Greek struck root, and during the first decennium of our century that tendency even increased. At that time it was painful to a lover of Cicero to see even scholars of distinction treat him as utterly contemptible, especially on account of his philosophical writings, which were decried as ludicrous gossip. That time has fortunately passed away, and I believe that at present the value both of Greek and Roman literature is, on the whole, correctly estimated. The attention which has of late been bestowed upon Roman history has been followed by a more correct estimation of the value of Roman literature. With regard to Cicero as an author I cannot say anything better than Quinctilian, that the pleasure which a man takes in the works of Cicero

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is the standard by which we may estimate his own intellectual culture⁸. Cicero was not, however, altogether perfect. His early works, especially his celebrated orations against Verres, contain passages which are entirely unworthy of him, and are pure Asiatic declamations, which he himself afterwards censured in his maturer work, "Brutus." His latest productions contain symptoms of his having grown old and stiff, though no one can say that he had sunk. The time when his genius was in its bloom was the period about his praetorship, and after his consulship. This, however, was followed by a time of great depression, which lasted until his return from exile. The orations of the time when Caesar was at the head of affairs must not be judged of too severely, and we have to take into consideration the pressure of circumstances. The second Philippic, I think, has been estimated too highly by all rhetoricians, in his vehemence Cicero here exaggerates, and this was not his natural disposition, which was, on the contrary, mild and benevolent. There were some persons whom he hated, but at heart he was thoroughly benevolent. His death is for us the last event of that unhappy year, in the course of which Brutus and Cassius established their power in the east. Brutus had made himself master of Macedonia, and was recognised by the legions. Dolabella, who had gone to Syria, and had killed Trebonius, one of Caesar's murderers, on his arrival in his province, was pursued by Cassius. His legions deserted him, and he was obliged to surrender at Laodicea, where he lost his life. In this manner Brutus and Cassius made themselves masters of Macedonia, Achaia, and Asia in short, of all the countries east of the Adriatic, as far as the frontiers of Egypt, while Rome was the scene of fearful proscriptions. C. Antonius, the brother of the triumvir, was a prisoner of Brutus

⁸ Quintilian, xi 1 § 71

LECTURE LI.

THE WAR OF PHILIPPI.—THE LAST EFFORTS OF BRUTUS AND CASSIUS —CONDUCT OF ANTONY IN THE EAST AFTER HIS VICTORY. — CLEOPATRA. — OCTAVIAN RETURNS TO ITALY —THE JULIAN COLONIES.—FULVIA. — WAR BETWEEN OCTAVIAN AND L. ANTONIUS AT PERUSIA

THE unfortunate issue of the war of Philippi shewed what the ancients call the irresistible power of fate, against which all human devices turn into misfortunes. What we call chance, or accident, had here the most lamentable influence. The long stay, for example, of Brutus and Cassius in Asia, though it was of some advantage to them, since it afforded them an opportunity for increasing their exhausted means, and training their troops, was followed by most unfortunate consequences¹. Had they been in Macedonia and Greece, they might have rendered it impossible for the triumvirs to land, they might have compelled them to march round the Adriatic and through Illyricum, whereby they would have had great advantages on their side. The commanders of the fleet of the patriots, Statius Murcus, and Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, appear to have neglected nothing, but fate was against them. The winds were favourable to the triumvirs, they landed two or three different times on the coast of Illyricum, and advanced into the country. Brutus and Cassius had no troops at all in Illyricum and Macedonia, for those

¹ I here pass over the manner in which Brutus chastised Xanthus in Lycia, and in which Cassius conquered Rhodes, for these events belong to the later history of Greece.—N (See Appian, *De Bell Civil.* iv. 65—81.)

which had been there must have retreated to Thrace, not being strong enough to resist the enemy.

It was not till after the armies of Antony and Octavian had already established themselves, and spread over Greece, which submitted to them, that Brutus and Cassius crossed the Hellespont to march into Macedonia. The armies of the Julian party had already advanced as far as the narrow pass in the neighbourhood of Philippi, and the gold mines of mount Pangaeus. There was a plain between the mountain and the sea, through which ran the road from Amphipolis to Thrace. Brutus was guided by a faithful Thracian ally, who enabled him to avoid the pass which must have been already occupied by the enemy. The patriots pitched their camp near Philippi, while their fleet was in the western seas². The question now was, what was to be done? Opinions were very much divided. Cassius, although he was a good general, dreaded a quick decision, the army, on the other hand, demanded an immediate attack upon the enemy. There was no desertion among the troops, they kept faithfully to their leaders. It might have been possible to protract the war, if the patriots had called their fleet to their assistance, but they did not know that they could have done so. If the fleet had arrived in the north of the Aegean, Antony and Octavian would probably have been obliged to retreat for want of provisions, and then Brutus and Cassius would perhaps have been successful. But a battle was resolved upon. Nearly all the Romans of rank and wealth were in the armies of Brutus and Cassius, for the most distinguished persons had been proscribed, and the greater number of them had taken refuge with Brutus and Cassius, whilst a few only had gone to Sex. Pompeius, who kept a considerable fleet of privateers, with which men of honour did not like to have anything to do, independent of such

² The vision which Brutus is said to have had, and which alluded to his fall at Philippi, appeared to him, according to some, at Sardes, and according to others at Abydos—N

a connexion being likely to injure the cause of the exiles with the Roman people.

In the battle which was fought near Philippi, Brutus commanded the left, and Cassius the right wing, or according to a more correct mode of speaking, division, for, as in this case there was no centre, we cannot speak of wings. They were two distinct armies, the one drawn up by the side of the other. Brutus, who faced the army of Octavian, gained a victory without any difficulty. M. Messala, who had been introduced to Brutus by Cicero, distinguished himself above all the other generals. He was a man whom Cicero had loved, and who was afterwards, in the reign of Augustus, the most distinguished person in his way. Octavian is generally charged with having betrayed his cowardice by not taking part in the battle. Antony himself too afterwards brought this charge against him in public letters, and the way in which some writers try to defend Octavian is a shallow one. His army was probably commanded by Agrippa, and if so, it was certainly not in bad hands, but it was completely beaten, with the exception of its centre, which made a vigorous resistance, and the Julian camp was taken. The army of Cassius, which faced that of Antony, was decidedly beaten, but the camp was not taken, although the army was to some extent dispersed. Cassius believed that everything was lost, as the centre of Octavian's army held out, and accordingly, as Cassius could not form an accurate estimate of what was going on in that quarter, he dispatched an officer to bring him a report of the state of things in the army of Brutus. As a considerable time elapsed before the officer returned, either from accident or neglect on the part of the messenger, Cassius became the more confirmed in his belief, and requested one of his servants to put an end to his life. There was a suspicion in antiquity that this servant had treacherously murdered his master, and without his command.

Brutus was greatly disheartened at this unfortunate

occurrence, but all was not yet lost, the battle had not been decisive either way, and matters still stood almost as they had been before the battle. Had Brutus known that his fleet had gained a complete victory on the same day on which the first battle of Philippi was fought, he would now have maintained himself on the defensive, according to his original plan, and by making the fleet land in the rear of the hostile armies, he would have compelled them to retreat. But it was not till after Brutus had yielded to the impatient demand of his army to bring the matter to a decision, that he heard of the news having arrived in the enemy's camp. Brutus himself could scarcely believe the report of the victory of his fleet, and allowed himself to be persuaded to fight another battle. It was painful to him that he had been obliged to promise his soldiers, who were as much demoralized as those of his opponents, the plunder of Thessalonica and Lacedaemon. During the battle, however, his troops were as brave as they had been before, but it was nevertheless lost completely, and the army was routed. Brutus escaped with a number of his companions to the hills. Had he been able to reach the sea-coast, he might have been able to join his fleet. Life was now a burden to him, as it had been to Cicero, and the end of it was welcome to him. He demanded of a faithful servant to perform the last duty towards him, and as the servant refused, Brutus threw himself upon his own sword. He was at the time of his death not more than thirty-seven years old.

Antony after this victory behaved very differently to what had been anticipated. The better part of his nature here gained the ascendancy, and many a one was saved by him, whilst Octavian displayed a cold-blooded and scornful cruelty, which was revolting to the minds of his own partizans. You may read instances of it in Suetonius³, who shews a strange impartiality, and from whose account it would seem as if Octavian him-

³ Aug c 13

self had had little to do with the atrocities which were committed. One man who was to be executed prayed that Octavian would allow his body to be buried, to which he received the answer, that this was a point which he had to settle with the ravens. Antony ordered the body of Brutus to be honoured with a magnificent burial; but the son of Hortensius was ordered to be put to death, because Antony ascribed to him the murder of his brother Caius. The majority of the proscribed who survived the battles of Philippi put an end to their own lives, as they despaired of being pardoned. It is surprising to find among them the father of Livia, who subsequently became the wife of Octavian, and whose husband, Tib. Claudius Nero, with his whole family, belonged to the Pompeian party. In the reign of her son Tiberius, Cremutius Cordus, the historian, was obliged to put an end to his own life for having praised Brutus and Cassius, and for having called the latter the last of the Romans⁴.

After the battles of Philippi the fleet of the patriots yet remained, but their armies were dispersed, and most of the soldiers entered the service of the conquerors, as was done so frequently in the Thirty years' war. Many also returned to Italy in secret, as for example Horace, the poet, who had been among the volunteers in the army of Brutus. He had been staying at Athens, like many other young Romans, for the purpose of studying, and Brutus had received those young men, as volunteers, into his army, and appointed them tribunes. After his arrival in Italy, Horace obtained protection through the influence of Maecenas, and enjoyed safety and admiration⁵. Octavian returned with his legions to Italy, where

⁴ Tacitus, Annal iv 34 foll Compare Plutarch, Brut 44, Dion Cassius XLVII 24 ⁵ The ode (II 7) beginning with

O, saepe mecum tempus in ultimum
Deducte, Bruto militiae duce,

belongs to the time after the peace between Sex Pompeius and the

he exercised a fearful sway. Antony remained behind, as the real master of all the countries subject to Rome east of the Adriatic. During the time which immediately succeeded the victory, he shewed a humane conduct in those countries, and the nations tried to console themselves with the prospect of having a mild master. The provincials were accustomed to being ill-treated, and they thanked heaven when the conduct of a governor was at all bearable. But soon after Antony travelled through Asia Minor, and extorted enormous contributions. Shortly before, those unfortunate countries had been compelled by Brutus to pay their tributes for five years at once, and Antony now demanded of them to do the same within a very limited space of time, so that the inhabitants were thrown into frightful distress. But Asia Minor afterwards recovered again, as it always does, unless it is governed by barbarians. Antony marched as far as Cilicia, and here he invited Cleopatra to come to him. He was induced to take this step either by the reputation of her beauty, or it was a mere act of pride. Cleopatra felt sure that the voluptuous Roman would not be able to resist her charms, and she went to him without any fear, although she had done various things to support Cassius, for which she might have been taken to account. She sailed up the river Cydnus to Tarsus, with a pomp which made her appear almost like a queen of fairies, and invited Antony to an entertainment. Here everything was prepared with a splendour and magnifi-

triumvirs, namely to the year 713, in which Cn Domitius Ahenobarbus united with Asinius Pollio (Appian, *De Bell Civil* v 50, Velleius Paterc II 76, Dion Cassius, XLVIII 16), and when Horace was twenty-five years old. In our editions of that ode there is a sad blunder in the punctuation. I do not remember how Bentley has managed it, but in the edition of Lambinus the punctuation is decidedly wrong. After *minaces* (v 11) a comma must be inserted and after *turpe* a sign of exclamation. *Solum tangere mento* is not to be understood of those who had fallen in the battle, but of those who stumbled in their flight.—N

cence which the Romans could not have produced with all their treasures⁶ Antony fell completely into her net. She stayed for some time with him in Asia Minor, and he then accompanied her to Alexandria.

In the mean time there arose in Italy fresh misfortunes, the cause of which was the connexion between Antony and Cleopatra. Octavian had led his legions into Italy. The veterans were at that time as impetuous and impudent as in the time after the death of Commodus⁷. Octavian had promised them the most flourishing municipia and colonies of Italy. The year 711, which followed that of the battles of Philippi, saw the general establishment of the Julian colonies in Italy⁸. The places in which such colonies were founded are not well known, and it is difficult to acquire an accurate knowledge of them⁹. Every one knows that Cremona was one of them. It had originally been a Latin colony, after the Julian law it had become a municipium, and it was now changed into a military colony. Virgil's life was endangered on that occasion. When a place was assigned to the veterans, it was not, as it had been in ancient times, when for example 300 men were sent out as colonists, and each received two jugers, for a common soldier now received from 50 to 100 jugers, a centurion twice, and an eques three times that amount. When a town became a military colony, many square miles of the country around it were distributed among the soldiers, and if the territory of the place was not sufficiently extensive to make the necessary assignments, portions of the adjoining territory were cut off to make up for the deficiency. The

⁶ The Romans squandered a great deal of money, but were not able to arrange anything in a really splendid or tasteful manner —N

⁷ It is a remarkable phaenomenon that those wild beasts who, for more than two centuries, held the fate of the empire in their hands, could be made to obey and feel that they were subjects —N

⁸ Appian, *de Bell Civil* v 12, Sueton Aug 13

⁹ I intend one day to write a separate work upon these Julian colonies, and hope to arrive at results which will be tolerably satisfactory —N.

state of things at that time very much resembles that which existed in the Thirty years' war in Germany, when the citizens and peasants were not taken into consideration at all, and the soldiers were everything. Let us take Mantua as an example of such a military colony. If Andes, Virgil's birthplace, was about three miles from Mantua and the distribution of the territory of Mantua extended as far as Andes, we may easily imagine the dreadful distress of the people. In most cases the former owners became the farmers of the soldiers. Horace mentions in one of his Satires¹⁰, Ofellus, who farmed his former estate, and was anxious to see the soldier to whom it then belonged lead so extravagant a life as to be obliged to sell it, in which case Ofellus would purchase it back. This state of things is so foreign to us that we can scarcely form a clear notion of it. All Italy was seized with the utmost alarm and despan, places which had done nothing to provoke the triumvir, and had never thought of opposing the Julian party, were confiscated like those which had openly espoused the cause of Pompey. Endless tumults and confusion reigned throughout Italy under these circumstances. Among those who were expelled from their homes, there were unquestionably many of the sons of the old Sullanian colonists, who were ready to take up arms. They looked around to see who would come forward as their protector. One of their friends was L. Antonius, consul of the year (711), and brother of Antony the triumvir, who sought an opportunity for overthrowing the rival of his brother, and was instigated in particular by Fulvia, Antony's wife. Fulvia was a true Megaera, bloodthirsty and of violent passions. She had formerly been licentious in her conduct, but since her marriage with Antony she clung to him with all the passion of love¹¹. She had been a deadly enemy of Cicero, she had caused his head to be brought to her

¹⁰ II 2, 112 foll

¹¹ The late queen Paulina of Naples, the wife of King Ferdinand, and a woman of great talent, very much resembled Fulvia in her conduct —N

from the rostra, and had feasted her eyes upon his dead features. Her jealousy was now excited by her husband's amour with Cleopatra, and she meditated upon creating a commotion which might induce Antony to return to Italy. Her motive was a very natural one, and she tried to excite a civil war. She accordingly went to Praeneste and there proclaimed the protection of the oppressed. L. Antonius joined her at Praeneste, and Tiberius Nero, the husband of Livia, came forward in Campania on behalf of the oppressed, though from no other motive than humanity. Octavian on this occasion acted with skill and prudence, the merit of which however belongs to Agrippa, who was a wise man. Octavian was naturally a coward, but the events of the time had matured him. He applied to his veterans, whose interest it was to support him. The generals of the Antonian party who were in Italy were deficient in resolution. Asinius Pollio, who was in his province of Gaul and Illyricum, would not fight for either party, although he belonged to that of Antony, and Octavian thus succeeded in isolating L. Antonius, who went to Perugia, accompanied by Fulvia, a division of Antony's veterans, and numbers of fugitives from the municipia, senators and equites. At Perugia they were besieged by Octavian. As it was believed that peace was impossible, the besieged bore the famine which raged in the place with great resolution. This siege is one of the most frightful that are known in history. As all attempts at forcing their way through the besieging army failed, L. Antonius and his party at last capitulated. Octavian granted pardon to L. Antonius, who now turned round and acted as a traitor towards his own party. Fulvia was set free on condition of her quitting Italy, and she went to Greece. The soldiers entered the service of Octavian. The town of Perugia was obliged to surrender at discretion, and 300 of its most distinguished citizens were afterwards solemnly sacrificed at the altar of Divus Julius. The town itself was reduced to a heap of ashes, either by the despair of its inhabi-

tants or by the soldiers during their plunder. It was afterwards restored as a military colony, under the name of *Perusia Augusta*¹² Thus terminated an undertaking, in which people had been obliged to entrust themselves to an unprincipled man, who was not only without skill, but without any sense of honour. There was now every appearance of a civil war breaking out very speedily¹³.

¹² Appian, *de Bell Civil* v 32—50, Sueton. *Aug* 15

¹³ The celebrated fourth Eclogue of Virgil was written in 712, after the Perusinian war. It is an eulogy on Asinius Pollio, who was then in Cisalpine Gaul, and not on good terms with Octavian. Virgil was at the time probably in his native place, and protected by Asinius Pollio.—N



LECTURE LII.

PEACE OF BRUNDISIUM. — TREATY OF MISENUM — SEXT.
 POMPEIUS — ANTONY'S WAR AGAINST THE PARTHIANS.
 — WAR BETWEEN OCTAVIAN AND SEXT. POMPEIUS — DE-
 FEAT AND DEATH OF THE LATTER. — CAUSE OF THE
 WAR OF ACTIUM

DURING the war at Perugia, Antony had not been able to make up his mind to anything, and it was not till the issue of the contest was decided that he came over to Brundisium. The mediation of Maecenas now brought about the peace of Brundisium, which delayed the outbreak of a fresh civil war, for nine years¹. To secure the permanence of the peace, it was agreed that Antony should marry Octavia, the widow of C. Marcellus, and half-sister of Octavian. She did not belong to the Julian house. Antony was unworthy of her, and treated her in the most disgraceful manner. She was a noble woman, though she lived in a very corrupt age, and she is a sad instance of the personal and domestic misfortunes to which persons of high rank are exposed. Her conduct as a wife was exemplary, and as a mother she was excellent. The death of M. Marcellus, her son by C. Marcellus, and the hope of the Roman people, was the cause

¹ Horace (Sat. i. 5. 29) alludes to this mediation, when he says of Maecenas and Cocceius *aversos soliti componere amicos*. Most of his poems belong to the period previous to the battle of Actium, and are productions of his youth. But I do not believe that we possess any of his productions which belong to an earlier date than the battle of Philippi. The most poetical period of his life was when he was about the age of thirty — N

of great grief to her, and among her other children there was only one,—Antonia, by Antony, subsequently the wife of Drusus, the son of Livia,—that was a pleasure and a comfort to her. A new division of the empire also was made at Brundisium Antony was to have the whole of the eastern part from the Ionian sea², and Octavian the western with the exception of Africa, which was given to Lepidus, to whom, I believe, Sicily also was assigned, although the island was yet in the possession of Sextus Pompeius, the younger son of Pompey the Great

After the battle of Munda, Sex Pompeius had taken refuge among the Celtiberians, and collected a force During the year of Caesar's death he carried on a war against Asinius Pollio, in which he maintained himself, although nothing was decided During the amnesty which was proclaimed after the death of Caesar, he had been recalled by the senate from Marseille, and his property and the *imperium orae maritimæ* were to be restored to him. The former he did not receive, but he maintained himself in his imperium The proscription which then followed brought him into great danger, and he could not venture to go to Rome, as Antony was in possession of his father's house in the Carinae He now wandered about as an adventurer, and as the captain of a band of pirates, like those whom his father had conquered, for the sons of those pirates, or they themselves, were, according to the oriental fashion, attached to their conqueror or his family as their patrons. With the help of these pirates, Sext. Pompeius made himself master of Sicily, which was almost a completely Greek country. The pirates were either Greeks or Hellenized Asiatics, so that the power which now became established in Sicily, was a very peculiar and strange

² This division appeared so natural to the ancients that, in the time of the emperors, the same line of demarcation was drawn between the eastern and western parts of the empire, as in the reigns of Severus and Diocletian, and at last permanently under the sons of Theodosius —N

one. After the battle of Philippi, Statius Murcus joined Sext. Pompeius, as Domitius Ahenobarbus joined Asinius Pollio. Before going to Philippi, Antony had made an unsuccessful attempt upon Sicily, and during the two years which followed the defeat of Brutus and Cassius down to the peace of Brundisium, in 712, Sext. Pompeius greatly increased his forces and established his power.

Octavian and Antony had made the new division of the empire independent of Lepidus, and they had confined him to Africa without asking his consent. A peace was afterwards concluded between Sext. Pompeius and the triumvirs, near cape Misenum. Pompeius here appeared with his fleet, and received the triumvirs in his admiral ship. He then returned their confidence by landing and partaking of an entertainment with them. While the triumvirs were on board the ship of Pompeius, Menodorus, one of his commanders, who had formerly been the leader of a band of robbers, had conceived the plan of cutting off the anchor, and carrying off the two triumvirs. But Pompeius would not allow the scheme to be carried into effect. In the peace of Misenum, which remedied the great distress of the Roman people, who were severely suffering from want of provisions, Pompeius obtained Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica, to which, according to a very probable account, Achaia was added. Pompeius remained in the undisturbed possession of his islands for four years. He is said to have been *sermone barbarus*³. He was indeed a very rough person and a mere condottiere, who had no other thought except that of maintaining himself at the head of his forces and in his dominion. If he could have effected this, he would have been perfectly satisfied, for he never dreamt of restoring the republic. It should however be remembered that he was very young when he began his war. It is remarkable to see how, at that time, men who did not receive a thorough

education would even neglect their own language, and speak a corrupt and barbarous jargon.

As peace was thus restored, Antony returned to the east. After the battle of Philippi, T. Labienus, who had been in the army of Brutus, had fled with some troops to the Parthians. His misfortunes cannot excite our sympathy. he was a seditious tribune in Cicero's consulship, and allowed himself to be used as a tool by Caesar. He belonged to a seditious family, and his uncle had been killed in the capitol with Saturninus, in the sixth consulship of C Marius. In his tribuneship Labienus endeavoured to avenge the murder of his uncle upon C Rabirius, who was one of the few persons that yet survived of those who had stormed the capitol⁴. Labienus, who was very rich, and a mutineer from inclination, then threw himself into the arms of Caesar. He served in Caesar's Gallic wars, and distinguished himself, for Caesar speaks of him with great praise, but afterwards Labienus joined the party of Pompey, and nobody knows what may have led him to this step. He fought with Pompey in the battle of Pharsalus, and afterwards went to Africa, and thence to Spain. We next find him fighting in the army of Brutus, and after the defeat of the latter he escaped to the Parthians, and soon after led a Parthian army into Syria. The Parthians, thus commanded by one of Caesar's generals, accomplished things in which they could not otherwise have succeeded, but nevertheless they were afterwards defeated. His joining the party of Caesar at first was only the consequence of the political views entertained by his family⁵. After his departure from Italy

⁴ See Cicero's oration for C Rabirius

⁵ The fact of Asinius Pollio being so decidedly against Pompey, the senate, Cicero, Brutus, and other men for whose personal character he must have had great regard, was, according to my firm belief, the consequence of personal circumstances, Pompeius Strabo, the father of Pompey, had conquered, in the Social war, the people to which Asinius Pollio belonged, the Picentines and Marrucinians, and

Antony lived for a time with Octavia, and without any connexion with Cleopatra, but after some months he obliged Octavia to return with her children to Rome, and he himself henceforth lived sometimes in Asia, and sometimes at Alexandria. In Asia, he was tempted by the prospect of gaining laurels in a war against the Parthians; for he, like all the Romans of the time, was stung to the quick when he thought of Crassus and his legions which had been defeated by the Parthians. Artavasdes, king of Armenia, held out to Antony hopes of wiping off the disgrace. All Parthia consisted of separate kingdoms, not satrapies, but feudal principalities, under the Parthian king of kings, who resided sometimes in Korasan, and sometimes at Ctesiphon near Seleucia. Antony entered Armenia with an enormous army, and advanced into Media. Ancient geography knows very few places in those countries, the ancient oriental names are known, but not those by which the towns were called in the west. Antony marched through Media and Azerbidjan, as far as Taberistan, and he conquered Phraata, a town the site of which is altogether unknown, but his plan was bad. He had left his artillery behind him, under the protection of two legions and his legate Statianus. Phraates acted very skilfully, and took away the depôt, after having annihilated the troops who were to protect it. This and other circumstances placed the Romans in such difficulties, that

had put to death Herius Asinius, the grandfather or uncle of Asinius Pollio (Vell. Pat. ii. 16, Appian, *De Bell. Civil.* i. 40). Now Caesar's party had at that time taken the same ground as that of Marius, and had, in fact, inherited its principles. I do not mean to defend L. Munatius Plancus, although he was a man of great talent, but if we trace the connexion of events, we cannot but perceive that he was influenced in his conduct by the fact of his being a Tiburtine, the Tiburtines, Praenestines, and all the Latins were sincerely attached to Cinna's party, and as Caesar was Cinna's son-in-law, they naturally supported the party of Caesar. These things are not mere speculations, and analogous cases constantly occur in the political history of England.—N

they retreated, until after struggling with great difficulties they reached Armenia. Antony had nearly met with the same fate as Crassus, a fourth of his army was destroyed, and the greater part of his baggage was lost⁶

Antony returned to Alexandria, and there revelled in sensual pleasures with his concubine to whom, to the great annoyance of the Romans, he gave Coele-Syria, Judaea, and Cyprus⁷. Plutarch's life of Antony is very lengthy, but it contains many a pleasant anecdote it shews the fearful distress of those times, and his descriptions of the condition of Greece in particular, are extremely interesting. Plutarch had received his information concerning the state of Greece from the mouth of his father or grandfather. His comparing Antony with Demetrius at first excites our surprise, but there is, nevertheless, a great analogy between the two characters. Antony lived surrounded by eastern splendour and luxuries, and Plutarch's anecdotes shew in what a contemptible manner he spent his time. If one is occupied with the history of a man, he usually excites a kind of sympathy in us, but this is not the case with Antony, we feel, on the contrary, glad that things are coming to a close with him. He did not however forget the disgrace of his Parthian campaign he invaded Armenia and made Artavasdes his prisoner, who had before deserted him in his war against the Parthians Artavasdes was carried to Alexandria, where Antony celebrated a splendid triumph

In the meantime Octavian made war upon Sext. Pompeius. Agrippa was the soul of the undertaking: he

⁶ Plutarch, Anton 33 foll , Pseudo Appian, De Bell Parth p 71 foll ed Schweigh , Vell Patere II 82

⁷ It is an unaccountable phaenomenon that this kingdom received the name of Chalcis, which, as far as I am aware, occurs only on coins I cannot explain it, but do not agree with the numismaticians, who refer the name to the tetrarchies such as they existed at a later period.—N.—(Compare Eckhel, Doctr Num Vet III. p 264 foll)

built a fleet in the lake Lucrinus, formed the lake into a harbour, dug a canal from it to the sea, and trained his fleet for maritime warfare. The conquest of Sicily was now undertaken without there being any substantial pretext for hostilities. Octavian was anything but perfectly successful in the war, although he conquered his enemy in the end. His fleet was twice destroyed by storms, but Agrippa restored it, and at last gained a glorious victory off Mylae. Octavian's fleet, on the other hand, was completely defeated off Tauromenium, and it must be said to his disgrace that the commanders of the enemy's fleet were freedmen. Octavian's troops had indeed landed under Cornificius, but he too was defeated, and would have been destroyed with his forces, had not Agrippa saved him. Another great naval victory of Agrippa's decided the question. Sext Pompeius fled to Asia Minor, and implored the protection of Antony, who was at first inclined to grant it, but could not make up his mind as to what he should do. At last Sext Pompeius was murdered in Phrygia by Titius⁸. What renders this murder the more revolting, is the fact of the perpetrator being one of the proscribed, men on whose behalf Pompeius had exerted himself, for, in his treaty with the triumvirs, he had stipulated for the suppression of the proscription, that the lists should be destroyed, and that those whose names were on them should be restored to their former rights. Whether the Pompeian family now became extinct, or whether the Sext Pompeius who is mentioned as consul in the reign of Tiberius is a descendant of the family, I cannot now say.

By the expulsion of Pompeius from Sicily, Octavian became master of the island. At the beginning of the war he had called in the assistance of Lepidus, but the latter, dissatisfied with the proceedings of his colleagues, who had made all their arrangements without consulting

⁸ Dion Cassius, XLIX 18. Compare Appian, *De Bell. Civil.* v 144, Strabo, III p 141.

him, now wished to shew them a kind of defiance, and he delayed coming to Sicily. At last, however, he came with a considerable army. After the defeat of Pompeius he quarrelled with Octavian about the possession of Sicily. If we look at the question from the point of view of absolute justice, I believe that Lepidus had a right to demand the evacuation of Sicily; but Octavian surpassed him in resolution and dexterity. Lepidus did not enjoy the esteem or love of any man, not even among his soldiers. Octavian therefore went into the camp of Lepidus—the boldest thing he ever did—and demanded of the soldiers to abandon Lepidus. Octavian's scheme succeeded—he gained over the soldiers by their hope of great rewards, and Lepidus was forsaken by all the world. Octavian assigned to him Circei⁹ as his habitation, and took the province of Africa for himself. Lepidus for several years led a sad but undisturbed life with the title of pontifex maximus, until he died.

Soon after this, the war of Actium broke out, the immediate cause of which was that Antony had divorced Octavia, who had gone as far as Athens to carry to her husband rich presents, troops, and provisions, for his campaign against Artavasdes. Antony did not receive her, but ordered her to give up to his officers what she had brought for him, to return to Rome, and not to live in his house there. He sent her a letter in which he informed her that she was divorced, and he married his concubine, an occurrence which must have been most disgusting to the Romans.

⁹ This place was situated above the Pomptine marshes, and beautiful as it is from the sea-side, so gloomy and melancholy is it on the land-side—N

LECTURE LIII.

THE WAR OF ACTIUM — ANTONY'S FLIGHT TO EGYPT AND DEATH — CLEOPATRA'S DEATH. — END OF THE HISTORY OF THE REPUBLIC. — ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MONARCHY UNDER AUGUSTUS.

THE last internal war before the establishment of the Roman monarchy began under circumstances which could leave no doubt as to what its issue would be. Antony had formerly been a greater general than Octavian, but that time was gone by, and the best officers now served under Octavian. If the war had been protracted, Antony might have reinforced himself, which he could not do by levying troops among the unwarlike nations of the east. As far as the fleets were concerned, Antony seemed to have advantages over Octavian, for the countries round the eastern part of the Mediterranean possessed a proportionately greater number of good sailors than the nations of the west, and if the means which Antony had had at his command had been for ten years in the hands of an able and energetic man, they would have formed a great power, but he had neglected everything. The fleet of Octavian consisted of the remnants of the Pompeian fleet, and the ships which Agrippa had built for him, they were mostly small sailing vessels, whereas those of Antony were large, and some of them gigantic rowing galleys, provided with towers and several decks, so that they were more fit to exhibit a land fight than for manoeuvring on the water. Agrippa, whom we may properly call the admiral of Octavian, displayed an extraordinary activity in this war.

Antony was stationed at the entrance of the Ambracian gulf, near the ancient Corinthian colony of Actium, where he had assembled his army and fleet with the view of crossing over to Italy, if he should be successful at sea. The two armies faced each other near the entrance of the gulf of Prevesa, as the fleets did at the entrance of the Ambracian gulf. Agrippa took Leucas and Patrae, in the rear of the enemy, and made it difficult for them to supply themselves with provisions, in consequence of which they suffered considerable distress. In the ensuing battle, Antony might at least have disputed the victory for some time, although he could not probably have gained it, if Cleopatra and her Egyptian ships had not taken to flight with effeminate cowardice, and that at a moment when nothing was yet decided. But whether it was that Antony thought it to be the intention of Cleopatra to sacrifice him, to make peace with Octavian, and to make use of her charms with Octavian, or whatever may have been his motive, in short, he seemed to forget all about the battle, and followed her in a quick-sailing vessel. Her royal ship received him, he was in despair, and his whole fleet was destroyed in the mean time by Agrippa. Everything was now lost, and it was clear that the war could not end in a peace, and that nothing short of the life of the vanquished could satisfy the conqueror. Cleopatra's magic power over Antony was so great that he became reconciled to her even now, though he was angry with her for three days, and he accompanied her to Alexandria, where he endeavoured to deceive her concerning his real position. His land forces were attached to him¹, and in spite of all the offers that were made to them, they held out resolutely for seven days after his

¹ Things had been different in the time of the successors of Alexander, when the armies went over from one general to another. The troops of Antony, which, in a moral point of view, were no better than bands of robbers, remained faithful to their commander —N

departure, still believing that he would return, until at length they found themselves abandoned by Canidius, who had the command over them. They now listened to the proposals of Octavian, and recognised him as imperator. Thus the war was at an end, and the Roman legions that were yet scattered about in the east surrendered to Octavian without any further resistance, except in a few cases

The battle of Actium, so famous in the history of the world, was fought on the second of September² of the year 721. Whatever we may think of Octavian himself, it cannot be denied that the victory of Actium was the happiest event that could have happened, and that people could not have prayed to heaven for a more fortunate issue of the war. Horace's expressions concerning the victory of Actium³ are not of the kind which we have to regard with connivance or indulgence, for they are perfectly true and just. But eleven months yet passed away, before the war was quite at an end. After the battle of Actium Octavian returned to Italy, where fresh disturbances had broken out, for the veterans were still very rebellious. Agrippa in the mean time took possession of the eastern provinces, and it was not till the spring of the year following that Octavian marched through Syria towards Pelusium, the *claustra* of Egypt. It is not improbable that Cleopatra had given secret orders for Pelusium to surrender⁴, as the place admitted the invaders without resistance, for she may have still entertained a hope of winning Octavian as she had won Caesar. The only thing she dreaded

² This battle ought to have refuted those who could not see anything beyond what they found in their books, such as Gellius (v 17), and who assert that no battle could be ventured upon on the day after the calendæ without great misfortunes to Rome. There are hundreds of instances in which such men were unable to see with their own eyes — N (Compare Nonius, ii 3, Macrobius, Saturn. i 15 foll)

³ See especially Carm. i 37 and Epod. 9

⁴ Plutarch, Anton 74

seems to have been, lest the war should be protracted, and lest Octavian should thus come to Alexandria as an inexorable enemy. These circumstances render it very probable that Pelusium surrendered to the enemy by her command. Octavian however made his attack not only from Pelusium, but sent another army to march from Paraetonium towards the capital. This was possible only for a large army, for the country through which the soldiers had to march from Paraetonium was the most inhospitable region, and contained no fortified places at all. The two Roman armies thus met at Alexandria. Antony still had a number of Roman soldiers, both cavalry and infantry. He made a sally, but the soldiers employed in it went over to Octavian. Antony thus found himself abandoned by all, except a few who remained with him from despair, such as Cassius of Parma, one of the murderers of Caesar. He resolved to die, and died a cowardly and miserable death. The fatal wound which he inflicted upon himself did not produce an immediate effect, and some time elapsed before the loss of blood caused his death. Cleopatra had shut herself up in her palace with the most costly treasures of her kingdom. Octavian wished to take her alive, that he might carry her to Rome in triumph, for there was a report that she intended to die the death of Sardanapalus. On the first of August 722, Alexandria capitulated. The condition was that, on the day following, the gates should be thrown open to the Romans. Cleopatra kept the body of Antony, who died on the day of the capitulation, in her room, and she herself was wavering between the hope of conciliating Octavian and the feeling that she ought not to survive Antony. Proculeius, an officer of Octavian, who is honourably mentioned in one of the Odes of Horace⁵, endeavoured to persuade her not to put an end to her life, and promised her safety. She was prevailed upon, but when Octavian made her appear before him; when she saw that she would be spared only to adorn his triumph, and

⁵ 11 2, 5,

when all her requests to be left in the possession of the kingdom which Antony had given her were either rejected or not answered at all, then, after having tried various poisons, she put a viper on her breast, and thus put an end to her existence.

The war was terminated on the second of August 722. The death of Antony had put an end to the triumvirate, which had in fact ceased to exist some time before, when Lepidus was excluded. From this moment Octavian was sole master of the Roman world. A decree of the senate afterwards ordained, that in future *feriae Augusti* should be celebrated on the first of August⁶, and the month of Sextilis received the name of Augustus, as Quinctilis had received that of Julius. Octavian wished to give his name to the month of September, in which he was born, but as the appointment to his first consulship, and the termination of the Civil War, fell both in the month of Sextilis, the latter received the name of Augustus.

It is my intention to conclude my History of Rome with the year 722, for here Rome's history is at an end, and assumes a totally different aspect. The history of Rome from that time onwards until the fall of the empire resolves itself into histories of the several emperors, and the

⁶ These *Feriae* were celebrated with general solemnities and public entertainments, at which persons appeared decorated with garlands of flowers. They continued to be celebrated down to the time of the Empress Placidia and Pope Leo the Great, under the name of *feriae Augusti*. The festival was indeed a political one, but was connected with libations, and the ancient rites and ceremonies were carefully preserved. The festival *Sancti Petri in Vincula* was afterwards transferred to that day, and Christian Rome allowed it to be celebrated in a manner which was a complete continuation of the ancient *feriae Augusti*. The day remained as it had been before. The clients of later times went on that day to the houses of the patricians and received presents. What I here call clients were persons who had a sort of claim to receive presents on certain occasions, just as we see them described in Juvenal, and such persons received their presents usually on the first of January and the first of August. It is still customary with domestics at Rome to ask presents on those

ancients were quite right in viewing and treating it in this manner. I shall accordingly relate to you the history of each of the emperors, and give you an account of his government, his wars, and the like. But before I proceed to do so, I have to speak of the transition of Rome from a republican to a monarchical state, and of the institutions of the latter. To this I shall add a brief account of Roman literature down to the time of Augustus, and the history of Augustus, of his wars and of his family. The history of the empire will be much briefer in proportion than that of the republic, for in the latter we had to consider all the separate men who acted a prominent part, whereas under the empire we shall have to deal with the government on the one hand, and with the masses on the other. Most of the wars under the empire are of a kind which render detailed descriptions unnecessary those of Drusus and Germanicus form of course an exception

In accordance with my plan, I will now give you an outline of the manner in which Octavian established the Roman monarchy. He had already been invested with the consulship several times. His first consulship belongs to the year 709, and the number of all his consulships amounts to thirteen. Soon after the termination

days, and persons are compelled to spend a considerable sum of money in that way. I have often been annoyed at it, until I found in the work of Blondus of Forl that it was a remnant of antiquity. The name *Feraugusti* or *Feragosto* occurs throughout the middle ages. Various other ancient rites and ceremonies have been continued in Christian Rome in this manner. Down to the eighteenth century, for instance, a carved figure of the Virgin Mary was carried from the city to a small river and washed in it, just as was customary in ancient times with the statue of Cybele throughout the middle ages, moreover, the statues of saints were carried about in procession from one church to another, and this was nothing but a continuation of ancient solemnities which we meet with both at Rome and in Greece. I might mention a great many other things which exist at Rome down to this day, and remind one of the pagan times. But many of these customs have lately been abolished, or have fallen into disuse —N

of the war against Antony he assumed an appearance as if he would resign his power; but every one knew that this was a mere farce, and that no one could take him at his word. All the armies had sworn allegiance to him and were dependent upon him, and besides the armies no citizen was in arms. Even if it had been possible, no sensible man could have wished him to lay down his power; for as it had been impossible to maintain the free constitution under far more favourable circumstances, and at a time which was far richer in eminent men, how could it have been possible now, if Octavian had resigned his power? Nothing is more probable than that some unworthy person would have usurped it, a new civil war would then have been the consequence, and things would again have come to the point at which they now were. It was further evident that the present ruler was anxious to make the people forget his former actions, and nothing therefore was more natural for the senate than to request Octavian not to lay down his power. To give you a chronological account of the succession in which the several powers of the state were transferred to Octavian, is, if not impossible, at least very difficult. The title of imperator had already been given to him as a praenomen, —a peculiar and characteristic flattery. He was accordingly called Imperator Julius Caesar instead of C Julius Caesar, and from that time Imperator remained a praenomen with the Roman monarchs. In the history of the later emperors, and even as early as the second century, this circumstance seems to have been forgotten, as the whole system of names underwent a change. In official documents, it is true, we usually read, for example, Imperator Antoninus Augustus, but we also find Imperator Marcus Antoninus Augustus. The senate seems to have regularly tortured itself in devising flatteries for Octavian. He himself wished to assume Romulus as an agnomen, but this was thought ominous by some persons,

and on the proposal of Plancus it was decreed that he should be honoured by the surname Augustus instead, which the Greeks immediately translated into Σεβαστός, but which it is difficult to translate into any modern language.

With regard to his powers, the senate offered him the dictatorship, which, however, he declined, for he was superstitious, and may have dreaded the fate of the dictator Caesar, or the wretched death of Sulla; perhaps however his intention was only to temporize, and the accepting the dictatorship may have appeared to him too straightforward a mode of acting. He was elected to the consulship every year. It was at first proposed to make him sole consul, but he not only declined this honour, but wanted to have two colleagues. The senate however refused this request, on the plea that one man standing by his side was already too much. He obtained the proconsular power over the whole of the Roman empire, with the exception of Rome itself, and he was empowered to give the administration of the provinces to whomsoever he pleased to appoint as his viceregents. The censorship was likewise transferred to him, and with it the power of excluding persons from the senate and calling others into it. The tribunicia potestas had been given to him before, and was afterwards prolonged for life, by virtue of it he had the power of annulling any decree of the senate, and of interfering in all the acts of all the magistrates, an appeal to him was open from all the courts of justice, and he had the right to convoké the senate, and put any subject under consideration to the vote of the senators. This latter part of the tribunician power had arisen in the seventh century, and nobody ventured to doubt its legitimacy. As long as Lepidus lived, Augustus left him the title of pontifex maximus, but after his death Augustus caused the pontificate to be trans-

ferred to himself. This office put into his hands at once all the ecclesiastical courts, and the whole superintendence of the ecclesiastical law. In the capacity of tribune and censor he had the supreme control over the aerarium, so that all the powers of the state, including that of an ordinary consul and praetor, were concentrated in his person.



LECTURE LIV.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MONARCHY, CONTINUED.—THE
COMITIA.—THE SENATE.—THE PROVINCES.—THE AE-
RARIUM.—LEX AELIA SENTIA.—POLICE AT ROME.—
DIVISION OF THE CITY AND ITALY INTO REGIONS.—
COHORTES PRAETORIAE.—THE LEGIONS.—PAY OF THE
SOLDIERS

It was only for the sake of appearance that Augustus went back in everything to the ancient forms. He restored to the comitia the right of electing those magistrates, the appointment of whom had been transferred to the dictator Caesar, but it was always a matter of course that the *candidati Caesaris* who came forward at elections could not be rejected. Horace and other poets of the time speak of the uncertainty of the popular elections, and of the *ambitio Campi*, in a manner which would be perfectly applicable to the republican times, and there is unquestionably some truth in those expressions, for Augustus did not probably take it upon himself to dispose of all the offices of the state, and we have instances of the people carrying out its will in spite of that of the sovereign. Thus we read of the tumult of Egnatius Rufus, who obtained the praetorship immediately after the aedileship, in defiance of the person who acted in the name of Augustus in the comitia, and in defiance of the *leges annales*. In the same manner Egnatius Rufus obtained the consulship immediately after his praetorship, through the people's favour¹. The assemblies of the people were however on the whole con-

¹ Vell Patere II 91 foll

fixed to the elections of magistrates, and a plebiscitum cannot be seriously spoken of in the reign of Augustus. The decree of Sextus Pacuvius respecting the name of the month of Sextilis, in the form of a plebiscitum, is quite a different thing². Leges were still passed in the time of Augustus, and in the Roman law-books we meet with several laws that were carried in his time in the ancient form. that is, a resolution of the senate was brought before the centuries by the consuls, and was there passed as a lex. The lex Junia Norbana³ might almost lead one to believe that this mode of making leges continued till the time of Tiberius, but afterwards leges, in the strict sense of the word, no longer occur

Caesar had introduced into the senate several adventurers, and the senate had been still more disgraced in the time of the triumvirate, when seats in it might be purchased for money. After Augustus had received the censorial power, he announced that those men, who were conscious that they were better not in the senate, ought to withdraw from it. His vanity on that occasion was so great that he fancied the liberal senators intended to make an attempt upon his life⁴. About fifty senators took the hint and withdrew, but as there were still some unworthy men in the senate, Augustus excluded several more; but in order not to hurt their vanity too much, he left them their outward distinctions, such as the *latus clavus*, and their honorary seats in the theatres. He raised the census senatorius to upwards of a million sesterces⁵, but behaved very generously in this respect—which however did not cost him much—for he provided the means for many a one whom he liked to retain in the senate. The ordinary meetings of the senate were

² Macrobius, Saturn i 12

³ Gaius, i 3, 16, 17, 22, III 56

⁴ Sueton August 35

⁵ Dion Cassius, LIV 17, 26, LV 13, Sueton August. 41

regularly three times in every month, which is a surprisingly small number, but Augustus reduced it even to two meetings in every month⁶. Extraordinary meetings, which the emperor might convoke at any time, do not occur in the reign of Augustus. During the months of September and October the senate had vacations⁷. No subjects could be discussed in the senate, except those which were brought before it by the consuls, though Augustus himself had the *jus relationis*, which subsequently became of such importance. He himself was princeps senatus⁸, an honour in which the *jus relationis* had been implied in the early times of the republic. From among the senate he chose by lot a sort of state-council or committee, which had to deliberate upon all subjects which were to be brought before the senate. Debates upon such subjects hardly ever took place in the senate, and whatever was proposed appears to have been passed forthwith.

Augustus received the extraordinary powers with which he was thus invested, at first for ten, then for five, and again three times for ten years. He reserved for the senate, *pro forma*, a privilege which subsequently became its chief function. The senate had formerly been the supreme court of justice in crimes against the state, and this odious part of its functions Augustus left to the senate, being afraid of taking it upon himself. He had it in his power to diminish or increase the taxes. Italy itself was exempt from the land tax, like the baronial estates in

⁶ Dion Cassius, LV 3, Sueton August 35

⁷ It is very interesting and amusing to trace the actual customs of modern Rome to ancient institutions. As an instance, I will mention here that the vacations in all the public offices at Rome take place in October, which is considered to be a continuation of the regulation made by Augustus. The Roman Carnival too is an ancient institution, though it has no connexion with the Bacchanalia, as some have supposed.—N

⁸ Dion Cassius, LIII 1

many modern states; but it had to pay various indirect taxes, as, for example, on bequests and manumissions. Augustus divided the provinces of the empire between himself, and the senate and the people, just as the hereditary statt-holder in Holland, who was captain-general and admiral-general, and often acted contrary to the intentions of the states-general. Augustus was the commander of 43, or, according to a more correct calculation, of 47 legions⁹, and besides of innumerable auxilia of the Roman armies, which, together with the legions, amounted to about 450,000 men. Over these forces the senate had not the least control, and not even over the levying of the troops. The division of the provinces was made in such a manner that those in which no regular armies were kept (Italy, as the country of the sovereign people was of course excepted,) were assigned to the senate and people, whereas, those in which armies were stationed belonged to Augustus. The senate thus obtained Africa, Asia, Gallia Narbonensis, Baetica, Achaia, Macedonia, Bithynia, Cyprus, Cyrene, and Crete, while Augustus reserved for himself all Spain, with the exception of Baetica, Gallia Lugdunensis, Raetia, Vindelicia, Dalmatia, Pannonia, Moesia, Pontus, Cappadocia (the last two were yet governed by kings), Syria, and Egypt. His provinces yielded an incomparably larger revenue than those of the senate, but it may nevertheless have been insufficient to maintain the armies which were stationed in fortified camps in those provinces. Two of the senatorial provinces were proconsular, and the others praetorian provinces. At first, no one could obtain such a province till five years after he had held the magistracy in the city, which qualified him for undertaking the administration of a province, but this was subsequently altered. Augustus made many salutary regulations to abolish the arbitrary

⁹ Appian, *De Bell Civil* v 127. Compare Sueton *August* 47, *Dion Cass* LII 12, LV 23 foll., Strabo, xvii p 840.

proceedings of the governors of provinces, at least, so far as his own provinces were concerned, and probably also in those of the senate. Augustus, among other wise regulations, introduced the custom of giving a fixed salary to the governors of provinces¹⁰. The governors of the emperor's provinces, who were taken indiscriminately from among the equites, consulars, or praetorians, bore the title of *legati Augusti*, to which in inscriptions we find the addition *pro praetore*. The governors of the senatorial provinces held their office according to the ancient custom only for one year, but the *legati Augusti* held theirs for four, five, or even for ten years and longer. They were, on the whole, the better rulers, and their posts were also more lucrative than those in the senatorial provinces. But, although things went on improving, accusations of malversation in the senatorial provinces occur as late as the second century, probably in consequence of their governors not being so well off as the *legati Augusti*.

Augustus also established a twofold *aerarium*, one for the senate, and the other for the emperor, but whether the emperor had any control over that of the senate is not clear. This is one of the many questions which are yet obscure.

Among his precautionary measures, I may mention the *lex Aelia Sentia*, which put a stop to the disgraceful system of manumission, whereby the lowest rabble were incorporated with the citizens¹¹. The Roman citizens were then immensely extended over various parts of the empire; the franchise was no longer confined to Italy, for the inhabitants of *Gallia Narbonensis*¹², for instance, and many towns in Spain, and other countries, were in possession of it. If therefore we find that the number of Roman

¹⁰ Dion Cassius, LII 23 foll., LIII 15, Tacitus, Agric. 42

¹¹ Sueton August 40, Dion Cassius, LV 13, Gaius, I 38 foll

¹² Many provincials, especially from *Gallia Narbonensis*, had been admitted into the senate by Caesar, and still more by Augustus—N (Dion Cassius, LII 42, Tacitus, Annal III 55, XI 25)

citizens in the reign of Augustus amounted only to four millions; if we remember that, independent of Italy, a great many Roman citizens lived in Sicily, Gaul, Spain, and Africa; and if we calculate that that number did not merely include the heads of families, but every free man from the age of seventeen upwards, the number is fearfully small, and one is startled at the reduced state of the population

Up to this time, Rome had had no other police except the very inefficient one of the plebeian aediles, and we need only read Cicero's speeches for Cluentius and Milo to form a notion of the unsafety of life in those times. We read in Suetonius that the grassatores, the banditti of Rome, shewed themselves in the public streets with their knives, and that no one ventured to check them¹³. Augustus remedied the evil by suitable police regulations, and extirpated those banditti with resolution and firmness. The city of Rome and the whole Roman state are remarkable examples of what is the result, when old institutions are handed down to posterity without being modified according to circumstances. Goethe makes Mephistopheles say that then

“Reason is changed to nonsense, good to evil”

And, indeed, the best things become absurdities, if they contain no vital principle, and are mere shells to harbour venomous vermin. The division of the city into four regions still lasted as it had been made by Servius Tullius. The Aventine was a separate town, and several suburbs had sprung up on the banks and on the other side of the river. The four regions had, from ancient times, been subdivided into *vici*, and the suburbs may likewise have been divided into *vici*. In such an ill-arranged state of things, the police of the aediles could not be of much avail. Now Augustus, without taking into consideration

¹³ Sueton Caesar, 72, August 32 43

what was within and what without the pomoerium, or what belonged to the ancient city and what to the suburbs, divided the whole of Rome into fourteen regions, each with a separate local magistrate, and each region was subdivided into *vici*, at the head of each of which there was a *magister vici*. This judicious division was followed by happy consequences, for a regular police now was a thing possible, and Rome, which had before been a den of robbers, became a safe place¹⁴. The Roman magistrates had originally been magistrates of a city; but they had gradually become the magistrates of an immense empire, and the ancient regulations necessarily lost their influence, since it became impossible for the magistrates to bestow the necessary care upon the city. The smallest colonies and municipia had their local magistrates; but the Roman senate and the Roman magistrates had seldom, or never, an opportunity to occupy themselves with the city. There were, it is true, *magistratus minores*, but they possessed no authority—no man of eminence would have filled such offices, and they consequently fell into the hands of freedmen. Some years after the battle of Actium, Augustus established the office of *praefectus urbi*, in which the whole of the city administration was concentrated¹⁵. The office was given by the discretion of the emperor. L. Piso held it for twenty years and the extremely happy choice of the person, and the beneficial consequences of the institution, secured to Augustus the gratitude and attachment of the city¹⁶. He also established what we may call *gens d'armes*, under the name of *vigiles*, or *cohortes urbanae*, which had to assist in cases of fire, riots, and the like. It gave the people no offence that they were kept in barracks within the city, and they thus formed a sort of garrison which the emperor had in the city itself.

¹⁴ Sueton August 30, Dion Cassius, LV. 8

¹⁵ Dion Cassius, LII 21, Tacitus, Annal. VI. 11 foll.

¹⁶ Vell Patere II 98, Sueton Tiber 42, Tacitus, Annal. VI 10.

Among other offices which Augustus instituted, there was one called the *præfectura aerarii*, to which he transferred the functions which had formerly been performed by the quaestors. It is probable that this *præfectura* was not confined to the emperor's own aerarium, though I cannot express myself at all decisively upon the point; but we know, at least, that he appointed treasurers for his own aerarium, in which the other was subsequently swallowed up. Under a specious pretext, he appointed equites Romani to this office, and not senators, for the latter, venal as they were, had immense pride¹⁷ With regard to the courts of justice, he maintained the *lex Julia*, which had given the *judicia* to the senators and equites, but the *decuries*, or jury-lists, were much increased, and he also made a fourth list, or *decury*, for minor cases, to which persons of small fortunes were admitted.

This is an outline of the institutions of Augustus Italy had, as it were, by chance grown together into one state. Ancient Italy had not extended further north than the Tiber, but it had gradually been extended as far as the river Rubicon, which formed the boundary between it and Cisalpine Gaul, so that Etruria and Umbria were included in it Augustus now gave Italy its natural extent, from the straits of Sicily to the foot of the Alps, and divided the whole of that country into a number of regions¹⁸. What was the meaning of these regions, and whether each of them had a *præfect* at its head, I cannot say I have never been able to find anything to throw light upon the question, but I am almost inclined to believe that the division had some reference to the forty quaestors¹⁹, for I cannot conceive a division of that kind without a corresponding number of officers I cannot find in the reign of

¹⁷ Sueton August 36, Dion Cassius, LIII 2 32 48, Tacitus, *Annal* XIII 29

¹⁸ Phny, *Hist Nat* III 6

¹⁹ The number of praetors was reduced by Augustus to ten —N. (Vell Paterc II 89, Dion Cassius, LIII 32)

Augustus a trace of anything like the four consulars appointed by Hadrian in Italy²⁰, or like the correctores in the reign of Severus²¹, but I will not therefore deny that Augustus introduced something similar in his division. As far as I am aware, however, no trace of it occurs either in books or in inscriptions.

Augustus had an enormous private property; we may form some notion of it, if we read in Josephus²² the will of Herod, who left all his property to Augustus and his family. It had been accumulated in his wars and by what he derived from his provinces. His agents who received the tributes in his provinces were called procuratores, and were usually taken from among the Roman equites, though freedmen of the emperors also sometimes obtained such an office. Augustus had such unlimited power in these provinces that he arranged the whole census of Gaul on his own responsibility. The soldiers too were wholly in his power, for they took their oath of allegiance to the emperor. They did the same, it is true, to the imperium populi Romani, but they were bound to and dependent on the emperor, as they had formerly been to the consuls in the field. His fleets were stationed at Misenum and Ravenna²³. The institution of the praetorian cohorts was nothing new, for cohortes praetoriae had existed from the earliest times, and were analogous to the *guides des généraux* whom we meet with in the French revolution. They occur in the Punic wars, and during the civil wars we find them on both sides. They had arisen out of the *evocati*. Augustus had brought them back with him to Italy, and had founded twenty-eight military colonies for them. His cohortes praetoriae were a protection to him against any popular outbreak, and a means to keep the veterans and legions in check. They gradually came to represent the armed

²⁰ Spartian, Hadrian, 21

²¹ Treb. Pollio, *Trig. Tyranni*, 24, Vopiscus, Aurelian, 39, Eutrop. ix 13, Aurel. Victor, de Caesar 35

²² Antiquit. Jud. xvii 6, § 1

²³ Sueton. August. 49

Roman people of former times, for they were raised principally in the ancient Latium, and those districts which had belonged to the Marian party. These cohorts were at first scattered over various parts of Italy, but they gradually drew nearer to Rome and there established the well-known *castra praetoria*. Their number was increased in the course of time, but under Augustus there may have been about 8,000.

When a province was in immediate danger, or when the provincials took up arms against Rome, cohorts, under the name of *auxilia*, were formed in the other provinces out of the subjects who possessed the Roman franchise, and these *auxilia* may have amounted to half of the Roman armies. The legions, with respect to their formation as well as the places in which they were levied, form a subject which is buried at that time in utter obscurity. They had to serve for the definite period of sixteen years, and after the lapse of that period they were still kept for a time under the *vexilla*, to be ready in cases of need, but then they were disbanded and received assignments of land. This whole system belongs to Augustus, who also increased the pay of the soldiers. In the time of Caesar the ancient pay of 120 denarii, independent of the *donativa*, still existed. But Caesar doubled and Augustus trebled it, so that a Roman soldier now received an annual pay of 360 denarii, or about £9 of our money²⁴. As the prices of all things had risen immensely in the time of Augustus, this pay was not very large; but the great number of soldiers made it nevertheless a heavy burden to the state, which was scarcely able to bear it. Complaints about it occur in the time of Augustus and are repeated in the reign of Tiberius, who was a ruler of great talent.

²⁴ Sueton. *Caes.* 26, Tacitus, *Annal.* i 17, 26, Dion Cassius, *LVII* 4.

LECTURE LV.

ROMAN LITERATURE — ITS PERFECTION IN THE TIME OF
CICERO.—C LICINIUS CALVUS —LUCRETIVS.—CATULLVS.
ASINIUS POLLIO — LITERATURE OF THE SO-CALLED
AUGUSTAN AGE.—VIRGIL AND HORACE

ROMAN literature attained its perfection in and through Cicero, in the same manner as that of Germany attained its perfection in Lessing. The period about the year 680 of the city, when Cicero was between thirty and forty, may be regarded as the time at which Roman literature reached its height. Though the preceding period abounds in things which are beautiful, its productions are yet not perfect, the language itself too made a decided advance. It had before been vague and unsettled, and vulgarities were mixed up with things that were really noble and beautiful, but this now ceased, the language assumed a definite character, and that which was low or vulgar was thrown out. The Latin of Cicero, that is, the language spoken in his time by men of education, is with the greatest justice recognised as the most perfect. If we possessed more works of the class to which Corn. Nepos' excellent life of Atticus belongs, we should find the language of Cicero in all of them. Latin prose had before been exceedingly weak, and sometimes diffuse and dry, but Cicero brought it to perfection. The influence of a great man often works unseen, and I have little doubt that Caesar's literary perfection may be traced to the influence of Cicero. His time was one which abounded in men of talent and genius among authors there are many among them of whom little is now known, but who were nevertheless men

of eminence. Some of them, especially those who were older than Cicero, belonged in reality to the preceding period. Such was the case in Germany with Winckelmann, who was somewhat older than Lessing, and who, so far as his style is concerned, belonged to the period previous to Lessing; that which succeeded had little or no influence upon him, although he lived in it. A man of the same kind was M. Terentius Varro: he had an extraordinary reputation for his immense reading, activity, and learning in Roman affairs (he was not well acquainted with Greek literature), but he does not look at all like a contemporary of Cicero, there is in fact the same contrast between him and Cicero that there is between Masovius, Mosheim, or Reimar and Lessing. The real bloom of Roman literature is represented by the men who were the younger contemporaries of Cicero, and whom he saw rise up around him. One of them was the orator M. Caelius Rufus, of whom we can ourselves form an opinion from his letters to Cicero, and whose language is perfectly equal to that of Cicero¹. Curio's letters do not make the same impression upon me, although Cicero entertained a high opinion of his talents. A contemporary of Caelius Rufus and Curio was C. Licinius Calvus, an orator and a poet. Quintilian does not judge of him as favourably as he deserves, and I think that he was a classical writer both as an orator and a poet, he died at an early age. Sallust was considerably younger than Cicero, and of about the same age as Caelius Rufus, Curio, and Licinius Calvus, and he survived Cicero, though he did not live to a very advanced age. He went his own way in literature, and was so much absorbed in the past that his language appeared strange to his contemporaries. He did not practise eloquence, but only wrote, and we cannot therefore wonder at the peculiar form of his works. As an historian he possesses all the qualities that can be

¹ See Niebuhr, *Kleine histor. und Philol. Schriften*, vol. 11 p. 252 foll.

looked for, and Rome might be proud even if it had no other historian than Sallust.

Lucretius, C. Licinius Calvus, and Catullus are the three greatest poets of that period. It is only now, after the cessation of the prejudice against didactic poetry, which attempted to exclude Lucretius from the list of poets, that his great talent and genius are recognised. Had he not unfortunately given himself up to that miserable system of philosophy, he would have produced far greater things. The greatest poet that Rome ever had is Catullus, if we except perhaps some few of the earlier ones. He does not anxiously seek for a form or words, poetry with him is the same natural expression and the same natural language as our common mode of expressing our thoughts is with us. He has the same perfections and excellencies as the lyric poets of Greece previous to the time of Sophocles, and he is their equal in every respect. he was a gigantic and extraordinary genius. It shews the greatest prejudice to say that he is not equal to the Greeks of the classic age. The other poets of his time, though unquestionably far inferior to him, are still very important phaenomena in Roman literature; and if we had the poems of C. Helvius Cinna, Valerius Cato, Valgius, and Ticius, we should read them all with great pleasure, which is saying more than can be said of any other period in the history of literature. The poetry of this period is composed with a strict observance of the Greek metres, the hexameter is perfectly Greek, and the caesurae are carefully attended to and correct, lyric poetry is written in Greek metres, and the form is almost completely Greek. But in some minor points the poets of this time still have their peculiarities, which they are loth to give up, and which are foreign to the Greeks.

This flourishing period of Roman poetry ceases about the time of Caesar's and Cicero's death, and another generation now sprang up. The number of eloquent men henceforth is small. Among those who survived the blooming period I will mention Asinius Pollio, who was

about 33 or 34 years old at the death of Caesar. His talents were perfectly developed at the time, but the period in which he distinguished himself as a writer and an orator falls somewhat later, that is, after the peace of Brundisium. We may form an opinion upon him from the fragments preserved in Seneca. His writings were very unequal, some parts are extremely good, especially when he wrote under the influence of passion, as for example against Cicero, towards whom he was unjust, and against Pompey. He was wanting in benevolence, and was a man of a harsh and embittered nature. Munatius Plancus was a clever orator, and A. Hirtius, as I have already remarked, was a particularly elegant writer, although he spent his life in warlike pursuits. In the history of literature there are men who stand between two distinct periods, and form a sort of mediators between them. Klopstock, Kant and Winckelmann gave the character to their period in some respects, and Kastner, Gellert, Cramer and others, who are now almost forgotten, in other respects, then followed the period of Goethe, to which belonged Voss, and Frederic Leopold Stolberg,—and between these periods stands Lessing, who exerted no influence upon those who were older than himself, but paved the way for a new generation, and gave it its character. I do not, of course, mean to place Asinius Pollio by the side of Lessing, but he stands in a similar manner between the periods of Cicero and Virgil.

In the period which followed that of Cicero, or the so-called Augustan age, prose writing became very insignificant. It is a mistake to speak of the Augustan age as the most flourishing period of Roman literature, the expression is not found in the Roman writers, and if it occurs anywhere in antiquity, it is only in Greek authors. With the exception of Livy and Valerius Messala, prose writing vanishes entirely. The cause of this phaenomenon is well explained in the excellent dialogue “*De Oratoribus*,” which critics have at length come to regard as a genuine work of Tacitus. Public eloquence necessarily ceased,

and prose was cultivated and developed throughout antiquity by public speaking and oratory. The Rostra and the Curia had become silent, and the orations that were now delivered were mere λόγοι ἐπιδεικτικοί, miserable show-speeches. Messala was somewhat older than Asinius Pollio, and a contemporary of Horace. He was distinguished as an orator, but I believe that his personal excellence was greater than his talents.

The brilliant period of the two great poets of that time, Virgil and Horace, and of many of their contemporaries, falls after the death of Caesar, and in the early part of Augustus' career. In Horace we still find lyric poetry predominating, but it is much more carefully copied from the Greeks than in the time of Caesar. The same is the case, for instance, with the fragments of Furius Bibaculus and P. Terentius Varro Atacinus, the translator of Apollonius Rhodius: all their poems have something charming about them, but the licences and differences from the Greek form, which we find in the productions of the preceding period, vanish altogether, as we see most completely in the poems of Virgil and Horace. The Greek forms were now adopted as law, and Roman poetry is only an imitation, and in a great measure a translation of the Greek into Latin. The language, with the exception of a few cases, avoids all ornament derived from archaic forms, and all that was written was in perfect analogy and harmony with the language spoken by the educated and refined classes. Virgil, it is true, occasionally uses an ancient form, such as *olla*, but this occurs only in his *Aeneid*, and is admitted in conformity with a rule respecting epic poetry, which had been laid down by the Alexandrian grammarians.

Virgil was born on the 15th of October 682, and died on the 22d of September, 733. I have often expressed my opinion upon Virgil, and have declared that I am as opposed to the adoration with which the Romans venerated him, as any fair judge can demand. He did not possess the fertility of genius which was required for his

task. His Eclogues are anything but a successful imitation of the idyls of Theocritus, they could not, in fact, be otherwise than unsuccessful. they are productions which could not prosper in a Roman soil. The shepherds of Theocritus are characters of ancient Sicilian poetry, and I do not believe that they were taken from Greek poems. Daphnis, for example, is a Sicilian hero, and not a Greek. The idyls of Theocritus grew out of popular songs, and hence his poems have a genuineness, truth, and nationality. Now Virgil, in transplanting that kind of poetry to the plains of Lombardy, peoples that country with Greek shepherds, with their Greek names, and Greek peculiarities,—in short, with beings that never existed there. His didactic poem on Agriculture is more successful, it maintains a happy medium, and we cannot well speak of it otherwise than in terms of praise. His Aeneid, on the other hand, is a complete failure. it is an unhappy idea from beginning to end, but this must not prevent us from acknowledging that it contains many exquisite passages. Virgil displays in it a learning of which an historian can scarcely avail himself enough, and the historian who studies the Aeneid thoroughly will ever find new things to admire. But no epic poem can be successful, if it is anything else than a living and simple narrative of a portion of something which, as a whole, is the common property of a nation. I cannot understand how it is that, in manuals of Aesthetics, the views propounded on epic poetry, and the subjects fit for it, are still full of lamentable absurdities. It is really a ludicrous opinion, which a living historian has set forth somewhere, that Tasso's "Jerusalem Delivered" is a failure, because the subject is not old enough—as if it were necessary for it to lay by for some centuries to go through a kind of fermentation! The question is similar to that as to what subjects are fit for historical painting. Everything is fit for it, provided it is capable of suggesting to the beholder the whole, of which it is only a part. This is the reason why Sacred


History is so peculiarly fit for historical painting. Every one who sees, for example, a madonna or an apostle, immediately recollects all the particular circumstances connected with those personages; and this effect upon the beholder is still stronger, if he has lived some time surrounded by works of art. When Pietro of Albano or Domenichino paint mythological subjects, we scholars know indeed very well what the artist meant to express, and we are vexed at his little inaccuracies, but the majority of people do not understand the meaning of the painting, they cannot connect a definite idea with it, and the subject contains nothing that is suggestive to them. Mythological subjects, therefore, are at present a hazardous choice for an artist, and however excellently they may be treated, they cannot compete with those taken from Sacred History. Mythological subjects were as much the common property of the ancients, as the Sacred History is the common property of Christian nations. If a subject is generally known, much talked of, and if the external forms are not against it, a subject from modern history would be just as fit a subject for artistic representation as any other. But our costumes are unfavourable to art. The ancients however very seldom represented historical subjects in works of art, although their costumes were not against it. The case of epic poetry is of the same kind. If a narrative which everybody knows, sings, or relates, is not treated as history in its details, and if we feel ourselves justified in choosing among the several parts of the whole for our purpose, then any of its parts is a fit subject for epic poetry. Cyclic poetry relates whole histories continuously, and is of the same extent as history; but epic poetry takes up only one portion of a whole, and the poet relates it just as if he had seen it. There cannot be a more unfortunate epic than Lucan's *Pharsalia* it proceeds in the manner of annals, and the author wants to set forth prominently only certain particular events. There are passages in it like the recitative of an opera, and

written in a language which is neither narrative nor poetry. Virgil had not considered all the difficulties of his task, when he undertook it. He took Roman history such as it had been transmitted by Greek writers, if he had taken the Roman national traditions, he would have produced something which would have had at least an Italian nationality about it. The ancient Italian traditions, it is true, had already fallen into oblivion, and Homer was at that time better known than Naevius, but still the only way of producing a living epic would have been, to have taken the national Italian tradition. Virgil is a remarkable instance of a man mistaking his vocation. his real calling was lyric poetry, for his small lyric poems, for instance, that on the villa of Syron,² and the one commencing "Si mihi susceptum fuerit decurrere munus,"³ shew that he would have been a poet like Catullus, if he had not been led away by his desire to write a great Latin poem. It is sad to think that his mistake, that is, the work which is his most complete failure, has been so much admired by posterity, and it is remarkable that Catullus's superiority over Virgil was not acknowledged till the end of the eighteenth century. Markland was the first who ventured openly to speak against Virgil, but he was decried for it, as if he had committed an act of high treason. The fact of Virgil being so much liked in the middle ages arose from people not comparing or not being able to compare him with Homer, and from the many particular beauties of the *Aeneid*. It was surely no affectation of Virgil when he desired to have the *Aeneid* burnt; he had made that poem the task of his life, and in his last moments he had the feeling that he had failed in it. I rejoice that his wish was not carried into effect, but we must learn to keep our judgment free and independent.

² H Meyer, *Antholog Veter Latin Epigrammat et Poetarum* No 93, p 23. Compare Niebuhr, *Hist of Rome*, vol 1, p 198

³ H. Meyer, l c No. 85, p 21.

in all things, and to honour and love that which is really great and noble in man. We must not assign to him a higher place than he deserves, but what the ancients say of his personal character is certainly good and true. It may be that the tomb of Virgil on mount Posilipo near Naples, which was regarded throughout the middle ages as genuine, is not the ancient original one, though I do not see why it should not have been preserved. It is adorned with a laurel tree. I have visited the spot with the feelings of a pilgrim, and the branch I plucked from the laurel tree, is as dear to me as a sacred relic, although it never occurs to me to place him among the Roman poets of the first order.



LECTURE LVI.

HORACE.—TIBULLUS —GALLUS —VARIUS.—PROPERTIUS.—
 OVID.—CORN. SEVERUS —ALBINOVANUS.—LIVY

HORACE was born on the 8th of December 687, and died on the 27th of November 744, in his fifty-seventh year. Venusia, the birth-place of Horace, was occupied by a Roman colony, in the time between the third Samnite war and that against Pyrrhus¹, and remained faithful to Rome down to the time of the Social war, when it is mentioned among the revolted places². Horace relates, by the way, that in his youth he went to school with the sons of the centurions³, which is a hint suggesting that Venusia was at that time a military colony, probably one of those which had been established by Sulla. Our knowledge of the place is very scanty, but from what Horace says of Ofellus, who held his former property in fain of a soldier, we see that, when Horace wrote the first book of his *Sermones*, a new military colony must have been established there⁴. Horace's father was a *libertinus*, his surname Flaccus however, if the father too bore it, would shew that he was not a foreigner, but of Italian extraction; and it is possible that the father's servitude may have consisted in nothing more than in his having been made a prisoner in the Social war, and in his having been sold as a slave. When Brutus arrived in Greece, Horace, then twenty-two

¹ Compare vol III p 401 foll

² (Appian, *De Bell Civil* I 39, 42) Appian's account of it is worthy of attention, and derived from very good sources —N

³ *Satir* I 6, 73

⁴ Compare Appian, *De Bell Civil* IV 3

years old, was at Athens, where his father, though his means were limited, had him educated in a liberal manner. Here he entered the army of Brutus with many other young Romans. The fact of Brutus raising him to the extraordinary honour of a tribune, notwithstanding his being the son of a freedman, excited the envy of others, as he himself intimates. After the battle of Philippi he took to flight, perhaps under the protection of Messala, and went to Rome, the capital being always the safest place in times of a revolution. He was introduced to Maecenas, who soon conceived an extraordinary attachment for him, and seems to have bestowed even greater favours upon Horace than upon Virgil. This benevolence of Maecenas was received by the poet with great gratitude. Maecenas made him a present of a small estate in the Sabine hills, where he lived happy, and with very few wants, especially in his more advanced age. His life in Suetonius is very interesting. Wieland, a man who is too much neglected among ourselves, has said in his commentary on Horace's Epistles, many beautiful things on the personal character of the poet, he has shewn how little Horace was a flatterer of Augustus, which cannot, unfortunately, be denied in the case of Virgil. He draws particular attention to the independence with which Horace lived, and to the fact of his keeping aloof from the golden chains, and avoiding to bend under the yoke of the monarch, difficult as it was to do so. He further calls in the testimony of Augustus' letters in Suetonius, in which the emperor complains of not being mentioned in Horace's *Sermones*, and of the poet declining to become his secretary. These facts speak clearly enough.

The Odes of Horace are not printed in our editions in their chronological order some of them belong to a very early period, and perhaps to the time when he was staying at Athens; but of most of them it is impossible to determine the exact time at which they were written, though it may be confidently asserted, that they belong

to the period preceding the war of Actium. The first three books were not published till after that war. Among the *Sermones* there are some of a very early date, and the earliest of all is perhaps that on the entertainment of Nasidienus⁵, whom I believe, with Lambinus, to be Salvidienus Rufus; it is not probable that Horace should have ridiculed the man after his death, and this *Sermo* accordingly belongs, in all probability, to the first years after the battle of Philippi, about 715. The fourth book of the *Odes* and the second of the *Epistles* belong to the latter years of Horace's life.

With regard to Horace as a poet, he was formerly admired to extravagance, but during the last thirty years, that is from the commencement of the present century, when Roman literature began to be neglected, Horace has not had justice done to him. His imitations of the lyric poems of the Greeks are of exquisite beauty. Sometimes, however, he is not quite successful, it is evident that he was seeking a particular expression, and that he was occasionally satisfied with one which is neither the most precise, nor the most appropriate. This carelessness on the part of Horace gave rise to many of Bentley's emendations. Horace is, on the whole, a very amiable character, and there are only two things which are disagreeable to my feelings. First, his disregard for the earlier poetry of his country, which he treats with contempt, as something old-fashioned. He was right in opposing the excessive enthusiasm for everything ancient, which endeavoured to crush all that was new; but his low estimation of the early Roman poets is unjust, and deserves censure. It is almost

⁵ The ancient poets, in speaking of a person whose name they do not wish to mention, substitute another name of precisely the same prosody as the real one, so that the latter may be inserted without disturbing the metre. Some one, I believe, has written on such disguised names in Horace—N (Niebuhr seems to allude here to Buttmann's essay, "Ueber das Geschichtliche und die Anspielungen im Horaz," in the "Mythologus," 1 p. 297—346.)

inconceivable how it was possible for him, for example, to mistake the great merits of Plautus. There is much in Plautus that was offensive to him, because it was foreign to his age; many an expression also, which now appears to us noble, may in his time have become a vulgarism, and may therefore have displeased him. No one is more decidedly opposed than myself to an undue admiration of middle age customs, and of the poetical productions of that time, whether they be the songs of the troubadours or the lay of the Nibelungen itself, but this is a very different thing from being unjust towards them. The second point which I have to censure in the poems of Horace,—though I am willing to excuse it, if I consider the circumstances of the time,—is the irony of the Epicurean philosophy with which he looks upon everything, as though in reality it were only a folly: he treats everything lightly, and tries to smile at everything. This tendency is a bad habit with him, and is painful to us. I think, however, that he would have been a different man, if he had lived in a happier age. He always appears kind and cordial, but still he is always under some restraint⁶, whereas Catullus, in his wild and fanciful strains, and his love of wine and laughter, speaks to our hearts. Horace, whose real sympathies were with Brutus, was resolved not to let his heart bleed, and consoled himself by looking at things in a manner which is painful to me. The late Count Frederic Leopold Stolberg says most truly, “when a real good is lost, it is often worth a great deal to retain the feeling of the loss.” In such a case no one should wish to divert his mind, or try to forget his grief: the grief must be left alone, though not fostered artificially, for this is an evil; but when the heart is bleeding, one must let it bleed. The consequences of an opposite conduct are incalculable, and to many a man it has become the cause of the lowest degradation, that he *would* not carry about

⁶ Something analogous to the disposition of Horace is found in Menander and the later Attic comedy in general.—N

his grief with him. Horace however remained a highly amiable man notwithstanding.

Tibullus was unquestionably a contemporary of Horace, and while the latter was of very low origin, Tibullus was a Roman eques, although his property, I believe, had suffered much in the storms of the time. The year of his birth is unknown, and it is only from an epigram ascribed to Domitius Marsus, that we know him to have died after Virgil⁷, though I do not know whether that epigram can be considered as genuine. The first two books of the poems that have come down to us under the name of Tibullus are unquestionably genuine, but the third is certainly spurious. Lygdamus who calls himself the author, at the end of the second elegy of this book, is not the real name of the author, and I believe that we have here a case similar to the disguised names in Horace⁸. The character of the poems of the third is so different from that of the preceding books, that those who will not admit their spuriousness do not, in my opinion, possess either a competent knowledge of Latin or of metre. The fifth elegy of the third book contains a distich⁹ which describes the birth year of Tibullus as the one in which Hirtius and Pansa were consuls, but this is irreconcilable with chronology, and the lines therefore have been generally rejected as an interpolation. The fourth book also cannot belong to Tibullus. The panegyric upon Messala, with which the book opens, is evidently written by a poor person, and not by a Roman eques. With regard to the smaller poems of this book, such as those to Sulpicia and Cerinthus, their language and ver-

⁷ H Meyer, Antholog Veter Lat Epigr et Poetar No 122, p 44

Te quoque Virgilio comitem non aequa, Tibulle,
Mors juvenem campos misit in Elysios,
Ne foret, aut elegis molles qui fieret amores,
Aut caneret fortis regia bella pede

⁸ Such is also the case with the Cynthia of Propertius, whose real name is said to have been Hostia, and with the Delia of Tibullus — N

⁹ Verse 17 foll.

sification differ greatly from those of Tibullus, and display greater energy and power than Tibullus possessed. they are the productions of a poet who was much superior to him The doleful and weeping melancholy and sentimentality, such as we find them in Tibullus, are always unantique, they are the misunderstood tones of Mimermus. I cannot bear them, and least of all in a Roman.

Cornelius Gallus was perhaps somewhat older than Horace, and a man of rank. He was engaged in military life, and was appointed by Augustus governor of Egypt, in which capacity he abused his power in an unworthy manner. Virgil was very much attached to him, which shews that there must have been something amiable in his character. He translated Euphron, and wrote elegies, of which only a few verses are extant, they shew however that he must have been a poet of eminent talent. The epithet *durior* which is given him is commonly not well understood, and I take it to mean that his language and versification had something of the earlier Roman poetry about them.

A contemporary of these men was L. Varius, of whom only a very few verses are extant, but whom the ancients place along with Horace and Virgil among the greatest poets, especially on account of his tragedy *Thyestes*. This subject however was an unfortunate one for a tragedy, and I fear that his manner was too declamatory, and that his *Thyestes* bore the same relation to the ancient Attic tragedies that Virgil's *Aeneid* bears to the Homeric epics. This and all the later tragedies of the Romans were not, like those of Pacuvius and Attius, imitations of the Attic dramas, but were based upon the models of the Alexandrian period. The tragedies of what was called the *Pleias*, were of very different character from the ancient Attic tragedies, and we may form a tolerably correct notion of them by looking at the productions of Seneca, which are not ancient Greek and cannot be Roman. I would rather have Varius' poem "*De Morte*" than his tragedy.

These and some other men form the illustrious assemblage of the poets of that time, and rarely has such a number of such poets existed together in the history of the world. They were living at the time when Augustus made himself master of the republic. But now another generation gradually rose up, beginning with Propertius, whose poems are evidently written according to the models of the Alexandrian period, whereas the earlier lyric poets, perhaps with the exception of Virgil, had taken the ancient Greek lyrics for their models. It is impossible to determine the year in which Propertius was born, though it must have been somewhere about 700. He was a native of Umbria, and his great ambition was to become the Roman Callimachus or Philetas


After him there followed Ovid, who was born in 709, in the consulship of Hirtius and Pansa. Next to Catullus, he is the most poetical among the Roman poets. You must not believe that those poets were isolated phenomena, standing as it were in the air, and beyond the influence of the events of the times. Virgil was evidently intimidated; Horace was in a painful situation, for his heart was with Brutus; Tibullus, a man with a tender heart, was weighed down by what he saw around him, Propertius, too, had been influenced by the occurrences of his youth and the loss of his property, in consequence of the establishment of military colonies. his real enjoyment of life and his ease never returned afterwards. The full and unrestrained development of Catullus' genius had been the result of the freedom which he enjoyed as a wealthy young man, for his father was one of the most distinguished persons in the province of Cisalpine Gaul, and was connected with Caesar by ties of hospitality. Ovid was born with one of the most happy temperaments that heaven can bestow upon a man. The calamities of the Perusinian war happened when he was an infant of only three years old, and at the time of the battle of Actium, which restored peace, he was thirteen years old, and

he scarcely heard of the misfortunes which belonged to the time of his infancy. You yourselves must know how much influence the recollections of your boyhood have on the development of your temperaments and dispositions; and my own disposition is very different from what it would be if I were now a young man. The absence of all care and anxiety, and the cheerfulness in Ovid, are the consequence of the time in which he passed through his youthful years. He was born at Sulmo, and from his birth his life had been adorned with everything that wealth and rank could procure. No one can have a greater talent or a greater facility for writing poetry than Ovid had and, in this respect, he may take rank among the very greatest poets. An unbiassed judge must recognise in all the productions of Schiller a sort of constraint and labour; while in the early poems of Goethe everything is flung into the world with the greatest ease, and the latter is the kind of poetry in which every one feels at home, and in which every one feels as though the sentiments could not be expressed in any other way. Horace is much inferior in this respect, and there are only a few among his lyric poems of which we can say that they were composed with ease and facility. Ovid's *facilitas* is manifest everywhere. The faults of his poetry are well known, and do not require to be mentioned here. The cause of his unfortunate exile is a mystery which no human ingenuity will ever clear up, and concerning which an endless variety of absurd opinions are abroad. He was exiled to Tomi, and some persons censure him for his broken-heartedness, but I cannot help, on the contrary, admiring him for the freshness and activity which he preserved in his fearful exile among barbarians.

One of his contemporaries was Cornelius Severus, of whom a few fragments are still extant, which confirm the opinion that he would have been a great epic poet if he had lived longer, he would have been infinitely superior to Lucan

Albinovanus must likewise have been distinguished among the poets of that time; but, whether he is the author of the "*Consolatio ad Liviam*" on the death of Drusus is not certain, though it is very possible

Livy, of whom I have already spoken in the introductory lectures, was born in the consulship of Caesar, 693, and lived to see a considerable period of the reign of Tiberius. History was then the only thing that was written in prose, if we except some miserable declamations, which contain nothing but detestable and sophistical perversities. But of these productions I shall speak hereafter. Livy began writing his history when he was at the age of fifty, or even later, but he was still in full vigour and freshness. The unfavourable judgment of Asinius Pollio upon him arose unquestionably from a political party-feeling, for Pollio was annoyed at everything connected with the Pompeian party. Livy is not mentioned in the poems of Horace, and his fame belongs to a later time. He was a rhetorician, and was at one time perhaps engaged in giving instructions, though it may also be that he lived in quiet independence. It was only his historical work that brought him into note, and no historian ever enjoyed a greater reputation than Livy.



LECTURE LVII.

DECIMUS LABERIUS AND P. SYRUS — STATE OF GREEK LITERATURE — DOMESTIC RELATIONS OF AUGUSTUS. — HIS FRIENDS, M. VIPSANIUS AGRIPPA AND CILNIUS MAECENAS. — THE FAMILY OF AUGUSTUS.

I FORGOT to mention among the contemporaries of Cicero and Caesar the poet Decimus Laberius. He was the author of mimes which were evidently extempore compositions. Laberius and P. Syrus are the most celebrated authors of this species of poetry, and the former was, according to the testimony of his contemporaries, a poet of great merit on account of his originality. His productions must have resembled the *Sermones* of Horace. Comedy had at that time become completely extinct; not even a comedy of mediocrity is mentioned, and the *Thyestes* of Varius is the only instance of a tragedy at that time.

The literary nullity of the Greeks in this period, if we compare the activity of the Romans, was still greater than the political weakness and impotence of Greece in contrast with Rome's power and dominion. We hear of no writers except rhetoricians and grammarians, they are not indeed to be treated with disrespect, but poetry seems to have become quite extinct, if we except a few insignificant writers of epigrams, but even if we look upon epigrammatic poetry alone, there is scarcely a period in the history of ancient literature that is as barren as this. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, distinguished both for his talent and judgment, stands alone, and we cannot therefore wonder at the Romans of that time feeling

themselves superior to the Greeks in literature; this feeling was, on the contrary, perhaps not as strong as it ought to have been. The Greek rhetoricians, who inundated Rome during the latter part of the reign of Augustus and under Tiberius, brought down literature very rapidly. There were indeed a few other writers, but we know little more of them than their names, the rhetoricians who gave the tone to literature, and brought about the so-called *argentea aetas*, were Greeks, and nearly all of western Asia, for ancient Greece itself was completely annihilated. For several centuries after the time of Polybius, Plutarch is the only native of Greece proper that stands forth as a writer of importance. Posidonius of Rhodes and Theophanes of Mitylene also form exceptions.

I shall now proceed to continue my account of Augustus, his family, and his wars. The numerous statues and busts of Augustus which are still extant quite confirm the statement of Suetonius, that he was an extremely handsome man¹. His head is indeed so beautiful that I have often been tempted to get a cast made of it, although I detest his character, and he retained his *decora facies* until his old age, as we see from the portraits in which he is represented at the different periods of his life. He was an active man, but the great defect in his character is that he had no courage, a charge which is brought against him by the ancients themselves, and is corroborated by his conduct in the war of Philippi. He was not favoured by fortune either on the field of battle or in his domestic relations. I have already described to you his dishonesty and cruelty. but a redeeming feature in his character is that he was a friend to his friends, and even bore patiently from them things which others would not have brooked. Thus he acted towards Agrippa and Maecenas, to whom he was both grateful and faithful.

In his domestic relations he acted as a man without

¹ August 79

character or principle. He had been betrothed at first to Clodia, a step-daughter of M. Antony, but the connexion was dissolved, and he married Scribonia, who became by him the mother of the unfortunate Julia. He subsequently married Livia Drusilla, the wife of Tiberius Claudius Nero, who was attached to the cause of Brutus, and who seems to me to have been one of the better men of the Claudian family. Livia, a woman of a fearful character, was so ambitious to raise the members of her own family to power and influence that she never scrupled to commit any crime, if she thought it a fit means to attain her ends. She contrived very gradually to acquire an unlimited power over Augustus. Notwithstanding the strict moral laws of his censorship and his other measures, Augustus himself was a dissolute man; and Livia connived at his conduct, in order to establish her influence over him the more firmly. Her success was most complete, and the older she grew the greater was the power she exercised over her imperial husband. She was exceedingly clever and intelligent, and in her younger years she must have been a woman of extraordinary beauty. She worked perseveringly for a series of years to secure the ascendancy to the members of her own family, and to isolate Augustus from his own relatives. She never bore Augustus any children, except a son who was still-born. So long as Octavia, the half-sister of Augustus, lived and had any prospects for her son M. Marcellus, who was married to Augustus' daughter Julia, Livia seemed to stand in the back ground; but, as soon as Marcellus had died, and Augustus gave Julia in marriage to Agrippa, a man who, if he was not loved by Augustus, was at least feared, things assumed a different appearance. Julia had by Marcellus only a daughter. Agrippa was of about the same age as Augustus; he had accompanied him to Apollonia, and Caesar had probably intended to take him, together with his nephew, on his eastern expedition. Previous to the time when he went to Apol-

lonia nothing is mentioned about Agrippa, and he is said to have been descended from a very obscure family,² and was probably born in some part of the country. In his later years he displayed all the qualities of an experienced general, and much good may be said of him. The best period of the reign of Augustus was unquestionably that during which he had Agrippa by his side, that is, the first eighteen years, and no writer charges Agrippa with having had any share in the early cruelties of Augustus. The new regulations of the state after the battle of Actium were made principally by Agrippa, and it is he that must be regarded as the author of all the wise and useful arrangements made during that period, rather than Augustus. All that Agrippa did is characterized by a certain grandeur: his Pantheon is still standing, and furnishes an example of the greatness of his conceptions. He made roads, and built aqueducts, and the whole arrangement of the Campus Martius with all its beauties, described by Strabo,³ was the work of Agrippa. His ability as a military commander had been tried in the war against Sextus Pompeius, in the course of which he built fleets, and the Julian port near Baiae. He was conscious of his great powers: he never concealed that he was proud, for he laid claims to the highest honours, and was anything but humble or timid before Augustus, who promoted him thrice to the consulship. Agrippa died in 740, the same year in which Maecenas breathed his last.

The great Cilnius Maecenas shared the friendship of Augustus with Agrippa. He was descended from a noble Etruscan family of Arretium, where his ancestors must have been a sort of dynasts, whence Horace calls them *reges*⁴. They must have had the Roman franchise previous to the passing of the Julian law, for a Cilnius Maecenas is mentioned by Cicero⁵ among the men who op-

² Tacitus, *Annal* i 3, Vell. Patere ii 96, Seneca, *Controv* ii 12 ³ v p 235 foll ⁴ *Od* i 1, 1, iii 25, 1.

⁵ *Pro Cluent* 56

posed the tribune, M. Drusus, previous to the outbreak of the Social war. Horace's expression⁶,

Nec quod avus tibi maternus fuit atque paternus,
Olim qui magnis regionibus imperitarent,

also seems to suggest that the ancestors of Maecenas held the highest magistracy at Arretium. Maecenas himself never would rise above his equestrian rank, but he has nevertheless acquired a reputation as the patron and protector of Horace and Virgil, which will last for ever. We will not inquire into his motives, a task which is often very ungracious, but Maecenas himself was a singular man, and an Epicurean in the worst sense of the word he made a shew of his considering ease and comfort as the greatest blessings of human life. His own conduct was more than effeminate, and I can only describe it by saying that he was morbidly effeminate. We know from Horace that he was of a sickly constitution, but he would rather have spent a long life in illness and suffering, than lose the enjoyment of it by death⁷. He clung to life with a morbid attachment. There was also something childish and trifling in his character he took a foolish pleasure in jewellery and precious stones, for which he was often ridiculed by Augustus, to whom however he was a very convenient person. He had a truly Epicurean contempt for all outward distinctions, and he may have attached little importance to influence in the state, but the honours which Agrippa was anxious to obtain appeared to Maecenas as folly. Augustus however possessed in him a prudent councillor⁸, and on one occasion Maecenas acted in a manner which shewed that, after all, the man was better than his philosophy, for one day, when Augustus was pronouncing one sentence of death after another from his tribunal, Maecenas sent him a note in which he said, "Do get up, you hangman⁹."

⁶ Satir. I. 6. 3 foll

⁷ Horat. Od. II. 17. 1 foll

⁸ Compare Vell. Paterc. II. 88

⁹ Dion Cassius, LV. 7, Cedrenus, vol. II. p. 301


Augustus was often attacked by dangerous illnesses, but in his later years his health became more settled; he was one of those men whose state of health does not assume a definite character until about their fiftieth year. At the time when M. Marcellus was yet a child, Augustus once, on being taken seriously ill, and fancying that his end was near, gave his ring to Agrippa. During the latter years of Marcellus' life, there was a misunderstanding between Augustus and Agrippa, the cause of which was probably the partiality which Augustus shewed for Marcellus. Agrippa withdrew in consequence to Mitylene. Wherever Velleius Paterculus chooses to give utterance to his thoughts—which in many cases he will not do, for he is a servile flatterer of Tiberius—few writers can say more in a few words, or give a briefer and yet more striking description of a man's character than he. Now he says of Agrippa, that he submitted to none but Augustus, *parendi, sed uni, scientissimus*¹⁰, and if Augustus had then died, Agrippa would undoubtedly have pushed young Marcellus, and Tiberius and Drusus, the sons of Livia, on one side¹¹. After the premature death of Marcellus, in whom Rome appears to have lost a great consolation, Agrippa was recalled to Rome and appointed praefect of the city, and in order to raise him still more, Augustus gave him his daughter Julia, the widow of Marcellus, for his wife. This alliance might have secured to Agrippa the succession to the empire, but the dissolute conduct of his wife embittered his last years, though he did not complain of her, in order not to dissolve his connexion with the family of Augustus, who loved Julia tenderly until her disgraceful conduct became known to him. But Agrippa died before that event, and left three sons, Caius and Lucius Caesar, and Agrippa Postumus, and two daughters, Julia and Agrippina. Agrippina was married to Germanicus; she had the pride of her father and the virtues of Octavia, and was altogether a venerable

¹⁰ II, 79¹¹ Vell Paterc. II 93

woman. Her two brothers Caius and Lucius had been adopted by Augustus even before Agrippa's death, and they thus grew up in the house of the emperor. After the death of Agrippa, Augustus gave his daughter Julia in marriage to Tiberius Claudius Nero (afterwards the emperor Tiberius), his step-son by Livia. Tiberius had all the peculiarities of the Claudian family: he was exceedingly proud of his noble descent, and looked upon Augustus himself as in reality nothing but a municipal of Velitrae, and upon his own marriage with Julia as a marriage of disparagement. In addition to this he saw her dissolute life, which offended him deeply. But the influence of his mother Livia was so great that all his objections to marrying Julia had been silenced. At this time no member of the family of Augustus yet ventured openly to complain of Julia, and Tiberius was for a long time not on good terms with Augustus. He therefore withdrew to Rhodes, and remained absent from Rome for upwards of seven years. During his absence the conduct of Julia became known; she was exiled to Pandataria and cruelly treated, and Tiberius returned to Rome. Augustus had taken such offence at Tiberius absenting himself that Livia was unable for a long time to soothe his anger. In the meantime Drusus, the younger brother of Tiberius, had died in Germany. L. Caesar had been sent to Spain, and C. Caesar to Armenia. The latter executed some commission in Asia, and was afterwards treacherously wounded by an Asiatic, who had probably been hired for the purpose by the king of the Parthians. The wound might have been healed, and the general opinion of antiquity is that C. Caesar was poisoned by Livia¹². A year before this event L. Caesar had died

¹² Velleius Paterculus (ii 102) might easily misrepresent an occurrence like this, on account of his obsequiousness to Tiberius, but the manner in which he speaks of it makes me conclude that Tiberius had no share in the murder of Caius. Had Caius returned and succeeded Augustus, the Roman empire would have been no better off than it was under Tiberius.—N

at Marseille, and the general belief was that he too had fallen a victim to the ambitious schemes of Livia. Tiberius on his return was thus placed at once at the head of the family of Augustus. Of Agrippa's children only Agrippa Postumus and Agrippina survived, and Tiberius and Agrippa Postumus were adopted by Augustus at the same time, in the year 754; and from that moment Tiberius, who was also invested with the tribunician power, was the declared successor of Augustus. Agrippa Postumus was then only a youth, and remained an insignificant person throughout his life. Such was the state of Augustus' family during the latter years of his life.



LECTURE LVIII.

BUILDINGS OF AUGUSTUS. — HIS WARS AGAINST THE CANTABRI, IN DALMATIA, NORICUM, AND PANNONIA — WAR AGAINST THE ALPINE TRIBES. — WAR IN GERMANY. — MAROBODUUS. — INSURRECTION OF DALMATIA AND PANNONIA.

It is well known that Augustus said he had found Rome a city of bricks and left it a city of marble, and this was not, indeed, saying too much, for the number of buildings which he erected is enormous, and he gave Rome quite a new character. His buildings were still in the ancient style, which afterwards disappeared. The three columns of the curia Julia are remnants of a building of Augustus, and the wall around the Forum Julium is constructed in so ancient a style that some persons have foolishly imagined that it was executed in the time of the kings. This grand and antique style continued down to the reign of the emperor Claudius, after which the only example of it is the Colosseum. Augustus also built the indestructible Mausoleum and the theatre of Marcellus, on which stands the Palazzo Savelli, in which I have lived for many years¹. All the buildings that are called Augustan on the Palatine are very doubtful, and at least cannot be proved to be works of the Augustan age. The temple of Apollo has completely disappeared. Augustus was the first who used the marble of Carrara in building. In his reign several roads also were made both in Italy and in the provinces. In the neighbourhood of Narni there is

¹ See the description of it in Niebuhr's *Letters in the Lebensnachrichten*, vol II p 284 foll and p 311 foll

still to be seen his great aqueduct upon arches, which is built of bricks of great excellence, and different from those which we use. The Romans, as I have already remarked, paid only some indirect taxes, and their city was thus embellished without their being oppressed. We cannot therefore wonder at the extraordinary popularity of Augustus during the last years of his reign, especially if we further consider that the people looked forward with dark apprehensions to the time when Tiberius was to have the reins of government.

All that now remains to be related about the reign of Augustus is the history of the wars which were carried on against foreign enemies. The first, which occurred during the interval between the peace of Brundisium and the battle of Actium, was the war against the Dalmatians. In this campaign, Augustus displayed more activity than in any other of his military undertakings. He himself was wounded,—for the first time in his life, but the power of the Dalmatians, whose country offers great difficulties to an invader, received a severe shock.

Not long after the battle of Actium the war against the Cantabri and Astures began. The country which these nations inhabited is about the same district in the north of Spain which maintained its independence against the Moors, that is, Biscay, Asturias, the northern part of Galicia, and the country about Leon. The inhabitants of those parts did not yet recognise the supremacy of Rome, and Augustus had set himself the task of extending the empire as far as the ocean, the Rhine, and the Danube, which he considered to be its natural boundaries. In the first year of the war he was detained in Gaul, partly by illness and partly by other circumstances. The particulars of the war are not known², but in the third year the Can-

² Appian seems to have grown tired at the end of his book on the affairs of Spain. He mentions this war of Augustus only in general terms, but the real cause of his *hurry*ing thus over these events seems to have been that he did not find any Greek

tabri and Astures were subdued, and were obliged to give hostages³. It is asserted that there still exist in Biscay ancient poems upon this war of Augustus, and William von Humboldt possesses a copy of them. I can, of course, judge only from the translation, but I cannot adopt his opinion as to the genuineness of those poems, and my conviction is that they are not more genuine than the poems of Ossian. In the earliest poetry of the Germans we find no allusions to the Romans; and how should traditions about such early occurrences have been preserved in Biscay? The wars with the Moors were of far more importance to the inhabitants of those countries, and yet no poetical traditions about them have been preserved. After Augustus had quitted Spain, the oppression and cruelty of the Roman governors excited the people to rise against Rome, but their insurrection was soon followed by their complete subjugation. Augustus founded several colonies in Spain—some important towns in modern Spain owe their origin to him, such as Caesar Augusta (Saragossa), Augusta Emerita (Merida), Pax Julia, Pax Augusta, and many others. Augusta Emerita must have had a very extensive territory, and seems to have comprised half of the province of Estremadura.

Soon after this time Tiberius had the command in Dalmatia, and reduced the inhabitants to submission. M. Crassus, a Roman governor, had carried on a war in Noricum, and Pannonia too had submitted.

It was during the interval between the war against the Cantabri, and the Dalmatian expedition of Tiberius, that Augustus closed the temple of Janus. This temple had been closed only twice during the whole period of sources. Augustus himself must have given an account of the war in his Memoirs, for he too dabbled in literature, but his Memoirs must have been of little value, for they are very rarely referred to. He also tried his hand at poetry, but we may believe that he was a very bad author, and that all his productions were worthless and tasteless—N

³ Dion Cassius, LIII 25, LIV 11, Sueton Aug 20 foll

Rome's existence, once in the reign of Numa, and the second time after the first Punic war, in the consulship of T. Manlius Torquatus⁴ Augustus is said to have closed it three times in his reign⁵; but this may be merely an inconsiderate statement of Suetonius.

It was either now, or even before going to Spain, that Augustus resolved to subdue the Alpine tribes, from the Salassi in the valley of Aosta to the mountain tribes of Raetia and Noricum. The latter country was governed by kings under the protection of Rome. The greater part of those tribes belonged to the Tuscan race of the Vindelicians and Raetians, on the northern side of the Alps of the Tyrol. It is probable that the Raetians then inhabited the valley of the lower Inn, and I believe that the upper part of that river was occupied by the Vindelicians. The Pannonians were probably Paeonians, the name by which they are actually called by the Greeks; they were certainly neither Illyrians nor Gauls, for it is expressly stated that they had a language of their own. We know very little of the manner in which those Alpine nations were subdued by Tiberius and Drusus, for our accounts are very meagre and confused. Baron von Hormayr⁶ has made up a romance out of them, his intention is to impress upon the German and Italian Tyrolese the necessity of keeping together, which is indeed an important point, and the historian deserves praise for urging it; but it ought not to be based upon an arbitrary treatment of history. It is evident however that the war was carried on by the Romans according to a well-organised plan, that the attacks were made from Italy and Helvetia, that the Romans penetrated into all the recesses of the Alps, even where there were no roads; and that the subjugation of the Alpine tribes was so complete that after-

⁴ Livy, i 19, Varro, De Ling. Lat. vi 165, Vell. Pat. ii 38, Orosius, iv 12

⁵ Sueton. Aug. 22

⁶ In his Geschichte Von Tyrol, i p 89 foll

wards not even an attempt was made to shake off the Roman yoke⁷. In the course of this campaign Augusta Vindelicorum (Augsburg) was founded. As the veterans received the places where they had been stationed as permanent settlements, they gradually became regular citizens. In the later times of the empire, the citizens of such colonies had certain military duties, the origin of which is unknown: they were the guardians of the frontiers, and were exempt from taxes, but they were obliged always to be ready to fight.

The German war commenced in 740. The Sigambri had some time before invaded the left bank of the Rhine in our neighbourhood; but they had been repelled by the Romans, who advanced as far as the Westerwald, though they did not make any conquests. In 740 the Romans attacked the Germans both on the Danube and on the lower Rhine. The fact of such attacks never being made on the upper Rhine, as far down as the river Lahn, shews that Suabia was not then a German country, and it did not become one until the Marcomanni settled there. All we know about this war is vague and indefinite, and the account in Dion Cassius is unfortunately mutilated⁸. It may have been in this campaign that Domitius Ahenobarbus penetrated into Germany across the Elbe from Bohemia, for in the subsequent invasion we find the Romans marching towards the Elbe from the lower Rhine. The war was conducted by the brothers Tiberius and Drusus in three campaigns. Drusus advanced from the lower Rhine as far as the Elbe, and subdued the Bructeri, Sigambri, Usipetes, Cherusci, and others. The details of

⁷ A list of the Alpine tribes subdued in that campaign is preserved in Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* III. 24), who took it from an inscription.

⁸ The late Abbé Morelli discovered some fragments of Dion Cassius referring to this war in a Vatican MS. It is evident that the passages wanting in our editions were left out by the transcriber, in order to shorten his labour, and impose upon the purchaser.—N

his campaign are not known, and localities are scarcely ever mentioned, since the Germans had no towns; their only protection was the impassable nature of their country, for they had no fortified places; and, when they met the Romans in the open field, they were usually beaten, for they could not resist the military skill of the Romans. Their country was now ravaged, and women and children were carried off into slavery, and the men were put to death, for although Drusus was otherwise of a humane disposition, considering what the Romans then were, yet he was, like Varus, a great sinner (ἀλιτῆριος,) towards the Germans. He died in his camp, not without a suspicion of Augustus or Tiberius having caused his death, for Drusus, like Germanicus, may have entertained some thought of restoring the republic⁹

In 745 Tiberius undertook the command, and his triumph over the Germans was followed by his withdrawal to Rhodes. During the seven years of his absence, few important events occurred. After his return he again received the command in Gaul and Germany, and in the latter country he penetrated as far as the Elbe, and reduced the Sigambri, Bructeri, and Cherusci to obedience. The Roman fleet joined his army on the river Ems. The Chauci and Frisians were already subdued. Their seats are not clearly known, but they perhaps extended as far as Magdeburg. After this campaign Tiberius left Germany. The intention of the Romans was merely to crush the Germans, but not to put themselves in possession of their country, which they can hardly have thought worth the trouble of occupying.

While the Germans north of the Thuringer Wald and about the Harz mountains were thus visited by the Romans, there existed in Bohemia the great kingdom of

⁹ The monument which was erected to Drusus in Germany was somewhere on the Rhine, and was for many generations a sacred spot to the Roman legions, but its site is unknown.—N

Maroboduus, who is a strange and mysterious phaenomenon in the early history of Germany. It is expressly stated¹⁰ that he had a town (Boviasmum) for his capital, a regular army of 70,000 men, and 4000 horsemen, a body-guard, and regular political institutions. Justus Moser is perfectly right in saying that the Germans, in the descriptions of the Romans, must not be conceived of as any more uncivilized than the modern peasants of Westphalia, or lower Saxony. Their dwelling-houses, 1800 years ago, were, I believe, not different from the more common ones in our own days, and the habitations of their chiefs were the same as the buildings of the middle ages. The notion that the ancient Germans were savages is completely false; they were neither more nor less than uncultivated country-people, to whom life in towns was altogether unknown. Moser has shewn clearly that there is no ground whatever for our seeking information respecting our forefathers in the forests of North America, or the islands of the South Sea, and yet people seem at present again inclined to go back to their old notions. I cannot indeed see why our ancestors of the 14th century should have been much more civilized than they were in the time of Augustus. Maroboduus seems to have raised his kingdom to a state of civilization, with feudal institutions which had arisen out of his conquest of Bohemia, for that country had before been inhabited by Boians, that is, Celts. Tiberius intended to attack him on two sides, and he himself assembled his troops in Noricum and Vindelicia, and his legate, Sintiarius Saturninus, was to advance from northern Germany through the Hercynian forest¹¹. In this campaign we meet

¹⁰ Strabo, VII p 290 Compare Veil Patere II 108 foll

¹¹ We find, even at the present day, the wooden causeways or roads (*limites*) which the Romans formed through the marshes of Holland and Westphalia. They extend over tracts of many miles, and served as roads for the Roman armies. The wood is now perfectly black, but otherwise it is still as fresh as if it had been laid down a few years ago —N

with the first traces of the unhappy divisions which characterize the whole history of the Germans; the northern tribes would not assist Maroboduus, because he had not assisted them; and they also mistrusted him, because they believed that it was his intention to make himself master over them.

While Tiberius was engaged in vigorous preparations, the Pannonians and Dalmatians revolted. This insurrection lasted for three years, and was one of the most formidable ones that the Romans had ever had to contend with. Maroboduus, who must have known that Tiberius had been preparing war against him, remained inactive during the revolt of his southern neighbours. The Dacians and Getae too remained quiet, and Providence thus again assisted the Romans. If a general war had broken out, Rome might have been thrown into a most perilous situation. Augustus was seized with great alarm and trembled at the danger, for no less than 200,000 enemies are said to have been in arms. Two men of the name of Bato, one a Dalmatian and the other a Pannonian, and a Pannonian of the name of Pines, were their commanders. Velleius Paterculus¹² praises the intelligence and knowledge of the Pannonians, and states that they were acquainted with the language of the Romans¹³. In this war the insurgents spread as far as Macedonia. A Roman army, which came from Asia, was defeated, and it was only owing to the extraordinary bravery of the soldiers, who made up for the mistakes of their commanders, that the Romans conquered the enemy in the end. The revolted nations separated, and Pines was treacherously delivered up into the hands of the Romans. Pannonia was the first that submitted again to the Romans, and it seems that they concluded peace with those na-

¹² II 110

¹³ I believe that there was a considerable resemblance between the Pannonian and Roman languages—N (See Vopiscus, Aurelian, 24)

tions on very favourable terms, in order to conciliate them. After the close of this war, Tiberius was at liberty to resume the war against Maroboduus, who well deserved a severe chastisement for having so miserably isolated himself



LECTURE LIX.

QUINCTILIUS VARUS.—ARMINIUS.—BATTLE OF VARUS —LAST YEARS AND DEATH OF AUGUSTUS. — EXTENT OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE AT THAT TIME.—CIVIL LEGISLATION OF AUGUSTUS

MAROBODUUS had done nothing during the insurrection of the Pannonians and Dalmatians, although he must have known that preparations had been making against him. The whole of that part of Germany which lies between the Elbe, the Rhine, and the Westerwald recognised the supremacy of Rome as early as the year 760, and the Chauci and other tribes on the coasts of East-Friesland and Oldenburg were as much subjects of Rome as the Cherusci in Westphalia. Quinctilius Varus, who was descended from an ancient and illustrious family, for his ancestors occur in the earliest period of the republic, was a man of great ability, but of insatiable avarice. When he had the command of the army in Germany, he conducted himself completely as if he had been governor in a Roman province, but Arminius¹ the Cheruscan, who had already distinguished himself in the Roman armies, devised a plan for entrapping him. As the Germans had no fortified towns, it was exceedingly difficult to ward off the Romans, or to prevent their crossing the frontiers. The German horses were bad, but their riders were superior to the Romans; they were however excelled by the Gauls on account of the better horses of the latter, and the Gauls were such excellent horsemen that the technical terms in horsemanship were borrowed by the Germans from them. I cannot despise

¹ His name probably contains the same root as *Irmensul*.—N

the stratagem of Arminius, for he had not the means to make head against the enemy in an open and proud way, and he was obliged to have recourse to cunning, which, in his case, was certainly not wrong. Arminius had served with German horsemen in the Roman armies; he was quite master of the Latin language; he had obtained the Roman franchise, and the rank of an eques. By dint of the greatest perseverance, he had succeeded in gaining the unlimited confidence of Varus, and contrived to lull him into security. Varus had his stationary camp, in which he administered justice like a Roman governor in his province, and he availed himself of his administration of justice for the purpose of enriching himself. While the Germans were keeping Varus engaged by fictitious quarrels among themselves, and while many of the Roman soldiers may have been away from the camp on leave of absence, the tribes of lower Saxony revolted, according to a preconcerted plan. Varus was induced to march towards the country of the insurgents. He penetrated far into the country. There were several *limites*, or wooden causeways, through the forests and marshes, running from the Rhine through Westphalia as far as the river Lippe. These roads were similar to the one between Saint Petersburg and Novgorod and Moscow. Varus was led by the insurgents to abandon these straight roads, and as he ventured deeper into the country, the revolt became general, and the Romans found themselves outwitted. Varus tried to retreat and reach the causeway, probably with a view to defend himself in the fortress of Aliso on the Lippe². The question about the exact spot where the battle of Varus was fought is one of those which, in my opinion, can never be satisfactorily answered. The only sensible and practical mode of investigating the matter would be, to examine from what point a Roman road may have been made into

² Its exact situation is unknown. I do not think it however improbable that it may have been on the site of the modern town of Hamm, as some historians maintain.—N

the country of the Germans, and I imagine that Cologne was a convenient point to start from. But it is infinitely more difficult to determine anything upon this point than to trace Hannibal's passage over the Alps.

On the first day, Varus was perhaps attacked on his flanks, and at once lost a great part of his baggage. It was with great difficulty that he formed a camp, and fortified himself. On the day following, he was pressed still harder, but he continued his march. The terror and the confusion in his columns were so great that Varus was at last quite overcome by the consciousness of his hopeless situation and his responsibility, and he, with several of his companions, put an end to their lives. Numonius Vala separated the cavalry from the infantry, and endeavoured to escape with his three squadrons (*alae*³), but with no success, and, in the extreme danger, he was abandoned by his companions. On the third day, the whole of the Roman army was annihilated, and only a few escaped with their lives. The Germans took awful vengeance upon their oppressors, and many of the Roman prisoners were sacrificed to the gods of the Germans, who offered human sacrifices for the purpose of ascertaining the future. Three legions and as many *alae* were cut to pieces, but, owing to the unfortunate divisions among the Germans, they were unable to make that use of their victory which Arminius would otherwise undoubtedly have made. Many of the Roman castella however were taken and destroyed; and much else may have been done, which the Roman accounts of this catastrophe passed over in silence.

Nonius Asprenas maintained himself on the western bank of the Rhine. L. Caedicius, the commander of Aliso, was in a desperate situation. there was no hope of mercy for him, and he defended himself until, at length, he discovered an opportunity of forcing his way through the surrounding enemy. He reached the banks of the Rhine

³ The cavalry of each legion was called *ala*, and each *ala* amounted to 300 men —N

with the remnants of his brave garrison. The news of this defeat worked upon Augustus,—who had given sufficient proofs of his timidity during the revolt of the Pannonians,—like a stroke of thunder, and at Rome the worst consequences were apprehended: it was thought that the Germans would cross the Rhine, and that all Gaul would join them, and it was also expected that Maroboduus would begin to move. But he continued in his unaccountable inactivity, the consequence of which was that he ended his life at Ravenna. Augustus was anxious to make a general levy, but he encountered the greatest difficulties, on account of the general disinclination to serve in the armies, which had lately begun to spread over all parts of the empire. Not one hundred years before, in the wars of Marius, a man might with some reason have said with Pompey, that it was only necessary to stamp his foot on the ground to call forth legions, but things had now become so much altered, and the unwillingness to serve went so far, that fathers mutilated the hands of their sons, in order to get them exempted from military service. The clients now obtained permission to exercise the rights of patrons, and to emancipate able bodied slaves, that they might be enlisted as soldiers. In former times, he who gave himself out as a freedman in the army would have paid for his presumption with his life.

The merit of having stopped the course of the Germans belongs to Nonius Asprenas, and Tiberius assisted in averting the danger, by preventing the Germans from crossing over to the left bank of the Rhine. Afterwards, Tiberius was called back to Rome, and Germanicus, the son of Drusus, was left in Gaul. He immediately prepared for an aggressive war, but Augustus did not live to see his success. I shall speak of his campaigns hereafter. Augustus was now at a very advanced age. His health had greatly improved, and, during the last twenty-five years of his life, he was not ill at all, or but very slightly. He was now an old man, completely under the dominion of

his wife, who became worse as she advanced in years. She surrounded him only with those whom she herself liked. Her feelings towards Drusus had been those of a step-mother; and it is quite certain that she bore no good will towards Germanicus, who had married Agrippina, and led an exemplary life with her at a time when all domestic feelings seem to have become extinct in every heart. Livia hated him, because he was attached to Agrippina with his whole heart and soul. The defeat of Varus had thoroughly shaken Augustus. He was unhappy during the last years of his life, which we may regard as a retribution for the crimes of his earlier years. Tiberius was to set out for a war in Illyricum, and Augustus intended to accompany him as far as Beneventum, but he was detained in Campania, and spent the summer at Capreae in the Gulf of Naples⁴. Here he was taken ill, and died soon after at Nola, on the 19th of August, 767, fourteen years after the birth of our Saviour. Tacitus⁵ says that many thought it a wonderful occurrence that he died on the very day on which he had first obtained his power. He died as sure in the possession of his dominion, as if he had been born on the throne, and gave the succession and his ring to Tiberius. I shall hereafter have occasion to mention the farce which Tiberius played on that occasion. The body of Augustus was buried with the most extraordinary honours: the decuriones of the municipium of Nola carried it as far as Bovillae, where it was taken up by the Roman equites, and conveyed to the city. The funeral orations upon him were delivered in the curia Julia by Tiberius and his son Drusus.

Augustus had at one time formed the plan of sub-

⁴ This is the most paradisiac spot in the world, and no one who has not seen it can form an idea of its beauty.—N

⁵ Annal i, 9 *multus hinc ipso de Augusto sermo, plerisque vana mirantibus, quod idem dies quondam accepti imperii princeps, et vitae supremus*

dung Britain, but he afterwards gave it up. The frontier of the empire was in some parts beyond the Rhine, for Holland and a great part of the Frisians were under the dominion of Rome. With these exceptions however the Rhine formed the boundary upwards, to the point where it is nearest the sources of the Danube. The frontier then ran along the Danube as far as lower Moesia, for in the latter country the Romans were not yet masters of the banks of the Danube, which were often passed and repassed by the Sarmatians; and Tomi, where Ovid lived in exile, was not, properly speaking, within the boundaries of the empire. I believe that the Vallum Trajanum, which bears the name without any ground whatever, was made in the time of Augustus, that is, during the last campaign in those regions. The kingdom of Cappadocia in Asia Minor was under the supremacy of Rome, Armenia was in a sort of alliance, but likewise recognised the majesty of the Roman people. The Parthians had put off a great deal of their ancient pride, and Phraates had returned the Roman standards of the legions, which had been taken in the war with Crassus. It is not a very great exaggeration to say that the Roman dominion extended as far as India, though in reality the Euphrates formed the eastern boundary of the empire. Syria, Egypt, Cyrene, Africa, and Numidia, with the capital of Cirta, were Roman provinces. The son of the learned Juba had received the western part of Algiers and Morocco, and, at one time in the reign of Augustus, his kingdom extended as far as Fezzan. It would have been easy to send an expedition from thence into the countries about the Niger, and it is not impossible that, at one time, those countries may have recognised the supremacy of Rome, though we know nothing about it, except that there was a road for caravans leading to the countries of the Niger. The modern Fezzan was inhabited by the Garamantes, whose capital was Garama, and Roman inscriptions have been found there by a learned traveller. In the time of Augustus we also find

mention of an expedition to Yemen, which however was a complete failure. The forces of the empire consisted of forty-seven legions, and a proportionate number of cohorts formed of provincials. The number of allies was very great, and scattered about in colonies and other towns. The legions were not levied in Italy, except in cases of great necessity, and it nevertheless sometimes happened that more than nine-tenths consisted of Roman citizens.

The civil legislation of Augustus, like that of Caesar, aimed at improving the moral condition of the nation. Caesar had intended to collect the Roman laws into one code, an undertaking which would have been as praiseworthy as it would have been dangerous. The *lex Aelia Sentia* deserves great praise, but the legislation of Augustus was, on the whole, quite arbitrary. He wished to correct morals by fighting against the current of the age. There was at that time a general disinclination to enter into a legal marriage, and Roman citizens lived to a very great extent in concubinage with slaves, so that the children at the best became freedmen. The free population had, in consequence, decreased enormously, and this state of things was still on the increase. In a register at Pompeii I found that, among twenty persons, to judge from their names, ten were freedmen, and that one in twenty, at the utmost, was an ingenuus. Now Augustus was quite right in trying to counteract such a system; but the manner in which he endeavoured to bring about an improvement, by the *Lex Julia et Papia Poppaea*, gives us an example to shew how impotent legislation is, when it attempts to fight against the current of the times.

LECTURE LX.*

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE HISTORY OF THE EMPIRE.—

TACITUS.—SUETONIUS.—HISTORY OF TIBERIUS TILL THE
TIME OF HIS ACCESSION —BEGINNING OF HIS GOVERN-
MENT

THE later portion of the history of Augustus begins to be deeply disheartening, it is the end of a life conducted on a certain deliberate plan, and the unavoidable issue of the events which preceded it. In the history which now follows, things are different, for the history of the emperors is no longer the continuation of that which was attractive and pleasing to us in the earlier history of Rome, and the people, who formerly awakened our greatest interest, now formed a thoroughly corrupted mass force now decides everything, and the history itself is confined to an individual, ruling over upwards of a hundred millions of men, and to the few who, next to him, are the first in the state. The western parts of the Roman world preserved a feeble bond of unity in the language which was spoken by all persons of education, for the common people spoke a jargon. In the East, Greek nationality became again established.

The whole history of the Roman empire is remarkable

* This and the following lecture contain some things which have been already stated in the preceding lectures, but the editor could not avoid the repetition without materially altering the form of the lectures, which he did not think himself justified in doing. The cause of the repetition is, that the remaining lectures, from the sixtieth to the end, were delivered at a later period than the preceding ones, viz in the summer 1829, and formed a distinct course by themselves. See the Preface

only as a portion of the history of the world, and as a national or political history it is sad and discouraging in the highest degree. We see that things had come to a point at which no earthly power could afford any help; we now have the development of dead powers, instead of that of a vital energy. During the period of the republic, subsequent to the Hannibalian war, there still existed a vital power which could afford relief in critical moments, but it afterwards disappeared, and nature seems to have become incapable of rising to a crisis, it was a process in which the soul had gradually withdrawn from the body, and at last left it a lifeless mass.

But the history of the Roman empire is nevertheless worth a careful study, and as far as practical application is concerned, it is even of greater importance than the history of the republic; for the theologian and jurist must be familiar with it, in order to understand their own respective departments and their history. It cannot therefore be a matter of wonder with us, that persons were formerly so much engaged in studying the history of the Roman emperors. At present it is too much neglected. I might have concluded these lectures with the reign of Augustus, to which I hope to carry my History of Rome; but the consideration of its practical usefulness has induced me to relate to you the history of the emperors also, though the brevity of our time does not allow me to give you anything more than brief surveys and sketches. All that remains of the republican constitution are mere *simulacra* of what it once was.

If we had Tacitus complete, we should have the history of the early period of the empire in one of the greatest masterpieces of antiquity. His *Annales* and *Historiae* extended over the period from the death of Augustus to the beginning of the reign of Trajan. With regard to the manner in which the *Annales* were divided by their author, the common opinion, from which scarcely any one has ever ventured to differ, except in points of secondary import-

ance, is that the *Annales* were completed with the sixteenth book. But this is to my mind an impossibility, and it seems to me highly probable that they consisted of twenty books. Wherever we have Tacitus for our guide, it would be foolish to seek for any further light, but many parts of his *Annales* are wanting, and we are, in those cases, unfortunately obliged to follow Dion Cassius and Suetonius. The work of the latter, in particular, is but a poor compensation for the loss of Tacitus' guidance; he did not know himself what he wanted to make of his work. His history is written in the form of biographies, and in so far he is quite right, but he had no plan; he wanders about from one subject to another, in consequence of which his biographies are without a definite character. In the commencement of his *Annales*, Tacitus presupposes the previous history of Tiberius as known to his readers. What works he used in his history of that emperor cannot easily be ascertained; it may however have been the history of Seneca, the father of the philosopher Seneca, which was perhaps one of the best¹, or the history written by Servilius Nonianus, who distinguished himself as an historian of that period².

As therefore Tacitus does not give us an account of the early life of Tiberius, I shall endeavour to supply it³. He was the elder son of Tiberius Claudius Nero and Livia Drusilla. His father had been quaestor of the dictator Caesar, but after Caesar's death he joined the party of the republicans, and in this he may have been in earnest. After the battle of Philippi he declared for

¹ See Niebuhr's *Ciceronis, Livii, et Senecae Fragmenta*, p. 104

² *Quinctilian*, x. 1 § 102, *Pliny*, *Epist.* i. 13

³ There are excellent materials for it in Velleius Paterculus, who, whatever we may think of his personal character, is one of the most ingenious writers of antiquity. He very much resembles, in his manner and affectation, the French historians of the 18th century, especially those of the time of Louis XV, but he possessed greater talent, and is an excellent historical source — N

L. Antonius and Fulvia, when they caused the outbreak of the Perusinian war, since he could not expect to be pardoned by Augustus. When the war of Perugia terminated in the surrender of L. Antonius, Tiberius Claudius Nero fled with his family to Naples, and from thence to Sext. Pompeius in Sicily. His son Tiberius, who was born in 710, according to the Varronian aera, was then in his second year. But as Pompeius did not receive them in the way that Claudius Nero had expected, he went to Antony in Greece. Afterwards he returned with Antony to Italy, as an amnesty had been proclaimed in the peace of Brundisium for all those who were with Antony, which was followed by the general amnesty in the peace with Sext. Pompeius. Livia Drusilla was the daughter of one Livius Drusus, though not connected by blood with the tribune and consul of that name, but only by adoption, for her real father was Appius Claudius Pulcher. Tiberius was thus connected with the Claudian family, both on his father's and his mother's side, and he inherited from both his parents the fearful character peculiar to the Claudii.

Soon after the return of Tib. Claudius Nero to Rome, he was compelled by Augustus to give up his wife Livia to him. She was at the time in a state of pregnancy, and gave birth to Drusus in the Palatium. Tiberius, as the step-son of the emperor, was educated as a young man of the highest rank, though nobody then thought of his becoming the successor of Augustus. Augustus hoped in vain to become a father by Livia, and he afterwards set his heart upon Marcellus, the husband of his daughter Julia, and then upon Julia's children by Agrippa. Tiberius had therefore no particular reasons for entertaining great expectations. His education was conducted with great care, it was, according to the fashion of the time, completely Greek, and conducted by Greek grammarians and philosophers. He possessed extraordinary talents, and was exceedingly industrious.

He obtained the quaestura Ostiensis at an early age,

and was then sent to Armenia. He shewed an uncommon activity in all he undertook, and, although no one seems to have looked upon him as the future master of the Roman empire, yet his personal character attracted considerable attention, for he distinguished himself both at the head of an army and in the administration of a province. He was however very early a person of great dissimulation, with a strong inclination to vice, which he carefully endeavoured to conceal. He had scarcely any friend, and stood forth as a man of a reserved and dark nature, for he had no confidence in any one except his mother. He was particularly reserved towards those who stood between him and Augustus, such as Agrippa and young Marcellus. This mistrust, which was nourished as much by circumstances as by his own disposition, had the same unfortunate consequences for his character, as in the case of the emperor Paul I of Russia, who always fancied that persons were plotting against his life. Tiberius was otherwise a man of very great talents; and he himself, his brother Drusus, and his nephew Germanicus, were unquestionably the greatest generals in the Roman empire at that time. Nature had done very much for him, for he possessed a strong intellect, great wit, unwearied industry, a body of the happiest organization, and a beautiful and majestic figure. His statues are so beautiful that it is a real delight to look at them⁴. In addition to all this, Tiberius was an extremely good speaker.

After the death of Vipsanius Agrippa, about whose hostility towards Tiberius there can scarcely be a doubt, Livia and Augustus concocted the plan of making him marry Julia, the widow of Agrippa. Julia then led a highly dissolute life, and was really a shameless woman. Tiberius consented very reluctantly, although this mar-

⁴ Augustus and Tiberius have the finest heads among all the Roman emperors, that of M. Aurelius is distinguished for its mild and benevolent expression —N

riage drew him so much nearer to Augustus, and at the same time increased the possibility of his succeeding his father-in-law. The sons of Agrippa, Caius and Lucius Caesar, whom Augustus had adopted, were as yet alive, and stood between Tiberius and the monarch. The loose conduct of his wife Julia brought upon him humiliations which his pride and haughtiness were unable to get over, and which made him ridiculous in the eyes of the world. He therefore tried to get out of the way, as he knew that remonstrances would not work any change in Julia's conduct⁵. Augustus at first refused his consent to Tiberius absenting himself; but the latter carried his plan into effect notwithstanding, and went to Rhodes, a step which Augustus took so ill that, in spite of his great military services in the wars against the Raetians and Vindelicians, he would not afterwards allow him to return to Rome. Seven years thus passed away, until, after the death of Caius and Lucius Caesar, Livia prevailed upon Augustus to allow Tiberius to come back. The monarch had, on many occasions, spoken of Tiberius with such indignation that even private persons thought they could not offend the emperor by treating Tiberius with contempt. Julia had, in the meantime, been sent by her father into exile, which however had not wrought any change in his feelings towards Tiberius; and it was only through the solicitations of Livia, who then exercised an absolute sway over Augustus, that her son obtained permission to return. His brother Drusus had died many years before; and, soon after his arrival at Rome, Tiberius and Agrippa Posthumus were adopted by Augustus, but Agrippa was soon after banished on account of his savage and intractable character.

⁵ The intricacies of the family of Augustus very much resemble those of the families of Cosmo de Medici and Philip II, for, in all these three cases, we find the members of the same family conspiring and plotting against one another with such cunning and malignity, as though they had been born personal enemies —N.

It was now obvious to every one that Tiberius would be the successor of Augustus. He obtained the tribunician power, and on public occasions he sat by the side of the emperor, who thus formally, though silently, pointed him out as his successor. During the period which now followed, down to the death of his father, Tiberius carried on great and difficult wars, as during the great insurrection of the Pannonians and Illyrians who were conquered by him. Afterwards he undertook the command in Germany, and thwarted the hopes which the Germans entertained in regard to the results of their victory over Varus. On the 19th of August, A.D. 14, Augustus died at Nola, whither Tiberius, who was on his way to Illyricum, was called back by a messenger of his mother. Augustus had made a regular will, in which he had appointed Tiberius the heir of two-thirds of his property, whereas with his usual dissimulation he had made no provision for the republic. However, all the necessary precautions had been taken to secure the power to Tiberius, and the praetorian cohorts were immediately called upon to take their oath of allegiance to him. He was cautious in the exercise of his tribunician power, by which he could assemble the senate, stop its proceedings and, in fact, exercise a complete command over it. After the body of Augustus was carried to Rome and deposited in the Mausoleum, and after Tiberius had delivered the funeral oration, there remained for him but one more step to take, that is, to put himself in the possession of the sovereignty. He was now 56 years old, or at least at the close of his fifty-fifth year. His conduct on that occasion shews us at once that remarkable dissimulation and cunning, which had been fostered by his fear of being plotted against. He was not timid on the field of battle, but he trembled at the thought of a secret enemy. He had by this time acquired a perfect mastery in the dissimulation of his lusts, and in his mistrust. He does not resemble Cromwell in other respects, but he was, like him, one of those characters who never express their real sentiments, for fear

of being betrayed, or of saying more than they want to say. Such characters are fortunately met with more often in ordinary life than among men of power and influence. With such a character he now played the farce which is so admirably described by Tacitus⁶ he declined accepting the imperium, and made the senate beg and intreat him to accept it for the sake of the public good. In the end Tiberius yielded, in as much as he compelled the senate to oblige him to undertake the government. This painful scene forms the beginning of Tacitus' *Annals*

The early part of his reign is marked by insurrections among the troops in Pannonia and on the Rhine. Augustus had established regular garrisons in fortified camps on the frontiers of the empire, where the soldiers were stationed winter and summer, until they were old men. After having been in a legion for a certain number of years, they were to remain for a time under the vexilla as a sort of reserve, and then they were to become free. According to the system of Augustus, the old legion was then broken up, the men received settlements as colonists, and a new legion was formed. This system was a hardship both for the provinces and the soldiers, but was nevertheless admirable, in as much as it kept the men always in a condition to fight, but they were a terror to the provinces, which were plundered and ransacked by the officers as well as by the soldiers. Now those legions had been obliged to serve longer than the law required. This led them to break out in an open rebellion, which is beautifully described by Tacitus⁷, to whose work I refer you. Although these insurrections were put down, yet it was in reality the government that was obliged to yield. The soldiers obtained favourable terms, the hardships of the service were lightened, and the advantages which they were to have as reserves were secured to them, although in aftertimes this last promise was often violated, their leaders however were put to death

⁶ *Annal* i 11 foll

⁷ *Annal* i, 16 foll

LECTURE LXI.

REIGN OF TIBERIUS, CONTINUED — WARS OF GERMANICUS
AND HIS DEATH — LATER PERIOD OF THE REIGN OF
TIBERIUS. — AELIUS SEIANUS. — MACRO — DEATH OF TI-
BERIUS.

THE elections of magistrates had until then been held in the ancient forms, although those proceedings were a mere play and farce, but they were now transferred to the senate, which elected the candidates in perfect conformity with the wishes of the sovereign, and popular elections now ceased altogether. This measure produced in reality no material change, for the Roman people consisted of a small number of persons as early as the reign of Augustus, and they were of the worst part of the nation, whereas the senate was composed of citizens chosen from all Italy and other parts of the empire. But an important change introduced by Tiberius was the drawing up of lists, according to which the provinces were assigned

The reign of Tiberius, which lasted for twenty-three years, that is till A. D. 37, is not rich in events, and it is only the early period of it that is celebrated for the wars of Germanicus in Germany. I cannot enter into the detail of these wars, as our time is too limited, and I shall therefore pass over them, as well as every thing else for which I can refer you to Tacitus. The war of Germanicus was carried into Germany as far as the river Weser, and it is surprising to see that the Romans thought it necessary to employ such numerous armies against tribes which had no fortified towns at all. When such hosts of Romans arrived in Germany, the only refuge of the na-

tives was to withdraw into their forests and the impassable districts. The Romans there committed always the same mistake, that is, they penetrated too far into the country, in the hope of making an imposing impression upon the enemy, and of thus inducing them to submit. They made military roads from the river Lippe into the heart of Germany, which formed causeways or long bridges through the marshes. A more gradual but steady progress would have met with more certain success; but the Romans do not appear to have thought it worth their while to conquer the country, for if they had got it, they would have gained nothing but a wilderness. The main cause of their not taking the country seems to have been that they would not, their only object being to protect the frontier of the empire. We may thank Heaven that they gave up the conquest, and that Tiberius, probably from his jealousy of Germanicus, called him back. The Germans on the Weser had suffered a great defeat, but A. Caecina's forces were nearly destroyed. This shews that the notions, which some persons have of the ancient Germans, are of the most perverse kind. They must have been sufficiently civilized to know how to form large armies, and keep them together ready to fight, when an opportunity offered itself or necessity required it.

Tiberius had a great dislike to giving his generals opportunities for distinguishing themselves, and he therefore gladly connived at any blunder they might make, for example, when the king whom he had given to the Parthians was expelled. The history of his reign after the German wars becomes more and more confined to his family. He had an only son, Drusus, by his first wife Agrippina; and Germanicus, the son of his brother Drusus, was adopted by him. Drusus, the father of Germanicus, must have been a man deserving of praise, but his son Germanicus, the hero of the German wars, was the adored darling of the Roman people, and with justice. If it is true that he longed to see Augustus restore the republic, it

shews a noble soul, although the scheme itself was very fantastic. The republic could not have existed for a single year without a thorough reform of the constitution—a just punishment for the prodigious conquests it had made, and the sins it had committed against the world. Germanicus had declined the sovereignty, which his legions had offered to him after the death of Augustus, and he remained faithful to his adoptive father, although he could not love him. Tiberius had no faith in virtue, because he himself had none of it, he mistrusted Germanicus, and removed him from his victorious legions. His mistrust was the more increased by the enthusiasm with which Germanicus was received in his triumph by all classes. Tiberius, who was conscious of his own vices and his tyranny, although he concealed them from the world, could not look otherwise than with hatred upon a noble character like that of Germanicus. The latter now received the commission which Agrippa had once held, to undertake the administration of the East. On his arrival there he was received with the same enthusiasm as at Rome, but he died soon after. Whether he died a natural death, or whether he was poisoned, is a question upon which the ancients themselves are not agreed. I am however inclined to believe that his death was a natural one, for the statements brought forward against Piso refer to sorcery rather than to poison, and there seem to have been proofs of sorcery, for superstition was then very great¹. Lichtenberg says somewhere, “when people cease to believe in God, they believe in ghosts.” It is not indeed incredible that Piso may have attempted to murder Germanicus, but his conduct towards him and towards Tiberius himself is to me unaccountable and a perfect mystery. He was insolent towards Germanicus, and must have believed that such a treatment would please Tiberius: how could he mistake

¹ See Tacitus, *Annal.* II. 69 foll., Dion Cassius, *LVII.* 18, Sueton *Calig.* 1 foll.

the character of Tiberius so much as not to see that Tiberius would sacrifice him, if the matter should ever come to be discussed? In the time of Tacitus, these occurrences already lay at too great a distance, and he does not express himself with any decision upon them² The fact of Piso's insulting Germanicus was of itself a violation of the *majestas*, as Germanicus was the adopted son of Tiberius. But the most surprising thing was yet to come. When a successor was sent, and Piso was to give up to him his province of Syria, he refused to quit his province, he opposed the commands of Tiberius and collected troops with the intention of marching to Rome. This is to me the most mysterious phaenomenon in all Roman history, and is one of the instances in which secret intrigues, and the obscurity which hangs over the occurrences of a reigning family, defy all attempts at clearing them up. Piso and his wife Munatia Plancina were condemned, but they carried their secret with them to their grave. It might perhaps be suspected that Livia had given Piso secret instructions to murder Germanicus, as she had not to care so much about the anger of Tiberius, but this is no more than a conjecture

The death of Piso was soon followed by the prose-

² In the course of the eighteenth century we meet with two similar cases of suspected poison in the royal family of France. If we read the descriptions of the corpses, the crime seems very probable, but other circumstances are against it, and the truth has never been ascertained to this day. The one case is that of the duke of Orleans, who is generally thought incapable of such a crime, because, with all his vices, he possessed a certain frankness and straightforwardness, but I cannot say thus much of the detestable persons by whom he was surrounded. The second case is that of the duke de Choiseul, who was charged with having poisoned the Dauphin, the son of Louis XV. The prince was a very pious and devout person, Choiseul, on the other hand, was a frivolous freethinker, and knew that he was hated by the Dauphin. It is therefore said that he wanted to get rid of the prince, that he might not prevent the abolition of the order of the Jesuits, and that after the demise of Louis XV Choiseul might be sure of his post.—N

cutions for the *crimen majestatis*. Charges of this kind had occurred very seldom during the time of the republic, and, wherever we meet with any, the prosecution is always directed against persons who, by their personal fault, had brought misfortunes upon the state. In the reign of Augustus, any offence against the person of the imperator had been made by a law a *crimen majestatis*, as though it had been committed against the republic itself. This crime in its undefined character was a fearful thing, for hundreds of offences might be made to come within the reach of the law concerning it. All these deplorable cases were tried by the senate, which formed a sort of condemning machine of the tyrant. Persons who dishonoured members of the emperor's family, for example, those who committed adultery with the imperial princesses, were guilty of the *crimen majestatis*. In the early part of Tiberius' reign, these prosecutions occurred very rarely, but there arose gradually a numerous class of denouncers (*delatores*), who made it their business to bring to trial any one whom the emperor disliked. Tiberius himself acted the part of a neutral person in these proceedings, but the senate gradually got into the fearful habit of condemning every one that was brought to trial, and of looking to nothing but the pleasure of the emperor. Such things, as I said before, did not happen often during the first nine years of the reign of Tiberius, and the monarchy was in a tolerably happy condition. Tiberius himself lived with becoming dignity and moderation, and took great pains about the manner in which he appeared before the public. He treated the eminent men of the nation with distinction, and maintained a strict economy in the finances. Augustus, who had not been very economical, had made the accounts of the treasury known to the public, but Tiberius, who amassed enormous treasures, kept the accounts secret.

This state of things lasted as long as the aged Livia lived, but far-sighted men were not even then without their

apprehensions; for, while Tiberius treated graciously those with whom he came in contact, he was open to nobody. He feared his mother to the very end of her life, but his attachment to her had ceased long before. She was a wicked and terrible woman. After her death, there was no one whom Tiberius had to fear, and he acted as he pleased. His virtues, which had been developed by his former activity, and which had been kept somewhat alive by the authority of others whom he was obliged to please, and to whom he had to render an account of his actions, became now completely extinct. His dark and tyrannical nature got the upper hand: the hateful side of his character became daily more developed, and the only enjoyment of life he indulged in was his detestable lust. An aged man who does this sinks irrevocably into the basest and most abject state. Napoleon is reported to have said that Tacitus had not done justice to Tiberius. Napoleon was very far from being a man of learning; but I am nevertheless convinced that he was very well acquainted with Roman history. He must have said, or meant to say, "if persons form their notion of Tiberius from Tacitus, and regard him as a mere abject and contemptible sensualist, or as a tiger of cruelty, they have not got the right picture of him; for, up to his fiftieth year, he was a great general and statesman." He possessed all the vices which the ancients call *subdola*; all of them now became manifest; and in hypocrisy and dissimulation he had now attained the most perfect mastery.

His only friend was Aelius Seianus, a man of equestrian rank, and the son of a citizen of Vulsini, of the name of Seius Strabo. His character bore the greatest resemblance to that of his sovereign, who raised him to the office of *præfectus prætorio*. He must not however be looked upon merely with contempt; for Tacitus³ characterises him as an excellent officer, and a man of great power of will and of great personal courage, but without

³ Annal iv 1

any moral feeling or principle, for otherwise he could not have been the friend of Tiberius. It was with him alone that Tiberius felt at his ease, and he alone knew how to convince his master that he could follow his own inclinations with more impunity than he thought for. Seianus was thus a very convenient person to Tiberius, who mistrusted even the members of his own family. Seianus increased the numbers of the praetorian guards, and persuaded Tiberius to concentrate them in the *castra praetorianorum* in the neighbourhood of Rome, where they formed, as it were, the citadel of the city. The consequences of this measure render it one of the most important events in Roman history; for the praetorians now occupied the same position which the Janissaries obtained afterwards in Turkey. Seianus contrived to win the heart of Tiberius by raising his mistrust towards his own family to the highest pitch, and he himself aimed at nothing short of the succession as emperor. Drusus, the son of Tiberius, was still alive, and had children; three sons of Germanicus, and Claudius, the brother of Germanicus, were likewise still living; but the plan of Seianus was to get rid of them all. With this view he seduced Livia or Livilla, the wife of Drusus, and with her assistance he poisoned her husband. The sons of Germanicus, with the exception of Caius, who was yet a child, were likewise dispatched. His influence over Tiberius increased every day, and he contrived to inspire his imperial friend with sufficient confidence to go to the island of Capreae; and while Tiberius was there indulging in his lusts, Seianus remained at Rome and governed as his vicegerent. The city of Rome saw the emperor only from time to time. Prosecutions were now instituted against all persons of any consequence at Rome; and the time of Tiberius' leaving Rome forms the beginning of the fearful annals of his reign, for which he deserves to be held up to mankind as a very pattern of a tyrant. Agrippina was banished, but her death belongs to the period subsequent to the

fall of Seianus. His tyrannical proceedings continued for a number of years, until at length he himself incurred the suspicion of Tiberius, and that not without good reasons for there can be no question but that Seianus, to say the least, was only waiting for the death of his master, in order to raise himself to the throne with the help of the praetorians. Tiberius had conferred upon him such extraordinary favours and distinctions that the same homage was paid to him as to the emperor himself

But it now happened that a man still more abject than Seianus found his way to the heart of Tiberius this was Macro, who had none of the great qualities of Seianus, but only analogous vices, and it was he who brought about the downfall of Seianus. Tiberius was made to apprehend a conspiracy, in consequence of which he wished to return to Rome. He arrived in the neighbourhood of the city, convoked a meeting of the senate, and gave orders to arrest Seianus. The letter in which he sent this command to the senate was very well and cunningly framed: it was a *verbosa et grandis epistola*, and in hearing it read the senators were prepared for something extraordinary. It concluded with the command to arrest Seianus. Macro was praefectus vigilum, the gens-d'armes of the city, and had surrounded the senate-house with his troops. Seianus was seized, and the senators, who had that same morning cringed before him, now rose, loudly declaring him guilty of the crimen majestatis, and insisted upon his immediate execution, because they had to fear his praetorian cohorts. He was put to death accordingly, and no one thought of avenging him. Tiberius' thirst for blood now satiated itself in the persecution of the servants and friends of Seianus; the butchering at Rome increased, and those who had formerly been persecuted for being honest men were not in the least safer after the fall of Seianus than before. Macro ruled just as tyrannically, exercised the same influence over the disgusting old man, and was just as faithless to him as his predecessor Caius Caesar, the son of Ger-

manicus, commonly known by the name of Caligula, formed with Macro a connexion of the basest kind, and promised him the high post of praefectus praetorio, if he would assist him in getting rid of the aged monarch. Tiberius was at the time severely ill at a villa near cape Misenum. He fell into a state of lethargy, and everybody believed him to be dead, but when he came to life again he was suffocated, or at least his death was accelerated in some way, for our accounts differ on this point. Thus Tiberius died in the twenty-third year of his reign, A.D. 37, at the age of 78.

LECTURE LXII.

CAIUS CAESAR (CALIGULA) — CLAUDIUS.

GERMANICUS and Agrippina had left behind them six children, three sons and three daughters. One of their sons, Drusus, had been murdered in the reign of Tiberius; Caius, the youngest of them, is known by his surname, Caligula. He was not born at Treves or anywhere in our neighbourhood, but Suetonius has proved from public documents that he was born at Antium¹. The history of his childhood, however, leads us to the country about the Moselle and the Rhine. After the death of his father he lived with his granduncle Tiberius, who still preserved his intellect in the midst of his vices, and Caius became a monster at an early age. If there is anything to be said in his excuse, it is this: he could not conceal from himself that his life was threatened from his childhood, and it may be that his constant fear and anxiety made him mad. This madness however was manifested in the most execrable manner. In the lifetime of Tiberius, Caligula maintained himself by the greatest servility towards the emperor and every one else who was in the possession of power and influence, but he managed things skilfully. Afterwards he formed a close alliance with Macro, and in conjunction with him he got rid of the aged Tiberius. Until then the public had seen little of him. He was a handsome young man in the bloom of life, for he was now only in his twenty-fifth year. His beauty may still be seen in his statues. The resemblance of his features to those of

¹ Sueton. Calig. 8

his father, and the recollection of the noble character of the latter, procured him an enthusiastic welcome on his accession. His surname Caligula is one which I use as repugnantly as that of Caracalla; for no ancient writer, at least no contemporary, applied the name of Caracalla to M. Aurelius Antoninus Bassianus, the son of L. Septimius Severus. It is, like Caligula, a vulgar name. Caius Cæsar was called Caligula in his youth by the soldiers, but the name is unworthy to be used in history

Those who had come in close contact with him, had discovered in him a monstrous wickedness and dissimulation; but their number was very small, and, during the first weeks after his accession, the joyfulness at Rome and throughout the empire was really tumultuous, and his actions justified the delight of the Roman world. How long this lasted is unknown. Suetonius is very minute in his account of Caligula, but he is an unantique writer, and delights in anecdotes and details; he has neither a general survey of his subject, nor the power of drawing up or following a definite plan. Hence his biographies are irregular and diffuse, and contain frequent repetitions. But although he is a bad writer, yet he is a man of sense, in whom one can see that he wrote at a time when the classical form of written compositions was neglected or unknown. But I will not say more suffice it to state, that Caligula was a real madman, and what Goethe's Faust says of Mephistopheles

Thou nature's mockery, born of filth and fire !

may justly be applied to the character of Caligula². No

² About twenty years ago there died a prince, Christian VII of Denmark, in whose name the government was well conducted for a number of years, so that his madness could do no harm. That prince had no opportunity of shewing his real character, but he had the same combination of obscenity and cruelty as Caligula, and if he had lived in different circumstances he would have acted like him. Men like these two are occasionally met with among the eastern princes, especially among the Mohammedans —N

one can take any pleasure in giving a detailed description of his actions. Some of my friends have expressed the opinion that Juvenal was an obscene man, on account of what he relates in his satires; but I do not think so, and I believe that he was only indelicate. Suetonius, on the other hand, was undoubtedly infected with the vicious character of his age, for he evidently likes to dwell upon it. He is himself in doubt as to whether the wickedness of Caligula was the manifestation of a diabolical nature, or merely the result of his madness; but he mentions one circumstance which is decisive, viz., that he was scarcely able to sleep at night³. Christian VII. of Denmark had the same restlessness at night he was often seen during the night standing at the windows of his palace without any covering, and he was always wandering about. Sleep is a balm for the reason of man. Now imagine Caligula living in circumstances where there was nothing to exercise any beneficial influence upon his mind; if he had been a Christian, religion would have afforded, at least, some means for making an impression upon him; but there was nothing at Rome that could have checked his madness. Rome was under the most complete military despotism. The soldiers were munificently rewarded, and if the senate had risen against the tyrant, it would have been sacrificed by the praetorians. The fate of Rome was like that of a place taken by barbarous and merciless Turks, and the condition of the empire was no better. Tiberius had left behind a treasury which contained nearly twenty millions sterling, if the calculation is right. this sum was squandered away by Caligula in the most senseless manner, and the fresh sums which were raised by confiscations were again lavished in the same way.

With the Germans a peace had been concluded after the wars of Germanicus, and it had now lasted for

³ Sueton Calig. 50.

about twenty years, but the terms on which it was founded are not known. Caligula however could not deny himself the pleasure of undertaking a campaign, ostensibly against the Germans, but he conducted it like a fool. This was however the least important among his senseless undertakings; a more gigantic one was the causeway or bridge which he caused to be made across the straits between Baiae and Puteoli. His madness in ordering himself to be worshipped as a god, and the like, are well known.

After the senate had thus lived in despair for a period of four years, a conspiracy broke out among the officers of the praetorians, who were always about the emperor's person, and whom he ill-used. Their plan succeeded, and Caligula was murdered. This event excited great joy among the senators, and there now awoke the fantastic hope of restoring the republic. The consuls convoked the senate in the capitol, and it was really believed that the republic might be revived. The senate quickly passed a sentence of disgrace upon Caligula, and during the first hours after his death the restoration of the republic was discussed with great joy. But difficulties soon appeared, and were followed by the conviction that the senate had made the reckoning without the host, and that the praetorians had all the power in their hands. and the praetorians insisted upon being governed by a monarch.

During the tumult Claudius had concealed himself, for fear of being murdered by the soldiers; but he was dragged forth from his hiding-place. the praetorians took their oath of allegiance to him, and regularly proclaimed him emperor, although the *cohortes urbanae*, which were always hostile towards the praetorians, had declared in favour of the republic; but they were unable to make head against the praetorians. The issue of the contest however was so doubtful that people were glad on the day following to recognise Claudius as emperor.

Claudius was an uncle of Caligula and a brother of Germanicus. It was almost a miracle that his life had been saved. He had never been adopted by Tiberius, but things had already come to such a point that this preliminary step was no longer considered necessary to establish a man's claims to the sovereignty. Claudius was now in his fiftieth year. Of Caligula we cannot speak otherwise than as a monster; but Claudius deserves our deepest pity, although he did evil things, which shew that there was some bad element in his nature. But if we examine the history of his life, we find that his bad qualities were mainly the result of his misfortunes.

His mother Antonia, a daughter of the triumvir, M. Antony, called him a *portentum hominis*⁴, and he was really an *ἀνὴρ ἀτέλειστος*, for there was something wanting in him, without which the human mind is not complete, although he was not devoid of talent. He is one of those phenomena in history which have a psychological peculiarity. He had a great desire to acquire knowledge; he was very industrious, and fond of science and literature, but he was deficient in judgment and reflection. He often said and did things which were really stupid, and it is as if he had been covered with a thick crust, through which his good nature only burst forth occasionally. Suetonius' life of Claudius is very instructive. In describing his character, Suetonius uses two Greek words, which shew what nice observers of character the Greeks were. He says⁵ that people were astonished at his *μετεωρία* and *ἀβλεψία*, referring to his want of tact and thoughtlessness, which made him say things that were inappropriate, or the very reverse of what he ought to have said. In his early life he had been ill-treated by his whole family, for his brother and sister were persons of great qualities, and possessed all the love and affection of the family, whereas every one was ashamed of Claudius. The aged Augustus

⁴ Sueton Claud 3

⁵ Claud 39

would not allow him to appear before the public at all⁶, and his grandmother, Livia, treated him roughly and cruelly. The unhappy young man felt the contempt with which he was treated very keenly, and I am convinced that, if he had been brought up as a private man, and treated with love, the evil part of his nature would never have been developed, and he himself would have become an industrious and good-natured man; no one could then have reckoned him among the vicious characters. Among his bad features I must mention his very great cowardice; he withdrew from everything, and whenever he attempted to come forward, his timidity overcame him, and he was obliged to retire. He sought consolation in literary pursuits. It is my sorrowful duty thus to speak of this unhappy man, who is frequently, but unjustly, placed on a level with other tyrants. Livy, the historian, of whose benevolent heart we can judge from his work, pitied Claudius, and endeavoured to encourage him in his literary pursuits, for Claudius was fond of history, and Livy cheered him on in it⁷. Claudius considered it to be his calling to write the history of the civil wars, subsequent to the death of Caesar, and he wrote it in so honest a manner, that his family became quite enraged at him. He also wrote memoirs of the reign of Augustus. He was thoroughly honest, but his want of judgment always led him to silly acts. In this manner he passed his life in great obscurity. Tiberius allowed him to live, because he thought him too insignificant a person, and he even gave him the consulship. In his several marriages, too, Claudius was unhappy⁸, and misfortune pursued him in all he undertook. He was of an affectionate disposition,

⁶ Sueton Claud 3 foll

⁷ Sueton Claud. 41

⁸ The conduct of females at that time was of the most dissolute kind. Augustus had exerted himself in vain to counteract their immorality, and even the licentious Tiberius had been zealous in opposing it. It was so bad that we can now scarcely form a notion of it—N.

and had a tender attachment to women who disgraced and betrayed him.

In this manner he had reached his fiftieth year, when Caligula was murdered, and he was raised to the throne as his successor. His conduct was at first rational and good: the childish scheme of restoring the republic was not avenged upon those who had entertained it, and he ordered a general amnesty *factorum dictorumque* to be proclaimed⁹. Only a few of the murderers of Caligula were put to death,—a measure which we cannot approve of, but it was a sacrifice which he had to make to the soldiers. Claudius is the first emperor that was obliged, on his accession, to give donations to the soldiers, or at least to the praetorians. He reigned for nearly fourteen years, from A.D. 41 to 54, and during the first period of his government he made many a good and useful regulation, if he had found an honest friend, in whom he could have trusted, his reign might have been happy and praiseworthy. But this was unfortunately not the case. He had always been confined within the walls of the palatium, he had lived only with his wives, and had tried only to please them; and besides them he had had no social intercourse, except with his slaves and freedmen. But the unhappy prince, with his strong natural desire to open his heart to others, had no real friend. Had he not come to the throne, he would have remained harmless; but when he ascended it, he was surrounded by his freedmen, who acted the part of friends, just as at present the barber of Don Miguel is his confidant although in his case there is nothing to excuse such a connexion. Claudius himself was a better man, and had a more cultivated mind than Don Miguel. Many among his freedmen may not have been altogether contemptible persons, for Greek slaves were often very well informed; and Polybius was probably a man of very good education, although he may have been very bad in a moral point of view,

⁹ Sueton Claud 11

for Seneca condescended to dedicate one of his works to him¹⁰. But Pallas and Narcissus, with whom Claudius may have been connected before he ascended the throne, were men of a different cast; they were downright wicked, and in their insatiable avarice they plundered the empire.

Through the influence of these persons and his wife Agrippina¹¹, the daughter of his brother, he was induced to adopt Domitius Nero, the son of Agrippina by her former husband, although Claudius himself had a son Britannicus, who might have become his successor. It was, further, the influence of those same persons that made his reign so terrible. If we compare the number of persons that fell as victims with the number of those that were executed under other rulers, it is not indeed large; but still a considerable number of innocent persons were put to death, and his reign was unhappy for Rome, which underwent a series of acts of degradation. On the other hand, however, works were executed in his reign, which would have done honour to a better age. I need only mention the great aqueduct, the *aqua Claudia*, the finest of all, which supplied Rome with water throughout the middle ages, and was built in the grand antique style. Another gigantic work, which Augustus had thought impracticable, was the emissary or canal which carried the water of lake Fucinus into the river Liris. Ruins of the vaults of this emissary still remain.


With regard to the wars of his reign, Claudius himself undertook an expedition against Britain, and actually extended the Roman dominion. No one had been concerned about Britain ever since the expeditions of Julius Caesar, but Claudius led an army into the island and formed a

¹⁰ The *Consolatio ad Polybium*. Compare Seneca, *De morte Drusi*, in fin., Sueton. *Claud.* 28.

¹¹ She was a woman of the most dissolute character and without a trace of modesty. She was very beautiful, but delighted in nothing so much as in intrigues. She had not inherited one of the virtues of her parents — N.

Roman province there, which consisted of the south-eastern part of Britain, and from which Vespasian and his sons effected the conquest of England as far as the Caledonian frontier.

His death was unquestionably caused by poison, administered to him by Agrippina, who wanted to secure the succession to her son Nero, for she knew that Claudius would repent his having adopted him, and would therefore appoint his own son Britannicus his successor. Claudius died scorned and despised. The unhappy man is seen in all his wretchedness in Seneca's work, "*Ludus de morte Claudii*."



LECTURE LXIII.

STATE OF ROMAN LITERATURE DURING THE EARLY PART
OF THE EMPIRE.—THE REIGN OF NERO

THE time of Augustus is the beginning of an almost complete barrenness in Roman literature; poetry became altogether extinct, and we cannot mention a single poet that was a young man in the latter part of the reign of Augustus. We here meet with the same phaenomenon which we have witnessed in the most recent period of the poetry of our own literature. The influence of Greek rhetoricians is visible even in the best proseworks of the Romans, and how little the most eminent writers were free from the influence of the rhetorical schools is manifest in the history of Livy, but about the time of Augustus' death, and in the reign of Tiberius, the rhetoricians exercised a paramount influence upon all branches of literature. Their only object was to produce effect by sophistical niceties, a bombastic phraseology, and high flown words, thoughts and substance were considered as of secondary importance. The age of Seneca, among whose productions we still possess some specimens of the hollow declamations of the time, was the fruit of those rhetorical schools. Seneca, the father, upbraided his sons with their bad taste, although he himself was anything but free from it. Seneca the philosopher is the most remarkable man of that time, and, in order to form a correct opinion of him, it is necessary to understand the whole literature of his age. The elder Pliny, though quite different from him, belonged nevertheless to the same school which constitutes what is commonly called the *argentea aetas* of Roman literature.

Seneca was a highly ingenious man, and his influence upon the literature of his country was very beneficial. Dion Cassius exaggerates in his censure of Seneca,¹ and is altogether unable to perceive that he rises like a giant above all his contemporaries. There is an interesting work on Seneca by Diderot,² which shews us the great contrast between the manner in which the philosopher is viewed by the learned Diderot, and by Dion Cassius, the practical man of the world.

Lucan belongs to the school of Seneca, and his example shews us how much more intolerable its tendency is in poetry than in prose. Chateaubriand, who is the offspring of a similar school, is a perfect *pendant* to the bad poet Lucan. This is indeed not yet generally recognised, but the opinion which now prevails in regard to his merits cannot continue. Nero, who was unquestionably a man of talent, belonged to the same intolerable school as Lucan. Quintilian was the real restorer of good taste in literature, and he cannot in any way be classed among the writers of the *argentea aetas*.

The condition of Rome and the empire after the death of Claudius appeared to be improving, for the provinces enjoyed a material prosperity, and the towns became filled with a large population. Unhappy Greece however was still a desert, and Italy had not yet recovered from its former desolation. The settlements which the Romans made were not, like modern colonies, established in villages in the country, but in towns. The population was restored or kept up by slaves and freedmen, for marriage still continued to be disliked by most persons, men generally lived in concubinage with their female slaves, and their children were the offspring of such connexions, for which reason they are called in inscriptions *liberti*. The lex Papia Poppaea, though a necessary measure, was of

¹ LXI. 10

² *Essai sur la Vie et les Ecrits de Senèque, avec des notes &c* Paris, 1779, 120.

little avail; for the dissolute state of morality among free women was still so great that an honest man generally found a more faithful friend and companion in his female slave than in a Roman lady of rank. The number of libertini and slaves thus increased to a prodigious extent. This however was not the case in the provinces, which moreover received new life and a supplementary population through the military colonies. These colonies probably did not exercise a very demoralizing influence upon the provincials, since we find that the vital energy of the provinces became gradually restored, even in the midst of their military despots; and a governor against whom a charge was brought could not now purchase his acquittal, as had been so frequently the case during the latter period of the republic.

After the death of Claudius, Nero ascended the throne, but whether Claudius had appointed him his successor in his will is one of those questions on which we can only form conjectures. Nero was a pupil of Seneca and Burrus, and we have every reason for believing that he was a person of great natural talents. The history of his reign is so well known that to enumerate its events would be only repeating that which is familiar to every one of you, and those who do not know the history may read it in Tacitus. Nero was the son of Agrippina, the unworthy daughter of Germanicus, but the true sister of Caligula. Her husband, Cn Domitius Ahenobarbus, was no better than herself, and after the birth of his son Nero he himself said to his congratulating friends, 'that his and Agrippina's offspring could be nothing but a monster'. The whole of the Roman world shared this apprehension with him, and hence the general astonishment of the Romans during the first years of Nero's reign. Burrus, one of his instructors, was a stern man and of genuine virtue; Seneca, on the other hand, was an accomplished man of the world, and I

² Sueton Nero, 6.

am inclined to believe that, although he was a virtuous philosopher, he acted on the principle that, as far as he himself was concerned, he might dispense with the laws of morality which he laid down for others, and that he might give way to his natural propensities. He appears to have been convinced of his being the most virtuous and talented man of his age. The influence of these two men upon Nero had its decided effects; they had to counteract the evil influence of the courtezans by whom he was surrounded, no less than that of his mother Agrippina. Burrus acted from his desire to promote the public good, but Seneca may have been actuated by his knowledge that he was hated by Agrippina.

The fair dream of Nero's amiable character did not last long; things gradually took a different turn, and the licentiousness in which he lived, the influence of the beautiful Poppaea Sabina, the wife of M. Salvius Otho, and the far more injurious influence of his mother, produced the complete degeneracy which we afterwards find in Nero. Seneca is said to have assisted him in the plan of murdering his mother⁴, on account of the personal enmity existing between him and Agrippina, and it is a fact that the speech on her death, which Nero ordered to be read in the senate, was the work of Seneca⁵. It is well known that after the murder of Agrippina, Nero abandoned himself to bloodshed and delighted in it. Tacitus⁶ does not consider it a well attested fact that Nero set fire to the city of Rome, and it may indeed have been no more than a report. The fact of his looking at the calamity, and singing at the same time, merely shews his madness, but does not prove that he was the author of the fire. This conflagration, which raged for six days and seven nights, is an important event in the history of Rome, for after this catastrophe the city assumed

⁴ Tacitus, *Annal* xiv 7

⁵ Tacitus, *Annal* xiv 11, *Quintilian*, viii 5 § 18

⁶ *Annal*. xv. 38 Comp. *Sueton Nero*, 38

an aspect totally different from what it had worn before, and the new streets which were now built were made straight, and took different directions from the old ones. The greater part of the city was reduced to a heap of ashes or at least very much damaged. The magnificent ancient monuments, works of art, and libraries perished in the flames. After the fire was over, Nero, with his usual unbounded extravagance, began restoring the city: he built his "golden palace," and in the midst of the city, on the site now occupied by the Colosseum, he had a large pond dug out for the purpose of exhibiting *naumachiae*⁷. Soon after this event Nero ordered Seneca to be executed. The manly death of the philosopher somewhat atones for his former conduct. The conspiracy of Calpurnius Piso, in which Seneca, perhaps with injustice, was said to have been an accomplice, was undertaken without the army, and was merely a plot which had been concerted at the court.

During the reign of Nero, the frontiers of the empire were no longer in the state of peace and tranquillity which they had enjoyed under Claudius. The Romans had established themselves in Britain, and had constituted a part of the island as a Roman province. This establishment of a province was the more oppressive to the natives, as the country was poor. The oppression led to an insurrection under a British queen Boadicea, a woman of a truly great character, in which the Roman armies were at first completely beaten; at last however the Britons were defeated by Suetonius Paulinus with great difficulty, and Boadicea put an end to her life. The Britons were compelled to submit, and preparations were now made for the conquest of all England. Another war which occurred in the reign of Nero is that of Corbulo against the Parthians. Corbulo conducted it with uniform success, and the Parthian king Tiridates was compelled to consent to his holding his kingdom as a fief of the Roman emperor

⁷ Martial, *De Spect* II 5

Tiridates himself came to Rome; he was received in the most magnificent manner, and obtained the diadem from Nero. The reward which Corbulo received for his victories, was—death. He was a faithful and conscientious Roman, who kept his faith even to a Nero^a. His bust was discovered about forty years ago

Nero went on from one act of madness to another, and there can be no doubt that he was a madman, though not in the same degree as Caligula. His travelling about in Greece and his taking part in the musical and poetical contests, would have been very harmless amusements, but while he flattered the Greeks, he robbed their country of the finest works of art. His journey to Greece was followed by the insurrection of C Julius Vindex and Sulpicius Galba.

^a Dion Cass LXIII 17, Tacitus, Hist II 76.



LECTURE LXIV.

GALBA. — OTHO. — VITELLIUS. — VESPASIAN. — JOSEPHUS.

THE Roman world had borne Nero's tyranny for ten years, when the first attempt was made to get rid of it. He had undertaken his journey to Greece from sheer vanity, for the homage of the Greeks was his highest ambition. When he returned to Rome crowned as a victor in the public games of Greece, an insurrection broke out in Gaul, under the Aquitanian C. Julius Vindex¹ who brought it about by his wealth and influence. This insurrection was of a different nature from the one which had occurred in the reign of Tiberius, when the Gauls hoped to recover their independence, for now their only intention was, as Romans, to throw off the yoke of a tyrant which pressed down the Roman world. Vindex was a man of a great mind, and his influence spread from Aquitania as far as Besançon. The part of Tacitus' Annals, in which the detail of this insurrection was described, is lost, and we are confined to Xiphilinus' abridgment of Dion Cassius. Rome had yet its distinguished men. Corbulo had fallen shortly before, but Virginus Rufus was also a true patriot. He met Vindex at Besançon, fearing lest the insurrec-

¹ Nearly all the Gauls that are mentioned under the empire bear the gentile name of Julius,—some have the gentile name of Claudius—because they had obtained the *civitas* either from Julius Caesar or Augustus. This uniformity in the names has been the cause of much confusion, especially in the second century. Cn. Julius Agricola was indeed born in the Roman colony of Forum Julii, but I believe, nevertheless, that he belonged to a Gallic family.—N

tion should lead to a dissolution of the Roman empire, and during a truce both generals agreed upon recognising the authority of the Roman senate. But a tumult broke out between the two armies during these transactions, and Vindex fell a victim to it. The diadem was offered to Virginius Rufus, but he declined it.

Spain was at that time very badly provided with troops, and had in reality only one legion, which, together with a number of veterans, was under the command of Servius Sulpicius Galba. He was proclaimed emperor by the soldiers. He belonged to one of the most ancient patrician families*. We are not confined in his history to the account in Suetonius, who had evidently no clear notion of him, and merely relates pleasant anecdotes; but his history is nevertheless very obscure, and we are in considerable difficulty to know what to think of him. Thus much however is clear, that Galba was esteemed by the army, and that, in his younger years, he had been a distinguished general, and, considering what men then were, an unblemished governor of several provinces. He had already attained his seventy-third year, when he was called to the throne, and by this time he had come under the influence of unworthy persons, especially his own freedmen. The disturbances and confusions which arose about and after the death of Nero greatly contributed to the depravation of the character of the Romans. The exasperation against Nero had spread into the most distant provinces, and there were but few persons who were pleased with his proceedings. When Galba was proclaimed emperor, he formed an army out of the soldiers that he could muster in his province, and set out towards the Alps. Virginius Rufus and his army recognised him as emperor. Although Nero was surrounded by his praetorians, yet no one drew a

* The praenomen Servius had already assumed the character of a real name as much as Appius, and hence we find Servii Sulpicii with another praenomen before Servius.—N.

sword in his defence, and he found himself forsaken by every body, even before the revolted armies arrived. The senate was roused from its state of servitude, it defied and condemned the tyrant, as he deserved. He fled from his palace, concealed himself in the house of one of his freedmen, and with a reluctant hand inflicted a deadly wound upon himself. A sentence of condemnation was passed upon his memory, but he nevertheless obtained an honourable burial, A.D. 68

Galba now entered Rome, and if he had acted only with a little more liberality, things would have gone on well enough. The troops were already accustomed to receive their donatives, and they had been promised very munificent ones by the friends of Galba, but he now gave them with a niggardly hand. It was indeed necessary to study economy, but the way in which he did it led to his ruin. He also shewed his mistrust towards the praetorians, although he must have known that his life was in the hands of those 10,000 men. He ought to have disbanded them, and put their seditious leaders to death: he ought then to have formed a new corps of them, or to have abolished them altogether. But he placed himself in the same situation as the Bourbons, when they threw themselves into the hands of the army, which did not want them.

M. Salvius Otho who, to the disgrace of those times, was the most powerful man among the praetorians, had no illustrious ancestors, and was a dandy in the most disgusting sense of the word. He had been the associate of Nero in many of his vices, and his success in life was the result of Nero's favour; but it is doubtful whether he also took part in the bloodshed in which Nero indulged. He was rich, and his manners were graceful, or what people call amiable: his conduct was of that popular kind, which exercised the greatest influence upon the disposition of the praetorian cohorts. These men now began to miss the munificence of Nero, and seemed

to expect to be indemnified for their loss by Otho, who contrived to strengthen them in this hope. Galba, in his short reign, had to contend with several insurrections, for the troops under A. Caecina and Fabius Valens on the Rhine revolted against him; and in these difficulties he endeavoured to strengthen himself by adopting a young Roman of rank, Piso Licinianus, a person who had nothing to boast of, except his noble descent and his unblemished personal character. But Galba had lost the attachment of all rational men through his meanness, and the influence of his freedmen. He may be reckoned *inter bonos et malos principes*, and might perhaps have been a good prince altogether, had he not been prevented by the foibles of old age. Otho had calculated upon being adopted by the emperor, and the old soldiers had shared with him in this expectation. The disappointment led Otho to the deepest dissimulation, by which he succeeded in inducing the praetorians to recognise him as emperor. They marched into the city, and towards the forum; and Galba, who appeared with Piso in the hope of making an imposing impression on the rebels, was cut down before the German troops, who were stationed at Albano, had time to come to his assistance. Otho was now proclaimed.

Unworthy as the senate then was, it yet abhorred Otho. The Germans on the frontier of the Rhine, in the mean time, proclaimed their commander, A. Vitellius, emperor, a man who was far more vulgar and vicious than Otho. It is superfluous to speak here of his brutal manners and his beastly voracity. He was now fifty-seven years old, and enjoyed a certain popularity which had been transferred to him from his father, L. Vitellius, who had been thrice consul and once censor in the reign of Claudius³. Vitellius, the father, must have been a very good man, but he had degraded himself by his flattery towards Claudius. His son, on the other hand, had spent

³ Tacitus, Hist. i 9; Sueton. Vitell. 2

all his life in the basest vulgarities. It may be that A. Caecina and Fabius Valens proclaimed him only with the view of stripping him of his dignity soon after, and of then seeing which of them might succeed him. Vittelius had ingratiated himself with the German legions by granting them everything, and by making them believe that he was giving them only that which was most necessary. This army now quickly set out for Italy, and the speed with which they marched is a proof no less of the immense mobility of the Roman legions than of the excellence of the Roman roads. Italy was the most defenceless part of the empire; and Otho, with his cohorts, quickly marched to the north of Italy to meet the Germans. A. Caecina and Fabius Valens however descended from the Alps before Otho arrived on the banks of the Po. In the first engagements Otho was successful, and if he had endeavoured to protract the war, things might have turned out differently, for his treasury was much better stocked than that of his enemy, and he might have considerably reinforced himself. But he resolved to fight a decisive battle at Bedriacum, in the neighbourhood of Cremona, and lost it completely. The question however was not yet quite settled, and, if Otho had withdrawn to the fortified places in the neighbourhood, he might still have had time to assemble a fresh army. But he would not continue the war he put an end to his life, and advised his friends to become reconciled to the conqueror. This occurred on the ninety-fifth day after his elevation to the imperial throne. The last act of Otho is praised by Suetonius⁴, and other historians after him, as noble and virtuous, but I look upon it in a different light, and can see in it nothing but the action of a man who has sunk to the lowest stage of effeminacy, and who is unable to struggle against difficulties, or to bear the uncertainty between fear and hope. Such characters are met with in the lower as well as the higher spheres of

⁴ Otho, 10 foll.

life. I look upon Otho's putting an end to his existence with the same contempt with which Juvenal looks upon it; and it is quite certain that Tacitus too, in reality, did not estimate Otho any higher than I do; for we must well consider that a great historian, in describing a tragic event in a man's life, rises to a state of mental emotion which is very different from his moral judgment.

On his arrival in Rome, Vitellius assumed the appearance as if he would avenge the murder of Galba, and ordered upwards of a hundred praetorians to be put to death. If we overlook his personal character, which was contemptible, things did not at first go on as badly as had been anticipated. Peace however was soon disturbed again, for the legions in Moesia and the East thought it a great insult that an emperor had been set on the throne without their consent. They had been destined to come to the assistance of Otho, and now rose against Vitellius. They were roused and stimulated by the ambitious and enterprising Antonius Primus. At the same time the legions in Syria, which were destined, under the command of Mucianus, to operate against the Parthians, refused obedience to Vitellius. Their example was followed by the legions with which T. Flavius Vespasianus was carrying on the war in Judaea. The legions of Syria and Judaea could not go to Italy without exposing those parts of the empire to the invasion of the Parthians. Similar consequences might have followed the withdrawal of the troops from the Rhine and the Danube; and it is an unaccountable phaenomenon that it was possible for the Romans to remove their troops from those frontiers, without any attempt being made by the Germans to cross the rivers and invade the Roman dominion. There are, it is true, some traces of treaties having been concluded with the Germans, but the mystery is that those treaties were kept. As far as the country in our neighbourhood is concerned, we know little of the period subsequent to the reign of Caligula; but a peaceful relation seems to

have been established, and the Germans seem to have had no inclination to undertake a war. Although it was not till a later time that a ditch, with an earthen wall surmounted by palisades, was drawn from the river Sieg to the Altmühl, yet the country between the upper Rhine and the Danube must have been under the dominion of Rome as early as the time of Vitellius


T. Flavius Vespasianus, with all his faults, was the true restorer of the state, a fact which has never yet been sufficiently acknowledged. He did indeed things which are a stain on his character, that can never be wiped off; but if we take him as he was, and consider what could be expected, we shall find great excuses for his faults. In the reign of Vitellius, he was engaged in the Jewish war, which was begun as early as the time of Nero, and ended with the destruction of Jerusalem. I should like very much to relate to you its history, on account of its fearful greatness, but our limited time does not allow me to follow my inclination. The history of the Jewish war can be made profitable only by a careful study in detail of the state of parties among the Jews, of their sentiments and the like—and these things belong to a history of the Jews rather than to Roman history. I refer those who wish to make themselves acquainted with it, to the work of Josephus, which, with all its faults against the correctness of the Greek idiom, is one of the most interesting histories that antiquity has produced. The writings of Josephus deserve to be recommended to the study of every scholar and theologian, his history of the Jewish war is, next to Caesar's commentaries, the most instructive work, especially in regard to the tactics of the Romans. Josephus was a Pharisee, and although he was unquestionably a better man than the majority of them, yet the Pharisaic element was in him. Hence he is often untrue, and his Archaeology abounds in distortions of historical facts and in falsifications, which arise from his inordinate national pride. In his account of the Jewish war, he displays

many of the peculiarities of an oriental writer, and wherever he deals in numbers, he shews his oriental love of exaggeration; some of his numbers are manifestly impossible, and you must not allow yourselves to be misled by them. It is remarkable how well he writes Greek, if we except some standing errors which constantly recur. His name in our manuscripts is Flavius Josephus, but his full name, which undoubtedly he derived from the emperor who made him his prisoner and afterwards gave him the Roman franchise, was Titus Flavius Josephus.

When the insurrection against Vitellius broke out, Vespasian was engaged with a powerful army in Judaea, where the Jews offered a brave and heroic resistance. He was descended from an obscure family, and as he himself possessed no vanity, no one took the trouble to invent illustrious ancestors for him, although Flavii occur in the early history of the republic. His grandfather however had somewhat risen from his obscurity. Vespasian had at this time arrived at the age of sixty. During the frightful period of the reigns of Caligula, Claudius, and Nero, he was fortunate enough to escape; but he was obliged to put up with many unpleasant things, and at the time when the empire was reduced to a state of perfect servitude, he too had been under the necessity of acting the part of a slave, but he had done it always with reluctance. He was a good general, and had gradually risen without any one being able to charge him with rapacity in his administration of provinces,—a feature which deserves the greater admiration as he is said to have been naturally fond of money. He had thus conducted himself with *innocentia*, at a time when there was neither a lack of good generals nor of wars in which they could develop their talents. His family belonged to the town of Nursia, the birth-place of Sertorius, in the high Sabine mountains. The *Nursina duritia* of which Fronton⁵ speaks, must be applied to Vespasian. In the

⁵ *Principia Historiae*, p. 242, ed. Niebuhr. Compare vol. iv. p. 424 foll.

country about Nursia, the old Italian families had preserved their character as sturdy peasants. Vespasian was universally known and honoured in the Roman armies, for he had all the virtues of a general, and had not been affected by the vices of the higher classes among the Romans. Licinius Mucianus, the governor of Syria, on the other hand, belonged to one of the noblest families; but the descent from an ancient family was at that time of no importance at Rome. Mucianus felt this, and readily assisted in raising Vespasian to the throne.



LECTURE LXV.

VESPASIAN, CONTINUED.—INSURRECTION OF CLAUDIUS CIVILIS, AND STATE OF GAUL UNDER THE ROMANS.—TITUS.

MUCIANUS was a man of rank, and had all the vices of his time. He had little ambition, and preferred being under an emperor to being emperor himself, which dignity seems to have had no charms for him. Vespasian had recognised Galba as emperor without any hesitation, but after Galba's death the thought occurred to him to seek the imperial dignity for himself. He must have been conscious of the fact that the attention of the Roman world was directed towards him. When therefore the insurrection against Vitellius broke out, Vespasian was not under the necessity of coming forward himself, for Antonius Primus, who placed himself at the head of the revolted legions of Moesia and Pannonia, marched into Italy, and conquered the generals of Vitellius in the neighbourhood of Cremona. At Rome too an insurrection had now broken out. T. Flavius Sabinus, the brother of Vespasian, who was praelect of the city, and Domitian, the younger son of Vespasian, were at Rome, and were looked upon by the Vitellian party as hostages for Vespasian. The conduct of Vitellius towards them was vacillating, the first movement irritated him, and afterwards, on being terrified by the report of the battle near Cremona, he tried to capitulate, and was ready to surrender his power; but when again he observed some symptoms which seemed to announce a change in his favour, he attempted to make Sabinus and Domitian his prisoners. They fled to the

capitol, which was set on fire, and Sabinus was cut down during the massacre. Domitian saved his life with great difficulty. The party of Vespasian however gained fresh strength every day, and the victorious army, under Antonius Primus, advanced irresistibly towards Rome, which, after the mad and violent excesses that had taken place, was quite defenceless, and fell into the hands of the conquerors. Vitellius was murdered after a reign of about eight months.

I believe that Domitian was at this time only twenty years old. He took the power into his own hands. His elder brother Titus was left by Vespasian in Judaea, and as Vespasian did not arrive in Italy for some time, Domitian exercised the imperial power in his name. During this period of his father's absence he committed many acts of cruelty, from a desire to take vengeance on his personal enemies, rather than to punish any real offences. You may read all these occurrences in Tacitus¹, whose account of them is the most perfect that one can wish for, but unfortunately it does not extend beyond the first year of Vespasian's reign. The moral depravation was as great among the partizans of Vespasian, as among those of Vitellius, just as during the latter period of the Thirty years' war, when the Swedish generals, such as Banner and Torstenson, were no better than the commanders of the imperial armies. Tacitus therefore does not make any one of them his hero, as many historians do, who allow themselves to be led away by the interest they take in a particular person. Vespasian did not arrive at Rome till about the end of the summer A.D. 70, though Vitellius had been killed in December the year before, a circumstance which was not without its unfortunate consequences. Rome was governed during that time by a dissolute and tyrannical young man, for Domitian already displayed the vices and passions which characterize his later years; and Helvidius Priscus, a man

¹ Hist. III. 86, IV. 1 foll

who was not fitted for the time in which he lived, allowed himself to be led to an improper opposition against the government², which was unfortunate no less for Vespasian than for the Roman empire.

While the armies were advancing from the frontiers to Italy, a state of feeling became developed in Gaul, of which some symptoms had appeared as early as the reign of Tiberius. What Gaul wanted was perfectly impracticable. Traces of this feeling which was now spreading in Gaul may be discerned even in the insurrection of Julius Vindex, and people may praise Virginius Rufus as much as they like, but I believe that the thought of murdering Vindex arose from the feeling that he was a Gaul. His death was a fresh stimulus to his nation. The prosperity of Gaul had been increasing ever since the time of Julius Caesar, as we may gather from Pliny's account of *Gallia Narbonensis*, and the same must have been the case in the northern parts of Gaul.

We have certainly no adequate notion of the state of Gaul under the Romans, for all our knowledge of it is confined to what we learn from Strabo and Pliny, who speak only of single towns. In history Gaul is not mentioned, except by Tacitus at the beginning of the insurrection of Claudius Civilis, after that event it again disappears from history until the third century, and we learn nothing of it except in the meagre accounts of the writers of the "*Historia Augusta*," and the *Itineraries*, which are mostly confined to a few high roads. Hence D'Anville's map of Gaul, which is otherwise most excellent, looks like a map of a country which has only just received some settlements and is beginning to be taken into cultivation³. But this is the consequence of the scantiness of our information. Gaul under the Romans was a well cultivated country with a very large population; for in many parts of France we find

² Tacitus, *Hist* iv 5 foll

³ His maps of eastern countries are quite different, for there he possessed a very minute knowledge of some districts.—N.

very extensive ruins of towns which we cannot identify, except in a few instances by means of Itineraries. Splendid ruins of a town with theatres and the like were laid open a short time ago, for instance, in the neighbourhood of Montpellier, and there is only one Itinerary in which we find a badly written name that may be applied to the place. Many accidental discoveries, which have been made in Valenciennes and Normandy, shew that there once existed in them towns of great extent. In order to obtain a somewhat complete geography of Gaul, the documents of the Merovingian and Carolingian periods ought to be carefully studied, and any one who would undertake such a work would be well rewarded for his trouble. The towns, of which we now find the ruins, were certainly not built after the period of the Roman dominion, they must have been founded at a much earlier time, and their names, so far as we can discover them, are Latin. Previous to the time of Julius Caesar the prosperity of Gaul had been nearly destroyed in the Cimbrian war, and in the wars of Caesar it was again fearfully ravaged. But after them there followed a period of more than a century, during which the country enjoyed a profound peace, and recovered from its former devastations, though it was perhaps heavily taxed. The population of a country like France, which is so much blessed by nature, and enjoys such a mild climate, must have become doubled or trebled during that time, and must have acquired great wealth. The northern districts, though politically under the dominion of Rome, did not, in reality, belong to Gaul, and had very few towns. Our country here on the Rhine, which was occupied by Germans at the time of Caesar, and probably even much earlier, did not keep pace with the civilization of Gaul. Brabant, and the other northern districts, were in a condition which may have been quite similar to that of Germany; and there a frontier had been formed between the Romans and Germans, either by a treaty or silently. The country of the Batavi between the Meuse and the Waal, the *insula Batavorum*, was under

the dominion of Rome; it had Roman garrisons, and it was there that the insurrection of Claudius Civilis broke out. It spread all over Gaul, and the Lingones placed themselves at the head of it. This revolt was a very dangerous one, and the Germans on the eastern bank of the Rhine declared for them. But the success of the insurgents was checked by their want of unity, arising from their natural divisions; and while some of them were zealous and others indolent, and while all of them were more or less under the influence of petty jealousy, they had to fight against Roman generals who acted with great resolution. The Germans and Gauls, moreover, were not natural allies; their objects were now the same indeed, but otherwise they were as foreign to each other, as the Romans were to both of them; nay, it may be said that the Romans were more akin to the Gauls than the Germans. In what manner the insurrection ended we know not, for the "*Historiae*" of Tacitus breaks off before the close of the war, and at a moment when we can only see that it is taking a different turn, and that the insurgents will probably be obliged to yield. The fact of their being actually subdued is seen from Xiphilnus' abridgment of Dion Cassius⁴. Before Vespasian's arrival at Rome, Domitian had marched out against the insurgents, and had assumed the supreme command of the Roman armies in those countries; but he had no share in the conquest of the enemy, which was the merit of his father's generals.

Vespasian reigned upwards of nine years, and his government was thoroughly beneficial to the Roman world. As we are without the guidance of Tacitus, it is not easy to come to a definite conclusion as to Vespasian's personal character, for the pictures of character which Suetonius draws are very obscure, and are made with as little judgment as those we meet with in the "*Scriptores Historiae Augustae*." Suetonius was a man of great learning, and

⁴ LXVI. 3

did not write badly, but he had no survey of his subjects, nor any historical talent. His description of the time in which he himself lived is even worse than those of previous periods, in which he had the works of others whom he could follow, and this circumstance is the best evidence that he had no vocation to write history⁵ If we compare the praise which he bestows upon Vespasian with what he relates of him, we are at a loss to see how he can have reconciled the two things in his own mind. There are only a few points in Vespasian's character which we may take for certain, and in regard to all the others we are left in the dark. It is a fact beyond all doubt that, considering the time in which he lived, Vespasian was an excellent, straight-forward, and just man, in a negative sense, for he did not make himself guilty of tyranny and extortion, things which were then of every day occurrence in the Roman empire. His conduct was as unblemished as one can expect in those times. After the death of his legitimate wife, Flavia Domitilla, he lived in a marriage of conscience with Caenis, a woman of low birth, with whom however he was happy, and who seems to have been a very estimable person. He was therefore what we may call a man of very good moral conduct. He had, further, a disgust for the gluttony and awfully vulgar extravagance which had become customary among the Romans in culinary matters. The luxury of the wealthy was principally displayed in

⁵ I am inclined to think that Suetonius wrote his biographical history at a time when he was still very young, and before he obtained the office of private secretary to Hadrian (Spartian. Hadrian, 11), and I have no doubt at all that his lives of the emperors were written previous to the publication of Tacitus' "*Historiae*," for otherwise the beginning of the life of Vespasian could scarcely have been as bad as it is. Wherever we are confined to Suetonius as our source of information we are very badly off, and throughout the history of the emperors our materials are bad. If we had Dion Cassius, we should not have much reason for complaining, but unfortunately a great part of his work is lost, and we possess only the miserable abridgment which Xiphilinus made of it.—N.

sumptuous repasts, on which they spent prodigious sums with a truly senseless prodigality. Vespasian himself had preserved his old simplicity, and during his reign he not only set a good example in this respect, but endeavoured to check the disgusting habits of the Romans by legal enactments. Tacitus justly observes⁶ that he brought about a change in the mode of living among the Romans. That contemptible gluttony had commenced at Rome during the latter period of the republic, but after the time of Vespasian it never rose again to that height; nor did it ever become again so general as it had been before, for he destroyed it in its root, though Ammianus Marcellinus still records a few isolated instances which occurred in his time in the case of some wealthy and idle individuals.

Vespasian governed the empire with care and conscientiousness, and restored the finances. He shewed no mistrust towards the governors of provinces, but protected the provinces against them whenever there was need of it. What Vespasian was deficient in were the feelings of a refined and educated man, and this was his and Rome's misfortune. He neglected altogether the higher and intellectual pursuits, and had a downright antipathy against persons of education, philosophers, and all those who were anything beyond practical men of business. Everything higher appeared to him superfluous and as something hostile. Helvidius Priscus was, both personally and intellectually, one of the first men of Rome, and was distinguished as a Stoic philosopher⁷, but instead of recognising the good side of Vespasian's government, he abandoned himself to an opposition against it, for which I cannot see any sufficient reason, and which could produce no other but evil consequences. This conduct ex-

⁶ Annal. III. 55.

⁷ The Stoic philosophy at this time had turned into a kind of republicanism which was incompatible with the existing circumstances. It abandoned itself to a petulance which produced very bad effects, and cannot be excused in any way —N

cited in Vespasian a bitter hostility towards him, in consequence of which he was put to death. The execution of Priscus is however little better than a murder, in which Vespasian shed the noblest blood of the Roman senate. But where he had no such provocation, he was a mild ruler. He was of a grateful disposition and behaved with mildness towards Licinius Mucianus, many of whose actions he connived at. Antonius Primus was put to death, but he deserved it, for he had called forth the revolution which raised Vespasian to the throne, in the hope of ruling over him, and was afterwards annoyed at finding himself disappointed. Vespasian is charged with avarice. He is reported to have said that the state required for its maintenance *quadringenties milles*,⁸ that is, upwards of 280 millions sterling. But this statement seems to have been written down by Suetonius without a thought, and shews how little he was fit to be an historian. If we conceive the Roman state to have been at that time as flourishing as, for example, France or Italy is at the present day, the sum seems inconceivable, considering the value which money then had. However the sum is not altogether an impossible one, for if we remember that the army consisted of 400,000 men, and that their pay was now treble of what it had been in earlier times, the sum is very small. In addition to this, Vespasian built a great deal; and whatever historians may say of his avarice, his incomparable architectural works, both at Rome and in the provinces, some of which, such as the Colosseum, will last for ever, cannot be well reconciled with his alleged love of money. He died at the age of seventy, after a reign of nine years, A.D., 79. During the latter period of his reign, the government had, in reality, been conducted by his son Titus; but I cannot say whether it was because Vespasian thought himself incapable of ruling over the empire, or because he had no inclination to do so. Titus had attained his

⁸ Sueton Vespas 16

thirty-second year when he returned from Jerusalem. It may be that many things which disgrace the reign of Vespasian must be put down to the account of Titus, for there seems to be no reason for doubting the statement that, previous to his accession, the general opinion was against Titus⁹. This state of feeling, it is true, afterwards changed, but this *amor et deliciae generis humani* is nevertheless a strange phaenomenon. It appears to have been extremely easy to please the circle by whom he was surrounded; and as his real happiness consisted in possessing their favour, he tried to win it by munificent presents out of the well-stocked treasury which his father had left him

⁹ Sueton Tit 6



LECTURE LXVI

TITUS, CONTINUED. — DOMITIAN.

At the time when Titus was the object of the greatest suspicion in the East, Vespasian's noble openness formed an exception, he continued to shew him his confidence, and when Titus returned to Rome, Vespasian made him *praefectus praetorio*. Titus however was by no means popular during the lifetime of his father, and some acts of cruelty which were committed in the reign of Vespasian are ascribed to Titus, I will only mention the murder of Caecina, who was cut down by his command. This act however is said to have been justified by the evidence of a conspiracy, which was discovered in Caecina's own hand-writing¹. After Titus' accession a change took place in his conduct, and the prevailing features of his character during his short reign were kindness and benevolence, and features like these are valued in a prince more highly than all other virtues. A sovereign who is not popular, and does not flatter, stands much lower in the estimation of the *imperita multitudo* than one who neglects his duties. Such has been the case at all times, and, to some extent at least, it seems to have been the case with Titus. His father had been very economical, but he had spared no money in raising great and costly works of architecture. He had restored Rome, a great part of which was still in ruins from the fire of Nero, and he had built the Colosseum, the most gigantic edifice of ancient Rome, if we consider that it was intended as an amphitheatre, it makes a sad impression on the mind ;

¹ Sueton. Tit 6

but it was in accordance with the taste of the populace. It was however not dedicated till the reign of Titus². The extravagant sums which were spent upon it, and the proceedings that took place in it under the later emperors, make upon us the impression of something monstrous, which is very different from the idea of greatness. But such proceedings and amusements were not confined to the time of the emperors; they had begun towards the end of the republic. The contests of the Colosseum were cruel and disgusting, and even women were trained as gladiators; but Titus' humanity did not exert itself in that direction.

As far as foreign countries were concerned, the reign of Titus was perfectly quiet, and Rome was in the enjoyment of peace and comfort, only interrupted by a great fire, which lasted for three days and three nights, and by the eruption of mount Vesuvius, which caused the catastrophe of Herculaneum and Pompeii. Never has the calamity of one generation been more obviously advantageous to a later one than the burial of those two towns.

The love of the Romans for Titus became the more decided, as they had reasons to fear his younger brother Domitian. The latter was a bad son, and a bad brother, and he not only contemplated to murder his father, but more especially his brother, who never attempted to avenge himself, but always treated Domitian with confidence³. But Domitian is nevertheless one of those men who are generally looked upon with too much contempt, because they are bad. There are bad persons in history who ought not, by any means, to be treated in that way. The charge of cowardice which is brought against him may be well founded, although there is no positive evidence of it; his falseness and cruelty however are both well

² Sueton Tit 7, Dion Cass LXVI 25

³ Dion Cass LXVI 26, Aurel Vict De Caesar 11

attested It is also true that, with all his boundless ambition, he did not accomplish things to justify his pretensions, but he is nevertheless estimated too low, for he was a man of a cultivated mind, and of decided talent, and is of considerable importance in the history of Roman literature⁴. Rutgersius⁵ has already remarked, and the proofs are manifest, that the paraphrase of Aratus, which is usually ascribed to Germanicus, is the work of Domitian. He delighted in the name of Caesar Germanicus, and assumed it, though from the manner in which he mentions his father⁶, it is evident that he had not been adopted by Germanicus. The subject of the *Phaenomena* is poor, but the manner in which it is executed is good. Quintilian is full of flatteries towards Domitian⁷, and in this case he had the misfortune, from cowardice, to praise a miserable and contemptible author, and to place him by the side of the greatest poets. If Domitian really made the paraphrase, Quintilian's exaggerated praise is the conduct of a servile man, though the blame does not attach so much to his personal character, as it is the fault of a despotic court. Domitian's taste for Roman literature however produced its beneficial effects. He instituted the great pension for rhetoricians which Quintilian, for example, enjoyed, and the Capitoline contest in which the prize poems were crowned⁸. During this period, Roman literature revived, and I cannot believe that Domitian himself could have been a stranger to the fresh impulse then given to it. Tacitus, the greatest historian, at least in Roman literature, was then a young man, the younger Pliny was growing to manhood, and

⁴ Sueton Domit 2, 20, Tacitus, Hist iv 86

⁵ *Variae Lectiones*, III p 276 Compare Grauert in the *Rheinisches Museum*, vol iv p 347 foll

⁶ In the beginning of his paraphrase of the "*Phaenomena*" of Aratus, Domitian says, that his father was sovereign, and was honoured with the apotheosis—N

⁷ See iv 1 § 2 foll , x. 1. § 91 foll

⁸ Sueton Domit 4

there may have been many others who wrote as well as Pliny. Statius too belongs to that time, and his little poems (*Silvae*) are among the most graceful productions of antiquity⁹. Juvenal, a great genius, was likewise a contemporary of Domitian; he was a master of pure Latin, and hated the tyrant with justice

The frugality in the mode of living at Rome, which had been restored by Vespasian, still continued, for Domitian too was not a squanderer of money. It was probably nothing but his cowardice that induced him to raise the pay of the soldiers fourfold, that is to 480 denarii, —an enormous sum, for which he afterwards endeavoured to make up by reducing the number of troops

Rome was involved in various wars during his reign. The eastern frontiers enjoyed a profound peace, for the Parthian empire was in the condition into which such eastern monarchies always sink after a certain period of greatness, and the Romans were left in peace in that quarter. On the northern frontiers of the empire however wars were carried on, for an account of which I can refer you to Tacitus' life of Agricola, which is one of the great master-pieces of ancient biography¹⁰. The Romans had gradually made progress in Britain, but Agricola was the first who penetrated to the north, as far as the frontiers of Scotland. He built a fleet with which he sailed along the coast as far as the Orkney islands. The time of these exploits is the glorious military epoch in the reign of Domitian¹¹. As emperor, Domitian carried on a war against

⁹ I strongly recommend the study of these little poems, which make a most pleasing impression, especially when read in Italy. The *Thebais* of Statius, on the other hand, is an absurd poem and bombastic in the highest degree. It was certainly not with this poem that he gained the Capitoline prize —N.

¹⁰ The two best ancient biographies that have come down to us, are Tacitus' Agricola, and the life of Atticus by Corn. Nepos —N

¹¹ I refer to Agricola's circumnavigation of Scotland the statue of Oceanus which, throughout the middle ages, lay at the entrance of

the Chatti in the country about the river Main. If we believe the statements of the medals, which begin to be of importance at this period of Roman history, and the flatteries of Martial—who was likewise a man of great talent and enjoyed the favour of Domitian,—the emperor obtained the surname of Germanicus with perfect justice, but history cannot treat those victories as realities, though they cannot be wholly fictitious, for Roman armies at that time did carry on wars on the eastern bank of the Rhine;¹² but we cannot wonder at the Germans, who had only a militia, not making a vigorous resistance against the Roman legions. In addition to this, the Germans were, as usual, suffering from their own internal divisions: the Cherusci demanded assistance against the Chatti, and the Lygi against the Suevi¹³. A war was also carried on on the upper and middle Danube, and nations which had for some time disappeared from history are now mentioned again, and described as very powerful, such as the Quadi and Marcomanni, who were united with Slavonic tribes.

The most dangerous war of Domitian was that against the Dacians, a Thracian tribe of the ancient Getae, which had expelled some Scythian tribes as early as the time of Alexander the Great. About the time of Augustus they formed a great monarchy comprising Transylvania, the mountains of Moldavia, and perhaps the whole of Wallachia. The country was rich on account of its mines and precious metals. It is clear from the column of Trajan, that they are not to be considered as barbarians, and that they had a higher civilization than the Germans. They had fortified towns, and lived in houses built of wood, such as are found at the present day in some parts of the Tyrol. Decebalus, who was king of the Dacians, was a man of great character, and worthy to rule over them in those dangerous times. Their form of government was

the *Forum majus*. A statue of the Rhine at Rome likewise belongs to the reign of Domitian.—N

¹² Compare Frontinus, *Strateg.* i. 3. 10

¹³ *Dion Cass.* LXXVII. 5

not despotic; they had a well developed constitution, and an aristocracy,¹⁴ and were a free and brave nation. They had frequently harassed the Roman frontier ever since the time of Augustus, and had invaded Moesia. They do not however seem to have touched the Roman frontier in Pannonia. The country about Presburg was inhabited partly by Gallic and partly by German tribes. Our knowledge of Domitian's war against the Dacians is very confused, for Xiphilinus and Zonaras pass over its details altogether. Thus much however is clear, that, on one occasion, the Romans suffered a great defeat in Moesia. Such bold nations as ventured to wage war against the Romans found in the end that Rome was after all a dangerous enemy if the war was protracted; and they preferred concluding an honourable peace to the risk of provoking Rome to exert all its powers against them. Hence Decebalus, after having carried on a glorious war, concluded a peace which was humiliating to Rome, and Domitian returned to Rome in triumph.

After the time of this campaign the government of Domitian changed for the worse, and his cruel disposition now began to give itself free vent. Some persons had already been put to death before, on the ground of mere suspicions, and because Domitian hated them. L. Antonius Saturninus hated Domitian, and now caused the legions of Germania Superior, which embraced not only Alsatia but Suabia as far as the limes, to proclaim him emperor; but he was conquered by Appius Maximus and paid for his attempt with his life. Caligula and Nero were monsters, the former being a madman, and the latter, who was not free from madness, was one of the degenerate specimens of human kind whom Aristotle would have called a being *παρὰ φύσιν*, and in reference to whom we can scarcely speak of vice, for the laws of morality are applicable only to that which lies within the boundaries of human

¹⁴ The Dacians on the column of Trajan, who wear caps and long hair, are the nobles—N


nature But there are also vices which carry man below his nature, and by which he becomes a real brute. Domitian was not a brute, for his cruelty lay within the bounds of human nature; it was that of a thoroughly bad man, and arose from the human propensity to envy others and to delight in their misfortunes. His cruelty was not combined with avarice, two vices which usually go hand in hand in the east Among the senators of that time there were men worthy of the friendship of Tacitus and Agricola, such as Junius Arulenus Rusticus and Herennius Senecio. The former had written some works in praise of Helvidius Priscus and Paetus Thrasea, and the latter a life of Helvidius Priscus. Their works were true, though they may not have been free from declamation, but they contained, at any rate, more life and substance than the works of the Augustan age, and it was this circumstance that provoked the anger of Domitian.

Among the men of intellect there arose, by the side of those I have just mentioned, the detestable class of the delatores who enriched themselves by blood, and the accounts of whom form one of the most interesting portions of Pliny's letters. These men too must not be considered as merely contemptible, for they were not so much degraded in their intellectual as in their moral condition, and were at any rate not so contemptible as the delatores under Tiberius Some of them were distinguished for their declamations, and on the whole they were men of talent. They belonged to what was called the good society of the time, but their sentiments were of the most infamous kind, and they used their talents to crush the noblest and most distinguished persons. But in whatever bad light the men of that time appear in the Satires of Juvenal, it cannot be denied that, in general, men were not so bad as they had been in the time of Tiberius, the women, on the other hand, were still as wanton and dissolute as ever. The long period of suffering had made men better. Under Tiberius a certain formality had been observed, and the

emperor apparently took no part in the proceedings of the delatores and the trials of the accused; but Domitian did not scruple to attend the trials in person. If you want to obtain a clear knowledge of those things, you must read what Pliny says of M. Regulus¹⁵ and others of the same class. This latter period of Domitian's reign is one of the most fearful that occur in history, and Tacitus, who describes it most excellently in the introduction to his life of Agricola, says that people passed through it in muteness.

In this manner the last years of Domitian passed away. The last three were the most frightful. Had his rage been vented only against good and noble persons, he might have continued it much longer, but he turned it also against bad and infuriated men,—against the officers of his praetorian guards, and against his wife Domitia, who had offended him. The consequence was that a conspiracy was formed by the officers of his own court, to which he fell a victim in A.D. 96. Domitian built the Forum of the palace (Forum Paladium), which was thus called to distinguish it from the Forum of Augustus, and there he erected a number of government offices, tribunals, and the like. Its walls can be well distinguished from those of the Forum Augusti.

¹⁵ Pliny, Epist. 1. 5.



LECTURE LXVII.

M. COCCEIUS NERVA — M. ULPIUS NERVA TRAJANUS.

THE reigns of Nerva and Trajan belong to the most obscure portions of the history of the Roman empire, although it is a period which was rich in literary productions. Trajan himself wrote memoirs of his war against the Dacians, but no writer of any importance refers to them.

M. Cocceius Nerva had already reached the age of sixty-four and was a venerable senator, when he was proclaimed emperor by the senate. The praetorians did not object to him, although he was not a man to their taste. He remained faithful to the senate, and proceeded in his reforms with great caution. Hence he punished but few of those who had been the curse of the nation in the reign of his predecessor, and many of them escaped with impunity and were allowed to remain at Rome. In this manner the people still continued to stand in awe of them, as they might rise again at any time, but Nerva could not act otherwise. At length Casperius, the praefect of the city, who had held the same office under Domitian, demanded of Nerva to punish the murderers of Domitian, and compelled him to make a public declaration in which he approved of the execution of those murderers. He felt the disgrace of this act very keenly, and in order to strengthen himself, he adopted Trajan, who had then the command of the legions on the Rhine. By this adoption Trajan became the declared successor, and Nerva certainly made a better choice than Galba had made.

M. Ulpus Nerva Trajanus was born in Spain, and was

the son of a distinguished man. The southern parts of Spain and Gaul were entirely united with Italy, and were so completely Italian countries that the inhabitants of the towns generally spoke the Latin language. One of the Spanish towns of this kind was Italica, which had been founded by one of the Scipios. It had received its constitution from the Romans, and became great and flourishing. It was the birthplace of Trajan. His father had obtained high honours in the army as early as the time of Nero, and survived the elevation of his son for many years. The son attracted general attention and was honoured at an early age, and the emperor Nerva, in electing a successor, could not have made a happier choice. On his arrival in Rome after the death of Nerva, Trajan was received by the praetorians with joy and respect. It is surprising to see how peaceful the relations between the Germans and Romans were at that time. The fortified ditch which extended from the Westerwald across the river Main, and as far as the Altmühl, existed probably as early as this time¹; and all Germany south of that line, as well as the country in our neighbourhood, was under the dominion of Rome. Free German tribes existed only in Franconia, the upper Palatinate, Hesse, and Westphalia, as we may clearly see from Tacitus' *Germania*. Nerva reigned only one year and a half, and died in his sixty-sixth year, A.D. 98.

The empire was now so firmly established that Trajan, although he was at the time absent at Cologne on the Rhine, could quietly enter upon his government there without returning to Rome till the next year. Immediately after taking possession of the sovereign power, he made his attacks upon the delatores. A few of them paid for their crimes with their lives, but the majority of them were banished to the barren islands of the Mediterranean. The most turbulent among the praetorians were likewise taken to account, and by these and similar measures Tra-

¹ Frontinus (*Strateg.* i. 3, 10) expressly ascribes its construction to Domitian.

jan secured and strengthened his power. His reforms were mild, and he must have introduced very excellent arrangements in the administration of the finances, for he was enabled to reduce the taxes, and, although he thus lightened the burdens of the Romans, he still had means for executing the most expensive undertakings without falling into any financial embarrassment. The care which he bestowed upon the provinces of the empire may be seen in the tenth book of Pliny's letters.

Trajan was married to Plotina, a very excellent woman, by whom however he had no children. She, and Trajan's sister Marciana, are among the most estimable female characters in history, and the manifest improvement in the conduct of women about that time must undoubtedly be ascribed to the influence of Plotina and Marciana. Ever since the time of Livia, the Roman empresses, with the exception of Vespasian's wife, who was a worthy woman, had encouraged and diffused the most unbounded licentiousness in the conduct of women, but the open shamelessness, which had till then been regarded as a necessary characteristic of females of the higher classes, now ceased.

Trajan's inclinations were directed to war and great architectural works. His wars were indeed beneficial to Rome, but what could they lead to? He had a just cause for undertaking the first war against the Dacians, for the peace which Domitian had concluded with them must have appeared to him as a disgrace to the empire. The war was declared in A.D. 101. The plains of Moldavia were inhabited by the Sarmatians, who, as well as the Parthians, were allied with the Dacians, who were still governed by their warlike king Decebalus. The war lasted for three years, when at length the enemy was compelled to make peace. Some details of this war are seen represented on the column of Trajan. Although Decebalus still remained an independent prince, the war soon broke out afresh, for reasons which we may easily guess. Decebalus violated the peace, collected his troops, and Rome


again declared war against him. In this second campaign Dacia was completely conquered, and was changed into a Roman province, in which condition it remained until the time of the Goths. Numbers of Roman colonies were established in the country; and the Roman institutions struck such firm roots there that, after a period of about 150 years, when the Goths invaded Dacia, the population was completely Roman; and even to this day the Wallachians speak a language which is only a corrupt form of the Latin, and is spoken by all the Wallachians as far as the countries between Epirus and Greece. This phaenomenon however is a very puzzling one. The Dacians, under the Romans, were a truly civilized nation, which is attested, independently of many other things, by the ruins still existing in their country.

The conquest of Dacia in A.D. 106, was followed by a long period of peace, after which Trajan gladly seized the opportunity for fresh military enterprises and conquests, which was offered by Cosrhoes, the king of the Parthians, who had deposed Exodares, king of Armenia, and raised his own brother to the throne in his place. Trajan marched into Armenia, where he received the homage of the people, but did not deprive them of their king, who received his kingdom as a fief from Trajan. The war against the Parthians, like those against the Dacians, is rich in great events, which however I have not time to enter into. Trajan took Seleucia, Ctesiphon, and many other towns, and advanced as far as the ocean, that is, the Persian Gulf: but here he stopped, either because he saw insurmountable difficulties, or because it was with him as it has often been with other great generals, who carried on wars merely for the sake of conquest, and after becoming tired said to themselves, "I will now make a pause, and resume my plans afterwards." It was such a thought that saved the world under Napoleon, and it was probably the same thought that prompted Trajan to grant peace to the Parthians, after he had raised a pretender to the

throne of Parthia. Such a cessation from war is neither the fruit of generosity nor the result of a definite system. The Parthians, as individuals, do not deserve much esteem or distinction, for they were barbarians, and destroyed what they conquered, but afterwards, under the Sassanidae, the East again rose to prosperity.

After the conclusion of the peace with the Parthians, Trajan could not, for some time, make up his mind as to what he was now to do. He had intended to complete the conquest of Arabia, and he now made an incursion into that country, concerning which we have but scanty information. Thus much however is certain, that he made Arabia, as far as Medina, a Roman province, and received the homage of the native princes. The wars under Trajan extended as far as Nubia, and Nubia itself came under the dominion of Rome, and remained under it till the middle of the third century². Trajan could scarcely make up his mind to quit the East; but, as he was taken ill, he went to Cilicia, where he died in the town of Selinus, in A.D. 117, at the age of sixty-one or sixty-four. His ashes were conveyed to Rome in a golden urn, and deposited under his column. In the last moments of his life, he had either actually adopted his cousin Hadrian, or Plotina merely spread the report that he had done so; but, however this may be, the choice of Hadrian for his successor was certainly a most happy one.

² See Niebuhr's *Inscriptiones Nubienses*, in his *Kleine historische u philologische Schriften*, vol II p 186 foll



LECTURE LXVIII

THE ARTS AND ARCHITECTURE OF ROME IN THE TIME OF
TRAJAN.—THE FORUM ULPIMUM AND THE COLUMN OF
TRAJAN.—ROMAN LITERATURE IN THE AGE OF TRA-
JAN—TACITUS, PLINY THE YOUNGER, FLORUS—GREEK
LITERATURE AT THE SAME PERIOD DION CHRYSOSTOM,
AND PLUTARCH.

THE architectural works of Trajan belong, not only to a topography of Rome, but to history in general, for they are equal to so many great military or other achievements. The reliefs of Trajan represent to us the truly great things which he accomplished in the course of his reign thus, for example, we see him giving a king to the Parthians, addressing his soldiers, his institution for orphans, his wars, his great edifices and the like¹. In the early times of the republic, Roman art was of Etruscan excellence, and afterwards there followed a period in which the Greeks served as models. In the time of Augustus, the style of architecture had still the character of grandeur, but from thenceforward the building material itself gradually began to be of greater consequence than style, for Augustus introduced the use of marble, and many edifices of his time were constructed of solid marble. After a time a taste for rare kinds of marble sprung up at Rome, and we hear of works made of Phrygian and Numidian marble. This taste was senseless, and led people to regard the material of an architectural work as the main thing, while grandeur and

¹ I have had the pleasure of discovering in one of those bas-reliefs the portrait of Trajan's great architect, Apollodorus of Damascus.—N

beauty were neglected Augustus, who built very much in marble, erected the splendid temple of Mars Ultor², in connexion with his forum; but the very general use of marble did not begin till the time of Nero. All the buildings which we have of Titus, with the exception of the Colosseum, have something petty and trifling in their execution, and architecture in his time is evidently losing its character of grandeur and of art in the true sense of the word

In the reign of Trajan, however, art revived and rose to the highest point of perfection, for this emperor had taste, and never took into consideration whether what he built cost a few millions more or less He made several excellent roads, completed the via Appia, and paved its continuation to Brundisium with basalt, for there is no doubt that, before his time, it had not been paved in that way³ He drained the Pomptine marshes as far as it was possible, built the harbour of Civita Vecchia, the ancient Centum-cellæ⁴, and improved the port of Ostia at the mouth of the Tiber, as it was manifest that the river was destroying the harbour more and more by its deposits. The port and mole of Ancona were likewise works of Trajan, the harbour was very extensive, and the mole was made to secure its duration The ancient Tyrrhenian sea-ports were destroyed, though no one knows at what time their destruction took place. Trajan also did much to secure the usefulness of the mineral springs of Italy, but his greatest buildings were at Rome, where I need only mention the Forum Ulpium, with the column of Trajan, which is 150 feet high. The Quirinal hill here formed a slope towards the foot of the Capitoline, and, in order to obtain a plain for the new forum, the hill was taken down to a height of 140 feet, as is suggested by the inscription on the pedestal of Trajan's column. The forum of Trajan was not, like

² Sueton August 29, Dion Cass LV 10, Vell Patern II 100

³ See vol III p. 305 foll.

⁴ Pliny, Epist. VI 31.

the forum of Augustus, or the forum Romanum, an open space, but a place where government offices and other public buildings were erected. These buildings, to which undoubtedly the offices for the finances also belonged, formed, as it were, quite a new town of palaces, in the centre of which rose the column, which is surrounded by a spiral bas-relief of excellent workmanship, representing the events of Trajan's two wars against the Dacians. These reliefs have indeed suffered much from lightning, fire, and the hand of human destruction, but they yet shew that, in the time of Trajan, sculpture was in a state of high perfection, and all the figures are exquisitely beautiful. These sculptures are important also in an antiquarian point of view, as they represent various kinds of armour, costumes, buildings, &c, and there are several things which we should be altogether ignorant of, were it not for the reliefs on the column of Trajan. Inside of it there is a spiral staircase leading to the top, and under the column the ashes of the emperor were deposited. It was originally surmounted by a colossal bronze statue of Trajan, but this was subsequently destroyed, and pope Sixtus V. erected in its place a statue of St. Peter, which still stands on the column. The railings which run around the top of it are modern, but the whole pillar is otherwise free from restoration. Near it were two enormous buildings, great parts of which have been laid open by the clearings which were undertaken by the French. They are constructed in the form of basilicae; we cannot, however, say whether they belonged to the Forum Ulpium or not. Their ground floors are magnificent, and are formed of square slabs of the most beautiful Numidian marble. The Forum Ulpium was also adorned with two triumphal arches surmounted by quadrigae.

These and many other works shew the extremely flourishing condition of the arts at that time; but they sank soon after, for, although Hadrian erected great and costly buildings, he was a man without taste and followed

his own caprices⁵. In the reign of M. Aurelius, the only branch of statuary which continued to flourish was the art of making bronze statues, and the sculptures in marble of that time are not to be compared with those executed under Trajan. The ornaments on the triumphal arch of Severus are an example of the dreadful decay of the arts, though the statues of Severus are not quite so bad⁶. The Septizonium of Severus was a colossal but tasteless building. There are people who charge the Christian religion with having destroyed ancient art, but the charge is utterly groundless, for ancient art had ceased before Christianity was introduced

The age of Trajan was also an important æra in Roman literature. The first man we meet with is Tacitus. He stands quite alone, and belongs to no school, he is one of those mighty minds who exercise a great influence upon their age without being the creatures of it. It is in vain that we ask, who were his teachers? They may have been quite insignificant men, and the school in which he was trained was the deep grief produced by the oppression of the times. His great soul was seized with this grief in the reign of Domitian, and he recovered from it under Nerva and Trajan. I for my part am convinced, whatever people may urge against it, that the first edition of his life of Agricola was published in the latter part of Domitian's reign. I collect this from its beginning. He afterwards subjected the work to a revision, and added the preface. This life of Agricola shews all the fearful greatness of the time, and he is struggling with a difficulty in expressing his sentiments, a difficulty which is

⁵ Dion Cass LXIX 4

⁶ Modern art fell off in a similar manner during the seventeenth century, if we compare the productions of that time with the Dutch paintings of the first half of the sixteenth century. Drawing was not neglected, for good drawings were produced even in the eighteenth century, the period of the greatest barbarism in painting. In the time of Severus, however, drawing too sank quite as low as sculpture —N.

perfectly natural, and is felt by all those who have a dislike for diffuseness, and disdain to use words which are not necessary. It is only those who are unable to understand this feeling of writers like Sallust and Tacitus, that can have any doubt of the genuineness of their style. The origin of it is, I repeat, a disgust and an aversion to all exuberances of style. There is not a trace of affectation in those writers, for they have no other object than not to waste any words. This peculiar study of conciseness is more prominent in the earlier writings of Tacitus, to which his "Germania" also belongs, than in his later ones. The "Historiae" are evidently his most perfect production, the first five books of it, which are the only ones now extant, are sufficient to shew how much we have to lament the loss of the remaining part. In this work he passed through history in all its phases, he did not condense his accounts, but gave very minute narratives. I believe that the "Historiae" consisted of thirty books, which cannot be thought too much, if we consider the minuteness with which he treats of the insurrection of Claudius Civilis, the life of Domitian, &c. After the completion of the "Historiae" he added the "Annales," containing the history of the empire from the death of Augustus. He wrote the Annals in a very concise style, and gave to some portions a greater prominence, while he passed over many points altogether. He must have described the latter period of Nero's reign with the same vividness and minuteness which we see in the *Historiae*, for the later parts of the Annals gave more detailed accounts than the earlier ones. If we compare the wonderful symmetry of the works of Sallust and Tacitus with Livy, we perceive at once how much superior they were to him in the artistic construction of their works⁷. Peo-

⁷ So long as Livy keeps to his beautiful narrative, and follows, for example, Ennius in his history of the Roman kings, he is unrivalled, but when he abandons himself to descriptions, as in the ninth book, he falls into absurdities, for he did not sift the materials out of which he had to construct his history.—N

ple speak of the heaviness and difficulties of Tacitus' style, but his difficulties are in reality not so great as those of Livy, for wherever Livy argues and attempts to be brief and concise, he is much more difficult than Tacitus. Livy's preface, for example, and the discussion about P. Cornelius Cossus in the fourth book, belong to the most difficult passages in Latin prose, and even men like Gronovius were unable to see their way clearly. Livy is confused in those and similar passages merely because he wanted to be brief, had he written pages on those points, he would have been clear enough, as in his parallel between Alexander the Great and the power of Rome, which is minute and written in a most admirable manner, though his opinion upon the question is worth nothing. Tacitus stands forth like Aeschylus and Sophocles, and like Lessing in German prose such men have no one who is their equal, but their contemporaries are always ready to set up a number of others who, in their opinion, are men of no less extraordinary genius. This mode of looking at a great man has this comfort to his contemporaries, that in proportion as he is dragged down the others are raised, and the great genius does not, at least apparently, leave his contemporaries at too painful a distance.

It was owing to this feeling that Pliny the younger was placed by the side of Tacitus. His letters are of great psychological interest. He was a good man, but extremely vain and conceited. Before the public, he always shewed that he was perfectly conscious of his being a classical writer, but in his letters to Tacitus, he displayed the greatest humility, and almost worshipped him in order to win his favour, although there can be no doubt that he censured Tacitus in his private conversations with his friends. Such a humility is dishonest. He writes on one occasion⁸ that the public mentioned himself and Tacitus always together, but that he himself did not deserve that honour. His vanity also displays itself in the detailed descriptions of

⁸ Epist. vii. 20

his own beneficent institutions in such letters as were destined for the public. His letters however are, notwithstanding these things, very instructive to us in regard to the history of the age in which Pliny lived, and we cannot help recognising in their author a benevolent and extremely useful man, who devoted his large property to the public good, a very excellent governor of the provinces over which he was set, and a man of great talent and intellect. But the vanity with which he speaks of his own good qualities and generosity is truly childish. Pliny bears a striking resemblance to the Parisian writers of the eighteenth century, which may be traced even in particular phrases, as my late friend Spalding observed. Hence it is very easy to translate Pliny's letters into French, whereas in a German version they are quite unreadable.

Pliny's letters shew that there were many persons of talent at that time, but none of them rose above a certain mediocrity, for which reason there appeared much less want of harmony in literature then than in times of great genius. When a nation has once passed through a period, the literature of which has become the common property of subsequent ages, it feels easy and satisfied with what it possesses, but if in such circumstances a man like Tacitus springs up, and gives to his age a new life which continues to pulsate, his contemporaries feel reanimated, and men come forward and acquire a certain reputation, who would have been thought nothing of at any other time. What such men were in the time of Tacitus may be inferred from one example, L. Annaeus Florus, who lived in the time of Trajan. The early history of Rome then lay at such a distance that people wanted nothing more than some general notion of it. The work of Florus, which was written to supply this want, is extremely tasteless, and shews a carelessness and an ignorance of facts which are quite astonishing

When the great light of Tacitus became extinct, a complete darkness followed. Greek literature had died

away a long time before the reign of Trajan, and we hear only now and then of some few isolated authors. In the reign of Augustus, we met with Dionysius of Halicarnassus, an excellent critic, rhetorician, and historian; and he was succeeded by Strabo, who was likewise a highly distinguished man; but, from his time down to the reign of Domitian, Greek literature was quite barren. Under Domitian it revived through the influence of the rhetoricians, who now assumed a different character. Dion Chrysostom of Prusa in Bithynia began his career, or was already flourishing, in the reign of Domitian. He was an author of uncommon talent, and it is much to be regretted that he belonged to the rhetoricians of that unfortunate age. It makes one sad to see him waste his brilliant oratorical powers on insignificant subjects. Some of his works are written in an excellent and beautiful language, which is pure Attic Greek and without affectation. It is clear, that he had made the classical language of Athens his own, and he handled it as a master. He appears in all he wrote as a man of an amiable character, and free from the vanity of the ordinary rhetoricians, though one perceives the silent consciousness of his powers. He was an unaffected Platonic philosopher, and lived with his whole soul in Athens, which was to him a world, and which made him forget Rome, its emperor, and everything else. All this forms a very charming feature in his character. Whenever he touches upon the actual state of things in which he lived, he shews his master-mind. He was the first writer after Tiberius that greatly contributed towards the revival of Greek literature. After him there followed Plutarch of Chaeronea, whose excellent and amiable character must be felt by every one. It does not require, indeed, much discernment to see his faults as an historian, and the weakness of his eclectic philosophy; but we are indebted to him for our knowledge of an infinite variety of things; and, however much we may see and know his faults, we can yet read his works with the highest

pleasure. His language is not as perfect as that of Dion Chrysostom. The revival of Greek literature was the work of these men; and, although they had no followers equal to themselves, still they form the beginning of a new æra. The Greek literature which prevailed at Rome in the time of Augustus was bad, Greek rhetoricians then flocked to Rome, just as French abbés formerly flocked to Germany to teach their language, and they corrupted the Romans and spoiled their taste. This state of things remained till the time of Seneca. After him, there were two schools in Roman literature, which existed alongside of one another—the school of Seneca and that of the Greek rhetoricians, until the appearance of Quintilian, the restorer of a good and pure taste. Tacitus then created a new classical æra, which however did not last. But Greek literature, which revived in his time, made the same fascinating impression upon the Romans which it had made on its first introduction at Rome; and in the time of Hadrian it was so prevalent that everything Roman became Hellenized

LECTURE LXIX.

HADRIAN.—JURISPRUDENCE — ROMAN LITERATURE IN THE
TIME OF HADRIAN — A. GELLIUS, CORNELIUS FRONTO,
APPULEIUS, TERTULLIAN.—GREEK LITERATURE OF THE
SAME PERIOD — LUCIAN, PAUSANIAS, AELIUS ARISTIDES

HADRIAN's succession to Trajan was probably the work of Plotina, though it had undoubtedly been Trajan's intention to make him his successor. The Romans of a later generation said that it was doubtful whether Hadrian should be reckoned among the good or the bad princes and strong arguments may be urged on either side, for he committed acts of cruelty, which are a sad stain on his memory. But if we excuse them by tracing them to the state of his mind after his last illness, it must be owned that his government was more beneficial to the Roman world than any other, and I therefore reckon him among the good sovereigns. No Roman emperor before him had looked upon himself as the real master of the world, but merely as the sovereign of Rome and Italy. Trajan's cares too had been mainly devoted to Italy, and what was done in the provinces was, for the most part, of a military nature. But Hadrian was the first who understood his real position. His reign passed almost without any wars, and, if we except the insurrection of the Jews, we hear only of trifling military operations, that, for example, against the revolted Mauretanians, whom he reduced very speedily. He was the first emperor who adopted the system of giving subsidies to the nations on the frontiers, in order to induce them to remain quiet. Of Trajan's conquests he only maintained Dacia, his

claims to Armenia were left undecided, and the possessions beyond the Tigris were given up. The war of the Jews was carried on with a furious rage and fanaticism, because they knew that they should be subdued. The consequence was the total extermination of the Jews, with the exception of the Samaritans. The city of Jerusalem was restored under the name of Aelia Capitolina¹, which continued to be used even in the Christian centuries, and the Arabs still call it Ilia, or the Holy City. Aelia Capitolina was a military colony, and no Jew was allowed to live in it, or in its immediate vicinity. This war was the only shock which the Roman empire experienced in the reign of Hadrian, but it was, after all, of no great importance.

His reign, which lasted twenty-two years, was thus free from any remarkable calamity; and, as it passed away in almost uninterrupted peace, it may be regarded as one of the happiest periods of the empire. His first noble act after his accession was, that he cancelled 900 millions sesterces, the arrears of taxes, which the subjects of Rome owed to the state². Whether they were arrears of direct taxes, I cannot say, though it is very probable³. He erected great buildings in all parts of the empire, and travelled through all the provinces, and, from the cataracts of the Nile to the frontiers of Scotland, there was probably not one province of his empire which he did not visit. In Britain, he erected the great bulwark against the Caledonians, from the mouth of the Solway to the river Tyne and the Roman province of Britain now

¹ Spartian Hadrian, 13, Dion Cass LXIX 2 foll, Eusebius, Hist Eccles iv 6

² Dion Cass LXIX 8, Spartian Hadrian, 7, Orelli, Inscript Lat n 805

³ The history of the financial affairs of Rome under the empire is not yet written but it is a fine subject, and a person who would undertake to write upon it might arrive at very satisfactory results. What Savigny has written on the land-tax (in his Essay "Ueber die Römische Steuerverfassung," printed in the *Abhandl der Berlin Akademie* of the years 1822 and 23) is most excellent — N

began to become Romanized, though the Gaelic and Cymric elements still continued to maintain themselves alongside of the Roman institutions.

But it was more especially upon Athens and Greece in general that Hadrian bestowed his favours and his benevolence, for he had an enthusiastic partiality for everything Greek. The number and the splendour of the buildings which he erected at Athens, reminded the people of the days of Pericles he completed Piræeus, built theatres and temples, and, in short, quite a new town, the town of Hadrian, rose by the side of Athens. He also shewed his tender attachment to Athens by assuming the dignity of archon eponymus

In this manner the greater part of his reign passed away in a series of benevolent acts. During the latter years of his life, however, his health began to decline, and he sank into a state of melancholy, in which he endeavoured to obtain aid and support by choosing a successor on the one hand, while on the other he allowed himself to be carried away, by fits of anger and mistrust, to acts of cruelty which disgrace his memory. If we consider what the Roman senators were at that time, and what claims and pretensions they made, we can hardly wonder that any prince, and even a very good and able one, should feel a strong hatred towards them. They were immensely rich, and their dignity was hereditary in their families. One of those men, L Aelius Verus, was now adopted by Hadrian, and destined to be his successor. Enormous sums were given on that occasion to the soldiers. Hadrian was unaccountably deceived in regard to the character of Verus, who, however, died before the emperor. Hadrian now adopted in his stead T Antoninus Pius, a grand-son of Arrius Antoninus, a friend of the emperor Nerva.

It is one of the remarkable phaenomena of the reign of Hadrian, that Roman jurisprudence began its development as a science. A collection of laws was made under the

title of "Edictum Perpetuum," by which the Roman legislation became confined to the rescripts of the emperor, and the *responsa*, which had formerly been considered only as the opinions of the *sapientes*, now became real authorities in matters of law, when they were given in the name of the emperor. This "Edictum Perpetuum" forms an æra in the history of Roman jurisprudence. Some emperors before Hadrian, and even Augustus himself, had had a sort of state council, but it had always had the character of something arbitrary, until Hadrian gave to the *consistorium principis* a stability and a regular organization, which it had not had before⁴ The *præfectus prætorio*, who had formerly always been a military person, was now obliged to be a jurist, and was the princeps of this state-council. This regulation, which, singularly enough, is completely oriental, was unquestionably made as early as the time of Hadrian. Henceforth men like Ulpian, Papinian, and Paullus may be looked upon as real ministers of justice.

The downward tendency of literature assumed under Hadrian a still more decided character than it had had before. If we examine the inscriptions which were made in his time, for instance those on the tombs along the Appian road, we find in some an extremely barbarous Latin, a true *lingua rustica*⁵. Such inscriptions occur, indeed, only here and there, and the books written at the time were composed in a correct language, but they shew nevertheless the condition into which Rome had sunk by the decrease of its free population, the place of which was occupied by slaves and freedmen who spoke a *lingua vulgaris* or *rustica*, just as is the case with the Creoles in the West Indies. The great body of the population under such circumstances forms a jargon for itself, and throws off the shackles of grammatical

⁴ Spartian Hadrian, 18, Dion Cass LXIX 7

⁵ The phenomenon is analogous to that which we see, for example, in letters written by our common people, who are not only ignorant of orthography, but use vulgar and provincial expressions —N

laws⁶. In the desolate or secluded parts of Italy⁷, where such people lived as colonists, that Latin jargon became first established, and the people gradually fell into the *lingua vulgaris*. Persons of rank and education continued to speak pure Latin, and if men like Tacitus and Pliny learned the vulgar idiom in their childhood, they undoubtedly spoke only pure Latin among one another, but the correct Latin must with many persons have been something acquired, as the High-German is acquired in our days by every German of education⁸. The use of the vulgar language must have spread very quickly and widely. The ancient Roman writers were now read chiefly on account of their language, and the more ancient they were the greater was the value set upon them. This accounts for the fact of Ennius, Plautus, and Naevius being studied so much in those times: their works had also something more *piquant* than those of the classical writers. Horace, Virgil, and Seneca had probably despised those old authors, but now they rose again in favour. At this time Cicero was neglected, and preference was given to Cato and Gracchus. It was a strange change, but it can be easily accounted for⁹. Hadrian himself was a lover of

⁶ The Wends in the neighbourhood of Luneburg, who were compelled to speak German, formed a jargon of German —N

⁷ We can scarcely form a conception of the desolate condition of the more remote parts of Italy, even as early as the reign of Augustus —N

⁸ The German language has become much impoverished since the time of the Thirty-years' war, and any one who writes in high German, finds that words are wanting for things for which the common language of the people has good expressions, which however are not used in writing. This is felt more especially by persons born and brought up in Lower Saxony, for the people of Upper Germany speak nearly as they write —N

⁹ We have seen a similar change of taste in our own country, for there was a time, at a very recent period of our literary history, when the early writers were regarded as the only models of perfection, when Walter von der Vogelweide, for example, was set up as the

antiquity, but his extraordinary partiality for the Greeks greatly contributed towards raising everything Greek in public estimation.

The Greek language had been kept more alive in Greece than the Latin in Italy, and the people of Athens probably still continued to speak pure Greek. Greece, however, was then poor in literary productions, and Hadrian's partiality for Greek writers, and the pensions he gave them unfortunately called forth too many.

The pleasure which people at that time took in Roman archaeology and the ancient language, produced writers like A. Gellius, who is a curious example of them. His work must have been written in the reign of M. Aurelius. He has something pleasing about him, and much may be learned from his work. I like him very much, but it is surprising to see how ignorant he is even of the actual state of things in which he lived, and this naturally excites our mistrust in regard to his knowledge of the earlier times, and with justice. He knows nothing of the Roman institutions, and what he writes about them is most ridiculous, and shews his complete ignorance of the affairs of common life. He is one of those men who, as Goethe says in his *Faust*, "see the world scarce on a holiday." Respecting the colonies, for example, of which there existed hundreds in his time, he is perfectly ignorant, and he gives the most ludicrous definition of them¹⁰. He is a writer of the same kind as Cornelius Fronto, the instructor of the emperor M. Aurelius, who made his illustrious pupil read merely for the sake of words, and trained him in the art of hunting after rare words, with which he was to produce effect. Earlier rhetoricians had endeavoured to attain the same end by subtle combinations and over-refinement; but now effect

greatest poet, and the prose-writers of the sixteenth century, such as the historian Zacharias Theobald, as perfect models of a good prose. I love those men as much as any one, but I am far from considering them as the models whom we should strive to imitate—N.

¹⁰ See xvi 11.

was to be produced by rare and antique expressions, and the thoughts, though they were still trivial, were expressed in more simple and chaste forms than in the time of Seneca. So far those rhetoricians were rational enough. At a somewhat later period, there arose a peculiar school, called the African, which continued down to the time of Arnobius. The writers of this school are spoken of as if they had written in a peculiar dialect, and it might therefore seem strange that the language of Appuleius and Tertullian, who were both Africans, and belonged to this school, has never been censured for any dialectic peculiarities. But the notion that their language has anything provincial in it is quite erroneous. Its only peculiarity is, that it abounds in words and expressions taken from the ancient Latin writers. This system was adopted to a certain extent in Greek literature also.¹¹ Appuleius and Tertullian, however, were both men of great talent; and Appuleius must, without any hesitation, be ranked among the first geniuses of his time. He has a remarkable liveliness and universality. His "Apologia," in which ancient words are not so much accumulated as in his "Metamorphoses" and the "Florida," shews what an able writer he was, when he did not attempt to be too artificial. The works both of Appuleius and of Tertullian are real store-houses of ancient Latin, and the hunting after ancient words was, with men like these, in reality no more than a fanciful whim. Some such archaeological curiosities occur even in the works of Sallust and Tacitus, but neither of them went anything like so far as the writers of Hadrian's time. It is not easy to ascertain what gave rise to the African school, and its peculiarity. Carthage was then, next to Rome, the greatest city in the empire in which Latin was spoken, and this circumstance may give us some clue to understand this African school. The Latin taught and


¹¹ Hadrian himself shewed a delight in certain antique words. The "Lexiphanes" of Lucian is just such a hunter after ancient words, which he introduced into his language *tort a travers* —N

spoken at Carthage seems to have formed a somewhat similar contrast to the works produced at Rome, to that which exists between the style of the French writers of Geneva and those of Paris. The whole country around Carthage spoke Punic, and at Madaura and Hippo all the people continued to speak Punic down to a very much later period, which circumstance accounts for the facility with which the Arabic was introduced in that country¹².

Greek literature, in the meantime, continued to spread, and Hadrian's partiality for it raised the eastern world in an extraordinary manner, but it also created pride, vanity and conceit. The Greek language spread further and further to the most distant regions, and the whole of the East looked upon itself as a Greek world. The genius of Lucian arose at this time. He is very much overrated, but must not on that account be thrown on one side. He writes beautiful Attic Greek, though he had spoken the Syriac language up to the time when he passed from the age of boyhood to manhood, and this is a point which deserves our admiration. The characteristic of the eastern world is lightness and cheerfulness, while that of the west is heaviness and dulness, and this peculiarity now led the eastern world no longer to look upon itself as subdued by the western nations, in addition to this, the Roman franchise had been given to millions of men, and was still spreading. This time was a brilliant period of Greek literature, for besides Lucian there lived Galen, Pausanias, who has not indeed much talent, but is extremely important and useful to us, and Aelius Aristides, whose declamations must be disagreeable to every unprejudiced reader. The whole school of the Greek rhetoricians of that time, who looked upon themselves as forming a second golden

¹² It is not improbable that a thorough investigation of the very peculiar idiom of Tunis might throw some light upon the ancient Punic. The genitive case is indicated in that language by *de*, which is evidently derived from the Latin —N. Compare Lect II p 106 note 9

age of oratory, spoke and wrote after the models of the ancients, but, unfortunately, there is no substance in what they spoke and wrote. It was, generally speaking, with the literature of that time, as it was for a long period with our own, of which Goethe says, that down to the eighteenth century it had no substance. The "Apologia" of Appuleius has a substance, and this substance at once enables the author to give life and spirit to his work. Tertullian too produced some spirited and substantial works. When he writes against the theatres, and has to treat of a reality, he shews that he is a great author, and is very instructive, while Aristides is trying to entertain his readers with idle and silly trash. Tertullian is one of those writers whom I can recommend to every one, not merely to theologians on account of his importance in ecclesiastical history, but to scholars also, who should devote more attention to the ecclesiastical fathers than they do, and follow the example of Scaliger, Hemsterhuys, and Valckenaer. An historian cannot see his way clearly in those times, unless he reads such writers as Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, and Athenagoras.



LECTURE LXX

HADRIAN'S BUILDINGS, CONTINUED —T. ANTONINUS PIUS.—
M. AURELIUS ANTONINUS.—STOIC PHILOSOPHY.—CAUSES
OF THE UNHAPPINESS OF M. AURELIUS.

HADRIAN'S name is chiefly immortalized by his architectural works. Among the great buildings of ancient Rome, none was more stupendous than his Mausoleum, the *moles Hadriani*¹. We know from Procopius², that the emperor's statue which adorned it was thrown down during the siege of Rome by the Goths. This Mausoleum continued to exist during the middle ages with all its inscriptions, but afterwards it was destroyed intentionally, and we now see only the gigantic masses, which still shew its original beauty. At some distance from Tibur there still exist the enormous ruins of his villa, where statues of the most exquisite beauty have been brought to light. Its strange outlines still shew its peculiar beauty, which is now in some manner increased by the luxuriant vegetation that has overgrown it. Certain plants have become indigenous on that spot from the time of Hadrian, which do not occur in any other part of Italy.

With regard to Hadrian as an author, we have a few verses of his, which have been preserved by Spartianus in his life of the emperor³, an epigram upon his favourite horse Borysthenes⁴, and a few other trifles. There are also

¹ Spartian Hadrian, 9, Dion Cass LXIX 23

² Bell Goth i. 22

³ Spartian. Hadrian, 25

⁴ Meyer Antholog Vet Lat. Epigr et Poem. No 211 vol 1
p 71.

some verses of his in the Greek Anthology ; but all of them have something strange and far-fetched, like everything he did.

Hadrian was succeeded in A.D. 138, by T. Antoninus Pius, whom he would not have adopted, if M. Aurelius Antoninus had been at a more advanced age, for Hadrian was very much attached to this boy, even when he was no more than six years old, a fact which speaks greatly in favour of Hadrian. The real name of M. Aurelius was M. Annus Verus, and Hadrian used to call him Verissimus, on account of his extraordinary veracity and great kindness. Had he been older, Hadrian would unquestionably have chosen him for his successor, but as it was, he adopted T. Antoninus Pius, the husband of M. Aurelius Antoninus' sister. I have already remarked that, before this time, Hadrian had adopted Aelius Verus, an unworthy man. It is strange that Hadrian could love a person like this Aelius Verus, and at the same time M. Aurelius, who was the very embodiment of human virtue ; but we must believe that Hadrian's bad and sinful habits left him in the moments when he looked upon that innocent child. T. Antoninus Pius was married to Faustina, the sister of M. Aurelius, afterwards surnamed Philosophus. The Roman names about this time are so confused that it requires the greatest caution not to be misled. The family of T. Antoninus Pius originally belonged to the province of Gaul, whereas his two predecessors had been of Spanish extraction. It was by a mere fiction that Italy was still considered as the centre of the empire. The history of the reign of Antoninus Pius, which lasted twenty-three years, is extremely obscure⁴; we know infinitely less about this period than about the earliest times of the Roman republic; and I have, for instance, a much more accurate know-

⁴ The sixtieth book of Dion Cassius is lost, and was lost even at the time when Xiphilinus and Zonaras made their abridgments, and we are therefore confined to the miserable lives in the "*Historia Augusta*"—N.

ledge of the conquest of Rome by the Gauls, than of the history of this emperor. The personal character of Antoninus Pius was very good, he obtained the surname of Pius from the circumstance that, after the death of Hadrian, when the senate was in a state of vehement irritation against him, T. Antoninus nevertheless carried a decree which conferred divine honours upon the memory of Hadrian⁶

His reign was not as undisturbed as that of Hadrian, for he had to carry on some wars on the frontiers, and to contend with various insurrections, as, for instance, of the Britons, of the Mauretanians of mount Atlas, who still preserved their savage nature, and of the Jews⁷, as well as against the hostility of the Parthians. These insurrections in the provinces shew that they were oppressed by the governors, but such disturbances were after all of little importance, and the peace of Italy was not affected at all by them. His reign, however, was unfortunate on account of the fearful earthquakes which occurred in it, and destroyed Rhodes, Smyrna⁸, and many other towns of Asia Minor. As we have so few documents concerning his reign, we can in many instances only form conjectures, we can, however, say with good reason, that Antoninus Pius was a benevolent man, and of an unblemished character, but that he was nevertheless only an ordinary man, and anything but a great prince. We have good ground also for believing that the decay, which became visible in the reign of his successor, was prepared by him.

The golden age of jurisprudence had commenced under Hadrian. The work of Gaius was undoubtedly written in the latter part of the reign of Antoninus Pius. Greek literature was then very rich, for Appian, Galen, Sextus

⁶ Spartian Hadrian, 27, Aurel Vict De Caesar 14, Dion Cass LX 1

⁷ Jul Capitolin Antonin Pius, 5, Pausanias, VIII 43 3

⁸ One of the orations of Aelius Aristides referred to these calamities —N. See Philostratus, Vit Sophist II 9 2

Empiricus, and Sextus of Chaeronea, are men of that period. Manufactures had been in an extremely flourishing condition at Alexandria as early as the time of Hadrian, and they now continued to go on improving, especially linen, cotton, and glass manufactures. Mathematical studies, astronomy, and mathematical geography, were likewise thriving in Egypt.

The wretched "Historia Augusta" has two contradictory accounts respecting the adoption of M Aurelius Antoninus. According to the more generally received account, Antoninus adopted him and L Aelius Verus Commodus, the son of Aelius Verus, at the same time, whereas, according to another statement, M. Aurelius was obliged to adopt L Aelius Verus Commodus⁹. The fact of M. Aurelius and L Aelius Verus being called *Divi fratres*, is however a strong argument in support of the former account. But it is strange to find that L. Aelius Verus, in a letter addressed to M. Aurelius¹⁰, while speaking of Antoninus Pius, uses the words *avus meus*, and *pater tuus*. It may be that this curious adoption was made in such a manner that the adoptive father, Antoninus Pius, afterwards gave L. Aelius Verus as adoptive son to M Aurelius, for such things often occurred¹¹.

It is more delightful to speak of M. Aurelius than of any one else, for if there is any sublime human virtue, it is his. He was certainly the noblest character of his time, and I know no other man who combined such an unaffected kindness, mildness, and humility, with such a conscientiousness and severity towards himself. We can trace his history from his childhood in the biographies of the "Historia Augusta," and we possess innumerable busts of him, in which he is represented at

⁹ Jul Capitolin M Anton Phil 5, Spartian Aelius Verus, 4 Compare Dion Cass. LXIX 21, LXXI 35

¹⁰ Vulcat Gallic Avidius Cassius, 1

¹¹ The names of persons were changed at that time in the most arbitrary manner, and on the most trivial occasions.—N

the different periods of his life, from a boy of ten years old down to his death. Any one who lives in Italy may easily collect a complete series of such busts made in successive years. Every Roman of his time was anxious to possess his portrait. If there is anywhere an expression of virtue, it is in the heavenly features of M Aurelius. We know him in his mature age from his own meditations, a golden book. There are things in that work which no one can read without deep grief, for there we find this purest of men without happiness and joy. No one who reads his work can help loving him, especially the first book, in which he goes through all the circumstances of his life, and thanks every one to whom he owes any obligation; the cases where he returns more than he owes only shew his extremely amiable nature. In his correspondence with Corn. Fronto we see him in the happy time of youth bordering upon manhood, in the full bloom of life, and very happy. At the beginning of his reign he was depressed, and felt overwhelmed by the burdens of his office, but he never neglected any of his duties. We also know him as a tender husband and father.

His education was very remarkable for the care with which it was conducted, and the high pitch to which it was carried. Cornelius Fronto was his teacher in rhetoric, this man enjoyed the greatest reputation among the Roman rhetoricians of the time. He instructed M. Aurelius in his own way, and as if he wanted to make a rhetorician of him. The Greek, Herodes Atticus, who was likewise one of his teachers, was more of a man of the world than the old pedantic Fronto. M. Aurelius read immensely, and was insatiable in acquiring knowledge. His studies up to his twentieth year were directed principally to grammar, rhetoric, and the classical literature both of Greece and Rome, which he made thoroughly his own. His Latin language and his style were thus acquired in the way in which most men at

that time acquired them he lived more with Plautus and Ennius than with Virgil and Horace. In his twentieth year he became acquainted with Junius Rusticus, a Stoic philosopher, whom he looked upon as his guardian angel, but concerning whom we know nothing beyond what M. Aurelius himself says of him in his first book. Zeno himself may have been ever so much inferior to Plato and Aristotle,—an opinion which I readily join in,—but the Stoic philosophy was at that time the only one of any importance. The Platonic philosophy was in a deplorable condition, and had sunk to a mere *δαιματουργία* and *σεουργία*, and although some men of that school had great talents, yet there were but few traces of good sense among them; all the Platonic philosophers of this time were nearly at the point where we afterwards find the New-Platonists. The Aristotelian philosophy was quite extinct. The Stoic philosophy always had it in its power to bring about its own regeneration in a moral point of view. The truly great Epictetus had appeared among the Stoics as early as the reign of Domitian. Epictetus' greatness cannot be disputed, and it is impossible for any person of sound mind not to be charmed by his works, which were edited by Arrian. The latter too is an important man, both in history and philosophy, and one who called back the good times of ancient Greece. But the new life which Epictetus infused into philosophy, did not last long, for everybody turned to New-Platonism. The hearts which were then panting for a purer atmosphere, while paganism was yet prevailing, found peace afterwards in their faith in the Christian revelation.

The Stoic philosophy opened to M. Aurelius a completely new world. The letters of Fronto, which are otherwise childish and trifling, throw an interesting light upon the state of mind of M. Aurelius, at the time when he cast rhetoric aside and sought happiness in philosophy, not indeed in its dialectic subtleties, but in its faith in virtue and eternity. He bore the burdens of his exalted

position in the manner in which, according to the precepts of pious men, we ought to take up our cross and bear it patiently. With this sentiment M Aurelius exerted all his powers for the good of the empire, and discharged all his duties, ever active no less for the army than for the administration of the empire. He complains of want of time to occupy himself with intellectual pursuits, but then he consoles himself again with the thought, that he is doing his duty and fulfilling his mission. There certainly never was a prince so deeply and universally beloved by his people, that is, by half the world, as M. Aurelius. Syria and Egypt alone formed an exception, but those countries had never seen him; in Italy and all the western parts of the empire he was adored like a heaven-sent ruler. The chasm which usually exists between a sovereign and his subjects did not prevent his being addressed by the Romans as father or brother. During his whole reign the senate felt itself restored to its former republican dignity and power, for the emperor looked upon himself only as the servant of the republic, and upon the dignity of a senator as equal to his own.

This man, with all his excellencies and virtues, was not only not happy, on account of the burdens that lay on him, but an evil fate seemed to hover over him in all his relations. The misfortunes of the times already began to shew their symptoms. The long period of peace had destroyed the military discipline and the vigorous energy of the armies, and the whole of the Roman world had sunk into a state of languor. Sensuality, love of pleasure and idleness, were rapidly gaining the upper hand. The German nations were compelled by Slavonic tribes either to seek the protection of Rome, in case of her armies on the frontier being strong enough, or to take refuge in her dominions. Such was the case with the Marcomanni, Quadi, Victovall and various other tribes, which now crossed the Danube. In another part of the empire, the Parthians invaded Armenia, took possession

of the country, and from thence made their attacks upon the Roman dominions. This occurred at the commencement of the reign of M. Aurelius. The legate Severianus, who was sent against the Parthians, was cut off with one or two legions. At the outbreak of this war M. Aurelius sent his adoptive brother, L. Verus, to the East, perhaps merely from the desire to afford him an opportunity of rendering a service to the state. But Verus remained at Antioch, and crossed the Euphrates only once. The Parthian war was, however, brought to a close, after four campaigns, by Statius Priscus, Avidius Cassius, and Martius Verus. The last three campaigns were very successful, and the Romans, who penetrated deep into Asia, took Seleucia. A peace was then granted to the Parthians, which, however, they did not keep.

Another source of M. Aurelius' unhappiness was his adoptive brother, L. Verus, who was as different from him as possible. He lived in luxuries and dissoluteness, while Marcus observed towards himself an almost monastic severity. Verus was a true *pendant* to Caligula and Nero, with this difference, that he had no opportunity of shewing his cruel nature, for Marcus kept him in check as well as he could.

M. Aurelius was also unhappy with his wife Annia Faustina, the daughter of Antoninus Pius. He was more unhappy with her than he himself could know or see, but he loved her tenderly as the mother of his children. She was in no way worthy of such a husband, and the conduct of the best of men produced no effect upon her mind. He was, perhaps, fortunate enough to be under a delusion respecting her throughout his life. It is, however, not impossible that her conduct may be described in our authorities in blacker colours than it really deserved, though her bad disposition cannot be denied.

At the time when Verus returned from Asia, after the conquest of Seleucia, Europe was visited by a pestilence, a calamity from which it had been free for centuries, for

the last plague that had occurred, was that of the year B. C., 290 (U. C. 460), and all that is mentioned in the interval refers to common epidemics¹². But in the reign of M. Aurelius, A. D., 167, the real oriental plague was carried into Europe by the army returning from the Parthian war, and spread all over the western world, Asia Minor, Greece, Italy, Gaul, &c. Africa alone was perhaps not reached by it. This pestilence must have raged with incredible fury, and it carried off innumerable victims¹³. As the reign of M. Aurelius forms a turning point in so many things, and above all in literature and art, I have no doubt that this crisis was brought about by that plague. The plague at Athens in the beginning of the Peloponnesian war forms a similar turning point in the history of Attica, and a pestilence, in general, always draws a strong line of demarcation between the periods on the boundaries of which it occurs. The black death, for example, which raged in Germany in the year 1348, put a complete stop to our early literature, and the literature of Florence was manifestly affected in the same way. After the black death the arts were for years at a perfect stand still. The ancient world never recovered from the blow inflicted upon it by the plague which visited it in the reign of M. Aurelius.

¹² See vol III p 407 foll

¹³ Eutropius, VIII. 12, Jul. Capitolin. Verus, 8, M Antonin. 13



LECTURE LXXI.

M. AURELIUS, CONTINUED.—WAR AGAINST THE MARCO-MANNI.—INSURRECTION OF AVIDIUS CASSIUS.—WEAKNESS OF M. AURELIUS AS EMPEROR.—COMMODUS.—P. HELVIUS PERTINAX.

THE happiness of the reign of M Aurelius was thus disturbed by the plague, which was carried into Europe from the east, and by the wars with the Germans. Ever since the time of Augustus, it had been only the German tribes on the frontier that had undertaken anything against the Romans. In the time of Tacitus we see a peaceful relation established between the two nations, and some of the German tribes even carried on an active commerce with the Romans. The *limes* (a wall with a ditch,) ran from the river Main, commencing at the point where the Spessart mountain approaches nearest to the river, to where the Altmuhl empties itself into the Danube, not far from Ratisbon. Suabia and the Palatinate, east of the Rhine, were tributary to the Romans. The country here on the lower Rhine was very thinly peopled, and during the whole of the first century after Christ, it had been only the Sigambri and Bructeri that had taken part in the attempts of the nations west of the Rhine to shake off the Roman yoke. The tribes in the interior of Germany enjoyed a profound peace at the time when Tacitus wrote. Hadrian had maintained peace by giving presents to the nations on the frontiers. In the reign of Antoninus Pius, we hear of a defensive war against the Chatti¹,

¹ J Capitolin Anton Pius, 5, M Antonin Philos. 8, Pausanias, VIII. 43 3

which is the first symptom of a movement among the Germans, and this movement was evidently caused by the advance of the Slavonic nations from the east. It became general in the reign of M. Aurelius, and the Marcomanni then stood forth most prominently among the Germans². In the German, or, as it is usually called, the Marcomannian war, which broke out in the reign of M Aurelius, the Marcomanni, allied with Sarmatian tribes, which were otherwise hostile to the former, made their joint attacks upon the Romans, they advanced into Raetia, and penetrated even as far as Aquileia³. The history of this war would be of great interest to us, but the accounts of it which have come down to us do not enable us to form a clear notion of it. Xiphilinus' abridgment of Dion Cassius is in this part scarcely worth anything, and there are some important facts connected with this war, for a knowledge of which we are indebted to medals alone. Thus much, however, is clear, that the Marcomannian war was divided into two distinct periods, for it was interrupted by a peace or a truce⁴, and broke out with fresh fury in the last years of the reign of M. Aurelius. Many particulars of the war are seen in the excellent bas-reliefs on the Antonine column at Rome, though they are much damaged. There we see, for example, barbarian princes submitting to the emperor, or suing for mercy. It is also clear that, during the last years of the war, the Romans were victorious, though not without the most extraordinary exertions, and if M. Aurelius had lived longer, he would have made Marcomannia a Roman province⁵. But it is

² The name of the Marcomanni disappears in history soon after this war, they were either overwhelmed by Slavonic tribes, or their nation was broken up, and entered into different relations—N

³ Lucian, Alexand 48, J Capitoli M Antonin Philos 14

⁴ J Capitoli M Antonin Phil. 12, 17, Eutropius, VIII 6
Compare Dion Cass. LXXI 13 foll

⁵ J Capitoli M Antonin Phil 24, Dion Cass LXXI 20

not improbable that the war may have been interrupted by the insurrection of Avidius Cassius in Syria.

The history of this time is so immensely obscure that we can say nothing with certainty of the descent of Avidius Cassius. According to some he was a native of the town of Cyrrhus, or the island of Cyprus⁶, and according to others he belonged to the Roman gens Cassia⁷. The former statement, however, has something improbable about it, for it is not likely that natives of Greek provinces should have been raised to the highest offices in the Roman armies, as early as that time. Avidius Cassius was a remarkable man, and was distinguished as a military commander. The Roman armies were at that time recruited from the military colonies on the frontiers, and their discipline had latterly fallen very much into decay. The soldiers had been greatly neglected during the reign of Antoninus Pius, for the legions usually remained where they were once stationed, which was a most imprudent system. They thus became a sort of settled Janissaries, and instead of being kept in their camps, they generally took up their quarters with the provincials. In Syria, which is one of the most beautiful and magnificent countries in the world, with a most excellent climate, and a fertile soil, the discipline of the Roman legions had been in a state of perfect dissolution, and the Parthians had been very successful in their attacks. Avidius Cassius, who had been entrusted with the command of these legions, had restored their discipline, and had conquered the Parthians with them. The ancient system of changing the governors of provinces had likewise been neglected, and after the time of Hadrian, the *legati pro praetore* often remained at their posts all their lives, while the governors of the senatorial provinces were changed every year. Avidius Cassius had thus been in Syria for a long time,

⁶ J Capitolin M Antonin Phil 25, Dion Cass LXXI. 22

⁷ Vulcat Gallicanus, Avid Cassius, 1

and throughout his province, as far as Egypt, he was extremely popular with the natives. His army was not so much attached to him, but a part of his soldiers nevertheless joined the provincials in proclaiming him emperor. It must be remembered in his excuse that there was a report at the time current in Syria, that M. Aurelius had died⁸. Had Avidius Cassius succeeded in obtaining the government of the empire, Rome would not have had to suffer under the disgraceful sway of Commodus, and much bloodshed would have been spared. The opinion that Avidius Cassius intended to restore the republic is an absurdity, and a notion which could not have entered the head of a great general like him. The consequence would have been that the voluptuous senate, that is, the fine and fashionable gentlemen of the day, who were devoid of all great qualities, would have become the rulers of the world. I entertain a high opinion of Avidius Cassius, and am convinced that he intended to govern the empire according to the moral maxims of his ancestors. But about three months after he had assumed the imperial title, he was murdered by a centurion⁹, a fact which shews that a great part of the army was dissatisfied with his strict discipline. The provincials reluctantly returned to their obedience to M. Aurelius. The report that Faustina, the wife of M. Aurelius, was compromised in the insurrection of Avidius Cassius, was without any foundation, and is refuted by her own letters¹⁰.

On receiving the news of the insurrection of Avidius Cassius, M Aurelius had gone to the East, and the mildness of his character was manifested in his conduct towards

⁸ Vulcat Gallicanus, Avid Cassius, 7, Dion Cass LXXI 22

⁹ Vulcat Gallicanus, Avid. Cassius, 7 foll, Dion Cass LXXI. 27.

¹⁰ (Vulcat Gallicanus, l c 9 foll) There cannot be any worse historical sources than the writers of the "Historia Augusta" All of them, without exception, are persons of the greatest incapacity, for they put together things contradictory and impossible, without feeling the least uneasiness about it — N

the children of Avidius, and in the regulations which he made in the province. One son of Avidius was killed, but without the wish of M. Aurelius, who had intended to save him. There is a remarkable letter of Avidius Cassius¹¹, which I must mention in connexion with his insurrection. He there expresses his dissatisfaction with the government of M. Aurelius in a manner which cannot surprise us, for Avidius was a practical man and of great ability, and he could not look with pleasure upon a sovereign who, with all his faithfulness in the discharge of his duties, filled his high post without pleasure, and had other things that lay nearer his heart. Avidius in that letter states that M. Aurelius was indeed an extremely good man, but that he was not able to form a correct judgment of the men around him, who under the cloak of philosophy oppressed and corrupted the subjects of the empire. The fragments of Fronto too throw much light upon this state of things, and however small the value of those fragments may be in a literary point of view, they are of great importance for the history of that time. It cannot be denied that M. Aurelius was weak, especially in his relation of husband and father. One example is sufficient to prove this. When Matidia had died and made a will, in which she left large legacies to persons of her household, and did not give to Faustina even her trinkets, Fronto allowed himself to be used as a tool by Faustina. A costly string of pearls, which Faustina had expected, had been given to a foster-child of Matidia, and Faustina induced Fronto to write to her husband to say that Matidia's will was a forgery¹², &c. Marcus answered him in a remarkable note to thank him for his advice. The result is not expressly mentioned, but it is clear that Matidia's will was declared void. This excessive weakness of Marcus in yielding to the wishes of Faustina must have had its influence upon many persons.

¹¹ Vulcat Gallicanus, *Avid. Cassius*, 14.

¹² *Corn Fronto*, p 101, foll ed Niebuhr.

The internal condition of the empire was not good, and its external misfortunes were great. The population, which had been at such a low ebb in the time of Augustus, might have been restored in the course of two centuries, as was the case in Germany after the Thirty-years' war; but the plague had prevented this, and in addition to this, the government of M. Aurelius, however excellent in many respects, was neither able to check the general dissolution, nor to put a stop to the acts of injustice which were committed by some of the governors of provinces. There can be no doubt that some of his virtues and his indulgence towards the senate were the cause of much evil. He died on the frontier of Marcomannia before the war against the barbarians was brought to a close, in March, A. D. 180, after a reign of nineteen years. His son Commodus was with him at the time. There is one thing for which M. Aurelius has often been censured, namely, the establishment of a regular court, which had not existed under any of his predecessors, who had appeared only as chief magistrates and chief commanders of the armies. But the court which was gradually formed in his reign cannot have been his work, and must have been created by Faustina. The age, however, was still one of considerable energy, for there were several very excellent commanders in the armies, such as Pescennius Niger and P. Helvius Pertinax, who was engaged in the internal administration and afterwards became emperor, and if we may rely upon the opinions of M. Aurelius himself, there must have been several other men of eminence at that time.

Intellectual and literary pursuits were still carried on, especially in the East, but in the Latin parts of the empire they were on the decline. A. Gellius wrote his work in the reign of M. Aurelius, and evidently not till after the death of Fronto, that is in the interval between A. D. 169 and the death of the emperor. His "*Noctes Atticae*" are a complete specimen of the grammatical and rhetorical tendency of the time.

Had M. Aurelius not been extremely weak, he could not have been deceived in the character of his son Commodus, and he would have seen that he was quite unworthy to be placed at the head of the empire. Marcus ought to have known that Commodus from his early youth was a person of the coarsest vulgarity and without any virtue, and he ought to have adopted one of his distinguished generals. He might have done this the more easily, as the idea of an hereditary monarchy had scarcely taken root among the Romans. But this he did not do. During the first years of the reign of Commodus things are said¹³ to have gone on tolerably well, as the arrangements made by his father were continued as a sort of tradition. But his nature, which was of the very lowest vulgarity, soon burst forth. He was a handsome man, and of athletic agility and strength¹⁴, and this circumstance was in some measure the cause of his abandoning himself to the coarsest pleasures and the most vulgar sensuality. His greatest delight was to cultivate his skill in using the bow and throwing the javelin, and had he left the government in the hands of able men, things might still have been well, but he gave up the government to the praefect Perennis, who ruled like an oriental despot. The consequence was an insurrection among the soldiers, in which Commodus abandoned his favourite to the fury of the populace. An attempt upon the life of the voluptuous tyrant himself had been made before, by an assassin, Claudius Pompeianus, who is said to have been instigated by Lucilla, Commodus' own sister, but who declared himself to be an emissary of the senate¹⁵. This attempt excited his fury against the senators. He had insinuated himself into the good graces of the soldiers and the populace—the so-called plebs

¹³ Herodian, I 8

¹⁴ His own head, which he caused to be placed on a colossal statue of Sol, is still extant. It is a very beautiful head, with graceful but unmeaning features.—N

¹⁵ Lampridius, Commod 4, Dion Cass. LXXII 4, Herodian, I c

urbana—by his unbounded prodigality his coins attest this *liberalitas Augusti*, in which he squandered away the treasures of the empire. Antoninus Pius had left behind him a treasury containing about sixty-three millions sterling, the wars of M Aurelius had consumed a part of that sum, and the remainder was not sufficient for the reckless extravagance of Commodus. It is just as repugnant to my feelings to enter into the detail of the history of Commodus, as it was in the case of Caligula and Nero, it is so disgusting that it is almost impossible to dwell upon it. The only point of interest after the murder of Perennis is the fall of Cleander, a freedman, of whom, however, it is doubtful whether he was actually *praefectus praetorio* or not¹⁶. The internal dissolution of the empire is visible in the struggle which took place on that occasion between the praetorian cohorts and the city cohorts. The latter gained the victory, and Commodus was on the point of being murdered at Lanuvium, whither he had gone to escape from the plague, had not his concubine, Marcia, and his sister saved him. In order not to expose himself Commodus sacrificed Cleander.

During the latter years of his life Commodus' ambition was no longer confined to the hunting of wild beasts in the amphitheatre, but he was also anxious to display his skill as a gladiator. he had assumed the name of Hercules before. The senseless decrees, for instance the one by which he declared Rome a *colonia Commodiana*, are nothing but the disgusting fancies and whims of a tyrant. He intended to crown his brutal cruelties on the first of January A.D. 193, by putting to death the consuls elect, and then proceeding himself to the capitol at once as consul and gladiator. The praefect Laetus and his concubine, Marcia, tried to dissuade him from it, but the consequence only was, that he resolved to avail himself of the opportunity for the purpose of proscribing his advisers. This plan,

¹⁶ Herodian, i 13, Dion Cass LXXII 13, Lampridius, Commod 17

however, was betrayed by one of his dwarfs. Laetus, Eclectus, and Marcia, now endeavoured to rid themselves of the tyrant by poison, and as he fell into a state of torpor in consequence of the poison, they sent a sturdy athlete to strangle him, and a report was spread abroad that he had died suddenly of a paralytic stroke. His sister Lucilla and his nearest relatives had been put to death by him

The senate now gave vent to its feelings by cursing the memory of the tyrant. The praetorians, on the other hand, murmured and were discontented, but Laetus proclaimed as emperor P Helvius Pertinax, who was then about sixty-five years old. A better choice could not have been made. he had distinguished himself as a general, and although he was not among the great generals, still he had been a good and honest one; he had given proofs of his integrity and zeal during his administration of the city. He had the virtues of M Aurelius, but would have made a greater sovereign, for his whole energy would have been devoted to the good of the state. The people rejoiced at his proclamation, but not all of the senators, because he did not belong to the high nobility, and the soldiers agreed to his elevation only with reluctance.



LECTURE LXXII.

DIDIUS SALVIUS JULIANUS.—CLODIUS ALBINUS.—PESCENNIUS NIGER —SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS.—CARACALLA AND GETA.—THE CORRECTORES

PERTINAX, who had been proclaimed in the beginning of January, was murdered towards the end of March, A D 193¹. Now the common account is, that, after his death, the praetorians offered the imperial dignity for sale to the highest bidder, but this is a sad exaggeration or misrepresentation. I cannot believe that Sulpicianus, the praefect of the city, and Didius Salvius Julianus bid against one another as at an auction. It is a well known fact that every sovereign on his accession was obliged to give donatives to the praetorians to secure their favour, and I have not the least doubt but that the bargain in this case was about the donative. Sulpicianus addressed the soldiers at the gate of their camp, and Julianus in the city. The former offered a donative of 20,000, and the latter of 25,000 sesterces to every praetorian, and Didius Julianus was accordingly proclaimed emperor². Julianus acted a miserable part in this affair. He was innocent of the death of Pertinax, and although himself a very rich man, he made use of the treasures of the state to purchase the empire. He had been governor of frontier provinces, and had not disgraced his administration, but he now called forth the general indignation by attaching himself to the praetorians, the murderers of Pertinax. In other respects the charges that are

¹ J Capitolin Pertinax, Herodian, II 1 foll, Dion Cass LXXIII 1 foll

² Dion Cass LXXIII 11, Spartian Did Julian 3

made against his personal character are of a vague and general nature, but his history is unfortunately much mutilated. Herodian, who relates the events of this time, was a foreigner and a superficial rhetorician. Many particulars, some of which are of great importance, are contained in the "*Historia Augusta*," which is otherwise wretched beyond all conception. I can, however, refer you to Gibbon for the history of this and the subsequent periods, although there are some important questions which Gibbon does not enter into.

Clodius Albinus, the commander of the legions in Britain, had been ill disposed towards Commodus, although Commodus proposed to him to adopt the title of Caesar, if he should think it necessary to keep the troops in order, but Albinus had declined doing what he thought to be a mere trap set for him by the tyrant³. When Pertinax was raised to the throne, Albinus assumed a neutral conduct, for he declared neither for nor against him. After the death of Pertinax, the Gallic and German legions attached themselves to him, and proclaimed him emperor. About the same time the legions in the east proclaimed Pescennius Niger; and a third general, L. Septimius Severus, was proclaimed emperor by the legions in Pannonia. Didius Julianus had very few persons who were attached to him or his cause. Pescennius Niger lost his time in making preparations, but Septimius Severus arrived at Terni about three months after the death of Pertinax. No one drew his sword in the defence of Didius Julianus, not even the prætorians, and when Severus approached, they shewed scarcely any inclination to defend the emperor of their own making⁴. The senate declared for Severus, who now entered the city without committing any outrage. Didius Julianus, however, was put to death, which was an unnecessary act of cruelty, as no one rose to defend him. The prætorian

³ J. Capitolin. Clod. Albinus, 2 foll.

⁴ The mutinous prætorians resembled the Janissaries also in their cowardice — N

guards were ordered to lay down their arms, and were dismissed in disgrace. Severus immediately prepared to set out for the east to attack Pescennius Niger.

Septimius Severus was an extremely remarkable man. He was a native of Leptis, an ancient Punic colony, in which a numerous Roman conventus had settled, as in so many other towns which were otherwise quite foreign to Rome. Severus was undoubtedly descended from a family belonging to that conventus⁵. Leptis was then still so completely a Punic town, that the sister of Severus, on her arrival at Rome, could only speak broken Latin⁶, such as we see in the "Apologia" of Appuleius. Severus himself, however, was well acquainted with Greek and Roman literature, and was himself a good writer. But we possess, unfortunately, only one letter of his, which is exceedingly well written, and with great passion⁷, so that we have reason to lament the loss of his memoirs. At the time when he entered Rome as emperor, he was forty-seven years old, and had greatly distinguished himself in the administration of provinces, and in the command of armies. It is a peculiar feature in his character, that he was extremely partial to foreign religious rites, and the arts of astrologers and sooth-sayers. We find in general that foreign religions were at that time very much spreading among the Romans, and this tendency was paving the way for the reception of Christianity also, which would otherwise have met with greater difficulties. In the reign of Severus Christianity emerged from its obscurity, though it had not yet obtained any political importance. Severus himself, but more especially his wife, Julia Domna, was favourably disposed towards Christianity, though she confounded it with magic ceremonies. Unction was at that time often prescribed

⁵ Statius wrote a beautiful poem upon Septimius Severus—N (Silvae, iv 5)

⁶ Spartian Sept Severus, 15

⁷ J Capitolin Clod Albinus, 12 Compare, however, c 7, where another short letter of his to Clod Albinus is preserved

as a remedy in cases of illness, and Severus had once received the unction in a severe attack of illness, and as he attributed his recovery to the influence of the unction and to the prayer of the bishops, he afforded protection to Christianity by special regulations. He was a handsome man, with a beautiful countenance, and a nobly-formed head; his venerable and noble physiognomy is still seen in his busts. The great charge which is brought against him is that of cruelty, of which it is impossible to acquit him. His cruelty was shewn more particularly after the fall of Clodius Albinus, when forty senators were put to death for having espoused the cause of Albinus. If the statement of Aelius Spartianus⁸ be true, that the children of Albinus too were murdered, the crime is still more horrible, but Spartianus is a thoughtless and contemptible writer.

The war against Pescennius Niger is of a peculiar character. Avidius Cassius before this time had been treated with so much favour at Antioch and Alexandria, that I cannot help suspecting, that the power of circumstances was already working towards the separation of the east from the west, which was actually begun under Diocletian, and was carried into effect by Theodosius. The Greek language had become as generally prevalent throughout the east, as the Latin was throughout the west. In the reign of M. Aurelius, Pescennius Niger had acquired great reputation as an eminent general, and the strictness of his discipline among the troops was particularly esteemed by the emperor. But if we compare him with Severus, he was nevertheless a man of a mild disposition, and was generally beloved. Severus crossed the Hellespont, and all his movements were brilliant and decisive. He first defeated the generals of his rival, and then Pescennius Niger himself in the neighbourhoods of Cyzicus and Issus, whereupon the eastern provinces submitted to the conqueror. Byzantium alone offered a desperate resistance, and held out for three years, until at length Severus, in

⁸ Severus, 11

his indignation, took and destroyed the town. This resistance of Byzantium is almost unaccountable; it is not probable that there should have existed any particular personal hostility between the Byzantines and Severus, but the Byzantines seem to have been conscious of the importance of the site which their city occupied, and that it was fit to be the capital of an eastern empire, for which nature herself seems to have destined it.

After this victory, Severus turned his arms against his other competitor in Gaul, Clodius Albinus, who was a man below mediocrity in every respect. He was likewise a native of Africa, and claimed to be descended from the noble family of the Postumii, but Severus, in a letter addressed to the Roman senate⁹, charges him with making false pretensions, and states that he was a mere African, and not even of Italian descent. At all events he was a person of little importance, as is evident from the fact of his being so easily duped, for at the time when Severus offered him the dignity of Caesar, he was perfectly satisfied, and was taken in by the very improbable promise, that Severus, who had himself children, would make him his successor¹⁰. After the fall of Pescennius Niger, however, Severus spoke to him in a different tone, and either a real, or merely suspected attempt at assassinating Albinus, was the immediate occasion of the war between the two emperors. A battle was fought in the neighbourhood of Lyon, A.D. 197, with great exertion on both sides. From the meagre account we have of this engagement, we see that Britain, Gaul, and Spain, were already united under Albinus, and that Severus gained his victory at a moment when he was on the point of losing it. Albinus died under the hoofs of the horses. Severus made a most cruel use of this victory, without taking any trouble to

⁹ J Capitolin Clod Albinus, 12

¹⁰ Dion Cass LXXIII 15, Herodian, II 15, J Capitolin Clod Albinus, 3, 7

conceal from the senate the bitterness of his feelings. Besides forty senators, many eminent men from Gaul and Spain paid for their attachment to Albinus with their lives. The imprudence of the Roman senate in regard to Albinus is inconceivable. the senators must have considered the issue of the contest as so uncertain, as to believe that the probability of success was greater on the side of Albinus than on that of Severus; but they had to pay fearfully for this mistake.

After Severus had obtained the undisputed possession of the empire, his government was excellent and mild too. The German nations were quiet after the Marcomannian war. He made two expeditions to the east: the first was against Adiabene and Arabia. The princes of the Parthian empire were in the condition of feudal kings, and Adiabene and Media were governed by such vassal princes, who, according to the greater or lesser energy of the Parthian sovereigns, were more or less independent kings. The second expedition was directed against the Parthians themselves. He took Seleucia and Ctesiphon, which were situated opposite to each other, and Seleucia was given up to the soldiers to be plundered. It is strange that Severus did not make the country a Roman province. The emperors were in a sad position, for they were almost compelled to carry on wars perpetually, as peace produced general effeminacy. Severus merely concluded peace, and Adiabene, which became tributary to Rome, was lost soon afterwards. Mesopotamia, and all Arabia, recognised the supremacy of Rome, but the kings of those countries were left in the possession of their kingdoms.

After this, Severus had to carry on another war in Britain. It is surprising to find that he thought it necessary to employ all the powers of the empire against the rude Caledonian barbarians. He was accompanied in this expedition by his two sons, Caracalla and Geta, both of whom were destined to become his successors. Caracalla, the elder, already

acted as the colleague of his father, and Geta, the younger, had received the title of Caesar and Nobilissimus¹¹. Before his death Severus raised both his sons to the rank of Augustus. Caracalla strangely declared himself the adopted son of M Aurelius, and accordingly called himself *M Aurelius Antoninus*, *M. Aureli filius*, &c. It cannot be supposed that he intended to deceive anybody by this fictitious adoption, except perhaps the common people; but he probably assumed that name merely to intimate, that he was the legitimate sovereign of the empire. For the same reason he called his own son M. Antoninus. Caracalla's real name had been Bassianus, which he took from his grandfather on his mother's side¹². He, as well as Geta, was the son of Julia Domna, a Syrian woman, whom Severus had married on the recommendation of astrologers, who had declared that her horoscope announced that she would become the mother of princes¹³. She was a person of great intellect, but of very loose conduct, for which, however, she afterwards did penance by what her maternal heart had to suffer from her own sons, who were anything but noble or praiseworthy. Geta excites our sympathy the more, because he fell a victim of his brother, but it is by

¹¹ *Νοβιλίσσμος* in the Byzantine writers is synonymous with Caesar —N

¹² In the Pandects he is called throughout Antoninus Augustus, Divus Augustus, or Imperator noster Antoninus. He is also mentioned under the name of Imperator Magnus. Our historians state that the name of Caracallus (not Caracalla) was a nickname given him by the people. Modern writers generally call him Caracalla or Caracallus, which I dislike as much as the name Caligula. To call him Antoninus would be a profanation of that name —N

¹³ There has been discovered at Rome an amulet of finely wrought silver, with magic inscriptions and the seven-branched candlestick of Jerusalem. The inscription is Greek mixed with barbarous and unintelligible forms. It contains, however, express allusions to Christianity, and states that whoever carried the amulet with him would be sure to please gods and men. It is an example of a curious mixture of Judaism, Christianity, and Paganism, such as we frequently meet with about the beginning of the third century —N


no means clear whether he was at all better than Caracalla, for the stories related about these two brothers can prove very little. They hated each other from their childhood, but their hostility began to assume a fearful character after the death of their father, in A.D. 211, when they succeeded him in such a manner, that Geta, as the younger, was in every respect inferior to his brother. Their natural hostility was thus fostered by their position, and increased by the evil disposition of Caracalla. The attempts of their mother to bring about a reconciliation led to no results. The natural tendency of the Romans at that time was to a division of the empire, an idea to which Caracalla was quite alive. But as the eastern portion, which was to be given to Geta, was too small, the plan was given up on the advice of Julia¹⁴, who now made other endeavours to establish peace between them. Caracalla agreed to her proposals, and the two brothers were to meet in their mother's room, but Caracalla's object was only to get his brother into a place where he could murder him. The unhappy young prince was accordingly assassinated in the arms of his mother, A.D. 212. From this time Caracalla ruled alone, under the name of M Antoninus. The disposition of the minds of persons at that time quite corresponded to the despotism under which they were suffering, for Julia Domna, although Geta had been her favourite, did not change her conduct towards her elder son who had murdered him, and she appears to have looked upon Geta's death as an unavoidable stroke of fate.

It is to be regretted that we know so little of the political regulations introduced by Severus, for it is evident that he must have made great changes, especially in regard to Italy. I myself have no doubt that it was he who appointed a *corrector* for each region of Italy, although this office is not mentioned till after his time. I do not mean to say that in his reign each region actually had its *corrector*, but the regulation was that each should have one

¹⁴ Herodian, iv 3

The nature of the office of these *correctores* is very obscure, but it is clear that they had or were to have the jurisdiction in their respective districts, for there must have been such practical inconveniences in the administration of justice, that some remedy was absolutely necessary. This is a subject which still requires a thorough investigation, and a rich harvest is yet to be made. It will require much combination, but there are various things which will be of great assistance in the collections of laws as well as in inscriptions. Traces of the fact that the jurisdiction in Italy was given as a commission to persons of rank and distinction occur even before the time of Hadrian. This emperor himself distributed Italy, with the exception of Rome, among four consulars¹⁵. Antoninus Pius was for a time appointed to this office. After the reign of Severus the *correctores* are regularly mentioned, and they must have been instituted by him. The question, as to what was the whole extent of the power of a corrector in his district, is a different one, and is very uncertain

¹⁵ Spartianus, Hadrian, 22, J Capitolin. Antonin. Pius, 2, Appian, De Bell Civil 1 38



LECTURE LXXIII

CARACALLA, CONTINUED.—M. OPILIUS MACRINUS —ELAGABALUS.—ALEXANDER SEVERUS.

IN A.D. 212, Caracalla became the sole master of the empire, and henceforth abandoned himself to the most reckless cruelties and extortions. His cruelty was of the same kind as that of Commodus, but his extortions were carried on more systematically. Commodus had confined himself to Rome, which he never quitted, but Caracalla raged just as much in the provinces which he visited. It is a good remark of Gibbon's, that the tyranny of the emperors was exercised chiefly at Rome and in Italy, and that the provinces had but seldom to suffer from it, but Caracalla travelled from one province to another; he traversed the whole of the East, and Greece, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt, were the scenes of wild bloodshed. His only care was to satisfy his soldiers. After disbanding the praetorians whom he had found on his accession, Severus had placed the new corps which he formed on a different footing. Whether they had before always remained in their praetorian camp and at Rome, or whether they had accompanied the emperors on their expeditions, I cannot say; but they were at all events very unwarlike. Severus raised their number to 30,000 or 40,000 men, whom he selected from the legions, and they now received a higher pay, and were also considered to be of higher rank than before¹. In his reign, and in that of his son Caracalla, they did not all remain at Rome, but a portion of them accompanied the emperors, and accordingly we find them

¹ DION CASS LXXIV.2, Herodian, III 15.

with Caracalla on his travels through the eastern provinces. Among the enormities which occurred during his progress, none was more horrible than the massacre of Alexandria, he led the people out of their city, and after lulling them into security, he surrounded them with his soldiers, and ordered them all to be cut down. The Alexandrines had imprudently provoked him, as they had provoked the best of emperors². Antioch and Alexandria were the seats of wit, and there seldom passed a day without some witty joke being placarded in the theatre, the one which they had made upon Caracalla alluded to his having murdered his brother, and he took bloody vengeance for it³.

Caracalla gave the Roman franchise to all the subjects of the empire, and thus put an end to the *peregrinitas* throughout the Roman world. What led him to do this was a new tax, for which he probably wanted to make up by conferring the honour of citizenship upon all his subjects. This tax was the *vicesima hereditatum*, which he increased to a *decima*⁴. But there still remained persons who were not Roman citizens, for Ulpian speaks⁵ of *Latini colonarii* as still existing. Caracalla raised the taxes to an unbearable height, and his only object in doing so was to win the favour of the soldiers, the only persons that he thought worthy of his attention. Severus himself had said that an emperor who was sure of the soldiers had no reason to fear. This was a truth indeed, but a fearful one.

Caracalla had many points in which he resembled Commodus, such as his fondness for gladiatorial exhibitions and the like, but he was of a smaller stature, and not so strong and handsome as Commodus. He had a strange partiality for Alexander the Great, and if the bust which we have of Alexander is not a forgery, there was indeed

² J Capitolin M Antonin. Philos 25

³ Herodian, iv 9, Dion Cass LXXVII 23, Spartian Antonin Carac 6.

⁴ Dion Cass LXXVII 9

⁵ XIX. 4

some resemblance between Caracalla and the Macedonian conqueror, and it may have been this resemblance that created his foolish desire to imitate Alexander. The province of Macedonia was, for this reason, the only one in the empire on which he conferred real benefits; he further formed a phalanx of Macedonians, and even assumed the name of Magnus, so that we find him called Antoninus Magnus. The idea of overthrowing the Parthian empire was also suggested to him by the exploits of Alexander, and when he invaded that country, he was accompanied by his Macedonian phalanx. He shewed in all things a great partiality for what was Greek, and it is not improbable that his Syrian mother may have much contributed towards this partiality

He made war upon the Parthians without the least provocation on their part. According to Herodian⁶, he acted with monstrous treachery towards Artabanus, as, during an interview he had with him, he tried to make him his prisoner. But the detail of all those occurrences is very doubtful. Severus had already taken possession of Osrhoene the dynasty of its king, Abgarus, had occupied the throne at Edessa for three hundred years, whence the legend of one Abgarus writing a letter to our Saviour, in which he implored his assistance in an illness⁷. The present Abgarus was a vassal king of the Parthian empire, but subject to Rome, and Caracalla now expelled him from his kingdom. But, while serious preparations were making for the Parthian war, Caracalla was murdered, A D 217, in a conspiracy headed by Macrinus, who saw his own life endangered. The soldiers were indignant at the emperor's death, and, had Macrinus not succeeded in deceiving them, he would not have escaped from their fury

As, however, the army wanted a leader, M. Opilius

⁶ IV 10 foll Compare Dion Cass LXXVIII. 1

⁷ Eusebius, Hist Eccles I 13

Macrinus was proclaimed emperor. The testimony of Dion Cassius⁸, his contemporary, that he had honourably discharged the duties of the high offices to which he had been appointed, is worth more than the opinions expressed in the "*Historia Augusta*"⁹. Whether he would have been a praiseworthy sovereign, and whether he would have conducted the government in a noble manner, would have depended upon his obtaining the mastery over his soldiers, if he had lived longer. The moral dissolution of the army had increased to a monstrous height under Caracalla. In the reign of Severus, the soldiers had been kept in check · they trembled before him, and never thought of rising against him. Macrinus endeavoured to restore discipline among them, and, as he could not safely take from them that which his predecessor had senselessly given them, he tried to diminish the expenditure, at least as far as he could. It appears to me probable that he disbanded whole legions as veterans · he then formed new legions, or recruited the old ones with new men, and enlisted them upon lower terms. But it was to be foreseen that the old soldiers would not tolerate this. Whether the state could afford what they wanted, was a question about which they gave themselves no concern, and they rose against him. They would perhaps have chosen Maximinus as their leader, had not young Avitus been brought forward.

Julia Domna, the widow of Severus, had put an end to her life after the death of Caracalla, as she was expelled from the court by Macrinus¹⁰. Her sister Maesa had likewise been removed from the court, and was now residing at Emesa. Both were the daughters of one Bassianus. Maesa had two daughters, Soaemis, and Mamaea, both of whom were married in Syria. The names of their husbands are Roman. Soaemis was married to Sex. Varius

⁸ LXXVIII 11

⁹ J Capitolin Opil Macrin 2 foll

¹⁰ J Capitolin Opil Macrin, 9, Dion Cass LXXVIII 30

Marcellus, who, notwithstanding his name, may have been a Syrian, and the younger, Mamaea, to Gessius Macrianus. Each of these two sisters had a son; Soaemis had also several daughters, and Mamaea at least one. The son of Soaemis was Avitus, the same who afterwards assumed the name of M. Aurelius Antoninus, and is better known under the name of Elagabalus or, as it is corrupted, Helogabalus¹¹. His real name was Avitus, or Bassianus, as people at that time assumed a new or dropped an old name for the most trifling reason. He was then, at the utmost, seventeen years old. He was a complete Syrian, both by education and through all his relations, and was priest of the god Elagabalus at Emesa, where a meteor, which had once fallen from heaven, was worshipped as a divinity. His grandmother Maesa and his mother Soaemis declared that he was the offspring of an adulterous intercourse between Caracalla and Soaemis. Macrinus was imprudent enough to let this pass without taking any precautions. Maesa collected her immense riches at Emesa, and found numbers of soldiers ready to accept her bribes and enter into her schemes. Macrinus at first did not attach much importance to an affair conducted by a couple of women and a very insignificant young man. But Maesa unexpectedly succeeded in transferring the partiality which the soldiers had felt for Caracalla to Elagabalus, by promising them still greater advantages. The consequence was the defection of a great part of the army. If Macrinus had at that moment acted quickly and energetically, he would still have gained the upper hand; for, in the battle which decided the question, a great number of the Roman soldiers, and even the praetorians, displayed greater bravery and fidelity to Macrinus than had been anticipated. But Macrinus despaired, and fled with his son Antoninus Diadumenianus, who had already been raised to the rank of

* ¹¹ The word Helios is introduced into the name without any reason, and has nothing to do with it.—N.

Caesar: both were overtaken in Bithynia, and put to death A.D. 218

The name of Elagabalus is branded in history above all others; for Caligula and Nero, if compared with him, appear in a favourable light. Caligula was not so beastly as Elagabalus; and if Nero equalled him in this respect, still he was a man of some talent whereas Elagabalus had nothing at all to make up for his vices, which are of such a kind that it is too disgusting even to allude to them. It was not so much cruelty that disgraced his reign, although some cruel acts occurred, as his prodigious extortions, which he made to defray the expenses of the maddest luxuries. He had a passion for everything that disgraces human nature, and was enthusiastic in increasing the lustre of his idol Elagabalus, whom he raised to the place of the Capitoline Jupiter as the supreme divinity of the Roman world, and in whose service he endeavoured to combine the religion of Syria with the obscenities of the Carthaginian worship. While he was leading his unspeakably disgusting life, he prepared his own ruin, for the soldiers began to despise him, notwithstanding all the advantages which he bestowed upon them. He would have been murdered as early as the year A.D. 221, if he had not adopted his cousin Alexander, on the suggestion of his grandmother Maesa.

Alexander Severus, the son of Mamaea, was then about seventeen or, according to Herodian, fourteen years old¹². His real name was Bassianus, and his nature was completely the opposite of that of his cousin. He was a man of a noble character, and very much resembled M. Aurelius, with this difference, that the latter was a specimen of a noble European, and the former of a noble Asiatic nature. He was born at Arca Caesarea in Phoenicia, and had learned the Latin language at Rome, though he was always looked upon as a *Graeculus*, and as a

¹² Lamprid. Alex. Severus, 60, Herodian, v. 3.

person who was not a Roman¹³. It is impossible for a man to possess a better and a purer will and a nobler heart than Alexander Severus. The beautiful expression of youthful innocence which beamed in his countenance won even the hearts of the rude Roman soldiers, and they were attached to him with their whole hearts. Elagabalus soon regretted the adoption, and made attempts upon Alexander's life. A report of the latter's death caused an insurrection, which was quelled with great difficulty, and after which Alexander was honoured with still greater distinctions than before. Abject as Elagabalus was, he was quite conscious of his own depravity, and felt that it was impossible for him to be tolerated by the world by the side of his cousin. He therefore formed a fresh plan of murdering him. But Alexander escaped, and a fearful insurrection broke out, in which Elagabalus was cut down by the soldiers, A.D. 222. His body was dragged into the Tiber, and curses were pronounced upon his memory.

The reign of Alexander Severus, who was now proclaimed emperor, lasted thirteen years, till A.D. 235. We are somewhat in danger of representing his reign in too favourable a light, for Lampridius and others seem to have made him the subject of a sort of "Cyropaedia." His personal amiability and kindness, however, as well as his zealous endeavours to discharge his duties, cannot be denied; and these qualities form a strong contrast between him and most of his predecessors. M. Aurelius was the model he strove to imitate, but, weak as that emperor had been in regard to his wife Faustina, Alexander was still weaker towards his mother Mamaea, and his government was in reality the regency of Mamaea.

On the one hand we read of a great reduction of the taxes¹⁴, while on the other hand we hear of great complaints of his mother's avarice¹⁵, which are con-

¹³ Lamprid. Alex Severus, 3

¹⁴ Lamprid. Alex Severus, 39

¹⁵ Lamprid. Alex. Severus, 14.

tradictory things I have to mention a remarkable institution which belongs to this time. The state-council, which was formed in the reign of Hadrian, appears to have become perfectly developed under Alexander Severus; and Ulpian, the great jurist, was the president of it, and at the same time commander of the praetorian guards. The descent of Ulpian's family from Tyre, which made him a countryman and perhaps a relative of the emperor, may have contributed in some measure to establish the connexion between him and Alexander Severus. But I do not believe that Ulpian himself was born at Tyre, and those who assert this infer from his words more than they warrant¹⁶. If he had been a native of Syria, he could not have become such a perfect master of the Latin language. Alexander had to struggle with insurmountable difficulties in his endeavours to promote the public good. The main difficulty, however, lay in the power of the soldiers, whom he could not get rid of. The mutinous character of the soldiers was now no longer confined to the praetorians, but had spread throughout the Roman armies, and there was no means by which the emperor could have obtained the mastery over them. If we may trust the anecdotes related of him, he displayed on some occasions great firmness, notwithstanding his natural gentleness, but he did not succeed in dangerous emergencies, and he was unable to save Ulpian. As Papinian had been murdered by Caracalla, so now Ulpian was murdered by the soldiers in the palace of the emperor, who in vain endeavoured to protect him, and whose entreaties and humiliations were of no avail. He was scarcely able to take vengeance upon Epagathus, the ringleader of the rebels.

M. Aurelius had been successful towards the end of his life; he had repelled the Marcomanni and made

¹⁶ Digest 50 tit 15 s 1 est in Syria Phoenice splendidissima Tyriorum colonia, unde mihi origo est

them wish for peace. Commodus had purchased their peace, and under Septimius Severus we scarcely hear anything of German wars. The Romans seem to have been in the undisturbed possession of Germany as far as the *limes*. But the Germans now began advancing, and I believe that it was under Alexander *Severus that they broke through the *limes*¹⁷. When Alexander, at the close of his reign, was obliged to go to Germany, the seat of the war was on the Rhine. The frontier wall, therefore, must have been broken through, and the Germans wished to take possession of the country west of the Rhine.

Some years before the German war, a great revolution in the East had called for the presence of the emperor. This was the fall of the Parthian monarchy, an event which it is not difficult to account for. It was only a repetition of what we frequently see in Asia. When a pastoral nation obtains the sovereignty of a cultivated country, the former gradually loses its warlike character. It sinks down to a level with the subdued, and although it no longer excels them in bravery, it continues to keep them in submission, as though it still possessed its former superiority. The Parthian empire was based on feudal principles, and the kingdoms of Media, Persia, Babylonia, and others, were, at least in the earlier times, vassal principalities; afterwards they formed the empire of the great king himself. Although the Parthians had begun their wars under M. Aurelius and Septimius Severus with success, still their defeats by Priscus and Avidius Cassius had broken them down very much. The conquest of Ctesiphon had been very easy, and that blow had probably shaken the Parthian empire so much that its subjects could begin to think of shaking off the Parthian yoke.

¹⁷ In many parts of Suabia we find traces of Roman fortresses, of which ancient geography tells us nothing, and we are ignorant even of their names.—N.

LECTURE LXXIV.

RESTORATION OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE. — WAR OF ARD-SHIR WITH THE ROMANS. — ALEXANDER SEVERUS AND HIS DEATH. — MAXIMINUS. — THE GORDIANS. — MAXIMUS PUPIENUS AND CAELIUS BALBINUS. — GORDIAN III.

THE character of the Parthians must have become completely altered since they had adopted the manners and mode of living of the conquered people. Their light cavalry is no longer mentioned in the latter period of their history, which fact alone is to me a proof that they had lost their nationality. The most severe blow that had been inflicted upon the Parthian empire had been the taking of Ctesiphon in A. D. 198, and the nations which had till then patiently borne the Parthian yoke now rose against their rulers. We usually consider this insurrection in the same light in which we look upon that of the Persians under the great Cyrus against the Medes, in which the inhabitants of Persia shook off the dominion of the Medes; but I believe that the cases are somewhat different, and that those who now rose against the Parthians were Persians of the Iran race, that is, the inhabitants of the towns which occur throughout Persia under the name of the Iranis, who speak a peculiar idiom of their own; whereas, in the time of Cyrus, the Medes and Persians were two distinct nations, and in the course of time the former must have become completely Persians. Now in a struggle, the particulars of which are unknown to us, the Persians succeeded in throwing off the yoke of the Parthians, and after this the Parthians are no longer mentioned in history. The Persian empire was now restored and rose

again, and several of their ancient institutions were revived. The Parthians had been barbarians. they had ruled over a nation far more civilized than themselves, and had oppressed them and their religion. The Persians were now governed by Ardshir, whom the Greeks call Artaxerxes or Artaxares, and who claimed to belong to the race of the Sassanidae¹; the story of his being a son of Babeg is very apocryphal². During the reign of the Parthians a great many new opinions and religious rites had been introduced among the Persians, which it was not easy to eradicate, and hence the Byzantine writers are quite right in asserting that the later fire-worship of the Persians was essentially different from that which had prevailed among them in the earlier times. Although Ardshir had removed the monuments to Persepolis, yet this city was no longer the centre of the empire, which was henceforth at Ctesiphon in Media. Susa was then no longer inhabited, and Ecbatana had become an insignificant place. Ardshir, after having established the dominion of the Persians, laid claims to extensive countries then belonging to the Romans, the decline of whose power could not have escaped him, and he demanded that they should give up to him all the countries as far as the Aegean and the Propontis, on the ground that Asia naturally belonged to the Persian empire³. This demand gave rise to a war with Rome, and Alexander Severus went to the East. The events of this war are a remarkable instance of the extent of our ignorance concerning those times. We have two contradictory accounts of the operations of Alexander Severus and their results. The one which Herodian⁴ gives, and which is recommended by internal probability and preci-

¹ His restoration of the Persian empire is represented in a bas-relief, which is still extant at Persepolis —N

² Agathias, II 27

³ Dion Cass. LXXX 4, Herodian, VI 2 and 4, Zonaras, XII 15.

⁴ VI 5 foll

sion, makes Alexander, after his arrival at Antioch, invade the enemy's country with three armies. The first marched from the north through Armenia into Media, the second proceeded along the right bank of the Euphrates, and the third was to keep up the communication between the two in Mesopotamia. The first of these armies, after having gained various advantages, was compelled to retreat; the second was quite annihilated; and the third, which was commanded by the emperor himself, did not accomplish its object. This account is contradicted by an official document addressed by the emperor himself to the senate, in which he ascribes to himself the most complete victory⁵, for which he celebrated a triumph. Gibbon and Eckhel, the two most distinguished writers on the history of the Roman empire, are of different opinions upon this point, and I feel obliged to adopt that of Gibbon notwithstanding my great veneration for Eckhel⁶. The latter looks upon it as a moral impossibility that the emperor should have invented his report; but the vague and pompous phraseology of the document itself excites our suspicion as to its genuineness. Herodian, moreover, lived so near the time of those events, and in the things which he knows he shews so much good sense, that his minute account cannot be set aside to make room for the emperor's bulletin. Alexander Severus must have concluded a peace with the Persians, since we find peace existing until the time of Gor-

⁵ Lampridius, *Alexand Sever.* 56

⁶ Eckhel is a man of whom Germany may be proud. He occupies a very high rank both on account of his learning, and the extraordinary power and soundness of his judgment. His merits have never yet been duly recognised. His excellent work "*Doctrina Numorum Veterum*" is of the highest value. The history of the emperors, and the critical investigations concerning chronology, although they form in reality only a subordinate part of the work, are of the highest excellence. His freedom from prejudice, his justice and love of truth, are qualities of the greatest importance in an historical inquirer. There are few men among modern scholars to whom I am so much indebted as to Eckhel — N

dian, and Maximinus is not known to have sought laurels on the eastern frontiers. Rome must have lost on that occasion many parts of her eastern possessions.

At the same time the movements of the barbarians in the north of Europe called for the emperor's presence, and even if Alexander had been successful against the Persians, he would have been obliged to quit Asia, and to take the field against the Germans. He accordingly marched from the East to the Rhine, but after having taken up his winter quarters there, he gave the army cause for complaint. The minds of the soldiers, thus prepared for an insurrection, were stimulated still more by Maximinus, the first really barbarian adventurer that was raised to the imperial throne. Up to that time all the Roman sovereigns had belonged to distinguished families, with the exception of Macrinus, in regard to whom this can neither be asserted nor denied. Pertinax, it is true, was not a noble by birth, but he had been gradually raised, and, at the time when he became emperor, he was a man of high rank. Maximinus, on the other hand, was a mere adventurer, and had risen from the very lowest condition. He was a native of Thrace; his mother was an Alanian woman, and his father a Goth, so at least it was said, though perhaps merely *ad invidiam augendam*, a thing not at all impossible with the wretched authors of the "Historia Augusta". In the reign of Septimius Severus he had been a peasant, and had enlisted in the Roman army, where he was distinguished among the soldiers for his gigantic stature and his herculean strength, and excited general admiration. His courage and valour accorded with his figure, and with them he combined all the qualities of a good subaltern officer. Alexander Severus, whose attention was drawn towards him, promoted him to the command of a legion, the discipline of which was soon restored by Maximinus. This shews that he cannot, after all, have been an ordinary man; he must have had a true soldier's nature, a person

7 J Capitolin Maximin. 1 foll Comp. Herodian, vi 8.

who was able to make himself popular with a demoralized army, notwithstanding his strictness and cruelty, must have had something extraordinary about him. He was the first Roman emperor who was altogether without a literary education, and he did not even understand Greek⁸; for the Thracians were then no longer Greeks, but Wallachians, and spoke a sort of vulgar Latin, though in some towns Greek may still have been spoken. Maximinus had attracted the attention not only of the common soldiers, but of the court also, so that Alexander Severus contemplated giving his sister in marriage to a son of Maximinus⁹. Had this been done, it would undoubtedly have been followed by happy consequences. Alexander, while on the Rhine, as I have already remarked, excited the discontent of the soldiers by his awkwardness and neglect, and the noble emperor, who had certainly deserved a better fate, was murdered in A.D. 235, together with his mother, who accompanied him everywhere, in order to rule in his name¹⁰.

The year A.D. 235 was the beginning of a frightful period, after the mild and happy government of Alexander Severus. It is evident that Maximinus acted with a truly revolutionary hatred of all persons of distinction, just like the terrorists in France. The senators, therefore, were the main objects of his hatred and persecutions, and that for no other reason but because they were noble and wealthy persons. The senate at that time, however, was very far from being a venerable body of men, and I fear that the picture which Ammianus Marcellinus¹¹ draws of it is but too applicable to the time we are now speaking of. Maximinus disdained going to Rome, which was a blessing for the city, for, had he gone thither, he would undoubtedly have caused a massacre there like that of Caracalla at Alexandria.

⁸ J. Capitolin Maximin 9

⁹ J. Capitolin Maximin Jun. 3

¹⁰ The history of Alexander Severus in the "Historia Augusta," is a panegyric full of falsehood —N.

¹¹ XIV. 6.

There is no doubt that Maximinus carried on the war on the Rhine, and that on the upper and lower Danube, with success. He delivered the country of the Rhine and Dacia from the barbarians, and commenced a war against the Sarmatians. The history of those wars, as it has come down to us, is comprised in a few words¹², and our knowledge of that period is altogether deplorably scanty. Maximinus spared no one, and the first suspicion was enough for him to pronounce the sentence of death upon a person. Such conduct led to general despair, and the consequence was an insurrection in Africa, which broke out in the provincial town of Tisdrus, where the agents of the tyrant were murdered, and two Romans of rank of the name of Gordian, father and son, were proclaimed Augustus and Caesar. Gordian, the father, was already eighty years old. This insurrection, however, was of a very short duration, and Mauretania took no part in it. Capellianus, the governor of Mauretania, remained faithful to Maximinus; he quickly assembled an army of Mauretanians, united them with the cohorts he had, and marched towards Carthage, where the Gordians were staying. Nothing is easier than to induce those mountaineers of Mauretania to join in an expedition, provided the hope of rich plunder is held out to them¹³. The two Gordians had not made proper use of their time, and although they had no army of any consequence, yet the younger Gordian ventured to march out against the enemy. He was defeated, and he and his father lost their lives. The fate of Carthage, as well as the whole course of the insurrection, is buried in obscurity. Eckhel has investigated the history of those occurrences, and the results which he has arrived at appear to me to be true. Gibbon's chronology of the same events contains impossi-

¹² Herodian, vii. 1 foll., J Capitolin Maximin 12.

¹³ The Mauretanians, as early as the time of the Antonines, had been in such a state of commotion, that they crossed the sea and ravaged Baetica in Spain — N (J Capitolin M Antonin Phil 21)

bilities. Eckhel does not allow himself to be misled by detached historical testimonies; but there are still considerable difficulties, which may perhaps one day be cleared up by the help of monuments and coins, but until that is done we cannot do better than follow Eckhel.

The Roman senate had had the desperate courage to recognise the Gordians, a resolution of which one would scarcely have thought the senate of that time capable. Twenty commissioners had been appointed by the senate to conduct the preparations against Maximinus,¹⁴ and the praetorian cohorts, which seem to have been neglected by Maximinus, were gained over. The senate had further called upon all the provinces to rise against the tyrant. All Italy was called to arms, the towns were fortified, and all the necessary preparations were going on, when the intelligence of the unfortunate issue of the African insurrection was brought to Rome. There was now no choice left, but to proceed on the path that had once been struck into. The loss of Africa, however, was not of great importance. Two of the twenty commissioners, Maximus Pupienus and Caelius Balbinus, were now proclaimed emperors by the senate. Two sovereigns were elected in this instance, either because a want of two was felt, or because it was hoped that the absolute power would become moderated by being divided. But my conviction is that there were two parties among the senators, the one of which wanted to raise Maximus, and the other Balbinus, to the imperial dignity, and that a compromise was made between them by electing both emperors. Balbinus was a man of noble birth, and probably belonged to the Caelii, his full name being Decimus Caelius Balbinus. The name of Maximus on coins is M. Clodius Pupienus Maximus, and the author of his life in the "*Historia Augusta*" is so ignorant that he does not know whether Maximus Pupienus was the name of one or of two persons¹⁵.

¹⁴ J Capitolin Gordian 10.

¹⁵ J Capitolin Maxim et Balbin. 18. Compare Gordian, 10, Maximin. Jun, 10

Balbinus remained at Rome, and Maximus, who marched out against Maximinus, took up his head-quarters at Ravenna. There he organized his army, but was wise enough not to go out to meet Maximinus. His plan was excellent all the bridges on the rivers were broken down, and Aquileia was provided with a strong and numerous garrison. Its inhabitants made a desperate defence against the army of Maximinus, who besieged the town, for they well knew what would be their fate if the place should be taken. Maximinus was anxious to make Aquileia his head-quarters; but the siege was protracted. His soldiers suffered much from fever in those marshy districts, and had besides to struggle with a want of the necessaries of life. An insurrection broke out among them, in which Maximinus and his innocent son, who had till then been generally beloved, were murdered¹⁶. Maximinus had been married to a very amiable woman, and his son, Maximus the younger, if he had succeeded his father, would probably have been one of the better emperors.


As regards the time at which Maximinus fell, the chronology set up by Tillemont and Gibbon is not possible. The course of events probably was that, after the senate had sent the circular against Maximinus to all the provinces, he was gradually deserted by one province after another, and this is in fact the only circumstance which accounts for his not succeeding. A proof of his being deserted by the provinces is contained in a letter addressed to Maximus and Balbinus by Claudius Julianus, who states that all the legions had recognised them; and that letter was written previous to the death of Maximinus¹⁷.

It was owing to the unaccountable popularity of the Gordians that, when Maximus and Balbinus were proclaimed emperors, a grandson of old Gordian,—probably through his daughter—was raised to the rank of Caesar. His grandfather, Gordian, had borne the name of M. Antonius

¹⁶ Herodian, VIII. 6, J. Capitolin Maximin 23

¹⁷ J Capitolin Maxim. et Balbin. 17.

without any connexion with the family of the triumvir M Antony, but he belonged nevertheless to one of the most illustrious among the ancient Roman families. After the fall of Maximinus, Maximus returned from Aquileia to Rome in triumph. The government of Maximus and Balbinus would have been praiseworthy, if it had not been so short. But the soldiers were annoyed at the success and victory of the senate, and hated the two emperors, in the election of whom they had had no share. The consequence was that the two venerable old emperors were murdered by the soldiers in their palace, and young Gordian was raised to the throne.



LECTURE LXXV.

GORDIAN III., CONTINUED.—M JULIUS PHILIPPUS.—DECIOUS AND HIS PERSECUTION OF THE CHRISTIANS —EXTENT OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION AT THE TIME.—STATE OF THE POPULATION.—STATE OF THE ARTS AND OF LITERATURE.—THE FRANKS, ALEMANNIANS, AND GOTHs.

AFTER the murder of the two noble princes, Maximus and Balbinus, the empire came into the hands of Gordian III., who was then still very young. His history is as obscure as that of the whole period in general. He had a *praefectus praetorio*, or prime minister, who was certainly not a Roman, and whose real name is doubtful. In the "*Historia Augusta*" he is called *Misitheus*, which name is rejected by Casaubon, and Zosimus¹ mentions him under the name of *Timesicles*, and either this name or *Timesitheus*, which occurs in an inscription, is certainly more correct than *Misitheus*². Gordian was married to Furia Sabina Tranquillina, the daughter of *Timesicles*. His good fortune forsook him as soon as his father-in-law died, who fell a victim to Philippus. In the reign of Gordian, the northern frontiers of the empire were in a state of commotion, as we must infer from some allusions in our authorities. But the occurrences in Persia, the king of which had taken possession of Mesopotamia, were of greater importance, and called for Gordian's presence in the East. If any confidence can be placed in the accounts of this expedition, we must believe that Gordian defeated the Persians, but still the

¹ I 17² Eckhel, *Doctrin. Num. Vet.* vii. p. 319.

war was not brought to a close, and he was obliged to prolong his stay in the East, where he was murdered by M. Julius Philippus, his praefect of the praetorian guards.

M. Julius Philippus was a native of Bostra in Arabia. It is a mistake to speak of him as a Bedoun, for Bostra was a Roman colony, and a great number of its inhabitants must have been Romans. He is, indeed, called an Arab, but it does not follow from this that he was an Arab in the strict sense of the word. If he had been a Bedoun, he could not have been enlisted in a Roman legion, but would have remained in the cohorts of the Ituraei. It is further not impossible that he may have risen at Rome in the time of Alexander Severus. He was the murderer of his harmless, benevolent, and amiable young sovereign, of whom we possess a charming bust, the genuineness of which cannot be doubted³. Philippus concluded a peace with the Persians, which was as honourable to the Romans as the circumstances would allow. However, the storm which threatened the empire drew nearer and nearer.

The reign of Philippus is remarkable, not because he celebrated the great secular festival of Rome's thousand years' existence with incredible splendour, but because the ecclesiastical historians generally suppose that Philippus was a Christian, and that he was consequently the first Christian emperor⁴. Eckhel thinks that Philippus cannot be supposed to have been a real Christian, as all his coins bear pagan emblems. This, however, is the case also with the coins of Constantine the Great, and the emblems refer only to the god of the sun, whose worship was mixed up with Christianity; but, at any rate, if he was a Christian, his notions of the Christian religion must have been extremely confused. The report of his having

³ Bunsen, *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*, III. 1. p 203.

⁴ Oronius, VII. 20, Zonaras, XII. 19.

been a Christian derives some support from the fact of Origen having addressed to him a letter concerning the Christian religion. We must also remember that Bostra was situated in the neighbourhood of Pella, where Christianity had taken firm root, and we cannot therefore altogether reject the statement that he was a Christian. There is a tradition in the church that he did penance for the murder of his sovereign, and obtained the absolution. The crime itself cannot have excluded him from the Christian community, though the absolution, if it was granted, was unjust. If we set aside the crime by which Philippus obtained the empire, his government deserves no blame, for he is not charged with any act of cruelty, and no vices of his are mentioned. The secular games to celebrate the thousandth birthday of Rome, which were in themselves unchristian, or rather altogether pagan solemnities, must have been a highly interesting event for the Romans. It may be that Philippus had not received baptism, and that he was merely a catechumen, in which capacity he might live till his last days, and not receive baptism till just before his death, as a purification from all his sins. He reigned upwards of four years, from A.D. 243 to 248. Shortly before his death, the legions of Moesia and Pannonia made an insurrection, and proclaimed Iotapianus, an officer in the army, emperor, but he was put to death soon after⁵, and Philippus then gave the command of those legions to Decius, who claimed, though certainly with no reason, to be a descendant of the ancient Decii. His real name was C. Messius Quintus Trajanus Decius⁶, and his alleged connexion with the Decii is nothing but an invention, by which the genealogists of the time meant to pay him a compliment. Decius was a na-

⁵ Zosimus, I. 20

⁶ We frequently meet at that time with persons with three or four gentile names at once, and prænomena and cognomina mixed up with them —N

tive of Illyricum, and his birthplace was probably one of the military colonies which had been established there within the last two centuries, and by means of which the inhabitants of those districts had become completely Romanised. When Philippus raised Decius to the command of the revolted legions, Decius cautioned the emperor, and begged of him not to place him in a position in which he should probably be compelled to violate his faith, for the legions dreaded the punishment which they had deserved, and were not inclined to return to obedience. Philippus, however, insisted upon Decius undertaking the command, and the consequence was that the soldiers compelled Decius to accept the imperial dignity, and lead them to Italy. A battle in the neighbourhood of Verona, in which Philippus fell, decided the question.

The writers of the "Historia Augusta" and Zosimus, who is a passionate pagan, make Decius a hero, and I will not detract from the fame of a man of whom so much good is said. But he was the first who instituted a vehement persecution of the Christians, for which he is cursed by the ecclesiastical writers, as much as he is praised by the pagan historians. The cause of this persecution must, I think, be sought for in the antagonist feeling to the tendency of his predecessor. The accounts which we have of earlier persecutions are highly exaggerated, as Dodwell has justly pointed out. The persecution of Decius, however, was really a very serious one, it interrupted the peace which the Christian church had enjoyed for a long time. For one year and a half the episcopal see of Rome remained vacant, and Decius is reported to have said, that he would rather have a second emperor by his side, than have a bishop at Rome. This shews the extent and the influence which Christianity had obtained as early as that time, although the Christians formed but a small portion of the whole population. Among the high Roman nobility there was perhaps not

one Christian, but many persons of the middle classes had already embraced the new religion. The number of Christians was great at Rome, Carthage, Alexandria, and especially at Antioch; in the East they were scattered very widely, though chiefly in the large towns, and in country districts they scarcely existed at all. As regards Gaul, we know of martyrs at Lyon, and according to all appearance it was only in such towns as Arles, Marseille, Lyon, and the like, that Christianity had taken root. In Spain, Christianity had probably not spread more than in Gaul, but in Africa the Christians were very numerous and zealous, at a comparatively early period. In Greece proper their number was small, but in the Ionic towns of Asia Minor it was very great.

The coins and inscriptions belonging to the early period of the empire are not numerous, sepulchral inscriptions are most numerous from the end of the first century, down to the middle of the third, and by far the greater number of them were made to commemorate the deaths of freedmen, so that the proportion between *liberti* and *ingenui* is nearly as ten to one. The tombs of the great families have disappeared, they were destroyed during the middle ages and plundered, and the stones were used as building materials in the restoration of Rome. Nearly all the tombs extant belong to second or third rate persons. After the beginning of the third century, I do not remember a single tomb of a freedman, and about that time a most important change must have taken place in the state of the population. The importation of slaves decreased, and the *liberti* seem now to have become *coloni*. There must be some connecting link between these two classes of men, but it will perhaps remain for ever impossible to ascertain its nature.

Senatorial provinces are mentioned as late as the time of Septimius Severus, but from the middle of the third century we hear no more of them⁷, and thus the way

⁷ Vopiscus, Florian, 6, Probus, 13

was paved for the regulations of Diocletian and Constantine

Art in general had by this time sunk into a state of barbarism, as no one can deny who has examined the monuments. The art of making historical bas-reliefs, either separately or in series around pillars, had reached its height under Trajan, and continued to flourish under the Antonines, in whose reign some bas-reliefs were produced, which are excellent both in their conception and execution. I know only of one bas-relief belonging to the time of Antoninus Pius, in which the decay of the art is really visible. Architecture too was, in a certain way, at its height in the reign of Trajan; but under Hadrian it sank, for he had no taste, and he patronised a corrupt style. The busts of M. Aurelius, and especially his magnificent equestrian statue in bronze, are of exquisite beauty, the horse is less so, though merely because it is a horse belonging to a race which we do not consider beautiful, but it is nevertheless a work of great life and spirit. It must be acknowledged that, in the reign of M. Aurelius, art in general had again risen very high, but this was its last revival. Painting was completely at an end, it had been decaying in the same proportion as mosaic had risen in favour, and some of the paintings of that period still extant are horribly bad. We still possess some very beautiful busts of Septimius Severus, and Caracalla, but the triumphal arch of Severus is very bad. The bas-reliefs on the small arch of Severus, which the argentarii erected to him, are quite barbarous in their design. The revolution which then took place in art is very remarkable; the artistic eye, the taste, the sense of proportion, as well as technical skill, seem to have been lost all at once; and after the time of Caracalla, we scarcely find one good bust, all that are extant are barbarous, and have mis-shaped heads. The figures on coins too grow worse and worse.

Before I drew attention to the state of literature

in the third century, people usually considered Roman literature as perfectly barbarous, even as early as the beginning of that century^a. The height as well as the end of juristical literature falls in the first half of the third century, the period of Papinian and Ulpian, both of whom were men of the highest eminence in their department, and among thousands of others scarcely one can be placed by their side. Both are excellent also in their style, and if there are some trifling mistakes in the language, the plastic nature of their style is so thoroughly Roman that a modern jurist who is unable to think and write in Latin on his science has no excuse for himself. With regard to Papinian and Ulpian every jurist ought to follow the precept which Horace gives in regard to the Greeks—*nocturna versate manu, versate diurna*. In the same manner as jurisprudence died away after their time, so had the great Attic oratory died away after the time of Demosthenes, and so also were Thucydides in Greece and Tacitus at Rome the last great historians. If we look at the other branches of literature we first meet with Q. Curtius, for I am perfectly convinced that he lived in the time of Septimius Severus and Caracalla. In him we have an author who wrote an artificial language, that is, the language of Livy. The ingenious but obscene Petronius lived somewhat later, perhaps in the reign of Gordian. The excellent scholar Hadrian Valesius was the first who drew attention to the age of Petronius. The language of Petronius contains absurd passages where he introduces persons speaking the vulgar idiom of the time and those passages may be taken as specimens of the language as it was then living and spoken. It cannot be regarded as anything else than a total want of knowledge and perception of the Latin language, that used to lead people to place Petronius in the first century of our aera. He is the greatest poetical

^a See Niebuhr, "Zwei Klassische Lateinische Schriftsteller des dritten Jahrhunderts nach Christus," in his *Kleine Histor. und Philol. Schriften*, I p 305 foll.


genius that Roman literature can boast of after the time of Augustus.

The barbarous character which commenced with the third century, gradually spread over all things in which taste can be displayed, even down to coins and inscriptions. The latter had formerly been made with great care, but there are some belonging to a time as early as the reign of Philippus, in which the lines run crooked and the letters are of unequal sizes

The reign of Decius would certainly have been much more praiseworthy, if we look at it with an impartial eye, were it not stained with his persecution of the Christians; but history knows of many otherwise excellent men who had the misfortune of being cruel persecutors. His reign is the time at which the empire received the great shock from the German nations, which for the last seventy years had been tolerably quiet, with the exception of some disturbances on the Rhine in the reigns of Alexander Severus and Maximinus. In the time of Decius the whole of the north appears in a state of general commotion, and the Franks penetrated into the countries west of the Rhine. Respecting the Franks, and the question as to who they were, it is impossible to come to a positive conclusion, and so much has been written upon them, that no one is likely to make any fresh discovery. I adopt the opinion which is now generally received, that the Sigambri and other German tribes which inhabited the banks of the Rhine and Westphalia, assumed the name of Franks, and under this common name formed a state which was distinct from the Saxons. The Suabians too, who are sometimes called Suevi and sometimes Alemanni⁹, now began crossing the Rhine. They occupied all the country between the eastern bank of the Rhine and the Danube, and extended perhaps as far north as the river Main. The great shock, however, came from the Goths, whose migration took place

⁹ Alemanni is, like Franks, a name under which a number of originally distinct tribes are comprehended —N

in the reign of Decius Concerning this important event we are in the greatest darkness did they migrate from south to north, as the Icelandic traditions state, or from north to south, according to the tradition of the Ostrogoths preserved in Jornandes? No decisive answer can be given, and all we can say is, that in the beginning of the third century a great Gothic empire existed in the south-east of Europe. Such an empire is also mentioned in the northern traditions, and it seems to be a common process of tradition to transfer things from one pole to another, and then to connect them.



LECTURE LXXVI.

THE INVASION OF THE GOTHs AND THE DEFEAT OF DEC-
CIUS. — GALLUS TREBONIANUS. — HOSTILIANUS. — AEMI-
LIUS AEMILIANUS. — P. LICINIUS VALERIANUS — GALLIE-
NUS. — PALMYRA. — THE SO-CALLED THIRTY TYRANTS —
THE GALLIC EMPIRE — AUREOLUS, AND THE DEFEAT OF
GALLIENUS. — M. AURELIUS CLAUDIUS GOTHICUS. — L.
DOMITIUS AURELIANUS.

THE invasion of the Goths, partly by land into Dacia, and partly from the Black Sea with their boats, was described in detail by Dexippus of Athens, but we now possess only fragments and extracts from his work¹, which carried the history down to the reign of Claudius Gothicus, when the tragedy, considering the circumstances, was beginning to take a favourable turn for Rome. We cannot here consider everything in detail, but I should not like to venture with Gibbon to divide the Gothic invasion into three great separate expeditions. Rome's misfortune was that she did not know how to obtain a fleet, and that she had nothing to oppose to the boats of the barbarians. The most flourishing cities of Asia Minor, such as Chalcedon, Nicomedia, Prusa, and others, were plundered and destroyed by the Goths, who displayed during this invasion much more cruelty than their descendants. In the north they crossed the Danube; they advanced through the plains of Wallachia, and laid siege to Nicopolis. There they were met by Decius, the emperor's son, who relieved Nicopolis, and repelled the Goths. They then crossed mount Haemus. They appear to have conducted the war with great skill,

¹ They are collected in vol. 1 of the "Corpus Scriptorum Histor Byzantinæ," edited by I. Bekker and Niebuhr, 1829 8vo.

for they succeeded in taking Philippopolis Decius again met them on mount Haemus, and cut off their retreat. They then proposed to conclude a peace, on condition of their obtaining a free departure, and of their restoring the prisoners and booty. But Decius, who refused to enter into negotiations, drove them to despair, and he had to bear the same consequences that Frederic the Great experienced at Kunnersdorf. The Goths were compelled to fight a decisive battle. Their army was drawn up in three divisions; the last of them had in its front a deep ditch, like the one which king Frederic crossed in the battle of Prague; the two other divisions were already conquered, and if Decius after this partial victory had taken a position which might have enabled him to disperse the defeated army, and by skilful manoeuvres to surround the division which still held out, he might have destroyed the whole Gothic army, and the fortune of the empire would have assumed a totally different aspect. But unfortunately, Decius, like Frederic the Great at Kunnersdorf, wanted to rout the enemy by a vehement assault. The valour and bravery of the legions was of no avail. Decius and his son did not survive the defeat of the Romans, A D 251. The Goths, too, suffered great loss, and they therefore agreed to conclude a peace with Gallus Trebonianus², who was now proclaimed emperor by the legions. He paid considerable sums of money to the Goths, but whether settlements in Dacia were conceded to them as early as that time is a question which I cannot now enter into.

After the restoration of peace Gallus returned to Rome. Hostilianus, a son or nephew of Decius³, who had received the purple from the senate, was recognised by Gallus as his colleague in the empire; but Hostilianus died soon after, and Gallus ruled as a despised man, for the humiliating

² Jornandes, *De Reb. Get* 18, Ammian. Marcellinus, xxxi 5; Zosimus, i 23, Zonaras, xii. 20

³ The history of these times is so confused that it is impossible to say whether he was a son or a nephew of the late emperor.—N

peace which he had concluded with the Goths had excited general indignation. Aemilius Aemilianus, the governor of Illyricum, revolted and led an army against Gallus into Italy. A decisive battle was fought near Spoleto, on the frontiers of Umbria and the country of the Sabines, and Gallus lost his life either in the battle or by the command of his conqueror.

In the meantime, P. Licinius Valerianus had advanced with some German legions from Gaul to support Gallus. He arrived too late to save, but early enough to avenge him. Aemilius was not more fortunate than Gallus had been, for he too was abandoned by the soldiers, and probably murdered by them.

Valerian now succeeded to the throne, and great were the expectations that were entertained of him. There have at all times been people who had the misfortune of having a reputation among their contemporaries which they were unable to sustain; and such also was the case with Valerian, for his reign not only had a most deplorable end, but it was marked throughout with nothing but calamities. Decius had had the strange idea of restoring the censorship⁴, with a view of correcting thereby the mode of living among the Roman nobles. The proclamation of the censor was left to the senate, and Valerian had been appointed to the office. After his elevation to the imperial throne, he chose his son, C. Publius Licinius Gallienus, as his colleague⁵. It was at that time highly necessary for an emperor to have an assistant able to exert the powers of the empire in one quarter, while his colleague was engaged in a different part, for the German nations now broke through the frontiers on all sides. In the north we meet with the Franks, Aleman-

⁴ Treb Pollio, Valerian. i. foll

⁵ These men had no connexion with the ancient Licinian family, which stands forth so nobly in the history of the Roman republic as the defender of the rights of the plebeian order; for at this time names were assumed arbitrarily and without any regard to relationship —N

nians, and Goths, in separate hosts; while in the east, the Persians, under their king Sapor, invaded Syria. We possess so incomplete a history of Valerian that we cannot even say whether his catastrophe took place in the year A D. 260 or 262.

On the lower Rhine, the Franks had formed a kingdom, which extended up the river as far as Coblenz; the Alemannians, or Suevi, had broken through their boundaries, and spread as far as Switzerland⁶. The Goths invaded the Roman dominion from the Danube, Dniester, and Don, and with swarms of boats they came out of the rivers of their own country into those of the Romans, without the latter being able to oppose them with a fleet. The ravages which the Goths made were like those of the Normans in the ninth century, who likewise sailed up the large rivers and destroyed the towns on their banks. The Goths penetrated even into the interior of Achaia: Argos, Corinth and Athens were destroyed by fire and by the sword. It was on this occasion that Athens rose from the obscurity in which it had long been buried. A courageous band of Athenians, under the command of Dexippus, the historian, came forward and took up a position in the mountains. There they were cut off from the city, which was taken. But the Athenians from their mountains surprised the Gothic fleet in Piraeus, and took vengeance upon the formidable enemy in a manner which cannot be otherwise than pleasing to a friend of the city of Pallas Athene⁷. Dexippus must have been a very able man, but his historical work was a bad rhetorical composition. In this expedition of the barbarians into Greece the Heruli and Peuci also are mentioned⁸.

⁶ The Juthungi are frequently mentioned along with or as a part of the Alemannians, and I may here remark that, whenever we meet with a people whose name terminates in *ingi* or *ungi*, it is a sign that the people derived its name from a dynasty —N

⁷ Trebell Pollio, Gallienus, 13, Dexippus, p. xiv foll. ed Bekker and Niebuhr. ⁸ Zosimus, i. 42.

While these things were going on, affairs took a still more unfortunate turn in the East, and were still more humiliating to the Romans, for Sapor had invaded Mesopotamia and Syria. The emperor Valerian led in person the Roman army against this enemy; but whether it was by treachery, by bad management, or by allowing himself to be ensnared, is uncertain,—in short, Valerian was made prisoner. In this condition he capitulated, but was afterwards treated by the Persians with truly oriental cruelty. Whether he was actually skinned alive, or whether he dragged out his existence in misery, cannot be decided, and was a disputed point even among the ancients themselves. The Persians fell upon Syria and Cappadocia like a mountain torrent, and in the neighbourhood of Caesarea they nearly came in contact with the Goths, who were returning from Pontus. The inhabitants of Antioch had to suffer most severely, for all who escaped the sword were led away into slavery, with a barbarity resembling that which was exercised during the siege of Vienna under Soliman, when 200,000 men were driven away or butchered like cattle. Such was the conduct of the Persians in Syria and also at Caesarea, which made a noble and brave defence before it fell. The towns on the frontier were, generally speaking, still fortified by walls, but in the interior, where no enemy was expected, the fortifications had everywhere been allowed to decay, or had been pulled down for the sake of convenience, all Syria was thus inundated by the conquerors, and only a few of the fortified towns seem to have been able to maintain themselves.

One place in particular, situated in the midst of the desert, must be excepted; this place was Palmyra, which, unobserved by the rest of the ancient world, had gradually become an important commercial town. Its population consisted of Arabs and Syrians, and, led on by Odenathus, it now rose against Sapor. Odenathus is justly reckoned among the great men of the East: he defeated the rear of Sapor's army, and did not hesitate to make open

war upon him. His power and influence appear to have extended far beyond the countries which were under the dominion of Rome, and included all the Saracen⁹ towns in Arabia, whence he is called *princeps Saracenorum*. Odenathus must have had a great force assembled, or else there must have been other diversions of which we know nothing. The history of the Persians and of their relations to the Romans is very obscure, and no less so are their relations to other eastern nations. While Valerian was retained as a prisoner by the Persians, his son Gallienus is charged with having made no effort to effect his liberation; but it would have been a fearful sacrifice to have given up provinces as a ransom for him.

The time when Valerian fell into the hands of the Persians is the beginning of the period of the so-called Thirty Tyrants, a name which has been long exploded. We must not be too severe in judging of the occurrences which now took place in various parts of the empire, for Gallienus himself was an unworthy prince, who lived only to satisfy his lusts, and spent his time in the pursuit of pleasure, while the empire was suffering under the greatest misfortunes. He remained in the undisturbed possession of Italy, Raetia, and Noricum, all Greece, with scarcely any exception, likewise remained obedient to him, and in Africa his authority was thrown off only for a time. Syria and Asia Minor recognised the dominion of Odenathus, and afterwards that of his widow Zenobia.

M Cassianus Latinus Postumus, after having defeated the Franks, was master of the north-western parts of the empire and of Spain, as early as A. D., 257, and he remained in possession of Gaul, Spain, and Britain till A. D., 268. That great mass of country was torn away from the empire, and was governed by independent and able sove-

⁹ The name is derived from the Semitic *Shark*, that is, the East, and occurs long before the time of Mohammed. Yemen means the right hand, taking Mecca as the point from which the country is looked at —N

reigns. If we do not follow the writers of the fourth century with implicit faith, we may infer from the coins of Postumus that he was Augustus of that extensive empire. He maintained himself in it for upwards of nine years, and unless we consider his coins as a series of inconceivable fictions, we must also believe that he gained a number of brilliant victories over the Franks, Alemanni, and Goths. There is no doubt that the Alemanni at that time had made a predatory expedition, in which they penetrated even into Spain, but whether they were engaged in the service of any of the emperors, who then disputed the empire with one another, I cannot say. Postumus left behind him a brilliant reputation, but still the misfortunes of Gaul undoubtedly began with his time. Autun was then destroyed, and lay in ruins till the time of Diocletian. Spain was ravaged by the barbarians as in the time of the Cimbri. Postumus was at last murdered by his soldiers, because, after the defeat of the rebel Laelianus at Mainz, he refused to give that town up to them for plunder. He was succeeded by Victorinus, a Gaul, whom I mention on account of his name, M. Piauvonius Victorinus¹⁰. He was a brave general, but a dissolute man, and was murdered by a person whose wife he had seduced¹¹. After him one Marius, a blacksmith, reigned for three days, and was then succeeded by a man of rank, C. Pesuvius Tetricus, a Gaul, whose full name is found only on coins. He ruled over the whole of what was afterwards called the praefecture of Gaul,¹² and was recognised as sovereign¹³. He reigned

¹⁰ Eckhel, *Doctr. Num. Vet.* vii p. 450

¹¹ Trebell. Pollio, *Trigint. Tyr.* 5

¹² The division into praefectures is not an arbitrary thing, but an arrangement suggested by the nature of circumstances, for the Gauls were Latinized Celts and Iberians. They had assumed the Latin character with great modifications, and differed from the Italians, whom they therefore considered as strangers. The praefecture of the East naturally comprised the countries in which Greek was spoken.—N

¹³ Treb. Pollio, *Trigint. Tyr.* 23


till the time of Aurelian, when he voluntarily brought about the re-union of Gaul with the Roman empire

Eckhel is right in his opinion that the empire of Palmyra did not extend as far as Tillemont and Gibbon suppose, according to whom it embraced all western Asia and Egypt; and if it ever did extend so far, it can only have been at a later time, and then with the consent of Rome. Our information concerning those times is principally derived from coins; but they contain many things which are extremely puzzling and which cannot be cleared up, but they are sufficient to shew how little reliance can be placed on the books which pretend to give a history of that period.

Usurpers rose at that time also in Illyricum, Egypt, Africa, Greece, which was otherwise peaceful, Thessaly, and in the East, where Macrianus, the praefect of Valerian, usurped the purple, and took his two sons as his colleagues. But none of those usurpers was able to maintain himself, and their power was of no duration. The empire was in reality divided into three great masses. The Gallic empire was the result of the tendency which had been manifested in Gaul ever since the time of Augustus and Tiberius, and which we do not meet with in any other part of the Roman empire. Spain was much more faithfully attached to Rome than Gaul. I have no doubt that Treves was the capital of the gallant princes, Postumus and Victorinus, though they often resided at Cologne¹⁴. The Porta Nigra at Treves was built about this time. It is a Roman gate with two basilicae, and its whole style and structure shew that it cannot be assigned to an earlier date. Treves was a large place, and all the principal towns of Gaul, Spain, and Britain seem to have been very extensive, and to have possessed great buildings, which, however, were without real beauty, for taste had sunk very low.

¹⁴ Neuwied is called in inscriptions *Victoriensis*, which is connected, I believe, with Victorinus and his mother *Victoria* —N

Aureolus, the commander of the Illyrian legions, was proclaimed emperor by his troops, and marched from the Raetian frontier into Italy. Gallienus was besieged by him at Milan, and fell a victim to a conspiracy. He was cut down, probably by his own soldiers, A.D. 268, and was succeeded by M. Aurelius Claudius Gothicus, whose name is rather surprising, but whose surname of Gothicus was well deserved. In his reign the Goths again invaded the empire through the Bosporus, Propontis, and Hellespont. After having ravaged the country of Moesia and the banks of the Danube as far as Byzantium, they appeared on the coast of Macedonia, and besieged Thessalonica. There they were met by Claudius. They endeavoured to force their way back to the Danube, but their whole army was nearly destroyed by Claudius in the neighbourhood of Nissa, on the frontier of Servia. They were however extremely numerous,—Vandals also are mentioned among them—and the war against them was not yet brought to a close. The three Gothic nations, the Ostrogoths, Visigoths, and Gepidae, to which we must add the Vandals, were still formidable enemies, and while Claudius was making fresh preparations, he died at Sirmium, A.D. 270, either of the plague or of some other epidemic which had been brought about by the devastations of the war. The plague seems at that time to have settled in Moesia, where great havoc was made by it both among the Romans and among the Goths. Claudius was succeeded by L. Domitius Aurelianus.



LECTURE LXXVII.

AURELIAN, CONTINUED.—DEFEAT OF ZENOBIA.—GAUL —
 THE GERMANS — M CLAUDIUS TACITUS — M ANNIUS
 FLORIANUS — M. AURELIUS PROBUS. — M AURELIUS
 CARUS — CARINUS AND NUMERIANUS.—ARRIUS APER.—
 C. VALERIUS DIOCLETIANUS.

THE victory of Claudius Gothicus, though it did not bring the war to a close, had yet decided the safety of the empire. His early death was a misfortune to the state. The empire of Palmyra was at peace with Rome, but Tetricus, who was at the head of the Gallic empire, did not stand in the same relation to Rome, although circumstances were, at least on the whole, peaceful. Before his death Claudius had recommended Aurelian, the most distinguished among his generals, as a fit successor, and both the army and the senate recognised him. During the five years of his reign Aurelian accomplished great things, and became the real restorer of the Roman empire. Its condition was then of such a nature that one might be inclined to refer to it a celebrated passage in the work of Q Curtius¹, if it could be thought possible that a person could at that time have written such elegant Latin as that of Curtius. But this is impossible, and Gibbon, who seems to have felt the impossibility, thinks that the passage of Curtius contains an allusion to Gordian. I am, however, convinced that it alludes to the time of Septimius Severus.

A happy restoration of the empire was brought about by Aurelian, although he was by no means an ideal character. We are very far from being able to form a clear

¹ x 9 Compare Niebuhr, *Kleine Histor. und Philol. Schriften*, i p 308, foll

picture of that time, for the sources we have are much inferior even to those of the history of the middle ages², and the history of the empire is far less known to us than that of the republic, a fact which few persons really own to themselves. We may indeed string together the scattered accounts, but that will never make a history, and, besides, the contradictions which they contain are quite monstrous. The only correct historical sources are the coins, and they again frequently contradict the written statements, so that it is utterly impossible to make up a genuine history. All that can be done has been done by Gibbon, whose work will never be excelled. Aurelian spent the five years of his reign in incredible activity he had to march from one frontier to the other, and to carry on wars of the most dangerous kind. It was a wise measure of his to conclude peace with the Goths, to whom he gave up Dacia. He removed the Roman colonies of that country, as well as the garrisons, which may still have been in Transylvania. This sacrifice was necessary, but the population of Dacia had been so much reduced by the wars that it could scarcely have been maintained, whereas, those who now left their former abodes gave additional strength to Rome in the parts where they were now settled.

The great Zenobia had cherished the idea of founding an Eastern empire she was formidable to the Persians, and she had perhaps a Syrian militia which made an imposing impression upon them. The tribes of Turan too may have exercised an influence upon Persia of which we know nothing. But when Aurelian marched against Zenobia she was conquered in two great battles, at Antioch and at Emesa, which decided her fate. She withdrew to Palmyra, where she was besieged by Aurelian. Her de-

² I am not of the opinion of those who attach a very high value to the writers of the middle ages, but Eginhard, Wittekind of Corvey, and Lambertus of Aschaffenburg form exceptions, for they took the ancients as their models —N

fence of her capital does not come up to our expectations of her: she fled from the city, and fell into the hands of the Romans. Her conduct in her captivity is still less in keeping with her former pride, for she sacrificed her best and wisest advisers, such as Longinus, as political seducers; and this act shews her true Asiatic nature. It may however be, that she was not quite wrong in charging those men with having given her ill advice; for it is not impossible that many men may at that time have entertained the idea of a Greek empire; and that a distinguished Greek like Longinus may have endeavoured to inspire her with this glorious idea, and thus have led her to her own ruin. The execution of Longinus is one of the cruelties which form a stain on the purple of Aurelian, but another and greater stain is the destruction of Palmyra and the massacre of its inhabitants: it is true they had revolted after his departure, but his vengeance was monstrous.

After having thus unexpectedly recovered the East and secured the peace with the Persians, he returned to Europe and reunited Gaul to his empire. Tetricus himself, whose life was not safe among his mutinous soldiers, and who wished to get out of the dangerous position which had been fatal to so many other emperors, invited Aurelian. A battle was fought in the neighbourhood of Chalons, in which the Gauls fought with greater determination and exasperation than ever. This is a proof of how thoroughly national was the desire to be separated from Rome. The French look upon the ancient history of their country as if there had existed no nationality at all in the time of the Romans, and it is quite surprising that no French historian has either perceived or described that national feeling which was manifested in Gaul ever after the time of Caesar, and which broke forth in several insurrections³.

³ In like manner the French have overlooked the marked difference which exists between the literature of northern and of southern France —N.

It was in the reign of Aurelian, though the exact time cannot be determined, that the German tribes crossed their boundaries. The Alemanni, Juthungi, and Vandals even crossed the river Po, and threatened Rome. A decisive battle near Fanum Fortunae on the Metaurus—near the place where Hasdrubal, the brother of Hannibal, had been defeated—saved Italy, and compelled the barbarians to return across the Alps.

Aurelian, like Napoleon, had the natural want of *bella ex bellis serendi*, and he now resolved to lead his army against the Persians. But on his march, A.D. 275, he was murdered, it is said, at the instigation of his private secretary, who was on the point of being punished for some forgery he had committed. It is, however, not impossible that this is merely one of the many tales which were manufactured at the time.

The army lamented his loss and was deeply moved at his death, and the soldiers were resolved that at least none of those who had had a hand in his murder should derive any advantage from their crime. This resolution, if true, accounts for the strange fact of the army calling upon the senate at Rome to appoint a successor. The senators at first declined, as they imagined that the demand of the army was merely a trap, or at least feared lest the soldiers might soon regret their step, and then abandon the emperor elected by the senate as a prey to another proclaimed by themselves. But the soldiers were so persevering in their request that—so at least the story runs, though it is certainly a very incredible one—eight months passed away without an emperor, until after repeated refusals on the part of the senate, and various exhibitions of modesty on both sides, M. Claudius Tacitus, who was then princeps senatus, was proclaimed emperor. Tacitus was great in everything that could distinguish a senator: he possessed immense property, of which he made a brilliant use, and he was a man of unblemished character. He promised the senate that

he would always look upon himself as its servant, and the senators abandoned themselves to dreams of a restoration of the republic and its freedom, and of the emperor being only the chief agent of the senate. what was to become of the people was a question which never entered their heads. But that dream was but of short duration. Tacitus after his elevation went to the army in Asia Minor. The statement that he was then seventy-five years old is founded upon the accounts of the later Greek writers, and is of no weight to me at least it is very doubtful. To elect a man of such an advanced age emperor would have been senseless, and something like the system of the Roman cardinals, who elect an aged pope in order to have themselves a greater chance of becoming his successors. Such things may be done in an ecclesiastical state, but would have been the highest folly in a state like the Roman empire at that time. Tacitus carried on the war against the Alani with success, although there still remained reasons for his care and anxiety about those countries. But he died at Tyana, in A.D. 276. It is uncertain whether he died a natural death or whether he was murdered, though the latter is more probable.

His brother, M. Annius Florianus, now usurped the throne, but the legions refused to obey him, and he was murdered at Tarsus in Cilicia. M. Aurelius Probus was proclaimed emperor in his stead⁴. Probus is one of the most excellent Roman emperors of that period. Aurelian had been cruel, and had known nothing except war; but Probus, who was equally great as a general, devoted his attention at the same time to rescuing the empire from the wretched condition in which he found it. He had to contend with various insurrections, but it was principally the Franks, Alemanni, and Sarmatians, that kept his arms engaged. He drove the Franks back into

⁴ Zosimus, i 64 foll., Vopiscus, Probus, Eutrop. ix 17, Aurel. Victor, Epitome, 36 and 37 De Caes. 36 and 37.

the marshes of Holland; the Alemannians were not only defeated, but Probus crossed the Rhine and recovered the whole country of Suabia, and is even said to have restored the ancient *limes*. It is believed that it was his intention to make Germany a Roman province, and that plan would have been far more practicable then than before, for the southern Germans had made such changes in their mode of living that they were no longer so foreign to the Romans as they had been two centuries earlier. Had Diocletian formed the same intention, and had he established a Roman force in southern Germany, it would not by any means have been impossible to form that part of the country into a Roman province, for we find that the Germans, who had formerly hated living together in towns, began to inhabit regular villages or towns, on the river Neckar, as early as the reign of Valentinian. In northern Germany, on the other hand, things were different, for there the people still lived in separate farms, in the same manner as we see at the present day in Westphalia. Probus exerted his wonderful activity in all directions. His reign lasted nearly six years, and his occupations were so great and numerous, that he had no time for enjoying his sovereignty. He only once celebrated a triumph, but he was extremely beloved, as we still see from the coins of the time, on which we read not only *invicto imperatori nostro*, but *bono imperatori Probo*. However he became estranged from the soldiers, who had before loved and admired him, because he not only demanded of them the discharge of their military duties, but compelled them to other services also, which were indeed beneficial to the provinces and the empire in general, but were too much for the soldiers, whose yoke became too heavy. We cannot, therefore, censure them for what they did. Probus wanted to restore agriculture in the neighbourhood of Sirmium, his birthplace, and to drain the marshes, which spoiled the otherwise excellent and fruitful country of Pannonia. For this purpose he

compelled the soldiers to make canals and drains. It is not impossible that fever and other diseases may have begun to rage among them while they were engaged in those marshy districts; but in short, they were driven to despair: they murdered their emperor, A.D. 282, and afterwards lamented his death.

The legions now raised M. Aurelius Carus, the praefect of the praetorian guards, to the throne⁵. Our sources of information are so imperfect, that we cannot even say whether Carus was born at Rome, in Illyricum, or at Narbonne. In a letter of his still extant he calls himself a Roman senator, but he was unquestionably a senator of Gaul. There was indeed a regulation that no senator should have an army, but I believe that this merely referred to giving a senator a province with an army, and Probus may have connived at its violation in the case of Carus. Carus was one of those princes to whom war is everything. He led his army against the Persians, and this war is the last but one that Rome waged against Persia, and that produced permanent results. He is said to have taken Seleucia and Ctesiphon, but our accounts are so untrustworthy that I cannot answer for the correctness of the statement. Bahram, the king of the Persians, was so alarmed and terrified that he was incapable of leading out his army against the Romans. Carus, therefore, penetrated far into the dominion of the Persians. But a sudden death, caused, it is said, by a flash of lightning, put an end to his victorious career, in A.D. 283. The death of Romulus is certainly a poetical tradition, and it is not true that he fell by a conspiracy of the senators; but whether Carus fell by the hand of a murderer, cannot be decided. It was impossible, after his death, to induce the soldiers to advance any further, for it was an ancient superstition that, when a praetor was killed by lightning, it was a foreboding sign of the destruction of the army itself.

⁵ Vopiscus, Carus, Aurel Victor, Epitome, 38, De Caesar 38, Eutrop ix 18, Zonaras, xii 29 foll

Carus had two sons, Carinus and Numerianus, and the latter had accompanied his father in his Persian campaign. He had received a good education, but was not warlike, and appears to have been a man of amiable character. His brother Carinus had remained behind at Rome, where he acted like a second Commodus. He well deserves the charges which are brought against him, namely, that he was a dissolute and voluptuous tyrant. He had made himself so odious that the army would hear nothing of him. Arrius Aper, the *praefectus praetorio*, murdered Numerianus, while he was on his march westward, but kept his death secret, in order to secure the empire to himself. But when the death of Numerianus became known, the soldiers immediately proclaimed C Valerius Diocletianus emperor, A. D. 284. He put Arrius Aper to death in the presence of the army, for he was superstitious, and had been told by some old woman that he should obtain the imperial throne, if he killed an *aper*. That oracle now became clear to him, and he killed Arrius Aper with his own hand.

Carinus collected the forces of the West, where the legions were still faithful to him. A great battle was fought in Moesia, which terminated in favour of Diocletian at the moment when he was on the point of losing it, and at the same moment Carinus was cut down by one of his own tribunes, whose wife he had dishonoured, and the army of Carinus at once recognised Diocletian as emperor.

The reign of Diocletian forms a great epoch in the history of the Roman empire. There is much in his plans that may be censured, but his success is a testimony to his ability, and this ability of the man is manifest throughout his reign, and in all he did. The period which begins with his reign is one of great recovery, though perhaps not of happiness, and lasted for nearly a century, from A. D. 286 to the battle of Adrianople. During that period the empire recovered greatly from its previous sufferings, notwithstanding many unfavourable circumstances the government became secured to the dynasty of Constantine, and the

general introduction of Christianity was facilitated. The recovery was owing in some measure to the circumstance, that the fearful plague, which had so long raged in the empire, had begun to decrease in the time of Probus. It had made its first appearance in the reign of M. Aurelius and L. Verus. It did not make its devastations in all the parts of the empire at once, for we see from Tertullian that, in the reign of Septimius Severus, Africa was free from it. About the middle of the third century it had not yet become very important, but it increased in the reign of Decius, that is, from A. D. 256. During the ravages made by the barbarians, it spread over all parts of the empire, it now raged in Africa and Egypt, and became settled. Claudius Gothicus died of the plague at Sirmium, A. D. 270, and under Valerian and Gallienus it raged so fearfully that 5000 persons are said to have been carried off at Rome in one day. Gibbon⁶ quotes an interesting statement of Dionysius of Alexandria, which is preserved in Eusebius⁷, but which Gibbon does not interpret quite correctly. Dionysius, who was then bishop of Alexandria, mentions that, after the cessation of the plague, the number of people at Alexandria, between the ages of fourteen and eighty, was not greater than the previous number of people between the ages of forty and seventy. Gibbon infers from this statement that above half of the people of Alexandria had perished; but the real proportion is nearly like two to one, so that only one third of the population survived.

⁶ Hist. of the Decline and Fall, chap. 10 in fin.

⁷ Histor. Eccles. VII. 21



LECTURE LXXVIII.

CONDITION OF THE EMPIRE, LITERATURE, AND ART IN THE
REIGN OF DIOCLETIAN — REGULATIONS OF DIOCLETIAN.
—MAXIMIAN.—CONSTANTIUS AND GALERIUS —CONSTANTINE THE GREAT.

AFTER the cessation of the plague the empire was suffering from general distress, and its condition was very much like that which followed after the cessation of the black death in the middle ages. When the calamity ceased, says Villani, the contemporary historian, people expected to have everything in abundance, but instead of this there prevailed general distress and famine. In addition to such consequences of the plague, the countries between the Danube and Gaul were overrun by swarms of barbarians. Talent and art had become extinct in the same proportion as the world had become desolate. The pagans charged the Christians with being the cause of the decline of literature, but St. Cyprian, whose writings belong to that period, makes no answer to the charge, for he knew well that such an answer would have produced no effect. In the middle of the third century we still meet with a highly talented Roman poet; jurisprudence then reached its highest logical development, and juristical works were written in an excellent style. But during the latter half of that century, the western world sank into manifest barbarity, which continued till the time of Constantine. The barbarous character of art had commenced as early as the time of Septimius Severus, and the only branch that still maintained itself in some degree was the art of making busts. The poem of

Nemesianus, who lived under Carinus, on hunting (*Cynegetica*) shews that poetry was then nothing more than verse-making. Arnobius, the author of the work "*Adversus gentes*," is one of the earliest Christian writers in the Latin language; he is very interesting, and his learning is of considerable value to us, but there is nothing original about him. Lactantius, who lived in the time of Constantine, adopted completely the style of Cicero, whom he reproduced in form, just as Curtius had reproduced Livy. He is a very important writer, even if we look at him apart from his character as a theological author, but he is at the same time the only writer of that period whom I can mention to you. In the East, on the other hand, things were different, for there a new class of writers had sprung up. In the second century Dion Chrysostom had endeavoured to reproduce the ancient Attic style and language, and persons tried thoroughly to understand Plato and his manner, but this ceased in the third century, especially from the time of Ammonius, when the so-called New-Platonism was developed in Syria. In regard to intellectual power, the new school was certainly above the rhetoricians who preceded it, and who had had quite different objects; but the relation in which it placed itself towards Christianity introduced something downright untrue into the Platonic philosophy, which was now made to prop up paganism.

I can give you only a skeleton of the history which now follows, and such as every one ought to know by heart¹. The accounts we have of Diocletian, are eminently hostile towards him. His father is said to have been a slave, or at best a freedman,² but this must be understood of a *colonus*, and he cannot possibly have been the son of a slave, for the Roman law, even as it stood at that time, would

¹ In the time of our grand-fathers too much importance was attached to a chronological skeleton of history, but it ought not to be neglected either, and every one should impress upon his memory the list of Roman emperors together with the dates of their reigns.—N

² Aurel Victor, *Epitome*, 39, Eutrop. ix. 19, Zonaras, xii. 31.

have prevented his being enlisted in a legion. He had risen by his own merits, and his reputation had reached such a point that it required only one step more to place him on the throne. Among the many charges which are brought against him, we also find that of cowardice, which is as unjust in the case of Diocletian as in that of Napoleon³. He was on the whole a man of a mild character, but there are two points which justify the charge of cruelty, first the manner in which he punished the insurrection of Alexandria, and secondly his persecution of the Christians, to which he was instigated in his old age by Galerius.

Diocletian had reigned about one year, when he assumed his countryman M Valerianus Maximianus as his colleague in the empire. Maximian was a rough and violent man, and he shed at Rome much noble blood—not noble in the moral sense of the word—quite like an oriental despot, because he coveted the riches of those whom he murdered, for he had not to revenge any political offence on the part of his victims. It appears that, at that time, it was a matter of course for the sons of the great and wealthy families to enter the senate, and that the dignity remained hereditary in their families.

The many divisions of the empire, and the tendency of the East to become separated from the West, led Diocletian to the conviction, that all would be at stake if he should insist upon uniting those parts which had a natural tendency towards separation. His plan, therefore, was to separate the East from the West, and to govern the empire

³ The charge of cowardice against Napoleon is highly unjust. It is true, he often wanted moral courage, as for example, on the 19th of Brumaire, but he certainly had the courage of a general. The cases which are referred to as instances of his cowardice are only those in which he had no desire to strike a blow, and where he would not place himself in a position in which he could neither have heard nor seen, and in which consequently he could not have discharged his duties as a general. In those cases his conduct was perfectly right, but he might have died at Waterloo, and his escape from that battle-field cannot so easily be excused.—N

from two centres, though the whole empire was to remain one. This scheme succeeded so long as he reigned. The legislation and the high offices were to be common to both parts as before. Two Caesars, were to be appointed, who were to be the coadjutors of the emperors, and one of them was to succeed on the death of an Augustus. By this regulation he intended at the same time to prevent vacancies of the imperial throne, and the arbitrary elections by the soldiers. As there were two Augusti, the elder was to have the right of appointing the new Caesar. The countries which had already been united into one whole under Postumus and Tetricus, namely Gaul, Spain, Britain and Mauretania, were to be governed by a Caesar; Italy and Africa by an Augustus; Pannonia and Moesia by a Caesar, and the remaining part of the East by an Augustus. This idea of having two Augusti and two Caesars, of thereby keeping the empire united notwithstanding the apparent separation, and of thus securing a regular succession of emperors, is indeed an ingenious combination, but it did not answer its purposes. His division of the empire itself is the basis of the subsequent four praefectures, two of which belonged to the Augusti and two to the Caesars. I must also mention that Diocletian introduced into his court the ceremonial system of the eastern monarchs, which enters very much into detail. Neither of the two emperors resided at Rome. Maximian made Milan his capital,—a place which is destined by nature to be a great city, and one which very easily recovers, even after the most severe calamities—and Diocletian had his court at Nicomedia. Constantine the Great was a very eminent man. he was not only a brave and great general, but altogether a great man, however much we may have to say against him. He had the eye of a great man and carried out his plans as a great man. the foundation of Constantinople alone sufficiently attests his greatness. Diocletian overlooked that spot, notwithstanding his great acuteness.

The most important events of his reign are the insurrection of Carausius in Britain, a revolt in Egypt, and the war against the Persians, the most glorious that Rome had carried on for a very long time; and it may further be said that, after this time, Rome never again carried on a war so truly glorious as that under Diocletian. The first insurrection was made by Carausius, the admiral of the British fleet, which was stationed at Bononia (Boulogne) to keep in check the people of the Netherlands and on the coast of the German Ocean, who had already begun to act as pirates. Carausius resided at Boulogne, and was for a time recognised by Diocletian and Maximian as Augustus⁴. But he was murdered by Allectus, who then usurped the imperial power. Allectus, however, was conquered by a general of the Caesar Constantius, and Britain was reunited with the empire. The suppression of the revolt in Egypt was accomplished by Diocletian himself: Alexandria surrendered after a long siege, and the revenge which he took was fearful. Galerius, the other Caesar, in the mean time commenced the war against Persia, which was brought to a close in two campaigns. In the first, Galerius was defeated, and his arrogance was humbled; but in the second he gained a complete victory, and routed the whole Persian army. The king of Persia recognised Armenia as a vassal kingdom of Rome, which had now the dominion of all the countries from Erzeroum, or the sources of the Euphrates and Tigris, and of five provinces on the east of the latter river. The king of Armenia received Azerbaijan, which was taken from the Persians. These events occurred in A.D. 296. I should like to give you a minute account of the persecution which Diocletian instituted against the Christians during the latter years of his reign, and also of the spreading of the Christian religion at that period; but our time does not allow of it, and the subject itself is one concerning which it is better to say nothing at all

⁴ Eutropius, ix. 22

than only little I may, however, remark, that Diocletian and his advisers used their violence against the current, and against a universal want, without intending to substitute anything for Christianity to satisfy that want in any other way. He attempted obstinately to crush down that which was calculated to satisfy the wants of the people, and compel them by his commands to keep to the traditional forms.

Diocletian's reign lasted twenty years, from A.D. 285 to 305. Maximian was proclaimed in A.D. 286. On the first of May, A.D. 305, Diocletian, with his paramount influence, prevailed upon Maximian together with himself to resign the dignity of Augustus, in order that he might see the succession regulated according to his plan. But the results were similar to those which we have seen for the last forty years in Europe, where constitutions were drawn up which, when applied to life and actual circumstances, produced results far different from those which had been anticipated. Galerius and Constantius, both Illyrians, had been appointed Caesars in A.D. 292, the former for the East and the latter for the West. Galerius had been a common Illyrian soldier, and bore the surname of Armentarius, from his having at one time been a cow-herd. Constantius⁶ was a man of noble birth; his father was a man of rank in the province of Dacia, and his mother a niece of the emperor Claudius Gothicus. Constantius was a man of refined education, manners, and sentiment, and altogether a very different character from Galerius. Both, however, were distinguished generals, though Galerius was rough and daring, while Constantius was a general with wisdom and foresight.


The fact of Diocletian and Maximian resigning their sovereign power was quite in accordance with the system which the former had set on foot. Constantius and Ga-

⁶ His surname of Chlorus occurs only in the Byzantine writers, and is neither mentioned by earlier writers, nor does it appear on any coins. Nobody knows what may be the origin of it —

lerius now succeeded as Augusti, and the places of the Caesars became vacant. The Augusti might reside wherever they pleased; they were not bound either to Rome, Milan, or Nicomedia. Constantius therefore remained in his court at Treves; and in his place a Caesar was to be appointed to conduct the government of Italy and Africa. Now Galerius, without consulting his colleague, appointed the two Caesars, both natives of Illyricum, where the Latin language was spoken in the most barbarous manner. For the East, Galerius appointed Maximinus Daza, a nephew of Maximian, and a common adventurer, who obtained Syria and Egypt, while Flavius Severus obtained Italy and Africa. Galerius reserved for himself Greece, Illyricum, and Asia. He continued the persecution of the Christians with greater fury than Diocletian; but he too could effect nothing, and was obliged in the end to give way. Diocletian and Constantius did not interfere with his proceedings, but the aged Maximian did not acquiesce in them. He went to Rome, and prevailed upon the senate to proclaim his son Maxentius as Caesar, instead of Severus, and the praetorians then declared Maxentius Augustus. Maximian himself also resumed his dignity as Augustus to act as the colleague of his son. Constantius died soon after these occurrences in A.D. 306, at York. The soldiers proclaimed his son Constantine (the Great) Augustus. Galerius, out of jealousy, refused to acknowledge him as such, and treated him only as Caesar; but he now raised Severus to the rank of Augustus, and instigated him against Maxentius. But Severus died in his attempt to invade Italy.

Constantine was the son of Constantius by his first and legitimate wife Helena, a woman of low birth, and a native of Rousillon, on the frontier between France and Spain. Diocletian had demanded of Constantius and Galerius, on their elevation to the rank of Caesars, to divorce their wives, and to marry ladies of the families of the Augusti. Constantius accordingly married Theodora, a step-daughter

of Maximian, and Galerius Valeria, a daughter of Diocletian. At the time of his father's death, A.D. 306, Constantine was thirty-two years old. He was a truly distinguished man, and had acquired great reputation under Diocletian, so that the attention of the Roman world was drawn towards him. He was not a man of great literary acquirements, like some of his predecessors, but he was at the same time anything but a rude barbarian; he spoke Latin and Greek without being a learned man.



LECTURE LXXIX.

SIX AUGUSTI AT ONCE.—CONSTANTINE SURVIVES THEM ALL,
AND THE ROMAN EMPIRE IS RE-UNITED UNDER HIM.—
HIS GOVERNMENT — HIS CHRISTIANITY. — DEATH OF
CRISPUS. — FAUSTA. — CONSTANTINE'S DIVISION OF THE
EMPIRE, AND HIS DEATH.

WHILE Constantine did not interfere with what was going on in the south, and was satisfied with establishing his power in the western provinces, Galerius undertook to avenge the death of Severus upon Maxentius, and advanced into Italy as far as Narni. But he met with so little support, and his army was so small, that he had no choice but to retreat. A peace was then brought about, the terms of which are not known. After the death of Severus, Galerius had given Illyricum to C. Valerius Licinius, on whom he also conferred the title of Augustus. The East was in possession of Maximinus Daza. The other sovereigns were not recognized by Galerius. The Roman world thus had six Augusti and no Caesars; but peace did not exist, and the ingenious combination of Diocletian had led to nothing.

Maximian had given his daughter Fausta in marriage to Constantine, who divorced his first wife Mamertina. But the marriage with Fausta contributed little towards a good understanding. Hostilities however broke out first between Maximian and his son Maxentius, a man like Caracalla, who, besides many other vices, had an inclination to brutality and personal tyranny, and was devoid of any kindly or indulgent feeling towards his father. The claim of Maximian to conduct the affairs of the state was met by

the son's demand that he should resign all power and retire to a private station. The praetorians, who had been raised by Maxentius from the obscurity into which they had been thrown by the regulations of Diocletian, now formed a party, which supported Maxentius, and joined him in his demand that Maximian should withdraw from public life. Maximian accordingly left Rome and went to Constantine, his son-in-law, in Gaul. He was received there with friendship, but whether it was that he formed hostile plans against Constantine—which is not at all improbable—or whatever may have been the cause, in short, Constantine became his enemy. Maximian, who could not maintain himself at Arles, fled to Marseille. There he was besieged by Constantine, and sacrificed by his troops. He fell into the hands of his son-in-law, who at first quieted him with kind promises, but soon after put him to death, under the pretence that he had formed a fresh conspiracy.

Shortly after these occurrences Galerius died, and a war then broke out between Constantine and Maxentius, which is memorable to us on account of the triumphal arch of Constantine still extant, and was also productive of great historical results. Maxentius ruled over Italy as a tyrant. Ever since the time when the empire was divided among many emperors, who were often at war with one another, the oppression of Italy had increased. That country had formerly been exempt from the land-tax, and paid only indirect taxes. But Maxentius, although he possessed the wealthy province of Africa, yet did not think his revenue large enough, and intended to impose upon Italy a land and poll tax. The people, unwilling to bear such a heavy burden, called in the assistance of Constantine against those measures. Constantine advanced with a considerable army; he defeated the troops of Maxentius near Turin, and then directed his march towards the strongly fortified town of Verona. He besieged the place, defeated the army which was sent to its relief, and led his troops towards

Rome along the Flaminian Road Maxentius met him at a distance of three miles from the ancient Colline gate. There a decisive battle was fought, in which the whole army of Maxentius was routed. Maxentius himself perished in the Tiber.

Constantine took possession of Rome amid the joyous shouts of the people, and remained in Italy for some time. But a war soon broke out in the East between Licinius and Maximinus. The former had the European portions of the East, and the latter the Asiatic provinces and Egypt. A battle was fought near Heraclea in Thrace, which was gained by Licinius, though his army was greatly inferior to that of his opponent. Maximinus fled to Tarsus, where he surrendered at discretion, and was sentenced to death.

Of the many emperors two only were now surviving, and between them the empire was divided. But although Licinius had married Constantia, a sister of Constantine, peace did not last long between them. A war broke out in A.D. 314, in which Constantine conquered his enemy in two battles, near Cibalis, and in the plain of Mardia. Licinius now sued for peace, which he obtained on condition of his giving up Illyricum, Greece, and Macedonia, so that henceforth his empire embraced Thrace, Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, and Mesopotamia. This eastern empire was of an extent, and had, under favourable circumstances, such great internal resources, as no European monarchy can boast of. The peace lasted for nearly nine years, after which a fresh war broke out, A.D. 323. This war was the first since the battle of Actium in which the Roman sovereigns had a great navy at their command, for both Constantine and Licinius had large fleets. That of Constantine was under the command of Crispus, his first-born son by Mamertina. The first encounter which the enemies had was in the great battle of Adrianople, in which Constantine gained the victory by the superiority of his western troops over those of

the East. Crispus conquered the fleet of Licinius, entered Asia, and there gained a second victory over the reserve of Licinius in the neighbourhood of Scutari. Licinius fled to Nicomedia and there capitulated. Constantine promised that his life should be saved, but the promise was not kept. Licinius was put to death, and even his son, a harmless and promising boy, was executed. These are the first instances of Constantine's cruelty, of which no traces had appeared before.

In the year A.D. 324 the whole of the eastern provinces were recovered by the defeat of Licinius, and the outward unity of the Roman empire was restored. The remaining part of the reign of Constantine is not rich in wars, and we hear only of hostilities against the Goths and Sarmatians. The latter appear to have occupied the country between the Theiss and the Black Sea, and the Goths ruled over Dacia. The dominion of the Sarmatians embraced several German tribes, which they had subdued. At a time of great danger these Germans had their arms restored to them, but availed themselves of the opportunity to recover their independence. Constantine distributed them in various provinces of the empire, and if we may trust the statement of Ausonius in his "Mosella," many of those Germans received settlements on the banks of the Moselle. We may safely suppose that Constantine, like Diocletian, was master of the world from the wall of Scotland to Kurdistan and to mount Atlas in Africa. It is one of the dishonesties of the pagan writers towards the Christians that they do not mention the fact, that even Aurelian had ceded a large territory to the barbarians, in like manner they forgot what their favourite Diocletian had done. This is the dishonesty which we always meet with in factions, where no party is ever strictly true in its statements.

The recovery of the empire, which had commenced under Diocletian, went on increasing under Constantine and his sons, and there was only one circumstance that

weighed heavily on the people and was a clog to the increase of prosperity, viz the system of taxation, which had been introduced by Diocletian, and was completed by Constantine. Every province was rated at a fixed tax, which was distributed among the *capita* of the province. This tax was levied according to an arbitrary valuation. It often happened that several shares fell upon one *caput*. What the amount for each *caput* was is not known, and cannot be ascertained. The tax was extremely heavy, but the state could not do without it. To this land and poll-tax several others were added¹. They became more and more oppressive, as the armies became more expensive, since the system of hiring mercenaries became more and more prevalent, and the money thus went to the barbarians. The value of all kinds of produce had evidently declined.

The thorough change of the coinage, which appears about this time, may with tolerable certainty be attributed to Constantine. In the earliest times the Romans had only copper coins, but afterwards silver also was introduced. In the third century of the Christian aera, when the state was in great difficulty, bad silver coins had been issued, as in Prussia at the time of the Seven years' war. The gold coins remained unaltered. The state seems to have made its payments in bad silver, and to have demanded of its subjects to pay gold in proportion to the old good silver coin. In the period of Constantine we hear chiefly of *aurei*, sesterces are no longer mentioned. *Aurei* had in the earlier times been chiefly used as pay for the soldiers, who were regularly paid in gold. The extremely bad silver money, of which all the collections of coins in Europe contain numerous specimens—during the period from Valerian to Probus we find nothing but bad silver—was forged in great quantities and in various parts of the

¹ Savigny's Essay Ueber die Römische Steuerverfassung is excellent.—N See above p 266 note 3

empire, as might easily be conceived². This system of issuing bad silver coinage accounts for the otherwise very singular event in the reign of Aurelian, viz. the insurrection of the coiners (*monetarii*) at Rome, which was headed by Felicissimus, the master of the mint (*rationalis*)³. It was probably an attempt to compel the emperor to abolish the bad coinage, and Aurelian appears to have been obliged to yield and to receive the bad money as payment to the state. Constantine changed the *aureus* so as to make it lighter, whereby he conferred a great benefit upon those who had to pay taxes, and if he reduced it from 45 to 72 to the pound, it must have been a great relief to debtors and tax-payers.

If we examine the legislation of Constantine with an unbiassed mind, we must acknowledge that there are not a few among his laws which were very judicious and beneficial, though there are some also which must have been injurious. Among those who have written upon the history of Constantine, some are fanatic panegyrists, and others are just as fanatic detractors, and there are but very few who treat him with fairness. Gibbon judges of him with great impartiality, although he dislikes him. The exaggerated praise of oriental writers is quite unbearable, and makes one almost inclined to side with the opposite party. I cannot blame him very much for his wars against Maxentius and Licinius, because in their case he delivered the world from cruel and evil rulers. The murder of Licinius and of his own son Crispus however are deeds which it is not easy to justify; but we must not be severer towards Constantine than towards others. Many judge of him by too severe a standard, because they look upon him as a Christian, but I cannot regard him in that light. The religion which he had in

² Many matrices and whole apparatuses of false coiners have been discovered in France, and all of them belong to this period.—N.

³ Vopiscus, Aurelian. 38

his head must have been a strange compound indeed, and must have been something like the amulet which I described to you some time ago. The man who had on his coins the inscription *Sol invictus*, who worshipped pagan divinities, consulted the haruspices, indulged in a number of pagan superstitions, and, on the other hand, built churches, shut up pagan temples, and interfered with the council of Nicaea, must have been a repulsive phaenomenon, and was certainly not a Christian. He did not allow himself to be baptized till the last moments of his life, and those who praise him for this do not know what they are doing. He was a superstitious man, and mixed up his Christian religion with all kinds of absurd superstitions and opinions. When therefore certain oriental writers call him *ισαπόστολος*, they do not know what they are saying, and to speak of him as a saint is a profanation of the word.

There are many features in his character in which Constantine resembled Hadrian, but he did not possess Hadrian's learning, for Constantine had received a very poor education, and was deficient in literary culture in every respect. The resemblance between those two emperors becomes more apparent in the irritability of their later years, which led them to cruel measures and cruel actions. Every one knows the miserable death of Constantine's son Crispus, who was sent into exile to Pola, and then put to death. If however people will make a tragedy of this event, I must confess that I do not see how it can be proved that Crispus was innocent. When I read of so many insurrections of sons against their fathers, I do not see why Crispus, who was Caesar and demanded the title of Augustus, which his father refused him, should not have thought "Well, if I do not make anything of myself, my father will not, for he will certainly prefer the sons of Fausta to me, the son of a repudiated woman." Such a thought, if it did occur to Crispus, must have stung him to the quick. That a father should order

his own son to be put to death is certainly repulsive to our feelings, but it is rash and inconsiderate to assert that Crispus was innocent. It is to me highly probable that Constantine himself was quite convinced of his son's guilt. I infer this from his conduct towards the three step-brothers of Crispus, whom he always treated with the highest respect, and his unity and harmony with his sons is truly exemplary. It is related that Fausta was suffocated by Constantine's command, by the steam of a bath, but Gibbon⁴ has raised some weighty doubts about this incredible and unaccountable act, and I cannot therefore attach any importance to the story.

When Constantine approached the end of his life he went back to the system of Diocletian, and divided the empire among his three sons, Constantine, Constantius, and Constans. Constantine obtained the praefecture of Gaul, Constans that of Italy and Illyricum, and Constantius the praefecture of the East. His nephews Dalmatius and Hannibalianus, the sons of his brother Dalmatius, were raised to the rank of Caesars. The children of his brother Julius Constantius were yet too young, and his third brother Hannibalianus had died without issue. Constantine carried these regulations into effect before his death, and honest as were his intentions in thus dividing the empire among the members of his family, so unfortunate were its results, but such is human foresight! He died in A.D. 337, not in his beloved city of Constantinople, but at his country residence, in a healthy and pleasant district near Nicomedia.

⁴ Hist. of the Decline and Fall, c. 18

I N D E X.

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