

THE DECLINE

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OF

THE ROMAN REPUBLIC.

BY

GEORGE LONG.

VOL. I.

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PREFACE.

THIS volume contains a history of Rome from the destruction of Carthage to the end of the war with Jugurtha. It is my intention to continue the history to the end of the Civil Wars.

It is probable that the Second Volume will contain the history of the same number of years as the first, and thus the two volumes will comprehend a period for which the evidence is deficient, and also frequently of little value. The chief authorities are stated at the head of each chapter of the Table of Contents, and the value of the authorities is estimated in the work as the occasions require.

The Epitome of Livy informs us of the most important facts which were contained in the books that have perished. Freinsheim composed a Supplement to Livy, and he comprised in each book of his Supplement the events which the corresponding book of the Epitome has briefly recorded. He made up for the defects of the Epitome by collecting facts from all the extant authorities. His Supplement is a work of great labour and it is well executed. It is written in Latin, and generally in a clear and intelligible style; and though it is a very imperfect substitute for Livy, it probably contains nearly all the facts which the original contained and some also that Livy may have omitted. I do not know if there is any edition of Freinsheim's Supplement which contains the references to the numerous authorities that he has used. My edition does not contain these references, and it was very laborious to discover the evidence for all that Freinsheim has written. I have however discovered nearly all the original passages, and I have found that Freinsheim has used them

fairly, and that he has generally put the facts in the right place and given to them their true meaning. Our present knowledge of geography and of Roman institutions enables us to avoid some of Freinsheim's errors; but his work is still useful, and it has been used by some writers with little acknowledgment. At the head of each of my chapters in the Table of Contents I have placed the title of the books of the Supplement which treat of the matter contained in each chapter.

Thus I have followed the order of Livy's narrative, but I have not followed the Supplement so far as to place all the events of each year under one year in the Annalistic fashion. Such a mode of writing history, while it maintains a strict chronological order, necessarily separates facts which cannot be separated without destroying that continuity which gives to events their full significance. Thus the war with Viriathus and the slave-rising in Sicily must be written and read as a continuous narrative; and the tribunes of the Gracchi must be treated the same way.

There are various fashions of writing antient history. A man may take a certain period for his study, diligently examine all the authorities and reflect on the matter long enough to see, or to think that he sees, the connexion of all the parts of his subject. If he is a man of ability, he may please and instruct his readers by brilliant sketches, broad generalizations, and profound political remarks. He may produce something which at the present day would be called a philosophical history, whatever may be meant by that much abused name. But there is great danger in treating history this way, even when a man of ability undertakes it. Love of system, desire of display, and the uncontrollable impulse to establish opinions, which in some way fix themselves in most men's minds before the evidence on which they should be founded, will often lead astray even the ablest and the most honest. It is a good ground of complaint also against such histories, that the facts are often very imperfectly stated and frequently are rather alluded to than plainly told; and consequently, though the reading of such books may be very instructive to those who have a competent

knowledge of antient history, they are of little use to those who know nothing about it, and wish to learn. When this kind of philosophical history is attempted by men of small talent and great pretensions, the result is a mixture of false facts and silly declamation. Modern history has felt the influence of the modern school of fiction, and history assumes the character of the historical novel.

There is another way of writing history, more laborious to the writer and less attractive to those readers who dislike the trouble of thinking, and look for amusement more than for truth; for there are such readers and writers too. Thucydides says, that most men are impatient of labour in the search of truth, and embrace soonest the things that are next to hand. The writer, who follows this less ambitious course, must patiently examine facts and attempt to put them in their proper place: the reader, if he would know the facts and what they mean, must follow the narrative and share the toil by reading carefully what the historian has written with pains. To study a history well is a work of labour. Those who expect to know something of Roman history by reading fine dissertations, glowing descriptions and eloquent delineations of character and manners, will only be deceived into believing that they know what they do not know. If a man will write Roman history and tell others what he has learned of it, he must not spare his own labour, and he will demand the attention of his reader. It will not be enough for the writer to follow modern historians, whatever their merit may be. If he does not feel strong enough to handle the original authorities, he had better not touch the thing at all. In studying the antient authorities he will not however neglect the assistance that may be got from many excellent critics who have laboured to expound the constitution of Rome, the growth of Roman law, the military system, and every thing that may help to explain the external and internal history of a State, out of which the present social condition of western Europe has come. The complete examination of the immense mass of materials produced by modern industry is indeed more than one man could accomplish in a lifetime; and we are yet far from the day when the results of modern inquiry

can be considered so far certain that a useful history of Rome can be put in a few volumes. When this day shall come, some man will be ready to do the work. In the mean time we may labour, each as he best can, to prepare the way for that which we cannot do ourselves.

Roman history will instruct a careful reader, if he will be content to follow a writer who has done his best to establish the facts and to put them in their proper order without any unnecessary words. If the narrative is sometimes tedious, it must be remembered that truth cannot be reached without labour, and that if we would discipline our minds and improve our judgment in human affairs, we must learn the facts on which our understanding is to be exercised. For the purpose of history being to teach men political wisdom, it follows that this can only be done by observing the course of past events and seeing what things go before and what follow after. Hobbes, in his address to his readers, prefixed to his translation of Thucydides, says that in him the faculty of writing history was at the highest; and he adds: "It is true that there be many excellent and profitable Histories written since, and in some of them there be inserted very wise discourses both of manners and policy; but being discourses inserted, and not of the contexture of the narration, they indeed commend the knowledge of the writer, but not the history itself, the nature whereof is merely narrative. In others there be subtle conjectures at the secret aims and inward cogitations of such as fall under their pen, which is also none of the least virtues in a history, where the conjecture is throughly grounded, not forced to serve the purpose of the writer in adorning his style or manifesting his subtlety in conjecturing. But these conjectures cannot often be certain, unless withall so evident that the narration itself may be sufficient to suggest the same also to the reader. But Thucydides is one who though he never digress to read a lecture, moral or political, upon his own text, nor enter into men's hearts further than the actions themselves evidently guide him, is yet accounted the most politic historiographer that ever writ. The reason whereof I take to be this: he filleth his narrations with that choice of matter and ordereth

them with that judgment, and with such perspicuity and efficacy expresseth himself, that, as Plutarch saith, he maketh his auditor a spectator. For he setteth his reader in the assemblies of the people, and in the Senates at their debating, in the streets at their seditions, and in the field at their battles. So that look how much a man of understanding might have added to his experience, if he had then lived a beholder of their proceedings and familiar with the men and business of the time, so much almost may he profit now by attentive reading of the same here written. He may from the narrations draw out lessons to himself, and of himself be able to trace the drifts and counsels of the actors to their seat."

A modern writer on antient history cannot write exactly as Thucydides has written, even if he has the talent of the Athenian. If a man would now write the history of the Peloponnesian war, he must explain many things which a contemporary of Thucydides would understand without explanation; and there will be occasions for some discussion when he examines the credibility of the original narrative or the historian's judgment and impartiality. But such dissertations, if they are not kept within limits by the writer's good sense, may become impertinent digressions, which, as Hobbes says, may be "forced to serve the purpose of the writer in adorning his style or manifesting his subtlety in conjecturing."

I have written what may be called a dissertation on the Agrarian Laws, a matter so inseparably connected with the history of parties at Rome that Roman history cannot be understood unless we form a just notion of these Agrarian disputes. I have also written a short chapter to explain the names of the two political factions which originated about the time of the Gracchi, and the meaning of these party designations. If I have any where digressed in order to explain what most readers would not understand without some assistance, I have done it unwillingly; for however carefully a man may have considered his subject, he can hardly fail to make some mistakes, and he must know, or he ought to know that his opinions and his judgment may be

wrong, even if his intentions are fair and honest. If it had been possible I should rather have kept myself to the simple narrative of events, and have left them to convey their meaning to the reader; but any man who attempts to write antient history will find that he must do something more than simply put facts in order and state them clearly. He must say something occasionally on the value of the evidence for that which he writes, even if it is only to prevent critics sharper than wise from charging him with credulity and want of critical skill. He must also occasionally aid the reader to apprehend the full meaning of facts and events by remarks, which to some men will be superfluous talk, but to others necessary help. Thus he will be unavoidably led from the straight course; he will digress, and like all who do so, he will sometimes deviate from the right path further than he ought.

As this history begins with the time of the decline of the Republic, it is assumed that the reader knows in some way the history of the previous period, and any recapitulation of it would be out of place. It is true that as the occasions arise for speaking of Roman institutions, I have sometimes reminded the reader of their origin and of the practice of previous times, but this has only been done when it seemed necessary for the understanding of my story.

A history and a commentary, or discourses on history, are different things, and both of them useful when they are well done. Machiavelli wrote a commentary on a part of Roman history in his Discourses on Livy, and he also wrote a treatise on the art of war, which he has illustrated chiefly from the practice of the Romans. In the Prince he has given his opinions on what he calls mixed principalities, and he shows how a prince must act if he would secure himself in new acquisitions. These three works were written in retirement, and they are the result of the author's long experience of public affairs and his study of history. The direct object of the Prince was to recommend Machiavelli to the Medici, and to prove that in the course of his busy life he had learned something which it was useful for them to know. His remoter object was to teach the Italian princes a better policy,

and to encourage them to drive the barbarian out of Italy. This work, which contains the soundest principles of political wisdom, applied to the circumstances of Italy, has been often assailed. It was not intended for publication, but it was printed at Rome after the author's death, with the permission of Pope Clement VII. Machiavelli conceived his work like a man of sense. By sound reasoning on the nature of man and human affairs, and by experience derived from history, he shows how a prince must act in order to secure what he has acquired, whether he has acquired it by his own arms and merit, by the help of others and the aid of good fortune, by crimes, or by the consent of his countrymen. The examination of the morality or the immorality of the means by which this must be accomplished is as far from the purpose of the author and of his subject, as the exposition of Law or the law of any particular country is distinct from a judgment on the quality, the goodness or badness of Law. He who expounds Law has only to do with positive rules and the true deductions from them. He who teaches how a prince new in the acquisition of power must act, if he would keep it, does not consider the morality or immorality of the means which must be used. Such considerations are foreign to the business, which is to show that certain means must be used to keep power if you would keep it; and that is the whole matter of Machiavelli's treatise. But if any man affirms that Machiavelli recommends wicked means, or that he teaches that wicked means are always better adapted to accomplish the end than what we call good means, he has either not read Machiavelli, or he cannot understand him. If the chapters of the Prince had appeared in a history in the form in which Thucydides has written his speeches, the charge of teaching immorality, whatever it may mean, would perhaps not have been made against Machiavelli any more than against the Athenian historian. It is probable that among other reasons which Thucydides had for putting his political reflections in the mouths of the chief actors, he wished to avoid saying himself what it was appropriate for others to say. I have seen it remarked somewhere, I know not where, nor do I concern myself whether it is true or not,

that Hobbes derived his politics from the speech of the Athenian Euphemus in the sixth book of Thucydides, a speech which I recommend those to read who have not read it, and those who have read it once may read it again with profit. I see no difference in the political wisdom of Thucydides and Machiavelli. Both these great men looked at human affairs as they are, and they have told us how princes and leaders of states have acted and will act as long as states and princes exist.

As political science is more studied the merits of Machiavelli will be acknowledged, and his errors, if he has any, may be corrected without violent invective and silly abuse. The Discourses on Livy are so different from any thing else both in the matter and the form, that a man must make a close acquaintance with them before he will fully understand their meaning. Machiavelli's Discourses do not touch the matters which have lately so much occupied the researches and ingenuity of modern scholars, nor do they contain any critical examination of Roman history, as the term is now understood. The value of the Discourses consists in the practical wisdom which Machiavelli drew from the undoubted facts of Roman history, facts which he has seized and appreciated better than any modern writer. His experience of public affairs and his great sagacity place him as a political writer as far above all modern writers, as Thucydides stands above all men who have written history; for in Thucydides 'the faculty of writing history was at the highest,' and I do not know any other historian of whom the same can be said.

Macaulay in his essay on Machiavelli has expressed a less unfavourable opinion than many other writers. He admits that Machiavelli was a man of genius, and a profound political thinker, that he had a great elevation of sentiment and zeal for the public good; but still he discovers in the Prince the most atrocious principles laid down 'without the disguise of some palliating sophism even to his own mind,' 'professed without the slightest circumlocution, and assumed as the fundamental axioms of all political science.' Now it is one of the virtues of Machiavelli that he has no disguise, no sophism, that he tells us what he believes to be true; he tells

us what men do, though they will not confess it. The best judge of Machiavelli would be some man as sagacious as the Italian, if we could find him, a man who has grown old in the administration of public affairs in times of difficulty. But he must also be as honest as Machiavelli, and not attempt to impose on us by making things appear different from what they are. It is however hard to find a man who can look on the course of human affairs without passion and prejudice; harder still to find a critic who will read carefully what he undertakes to judge, and be content with the modest office of expositor and learner. The following judgment of the Discourses cannot be excused, even on the ground that Macaulay was a young man when he wrote his essay on Machiavelli. 'The first decade (of Livy) to which Machiavelli has confined himself is scarcely entitled to more credit than our Chronicle of British Kings who reigned before the Roman invasion. But the commentator (Machiavelli) is indebted to Livy for little more than a few extracts, which he might as easily have extracted from the Vulgate or the Decameron. The whole train of thought is original.'

The thought is no doubt original; but Machiavelli had a very different notion of what he was attempting to do. He says that in the ordering of republics, in the maintaining of states, in the government of kingdoms, in the constitution of a military force, and in the administration of war, in the forming a judgment of subjects, and in the increasing of dominion, neither prince, nor republic, nor commander, recurs to the antient examples. This arises, he is convinced, from the fact that men have not a true knowledge of history, and do not draw from it the meaning which it contains. They are pleased with reading of the various events, but they do not think of deriving instruction from them. It seems as if they thought that every thing, even the elements and men, were different from what they were in antient times. It was for the purpose of correcting such erroneous notions that he undertook to write Discourses on all the extant books of Livy, and to set down that which, having regard to things antient and modern, he considered to be necessary for the better understanding of these books, and to the end that those who

read his Discourses might be able to draw from them that utility for which we ought to read history.

The three books of the Discourses are entitled Discourses on the first Decade of Livy, but they refer to many matters which are not in the first ten books, to events both of antient and modern history. When Machiavelli speaks of Romulus and Numa, it is not to discuss the history of these two personages, but to expound the military and religious systems of Rome. He does not enter into learned discussions on Patricians and Plebeians, but he clearly explains the nature of the struggle between these two bodies. When he speaks of the superstitious practices of Rome, it is to show us the power of religious opinions, and how the belief of the people was used by their leaders for political purposes. He shows us the meaning of men's actions and of events by taking off the covering under which they are hid. His Discourses, as far as they go, are a practical commentary on Roman history; and Roman history is the matter of his disquisition, the storehouse of his examples, which he converts into useful lessons by teaching us to understand them.

So much I have thought it just to say about a writer whom I have used for many years, and have often referred to in this work. As I have learned much from him I acknowledge my obligations; and because he has seldom been fairly judged, and often most foolishly and unjustly calumniated, I declare my conviction of the honesty of the man, and my admiration of his political lessons.

ROMAN CONSULS

FROM B.C. 154 TO B.C. 106.

(CLINTON'S FASTI.)

B.C.		B.C.	
154.	Q. Opimius. L. Postumius Albinus.	142.	L. Caecilius Metellus Calvus. Q. Fabius Maximus Servilianus. Birth of M. Antonius the Orator.
153.	Q. Fulvius Nobilior. T. Annius Luscus. The Roman consuls now enter on their office on the first of January.	141.	Cn. Servilius Caepio. Q. Pompeius.
152.	M. Claudius Marcellus III. L. Valerius Flaccus.	140.	C. Laelius Sapiens. Q. Servilius Caepio, Murder of Viriathus. Birth of L. Licinius Crassus the Orator.
151.	L. Licinius Lucullus. A. Postumius Albinus.	139.	Cn. Calpurnius Piso. M. Popillius Laenas. The Lex Gabinia Tabellaria.
150.	T. Quinctius Flaminius. M ^p . Acilius Balbus.	138.	P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Serapio. D. Junius Brutus.
149.	L. Marcus Censorinus. M ^p . Manlius. Death of M. Cato the Censor. The Lex Calpurnia de pecuniis repetundis.	137.	M. Aemilius Lepidus Porcina. C. Hostilius Mancinus. The Lex Cassia Tabellaria.
148.	Sp. Postumius Albinus Magnus. L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus. Birth of the poet C. Lucilius.	136.	P. Furius Philus. Sex. Atilius Serranus.
147.	P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus. C. Livius Drusus.	135.	Ser. Fulvius Flaccus. Q. Calpurnius Piso.
146.	Cn. Cornelius Lentulus. L. Mummius. Capture of Carthage and Co- rinth.	134.	P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus II. C. Fulvius Flaccus.
145.	Q. Fabius Maximus Aemilianus. L. Hostilius Mancinus.	133.	P. Mucius Scaevola. L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi. Capture of Numantia. Tribunate and death of Tl. Sempronius Gracchus.
144.	Ser. Sulpicius Galba. L. Aurelius Cotta.	132.	P. Popillius Laenas. P. Rupilius. End of the Slave War in Sicily.
143.	Appius Claudius Pulcher. Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus. Embassy of P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus to Egypt.	131.	P. Licinius Crassus Mugianus. L. Valerius Flaccus. The Lex Papiria Tabellaria.

B.C.	B.C.
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129. C. Sempronius Tuditanus. M' Aquillius. Death of P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus.	117. L. Caecilius Metellus Dalmaticus. Q. Mucius Scaevola.
128. Cn. Octavius. T. Annius Rufus.	116. C. Licinius Geta. Q. Fabius Maximus. Birth of M. Terentius Varro.
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126. M. Aemilius Lepidus. L. Aurelius Orestes.	114. M' Acilius Balbus. C. Porcius Cato. Birth of Q. Hortensius the Orator.
125. M. Plautius Hypsaenus. M. Fulvius Flaccus.	113. C. Caecilius Metellus Caprarius. Cn. Papirius Carbo. The first battle between the Romans and the Cimbri.
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122. Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus. C. Fannius Strabo. Second Tribune of C. Sem- pronius Gracchus. Settlement of Aquae Sextiae in Gallia.	110. M. Minucius Rufus. Sp. Postumius Albinus.
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120. P. Manlius. C. Papirius Carbo.	108. Ser. Sulpicius Galba. M. Aurelius Scaurus.
119. L. Caecilius Metellus. L. Aurelius Cotta. C. Marius a tribune.	107. L. Cassius Longinus. C. Marius.
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