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THE DECLINE

THE ROMAN REPUBLIC.

BY

GEORGE LONG.

VOL. V.

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PREFACE.

THIS volume contains the history of the Roman Republic from Caesar's invasion of Italy to the close of the Civil War and the destruction of the old constitution, which was followed by other civil wars after Caesar's death, and the establishment of the Imperial system under Caesar Augustus. It is chiefly a history of military events, in which Caesar's great talents and his generous character are conspicuous. The civil administration is only a small part, for Caesar did not live long enough to do more than attempt to confirm order in the State, and to secure the power which he had acquired. I have said (p. 376), "Nothing could be worse than the condition of Rome when Caesar had completed his usurpation, and a radical reform seems to us impossible; even if Caesar had the will and the capacity to make such a reform, we cannot see how it could have been effected." Speculations about the great things which Caesar might have done, if he had lived longer, seem to me very foolish. We know what happened after his death, and what was done under the administration of Augustus, who was a man of large capacity, and after he became master of the Empire was anxious to secure peace within his extensive dominions and the prosperity of Rome and of the provinces. But it is not in the power of any man to change a state of affairs which is the result of the slow growth of centuries, or to avert the fate which awaits all political institutions. I have

endeavoured in these volumes to trace the history of Rome from the reforms of the Gracchi through a turbulent period of nearly one hundred years, a period of oligarchal tyranny and factious quarrels, to the inevitable end, the establishment of a monarchy in fact, but not in name. In this way, says Appian in the Introduction to his Civil Wars, "the Roman State was restored to tranquillity, and the Government became a monarchy." He adds, "and how this came about I have explained and have brought together the events, which are well worth the study of those who wish to be acquainted with ambition of men unbounded, love of power excessive, endurance unwearyed, and forms of suffering infinite." The rise and decay of modern political systems are not exactly the same in modern States and in the great military and conquering Republic; but human passions and human folly, and even human wisdom and foresight are ever the same, and under different circumstances they work out like results. I therefore maintain what I said in the beginning of this work (vol. i. p. 2), that "all political systems contain within them the principles of their own death; and political progress, as we call it, is only the slower road to that end, to which all human institutions, so far as we have yet had experience, must come at last." "Time," says Bacon (*Essays, Of Innovations*), "is the greatest innovator; and if time of course alter things to the worse, and wisdom and counsel shall not alter them to the better, what shall be the end?"

The events contained within this volume relate principally to one man, the greatest of all the Romans in military and civil capacity; but there is another man whose relation to Caesar from the year B.C. 59 to his death makes him conspicuous in this history. I have said (vol. v. p. 466) that I have told the truth about Caesar, as far as we know the truth, and have told it with perfect impartiality. I have treated Cicero in the same way, though I do not expect that all persons will think that I have; but if they shall think

otherwise, I reply that they are either deficient in the power of forming an impartial judgment, or they have not taken pains to examine the evidence. I have observed in the Preface to the Third Volume, that "We learn Cicero's character best from his own letters, which are the strongest evidence that we have against him." I mean the strongest evidence against him as a public man. It is his own evidence that condemns him, not the evidence of his enemies, who were many. His letters also, while they often show him in a favourable light as a friend, a just provincial governor, a lover of letters, and a man of taste, also prove that he was vain, querulous, spiteful, and often ungenerous. His private character was not noble, or elevated.

A good Life of Cicero is still wanted; and when it shall be written, we shall see whether the writer has the capacity of rightly estimating Cicero's political character, and particularly his behaviour towards Caesar in the few years which preceded the Dictator's death, and whether the writer has also the power of forming a just judgment on Cicero's great talents and his literary merits. Some persons would allow him even small merit as a writer, but here I think that they are much mistaken. Cicero was both a great actor in the public events of his time and an important witness; and his life proves that, like many other men of ability, he had his weaknesses, and even his vices, and that no intellectual greatness is a security against such failings. Caesar Augustus, who knew Cicero well during the last year of his life, is reported to have found one of his own grandsons reading one of Cicero's writings, and to have taken the book from him and read a good part of it while he was standing. At last he returned the book to his grandson and said, "A wise man, my boy; a wise man and a lover of his country" (Plutarch, Cicero, c. 49). Perhaps Augustus allowed too much credit for wisdom to Cicero, whom he had himself so easily deceived; but he did him justice when he said that Cicero was a lover of his country.

I have now finished a work which has employed me more than twelve years, a work of great labour, for which I have examined all the ancient authorities, and I have used them as well as I could, and with perfect integrity and singleness of purpose. No man can know the defects of my work better than I do. Those who know what such labour is, how insufficient many of the ancient authorities are, and the difficulty of combining and using them, will be the fairest judges of what I have attempted to do.

The Index to the five volumes has been made by a young friend, Mr. Ernest Bell, to save an old man a tiresome task. If the Index had been larger, it might have contained references to more of the varied matter which is in these volumes. But it will still be useful. I have examined it with great care and I believe that few errors will be discovered.

GEORGE LONG.

ROMAN CONSULS

FROM B.C. 49 TO B.C. 44.

(CLINTON'S FASTI.)

B.C.

49. C. Julius Caesar Dictator I. for eleven days.
The Consuls of B.C. 49,
C. Claudius Marcellus,
L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus,
leave Rome in January.
48. C. Julius Caesar Consul II.
P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus.
47. C. Julius Caesar Dictator II.
Q. Fufius Calenus.
P. Vatinius.
46. C. Julius Caesar Dictator III,
Consul III.
45. C. Julius Caesar Dictator IV.
C. Julius Caesar Consul IV.

B.C.

45. Caesar abdicates the Consulship and Q. Fabius Maximus, C. Trebonius are elected Consuls.
When Fabius dies on the 31st of December, C. Caninius Rebilus is elected Consul for the few remaining hours of the year B.C. 45.
44. C. Julius Caesar Dictator V.
C. Julius Caesar Consul V.
M. Antonius.
After Caesar's murder on the 15th of March, M. Antonius, P. Cornelius Dolabella are Consuls.

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B.C. 49.

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Partisans of Pompeius get possession of Hispalis and prepare to defend the place—Caesar allows them to make a night sally, but his cavalry overtakes and destroys them—Caesar recovers possession of Hispalis and takes Asta—Cn. Pompeius escapes by sea from Carteia, lands in another place, is pursued by Didius, and killed—His head is carried to Hispalis and set up in public—Didius is killed by some Lusitanians—Fabius Maximus takes Munda—Caesar in the meantime is at Gades: Dion charges him with robbing the temple of Hercules—Caesar returns to Hispalis and makes an address to the people—The address terminates abruptly, and the rest of the book on the Spanish war is lost—Caesar leaves Spain: he sends C. Carrinas against Sextus Pompeius—Carrinas is superseded by Asinius Pollio—Remarks on the history of the Spanish war—Cicero corresponds with Caesar during this war—He recommends to him Apollonius, a Greek, who wishes to write the history of Caesar's campaigns—Caesar on the 30th of April writes to Cicero to console him on the death of Cicero's daughter Tullia

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ROME.

B.C. 46, 45.

Livy, Epit. 116; *Dion Cassius*, 43, c. 42, &c.; 44, c. 1, &c.; *Appian*, *B. C.* ii. 106, &c.; *Plutarch, Caesar*; *Cicero, Pro Deiotaro*; *Cicero's Letters*.

The news of the battle of Munda reaches Rome on the evening of the 20th of April, B.C. 45—The Senate order a "supplicatio" or thanksgiving for fifty days—Extraordinary honours decreed to Caesar—Cicero's wretched condition after divorcing his wife Terentia—He takes a young wife, Publilia, and soon divorces her also—Terentia said to have lived to a great age—Cicero occupies himself with reading and writing—His fear, or pretended fear, of Caesar—Cicero begins a letter of advice to Caesar about public affairs; Atticus approves of the letter, but Cicero does not send it—Cicero's panegyric on Cato—Caesar's reply, named "Anticatones," in two books, written or finished during the Spanish war—Cicero at last writes to Caesar, but he does not show the letter to Atticus—The explanation of Cicero's fear of Caesar—Cicero's uneasiness about the hostility of the singing-man Tigellius, one of Caesar's intimate friends—Cicero and M. Brutus—The panegyric of M. Brutus on Cato does not please Cicero—Cicero in his letters to Atticus (xii., xiii.) seems to have thought that Caesar's career might end with a violent death—Cicero himself makes a kind of apology for Caesar—At last Caesar arrives—He makes his will in his villa at Lavicum and entrusts it to the chief vestal virgin—Caesar's fifth triumph in October, B.C. 45—Liberius invited to

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CAESAR'S ACTS.

B.C. 44.

Livy, Epit. 116; *Dion*, 43 and 44; *Appian, B. C.* ii. 106, &c.; *Suetonius, Caesar*; *Cicero, Phil.* ii. 32, &c.; *De Divin.* ii. 54; *Cicero's Letters*.

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B.C. 44.

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